

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS
Series D - No.79

NOTES ON SOME QUEENSLAND LANGUAGES

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First Published 1988

Typeset by Ling Matsay

Printed by A.N.U. Printing Service

Bound by Adriatic Bookbinders Pty Ltd

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

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

ISSN 0078-7566

ISBN 0 85883 372 7

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INTRODUCTORY NOTES AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

While engaged in recording Aboriginal languages in south-east Queensland, Aborigines from other parts of Queensland were often contacted. To complete the picture in some measure, notes were taken of more or less competent informants, who were not included in the Linguistic Survey.

The people interviewed represented the following languages: Mer, Saibai, Gugu-Bujun, Kanyu, Koko-Yalandji, Gangulida, Bundjil, Wanyi, Garwa, Punthamara and Kalali. Of these languages one (Mer) is particularly interesting since it is actually a New Guinea language (or language of New Guinea type) spoken in Australia.

For various reasons the languages studied in these Notes are generally less complete and somewhat lacunary and sometimes analysed rather with a comparative purpose (e.g. Kalali). The description and analysis of these languages, along with the phonetic writing and morphological terminology, is the same as for those described in the Linguistic Survey.

The author's special thanks are directed to Professor S.A. Wurm of the Research School of Pacific Studies, Australian National University for kindly taking care of the final publication of the author's entire linguistic material from various parts of Queensland.

M E R

Mer is a language of New Guinea type (Fly River) spoken on the island of Mer (Murray Island) in the Barrier Reef. Notes of this language were obtained from the following informants:

- Mr B. Thaiday, at Tully (Queensland), from Darnley Island (BT);
- Mr Dawita Tagai (or: Tagai Dawita ?) at Tully (TD);
- Mrs Mutay Dawita, at Tully (MD);
- Mr John Tapau, at Kingaroy and Brisbane, from Murray Island (JT).

1. Phonology

1.1 The Mer language has five vowel phonemes: *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* and *u*. There is a tendency toward stressing second initial syllables: *netát*, *bakámu*, *batáwirik*, *emétu*, *desér*, *desérda*, *digréda*, *galás*, *girgír*, *digér*, *udíger*, *nabágre*, *ikárdarda*, *makúare*, *urđli*, *metági*, *wagéde*, *darásmeràre*.

1.2 There is a tendency toward vowel leveling: *koskel* or *kosker* (beside *koskir*), *muigi* ~ *merge*, *muris*, *gergerge*, *gergerko*, *puni* (beside *poni*), *dirsir* ~ *derser(li)*, *nasmere* ~ *nasmili*, *teter* ~ *titir* (both meaning 'leg'), etc. As seen, there are infractions of the rule, especially in the case of morphological elements. Morphological forms may, on the other hand, be adjusted to the tendency of vowel leveling, as in: *kereba* or *kiriba* (for *keriba* 'ours'), *mereba* for *meriba* 'ours', *mi demreder* 'we two sat down'. In the above examples one may also count on the effect of assimilation of vowels. Vowel length is irrelevant. Monosyllabic concrete forms (especially if vowel-ending) tend to lengthen the vowel: *lē* ('man'), *ī* ('cry'), *nār* ('boat'), etc.

The following consonant phonemes occur:

- b* a bilabial voiced plosive (as in English);
- d* a dental to alveolar voiced plosive (cf. English);
- g* a palatal-velar voiced plosive (as in English);
- k* a strongly aspirated voiceless palatal-velar plosive (cf. below);
- p* a strongly aspirated voiceless bilabial plosive (cf. below);
- t* a dental (or alveolar) voiceless plosive (cf. English; see further below);
- l* a lateral continuant (as in French);

- m* a bilabial nasal (as in English);
- n* a dental-alveolar nasal (as in English);
- r* a trilled continuant (as in Italian);
- s* a voiceless sibilant (as in English);
- w* a bilabial semivowel (as in English; only used initially and intervocalically);
- y* a palatal semivowel (as in English 'yes'; only used initially and intervocalically);
- z* a voiced sibilant (as in English).

1.3 The strongly aspirated *k* and *p* may pass into fricative sounds: *k* ~ *x*, *p* ~ *f*. The dental *d* and *t* tend to become—as in many Pacific languages—palatalised before *i*: *d^yi*, *t^yi*. A supradental (or retroflex) *ɖ* may occasionally be heard (in English words): *haɖ* 'God' (hardly a native word), *baɖu* 'Bardoo' or 'Mulgrave Island'. As in Australian English, an initial *h*-sound is not distinctive: *haɖ* ~ *ad* ('God'; cf. above). Other cases of the influence of (Australian) English may be found: *babei* for *babi* ('father'). On the other hand, *beizam* for *baizam* ('shark'), etc., is normal in the Aboriginal languages.

1.4 Mer words may begin either with a vowel or a consonant phoneme. Words beginning with *i*, however, may take an initial semivowel *y*:- *irgi* ~ *yirgi* 'bit', etc. In other cases *y*- may tend to become *d^y*- (*yawali* ~ *d^yawali* 'paper, book'). No Mer word begins normally with *r* or ends in *-l*; a Fly river **r*- may become *d*- in Mer and **-l* may become *-r* (cf. *-smili* ~ *-smir*, *smer* 'see'; also cf. *kosker* ~ *koskel* 'woman').

2. Morphology

Nominal stems and declension

2.1 Nominal stems in Mer may be of one or more syllables, ending either in a consonant or a vowel: *nar* 'boat', *meta* 'house', *kimiar* 'man'. Monosyllabic words may often be supposed to have apocopated a final vowel, which reappears in declension forms: *lim* 'sun', ergative *limide* (hence originally **limi*). The effect of vowel leveling is often noticeable in derived forms or compounds: *meriam mir* 'the Mer language'. In nominal stems the plural sense is not distinguished from a singular or dual sense: *le* 'man' or 'men', *meriam* 'Murray Islander(s)'.

2.2 Apart from a nominative form (which is the stem of the word, singular or plural; cf. above 2.1), Mer has an ergative (ending in *-de*, alternatively *-ede*), a possessive (ending in *-ra*, *-ira*), an accusative (ending in *-i*, of personal nouns only), an ablative (ending in *-lam*), a locative (ending in *-gi* or *-ge*, originally no doubt according to vowel leveling); finally, an allative (ending in *-m*; alternatively *-em* or *-im*). Examples: nominative *meta* 'house', *wag* (*wage*-) 'wind', *dawita* 'David'; ergative *wagede* '(by) the wind', possessive *dawitara meta* 'David's house', *metara tot* 'the top of the house', accusative *dawitai* 'David', ablative *metalām* 'from the house', locative *metagi* 'in the house', allative *metaem* 'to the house'. A vocative form may be formed by addition of an interjectional *e* (*-e*) to the stem (or nominative) form: *kara neur e* 'my daughter'. The case suffixes described above may alternatively be considered as postpositions.

Pronominal inflection

3.1. We may distinguish between personal, demonstrative and interrogative-indefinite pronouns.

Personal pronouns

3.2. There are personal pronouns for the first, second and third persons in the singular, dual and plural. In the first person dual and plural a distinction is made between exclusive and inclusive forms. The following are the stem (or nominative) form of the personal pronouns: (singular) *ka* 'I', *ma* 'you', *e* 'he' or 'she'; (dual) *ki* 'we' (exclusive); *mi* 'we' (inclusive), *wa* 'you'; (plural) *ki* 'we' (exclusive), *mi* 'we' (inclusive; = *ma ka* 'you and me'); *wi* 'they'. Some reduplicated forms (either emphatic or of the same meaning as those above) have been recorded: *kaka* ('I'), *mama* ('you'), *kiki*, *mimi* ('we'). To distinguish between dual and plural forms, numeral words may be used: *ki dale* 'we (four or five men)', *wa gair*, *wa dale* 'you (many)', *ma ka* 'you and me' (two persons; cf. above). By addition of the syllable *bu* (also *babu*) the idea of 'self' may be expressed: *kakabu* or *ka babu* 'myself', *mabu*, *mamabu* 'yourself', *wabu* 'yourselves', *tababu*: *wi neis tababu basmeryei* 'they two are looking at one another' (JT); (cf. further below).

3.3. The personal pronouns are declined by analogy with personal nouns (cf. 2.2), in the following way (a locative being absent):

1st person singular:

nom.	<i>ka (kaka)</i>
erg.	<i>kape</i>
poss.	<i>kara</i>
acc.	<i>kari</i>
abl.	<i>karilam</i>
all.	<i>karim</i>

2nd person singular:

nom.	<i>ma (mama)</i>
erg.	<i>mape</i>
poss.	<i>mara</i>
acc.	<i>mari</i>
all.	<i>marim</i>

3rd person singular:

nom.	<i>e</i>
erg.	-
poss.	<i>abra</i>
acc.	<i>abi</i>
abl.	<i>abilam</i>
all.	<i>abim</i>

1st person dual and plural (exclusive):

nom.	<i>ki</i>
poss.	<i>kereba, keriba, kiriba</i>
acc.	<i>kerbi</i>

1st person dual and plural (inclusive):

nom.	<i>mi</i>
erg.	<i>mipe</i>
poss.	<i>mereba, meriba</i>
acc.	<i>merbi</i>
abl.	<i>merbilam</i>
all.	<i>merbim</i>

2nd person dual and plural:

nom.	<i>wa</i>
erg.	<i>wapi (?)</i>
poss.	<i>waba</i>
acc.	<i>wabi</i>

3rd person plural:

nom.	<i>wi</i>
poss.	<i>yaba (wi)</i>
acc.	<i>yabi</i>

3.4. Forms with the syllable *-bu* added express 'self': *merbibu* 'ourselves' (acc.); a special form is *tababu* 'themselves'. Other forms (not easily explained) will be found in the Vocabulary.

Demonstrative pronouns

3.5. Two demonstrative stems only have been recorded: *e* 'this', 'here' (cf. the Personal pronoun *e*; 3.3.) and *ab* 'that' or 'this'.

3.6. The demonstrative *e* is found prefixed to a noun: *eged* (*e ged*) 'this home or island'. The stem *able* is declined as a nominal stem (v. 2.2.), as follows:

nom.	<i>able</i>
poss.	<i>ablera</i>
abl.	<i>ablelam</i>

The following examples will illustrate the constructions with *able*: *able meta* 'that house', *ablera meta* 'that one's (his) house', *able le* 'that man', *able lu* 'this or that thing', *able kos* 'that course', *abli abli kimiar* 'that man' (the final *-i* probably due to vowel leveling). The locative *egedge* practically means 'here' and the ablative *egedlam* 'from here'.

Interrogative-indefinite pronouns

3.7. Two interrogative stems have been recorded: *nete* (personal, 'who?') and *na* (impersonal, 'what?'). No inflected forms have been recorded. Examples: *nete ka nali* 'who am I?', *nete ma nali* 'who are you?'; *na ged* 'what island?', *na lu (nalu)* 'what thing?', 'what?' (cf. Saibai *mi za, miza* 'what thing, what?'). The form *nalu* may be compounded with other nouns: *nalu meta* 'what house?'. The use of *na* in: *na kosker manali* 'what woman are you?' (in the sense of 'what kind?', as totem may be expressed impersonally—cf. *miña* in Australian languages). The

construction *nali dali* 'who is he?' is not quite clear; it might be for **nale (na le) dali* (?) 'what kind of man is he?' (cf. above).

Verbal stems and derivation

4.1. The plain verbal stem in Mer has a simple structure: it is usually monosyllabic, beginning with a consonant (which in inflected forms is preceded by a *prefix vowel*; see 4.3.; 5.1.); the verbal stem may end either in a consonant or a vowel, but the consonant elements are always basic (the structure of the Mer verb stem is, consequently, of the same type as the Basque *-gi-* 'make', *-ma-* 'give', *-kar-* 'bring', *-kus-* 'see', etc.). In a Mer verb stem such as *-(i)kau* ('to take'), the 'root' is actually *-ka-* (to which formative elements may be prefixed or postfixed).

Modal conjugation

4.2. Apart from cases of morphological elements preceding the prefix vowels, there is no definite distinction made of modal and personal formatives or between a modal and a personal conjugation. The following elements may be analogous to verbal derivative suffixes in Australian languages: (preceding the simple verb stem) *-ba-* (reflexive-reciprocal—this suffix may be considered as personal, as it does not take either a prefix vowel or another personal formative), *na-* (pluralising), *-ra-* (pluralising); (following the simple verbal stem), *-li-* (causative), *-r-* (causative or dative), *-da-* (*-ra-*; pluralising); *-ei-* (dualising). Examples: *-ba-smi-* ('look at oneself'), *da-ra-li* 'they are', *da-ra-smerare* 'look at them', *na-mridare* ('let us *all* sit'), *-na-kasir* ('many (fish) swim'); *-kuei-li-* ('make stand'; -cf. *kuei-* 'stand'), *-basre-da* ('all listen'), *-batagr-ei* ('two talking'). Other formatives of this kind may be found in the Vocabulary. There are finally adverbial formatives (original adverbs, prefixed, infixes or suffixed) of the type: *we-* (*o-*, *u-*, intentional or desiderative), *-ko-*, *-le-*, *-lu-*, *-da* (which have either adverbial or personal function): *we-ikuei* 'wants to make him stand up', *u-diger* 'wants to make', *mi akale* 'we two are going to take (it)', *akalu* 'I will take', *nakuarda* ('gave to us, *then*').

Prefix vowels

4.3. The prefix vowels express the relation between the verbal action, as expressed by the stem, and personal formatives, which precede the prefix vowels and refer to a grammatical person (see in 5.1.). The prefix vowels used in Mer are: *-a-*, *-e-* and *-i-*. A conjugated verbal form may be expressed either by a prefix vowel alone or with a prefix vowel preceded by a personal prefix (always a consonant). As the function of the prefix vowels is vague, some idea of their meaning may be gathered from the following (partly commented) examples.

The prefix vowel *-a-*

4.4. A priori it may be supposed that *-a-* indicates presence (in room or time) or continued or intended imperfective verbal action (it may refer to a first or second person as being 'present'). Recorded instances are: *akalu* 'I will take', *a-kadarare* 'we all took (it)', *a-timedlu* 'I will chuck (the boat)' (cf. *itimed* 'chuck (it)'), *a-taruklu* 'going to pick up', *a-rdare* 'I come to see him', *a-*

roei 'we two are eating', *a-mrilu* 'I will set *or* put (him)', *ka a-kueilu* 'I want to lift him', *a-rie* 'I will drink (it)'.

The prefix vowel *-e-*

4.5. The prefix vowel *-e-* seems to express perfective action: *e-kueili* 'he is standing him up', *e-kueida* 'stood before' ('before' is probably the suffixed adverb *-da*), *e-kueili* 'standing him up now', *e e-mrida* 'he sat before', *wi e-mridariei* 'they two sat before', *ka e-rolu* 'I am eating', *ki e-rweda* 'we are eating', *e-usmeda (e-osmeda)* 'was born', *e-semeda* 'finished (then)', *gur e-gri* 'finished swimming', *e-marik* 'put the boat (into the water)', *mi e-griei* 'we two have finished', *e-gri* '(I) have finished', *e-upama* 'get off *or* jump out (of the boat)', *i-e-zwei* 'don't you two cry' (*i* 'a cry *or* crying'), *i-e-zoli* 'she is crying', *e-gremar* 'turn your face', *e-ro* 'eat (it)', *ka e-roe* 'I shall eat (it)', *e-regli* 'eat(s) meat', *e-rolu* 'ate (the food)', *e-reli (e-rili)* 'drink water', *e-gareda* 'took (her) away', (*ma*) *e-taru* '(you) pick it up', *ka e-tardaka* *or* *e-tarda* 'I picked (it) up', *e-rdari* '(I) saw (him)', *e-mri* 'sit down', (*ma*) *e-ro* '(you) eat (it)', *e-kuei* '(you) stand up', *e-soli* '(I) hear him'.

The prefix vowel *-i-*

4.6. The use of the prefix vowel *-i-* seems to involve the presence of two grammatical persons (as in a dual, reflexive-intransitive, causative or dative relation). The following examples may give an indication of this: *i-rieiei* 'we two drink', *i-rieda* 'we (plural) drink' (*-da* marks plural action), *abi ari ikuar* 'give him drink', *i-kada* '(I) took (it)', *i-timed* '(you) chuck (it)', *i-rgi* 'bit him', *i-keli* 'doing', *i-kau* 'take away', *i-kawerti* 'many taking away', *ki i-kardarda* 'we take (the course)', *i-kawerti* '(a man) took (her) away', *i-karda* '(you) took (him) away', *ma nab i-keli* 'you tried to make (it)', *ma i-ri* 'you drink (it)' ('one cup'; imperative), *ni ge i-kasei* 'two *or* three swim in the water', *i-kase* 'one fish swims', *i-kaurerti* '(I) took her away', *ma i-kaw* 'you take one', *i-kuei* 'stand (that child) up' *or* 'he stood up' (the action is perfective), *i-pe* '(he) is lying down', *i-rdi* 'make (him) lie down', *i-m(i)redi* 'sitting down', *e i-mi* 'he is sitting', *wa neis i-kuei(lam)* 'you two stand' (imperative), *i-kuedi* 'stand up', *werem lewer i-kuali* 'feeding the child', *werem lewer i-kuari* 'fed the child', *ka i-rili* 'I drink', *i-karda* 'taking' (= *digreda*; *-ka-* 'take', *-gr-* 'make'), *i-kada* '(I) took this course', *i-kalu* 'I will take' (cf. *a-kalu, idem*), *i-kale* 'we two are going to take it', *i-kadarie* 'we two took it', *i-mri* 'put down (that little boy)', *i-rwi* '(I) ate before', *i-ri* 'you drink that' *or* 'I drank before'.

Personal conjugation

5.1. There seem to be only two personal formatives in Mer: *n-* and *d-*. It is evident that *n-* belongs to the first and second person singular, while *d-* pertains to the third person singular, as seen in the forms *nali* 'I am' *or* 'you are' and *dali* 'he *or* she is'. But *d-* has many other references, to various grammatical persons as well as to number. It may seem that *n-* pertains basically to immediate *nearness* (first and second person singular) and that *d-* refers to *distance* *or* *shared* presence (as in the case of 'you and me'), but the use of the personal formatives seems very irregular and is best illustrated by examples. The personal *n-* is prefixed to the prefix vowel *-a-* only (see 4.3.; 5.1.), while *d-* may be prefixed to all of them (*-a-*, *-e-*, *-i-*). (This may be understood in so far as *-a-* is associated with 'presence'; cf. 4.4.) Any conjugated verb form in

Mer hence begins either with one of the prefix vowels (*a-*, *e-*, *i-*) or with one of the syllables *na-*, *da-*, *de-*, *di-*. It must further be noted that personal formatives refer to the *subject of an intransitive verb* or to the *direct object of a transitive verb*; the subject (or agent) of a transitive verb is expressed—if expressed at all—by a form of the personal pronouns (see 3.2.), which, incidentally, may be used for the sake of clarity to express direct or indirect object forms as well.

Conjugated forms beginning with *na-*

5.2. Theoretically, forms beginning with *na-* should refer to the first or second singular and to imperfect verbal action. This may be borne out by some of the following instances: *na-roe* ‘(I) will eat you’ (theoretically also ‘(you) will eat me’—the ‘shared’ action refers either to the subject or object, but not to both), *na-kase* ‘I swim’, *na-wer* ‘I was *or* you were’, *na-uweli* ‘(the sun) burned me’, *na-gri* ‘bit me’, *o-na-reg* ‘will bite me’, *na-smir* ‘I can see you’ or ‘you can see me’ (cf. above), *na-mi* ‘I am *or* you are sitting’, *ka na-ba* ‘I am going’, *na-rdar* ‘I saw you’, *ki nali* ‘we (excl.) are’, *wa nali* ‘you all are’, *na-smili* ‘I can see you’ or ‘you can see me’ (cf. above), *na-kuare* ‘I will give you’, *na-kueili* ‘he is standing you *or* me up’, *na-mri* ‘set me’, *wi neis na-mri*, *wi gari na-mredi* ‘they are sitting’ (irregular or incorrect?), *na-tager* ‘you tell me’, *na-kuari* ‘(if) you give me *or* I give you’ (perfective action), *(mari) nardare* ‘I have come to see you (imperfective action), *na-mrilu* ‘I want to stay’, *na-smer* ‘look at me’, *mi na-mrilei* ‘let us two sit down’, *na-soli* ‘I hear you’ or ‘you *or* he hear(s) me’, *ma kari na-sor* ‘you listen to me’, *na-sre* ‘I want to hear you’, *na-tomer* ‘show it to me’, *na-tomelu* ‘I want to show it to you’, *na-tagri* ‘I told you’, *na-bakamulu* ‘I am going’, *na-kuar* ‘give me’, *na-kuare* ‘I will give you’, *na-kuari* ‘I gave you’ or ‘he gave me’, *na-rdari* ‘he saw me *or* you’. Notice that the prefix *na-* must be kept apart from the modal, pluralising or multiplicative *na-* (see 4.2.), which occurs in: *na-kasir* ‘many fish swim’, *na-kase* ‘two fish swim’, *na-kaurerti* ‘people took’, *na-isa* ‘he took all’, *na-rieda* ‘you eat plenty’, *na-ri* ‘drink plenty’, *na-roeda* ‘you eat plenty’. In some cases the analysis seems doubtful: *na-bagre* ‘we all go to swim together’ (‘together’ is, however, rather expressed by *-ba-*); *na-kuei* ‘you stand them two up’, *na-kueirare* ‘you stand them all up’. (Notice that this formative is initial, like an ordinary personal formative).

Conjugated forms beginning with *da-*

5.3. The following recorded forms illustrate the meaning of *da-*: *da-gre* ‘(I) am making (setting, the course)’ or ‘(I am) chasing him’, *da-wer* ‘he was *or* we two were (*sic*)’ (shared subject), *da-smir* ‘(I) have seen him’, *ki dali* ‘we (four or five, exclusive) are’, *wi da-rali* ‘they are’, *da-smereda* ‘(God) sees us’ (shared action, *da-smili* ‘I see you’ or ‘he sees us’ (inclusive or exclusive), *da-smer* ‘look at him’, *da-smeli* ‘can see him’, *da-smerer* ‘I saw him yesterday’, *da-tawiriklu* ‘I will turn it’, *da-tawirikda* ‘I turned it’, *da-darsire* ‘I will make it’, *da-kuare* ‘he will give to us two’ (shared action in object), *da-rdare* ‘he will see them’, *da-rasmerare* ‘look at those men’, *da-smeli* ‘(I am) looking at that’.

Conjugated forms beginning with *de-*

5.4. The following forms combine the personal *d-* with the prefix vowel *-e-*: *de-tawirik* ‘you turn it round’, *de-rdari* ‘he saw us two’, *de-mreder* ‘we two sat down’, *de-soli* ‘they hear us’

(shared action in object), *de-mrare* 'set us all up' (probably shared action in object, 'all' being expressed by the suffix *-rare*), *de-tawirikda* 'I turned (the chair) round', *de-rserli* '(what) are you people doing?', *de-(r)ser* 'did or made it', *de-(r)serda* 'they made it', *nar de-tawirida* 'turn (imperative plural) the boat round'. Notice the possible effect of vowel leveling in any of the above forms.

Conjugated forms beginning with *di-*

5.5. The following forms occur with initial *di-*: *di-greda* 'taking' (= *i-karda*; hence the same prefix vowel), *ma nar di-rsir* 'you make a boat' (imperative), (*nole*) *di-kuar* '(don't) give us', *di-kuari* 'gave to us two' (shared object action), *di-kuarda* (*idem*, plural agent), *di-rsirare* 'you people are going to make me', *di-geri* 'has gone to', *di-gardi* '(the wind) turned (the boat)', *di-mi* 'we two are sitting' (shared subject action), *di-kueili* 'he is standing us up' (shared object action), *di-kuei* 'we stand up' (shared subject action), *di-kueida* 'we two stood before' (shared subject action; *-da* adverbial suffix), *di-kueidi* 'we all stood up before', *di-mri* 'set us two up', *di-kepwoli* '(what are you) thinking about?' or '(I am) thinking about ...', *di-ger* 'you set (the course)', *e kos digeri* 'he set the course', *di-gre* (of two; cf. *dagre*, of one, *digreda*, of many), *di-ger* 'set (the course)' (imperative), *di-gri* '(I) set (the course)' or 'chased him', *di-griei* 'we two chased him', *di-gerda* 'we all chased him', *lar di-kasir* 'cook one fish'.

The expression of time

6. A differentiation of present and past time is reflected in the rendering into English of verbal forms. Forms ending in *-e*, having parallel forms ending in *-i*, may be considered imperfective or presentic, while those ending in *-i* are perfective or past: hence *dakwar-e* 'he will give to us two' and *dikwar-i* 'he gave to us two', *dagr-e* 'I chase him' and *digr-i* 'I chased him', *nagard-e* 'going to turn' and *digard-i* 'turned' (also notice change of the prefix vowel, since *-a-* is imperfective and *-i-* is perfective). Past time also seems expressed by the suffixed adverbial *-da* (to be distinguished from the pluralising *-da*; see 7.8.); *ikar-da* '(you) took him away', *dikuei-da* 'we two stood before', *e emri-da* 'he sat before', *eusmeda merge* '(I) was born on Murray Island'. Notice that these forms also appear with the prefix vowel *-e-* or *-i-*, which both seem perfective (possibly in some cases determined by the tendency to vowel leveling).

Various modal, personal or adverbial formatives

7.1. These morphological elements are arranged according to their position in relation to the verbal stem. They may be placed either before (usually elements having a pronominal character), infixes between a prefix vowel and a verbal root (usually elements having a modal character) and, finally, occur after the root of the verb (usually having a numeral or adverbial character). The morphological elements to be treated are: (a) *ba-*, *na-*, *t-*, *we-* (initial); (b) *-ra-* (infixes) and (c) *-ar*, *-da*^{1,2}, *-dar*, *-e*, *-ei*, *-i*, *-ir*, *-ka*, *-lam*, *-le*, *-li-*, *-lu*, *-rar* and *-rer-* (postfixes).

7.2. The reflexive-reciprocal *ba-* (see 4.2.). The following are examples of *ba-*: *ba-smi-* 'look at oneself', *ba-tawirik* 'turn round', *na-ba-gre* 'we all go', *ki ba-gri* 'we all have finished' (cf. *ka egri* 'I have finished'), *i-ba-zoli* 'many are crying', *o-ba-tawirik* 'will turn round', *i-ba-*

zweda ‘they are crying’, *ba-tagrei* ‘two talking (the Mer language)’, *ba-dali* ‘we two are’, *ba-mri* ‘they sat before’, *ba-smili* ‘I am looking at myself’, *ba-smer* ‘look at yourself’, *ba-smereriei* ‘they two are looking at one another’. The syllable *ba-* (*-ba-*) may be translated ‘together’. Compare further *babu* ‘self’: *ka babu* ‘I myself’ (= *kabu*; see 3.2.). *wa gair bamrare* ‘you all sit’, (*mabu*) *ba-soli* ‘(you) listen to yourself’, *mimi merbibu ba-sreyei* ‘we two are listening to one another’, *ba-sreda* ‘they are listening to one another’, *ba-smir* ‘looking at yourself’, *ba-smili* ‘(I am) looking at myself’, *ba-smeriyei* ‘we two are looking at one another’, *ki ba-smerida* ‘we all look at ourselves’, *ma i-ba-imi* ‘you stop crying’.

7.3 The pluralising *na-* (compare 4.2.). The following examples illustrate the use of this formative: *able na-isa* ‘he took all’ (cf. *ma gair ais* ‘take it all’), *na-kuei* ‘you stand them two up’, *na-kueirare* ‘you stand them all up’.

7.4. The formative *t-*. It seems that this element indicates ‘direction’ in some way, in: *t-a-ba* ‘he is going *or* coming’ (‘root’ *-ba-* ‘go, come’), *t-i-kau* ‘give me’ (‘root’ *-ka(w)-*), *ta-komer* ‘come back’, *kaka ta-komeda* ‘I will come back’. The meaning may be ‘(come) back’, ‘(give) back’ (?).

7.5. The intentional-optative *we-* (*o-*, *u-*). This prefixed element expresses an intention or wish: *o-batwirik* ‘(he) will turn round’, *e i-u-ezo* ‘he is going to *or* wants to cry’, *o-bakiamulam* ‘they two are going’, *we-ikuei* ‘(she) wants to make him stand’, *o-basolare* ‘they want to listen to one another’, *u-diger* ‘he wants to set (the course)’, *o-nareg* ‘will bite me’, *wi merbi u-dikuar* ‘they gave us’.

7.6. The pluralising *-ra-*. This syllable, immediately prefixed to the verbal root, gives it a plural sense: *wa gim gim da-ra-li* ‘you two are sick’ or ‘they are sick’ (for *darali*, in the dual sense, *dali* alone may be used), *da-ra-smerare* ‘look at them’.

7.7. The pluralising *-ar*. This suffix has a similar function to those of *-dar* and *-rar* (see 7.10, 20) and marks a plural verbal action: *dirsir-ar-e* ‘you people are going to make (for) me’, *darasmer-ar-e* ‘look at those men’, *demr-ar-e* ‘set us all up’, *wa gair bamr-ar-e* ‘you all are sitting’, *obasol-ar-e* ‘they want to listen to one another’.

7.8. The pluralising *-da*¹. This postfixed form (along with *-di* which may actually be *-da* plus *-i*?) marks plural verbal action: *dikuar-da* ‘they gave us two’, *dakuar-da* ‘they will give us two’, *dirsir-da* ‘you people made for me’, *wi, wa ibazwe-da* ‘they, you are crying’, *nagarde-da* ‘they are turning (the boat)’, *ikue-di* ‘you (plural) stand up’, *namre-di* ‘they are sitting down’, *basre-da* ‘they all are listening to one another’, *ki erwe-da* ‘we are eating’, *irie-da* ‘(we many) drink’, *kos digre-da* ‘(you all) set the course’, *digri-da* ‘we all set before’, *ba-smerida* ‘we all are looking at ourselves’, *ikardar-da* ‘we take (the course)’, *dasmere-da* ‘God sees us’, *narie-da* ‘you drink’, *naroe-da* ‘you eat (plenty)’. —In some cases it may be difficult to decide whether the suffix is *-da*¹ or *-da*² (see 7.9.): *deser-da* ‘they made, did it’, *nakuar-da* ‘they gave’, *dikuar-da* ‘they gave us’, *ikuei-di* ‘they all stood up’ (*-i* perfective); since *emredi* = *bamri* ‘they sit down’, one may equal *ba-* and *di-* semantically.

7.9. **The preterit -da².** This may actually be an adverbial form meaning 'then', 'at that time' (or even 'there'). It occurs in: *dikuei-da* 'we two stood', *e emri-da* 'he sat before', *eusme-da merge* 'born on Murray Island', *detawirik-da* '(I) turned it round', *batawirik-da* 'it turned round' (intransitive), *ika-da* 'I took', *bakiamu-da* 'he went', *ka etar-da* 'I picked it up', *ka datawirik-da* 'I turned it', *nakuar-da* 'gave to us', *ekuei-da* 'I, you, he stood before', *ikuei-da* 'they stood before', *esemu-da* 'it finished', *ikar-da* 'you took him'; in some cases it appears that the syllable *-da²* is followed by a dualiser or pluraliser: *ika-da-rie* 'we two took it', *aka-da-rare* 'we all took it'.

7.10. **The pluralising -dar.** This suffix appears analogous to *-da¹* (see 7.8) or *-rar-* (see 7.20.). It is found in: *namri-dar-e* 'let us all sit down', *neis bakamu-dar-i* 'two men went'. This suffix may be followed by *-e* (imperfective; see 7.11.) or *-i* (perfective; see 7.13.). For *akadarare*, see in 4.4.

7.11. **The imperfective -e** (cf. 7.10.). Some further examples are found in: *nardar-e* '(I have come) to see you', *dagr-e* 'I am setting' or 'chasing (him)', *digr-e-da* 'we try hard', *nasmer-e* 'I can see you', *nakuar-e* 'I will give you', *ka ari-e* 'I will drink (it)', *ka ero-e* 'I will (it)', *naro-e* 'I will eat you', *nige ikas-e* 'swims in water', *ka nakas-e* 'I swim', *nari-e-da*, *naro-e-da* 'you eat, drink plenty', *darsir-e* 'I will make', *nakuar-e* 'I want to give', *dirsirar-e* 'you people are going to make me', *dardar-e* 'he will see them', *iezw-e-yei* 'both are crying', *nagard-e* 'going to turn', *nagard-e-da* 'they are turning', *ardar-e* 'I come to see him', *dasmer-e* 'I want or try to see', *nasr-e* 'I want to hear you', *matagr-e* 'I will tell you', *basmer-e-yei* 'the two are looking at one another', *basr-e-yei* 'you two are listening to one another', *iri-e-yei* 'we two drink', *nabagr-e* 'we will go to swim together'. —This form also corresponds to the Australian 'intentional': *ka lag lag* course *dagr-e* 'I wish to set the course'; such a form is equivalent to a form with *we-* (see 7.5.), which does not take the imperfective *-e*.

7.12. **The dualising -ei (-yei).** This suffix marks duality: *digri-ei* 'we two' ('you and me') 'set the course', *iezw-e-ye* (for **-yei*?) 'they two are crying', *nole iezw-ei* 'don't cry'.

7.13. **The perfective -i** (cf. 4.3, 6.). This suffix is found (often in alternation with the imperfective *-e*; see 7.11.) in cases such as: *nakuar-i* 'I gave you', *nardar-i* 'he saw me', *erdar-i* 'I saw him', *natagr-i* 'I told you', *mi digr-i-ei* 'we two set or chased', *egr-i-ei* 'we two have finished', *narg-i* 'bit me', *irg-i* 'bit him'. This suffix is rather 'perfective' than 'preterit': *digard-i* '(the south wind) turns (the boat)', *ma ir-i* 'you drink it' (imperative).

7.14. **The form in -ir.** This form is found in a few cases and its function is not at all clear: *gair nakas-ir* 'many (fish) swim' (verbal root *-kas-*), *nasm-ir* 'can see you' (verbal root *-sm-* or *-smi-*, *-sme-*), *lag lag nasmir* 'want to see you'.

7.15. **The form in -ka.** This is a rare form, in which *-ka* might be adverbial (or, as a matter of fact, the common connective *ka* 'and, then', etc.). It occurs in: *ka etarda-ka* 'I picked (it) up' (= *ka etarda*). A *-k-* element also enters in *ataru-k-lu* 'going to pick up' (cf. *ma etaru* 'you pick it up').

7.16. **The form in -lam.** This is a rare form, whose function is not clear: *wa neis emri-lam* ‘they both sit’, *obakiamu-lam* ‘they two are going’, *wa neis ikuei-lam* ‘you two stand’ (imperative; = *ikuei*), *wa neis emri-lam* ‘you two sit down’.

7.17. **The hortative (?) in -le.** This form is found in: *mi aka-le* ‘we two are going to take it’ and (combined with the dual -*ei*) in *namri-le-i* ‘let us two sit down’. —It seems related to -*lu* (see 7.19) and possibly -*lam* (? see 7.16).

7.18. **Forms in -li.** These are extremely common and seem to occur in various senses (causative, imperfective, etc.?). The examples will show this: *ka iezo-li* ‘I cried (yesterday)’, *iezo-li* ‘(a woman) is crying’, *ka iezo-li* ‘I shall cry (tomorrow; rather clearly imperfective)’, *e ike-li* ‘he did it’, *e kari nakuei-li* ‘he is standing me up’, *dikuei-li* ‘he stands us up’ (cf. *dikuei* ‘we are standing up’; clearly causative), *ikua-li* ‘(she) is feeding’, *ekuei-li* ‘standing him up’, *mabu baso-li* ‘you listen to yourself’, *ero-li* ‘I am eating’, *ka iri-li* ‘I drink’, *basmi-li* ‘looking at myself’, *nauwe-li* ‘the sun burned me’, *nab ike-li* ‘(you) tried to make it’, *dasmi-li* ‘you can see him’, *naso-li* ‘I hear you or you hear me’, *eso-li* ‘I hear him’, *nakuei-li* ‘he tries to stand me up’, *deser-li* ‘(what) are you doing?’, *ereg-li* ‘eat(s) meat’.

7.19. **The desiderative -lu.** This suffix is common in the first person singular: *ataruk-lu* ‘going to pick up’, *ika-lu* ‘I will take (it)’, *aka-lu* ‘I will lift (the child)’, *lag lag akuei-lu* ‘I want to lift him’, *lag lag aka-lu* ‘I want to take it’, *namri-lu* ‘want to sit down’, *nakuei-lu* ‘I want to stand up’, *datawirik-lu* ‘I want to turn it’, *atimed-lu* ‘I want to chuck it’, *amri-lu* ‘I will put him’, *ka namri-lu* ‘I will sit or settle down’.

7.20. **The pluralising -rar-.** Like -*ar* (see 7.7.), this suffix appears to be pluralising: *nakuei-rar-e* ‘you stand them (all) up’ (the initial *na-* may be the pluralising *na-*; see 7.3.).

7.21. **The preterit (?) -rer (-r, -er, -rerti).** The meaning often refers to ‘yesterday’ (?): *dasme-rer* ‘I saw him yesterday’, *nasme-rer* ‘he saw me yesterday’, *demre-d-er* ‘we two sat down yesterday’, *basme-rer-iei* ‘we two are looking at one another’, *na-wer* ‘I was (sick) yesterday’ (-*wer* is actually an alternative of -*li*- ‘to be’), *urd-er* (cf. *demreder*, above) ‘they were’, *ikau-rerti* ‘I took her away’, *nakau-rerti* ‘people took her away’ or ‘I took her away’, *wa ikawertie* (= *ikawerti*) ‘people took her away’.

7.22. **A number of forms in -r cannot be easily classified:** *ikua-r* ‘give (him) drink’, *ikua-r-i* ‘fed him’ (-*i* is perfective), *erda-r-i* ‘saw him long ago’ (cf. -*ar*; 7.7.), *nakua-r-e* ‘I will give you’ (-*e* is imperfective), *nakua-r* ‘you give me’ (imperative), *ma nole kerbi dikua-r* ‘don't you give us’, *kari nasmi-r* ‘can see me’, *ma takome-r* ‘when you come back’.

Common (irregular) verbs

8.1. Some paradigmatic forms will be given of the following common verbs in Mer, which may be considered ‘irregular’. They are: -*ba-* ‘go’ or ‘come’, -*ger-* (-*gr-*) ‘chase, set (the course), ‘make for’, -*ka(w)-* ‘take’, -*kua(r)-* ‘give’, -*kuei-* ‘stand’, -*li-* ‘to be’, -*mi-* or -*mri-* ‘sit’, -*rdar-* ‘see’, -*reg-* (-*rg-*) ‘bite, eat (meat)’, -*ri-* ‘drink’, -*ro-* ‘eat’, -*rser-* (-*rsir-*) ‘do, make’, -*sm-* (-*smi-*, -*sme-*) ‘see’, -*so-* ‘hear’, -*wer-* ‘to be’ (‘have been’), -*zo-* (with *i-*) ‘cry’.

-ba- 'go, come'

8.2. The plain stem *-ba-* is seen in the form *naba*, which is used both exclusively and inclusively (hence *ki naba* 'we (two) go', exclusive, and *mi naba*, idem, inclusive). In the third person singular *taba* is used (cf. 7.4.), which is properly 'come' (*e taba*); in the sense of 'come': *kaka taba* 'I have come', *karim taba* 'coming to me'. An alternative form is *baka* (probably with the derivative *ba-*, see 7.2.): *wa baka* 'you two are going or coming', *wa nule baka* 'don't you go'; further forms: *baka* 'one man went', *neis (kimiar) bakamudari* 'two went', *gair bakamuda* 'many men went', *bakamuda* '(my child) is gone', *ma baka gedim* 'you go to the island' (imperative); *e baka* 'he goes', *bakamu* 'I am going (from)' or 'he went', *bakiamu* 'you go far away' or 'he is gone'. In these latter forms it is impossible (for want of a more extensive material) to establish a verbal root and morphological formatives. —Also compare the verb stem *-bakamu-* in the vocabulary.

-ger- (**-gr-**) 'chase, set the course, make for'

8.3. This verb has an imperfective stem *-gre* and a perfective *-gri*: *ka, ma lag lag course dagre* 'I, you want to set the course' (JT), *ka able dagre* 'I am chasing that one' (JT), *nabagre* 'we all go and swim together' (JT), *kos ka, mi dagre* 'I am, you and I are setting the course' (JT); *dagre* of one, *digre* of two, (JT), *ka able emetu digri* 'I chased him before', *mi emetu digriei* 'we (two, inclusive) chased him', *ka, ma emetu gur egr* 'I, you finished swimming' (JT; *e-* for **de-* because of *gur* 'sea'), *ki emetu bagri* 'we all have finished' (JT), *able nar Cape Bedford digeri* 'that boat has gone to Cape Bedford' (JT), course *ma diger* 'set the course' (JT; imperative), *diger* (imperative; JT), *mi, wi* course *digriei* 'we, they (two) set the course', *ki emetu, kos digrida* 'we all (did) set the course' (JT), *able lag lag course udiger* 'he wants to set the course' (JT), *mi emetu digriei* 'we two (inclusive) chased', *ki emetu digerda* 'we all chased' (JT).

-ka(w)- 'take'

8.4. The plain stem is seen in: *ikau* 'take away' (imperative), *ma ikau* 'you take one', *ma able kos ikau* 'you take that course', *ka able ikalu* 'I will take', *mi able ikale* 'we two are going to take it' (JT), *ka ikada* 'I took it' (JT), *kaka emetu kos ikada* 'I took that course (before)', *ma ikarda* 'you took him away'; *mi able ikadarie* 'we two took that' (JT), *ki able akadarare* 'we all took it' (if the preterit sense is correct, it is evidently expressed by the infixed *-da-*), *dakaurerti* 'took away (yesterday ? cf. 8.16; JT), *kape abi ikaurerti* 'I took her away' (TD), *lede nakaurerti* 'people (three or four) took away' (TD; *na-* is probably pluralising), *wa ikawerti* 'you fellows took her away' (BT), *wa nole abi ikawerti* 'you people don't take her away', *eblina wa ikawertie* 'you took away Evelina' (JT), *mape nakawerti* 'you put (these things) in' (TD), *kos (course) ki ikardarda* 'we (exclusive) took the course' (TD, BT).

-kua(r)- 'give'

8.5. The plain stem is seen in: *ka mari ni nakuare* 'I will give you water' (TD), *ma kari sogob nakuar* 'you give me a smoke' (JT), *e merbi dakuare* 'he will give us' (JT), *ka mari sogob abegergerge nakuari* 'I gave you a smoke yesterday' (JT), *e kari dikuari* 'he gave me' (JT), *e merbi nakuari* 'he gave us' (JT), *e kari nakuari* 'he gave me' (JT), *e merbi dikuari* 'he gave

us two' (JT; 'shared' or inclusive object: *di-*), *mise kaka mari nakuari ma kari koma nakuari* 'if you give me yours I will give you mine' (notice perfective forms), *ma nole kerbi dikuar* 'don't you give us' (JT), *wi kari nakuarda* 'they all gave to me' (JT), *wi merbi dikuarda* 'they gave us two' (JT; 'shared' action: *di-*), *wi merbi dakuarda* 'they will give us two' (JT; cf. above—prefix vowel *-i-* perfective, *-a-*, imperfective, cf. 4.4, 6), *wi merbi udikuar* 'they gave us' (JT; properly 'wanted to give ...'?).

-kuei- (-kue-, -ko-) 'stand'

8.6. The plain stem is found in: *ka nakuei* 'I am standing', *mimi dikuei* 'we two (inclusive) are standing', *able werem ikuai* 'stand that child up' (JT), *ma abi ikuei* 'you make him, her stand' (JT), *ma yabi neis nakuei* 'you stand them two up', *ma yabi gair nakuerare* 'you make them all stand up' (JT; *na-* pluralising), *wa abi ikuei* 'you (many) stand him up', *wa yabi gair ikueirare* or *nakuerare* 'you stand them all up' (JT; *-i-* marks another person, hence causative-dative, but *na-* marks 'a lot'), *ka lag lag werem akueilu* 'I want to lift the child', *wa neis able* (or *waba*) *werem nakueirare* 'you two stand up that (or 'your') child' (JT), *e abi weikuei* 'she wants to make him stand up' (JT), *e abgergerge lag lag abi weikuei* 'she wanted to stand him up yesterday' (JT; notice same verb form), *e abi* (or *abi werem*) *ikueida* 'she lifted him (or 'that child') up' (JT), *e yabi nakueda* 'she lifted them up' (JT; *na-* pluralising), *e gair werem nakoda* 'he (or 'they'?) lifted up the children' (JT). *peirdi e yabi nakueda* 'just now he lifted them up' (JT).

-li- 'to be'

8.7. The simple paradigm (in *n-* and *d-*) is used in an imperfective ('presentic') sense: *ka nali* 'I am', *ma nali* 'you are', (*e*) *dali* '(he, she) is', *mimi dali*, *mi badali* 'we two are' (inclusive), *kiki dali* (idem, exclusive), *wa dali* 'you two are' (more correct: *wa nali* 'you two are'), *wa darali* 'you two are', *wi darali* 'they two are'. An alternative form is: *wi uridli* 'they (three) are'. —Also compare *-wer-* (*-ur-*), which has a preterit sense.

-mi- (-mri-) 'sit'

8.8. Two stems are found, *-mi-* and *-mri-*, both in the sense of 'sit' (or causative 'set'). The plain stem *-mi-* occurs in: *ka nami* 'I am sitting', *ma nami* 'you are sitting', *e imi* 'he is sitting', *mi dimi* 'we two are sitting' (inclusive), *wi neis nami* 'they two are sitting', *wi gair namredi* 'they all are sitting' (JT). The simple forms of *-mri-* are: *ma emri* 'you sit down', *ma imri* 'you set him down' (imperative), *wi bamri* or *emredi* 'they are sitting' (cf. 7.8.), *wi gair bamri* (idem), *ka abi amrilu* 'I will set him down', *e kari namrida* 'he is putting me down', *ka abi imrida* 'I am putting him down', *ma kari amri* 'you put me down' (imperative), *ma kerbi neis dimri* 'you put us two' (exclusive) down', *ka emrida* 'I set down before', *ma, e emrida* 'you, he set down before' *lag lag namrilu* '(I) want to stop, live at ...' (JT), *mi namrilei* 'let us two sit down' (JT), *e imredi* 'he is sitting down', *wi imredi* 'they are ...', *mi demreder* 'we two sat down', *wa gair bamrare* 'you all are sitting down', *namridare* 'let us (many) sit down', *wa neis emrilam* 'you two sit down', *wa gair bamrare* 'you all sit down' (probably imperatives; JT), *wi neis emridariei* 'they two are sitting (?) down' (JT), *ma abi* (or *kebi werem*) *imri* 'you put him (or 'the little boy') down' (JT), *e kari namrida* 'he is putting me down' (JT), *ka abi imrida* 'I am putting him down' (JT), *ma kerbi gair demrare* 'you put us all (exclusive)

down' (JT). —The rather strange form *narge namidawa* might have to be analysed as **namida wa* 'you are sitting (in the boat)'; JT).

-rdar- 'see'

8.9. Of this stem imperfective forms (in *-e*) and perfective forms (in *-i*) have been recorded: *kaka taba mari nardare* 'I have come to see you' (JT; imperfective used in the intentional sense), *ka abi ardare* 'I come to see him' (JT; = *dasmere* ?), *dardare* 'he will see (them)' (JT); *dawitade* (ergative) *kari nardari* 'David saw me' (JT), *ka dawita* (properly *dawitai* ?) *erdari*, *ma dawita(i) erdari* 'I, you saw David' (JT); the absence of initial *d-* ('him') depends on the direct object being stated: 'David'; *n-*, on the other hand corresponds to English 'me, you', respectively). *dawitade mari nardari* 'David saw you' (JT), *dawitade merbi derdari* 'David saw us two' (inclusive, hence *d-*; JT) —stated nouns and pronouns consequently behave differently.

-reg- (-rg-) 'bite, eat (meat)'

8.10. The simple stem is seen in: *nargi* 'bit me' (*-i* perfective), *irgi* 'bit him', *tabude kari onareg* 'a snake will bite me' (JT), *tabude able le wereg* 'a snake will bite that man' (JT; notice no modal suffix with the *we*-form). An enlarged stem (in *-li-*) is imperfective: *ka lar eregli* 'I eat meat' (JT), *umaide lar eregli* 'the dog eats meat' (JT; notice no *d-* after a stated nominal object).

-ri- (-r-) 'drink'

8.11. Imperfective forms in *-rie* and *-rili* and perfective forms in *-ri* are recorded; forms in *-re* are irregular or depend on vowel leveling. The following forms have been recorded: *ka arie* 'I will drink' (object not expressed; JT), *kiki iriyei* 'we two drink' (JT), *kiki irieda* 'we (plural) drink', *ma narieda* 'you (? drink ?) plenty' (JT), *ma nole nariare* 'you do not drink plenty' (TD), *ma ere* 'you drink' (vowel leveling), *nole eri* 'don't drink', *iri* 'drink' (one cup; TD), *nari* 'drink plenty' (TD, imperatives); *ma able iri* 'you drink that' (JT), *ka emetu iri* 'I drank before' (JT; this verb does not seem to take personal *n-* or *d-*); *ka irili* (imperfective; JT), *ka ni ereli* 'I drink water' (TD), *ka (nano) sus ereli* 'I drink milk' (TD).

-ro (-rw-) 'eat (fruit, etc.)'

8.12. Imperfective forms in *-roe* and *-roli* are recorded and perfective forms in *-rwi*. The personal formatives *n-* and *d-* are not normally found. The following are examples: *ka eroe* 'I will eat', *naroe* '(I) will eat you', *aroei* 'we two are eating', *gair ma naroeda* 'you eat or have plenty' (TD), *mi lewer aroei* 'we two are eating' (JT), *ka mari naroe* 'I will eat you' (TD), *kiki erweda* (for *eroeda*) 'we (exclusive) eat' (JT); *irwi* '(I) ate before'; *ma ero* 'you eat' (imperative), *nole ero* 'don't eat', *gair ma naroeda* 'you eat plenty'; *ka eroli* 'I am eating' (JT) and similarly: *ma eroli*, *e eroli*, *umaide lewer eroli* 'the dog ate (our) food' (TD), *ma nole naroli* 'don't you eat plenty' (TD), *eroli* 'eat one' (TD). The following is not clear: *ma umerkak kari doge ero* 'you don't eat me' (TD).

-(r)sir- (-(r)ser-) 'do, make'

8.13. Of the simple stem imperfective forms in *-rsire* and imperative forms in *-rsir* are made: *darsire* 'I will make' or 'want to make', *ka nar kaka darsire* 'I will make a boat', *ka nar darsire* 'I want to make a boat', *ka lag lag nar darsire* 'I want to make a boat' (JT); *ma kara nar dirsir*

'you make me a boat', (JT; imperative), *ma (nole) nar dirsir* '(don't) you make me a boat', *dirsirda* 'made', *dirsirare* 'you all are going to make', *wa kara nar dirsirda* 'you made me a boat' (JT), *deser* 'made, did', *deserda*, idem (plural; BT), *wapi nalu derserli* 'what are you people doing?' (BT). —It is possible that *-r-* (which is missing in some forms) is a special formative (as in *-rdar-*; see 8.9.) and that the 'root' is *-ser-*.

-sm- (-smi-, -sme-) 'see'

8.14. It seems that forms in *-smili* (*-smeli*) are imperfective and forms in *-smir* (*-smer*) are perfective: *dasmeli* '(what) are you looking at?' or 'I am looking at', *ka nab dasmeli* 'I cannot find', *ka nari nasmeli* 'I can see you', *ma kari nasmeli* 'you can see me', *ki, wa dasmeli* 'we, you can see him', *ka nole wabi dasmeli* 'I do not see you' (MD), *e kari nasmili* 'he sees me', *e kerbi dasmeli* 'he sees us', *e merbi dasmeli*, idem (JT, MD), *nasmili* 'sees, can see' (MD), *ma dasmer* 'you look' (JT), *able le dasmer* 'look at that man' (JT), (*kari*) *nasmer* 'look at me' (JT), *dasmer* 'look at him' (JT), *kerbi, merbi dasmer* 'look at us' (JT), *ka emetu abi dasmir* 'I have seen before' (BT), *ma kari nasmir* 'you see me' (TD); *able le dasmerare* 'look at those men' (JT), *e kari nasmerer* 'he saw me yesterday' (JT), *ma nalu dasmerer* 'what did you see yesterday?' (JT), *ka mirem dasmere* 'I want to see' (JT), *ka dawita nasmere* (*dasmere* ?) 'I see David' (JT), *ka mari nasmere* 'I can see you' (TB), *dasmerare* 'look at them' (JT), *nasmerli* 'can see me' (= *nasmir*), *nasmirda, dasmirda* 'saw'.

-so- 'hear'

8.15. There seems to be an imperfective stem *-soli* and a perfective stem *-sor* (the latter used as imperative); *ka mari nasoli* 'I hear you' (JT), *ma kari nasoli* 'you hear me' (JT), *ka abi esoli* 'I hear him' (JT), *e kari nasoli* 'he hears me', *mi, ki abi esoli* 'we hear him' (JT), *wi merbi desoli* 'they hear us' (inclusive; JT); *ma kari nasor* 'you listen to me' (JT); imperative), *ka lag lag mari nasre* 'I want to hear you' (JT; for **nasore* ?).

-wer- 'to be, to have been'

8.16. Only one stem (*-wer-*) is recorded of this verb; the sense is always past: *ka, ma abgergerge gim gim nawer* 'I was (you were) sick yesterday', *dawer* 'he was' (JT), *mi dawer* 'we two were' (inclusive; JT), *wi ... dawer* 'they (two) were ...'; *ka, ma kebi werem nawer* '(when) I was, you were a little child' (JT). (Notice the same form—*nawer*—as for 'was yesterday'; see above.) —The plural form *urder* might be connected with *-wer-*: *wi, ki abgergerge gim gim urder* 'they (many), we were sick yesterday' (JT). Compare *uridli* 'are' (8.7.).

-zo- (with *i* 'cry') 'cry'

8.17. This verb stem is always combined with a noun stem *i* ('cry(ing)'), forming: *i- ... -zo-*. There seems to be an imperfective *-zoli* and a perfective (also imperative) *-zo* (*-zw-*): *iezoli* 'crying' (MD; the prefix vowel is always recorded *-e-*), *e iezoli* 'he is or was crying' (JT), *ma iezoli* 'you are or were crying' (JT); *ma nole iezo* 'don't you cry' (JT), *e iuezo* 'he is going to or wants to cry' (JT; notice that the intentional with *u-* (= *we-*; see 4.2; 7.5.) is combined with the perfective form, *-zo*); *wa ibazweda* 'you (plural) are crying' (JT), *iezweyei* 'crying' (MD; evidently a dual), 'both are crying' (JT), *wi ibazweda* 'they are crying' (JT).

Mer vocabulary

The following abbreviations of morphological terms are used:

<i>abl.</i>	ablative	<i>loc.</i>	locative
<i>acc.</i>	accusative	<i>neg</i>	negative
<i>adv.</i>	adverb(ial)	<i>n.</i>	noun, nominal
<i>all.</i>	allative	<i>pf.</i>	perfective
<i>caus.</i>	causative	<i>pers.</i>	person(al)
<i>conn.</i>	connective	<i>poss.</i>	possessive
<i>dem.</i>	demonstrative	<i>postp.</i>	postposition
<i>der.</i>	derivative	<i>pron.</i>	pronoun, pronominal
<i>erg.</i>	ergative	<i>rec.</i>	reciprocal
<i>interr.</i>	interrogative	<i>refl.</i>	reflexive
<i>ipf.</i>	imperfective	<i>v.</i>	verb(al)
<i>itr.</i>	intransitive	<i>voc.</i>	vocative

The figures refer to sections in the Morphology. The phonetic symbols are ranged in this order: a, b, d, ɗ, e, g, i, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, w, y, z.

A

-a- prefix vowel; 4.3-4.

abgergerge *adv.* yesterday or tomorrow (BT, JT); probably literally 'in that (i.e. the other) day'.

abi, abim *pers. pron.* (3.3.).

able *dem. pron.* (3.5-6).

ablilu *adv.* ?; **ablilu dasmir** you will look (BT); probably for **able lu** that thing.

abra *pers. pron.*; 3.3.

ad (aɗ, ade-) *n. erg.* **adede** God: **adede umele** or **umer kak** God cannot (see), **adede merbi dasmereda** God sees us (TD, MD).

adem *adv.* (toward the) outside (JT).

adge *adv.* outside (JT).

adlam *adv.* from outside (JT).

ama *n.* mother: **ama iba babi** mother and father (BT, MD, JT).

-ar plural *v. der. suffix* (7.7.).

ari *n.* ? a drink: **netat ari** one drink (JT), **ma abi ari ikuar** you give him drink (JT). —Compare **-ri-**.

atrapi: kukupi atrapi it is getting dark (JT).

au *n.* big: **au yaubir** big waves (BT), **au mut (mut)** big noise (BT). —Compare **aule**.

aule *n.* big man: **able aule** (or ***au li** 'is big' ?) he is big (JT).

B

-ba⁻¹ *v. der. prefix* (4.2; 7.2.).

-ba⁻² *v.* (8.1-2.): **ka umer kak naba** I am not going at all (TD).

babi *n.* father (JT).

babu *pers pron.*; 3.2.

badu *n.* native name of Mulgrave (Bardoo) Island (BT).

baimi *v.* ? stop: **ma i baimi** you stop crying (JT).

bakamu *v.* **bakiamu**

bakiamu- (**bakamu-**) *v.* go: **kimiar bakamu** the man went (BT), **e bakamuda** he is gone (TD), **ka nabakamulu** I am going (JT), **able le bakiamuda** he went (JT) **mi mabakiamule** we two are going (JT; exclusive ?), **wi obakiamulam** they two are going (JT), **ma merem bakiamu** you go to Murray Island (JT), **a dem bakiamuda** go out *or* away (JT).

bakir *n.* coin: **able bakir** that coin (JT).

-bamri- *v.* **-mi-**.

-baraigi- *v.* set (of the sun): **lim baraigidari** the sun sets (JT).

barki *n.* ? **kara erar barki** I am getting tired (JT).

-basm- *v.* (cf. 8.14.) look at oneself *or* one another: **ka babu basmili** I am looking at myself (JT), **ma(bu) basmer** you look at yourself (JT), **merbibu basmereriei** we two are looking at one another (JT), **wa nole wabu basmer** don't you look at one another (JT), **wi neis tababu basmereyei** they two are looking at one another (JT); **mabu basmir** looking at yourself (JT), **kakabu galasge basmiri** I am looking at myself in the mirror (JT), **ki basmerida** we all look at ourselves (JT).

baso- *refl. rec. v.* listen to oneself *or* to each other: **mabu basoli** you listen to yourself (JT), **mimi merbibu basreiryei** we two are listening to one another (JT), **wi gari tababu basreda** they all are listening to one another (JT), **emetu tababu basreda** listen to yourself (?) before (JT), **wi lag lag tababu obasolare** they want to listen to one another (JT).

-batager- *v. refl. rec.* talk to each other: **mir batagrei** (two) talking the language' (JT).

-batawirik- *v. refl. itr.* turn round: **ma batawirik** you turn round (JT; imperative), **e batawirikda** he turned round (JT), **e obatawirik** he will turn round (JT), **emetu ma, ki batawirikda** you, we all turned round before (JT).

bau *n.* 1. side of face *or* head, cheek; 2. side of a ship (JT).

-bazo- *v.* **-zo-**.

beizam (**beizami-**) *n.:* *erg.* **beizamide** shark: **beizamide kari nargi, abi irgi** the shark bit me, him (JT).

bu *pers. pron.* 3.2.

D

da- *pers. prefix.* 5.3.

-da¹ *plural suffix* 7.8.

-da² *preterit suffix* 6; 7.9.

dali *v.* **-li-**.

-dar *plural v. der. suffix* 7.10.

dasmir *v.* **-sm-**

dawita *n.:* *acc.* **dawitai**; *poss.* **dawitara** David: **adede dawitai dasmili** God sees David (MD), **dawitara meta** David's house (MD).

de- *pers. prefix* 5.4.

-de *erg. suffix* 2.2.

debe *n.* good: **debe meta** good *or* nice house (BT), **mara meta debe meta** your house is a good house (BT), **abli kimiar debele** (= **debe li** ?) that man is good (BT), **debe idim** good morning (JT).

debele *n.* a good man (?); cf. s.v. **debe**. —Compare **aule**.

demari *adv.* ? straight *or* like a target (sic; JT, BT).

di- *pers. prefix* 5.5.

dikmerkedi *v.* ? **able lu kari doge dikmerkedi** this thing is sitting on you (e.g. 'a fly'; JT).

doge *adv. postp.* on: **kari, mari, abi, merbi doge** on me, you, him, us, (JT).

E

- e¹** *pers. pron.* 3. 2-3.
e² *e-*; *dem. pron.* 3. 5-6.
-e *ipf. suffix* 6; 7. 11.
-e- *prefix vowel* 4.3., 5.
ebur *n.* fly (JT).
eged *n.* that one (BT).
egedge *adv.* here (BT).
egedlam(e) *adv.* from here or from home (BT).
-ei *dual suffix* 7.12.
-em *all. suffix or postp.* (2.2.) to: Oyster Key em to Oyster Key (BT).
emetu (metu) *adv.* before (JT).
erar (?) *v.* barki.
eso *n. adv.* thank you (from the western island language; BT): au esuan many thanks (BT).

G

- gair** *plural n. or adv.* many: **gair kimiar** (many) men (BT), **gair lar** 'many fish (TD), **wi gair le** (gairle) they all (JT).
galas *n. (loc. galasge)* mirror: **mamabu galasge basmer** look at yourself in the mirror (JT).
-gard- *v. (ipf. -garde; pf. -gardi)* turn: **wagede nar digardi** the wind turned the boat (JT), **nagarde** going to turn (JT), **wi able nar nagardeda** they are turning that boat (JT), **digardede** turned (?) (JT); **digardi** turn round (JT; imperative ?).
-ge *loc. suffix:* 2.2.: Cairn's Harbour ge at Cairn's Harbour.
ged (gede-, gedi-) *n. abl. gedlam; loc. gedge; all. gedem, gedim* island, land (i.e. the Polynesian **nuku**, Japanese **shima**) home, place: **na ged ma nali** from what island are you? (TD).
gemi *adv.* here (JT).
-ger- *v. ipf. -gre; pf. -geri, -gri;* (8.3.)
 1. turn; 2. set (a course), make for; 3.

chase: **egremar** turn around your face (to look) (BT), **nab ki digreda** we try hard for that place (BT).

- gerger** *n. loc gergerge* daytime (BT, JT).
gergerko *v. nerut.*
-gi *loc. suffix* 2.2.
gim *n.* sick, sickness: **ka gim gim nali** I am sick (JT), **able le gim gim dali** he is sick (JT), **kiki gim gim dali** (two people), **uridli** (a lot) we are sick (JT).
girgir *n.* thunder (JT).
gize *n. adv. ? all: able le gize wi kari nakuarda* they all gave me (JT).
gur (guri-) *n. erg. guride; loc. gurge; all. gurim, gur em* sea, salt water: **ma emetu gur egri** you finished swimming (JT).

I

- i** *n.* crying: **ma i baimi** you stop crying (JT), **au i big** crying (JT). —Compare **-zo-**.
-i¹ *acc. suffix* 2.2.
-i² *pf. suffix* 6; 7.13.
-i- *prefix vowel* 4.3, 6; 7.13.
iba *adv. conn.* both, and: **ama iba babi** (both) mother and father.
idim *n.* morning: **debe idim** good morning (JT).
-ir *v. der. suffix* 7.14.
-is- *v.* take (?): **ismili** take one (TD), **ma gair ais** you take it all (imperative), **able naisa** he took all (TD; 7.3).

K

- ka** *pers. pron.* 3.2-3.
-ka *v. der. suffix* 7.15.
kak *adv.* 1. straight; 2. very; 3. at all: **au kak kale** very big (JT), **ka umer kak naba** I am not going at all (TD), — Compare **nat**.

kaka, kakabu *pers. pron.* 3.2.

kale *v.* **kak**.

kape *pers. pron.* 3.3.

kar *v.* **nula**.

kara, kari *pers. pron.* 3.3.

-kas-¹ *v.* swim: **netat lar nige ikase** one fish swims in the water (TD), **ka nakase** I swim (TD), **gair lar nakasir** many fish swim (TD), **neis lar nakase** two fish swim (TD)

-kas-² *v.* cook: **lar dikasir** fish is cooking (? TD), **netat lar dikasir** one fish is cooking (? TD).

-ka(w)- *v.* 8.4.

-ke- *v.* do: **ikeli** doing (BT), **e ikeli** that one did it (BT).

kebi *n.* little, small, young: **kebi neur** little girl, **kebi werem** little boy, **kebi le** young people (BT).

kensaba *n.* Cairn's Harbour.

-kepw- *v. ipf.* **kepwoli** think: **ma nalu dikepwoli** what are you thinking about? (JT), **ka abi dikepwoli** I am thinking about him (JT), **e dikepwoli** he is thinking about her (JT).

kerbi *pers. pron.* 3.3.

keriba, kereba *pers. pron.* 3.3.

ki¹ *n.* night: **debe ki** good night, **kige at** night (JT).

ki² *pers. pron.* 3.2-3.

kiki *pers. pron.* 3.3.

kimiar (kimiare-) *n. erg.* **kimiarede** man: **abli kimiarede** deser this man did or made it (BT).

kikem *adv.* long ago: **ka abi kikem erdari** I saw him long ago (JT).

kiriba *pers. pron.* 3.3.

ko, -ko- *adv.* again.

kole *n.* white people: **wa kole** you two are white people (JT), **wa gair kole** you all (JT).

koma *adv.* back, again. —Compare **ko**.

kor *n.* 1. back; 2. stern (JT).

korider *adv.* ? **ma korider emri** you run-go (*sic*; JT).

kosker (koskel, koskir) *n.* woman: **na koskir ma nali** what (kind of) woman are you? (JT).

-kuali- *v.* feed, give to eat or drink: **e werem lewer ikuali** she is feeding the child (JT), **e werem lewer ikuari** she fed the child, **ma abi ari ikuar** you give him drink (JT; perhaps the same verb as **-kua(r)-** (q.v.).

-kua(r)- *v.* 8.5.

-kuei- *v.* 8.6.

kuelli- *v. caus. ipf.* **kuelli** stand or raise up: **e abi ekueili** he is standing him up (JT), **e kari nakueili** he is standing me up, **e mari nakueili** he is standing you up (JT), he tried to make me, you stand up; the perfective mode is expressed by forms of **-kuei-** (q.v.).

kukupi *v.* **atrapu**.

L

lag lag *adv.* smell sweet, like, wish, want: **ka mari lag lag nasmir** I want to see you (BT), **abli lag lag ma nali** he wants you (? BT), **ka lag lag lar** I want food (JT).

laip *n.* ear(s) (BT).

-lam¹ *abl. suffix* 2.2.

-lam² *v. der. suffix* 7.16.

lar *n.* 1. fish; 2. meat, food (cf. Austronesian **ikan**).

le *n. erg.* **lede** man, people: **able le** these or those people, **lede nakaurerti** people (three or four) took (her) away (TD).

-le *v. der. suffix* 4.2.; 7.17.

lewer *n.* food: **ka lag lag lewer** I want food (BT).

-li *v. der. suffix* 7.18.

-li- *v.* 8.7.

lim (limi-) *n. erg.* **limide**; *loc.* **lim ge**; *all.* **limem** sun (JT).

-lu *v. der. suffix* 4.2; 7.19.

M

-m *all. suffix* 2.2.

ma *pers. pron.* 3.2-3.

mabiyog *n.* Jervis Island (BT and Eveline Weasel).

mabu *pers. pron.* 3.2.

malamala *n.* window (JT).

mama *pers. pron.* 3.2-3.

mamur *adv.* can (?): **ka mari mamur nasmir** I can see you (BT).

mape *pers. pron.* 3.3.

mara *pers. pron.* 3.3.

mari *pers. pron.* 3.3.

-marik- *v.* put, push, chuck: **ma able nar gurem emarik** you put ('chuck') the boat into the water (JT).

mayem *adv.* come close here (i.e. good day, hello, etc.; BT).

meb (mebe-) *n. abl. meblam; loc. mebge; all. mebem* moon (JT).

mer (mere-) *n. abl. merlam; loc. merge; all. merem* Murray Island (TD, JT).

merbi, merbibu, merbim *pers. pron.* 3.3.

meriam *n.* Murray Island man *or* people: **meriam mir** Mer, the Murray Island language (BT, JT), also = **mer** (q.v. ?), **meriam le** Murray Islander (JT), **ma meriam nali** *or* **ma nali meriam** *or* **meriam ma nali** you are a Murray Islander (JT).

meriam le *n. erg. meriam lede* Murray Islander (= **meriam**; JT).

mereba, meriba *pers. pron.* 3.3.

merle *n.* Murray Islander: **ka, ma, e merle** I, you, he (am, are, is) a Murray Islander (JT), **wi, mi gair merle** they, we (many) are Murray Islanders (JT).

meta (mita ?) *n. poss. metara; abl. metalam; loc. metagi, metage; all. metaem* house, home: **kara, abra meta**

my, his house *or* **home** (JT), **metara tot** the top of the house (JT), **metalam bakamu** I am going from home (BT), **ka kara metagi nami** I am sitting in my house (BT).

metu *v. emetu.*

mi *pers. pron.* 3.2-3.

-mi- (-mri-) *v.* 8.8.

nimi *pers. pron.* 3.2.

mir *n.* language (JT), Murray Island language (TD).

mirem *adv.* want: **ka mirem dasmere** I want to see (him) (JT).

mise *adv.* perhaps, if, when (?): **mise ma takomer ma kari umerem natager** when you come back you tell me *or* let me know (JT).

-mri- *v.* -mi-.

mua *n.* the native name of Bank's Island (Moa).

mud *n.* shadow, shade (BT).

muigi *adv.* inside: **muigi nami** sitting inside (BT); cf. Saibai **muysi** inside (also fire).

muris *adv.* far away: **au murisem** at a great (long) distance (BT), **muris gedlam** from far away (BT).

mut (mut mut) *n.* noise (BT).

N

na (na-) *interr. pron.* 3.7.

na-¹ *plural der. prefix* 4.2.; 7.3.

na-² *pers. prefix.* 5.2.

nab *adv.* try: **ma nab ikeli** you try to make it (BT), **ka nab dasmeli** I cannot find (it) (JT).

nade *interr. adv.* where: **nade dali** where is he? (BT).

naka *interr. adv.* how?: **naka ma nali** how are you? (JT).

nako *interr. adv.* how?: **ma nako ma nali** how are you? (JT).

nalu *interr. pron.* 3.7.

nalugem *interr. adv.* why?: **nalugem** **iezoli** why does he cry? (TD).

naluglam *interr. adv.* why?: **wapi naluglam eblini wa ikawerti** why did you fellows take Eveline away? (BT).

namidawa *v.* 8.8.

nano *n.* breast: **nano sus** milk (TD).

nar (**nari-**) *n. poss.* **narira**; *abl.* **narlam**; *loc.* **narge** boat, ship: **able narira op, bau, kor** the prow, side, stern of that ship (JT), **narge namidawa** sitting in the boat (cf. 8.8.), **narlam eupama** getting off or jumping out of the boat.

nat *adv.* **nat kak** straight (BT, JT).

neis *n.* two: **neis neis netat** five (BT), **neis lar** two fish(es) (TD), **neis le** two men (JT), **neis a netat** three (JT; **neis** and **netat** ?).

nerut *n.* another: **nerut gergerko** tomorrow (BT).

netat *n.* one: **netat le** one man (BT, JT).

nete *interr. pron.* 3.7.

neti *interr. pron.* (= **nete**, q.v.): **mi neti badali** who are we two? (JT).

neur *n.* daughter, girl: **kara neur** my daughter (BT), **kara neure** (**neur e**; *idem. voc.*; BT), **kebi neur** little girl.

ni *n. loc.* **nige** water, fresh water (BT, TD, JT): **lar nige ikasei** fish (two or three) swim in water (TD).

nole *neg. adv.* no, not: **nole** don't (JT), **wa nule** (= **nole**) **abi ikawerti** you (plural) don't take her away (BT).

nula kar nothing (JT).

O

o- *v. der. prefix* 4.2.

oistaki *n.* Oyster Key (near Cairns; JT).

-osme- *v.* **-usme-**.

omai (**umai**) *n. erg.* **umaide** dog: **netat, neis omai** one, two dog(s) (JT).

op *n.* 1. face; 2. prow: **abra op** its face (i.e. of the wind; BT), **mara op** your face (BT), **keriba op** our face or prow (JT).

P

papa *n.* father (MD). —Compare **babi**.

pe (?): **nete pe ma nali** who is she? (TD).

-pe- *v.* lie down: **e ipe** he is lying down (JT).

peirdi *adv.* just now (JT).

poni *n. all.* **poniem** eye(s) (BT, JT). —Compare **puni**.

puni *n.* eye(s): **au puni** (JT), **au puni puni** (BT) big eyes. —Compare **poni**.

R

-r *v. der. suffix* 7.22.

-ra *poss. suffix* 2.2.

-ra- *v. der. infix* 4.2.; 7.6.

-rar *v. der. suffix* 7.20.

-rdar- *v.* 8.9.

-rder- ? *v.* be (?): **wi urder** they (many) were (JT), **ki ... urder** we were (many people) (JT). —Compare **-wer-**.

-rdi- *v. caus* make lie down: **ma abi irdi** make him lie down (JT).

-reg- (**-rg-**) *v.* 8.10.

-ri- (**-r-**) *v.* 8.11.

-ro- (**-rw-**) *v.* 8.12.

-rsir- (**-rser-**) *v.* 8.13.

S

sager *n.* southeast wind (BT); the same word is used in this sense in Saibai.

-semu- *v.* finish: **kara gim emetu esemuda** my sickness finished, i.e. I was sick (JT).

sep *n. loc.* **sepge** ground: **mi sepge dimi** we two are sitting on the ground (JT).

-ser- v. **-rsir-**.

sikak *adv.* very well *or* all right (JT).

-sm- (**-smi-**, **-sme-**) v. 8.14.

-sme-, **-smi-** v. **-sm-**.

-so- v. 8.15.

sogi *n. loc.* **sogige** grass: **ma sogige ekuei** you stand up on the grass (JT; imperative).

sogob *n.* a smoke (JT).

sus *n.* **nano sus** milk (TD). —Compare **nano**.

susri *n.* rainbow (JT).

T

t- v. *der. prefix* 7.4.

taba v. come: **kaka taba** I have come (JT), **karim taba** coming to me (JT).

tababu *pers. pron.* 3.2.

tabu *n. erg.* **tabude** snake: **tabude kari nargi, abi irgi** the snake bit me, him (JT).

tag *n.* hand (BT).

tagai *n.* the Southern Cross (BT, JT).

-tager- v. *ipf.* **tagre**; *pf.* **tagri** tell: **natager** tell me (JT), **ka mari natagre** I will tell you (JT), **ka mari natagri** I told you (JT).

takome- v. come back: **takomer** come back (JT), **kaka takomeda** I will come back (JT).

-tar- v. pick up: **ka etarda** *or* **etarda ka** I picked it up (JT), **ma etaru** you pick it up (JT), **ataruklu** going to pick up (JT).

-tawirik- v. turn round: **ma detawirik** you turn it round (JT), **ka datawiriklu** I will turn it (JT), **ka datawirikda** I turned it round (JT), **ma chair detawirik** you turn the chair round (JT), **ka able datawiriklu** I want to turn that (JT), **kaka detawirikda** I turned it round (JT), **emetu ma detawirikda** you turned it round before (JT).

teter (titir) *n.* leg (BT).

tikau v. (7.4; cf. 8.4) bring, give: **ma kari ni tikau** give me water (TD).

-timed- v. push, chuck: **ma able nar gurim itimed** you 'chuck' that boat (JT), **ka able nar gurim atimedlu** I will 'chuck' the boat into the water (JT).

-tome- v. show: **natomer** show me (JT), **ka mari natomeda** I will show you (JT), **ka mari natomelu** I want to show you (JT), **natomer kari** show (it) to me (JT), **ka mari emetu natomeda** I showed you before (JT).

tot *n.* top (JT).

U

u- v. *der. prefix* 4.2.

umai v. **omai**.

umele, umer v. *adv.* ? cannot: **ka umer kak naba** I am not going at all (TD), **wa umele kari nasmili** you cannot see me (TD).

umerem v. *adv.* ? : **mise ma takomer ma kari umerem natager** when you come back you tell me *or* let me know (JT). —Compare **mirem** (?).

-upama- v. jump off, get off: **narlam eupama** jumping out of the boat.

ur *n.* fire (BT, JT).

uridli v. see 8.7.

-usme- (**-osme-**) v. be born: **kaka eusmeda merge** I was born on Murray Island (JT), **kak(a) merge eosmeda, idem** (JT).

-uwe- v. burn: **limide mari nauweli** the sun burned you (JT).

W

wa *pers. pron.* 3.2-3.

waba *pers. pron.* 3.3.

wabi *pers. pron.* 3.3.

wabu *pers. pron.* 3.2.

wag (wage-) *n. erg.* **wagede** wind: **sager wagede** the southeast wind (JT).

wapi *pers. pron.* 3.3.

wau (**wawu**) *adv.* yes: **wau** (BT),
wa(w)u (JT).

wayi *adv.* oh!: **wayi eblina** Oh! Eveline
(BT).

we- *v. der. prefix* 4.2.; 7.5.

wer *n.* star(s) (JT).

-wer- *v.* 8.16.

werem (**wereme-**) *n. erg.* **weremede**
boy, child: **kebi werem** little boy, **kebi**
weremde nano sus ereli the child is
having the breast, a feed (TD).

wi *pers. pron.* 3.2-3.

Y

yaba, yabi *pers. pron.* 3.3.

yagar yagar *n.* (= 'poor fellow' in Saibai),
the name of a language in the western
Torres Strait group (BT).

yaubir *n.* wave(s) (BT).

yawali *n.* paper, book (JT).

yawo *adv.* good-bye (the same used in
answering; BT).

Z

-zo- *v.* 8.17.

SAIBAI

1. This language which is also known by the name of *yagar yagar* is an Australian language spoken chiefly on the island of Saibai (not far from the New Guinea coast), but also on Badu, Moa (St. Paul's island), Jervies and others of the western group of Torres Strait islands.

Informants

2. Mr John Bagasti (JB), near Tully, Queensland;
Mr Mark Miller (MM), near Tully (with JB);
Mrs Baimad Madua (BM), at Silk Wood, north of Tully;
Mrs Keriz Gagai (KG), at Silk Wood.

Phonology

3.1. The Saibai phonetic system is broadly of New Guinea type. The vowel phonemes are: *a*, *e*, *i*, *u* and *ə* (the latter like English 'u' short). Vowel length is insignificant, monosyllabic forms often having a lengthened vowel sound: *ŋa* 'who?', *za* 'thing', *tu* 'smoke', *mud* 'house', *nel* 'name', *ŋar* 'leg' (*bubu* 'charcoal', with long vowels, may be interpreted as a reduplicated *bu bu*).

The consonant phonemes are the following:

- b* a bilabial voiced plosive (as in English);
- d* a dental voiced plosive (more or less as in English);
- ɖ* a retroflex voiced plosive (Hindi type);
- g* a palatal-velar plosive (as in English);
- ŋ* a palatal-velar nasal (as English 'ng');
- k* a palatal-velar voiceless plosive (as in English);
- l* a lateral continuant (as in French or Italian);
- m* a bilabial nasal (as in English);
- n* a dental nasal (as in English);
- p* a bilabial voiceless plosive (as in English);
- r* a trilled continuant (as in Italian);
- s* a voiceless sibilant (as in English);

- t* a dental voiceless plosive (more or less like English 't');
- ʈ* a retroflex voiceless plosive (like Hindi ʈ);
- w* a bilabial semivowel (like English 'w');
- y* a palatal semivowel (like English 'y' in 'yes');
- z* a voiced sibilant (basically the English 'z'; cf. below).

Phonetic variants

3.2. Among vowel phonemes, an *o*- sound may take the place of a basic *u*: (*wu*)*tə*- ~ (*w*)*u**tə* 'sleep' (also cf. Saibai *pok* or *puk*, from English 'fork'). The sound of *ə* has many variants, especially before *y*: *buy* or *bəy* ('comes'; KG), *gayga* or *geyga* for *gəyga* 'sun' (that is assimilation to English 'i', among bilingual speakers). The diphthong *ai* (*ay*) may appear as *ei* (*ey*): *ɲeimun* ~ *ɲaymun* 'we'.

3.3. The sound of *z* alternates with that of *dʲ* or *dz*: *dza* for *za* 'thing'. A palatal *n* (*ɲ*) seems to occur as a variant of *ŋ* before *i*: *ɲinu* for *ɲinu* 'your', etc. For *p* the sound of English 'f' is occasionally used: *yifika* for *yəpka(z)* 'woman' (KG), *fandʲa* for *panza* 'cabbage tree' (JB). Before an initial *i*- the semivowel *y*- may appear (*yidima*- ~ *idima*- 'break') and before an initial *u*- the bilabial semivowel (*w*) may appear: *wutu*- ~ *utu*- 'kill'. Initial *y*- may occasionally appear as *dʲ*:- *dʲabugud* for *yabugud* 'road'. A retroflex (or non-trilled) 'r' sound has been found in *baɽiya* 'the Barrier Reef' (representing the English pronunciation).

3.4. Words and syllables may begin either with a vowel or a consonant phoneme, but according to the tendency mentioned in 3.3. a semivowel may appear in front of *i* or *u*, as in: *puyi* ~ *pui* 'tree'. (Incidentally, the termination of such a form as *puyi* cannot be effectively distinguished from that of, for instance, *bəj* 'comes'; hence, is 'great' actually *kəj* or *kəi* or even *kəyi*?). No word seems to begin with *ə*-.

3.5. Originally dissyllabic vowel-ending forms may appear apocopated: *ɲar* 'leg' (cf. Gugu-Bujun *ɲari*, idem). Sometimes alternative forms are found: *nuid(i)* 'he' (ergative). In this way may be explained *gub* 'wind' beside *guba*- in the ergative *gubanu* ('the wind'); also compare *daɲabut* (from *daɲ*, in section 4.1.). The same suffix (*-nu*) may further appear as *-n* (*guban* = *gubanu*) and, similarly, in the conjugation, where the perfective *-nu* may appear as *-n* (cf. *manu* 'took' and (*y*)*idiman* 'broke').

Morphology

Nominal stems and derivation

4.1. Nominal stems seem—as in most cases in the Australian languages—to be basically dissyllabic. For apocopation of final vowels, compare in 3.5. Stems may be compound (or juxtaposed), sometimes serving to express a possessive relation (cf. 4.3.), as in : *daɲabut* 'gap between teeth' (cf. *daɲ* 'teeth' and section 3.5.), *malu wapi* (*maluwapi*) 'sea fish', *dawita lagunu* 'in David's home or place'.

4.2. The following nominal derivative suffixes have been noted: *-gal* (collective ?), *-giŋa* (caritive), *-kaz* (diminutive ?), *-lŋa* (attributive) and *-z(i)* (diminutive ?). The collective *-gal* may appear in *mabaigal* 'people' (cf. *mabaig* 'person'). The attributive *-lŋa* and the caritive *-giŋa* are clear in: *daŋalŋa* 'having teeth' (*daŋ*) and *daŋagiŋa* 'without teeth' (cf. 3.5). The suffix *-kaz* (which may rather be personalising or individualising) is noted in: *garkaz* 'man', *yəpkaz* 'woman', *muginakaz* 'baby'—all without parallel primitive forms. The suffix may be compared to Saibai *kazi* 'little'. The final sound (*-z(i)*) appears to be a suffixed element in consideration of the existence of a parallel form in *-ka* (Jervice island): *garka* 'man', *yəpka* 'woman' (KG).

Declension

4.3. In Saibai four clear case forms have been recorded: an ergative (in *-n(u)*, *-u*), a locative (in *-nu*), an ablative (in *-ŋu*) and an allative (in *-pa*). It seems that the ergative and locative (also having a possessive function) are expressed by the same suffix: *gubanu* ('the wind', ergative), *purkanu* ('in (my) eye'), *dawitan mud* ('David's house'; possessive). The ablative is seen in: *ŋau purkaŋu* 'out of my eye', *məlpalŋu* 'from the moon', the allative in: *məlpalpa* 'to the moon'. The difference between *-n(u)* and *-u* (in various functions) is not clear: *garkazu* 'the man's' and *garkazin* 'the man (made it)' (ergative).

Article (?)

4.4. An affixed *-u* appears to have the function of classifying article (by analogy with the Austronesian languages) in such forms as: *yinau* 'this man' (cf. *yina* 'this woman'), *mudau* 'the house' (*mud*), *gubau* 'the wind' (*gub*). In other cases, *-u* is the possessive suffix (see in 4.3.); it is not likely that *-u* is a masculine article in: *yəpkazu lag* 'the woman's house'. See further in Demonstrative pronouns (4.7.).

Personal pronouns

4.5. There are personal pronouns for the three persons in the singular, dual and plural and further different forms in the third person singular, according to whether reference is to a masculine or a non-masculine noun. The recorded forms are the following:

1st person singular:

nom.	<i>ŋai</i>
erg.	<i>ŋat</i>
poss.	<i>ŋau</i>
acc.	<i>ŋana</i>
dat.	<i>ŋayka</i>
all.	<i>ŋapa; ŋayapa</i>

1st person dual:

nom.	<i>ŋalpan, ŋalmun, ŋalamun</i>
poss.	<i>ŋaban; ŋalpan (ŋaban, ŋalpan lag 'our home'; a compound?)</i>

1st person plural:

- nom. *ɲura* (*ɲalmun, ɲalamun, itr.; ɲaymun*)
 poss. *mura* (probably *ɲura: mura lag* 'our home', a compound?)

2nd person singular:

- nom. *ɲi* (*ńi, ńi-*; cf. 3.3.); *ɲin* (KG; originally **i, *i-*).
 erg. *ɲid*
 poss. *ɲinu* (*ɲinu lag* 'your home')
 acc. *ɲin* (KG), *ɲi* (JB)

2nd person dual:

- nom. *ɲipil; ɲipen* (*ɲipel*)
 poss. *ɲipil* (*ɲipil lag* 'your home'; a compound)

2nd person plural:

- nom. *ɲita*
 poss. *ɲitamun* (*ɲitamun lag* 'your home')

3rd person singular masc. ('he'):

- nom. *nui*
 erg. *nuid(i)*
 poss. *nuru*
 acc. *nuin*

3rd person singular non-masc. ('she')

- nom. *na*

3rd person dual:

- nom. *palai* (intransitive)

3rd person plural:

- nom. *tana* (itr.)
 poss. *tanamun* (*tanamun lag* 'their place, home')

Demonstrative pronouns

4.6. The basic demonstrative stems are: *yina* 'this, here', as in: (*y*)*ina purkanu muinu* 'here is (my) eye', and *se-, sa-* 'that; there'. Of the former no other case form has been recorded; of the latter a nominative (in *-na*) and an allative (in *-pa*) are found:

- nom. *senā, sana; sei* (*sei arkat* 'that hollow' or 'there is a hollow')
 all. *sepa*

4.7. Both stems may be extended by means of a syllable *-bi* (of which the function is not clear): *yinabi yabuguḍ* 'this road', *yinabi lag* 'this house', *senabi* 'that one' (JB), *senabi lag* 'that house'.

4.8. These demonstrative stems may be further specified by an affixed (or infix) masculine article (-u): *yinau* 'this (man)', *senau* 'that (man)'; hence: *senau garkaz* 'that man', but *sena puyi* 'that tree', *sena za* 'that thing', *sena mar* 'take that'; further: *senau bəy* 'he comes there'. The article appears between the stem (*yina-*) and the extension (-*bi*) in: *yinaubi garkaz* 'this man', but: *yinabi yəpkaz* 'this woman', *yinabi yabugud* 'this road'. A shorter form is *senub*: *senub garka ŋa* 'who is that man?' (KG).

Interrogative-indefinite pronouns

4.9. Two interrogative-indefinite stems are used: *ŋa-* (personal: 'who?') and *mi-* (impersonal: 'what?'). They are inflected according to the model of nouns or personal pronouns:

The personal *ŋa-* 'who?':

nom.	<i>ŋa</i>
erg.	<i>ŋad</i>
poss.	<i>ŋunu, ŋunuŋa</i> (<i>ŋunu za</i> 'whose thing?')

Plural:

nom.	<i>ŋaya</i> (<i>ŋita ŋaya</i> 'who are you?'; three or four)
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Dual:

nom.	<i>ŋawal</i> (<i>ŋipel ŋawal</i> 'who are you two?')
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The impersonal *mi-* 'what?':

nom.	<i>mi</i>
all.	<i>mipa</i>

4.10. The form *ŋa* is said to be used for 'what?' also. In any case, it is used when asking for a person's *name* (which latter is consequently a *personal* noun): *ŋinu* (*ŋinu*) *nel ŋa* 'what is your name?', literally 'who is your name?' or 'your name who?'. Similarly *lag* 'home': *ŋa lagupa* 'whither?' ('to who camp?'). The form *miza* 'what?' is to be explained as *mi za* 'what thing?': *yina miza* (*mi za*) 'what is this?'. Another alternative form (used by KG) is *miai* 'what?' (e.g. *sena za miai* 'what is that thing?'). The allative form (*mipa*) is used (like the common Australian *miŋagu*, etc.) in the sense of 'what for?' or 'why?'.

Verbal stems and derivation

5.1. Verbal stems always end in a vowel: *ma-* 'take', (*y*)*ima-* 'see', (*y*)*idi-* 'break' (intransitive), *tari-* 'run', *sagu-* 'play'. They may be derived by suffixed syllables, of which the following two have been recorded: *-ma-* (probably causative) and *-ri-* (intransitive, in various shades of meaning).

5.2. **The causative -ma-**. This is the probable function of *-ma-* (as in most Queensland languages; also cf. *ma-* 'take'). It occurs in (*y*)*idima-* 'break' (if originally 'make break'); probably also in *aima-* 'make' (primitive stem not recorded).

5.3. **The intransitive -ri-**. In the Queensland languages this derivative element expresses various intransitive senses (reflexive, reciprocal, incipient, etc.). It seems to occur in Saibai: *tari-* 'run' (if the stem is *ta-* 'go'), *uzari-* 'go' or 'come' (primitive stem *uza-*, *idem*).

Modal conjugation

5.4. In the modal conjugation of the verb the four basic mood forms (imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional) may be fairly well established (especially by comparison with some of the Cape York languages).

5.5. **The imperative**. Originally the imperative is the verbal stem, as seen in: *uza* 'come' (*ŋin ŋapa uza* 'you come to me'; KG). It is found with the extension *-ya* (as in some Cape York languages) in: *bəya* 'come' (stem *bə-*; JB), *ŋi uzariya* 'you go' (JB). The most common extension is, however, the termination *-r*: *aimar* 'make', *patar* 'cut', *mar* 'take', *idimar* 'break', (*y*)*imar* 'look, see', *ŋi sagur* 'you play (music)', *wutur* 'kill'. This unusual termination may simply copy Queensland English phonetics ('idea-r', etc.), to which parallels are found elsewhere.

5.6. **Imperfective**. By analogy with certain of the Cape York languages, it seems safe to establish the 'nominaliser' *-y* (added to the verbal stem) as an exponent of the imperfective mood (or aspect). It occurs in the following forms: *bəy* (*buy*; KG) 'comes, is coming' (stem *bə-*, *bu-*), *nui wuŋui* 'he is asleep', *ŋalmun tari* (for **tariy*) 'we two run'. The final *-y* is either suppressed after a stem-final *-i-* (**tariy* > *tari*) or modified to *-z* (cf. 3.3.): *uzariy* > *uzariz* 'going'.

5.7. **Perfective**. As in some Cape York languages, the perfective 'nominaliser' is *-n-* (with or without a case suffix); in Saibai this suffix is *-u* (which, however, may be apocopated; see 3.5.), whence the perfective mood ends in *-nu* (alternatively *-n*), incidentally the same as the locative case suffix in the nominal declension (see 4.3.).

5.8. As the terminating *-u* is rather *ablative* than locative in the Australian languages, a perfective form in *-nu* would according to this rather mean 'from or off being, etc.' (cf. English 'to be off smoking or drinking', as the expression of a completed or finished action). The following forms illustrate this: *manu* 'took' (stem *ma-*), *idiman* 'broke', *tayanu* 'threw or throw'. As seen, past tense is not always expressed (while the action is completed): (*y*)*iman* means both 'see' and 'saw', *malilan pagan* 'hit with a spear' is rendered by 'spearing' (completed action; cf. *wutun* 'spearing, killing'; cf. *tayanu* above).

5.9. **Intentional**. As usual, the intentional mood or aspect is expressed by the allative suffix (in Saibai *-pa*), added to the nominaliser *-y-*, whereby the termination *-ypa* arises (added to the verbal stem). The following forms are intentional: (*y*)*imaypa* '(come) to see (you)', *ubin kaɟaypa* 'want to go', *maypa* 'to take', *ŋai ubin miepa uŋuypa* 'I want to sleep'. Notice the common Australian construction with an allative and intentional in: *ubin sepa maypa* 'want to take that' (literally 'want that *for* to take' or 'longs *for* that, *for* to take').

5.10. Several other modal forms are recorded from Saibai (many of which are not clear as to their function). A *gerundial* form in *-l* (common in Cape York languages) seems clear in: *dadal* 'sitting', *giriəl* 'dancing' (?). Saibai forms in *-ygi* (apocopated *-yg*) are particularly interesting.

Their most common function is prohibitive, as in: *idimayg* 'don't break' (stem *-idima-*), *sena maygi* 'do not take that', *mapuidayg* 'don't sing', *nəgayg* 'don't look', *wutuyg* 'don't kill'. The sense is, however, also negative, as in: *imaygina* 'has never seen me' (cf. 5.12). A rather similar form in *-yk(i)* expresses (1) performed action (*aimayk* 'made') or (2) potential action (*imaykŋa* 'I can see (a man)'). —Other verbal forms (not to be explained) will be found in the Saibai vocabulary.

Personal conjugation

5.11. There seem to be traces of a personal conjugation in Saibai, analogous to the one found in Birri and Kantyu (both in north-eastern Queensland). Mutilated forms of the personal pronouns may be suffixed to a modal verb form, to express either a subject or object of the verbal action. The following elements would belong to this category: *-ŋa* ('I'; cf. *ŋai, ŋat*), *-na* ('me'; cf. *ŋana*), *-in* (?) ('you' ?; cf. *ŋin* 'you'), *-na* ('we'; cf. common Australian *ŋana* 'we' —incidentally, the above suffixed forms are closely similar to those used in Kantyu). Forms of the personal conjugation are found in: *imaykiŋa* 'I can see' (cf. 5.10.), *imaygina* 'has never seen me' (cf. 5.10.), *ŋalmun tari(y)na* 'we are running', *ŋi yina mipa manin* 'why did you take this?' (?).

Auxiliary verb forms

5.12. Forms analogous to suffixed auxiliary verb forms common in the languages of north-eastern Australia seem to occur in Saibai as well (although mostly difficult to analyse). Two apparently progressive (?) forms, one in *-ka* (common as an auxiliary verb, 'to be' in Australian languages) and one in *-ulayke* (possibly containing the same element *-ka*, in the form *-ke*). The former (*-ka*) occurs in: *ŋai, nui uzarika* 'I am, he is going'; the second one is found in: *guban nurulayke* 'the wind is making a noise' (incidentally, *ulayke* is explained by informants to mean 'walk' or 'go for'), *ŋeimun paurulayke* 'we are swimming'.

Vocabulary

Order of phonetic symbols: *a, b, d, ɗ, e, g, ŋ, i, k, l, m, n, p, r, (r̥), s, t, ʈ, u, ə, w, y, z.*

A

abal *n.* name of a tree (JB).

abli *n.* **able** the name of the Murray and Danby island language (JB).

adapada *v. adv.* ?; **ŋi adapada** you come out (JB).

aɗia *adv.* outside (JB); (KG has **adia**)

agaturik *n. erg.* **agaturikan** axe (JB).

aima- *v. imp.* ? **aima**; *ipf.* **aimar** (KG);
pf. **aimayk** make: **nuid (ɗawita)**
gagai aima he (David) made (?) the
bow (KG), **nuid ŋayka aimayk**
gagai he made the bow for me (KG).

arkat *n.* hole or hollow (in a tree; JB).

atapa *adv.* ?; **atapa ŋau purka ...**
maypa to take it out of my eye (JB).
—Compare **adapada**.

B

- bagasti** *n.* family name (JB).
baŋal *adv.* tomorrow (JM).
baimad *n.* a feminine given name.
bariya (**bar-**) *n.* the Barrier Reef (JB):
adia bariya outside the Barrier Reef (KG).
bataiŋa *n.* morning: **kapu bataiŋa** good morning (JB), **baŋal bataiŋa** tomorrow morning (MM)
-bi *pron. suffix.* 4.7.
binibin *n.* drinking cup (JB).
bu- *v.* **bə-**.
bubu (**bu bu**) *n.* charcoal (KG).
bup *n.* wood *or* tree (JB).
but *n.* gap (between teeth; JB).
bə- (**bu-**, KG) *v. imp.* **bəya**; *ipf.* **bəy** come: **ŋi bəya** you come (JB), **nui buy** he is coming (KG).

D

- dada-** *v. ger.* **dadal** sit: **ŋai dadal ŋipi ŋipen** I am sitting between you two (JB).
daŋ (**daŋa-**) *n.* teeth (JB).
daŋabut *n.* gap between teeth (JB).
daŋagiŋa *car. n.* without teeth (JB).
daŋalŋa *attr. n.* having teeth (JB).
dan (**dan** ?) *n.* eye (used on Bardoo, Moa and Jervice Islands for Saibai **purka**, according to JB and KG).
dawita *n.* erg. poss. **dawitan** David: **dawitan ŋin iman** David sees you (JB), **dawitan lag** David's place *or* house (JB, KG).
dədwab *n.* rainbow *or* halo round the moon (JB).
dənu *adv.* in (the hollow; JB).

E

- eso** *n. adv.* thanks (JB).

G

- gagay** (**gagayi-**) *n. erg.* **gaga(y)in** bow (JB, KG): **gaga(y)in wutun** shooting with the bow (JB).
gaibau *n.* oak tree (JB).
-gal *n. der. suffix* 4.2.).
gamul *n.* white: **gamul mabaig** white people (JM).
gar *adv.* 1. far (?); 2. alas, sadly, I am sorry (JB). —Compare **utima, yagar**.
garka *n.* man (used on Jervice Island; KG). —Compare **garkaz**.
garkaz (**garkazi-**) *n. erg.* **garkazin**; *poss.* **garkazu** any man *or* boy (JB, MM, KG): **garkazu lag** the man's house (JB), **senub garkazin** that man (made it) (KG). —Compare **garka**.
gayga *v.* **gəyga**.
get *n.* hand (JB).
gigi *n.* thunder (JB).
-giŋa *car. suffix* 4.2.
giriŋel *n. v. ?* dance: **giriŋel minaypa** to dance (JB).
giturik *n. erg.* **giturikan** knife (JB): **giturikan bup patar** cut a tree *or* wood with a knife.
gub (**guba-**) *n. erg.* **guban(u)**; *art.* **gubau** wind (JB, BM, KG): **gubau ulayke** the wind is blowing (JB), **guban manu** the wind took it (JB)
gəlas *n.* glass *or* window (JB): **kapu gəlas** a good window *or* glass.
gəyga (**gayga**) *n.* the sun (JB): **gubau ulayke gəyga ziru** the wind is strong, the sun shines.

ŋ

- ŋa** *interr. pron.* (4.9-10) who? (JB, KG).
-ŋa *pron. suffix.* 5.11.
ŋaban *pers. pron.* 4.5.: **ŋaban lag** our (2) house (JB).
ŋad *interr. pron.* 4.9.

ɲai *pers. pron.* 4.5.
 ɲaika *v.* ɲayka.
 ɲa lagupa *v.* lag.
 ɲalamun *pers. pron.* 4.5.
 ɲalpan *pers. pron.* 4.5.
 ɲana *pers. pron.* 4.5.
 ɲapa *pers. pron.* 4.5.: ɲi mipa ɲapa what
 do you come to me for? (JB).
 ɲar *n.* leg (JB).
 ɲat *pers. pron.* 4.5.
 ɲau *pers. pron.* 4.5.
 ɲayapa *pers. pron.* 4.5.
 ɲayka *pers. pron.* 4.5.
 ɲaymun *pers. pron.* 4.5.
 ɲi *pers. pron.* 4.5.
 ɲinu *pers. pron.* 4.5.: ɲinu lag your
 place (JB).
 ɲipi *adv.* between (JB).
 ɲipil *pers. pron.* 4.5.: ɲipil lag your (2)
 house (JB).
 ɲita *pers. pron.* 4.5.
 ɲitamun *pers. pron.* 4.5.: ɲitamun lag
 your (pl.) house (JB).
 ɲuki *n.* water: wumal ɲuki strong drink
 (JB).
 ɲul *adv.* yesterday (MM).
 ɲunu, ɲunuɲa *interr. pron.* 4.9.: ɲunu
 za whose thing? (KG).
 ɲura (mura) *pers. pron.* 4.5.

I

-in *pron. suffix* ? 5.11.

K

-ka *aux.* 5.12.
 kabar *n.* trochus shell (JB).
 kaɖa- *v. int.* kaɖaypa go: ɲai ubin
 kaɖaypa mɛlpalpa I want to go to the

moon (JB), kaɖaypa puiɖa za a comb
 (something to straighten your hair with;
 JB—literally 'to go straight-thing').

kakal *n. adv.* clear (KG), clearly (BM).
 kapu *n.* good (in Able: yawo, JB): kapu
 bataiɲa good morning, kapu ɲuki
 good water (JB), kapu waɖi no good
 (MM). —Compare abli.

kaura *n.* ear (JB).

-kaz *nom. der. suffix* 4.2.

kazi *n.* little: garkaz kazi a little man,
 boy (JB).

kebepor(t) *n.* Cape Bedford (a Lutheran
 mission, north of Cairns; JB).

keriz *n.* a female given name.

ki- *v. imp.* ki(y) ? come: ɲai senau
 ɲi I am coming (JB).

kula *n.* 1. stone; 2. pearl (JB). —Compare
 Kentyu gul'a stone.

kulu *n.* knee (JB).

kunia *n. adv.* ? : ɲai lauɲa kunia tidiz
 mɛlpalɲu I cannot come back from the
 moon (JB). —The sense is possibly 'can'
 or 'be able to'.

kəy *n.* great, big (in Able: au): kəy eso
 many thanks (in Able: au eso), kəy wər
 big flood (JB), kəy mabaig grown-up
 people (MM).

L

-l *ger. suffix* 5.10.

lag (lagə-, lagu-, laga-) *n. abl.* laguɲu;
loc. lagunu, laganu, lagnu; *all.*
 lagəpa, lagupa, lagpa) home, place,
 house: ɲau lag my place (JB), dawita,
 Billy lagunu at David's, Billy's place or
 house, muinu lagunu inside (the house)
 (JB), ɲita ɲa lagupa where are you
 folks going to? (literally 'you, to whom,
 i.e. which, place?').

lauɲa *adv.* no, not. —Compare lele.

lele *adv.* no, not (Jervice, Sunbank
 Islands, in the central group; JB).—
 Compare lauɲa.

-lŋa *attr. der. suffix* 4.2.

M

ma- *v. imp. mar; pf. manu, manin ?; int maypa*; prohibitive *maygi* take: **sena mar** take it (JB), **nuid manu** he took it (JB), **ŋi yina nipa manin** why do you take this?, **ŋat yina manin** I take this (JB), **ubin sepa maypa** want(s) to take this (JB), **sena maygi** don't take that (JB).

-**ma-** *v. der. suffix* 5. 1-2.

mabag *adv.* don't?: **ŋapa mabag** don't come (JB), **ŋi mabag** don't go (JB).

mabaig (**mabagi-**, **mabaiga-**) *n. erg. mabagin, mabaigan* person, people: **kəy mabaig** grown-up people (MM), also used in the sense of a personal pronoun: **mabaigan ŋana imaygina** he has never seen me (JB).

mabaigal *n.* (collective ?) people: **ŋita mabaigal** you people (JB).

madua *n.* a surname (cf. 2).

maŋaguḍal *n.* fork (of a tree or branch): **arkat (y)ina maŋaguḍal dənu** here is a hole or hollow in the fork (JB).

malil *n. erg. malilan* spear: **malilan pagan** spearing (JB).

malu *n.* sea, salt water (JB).

malu wapi *n.* sea fish (food: JB).

mapet *n.* baby (JB).

markai *n.* white man (MM).

mata *adv.* only: **mata ŋid** you only (JB).

mayi *n.* shells (in which pearls are found), pearls (JB).

mepa *v. miepa.*

mi, mi- *interr. pron.* 4.9.

miai *interr. pron.* 4.10.

miepa (**mepa**) *n. adv.* with **ubi, ubin** (q.v.) wish, want: **ŋai malu wapipa ubin miepa** I want sea fish (food) (JB), **imaypa mepa** wanting to see.

mina- *v. int. minaypa* dance (?): **giriŋel minaypa** to dance (JB).

mipa *interr. pron.* 4.9.: **mipa** (want) what?, why?.

miza (**mi za**) *interr. pron.* 4.10: **yina miza** what is this?, **sena miza** what is that?

mua *n.* the name of an island, St. Paul's Island.

mud (**muda-**) *n. art. mudau* house: **ŋinu mudau idimayg** don't break the house (KG).

muginakaz *n.* baby (MM).

mui *v. muyi.*

muida- *v. int. muidapa ?* build (?): **senabi garkaz lag muidapa** he wants to build a house (? JB).

muidunu *adv.* in the space between (JB).

muikun *n.* fireplace (KG).

muitai *n. ?* coal (? KG): **sei muitai** there on the fire (roasting fish; JB), **ŋid muitaiga** (?) (roasting ?) **mui sei lagunu muinu.**

mura *v. ŋura.*

muyari- *v. imp. muyari; ipf. muyariz,* cf. 5.6. enter, come inside.

muyi (**mui, muy**) *n. abl. muigu; loc. muinu* 1. fire, fireplace; 2. inside (of house): **muigu** from inside (JB), **ŋid sena mar muigu** you take that off the fire (JB, MM), **muinu lag(u)nu** or **lag muinu** inside the house, **muinu** in the fire.

məlpal *n. abl. məlpalŋu; all. məlpalpa* moon (JB).

N

na¹ *pers. pron.* 4.5.

na² *adv.* there, now (? JB).

-**na** *pron. suffix* 5.11.

napuida- *v. imp. napuidar; prohibitive napuidayg* sing: **ŋid napuidar** you sing (JB).

nel *n.* name: **ɲinu nel ɲa** what (literally 'who?') is your name? (JB).

-n(u) *pf. suffix* 5.7-8.

nui, nuid(i) *pers. pron.* 4.5.: **nuidi ɲin iman** he sees you (JB), **ɲat nuin iman** I see him (JB), **nuid manu** he took it, **nuid manin** he takes it (JB), **sena nuɲu pui** that is his log (KG), **nui tarda** he is going (JB), **nuid aimayk** he made (it) (KG).

nurulayke *v.* **guban(u) nurulayke** the wind is making a noise (JB, MM, KG).

nəga- *v. prohibitive* **nəgayg** look (JB).

nəra *n.* little grain or particle: **nəra yina purkanu** a particle here in my eye (JB).

P

paga- *v. imp.* **pagar** spear: **ɲid nuin malilan pagar** you spear him (JB).

palai *pers. pron.* 4.5.: **palai tarda** they (two) are going (JB).

panza *n.* cf. 3.3. cabbage tree (JB).

paruya *adv.* in front (? JB).

pata- *v. imp.* **patar** cut: **ɲi patar sena puyi** you cut that tree (JB).

paur *n. adv.* swim: **paur ulayke** swimming (JB).

puk (puka-) *n. loc.* **pukanu** fork (formed by two branches; JB).

puiɖa *adv.* straight (JB).

puyi (pui, puy) *n. loc.* **puyinu** 1. tree; 2. log: **puyinu sei arkat** a hollow there in the tree (JB), **ɲau pui** my log (KG).

purka *n. abl.* **purkaɲu; loc.** **purkanu** eye: **ɲau purkaɲu** from my eye (JB, KG).

pənipan *n.* lightning (JB).

R

-r *imp. suffix* 5.5.

-ri- *v. der. suffix* 5.1, 3.

S

sager *n. adv.* south-east (JB): **sager sager** north-east (JB).

sagu- *v. imp.* **sagur** play (music): **ɲi sagur** you play (JB).

san *n.* feet: **ɲau san** my feet (JB).

se- *dem. pron.* 4.6.

sei *dem. pron.* 4.6.

sena, senau *dem. pron.* 4.6.

senabi, senub *dem. pron.* 4.6, 8.: **senabi lag** that house (JB), **senabi garkaz** that man (JB), **mabaig senau bəy** somebody comes there (JB, MM).

sepa *dem. pron.* 4.6.

sikal *n.* **sikal ɲuki** beer (JB).

T

ta- *v.* go (?): **tamanai v. waka(i); tana tarda** they are going (three or four) (JB).

tana *pers. pron.* 4.5.

tanamun *pers. pron.* 4.5.

tarda *v.* ta-.

tari- *v. ipf.* **tari(y) ? run: ɲalmun tari** we two run (JB).

taya- *v. pf.* **tayanu** throw (KG).

tayak *n.* arrow (JB).

tayirnu *n.* noise (BM).

tidi- *v. ipf.* **tidiz ?** return (JB); cf. 5.6.).

tituy *n.* star(s) (JB).

tu *n.* smoke: **muiɲu tu** smoke from the fire (KG).

U

-u *art.* 4.4, 8.

ubi, ubin *n. adv.* wish, want (often with **miepa**, q.v.): **ɲau ubi ɲai uzariz** I want to go (MM), **nui ubin miepa sepa (maypa)** He wants (to take) that (JB), **ɲi mipa ubin miepa** what do you want? (JB).

- ukasar** *n.* two (JB).
ulayke, -ulayke *v. aux.* walk, go (for) (JB).
umaŋa *n. v. ?* dead (JB).
urapun *v.* wurapun.
utima *adv. far:* utima gar far away (BM, KG).
uza- *v. imp* uza go, come: ŋin ŋapa uza you come to me (KG).
uzari- *v. imp.* uzariya: *ipf.* uzariz, cf. 5.6.) go: ŋi uzariya you go (JB), ŋai uzariz lagupa I am going home (JB), ŋi uzariz ŋinu lagupa you are going to your place (JB), nui, na uzariz he, she is going (MM), ŋai uzaraidin ŋul I went yesterday (MM), ŋai baŋal bataiŋa uzaride I am going tomorrow morning (MM), ŋai, nui uzarika I am, he is going (KG).

W

- wa** *adv.* yes (JB).
waka-, wakai (?) *v. ipf.* wakay ? think, want to: ŋau wakay (wakai) tamanai I am thinking that I go (MM).
wapi *n. all.* wapipa any fish or meat (JB).
watal *adv.* yes (= wa, q.v.); used in the central or middle group of islands (JB).
watar *n.* firewood (JB).
waŋi *neg. adv.* no: kapu waŋi no good (MM).
wumal *n.* drunk: wumal ŋuki strong drink (JB). —Compare ŋuki.
wur *v.* wər.
wurab *n.* coconut tree (JB).
wurapun (urapun) *n.* one (JB, MM).
wutu- *v. imp.* wutur; *pf* wutun kill, shoot, spear: wutuŋy or (w)utuziŋa don't kill (JB).
wuŋu- *v. ipf.* wuŋuy; *int.* wuŋuypa sleep (JB): nui (w)uŋuy he is asleep, ŋai ubin miepa uŋuypa I want to sleep.

- wər (wur, KG)** *n. erg.* wurnu flood: kəy wər a big flood (JB).
wəsar *n.* wallaby or kangaroo (JB).

Y

- y** *ipf. suffix.* 5.6.
yabuguŋ *n.* way or road (JB, MM).
yagar *n. adv.* sorry (cf. gar; KG). —Compare yagar yagar.
yagar yagar *n.* the name of a language, 'Saibai' (JB).
yalbup *n.* hair (JB).
-yg(i) *prohibitive suffix* 5.10.
yidima- (idima-) *v. imp.* idimar; *pf* idiman; *prohibitive* idimayg break (KG): guban mud idiman the wind broke the house, ŋid sena idimar you break that.
yima- (ima-); *v. imp.* yimar; *pf.* iman; *int.* imaypa see, look at: ŋid nuin yimar you see or look at him (KG), ŋat iman sena I see that (JB), imaypa mepa someone coming to see you (JB).
yina, yinabi *dem. pron.* 4. 6-7.
yipka *n.* woman (KG). —Compare yəpkaz.
-yk(i) *pf suffix* 5.10.
-ypa *int. suffix* 5.9.
yəpkaz *n. poss.* yəpkazu any woman or girl (JB, MM): yəpkazu lag the woman's house (MM). —Compare yipka.

Z

- z** *ipf. suffix* cf. 5.6.
za *n.* thing: ŋat sena za manu I took that thing (JB).
-z(i) *n. der suffix* 4.2.
ziru *n. v.* shining (JB).

GUGU-BUJUN AND RELATED LANGUAGES

Introduction

1.1. The following notes were taken (between 1970-1973) chiefly from one lady at Townsville, Mrs Dolly Walker, whose language was Gugu-Bujun (one of the well known *Gugu* or *Koko* languages in the Cape York Peninsula). Her father was Chinese, but she apparently had a very good knowledge of the Aboriginal language, which in some measure makes up for the circumstance that she was the only speaker available for this language.

1.2. Gugu-Bujun is a member of the important Gugu (or Koko) group of languages of the Cape York Peninsula into which previous research has been done by various students and scholars. In this description of Gugu-Bujun comparison is made with notes earlier taken by the present writer on Gugu-Yalandji, according to one Mr Charlie Collins, at the Cherbourg settlement (near Murgon, in Queensland) and also from a speaker of Gugu-Yimidir (*gugu jimid^yir*), one Mr Fred Gordon, at the Woorabinda settlement (Queensland).

1.3. Notes were also taken (about the same time) from a lady near Bundaberg (Queensland), one Mrs Gracie Kyles, an acquaintance of Mrs Walker's, who also had some knowledge of Mrs Kyles' language; neither of them was sure of its name (probably *wagaman*, the Chilligo or Everton language).

Abbreviations of quoted languages and language informants

2. The following abbreviations are used:

Gugu-Bujun

DW, Mrs Dolly Walker, at Townsville, originally from Daintry, Cape York.

Gugu-Yalandji

YAL CC, Mr Charlie Collins, at Cherbourg.

Gugu-Yimidir, etc

Yim FG, Mr Fred Gordon, at Woorabinda.

GK, Mrs Gracie Kyles, at Bundaberg, from Chilligo.

Phonology

3.1. Although in previous descriptions of the Cape York languages the symbols of the voiceless variants of the undifferentiated phonemes *k/g*, *p/b*, *t/d*, etc. have been preferred in representing Aboriginal linguistic forms (for instance *pama* for *bama* 'man', *kantyu* for *gand^yu*, language name), we shall write the symbols for the corresponding voiced variants (*g*, *b*, *d*, etc.), to conform with the practice adopted by the present writer in describing other Aboriginal languages in eastern Queensland. Our *g*, *b*, *d*, then, are always interchangeable with corresponding *k*, *p*, *t*, in all positions; incidentally it may be observed that the voiced (or semi-voiced) variants are more typical of the word- or syllable-initial position, while the voiceless variants are more typical of the medial or intervocalic position.

Inventory of phonemes

3.2. All the languages described here possess the following basic phonemes:

(1) Vowel symbols

The three fundamental vowel phonemes *a*, *i* and *u* are to be considered as basic in the languages described.

(2) Consonant symbols

- b* a bilabial plosive (undetermined as to sonority);
- d* a dental plosive (undetermined as to sonority);
- d^y* a palatalised dental plosive (undetermined as above);
- ɖ* a retroflex plosive (undetermined as above; cf. below);
- g* a palatal-velar plosive (undetermined as above);
- ŋ* a palatal-velar nasal (as in English 'sing', 'song');
- m* a bilabial nasal;
- n* a dental nasal;
- ɲ* a palatalised dental nasal;
- l* a lateral continuant (as in French);
- r* a trilled vibrant (as in Italian);
- ɽ* a retroflex 'l' or 'r' sound (cf. Hindi);
- j* a palatal semivowel (as in English 'yes');
- w* a bilabial semivowel (as in English 'well').

In Gugu-Yimidir an additional vibrant (*ʀ*) may occur as a distinct phoneme, being partly voiceless and more strongly articulated (as in *buraj* 'fire'). The phoneme *ɖ* (which is unusual initially) may alternate with *-r-* in the medial, or intervocalic, position: *gaɖa-* ~ *gara-*go, come (DW). The palatal *d^y* may approach a palatal *g* (*g^y*), in the pronunciation of DW, especially before *i*: *g^yiraj* for *d^yiraj* 'now', *g^yibar* for *d^yibar* 'west'. From Gugu-Yimidir one instance is recorded of a 'pre-occlusive' *l* (hence *-dl-*), namely in *budla* (for *bula* 'drink', imperative).

Combinatory phonology

3.3. In the languages described here words may begin with any of the consonant phonemes enumerated in 3.2., except *l*, *r* and *r̥*, they may end in a vowel sound (-*a*, -*i*, -*u*) or a nasal (-*n*, -*ŋ*, -*m*, -*ñ*) or, finally, -*l*, -*r*, -*r̥* and the semivowel -*j* (of *-*w* no instance is recorded). Syllables may begin with any of the basic consonantal phonemes and end in any of the mentioned word-final phonemes. In consequence of this cases of contiguous vowel sounds (or *hiatus*) cannot be considered as original; such forms as *gua*, *guriala*, *waugari* are to be taken as simplified variants of respectively *guwa* ('north'), *gurijala* ('black carpetsnake'), *wawugari* ('dislike'), etc. Apparent diphthongs (as in *d^yirai* 'man') should rather be analysed as terminating in a semivowel (hence *d^yiraj*). Original vowel-initial stems take (as in other eastern Queensland languages) an initial consonantal element (*ŋ*-, *j*- or *w*-): *ŋinu* 'your', *ŋinuni* 'you' (accusative; cf. Punthamara *ini* 'you'), *wuna* 'lie down, sleep' (from *-*una*-; cf. Kalali *ŋuna*-, idem).

3.4. A nasal phoneme may be intercalated between a continuant or semivowel and a following homorganic plosive: *balŋgu* 'little boy' (DW), *d^yurmbanu* 'big grey kangaroo' (DW), *garŋga* 'hole in tree', *d^yirajnd^ya* 'man' (ergative); such a nasal consequently belongs to either syllable or else we may consider the whole group as a triple compound phoneme. Instances of middle consonant groups are found in: *mulrid^yi* (also *mulurid^yi*; DW), a language name, and in *dumbarlu* 'might break' (DW), forms neither to be further checked (cf. 1.1.) nor further analysed and hence of no consequence.

3.5. Syllable stress and vowel length are immaterial; length may, however, arise through contraction (*nūnbu* for *nūŋunbu* 'for him or her').

3.6. An important phonological process (especially from the morphological point of view) is the assimilation of vowels, whereby a kind of 'vowel harmony' arises. This takes place particularly in the declension of nominal stems, in such a way that case suffixes appear with the vowel -*u*- in cases where the word stem terminates in a syllable having this vowel, while it appears as -*a*- in all other cases. The following examples illustrate this. The ergative -*ŋga* occurs in: *bamaŋga* (from *bama* 'man'), Dicky-*ŋga* (*digingga*; from 'Dicky'), while ergative -(*u*)*ŋgu* occurs in: *dimur(u)ŋgu* (from *dimur* 'ghost'); the possessive-locative -*ŋa* occurs in: *d^yiriŋa* (from *d^yiri* 'sky'), while -*ŋu* occurs in *d^yuguŋu* (from *d^yugu* 'tree'); the ablative -*ma* occurs in: *jambama* (from *jamba* 'camp'), while -*mu* occurs in *bubumu* (from *bubu* 'ground'); finally, the allative suffixes -*ga* or -*ŋga* occur in: *gagaga* (from *gaga* 'tobacco'), *jambaga* (from *jamba* 'camp'), *majiga* (from *maji* 'fruit'), *d^yirajŋga* (from *d^yiraj* 'man'), while -*gu* or -*ŋgu* occur in: *gujugu* (from *guju* 'fish'), *majŋgugu* (from *majŋgu* 'mango'), *wand^yuŋgu* (from *wand^yu* 'who?', interrogative pronoun). Sometimes alternative forms are found: *d^yalbuŋga* (for expected *-*d^yalbuŋga*, from *d^yalbu* 'woman', DW), *wañuriŋga* or *wañuriŋgu* 'what for? why?' (cf. Yal *wañuriŋgu*, idem, CC). Vowel assimilation may arise in other cases as well: *wungañ* and *wunguñ* 'in the morning', 'tomorrow' (DW), with which may be compared Yal *wunguñ*, idem (CC). One should notice that the vowel -*u*- may actually be the original one in most of these cases (cf. especially the almost universal Australian allative -*gu* and ergatives in -*u*), so that the vowel adaption, as described above, may actually depend on tendencies to analogical formations in an early stage of these languages.

3.7. Cases of interchange of consonantal phonemes in evidently related forms are frequently found. An initial *n̄* - is often found in alternation with *n*-, as in: *n̄ad^yi*- for *nad^yi*- (sometimes DW, but especially in Yal, according to CC); *n̄ulu* 'he, she' (DW, Yal, Yim; cf. Punthamara *nulu*, idem). An initial *m*- is used by GK (cf. 1.3; 2) for *ŋ*- in *mulu* (GK) 'forehead' (cf. *ŋulu*, idem, DW) and DW has both *ŋud^yaj* and *mud^yaj* for 'fresh-water turtle', to which parallels may be found in other parts of Queensland (Punthamara and coastal languages).

3.8. Very few marks of the influence of English phonology may be detected in DW's Gugu-Bujun (incidentally, her part Chinese origin may be accountable for this). However, such a strikingly Australian English trait as the addition of an *-r* in such a form as *wand^yangar* for *wand^yanga* ('whither? where?', that is an allative in *-(n)ga*, cf. 5.2.) has been recorded (that is, as in English 'idear' for 'idea', etc.). Traces of English influence have, however, been found among other informants, especially FG in such cases as Yim *ɖaɖari* for *ɖaɖara* 'going', *ɖaɖi* for *ɖaɖa* 'go' (imperative), as well as (possibly) in *ɖuɖanbi* 'on the road' (*ɖuɖan*), if we consider the last syllable as identical with the Gugu-Bujun (and common Queensland) locative termination (or postposition) *ba* (*-ba*), frequent and well known in the toponymy (hence according to the same tendency as in English 'Sarar', 'Sarrie' for 'Sarah', etc.).

Morphology

4.1. In the languages described the following word classes may be distinguished: nouns, pronouns, verbs, adverbs, postpositions and connectives (the latter in a rudimentary way). Nominal stems (including nouns proper, adjectives and numerals), pronominal stems (personal, demonstrative and interrogative) and verbal stems occur inflected (declined or conjugated, whereas adverbial stems and postpositions are often in their origin declension forms of nominal or verbal stems, while connectives are short uninflected forms.

Nominal stems

4.2. Nominal stems are either simple (usually having at least two syllables), such as *d^yiraj* 'man', *d^yalbu* 'woman', *jamba* 'camp', or derived by nominal or nominalising suffixes. Of the latter, the following are found: *-ba* (used in a locative sense; cf. 4.3.), *-baga* (marking frequency), *-bu* (marking 'provided with' or having an attribute), *-d^yi* (similar function to *-bu*), *-gan* (originally feminine), *-gari* (negative or caritive) and *-man* (possibly indicating person).

4.3. The **locative** *-ba*. This suffix is common in place names (or designations of places), as in: *d^yulaimba* '(at, to) Daintry' (DW). It may be considered as a postposition (see 9).

4.4. The **frequentative** *-baga*. This suffix is clearly found in *gugabaga* 'talkative' (cf. *gugu* 'talk'); it also occurs in *d^yilbabaga* 'lively', although the simple noun is not recorded (cf. below 4.9.).

4.5. The **attributive** *-bu*. This suffix occurs in *galgabu* 'provided with a spear or spears (*galga*). Its function may be similar to that of a postposition (cf. 9).

4.6. The **attributive** *-d^yi*. This suffix is very frequent and marks (like *-bu*; see 4.5) possession or an attribute: *galgad^yi* ‘provided with a spear’ (= *galgabu*), *gañad^yi* ‘having a yamstick’; the function is less transparent, although evidently analogous, in: *gumbud^yi* ‘passing water’ (cf. *gumbu* ‘urine’), *d^yad^yad^yi* ‘evacuating’ (cf. *d^yad^ya* ‘excrement’), *balbad^yi*, *buṛud^yi*, *d^yalbad^yi*, *d^yalbud^yi* ‘pregnant’ (‘in the family way’), although the simple nouns are not clearly identifiable (*d^yalbu* means ‘woman’ and *balba* is explained by DW as ‘family’ in whatever sense this may be taken). The simple forms of *gambad^yi* and *binad^yi* ‘old’ are not recorded (*gamba*, however, seems to mean ‘quiet’, hence in the sense of ‘settled’). In the following examples *-d^yi* functions as a postposition (cf. 9): *buṇand^yi* ‘in the summer’ (cf. *buṇan* ‘sun(shine)’), *julald^yi* ‘by boat’ (literally ‘having a boat’, *julal*), *ball-d^yi* ‘(playing) with a ball’. The suffix *-d^yi* is common in tribe or language names: *gurand^yi*, *jaland^yi*, *mul(u)ṛid^yi*.

4.7. The corresponding attributive suffix in Yimidir is *-d^yir*: *gajimugud^yir* ‘having a hat’ (*gajimugu*), *wawud^yir* ‘having a wish or desire’ (*wawu*), alternatively used postpositionally: *jugud^yir* ‘with trees’ (*jugu*, FG). It occurs also in the tribe and language name *yimid^yir* (‘yimidir’, explained as meaning ‘here or this’ by FG; perhaps from a demonstrative stem). The suffix *-gal* has an analogous function (it might alternatively be considered as a comitative suffix; cf. 5.2); for instance see in Postpositions (section 9).

4.8. The **feminine** *-gan*. This suffix is common in the Queensland languages, marking ‘female’. This may be the sense in: *mañargan* (?) ‘wife’ (= *mañar*, DW); in *maragan* ‘(South Sea) canoe’ and *wambugan* ‘money’ (of which the simple stems are not recorded) the meaning is transferred.

4.9. The **negative** *-gaṛi*. This suffix is formally the same as the negative adverb *gaṛi* (‘no, not’); it occurs in: *d^yilbagari* ‘quiet, not walking about or stirring’ (cf. *d^yilbabaga*, in 4.4), *bamagari* ‘having no man’ (*bama*), *jambagari* ‘without a home’ (*jamba*), *wawugari* ‘unwilling’ (cf. *wawu* ‘wish, desire’). Gugu-Yimidir constructions such as: *bama ṇajguja* ‘no people’, *jugu ṇajguja* ‘no trees’ (FG) may be due to a mistake (cf. attributive *jugud^yir*, according to 4.7).

4.10. The **personal** *-man*. One clear example only is recorded: *band^yiman* ‘husband’ (which, however, is from GK); the common Queensland *jaraman* ‘horse’ (GK) is likely to contain the same suffix, which, besides, is common in personal or personified stems in the Queensland languages at large).

4.11. Among nominal derivative suffixes are further to be included so-called ‘nominalisers’ (*-n*, *-ñ*, *-j*, etc.), functioning in the formation of modal forms in the conjugation of the verb (see 8.1), but also doubtless in many apparently simple noun stems (*buṇan* ‘sun(shine)’, *d^yiraj* ‘man’, etc.), in which the function is obsolete and concealed; compare the occurrence of an *-n* in front of certain case suffixes (*-ga*, *-gu*; see 5.2.).

4.12. Other terminations are doubtful as to their signification. In such a form as *gamind^yar* ‘granddaughter’ (DW) one may with some reason suspect the termination *-d^yar* (also in some eastern Queensland languages) or *-nd^yar* to mark relationship (hence ‘one’s granddaughter’?; cf. *gami* ‘mother’s mother’). The same suffix, however, occurs in *mulad^yar* ‘stars’.

Declension

5.1. The noun in the languages described here is not determined as to number, in other words, there are no special plural forms: *gaña*, for instance, means either 'yamstick' or 'yamsticks' (DW). Plurality may, however, occasionally be indicated by reduplication (e.g. *dʲalbu-dʲalbu* 'the women' (DW); cf. *dʲalbu* 'woman' or 'women'), but this construction actually has a more general character and rather has an augmentative force, as in: *dʲiraj dʲiraj* 'big man (men)' (cf. *dʲiraj* 'man' or 'men').

5.2. Nominal stems are declinable according to the following system of case forms: nominative, ergative, possessive-locative, ablative, comitative, and allative. The *nominative* (also used as accusative) is the stem of the noun: *dʲiraj*, bama 'man', *dʲalbu*, *mañar* 'woman', *maɾa* 'hand', *jamba* 'camp'. The *ergative* (expressing the agent of a verbal action, having a direct object) is characterised by the suffix *-ŋga* (after consonants sometimes *-aŋga*) or *-ŋgu* (after consonants sometimes *-uŋgu*), the latter used of stems of which the last syllable contains the vowel *-u-* (cf. 3.6); consonant-ending stems may have other suffixes (still ending in *-a* or *-u*; cf. above). Similar suffixes are used in Gugu-Yalandji and Gugu-Yimidir (cf. below and in 5.3). The *possessive-locative* (which is used in either sense, the possessive more often with personal nouns, and further renders various English prepositions; cf. English 'at Smith's', for the combined use of either case form and also the use of the postposition *ba*—cf. 9—to express a possessive relation) ends in *-a*, preceded either by *-ŋ-* (in the case of vowel-ending stems) or a homorganic plosive (in the case of stems ending in a nasal); other formations also occur (cf. 5.3). The *ablative* (marking origin or point of starting) is expressed by a suffix *-ma* or *-mu* (the latter of stems whose terminal syllable contains an *-u-*). The *comitative* (expressing companionship or association) is characterised by a suffix *-nda* (after a consonant *-anda*) or *-ndu* (the latter if the stem ends in *-u*). Finally the *allative* (marking point of arrival, aim or intention, but also locality in general) is expressed by the suffix *-ga* or (sometimes after a vowel) *-ŋga* or else *-gu* (after vowels sometimes *-ŋgu*), the latter in cases of stems whose terminal syllable contains an *-u*). In Gugu-Yalandji, the ablative is expressed by *-munđu*, which may perhaps rather be considered a postposition (cf. 9) and in Gugu-Yimidir a comitative in *-gal* occurs (perhaps also to be taken as a postposition; cf. 9).

5.3. **Examples of the use of case forms.** The following examples (chiefly from Gugu-Bujun) show the use of the case forms mentioned in 5.2.: (nominative) *ŋaja maɾal ŋadʲil* 'I can see the girl' (used as direct object, also of persons); (ergative) *babiŋga* 'father's mother' (*babi*), *bamaŋga* 'the man' (*bama*), *dimuɾuŋgu* 'the ghost' (*dimuɾ*), *dʲalbuŋga* 'the woman' (*dʲalbu*; cf. 3.6.), *gajaŋga* 'the dog' (*gaja*), *ŋamuŋgu* 'mother' (*ŋamu*), *ŋandʲanaŋga* 'father' (*ŋandʲan*), *jiruŋgu* 'the Rainbow Serpent' (*jiru*), *maɾaŋga* 'the girl' (*maɾal*; cf. 3.4.), *mujarŋga* or *mujaraŋga* 'the wind' (*mujar*), the following formations being irregular: *dʲirajndʲa* 'the man' (*dʲiraj*), *jalbajndʲa* '(the) big' (*jalbaj*) and *ŋajgu mañaɾa* 'my wife' (*mañar*), (Gugu-Yalandji) *Dicky-ŋga* (*digingga*) 'Dicky', *binandʲalu* 'the koala' (*binandʲal*; without 'vowel harmony', cf. 3.6); (possessive-locative) *bamaŋa* 'the man's' (*bama*), *wajiŋa* 'of or belonging to the boomerang' (*waji*; also 'with the boomerang'), *bandʲara* 'on the grass' (*bandʲar*), *buŋanda* 'in the sun' (*buŋan*), *dʲiriŋa* 'up into the sky' (*dʲiri*), *dʲuguŋu* 'in a tree' (*dʲugu*), *bibaŋa* '(made) of paper' (*biba*), *gurmaŋa* '(covered) with stones' (*gurma*), *maraganda* 'in a canoe' (*maragan*; cf., however, in 9), *mardʲaŋa* 'in the bush' (*mardʲa*); (ablative) *bubumu* or *bubuma* 'from the ground' (*bubu*), *buŋanmu* 'from the sun' (*buŋan*; for **-ma*), *dʲibar mu* 'from the west' (*dʲibar*, for **-ma*),

d^yulajmu 'from Daintry' (cf. *d^yulajmba* '(at) Da'itry'), *d^yulɲumu* 'from the dirt' (*d^yulɲul*), *guɲgarmu* 'from the east' (*guɲar*), *jambama* 'from home' (*jamba*), (irregularly) *guwajmu* 'from the north' (*guwa*; probably an adverbial form not affected by the 'vowel-harmony'); (comitative) *duñundu* 'with a husband' (*duñu*), *ɲamundu* 'with mother' (*ɲamu*), *ɲañananda* '(got it) from father' (*ɲañan*; notice the use of the comitative form, neither direction nor situation being essential in Gugu-Bujun); (allative) *d^yirajnga* '(want) a man' (*d^yiraj*), *gagaga* '(to like) tobacco' (*gaga*), *gajanga* '(to like) dogs' (*gaja*), *gujugu* '(going) for fish' (*guju*), *jambaga* '(going) home' (*jamba*), *wajiga* 'for the boomerang' (*waji*), *dunaña miñaga* 'went for game' (*miña*); notice the special use of the allative (in *-gu*) in: *ɲaju bubajgu* 'when I was a little child' (*bubaj*), *maɲalgu* 'as a girl' (*maɲal*), *gabirgu* 'as a young woman' (*gabir*, DW), *jambagariga* '(lived) as one without a home' (DW). As the original distinction of nominal and verbal stems is many times vague, we may get such constructions as (8.9): *wawu guninga* 'likes to hit', 'fond of hitting' (notice the 'nominalising' *-n-* before the allative suffix *-ga*, answering to the English '-ing' in 'hitting').

Pronominal stems

Personal pronouns

6.1. The personal pronouns follow the pattern of declension of nominal stems (see 5.2.), with the exception that the former lack ablative and locative forms, while possessing a special accusative form (in *-na* or *-ni*), marking the direct object of a transitive verb (hence: *ɲaju ɲuɲuni* (acc.) *wujɲgul* (nom.) *nad^yin* 'I saw him (acc.), the spirit (nominative; DW). The case forms are consequently: the nominative, the ergative, the accusative, the possessive (cf. below), the comitative and the allative. The personal pronouns, referring to persons, do not require the expression of a locative or ablative relation, whence the possessive form is limited to the expression of ownership. The terminations in the individual cases are similar to those of the nominal case forms. The nominative and ergative forms are often identical or used identically.

6.2. The paradigms below show the declension in the singular, dual and plural, as far as has been recorded (corresponding Yalandji and Yimidir forms being given in parentheses).

1st person singular:

nom.	<i>ɲaju</i> (Yal, Yim, Gk <i>ɲaju</i>)
erg.	<i>ɲaju</i>
acc.	<i>ɲaña</i> (Yal <i>ɲaña</i>)
poss.	<i>ɲajgu</i> , <i>ɲajguna</i> (Yal <i>ɲajgu</i> , Yim <i>ɲadu</i> ?)
com.	<i>najgundu</i> , <i>najgunundu</i> (Yim <i>ɲad^yungu</i>)

1st person dual:

nom.	<i>ɲali</i> (Yal <i>ɲali</i> , <i>ɲalin</i> , cf. below; Yim, GK <i>ɲali</i>)
erg.	<i>ɲali</i> (?) (Yal <i>ɲalu</i> ?)
acc.	<i>ɲalina</i> (Yal <i>ɲalinaɲ</i>)
poss.	<i>ɲaliɲa</i> (Yal <i>ɲaliɲa</i>)

1st person plural:

- nom. *ɲana* (Yal *ɲana*, *ɲandʸin*, cf. 6.3.; Yim *ɲana*)
 acc. (Yal *ɲananaŋ*)
 poss. *ɲanaŋa*

2nd person singular:

- nom. *jundu* (Yal, Yim *jundu* (*junɖu*, *ɲundu* ?), GK *jinda*, *jundu*)
 erg. *jundu* (Yal *jundu*)
 acc. *jununi*, *ɲinuni* (Yal *junun*)
 poss. *junu*, *ɲinu* (Yal *junu*)
 com. *junundu*

2nd person dual:

- nom. *jubal* (Yal *jubal*)
 acc. (Yal *bulagaŋ*)
 poss. *jubalaŋa* (Yal *jubalaŋa*)

2nd person plural:

- nom. *jura* (Yal *jura*)
 acc. (Yal *juragaŋ*)
 poss. *juraŋa* (Yal *juragaŋa*)

3rd person singular:

- nom. *ɲulu* (Yal, Yim *ɲulu*)
 erg. *ɲulu*, *ɲuluŋgu* (Yal *ɲulu*)
 acc. *ɲuɲuni* (Yal *ɲuɲun*)
 poss. *ɲuɲu* (Yal *ɲuɲu*)
 all. *ɲuɲungu* (Yal *ɲuɲungu*)

3rd person dual:

- nom. *bula* (Yal *bula*)
 poss. *bulagaŋa*

3rd person plural:

- nom. *daña*, *dʸana* (Yal *dʸana*)
 acc. (Yal *dʸanagaŋ*)
 poss. *dʸanaŋa*

6.3. The possessive form is used in a dative sense as well: *junu* ‘(fetch) for you’, *ɲajgu* ‘(give) me’. The allative (which has only been recorded in the third person singular) is used with the verb ‘to want’ or ‘to like’: *wawu ɲuɲungu* ‘(I) like him *or* her’. The comitative expresses various relations in addition to that of the comitative proper (‘together with’): *jundundu* ‘(tell) you’, *ɲajgundu* ‘(tell, give) me’, *ɲajgunundu* ‘for me’. One construction with the postposition *bu* (cf. 9) is used in a dative sense in *ɲuɲunbu* (*ɲūnbu*; cf. 3.5.) ‘for him’. The Gugu-Yalandji and Gugu-Yimidir forms are usually similar and analogous to the Gugu-Bujun ones (cf. the paradigms in 6.2.); Gugu-Yalandji, however, distinguishes (according to CC) between a first person dual

inclusive (*ɲali*) and exclusive form (*ɲalin*) and the same distinction is made in the plural: *ɲandʸin* (inclusive; 'we all') and *ɲana* (exclusive; CC).

Demonstrative pronouns

6.4. Two demonstrative stems have been recorded: *jala* 'this' (also 'here') and *jiña* 'that' (also 'there'). A few declension forms were obtained, namely for the ergative and allative: (ergative) *jalanga* 'this one', *jinjanga* 'that one'; (allative) *wawu jiñajnga* 'want that one'. The apparent accusative form *jalaña* ('this one') is also used in the nominative and, on the other hand, the nominative (or stem) form (*jiña*) is used in the accusative sense. The postpositional form *jiñañba* (*jiñañba* ?; cf. 4.3; 9) is found in a possessive sense ('belonging to that one').

Interrogative pronouns

6.5. The personal interrogative pronoun ('who?') is *wandʸu* in Gugu-Bujun and the impersonal interrogative ('what?') is *wañu*. The same stems occur in Gugu-Yalandji, e.g. in *wandʸumundu* 'whence?', *wañuringu* 'what for?', 'why?'. Of the former the following case forms are recorded: nominative, ergative, possessive, ablative (cf. below), comitative and allative, according to the following paradigm:

nom.	<i>wandʸu</i>
erg.	<i>wandʸungu</i>
poss.	<i>wandʸuŋu</i>
abl.	<i>wandʸumundu</i> (cf. below)
com.	<i>wandʸimbundu</i> (<i>wandʸumb-</i> ?)
all.	<i>wandʸungu</i>

Examples: *wandʸubama ñulu* 'which man?', *jundu wandʸungu wawu* 'whom did you want?' (DW). The comitative (see above) may be used in a dative sense ('to whom did you give it?'). The possessive is also expressed by a postpositional construction (cf. 9): *wandʸimbu* (*wandʸumbu* ? cf. above) 'whose?' (DW). The construction *ñulu wandʸungu* (ergative) 'he, who?' for plain *wandʸungu* seems unusual. As in many Australian languages, a person's 'name' is personal and referred to by 'who?' (*wandʸu*) and not by 'what?', as in English. The impersonal *wañu* (without recorded declension forms, except an irregular allative, *wañuringa*, used with a verb 'to want' or adverbially in the sense of 'why?' or 'what for?') is used as in English: *wañu jiña* 'what is that?'.

Verbal stems

7.1. Verbal stems generally end in one of the vowels *-a-* or *-i-*, more seldom in *-u-*: *balga-* 'do, make, say', *nuga-* 'eat, drink', *buli-* 'fall', *miri-* 'break', *wadʸu-* 'cook, burn', *maɾawadʸu-* 'to rear', **dagu-* (only in the form *daguj* 'hungry'). The verbal stems are—like the nominal stems (see 4.2)—either simple or derived; it is possible that some verbal stems are at the same time nominal (cf. *guni-* 'hit, kill', in 5.3, end). Verbal stems may be derived by means of the following derivative formative: *-dʸa-* (which has a causative function), *-dʸi-* (reflexive), *-na-* and *-nda-* (possibly durative ?), *-ri-* (intransitive) and *-wa-* (reciprocal).

7.2. The **causative** *-d^ya-*. The function is clearly causative in: *bulid^ya-* ‘fell’ (cf. *buli-* ‘fall’), *mirid^ya-* ‘break’ (transitive; cf. *miri-*, idem, intransitive); it is evidently causative in: *wald^ya-* ‘tumble, make fall’ (of which the simple stem is not recorded) as well as in the reduplicated compound form: *wand^yaland^ya-* ‘roll something’ (DW; cf. *wanari-* ‘roll’, intransitive).

7.3. The **reflexive** *-d^yi-*. The sense is clearly reflexive in: *nad^yid^yi-* ‘look at oneself’ (cf. *nad^yi-* ‘see, look at’), *nandad^yi-* ‘cover one’s eyes or ears’ (hence ‘be blind or deaf’; cf. *nanda-* ‘cover’); it is generally intransitive in: *d^yurgid^yi-* ‘turn round’ (cf. *d^yurgi-*, idem, transitive), *muṛinmuṛind^yi-* ‘turn or circle around’. The sense is intransitive-passive in *balgad^yi-* ‘be born’ (literally ‘make oneself’, ‘be made’); the suffix seems in this case to have some kind of connection with the nominal derivative *-d^yi-* (see 4.6), in such forms as *balbad^yi*, *buṛud^yi* ‘pregnant’.

7.4. The **durative?** *-na-* or *-nda-*. The function of these duratives (?) is actually not clear. They have been found in a couple of verb forms, one apparently from a basic stem *wuna-* ‘lie down, be asleep’ (hence: *wunana-*, idem), another from a basic *bunda-* ‘sit’ (hence: *bundanda-*, idem).

7.5. The **intransitive (?)** *-ri-*. Usually this suffix has an intransitive sense in the languages of eastern Queensland, which also is found in the Gugu-Bujun *wanari-* ‘roll’ (cf. the transitive-causative *wand^yaland^ya-* in 7.2.). An intransitive sense may be seen in *jad^yari-* ‘laugh’ as well as in *waluwani-* ‘drink’ (in the sense of ‘carouse’), but the sense is clearly different in: *jid^yari-* ‘leave’, *manguri-* ‘give’ and especially in *wuguri-* ‘chase’ (*ṛaṇa wuguriṇ* ‘chased me’; DW), of which no corresponding simple verbal stems have been recorded.

7.6. The **reciprocal** *-wa-*. The function is clearly reciprocal in: *balgawa-* ‘talk together or to each other’ (cf. *balga-* ‘do, say’), *dad^yiwa-* ‘give (to) each other’ (cf. *dad^yi-* ‘give’), *nad^yiwa-* ‘look at one another’ (cf. *nad^yi-* ‘see, look at’).

7.7. Verbal stems may finally be reduplicated according to the following pattern: *d^yand^yana-* ‘stand’ (cf. *d^yana-*, idem), *gangaḡa-* ‘come’ (cf. *gaḡa-*, idem). For other kinds of reduplication see in 8.7.

Conjugation

8.1. Conjugation in the languages described here consists in a modal flexional system, person being expressed by independent personal pronouns (see 6.1-2). In general these languages are characterised by having plain ‘nominalisers’ (cf. 4.11) as indicators of different modal forms (for exceptions, see further on). These elements are: *-n*, *-ṇ*, *-j*, and *-l* in Gugu-Bujun and the same formatives are basic in Gugu-Yalandji and Gugu-Yimidir as well (the latter languages further have a ‘nominalising’ *-r-*, for which see in 8.4.). To determine the true function of these modal formatives is, for various reasons, difficult and we have to start with an analysis of evident forms. The number of distinct mode forms is also somewhat vague, although it ought in a general way to be identical with the number of formatives.

8.2. Whereas the form of the imperative is doubtless, being equivalent to the verbal stem and hence always ending in either the vowel *-a* or *-i*, the implication of the consonantal terminations is on many points problematic. In the first place, and by analogy with the norm in eastern

Queensland languages, it is important to identify what we have (in the analysis of these latter languages) chosen to call 'imperfective' and 'perfective' aspect. This is important, because in Gugu-Bujun the idea of 'present' and 'past' time does not seem to be relevant (cf. *bundaj* and *bundañ*, which are both rendered by 'lived' or 'stayed' in English, probably according to whether the verbal action is considered finished or not). As far as the two most important modifiers (-*j* and -*ñ*) are concerned, such a case as the oppositions *ñulu wulaj* 'she is dying' (obviously also 'was dying') and *wulañ* '(is) dead', as representing respectively the *imperfective* and *perfective* mode (or aspect), is significant. This, however, stands in a marked opposition to such alternative cases as *gađai* 'has come' (hence 'perfective'—incidentally, this form seems analogous to the Kattang (New South Wales) *gađai* 'is gone'), on the one hand, and *gađañ* 'came' (rather indifferent as to aspect), on the other, according to DW's renderings. These forms actually seem to indicate a difference between 'present' and 'past' and, as a matter of fact, our chief informant (DW) usually renders -*j* forms by English present forms and -*ñ* forms by English past forms. The matter, however, is hardly as simple as that. In the following analysis of the modal forms in the languages described consideration will be made both of the rendering of Aboriginal verb forms by our informants and of the function of analogous forms in other (neighbouring or related) Australian languages.

8.3. Imperative. For the imperative, see in 8.2; the following are examples: *balga* 'tell', *daga* 'climb', *gaři guni* 'do not kill'. The imperative is formed in the same way in Gugu-Yalandji and Gugu-Yimidir: *ganğađa* 'come along' (CC), *junđu đadı* 'you go' (FG; possibly for **đadı*, cf. 3.8., as the verbal stem is *đadı*-). For the affixed particle -*ga* in Gugu-Bujun, see section 10.

8.4. Imperfective. According to 8.2., there is reason to think that a termination -*j* expresses an imperfective mode. This implies a habitual or durative unfinished verbal action, as in: *balgawaj* 'talking together', *bundaj* 'are sitting', *ňaju wawu wulaj* 'I am thirsty' (literally 'dying for' ?); the verbal action may be in the past or in the present (which is more common according to DW's renderings in English). In the form *wunanj* 'sleeping' it is uncertain whether the element -*na*- is modal or a verbal derivative suffix (cf. 7.4.). An intended action is quite naturally considered as imperfective: *dagaj* 'going to climb', *wambaj* 'will pick up by and by' (DW), *gađaj* 'will come' (also 'has come'; cf. 8.2.), *mirij* 'it will break' (cf. *miriñ* 'broke'); in this way forms in -*j* are used in Gugu-Yalandji as well: *ňaju duňaj* 'I am going' (CC), *gađaj bad^{ya}* 'will come back' (CC); the latter form used also in the sense of 'has come', as also in Gugu-Yimidir: *n^yulu gađaj* 'he is gone or has come' (FG). In this connection one should mention Gugu-Yidimir *ñulu balgaj* 'he made it' (FG), which—if correct—suggests a perfective sense. The Gugu-Yimidir imperfective, however, is formed by means of the suffix -*ra* (by the way, the Punthamara imperfective suffix), as in: *đadıara* 'going now', '(where) are (you) going?', '(where do you) come from?' (FG).

8.5. Perfective. According to 8.2., in the same way, the termination -*ñ* would express the perfective mode or a finished verbal action. This could be seen further in the following instances: *bagañ* 'opened', *bajgañ* 'smoked before' (hence also action in the past), *dagañ* 'climbed', *wulañ* '(he must) have died (as I saw his spirit)' (DW), *miriñ* 'broke', *nad^yiñ* 'saw yesterday', 'have seen' (DW; cf. above). The 'modifier' (or 'nominaliser') -*ñ* may be provided with suffixed (locative ?) -*a* (cf. English 'a-doing', 'a-going', etc.): *nad^yiña* 'saw him over there' (DW), *duňaña miňaga* 'went for game' (DW); it is uncertain whether any particular shade of meaning is intended here. For the forms *wunanañ* 'has been asleep' and *bundandañ* (also -*ndaj*) 'is sitting in the

shade' (DW), compare in 8.4. and for the form *bundañ* 'stayed' (DW), in 8.2., regarding the imperfective *bundaj*. In Gugu-Yalandji, forms in *-ñ* are perfective (or express actions already finished): *ñaju balgañ* 'I told (them)' (CC), *gañgañ* 'came yesterday' (CC), *jundu ñad^yilñ* 'you saw' (CC). That it is not basically a question of an action in the past is made clear by various examples deriving from CC: *balgañ* 'will tell', *wungu^yn ñad^yilñ* 'will see tomorrow'. The Gugu-Yalandji *-ñ* forms may imply eventuality: *gagi ñaju ñad^yilñ ñaju ñuñungu balgañ bama ñubun* 'if I see (him), I will tell him, that one man' (CC). —For a Gugu-Yimidir 'perfective' (or past) *-j*, see in 8.4.

8.6. Certain modal forms, ending in *-n*, are sometimes explained to be equivalent to corresponding forms in *-ñ*: *ñad^yin = ñad^yilñ, ñad^yilñ* ('saw'; DW) and similarly in Gugu-Yalandji *ñaju ñad^yin* 'I have seen him' (CC), *gañan = gañañ* ('come'; CC). Further, the Gugu-Bujun *gari ñad^yin* is rendered either by 'cannot see' or 'have not seen' by DW.

8.7. A 'nominalising' *-n*- or *-ñ*- is intercalated between a compound element in reduplicated verbal forms of the type *bulinbuli-* 'fall' (cf. *buli-*, idem) in Gugu-Bujun: *duñanduñaj* 'is walking (about)' (DW), *duñanduñ* 'gone' (DW). These formations are analogous to the Gugu-Yalandji *nugalnuga-* 'eat', with the 'nominalising' *-l-*; cf. Gugu-Bujun *wambalamba-* 'pick up', from *wamba-*, idem); *nugalnugañ* 'eats' (habitual action; CC), in which consequently the terminating *-ñ* can *not* be said to have a past sense (or even a perfective character).

8.8. **Progressive mode.** Probably this term is in many ways inadequate. We refer to a form ending in the 'nominalising' *-l* (cf. 8.7.), which most often is rendered by English '-ing' forms (mostly perhaps in the sense of English progressive forms of the type 'is doing', etc.). Our informant DW makes a distinction between *wambal* 'picking it up' and *wambaj* 'will pick it up'. Such forms are, for instance: *bajgal* 'smoking', *balgal* '(what are you) doing?', *dagal* 'climbing', *d^yurgil* 'turning round', *ñad^yil* 'am seeing (you)' (also, however, rendered by 'I can see'; DW), *walñal* '(I) am opening (a box)' (DW), as well as also the more indefinite *d^yulmal* '(I) roll' (DW), *wand^yaland^yal* '(what are you) rolling?' (DW), *wand^yal* 'waving, flapping'; in the same way we find in Gugu-Yimidir: *ḍaḍal* 'going' (FG), *jugu miñal* 'fire burning' (FG). If this sense is basic, we still find others, notably the future sense, as in: *dad^yil* '(I) will give (you)' (DW), *jimbi wad^yul* 'will burn my lips' (DW), also appearing in Gugu-Yalandji: *ñaju ñad^yil* 'I will see (him)' (CC), *ñad^yil* '(I) will see (him) tomorrow' (CC). In Gugu-Yimidir an analogous progressive-future form is perhaps found in: *ñaju ñalgal budañal* 'I am having a smoke now' (FG). The Gugu-Yimidir *ñundu (jundu ?) ñad^yungu gañal* 'you come with me' (FG) appears to be wrong or misunderstood. The Gugu-Yimidir extended form in *-la* (cf. *-ña* beside *-ñ*; 8.5) is used in an imperative sense: *balgala* 'make (to me)' (FG). (It should, however, be remembered that the verbal stem may actually be *balgala-*, that is a derivative—'make for' ?—of the simple *balga-* 'make', in which case the imperative form would be regular.

8.9. **Intentional mode.** This mode form, common in Australian languages, is made in the usual way by means of the allative *-ga* (*-gu*; see 5.2.), preceded by the 'nominalising' consonant element *-n-*; the intentional form of the verb hence ends in *-nga* (originally *-ngu*, the vowel of the preceding syllable in the verb stem determining the vowel of the suffix, according to 3.6.). We consequently get the following Gugu-Bujun forms: *bañinga* 'want to cry' (*bañi-*), *bajganga* 'want to smoke' (*bajga-*), *bundanga* '(in order) to sit' (*bunda-*), *guninga* 'to hit, kill' (cf. 5.3., end),

maninga 'to get' (*mani-*), *nad^yinga* 'want to see' (*nad^yi-*), *wambanga* 'will pick up by and by' (*wamba-*). The corresponding modal form in Gugu-Yimidir (ending in *-nu*) is formally different from the Gugu-Bujun intentional suffix (unless representing an evolution of original **-ngu*, not quite without parallels in eastern Queensland); its use is, however, mostly identical: *wawud^yir ḍaḍanu* 'wants to go' (FG), *gaḍanu* 'to come', *nadinu* 'to see' (FG), *balganu* 'let us make' (FG).

8.10. **Gerundial forms.** A single instance of a gerundial form, having reference to the direct object of the main clause in the gerundial construction, is recorded from Gugu-Bujun in: *nad^yiñ nūḡuni d^yand^yaniḡa* 'I saw him standing' (DW); in this construction—if correct—the (reduplicated) verbal stem *d^yand^yana-* appears in a modified form (*d^yand^yani-*, that is with an interchange of the typical stem-final vowel, not without parallels in other Queensland languages); the terminating syllable (*-ḡa*) would be a 'nominalising' *-ḡ-* with a locative (?) *-a*.

8.11. **Auxiliary verbs.** Two auxiliary verb stems *-ga-* and *-gi-* are common in eastern Queensland languages (sometimes interchanging; cf. 8.10). In Gugu-Bujun both *-ga* and *-gi* seem represented, the latter occasionally in a reduplicated form (*-giñgi-*; cf. 8.7.). These auxiliaries are added directly to the stem of the main verb, as suffixes, and conjugated as other verb stems. The meaning corresponds to that of an English progressive (or '-ing') form, as in: *bula jad^yarigaj* or *jad^yarigij* 'the two are laughing' (from *jad^yari-* 'laugh'), with the alternative *jad^yarigiñgij* (perhaps 'laughing all the time'), *ḡuḡul manigij* '(when) it is getting dark' (DW). An evidently related form is found in Gugu-Yimidir, namely one in *-lga-* (that is with an intercalated 'nominaliser', *-l-*, an element corresponding to English '-ing' in progressive forms), as in: *jirgalga* 'talking' (stem: *jirga-*), *ñingalga* 'sitting' (stem: *ñinga-*); sometimes an *-l* form (see 8.8.) of the auxiliary is used: *ñingalgal* '(where are you) living?' (FG).

Postpositions

9. There is sometimes no strict limits between derivative formative elements and such as may be said to answer to Latin case suffixes or to English prepositions. The local *-ba* (see in 4.3.) may be taken as a postposition (*ba*) in: *bundaj wabar ba* 'sitting in the shade' (DW), *baḡal ba* 'on the road', *jalban ba* 'climbing in or on a tree', *ḡarbal ba* '(sitting) in the bush', *d^yulajmba* (cf. 4.3.) '(at) Daintry', *maḡal ba* 'the girl's' (DW; notice that the locative form may express a possessive relation, even when the postposition is used—cf. 5.2.). In Gugu-Yalandji we find *bajan ba* 'at (his) home' (CC) and in Gugu-Yimidir *ḍuḍan bi* (unless wrong or corrupt for **ba* ?) 'on the road' (FG—cf. 3.8). A postposition **ganda* might occur in *mañarganda* 'to (my) wife' (DW)—unless it is a case of the possessive-locative form of **mañargan*; see in 4.8.—while *munḍu* is better established in Gugu-Yalandji *bajan munḍu* 'from home' (CC; this form is evidently to the ablative *-ma*, *-mu*, see 5.2. , as the above *ganda* would be to the allative *-ga*, *-gu*, see *ibidem*). The forms *-bu* and *-d^yi* (dealt with in 4.5-6) also correspond to English prepositions: *gaña bu bagañ* 'dug with yamsticks', *julald^yi* '(going) by boat' (DW). The Yimidir *-gal* 'with' may be taken as an attributive derivative (see 4.7.), as in: *bamagal* 'with a man', *ḡand^yugal* 'with a woman' (hence: 'having a man, woman'; FG).

Connective

10. Although the only connective encountered in Gugu-Bujun occurs (in our material) only as an imperative particle, it is reasonable from a comparative point of view (based on its occurrence in some eastern Queensland languages) to consider it as an original connective (meaning 'then', 'and then', etc.). According to this assumption, the following imperative forms should be analysed as original elliptic constructions with a following anacoluthon or unfinished modification (as expressed by 'then' in English): *gari d'urgid'iga* 'don't turn round (then)', *bundandaga* 'you settle down (then)', *gari bundandaga* 'don't sit down (then)' (DW). If some more primitive function can be detected in *jambagari ga bundan* 'I lived without a home' (DW)—for instance, 'I lived, *then*, without a home'—is quite speculative (although suggesting rather similar constructions in other eastern Queensland languages).

VOCABULARY

The following vocabulary comprises Gugu-Bujun, Gugu-Yalandji and Gugu-Yimidir entries along with a very small number of words deriving from GK (v. section 2). These different sources—except Gugu-Bujun, which constitutes the main body of information—are indicated by the respective signatures *Yal* (Gugu-Yalandji), *Yim* (Gugu-Yimidir), as well as by the abbreviation GK (Mrs Gracie Kyles; see sections 1-2), in front of the corresponding entry.

Nominal stems are given in the nominative (that is the stem form), followed by registered case forms within parentheses, while verbal stems are given with a hyphen (hence: *balga-* 'do', etc.), followed by recorded modal forms in parentheses. The entries are occasionally provided with references to informants, for which see the list of Informants in section 2.

The following abbreviations of grammatical terms are used:

<i>abl.</i>	ablative	<i>interr.</i>	interrogative
<i>acc.</i>	accusative	<i>ipf.</i>	imperfective
<i>adv.</i>	adverb(ial)	<i>loc.</i>	locative
<i>all.</i>	allative	<i>n.</i>	noun
<i>attr.</i>	attributive	<i>neg</i>	negative
<i>aux.</i>	auxiliary	<i>nom.</i>	nominative
<i>car.</i>	caritive	<i>pers.</i>	person(al)
<i>caus.</i>	causative	<i>pf.</i>	perfective
<i>com.</i>	comitative	<i>poss.</i>	possessive
<i>conn.</i>	connective	<i>post.</i>	postposition
<i>dem.</i>	demonstrative	<i>progr.</i>	progressive
<i>der.</i>	derivative	<i>rec</i>	reciprocal
<i>erg.</i>	ergative	<i>refl</i>	reflexive
<i>ger.</i>	gerundial	<i>rel.</i>	relational
<i>imp.</i>	imperative	<i>v.</i>	verb(al)
<i>int.</i>	intentional		

The entries are arranged alphabetically, according to the following order of phonetic symbols: a, b, d, dʸ, ɖ, g, ŋ, i, j, l, m, n, ñ, r, ʃ, R (see 3.2), u, w.

A

-anda *com. suffix*; 5.2.).

B

ba *postp.* 9.

ba (Yal) *postp.* 9.

*ba (Yim) ? *post.* 9.

-ba *loc. der. suffix* 4.3.

babi *n. erg.* babinga father's mother.

bada *adv.* down: ŋaju duŋaj bada I am going down (that way).

badʸa (Yal) *adv.* back, (come) back (CC).

badʸi *n.* 1. a hole; 2. a sore.

baði- *v. imp.* baði; *ipf.* baðij; *pf.* baðin; *int.* baðinga) cry: gaři baði don't cry, ñulu baði baði (n.?) he is crying, ñulu baðin ŋaðigu he cried before.

baðil *n.* tucker.

baga- *v. pf.* bagañ open, take out.

-baga *n. der. suffix* 4.4.

bajan (Yal) *n.* home: ñulu Dicky (digi) bajan ba he, Dicky, is at home (CC), bajan munđu gaðaj come from home.

bajga- *v. pf.* bajgañ; *progr.* bajgal; *int.* bajganga smoke: gaři ŋaju bajgal I am not smoking or don't smoke, ŋaju bajganga wawu I want to smoke.

balba *n.* family (cf. 4.6.).

balbabuŋa- *v. pf.* balbabuŋañ get, have (a baby), get the family way (DW): ñulu balbabuŋañ she had a baby, ŋajgu ŋamu balbabuŋañ ŋajgu ŋandʸanŋa I was born by my mother and father (DW).

balbadʸi *attr. n.* pregnant (= buřudʸi, q.v.; DW).

balbaj¹ *n.* a light.

balbaj² *n.* grog (from another language ?).

balga- *v. imp.* balga; *pf.* balgañ; *progr.* balgal—according to DW there is no *ipf.* *balgaj make, do, tell; wandʸunggu balgañ waŋi who made the boomerang?, wañu jundu balgal balgal what are you doing?, balgañ made family (DW), ñulu waŋi balgal or balgal waŋi he is making a boomerang, gaři balgal won't tell.

balga- (Yal) *v. pf.* ? balgañ tell: ŋuŋungu balgañ will tell him (sic; CC).

balga- (Yim) *v. pf.* ? balgañ; *int.* balganu make: ñulu balgaj he made it (see 8.4; FG), ŋali gaði (? probably gaða, hortative imperative) waŋi balganu come let us make a boomerang.

balgala- (Yim ?) *v. imp.* balgala ? make: ñundu (? probably jundu) ŋadu waŋi balgala you make me a boomerang (cf. 8.8; FG).

balgawa- *v. rec. imp.* balgawa; *ipf.* balgawaj; *pf.* balgawañ) talk (together), to one another: jubal gaři balgawa you two don't talk to each other, ŋali balgawaj we are talking to one another.

balŋgu *n.* little boy: ñulu balŋgu (balŋgu) he is a little boy.

balu *adv.* now.

balu (Yal) *adv.* ? no thanks (sic; CC).

bama *n. erg.* bamaŋga; *poss.* bamaŋa) (Aboriginal) man: bamaŋa dʸiraj dʸiraj (sic) the man's (DW).

bama (Yal) *n.* man: bama ñubun one man, a man.

bama (Yim) *n. com.* bamagal (Aboriginal) man: bama najguja (?) no people (FG).

bama (GK) *n.* man.

bamagaři *car. n.* without (there being) a man, no man, nobody: ŋaja gaři nadʸin bamagaři I did not see anybody.

bana *n.* water (= giwaj giwaj, q.v.).

bana (GK) *n.* (cold) water (= **giwaj giwaj**).

band^yar *n. loc.* **band^yara** grass.

band^yiman (GK) *n.* husband.

baṛal *n.* road: **baṛal ba** on the road.

bi (Yim) ? *post.* 9.

biba *n. poss. loc.* **bibaṇa** paper: **bibaṇa** from paper (DW).

bibi *n.* mammae: **ṇajgu bibi** my 'titties' (DW).

bid^yur bid^yur *adv.* in the early morning.

biṇad^yi *attr. n.* grey, old: **ṇaju biṇad^yi** I am grey, old.

bilir bilir *n.* eyebrow.

bina *n.* ear(s).

bina (GK) *n.* ear(s).

binand^yal (Yal) *n. erg.* **binand^yalu** koala.

bira (Yal) *n.* ? leaf (? CC; *v.* (Yal) **nuga-**).

birigaba *n.* the Bowen language.

biru *n.* ghost, devil.

biwuṛ *n.* wire spear.

bu *post.* 9.

-bu *attr. suffix* 4.5.

bubaj *n. poss.* **bubajmba** (cf. 9); *all.* **bubajgu** small, little (child, etc.), a little: **ṇaju bubaj** I am a little child, **bubaj dad^yi** give me a little, **bubajmba** the small girl's, **ṇaju bubajgu** when I was a little child.

bubañ (Yal) *n.* little boy.

bubu *n. abl.* **bubumu** ground.

bud^yil *n.* nose.

buḍaṛ (Yim) *n.* smoke: **ṇalgal buḍaṛal** (?) having a smoke (FG).

buḍugul *n.* rock wallaby.

buṇan *n. abl.* **buṇanmu**; *loc.* **buṇanda**) sun: **buṇanda bundandañ** have or had been sitting in the sun, **buṇanmu duṇañ ṇaju wabar ba bundardañ** I went out of the sun, sitting in the shade.

buṇand^yi *attr. n.* having sun, (in the) summer time: **ṇaju bundañ buṇand^yi** (also: **buṇan d^yi**; cf. 9) I lived in the summer time (DW).

buṅgu *n.* knee.

bujun *n.* bad, ugly: **jamba naga bujun** the camp over there is ugly.

bula *pers. pron.* 6.1.

bula (Yal) *pers. pron.* 6.1.

bula- (Yim) *v. imp.* **bula**, cf. 3.2(2) drink: **buraj bula** drink water.

buli- *v. imp.* **buli**; *pf.* **buliñ** fall: **buliñ buli** falling (? DW; 8.7.) —Compare **bulinbuli-**.

bulid^ya- *v. caus. pf.* **bulid^yañ** fell, make fall.

bulinbuli- *v. ipf.* **bulinbulij** fall: **wañuringa bulinbuli(j)** why did or does it fall? (DW).

buluṛid^yi *attr. n.* (in the) winter time: **ṇaju bundañ buluṛidí** (also **buluṛi d^yi**) I lived in the winter time.

bunda- *v. imp.* **bunda**; *ipf.* **bundaj**; *pf.* **bundañ**; *int.* **bundanga** sit, stay, stop: **bunda** stop, **wañuringu bundanga** why should I sit or stay (at home)? (DW).

bundanda- *v. imp.* **bundandaga**; *ipf.* **bundandaj**; *pf.* **bundandañ** sit: **jundu gaṛi bundandaga** don't you sit down.

bura *n.* 1. blind; 2. ugly (*v.* **walubura**).

huri *n.* name: **jundu wand^yu huri** what is your name?.

huriñaliñ *n.* namesake.

buṛa *n.* earth.

burud^yi *attr. n.* pregnant. —Compare **balbad^yi**.

buraj (Yim) *n.* water.

D

dabaṛ (Yim) *n.* star(s): **dabaṛ waṛgajgu** a big 'mob' of stars (FG).

dad^yi- v. *imp.* **dad^yi**; *progr.* **dad^yil** give:
ɲajgu dad^yi give me, **ɲaju junu dad^yi** I will give you.

dad^yiwa- v. *rec. ipf.* **dad^yiwaj** give to one another, share.

daga- v. *imp.* **daga**; *ipf.* **dagaj**; *pf.* **dagañ**; *progr.* **dagal** climb, get up, go:
gaɾi daga don't climb, **jundu daga** you climb *or* you get up, go, **ñulu dagal dagal** he is climbing.

daguj v. n. ? (be) hungry: **ɲaju daguj** I am hungry.

dagaɾi n. water (speaking respectfully; = **d^yalungar**, q.v.).

dama- v. *pf.* **damaña**, v. 8.5. spear: **d^yurmbanu damaña** (they) speared kangaroos *or* wallabies.

damal (Yim) n. 1. foot, feet; 2. footprint(s).

daña *pers. pron.* 6.1. they; all the people.

darba (Yal) n. wallaby.

daɾi daɾi *adv.* slowly.

dimuɾ n. *erg.* **dimuɾungu** spirit, ghost.

dinda- v. *pf.* **dindañ** cover up (also 'uncover' ?): **miña dindañ gurmaña** (they) covered up the game with stones (to cook it), **d^yurmbanu dindañ** (they) uncovered (?) the wallaby (after cooking it). —Compare **nanda-**.

dini (Yim) (**dijini** ?) n. red.

duandua- v. cf. 8.7.): **duanduañ** gone.

duña- v. *imp.* **duña**; *ipf.* **duñaj**; *pf.* **duñañ**, **duñaña**; *int.* **duñanga** go: **ɲaju gaɾi duña** I am not going (let me not go), **ɲaju duñañ bada bada** I went down there, **jundu wand^yanga(r) duñaj** (tell me) where you are going, **ɲaju nad^yin ñuñuni duñaj** I saw him go, **ɲaju duñanga** I want to go, **ɲaju duñaj guða** I must go, **duñañ gubaɾa** married (went to) a Chinaman (DW).

duña- (Yal) v. *ipf. pf.* (?) **duñaj**; cf. 8.4.) go: **ɲaju duñaj** I am going (CC).

duñanduña- v. *ipf.* **duñanduñaj** walk (about).

dumba- v. **dumbarlu** ? v. 3.4. break: **jundu dumbarlu ɲaɾi** you might break your leg (DW).

duñu n. *com.* **duñundu** 1. husband; 2. boy friend: **ɲajgu duñu mini mini** my husband is good, **ñulu ɲajgu duñu** he is my boy friend, **wunañ duñundu** I married (slept with) a husband (DW).

D^y

-d^ya- *caus. suffix* 7.2.

d^yad^ya n. excrement: **ñulu d^yad^ya** (evacuating).

d^yad^yad^yi *attr. n.* **ñulu bundandaj d^yad^yad^yi** he sits evacuating. —Compare **d^yad^ya**.

d^yanga n. 1. stone (= **gurma**, q.v.); 2. money: **d^yanga dad^yi** give (me) money.

d^yajbañ v. **d^yañba-**.

d^yalama- v. *pf.* **d^yalamañ** run away.

d^yalbad^yi *attr. n.* pregnant (carrying a baby; DW): **d^yalbu d^yalbad^yi** a pregnant woman.

d^yalban n. tree: **d^yalban ba dagal** climbing (in) the tree.

d^yalbu n. *erg.* **d^yalbuña** woman: **d^yalbu d^yalbu** big woman *or* women (DW).

d^yalungar n. water, cold water (= **bana**, q.v.).

d^yambul (Yal) n. two people (CC). —Compare **jambul**.

d^yambun n. grub(s): **ɲaju nugañ d^yambun** I ate grubs.

d^yana *pers. pron.* 6.1.

d^yana (Yal) *pers. pron.* 6.1.

d^yana- v. *imp.* **d^yana**; *ipf.* **d^yanaj**; *pf.* **d^yanañ** stand.

d^yand^yana- v. cf. 7.7.: *ipf.* **d^yand^yanaj**; *pf.* **d^yand^yanañ**; *progr. ger.* **d^yand^yaniña** stand: **nad^yin ñuñuni** *or* **dimuɾ d^yand^yaniña** I saw him *or* a ghost standing.

d^yańba- (**d^yajba-**) *v. pf.* **d^yańbań**, **d^yajbań** stick, be stuck (in something).

d^yańbari- *v. pf.* **d^yańbariń** send (out): **jirungu d^yanbariń** the Rainbow Serpent has sent out (the visible rainbow).

-**d^yar** *rel. suffix.* 4.12.

d^yarwaj *n.* swan or any bird (DW).

-**d^yi** *attr. suffix* 4.6.

-**d^yi-** *refl. suffix.*

d^yibar *n. abl.* **d^yibarmu** west: **ńulu duńaj d^yibar** he is going west, **ńulu gađaj d^yibarmu** he comes from the west, **d^yibarmu bama** the man from the west.

d^yigan (Yal) *n.* grass: **ńulu d^yigan nugalnugań** he eats grass (CC)

d^yilbabaga *n.* too much, (too) lively: **mařalgu ŋaju d^yilbabaga** as a girl I was lively (DW).

d^yilbagari *car. n.* without walking about (DW).

d^yilbud^yilbu (GK) *n.* policeman or white man.

d^yinbar *n.* wrist.

-**d^yir** (Yim) *attr. suffix* 4.7.

d^yiraj *n. erg.* **d^yirajnd^ya**; *all.* **d^yirajnga** man, boy: **d^yiraj d^yiraj** a big man, **ńuńungu d^yirajnga** (I like) him, the man (DW).

d^yirbal *n.* native companion, broлга.

d^yiri *n. loc* **d^yiriņa** sky: **d^yiri mini mini** clear sky (without clouds), **d^yiriņa dagań** going (sic) up into the sky (DW).

d^yugu *n. loc* **d^yugunu** tree: **d^yugu garnga** hole or hollow in a tree, **d^yugu ŋand^yard^yi** banana tree, **jundu d^yugunu dagal dagal** you are climbing trees. —Compare Yim **jugu**.

d^yugumiri *n. v.* broke (probably used in the sense of 'without money'). —Compare **miri**.

d^yungalu *n.* billycan.

d^yulajmba *loc. n. abl.* **d^yulajmu** Daintry (the name of a place, Cape York): **ŋaju**

d^yulajmba bundaj or **bundań** I live at Daintry, **d^yulajmba duńaj** going to Daintry, **d^yulajmu gađań** came from Daintry.

d^yulbi *n.* belly, inside: **d^yulbi bagań** opened the inside.

d^yulŋul *n. abl.* **d^yulŋulmu** 1. hole in the earth; 2. earth or dirt; 3. papaw: **d^yulŋul bagań** opened a hole in the ground.

d^yulma- *v. progr.* **d^yulmal** roll: **ŋaju d^yulmal bibaņa** I make (cigaretts) from paper (DW).

d^yulmbanu (Yal) *n.* kangaroo (CC).

d^yuma *adv.* by and by: **d^yuma wambaj, wambal** will pick up, (picking it up) by and by (DW).

d^yurbal *n.* slippery.

d^yurgi- *v. progr.* **d^yurgil** turn round (transitive).

d^yurgid^yi- *v. imp.* **d^yurgid^yiga** turn round (intransitive): **gari d^yurgid^yiga** don't turn round.

d^yurmbanu *n.* big grey kangaroo or wallaby (DW). —Compare Yal **d^yulmbanu**.

d^yuru *n.* elbow.

d^yuwa *n.* poor fellow.

đ

đada- (Yim) *v. imp.* **đadı**, cf. 8.3; *ipf.* **đadara**; *pf.* **đadaj**; *progr.* **đadal**; *int.* **đadanu** go: **ŋaju ńila đadara** I am going now, **ńulu đadaj** he is gone, **wawud^yir đadanu** (he) wants to go (FG).

đudan (Yim) *n.* track or road: **đudan bi damal guwa đadari** (-ra?) these are tracks going (north?) on the road (FG).

G

ga (-ga) *conn.* 10.

-**ga** *all. suffix.* 3.6., 5.2., 8.9.

-**ga-** *aux.* 8.11.

gabir *n. all.* **gabirgu** young woman (= **maṛal**; DW): **ṇaju gabirgu** as a young woman, when I was a young woman.

gabul *n.* a kind of carpsnake, lighter in colour, living in the forest (DW). —Compare **gurijala**.

gad^yaga (**gad^ya** ? *adv.*) too much: **gari nuga gad^yaga** (or **gad^ya ga** ? cf. 10) don't eat too much (DW).

gada- *v. imp.* **gaḍa**; *ipf.* **gaḍaj**; *pf.* **gaḍaṅ**; *int.* **gaḍanga** come, come back: **jundu gaḍa** you come, **ṇulu gaḍaj ṇigu** he will come today, **wand^yajmu jundu gaḍaṅ** where did you come from?, **gaḍanga** wants to come, **jundu duṇaj ṇajgundu balga gaḍanga** you are going, you tell me when you come back (DW; notice use of the intentional mode in subordinate or conditional clauses in eastern Queensland languages).

gaḍa- (Yal) *v. impf.* **gaḍaj**, *pf.* ? **gaḍaṅ**, **gaḍan** come: **ṇaju gaḍaj bad^ya** I will come back (CC).

gaḍa- (Yim) *v. imp.* **gaḍi**, cf. 8.3.; *ipf.* **gaḍara**; *pf.* **gaḍaj**; *progr.* ? **gaḍal**; *int.* **gaḍanu** come: **ṇundu (jundu ?) gaḍi juwaj** you come here (FG), **ṇali gaḍi** come let us ... (FG), **ṇundu (jundu ?) wandalṇan gaḍara** where do you come from? (FG), **ṇulu gaḍaj** he has come.

gaḍar *n.* wallaby.

gaga *n. all.* **gagaga** tobacco: **gaga dad^yi** give (me) tobacco, **jundu gagaga wawu** you like tobacco.

gaga (GK) *n.* tobacco, a smoke.

gagi (Yal) *adv.* perhaps (used as 'if' in English): **gagi ṇaju ṇad^yiṅ ṇaju ṇuṇungu balgaṅ bama ṇubun** if I see him, a certain man, I will tell him (CC).

gaguwar *n.* five (= **guluṛ**; DW).

gaṅgaḍa- (Yal) **gaṅgaḍa-** *v. imp.* **gaṅgaḍa**; *pf.* **gaṅgaḍaṅ** come (along): **jundu gaṅgaḍa** you come on along, **ṇaju jilajgu gaṅgaḍan** I came along yesterday (CC). —Compare **gaṅgaḍa-**.

gaṅgal *n.* boy(s), girl(s), children, babies: **ṇajgu gaṅgal** my daughter or child (DW).

gaṅgal (Yal) *n.* little boy (CC).

gaja *n. erg.* **gajaṅga**; *all.* **gajaṅga** dog: **ṇajgu gaja** my dog, **ṇaju wawu gajaṅga** I like dogs (DW).

gajimugu (Yim) *n.* hat.

gajimugud^yir (Yim) *attr. n.* having a hat.

gal (Yim) *post.* 9.

-gal (Yim) *n. der. com. suffix.* 5.2.; 4.7.

galba *n.* some (= 'a bit', etc.): **ṇaju galba dad^yil** I will give (you) some (DW).

galga *n.* spear: **galga bu** with a spear, with spears (= **galgad^yi**, q.v.; DW).

galgad^yi *attr. n.* having a spear or spears, with spears.

gamba *n. adv.* quiet, quietly: **jundu gamba gamba bundandaga d^yilbagari** you sit or settle down quietly (as an old person) without walking about (DW), **gamba biṇad^yi** settled down and old (grey) (DW).

gambad^yi *attr. n.* settled down, quiet (cf. **gamba**): **ṇaju gambad^yi** I am an old woman.

gambi *n.* 1. dress; 2. curtain (probably any piece of cloth or material).

gami *n.* mother's mother: **ṇaju ṇuṇu gami** I am his or her grandmother (DW).

gamind^yar *n.* grandchild: **ṇajgu gamind^yar** my granddaughter (DW).

gamu gamu *n.* grog.

-gan *feminine suffix* 4.8.

***ganda** *post.* ? 9.

gand^yu (GK) *n.* the name of a tribe and language, Kantlyu.

gaṅgaḍa- (**gaṅgara-**, cf. 3.2 (2); *v. ipf.* **gaṅgaḍaj**, **gaṅgaraj**) come: **ṇulu wand^yajmu gaṅgaraj d^yiraj**, **ṇulu d^yalbu wand^yajmu gaṅgaraj** where does that man, woman come from? (DW). —Compare Yal **gaṅgaḍa**.

- gaña** *n.* yamstick: **gaña bu bagañ** dug with yamsticks.
- gañad^yi** *attr. n.* having a yamstick, yamsticks: **gañad^yi duñañ d^yalbu d^yalbu** the women went with yamsticks (DW).
- garnga** *n.* any hole, opening.
- gaři** *neg. adv.* no, not, don't.
- gaři** (Yal) *neg. adv.* nothing, no (CC).
- gaři** (GK) *neg. adv.* nothing, no.
- gaři** *car, suffix* 4.9.
- gařu** (GK) *n.* yam(s).
- gawun** (GK) *n.* clothes (from English 'gown').
- gi-** *aux.* 8.11.
- gid^ya** *n.* moon.
- giřa** *n.* little girl (= **mařal**, DW): **giřa mamara** two little girls.
- giřugaři** *car. n.* silly, mad: **giřugaři wařmbařmba** silly, stupid (DW).
- giwaj giwaj** (GK) *n.* (cold) water (= **d^yalungar** or **bana**).
- gu** *all. suffix* 3.6.; 5.2.
- gubar** *n.* big eel. —Compare **mawuř**.
- gubařa** (**gubařa gubařa**) *n.* Chinaman.
- gud^yal** *n.* pregnant (from another language; DW).
- guđa** *adv.* must (?): **ņaju duņaj guđa** I must go (DW; unless related to **guđajmu**, q.v., hence 'go back'?).
- guđajmu** *adv.* from behind: **d^yiraj ņajgundu guđajmu gađaj** a man has come from behind me (DW).
- gugabaga** *n.* talkative: **ńulu bama jiña gugabaga** that man, he talks so much (DW).
- gugu** *n.* language, talk.
- gugu** (Yim) *n.* talk (FG).
- gugu bujun** *n.* the name of a language, Gugu-Bujun.
- gugu jimid^yir** (Yim) *n.* the name of a language, Gugu-Yimidir.
- gugu mini** *n.* the name of a Mitchell river language.
- gugu mul(u)řid^yi** *n.* the name of a Cape York language.
- guņar** *n. abl.* **guņgarmu** east: **guņgarmu bama** the man from the east.
- guju** *n. abl.* **gujuju** fish: **gujuju** or **guju maninga** going for fish or to catch fish (DW).
- gulur** (Yal) *n.* three people (CC).
- guluř** *n.* four or five (DW).
- gumbu** *n.* urine.
- gumbud^yi** *attr. n.* passing water: **ńulu gumbud^yi**.
- guńd^yaņar** *n.* long yams.
- gund^yin** *n.* five. —Compare GK **wund^yu**.
- gund^yin** (GK) *n.* five. —Compare **wund^yu**.
- gund^yuru** *n.* shield.
- gungun** *n.* scrub.
- guni-** *v. imp.* **guni**; *pf.* **guniń**; *progr.* **gunil**; *int.* **guninga** hit, kill: **gaři guni** don't kill, **ńulu ņuņuni wawu guninga** he wants or likes to hit him.
- gurand^yi** *n.* the name of a language.
- gurand^yi** (Yal) *n.* emu (CC).
- gurd^yu** *n.* three: **d^yiraj gurd^yu** three boys. —Compare **gulur**, **guluř**.
- gurijala** *n.* a big black carpetsnake, living in the scrub. —Compare **gabul**.
- gurma** *n. loc.* **gurmaņa**; *abl.* **gurmamu** stone (= **jaņa**, q.v.): **gurmaņa** (covered) with stones.
- guwa** *n. abl.* **guwajmu** north: **duņaj guwa** going north, **guwajmu bama** the man from the north.
- guwa** (Yim) *n.* north (?). —Compare s.v. **đuđan**.
- guwaga** *n.* dog (from another language; DW).

ŋ

- ŋa¹ *poss. loc. suffix* 3.6.; 5.2.
 -ŋa² *ger. suffix* 8.10.
 ŋadigu *adv.* before, long ago.
 ŋad^yi *n.* grandfather.
 ŋaŋgin (Yal) *n.* porcupine.
 ŋajgu *pers. pron.* 6.1.
 ŋajgu (Yal) *pers. pron.* 6.1.
 ŋajguja (Yim) (? see 4.9.).
 ŋajma *n.* eye(s).
 ŋaju *pers. pron.* 6.1.
 ŋaju (Yal) *pers. pron.* 6.1.
 ŋaju (Yim) *pers. pron.* 6.1.
 ŋaju (GK) *pers. pron.* 6.1.
 ŋalan (Yim) *n.* sun.
 ŋalga- (Yim) *v. progr.* ŋalgal): ŋaju
 ŋala ŋalgal buɖaɖal (?) I am having a
 smoke.
 ŋali *pers. pron.* 6.1.
 ŋali (Yal) *pers. pron.* 6.1.
 ŋali (Yim) *pers. pron.* 6.1.
 ŋali (GK) *pers. pron.* 6.1.
 ŋalin (Yal) *pers. pron.* 6.3.
 ŋamu *n. erg.* ŋamunggu; *com.* ŋamundu
 mother: ŋajgu ŋamu wulaŋ my mother
 is dead, ŋaju ŋajgu ŋamundu duŋaŋ
 I went (together) with my mother.
 ŋana *pers. pron.* 6.1.
 ŋana (Yal) (ŋaŋa ?) *pers. pron.* 6.1.
 ŋana (Yim) *pers. pron.* 6.1.
 ŋand^yan *n. erg.* ŋand^yananga; *com.*
 ŋand^yananda father.
 ŋand^yard^yi (-d^yij ?) *n.* banana.
 ŋand^yin (Yal) *pers. pron.* 6.3.
 ŋand^yu (Yim) *n. com.* ŋand^yugal
 woman.
 ŋaŋa *pers. pron.* 6.1.
 ŋaŋa (Yal) *pers. pron.* 6.1.

- ŋaŋa (Yal) *v.* Yal ŋana.
 ŋarbal *n.* 1. bush, scrub; 2. stranger: ŋaju
 ŋarbal ba bundaj I am or was sitting
 (living) in the bush (DW).
 ŋari *n.* leg.
 ŋawa *n.* baby.
 ŋawija *n.* salt-water turtle.
 -ŋga *erg. suffix* 3.6.; 5.2.
 -ŋgu *erg. suffix* 3.6.; 5.2.
 ŋili ŋili *n.* duck.
 ŋingi *n.* eyelids.
 -ŋu *poss. loc. suffix* 3.6.; 5.2.
 ŋuba *adv.* must?: ŋuba ŋulu wulaŋ he
 must have died (I saw his spirit) (DW).
 ŋud^yaj *n.* fresh-water turtle. —Compare
 mud^yaj.
 ŋud^yur *n.* daughter.
 ŋud^yuwaɖi- *v. imp.* ŋud^yuwaɖi play:
 gaɖi ŋud^yuwaɖi waŋiŋa, ball-d^yi
 don't play with the boomerang, the ball
 (DW).
 ŋujuli *n.* plum.
 ŋulban (Yim) *n.* cloud.
 ŋulgur(n)ad^yaŋ (perhaps: ŋulgur nad^yiŋ
 ?) *n.* goodlooking (DW)
 ŋulu *n.* forehead. —Compare GK mulu.
 ŋurgu *n.* mopoke (owl).
 ŋuɖul *n.* dark: ŋuɖul manigij ŋaju
 duŋaj when it gets dark I will go (DW).

J

- j¹ *nominaliser* 4.11.
 -j² *ipf. suffix* 8.2, 4.
 -j (Yim) *pf. suffix* ? 8.4-5.
 -j- *nominaliser* 8.1-2.
 jad^yari- *v. imp.* jad^yariga; *aux. ipf.*
 jad^yarigij laugh: jubal gaɖi
 jad^yariga you two don't laugh, bula
 jad^yarigij the two are laughing (DW).

jad^yarigiŋgi- *v. ipf.* **jad^yarigiŋgi**
laugh.

jala *dem. pron.* 6.4. this or here.

jaland^yi (GK) *n.* the name of a language,
Gugu-Yalandji.

jalaña *dem. pron.* 6.4.

jalbaj *n. erg.* **jalbajnd^ya** big: **d^yirajnd^ya**
jalbajnd^ya balgañ the big man has
done or said it (DW).

jamba *n. abl.* **jambama**; *loc.* **jambaña**;
all. **jambanga** 1. home; 2. thing (? cf.
jambagaŋi); **ŋajgu jamba** my home,
ŋaju bundaj jambaña I am (sitting) at
home, **gañañ jambama** came from
home.

jambagaŋi *car. n. all.* **jambagaŋiga**
1. without a home or house; 2. nothing:
jambagaŋiga bundaŋ I lived without a
house (DW; literally: *as one* without a
house; *v.* 5.3. end).

jamba jamba *n.* everything: **nad^yi jamba**
jamba look at everything (DW).
—Compare **jamba**, **jambagaŋi**.

jambul *n.* two. —Compare Yal **d^yambul**.

jara (**jarana** ? *n. all.* **jaranaga** ?) 1. south;
2. this way: **jaranaga duñañ** (?) went
this way. —Compare **naga**.

jaraman (GK) *n.* horse.

jarana *v.* **jara**.

jarga *n.* kid, child.

jarga jarga *n.* kids, children.

jargarga *n.* child(ren).

jawa (Yal) *n.* possum.

jid^yari- *v. imp.* **jid^yariga** leave: **ŋajgu**
jid^yariga galba leave some for me
(DW).

jigal *n.* 1. small (a child, etc.); 2. a little
(speaking respectfully, for **bubaj**, *q.v.*).

jilaj *adv.* yesterday.

jilaj (Yal) *adv.* yesterday.

jilajgu *adv.* yesterday.

jilajgu (Yal) *adv.* yesterday.

jimbi *n.* lip(s).

jimid^yir (Yim) *attr. n.* 1. this, here; 2. the
name of a language, Gugu-Yimidir.

jinda (GK) *pers. pron.* 6.1.

jindujmbuwa ? *n.* another fellow.

jiña *dem. pron.* 6.4. that, there; **jundu**
daga jiña mani you go and get that
(DW).

jirga- (Yim) *v. aux.* **jirgalga** *v.* 8.11. talk:
jirgalga ŋundu (jundu ?) bamagal
you are talking with the man (FG).

jirmba *n.* spear.

jiru *n. erg.* **jirungu** 1. alligator (DW);
2. 'something underneath', the Rainbow
Serpent; 3. (the visible) rainbow: **jiru**
d^yiriŋa rainbow in the sky, **jirungu**
ŋuŋuni d^yañbariñ the Rainbow Serpent
sends (has sent) him (the visible rainbow)
(DW).

jubal *pers. pron.* 6.1.

jubal (Yal) *pers. pron.* 6.1.

jugu (Yim) *n.* 1. tree; 2. wood; 3. fire:
jugu wargajbu big 'mob' of trees, **jugu**
mind^yal fire burning (FG). —Compare
jugu.

jugu (GK) *n.* 1. tree; 2. stick; 3. yamstick.

jugud^yir (Yim) *attr. n.* having trees, with
the trees (FG).

juŋuŋ *n.* shadow.

julal *n.* 1. box; 2. boat.

julald^yi *attr. n.* having a boat: **julald^yi**
duŋaj going by boat (DW).

jundu *pers. pron.* 6.1.

jundu (Yal) *pers. pron.* 6.1.

jundu (Yim) *pers. pron.* 6.1.

jundu (GK) *pers. pron.* 6.1.

jura *pers. pron.* 6.1.

jura (Yal) *pers. pron.* 6.1.

juwaj (Yim) *adv.* here.

I

- l *progr. suffix* 8.8.
 -l (Yal) *progr. suffix* 8.8.
 -l (Yim) *progr. suffix* 8.8.
 -l- *nominaliser* 8.7.
 -la (Yim) *imp. suffix* ? 8.8.
 -la- (Yim) *v. der. suffix* ? 8.8.
 -lga, lgal (Yim) *aux.* 8.11.

M

- ma *abl. suffix* 3.6.; 5.2.
 maṅal (Yim) *n.* hand.
 maṅuri- *v. imp.* maṅuriga give (speaking respectfully, for dad^{yi}- q.v.): maṅuriga jiṅal give me a little (= bubaj dad^{yi}; DW), wambugan maṅuriga please give (me) money (DW).
 majal *n.* baby's feeding bottle: ṅaju gaṛi nugañ majal I never tasted the feeding bottle (DW).
 majṅgu *n. all.* majṅgugu mango: maji majṅgu mango, majiga majṅgugu (to go) for mango(es).
 maji *n. all.* majiga food (fruit, yams, etc.): maji dad^{yi} nuganga give (me) food to eat (DW).
 maji (Yal) *n.* 1. leaf, leaves; 2. food (CC).
 maji (GK) *n.* bread.
 majid^{yi} *attr. n.* having (vegetable) food: majid^{yi} (they ate wallaby) with 'food' or yams (DW).
 mamara *n.* two (together): bama bula mamara duṅañ two men went, ṅali wunañ mamara we slept both together (we were married; DW).
 -man *pers. der. suffix* 4.10.
 mani- *v. imp.* mani; *pf.* manin; *progr.* manil; *int.* maninga; *aux. ipf.* manigij
 1. get, take, fetch, catch; 2. become, get (probably copying English): gaṛi mani don't take (it), ṅaju guluṛ manin gaṅgal I got or had five children (DW), nuṛul manigij it is getting dark (DW).
 mañar *n. erg.* mañada wife: mañar ṅuju his wife, ṅajgu mañada ṅaña nad^{yi}ñ my wife saw me.
 mañar *n.* woman or girl (GK).
 mañargan ? *n. poss.* mañarganda (?) cf. 4.8.; 9): mañarganda to my wife (DW).
 maragan *n. loc.* maraganda canoe (as used by Kanakas; DW).
 maragand^{yi} *attr. n.* having a canoe, with a canoe.
 mard^{ya} *n. loc.* mard^{ya}ṅa scrub, bush.
 maṛa *n.* 1. hand; 2. five.
 maṛa (GK) *n.* hand.
 maṛal *n. erg.* maṛalṅa; *all.* maṛalgu girl: jalaña maṛal ba this is the girl's (DW).
 maṛawad^{yu}- *v. pf.* maṛawad^{yu}ñ rear: ṅaña maṛawad^{yu}ñ (she) reared me. —Compare maṛa, wad^{yu}.
 mawuṛ *n.* little eel. —Compare gubar.
 mijal (Yim) *n.* eye(s).
 mijalu (Yim) *n.* shade or shadow: mijalu bi (?) in the shade (FG).
 milga *n.* ear(s).
 milga (Yim) *n.* ear(s).
 milgad^{ya}na- *v. pf.* milgad^{ya}nañ (stand) listen(ing), hear: ṅaju ṅujuni nad^{yi}ñ ṅaju milgad^{ya}nañ balgañ I saw him and heard him say (DW).
 mind^{ya}- (Yim) *v. progr.* mind^{ya}l burn: jugu mind^{ya}l fire burning (FG).
 mini *n.* good: jalaña jamba mini mini this is a good house. —Compare gugu mini.
 miña *n. all.* miñaga game: duṅañ(a) miñaga went for game (DW).
 miña (Yal) *n.* 1. kangaroo; 2. meat.
 miña (GK) *n.* meat.
 miri- *v. ipf.* mirij; *pf.* mirin break (intransitive): waṅi mirin the boomerang broke.

mirid^ya- *v. caus.* : *progr.* **mirid^yal** break (transitive).

miṛa (GK) *n.* eye(s).

-mu *abl. suffix* 3.6.; 5.2.

mud^yaj *n.* fresh-water turtle. —Compare **ṇud^yaj**.

munga *n.* hair (on the head or the body): **ṇaju** (**ṇajgu** ?) **munga dagañ** my hair stood on an end (DW).

munga (GK) *n.* hair.

mujar *n. erg.* **mujar(a)ṅga** wind: **mujarṅga bulid^yañ, wald^yañ** the wind made it fall, **mujarṅga wundiñ gambi** the wind took the curtain (DW).

mulad^yar *n.* star(s).

mul(u)ṛid^yi *n.* a dialect of Gugu-Bujun. —Compare **gugu mul(u)ṛid^yi**.

munḍu (Yal) *post.* 9.

-munḍu (Yal) *abl. suffix* 5.2.

mulu (GK) *n.* forehead. —Compare **ṇulu**.

munda (GK) *n.* any snake.

muñi (Yim) *n.* black.

mura (GK) *n.* dog.

murali *n. erg.* **muraliṅga** Rainbow Serpent ('the thing below'; DW): **muraliṅga jiru d^yañbariñ d^yiriṅa** the 'thing below' sent up the rainbow into the sky. —Compare **muramali**.

muramali *n.* 1. the (visible) rainbow; 2. the 'thing' from which it comes: **muramali d^yañbariñ jiru** (corrected: **jirungu**) the rainbow is sent up by the **jiru**, q.v. (DW). —Compare **murali**.

muṛinmuṛind^yi- *v. imp.* **muṛinmuṛind^yi;** *ipf* **muṛinmuṛind^yij** turn or circle about: **gaṛi jundu muṛinmuṛind^yi** don't you turn round.

N

-n¹ *nominaliser* 4.11.

-n² *pf. suffix* 8.6.

-n- *nominaliser* 8.1-2, 7.

-na- *durative der. suffix* 7.4.

nadi- (Yim) *v. ipf.* **nadij** (?); *int.* **nadinu** see.

nad^yi- (**ñad^yi-**) *v. imp.* **nad^yi;** *pf.* **nad^yiñ, nad^yiña, nad^yin;** *progr.* **nad^yil;** *int.* **nad^yinga** see, look (at), find: **gaṛi nad^yi** don't look, **jilajgu ṇaju ṇuṇuni nad^yin** yesterday I saw him, **ṇaju ṇuṇuni gaṛi nad^yin** I have not seen him, **ṇaju jununi nad^yil** I can see you, **ṇaju gaṛi ṇuṇuni ñad^yin ṇadigu** I have not seen him before, **ṇaju jununi ñad^yinga** I want to see you, **ṇaju nad^yiñ d^yaṅga** I found money.

naga *adv.* 1. in the south; 2. over there: **ñulu naga bundaj** he lives in the south, **jamba naga** the house over there. —Compare **jara**.

nagajmu *adv.* from the south: **nagajmu bamanga** the man (*erg.*) from the south.

nambal *n.* big flat stone.

nanda- *v. pf.* **nandañ** cover: **nandañ miña** covered the game (when cooking) (DW).

nandad^yi- *v. refl. pf.* **nandad^yiñ** cover oneself, be covered or stopped: **ṇaju ṇinuni milga nandad^yiñ** I cannot hear you, **ṇaju gaṛi milga nadad^yiñ** I am not deaf, **ṇajma nandad^yiñ** blind (= **bura**, q.v.; DW), **ṇaju nandad^yiñ** I covered myself.

nawa (Yim) *v. adv.* look here.

-nda *com. suffix* 5.2.

-nda- *durative der. suffix.* 7.4.

-ndu *com. suffix.* 5.2.

-nd^yar *rel. suffix* 4.12.

-nga¹ *all. suffix* 3.6.; 5.2.

-nga² *int. suffix* 8.9.

-ngu *all. suffix* 3.6.; 5.2.

-nu (Yim) *int. suffix* 8.9.

nubinubid^yi- *v. ipf. pf. ?* **nubinubid^yin** hunt: **nubinubid^yin** hunting (DW).

nuga- *v. imp.* **nuga;** *pf.* **nugañ;** *progr.* **nugal;** *int.* **nuganga** eat or drink:

d^yalungar, maji dad^yi nuganga
give water, food to eat (drink).

nuga- (Yal) *v. pf.* **nugalnugañ**, see 8.7.
eat: **maji nulu nugalnugañ bira** he
has eaten the leaf (CC).

ñ

-ñ¹ *nominaliser* 4.11.

-ñ² *pf. suffix* 8.2, 5.

-ñ- *nominaliser* 8.1.

-ña *pf. suffix* 8.5.

ñad^yi- *v. nad^yi-*

ñad^yi- (Yal) *v. ipf. pf. ?* **ñad^yiñ, ñad^yin,**
progr. **ñad^yil**; see, look at: **jundu**
Charlie (**d^yali**) **ñad^yiñ bajan ba** you
saw Charlie at his home (CC), **ñaju**
ñuñun ñad^yil I will see him (CC).

ñad^yid^yi- *v. refl. imp.* **ñad^yid^yiga; ipf.**
ñad^yid^yij look at oneself: **jundu gari**
ñad^yid^yiga don't you look at yourself
(in the mirror), **ñaju ñad^yid^yij** I am
looking at myself.

ñad^yiwa- *v. rec. ipf.* **ñad^yiwaj** look at
each other: **ñali ñad^yiwaj** we (two) are
looking at one another.

ñala (Yim) *adv.* now (= **ñila**, q.v.).

ñanda- *v. pf.* **ñandañ** cut (as a
boomerang).

ñigu *adv.* today.

ñigu (Yal) *adv.* today: **ñaju ñuñun**
ñad^yiñ ñigu I saw him today, **ñigu**
ñaju ñad^yiñ ñaju balgañ bama
guluṛ when I saw them today, I told
them (CC).

ñila (Yim) *adv.* now (= **ñala**, q.v.).

ñinga- (Yim) *v. aux. progr.* **ñingalga,**
ñingalgal sit, live: **ñañugal ñaju,**
ñundu (jundu ?) ñingalga I am, you
are sitting with a woman, **ñundu wandalbi**
ñingalgal where are you living (do you
live?) (FG).

ñubañ *n.* one, alone: **nulu ñubañ gira**
she is the only girl (DW). —Compare
ñubun.

ñubun *n.* one. —Compare **ñubañ**.

ñubun (Yal) *n.* one person (CC).

ñulu *pers. pron.* 6.1.

ñulu (Yal) *pers. pron.* 6.1.

ñulu (Yim) *pers. pron.* 6.1.

ñulu (GK) *pers. pron.* 6.1.

ñundu (Yim) ? *pers. pron.* 6.1.

R

-r- (Yim) *nominaliser* 8.1.

-ra (Yim) *ipf. suffix* 8.4.

-ri- *intransitive suffix ?* 7.5.

-(u)ngu *erg. suffix* 3.6.; 5.2.

W

-wa- *rec. suffix* 7.6.

wabar *n.* shade: **bundaj wabar ba** or
wabar ba bundandañ sitting in the
shade (DW).

wabul *n.* pigeon.

wad^yu- *v. pf.* **wad^yuñ; progr.** **wad^yul**
burn, singe, cook: **maji wad^yuñ** cooked
food, **munga wad^yuñ** (they) burned or
singed the hair (of the game), **jimbi**
wad^yul will burn (my) lips (DW).

wagaj *n.* branch or limb (of a tree).

wagaman *n.* the name of a Cape York
language, the Everton or Chilligo
language.

wajar (Yim) *n.* white man.

wajar *adv.* up.

waji *n. poss. loc.* **wajina; all.** **wajiga**
boomerang: **gund^yuri balgal wajiga**
making a shield for the boomerang (DW).

waji (Yim) *n.* boomerang.

wajbala *n.* whitefellow: **wajbala d^yiraj**
a white man.

walar *n.* beard.

wald^ya- *v. pf.* **wald^yañ** make (something)
fall, tumble.

- walŋa-** *v. pf.* **walŋaŋ**; *progr.* **walŋal** open, take out from: **miŋa walŋaŋ** took out the game (from the oven), **ŋaju julal walŋal** I am opening the box (DW).
- walu** *n.* face: **walu mini mini** good-looking.
- walubura** *n.* ugly.
- walu walu** *n.* stubborn.
- waluwanari-** *v. ipf.* **waluwanarij** drink.
- wamba-** *v. ipf.* **wambaj**; *pf.* **wambaŋ**; *int.* **wambanga** pick up, find: **wambaŋ bubumu** picked up from the ground, **wambanga** will pick it up by and by (DW).
- wambabuŋa-** *v. pf.* **wambabuŋaŋ** find, get (a child): **ŋaŋa wambabuŋaŋ** (my mother) got (found) me, that is 'I was born' (DW).
- wambaj** *n.* old things picked up ('second-hand'; DW). —Compare **wamba-**.
- wambalamba-** *v. progr.* **wambalambal** pick up: **wambalambal biba** picking up old papers (DW).
- wambugan** *n.* money (speaking respectfully, for **d^yanga**, q.v.).
- wanari-** *v. ipf.* **wanarij** roll: **wanu wanarij** what is rolling?, ball **wanarij** a ball is rolling (DW).
- wand^ya** *interr. adv.* where, when: **ŋulu wand^ya jamba ŋuŋu** where does he live?, **jundu wand^ya wand^ya duŋaj** where are you going?, **ŋulu wand^ya wand^ya gaŋaŋ** when did he come?.
- wand^yabu** (Yal) *interr. adv.* where: **jundu wand^yabu duŋaj** where are you going? (CC).
- wand^yajmu** *interr. adv.* whence, from where: **wand^yajmu jundu gaŋaŋ** where did you come from?, **jundu wand^yajmu maniŋ** where did you take or get it from?.
- wand^yaland^ya-** *v. progr.* **wand^yaland^yal**: **jundu wanu wand^yaland^yal** what are you rolling? (DW).
- wand^yal wand^yal** *v. progr.* waving, flapping (as a curtain, moved by the wind).
- wand^yanga** (-gar ? cf. 3.8.) *interr. adv.* where: **jubal wand^yanga(r) bundaj** where are you two staying?, **jundu wand^yanga(r) duŋaŋ** where did you go? (DW).
- wand^yu** *interr. pron.* 6.5.
- wand^yumundu** (Yal) *interr. adv.* whence: **jundu wand^yumundu gaŋaŋ** where do you come from? (CC).
- wanŋalbi** (Yim) *interr. adv.* where: **ŋundu wanŋalbi ŋiŋalgal** where do you live?, **wanŋalbi jundu ŋaŋara** where are you going? (FG).
- wanŋalŋan** (Yim) *interr. adv.* from where.
- wanguŋ** (Yal) *adv.* tomorrow: **ŋaju ŋuŋun ŋad^yil wanguŋ** I will see him tomorrow (CC). —Compare **wungaŋ**.
- wan^mmari** *n.* white woman.
- wanu** *interr. pron.* 6.5.
- wan^muringu** *interr. adv.* why: **wan^muringu bundanga** why should (I) sit or stay at home? (DW).
- wan^muringu** (Yal) *interr. pron. adv.* (for) what, why: **jundu wan^muringu gaŋan** what do you come (have you come) for? (CC).
- wan^muringa** *interr. pron. adv.* 6.5. (for) what, why: **jundu wan^muringa wawu** what do you want?.
- wargajgu** (Yim) *n.* ? plenty ('big mob'; FG).
- waŋigin** (Yim) *n.* moon.
- waŋmbaŋmba** *n.* silly, stupid.
- wawu** *n. adv.* 1. heart; 2. wish, desire, want, like: **ŋajgu wawu bujun** my heart is bad, **wawu wubul** heart, **ŋaju wawu wulaj** I am thirsty, **wawu guninga** likes, wants to hit, **ŋaju ŋuŋungu wawu** I like him, **ŋaju wawu ŋuŋungu d^yirajnga** I like that man, **ŋaju wawu jiŋajnga** I want that one (DW).

wawubad^ya (-d^yi-) *n. loc.* **wawubad^yiŋa**
river.

wawud^yir (Yal) *attr. n.* desiring, wanting:
wawud^yir ɖaɖanu wants to go (FG).

wawugari *car. n.* dislike: **ŋaju wawugari**
I don't like it, **wawugari gajanga** (I)
don't like dogs (DW).

wubul¹ *n.* heart: **ŋajgu wubul bujun**
my heart is bad (DW). —Compare
wawu.

wubul² *n.* a lot, all of them: **bama wubul**
nad^yiŋ I saw a big mob (DW).

wugaj *n.* yams (boiled like custard; DW).

wuguri- *v. pr.* **wuguriŋ** chase: **ŋaŋa**
wuguriŋ (the ghost) chased me (DW).

wuŋgul *n.* spirit (of a dead person): **ŋaju**
ŋuŋuni nad^yiŋ wuŋgul I saw his
spirit *or* ghost.

wula- *v. ipf.* **wulaj**; *pf.* **wulaŋ** die: **ŋulu**
wulaj d^yalbu the woman is dying,
wulaŋ dead.

wuld^yad^yi *n. v. adv.* (talk) too much.

wulungur (Yim) *n.* light, fire.

wuna- *v. ipf.* **wunaj**; *pf.* **wunaŋ** lie
down, sleep, marry.

wunana- *v. ipf.* **wunanaj**; *pf.* **wunanaf**
be asleep.

wundi- *v. pf.* **wundiŋ** take.

wund^yu (GK) *n.* 1. fire; 2. matches.
—Compare **gund^yin**.

wungaŋ *adv.* in the morning.

wunguŋ *adv.* tomorrow.

wunguŋ (Yal) *adv.* tomorrow: **wunguŋ**
ŋad^yiŋ will see him tomorrow (CC).

KANTYU AND KOKO-YALANDJI

1. Introductory

1.1. The material relating to Kentyu was gathered on the Cherbourg settlement near Murgon, Queensland, in 1964, from one Mr Larry Leady, from Coen (Silver Plains), incidentally supposed to be a champion at throwing the boomerang. The material from Koko-Yalandji was obtained from Mr Charlie Collins (native name Burigari), from the Bloomfield river and staying at the same time at Cherbourg. Mr Collins was able to give some information regarding the use of certain words of what he called the 'high' or 'Father-in-law' language (used when speaking to one's father-in-law or brother-in-law, at a distance, or to one's mother-in-law or sister-in-law, with one's face averted) and a 'low' or 'current' language.

1.2. Although the two languages are not immediately related, that is belonging to the same linguistic group, they are dealt with in conjunction for comparative reasons. Koko-Yalandji forms part of the important Koko languages in the Cape York area, while Kentyu has enough morphological features in common with these languages to be dealt with in the same connection. When necessary, Kentyu forms are marked by K and Koko-Yalandji forms with Y.

1.3. Koko-Yalandji material has also been published by William and Lynette Oates (WLO) in *Gugu-Yalandji vocabulary* (Occasional papers, no. 2. Canberra, 1964).

1.4. Stray notes are entered also from Gudjal, or the Charters Towers language, obtained from one Mr George Reid at Townsville and others at Charters Towers.

2. Phonology

2.1. The languages described here are similarly structured phonetically. The vowel system comprises the three fundamental vowel phonemes *a*, *i* and *u*, normally not subject to a distinction of quantity or to a distinctive syllabic stress.

2.2. The consonant system is characterised by a non-distinction of voiced and voiceless plosives (being represented here by the current voiced symbols *g*, *b*, *d*, etc.). The following consonantal phonemes occur:

- b* a bilabial plosive (between English 'b' and 'p');
- d* a dental to alveolar plosive (between English 'd' and 't');
- dʲ* a palatalised dental; plosive (between English 'dy' and 'ty');

- ɖ* a retroflex plosive (as in Hindi—especially in Koko-Yalandji not clearly distinguished from *d*; cf. above);
g a palatal-velar plosive (between English ‘g’ and ‘k’);
ŋ a palatal-velar nasal (as in English ‘sing, song’)
m a bilabial nasal;
n a dental-alveolar nasal (as in English);
ɲ a palatalised dental nasal (as in English ‘onion’);
ɳ a retroflex nasal (only in contact with *ɖ*);
l a lateral continuant (as in French or Italian);
r a trilled continuant (as in Italian);
ɽ a retroflex continuant (cf. Hindi);
j a palatal semivowel (as in English ‘yes’);
w a bilabial semivowel (as in English ‘well’).

2.3. All consonant phonemes except *ɖ*, *r* and *ɽ* occur initially. In the syllable- or word-final position, *ŋ*, *m*, *n*, *ɲ*, *r*, *ɽ* (?), *j* and *w* (?) are permitted. All consonant phonemes may occur intervocally. Intervocalic consonant clusters arise from a combination of any word-final phoneme with any word-initial phoneme (hence: *-ŋg-*, *-ng-*, *-mb-*, *-nd-*, *-ɳd-*, *-ld-*, etc.—they may be reduced in the current pronunciation: *-mun(d)u* ‘from’, *nuŋ(g)ana* ‘his’, *wam(b)ira* ‘woomera’, *binandʷal(d)u* ‘koala’, etc. A homorganic nasal may occur between a syllable-final and a syllable-initial consonant phoneme: K *gulɳɖu* ‘three’, *gujmbadʷi* ‘kangaroo’; Y *bilŋgumu* ‘crocodile’, *dʷulmbanu* ‘kangaroo’. This also is observed in Gudjal: *bajmba* ‘five’. Related to this phonetic particularity is the occurrence (in Kentyu) of an initial consonant group consisting of a nasal preceding a homorganic plosive, in the verbal stem K *ŋga-* ‘give’.

2.4. Words do not normally begin with a vowel phoneme in our material. However, vowel-initial forms are occasionally noted: K *ala-* ‘pick up’, *ilbi-* ‘come back’, *uɳɖa-* ‘cook’, *uta-* ‘swim’; Y *ilay ilay* ‘evening’. Initial *a-* is occasionally found in alternation with *ɲa-*, as in K *aʔa* ~ *ɲaʔa* ‘this one’, *a* ~ *ɲa*, a connective (‘and then’; also cf. K *an* ~ *ɲan* ‘and’, possibly from English). In the same way initial *i-* may alternate with *ji-* (cf. WLO *yilay yilay* ‘evening’; also cf. K *guji* corresponding to Australian English ‘coo-ee’) and *u-* with *wu-*, whence the vowel-initial forms may conveniently be interpreted as variants of respectively *ɲa-*, *ji-* and *wu-*.

2.5. Our Kentyu informant quite often has an intervocalic glottal plosive ʔ, as in: *maʔa* ‘hand’, *biʔi* ‘water’, *buʔa* ‘snake’, *guʔaga* ‘dingo’, *gaʔuma* ‘porcupine’, *dʷuʔudʷu* ‘little’; more seldom the glottal plosive occurs in other positions: *gulʔa* ‘stone’. Whether it occurs in vowel-initial forms as well is uncertain (*ʔaɖa-* ‘bury’, *ʔala-* ‘take’, etc. —the latter of these was recorded as a variant of *ala-*). As this phoneme is quite unusual in the Aboriginal languages of Queensland, one may suspect that it represents a secondary (perhaps individual) evolution of some more primitive phoneme (cf. *nuʔana* beside *nuɲana* ‘his’; notice also such cases as K *guʔugu* (*guʔgu* ?) beside *gugu* ‘voice, language’, which is *gugu* in Koko-Yalandji).

2.6. Instances of 'pre-occlusive' nasals are found in K *galbma-* for *galma-* 'come', *gudna* for *guna* 'excrement', *gadniguma* for *ganiguma* 'upwards', *gand^yidna* for *gand^yina* 'they killed', etc.

2.7. In Koko-Yalandji a single word has been noted beginning with the sequence *di-* (*dira* 'tooth, teeth'), whereas the sequence *d^yi-* is current. Alternations of *-di-* and *-d^yi-* have been noted: *guldi* ~ *guld^yi* 'stone' (WLO *gulji*), as well as the verbal derivative suffix *-di-* (*balgadi-* 'turn into') ~ *-d^yi-* (*dad^yi-* 'give', *ñad^yi-* 'see'). Hence it is possible that *di* and *d^yi* are original variants (as in several other Queensland languages) and that *dira* should be interpreted as *ḍira* (from **rira* ?). In the same way initial *ñ-* may alternate with *n-* (as also in many Queensland languages), as in *ñanda-* or *nanda-* 'cover' (WLO *nandal* 'bury').

2.8. In Koko-Yalandji (and other Koko languages) an alternation of morphological formatives having the vowel *-a-* with synonymous ones having *-u-*, according to a tendency toward vowel harmony, is observable: compare *jambaṅa* 'home(ward)' and *bubuṅu* 'on the ground' (locative), *murangalda* 'with the spear' and *buduguldu* 'the koala' (ergative), *waṛal ba* 'in the belly' and *dawun bu* 'into town' (postposition), *waṛungu wunanga* 'to lie down to sleep' (intentional). Many irregularities have however been found. —The appearance of *-i* for expected *-a* (common in the Queensland languages), as in *ṅuli* for *ṅula* 'and then', *ṅambi* for *ṅamba* 'not', is due to the phonetics of Queensland English.

Morphology

Nominal stems

3.1. Nominal stems (comprising nouns, adjectives, numerals and certain pronouns) are typically dissyllabic in both languages, ending either in a vowel or a (single) consonant. Longer stems may be derived (cf. below). A nominal word is indefinite as to number: K *bama*, Y *d^yiray* means either 'a man' or 'men, people', Y *d^yalbu* means either 'woman' or 'women'. Plurality is sometimes indicated by reduplication: Y *d^yalbu d^yalbu* 'women', *jarga jarga* 'children', but this is evidently not the primitive function of reduplicated forms, since *d^yiraj d^yiraj* may also mean 'a black or dark man' (probably 'a real Aboriginal man'). Collective plurals are also expressed by plural or collective words, such as Y *d^yana*, K *bula* 'they', K *juḍu* 'a mob', hence: Y *d^yana d^yalbu* '(the) women', K *bama juḍu* '(the) people' ('a mob').

Nominal derivation

3.2. Nouns are derived in Kentyu by such suffixes as *-binda* (attributive); in Koko-Yalandji we find: *-gaṛi* (caritive). In both languages occur: *-d^yi* (attributive), *-gan* (feminine), *-man* (personal).

3.3. **The attributive** K *-binda*.. This suffix occurs in: *jangabinda*, *galgabinda* 'having spears (of different kinds)' (that is of the porcupine's prickles).

3.4. **The attributive** *-d^yi*. This suffix is found in: K *gujmbad^yi* ‘kangaroo’ (primitive stem not noted); Y *badurid^yi* ‘having a fish line (*badur*), *gulid^yi* ‘bad’ (primitive stem not noted), *d^yulad^yi* ‘jewfish’, *gurand^yi* ‘emu’, *jaland^yi* (language name: ‘Koko Yalandji’).

3.5. **The feminine** *-gan*. The feminine sense is clear in Kentyu kinship terms: *banbarigan* ‘a *banbari* woman’, *gurgilagan* ‘a *gurgila* woman’, *guburugan* ‘a *guburu* woman’; in Koko-Yalandji it occurs in: *baṛa(j)ngan* ‘dark wagtail’.

3.6. **The caritive** *-gaṛi*. This is identical with the Koko-Yalandji negative adverb *gaṛi* ‘no, not’ and occurs in: Y *milgagaṛi* ‘deaf’ (‘no ears’), *miṇagaṛi* ‘without game’ (*miṇa*).

3.7. **The personal** *-man*. Apart from the Y *buliman* (‘policeman’, from English), where it has probably started, we find it in the almost universal Queensland K *jaraman* ‘horse’.

Declension

3.8. Nominal stems are inflected to express the following case forms: nominative (the stem itself), ergative, ablative, locative and allative (in Koko-Yalandji the latter two are expressed by the same form). The *nominative* (lacking a case formative) expresses the subject of an intransitive verb or the direct object of a transitive verb. The *ergative* (which marks the agent of a transitive verb, having a direct object, especially in the ‘perfective mode’, see 6.4.) is expressed by the suffix *-lu* in Kentyu and by various suffixes in Koko-Yalandji (subject to ‘vowel harmony’; see 2.8.): *-ṅga*, *-ṅgu*, *-da*, *-du*. The *ablative* (corresponding to English ‘from’), is expressed by *-muṇi* in Koko-Yalandji or else by the postposition *muṇḍu* (‘from’), which is also used in Kentyu (*mun(ḍ)u*). The *locative* (English ‘in, at, on’) is expressed by the suffix *-ṅa*, *-ṅu* in Koko-Yalandji and *-ṅu* in Kentyu, while the *allative* (English ‘to, for’) is expressed by *-gu* in Kentyu and by the locative *-ṅa*, *-ṅu* in Koko-Yalandji. Instead of locative and allative suffixes, both languages may make use of postpositions: K *bu* (*wind^yi bu* ‘for a boomerang’), Y *ba*, *bu* (according to ‘vowel harmony’: *bajan ba* ‘to the camp’, *d^yalun bu* ‘into the sea’). The ergative form takes different suffixes depending on the terminal sound of the stem; in Koko-Yalandji, for instance, vowel-ending stems take *-ṅga* (after *-a*, *-i*) or *-ṅgu* (after *-u*), while after *-l* it appears as *-da* or *-du* (*murṅalda* ‘with the spear’, *buduguldu* ‘the koala’, from *murṅal*, *budugul*). A locative-allative *-ṅa* (*-ṅu*), *-ga* (*-gu*) also seems to appear as *-da* after *-l*: Y *baṛalda* ‘on the track’ (*baṛal*; = *baṛal ba*). —It is important to notice that the nominal declension (unlike the pronominal declension) lacks a *possessive* case form; to express a possessive relation juxtaposition (or an Indo-European type compound) may be used: *bama gugu* ‘people’s voice(s), talk’ (hence like English ‘men-talk’). The stem form of a noun may also be used if a co-ordinated (determining) noun is in the ergative: K *miṇalu bu^a janguṇ* ‘the serpent swallowed (him)’ (for **bu^aalu*).

Pronominal stems

4.1. We may distinguish between *personal*, *demonstrative* and *interrogative-indefinite* pronouns.

Personal pronouns

4.2. The system of personal pronouns probably comprises a differentiation of three persons each in the singular, dual and plural, a distinction being further made, in certain cases, between inclusive and exclusive first person dual and plural forms. Of this system parts, or even fragments, only have been noted by the present writer. The case forms are the customary (cf. 3.8.) *nominative*, *ergative* (often identical in form), *possessive* (taking the place of a missing allative), *accusative* (expressing a direct object) and *comitative* (taking the place of a missing locative). Occasionally especial *dative* form (expressing an indirect object) is noted, usually in the first person singular. The third person forms are often nominal in character: K, Y *nulu* (*nulu*) 'a person' (cf. English 'a *he*', 'a *she*'), also 'another'; K *bula* 'they' means 'a number of persons' (originally 'two').

4.3. In order to demonstrate the form and occurrence of the personal pronouns in Kentyu and Koko-Yalandji, the following paradigms are presented, Kentyu forms appearing in the left and Koko-Yalandji forms in the right column.

Kentyu	Koko-Yalandji
1st person singular:	
nom. <i>ŋaja</i> (- <i>ŋa</i> , section 7)	<i>ŋaja</i> ; <i>ŋajurgu</i>
erg. <i>ŋaju</i>	<i>ŋaju</i>
poss. <i>ŋadanggu</i>	<i>ŋajgu</i> (<i>ŋagu</i>)
acc. <i>ŋańi</i> (?)	<i>ŋańa</i>
dat. <i>ŋańi</i> (?)	<i>ŋagu</i> (?)
1st person dual:	
nom. <i>ŋali</i> (incl. excl?)	<i>ŋali</i> (incl.)
<i>ŋambul(a)</i> (incl. ?)	<i>ŋaliń</i> (excl.)
erg. <i>ŋali</i>	<i>ŋalu</i> (?)
poss. <i>ŋaliŋa</i>	<i>ŋaliŋa</i>
acc. <i>ŋalinan</i>	<i>ŋalinan</i>
1st person plural:	
nom. <i>ŋana</i> (<i>na</i> , <i>-(a)na</i> ; cf. 7)	<i>ŋana</i> (excl.)
	<i>ŋand^yin</i> (incl.)
poss. <i>ŋanaŋa</i>	<i>ŋanaŋa</i>
acc. <i>ŋananan</i>	<i>ŋananan</i>
2nd person singular:	
nom. <i>ŋuna</i> ; <i>ŋunama</i> (- <i>an</i> , see 7)	<i>jundu</i>
erg. <i>ŋuna</i> (- <i>an</i> , see 7)	<i>jundu</i>
poss. <i>nunŋangu</i> , <i>nunŋana</i>	<i>junu</i> (<i>ŋunu</i>)
dat. <i>ŋin</i> (- <i>ani</i> , see 7)	
acc. <i>ŋuna</i>	<i>junuń</i> (- <i>n</i>)
com. <i>ŋunanda</i>	

Kantyu	Koko-Yalandji
2nd person dual:	
nom.	<i>jubal, bula</i>
poss.	<i>jubalaŋa, bulaŋa</i>
2nd person plural:	
nom.	<i>jura</i>
poss.	<i>juraga</i>
acc.	<i>juragaŋi</i>
3rd person singular:	
nom.	<i>nulu (ńulu)</i>
erg.	<i>ńulu</i>
poss.	<i>nuŋaŋgu, nuŋan(a)</i>
acc.	<i>ńuŋun, ńulu</i>
com.	<i>ńuŋundu, ńulundu</i>
3rd person dual:	
nom.	<i>bula</i>
poss.	<i>bulaŋa</i>
acc.	<i>bulaŋaŋi</i>
3rd person plural:	
nom.	<i>bula (-na, -ana; see 7)</i>
erg.	<i>bulalu</i>
poss.	<i>bulaŋgu</i>
acc.	<i>d^yanaŋa</i>
com.	<i>d^yanaŋaŋi</i>
	<i>d^yananda</i>

The alternative forms in the first and second persons singular, K *ŋunama*, Y *ŋajurgu* (see above) may have special shades of meaning; compare K *ŋuna ŋa?a ŋunama* ‘that is you’, Y *ŋajurgu* ‘I myself’.

Demonstrative pronouns

4.4. Although the demonstrative stems may denote various shades of meaning, both languages generally make a main distinction between ‘nearness’ to the speaker and ‘distance’ from the speaker (or person spoken to). In this way Kantyu presents the stems *ŋi?i* (roughly English ‘this, here’) and *ŋa?a* (roughly English ‘that, there’); in Koko-Yalandji the former base is *jalu-* (English ‘this, here’) and *jala-* (English ‘that, there’), respectively. The Kantyu stems are declined similar to nominal stems (nominative *ŋi?i*, *ŋa?a*, erg. *ŋi?ilu*, *ŋa?alu*). In Koko-Yalandji the forms *jaluŋ*, *jaluńu*, *jaluŋgu* (‘this one, this fellow, here’, also ‘so and so’), *jalań* ‘that, over there’ are noted.

Interrogative-indefinite pronouns

4.5. In Kentyu a personal interrogative stem (English ‘who?’), *waʔin-*, and an impersonal interrogative stem (English ‘what?’), *ɲani*, have been noted. Both are declined according to the system of nominal words: nominative *waʔina*, ergative *waʔindʔu* (‘who?’); nominative *ɲani* (‘what?’), allative *ɲaɲigu* (‘for what?’). In Koko-Yalandji the stems *waña* (‘who?’; ‘which?’) and *waɲuri-* (‘what?’) have been recorded, the latter in the allative form *waɲuringu* (‘what for?’).

Verbal stems

5.1. In both languages simple (not derived) verbal stems are generally dissyllabic and ending in a vowel: K *galma-* ‘come’, *naja-* ‘break’, *ilbi-* ‘return’, *gandʔi-* ‘hit’, *jadu-* ‘see, know’, *duʔu-* ‘spear’; Y *balga-* ‘do, make, speak’, *dʔana-* ‘stand’, *guni-* ‘kill’, *mani-* ‘catch, get’, *wundi-* ‘bring’, *wadʔu-* ‘cook’, *waɹu-* ‘sleep’. Monosyllabic stems (similarly ending in a vowel) are exceptional: K *ɲga-* ‘give’, Y *da-* ‘give’, *ña-* ‘see’ (the latter also occur with derivative suffixes).

5.2. Verbal stems may be compound (or reduplicated): Y *dʔandʔani-* ‘stand’ (cf. *dʔana-*, idem), *gangaɟa-* or *gangaɟa-* ‘come along’ (cf. *gaɟa-*). A kind of reduplication arises in Koko-Yalandji by the use of the gerundial form of the verb (see 6.7.) in *-l* or else an analogous form in *-n* with any other verb form, as in: *nugal nuga-* ‘drink’ (= *nuga-*; literally ‘drink drinking’), *wuguril wuguri-* ‘hunt’, *duɲan duɲa-* ‘go’ (*duɲan duɲaɲ* or *duɲan duɲanga* ‘will go’).

Verbal derivation

5.3. Simple verbal stems may be derived by means of derivative suffixes, of which the following are noted: K, Y *-dʔi-* (originally reflexive), K *-ɲa-* (causative), K, Y *-ma-* (causative), Y *-mbi-* (probably originally causative), Y *-nda-* (probably durative), K *-ɲuɲa-* (probably ‘prepositional’; cf. English ‘bespeak’ = ‘speak for’), Y *-ri-* (*-ri-*) (probably inchoative).

5.4. **The reflexive *-dʔi-*.** This suffix is common in the Koko languages and occurs also in Kentyu: K *wadʔi-* ‘turn into’ (the simple stem not recorded); cf. however Y *balgadʔi-*, below); Y *balgadʔi-* ‘turn into’ (cf. *balga-* ‘make, do’; hence ‘make oneself’), *manidʔi-* ‘finish’ (*mani-* ‘catch, get’), K *madʔi-* ‘catch, grab’ (cf. *maʔa* ‘hand’), *dadʔi* ‘give’ (*da-*, idem), *ɲadʔi-* ‘see’ (*ña-*, a common Australian stem, idem), *wadʔudʔi-* ‘cook’ (*wadʔu*, idem; hence either ‘cook’ intransitive or ‘cook for oneself’).

5.5. **The causative *-ɲa-*.** This suffix most certainly occurs in K *miniɲa-* ‘make’ (literally—as in most Queensland languages—‘make good’, K *mini*). It may further enter into the suffix *-ɲuɲa-* (see 5.9.).

5.6. **The causative (?) *-ma-*.** The suffix *-ma-* is commonly used as a causative suffix in the Queensland languages. In Kentyu it occurs in *wadʔima-* ‘turn into’ (if transitive; cf. above, 5.4.); in Koko-Yalandji it occurs in *dʔalama-* ‘jump down’ (without a simple form recorded as well as a clear causative meaning).

5.7. **The causative (?) -mbi-**. This suffix has been noted in Y *mañumbi-* 'chase, grab' (which might possibly comprise a causative function although no simple word form has been found).

5.8. **The durative (?) -nda-**. The formative *-nda-* (whether to be understood as derivative or modal) occurs in: Y *bundanda-* 'be sitting' (*bunda-* 'sit'), *daganda-* 'knock (at a door)' (*daga-* 'knock (down)'); incidentally, the same suffix may originally occur in the basic form *bunda-*, if derived from a simple stem **bu-* (cf. the reduplicated *bubu* 'ground').

5.9. **The 'prepositional' (?) -ñuḡa-**. This formative occurs in Kentyu in such verbs as: *galmañuḡa-* 'come with' (that is 'bring'; cf. *galma-* 'come'), *mi?iñuḡa-* 'put into' (e.g. *juma mi?iñuḡan* 'put into the fire'; the simple verb stem has however not been recorded).

5.10. **The inchoative (?) -ri- (-ri-)**. In the Queensland languages similar derivative elements usually mark intransitivity (and related senses). In Koko-Yalandji it occurs in: *duḡari-* 'go away' (*duḡa-* 'go'), *gaḡari-* 'come along' (*gaḡa-* 'come'), *jidʷari-* 'put' (no simple verb stem recorded), *wuguri-* 'hunt' (without a simple verb stem), *wundiri-* or *wundiḡi-* 'bring' (cf. *wundi-*, idem). The inchoative sense has been suggested for reasons given in 6.5.

Modal conjugation

6.1. The four basic modal forms of the verb, the imperative, the imperfective, the perfective and the intentional can be identified with reasonable safety. The **imperative** is (as usual) the plain stem of the verb, as seen in the Koko-Yalandji *balga* 'do, say', *mani* 'catch (him)'. This form is however most often combined with what appears in either language to be the common connective *ga* ('then', etc.): K *duʷuga* 'spear then', or else with what may possibly be the imperfective formative *-ja* or *-j* (see 6.3.), as in: K *duʷuja* 'spear (him)', *ḡuna jambaj* 'you throw it', Y *bundaj* 'sit', *dagaj* 'knock (him) down'.

6.2. The imperative form in *-ga* is often used as a hortative ('let me', 'let us', etc.) or optative or even as the intentional in *-nga* (v. 6.6.): K *aḡa iḡaga* 'let us have a talk', *biʷilu jawaga* 'let the water take him', *jambaga* '(I) have got to throw', *najaga* 'want to break', *ḡgaga* 'I will give (you)', etc.

6.3. The **imperfective** formative is the 'nominaliser' *-j-* with or without a locative (?) *-a* (the latter if functioning as imperative only; cf. above, 6.1.): K *duʷuj* 'is going to or about to spear', *miniḡaj* 'prepared (food)' (either in the sense of 'was preparing' or 'used to prepare', time not being essential); *indʷaj* 'telling'; Y *gaḡaj* 'coming, will come', *bundandaj* 'sitting', *duḡaj* 'going', *jundu bi gaḡaj* 'if you like to come'. The imperfective mode is used in negative senses: K *ḡamba da ḡuna duʷuj* 'you must not spear (him)', *ḡamba duʷuj* 'not to spear (him)'.

6.4. The **perfective** forms end either in *-n* or *-ñ*. Although in either language forms ending in any of these 'nominalisers' are usually rendered in English by the informants by past-tense forms, perfectivity, or completed verbal action, is essentially expressed by these forms in Kentyu and Koko-Yalandji, as seen in: K *malḡgan* 'broken', *wandʷin* 'asleep', Y *wulañ* 'is dead' (from *wula-* 'to die'), *ḡaju nugañ gunbañ* 'I have finished eating'. Other examples of perfective verb

forms are: K *bundan* 'took *or* pulled it out' or 'got up', *galman* 'came', *najan* 'broke', *aḍan* or *aḍañ* 'covered *or* buried', *gandañ* 'sent' or 'has sent'; Y *balgañ* 'made, did *or* said', *guniñ* 'killed', *maniñ* 'got', *balgad^yiñ* 'turned into'. 'Past time' is not basically involved in these forms, as seen in: Y *ñuḅungu balgañ* '(if I see him) I will tell him'; similarly: Y *ḅaju ñuḅun ñad^yiñ ñigu* 'I will see him today' (that is the same verbal form as in *ñigu ḅaju ñad^yiñ* '(when) I saw (him) today').

6.5. Some apparent perfective forms (in *-ñ*) give the impression of being imperfective: *nugaḅriñ* 'are eating', *duḅaḅriñ* 'are going', *gaḅaḅriñ* 'coming along'. This may be due to the inchoative character of the derivative *-ḅri-* (*-ḅri-*; see 5.10.): *nugaḅriñ* would actually mean 'have started to eat' and *duḅaḅriñ gaḅaḅriñ* 'have started to go *or* come'.

6.6. The **intentional** is in both languages expressed by the suffix *-nga* (in Koko-Yalandji also *-ngu*, by vowel harmony; see 2.8.), that is by the allative *-ga*, *-gu* added to the perfective 'nominaliser' *-n-* (in other words: it is the allative of a verb noun in *-n*). By these forms the idea of 'intending to', 'having to' or 'wanting' is expressed: K *wadanga* 'will go (tomorrow)', *wad^yinga* 'he will turn into'; Y *balganga* 'am going to tell', *duḅanga* 'will go (fishing)', *waḅungu* 'to sleep'. The same form is sometimes used in an imperative sense: Y *wunanga* 'lie down'. That the concept of 'time' is not involved is again seen from such instances as: Y *bundanga* 'to sit', which is explained as either 'was sitting yesterday' *or* 'will be sitting tomorrow', the correct rendering being 'had *or* has to sit'. (Incidentally, the ideas of 'yesterday' and 'tomorrow' are often not distinguished in the Australian languages.) In the same way we find: *ḅa^a galmanga jilmbi galman* 'it had to come, the rain came'. —The intentional form is often combined with the allative case form (in Koko-Yalandji identical with the locative form) of a nominal stem, as in: Y *guḅuḅu duḅanga* (literally) '*for* fish, *to* go, that is '(we) are going fishing' (or '(we) are *for* going *for* fish', to illustrate the originally identical terminations of the noun and verb), *d^yilbaḅu duḅanga* 'to go hunting'.

6.7. In addition to these forms both languages have a form in *-l*, added to the verbal stem; this form appears to have gerundial character or to be expressive of an accompanying or subordinate verbal action, as in: K *galmal* 'if (you) will come' (tomorrow), *miniḅal* 'making' or 'while (you) make'; Y *bawal* 'leaving', *gunil* 'killing', *manil* 'taking off', *nandal* 'covering (with bushes)', *wugaril* 'hunting', *miñagu juḅal* 'looking for meat'. The form in *-l* may be used as imperative: K *gand^yil* 'hit (him)', *ḅgal* 'give (me)' (cf. English 'if you would give (me) ...', etc. ?). Another sense recorded from Kentyu is the habitual, as in: *miniḅal* 'he used to make'.

6.8. Certain modal forms of the verb have been found sporadically. Among these figures a gerundial form in *-nd^yi* in Y *jid^yarind^yi* 'having put'; this form may, of course, be analysed as the attributive *-d^yi* 'having' (see 3.4.); being added to a perfective 'nominaliser' *-n-* or *-ñ-* (see 6.4.). A hortative form in *-mbu* (added to the imperative in *-ga*; see 6.1.) occurs in: *duḅugambu* 'let us hit *or* spear (him)'; although the occurrence of a (nasal) 'nominaliser' here seems out of place, a termination *-bu* might be the postposition *bu* ('to' or 'for', see 9), functioning as an intentional (?). An analogous form in *-ndu* (added to the verbal stem) has an 'optative' sense in: *wad^yindu gaḅuma* 'let him turn into a porcupine'. (Incidentally, it is not necessary to consider *all* forms ending in *-ga* as imperatives.)

Personal conjugation

7. Kentyu shows traces of a personal conjugation, that is forms consisting of a modal stem provided with an enclitically used (usually rudimentary) form of a personal pronoun (in the same way as and according to the same principles as in Birri, a language within the Gunggari group, in Queensland). The formatives used (or recorded in this material) are: *-ŋa* (first person singular; cf. *ŋaja, ŋaju* 'I'); *-na* (modified *-ña* when combined with a perfective *-ñ*) or *-ana* (first or third person plural; cf. *ŋana* 'we', Y *d'ana* 'they'); *-an, -n* (second person singular nominative or ergative); *-ani* (second person singular, accusative or dative). The latter two forms are not identifiable with forms of the personal pronouns. The enclitic pronouns form a unit with the modal terminations, which are therefore not easily recognised. Examples: *miniŋaŋa* 'I am going to make', *ŋaja gadaŋa* 'I sent' (for **n-ŋa* or **ñ-ŋa*); *jaŋuña* 'we ate' (for **-ñ-na*), *jambaña* 'we or they threw', *ŋana jaduña* 'we saw', *ŋana du'uña* 'we will spear (him)'; *wad'ina* 'they will change' (perhaps for *wad'ijna* ?), *ŋa'a wadaña* 'those ran away' (for **-ñ-na*), *galmana* 'they came' (for **-n-na*); *du'uñan* 'you speared (him)', *alañan* 'you stole (it)'; *ŋganani* '(he) gave you'. One may notice the placement of the short form *na* (for *ŋana* 'we') in: K *guji na jaduñ* 'coo-ee, we have seen him'.

Adverbs

8. Certain forms, which we may perhaps call adverbial, play a part in the sentence building of Koko-Yalandji. They are *bi, gagi* and *wawu*. As in certain other Queensland languages they seem to have the double sense of (1) 'wish or like' and (2) 'perhaps' or 'if it should happen (the intentional form in some Queensland languages is used also to express a condition). In Koko-Yalandji *bi* is used in: *jundu bi gadaŋ* 'if you like to come'; *gagi*, in: *gagi ŋaju ñad'in ŋaju nuŋungu balgañ* 'if I see him, I will tell him' (literally 'I wish or should like to see him...'); *wawu*, in: *jundu wawu ŋagu balgañ* 'if you make this for me ...' (literally 'you might like to make ...' or 'would you like to make ...')

Postpositions

9. In both languages *ba* and *bu* (in Koko-Yalandji *bu*, after a preceding *u*; cf. 2.8.) are used as local postpositions, taking the place of a locative or allative case suffix: K *juł'i ba* 'into the belly' (= *juł'iŋu*); Y *bajan ba* 'to the camp', (w)*ul bu* 'to the hall'. Also K *muñdu* (*munu*), Y *mundu* may be taken as a postposition 'from', alternating with an ablative case suffix: K *ŋanta muñdu* 'from (his) sleep'; Y *bajan mundu gadaŋ* 'come from home' (= *bajanmuñ* 'from the camp'). The distinction of postpositions and case suffixes here is rather a conventional one.

Connectives

10. The following elements of grammar may be considered original connectives: *ga* '(and) then', *ŋa* (or *?a, a*; cf. 2.4.) 'and then', *ŋan* (*an*) 'and' (perhaps from English), *ŋula* 'then, again'. For *ga* used with imperative forms, see in 6.1. Perhaps the same connective *ga* appears in: *ŋamba ŋaja miniŋaga janga* 'because I cannot make a spear' (literally 'I cannot make a spear, so there ...' ?). The other forms are used introducing sentences: *?a bula wad'ina* 'and then they were changed', *bama ŋula bula iŋana* 'the people then said'.

Kantyu vocabulary

Figures refer to the sections of morphology. References to Koko-Yalandji are made by the letter Y (cf. 1.2.). The entries are arranged alphabetically according to the following order of basic phonemes: *a, b, d, dʸ, ɖ, g, ŋ, i, j, l, m, n, ŋ, (ŋ), r, ɾ, u, w.*

The following abbreviations are further used:

<i>abl.</i>	ablative	<i>ger.</i>	gerund(ial)
<i>acc.</i>	accusative	<i>imp.</i>	imperative
<i>adv.</i>	adverb	<i>ipf.</i>	imperfective
<i>all.</i>	allative	<i>int.</i>	intentional
<i>attr.</i>	attributive	<i>interr.</i>	interrogative-indefinite
<i>car.</i>	caritive	<i>loc.</i>	locative
<i>caus.</i>	causative	<i>n.</i>	noun
<i>com.</i>	comitative	<i>nom.</i>	nominative
<i>conn.</i>	connective	<i>pers.</i>	person(al)
<i>dat.</i>	dativ	<i>pf.</i>	perfective
<i>dem.</i>	demonstrative	<i>poss.</i>	possessive
<i>der.</i>	derivative	<i>postp.</i>	postposition
<i>dur.</i>	durative	<i>pron.</i>	pronoun
<i>erg.</i>	ergative	<i>refl</i>	reflexive
<i>fem.</i>	feminine	<i>v.</i>	verb(al)

A

a (*conn.* 10) *v.* **ŋa**.

adʸi- *v. pf.* **adʸin** burn singe: **adʸina** they burned (him) up.

aɖa- *v. pf.* **aɖan, aɖaŋ** cover, cook (in an oven), bury: **maji aɖaŋ** buried the food (i.e. cooked in an oven).

aja *n.* voice, talk (= **gugu**, *q.v.*), word: **bama aja** people's voices *or* talk.

ala- *v. ipf.* **alaj**; *pf.* **alaŋ-** 1. take (out), pick up; 2. steal: **gulʼa alaj** pick up a stone, **alaŋa** took (the meat) out (of the oven), **bama ŋuna maji alaŋan** you stole fruit from people.

an (*conn.* 10) *v.* **ŋan**.

-an *pers. pron. suffix*; 7.

-ana *pers. pron. suffix*; 7.

-ani *pers. pron. suffix*; 7.

andama *adv.* long ago.

andanandama *adv, v.*
ŋandanandama.

B

ba *postp.* 9.

baʼa- *v. imp.* **baʼaga** sit: **ŋali baʼaga nadʸiŋu** let us sit (down) on the ground.

baʼamu *n.* two.

baja *v.* **mini**.

badʸa *n.* grass.

bajamu *n. erg.* **bajamulu** 1. rainbow; 2.-the Rainbow Serpent: **bajamulu janguŋ buldunu** the Rainbow Serpent swallowed the boy.

balu *adv.* this way: **ɲaʔa balu galman** he (that one) came this way.

bama *n. erg.* bamalu; *all.* bamagu man, people, the Aborigines: **bula bama** all the men, **bama mundu** (changed) from a man (into) ..., **bamalu jaduña** the people knew (it), **dʷilbulu gandañ bamagu juđu** God sent (the Flood) to all the people.

banbari *n.* the name of a marriage group.

banbarigan *n. fem.* a banbari woman (she marries a **wungurañ**, the children becoming **guburu**).

bangada *n.* a thin spear for fighting or hunting.

bigañ *n.* totem.

biʔi *n. erg.* biʔilu; *all.* biʔigu water: **ɲuna ɲaɲi biʔi ɲgal** you give me water, **biʔilu jawañ** the water took (him), **biʔilu jawaga** let the water take (him), **ɲaja galman biʔigu** I came for water.

-binda *attr. der. suffix*; 3.2, 3.

biwu *n.* (big) kangaroo: **miña biwu** kangaroo(s).

bu *postp.* ?; 9.

buʔa *n. erg.* buʔalu 1. snake; 2. the Rainbow Serpent.

bula *pers. pron.* 4.2, 3: **bama bula** the people, a **bula wadʷina** and they were changed, **bulalu ɲaʔa gandʷina** they killed him.

buldunu *n. all.* **buldunugu** boy: **wiangulu bajamu janguñ buldunu** that fellow, the Rainbow Serpent swallowed the boy.

bunda- *v. pf.* **bundan, bundañ** 1. take, pull or get out; 2. get up, come: **jumaɲu bundañ** took it off the fire.

D

da *adv. or conn., v.* **ɲamba, galma-**

dabi *n.* tongue.

daʔu *n.* foot.

dawaj *n.* moon.

dunbi *n.* star.

dunduj *n.* eye(s).

duʔu- *v. imp.* **duʔuga**; *ipf.* **duʔuj**; *pf.* **duʔuñ** spear, hit (with a spear): (**ɲaja duʔuga** (let me) spear (him), **ɲuna duʔugan** or **duʔuja** you spear him, **duʔugambu** let us hit (him) with a spear, **ɲamba da ɲuna duʔuj** you must not spear (him), **ɲaʔa ɲuna duʔuj** he is going to spear you, **ɲaʔa ɲuna duʔuñ** he speared you, **ɲana duʔuña** we will spear (him), **ɲaja ɲamin ɲuna duʔuñan** I heard (that) you did spear him.

Dʷ

-dʷi *attr. suffix* 3.2, 4.

-dʷi- *refl. suffix* 5, 4.

dʷilbu *n. erg* **dʷilbulu** 1. old man; 2. God.

dʷirin dʷirin (**dʷilin dʷilin**) *n.* wagtail: **ɲaʔa dʷilin dʷilin** that wagtail. —Compare Y **dʷidʷiridʷin**.

dʷɲgu *n.* dark fellow: **dʷungu dʷungu**, idem.

dʷulɲan(ba) *n.* a mythological person: **dʷilbu dʷulɲanba wadʷin** turned into Old Man **dʷulɲanba** (?).

dʷuʔudʷu *n.* little: **idʷan dʷuʔudʷu** little children, **buldunu dʷuʔudʷu** little boy.

G

ga *conn.* 10.

-ga *imp. suffix* 6.2.

gaʔada *n. all.* **gaʔadagu** a kind of pumpkin: **maji gaʔada**, idem.

galga *n.* spear.

galgabinda *attr. n.* having spears: **wadʷin galgabinda** **gaʔuma** turned into a porcupine having spears.

galma- *v. pf.* **galman**; *int.* **galmanga**; *ger.* **galmal** come: **biʔi galman** the water came, **bula** or **guli galmana** they

or the people came, **ŋaʔa galmanga jilmbi galman** it had to come —the rain came, **ɲuna ɲulɲuma galmal** or **galmada** if you will come tomorrow.

galmama- *v. pf.* **galmaman** come (or come with ?): **nulu galmaman** one person coming, **bula galmamana** people coming.

galmanʔuna- *v. imp.* **galmanʔuna**; *pf.* **galmanʔunan**; *ger.* **galmanʔunal** come with, bring (home): **ɲaja galmanʔuna ɲulɲuma** I will bring (it) home tomorrow, **galmanʔunan** brought (it) home, **ɲuna gandʔinal miña ɲadʔigu galmaɲunal** you kill game, bring it home (literally 'you killing game, bringing it home' or 'if you kill game ...').

gambal *n.* bright light, sunlight, sun.

-gan *fem. suffix* 3.2, 5.

ganiguma *v. adv.* (go, get) up or upward: **ɲadʔigu ganiguma** up to the high lands, **ganiguma juiguɲu** get up or climb the mountain.

ganda- *v. pf.* **gandaɲ** send: **dʔilbu(lu) janguji gandaɲ** God sent (the Flood), **ɲaju gandaɲa (?) bamagu** I sent (it) to the people, **bula gandaɲa** they sent (it).

gandʔi- *v. imp.* **gandʔiga**; *pf.* **gandʔin**, **gandʔiɲ**; *ger.* **gandʔil** hit, kill, fight: **ɲambula gandʔiga** let us kill (him), **buʔa aʔa (= ɲaʔa) gandʔina** they killed that snake or serpent, **gandʔil miña** hit (that) bird (with a stone), **gandʔiga bama** to fight people.

gandʔina- *v. ger.* **gandʔinal** kill: **ɲuna gandʔinal miña** if you kill game.

gandʔu *n.* the name of a tribe and language, Kanyu: **gugu gandʔu** the Kanyu language.

gaʔuma *n.* porcupine.

-gu *all. suffix* 3.8.

guʔaga *n.* dingo.

guburu *n.* the name of a marriage group: **guburu** marries **gurgilagan**, the children becoming **banbari**.

guburagan *n.* a guburu woman.

gugu (**guʔugu**, **guʔgu**, cf. 2.5.) voice, talk, word, language: **gugu mini a Koko-Mini** or the Koko-Mini language.

guji *adv.* an exclamation: lo!, Oh, what is this?, look! see!, what!, but (supposed to be the Australian 'coo-ee'): **guji na jaduɲ** lo! we have seen (him).

gujmbadʔi *n.* kangaroo.

gulʔa *n.* 1. stone; 2. money: **gulʔa jambaɲ** threw a rock or stone.

gulan (**gulʔan**) *n.* possum: **dʔilbu gulan** Old Man possum.

guli *n. all.* **guligu** a big 'mob' or crowd: **guli galmana** a big mob came.

gulɲɲu *n.* three or four.

guna *n.* excrement.

gurgila *n.* the name of a marriage group: a **gurgila** marries a **guburagan**.

gurgilagan *n.* a gurgila woman.

ŋ

ŋa *a. conn.* 10.: **ɲula ŋa bama** and then the people ...

-ŋa *pers. pron. suffix* 7.

-ŋa- *caus. der. suffix* 5.5.

ŋaʔa (aʔa) *dem. pron.* 4.4. that; there; he, they: **miña ŋaʔa wadʔin** or **ŋaʔa miña wadʔin** he or that one turned into a bird (there he turned into a bird), **ŋaʔa bula** they, **ŋaʔa jawaɲ** took that one or him away, **miña ŋaʔa idʔan janguɲ** that animal swallowed children, **ŋaʔa ɲula jaduɲa** they then see (him in the sky), **ɲuna ŋaʔa ɲunama** that is you, **ŋaʔalu janga mininjan** he (that one) made a spear.

ɲadangu *pers. pron.:* 4.3.

ɲadʔi *n. loc.* **ɲadʔiɲu**; *all.* **ɲadʔigu** ground, land, country, home: **ɲadʔi malɲgan** broken country, **ɲadʔigu baʔaga** (let us) sit down on the ground, **ɲadʔigu ganiguma** up to the high lands, **ɲadʔigu galmaɲunal** bringing (it) home.

ngagu *n.* stopped up or something lacking:
jamba ngagu deaf.

ngaja *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ngaju *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ngali *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ngamba *adv.* not: **bamalu jaduña ngamba ngula udan biʔi** the people knew he could not swim, **ngamba (da) nguna duʔuj** you must not spear him.

ngambul *v.* **ngambula**.

ngambula (ngambul) *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ngami- *v. pf.* **ngamin** hear: **guji ngaja ngamin** but I heard.

ngan *conn.* 10.

ngana¹ *pers. pron.;* 4.3.

ngana² *pers. pron.;* 4.3.

nganda *n.* sleep, asleep: **nganda wandʔin** was asleep, **bundan nganda mun(d)u** got up from (his) sleep.

ngandanandama *adv.* a long time ago.

ngani *interr. pron.* 4.5.: **ngiʔi ngani** what is this?, **ngani nguna** what (class) are you?, **ngʔa ngani** what is he?, **bama nguna ngani** what are you?, **ngani nguna mandal** what is your name?

ngani *pers. pron.* 4.3.

nga- *v. imp.* **ngaga**; *pf.* **ngan-**; *ger.* **ngal** give: **ngaja ngin ngaga gulʔa** I will give you a stone (or 'money'), **ngʔa biʔi nganani** or **ngʔa (ngula) nganani biʔi** he (or that one) gave you a drink, **nguna ngani biʔi ngal** you give me water.

ngiʔi *dem. pron.* 4.4. this: **ngiʔi bajamu** this same Rainbow Serpent, **ngiʔi ngani** what is this?

ngin *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ngula *adv.* then, again: **ngula wandʔin** then (he) slept, **bama ngula bula ingana** the people then said, **ngula ilbin** (when) he came back again.

ngulnguma *adv.* tomorrow.

nguna *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ngunama *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ngunmaj *n.* blind.

ngʔula *pers. pron.* 4.3.

I

idʔan *n. all.* **idʔanagu** child, children, baby: **idʔan dʔuʔudʔu** little children, **idʔanagu juḍan** looked for the child.

inga- *v. imp.* **ingaga**; *pf.* **inga-** say, talk: **ngambula aja ingaga** we two will have a talk, **bama or bula ingana** they or the people said.

ingga- or **ingana** *v. adv.* singing out, calling.

ilbi- *v. pf.* **ilbin**) come back, return: **gaʔuma ngula ilbin** (when) the porcupine came back again. —Compare **Y jilba-** clear away.

indʔa- *v. ipf.* **indʔaj**; *pf.* **indʔaŋ-** tell: **lawa lawa indʔaj** telling a lie, **ngaja (ngin) indʔaŋa ngunanda** I told you.

J

-j *ipf. suffix* 6.3.

-ja *imp. suffix* 6.3.

jadu- *v. pf.* **jaduŋ** 1. see; 2. know: **niŋgaŋ jaduŋa** saw (his) face (in a dream), **buʔa jaldalŋu jaduŋa** they saw the snake (or the serpent) in the sky, **ngana jaduŋana** we saw, **jaduŋa** they knew.

jagan *n.* hair of the head. —In **Gudjal gada** is used (as also in **Gunggari**).

jangu- *v. pf.* **janguŋ** swallow, eat: **miŋa ngʔa idʔan janguŋ** or **miŋalu buʔa janguŋ idʔan** that Serpent swallowed babies, **ngana janguŋ** ate him, **ngula janguŋa miŋa** then we ate the meat.

janguji *n. erg.* **jangujilu** flood, deluge, the Flood: **janguji galman** the Flood came.

jalan *n.* mouth.

jaldal (**jalgal**) *n. loc.* **jaldalŋu** sky: **jaldalŋu** in or into the sky.

jalga *n.* corroboree.

jalgal *v.* jaldal.

jamba *n.* ear(s): **jamba ngagu** deaf.

jamba- *v. imp.* **jambaga**; *ipf.* **jambaj**; *pf.* **jambañ** throw, put: **ɲaja jambaga wind^yi** I have got to throw the boomerang, **ɲuna jambaj** you throw it, **jambañ jumaŋu** or **jumaŋu jambañana** threw it on the fire, **gul^a jambañana jumaŋu, julⁱ ba** put stones into the fire, into the belly (in order to cook the game).

janga *n. erg.* **jangalu** long spear: **ɲula janga mininjan** then made a long spear, **du^ʔugambu jangalu** let us hit him with the spears.

jangabinda *attr. n.* having spears (of the porcupine's prickles).

jawa- *v. imp.* **jawaga**; *ipf.* **jawaj**; *pf.* **jawañ** take (away): **bi^ʔilu jawaga** let the water take him, **wand^yiñ bi^ʔilu jawaj** the water will take him asleep, **guji bi^ʔilu jawañ** look, the water took him, **janguji jawañ** the Flood took (them) away, **jawañ bama** people were taken away.

jilgan *n.* dream.

jilmbi (jimbi) *n.* 1. rain; 2. the Flood: **jilmbi galman** rain or the Flood came.

jilndaj *n.* 1. a big mob; 2. the other people: **ɲana miña ngaga bama(gu) jilndaj** we help one another (literally 'let us give meat to the other (many) people').

juḍa- *v. pf.* **juḍan**; *ger* **juḍal** look for, got to look for, look about: **id^yanagu juḍan** looked for the child, **juḍan majigu ga^ʔaḍagu** looked for pumpkin, **ɲuna juḍal bamagu** you go and look for the man, **ɲuna miña^ygu juḍal** you look for meat.

juḍu *n. all.* **juḍugu** 1. big tribe or 'mob' of people; 2. four or five: **bama juḍugu** or **bamagu juḍugu** (sent) to a mob of people.

jujgu *n. loc.* **jujguŋu**; *all.* **jujgugu** mountain: **wadaña jujguŋu** went up into the high mountain.

julⁱ *n. loc.* **julⁱŋu** stomach, liver, heart: **mugana julⁱ** they cut the belly or cut up (the game), **mugana julⁱ ba** they put (stones) into the belly (to cook the game). —In Gudjal 'heart' is **buldañ**.

juma *n. erg.* **jumalu**; *loc.* **jumaŋu** fire: **jumalu ad^yiñ jagan** burn the hair with fire (to prepare the game for cooking), **jumaŋu bundañ** pulled out of the fire (after cooking).

L

-l *ger. suffix* 6.7.

lawa lawa *n.* a lie or lies.

-lu *erg. suffix* 3.8.

M

-ma- *v. der. suffix* 5.6.

ma^ʔa *n.* hand. —In Gudjal (and Birri) **mala**. Compare Y **maṛa**.

mad^yi- *v. pf.* **mad^yin** grab, catch, take: **ɲi^ʔilu bama gugu mad^yin** this one (i.e. the tape recorder) grabs people's voices.

magi- *v. pf.* **magin-** drown: **magina** (probably) they were drowned.

maji *n. all.* **majigu** fruit or vegetable food: **nuḡana maji ga^ʔaḍa** his pumpkin, **juḍan majigu** went looking for fruit.

malḡga- *v. pf.* **malḡgan** break: **ɲad^yi malḡgan** broken country.

-man *n. der. suffix* 3.2, 7.

mandal *n.* name.

-mbu *v. suffix* 6.8.

mi^ʔiñuḡa- *v. pf.* **mi^ʔiñuḡan** bury, put (into fire for cooking): **juma mi^ʔiñuḡan** put into the fire, **jumaŋu ɲana mi^ʔiñuḡan** we put it into the fire.

mini¹ *n.* good.

mini² *n.* the name of a tribe, Koko-Mini: **ɲaja gugu mini** I am a Koko-Mini.

miniŋa- *v. imp.* miniŋaga, miniŋa-; *ipf.* miniŋaj; *pf.* miniŋan; *ger.* miniŋal make good, make: ŋuna miniŋaga janga you make a spear, ŋaja janga miniŋaŋa I am going to make a spear (let me make a spear), ŋamba ŋaja miniŋaga (?) janga (because) I cannot make a spear, maji miniŋaj prepared food, janga miniŋan mini he made the spear good (or a good spear), ŋaʔalu janga miniŋan that one (or he) made a spear, juma miniŋan made a fire, maji miniŋan prepared food, ŋuna miniŋal (while) you make it good, ŋuna ŋiʔi miniŋal ŋaŋi if you make this for me, miniŋal making or (he) used to make.

miŋa *n. erg.* miŋalu; *all.* miŋagu meat, any animal or bird, especially 'game' (if not describable), but also of persons or personified beings (as the Japanese *mono*, Polynesian *mea*): miŋa ŋaʔa that bird, miŋa ŋaʔa idʔan janguŋ that creature or fellow ate children (of the Rainbow Serpent), gandʔina miŋa buʔa they killed the serpent, miŋa gandʔina bajamu they killed the Rainbow Serpent, juḍan miŋagu they went (to look) for game, ŋana juḍan miŋagu biwu we looked for kangaroo (literally 'kangaroo-game' or 'game-kangaroo'), ŋuna miŋagu juḍal you looking for meat.

miru *n.* short wallaby spear.

muŋa- *v. pf.* muŋan- cut (up): ŋula muŋana then they cut it up (the game), bula muŋana they cut him up.

muŋadaŋi (?): perhaps muŋanda- cut up(?); hence bula muŋadaŋi = bula muŋandaj (?) they cut him up.

mula *n.* head.

mundu (muŋḍu; postp.; 9).

N

-n¹ *pf. suffix*; 6.4.

-n² *pers. pron. suffix* 7.

na *pers. pron.* 4.3.

-na *pers. pron. suffix* 7.

naja- *v. imp.* najaga; *pf.* najan; break: ŋaja najaga I will break (it), najan ŋadʔi broke the ground.

-ndu *v. suffix* 6.8.

-nga *int. suffix* 6.6.

ni *n.* nose.

nuŋaŋgu *pers. pron.* 4.3.

nuŋan, nuŋana *pers. pron.* 4.3.

nuŋaŋgu, nuŋana *pers. pron.* 4.3.

nulu *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ŋ

-ŋ *pf. suffix* 6.4.

-ŋa *pers. pron. suffix* 7.

ŋandʔu *n. loc.* ŋandʔuŋu ground.

ŋiʔilama *n.* one: ŋiʔilama bama one man or person.

ŋiilgan *n.* face.

-ŋuŋa- *v. der. suffix* 5.9.

U

uda- *v. pf.* udan swim: uda biʔi or biʔi udan could swim.

ugulŋu(mu) *n.* (?) wife (?): bajamu ugulŋu nuŋana wajimu the Rainbow Serpent's wife (the fainter rainbow, when two are visible, is supposed to be the female).

ula *n.* a kind of gum (from the grass tree), used as tar, to join parts of spear.

uŋḍa- *v. pf.* uŋḍan put (on), cook: maji uŋḍan cooked vegetables, ŋula ŋali uŋḍan then we cooked (it), gulʔa julʔiŋu miŋa uŋḍan put stones into the belly of the game.

W

wada- *v. pf.* wadaŋ-; *int.* wadanga go (away), run away: ŋaʔa wadaŋa, wadaŋa juŋgugu they ran away, going

up to the high mountain, **ɲali wadanga gulɲumu** we two will go tomorrow.

wad^yi- *v. pf.* **wad^yin, wad^yiń; int.** **wad^yinga** change or turn into, become: **wad^yin galgabinda ga^ʔuma** he turned into a porcupine having spears, i.e. prickles, **nulu wad^yin ga^ʔuma** he turned into a porcupine, **bula wad^yińa** all the people turned into (animals), **wad^yin jaldalɲu** he became (the Rainbow) in the sky, **wad^yindu (?) ga^ʔuma** let him become a porcupine (let him go with the spears and all).

wad^yima- *v. pf.* **wad^yiman** turn into.

waga *n.* teeth.

wa^ʔina *interr. pron.* 4.5. who?: **ɲuna wa^ʔina** who are you?, **wa^ʔindyu minɲan janga** who made the spear?.

wajimu *n.* woman, wife.

wambira (wamira) *n.* womera.

wanda *interr. pron.* ? where? (?).

wand^yi- *v. pf.* **wand^yin, wand^yiń** sleep: **ɲula wand^yin** then (he) was asleep.

wijangu *n. erg.* **wijangulu** a mythological being, connected with the Rainbow Serpent: **ɲa wijangu gandań** then (he) sent **wijangu** (somehow connected with the Flood), **wijangulu bajamu janguń** that Fellow swallowed the Rainbow.

wind^yi *n. erg.* **wind^yilu** boomerang: **wind^yi bu** for a boomerang, **wind^yilu gand^yiga** kill with the boomerang.

wini- *v. pf.* **winin-** fear, be frightened: **bama bula winina** the people were frightened.

wirgi *n.* bee (also a totem): **ɲaja wirgi I am Sugarbag (Larry Leady's totem).**

wunda *n.* wind.

wungurań *n.* the name of a marriage group: **wungurań** marries **banbarigan**.

wuńdu- *v. ipf.* **wuńduj; pf. wuńduń** look for: **buldunugu wuńduń** looked for the boy.

Koko-Yalandji vocabulary

Figures refer to the sections on morphology. References to Kentyu are made by the letter K (cf. 1.2.); for WLO, see in 1.3.

The entries are arranged alphabetically according to the same order of phonemes as for Kentyu. The same abbreviations are used.

The letter H marks a 'high' or 'father-in-law' form of speech, the letter L, a 'low' or 'current' form (see 1.1.)

B

ba *postp.* 3.8.; 9.

bada *n. adv.* down (to a river, etc.).
—Compare WLO **bada** bottom.

badur *n.* fish line. —Compare WLO **badur** hook.

badurid^yi *attr. n.* with (= having) a fish line. —Compare WLO **badurigi** fishing.

bad^ya *adv.* back, again: **gadaj bad^ya** come back. —Compare WLO **baja** more, again.

bad^yand^yi *n.* a bad person: **jundu bad^yand^yi** you larrikin (said to a boy or a woman). —Compare WLO **bajanji** tough character.

baga- *v. pf.* **bagań** dig: **d^yana gawu bagal bagań** they are digging (for) yams. —Compare WLO **baga** prick.

- bagari-** *v. pf.* **bagariñ** dig (be digging *or* start digging).
- baja** *n. loc.* **bajaña** 1. fire; 2. fire wood (L. from English 'fire'; cf. **wund^yu**): **baja wad^yun** lit a fire, **bajaña duñaj** go to the fire. —Compare WLO **baya** fire. In Gudjal (as in Gunggari) 'fire' is **buři**.
- bajan** *n. abl.* **bajanmuñ** camp, home: **duñaj bajan ba** go to the camp, **ñulu d^yigi bajan ba** Dicky is at home. —Compare WLO **bajan** house, camp.
- bajar** *n.* **milbir bajar** womera (H, L).
- balari** *n. ?* **miña balari** rich meat.
- bald^yi** *n.* **dilli bag**.
- balga-** *v. imp.* **balga**; *pf.* **balgañ**; *int.* **balganga** 1. make; 2. tell: **jundu ñagu balga** you make for me, **ñaju ñuñungu balgañ** I will tell him. —Compare WLO **balga** talk, inform.
- balgad^yi-** *v. pf.* **balgad^yiñ** be changed *or* turn into: **ñulgur balgad^yiñ** was changed into blood (the literal meaning being 'make itself *or* be made'). —Compare WLO **balgajiñ** to be born.
- balu** *n. adv. ?* no thanks. —K **balu** has a different sense (q.v.).
- bama** *n.* man (H; cf. **d^yiraj**): **bama ñubun** one man, **bama gular** three men. —Compare WLO **bama** people. In Gudjal the Gunggari **maři** ('man') is used.
- bana** *n. loc.* **banaña** 1. water; 2. river. —Compare WLO **bana** water. In Gudjal both **bana** and the Gunggari word **gamu** ('water') are used. (Gudjal **bana** also means 'belly'.)
- baraingan** *n.* dark wagtail.
- bařal** *n. loc.* **bařalda** track: **bařal ba** on the track, **bařalda duñaj** go *or* walk on the track.
- bawa-** *v. imp.* **bawa**; *pf.* **bawan, bawañ**; *int.* **bawanga**; *ger.* **bawal** leave. —Compare WLO **bawa** leave.
- bi** *adv.* 8 perhaps: **jundu bi gadaj** if you like to come.
- bid^yi** *n.* tail: **garbanga** by **bid^yi** get him by the tail (from English). —Compare WLO **biji** tail.
- bilngumu** *n. erg.* **bilngumungu** alligator, crocodile. —Compare WLO **bilngumu** river crocodile.
- binand^yal** *n. erg.* **binand^yalu** koala. —Compare **budugul**.
- bira** *n.* leaf, bush(es): **maji bira** leaf, leaves, **ñulu bira bu ñandan** he covered (it) with bushes. —Compare WLO **birra** leaf.
- bu** *postp.* 3.8.; 9.
- bubañ** *n.* little boy.
- bubu** *n. loc.* **bubuñu** 1. earth, ground; 2. country: **ñanaña bubu** our country, **bubuñu wunanga** to lie down on the ground. —Compare WLO **bubu** ground, earth.
- budugul** *n. erg.* **buduguldu** koala bear: **buduguldu nugal nugañ bira** the bear is eating leaves. —Compare **binand^yal**.
- bud^yil** *n.* nose. —Compare WLO **bujil**, idem.
- bula** *pers. pron.* 4.3. two: **bula jabajabud^ya** the two brothers, **bulaña bajan** your *or* their country, **bulañañ ñad^yiñ** saw you two.
- bulañañ** *v.* **bula**.
- buliman** *n.* policeman.
- bunda-** *v. ipf.* **bundaj**; *int.* **bundanga** sit: **jundu bundaj** you sit down. —Compare WLO **bunday** sit.
- bundanda-** *v. ipf.* **bundandaj** sit, be sitting: **ñaju bundandaj bajan ba** I am sitting (staying) at the camp.
- bur** (= **bu ? postp.**: **miña bur** looking for game *or* meat, **maji gawu bur** looking for yams).
- huri** *n.* 1. name; 2. song. —Compare WLO **burri** name, male song.
- burigari** *n.* a surname (see 1.1.).

D

da- *v. ipf.* **daja** give: **jundu ηagu daja** you give me. —Compare WLO **daya** give.

-da¹ *erg. suffix* 3.8.

-da² *loc. suffix* 3.8.

dad^yi- *v. int.* **dad^yinga** give: **ηunu dad^yinga** (I) will give you. —Compare WLO **dajinga** to give.

daga- *v. ipf.* **dagaj** knock down: **jundu dagaj** you knock him down.

daganda- *v. pf.* **dagandañ** knock down. —Compare WLO **dagandañ** break down, destroy.

dalgari *n.* rain (H): **dalgari gadaj** it is going to rain.

dama- (**d^yama-**) *v. pf.* **damañ**; *int.* **damanga** hit, spear. —Compare WLO **dama** spear, hunt.

darba *n.* wallaby. —Compare WLO **darba**, idem.

dawar *n.* star. —Compare WLO **dawarr**, idem.

dawun *n.* town: **gangar dawun bu** to Cooktown.

digi *n. erg.* **digiŋga** Dicky: **ñgiŋga ñuñun, ñalinañ, bulanañ ñad^yiⁿ** Dicky saw him, us two, you two.

dira *n.* teeth. —Compare WLO **dirra**, idem.

-du *erg. suffix* 3.8.

duda- *v. int.* **dudanga** sing: **huri dudanga** will sing a song. —Compare WLO **duda** strike on anvil.

dugul *n.* head (H, L). —Compare WLO **dugul**, idem. In Gudjal (and Gunggari) **gada** is used for 'head' or 'hair'.

duña- *v. imp.* **duña**; *ipf.* **duñaj**; *pf.* **duñan, duñañ**; *int.* **duñanga** go (H, L): **bajaña duñaj** go to the fire, **duñaj gadaj** (I am) going and coming (back), **ηaju duñañ** I am gone. —Compare WLO **duñay** go.

duñan duña- *v. pf.* **duñan duñañ**; *int.* **duñan duñanga** go.

duñañi- *v. pf.* **duñañiñ** go away, along.

durund^yi *n.* the two 'sticks' in the Milky Way.

D^y

d^yaña *n.* mouth.

d^yalama- *v. pf.* **d^yalamañ** jump down, —Compare WLO **jalamal** hop, skip.

d^yalbu *n. erg.* **d^yalbungu** woman: **d^yana d^yalbu d^yalbu** all the women, **ñulu d^yalbungu** yonder woman. —Compare WLO **jalbu** adolescent girl. In Gudjal (as well as in Bundjil) 'woman' is **baña**.

d^yali *n.* Charlie: **jundu d^yali ñad^yiñ** you saw Charlie.

d^yalun *n.* sea: **d^yalun bu** into the sea. —Compare WLO **jalun**, idem.

d^yama- *v. dama-*.

d^yambul *n.* two, two people (H). —Compare **bula, mamara**.

d^yana *pers. pron.* 4.3.: **d^yana wunanaj** them fellows are sleeping or lying down, **d^yana naga mad^yad^yi** the south (i.e. the people in New South Wales), **d^yananda balga** tell them.

d^yana- *v. ipf.* **d^yanaj** stand: **milga d^yanaj** listen (stand listening). —Compare WLO **janay** to stand.

d^yand^yani- *v. pf.* **d^yand^yaniñ** stand up: **ñali mamara d^yand^yaniñ** we two standing (up).

d^yand^yi- *v. pf.* **d^yand^yiñ** jump into the water. —Compare WLO **janjin** sink in water, swim.

d^yanga *n.* money. —Compare WLO **janğa** (large) stone.

d^yaŋba *n.* snake. —Compare WLO **jarrba**, idem.

d^yiba *n.* liver: **d^yiba jagañ** (**jagan**) open the stomach, cut him up (of the game). —Compare WLO **jiba** liver, stomach.

d^yibar *n.* west. —Compare WLO **jibarr** south.

d^yid^yirid^yin *n.* wagtail. —Compare K **d^yirin d^yirin**.

d^yigañ (d^yigan) *n.* grass: **ñulu d^yigan nugal nugañ** he eats grass. —Compare **gařar**.

d^yija *n. loc.* **d^yijaņa** chair (from English).

d^yilba *n. loc. all.* **d^yilbaņu** hunting: **ñali d^yilbaņu duņa** we (two) are going hunting. —Compare WLO **jilba** walk.

d^yina *n.* foot. —Compare WLO **jina**, idem. The same (**d^yina**) is used in Gudjal.

d^yinbalwari- *v. pf.* **d^yinbalwariñ** be running. —Compare WLO **jinbal** hurry up, quick.

d^yiraj *n.* man, boy (L): **d^yiraj d^yiraj** men or black man. —Compare **bama**.

d^yiri *n. loc.* **d^yiriņa** sky. —Compare WLO **jiri**, idem.

d^yulad^yi *n.* jewfish.

d^yuldi *n.* salt (from English).

d^yulmbanu *n. erg.* **d^yulmbanungu** kangaroo: **miña d^yulmbanu** kangaroo (meat). —Compare WLO **julmbanu** grey kangaroo. In Gudjal, the Gunggari form **wura** is used.

G

gaba *n.* rain (L): **gaba gadaj** it is going to rain. —Compare WLO **gaba**, idem. Also compare **dalğari**.

gada- (**gađa-**) *v. ipf.* **gadaj**; *pf.* **gadan**, **gadañ** come: **jundu bi gadaj** if you like to come, **bajan mundu gadaj** come from home, **ñaju gadaj bad^ya** I will come back, **wand^yumundu gadañ** where do (you) come from. —Compare WLO **gadaj** come.

gadaři- *v. pf.* **gadařiñ** come along.

gagi *adv.* 8. perhaps: **gagi ñaju ñad^yiñ** I may see him, **gagi ñaju ñad^yiñ ñaju ñuņungu balğañ bama ñubun** if I see him I will tell him.

gaņa- *v. imp.* **gaņa** chase: **jundu gaņa** you chase him.

gangada- (**gan-**) *v. imp.* **gangada**; *ipf.* **gangadaj**; *pf.* **gangadañ** come along: **jundu gangada** come on along, **ñaju gangadaj bajanmuñ** I am coming from home.

gangal *n.* little boy.

gaja *n.* dog. —Compare WLO **gaya**, idem. In Gudjal **ņura** and **wandi** are used for 'dog' (both known in the Gunggari languages).

galga *n.* spear (H, L). —Compare WLO **galga**, idem. Also compare K **galga**, idem.

-gan *fem. suffix* 3.2, 5.

gangada- *v.* **gangada-**.

gangar *n.* the name of a country or area: **gangar dawun bu** to Cooktown (in Birri called **galari**).

garba- *v. pf.* **garbañ**; *int.* **garbanga** get, catch, grasp. —Compare WLO **garrbal** grab.

garar *n.* grass. —Compare WLO **gararr**, idem. Compare **d^yigañ**.

gaři *n. adv.* nothing, not: **ñaliñ gaři gadaj** if we two will not go, **gaři ñad^yiñ** did not see anything.

-gaři *car. suffix* 3.2, 6.

gawu *n.* yam(s): **maji gawu**, idem.

gid^ya *n.* moon. —Compare WLO **gija**, idem.

gudijala (gurijala) *n.* carpetsnake (can be eaten like goanna). —Compare WLO **guriyala**, idem.

gud^yu *n.* four: **gud^yu d^yija** four chairs.

gugu *n.* word, language: **gugu jaland^yi** Koko-Yalandji. —Compare WLO **gugu** talk.

guju *n. loc. all.* **gujuņu** fish (H, L): **ñali gujumu duņa** we are going fishing. —Compare WLO **guyu**, idem.

guldi (guld^yi) *n. loc. all.* **guldiņa** stone: **guldi wad^yun** heated (a) stone or stones. —Compare WLO **gulji** pebbles, small stones.

gulid^yi *n.* bad: **bilngumu gulid^yi** the crocodile is a bad one. —Compare WLO **guliji** savage.
gulur *n.* three, three people: **gulur d^yija** three chairs.
gunba- *v. pf.* **gunbañ** finish. —Compare WLO **gunba**, idem.
gungara *n.* north.
guni- *v. pf.* **guniñ, gunin**; *ger.* **gunil** kill: **darba gunin** kill wallaby.
gurand^yi *n.* emu. —Compare WLO **gurrañji** cassowary.
gurbal *n.* brolga (native companion). —Compare WLO **gurrbal** plain turkey.
gurma *n.* stone. —Compare WLO **gurrma** roast on hot stones.
guwa *n.* east. —Compare WLO **guwa** west.

ŋ

-ŋa *loc. all. suffix* 3.8.
ŋaga- *v. int.* **ŋaganga** drink: **bana ŋaganga** to drink water.
ŋagu *pers. pron.* 4.3.
ŋangin *n.* porcupine.
ŋaja *pers. pron.* 4.3.
ŋajbir *n.* girl (L). —Compare WLO **ŋaybirr** intimate name for wife. Compare **maṛal**.
ŋajgu *pers. pron.* 4.3.
ŋaju *pers. pron.* 4.3.
ŋajurgu *pers. pron.* 4.3.
ŋali *pers. pron.* 4.3.
ŋalinan *pers. pron.* 4.3.
ŋaliñ (ŋalin) *pers. pron.* 4.3.
ŋamu *n.* mother (H, L). —Compare WLO **ŋamu**, idem.
ŋamumuramu *n.* dingo: **gaja ŋamumuramu**, idem. —Compare WLO **murramu** dingo.
ŋana *pers. pron.* 4.3.
ŋanaŋa, ŋananan *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ŋand^yan *n.* father (H, L). —Compare WLO **ŋanjan**, idem.
ŋand^yin *pers. pron.* 4.3.
ŋaña *pers. pron.* 4.3.
-ŋga *erg. suffix* 3.8.
-ŋgu *erg. suffix* 3.8.
-ŋu *loc. all. suffix* 3.8.
ŋuba *adv.* ever: **ŋuba gaṛi gadaj** (you) will never come.
ŋud^yaj *n.* turtle: **ŋali(ñ) ŋud^yaj maniñ** we got turtle.
ŋulgur *n.* blood. —Compare WLO **ŋulgurr** good (sic).
ŋund^yil *n.* charcoal: **ŋund^yil jilbañ (-n)** cleared away charcoal (from cooking pit). —Compare WLO **ŋunjil**, idem.
ŋunu *pers. pron.* 4.3.

J

-j *ipf. suffix* 6.3.
jabajabud^yu *n. erg.* **jabajabud^yungu** (two) brothers: **bula jabajabud^yu** the two brothers. —Compare WLO **yabayabuju**, idem.
jaga- *v. imp.* **jaga**; *pf.* **jagañ** cut up, open the stomach of (an animal): **d^yiba jagañ** open the stomach (of the game). —Compare WLO **yaga** cut.
jaland^yi *n.* the name of a language, Koko-Yalandji.
jalañ *dem. pron.* 4.4.: **jalañ ba duŋaj** go over there, **jalamba** (come) here (H). —Compare WLO **yalaymba** here.
jalungu *dem. pron.* 4.4.
jaluj *dem. adv.* 4.4.: **gadaj jaluj** come here.
jaluñu *dem. pron.* 4.4.: **jaluñu ŋagu daja** give me this.
jamba *n. loc. all.* **jambaŋa** camp, home (H): **jambaŋa jundu duŋaj** you go home. —Compare WLO **yamba** house. The same word (**jamba**) is used in Gudjal; cf. **bajan**.

jaraman *n.* horse.

jarga *n.* **jarga jarga** children (H, L).
—Compare WLO **yarrga** smallest bee in the bush, **yarrga yarrga** group of small children. In Gudjal 'child' is **walbara**.

jawa *n.* possum.

jid^yari- *v. imp.* **jid^yariga**; *pf.* **jid^yariñ**; *ger.* **jid^yarind^yi** put: **gurma jid^yariñ** put stones into. —Compare WLO **yijariga** place, put.

jilagu *adv.* yesterday. —Compare WLO **yilaygu**, idem.

jilaj *adv.* yesterday: **ñaju ñuñun ñad^yin jilaj** I saw him yesterday.

jilajgu *adv.* yesterday: **ñaju jilajgu gangadañ** I came along yesterday.

jilaj jilaj *n. adv.* evening, in the evening. —Compare WLO **yilay yilay** evening.

jilba- *v. pf.* **jilbañ**; *ger.* **jilbal** clear away: **nund^yil jilbañ, jilbal** cleared, clearing away the charcoal. —Compare WLO **yilbal** throw. cf. K **ilbi-** return.

jimbi *n.* lip(s).

jiri *n.* the Bloomfield river (in Queensland). —Compare WLO **yiri** waterfall.

jiril *n.* rainbow: —Compare WLO **yiril**, idem.

jubal *pers. pron.* 4.3.

jubalana *pers. pron.* 4.3.

julban *n.* skin: **julban mani** skin (him), **julban maniñ** took off the skin. —Compare WLO **yulban**, idem.

jundu *pers. pron.* 4.3.

junu, junun *pers. pron.* 4.3.

jura *pers. pron.* 4.3.

jurana, juranañ *pers. pron.* 4.3.

L

-1 *ger. suffix* 6.7.

M

madad^yi- *v. imp.* **madad^yi**; *pf.* **madad^yiñ**; *int.* **madad^yingu** go, come (H): **jundu madad^yi jalamba** you come here (= **jundu gadaj jaluj**), **ñali gujuña madad^yingu** we two are going fishing. —Compare **mad^yad^yi-**.

mad^yad^yi- *v. ipf. ?* **mad^yad^yij ?** go (cf. **madad^yi-**): **d^yana naga mad^yad^yi (?)** the people of New South Wales (*v. naga*).

maji *n.* fruit, (vegetable) food, tucker: **maji gawu** yam(s), **maji ñulu nugal nugañ bira** (he) the koala has eaten the leaves. —Compare WLO **mayi** food or fruit.

mamara *n.* two (L): **mamara d^yiya** two chairs, **ñali mamara d^yand^yaniñ** we two are standing (up). —Compare WLO **mamarra** two. cf. **d^yambul**.

-**man** *n. der. suffix* 3.2, 7.

mand^yal *n. abl.* **mand^yalmuñ** mountain: **mand^yal ba** (ran) into the mountain. —Compare WLO **manjal**, idem.

mangad^yi *n. ?* pigeon (?).

mani- *v. imp.* **mani**; *pf.* **maniñ**; *int.* **maninga**; *ger.* **manil** take (off), catch, get: **jundu mani** you catch (him), **julban mani** skin him, **guju ñali maninga** we will get fish. —Compare WLO **mana** to take.

manid^yi- *v. pf.* **manid^yiñ** finish.

mañar *n.* wife (H, L). —Compare WLO **mañarr**, idem.

mañumbi- *v. imp.* **mañumbi** chase, grab.

maña *n.* hand (H, L). —Compare WLO **mara**, idem. In Gudjal nad Birri **mala**. cf. K **ma'a**.

mañal *n.* girl (H). —Compare WLO **maral** young girl. cf. **ñajbir**.

-**mbi-** *v. der. suffix* 5.7.

mil *n.* eye(s). —Compare WLO **miyil** eye. In Gudjal (as in Gunggari) 'eye(s)' is **dili**.

- milbir** *n.* womera (H, L). —Compare **bajar**.
- milga** *n.* ear(s): **milga d^yanaj** listen. —Compare WLO **milga** 'ear'. In Gudjal (as in Gunggari) 'ear' is **bina**.
- milgagari** *n.* deaf.
- miña** *n.* meat *or* game (H, L): **miña julmbanu** kangaroo meat, **miña gurand^yi** emu (meat). —Compare WLO **miña** meat.
- mudaja** *n.* father-in-law.
- munga** *n.* hair: **munga wad^yu** singe the hair. —Compare WLO **munga**, idem.
- mundu (munḍu)** *postp.* 3.8, 9.
- muñ** *abl. suffix* 3.8.
- murangal** *n. erg.* **murangalda** spear.
- muramu** *v.* **ḡamumuramu**.

N

- n** *pf. suffix* 6.4.
- naga** *n. adv.* south. —Compare **d^yana**, **mad^yad^yi-**.
- nda-** *dur. der. suffix* 5.8.
- nd^yi** *ger. suffix* 6.8.
- nga** *int. suffix* 6.6.
- ngu** *int. suffix* 6.6.
- nuga-** *v. imp.* **nuga**; *pf.* **nugañ**; *ger.* **nugal** eat *or* drink: **jundu maji nuga** you eat, **jundu nuga** you drink, **ḡaju nugañ** **gunbañ** I have finished eating, **buduguldu nugal nugañ** bira the bear has eaten the leaf, **bira nugal nugal** is eating leaves, **miña ḡali nuganga** we will eat the meat. —Compare WLO **nuga** eat, drink.
- nugaḡi-** *v. pf.* **nugaḡiñ** eat **d^yana nugaḡiñ** they are eating.

ñ

- ñ** *pf. suffix* 6.4.
- ña-** *v. imp.* **ñaḡa** see. —Compare **ñad^yi-**.

- ñabil** *n.* tongue. —Compare WLO **ñabil**, idem.
- ñad^yi-** *v. pf.* **ñad^yiñ**, **ñad^yiñ**; *ger.* **ñad^yil** see, look: **ḡaju ñad^yiñ walur** I have seen a kangaroo, **ḡari ñad^yiñ** did not see, **ḡaju ḡuḡun ñad^yiñ** I can see him, her *or* it, **ḡaju ḡuḡun ñad^yil wanguñ** I will see him tomorrow. —Compare WLO **ḡaga** to look, **ḡajil** to see. Also cf. **ña-**.
- ñanda-** (**nanda-**) *v. pf.* **ñandañ**; *ger.* **ñandal** cover: **bira bu ñandañ** covered with bushes. —Compare WLO **nandal** bury the dead.
- ñigu** *adv.* today, now (H, L): **ñigu ñigu** today, **ḡaju ḡuḡun ñad^yiñ ñigu** I will see him today, **ñigu ḡaju ñad^yiñ ḡaju balgañ bama gulur** when I saw them today I told them. —Compare WLO **ñigu** today.

ñubun *n.* one, one person: **ñubun d^yija** one chair.

ñuḡu *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ñuḡun *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ñuḡundu *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ñulu *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ñulundu *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ḡ

-ḡi- *v. der. suffix* 5.10; 6.5.

W

wad^yu- *v. imp.* **wad^yu**; *pf.* **wad^yuñ**, **wad^yun**; *int.* **wad^yungu**; *ger.* **wad^yul** cook, burn, heat, light *or* make (a fire): **munga wad^yu** singe the hair, **baja wad^yun** lit a fire, **guldi wad^yun** **baja** is burning the grass, **ḡaju duḡaj baja wad^yungu** I go to light a fire, **ḡaju baja wad^yul** I am going to make a fire, **wad^yul ñigu** (I) light it now, **wad^yul wad^yul** (I) light it all the time. —Compare WLO **waju** cook on hot coals.

- wad^yud^yi-** *v. pf.* **wad^yud^yin-** cook (for oneself ?): **miña wad^yud^yin** cooking meat.
- wad^yuṛi-** *v. pf.* **wad^yuṛiñ** cook, start cooking (?).
- waguga** *n.* kookaburra. —Compare WLO **waguga**, idem.
- wangar** *adv.* up: **duṇañ wangar** went up. —Compare WLO **wangarr** Thompson Creek Camp.
- wañi** *n.* boomerang (H, L).
- walar** *n.* beard. —Compare WLO **walarr** whiskers.
- walgar** *n.* goanna. —Compare WLO **walgarr**, idem.
- walgari** *adv.* I don't want any (food).
- walṇa-** *v. pf.* **walṇañ**; *int.* **walṇanga** take out meat (from oven or off fire): **miña walṇañ** took out the meat. —Compare WLO **walṇa** open.
- walur** *n.* kangaroo (H): **miña walur** kangaroo. —Compare **d^yulmbanu**.
- wand^yabu** *adv.* where?: **jundu wand^yabu duṇaj** where are you going?.
- wand^yumundu** *adv.* whence?
- wanguñ** *adv.* tomorrow. —Compare **wunguñ**.
- waña** *interr. pron.* 4.5.
- wañuri-** *interr. pron.* 4.5.
- wañuringa** (-ṅgu) *interr. adv.* what for?
- waṛal** *n.* stomach: **waṛal ba** in(to) the stomach. —Compare WLO **waṛal** body, stomach.
- waṛu-** *v. int.* **waṛungu** sleep.
- wawu** *adv.* (8) would like to, if: **jundu wawu ṅagu balgañ** if you make (this) for me... . —Compare WLO **wawu** spirit, wish.
- wubul** *n.* four or five, a 'mob': **wubul d^yija** five chairs. —Compare **wubul** all.
- wuguṛi-** (**wuguri-**) *v. pf.* **wuguṛiñ**; *ger.* **wuguṛil** hunt: **wuguṛil wuguṛiñ** were hunting.
- wuṅar** *n.* sun. —Compare WLO **wuṅar**, idem.
- wul** *n.* hall (from English): **wul bu** to the hall.
- wula-** *v. pf.* **wulañ** die: **ñulu wulañ** he is dead. —Compare WLO **wulay** dead.
- wumbul** *n.* hot: **wumbul gurma** hot stone, **wumbul ñigu** it is hot today. —Compare WLO **wumbul**, idem.
- wuna-** *v. ipf.* **wunaj**; *pf.* **wunañ**; *int* **wunanga**; *ger.* **wunal** 1. lie down, sleep; 2. put down: **miña darba wunañ** put down the wallaby (into the cooking pit), **ṅaju duṇaj wunanga** I am going to lie down or sleep. —Compare WLO **wunay** sleep.
- wunan(d)a-** ? *v. ipf.* **wunanaj** sleep, lie down.
- wundi-** *v. imp.* **wundi**; *pf.* **wundiñ** bring: **ṅaju gawu wundiñ** I brought yams. —Compare WLO **wundi**, idem.
- wundiṛi-** *v. pf.* **wundiṛiñ** bring.
- wund^yu** *n. loc. all.* **wund^yuṅa** fire (H): **wund^yuṅa duṇaj** go to the fire. —Compare **baja**.
- wunguñ** *adv.* tomorrow: **wunguñ ñad^yiñ** see him tomorrow morning. —Compare **wanguñ**.

GANGULIDA

1. Notes of the Gangulida or Ganggulida language (to be distinguished from the Gangulu language in eastern Queensland, which is of Gunggari type) were taken (between 1970-1972) from two persons at the Woorabinda settlement in Queensland, one Mr Digger Swann and one Mr Jerry Walton. The Aboriginal name of the tribe and language (also referred to as the Burketown or Berkeley (?) river language) was given in two forms: *gañulida* (which might be preferred), by both informants, and *gañgulida* or *gañgalida* (or even *gañguliḍa*), the last three forms by Digger Swann. Both informants were bilingual and rather proficient in the Aboriginal language, although they had considerable difficulty in making certain points of grammar plain in English, whence an analysis of every point of the rather complicated Gangulida morphology has not been possible. Reference to these informants in the morphological sketch and in the vocabulary is made by the corresponding signatures, DS (Mr Swann) and JW (Mr Walton).

Phonology

Vowel system

2.1. The phonology of Gangulida agrees with the general phonetic pattern of the Aboriginal languages of western Queensland. The basic vowel phonemes are *a*, *i* and *u*, which are indifferent as to quantity and stress. Monosyllabic concrete forms (hence not particles) ending in a vowel are, however, liable to lengthen the vowel sound: *da da* 'going', *ñi* 'yes'. Since no word or syllable can begin with a vowel, diphthongs are evidently absent, but sequences of the type *-aji-*, *-ija-*, etc. may be reduced in the pronunciation to *-ai-*, *-ia-* etc. This holds for every context: *ḍijad^ya wulanda* ('eating meat') may hence be realised as *ḍijaulanda*. A word borrowed from English has to be adapted to the Gañulida phonetic system: 'bread' becomes *burajiri* (since the English vowel sound does not exist as a basic phoneme and neither initial *br-* nor final *-d* occurs in the Aboriginal language; such a pronunciation as *wad^ybala* 'white fellow' probably represents a slurred *wad^yibala*, which may become further simplified to *wajibala* and *waibala*, according to 2.1, 6).

Consonant system

2.2. The consonant phonemes are the following ones:

- b* a bilabial plosive (between English 'b' and 'p');
- d* a dental plosive (between English 'd' and 't');
- d^y* a palatalised dental plosive (between English 'dy' and 'ty');

- d* a retroflex plosive (cf. Hindi);
- g* a palatal-velar plosive (between English 'g' and 'k');
- ŋ* a palatal-velar nasal (as in English 'sing', 'song');
- m* a bilabial nasal;
- n* a dental nasal;
- ɲ* a palatalised dental nasal (like 'ni' in English 'onion');
- ɳ* a retroflex nasal;
- l* a lateral continuant (as in French and Italian);
- r* a trilled continuant or vibrant (as in Italian);
- ɽ* a retroflex 'l' or 'r' (as in Hindi *ghoṛa*);
- j* a palatal semivowel (as in English 'yes');
- w* a bilabial semivowel (as in English 'well').

Combinatory phonology

2.3. While syllables may begin with any of the above-mentioned basic consonant phonemes, words begin with any plosive or nasal (except the retroflex *ɳ* and *ɽ*) and further with *l*, *r* and the semi-vowels *j* and *w*. Words and syllables may end in a vowel, nasal or continuant only. As in the Gugu (or Koko) languages of Cape York, consonant groups consisting of a syllable-ending phoneme combined with a syllable-initial phoneme preceded by a homorganic nasal occur, as in *barmbija* 'later on'.

2.4. The sequence *-di-* may or may not be actualised as *-dʲi-* (the former spelling may be preferred): *didina* or *dʲidʲina* 'which?' (spelled *didina*). In the group *-ld-*, the *d* seems alveolar and similarly in *-nd-* (for the sake of clarity we hence write a palatalised dental group as *-ndʲ-*). The group *-ɳd-* (as in *gaɳdi* 'wife', *wuɳɳa* 'rain') has occasionally been recorded, but its basic character is uncertain (the former word has also been noted as *gandi*, and the stem of the latter is *wun-* (not **wuɳ-*), as in *wungi* 'after the rain').

2.5. Certain simplifications of consonant groups may be observed: *-nd-*, *-mb-* and *-ld-* may be reduced in speaking to respectively *-n-*, *-m-* and *-l-*, as in *dadina* for *dadinda* (?) 'that, there', *ɲumanda* for *ɲumbanda* 'your(s)', *dali-* for *daldi-* 'stand'; sometimes it may, however, be a question of different basic forms: *mala* and *malda* 'hand', *duɲala* and *duɲalda* 'stick', as well as in the above *didina* and *didinda* (?). The passing of any intervocalic phoneme (but especially a *-d-* or *-n-*), into *-r-*, very common in the languages of eastern Queensland, is also found in Gangulida: *ɲara* for *ɲada* 'I'. Some common alternations must further be noted, such as that of *-r-* and *-ɳ-*, that of *-ɽ-*, *-l-* and *-r-*, that of *-ld-*, *-ɳd-* and *-ɽ-* (e.g. *baldaɲu*, *baɳaɲu*, *baɽaɲu* 'big'), etc.

2.6. The phoneme *-dʲ-* and the phoneme *-r-* before *-i-* are not seldom reduced to the semivowel *-j-*: the verbal suffix *-dʲa-* may appear as *-ja-* (although, at the same time, it is possible that a basic verbal suffix *-ja* exists beside *-dʲa* and having a different function; cf. 5.10.); further *wadibal* 'white fellow' (= *wadʲibala*; cf. 2.4.) may become *wa(j)ibala*, the caritive suffix *-wari* may

appear as *-waji* (see 2.1.) and the locative *-ri*, as *-ji* (*ɲuguji* for *ɲuguri* ‘in the water’). Whether any original consonant groups **-nr-* and **-lr-* existed in any period of the language, they have later passed into respectively *-nd-* (*-ɲɔ-* ?) and *-ld-* (perhaps occasionally *-ɾ-*; cf. above 2.5.), that is in such forms as *wuɲɔda* ‘rain’, *malda* ‘hand’ (cf. 2.4, 6.).

2.7. As in Gugu-Bujun (Cape York), a tendency subsists in Gangulida to assimilate unstressed vowel sounds: from *dulga* ‘ground’ the allative *dulgulu* (‘on to the ground’; from **dulga-lu*), of *nada* ‘camp’, the same form is *nadulu* (beside *nadalu* ‘to the camp, home’), beside *ɲidiɲulu* (= *ɲidɲin-*; cf. 2.4.) ‘to me’ we find *ɲidɲundɲulu*; the locative of *dulga* ‘ground’ (cf. above) is *dulgi*, which seems to represent **dulgiji* (<**dulgiri* <**dulga-ri*; cf. 2.6.). The intentional suffix *-dɲulu* (see 5.13.) very likely represents the imperfect suffix *-dɲa* (see 5.11.), enlarged by the above-mentioned allative *-lu* (hence **dɲa-lu*, which further is assimilated to the actually recorded from *-dɲulu*).

2.8. It is likely that the sequence *-wa-* may pass into *-wu-* (via **-wo-* or the sound in English ‘water’—not a basic sound in Gangulida), as in: *gunawuna* beside *gunawana* ‘child’; incidentally, the same takes place in Garwa: *barawun* beside *barawan* (‘camp, home’). The exact relation between the verbal stems *waga-* (JW) and *wuga* (DS) ‘give’ is not very clear (*wu-* is a common stem meaning ‘give’ in the Queensland languages).

Morphology

3.1. In Gangulida the following word classes may be distinguished: nominal forms (nouns, adjectives and numerals), ‘articles’, *pronominal* forms (personal, demonstrative, interrogative), *verbal* forms, *adverbs*, *postpositions* and *connectives*.

Nominal stems

3.2. Nominal stems may end in any word-final phoneme (see 2.3.). The stem is normally of at least two syllables, although monosyllabic stems occur (*wun* ‘rain’). Longer stems are often derived.

Nominal derivation

3.3. Nominal derivation may take place by means of the following derivative suffixes: *-dari* (caritive), *-dulu* (attributive), *-gari* (caritive), *-gulu* (attributive), *-wari* (caritive) and *-wulu* (attributive). The principles underlying the distribution of the synonymous *-dari*, *-gari*, *-wari*, on the one hand, and *-dulu*, *-gulu*, *-wulu*, on the other, are at the moment hidden (no connection with the termination of the stem or the occurrence of ‘article’ forms in respectively *-ra* (*-da*) and *-wa* (see 3.10) seems to exist, as seen in *dangawulu*, *maguwulu* (‘having a man’, respectively ‘a woman’), *dangawari*, *maguwari* (‘without a man, woman (or wife)’), from the ‘article’ forms *dangara* ‘man’, *maguwa* ‘woman’. —For the possible occurrence in Gangulida of a ‘possessive’ derivative suffix, see in 3.7.

3.4. **Attributive suffixes** (*-dulu, -gulu, -wulu*). These denote the idea of ‘having’ or ‘provided with’ (as with an attribute): *jalbudulu* ‘having meat’ (*jalbu(ra)*), *wiringulu* ‘having money’ (*wirinda*), *dangawulu* ‘having a man’ (*dangga(ra)*), *gunawanawulu* ‘having children’ (*gunawana*), *ηuguwulu* ‘having (plenty) of water’ (*ηugu(wa)*), *maguwulu* ‘having a woman’ (*maguwa*).

3.5. **Caritive suffixes** (*-dari, -gari, -wari*). These suffixes mark absence of quality: *wuguwadari* ‘without work’ (*wuguwa*, probably from English ‘work’), *wulangari* ‘no tucker’ (*wulan(da)*), *nadagari* ‘having no home’ (*nada* ‘camp’), *dangawari* ‘not having a man, without a man’ (*dangga*), *maguwari* ‘having no woman’ (*maguwa*), *jalbuwari* ‘without meat’ (*jalbura*), *ηuguwari* ‘without water’ (*ηugu*), *mibulwari* ‘without eyes, blind’ (cf. *mibula, mibul-* ‘eye(s)’).

3.6. Nouns derived by any of these suffixes may be construed with another nominal or pronominal word, which then may be provided with a corresponding attributive or caritive suffix, in a kind of congruence construction: *dadingulu wuruwulu ηawa* ‘with that cheeky dog’ (literally ‘having that, having a cheeky dog’; the last word being left in its stem form).

3.7. It appears that Gangulida may have a suffix expressing ‘ownership’ or ‘property’ (and hence analogous to the Punthamara ‘possessive’ derivative *-ani*), namely the element *-ηga*, found in a couple of cases: *d^yuruwanga ηidind^yi (mibuli)* ‘dust in my eye’ (‘there being dust in me, in (my) eye’) or ‘there is dust in (my) eye’ (DS), *mudaranga gurid^ya* ‘see (there being) a big mob’ (DS); this suffix (*-ηga*) also appears after the caritive *-wari* (cf. 3.5.), as in: *maguwa dangawaringa* ‘a woman having no man’ or ‘the woman has no man’, to form a *negative possessive* form (‘there being none’). Another case of *-ηga* is: *dadinanga mirara ηawa* ‘(afraid) of that good dog’ (literally ‘there being that good dog’), where an attributive suffix (*-gulu, -wulu*) might have been used alternatively (cf. s.v. *buluwi-*, in the Vocabulary). —Also compare under *muda, warguwa*.

Declension

3.8. Nominal words, which most often end in a vowel, are alike in the singular and plural: *ηawa*, therefore, means either ‘dog’ or ‘dogs’, *dangara* ‘a man’ or ‘people’. A nominal word may be declined, by means of suffixes, in the following basic case forms: the *nominative* (or stem form of the word), the *ergative-possessive* (ending in *-ga* or *-ηga*), the *accusative* (in nominal stems equal to the nominative or stem form, also of nouns denoting persons), the *ablative* (ending in *-ra*), the *locative* (ending in *-ri* or *-i*) and the *allative* (ending in *-lu*).

3.9. The following examples will illustrate this: (nominative) *ηaga nima dangga(ra)* ‘who (literally ‘what man?’ are you?)’, *ηumu ηumu maguwa* ‘she is a white woman’; (ergative-possessive) *dadinda ηawaga* ‘that dog (bit me)’, *dadinda diraga* ‘that snake (bit)’ (*dira* ‘snake’), *dadinda danggaranga* ‘that man’s’ (*danggara*); (accusative) *nima gurid^ya dadina danggara* ‘you can see that man’, *dadinda diraga bad^ya dadinda wad^yibala* ‘that snake bit that whitefellow’ (*wad^yibala*); (ablative) *ηuguwara* out of the water (*ηuguwa*); (locative) *gadari* ‘in the river’ (*gadar*), *gulduri* ‘in (my) leg’ (*guldura*), *mibuli* ‘in my eye’ (*mibula, mibul-*) *nadaji* (for *-ri*; cf. 2.6.) ‘at home’ (*nada*); (allative) *ηugulu* ‘into the water’ (*ηugu*), *jalburalu* ‘(give me)

for meat' (*jalbura*), *nadalu* or *nadolu* (cf. 2.7.) '(going) home' (*nada*). Some case relations can also be expressed by a postposition (see section 7).

'Articles'

3.10. Many nominal stems in Gangulida end in any of the terminations *-ra* (in certain cases *-da*) and *-wa*. It is possible that in certain words these endings are part of the stem, whereas in other cases we either find double forms (one with and the other without the ending, as in *d^yada* or *d^yadara* 'one', *ɲugu* or *ɲuguwa* 'water') or else related forms are found without these terminations (as in *dangawulu* 'having a man' beside *dangara* 'man', *maguwari* 'without a woman', beside *maguwa*, *duɲalda* beside *duɲala* 'a stick', etc.), whereby it becomes likely that a termination *-ra* (*-da*) and *-wa* are actually suffixed elements. Although it can hardly be proven as far as Gangulida is concerned, a suspicion is near at hand that these suffixed elements are analogous to the 'articles' in Punthamara (and certain eastern Queensland languages); as we find a different termination in the words for 'man' (*dangara*) and 'woman' (*maguwa*), one might suggest the terms 'masculine' for *-ra*, *-da*, and 'feminine' for *-wa* (also by analogy with Punthamara, etc.). (A difference between grammatical masculine and feminine gender is otherwise not apparent, as *nijangga*, for instance, means both 'he' and 'she'.) We thus find parallel forms with or without the 'article' elements, not only in the nominative (*dangga* and *dangara* 'man', 'a man'), but also in several inflected case forms (*dangaranga* 'the man's' or 'a man's', cf. *dangga* 'man' and *-ɲga* ergative-possessive suffix; *ɲuguwara* 'out of the water', cf. *ɲugulu* 'into the water'). After a stem-final *-n* or *-l*, the suffix *-ra* appears as *-da* as in: *wunda* (*wuɲda*) 'rain' (cf. *wungi* 'in or after the rain'), *junbura duganda* 'a long beard' (*dugan-*), and probably also in *malda* 'a or the hand' (beside *mala*), *duɲalda* 'a or the stick' (beside *duɲala*), although the nominal stem appears shortened here (*mal-*, *duɲal-*); a similar shortening occurs in *mibuli* 'in the eye' (*mibula*; stem *mibul-*, locative suffix *-i*). After *-r* the 'masculine' article is *-a*: *gadara* from *gadar*. Forms with or without the 'article' element may be construed together (that is with or without congruence): *mirara ɲawa* 'a or the good dog' (cf. Punthamara *kup'anana jandra* 'a white stone', where *-nana* is the feminine article), *mudara dangara* 'many people'. As mentioned, no definite proof can be provided in support of the theory that the terminations *-ra* (*-da*) and *-wa* are articles in the same sense as in Punthamara (other terminations also occur, as in *ɲumbanda gandija*, from *gandi* 'wife', and a great many nouns have been recorded without an 'article' element—hence *neuters*?—which, of course, may be due to the scantiness of the material. Such a construction as *ɲaga dadinda duɲala* 'what stick have you got there?' (DS) is hardly sufficient to prove a distinction made between a form *duɲala* 'any stick' and *duɲalda* 'a or the stick'.

Pronouns

4.1. The inflection of personal, demonstrative and interrogative-indefinite pronouns is according to the same principles as the declension of nominal words. A trace of a rudimentary possessive inflection seems to persist (see 4.3.).

Personal pronouns

4.2. Forms in the first, second and third person singular only have been recorded, along with certain compound inclusive forms. The case forms correspond to a nominative, a possessive, an accusative, an ablative, a locative and an allative case.

1st person singular:

nom.	<i>ɲada</i> (<i>ɲara</i> ; cf. 2.5.), <i>ɲadagari</i>
erg.	<i>ɲada</i> , <i>ɲadagari</i>
poss.	<i>ɲidinda</i>
acc.	<i>ɲidingi</i> , <i>ɲidʸangi</i> , <i>-ngi</i>
loc.	<i>ɲidindʸi</i>
all.	<i>ɲidindʸulu</i> , <i>ɲidʸandʸulu</i> , <i>ɲidʸundʸulu</i>

2nd person singular:

nom.	<i>ńinga</i> , <i>ńingagadi</i>
erg.	<i>ńinga</i>
poss.	<i>ɲumbanda</i>
acc.	<i>ɲumbangi</i>
loc.	<i>ɲumba(n)dʸi</i>
all.	<i>ɲumbandʸulu</i>

3rd person singular:

nom.	<i>nijanga</i> , <i>nijangari</i>
erg.	<i>nijanga</i>
poss.	<i>niwanda</i>
acc.	<i>niwangi</i>
loc.	<i>niwandʸi</i>

Inclusive 1st-2nd person dual:

nom.	<i>ɲada ńinga</i> ; <i>ńinga ɲanma</i> (cf. below)
poss.	<i>ɲidinda ɲumbanda</i>

2nd person dual:

nom.	<i>ńinga gijanga</i>
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The following instances illustrate the use of these forms: (first person singular) *ɲada guridʸa niwangi* 'I can see him', *ɲadagari waradʸa* 'I am going', *galańi ɲidinda* 'this is mine', *ɲidindʸi nadaji* 'at my place' (literally 'at me, at the camp'), *ńinga guridʸa ɲidingi* 'you can see me', *wugangi* 'give me'; (2nd person singular) *ńinga waradʸa* 'you are going', *ńingagadi waradʸa* 'you are going', *ɲumbanda mala* 'your hand', *guridʸa ɲumbangi* 'looking at you', *ɲumba(n)dʸi nadara* 'at your camp' (literally 'at your(s), the camp'); (3rd person singular) *nijanga waradʸa* 'he or she is going', *nijanga guridʸa ɲidingi* 'he can see me', *niwanda waɲalga* 'his boomerang', *ɲada guridʸa niwangi* 'I can see him', *niwandʸi buluwidʸa* 'afraid of him' (literally 'with him'); (inclusive dual) *ɲada ńinga gi waradʸa* 'you and I are going'.

4.3 Alternative forms ending in *-ma* (in the nominative and ergative) are: (first person singular) *ɲanma* 'I', *ɲidʸanma* '(she can see) me' (DS); (second person singular) *ńima* 'you'. The exact

implication of these forms is not evident; compare: *ŋaga ŋanma* ‘(asking) who I am’, *ŋiŋga ŋanma warad^{ya}* ‘you and I are going’; *ŋiŋma warad^{ya}* ‘you go’ (JW), *ŋaga ŋiŋma* ‘who are you?’ (DS). As regards the forms ending in *-gari (-gaḍi; cf. 2.5.)*, that is : *ŋadagari*, *ŋiŋgagaḍi*, *nijaŋgari*, no special function has been detected; they seem to function either as nominative (*ŋadagaḍi warad^{ya}* ‘I am going’, *nijaŋgari ga ligargalad^{ya}* ‘he began to cry’) or as ergative (*ŋadagari dilara ŋari guri dadina daŋgara* ‘I saw that man long ago’); according to DS *ŋaragaḍi* (= *ŋadagari*) means ‘me alone’, which, however, may be a mere attempt at expressing the idea of a first person singular form.

4.4. On the other hand, the short pronominal elements (first person singular) *ŋa*, (second person singular) *ŋi*, (inclusive dual) *gi*, appear to be remnants of a former prefix construction, common in the languages of the Northern Territory, either in a possessive sense or (in the conjugation) an agent or direct object function. Hence, instead of (or along with) the use of the possessive form of a personal pronoun, one finds constructions of the type: *ŋigandi* (originally *ŋi-gandi* ?) ‘your wife’ (= *ŋumbanda gandī*). —For the use of these prefixed elements in the personal conjugation, see further in section 6.

Demonstrative pronouns

4.5. The demonstrative stem *dadi-* has been recorded both in the sense of ‘this’ and ‘that’. Several case forms have been noted down, according to the following paradigm:

nom.	<i>dadina</i>
erg.	<i>dadinda</i> (probably also possessive)
loc.	<i>dadinda</i> (‘there’)
all.	<i>dadingilu</i> (? ‘over there’)

As usual in the Australian languages, the ideas of ‘this’ and ‘here’ or ‘that’ and ‘there’, respectively, are not differentiated, which implies in this case that a locative *dadinda* may be used in constructions such as: *dadinda daŋgara* ‘that man’; it is consequently not clear whether *dadinda* actually has the ergative function in, e.g. *dadinda ŋawaga* ‘that dog’, *dadinda maguwaga gurid^{ya} ŋid^{ya}anma* ‘that woman can see me’, as *dadinda* may be taken in the locative sense. The form *dadinaŋga* (otherwise not to be determined) is used in the sense of ‘(being afraid) of this, that or the’.

4.6. A shorter demonstrative stem is *da-*, in *danda* ‘this’ or ‘here’, ‘that’ or ‘there’: *ŋaga danda wulanda* ‘what is that meat?’, *ŋiŋga gurid^{ya} danda* ‘you see this’, *danda ŋidinda nadara* ‘this is my camp’, *danda maguwa* ‘this woman’. Another derivation of the same stem is *dagana*: *dagana* (= *dadina*) *gunawana ŋidinda* ‘he is my child’. A demonstrative *galaŋi* ‘this, that’ is found quite isolated in: *galaŋi ŋidinda* ‘that is mine’, *ŋiŋma galaŋi guri* ‘you look at this’, *galaŋi guri dadina ŋawa* ‘look at that dog’ (JW).

4.7. Parallel to the forms quoted above and by analogy with the personal pronouns, we find demonstrative forms ending in *-ma*: *dadinma*, *danma*, which are used in the nominative and accusative, as shown in: *dadinma* ‘he, she’, *dadinma daŋgara*, *maguwa* ‘that man, woman’, *ŋaga dadinma* ‘who is that?’, *danma daŋgara ŋidinda ga danma waŋalga* ‘my boomerang’ (DS), *ŋaga danma daŋgara galad^{ya} danma waŋalga* ‘who is the man that cut the boomerang?’.

4.8. From the demonstrative stem *dadin-* (cf. 4.5.) may be derived an attributive stem *dadingulu* ('having this or that'; cf. 3.4.), which may be co-ordinated with an attributive nominal stem (that is by way of congruence), as in: *ɲaragaɖi buluwid^{ya} dadingulu wuruwulu ɲawa* 'I am scared of that cheeky dog' (DS; literally 'having that one, having the cheeky, the dog').

4.9. A demonstrative stem *didi-* ('this') is recorded in *didina ɲidinda* 'this is mine' (JW). In notes taken from DS, however, this stem is interrogative, occurring in adverbial form (cf. 4.11.).

Interrogative pronouns

4.10. A single interrogative stem is recorded: *ɲaga*, which answers both to English 'who?' and 'what?'. What seems an inflected (ergative ?) form is *ɲagaŋga*, which however is used in the sense of a nominative: *ɲagaŋga dadinma ga ligargalad^{ya}* 'who is that crying?'. A form *ɲagiña* seems to be used in the *indefinite* sense of 'anything' (with a negation: 'nothing'). Examples of the use of the interrogative *ɲaga*: *ɲaga dangara* 'who is the man?' (JW), *ɲaga dadina* 'who is that?', *ɲaga danda* 'what is that?', *ɲaga dadina* or *dadinma maguwa* 'who is that woman?', *ɲaga nima maguwa* 'what woman are you?' (DS), *ɲaga dadinma* 'who is that?' (DS), *ɲaga maguwa* 'which woman?' (DS), *ɲagaŋga dadinma ga ligargalad^{ya}* 'who is that crying?' (DS), *walira ɲagiña marid^{ya}* 'I hear nothing' (JW).

4.11. An interrogative stem *didi-* (*didina* = *ɲaga*; DS) seems to occur in certain adverbial forms (for instance *didina ni warad^{ya}* 'where are you going?; DS), for which see further in the Vocabulary. This stem is homophonous with the demonstrative *didi-* (for which see 4.9.), which may not exclude some mistake having been made in recording these forms.

Verbal stems

5.1. Verbal stems—unless derived—are normally dissyllabic and ending in a vowel (-a-, -i-, -u-), e.g.: *bad^{ya}*- 'bite', *baldi-* 'fall', *gundu-* 'hide'; there are, however, remnants of monosyllabic stems, such as: *da da* (perhaps used adverbially: *da da wara-* 'go'), *di-* 'sit down', *wu-* 'give'.

Verbal derivation

5.2. The following elements, although not always to be determined as to a precise function, seem to be verbal derivative suffixes: *-ba-*, *-da-*, *-ja-*, *-lada-*, *-ri-*, *-wi-*.

5.3. The **intransitive suffix** *-ba-*. This formative occurs in *miraba-* 'be good' (cf. the causative *miralada-* 'make good').

5.4. The **transitive suffix** *-da-*. This element occurs in *gilada-* 'get', *gurgada-* 'take' (no simpler verbal stem being recorded), *wuguwada-* 'work' (cf. *wuguwa* 'work', noun, probably from English 'work'). It seems to enter into the transitive suffix *-lada-* (5.6.) as well.

5.5. The **intransitive formative -ja-**. This suffix occurs in *budija-* ‘sleep’ (no shorter verbal stem being recorded); the sense may possibly be durative.

5.6. The **causative -lada-**. This suffix clearly occurs in the derived stem *miralada-* ‘make good’ (cf. *miraba-* ‘be good’; see 5.3.), *marajulada-* ‘dream’ (the plain stem **maraju-* is, however, not recorded).

5.7. The **reciprocal (?) suffix -ri-**. This suffix is common in the Queensland languages, generally having an intransitive character. In Gangulida it appears in *gamburi-* ‘talk’ (no basic verbal stem is recorded). In this connection may be mentioned a reciprocal suffix *-d^yuda*, added to the stem *gamburi-* (hence: *gamburid^yuda* ‘talking together’); as the modal form seems unusual, the suffix may perhaps be considered to have an adverbial force.

5.8. The **intransitive suffix -wi-**. The character of this element—if derivative—is not ascertained. It may occur in *buluwi-* ‘be scared’ and *jaduwi-* ‘laugh’ (in neither case is a basic verbal stem recorded).

Modal conjugation

5.9 Conjugation in Gangulida is fundamentally modal (some traces of a personal conjugation are found, for which see in section 6). The four basic modal forms are, as in most of the eastern Queensland languages, the following: the *imperative*, the *imperfective*, the *perfective* and the *intentional*. There may further be a *progressive* form and a construction by means of an original *auxiliary* verb.

5.10 **The imperative.** This is the simplest of the modal forms, being identical with the verbal stem: *daldi-* (*dali-*) ‘stand’, *dija-* ‘eat’, *guri-* ‘look, see’, *wara-* ‘go’. As in Gugu-Bujun and several languages in eastern Queensland, the imperative is often accompanied by a particle *-ga* (originally a connective *ga* ‘(and) then’): *bulaga* ‘pull (then)’ (from *bula-* ‘pull’, probably from English), *wuga* ‘give’ (stem: *wu-*), *dijaga* ‘eat (then)’ (stem: *dija-*), *gamburiga* ‘come to talk’ (stem: *gamburi-*). Another imperative particle appears to be *-ja*, as in: *waraja* ‘go’ (stem: *wara-*), *gunduja* ‘hide’ (stem: *gundu-*), *guḍawaja* ‘drink’ (stem: *guḍawa-*). The character of the termination in *gurigala* (*guri gala* ?) ‘look, see’ is not clear. Prohibitive forms (English ‘don’t’) seem to be identical with the imperfective form (see 5.11): *walira nīnga ligargalad^ya* ‘don’t you cry’, *walira buluwid^ya* ‘don’t be afraid’.

5.11 **The imperfective.** The imperfective formative appears to be the terminating syllable *-d^ya*, which is further supported by the rendering of the Gangulida form *gurid^ya* by Garwa *nad^yiba* (‘seeing, can see’), proffered by our Garwa informant (Bill Jackson at Woorabinda). The following Gangulida forms are hence understood to be imperfectives: *baldid^ya* ‘dropping, falling’, (*baldi-*), *bijad^ya* ‘swimming (*bija-*)’, *budijad^ya* ‘asleep’ (*budija-*) *buluwid^ya* ‘am scared’ (*buluwi-*), *gurid^ya* ‘can see’ (cf. above), *daldid^ya* ‘standing’ (*daldi-*), *galad^ya* ‘cut’ (*gala-*), actually ‘has cut’, but used in an indefinite sense, whence the imperfective), *dijad^ya* ‘eating’ (*dija-*), *warad^ya* ‘going’ (*wara-*), *wud^ya* ‘(I) will give’ (*wu-*). In a negative sense a different formative may be used, of which we have, however, but a single instance: *walira marin* ‘cannot

hear' (stem: *mari-*). —For the use of the imperfective form in *-d^ya* in a prohibitive construction (with *walira* 'not, don't') see in 5.10.

5.12 The perfective. By contrast with Garwa, the plain verbal stem (without a 'nominaliser' or added original locative or other case suffix) is combined with the *perfective* function (in Garwa *bad^ya* 'playing' is imperfective, while in Gangulida *bad^ya* 'bit or has bitten' is perfective). Usually perfective forms are rendered by English past forms in our material: *bad^ya* 'bit' (stem: *bad^ya-*), *guri* 'saw, have seen' (also 'saw long ago'; stem: *guri-*), *miralada* 'made good' (stem: *miralada-*), *da da nada nabaji* 'has gone from home' (stem: *da*; cf. 5.1.). The imperfective form *wud^ya* 'will give' (from the original stem form *wu-*) seems to have been understood as a normal dissyllabic stem form and thus fit to be used as a regular Gangulida perfective form: *wud^ya* 'gave' (DS). Another (more correct ?) form, *wud^yajin* 'gave', is given alternatively by DS.

5.13 The intentional. This modal form (expressing 'purpose', 'intention', 'wish' or 'want') is clearly made up (as usually in the Queensland languages) from the allative case suffix (*-lu*; see 3.8), added to the imperfective *-d^ya* (see 5.11; originally analogous to a 'nominaliser' ?), so that an intentional suffix *-d^yulu* arises (by vowel assimilation according to 2.7), as in: *buđijad^yulu* 'to sleep' (stem: *buđija-*), *đijad^yulu* 'to eat' (stem: *đija-*), *gurid^yulu* 'will see' (stem: *guri-*), *gamburid^yulu* 'to have a talk' (stem: *gamburi-*). The form *wud^yaju* 'to give' (if correct ?) is quite irregular (one would have expected **wud^yalu*, **wud^yulu*, from the stem *wu-*). The construction (current in several Queensland languages) of an allative with an intentional is reflected in Gangulida in: *ηumband^yulu gamburid^yulu* 'want you for a talk' (probably literally 'for you, to have a talk').

5.14 Certain verbal forms are difficult to analyse. Two verb forms in *-ga* (which do not seem to have an imperative value) might contain a common (in Queensland) *auxiliary* element *-ga-* ('to be'), used in a *progressive* sense: *daldiga* '(be) standing' (stem: *galdi-*), *đijaga* '(be) eating' (stem: *đija-*). Similarly in: *da da gađi nadalu* 'I am going home' (DS), *da da gađi* 'I am going' (JW), *ηidinda da da gari* 'I am going' (JW), with the strange use of the possessive form. An auxiliary element (*-gala-*) seems to be present in: *ligargalad^ya* 'be crying' (DS); an imperfective form), *walira ningga ligargalad^ya* 'don't you be crying' (DS; a prohibitive form). The other elements (*-r-*, *-la-*) are difficult to identify. An analogous auxiliary verb form may be present in the formative *-wiřa-* in: *ηaga dadinda ni miraladawirad^ya* 'what are you making?' (DS).

Personal conjugation

6. Some scanty traces are found in Gangulida of what seems to have constituted a personal conjugation by means of *prefixes* (as in many of the Northern Territory and New Guinea languages). The formative elements are: *ηa* (*ηa-*), *ηari* 'I' (1st person singular), *ni* (*ni-*) 'you' (2nd person singular), *gi* (*gi-*) 'we' (inclusive dual). As seen in 4.4., these elements may be used as possessive pronouns (being prefixed or placed in front of a nominal stem); here we shall show an analogous construction with a verbal stem to express either a subject or direct object form: *ηa warad^ya* 'I am going', *da da ηa wiđid^ya* 'I am not going' (literally 'I am stopping' (?) going', properly however 'sitting'), *ηari guri* 'I have seen' (DS), *ni warad^ya* 'you are going', *giwarad^ya* 'we (you and I) are going'. The prefixed form is often used together with the corresponding independent form of the personal pronoun (see section 4.4.), as in: *ηara* (= *ηada*) *ηari wud^ya*

nínga wulangulu 'I will give you food' (DS); literally 'I, I give, you (to be) having food'), *nínga ní ginad^{ya}* 'you tell', *nínga ní warad^{ya}* 'you are going', *nínga ní díjad^{ya} wulanda* 'you are eating food' (DS), *ḡada nínga gi warad^{ya}* 'you and I are going' (DS).

Postpositions

7. The most commonly found postpositions are *naba* and *nabaji*, both meaning 'from' and thus replacing an ablative form (they are added to the nominative, or stem form, of a noun, usually without an 'article' element; cf. 3.10): *gadar naba* 'out of the river', *ḡugu naba* 'out of the water', *mibul naba* 'out of (my) eye', *nada naba* or *nabaji* 'from home'. The element *-gi* in *wungi* 'after or behind the rain' is probably to be understood as a postposition, hence: *wun gi* (notice the absence of the article *-da*, in *wunda*, *wuṅḡa* 'rain').

Connective

8. One connective only may be assumed with certainty to exist in Gangulida, namely the common Queensland (and perhaps Australian) syllable *ga* 'and, and then', etc. It is used in two ways: (1) after an imperative (cf. in 5.10) and (2) in various abstract senses, based on that of 'and', as in: *ḡaga dadinma dangara ga daldid^{ya}* 'who is the man standing there?' (DS; literally 'and he standing there' ?), *ḡaga danma dangara ga galad^{ya} danma waṅalga* 'who is that man who cut that boomerang?'; (literally 'and he cut ...'). Whether the imperative suffix *-ja* (see 5.10) is also to be understood as an original connective must be left undecided.

Vocabulary

The data listed in this index and vocabulary are marked by the signatures of the informants: DS and JW, respectively (see section 1). The numbers refer to sections in the morphological sketch. The following abbreviations are further used:

<i>abl.</i>	ablative	<i>interr.</i>	interrogative
<i>acc.</i>	accusative	<i>ipf.</i>	imperfective
<i>adv.</i>	adverb(ial)	<i>loc.</i>	locative
<i>all.</i>	allative	<i>masc.</i>	masculine
<i>art.</i>	'article'	<i>n.</i>	noun
<i>attr.</i>	attributive	<i>neg.</i>	negative
<i>aux.</i>	auxiliary	<i>nom.</i>	nominative
<i>car.</i>	caritive	<i>pers.</i>	personal
<i>conn.</i>	connective	<i>pf.</i>	perfective
<i>dem.</i>	demonstrative	<i>poss.</i>	possessive
<i>erg.</i>	ergative	<i>progr.</i>	progressive
<i>fem.</i>	feminine	<i>pron.</i>	pronoun, pronominal
<i>imp.</i>	imperative	<i>rec.</i>	reciprocal
<i>int.</i>	intentional	<i>v.</i>	verb(al)

The entries are arranged alphabetically according to this order of phonetic symbols: *a, b, d, dʸ, d, g, ŋ, i, j, l, m, n, ŋ, ɲ, r, ɾ, u, w.*

B

- ba- *v. der. suffix*; 5.2, 3.
badʸa- *v. pf.* **badʸa** bite: **dadinda ŋawaga badʸa ŋidinda guldura** that or the dog bit my leg.
baɖaŋu *n.* big: **baɖaŋu gunawana** a big child (DS). —Compare **baldaŋu, baɾaŋu.**
balangali *n.* brown snake (JW).
baldaŋu *n.* big: **baldaŋu wuŋɖa** big rain (DS). —Compare **baɖaŋu, baɾaŋu.**
baldi- *v. ipf.* **baldidʸa** fall (of the rain), drip: **wuŋɖanga baldidʸa** rain is falling (DS).
baluŋga *adv.* up.
barmbija *adv.* later on.
barundaji *adv.* yesterday (communicated by a Garwa informant Bill Jackson).
baɾaga *n.* belly: **ŋamanda baɾaga** hungry (DS).
baɾaŋu *n.* big: **baɾaŋu dʸugu dʸugu** a big boat (DS). —Compare **baɖaŋu, baldaŋu.**
bija- *v. ipf.* **bijadʸa** swim: **dadinda dangara ga bijadʸawaradʸa (?) gadari** that man is swimming in the creek. —Compare **guli-**.
buɖija- *v. ipf.* **buɖjadʸa; int.** **buɖijadʸulu** lie down, sleep: **buɖijadʸa ŋumbadi nadara** sleep(s) at your camp or place (DS; literally 'at yours').
bungala *n.* knee (DS). —Compare **bungal.**
buŋiŋa *n.* spinifex (JW).
buji buji *v. adv.* floating: **buji buji gadari** floating in the creek (DS).
bula- *v. imp.* **bulaga** pull (DS; probably from English).
bulaga *n.* cow (JW; from English 'bullock').

- bulamura** *n.* three: **bulamura ŋawa** three dogs (DS).
bulda *n.* hair (DS).
buluwi- *v. ipf.* **buluwidʸa** be afraid or scared: **ŋaragaɖi buluwidʸa dadingulu wuruwulu ŋawa** I am afraid of that cheeky dog (DS).
bungal *n.* the whole leg (JW). —Compare **buŋgala.**
burajiri *n.* bread (DS; from English 'bread').

D

- da *art.* 3.10.
-da- *v. der. suffix* 5.2, 4.
da da *v. adv.* go, going: **da da = waradʸa** (going; DS), **da da gari gaɖi nadalu** (I am) going home (DS), **ŋaragari da da waradʸa nada naba** I am going from home (DS), **ŋidinda da da gari** I am going (JW).
dadina *dem. pron.* 4.5.
dadinda *dem. pron. adv.* 4.5. that, there.
dadingilu *dem. adv.* over there (DS). —Compare **dangilu.**
dadingulu *attr. pron.* form 'having this'; 4.8.
dadinma *dem. pron.* 4.7.
dagana *dem. pron.* 4.6.
danga *n. art. nom.* **dangara; erg. poss.** **dangaranga** Aboriginal or dark man, any man: **ŋaga ŋima dangara** (what man) are you? (DS).
dangawari (-waji) *attr. n.* having no man.
dangawaringa *neg. poss. n.* there being an absence of a man: **maguwa dangawaringa** a woman having no man (DS).

dangawulu *attr. n.* having a man: **gaḍa d^yadara maguwa dangawulu** and that other woman has a man (DS).

daldi- (**dali-**) *v. imp.* dali; *ipf.* **daldid^ya** stand: **ñima dali** you stand (JW), **daldid^ya wuṛid^ya** standing still (DS)

damanda *n.* teeth (DS, JW).

dami- *v. ipf.* **damid^ya** ask: **nijaṅga damid^ya waṛid^ya** he is asking (DS).

damuli *n.* Westmoreland.

danda *dem. pron. adv.* 4.6. this, here.

dangilu *dem. adv.* over here: **gawa dangilu** come here (DS). —Compare **dadingilu**.

danma *dem. pron.* 4.7.

-dari *car. suffix* 3.3, 5.

di- *v. imp.* **diga** sit down.

didina¹ *dem. pron.* 4.9.

didina² *interr. pron. adv.* 4.11.

didinaba *interr. adv.* whence?: **didinaba ñima dangara** where are you from? (DS).

didinanga *interr. adv.* where: **didinanga dadinma dangara ga wuṛid^ya** where does he live?, **didinanga ṅumbanda nadara** where is your camp? (DS).

diga *v. di-*.

dilara *adv.* long ago (DS).

dinanaba *interr. adv.* whence?: **dinanaba ñima dangara** where are you from? (DS).

dira *n. erg.* **diraga** snake: **dadinda diraga bad^ya dadinda wadibala gulduri** that snake bit the white man in the leg (DS).

dirinawa *n.* dingo (DS).

duganda *n.* beard (DS).

duṅala *n. art. nom.* **duṅalda** stick (DS).

dulga *n. loc.* **dulgi**; *all.* **dulgulu** 1. ground; 2. bank or beach (DS).

-dulu *attr. suffix* 3.3, 4.

D^y

-d^ya *ipf. suffix* 5.11.

d^yada *n. art. nom.* **d^yadara** 1. one; 2. another; **d^yada danga(ra) warad^ya** one man (is) going (DS), **d^yadara nawa** one dog (DS), **d^yadara dangara** another (man) (DS).

d^yalgana *n.* tongue (DS).

d^yand^yari *n.* a little short man (DS; a common eastern Queensland term for 'fairy (man)').

d^yara (**d^yaṛa**, DS) *n.* foot, feet (JW).

d^yarawad^ya *n.* trousers (JW; from English 'drawers').

-d^yuda *rec. suffix* 5.7.

d^yugu d^yugu *n.* any boat (DS).

-d^yulu *int. suffix* 5.13.

d^yuruwa *n.* dust (DS).

d^yuruwanga *poss. n.* there being dust: **d^yuruwanga ṅidind^yi (mibuli)** (there is) dust (in my eye) (DS; literally 'in me, in (my) eye').

ḍ

dija- *v. imp.* dija, dijaga; *ipf.* **dijad^ya**; *int.* **dijad^yulu** eat: **ñima dija** you eat (JW), **ñi dijad^ya wulanda** you are eating food (DS), **ṅaragari (wulanda) dijad^yulu** I want to eat (food or bread) (DS)

G

ga *conn.* 5.10; 8.

ga- *aux. v.* 5.14.

-ga¹ *poss. erg. suffix* 3.8.

-ga² *progr. suffix* 5.14.

gada (**gara**) *adv. conn.* ? also, and (?): **ṅada gada gurid^yulu** I also want to see (? DS), **wulangulu gara jalbadulu** having bread and (also ?) meat (DS). —Compare **gaḍa**.

- gadar** *n. loc.* **gadari**; *art. nom.* **gadara**
river, creek: **gadar naba** out of the creek
or river (DS).
- gaḍa** (**gada**, **gara**) *adv. conn.* ? also, and,
together (?): **gaḍa ṅinga ṅumbanda**
gandiḍa you and your wife (DS), **gaḍa**
mudara dangara wuḍid^{ya} danda we
all are sitting here (together) (DS), **gaḍa**
ṅinga ṅi wuḍid^{ya} we two (literally
'you also') are sitting together (? DS),
gaḍa ṅi wuḍid^{ya} dadinda sit down
there (DS), **gara ṅara ṅinga ṅi**
gurid^{ya} you and I are looking (DS),
gara ṅinga on your own (DS).
- gaṅulida** (**gaṅguliḍa**, **gaṅgalida**, DS)
the name of a tribe and language,
Gangulida, the Burketown and Berkley
river language (JW).
- gala-** *v. ipf.* **galad^{ya}** cut (DS).
- gala-** *aux. v.* 5.14.
- galagadiri** *n.* crocodile (DS).
- galaṅi** *dem. pron.* 4.6.
- galgada** (**galganda**, DS) *n.* sick: **ṅima**
galgada you are sick (JW).
- gambulari** *n.* 1. honey; 2. sugar.
- gamburi-** *v. imp.* **gamburiga**; *ipf.*
gamburid^{ya}; *int.* **gamburid^{ulu}** talk:
dangara wadibala gamburid^{ya} a
dark man and a white man talking (JW),
ṅadagaḍi, ṅinga gamburid^{ya} I am,
you are talking (DS), **gamburid^{uda}**
talking together (DS).
- gandi** *n. art. nom.* **gandiḍa** wife: **ṅumbanda**
gandi(ja) or **ṅi gandi** your wife (DS).
- gandu gandu** *n.* dark: **gandu gandu**
maguwa dark woman (DS).
- ganduwa** *n.* blood: **ganduwa baldid^{ya}**
blood dripping (DS).
- gaṅaṅand^{ya}** *n.* emu (JW).
- gara** *adv. conn.* ? and, also, together: **ṅinga**
gijanga gara ṅi gandi you and your
wife (DS). —Compare **gaḍa**.
- garga** *n. loc.* **gargaji**; *art. nom.* **gargara**
chest (DS).
- gari** *aux. v.* ? cf. 5.14
- gari** *car. suffix* 3.3, 5.
- gawa** *adv. v.* come here: **gawa dangilu** come
here (DS), **ṅinga gawa dulgi** you
come out of the water (DS).
- gi¹** *pref. pers. pron.* 6.
- gi²** *postp.* 7.
- gijanga** *n.* two (DS).
- gilada-** *v. imp.* **gilada** get: **dadina jalbura**
gilada get that meat (JW).
- gina-** *v. ipf.* **ginad^{ya}** tell: **ṅinga ṅi ginad^{ya}**
you tell (him) (DS), **ginad^{ya} ṅi gawa**
danda (dangilu) tell him to come (here)
(DS).
- girga** *n.* nose (DS, JW).
- guḍama-** or **guḍawa-** *v. imp.* **guḍawaja**;
ipf. **guḍamad^{ya}** drink (DS).
- gugujanda** *n.* alligator (DS).
- guldura** (**guldur** ? *n. loc.* **gulduri** leg:
gulduri ganduwa blood on (my) leg
(DS). —Compare **gundura**.
- guli-** *v. ipf.* **gulid^{ya}**; *int.* **gulid^{ulu}** to
swim: **ṅugulu gulid^{ulu}** to swim (DS).
—Compare **bija-**.
- gulu** *attr. suffix* 3.3, 4.
- gunawana** (-wuna) *n.* child, boy, baby
(DS, JW).
- gunawanawulu** *attr n.* having children
(DS).
- gundu-** *v. imp.* **gunduḍa**; *ipf.* **gundud^{ya}**
hide, plant (DS).
- gundura** (**gundur** ?) *n.* leg (DS).
—Compare **guldura**.
- guṅamara** *n. adv.* a little (JW). —Compare
guṅara.
- guṅara** *n.* small (DS). —Compare
guṅamara.
- gurgada-** *v. imp.* **gurgada** take (JW).
- guri-** *v. imp.* **guri**, **guriga**; *ipf.* **gurid^{ya}**;
pf. **guri**; *int.* **gurid^{ulu}** see, look: **ṅima**
gurid^{ya} dadina dangara you see that
man (DS), **ṅima dadina guri** you look
at that one (JW), **ṅari guri** I have seen
(DS), **gurigala (guri gala** ?) look (DS),

ɲada gaɖa gurid^yulu I will see (you) (DS), **gurigala dadinda d^yadara ɲawa** see there one dog (DS).

gurindi *n.* tea leaf (DS).

gurmala *n. adv.* quiet (DS).

ɲ

ɲa *prefixed pers. pron.* 4.4; 6.

ɲada (ɲara) *pers. pron.* 4.2.

ɲadagari (-gaɖi) *pers. pron.* 4.2, 3.

ɲada ɲiŋga *pers. pron.* 4.2.

ɲaga *interr. pron.* 4.10.

ɲagiña *interr. pron.* 4.10.

ɲamanda *n.* hungry (DS).

ɲamulu *n.* breast, milk (JW).

ɲand^yala *n.* light, flame (DS).

ɲanma *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ɲaɲara (-ɲa ?) *n.* gully (DS).

ɲari *prefixed pers. pron.* 6.

ɲawa *n.* dog (DS, JW).

-ɲga¹ *poss. der. suffix* 3.7.

-ɲga² *poss. erg. suffix* 3. 8-9.

ɲi *adv.* yes (DS). —Compare **jiju, ɲi**.

ɲira *n.* 1. fire (JW); 2. fire wood (DS).

ɲugu *n. loc.* **ɲuguji**; *all.* **ɲugulu**; *art. nom.* **ɲuguwa**; *abl.* **ɲuguwara** water (DS, JW): **ɲugu naba** out of the water (DS).

ɲuguwari *car. n.* without water (DS).

ɲuguwulu *attr. n.* having water: **mudawulu ɲuguwulu** having plenty of water (DS).

ɲumbanda *pers. pron.* 4.2.

ɲumu ɲumu *n.* white: **ɲumu ɲumu maguwa** white woman (DS).

ɲurinda *n.* cold (DS).

I

-i *loc suffix* 3. 8-9.

J

-ja *imp suffix* 5.10.

-ja- *v. der. suffix* 5.2, 5.

jaduwi- *v. ipf.* **jaduwid^ya** laugh (DS).

jaguli *n.* any fish (JW).

jalbura (jalbu ?) *n. art. all* **jalburalu** meat (DS, JW): **wugangi jalburalu** give me meat (DS; literally 'for meat').

jalbudulu *attr. n.* having meat: **nijangga muda jalbudulu** he has got plenty of meat (DS).

jalbuwari *car. n.* without meat: **nijangga jalbuwari (walira)** he has got no meat (DS).

jañula *n.* the name of a tribe and a language spoken about Westmoreland and related to Garwa (JW).

jaraman *n.* horse (DS, JW; a common word in Queensland).

jiju *adv.* yes (JW). —Compare **ɲi, ɲi**.

-jin *pf. suffix* 5.12.

jugula *n.* the name of a tribe and a language (DS).

juluwa (julu ?) *n.* flood, water (DS).

junbura *n.* long: **junbura duganda** a long beard (DS).

L

-lada- *caus. suffix* 5.2, 6.

lajidilda *n.* the name of Mornington Island and of a tribe and a language on the same island (DS, JW).

liga- *v. ipf. progr. ?* **ligargalad^ya** cry: **walira (ɲiŋga) liga galad^ya** don't you cry (DS).

lilunga *adv.* down (DS).

-lu *all. suffix* 3.8-9.

lulma- *v. ipf.* **lulmad^ya** shake, shiver from cold (DS).

M

- mad^yar** *n. art. nom.* **mad^yara** a lot: **mad^yar mad^yara** a lot (DS).
- maguwa** (magu ?) *n.* woman (DS, JW).
- maguwari** *car. n.* without a woman (DS).
- maguwulu** *attr. n.* having a woman (DS).
- malangari** (-gaji) *n.* iron (as on a roof; DS).
- mala** *n. art. nom.* **malda** hand (DS, JW).
- malara** (mala ?) *n.* grog (DS).
- marangulada-** *v. caus. pf.* **marangulada** dream: **ṅaragaḍi marangulada dadinda danggara** I dreamed about that man (DS).
- maralda** (maral(a) ?) *n.* ear(s) (DS, JW).
- mari-** *v. ipf.* **marid^ya**; *neg. ipf.* **marin**; *pf.* **mari** hear: **ṅaga ṅima marid^ya** what do you hear?, **walira marin** cannot hear (JW), **ṅagiṅa mari walira** (I) have not heard anything (JW).
- mawuradi** *n.* big black kangaroo (JW).
- mibul** *n. loc.* **mibuli**; *art. nom.* **mibula** eye: **d^yuruwa mibuli** dust in (my) eye (DS), **bulaga ṅidind^yi mibul naba duṅalda** pull the stick out of (my) eye (DS).
- mibulwari** *car. n.* having no eyes, blind (DS).
- midara** *n.* dirty water (DS).
- mijalda** (mijal ?) *n.* spear (DS).
- mijan** *n.* any snake (JW).
- miraba-** *v. ipf.* **mirabad^ya** be good, nice: **mirabad^ya danggara, maguwa** a good or nice man, woman (JW).
- miralada-** *v. caus. pf.* **miralada** make (good): **ṅaga dadinma danggara ga miralada dadinda wanjalga** who (is the man that) made the boomerang? (DS), **ṅaga dadinda ṅi miraladawirad^ya** what are you making (there)? (DS).
- mirara** (mira ?) *n.* good: **mirara ṅawa** a good dog (DS).

- muda** *n. art. nom.* **mudara** plenty, many: **mudara ṅawa** many dogs (DS), **gaḍa mudara danggara** we all (DS; literally 'many people together?'), **mudaranga gurid^ya** see a big mob (DS; cf. in 3.7.).
- mudawulu** *attr. n.* having a lot: **mudawulu gunawana** having a lot of children (DS).
- mungubaji** *n.* the name of Burketown (DS).
- murbura** (murbu ?) *n.* tobacco (JW).
- muruga** *n.* woomera (DS).

N

- n** *ipf. suffix* 5.11.
- naba, nabaji** *postp.* 7.
- nada** *n. loc.* **nadaji**; *all* **nadalu, nadulu**; *art. nom.* **nadara**) camp, home, place: **nadaji wiḍid^ya** staying at home (DS), **ṅidind^yi nadaji** at my home, place (DS), **ṅaḍagari da da nadalu** or **nadalu warad^ya** I am going home (DS), **nijaṅga da da nada nabaji** he is away from home (DS).
- nadagari** or **nadawari** *car. n.* having no home: **nijaṅga nadawari** he is homeless (DS).
- nalda** *n.* head (DS, JW).
- nijaṅga** *pers. pron.* 4.2.
- nijaṅgari** *pers. pron.* 4.2, 3.
- nila** *n.* name: **ṅaga nila** what is (your) name? (JW).
- niwanda** *pers. pron.* 4.2.

ṅ

- ṅaṅga** *n.* the name of a language, Nyangga (DS).
- ṅi¹** *adv.* yes: **ṅi marid^ya** yes, I hear (JW). —Compare **ṅi, jiju**.
- ṅi²** *prefixed pers. poss. pron.* 4.4.; 6.
- ṅiṅga** *pers. pron.* 4.2.
- ṅiṅgari** *pers. pron.* 4.2, 3.

ńima *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ńuņari *n.* any smoke (DS).

R

-ra¹ *art.* 5.10.

-ra² *abl. suffix* 3.8-9.

raņgara (raņga ?) *n.* hot (DS).

-ri *loc. suffix* 3.8-9.

-ri- *v. der. suffix* 5.2, 7.

W

-wa *art.* 5.10.

wadibala (waji-) *n.* white man, whitefellow (DS, JW).

wađuwa (wađu ?) *n.* smoke (DS).

wagaja *n.* the name of a tribe and language (DS).

wajałga *n.* boomerang (DS).

wanguwa (wangu ?) *n.* shark (DS).

walada *n.* a lot: **ņaga dadinma walada** who are they? (DS).

walara (wala ?) *n.* mouth (DS, JW).

waldara (walda ?) *n.* star (DS).

walira *neg. adv.* no, not, don't: **walira buluwid^{ya}** don't be afraid (DS).

wani *n.* the name of a tribe and language in north-western Queensland, Wanyi (DS).

wara- *v. imp.* **wara, waraga, waraja;** *ipf.* **warad^{ya};** *pf.* **wara go: ńima wara** you go (JW), **ņa warad^{ya}** I am going (DS), **barmbija warad^{ya}** I will go later (JW), **waraja dadinda baluņga ńaņara gunduja** go up there and hide in the gully (DS), **wara warad^{ya}** or **warid^{ya}** he is gone (JW), **dadina (wara) warid^{ya}** he is gone (JW; the analysis is not clear).

warguwa (wargu ?) *n.* sun, sunshine: **danda warguwanga raņgara** here in the sun (literally 'there being sun(shine)'); cf. 3.7., it is hot (DS).

-wari *car. suffix* 3.3, 5.

warigigi *n.* hat (DS).

warmuna *n.* any goanna (JW).

waři- *v. ipf.* **wařid^{ya}** ask (DS).
—Compare **dami-**.

-wi- *v. der. suffix* 5.2, 8.

wiři- (**wuři-**, **wiri-**;) *v. imp.* **wiřiga, wuřiga;** *ipf.* **wiřid^{ya}** 1. sit (down); 2. stay, stop, live; 3. leave off (?): **dadina wiřid^{ya}** **gunawuna** the boy is sitting over there (JW), **wiřid^{ya} dadina** sitting there (DS), **danda wiřid^{ya}** sitting here (DS), **wiřid^{ya} gurmala** stop quiet (DS), **da da ńa wiřid^{ya}** I am not going (JW; 'leave off going'?).

wirga- *v. ipf.* **wirgad^{ya}** 1. play; 2. gamble (DS).

wirinda (wirin ?) *n.* money (DS).

wiringari (wiriņ-) *car. n.* without money: **walira ńaragaři wiringari** no, I have no money (DS).

wiringulu (wiriņ-) *attr. n.* having money: **ńinga ńi wiringulu** you have money (DS).

-wiřa- *aux. v.* 5.14.

wiri- *v.* **wiři-**.

wu- (**wud^{ya}-**) *v. imp.* **wuga, wud^{ya}, waga;** *ipf.* **wud^{ya};** *pf.* **wud^{ya}, wud^{ya}jin;** *int.* **wud^{ya}aju** give: **wugangi (wagangi) jalbudalu** give me meat (literally 'for meat'; DS), **wagangi jalbura** give me meat (JW), **wud^{ya} guńamara murbura** give a little bit of tobacco (JW), **wud^{ya} jalbura ńara ńari wud^{ya} ńinga wulangulu** I will give you food (DS; literally 'I will give, you are having food'), **dadinda maguwa wud^{ya} ńidind^{yi} jalbudulu** that woman gave me food (DS; the construction similar to the preceding one).

wuři- *v.* **wiři-**.

wuguwada- *v.* work (DS).

wuguwadari *car. n.* without work: **ńaragaři wuguwadari** I have no work (DS).

wuguwadawara- *v. ipf.* **wuguwada-warad^{ya}** work (DS; literally probably 'go working, to work?'). —Compare **wara-**.

wulanda (wulan ?) *n.* food, bread, tucker (JW).

wulangari (wulaŋ-) *car. n.* without food: **nijanga wulangari** he is without food or bread (JW).

wulangulu (wulaŋ-) *attr. n.* having food or bread: **muda wulangulu** having plenty of food (DS).

-wulu *car. suffix* 3.3., 4.

wun *n. art. nom.* **wuṇḍa** rain: **dadinda wuṇḍanga baldid^{ya} warad^{ya}** (probably) 'going in the rain' (literally 'there being rain falling (cf. 3.7.), going there'; DS), **ṅaragaḍi warad^{ya} wun gi** I am going after (literally 'behind') the rain' (DS).

wungura (wungu ?) *n.* inside (DS).

wuṇḍa *v.* **wun**.

wuruwulu *attr. n.* cheeky (DS).

BUNDJIL AND WANYI

1. Notes on these languages were obtained (1) from one Mr Charles ('Charlie') Mulberry, at the Old Men's Home, at Charters Towers in Queensland, whose language was probably Bundjil, as well as (2) from a person at or about Townsville, who gave some words of Wanyi. Mr Mulberry thinks his language belongs to Cloncurry or the Flinders and Saxby rivers area. References to these informants will be by the abbreviations Bun CM and Wan JB, respectively. Since it is likely that both informants have supplied data from various Queensland languages (and perhaps some others as well), we shall present the material in one sketch and in one mixed vocabulary, marking entries supposed to be Wanyi by the signature *Wan* (in an analogous way *Bun* is used for Bundjil).

Phonology

2. The phonology of both languages is of northern and central Queensland type and probably uniform in either of the languages to be dealt with. The vowel system hence comprises the three fundamental vowel phonemes *a*, *i* and *u* (which are indeterminate as to quantity) and the following consonant phonemes:

- b* a bilabial plosive (between English 'b' and 'p');
- d* a dental plosive (between English 'd' and 't');
- dʲ* a palatalised dental plosive (between 'dy' and 'ty');
- ɖ* a retroflex plosive (as in Hindi);
- g* a palatal-velar plosive (between English 'g' and 'k');
- ŋ* a palatal-velar nasal (as in English 'sing', 'song');
- m* a bilabial nasal;
- n* a dental nasal;
- ɲ* a palatalised dental nasal (as in English 'onion');
- ɳ* a retroflex nasal;
- l* a lateral continuant (as in French or Italian);
- r* a trilled continuant or vibrant (as in Italian);
- ɽ* a retroflex continuant (as in Hindi);
- j* a palatal semivowel (as in English 'yes');
- w* a bilabial semivowel (as in English 'well');

Notice that our informant Bun CM does not distinguish well between *r* and *ɽ*.

Combinatory phonology

3. Words beginning with the following phonemes only are recorded: *b, d, dʸ, g, ŋ, j, m, n* and *w*. No word or syllable begins with a vowel phoneme (such a form as Bundjil *idi-* is a phonetic variant of *jidi-* 'leave' and original **inda* 'you' becomes *jinda* in Bundjil); Bundjil *ŋai* is probably to be understood as equivalent to *ŋaji* 'I'. Words and syllables may end in (1) a vowel, (2) a nasal (*ŋ* only before *d*) or (3) *l, r* or *j*. A final **-j* may be dropped after *-i*: *guŋij* 'going home' becomes *guŋi*. Our Wanyi informant has a final plosive in *mijat* 'man', which may be a phonetic variant of more normal **mijan*, (which in Gangulida means 'snake'). Medial, or intervocalic, plosives may become fricatives (as in Spanish): Bun *jidi-* 'leave', Wan *gabaŋa* 'head' (almost *gawara*) and Wan *ŋawa* may properly represent **ŋaba* 'water' (cf. Kalali *ŋap-a*, idem). The usual passing of intervocalic *n* into *r* is seen in *ŋari* (and *ŋari*; cf. 2) for *ŋani* 'what?' (Bun CM).

Morphology

4.1. Very little may be established as probable points of morphology in either of the two languages and some conclusions may be erroneous, most points being arrived at through comparison with neighbouring Aboriginal languages.

Nouns and nominal derivation

4.2. Nominal stems may end in any word-final phoneme (cf. section 3): Bun, Wan *mala* 'hand', *bandʸil* 'man', Wan *jarman* 'horse'. The derivative attributive suffix *-bari*, which is quite common in Queensland (e.g. Gunggari), evidently occurs in Bun *nulubari* 'having a hat' (*nulu*).

Personal pronouns

4.3. The following forms only have been recorded: Bun *ŋaji* 'I', *jinda* 'you' (singular), *ŋali* 'we two' and *juŋu* (probably *juŋu*; cf. 4.2.) 'you' (plural). No inflected forms are noted. In Wanyi two forms are found in the first person singular: *ŋajgu* (which in Gugu-Bujun is possessive) and *ŋajma*; the exact function of these in Wanyi is not clear (Wan JB certainly used *ŋajgu* as a nominative). In the second person singular Wan JB uses *ŋunbala* (which recalls the Gangulida *ŋumbanda* 'your(s)', singular); whether or not these forms are used in a possessive sense in Wanyi is unsettled.

Interrogative pronoun

4.4 One form only is recorded from Bundjil: *ŋani* 'what?' (which is quite common in Queensland; cf. Gunggari *ŋani*); possibly also 'who?': *ŋani juŋu* 'what are you?' (?).

Verbs and verbal derivation

5.1. Verbal stems probably end in vowels only: Bun *binda-* 'sit', *jidi-* 'leave', *guŋi-* 'go home'. Wan *bana-* 'give'. Among verbal derivative suffixes, the intransitive *-ba-* and *-li-*

(common in Queensland languages) are found in Bundjil: *guliba-* 'be wild *or* rude, argue', *bunguli-* 'lie down' (primitive stems are, however, not recorded).

Conjugation

5.2. The conjugation in both languages is probably modal only. The *imperative* is (as usual) the verbal stem: Bun *jinda binda* 'you sit down', Wan *bana* 'give'. A form which is probably *imperfective* ends (as in Gugu-Bujun) in *-j* in Bundjil: *bindaj* 'sitting', *ɲaji wunaj* 'I am lying down', *bunguli(j)* 'lying down', *gulibaj* 'arguing', *guɾi(j)* 'going home', *ɲaji jidi(j)* 'I am leaving'. Another suffix *-na* (which is found in an imperfective sense in Kalali) is used in a similar way in Bundjil: *ɲali jidina* 'we two are leaving', *jugana* 'eating'. Since the material recorded from these persons seems rather mixed, it is possible that the morphological elements used by our informants may be derived from various Queensland languages. In Wanyi an imperfective form seems to end in *-ra* (*-ra* ?): *galawara* 'going'; compare Punthamara *-ra* (idem).

Index and vocabulary

The entries are mainly from Bundjil; Wanyi forms are marked by the signature Wan. Figures refer to sections in the morphological sketch. The following abbreviations are used:

adv.	adverb(ial)	itr.	intransitive
attr.	attributive	n.	noun, nominal
der	derivative	neg.	negative
imp.	imperative	pers.	person(al)
interr.	interrogative	pron.	pronoun
ipf.	imperfective	v.	verb(al)

Wan marks Wanyi entries (cf. 1). The order of the phonetic symbols, in ranging the material alphabetically, is the following: *a, b, d, dʲ, ɟ, g, ɲ, i, j, l, m, n, ɳ, ɲ, r, ɾ, u, w*.

B	
-ba- <i>itr. der. suffix</i> 5.1.	binda- <i>v. imp.</i> binda ; <i>ipf.</i> bindaj sit (a common verb stem in the Gunggari languages).
banɟu <i>n.</i> money. —compare mindɪ .	bindʲamu <i>n.</i> sun.
bana- (Wan) <i>v. imp.</i> bana give.	bunguli- <i>v. ipf.</i> bunguli(j) lie down: ɲaji bunguli I am lying down (= ɲaji wunaj).
bandʲil <i>n.</i> man, Aboriginal man, a Bundjil.	buɾi <i>n.</i> fire (common in the Gunggari languages). —Compare jaɲa .
bandʲuɲur <i>n.</i> kid (child).	buɾuɲala <i>n.</i> whirlwind.
baña <i>n.</i> woman.	
-bari <i>attr. der. suffix</i> 4.2.	
bina <i>n.</i> ear(s).	

D

daŋulu *n.* goanna.

dula *n.* stick.

d^yaŋa *n.* foot

D^y

d^yara *n.* leg.

d^yina (Wan) *n.* foot (a common Queensland word).

d^yuŋgubari *n.* emu.

G

gabaŋa (Wan) *n.* head.

gabi *n.* cattle.

gada *n.* head.

gadi *n.* meat.

galawa- (Wan) *v.* *ipf.* **galawaŋa** go: **ŋajgu galawaŋa** I am going (Wan JB).

gamu *n.* water (the same in Gunggari). —Compare **jabu²**.

garwa (Wan) *n.* the name of a language, Garwa.

gaŋa *neg. adv.* no, not. —Compare **ŋambi**.

gud^yal *n.* the name of a language, Gudjal.

gudand^yi (Wan) *n.* the name of a language (cf. **gurand^yi**, in the Koko languages).

guga- *v.* ? chew tobacco.

gujuga (Wan) *n.* fire: **gujuga bana** give me a light (Wan BJ; cf. Garwa **bujuga**).

guliba- *v.* *ipf.* **gulibaj** be wild, argue.

guŋdi *n.* house (cf. Punthamara and Kalali **kundi**, idem).

guŋi (Wan) *n.* home: **ŋajma guŋi** my home. —Compare **guŋi-**.

guŋi *v.* *ipf.* **guŋi(j)** go home.

ŋ

ŋaba (Wan) *n.* water (cf. Kalali **ŋap-a**, idem).

ŋajgu (Wan) *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ŋaji *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ŋajma (Wan) *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ŋali *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ŋambi *neg. adv.* no more, none (= **gaŋa**, q.v.)

ŋani *interr. pron.* 4.4.

ŋargun *n.* any kangaroo.

ŋura *n.* ground (a common word for 'camp' in Queensland).

J

-j *ipf. suffix* 5.2.

jabu¹ *n.* father.

jabu² *n.* water (in the Cloncurry language; Bun CM). —Compare **gamu**.

jaŋa (**jaŋu**) ? *n.* fire. —Compare **buŋi**.

jaŋu *v.* **jaŋa**.

jamba *n.* camp (a common Queensland word). —Compare **ŋura**.

jambi *n.* dog *or* wild dog.

janga (Wan) *n.* woman.

jaraman *n.* horse (a common Queensland word).

jarman (Wan) *n.* horse (usually **jaraman**, q.v. in Queensland).

jidi- *v.* *ipf.* **jidi(j)**, **jidina** leave: **ŋali jidina** we two are leaving.

jinda *pers. pron.* 4.3.

juga- *v.* *ipf.* **jugana** eat.

jugula (Wan) *n.* the name of a language (cf. Gangulida **jugula**, idem).

juru *pers. pron.* 4.3.

L

-li- *itr. der. suffix* 5.1.

M

maji *n.* fruit, etc. (vegetal food). —Compare **miŋa**.

mala *n.* hand.

mala (Wan) *n.* hand: **ñunbala mala** your hand (Wan JB).

maluga (Wan) *n.* old (man), old people: **maluga janga** old woman, **maluga mijat** old man (Wan JB).

manda *n.* tucker (common in the Gunggari languages).

maṛambid^yi *n.* the Murrumbidgee river.

mijat (Wan) *n.* (Aboriginal) man (cf. section 3).

mila (Wan) *n.* eye(s): **ñunbala mila** your eyes (Wan JB).

mildi *n.* eye(s).

mind *n.* silver, money. —Compare **banḡu**.

miña *n.* beef (the meaning of the common Queensland word **miña** is 'game' or 'animal food'). —Compare **maji**.

muḡa *v.* **muḡa**.

muḡa (**muḡa** ?) *n.* tobacco.

N

-na *ipf. suffix* 5.2.

nulu *n.* hat.

nulubari *attr. n.* having a hat.

ñ

ñunbala (Wan) *pers. pron.* 4.3.

R

-ra (Wan) (**-ṛa** ?) *ipf. suffix.* 5.2.)

W

wand^yiga (Wan) *interr. adv.* where?: **wand^yiga ñunbala guṛi** where is your home? (Wan JB).

wañi (Wan) *n.* the name of a language, Wanyi.

wuna- *v. ipf.* **wunaj** lie down, go to sleep (the original stem ***una-** is common in this sense in Queensland: Kalali **ṅuna-**, Gugu-Bujun **wuna-**, etc.).

GARWA

1. The following notes on Garwa were obtained between 1970-1972, at the Woorabinda settlement (Queensland), from one Mr Bill Jackson, who was from Westmoreland (in western Queensland and near the Northern Territory border line). Mr Jackson had travelled a good deal and had some idea of the Waljbiri language as well.

Phonology

Vowel phonemes

2.1. The Garwa language (according to our informant; see section 1), or the Westmoreland language, possesses the usual three fundamental vowel phonemes *a*, *i* and *u* (vowel length as well as word or syllabic stress being immaterial). Hence English 'table' becomes *dibuli* in Garwa, 'tobacco' becomes *dubaga* and 'one fellow' becomes *wanbala*; for the value of the phonemes *b*, *d*, *g*, see further in 2.2. Other vowel shades arise secondarily: *guwara* > *guara* > *go-ra* 'ear', *muwara* > *muara* > *mo-ra* 'coolaman' (hence with a long fairly open *o*-sound). A final *-a* may occasionally be actualised as *-i* (as often in the Aboriginal languages of Queensland): *nañi* for *naña* 'from', *niñi* for *niña* 'you'.

Consonant phonemes

2.2. The following consonant phonemes are found:

- b* a bilabial plosive (between English 'b' and 'p')
- d* a dental plosive (between English 'd' and 't')
- dʲ* a palatalised dental plosive (between English 'dy' and 'ty')
- ɖ* a retroflex plosive (as in Hindi)
- g* a palatal-velar plosive (between English 'g' and 'k')
- ŋ* a palatal-velar nasal (as in English 'sing', 'song')
- m* a bilabial nasal
- n* a dental nasal
- ɲ* a palatalised dental nasal (similar to English 'ni' in 'onion', etc.)
- ɳ* a retroflex nasal

- l* a lateral continuant (as in French or Italian)
- r* a trilled continuant (as in Italian)
- ɽ* a retroflex continuant (as in Hindi 'ghoṛa', etc.)
- j* a palatal semivowel (as in English 'yes')
- w* a bilabial semivowel (as in English 'well').

Combinatory phonology

2.3. Of the phonemes enumerated in 2.2., all except *i* and *u* as well as the retroflex phonemes (*ŋ*, *ɽ*—our informant pronounces an initial *ɽ* in a word quoted from Waljbiri) and *r* have been noted in the word-initial position (since, however, a few words are found beginning with *a*, it is possible that Garwa admits the initial occurrence of any vowel sound (cf. however below). No marked differentiation is made between such sequences as *-ai-* and *-aji-*; hence *d^yarbai* ~ *d^yarbaji* 'ate', etc. Considering, however, that many words begin with *ji-* and *wu-* (whereas no examples have been found of **i-* or **u-*), we shall hold the sequences *-aji-*, *-uji-*, *-awu-* as basic (considering *-ai-*, *-ui-*, *-au-* as secondary variants). It seems that an original *i-* has (as in most of the Queensland languages) passed into either *ji-* (as in *jingga* 'for you', for **iŋga*, the second person singular pronominal stem being probably **i-*) or *ŋi-* (cf. *niŋa* for **ŋina*, 4.3. end).

2.4. Words and syllables may end in a vowel phoneme or a nasal (except *ŋ*, which may only occur before *ɖ*, hence in *-ŋɖ-*), *l*, *r* or *ɽ* (the last one, however, noted only as syllable-final: *wiɽgu* 'run away'). Most words end in a vowel.

2.5. The retroflex plosive *ɖ*, being rather voiced than voiceless, may interchange with the trilled continuant *r*, in the medial position: *bajagaɖa* ~ *bajagara* 'little'. On the other hand, the palatalised dental plosive (*d^y*) often alternates with *j*, in the same position: *d^yilad^yibaji* ~ *d^yilaj(i)ba(j)i* 'went, gone', *d^yungud^yiba* ~ *d^yunguiba* 'sitting', etc. Whether a similar reduction may take place of *-ri* becoming *-ji* (cf. *d^yungubari* or *d^yunguba(j)i* 'sat'), is uncertain and, likewise, whether *-ŋi* may be said to alternate with *-ŋi* in certain forms (cf. *ŋilaŋi* = *ŋilaŋi*, ergative form of *ŋila(n)* 'girl'), as these may actually be cases of variant morphological elements. —The passing of intervocalic *-n-* into *-r-* (frequent in the eastern Queensland languages) is noted in Garwa *narama* for *nanama* 'he that (one)', heard in a song.

Morphology

3.1. As in other Australian languages studied by the present writer, we may distinguish in Garwa between nominal, pronominal, verbal, adverbial and postpositional word stems (connectives not being recorded), of which the first three are inflected, while adverbial forms may show traces of basic declensional or conjugational elements. Simple postpositional forms are rather arbitrarily distinguished from case suffixes.

Nominal words

3.2. Nominal stems in Garwa (comprising nouns, adjectives and numerals) are indeterminate as to number: *ɲila* may mean either 'girl' or 'girls'; *bunda* is 'river' or 'rivers'. Sometimes, however, plurality may be expressed by reduplication (*ɲila ɲila* 'girls'), although this is probably not the basic meaning and function, since reduplication may occur in other cases as well (*lugu lugu* 'turning round' and other similar formations). Nominal stems are quite often found with or without a suffixed element *-n*: *ɲila(n)* 'girl', *ɲaniɲi(n)* 'man', *barawu(n)* 'camp', *d^yamuga(n)* 'beard', *maɲi(n)* 'hand', *walid^yi(n)* 'meat', etc. In a somewhat similar way the ergative suffix *-ni* may be preceded by an extension *-wa-* of the nominal stem: *ɲilawaɲi* or *ɲilaɲi* (also *ɲilaɲi*) 'girl'. The function of these elements in Garwa does not appear from our material. It might perhaps be suggested that these elements represent traces of the use of an 'article' (in the Austronesian sense of the term), which is otherwise not observed in our Garwa material (cf. the elements *-i-*, *-u-*, *-(n)a-* in Punthamara and analogous elements in certain eastern Australian languages). See further in 3.8-9.

Nominal derivation

3.3. Of nominal derivational suffixes, the following only may be accepted with some measure of probability: *-bari* (attributive), *-gaɖa* (*-gara*, cf. 2.5.; diminutive), *-ga(n)* (cf. 3.8.; originally feminine) and *-man* (personal); the occurrence of these is, however, very limited.

3.4. The *attributive -bari*. This formative may be assumed to have an attributive function (i.e. marking 'having, provided with', etc.) in: *ɲurubari* 'having ashes' (cf. *ɲuru*, *nuru* 'ashes'), in a predicative sense: *nanama ɲurubari* 'there are ashes' or 'it is ashes'. It may occur in *gagabari* 'boxwood' (although the meaning of **gagga* is not ascertained). Usually, however, the Garwa *-bari* seems to answer to the Punthamara 'possessive' *-ani* (expressing 'belonging(s)' or 'property'), as in Garwa *nanibari ɲani* or *ɲagi* 'this (literally 'this property') is mine' (notice that the Garwa *ɲagibari*, *ɲaniɲibari* 'mine' formally and semantically answer to the Punthamara *ɲant^yani* = *ɲant^ya* 'mine'), hence literally 'my property').

3.5. The *diminutive -gaɖa*. (*-gara*). This suffix occurs in *bajagaɖa* (*-gara*) 'little', *wadugara* 'little girl' (*wadu*).

3.6. The *feminine -ga(n)*. This suffix generally expresses 'females' in the eastern Queensland languages. In Garwa, however, this meaning is not to be ascertained in any of the possible cases of this suffix: *d^yamuga(n)* 'beard', *ɲaligan* 'woomera', *ɲuɲgan* 'hair', of which further the primitive stems are not recorded. The final *-n* is occasionally treated as the enlargement element *-n* mentioned in 3.9.

3.7. The *personal -man*. This suffix is common in personal or animal names in eastern Queensland languages (perhaps ultimately derived from the English 'man', as in –the not very popular– 'policeman', etc.). The Garwa *jaraman* 'horse' is an extremely common word in most parts of Aboriginal Queensland.

Declension

3.8. Nominal inflection in Garwa comprises the following six basic case forms (found in our material): the *nominative* (the stem form of the noun, with or without an additional *-n*; cf. below), the *ergative* (in *-ñi*, with or without a preceding *-wa-*; cf. 3.9., or in *-ŋi*, *-i*), the *possessive* (in *-gañi*), the *ablative* (in *-(m)bu*), the *locative* (in *-(n)a*) and the *allative* (in *-(n)ga*). In addition to these, certain case relations may be expressed by additional morphological elements or constructions (see 3. 10-12). Instances of the use of basic declension forms: (nominative) *nad^yiba ŋaju gaḍiba* 'I can see a white man', *ñindi jaraman nad^yiba* 'can you see the horse?' (notice that the nominative, or stem, form is used in the sense of a direct object as well, even of personal nouns; for the appearance of the enlargement *-n*, cf. in 3.9.), *nanangañi ŋaniñi* 'that man's' (the stem form may be used, for instance in the possessive sense, provided that the possessive case is expressed by another determining word, in this case *nanangañi* 'that one's'; (ergative) *baḍaḍa(wa)ñi* 'the child' (*baḍaḍa*), *balbaluñi* 'the pelican' (*balbalu*), *gand^yibulwañi* or *gand^yibuli* 'the policeman' (*gand^yibul*), from English 'constable'), *gujarid^yiñi* 'with a stick' (*gujarid^yi*), *ŋaniñiwañi* 'the man' (*ŋaniñi*), *ŋila(wa)ñi* or *ŋilaŋi* 'the girl' (*ŋila*, *ŋilan*), *jaramani* 'the horse' (*jaraman*), *muḗariñi* 'the bunyip, the Rainbow Serpent' (*muḗari*), *nananji gand^yibulwañi* 'the policeman (saw me)' (both words are in the ergative case; cf. above); (possessive) *d^yibarigañi* 'a woman's' (*d^yibari*), *jaramangañi* 'for the horse' (*jaraman*; that is 'the horse's'), *nurugañi* (*ñuru-*) 'for ashes' ('an ashtray', 'something belonging to the ashes' (*nuru*, *ñuru*); (ablative, also with the postposition *naña* 'from') *burululambu naña* 'from Boorooloola' (*burulula*, a place in western Queensland), *barawumbu* 'from home' (*barawu(n)* 'camp'), *gundanbu naña* 'from the tree' (*gundan*); (locative) *barawuna* 'in the house' (*barawu(n)*; cf. above), *bajuḗuna* 'in the west' (*bajuḗu*), *burululana* 'at Boorooloola' (cf. above), *jambana* 'on the ground' (*jamba*), *jaramana* 'on the horse' (*jaraman*), *ganbana* 'on the grass' (*ganban*), *gurina* 'at home' (*guri*), *waḗara* 'at the corroboree' (*waḗar*), *wunina* 'on the spear' (*wunin*); (allative) *gaguḗga* '(go) for fish' (*gagu(n)* 'fish'), *waḗarga* 'for the corroboree' (*waḗar*; the same suffix – according to our informant – would be used in Waljbiri: *wandirga* = Garwa *waḗarga*, cf. *wandiri* 'corroboree').

3.9. In some of the case suffixes beginning with a nasal (*-mbu*, *-na*, *-ŋga*, beside *-bu*, *-a*, *-ga*) the latter may possibly be identical with the enlargement *-n* mentioned in 3.2.6.; otherwise an analogous nasal element is often characteristic of certain case suffixes in a great number of eastern Queensland languages. For the element *-wa-* in the ergative suffix *-wañi* (= *-ñi*), compare in section 3.2.6. These enlargements (*-n*, etc., *-wa-*) may or may not be remnants of 'articles' (cf. 3.2.); otherwise no corresponding morphological category is found in our Garwa material (cf. *ŋaniñi* 'a man' or 'the man', *nani ŋaniñin* 'that man'), although the final *-n* may be absent in compound constructions, such as *ŋila bugamba* '(a lot of) girls'.

3.10. Two additional suffixes are found to be used in the allative sense, namely *-ri* and *-gi*. The former occurs in: *barawuri* '(going) home' (*barawu(n)* 'home'), *burululari* 'to Boorooloola' (*burulula*, place name), *muḗdiri* 'to the corroboree' (*muḗḍi*). The suffix *-gi* (also found in some eastern Australian languages in various functions, chiefly to express 'tendency' or 'intention', that is as the Garwa *-ga*, *-ŋga* or the common Australian *-gu*) seems to be used with personal nouns to

express a dative or possessive relation (hence = 'for', 'of', 'to'), as in: *ḡaniñigi* 'the man's' (literally 'intended for the man').

3.11. Some case relations are expressed by postpositions, such as: *wuñi* 'from', *naña* (always with the ablative form of the noun) 'from' (hence expressing an ablative relation), *juđiñ(i)* 'by (means of)', 'with' (hence expressing an ergative relation): *dibul wuñi* '(fell) from the table' (*dibul(i)*, from English), *mañin wuñi* 'from (my) hand' (*mañin*), *burululambu naña* 'from Boorooloola' (*burulula*), *d^yalu juđiñi* 'with the arm' (*d^yalu*), *gujarid^yi juđiñi* 'with a stick' (*gujarid^yi*; = *gujarid^yiḡi*, ergative), *lunggul juđiñi* 'with a stone' (*lunggul*), *wunin juđiñ* 'killed with a spear' (*wunin*).

3.12. The possessive case relation may alternatively be expressed by a postpositional (?) form, *garid^yi* 'belonging to': *ḡaniñi garid^yi* 'the man's' ('belonging to the man'; = *ḡaniñigi*, cf. 3.10). An ablative relation, of personal nouns, may be expressed by a possessive form: *bađađagañi* '(took) from the boy' (literally 'the boy's'). As usually in the Australian languages, the use of the various case forms is closely connected with the personal or nonpersonal character of the noun to be declined.

Pronouns

4.1. The pronouns in Garwa are either (1) personal (possessive pronouns are simply the possessive case form of the personal pronouns); (2) demonstrative; or (3) interrogative-indefinite.

Personal pronouns

4.2. There are personal pronouns for the first and second person in the singular, dual and plural and there may be different inclusive and exclusive forms. The third person pronouns are closely related to demonstrative pronouns (in this material we separate inflected forms, to be dealt with as of a personal pronoun, and uninflected forms, as being demonstrative). The case forms are more or less the same as in the nominal declension (see 3.8.); we consequently assume (1) a *nominative* (or stem form), (2) an *ergative*, (3) an *accusative* (not found in the nominal declension), (4) a *possessive* form, (5) a *dative* form (only in the first person singular and not found in the nominal declension) and (6) an *allative* (used in the sense of 'toward'). Since the personal pronouns are used in reference to personal nouns (or persons) only, some local case forms, such as the ablative and locative, are missing. The dative form is used, for instance, in construction with the verb 'to speak (to)'; as in some eastern Australian languages (Kattang), it is found in the first person singular only: *jañbaji garwa ḡagi* 'spoke in Garwa to me'. The nominative *ḡaju* 'I' is an original ergative; as in Punthamara *ḡatu* (ergative) *kundiani* ('my house'), the Garwa *ḡaju(n)* may be used in the possessive sense; *ḡajun duri* 'my home'.

4.3. The following rather incomplete paradigms will show the forms recorded.

First person singular:

nom.	<i>ŋaju</i>
erg.	<i>ŋaju</i>
acc.	<i>ŋana; -ŋa</i> (cf. 7)
poss.	<i>ŋaŋi(n), ŋagibari, ŋaŋibari, ŋaju(n)</i> (in certain cases; cf. 4.2.)
dat.	<i>ŋagi(n)</i>
all.	<i>ŋaŋinga</i>

First person dual:

Exclusive and inclusive (?): nom. *nuggala*
 Inclusive: all. *ŋalijinga* 'for us two'.

First person plural:

Exclusive (?): nom.	<i>ŋamba</i>
Inclusive (?):	
nom.	<i>ŋambala</i>
poss.	<i>ŋambalaŋi</i>
all.	<i>ŋambalaŋga</i>

Second person singular:

nom.	<i>nind^yi</i>
erg.	<i>nind^yi</i> (?)
acc.	<i>niŋa, niña</i>
all.	<i>jiŋga</i>

Second person dual:

nom.	<i>nimbala</i>
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Second person plural:

nom.	<i>nimbugamba</i>
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Third person singular:

nom.	<i>nanama</i>
erg.	<i>nanaŋi</i>
acc.	<i>nanama</i> 'him'
poss.	<i>nanagaŋi; nanaŋi</i> (the latter in special cases?)
all.	<i>nanamaŋga, nanaŋga</i>

An ablative form, *nanambu* (with the postposition *naña*; cf. 3.8.) is used in an impersonal (adverbial) sense: *nanambu naña* 'from there'. The pronominal stem in the first person is (as in most, or all, Australian languages) *ŋa-*; in the second person singular it is probably **i-* (as evidenced by the allative *jiŋga*; cf. 2.2.). Forms such as *niŋa, niña, nind^yi* appear to have arisen from **ŋ-ina, *ŋ-iña*, etc., by various stages of metathesis.

4.4. Certain possessive forms incorporate the element *-bari* (cf. 3.4.), in the sense of 'belonging(s), property': *ɲagibari* (also *ɲajubari*) 'mine' (literally 'for-me-property or belonging', 'I-property'), *nanibari* 'his' or 'that one's' (literally 'that belonging or property'). The 'dative' (originally an 'allative' or 'intentional' form; cf. 3.10.) may be used in the possessive case: *barawu ɲagi* 'my home'.

Demonstrative pronouns

4.5. The third person personal pronouns may alternatively be considered as demonstratives 'that one'. When used in an impersonal sense, or when not inflected, analogous forms may be considered as demonstrative pronouns or adverbs. Demonstrative words are derived from the stems *na-* (cf. in the section of Personal pronouns; 4.3.) 'this, that' and *d^yu* 'that, yonder'. The recorded forms are: *nani* 'this' (used impersonally and without a determined noun form), *naɲi(n)* 'this' (used attributively) and *d^yud^yu* 'that'. Examples: *naɲi(n) muɲɲud^yi* 'this country', *d^yud^yu muɲɲud^yi* 'that (other) country'. As mentioned in 4.4., the form *nani* may be provided with an attributive *-bari* (cf. 3.4.), becoming *nanibari* 'this', as in: *nanibari ɲagi* 'this is mine' (literally 'this property is for me'). The derived forms *nanaba* 'there', *naɲiba* 'here' may be considered as adverbial.

Interrogative pronouns

4.6. Both the personal 'who?' and impersonal 'what?' interrogatives are (according to our informant) expressed by the same interrogative-indefinite stem *waɲi*. Hence: *waɲi nind^yi* 'who are you?', *waɲi nani* 'what is that?'. The following flectional forms have been recorded:

nom.	<i>waɲi</i>
erg.	<i>waɲiɲi</i>
poss.	<i>waɲigaɲi</i>

The possessive form (*waɲigaɲi*) is found in the sense of 'what?' or 'what for?', as in: *waɲigaɲi nind^yi gud^yu* 'what do you want?', *waɲigaɲi nind^yi d^yilad^yiɲa* 'what do you come for?', *waɲigaɲi nani* 'what is that for?'.

Verbal forms

5.1. The Garwa verb is conjugated according to mode or aspect (the idea of time being implied secondarily); of a personal conjugation (as in Latin, etc.) a rudiment only is observed. The function of the various modal forms is not clear on all points (see in section 6 on Modal conjugation). The verbal stem (as commonly in the Australian languages) always ends in a vowel, *-a-*, *-i-*, or *-u-*: *bad^ya-* 'play', *nad^yi-* 'see', *d^yuɲgu-* 'sit'. To these the modal formatives are added and from these derived verb stems may also be made.

Verbal derivation

5.2. Verbal stems may be derived by means of the following formatives (found in our material): *-ba-*, *-dʸi-*, *-gi-*, *-mba-*, *-mbidʸi-*, *-na-* (?), *-nari-* (?), *-ra-* (?), *-ri-* (?); the true nature and function of these is not always ascertainable and, furthermore, there is reason to think that certain ones (*-na-*, *-ra-*) might rather be considered as modal formatives.

5.3. **The suffix *-ba-*.** This formative is particularly difficult to place in a system. It is most certainly a formative in the modal conjugation in some cases (see 6.4.), while in other cases (*naʀaba-* ‘drink’, cf. *dʸarba-* ‘eat’, as well as in other verb stems of the type *dʸańba-* ‘throw’, *wurgurba-* ‘shave’, of which no more simple form occurs) the element *-ba-* may have a derivative character (the function being, however, indeterminate).

5.4. **The suffix *-dʸi-*.** This suffix is possibly an original reflexive-intransitive formative (as in Gugu-Bujun). In Garwa this function is not evident: *dʸiladʸi-* ‘go’ (no primitive stem recorded), *widʸi-* ‘go or come back’ (no primitive stem), *wiŋidʸi-* ‘leave’ (*wiŋi-* means ‘take up’); in the transitive verb stem *nadʸi-* ‘to see’, however, the element is not derivative at least in Garwa, as the same verb stem occurs in Gugu-Bujun (*nadʸi-* ‘see’; cf. Punthamara *natʸa-*, idem). For the possible reflexive character of *-dʸi-*, compare, however, under *-mbidʸi-* (5.7.).

5.5. **The suffix *-gi-*.** This seems to be a reflexive-intransitive formative, as in: *ŋirigi-* ‘turn round’ (intransitive; ‘turn oneself round’, however, without a primary verb stem). Compare *ŋirigimba-* ‘turn (something) round’ (5.6.).

5.6. **The causative suffix *-mba-*.** This is a very frequent causative formative in the east Queensland languages. In Garwa it clearly occurs in: *biribirimba-* ‘spin (something) round’ (cf. *biribiri-* ‘turn round’, intransitive), *dʸiladʸimba-* ‘send’ (cf. *dʸiladʸi-* ‘go’), *gulugamba-* ‘lay down’ (cf. *guluga-* ‘lie down’), *ŋirigimba-* ‘turn round’ (transitive; cf. *ŋirigi-*, idem, intransitive), *jadʸibaramba-* ‘burn’ (transitive; cf. *jadʸibara-*, idem, intransitive), *lugulugumba-* ‘turn round’ (cf. *lugu lugu* ‘turning round’), *nadʸimba-* ‘show’ (cf. *nadʸi* ‘see’), *wiŋgumba-* ‘chase’ (cf. *wiŋgu-* ‘run away’), *wuɖumba-* ‘get’ (no primitive stem recorded). The sense is sometimes prepositional (‘make for’, ‘go, come with’, etc.): *jabimba-* ‘make for’, *dʸarimba-* ‘run away with’ (primitive forms not recorded). Derivatives with *-mba-* are transitive and hence take the ergative form of the subject word: *nanaŋi dʸarimbaji* ‘he ran away with (it)’.

5.7. **The causative-reflexive suffix *-mbidʸi-*.** This formative, which evidently is a compound of the causative *-mba-* (see 5.6.) and the reflexive *-dʸi-* (see 5.4.), expresses the idea of ‘make or do (for) oneself’ as in: *wuɖumbidʸi-* ‘fetch’ (*wuɖumbidʸi walidʸin*, *maman* ‘go and get or fetch meat, food’, literally: ‘get for yourself’). Derivative elements having this compound function are found in languages in eastern Queensland as well.

5.8. **The suffix *-na-*.** The meaning of this formative is not evident: *ŋaju badʸana* ‘I will play’ (more or less the same as *badʸaba*, according to our informant). It may be an inchoative derivative suffix or else an imperfective mode form. Compare further under *-nari-* (see 5.9.).

5.9. **The suffix -nari-**. This suffix looks like a compound of the two elements *-na-* (see 5.8.) and *-ri-* (see 5.11.) and may possibly have an inchoative-intransitive meaning. A couple of instances only are recorded: *bad^yanari-* 'get up to play' (*bad^ya-*) and *ganṅanari-* 'get up' (cf. *ganṅa-* 'stand').

5.10. **The suffix -ra-**. A single instance is recorded: *jad^yibara-* 'burn, be burned'. The derivative character of this suffix is rendered likely in view of the occurrence of a causative enlargement (see 5.6.) *jad^yibaramba-* 'burn' (transitive).

5.11. **The suffix -ri-**. In the eastern Queensland languages this suffix usually has an intransitive sense, which however is not the case in Garwa, as seen in: *wad^yari-* 'fish', *wijari-* 'put' (no simple verb stems being recorded).

Modal conjugation

6.1. We can count at least on four basic modal forms: the *imperative*, the *imperfective*, the *perfective* and the *intentional*. The formatives are, however, more numerous and it may consequently be supposed that further distinctions are actually made. Whether a progressive and a gerundial form exists, as well as the use of auxiliary verb stems, is not by far clear.

6.2. **The imperative.** The imperative is no doubt in the first place made up from the plain verbal stem, as in most Queensland languages, of which the following forms are illustrative: *bad^ya* 'dance' or 'play' (*bad^ya-*; the same as *bad^yagi*, cf. 6.8.), *ḍaba* 'hit', *d^yuṅgu* 'sit', *guḍaḍi wiṛgu* 'don't run away' (stem *wiṛgu-*). More often, however, the imperative is expressed by a verbal form in *-gi*, which rather expresses necessity than a command and for which see in section 6.8.

6.3. **The imperfective.** Admitting that Garwa, like most Queensland languages, expresses mode or aspect rather than time, the immediate problem in dealing with modal forms is that of settling the difference of imperfective and perfective forms. Unfortunately no instances are recorded of contrasting forms of the type 'die, be dying' and 'dead' in English, whereby the imperfective and perfective character would be noted; one consequently has to go by the English rendering of the Aboriginal forms by means of either present (imperfective) and past (perfective) verb forms. An analysis in most cases shows that imperfective forms arise through the dropping of the perfective characteristic *-ji* (for which see in 6.5). In this way the plain verbal stem is often obtained, which consequently expresses imperfective mode: *migu ṅaju bad^ya* 'I don't gamble' (stem *bad^ya-*), *wirba ṅaju* 'I am falling' (stem *wirba-*), *waṅigaṅi ṅindi gud^yu* 'what do you (want to) take?', *d^yuṅgu* 'sitting', *wirba* 'falling', *d^yaṅaju wiṛgu* 'wants to run'.

6.4. Many imperfective forms end in *-ba* (along with which perfective forms in *-baji* occur). These are especially common of verbal stems in *-i-* (as it happens, our Garwa material does not show a single plain stem in *-i-* occurring in the imperfective sense and very few occurring as imperatives). One may consequently establish the rule that verbal stems in *-i-* regularly form their imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional mode forms by an enlargement, or added element *-ba-*, as in the following instances: *nad^yiba* 'can see', *ṅaju d^yaṅaju nad^yiba* 'I want to

see', *nid^yid^yiba* 'is kicking' (stem *nid^yid^yi-*), *d^yilad^yiba* 'going' (also imperative 'go'; stem *d^yilad^yi-*), *birid^yiba* 'singing' (stem *birid^yi-*), *maliba* 'chasing' (stem *mali-*). The same extension (*-ba-*) is occasionally used with other verb stems as well: *bad^yaba* 'playing' (stem *bad^ya-*), *d^yunguba* 'sitting' (stem *d^yungu-*), *ganṅaba* 'standing' (stem *ganṅa-*), *gulugaba* 'lying down' (stem *guluga-*).

6.5. **The perfective.** The perfective mode is clearly expressed by a suffix *-ji* (that is a 'nominaliser' *-j-* plus a case suffix *-i*); the perfective function appears by comparison with a corresponding imperfective verb form: *bad^yaji* '(has) danced' (cf. imperfective *bad^ya*; stem *bad^ya-*), *d^yarabaji* 'ate' (imperfective *d^yarba*, stem *d^yarba-*), *ṅarabaji* 'drank' (stem *ṅaraba-*), *ḍabaji* 'killed' (stem *ḍaba-*), *d^yunguji* 'lived' (imperfective *d^yungu*, stem *d^yungu-*), *wirbaji* 'fell' (imperfective *wirba* 'is falling', stem *wirba-*). In one case *-ri* is found for *-ji*: *d^yilajimbari* 'sent' (stem *d^yilajimba-*); cf. *-bari* for *-baji*, below). If the verbal stem ends in *-i*, the perfective termination is *-baji* (cf. 6.4.): *nad^yibaji* 'saw', *d^yilad^yibaji* 'went'; this is the case also whenever the imperfective is in *-ba*: *bad^yabaji* 'played' (cf. *bad^yaba* 'playing'). The difference (if any) between such forms as *bad^yaji* and *bad^yabaji* (as well as between *bad^ya* and *bad^yaba*), etc. has not been ascertained. Beside the ending *-baji* we find an equivalent (?) termination *-bari*, as in: *bad^yabari* 'played', *d^yungubari* 'sat' (= *d^yungubaji*), *ganṅabari* 'stood' (= *-baji*), *gulugabari* 'lay down' (cf. imperfective *guluga*), *nad^yibari* 'saw' (= *nad^yibaji*).

6.6. Beside the perfective (?) termination in *-ji*, another one in *-ja* (that is with a different case suffix, *-a*) is occasionally found: *wiṅguja* 'ran away' (= *wiṅguji*; stem *wiṅgu-*); this form, however, involves still another problem, since in one case (*gud^yubaja* 'stealing') the suffix seems to have an imperfective character (which, besides, is to some extent indicated by the use of a different case suffix, *-a*, added to the 'nominaliser').

6.7. **The intentional.** This modal form is (as in the Queensland languages in general) derived from the 'allative' form of nominal and pronominal stems, that is the intentional is formed from the verbal stem by addition of the allative suffix (in Garwa *-ṅga*; cf. 3.8.), as seen in: *bad^yanṅa* 'to play', 'wants to play' (stem *bad^ya-*), *d^yungunṅa* '(want) to sit' (stem *d^yungu-*), *guluganṅa* '(want) to lie down' (stem *guluga-*). As in the languages of eastern Queensland, the intentional is used in Garwa in construction with the allative form of a nominal or pronominal stem to express the idea of 'must', 'have to' (literally 'for him to do', etc.): *nananṅa d^yungunṅa* 'he must, ought to sit down', 'he better sit down', (literally 'for him to sit down'), *ṅambalanṅa ganṅanṅa* 'we had better stand up', *jṅṅa bad^yanṅa* 'you are to play, sing or dance'. If, however, the idea is 'to want or desire', the ergative is used of the subject word: *baḍaḍawañi bad^yanṅa* 'the boy wants to play'.

6.8. Of other modal forms, those in *-gi* and *-gu* (less often) ought to be mentioned. Both are variants of an allative suffix *-gu* (common in a great number of Australian languages); the suffix *-gi* (of a similar meaning) is found in some languages in eastern Australia (e.g. Kattang in New South Wales). The suffix *-gi* is added to the same stem form of the verb as the perfective *-ji* (see 6.5.); the sense is often that of an imperative: *bad^yagi* 'dance' (= *bad^ya*), *d^yañbagi* 'throw' (stem *d^yañba*), *d^yungugi* 'sit down' (stem *d^yungu*), *ganṅagi* 'get up' (stem *ganṅa-*),

gulugagi 'lie down' (stem *guluga-*), *biribiribagi* 'turn or spin round' (stem *biribiri-*), *birid^yibagi* 'sing' (stem *birid^yi-*), *d^yilad^yibagi* 'go' (stem *d^yilad^yi-*). The suffix *-gu* (in the sense of 'must', etc.) is added to the plain verbal stem, without any extension: *d^yilad^yigu* 'must go' (cf. *d^yilad^yibagi*, idem).

Personal conjugation

7. Of a personal conjugation a remnant only is found in our material, namely verbal forms with an added element *-ŋa* (first person singular personal pronoun, hence 'I'): *d^yilad^yibaŋa barawumbu naña* 'I am going (*d^yilad^yiba*) from home'. The same element *-ŋa* is also used to express a direct object form 'me', as in: *nad^yibajiŋa* '(he) saw (*nad^yibaji*) me' (= *nad^yibaji ŋana*).

Postpositions

8. The following postpositions have been recorded: *juđiñi*, *juđiñ* 'by means of, with', *naña* 'from' and *wuñi* 'from' (the latter always with the ablative form of the determined word): *lungul juđiñi* '(hit) with a stone', *barawumbu naña* 'from home', *wad^yarimbu naña* '(back) from fishing', *mañi(n) naña* or *mañin wuñi* '(fall) from (my) hand'.

Vocabulary

The following Garwa vocabulary also serves as an index. Some very few Waljbiri entries have been made, deriving from the same informant (Bill Jackson), who knew bits of South Australia languages. Waljbiri forms are marked by the signature *Wal*.

Figures refer to corresponding sections in the morphological sketch. The following abbreviations are used:

<i>abl.</i>	ablative	<i>interr.</i>	interrogative
<i>acc.</i>	accusative	<i>ipf.</i>	imperfective
<i>adv.</i>	adverb	<i>loc.</i>	locative
<i>all.</i>	allative	<i>n.</i>	noun
<i>atr.</i>	attributive	<i>neg</i>	negative
<i>caus.</i>	causative	<i>nom.</i>	nominative
<i>dat.</i>	dative	<i>pers.</i>	person(al)
<i>dem.</i>	demonstrative	<i>pf.</i>	perfective
<i>der.</i>	derivative	<i>poss.</i>	possessive
<i>dim.</i>	diminutive	<i>postp.</i>	postposition
<i>erg.</i>	ergative	<i>pron.</i>	pronoun
<i>fem.</i>	feminine	<i>refl</i>	reflexive
<i>imp.</i>	imperative	<i>v.</i>	verb(al)
<i>int.</i>	intentional		

The entries are ranged alphabetically according to the following order of phonetic symbols: *a, b, d, dʸ, ɖ, g, i, j, l, m, n, ñ, ŋ, r, ʀ, u, w.*

A

abuṛa *n.* money. —Compare **bura** (**buṛa**).
anuma *n.* ?; **anuma migu ṛaju badʸa** I do not gamble ... (?).

B

-ba *modal. suffix* 6.4.

-ba- *v. der. suffix* 5.3.

badʸa *n.* 1. dance, play; 2. gambling: **gudʸara badʸa** two dances, **badʸa dʸaṅanbala** a big dance, **badʸa lira** corroborree.

badʸa- *v. imp.* **badʸa, badʸagi**; *ipf.* **badʸa, badʸaba**; *pf.* **badʸaji, badʸabari**; *int.* **badʸaṅga** 1. dance, sing, play; 2. gamble: **badʸagi larwa** play the didgeridoo, **niñi badʸa(g)i** you dance and sing *or* play, **migu ṛaju badʸa** I do not gamble, **badʸaṅga larwa** (wants) to play the didgeridoo, **nanama dʸiladʸibaji badʸaṅga** he went to dance.

badʸana- *v. ipf.* **badʸana** play: **ṛaju badʸana** I will play (more or less = **badʸaba**; see s.v. **badʸa-**).

badʸanari- *v. ipf.* **badʸanari** start to dance and play: **briwa ṅambala badʸanari** now we will all get up to dance.

baḍaḍa *n. erg.* **baḍaḍa(wa)ñi**; *poss.* **baḍaḍagañi** boy, child: **gudu baḍaḍagañi** take it from the boy.

bajagara (-gaḍa) *n. dim.* little, little one *or* child: **gudʸara ṅaniñi bajagara** two little boys, **ṅila(n) bajagara** little girl, **bajagaḍa** little girl (= **waḍugara**, q.v.).

-baji *pf. suffix* 6.5.

bajuṅu *n. loc.* **bajuṅuna** west: **bajuṅuna biñi** (?) **dʸiladʸiba** go *or* is going westward, **bajuṅuna** to *or* in the west.

balbalu *n. erg.* **balbaluñi** pelican.

barawan *v.* **barawu(n).**

barawu(n) *n. abl.* **barawumbu**; *loc.* **barawuna, -wana**; *all.* **barawuri** home, camp, house: **ṅagin duri barawu** my home, **barawan dʸuṅgualu** (?) living in that house (?).

-bari¹ *attr. suffix* 3.4.

-bari² *pf. suffix* 6.5.

bariwa *adv.* now: **bariwa (ṅaju) dʸiladʸiba** now (I) am going.

biba *n.* paper: **biba ṅagibari nani** this is my paper.

bindʸiri *n.* wattle tree.

bindʸi *postp.* ? toward (?). —Compare **bajuṅu**.

biribiri *n. adv.* something spinning, a windmill, etc.: **biribiri badʸagi** play, turning something round.

biribiri- *v. imp.* **biribiribagi** turn round (intransitive).

biribirimba- *v. caus. imp. ipf.* **biribirimba** turn *or* spin (something) around.

biridʸi- *v. imp.* **biridʸiba(gi)**; *ipf.* **biridʸiba**; *int.* **biridʸinga** sing: **waṅara biridʸiba** sing(ing) at the corroborree.

buḍalguru (Wal) *n.* water (= **Garwa wabuḍa**, q.v.).

bugamba *n.* a lot, the lot, all: **bugamba ṅarabaji** drank a lot, **bugamba dʸuṅgu wajiga jambana** you all sit down on the ground, **ṅila bugamba** girls.

bujuga *n.* 1. fire; 2. the sun; 3. match(es).

bunda *n.* river: **bunda bugamba** all the rivers.

bunuwara *n.* woman, wife: **nanama nanaji bunuwara** she (*or* that) is his wife' (notice use of ergative form).

burulula *n. abl.* burululambu; *loc.* burululana; *all.* burululari Boorooloola, the name of a place in the Northern Territory: *bajuŋu burululari* (going) west to Boorooloola, *burululambu naña* from Boorooloola.

buṛa *n.* money. —Compare *abuṛa*.

D

dañal *n.* ashtray ('where you put it', the ashes).

dibuli (dibul, debul) *n. loc.* dibulina table: *debul wuñi* (fell) from the table.

dubaga *n.* tobacco: *dubaga dañal* where you put the tobacco, 'ashtray'.

dugurugu *n.* singing stick. —Compare *galwa, gundan*.

duri *n. ?*: *ñañi duri* or *ñañin duri* my place (= *ñañin guri*, q.v.), *ŋaju nuri* (idem), *ŋagin duri barawu* my home (= *barawu ŋagi*, q.v.).

D^y

d^yañaju *v. adv.* want: *d^yañaju wirgu* wants to run, *ŋaju d^yañaju nad^yiba* (tell him) I want to see (him).

d^yañambala *n.* big: *bad^ya d^yañambala* a big dance.

d^yalamba-*v.* mañin d^yalamba breaking hands (?).

d^yalu *n.* arm: *d^yalu juđiñi* (strike) with the arm.

d^yamba, *v.* jamba.

d^yamuga(n) *n.* beard.

d^yani- (jani- ?) *v. imp. ipf. ?* hit: *d^yaniña hit(ting) me (?)*. —Compare *qaba-*.

d^yañba- *v. imp.* d^yañbagi throw: *nind^yi d^yañbagi wunin* you throw the spear.

d^yarba- *v. imp.* d^yarbagi; *ipf.* d^yarba; *pf.* d^yarbaji eat: *jaraman d^yarba*

ganban the horse eats grass, *d^yarbaji gagun* ate fish.

d^yarimba-*v. caus. pf.* d^yarimbaji run away with: *nanaji d^yarimbaji muriga* he ran away with the car.

-d^yi- *v. der. suffix.* 5.4.

d^yibari *n. erg.* d^yibariwañi; *poss.* d^yibarigañi woman: d^yibarigañi *ŋamuṛu* woman's breast(s).

d^yilad^yi- *v. imp.* d^yilad^yiba; *ipf.* d^yilad^yiba; *pf.* d^yilad^yibaji; *int.* d^yilad^yibagi, d^yilad^yigu go: *guđađigi d^yilad^yiba* don't go, *d^yilad^yibaña barawumbu naña* I am going from home, *d^yilad^yibaña lugu lugu* I am going around, *ŋaju d^yilad^yibagi* I will go, *d^yilad^yigu ŋaju* I must go.

d^yilad^yimba-*v. pf.* d^yilad^yimbari send: *d^yilad^yimbari ŋaju niña* I sent you.

d^yiniramba- *v. caus. imp.* d^yinirambagi light (a fire) or strike (a match): *bujuga d^yinirambagi* light (strike) a match.

d^yud^yu *dem. pron.* 4.5. that.

d^yud^yugi *adv. postp.* away, out, off, from: *jaraman d^yud^yugi wirba ŋaju* I am falling from (off) the horse, *d^yud^yugi d^yilad^yiba* get away, *gundan d^yud^yugi* (fell) from the tree.

d^yungu-*v. imp.* d^yungu(gi); *ipf.* d^yunguba; *pf.* d^yunguji, d^yungubaji, d^yungubari; *int.* d^yungunga sit (down): *nind^yi d^yungu* you sit, *d^yungu ŋaju* I will sit down, *d^yungugi najiba, nanaba* sit down here, there, *d^yungugi jaramana* saddle the horse (literally 'sit on the horse'), *d^yunguji wabuli muṛari* Muṛari (the Rainbow Serpent) lived long ago, *nananga d^yungunga* he had better sit.

d^yungud^yi-*v. ipf.* d^yungud^yiba sit. —Compare d^yungu-.

d

qaba- *v. imp.* qaba; *ipf.* qaba; *pf.* qabaji hit, strike, kill: *qaba d^yaniña* striking or

killing me, **gujarid^yiŋi** **ḍaba** hit with a stick, **nanama ḍabaji** **ŋaju** I hit *or* killed him. —Compare **d^yani-**.

G

- gaḍa** *dim. suffix* 3.5.
gaḍiba *n.* white person.
gagun *n. all.* **gagunga** fish.
gangabari *n.* boxwood (from which the didgeridoo is made).
gangulida *n.* the name of a language, *Gangulida or Gangulida.*
galawaŋi *adv.* underneath.
galawuŋin *adv.* from below (?). —Compare **gingari.**
galwa *n.* singing stick. —Compare **duguṟugu, gundan.**
gamban *n.* sun.
gambaŋi *n.* yam(s).
-ga(n) *n. der. suffix* 3.6.
ganban *n. loc.* **ganbana** grass: **ganbana waḍamba** sitting on the grass.
gand^yibul *n. erg.* **gand^yibuli**, **gand^yibulwaŋi** policeman (from English 'constable'): **gand^yibuli** **ŋana nad^yibaji** the policeman saw me.
ganṅa- *v. imp.* **ganṅagi**; *ipf.* **ganṅaba**; *pf.* **ganṅabaji, ganṅabari** stand, get up.
ganṅanari- *v. ipf.* **ganṅanari** ? get up: **narama ganṅanari bad^ya lira** he is getting up giving a corroboree (probably 'will get up and sing', 'corroboree' taken in a modern sense).
-gara *dim. suffix* 3.5.
garaga (Wal) *n.* ear(s) (= **Garwa guwaḍa**, q.v.).
gari *n.* east.
garid^yi (**gariŋi** ?) *n.* belonging to: **ŋaniŋi garid^yi** the man's.
garwa *n.* the Garwa or Westmoreland tribe and language: **garwa** **ŋaniŋi** a Garwa man.
-gi¹ *all. suffix* 3.10.
-gi² *int. suffix* 6.8.
-gi- *v. der. suffix* 5.5.
gid^yi- *v. ipf.* **gid^yiba** catch, take (?): **gid^yiba maŋin gand^yibulwaŋi** the policeman takes *or* will take (?) your arm (?).
gingari *adv.* up, upwards: **gingari nad^yiba** looking upwards, **gingari** (or **galawuŋin**) **ŋaniŋin d^yungunga** (for) a man to sit up (*or* get up from below (?); probably used for a 'saddle').
-gu *int. suffix* 6.8.
gud^yara *n.* two: **gud^yara** **ŋaniŋi nanama nad^yibaji** he saw two men, **gud^yara jalguŋi** three.
gud^yu- (**guju-**, **gud^yi-**) *v. imp.* **gud^yu**, **gud^yiba**; *ipf.* **gud^yuba**, **gud^yiba**, **gud^yubaja** ?; *pf.* **gud^yuji**, **gud^yujibari** ?
 1. take, get, fetch; 2. look for (e.g. a track); 3. steal: (**guḍaḍigi**) **gud^yu** don't take it, **jaraman maniŋa gud^yubaja** stealing, running away with the horse, **guḍaḍigi maniŋa gud^yiba jaraman** don't steal the horse.
gud^yumba- *v. caus. ipf.* **gud^yumba** get (for oneself ?): **walid^yin gud^yumba** getting meat.
guḍaḍi *neg. adv.* no, not, no more: **guḍaḍi** **ŋungan** bald.
guḍaḍigi *neg. adv.* not, don't: **guḍaḍigi** **ḍaba** don't hit, **guḍaḍigi d^yilad^yiba** don't go.
gungala *n. adv.* rubbing, to make fire. —Compare **gujiga-**.
gujarid^yi *n. erg.* **gujarid^yiŋi** stick.
gujiga- *v. ? ipf.* **gujiga** ? rub (sticks), to make fire. —Compare **gungala.**
guju- *v.* **gud^yu-**.
gulana *adv.* this way (= **najiba**, q.v.).

gulani *adv.* here: **gulani d^yilad^yiba**
ɲaju I am going (coming) here, **gulani**
wid^yiba coming back here.

gulara *adv.* south, over there, away from
here: **gulara ɲaju d^yilad^yiba** I am
going south.

guluga- *v. imp.* **gulugagi**; *ipf.* **gulugaba**;
pf. **gulugabari**; *int.* **gulugan̄ga** lie
down: **nanam̄nga gulugan̄ga** he had
better lie down.

gulugamba- *v. caus. imp.* **gulugambagi**
lay down: **gulugambagi baɖaɖa** put
the child to bed.

gundan *n. abl.* **gundanbu** 1. tree, wattle
tree (wood); 2. singing stick(s) (made of
this wood): **gud^yara gundan** two
singing sticks, **nani gundan** that tree,
gundanbu naña wirbaji fell from the
(wattle) tree.

guñba(n) *n.* good, good-looking: **guñba**
ɲaniñi a good man, **nanama guñba**
ɲaniñi he is a good man, **guñban**
ɲila(n) a good-looking girl.

guṇḁan *n.* bottom, below.

guri(n) *n. abl.* **gurimbu**; *loc.* **gurina** place,
camp, home, house: **d^yilad^yila ɲaju**
ɲaniñin guri I am going to my place,
gurina at home (= **barawuna**, q.v.),
gurimbu naña from home.

guwajin *n.* head.

guwara *n.* ear(s).

ɲ

-ɲa *pers. pron.* 4.3; 7.

ɲabaja *n.* ghost (dead man or scrub ghost).

ɲagi *pers. pron.* 4.2-3.

ɲagibari *pers. pron.* 3.4; 4.3.

ɲaju *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ɲajun *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ɲaligan *n.* woomera.

ɲalijinga *pers. pron.* 4.3.: **ɲalijinga** (*all.*)
nanani birid^yiba he is singing to us
two.

ɲamba *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ɲambala *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ɲamuɾu *n.* 1. breast; 2. milk: **ɲamuɾu**
ɲarabaji bugamba (the baby) drank all
the milk.

ɲana *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ɲaniñi(n) *n. erg.* **ɲaniñiwañi**; *all.*
ɲaniñigi man: **nanama ɲaniñin** that
man, **nanan̄gani ɲaniñin** that man's,
ɲaniñigi (*dat. or all.*; cf. 3.10). that
man's (= **ɲaniñi garid^yi**).

ɲani *pers. pron.* 4.3.

ɲaniɓari *pers. pron.* 3.4; 4.3.

ɲarbara- or **ɲargaraba-** *v. pf.* **ɲarga-**
rabaji kill.

ɲaraba- *v. pf.* **ɲarabaji** drink: **bugamba**
ɲarabaji drink the lot.

-ɲga *int. suffix* 6.7.

ɲila(n) *n. erg.* **ɲila(wa)ñi** (little) girl, baby:
ɲila bugamba girls, **nanani ɲilawañi** that
girl, **ɲilawañi nad^yibaji ɲana** the
little girl saw me, **ɲilani jabimbaji**
(**jabinb-**) the girl made it (for someone).

ɲirigi- *v. refl. imp. ipf.* **ɲirigi** turn round:
ɲirigi nani ɲaniñi that man turns
round, **ɲirigi mangani** turn round face
to face.

ɲirigimba- *v. refl. caus. imp.* **ɲirigimba**
turn round: **ɲirigimba niña** turn
(yourself) round, **guḁaḁi ɲirigimba**
don't turn (it) round.

ɲubun̄un *n.* boomerang.

ɲuruṇunda- (**ɲuruṇumba-** ?) *v. ipf.*
ɲuruṇundaja ? put (spear on woomera),
raise: **gingari ɲuruṇundaja** (?) raise
(it) up.

J

-ja *modal suffix* 6.6.

jabimba- (jabinba- ?) *v. imp.* jabimbagi; *ipf.* jabimba, -nba; *pf.* jabimbaji, -nbaji make: jabimbagi *ngagi* *ngubuṅun* make me a boomerang, *mi gu ngaju jabinba ngubuṅun* I cannot make a boomerang, *nanani jabinbaji* he made it, *waniṅi ngubuṅun jabinbaji* who made the boomerang?

jad^yibara- *v. ipf.* jad^yibara burn: jad^yibara bujuga fire burning.

jad^yibaramba- *v. caus. imp.* jad^yibarambaji burn, light (a fire).

jad^yuri *adv. n. all.* home: *nini d^yilad^yiba jad^yuri* you go home. —Compare *jañi(n)*.

jagal *n.* moon.

jalgañi or **jalguñi** *n.* one: *jalgañi naniñin* one man. —Compare *julgañi, julguñi*.

jamba (d^yamba ?) *n. loc.* jambana ground: *jambana (d^y-?) wiṅi nija* get up from the ground (*jamba* is the common word for 'camp' in large parts of Queensland).

jamin *n.* eye(s).

jani- *v. d^yani-*.

jañba- *v. imp.* jañbaji; *ipf.* jañba; *pf.* jañbaji speak, tell, ask: *jañbaji nanani* tell him, *ngaju jañba garwa* I speak Garwa, *jañbaji ngagi* asked me.

jañi(n) *n.* camp. —Compare *jad^yuri*.

jaraman *n. erg.* jaramani; *poss.* jaramangañi; *loc.* jaramana horse: *d^yungugi jaramana* saddle the horse (literally 'get up on the horse').

jinga *pers. pron.* 4.3.

jingan (jingaṅ ?) *adv.* another: *jingan giṅgari* another (stick) on top (to make fire).

juḍiñi (juḍiñ, jurñi) *postp.* 3.11; 8: *wunin juḍiñ* (killed) with a spear.

jugula *n.* the Burketown language.

julgañi or **julguñi** *n.* one: *julgañi* or *julguñi ngilan* one girl.

jumala (Wal) *pers. pron.* you two (= Garwa nimbala).

jurṅgumba- *v. imp.* ? *jurṅgumba* go away for good.

juṛiñi *v. juḍiñi*.

L

langi *n.* north.

lajiḍinda *n.* Mornington Island language.

larwa *n.* didgeridoo.

lira *n.* corroboree.

lirgid^yi- *v. pf.* *lirgid^yibaji* grow: *nani gundan lirgid^yibaji* that tree grew.

lugu lugu *n. adv.* turning round.

lugulugumba- *v. caus. imp.* *lugulugumbaji; imp.* *lugulugumba; pf.* *lugulugumbari; int.* *lugulugumbanga* turn or spin something round: *baḍaḍawañi bad^yanga lugulugumbanga* the child wants to play spinning something round.

lungul *n.* 1. stone; 2. mountain.

M

maṅari *n.* bread.

mangañi (mangani) *adv.* face to face.

mala- (Wal) *v.* sing (?).

mali- *v. ipf.* maliba chase.

maman *n.* food, tucker.

-man *pers. suffix* 3.7.

mand^yid^yi- *v. imp. ipf.* *mand^yid^yiba: jaraman mand^yid^yiba* let the horse go (?).

maniña *v.* gud^yu-.

mañi(n) *n.* hand(s): *wirbaji mañi naña* fell from (my) hand.

-mba- *caus. suffix* 5.6.

- mbid^yi-** *caus. refl. suffix* 5.7.
migu (migi) *adv.* 1. not; 2. without: migu (migi) **ɲaju bad^ya** I do not gamble, **migu wabuɖa** without water.
mungid^yi *n.* country: **ɲañibari naɲin mungid^yi** this is my country.
muᅇdi *n. all.* muᅇdiri corroboree.
muriga *n.* car (from English 'motorcar').
muɾari *n. erg.* **muɾariɲi** bunyip, the Rainbow Serpent, 'the original kangaroo who made the rivers, etc.' (according to our informant).
muɾu *n.* **muɾu guwara** deaf.
muwada *n.* coolamon (receptacle).

N

- na-** *v. der. suffix* 5.8.
nabiɲi *v.* **biɲi, bajuɲu.**
nad^yi- *v. ipf.* **nad^yiba**; *pf.* **nad^yibajɪ, -bari** see, look: **ɲaju nad^yiba (?) walani** I saw (him) yesterday, **migu niɲa nad^yiba walani** I did not see you yesterday (the use of the imperfective form may be justified in the negative sentence), **nind^yi jaraman nad^yiba** can you see the horse?, **nanama nad^yiba ɲaju gaɖiba** I can see a white man there (literally 'that one', that is no distinction of person and place), **gand^yibulwaɲi nad^yibaɲa** the policeman can see me, **nanama nad^yibajɪ ɲaju ɲaniɲi** I have seen that man, **nad^yibari niɲa** saw you, **nad^yibari ɲaju ɲila** I saw a girl.
nad^yimba- *v. caus. imp. ipf.* **nad^yimba** show.
naɲi, naɲin *dem. pron.* 4.5.
naji *adv.* here: **ɲamba d^yunguba naji** we are sitting here.
najiba *adv.* here: **nungala d^yungubari** (sic) **najiba** we two are sitting here, **najiba d^yilad^yiba** coming here (= **gulana**, q.v.).
- najibari** *adv.* from here (correct ?).
najinda *adv. ?:* **ɲagi maɲin najinda (= ?)** my hand, **najinda jabimba ɲubuɲun** make (me ?) a boomerang.
nanaba *adv.* there.
nanama *pers. pron.* 4.3.
nanambunaña *adv.* from there.
nani *dem. pron.* 4.5.
nanibari *dem. pron.* 4.5.
naña *postp.* 3.11; 8.
naɲiɲga *postp.* toward: **ɲaɲi naɲiɲga** toward me.
-nari- *v, der, suffix* 5.9.
nid^yid^yi- *v. ipf.* **nid^yid^yiba** kick: **jaramani nid^yid^yiba niɲa** the horse is kicking you.
niɲa *pers. pron.* 4.3.
nimbala *pers. pron.* 4.3.
nimbugamba *pers. pron.* 4.3.
nind^yi *pers. pron.* 4.3.
niɲa *pers. pron.* 4.3.
nungala *pers. pron.* 4.3
nuri *v. duri.*
nuru *v. ɲuru.*

ɲ

- ɲaɲga** *n.* the Mornington Island and Burketown language.
ɲuɲgan *n.* hair: **guɖaɖi ɲuɲgan** bald.
ɲuru (nuru) *n. poss.* **nurugaɲi** ashes.
ɲurubari *attr. n.* having ashes: **nanama ɲurubari** that is ashes (ashtray?).

R

- ra-** *v. der. suffix* 5.10.
-ri *all. suffix* 3.10.
-ri- *v. der. suffix* 5.11.

r

ragija (Wal) *n.* eye(s) (= Garwa jamin).

W

wabuḍa (wabuḗa) *n.* water: wabuḍa
walgura big water, lake.

wabuli *adv.* a long time ago.

wad^yari *n. abl.* wad^yarimbu fishing:
wad^yarimbu nafa wid^yiba coming
back from fishing.

wad^yari- *v. imp.* wad^yariba(gi); *ipf.*
wad^yariba; *int.* wad^yariᅅga catch,
fish: wad^yariᅅga d^yilad^yi- go to fish
or fishing.

wad^yi- *v. ipf.* wad^yiba want: ᅅaju
wad^yiba walid^yin I want meat, ᅅaju
wad^yiba ᅅaniᅅi I want the man.

wad^yi- (Wal) *v. imp. ipf. ?* wad^yiba sing;
jumala wad^yiba you two sing (= Garwa
nimbala birid^yiba).

waḍamba- *v. ipf.* waḍamba sit.

waḍu *n.* girl.

waḍu (Wal) *n.* man: waḍu gud^yara the
Two Men.

wadugara (-gaḍa) *n.* little girl.

waᅅar *n. loc.* waᅅara; *all.* waᅅarga
dance, corroboree.

wajiga *adv.* on the ground, floor.

walani *adv.* yesterday.

walgura *n.* big: bunda walgura big
river.

walid^yi(n) *n. all.* walid^yiᅅga meat.

walin *n.* fire.

walu¹ (Wal) *n.* hand: walu gud^yara two
hands (= Garwa maᅅin).

walu² (Wal) *n.* fire (= Garwa bujuga).

wanbala *n.* one fellow (from English).

wandiri (Wal) *n. all.* wandirga dance,
corroboree (= Garwa waᅅar, q.v.).

waᅅi *interr. pron.* 4.6.

waᅅiᅅaᅅi *interr. pron. adv.* what?, what
for?, why?: waᅅiᅅaᅅi nind^yi gud^yu
what do you want to take?, waᅅiᅅaᅅi
nani what is that?, waᅅiᅅaᅅi nind^yi
d^yilad^yiba what do you come for?.

warawid^yi *n.* star(s).

wid^yi- *v. ipf.* wid^yiba go or come back:
wid^yiba ᅅaju naᅅin guri I will go
back from this house, bariwa ᅅaju
wid^yiba I am leaving now, ᅅaju
wid^yiba bajuru I am going west.

wiᅅi- *v. imp.* wiᅅi lift up (?). —Compare
jamba.

wiᅅid^yi- *v. imp.* wiᅅid^yiba(gi); *ipf.*
wiᅅid^yiba leave: wiᅅid^yibagi ᅅaniᅅi
leave the man alone, wiᅅid^yiba 1. leave
it alone; 2. don't want it.

wijarid^yi- *v. imp.* wijarid^yibagi; *ipf.*
wijarid^yiba put: wunina ᅅaligan
wijarid^yiba put the woomera to or on
the spear, ᅅaju pencil wijarid^yiba
ᅅajiba I put the pencil here.

wind^yagaḍiᅅi (-garid^yi); *interr. adv.*
belonging to where?: wind^yagaḍiᅅi
ᅅaniᅅi where does the man belong to?

wind^yawa *interr. adv.* where?: wind^yawa
nind^yi d^yilad^yiba where are you
going?

wirba- *v. pf.* wirbaji fall: table wuᅅi
wirbaji fell from the table.

wiriwid^yi *n.* rainbow (non-mythological).

wiᅅgu *adv.* back home.

wiᅅgu- *v. imp. ipf.* wiᅅgu; *ipf.* (?) wiᅅguja,
cf. 6.6; *pf.* wiᅅguji; *int.* wiᅅgunga run
away: gudᅅi wiᅅgu(ja) don't run
(away), d^yaᅅaju wiᅅgu wants to run,
nanama, ᅅaniᅅi wiᅅgunga he, the
man had better run.

wiᅅgumba- *v. caus.* chase.

wuḍumba- *v. imp.* wuḍumbagi; *ipf.*
wuḍumba; *pf.* wuḍumbaji get, fetch,
catch.

wuḍumbid^yi- *v. caus. refl. imp. ipf.*
wuḍumbid^yi get, fetch (for oneself):
wuḍumbid^yi walid^yin, maman, tea
leaf, bread, etc. 'go to get meat, tucker',
etc.

wulani *adv.* yesterday wulani nad^yibaji
saw (him) yesterday.

wunin *n. loc.* wunina spear.

wuñi *postp.* 3.11; 8 from.

wurgurba- *v.* shave.

PUNTHAMARA

With comparative notes on Kalali

1.1. The following notes on Punthamara were gathered chiefly on the Woorabinda settlement in Queensland. The notes on Kalali derive partly from one Paddy Ardoch, staying on the Cherbourg settlement (near Murgon, Queensland), partly also (although with a less satisfactory result) from one Peter Monday, found at Woorabinda, Duaringa and other places in Queensland, as well as from other stray informants.

1.2. Punthamara and Kalali appear to be vaguely related languages, to be located in south-western Queensland (cf. the List of Informants; section 2). The present description is almost entirely limited to Punthamara, from which the bulk of the material derives. The notes on Kalali are given either in dealing with related forms in Punthamara or—more completely—in the Punthamara and Kalali vocabulary affixed to the present grammatical analysis.

List of informants

2. Reference is made to the principal Punthamara and Kalali speakers interviewed, by means of the following abbreviations:

Pun FG: Mrs Florence ('Granny') Grey, at or about Kingaroy, Queensland, or at Duaringa, Queensland.

JT: Mr Jack Thompson, at Woorabinda, Queensland, or sometimes at Duaringa or Brisbane.

Pun PP: Mr Pontius Pilate, from the Wilson river (an affluent of the Cooper river, in western Queensland), staying variously at Toowoomba and other places in Queensland.

Kal PA: Mr Paddy Ardoch, born at the Ardoch station on the Bulloo river (between Quilpie and Thargominda, in western Queensland), at the time staying on the Home Farm at the Cherbourg settlement (where he died about the year 1972).

Kal PM: Mr Peter Monday, staying at Duaringa or about the Woorabinda settlement in Queensland.

Phonology

3.1. The phonetic system of both languages (Punthamara and Kalali) is similar on most points. The vowel system comprises the three fundamental vowels *a*, *i* and *u*, which are indeterminate as

to length. Vowels may, however, become lengthened through contraction: *ŋak-āndru* for *ŋak-a andru*, ergative of *ŋak-a* 'water'.)

3.2. Regarding the consonant system one should notice a non-distinction of voiced and voiceless plosives (or in general the absence of an opposition of voiced and voiceless phonemes), when they occur initially or are preceded by a consonant. It appears to the recorder of this material that a voiceless member of the indeterminate plosive pairs *k/g*, *p/b*, *t/d* prevails (in contrast to what is usually found in the coastal languages of Queensland); hence we write *k*, *p*, *t* in all positions (in the eastern or coastal parts of Queensland, e.g. in Wakka-Wakka and Gunggari, the tribe and language name 'Kalali' rather sounds like 'Galali' and has been represented accordingly (*galali*) in the author's phonetic notes on those languages).

3.3. The consonant phonemes in both languages are the following ones:

- k* a palatal-velar plosive (cf. above)
- p* a bilabial plosive (cf. above)
- t* a dental plosive (cf. above); for variants see further on.
- tʲ* a palatalised dental plosive (as in English 'tune')
- ɟ* a retroflex plosive
- d* an alveolar somewhat voiced plosive, occurring only after *n* (cf. below)
- ŋ* a palatal-velar nasal
- m* a bilabial nasal
- n* a dental nasal; variants will be mentioned below.
- ɲ* a palatal nasal (as in English 'new')
- ɳ* a retroflex nasal
- l* a lateral continuant (as in French)
- lʲ* a palatal *l* (as in English 'lute')
- ɭ* a retroflex *l* or (more seldom) *r* sound (cf. Hindi)
- r* a trilled vibrant (as in Italian)
- j* a palatal semivowel (as in English 'yes')
- w* a bilabial semivowel (as in English 'well').

3.4. As regards the nature of the dental plosive, one should observe that in the pronunciation of the persons interviewed no clear distinction is noticeable between a purely dental (as in French) and alveolar articulation (as in English), both being heard even in the same word (it is possible that the dental value is original as one may always suspect that the alveolar variety may be due to the influence of English, all informants being bilingual). It should be noticed that the English 't' (as in loanwords) is identified with the aboriginal *t*: *kiata* (often actualised as *geɟa*) 'bullock, cattle' (from English 'cattle'). English 'r' may in the same way be rendered by *ɭ* in the aboriginal language: *mari* 'to marry' (Pun JT). (The special 'r', however, arising in Queensland English in such words as 'motorcar', "morakah", is, however, identified with the aboriginal *r*: *muraga* 'car').

For the groups *nd* and *nt*, however, see below. On the other hand, one should notice that before *i* the dental articulation changes automatically into a palatal articulation, suggesting the initial sound in English ‘tune’ etc. (The sequence *-nti-*, or for clarity, *-ntʲ-* may be actualised as *-ndʲi-*: *nantʲiga-* ‘want’ may sound like *nandʲiga-*.) The retroflex sounds of *ŋ* and *ʃ* (*ʃ*) are often emphasised and turned into *-rŋ-* (*rŋ*) and *-rʃ-* (*rʃ*), respectively, by one of our informants (Pun FG): *kana* for *kaŋa* ‘Aboriginal man’, *-gara* for *-gaʃa* (verbal suffix) this seems to have happened in other areas as well, where the English influence has modified the Aboriginal sound values (cf. ‘Kurna’ as a tribe name in anthropological works). There are further several instances of Pun FG having *ʃ* where others have *r*, e.g. *kulpaʃa*, as against *kulpara* ‘emu’ (Pun JT and others).

3.5. Although most words begin with a consonant, a few instances have been found of words beginning with a vowel (or with the aspirate *h*, which—as in the English of Queensland—is a non-distinctive variant of a zero consonant phoneme). In consequence of this any syllable may begin with a vowel (as in *wiandru*, the ergative form of *wi* ‘fire’), although the prevailing syllabic structure seems to demand (as probably in most Australian languages) syllables beginning with a consonant. Words originally beginning with *i-* (e.g. *ini* ‘you’) also appear with an initial *j-* (hence *jini*); as for **u-*, forms with *wu-* only have been recorded. These initial *j-* and *w-* may actually be secondary in most forms, as is also the initial *ŋ-* in Kalali *ŋina* (for *ina* ‘you’), to which there are parallels in the eastern Queensland languages (Wakka-Wakka *ŋin* ‘you’).

3.6. Punthamara has no diphthongs proper, that is original diphthongs distinguishable from groups of independent vowels. Diphthongs arise, however, in various kinds of context and may be further contracted to single non-fundamental vowels, as in: *minaŋ-ni ŋantʲakala* for *minaŋa (j)ini ŋantʲ akala* ‘what do you want?’ (Pun JT), *turi ŋani entara* for *turi ŋani jantara* ‘I am going home’ (Pun JT); (Kalali) *ŋaleni* for *ŋaliani* ‘ours’ (Kal PA).

3.7. The consonant phonemes mentioned above (3.3) may begin a word, except (as a rule) the retroflex *ʃ* and *ŋ*, which are only found inter-vocalically (initial *ʃ* has been noted in one word in Kalali). The laterals *l*, *lʲ*, *ʃ* and vibrants *r*, *ʃ* are found intervocalically or in syllable-final positions only, while the nasals (except *ŋ*) are found in all positions.

3.8. A somewhat unusual compound phoneme in Australian languages—although typical of Punthamara (but not of Kalali)—is *dr* (where the *d* is dental), which is found in the initial position, together with the combinations *-ndr-* and *-ldr-*, found in the intervocalic position only. (As mentioned, these phonemes are foreign to Kalali; our informant Kal PA, for instance—who pretends to know Punthamara—pronounces *puldru* ‘eye’ as *puʃu*—also compare Punthamara *jandra* and Kalali *janda* ‘stone, money’).

3.9. The intervocalic groups *-nd-* and *-nt-* (the latter absent in Kalali), of which the former (*-nd-*; rather more voiced throughout) has an alveolar character, while the latter (*-nt-*; more definitely voiceless and sometimes aspirated) has a dental or interdental articulation, are distinctive. In this way the verbal stems *janda-* ‘speak’ and *janta-* ‘go’ are distinguished. Whether an analogous lack of distinction exists between *-li-* and *-liʲ-* is not quite clear: compare *wali-* and *waliʲ-* ‘run’ (of water).

3.10. Other compound consonant phonemes or consonant groups are to be considered as anomalous, e.g. *grid^yara* ‘running’, *jakpuṛa* ‘snake’ (dialectal? both forms recorded from Pun FG).

Combinatory processes

4.1. Within the vowel system it is important to observe certain cases of assimilation of unstressed vowels (e.g. non-initial vowels, which occur in morphological forms of more than two syllables). No precise rules for this process of assimilation have been established and some instances will suffice. From the nominal stem *ṅanit^ya* ‘father’ the following three comitative forms (e.g. ‘with (my etc.) father’) have been recorded (all from Pun JT): *ṅanit^yaluṅa* *ṅanit^yiluṅa* and possibly *ṅanit^yuluṅa* (hence assimilation of *a* either to the preceding *i* or to the following *u*), respectively. There are even cases in which assimilation takes place within a sequence of closely connected words, as in *ṅant^yu ṅura* for *ṅant^ya ṅura* ‘my camp’, *pandiri jina* (Pun JT) for *pandira (j)ina* ‘will hit you’. It is possible that the forms with the article (-*ia*-) of nominal stems have arisen in this way: *kaṇia* ‘(the) man’ (*kaṇa*), from **kaṇi-ia*, **kaṇa-ia*, *paṛitulu* ‘(the) Rainbow Serpent’ (ergative of *paṛita*), from **paṛitu-ulu*, **paṛita-ulu*.

4.2 Within the consonant system it is worth while to notice that although no functional distinction is made between voiceless and voiced consonant phonemes in the languages described here (cf. above), certain tendencies prevail, affecting the sonority of plosive sounds. In general the voiced (or semi-voiced) articulation pertains to the intervocalic position: *ṅat^yagala* rather than *ṅat^yakala* (‘looking’), etc. Instances have even been recorded of fricative pronunciation (e.g. as in Spanish), as in *jantagala* ‘going’. The voiced (or semi-voiced) pronunciation also often occurs after a nasal or liquid (-*l*-, etc.): *ṅand^yaga-* for *ṅant^yaka* (‘to want’), *jalga-* for *jalka-* (‘throw’), *kabuḍa* (*kavura*) for *kapuṭa* ‘hat’. The plosive may ultimately disappear as in *kulaala* (= *kulagala*), for *kulakala* ‘sitting, living’. This tendency may serve as a criterion in the analysis of the word structure, since it may settle the limit between words. In such forms as, for instance, *nanabuk·a* for *nanapuk·a* (‘those’), the presence of a medial -*b*- shows that it cannot be a question of two separate words, which would have required **nana puk·a*. Similarly *panibani* (Pun FG) indicates *panipani* (‘small’; one word unit). Sometimes both forms exist beside each other: *pita pita* ‘lightning’ and *pitapita* ‘light, glittering’ (both from Pun JT and probably variants of the same basic reduplicated form).

4.3. As in the coastal Kattang and Thangatti, intervocalic *k* and *p* may occur as long (*k·* and *p·* or -*kk-* and -*pp-*, respectively), in which case we do not find the voiced or fricative realisation. As a matter of fact, these lengthened forms may have arisen from earlier (or dialectal) consonant groups; compare *jap·ura* ‘carpetsnake’ (Pun JT) and *jakpura* ‘snake’ (FG), *wip·aṛa* ‘arm’, ‘creek’, and *wijpaṛa* (Pun FG), and further also *ip·ari-* ‘set (of the sun)’ and Kalali *irpa-*, idem (Kal PA). The structure of the consonant system in Punthamara in respect of the plosives (as well as in certain other respects) is consequently that of the Dravidian languages (e.g. Tamil).

4.4. Certain alternations of consonant phonemes have been noticed: *n ~ ṅ* (*nat·a-* and *ṅat·a-* ‘see’, with parallels in the Gunggar languages), *l ~ ṛ* (*alpa* and *aṛpa*, *walpa* and *waṛpa* ‘high,

up', *walka* and *waṛka* 'woman'), $\eta \sim m$ ($\eta ut^y a-$ and $mut^y a-$ 'give', $\eta uk \cdot u$ 'stream' and $muk \cdot u$ 'gully', ηura and $mura$ 'camp').

4.5. As all informants quoted are bilingual, certain features peculiar to the phonology of Queensland English are noticeable, particularly in the pronunciation of Kal PA, who even has 'ultracorrection' of the type *wak-ar* for *wak·a* ('tree'; cf. English 'idear' for 'idea', etc.). This informant (as well as others) further makes abundant use of the vowel *i* for *a*, especially in final position: *ik^yi* for *it^ya* 'meat', *ṇaṅk^yini* for *ṇank^yani* 'my' (cf. below), *ṇut^yi* for *ṇut^ya* 'give' (Pun FG). On the other hand, a final *-i* is often broadened to an open *a*- sound as in *kunde*, *gunde* for *kundi* ('house'; Kal PA), and further in *jerpa* for (*j*)*irpa-* 'go down' (of the sun; Kal PA); to this parallels are found in the languages of eastern Queensland (Kabi-Kabi, etc.). The substitution of *r* for an intervocalic *-n-* (especially in unstressed positions), which is common in large areas of Queensland, is also noticed, as in *-kari* (Kal PA) for the ablative suffix *-kani* (PA), *nira-* for *nina-* 'sit' (Kal PA). A peculiar feature in the pronunciation (Kal PA) is the use of a palatalised *k* (*k^y*) for *t^y*, as in: *k^yina-* for *tina-* (= *t^yina-*; cf. 3.4.) 'stand', (also compare some forms quoted above). Other alternations, such as of *-ṛ-*, *-r-*, *-l-* (*ṇuṛka-*, *ṇurka-*, *ṇulka* 'hear', *maṛa*, *mala* 'hand'), found according to the information of different persons (sometimes even of the same person) are difficult to account for. A single instance of a 'preocclusive' *l* has been heard from Kal PA, in *ṇadli* for *ṇali* ('we two').

Morphology

5. The morphological inventory of the languages analysed here comprise: *nominal* stems (including nouns, adjectives and numerals), *verbal* stems, *pronominal* stems, *classifiers* (or 'articles'), *adverbial* (or 'adnominal') forms. Of *connectives* proper nothing has been recorded. Of these, the nominal, verbal and pronominal stems, as well as the classifiers, may appear inflected (also by means of suffixes); the adverbial and adnominal forms may appear uninflected (although possibly containing more or less disguised flectional elements). (The connectives are typically uninflected elements.)

Nouns

Nominal stems

6.1. The nominal stems (which, as mentioned, also comprise adjectival stems and numerals) may be considered undetermined as regards number, individuality and sometimes category (or gender); notice that such a form as *waṛiwa* may mean 'any boy(s), girl(s), child or children'. To express a special number, individuality or kind (if not apparent from the basic meaning of the stem, as in the case of *kaṇa* 'Aboriginal man', *walka* 'Aboriginal woman'), a classifier, or an 'article', must be affixed to the nominal stem, for which see further in dealing with Articles (8.1-8). The form *kaṇa* consequently often means 'men' or 'the tribe', *maraja* may mean 'birds' and *maṛa* 'hands' or 'fingers'.

Nominal derivation

6.2. Derived nominal stems may be formed by one of the following suffixes: *-ani* (marking possession), *-kan* (expressing feminine gender—possibly borrowed), *-man* (probably expressing person), *-mundu* (expressing absence of), *-paṭu* (expressing presence of) and *-t^ya* (expressing relationship).

6.3. **The possessive suffix -ani.** This suffix appears to indicate a possessive relation, marking something that is owned. The Punthamara *kundiani* may hence be rendered by ‘somebody’s house’ (*kundi*), *nanduani* by ‘somebody’s horse’ (*nandu*) and *jandrani* (from *jandra* ‘stone’ or ‘money’) by ‘somebody’s money’. Just as *kundi* may mean both ‘house’ and ‘it is a house’ and *jandra* ‘stone, money’ and ‘it is a stone or money’, so *kundiani* and *jandrani* may also mean respectively ‘somebody has a house or money’ (e.g. serving either as subject or predicate) and further, in a more general way, ‘there is a house’, ‘there is money’. The possessive form is always construed with the *ergative* form of the word expressing the owner: *kundiani ḡatu* ‘I own a house’, *jandrani jundru* ‘have you got money?’. Our informant Pun JT consequently explains *kundiani jundru* as equivalent to *iḡka kundi*, which means either ‘your house’ or ‘you have a house’, and *taldraani jundru* as equivalent to *taldria jundru* (probably incorrect for *iḡka*) ‘your kangaroo’ or ‘you have a kangaroo’. The more general meaning of *-ani* is seen in: *naḡalai piṭaani pala* ‘it is raining (here) now’, *ḡak-aani kutira* ‘the water was running (out)’ (probably indicating ‘the water that was there sank’), *nanipuk-a kaṇaani* ‘those men have come’ (hence indicating a presence of men). A plural of the *-ani* form has been recorded in *wal^ypalaanipuk-a* ‘there were white people also’ (Pun JT). The same suffix *-ani* occurs in the possessive pronoun *ḡant^yani* (= *ḡant^ya* ‘my’).

6.4. In Kalali this suffix has been found in various forms: *-kani*, *-kini*, *-kuni* (all from Kal PA): *waraṭukani* ‘another’s’, *ḡat^yu ḡanikuni* ‘my father’ (= Punthamara *ḡant^ya ḡanit^ya*), *ḡant^yakini* ‘my, mine’ (= Punthamara *ḡant^yani*).

6.5. **The feminine suffix -kan.** This suffix occurs in: *watikan* ‘white woman’ and *marikan* ‘gun’. The suffix may be borrowed, as it is common in several of the eastern Queensland languages and the quoted forms occur in the Gunggari and Wakka languages (cf. Wakka-Wakka *margan* ‘thunder’ or ‘gun’, the supposed origin of the place name ‘Murgon’).

6.6. **The personal suffix -man.** The exact function of *-man* is not to be ascertained: compare *panti* and *pantiman* ‘brother-in-law’ (the former no doubt used in the vocative sense). The word *jaraman* ‘horse’ (used both in Punthamara and Kalali) is almost universal in the Queensland languages. The function of the suffix *-man* may be compared to that of *-t^ya* (for which see in 6.9.).

6.7. **The caritive suffix -mundu.** ‘Absence of a thing or quality’ is expressed by *-mundu*: *ḡankamundu* ‘beardless’ (from *ḡanka* ‘beard’), *walkamundia* (*-ia* being the article; cf. 8.3.) ‘without a woman’, hence ‘unmarried’. In the predicative sense these forms may be rendered as follows: *wimundu* ‘(there is) no fire’ (Pun FG), *ḡak-amundu* ‘(there is) no water’ (Pun JT). For this suffix, compare further in section 12.

6.8. **The attributive suffix -paṭu.** By this suffix ‘presence of a thing or quality’ is expressed: *ḡankapaṭu* ‘bearded (cf. above 6.7.), *malkapaṭunani* ‘the striped one’ (i.e. the ‘rainbow’; from *malka* ‘stripe’ or ‘colour’, *-nani* being a form of the article). In the predicative sense we get: *wipaṭu* ‘there is fire’ (cf. above 6.7.).

6.9. **The relational suffix -tʸa.** This suffix is added to kinship terms, to indicate a certain form or degree of kinship in relation to any person (hence marking ‘someone’s father’, etc., as against plain ‘father’, which may be used as a vocative form). The following forms being recorded: *ḡamatʸa* (vocative *ḡama*) ‘mother’, *ḡanitʸa* (vocative *ḡani*) ‘father’, *kak-utʸa* ‘(someone’s) brother’, *kuk-atʸa* ‘(someone’s) nephew’, *tinalitʸa* ‘(someone’s) uncle’, *napitʸa* ‘(someone’s) cousin’. The relational form is used with a possessive pronoun, as in: *iḡkani nupatʸa* ‘your wife’ (Pun FG).

Nominal inflection

7.1. The declension system of nominal words comprises the following seven case forms: the nominative, the ergative, the accusative, the possessive, the locative, the comitative and the ablative (for Kalali also an allative). The *nominative* is the stem form of the word, which may be used either as subject (*kan-a* ‘any Aboriginal man or men’) or as predicate (*kan-a* ‘it is an Aboriginal man’ or ‘they are Aborigines’); it is also used as *vocative*. The *ergative*, ending in *-(a)ndru*, either expresses the idea of ‘from’ or ‘by (means of)’ or else marks the subject of a transitive verb (that is one having a direct or indirect object; for exceptions, cf. below 7.4.). The *accusative*, which ends in *-na*, is used to express a personal direct or indirect (as with certain verbs, such as ‘to give’ or ‘to tell’) object. The *possessive* form, ending in *-(a)ḡa*, either expresses ownership or aim or intention (further direction toward, etc., that is, like the *allative* form in Kalali and in some eastern Australian languages). The *locative*, in *-laḡa*, expresses locality or neighbourhood or proximity (of personal nouns). The *comitative*, in *-(a)luḡa*, expresses companionship or, in general, the idea of ‘with’ or ‘together with’, being used with personal nouns only. Finally, the *ablative*, ending in *-ḡu*, expresses the idea of ‘from’.

7.2. **Paradigms.** As no complete paradigm of any single nominal stem can be furnished, some typical case forms of the following nouns are given: *kaḡa* ‘Aboriginal man’, *walka* ‘Aboriginal woman’, *kundi* ‘house’, *ḡura* ‘camp’, *ḡak-a* ‘water’, *wi* ‘fire’. It should be noticed that plain case forms are often difficult to tell apart from such as are provided with inflected forms of the article (cf. 8.5.).

nom.	<i>kaḡa, walka, kundi, ḡura, ḡak-a, wi</i>
erg.	<i>kaḡandru, ḡak-andru, wiandru</i>
acc.	<i>walkana</i>
poss.	<i>ḡuraḡa, ḡak-aḡa</i>
abl.	(no example found of a plain ablative; cf. articles.)
com.	<i>kaḡaluḡa, ḡuraluḡa</i> (Pun FG); <i>ḡura</i> treated as personal)
loc.	<i>kaḡalaḡa, kundilaḡa, ḡak-aluḡa</i>

7.3. In Kalali the corresponding suffixes are (no possessive being recorded): ergative *-ŋu*, accusative *-ri* (Kal PA; unless for **-na*, cf. 4.5.), ablative *-kani*, locative *-na* and allative *-ku* (cf. 7.1.), as in the following paradigms (*ŋap-a* ‘water’, *muna* ‘snake’, *kalali* ‘Kalali’, *kundi* ‘house’, *wati* ‘bush’):

nom.	<i>ŋap-a</i>
erg.	<i>munaŋu</i>
acc.	<i>kalaliri</i> (cf. below)
poss.	<i>munakani</i>
abl.	<i>munakani, watikani</i>
loc.	<i>kundiŋa</i>
all.	<i>nap-aku</i> (‘for water’ or ‘beer’).

7.4. The nominative seems to be used instead of the ergative when the sense of the verbal form is indeterminate (hence with imperfective forms; cf. 11.4.): *paŋila drat^yara ŋana* ‘a snake may bite me’ (Pun JT); for other instances, see under *Personal Pronouns* (9.4.). For the possessive suffix *-ŋa*, in the sense of ‘for’ (that is expressing aim or purpose), the common Australian *-ku* is found alternatively: *ŋuraku* for *ŋuraja* ‘(go) home’ (Pun JT), it is also used in the locative sense: *kundiku* ‘at home’ (Pun FG), *mak-uraku* ‘in the bush’ (Pun FG). The original sense of the ergative suffix seems to be ‘from’; compare the same termination *-(a)ndru* in *ŋalaandru* ‘whence’: *ŋalaandru ŋuk-unani mipamani* ‘from whence has the creek been formed?’ (Pun JT), which easily leads on to ‘by what or whom has the creek be formed?’. As may be gathered from some of the instances recorded of local case forms, one may suspect that the idea of *direction* is not indicated originally by any of these forms; compare: *kaŋalaŋa* ‘(got something) off a man’ or else ‘(brought something) to a man’ (locative: hence ‘near him’) and similarly *Paddy-laŋa* ‘(go) to Paddy’ (as if ‘near him’).

Articles

8.1. By analogy with the practise in the Oceanic languages of Malayo-Polynesian stock, one may refer to certain classifying nominal (or pronominal) elements as ‘articles’ (cf. Fijian *na*, Samoan *le*, Maori *te*, Hawaiian *ka, ke, na*). In the Australian languages studied here the articles determine a basically indeterminate noun or nominal stem (cf. 6.1.) as to number, kind, individuality, etc. To be provided with a determining article, the determined word must be known or visualised by the speaker (rather than by the listener); the Australian article hence does not indicate ‘*the* particular one or ones’ (as in English), but ‘*a or the* particular one or ones’. In other words, if you have *seen* a kangaroo (in Punthamara *taldra*), you will use the personal article *-ia* (hence *taldria*), although you would say ‘a kangaroo’ or ‘a certain kangaroo’ in English (indicating that the animal is unknown to the person to whom you speak).

8.2. There are two classes of words expressed by the article: masculine and feminine-impersonal, which either, then, imply a personal noun. This does not necessarily coincide with the idea of person in English; as is seen above a ‘kangaroo’ may be considered as masculine and hence personal (*taldria*); a ‘woman’ is feminine, although the form of the article is the same as for

an impersonal noun (*walkanani*). The articles can be inflected as to case and number. The basic form of the masculine article is in *-i-* or *-u-* and that of the feminine-impersonal article in *-(n)a-*; these elements are affixed to the nominal stem, as suffixes, and are rather to be considered as forming a phonetic unit with the concrete nominal stem. The forms of the articles are evidently related to those of the personal and demonstrative pronouns. The articles are never used in vocative forms (*ŋama* ‘mother’), neither of personal names or nouns used as such (‘father’, ‘mother’, used without a possessive pronoun).

8.3. **The forms of the article.** As mentioned (8.2), there are two sets of articles, referring to the two classes of nouns: the masculine and the feminine-impersonal. Both sets may be declined according to the same declension categories as plain nominal words (nominative, ergative, accusative, possessive, ablative, comitative and locative). Besides there are certain plural forms (in *-puk-a*) of the article. The case forms are the following ones:

	Masculine:	Feminine-impersonal:	Plural:
nom.	<i>-ia</i>	<i>-nani</i>	nom. <i>-nanipuk-a</i>
erg.	<i>-ulu</i>	<i>-andru</i>	acc. <i>-nanapuk-a</i>
acc.	<i>-ina</i>	<i>-nana, -ana</i>	
poss.	<i>-uŋa</i>	<i>-naŋa, -aŋa</i>	
abl.	<i>-uŋu</i>		
com.	<i>-uluŋa</i>		
loc.	<i>-ulaŋa</i>		

8.4. Examples: (nominative) *kaŋaia* or more commonly *kaŋia* ‘one (a) or the particular Aboriginal man’ (*kaŋa*; predicatively ‘it is a man’), *walkanani* ‘a or the Aboriginal woman’ (*walka*), *kundinani* ‘a or the house’ (*kundi*), *tak-anani* ‘a or the ground’ (*tak-a*); (ergative) *kaŋaulu* ‘a or the man’, *walkaandru* ‘a or the woman’, *najinandru* ‘a or the girl’ (*naji*), *jaramanulu* ‘a or the horse’ (*jaraman*; cf. *jaramanandru* ‘any horse or horses’), *ŋak-andru* ‘with the water’ (*ŋak-a*), *jandraandru* ‘with (my) money’ (*jandra*), *mak-uraulu* or *mak-urulu* ‘with a (particular) or the stick’ (*mak-ura*, while *mak-urandru* means ‘with any stick’; Pun JT); (accusative) *kaŋina* ‘a or the man’, *walkaana* ‘a or the woman’ (cf. *walkana* ‘any woman or women’), *najinana* ‘a or the girl’ (*naji*), *jaramanina* or *jaramaninana* ‘a or the horse’ (*jaraman*); (possessive) *ŋanit^yuŋa* ‘father’s (*ŋanit^ya*), *walkaŋa* ‘a or the woman’s’, *paŋituŋa* ‘the Rainbow Serpent’s’ (*paŋita*), *jaramanuŋa* ‘a or the horse’s’ (*jaraman*), *kupiŋa* ‘the female doctor’s’ (*kupi*), *kaŋiaŋa* ‘(I want) a grog’ (*kaŋi*; Pun FG); (comitative) *ŋanit^yuluŋa* ‘with father’ (*ŋanit^ya*), *paŋituluŋa* ‘with (in some context *off*) the Rainbow Serpent’; (ablative) *paŋitunu* ‘(got) from the Rainbow Serpent’; regarding locative forms, see further below (8.6.). Of plural forms, the nominative *taldrananipuk-a* ‘certain kangaroos’ or ‘the kangaroos’ and the accusatives *kaŋananapuk-a* ‘certain people or the people’ (*kaŋa*) and *taldrananapuk-a* ‘certain or the kangaroos’ (*taldra*) have been recorded. While the feminine article on most points coincides with the impersonal article, it should be noticed that impersonal nouns do not distinguish between a nominative and an accusative form (*-nani* and *-nana* being hence used indiscriminately); compare *puk-uranani* (nominative) *wakaŋa* ‘dreamed a dream’ and *puk-uranana* (accusative) *wakara* ‘dreaming a dream’ (both from Pun JT), *tak-anani* (nominative) ‘that place’, *nanai tak-anana*

'this earth', *talinani* (nominative) 'it is good'; the distinction may occasionally be made as: *talinani* (nominative) 'good girl' and *talinana* (accusative) *ɲak-a* 'good water'.

8.5. Owing to the similarity of certain forms with and without the article, some confusion (on part of the informant as well as of the recorder) has probably taken place. Especially forms of the article with and without the initial vocalic element *-a-* (*-andru* and *-ndru*, *-aɲa* and *-ɲa*) seem to have been used indiscriminately: *puldruandru* 'with your eyes' (*puldru*; it is unlikely that 'your particular eyes' is intended), *ɲak-aandru* 'with water' (not 'with any particular water'; incidentally, no instances of the use of *-ndru* or *-ɲa* with stems ending in *-i* or *-u* of the type **windru*, **puldrundru* have been recorded).

8.6. In the locative, forms with the article have hardly been found. The usual construction is: *ɲuralaɲa* 'at the camp' (*ɲura*), *kundilaɲa* 'in the house' (*kundi*), *ɲak-alaɲa* 'in the water' (*ɲak-a*), *kupilaɲa* 'from the female doctor' (*kupi*); cf. English 'at home, at sea', etc. Similarly in the comitative *kupiluɲa* 'with (also 'from' or 'off') the female doctor' (*kupi*).

8.7. The same nominal stem may be used as of different categories, which may be indicated by the use of different articles. As mentioned (see 6.1.), *waɲiwa* 'child' may mean either 'a or the boy' (*waɲiwia*) or 'a or the girl' (*waɲiwanani*) and in the same way *kupia* (nominative), *kupiulu* (ergative) mean 'a or the male doctor' and *kupinani* 'a or the female doctor'. The stem *mura* ('anything sacred') means 'God' with the masculine article (*muria*) but 'the law or rule' with the feminine impersonal article (*murana*, accusative, as in 'breaking the law'). As no fundamental differentiation is made in the Australian languages between nouns and adjectives, the articles are often used with words which would be adjectives in English, requiring a different construction: *talia* 'a or the good (man)', *talinani* 'a or the good (girl)' (from *tali* 'good'), *kupanana jandra* 'a or the white stone, quartz', *kuɲitia ɲani* 'I am sick' (*kuɲita*; Pun JT); sometimes both the 'noun' and the 'adjective' (or both nominal stems) are provided with an article: *mip-anani kudinani* 'a bad (*nip-a*)house', *muria ɲanitia* 'God the Father' (Pun JT). As in some Australian languages, such words as 'home' or 'tribe' ('language') may be considered as personal and hence masculine in Kalali (the language name *kalali* is personal); an instance of this is found in Punthamara *ɲura* 'camp, home', which may take the masculine article (*ɲuria*; whether the analogous construction of *kundi* 'house', that is *kundia* 'a or the house', instead of the normal *kudinani*, may be considered as correct is questionable). On the other hand, the word for 'name' (*jaɲa*), which is personal in many Australian languages, is used in either way in Punthamara: *waɲana* or *mina jaɲa (ini)* 'who or what (is) your name?' (literally 'who or what (are) you, the name?; Pun JT).

8.8. No articles are recorded with certainty for Kalali. It is barely possible that such forms as (Kal) *tankia* 'dead', *tunuja* (= *tunuia*?), *tunia* 'sun' contain a form of an article (corresponding to the Punthamara *-ia*; see 8.3).

Pronouns

9.1. The pronouns are either (1) *personal* (of which the possessive forms serve as *possessive* pronouns), (2) *demonstrative* or (3) *interrogative* (which latter are also used as *indefinite* pronouns). The demonstrative pronouns appear to be derived from third person forms of the personal pronouns and both are often similar in form to those of the article (see 8.2-3), a circumstance which may occasionally cause some confusion.

Personal pronouns

9.2. As indicated by the name, personal pronouns refer to *persons* (at any rate in the first and second persons). In the third person there are masculine and feminine pronominal forms (which also evidently refer to persons), while others seem to have an impersonal character. As in some other Australian languages, the third person personal pronouns may be used in the sense of a noun: *nani* 'she' or 'female' ('a girl'; Pun FG), *jantara nani nanala* 'I am going to a *woman*' (Pun JT). The forms of the personal pronouns correspond to the case forms in the nominal declension (ablative and comitative forms not being recorded) and are consequently: nominative, ergative, accusative, possessive and locative. In the first and second person pronouns a distinction is made between singular, dual and plural forms; in the third person, masculine and feminine forms are distinguished in the singular only. As in many Australian languages the ergative forms are occasionally identical with the corresponding nominative forms.

9.3. **Inflection.** The personal pronouns are inflected according to the following paradigms (Kalali forms are quoted in parentheses).

First person singular:

nom.	<i>nani</i> (Kal. <i>naja</i>)
erg.	<i>natu</i> (Kal. <i>nat^u</i>)
acc.	<i>nana</i> (Kal. <i>nana</i> , <i>nat^uana</i>)
poss.	<i>nant^ua</i> , <i>nant^uani</i> (Kal. <i>nant^uani</i> ; cf. 4.5.)
loc.	<i>nanala</i>

First person dual:

nom.	<i>nala</i> (Kal. <i>nali</i>)
erg.	<i>nala</i> (Kal. <i>nalindu</i>)
acc.	<i>nalanu</i> (correct? Pun JT)
poss.	<i>nalananani</i> (Kal. <i>naliani</i>)
loc.	<i>nalalana</i> , <i>nalajala</i>

First person plural:

nom.	<i>nandra</i> (Kal. <i>nanandu</i>)
erg.	(Kal. <i>nanandu</i>)
acc.	<i>nandrana</i> , <i>nandra</i>
poss.	<i>nandranani</i>
loc.	<i>nandrana</i> , <i>nandranana</i> , <i>nandranajala</i>

Second person singular:

nom. *ini, juntu* (Kal. *ini, jundu*)
 erg. *jundru, juntu* (Kal. *jundu*)
 acc. *ina* (Kal. *ina, ɲina*)
 poss. *iŋka, iŋkani* (Kal. *iŋkani*)
 loc. *iŋala*

Second person dual:

nom. *jula* (*pula*; cf. below)
 acc. *pulana*
 poss. *juŋkani*
 loc. *juŋala*

Second person plural:

nom. *jura* (Kal. *wura*)
 erg. (Kal. *wurandu*)
 poss. *jurəŋani*
 loc. *jurəŋala*

Third person singular:

masculine:	feminine:
nom. <i>nia</i> (Kal. <i>niŋki</i>)	<i>nani</i> (Kal. <i>n^yuna</i>)
erg. <i>nulu</i>	<i>nandru</i>
acc. <i>nina</i> (Kal. <i>niŋkina</i>)	<i>nana</i>
poss. <i>nuŋka, nuŋkani</i> (Kal. <i>niŋkiani</i>)	<i>naŋka</i> (?)
loc. <i>nuŋala</i>	<i>naŋala</i>

Third person dual:

nom. *pula, pulu* (Kal. *pulandu, pulaŋu*)
 erg. *pulu*
 acc. *pulana* (Kal. *pulunda*, correct? Kal Pa)
 poss. *pulaŋa, pulaŋani* (*pulu-*; cf. 4.1.)
 loc. *pulaŋara* (Pun JT)

Third person plural:

nom. *tana, nanipuk-a* (Kal. *tana*)
 erg. *tanaŋu* (Kal. *tanandu*)
 acc. *nanapuk-a* (Kal. *tanana*)
 poss. *tanaŋani, tanaŋu* (?), *naŋkapuk-a, naŋkanai* (Pun JT)
 loc. *naŋalapuk-a*

By addition of a suffixed element *-i* the above forms appear to acquire a more demonstrative character: *ḡali* ‘we two here’; especially in the third person such forms are frequently found, which will be analysed in dealing with the demonstrative pronouns (see 9.5-6).

9.4. The individual forms of the personal pronouns are used in the same way as the corresponding case forms in the nominal declension. The possessive hence alternatively expresses the ‘aim’ or ‘purpose’, as in: *ḡant^yakala ḡant^ya* ‘wants me’, *wankikara nuḡka* ‘was searching for it’ (the gold, given a personal character in a mythological context), *ḡandrakani* ‘(comes back) to (or ‘for’) us (from the dead)’ (Pun JT). Further, the nominative is used for the ergative with transitive verbs also, provided the aspect is indeterminate: *ḡani tap-ara kaḡi* ‘I drink grog’, the form *tap-ara* being the imperfective (Pun JT) and sometimes in other cases, as in: *tatiḡa ḡani tina* ‘I have hurt my foot’ (Pun JT; the verbal action is hardly ‘caused’ by the person). In the local case forms *direction* is not expressed; compare the use of the locative in: (*manda*) *ḡanala* ‘get from me’ and *janta ḡanala* ‘come to me’—the meaning is hence ‘near’ or ‘at’. The locative form expresses a comitative sense (cf. 9.2) in *iḡala* ‘(sleeping) with you’ (Pun JT). As in some other Australian languages, the third person dual form (*pula*, etc.) are often used in the second person dual. Finally, one must remember that attributive and predicative constructions are indistinguishable in Australian languages: *iḡka jandra* therefore means either ‘your money’ or ‘you have got money’ (consequently = *jandrapaḡu* ‘having money’).

Demonstrative pronouns

9.5. The demonstrative pronouns are clearly based on the forms of the personal pronouns and it may be said that the differentiation sometimes becomes vague. In the first place the feminine forms of the personal pronouns in the third person may serve as impersonal demonstrations: *nani* may hence mean ‘that’ (the ‘personal’ pronoun ‘it’ in English may be said to be inexistent in the Australian languages), as shown in: *mina nani* (or *nana*) ‘what is that?’, *ḡant^yani nani* ‘it is mine’ (Pun JT), *nana kundinana* ‘that house’ (the second *-nana* being the feminine impersonal article); other constructions are seen in: *ḡak-a nana* ‘that water’, *nana mak-ura* ‘that stick’ (Pun JT), in which it is difficult to determine the function of *nana* (*ḡak-a nana* may alternatively contain the article *-nana*; cf. 8.3.) and the analysis may further be predicative (‘that is water’, ‘that is a stick’, respectively).

9.6. The typical structure of the demonstratives consists in a basic third person pronominal form with an added element *-i* (which perhaps renders the idea of English ‘this’ or ‘here’—Pun JT, however, renders such pronominal forms indifferently by ‘this’ or ‘that’); other analogous elements added to a personal pronominal form (*-mara*, *-kai*, *-nai*) may express the idea of ‘that’ or indicate a further distance from the speaker. We hence get the following basic forms: *niai* (masc.; cf. *nia* ‘he’), *nani* (fem.; cf. *nani* ‘she’) ‘this’, *niamara* (masc.), *nanimara*, *nanikai* (fem.) ‘that’, etc., which are inflected in the following way.

The forms of the demonstrative pronouns

9.7. Forms in *-i* (meaning 'this'):

masculine singular:

nom.	<i>niai</i>
erg.	<i>nuli</i>
acc.	<i>ninai</i>
poss.	<i>niŋkai</i> ('his')
loc.	<i>nuŋalai</i>

dual:

nom.	<i>pulai</i>
poss.	<i>pulaiŋani</i>
loc.	<i>pulailaŋu</i>

feminine impersonal singular:

<i>nani</i>
<i>nandri</i> (= <i>nandru</i> , Pun JT)
<i>nanai</i>

naŋalai ('here')

plural:

nanipuk·a

Forms in *-mara* (meaning 'that'):

masculine singular:

nom.	<i>niamara</i>
poss.	<i>nuŋkamara</i> (<i>nuŋku-</i> ; cf. 4.1.)
loc.	

dual:

nom.	<i>pulumara</i>
acc..	<i>pulumarana</i>
poss.	

feminine impersonal:

<i>nanimara</i>
<i>naŋkamara</i>
<i>naŋalamara</i> ('there')

plural:

<i>tanamara</i>
<i>naŋkanarapuk·a</i> ('theirs')

Forms in *-kai* or *-nai* (meaning 'that'):

masculine singular:

nom.	<i>niakai</i>
loc.	<i>nuŋalakai</i>

feminine-impersonal:

<i>nanikai</i>
<i>naŋalakai</i>

plural:

poss.	<i>naŋkapuk·a, naŋkanai</i>
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9.8. The demonstrative pronouns normally (when construed with a noun) precede the latter, which—as being determined as to number and kind—is provided with its corresponding article, according to the following pattern: *niamara kaŋia* 'that man', *niamara taldria* 'that kangaroo', *nulu kaŋaulu* 'this man' (erg.), *nandru* (correctly: *nandri* ?) *walkaandru* 'this woman' (erg.), *kut^yara nanai mak-uranana* 'put this stick' (Pun JT), *nanai tak·anana* 'this earth' (acc.), *nanimara walkanani* 'that woman'; the word order may, however, be inverted: *kaŋia niai* 'this man', *taldria ninai* 'this kangaroo' (Pun JT). Other constructions are, however, also possible: *ninai kaŋa* (for *kaŋina*) 'this man' (acc.), *walka nanai* 'this woman', *kundi nanai* 'this house', *nanai wi* 'this fire', and other constructions, some of which may perhaps be considered as

incorrect. —The use of the case forms is analogous to that of nominal and personal pronominal case forms: *ɲatu ɲant^yakala naŋkamara* ‘I want that one (woman)’ (possessive form expressing object of desire; Pun JT). Like the personal pronouns (9.2), demonstrative pronouns, being derived from the former (see 9.5.), may be used nominally: *nanai* ‘a woman’ (Pun JT).

9.9. Of Kalali demonstratives, a single one, *juk-u* ‘this’, has been recorded: *ɲarana juk-u ɲura* ‘who is coming there?’ (Kal PA); literally: ‘who this *or* here (there) blackfellow?’ (notice no differentiation of *person* and *place* in Australian languages).

Interrogative pronouns

9.10. The personal interrogative (‘who?’) is *waɾana* in Punthamara and the impersonal interrogative (‘what?’) is *mina*. The former is inflected according to the pattern of nominal words, the following case forms being recorded:

nom.	<i>waɾana</i>
erg.	<i>waɾalu</i>
acc.	<i>waɾana</i>
poss.	<i>waɾaŋa</i> (also ‘from whom?’)
loc.	<i>waɾaŋala</i>

Of *mina* the possessive form only has been recorded: *minaaŋa*, usually in the sense of ‘what for?’, ‘why?’ and hence perfectly identical as to meaning with the almost universal Australian *minagu* (‘what for?’; cf. Kattang *minagu*). Instances of the use of the interrogative pronouns: *waɾana niai* ‘who is this one *or* he?’ (also: *nulu waɾana*, idem), *waɾana nuli* ‘who is this one?’ (the reason for the use of the ergative form in these constructions is not evident); *mina nani* or *nana* ‘what is that?’.

9.11. In Kalali interrogative pronouns are formed from the stem *ɲa-*: (personal) *ɲarana* (nominative), *ɲanandu* (ergative; perhaps a hypercorrective form of **ɲarandu*? cf. 4.5.) ‘who?’ (hence = Punthamara *waɾana*, *waɾalu* respectively) and (impersonal) *ɲali* ‘what?’ (hence = Punthamara *mina*), as in: *ɲali juk-u* ‘what is this?’.

9.12. The interrogative stem *ɲa-* (cf. Kalali) is used in several adverbial forms, such as: *ɲala*, *ɲalaŋa* ‘where?’, *ɲalaandru* ‘where from?’ (hence representing the locative form in *-la* and the ergative form in *-andru*, respectively, the latter used in the—perhaps original—sense of an ablative). As mentioned (in 9.1.), the meaning of all these forms is not merely interrogative, but also indefinite (‘some’, ‘any’, etc.); compare: *ɲalaŋu* ‘from somewhere’ (Pun FG), *ɲala wakara* ‘somewhere to lie down’, that is ‘a bed’ (Pun FG).

Verbs

10.1. Verbal stems always end in a vowel, usually *-a-* (*janda-* ‘talk’, *janɕa-* ‘go’, *nat^ya-* (Pun JT) or *ɲat^ya-* (Pun FG) ‘see’, *tap-a-* ‘drink’), while some few end in *-i-* (*wanki-* ‘search’, *karki-*

'sing out', *kati-* 'break' and *puli-* 'fall'). (In Kalali a greater number is found of stems in *-i-*, possibly to some extent due to the fact that our chief informant is inclined to substitute an *i* for any unstressed *a*; cf. 4.5.) There are instances of *-a-* marking transitive verbal stems and *-i-* marking intransitive stems: *kuti-* (= *kut^yi-*: cf. 3.4.) 'run' and *kut^ya-* 'put', *mipi-* 'turn into' ('become') and *mipa-* 'make, create'). Several stems have either a transitive or intransitive character (*pumpa-* '(fire) burns' or '(burn) wood', light (a fire)'). Otherwise verbal stems may be identical with nominal stems having an analogous or related meaning: *tina-* 'stand' (cf. *tina* 'foot'), *kula-* 'sit' (cf. *kula* 'grass' and *kulara kularaṇa* or *kulalaṇa* 'sitting on the grass'), *juṛa-* 'pass water' (cf. *juṛa* 'urine').

Verbal derivation

10.2. Derived verbal stems are formed from simple stems by means of suffixes, of which the following have been recorded: *-li-* (intransitive), *-ma-* (causative), *-ñaala-* (reciprocal), *-pa-* (causative), *-p-a-* (marking upward direction), *-ri-* (intransitive), *-wari-* (*-waṛi-*; marking downward direction). No formal expression of a reflexive verbal action has been recorded. An English reflexive verb may be expressed by a plain intransitive expression, as in: *ṇat^yakala ṇani* 'I am looking at myself' (Pun FG).

10.3. **The intransitive *-li-*.** An intransitive reflexive derivative *-li-* is common in the Australian languages. In Punthamara it seems to occur in *tik-uli-* 'turn over', if related to *tik-a-* 'return' (notice that no simple stem in *-u-* has otherwise been met with).

10.4. **The causative *-ma-*.** This is a very common and widely spread derivative in the Queensland languages. The following Punthamara examples have been recorded: *jak-ama-* 'send' (cf. *jak-a-* 'chase', possibly in the sense of 'run'), *kalkama-* 'flog' (cf. *kalka-* 'hit'), *katima-* 'break' (cf. *kati-*, idem, intransitive), *kulama-* 'settle down' (cf. *kula-* 'sit'), *kutima-* 'make run' (cf. *kuti-* 'run'), *pulima-* 'fell (trees, etc.)' (cf. *puli-* 'fall'), *tik-ulima-* 'turn over' (cf. *tik-uli-*, idem, intransitive), *tilama-* 'cool' (cf. *tilapa* 'cold'), *tinama-* 'stick into the ground' (cf. *tina-* 'stand'), *wakama-* 'lay down' (cf. *waka-* 'lie down', 'sleep'). —No corresponding form has been recorded in Kalali. The verbal stem *ṇurkara-* ('teach') from *ṇurka-* 'hear' (Kal PA) seems to have a causative sense ('make hear' or 'learn'), but the same formative (*-ra-*) in *kamira-* 'go home, set (of the sun)' from *kami-* 'go home' (Kal PA) does not suggest any such meaning.

10.5. **The reciprocal *-ñaala-*.** This derivative occurs in: *nat^yañaala-* 'look at one another' (cf. *nat^ya-* 'see'), *jandañaala-* 'converse, have a talk' (cf. *janda-* 'talk'), *pandiñaala-* 'fight' (cf. *pandi-* 'hit'; hence 'hit each other'), *tandañaala-* 'cohabit, have intercourse'. —An alternative derivative *-kaṛa-*, as in: *ṇat^yakaṛakala* 'seeing one another' (Pun FG) may appear doubtful, since this informant often has the pronunciation *-kaṛa-* (or even *-karla-*; cf. 3.4.) for the progressive *-kara-* (*-kala-*).

10.6. In Kalali, the reciprocal formative is *-la-*: *nant^yala-* 'see one another' (cf. *nant^yala-* 'see') (cf. *nant^ya-* 'see'), *ṇurkala-* 'hear one another' (cf. *ṇurka-* 'hear'), *maipala-* 'fight' (cf.

Punthamara *pandiñala-*, idem). From Kal PA we have a form *janijaliŋu* ‘two are talking’ (whether correct or not), vaguely suggesting the Punthamara *jandañala* ‘talk together’).

10.7. **The causative -pa-**. This derivative seems to function in the same way as *-ma-* in: *kutipa-* ‘make run’ (cf. *kuti-* ‘run’), *tinapa-* ‘stand something up’ (cf. *tina-* ‘stand’ and *tinama-*, above).

10.8. **The directional -p-a-**. This derivative (not to be confused with the causative *-pa-*; cf. above) marks either upward direction or (according to Pun JT) action ‘in the morning’ (which may be related ideas), as in the following instances: (1) *kut^yap-a-* ‘put up’ (cf. *kut^ya-* ‘put’), *tinap-a-* ‘stand up’ (in a transitive sense, possibly mixed up with *tinapa-*, cf. above 10.7); *kut^yip-a-* ‘run up’ (cf. *kuti-* ‘run’); (2) *jantap-a-* ‘go in the morning’ (compare ‘get up’: *ŋani jantap-ara* Rocky-*laŋa* ‘I am going to Rockhampton in the morning’, *jantap-aŋa* ‘went in the morning’; Pun JT), *kulap-a-* ‘sit in the morning’ (cf. *kula-* ‘sit’), *wakap-a-* ‘sleep in’ (‘sleep in the morning’, cf. *waka-* ‘sleep’; Pun JT).

10.9. **The intransitive -ri-**. This derivative (probably related to *-li-*; cf. 10.3.) may occur in: *kaŋuri-* ‘cry’ and *muk-amuk-ari-* ‘forget’ (no corresponding simple stems were recorded).

10.10. **The directional -wari-**. This derivative indicates a downward direction: *kulawari-* ‘sit down’ (cf. *kula-* ‘sit’), *kutiwari-* ‘run down’ (cf. *kuti-* ‘run’), *kut^yawari-* (*-wari-?* Pun JT) ‘put down’ (cf. *kut^ya-* ‘put’), *nat^yawari-* ‘look down’ (cf. *nat^ya-* ‘see’), *tinawari-* ‘put down into a hollow’ (cf. *tina-* ‘stand’, in either an intransitive or a transitive sense), *wakawari-* ‘lie down to sleep’ (cf. *waka-*, idem).

Conjugation

11.1. The Punthamara and Kalali verb is not conjugated as to person. The only flecational elements used are original ‘adnominal’ (or adverbial) suffixes, that is morphemes identical with, or analogous to, case suffixes in the declension of nominal stems, the basic forms of these suffixes in Punthamara being *-ra-*, *-ŋa-* and *-la-* (cf. the locative or adverbial forms of the type *ŋala*, *ŋalaŋa*, *ŋalara* ‘where?’ from an interrogative stem *ŋa-*), in which the first elements (*-r-*, *-ŋ-*, *-l-*) are to be considered as ‘nominalisers’ (as in the languages of eastern Queensland described elsewhere by the author). The literal rendering of all these conjugational elements would consequently be ‘at...-ing’ (cf. English ‘a’doing’, etc.). In Kalali the corresponding suffixes are: *-na-*, *-ŋa-*, *-la-* and *-ra-* (for the use of these see in 11.3-11.12). These prefixes may be found combined (see 11.5.).

11.2. As in the Australian languages in general (as far as personal conjugation is not involved) verbal inflection (or conjugation) in Punthamara and Kalali is on the modal or aspectual level, where time (or tense) is immaterial. The modes (as we may consequently say rather than ‘tenses’) are the following: the imperative, the imperfective, the perfective, the progressive and the gerundial modes (or aspects).

11.3. **The imperative mode.** The plain imperative is the verbal stem without any extension: (Punthamara) *janta* 'go', *jalka* 'throw'; (Kalali) *nina* 'sit down', *ɲuna* 'lie down', *tina* 'stand up'. One instance of an imperative in *-a*, made from a stem in *-i-* (common in eastern Queensland languages) has been recorded: *kaɲura* (Pun JT), from *kaɲuri-* 'cry'. The imperative may also be expressed by the imperfective form, for which see below. The sense may be hortative: (Kalali) *kuŋka ɲat^yu ina* 'let me ask you', 'I am going to ask you' (Kal PA).

11.4. **The imperfective mode.** Usually in analyses of Australian languages as well as in explanations proffered by the native speakers, this mode is identified with an English present tense. In most cases it may actually be rendered by an English present, which may however rather be considered as coincidental. This may be seen in such examples as: *kulara* (imperfective) *punulaɲa* '(the Rainbow Serpent) remained in the land' and similar contexts in which the verbal action refers to the past. The imperfective mode, characterised by a suffix *-ra*, expresses a timeless action, considered as not finished (in the quoted mythological context, it may probably be considered as having eternal character). In addition to cases such as the one just mentioned, the imperfective occurs in indefinite, interrogative or negative constructions: *jandara* 'comes to talk' (perhaps habitual), *mila ip-arira* 'in the west' (literally 'the sun sets', hence customary action), *kulara* '(we) are sitting' (habitual), *ɲatu nat^yara nina* 'when I see him' (indefinite action), *nat^yara ɲana* '(he) is (or 'was') looking for me' (action not finished), *waɲalu nanai tali munkara* 'who made it well or created it?' (Pun JT), *wal^ya nulu namara* 'he did not touch (her)' (cf. *namaɲa nanai* '(he) touched her', perfective; Pun JT), *wal^ya ɲultara* 'they did not find (any gold)' (cf. *tanaɲu ɲultara* 'they found (the gold)'; Pun JT). An 'intended' or 'not yet performed' verbal action is expressed by the imperfective: *ɲant^yakala ɲani kutira* 'I want to run', *ɲant^yakala taltara* 'wants to eat', *ɲaɲara ɲana* '(pray to God) to hear me' (Pun JT), *wal^ya ɲani tap-ara ɲaɲara* (= *ɲant^yara*) *kaɲi* 'I do not want (negative form) to drink (not yet performed action) grog' (Pun FG), *ɲak-a manda ɲant^ya taltara ɲani* 'get me a drink of water' (supplied by Kal PA). The Punthamara imperfective hence expresses the meaning of the 'intentional' form (in *-gu*) in the languages of eastern Queensland; it is consequently co-ordinated with the possessive form of nouns (which also answers to 'allative' forms in *-gu* in other Australian languages), as seen in: *ɲant^yakala ɲak-aɲa* 'I want water' (= Wakka-Wakka *guɲgu*), *ɲant^yakala kuɲaɲa* 'I want the tucker' (co-ordinated with *ɲant^yakala taltara* 'want to eat', with the imperfective form of the verb; Pun JT). It is easy to see how both the imperative and prohibitive senses are obtained by the use of an imperfective modal form: *ɲaɲara ɲana* 'hear me' (as addressed to God, Pun JT; cf. the parallel instance above), *wal^ya jura jandaɲalara* 'don't you all talk together', *wal^ya jantara* 'don't go' (prohibitive).

11.5. In Kalali, the plain imperfective suffix is *-na* (hence corresponding to the Punthamara *-ra*), as in: *kawa janina ɲali* 'here we are talking' (Kal PA), *ninana (-ni;* cf. 4.5.) 'are living' (Kal PA), *pit-ana* 'getting dark' (Kal PA), *nant^yana* 'will see (him tomorrow)', *wandina* 'climbing'. This suffix is also (like the Punthamara *-ra*) used in an imperative as well as in a negative sense (cf. 11.4.): *jundu talina* 'you eat that' (= Punthamara *taltara*), *jundu kamina* 'you go home' (Kal PA), *ka* or *ɲala ɲuɲkana* 'did not hear'. More often the compound formative *-naɲa* is used imperfectively (or progressively?): (*ɲap-a*) *talinana* 'they drink' or 'are drinking', *irpanana* 'setting' (of the sun), *janinana* 'talking', *tinanaɲa* 'is standing', *ninanana* 'is sitting',

nant^yanaŋa ‘seeing’, *ŋurkanaŋa* ‘hearing’. The compound *-ŋara* is imperfective in the interrogative *ŋanandu* (cf. 11.4.) *miniŋara* ‘who did it?’ (Kal PA).

11.6. **The perfective mode.** The perfective mode, which in Punthamara is characterised by the suffixed element *-ŋa*, expresses a verbal action which has actually taken place and is finished and consequently corresponds in most cases to an English past (perfect or pluperfect) tense form (‘did’ or ‘has or had done’, etc.). Examples: *nat^yana* or *ŋat^yana* ‘saw’ or ‘has seen’ or ‘had a look’ (Pun JT), *jantaŋa* ‘went, gone’, *kulana* ‘sat down’, *ŋut^yana* (or *mut^yana*) ‘gave’ or ‘has given (us)’, *mandaŋa* ‘got’, *ŋaraŋa* ‘heard’ or ‘has heard’, *ŋatu tap-ana* ‘I drank or have drunk’. A differentiation of ‘recently’ and ‘long ago’ does not seem observed in Punthamara; compare *jandaŋa* ‘(I) spoke just now’ and *mipaŋa* ‘(God) has made (all this)’ (Pun JT).

11.7. In Kalali, the perfective mode is expressed by either of the suffixes *-la* and *-ra* (which are imperfective or progressive in Punthamara): *nant^yala* ‘have seen’ (Kal PA), *katala* ‘(a snake) bit or has bitten (me)’ (Kal PA), *katara* (*-ri*; cf. 4.5.) ‘bit’ (Kal PA). Incidentally, the opposite use of perfective and imperfective formatives (e.g. *-la*) is not uncommon in otherwise related languages in Queensland.

11.8. A variety of the perfective mode might be referred to as a ‘mythological’ mode, expressed by the termination *-mani* and occurring in mythological contexts. As is seen from the alternative constructions *nulu paŋitaulu mipaŋa* (ordinary perfective mode) *ŋuk-unanapuk-a* ‘he, the Rainbow Serpent, created the creeks’ and *paŋitulu mipamani* (or *mipumani*) ‘the Rainbow Serpent created (the creeks)’ (Pun JT), the concept of time is not involved (both examples referring to the ‘dreamtime’); one might possibly say that verbal forms in *-mani* mark an accomplished, although not observed, verbal action—perhaps analogous to the Old Indian (Vedic) perfect. In any case, the morpheme *-mani* refers to mythological accounts, while accomplished verbal action ‘long ago’ may *always* be expressed by the ordinary (or ‘secular’) perfective mode (cf. above), as also in: *mat^ya ŋani wakaŋa* ‘I dreamed long ago’ (Pun JT). Further examples of the ‘mythological’ perfective: *jantamani* ‘came out of’, *ŋak-alaŋa kut^yamani* ‘drowned in water’, *mipamani* or *mipumani* ‘(God) created’, *nat^yamani* ‘saw long ago’, *palumani* ‘died (when I was a child)’ (Pun JT); in the last examples the *-mani* form may rather refer to unobserved or reported verbal action than to remote time.

11.9. **The progressive mode.** This mode, which may be said to correspond to the English progressive form of verbs (e.g. ‘is doing’, etc.), is expressed by the termination *-kala* (or sometimes *-kara*), in which the syllable *-ka-* may possibly be a common Australian verb stem ‘to be’ (as found in the eastern Queensland languages), so that *-kala* would be the gerundial form (cf. 11.11.) and *-kara* the imperfective form of the same verb stem *-ka-*, used as an auxiliary (cf. an analysis of the English progressive form). The following examples illustrate the use of the progressive form: *ŋalkakala* ‘(I) am thinking’, *kulakala* ‘is or was living’, *kulakara* ‘were camping’, *ŋani jantakala* ‘I am going away’, *ŋant^yakala ŋani* ‘I wish or I want’, *mut^yakala ŋatu* ‘I am offering (this child)’ (in a ceremony; Pun JT), *jandaŋalakala* ‘(we) are talking to each other’, *winani marikala* ‘the fire is or was burning’, *marana kalkakala* ‘the birds are singing’, *nat^yakala* (= *nat^yakara*; Pun JT) ‘is or was looking at’, *pula pandiŋalakala* ‘the two are fighting’

(Pun JT), *nat^yakala ɲani* ‘I am looking at myself’, *pula jandakara* ‘the two are talking’, *ɲani jandakara juɲala* ‘I am talking to you two’ (Pun JT), *ɲala nat^yakara* ‘we can see each other’ (Pun JT); Pun FG sometimes has the form *-kara* as in: *ɲat^yakara* ‘can see’, *ini kulakara* ‘(where) are you staying?’. The progressive form is also used as the plain gerundial form (see 11.11): *nat^yaga natu pulana jantakala* ‘I have seen you two going or coming’ (Pun JT), *jandakala* ‘(you hear or heard me) talking’ (Pun JT), *jantaru* (correct ?) *jandañalakara* ‘walking while talking to each other’ (Pun JT), *wakakala* ‘as he is or was lying asleep’ (Pun JT). Similarly: *mila ip-ari^kkala* ‘(at) sundown’, *mila waɲpakala* or *waɲpakara* ‘(at) sunrise or (in the) east’ (Pun JT)—one may say that these forms represent the gerundial form of the auxiliary.

11.10. For forms used in a progressive sense in Kalali, see 11.5.

11.11. **The gerundial mode.** The plain gerundial form (in *-la*, which evidently represents a locative form of a nominalised verb stem, being analogous to English ‘at’) expresses a secondary concomitant verbal action. Examples are: *jandara* ‘talking’ (literally ‘at talk’ or ‘at talking’), *miɲala* ‘staring, looking’ (Pun JT). The same form may also be used as the progressive mode form: *wi mat^ya marila* ‘fire already burned’ (Pun JT; of course also: ‘while fire burned’), *jandala* ‘they are talking’.

11.12. The gerundial formative in Kalali is *-liɲu*, as in: *janiliɲu* ‘(heard him) talking’, *maipalaliɲu* ‘(I saw them) fighting’, *muɲaliɲu* ‘(can see him) going’ (Kal PA), *ɲanikuni ninaliɲu* (*ninakaliɲu* ?—probably ‘while (my) father was living’; Kal PA). The termination *-ɲu* may be a variant of *-ɲa* (as *-ru* is of *-ra* in Punthamara; see 11.13). The gerundial form hence refers to the direct object (‘him, them’) and not to the subject (‘I (saw, heard)’, etc.); no other gerundial construction is recorded.

11.13. Certain verbal forms have been noted occasionally, of which it is difficult to ascertain a precise meaning or function or even to verify their correctness. Among these occurs an imperfective (?) form in *-ru* (cf. Kalali *-ɲu* for *-ɲa*; 11.12): *nanipuk-a jantaru jandañalakala* ‘they are walking talking to each other’. Forms which look like extensions of the imperfective stem (in *-ra*) are: (perfective) *ɲatu nat^yaraɲa* ‘I have seen’ (Pun JT; hence for *nat^yaga*) and *jantarala tana* ‘they are coming back’ (Pun JT; hence for *jantala tana* ‘(as) they are coming (back)’).

Postpositions

12. No definite limit may be drawn between case suffixes, especially such as express locality (the locative, in *-la*, *-laɲa*, the commitative, in *-luɲa*, and the ablative, in *-ɲu*), and true postpositions. As of the latter kind we may, however, mention the form *mundu* ‘before’ in: *ɲarimata mundu* ‘before the Flood’. It is, however, formally identical with the privative (or caritive) derivative *-mundu* (described in 6.7.), so that the two words answer to one **ɲarimatamundu* ‘without the Flood’. In some cases the attributive suffix *-paɲu* (see 6.8) may function as a postposition: *ɲak-a paɲu* ‘with water’ (*-paɲu* may, however, as also *-mundu*, be declined like a noun).

Punthamara and Kalali vocabulary

The following vocabulary (which also serves as an index) is based on Punthamara (Kalali entries are marked by the signature *Kal*). The following further abbreviations are used:

<i>abl.</i>	ablative	<i>loc.</i>	locative
<i>acc.</i>	accusative	<i>m.</i>	mythological
<i>adv.</i>	adverb(ial)	<i>masc.</i>	masculine
<i>all.</i>	allative	<i>n.</i>	noun
<i>art.</i>	article	<i>neg</i>	negative
<i>attr.</i>	attributive	<i>nom.</i>	nominative
<i>car.</i>	caritive	<i>pers.</i>	person(al)
<i>caus.</i>	causative	<i>pf.</i>	perfective
<i>com.</i>	comitative	<i>pl.</i>	plural
<i>dem.</i>	demonstrative	<i>poss.</i>	possessive
<i>der.</i>	derivative	<i>postp.</i>	postposition
<i>erg.</i>	ergative	<i>progr.</i>	progressive
<i>fem.</i>	feminine	<i>pron.</i>	pronoun
<i>ger.</i>	gerundial	<i>rec.</i>	reciprocal
<i>imp.</i>	imperative	<i>rel.</i>	relational
<i>interr.</i>	interrogative	<i>v.</i>	verb
<i>ipf.</i>	imperfective		

The listed forms are entered alphabetically, according to the following order of the phonetic characters: *a, d(r), ŋ, i, j, k, l, lʸ, m, n, n̄, ŋ, p, r, ɾ, t, tʸ, ʃ, u, w.*

A

alpa *v. arpa*.

-(a)**ŋa** *poss. suffix* (7.1).

-(a)**ndru** *erg. suffix* (7.1).

-**andru** *art.* 8.3.

-**ani** *poss. der. suffix* (6.3.).

arpa (**alpa**) *n. adv.* up, being on high:
niai **alpa** he is up there, God, the One
 above (Pun JT), **ninai** (acc.) **arpa**
muria **tali** God is good (Pun JT) —cf.
warpa.

D

draja *n.* teeth. —cf. (Kal) **ʃia**.

dratʸa- *v. ipf.* **dratʸara** bite: **paʃila**
dratʸara ŋana the snake bites (= might
 bite) me (Pun JT).

ŋ

-**ŋa**¹ *pf.* 11.6.

-**ŋa**² (Kal) *ipf.* 11.5.

-**ŋa** (Kal) *der. suffix* 7.3.

ŋaimala *n.* stomach (Pun FG).

ŋairi *v. ŋajira*.

ŋaja (Kal) *pers. pron.* 9.3.

ŋajira (**ŋairi**) *n.* sky (Pun FG).

ŋak·a *n. erg.* **ŋak·a(a)ndru**; *poss.* **ŋak·aŋa**;
loc. **ŋak·alaŋa**; *art. nom.* **ŋak·anani**;
acc. **ŋak·anana** water: **ŋak·alaŋa nia**

- puliŋa** he fell into the water, **mandara nina ŋak-alana** pulling (getting) him out of the water (Pun JT).
- ŋak-aani** *poss. der. n.* someone's water, there being water: **ŋak-aani jundru, ŋatu** have you got water? I have got water (Pun JT), **ŋak-aani** there is water.
- ŋak-amundu** *car. n.* empty or without water: **wal^{ya} ŋak-amundu** when there was no water, when the water sank (Pun JT; correct?).
- ŋak-apaŋu** *attr. n.* having water.
- ŋak-atuŋka** *n. erg. ŋak-atuŋkandru; loc. nak-atuŋkalana* the name of a place, 'Nockatunga' (meaning 'dirty' or 'stinking water'): **jantana ŋak-atuŋkandru** came from Nockatunga, **ŋani jantara ŋak-atuŋkalana** I am going to Nockatunga (Pun JT).
- ŋala¹** *pers. pron.* 9.3.
- ŋala²** *adv.* 9.12 where.
- ŋala** (Kal) *neg. adv.* don't: **ŋala ŋuna** don't lie down (Kal PA).
- ŋalaana (ŋalana)** *interr. adv.* 9.12. where: **ŋalaana ini jantara** where are you going? (Pun JT), **ŋalana ini jantakala** idem (Pun FG).
- ŋalaandru (ŋalandru)** *interr. adv.* 9.12. whence, from where: **ŋalaandru ini jantana** or **ŋalandru ini naŋalai** where did or do you come from? (Pun JT), **ŋalaandru ŋuk-unani mipamani** how did the creek come? ('was formed'; Pun JT).
- ŋalanaŋi** *interr. adv.* where.
- ŋalana** *interr. adv.* 9.12 from where or from somewhere.
- ŋalara** *interr. adv.* where: **ŋalara ini kulakala** where are you staying? (Pun FG).
- ŋala wakara** *n.* bed (Pun FG; literally 'somewhere to lie down'—for the use of the interrogative, cf. 9.12. and for that of the imperfective form, 11.4).
- ŋalawina** *interr. adv.* where: **ŋalawina kulakala ini** where do you stay?, **ini ŋalawina jantakala** from where do you come? or '(to) where do you go? (Pun JT).
- ŋali¹** (Kal) *pers. pron.* 9.3.
- ŋali²** (Kal) *interr. pron.* 9.11.
- ŋalka-** *v. progr.* **ŋalkakala** think: **ŋani ŋalkakala ninai kaŋina** I am thinking of this or that man (Pun JT). —cf. **ŋara-** and Kal **ŋurka-** to hear.
- ŋama** *n.* 1. mother; 2. breast: **ŋama kawa ŋanala** mother come to me, **kawa ŋama** mother, come here (Pun JT).
- ŋamat^{ya}** *rel. n. erg. ŋamat^{ya}andru; com. ŋamat^{ya}aluna; loc. ŋamat^{ya}alana; art. nom. ŋamat^{ya}anani; art. poss. ŋamat^{ya}aana* 1. one's mother; 2. one's auntie; 3. mother-in-law (Pun JT): **ŋamat^{ya} jantara** (my) mother is coming, **ŋamat^{ya} ŋanit^{ya}** mother and father, **jantakala ŋamat^{ya}aluna** (a child) going with (his) mother (Pun JT).
- ŋamu** *n.* a drink (? cf. **jurama**).
- ŋanandu** (Kal) *pers. pron.* 9.3.
- ŋandi-** (Kal) *v. progr.* **ŋandinana** want, look for: **ŋarana jundu ŋandinana** whom are you looking for? (Kal PA). —cf. **ŋant^{ya}-**.
- ŋandra** *pers. pron.* 9.3.
- ŋani¹** *n.* father.
- ŋani²** *pers. pron.* 9.3.
- ŋani** (Kal) *n.* father.
- ŋani-** (Kal) *v. ipf.* **ŋanina** walk: **ŋanina taunku** walking to town (Kal PA).
- ŋanikuni** (Kal) *poss. n.* one's father (Kal PA).
- ŋanit^{ya}** *rel. n. com. ŋanit^{ya}aluna; art. nom. ŋanit^{ya}ia; erg. ŋanit^{ya}ulu; acc. ŋanitina; poss. ŋanit^{ya}una; com. ŋanit^{ya}uluna* 1. one's father; 2. father-in-law (Pun JT): **ŋant^{ya} ŋanit^{ya}** or **ŋanit^{ya} ŋant^{ya}** my father, **ŋanitia ninai** (alpa) this Father (above)

- (= 'God'; Pun JT), **ɲanit^yulu** **ɲandraɲani** our Father (*erg.*: Pun JT), **ɲanit^ya wariwa** Father and Son (Pun JT), **ɲanit^yuluɲa mandaɲa ɲatu** I got it from *or* gave it to my father (Pun JT).
- ɲanka** *n.* beard.
- ɲankamundu** *car. n.* beardless.
- ɲankapaɲu** *attr. n.* bearded.
- ɲant^ya-** *v. ipf.* **ɲaɲara** (for **ɲant^yara**; Pun FG); *progr.* **ɲant^yakala** want: **ɲant^yakala ɲani ɲak-ɲa** I want (a drink of) water', **ɲani ɲant^yakala kutira** I want to run, **ɲant^yakala kuɲaɲa** want (the) tucker, **ini ɲant^yakala taltara** you want to eat (Pun JT), **ɲatu** (cf. 9.2.) **ɲant^yakala naɲkamara** I like her (or 'that one'; Pun JT).
- ɲant^yi-** *v. progr.* **ɲant^yikara** want (a phonetic variant of **ɲant^ya-** (q.v.).
- ɲaɲa-** *v.* a phonetic variant of **ɲant^ya-** (q.v.).
- ɲap-a** (Kal) *n. all.* **ɲap-aku** water.
- ɲap-a mari** (Kal) *n.* the name of a place, 'Napper Merrie' or 'Nappamerrie' (Kal PA).
- ɲapit^ya** *rel. n.* cousin: **ɲala ɲapit^ya** we (two) are cousins (Pun JT).
- ɲarana** (Kal) *interr. pron.* 9.11.
- ɲarimata** *n. erg.* **ɲarimatandru** the Flood (Pun JT): **ɲarimata kapara tak-anana** the Flood was covering the earth, **mat^ya ɲarimatamundu** (cf. 12) long ago, before the Flood.
- ɲarku** (Kal) *n.* kangaroo (common in neighbouring languages).
- ɲara-** *v. ipf.* **ɲarara**: *pf.* **ɲaraɲa** hear: **ɲaraɲa ɲatu nina** I heard him (Pun JT).
- ɲaramanda** *n.* ear, ears. —cf. **maɲa**.
- ɲatu** *pers. pron.* 9.3.
- ɲat^ya-** *v. progr.* **ɲat^yakala, -kara** see (Pun FG). —cf. **nat^ya-**, Kal **ɲant^ya-**.
- ɲat^yu** (Kal) *pers. pron.* 9.3.
- ɲaulaɲa** *n. loc. or adv.* in the night: **kulap-ara ɲaulaɲa** sitting in the dark in the morning (Pun JT).
- ɲina** (Kal) *pers. pron.* = **ina** 9.3.
- ɲu** *abl. suffix.* 7.1.
- ɲu** (Kal) *erg. suffix.* 7.3.
- ɲuk·u** *n. erg.* **ɲuk-uandru**; *art. nom.* **ɲuk-unani**; *acc.* **ɲuk-unana**; *pl. acc.* **ɲuk-unanapuk-a** creek, river: **ɲuk-unana mipaɲa** made *or* created the creek. —cf. **muk·u²**.
- ɲulka-** (Kal) *v. ipf.* **ɲulkana** learn: **Kalali ɲulkana** learning Kalali (Kal PA).
- ɲulta-** *v. ipf.* **ɲultara**; *pf.* **ɲultaɲa** find: **wal^ya ɲultara** did not find (any gold) (Pun JT).
- ɲulu** (Kal) *n.* face.
- ɲuna-** (Kal) *v. imp.* **ɲuna**; *ipf.* **ɲunana** lie down.
- ɲunda-** *v. progr.* **ɲundakala** remember: **ɲundakala ɲatu nanai, ɲanitina** I remember her, my father (Pun JT).
- ɲunumpa** *n.* one's birth place *or* where one is supposed to die: **ɲunumpa ɲant^ya** my ground (Pun JT), **ɲalaɲani iɲka ɲunumpa** where is your ground? (Pun JT).
- ɲura** *n. poss.* **ɲuraɲa**; *com.* **ɲuraluɲa**; *loc.* **ɲuralaɲa**; *all.* **ɲuraku**; *art. nom.* **ɲuria** camp, home: **ɲant^ya ɲuria** my camp, **jantara ɲala ɲuraɲa** we (two) are going home, **kulara ɲuralaɲa** sitting at the camp, at home (Pun JT), **kulara naɲalai ɲuraluɲa** staying here at home (Pun FG). —cf. **mura²**.
- ɲura¹** (Kal) *n.* blackfellow: **ɲura talinaɲa** black people drinking (grog)' (Kal PA).
- ɲura²** (Kal) *n.* dog (possibly from another language).
- ɲurka-** (Kal) *v.* **ɲurka-**.
- ɲurka-** (**ɲurka-**) (Kal) *v. imp.* **ɲurka**; *ipf.* **ɲurkana**; *progr.* **ɲurkanaɲa** hear, learn: **ka** *or* **ɲalaɲurkana** did not hear (Kal

PA), **ɲat^yu ɲala ɲurkanaɲa** I cannot hear (him) (Kal PA), **ɲaja ɲurkana kalali** I am learning Kalali, **ɲaja ɲurkanaɲa niŋkina janiliɲu** I was hearing or listening to him talking (Kal PA). —cf. **ɲara-**.

ɲurkala- (Kal) *v. rec. ipf.* **ɲurkalaɲa** hear or listen to one another: **ɲalindu ɲurkalaɲa** we (two) can hear one another (Kal PA).

ɲurkara- (Kal) *v. caus. ipf.* **ɲurkaranana** teach: **ɲurkaranana ɲana** teaching me.

ɲuti (muti) *n.* 1. snake; 2. any animal; 3. meat: **marana ɲuti** birds ('game'; Pun JT).

ɲutitulka *n.* heart (Pun FG).

ɲut^ya- (mut^ya-) *v. imp.* **ɲut^yi** (for **ɲut^ya**; —cf. 4.5.); *ipf.* **ɲut^yara**; *pf.* **ɲut^yana**; *progr.* **ɲut^yakala** give: **maɲa ɲut^yi** (cf. above) **ɲana** shake hands (Pun FG), **nuli alpa ɲana ɲut^yara** this one above (God) gives me (Pun JT), **ɲut^yukala** (sic) **ɲatu** I offer (this child) (Pun JT).

I

-ia *art.* 8.3.

ina *pers. pron.* 9.3.

-ina *art. acc.* 8.3.

inamiŋka (Kal) *n.* Innamincka (in South Australia).

ini *pers. pron.* 9.3.

ini (Kal) *pers. pron.* 9.3.

ip-ari- *v. ipf.* **ip-arira**; *progr.* **ip-arikala** set (of the sun): **mila ip-arira** in the west, **mila ip-arikala** sundown (Pun JT).

it^ya (Kal) *n.* meat.

J

jak-a- *v. ipf.* **jak-ara** chase (Pun JT).

jak-ama- *v. caus. ipf.* **jak-amara** send (someone) away (Pun JT).

jalka- *v. imp.* **jalka**; *ipf.* **jalkara** 1. throw; 2. cook (Pun FG): **pak-arani jalka** throw a boomerang.

jampa *n.* camp (Pun JT; a common word in Queensland).

jampa (Kal) *n.* camp (cf. above).

janda (Kal) (**janda janda**) *n.* money. —cf. **jandra**.

janda- *v. ipf.* **jandara**; *pf.* **jandana**; *progr.* **jandakala, jandakara**; *ger.* **jandala** speak, talk: **jandana** spoke just now (Pun JT), **ɲani jandakara juɲala** I am talking to you two (Pun JT). —cf. Kal **jani-**.

janda janda (Kal) *v.* Kal. **janda**.

jandaɲala- *v. rec. ipf.* **jandaɲalara**; *pf.* **jandaɲalaɲa**; *progr.* **jandaɲalakara** speak, talk to one another: **wal^ya jura jandaɲalara** don't you (all) talk together (Pun JT).

jandi- (Kal) *v. ipf.* **jandiɲa** go: **jandiɲa jaramaniɲa** riding on horseback (Kal PA).

jandra *n. com.* **jandraluɲa**; *loc.* **jandralaɲa**; *art. acc.* **jandranana**; *erg.* **jandraandru**; *poss.* **jandraaɲa** 1. stone, gravel; 2. hill, (mountain); 3. any precious metal or gem stone (gold, silver, etc.); 4. money: **wankikara jandraaɲa** searching for the gold, **jandralaɲa** among the hills, **ɲant^ya jandraandru** (running away) with the money (Pun JT).

jandra malkapaɲu *n.* the Gold Man (Pun JT).

jandrani *poss. n.* one's money, there being money: **jandrani jundru** have you any money? (Pun JT; = **iŋka jandra**).

jandrapaɲu *attr. n.* having money (Pun JT).

jandrumara *n.* the name of a tribe and language, at Lake Yamma Yamma (Pun FG).

- jani-** (Kal) *v. ipf.* **janina, janiņa; progr.** **janinaņa; ger. janiliņu**) speak, talk: **kawa janiņa ģali** here we (two) are talking. —cf. **janda-**.
- janija-** (Kal) *v. rec.;* cf. 10.6; *ger. janijaliņu* speak, talk together: **bulandu janijaliņu** two talking to one another. —cf. **jandaņala-** (Kal PA).
- janta-** *v. imp. janta; ipf. jantara; pf. jantaņa;* mythological *pf. jantamani; progr. jantakala; ger. jantala* walk, go, come: **wal^{ya} (ini) jantara** don't (you) go, **nia jantara ģanala** he comes to me, **nanipuk-a jantaru** (see 11.13) **jandaņalakara** they are walking and talking (Pun JT), **jantarala tana** they are coming (back) (Pun FG; cf. 11.13).
- jantap-a-** *v. ipf. jantap-ara; pf. jantap-aņa* go in the morning: **ņani jantap-ara Rocky-laņa** I am going to Rockhampton in the morning, **jantap-aņa** went this morning (Pun JT).
- jantawari-** *v. ipf. jantawarira* come down: **puņa puņa jantawarira** it is raining (Pun JT).
- jap-ura** *n.* carpetsnake (Pun JT). Pun FG has **jakpura** (cf. 4.3.).
- jaraman** *n. erg. jaramanandru; poss. jaramanana; art. nom. jaramannani; acc. jaramanina, jaramaninana; erg. jaramanulu; poss. jaramanuņa* horse: **jaraman(n)ina (acc.)** a colt, **jaramannani** a filly (Pun JT).
- jaraman** (Kal) *n. loc. jaramaniņa.*
- jariņa (jariņa ?)** *n. art. acc. jariņanana* name: **waņana jariņanana jina** what is your name? (Pun JT; use of accusative forms not accounted for), **mina jariņa ini** what is your name? (Pun JT), **ninai waņawina ģut^{ya}ara jariņa** giving this child a name (Pun JT).
- jatari** (Kal) *adv.* yesterday (Kal PA).
- jaņu** *n.* cat, pussy. —cf. **waņu.**
- jawara** *n. loc. jawaralaņa; art. acc. jawaranana* language, words: **ini jandara jawaralaņa** you are talking in the language (Pun JT).
- juk-u** (Kal) *dem. pron.* 9.9.
- jula** *pers. pron.* 9.3.
- juldru** *n.* shirt (Pun JT).
- jundru** *pers. pron.* 9.3.
- jundu** (Kal) *pers. pron.* 9.3.
- juntu** *pers. pron.* 9.3.: **juntu jantara kulara** (probably) you are going to sit down (cf. 11.4.).
- jura** *pers. pron.* 9.3.
- jurama** *n.* rum: **ņak-a** or **ņamu jurama** rum (Pun FG).
- juņa** *n. poss. juņaņa* urine: **juņaņa ģani ģant^{ya}ikara** I want to pass water; Pun JT. —cf. **juņa-**.
- juņa-** *ipf. juņara* pass water: **ņani juņara** I want to pass water.

K

ka (Kal) *neg. adv.* not.

kaņka- *v.* mythological *pf.:* **kaņkamani** carry (Pun JT).

kaņkuru (kaņkura) *n.* hair of the head.

kaņkuru (Kal) (**kaņkur, kalkuru**) *n.* hair of the head.

kaņulu (Kal) *n.* the name of a language, Gangulu.

kaņuri- *v. imp. kaņura;* cf. 11.3; *ipf. kaņurira; progr. kaņurikala, -kara*) cry: **wal-a ini kaņurira** don't you cry (Pun JT).

kak-a- *v. ipf. kak-ara; pf. kak-aņa* cut: **kak-ara, kak-aņa winana** cut the wood (Pun JT). —cf. **kali**¹.

kak-ut^{ya} *n.* one's brother.

kala *adv.* away: **janta kala** or **kala jantara** go away (Pun FG).

-kala *progr. suffix* 11.9.

kalali *n.* the name of a tribe and language, Kalali.

kalali (Kal) *n. acc.* **kalaliri** the Kalali language: **ɲaja ɲurkana kalali** or **kalaliri ɲurkana** I am learning Kalali (Kal PA).

kalandura *n.* plains or scrub turkey (Pun JT).

kali¹ *n. erg.* **kaliandru**; *art. erg.* **kaliulu** penis: **kali kak-ara** circumcision (Pun JT), **kali pandal'a** (perhaps) subincision (Pun JT). —cf. **pandal'a, tati**.

kali² *n.* right, good, yes (correct? cf. **tali**). —cf. **tali**.

kalka- *v. ipf.* **kalkara**; *pf.* **kalkaɲa**; mythological *pf.* **kalkamani**; *progr.* **kalkakara** 1. beat, hit, flog; 2. sing (of birds): **maraja kalkakara** the birds are singing (Pun JT).

kalkura *n.* ghost (Pun JT).

kalpa- (Kal) *v. ipf.* **kalparu**; cf. 11.13 fear: **kalparu munakani** afraid of the snake (Kal PA).

kalupara (Kal) *n.* pelican (Kal PA).

kami- (Kal) *v. ipf.* **kamina** go home: **jundu kamina** you go home (Kal PA).

kamira- (Kal) *v. ipf.* **kamirani**, for -na ? 1. go home; 2. set (of the sun; Kal PA). —cf. **kami-**.

kampa *adv.* a long way (from here): **puɲanani kampa** it is raining a long way from here (Pun JT).

-kan *fem. suffix* 6.5.

kanda (Kal) *n.* 1. grass; 2. green (Kal PA).

kani *n. art. nom.* **kania** grandmother or grandchild (son or daughter): **wakara wariwa kani kani kani** lie down to sleep baby, grandchild (Pun FG), **ɲant'a kani** my granddaughter (Pun FG).

kani (Kal) *adv.* today, now (Kal PA).

-kani¹ (Kal) *poss. der. suffix* 6.4.

-kani² (Kal) *poss. abl. suffix* 7.3.

kafuru (Kal) *n.* black shag (Pun JT's totem).

kaɲa *n. erg.* **kaɲandru, kaɲaandru**; *acc.* **kaɲanana** for **kaɲana**? Pun JT; *poss.* **kaɲaɲa, kaɲaɲa**; *com.* **kaɲaluɲa**; *loc.* **kaɲalaɲa**; *art. nom.* **kaɲaia, kaɲia**; *erg.* **kaɲaulu**; *acc.* **kaɲina**; *poss.* **kaɲauɲa** man (Aboriginal or white; Pun JT), husband: **kaɲia ɲant'a** my husband or I have a husband or I am married (Pun JT), **nuli kaɲaulu tali maɲkaɲa** this man has fixed it (Pun JT), **kaɲananapuk-a** all the people (Pun JT).

kaɲa (Kal) *n.* man.

kaɲapaɲu *attr. n.* having a husband (Pun JT).

kapa- *v. ipf.* **kapara**; mythological *pf.* **kapamani, kapumani** 1. cover; 2. bury: **ɲak-andru kapamani pununana** water covered the ground (Pun JT), **kapara ɲatu kaɲina, walkana** I am burying a man, woman (Pun JT).

kapilara (Kal) *n.* pelican (Kal PA). —cf. **kapuɲara**.

kapiɲa *n.* cover (Pun JT). —cf. **kapuɲa**.

kapuɲara *n.* pelican (totem; Pun JT).

kapuɲara (Kal) *n.* pelican (Kal PA). —cf. **kapilara**.

kapuɲa *n.* hat: **ɲant'a kapuɲanani** I own a hat (Pun JT). —cf. **kapiɲa**.

kapuɲaani *poss. n.* someone's hat: **kapuɲaani ɲatu** I have a hat (Pun JT).

kapuɲamundu *car. n.* without a hat.

kapuɲapaɲu *attr. n.* having a hat.

-kara *progr. suffix* 11.9.

karant'ara *n.* any sister: **nuka karant'ara** old(er) sister, **wajuwa karant'ara** young(er) sister (Pun JT).

karapara (Kal) *n.* hawk, eaglehawk (Kal PA).

karka (Kal) *n.* posterior (Kal PA).

karka- *v. ipf.* **karkara** shave.

karki- *v. ipf.* **karkira** call, sing out (to) (Pun JT).

karu karu *n.* old (man): **ɲani karu karu** or **karu karu ɲani** I am old (Pun JT).

kata- (Kal) *v. pf.* **katala, katari**; cf. 11.7 bite: **katala** or **katari ɲana munaɲu** a or the snake bit me (Kal PA).

kati- *v. ipf.* **katira**; *pf.* **kaɲa**; mythological *pf.* **katimani** break (transitive or intransitive): **katimani muranani** broke the law (Pun JT).

katu *n.* ant bed (Pun FG).

kaɲa *n.* cockatoo (totem; Pun JT).

kaɲi *n. erg.* **kaɲiandru**; *poss.* **kaɲa** strong drink, grog; **para para kaɲiandru** drunk from grog (Pun JT).

kawa *adv.* here, hither: **kawa kulara naɲalai** sitting here (Pun FG), **kawa naɲalai** come here (Pun JT), **kawa waɲiwia ɲanala** come (here) child to me (Pun JT).

kawa (Kal) *adv.* here, come here: **kawa janina** or **janina ɲali** here we two are talking (Kal PA).

kiaɲa *n. erg.* **kiaɲaandru**; *art. erg.* **kiaɲaulu** cattle, bullock (Pun JT).

kilmpara *n.* galah (totem; Pun JT).

-kini (Kal) *poss. der. suffix* 6.4.

kiniwa- *v. ipf.* **kiniwara** rumble (of thunder; Pun JT): **kiniwara** (**kiniwara**; Pun FG) storm, thunder.

kiri *n. loc.* **kirilaɲa** womb: **kirilaɲa** (put child) into (her) womb (Pun JT).

kiri (Kal) *n.* stomach (Kal PA).

-ku *all. suffix* 7.1.

-ku (Kal) *all. suffix* 7.1.

kua *n. erg.* **kuaandru** fish (Pun JT).

kuɲa *n. poss.* **kuɲa**; *art. acc.* **kuɲa-nana** fruit, food, tucker, bread: **kuɲa taltara** eating food, **kuɲa ɲani jantakala** I am going for food (Pun JT).

kuk-a *n.* head.

kuk-atari *n.* wind (Pun JT).

kuk-ati *n.* ridge (Pun JT).

kuk-at^ɲa *n.* one's nephew (Pun JT): **ɲant^ɲa(ni) kuk-at^ɲa waɲiwia nunkamara** my nephew, brother's child (Pun JT). —cf. **tinalit^ɲa**.

kuku *n. erg.* **kukuandru** clothes.

kukumundu *car. n.* without clothes (Pun JT).

kukupatu *attr. n.* having clothes (Pun JT).

kula *n. loc.* **kulalaɲa, kularaɲa** grass.

kula (Kal) *n.* any kangaroo (red or grey; Kal PA).

kula- *v. imp.* **kula**; *ipf.* **kulara**; *pf.* **kulaɲa**; mythological *pf.* **kulumani**; *progr.* **kulakala, kulakara**; *ger.* **kulala** sit, camp, stay, live: **kulara naɲalai ɲuraluɲa** staying here at the camp (Pun FG), **kulara mak-uralaɲa, tak-alaga** sitting on a log, on the ground (Pun JT), **ɲuk-ulaɲa nia kulumani** sat or settled down in the rivers (Pun JT).

kulap-a- *v. ipf.* **kulap-ara**; *pf.* **kulap-aɲa** sit in the morning (sit up).

kulawari- *v. imp.* **kulawari**; *progr.* **kulawarikala** sit down.

kuli *n.* home (Pun FG), humpy. —cf. **kula-** (?).

kulkaɲa *n.* green (Pun JT).

kulmara (Kal) *n. acc.* **kulmarari** carpet-snake (Kal PA). —cf. **kuɲimaɲa**.

kulpara *n.* emu (Pun FG, JT).

kulpari (Kal) *n.* emu (Kal PA, PM).

kult^ɲaru (Kal) *n.* native companion (Kal PA). —cf. Kal **kunt^ɲaru**.

kumara *n.* sandalwood.

kuna *n.* excrement.

kundi *n. poss.* **kundiaga**; *loc.* **kundilaɲa**; *all.* **kundiku**; *art. nom.* **kundinani**, **kundia** home, house: **ɲant^ɲa kundia**

my house (Pun FG), **kundiŋa** (Pun JT), **kundiku** (Pun FG) (at) home.

kundi (Kal) *n. loc.* **kundiŋa** house: **niŋkiani kundi** his or her house (Kal PA).

kundiani *poss. n.* one's house: **kundiani ŋatu, jundru** I, you have got a house (Pun JT; = **iŋka kundi**).

kundulu (Kal) *n.* emu (perhaps from the Gunggari languages). —cf. Kal **kulpari**.

-kuni (Kal) *poss. der. suffix.* 6.4

kunka- *v. pf.* **kunkaŋa**; *progr.* **kunkakala, kunkakara** ask, pray: **kunkakala ŋatu ina** I am asking you, **kunkakala ŋatu ninai alpa** I am praying to God (Pun JT). —cf. Kal **kuŋka-**.

kunki *n.* spirit, for instance of a dead ancestor (Pun JT).

kunta *n.* tea.

kuntara *n.* native companion, broлга.

kunt^yaru (Kal) *n.* native companion (Kal PA). —cf. Kal **kult^yaru**.

kuŋka- (Kal) *v. imp.* **kuŋka** ask: **kuŋka ŋat^yu ina** I am going to ask you (let me ask you; Kal PA). —cf. **kunka-**.

kup-a *n. art. acc.* **kup-anana** white: **kup-anana jandra** a kind of white mineral, 'quartz' (? Pun JT).

kup-a (Kal) *n.* white (Kal PA).

kupi *n. acc.* **kupina**; *com.* **kupiluŋa**; *loc.* **kupiluŋa**; *art. nom.* **kupia, kupinani**; *erg.* **kupiulu, kupiandru**; *acc.* **kupinana**; *poss.* **kupiŋa**; *abl.* **kupiŋu** native doctor (male or female; Pun JT): **kupia niai** this (male) doctor, **nani kupinani** this (female) doctor, **kupiulu jandaŋa** the (male) doctor said, **kupina ŋatu nat^yuŋa** I saw the (male) doctor, **kupiluŋa mandaŋa** got it from the doctor (at the doctor's).

kuŋimaŋa *n.* snake (Pun FG). —cf. Kal **kulmara**.

kuŋita *n. art. nom.* **kuŋitia** sick: **kuŋitia ŋani** I am sick (Pun JT).

kuti- *v. ipf.* **kutira**; *pf.* **kutiŋa**; *progr.* **kutikala** 1. run (people, horses, water); 2. go down (of the sun): **ŋak-aani kutira** the water (that there was) sank (Pun JT), **mila kutikala** the sun is going down (Pun JT).

kutima- *v. caus. pf.* **kutimaŋa** make (one) run (Pun JT).

kutipa- *v. caus. ipf.* **kutipara** make (one) run: **kutipara ninai** making him run (Pun JT).

kutip-a- *v. ipf.* **kutip-ara** run up (Pun JT).

kutiwari- *v. pf.* **kutiwariŋa** run down (Pun JT).

kut^ya- *v. ipf.* **kut^yara**; *pf.* **kut^yuŋa**; mythological *pf.* **kut^yamani** 1. put; 2. bury; 3. put through, initiate: **kut^yara tak-aluŋa** put (it) on the ground, **tak-a ŋak-aluŋa kut^yara** mix(ing) water with earth, **nanaipuk-a ŋak-aluŋa kut^yamani** drowned them, **kut^yara muraluŋa** put (him) through (the law) (Pun JT).

kut^yap-a- *v. ipf.* **kut^yap-ara** put up (Pun JT).

kut^yawari- *v.* put down (Pun JT).

kuŋata *n.* peewee (Pun JT).

kuŋuŋa *n.* swan.

kuŋuru (Kal) *n.* black swan (Kal PA).

L

-la *ger. suffix* 11.11.

-la (Kal) *pf. suffix* 11.7.

-la- (Kal) *rec. suffix.* 10.6.

-luŋa *loc. suffix* 7.1.

-li- intransitive *der. suffix* 10.3.

-liŋu (Kal) *ger. suffix* 11.12.

-luŋa *com. suffix* 7.1.

M

- ma-** *caus. suffix* 10.4.
- maña** *n.* ear (Punthamara, according to Kal PA): **maña iñka** your ear (Kal PA). —cf. **ñařamanda**.
- maña** (Kal) *n.* ears.
- mañawari** *n.* grey wood duck (Pun JT).
- mañka-** *v. ipf. mañkara; pf. mañkaña* make, fix. —cf. **munka-**.
- mañuru** (Kal) (-lu, -ru) *n.* eye.
- maipala-** (Kal) *v. rec. ipf. maipalaña; ger. maipalaliņu* fight: **ñaja ñant^yala pulunda** (?) **maipalaliņu** I saw them (two) fighting (Kal PA).
- mak·ura** *n. erg. mak·urandru; loc. mak·uralaña; all. mak·uraku; art. nom. mak·uranana; erg. mak·uraulu* 1. tree; 2. (the) bush; 3. log; 4. stick; 5. wood: **mak·uraku** in the bush (Pun FG), **mak·uralaña** (sitting) on a log, **nanai mak·ura mipamani** (God) created this tree (Pun JT), **tatira mak·ura** cutting wood.
- mak·uru** (Kal) *n.* stick (Kal PA).
- mak·uwaťa** *n. loc. mak·uwaťałaña* graveyard, cemetery: **kut^yana ninai mak·uwaťałaña** buried him (this one) (Pun JT).
- mala** (Kal) *n.* hand. —cf. Kal **mařa**.
- malka** *n.* stripe, colour (Pun JT).
- malkapađu** *attr. n.* striped, coloured: **pařita** (or **-tia**) **malkapađu puldrulaña** the Rainbow Serpent has stripes *or* colours in the eyes (Pun JT), **nağala alpa malkapađuñani** the Striped One up there (the rainbow; Pun JT).
- malpa** (Kal) *adv.* in a hurry (?) (Kal PM). —cf. **malpa-**.
- malpa-** *v. ipf. malpara* hurry: **ğala malpara** we two are in a hurry (Pun JT).
- man** *pers. suffix* 6.6.
- manara** *n.* bindieeyes (burrs): **mandara manara** getting off bindieeyes (Pun JT).
- manda-** *v. imp. manda; ipf. mandara; pf. mandaña* 1. get, take, fetch, catch; 2. marry; 3. bear (a child); 4. point (a bone; cf. **muk·u**): **wal^ya ñatu mandaña** I did not get any (gold) (Pun JT). **jundru manda ñanala** you (will) get it from me (Pun JT), **mandara ñatu nuğala** I get it from him (Pun JT), **mandara ñatu nanai walkanana, ninai kaņina** I (will) marry this woman, this man (Pun JT). **nağalai ñani mandaña ñana ñamat^yandru** I was born here (Pun JT).
- mandapuđu** *n.* ball.
- mandawi** *n.* boots, shoes (Pun JT).
- mani** *m. pf. suffix* 11.8.
- manku** *n.* arm (Kal PA).
- mant^yari** *n.* one's own (? Kal PM).
- manu** *n.* grandfather *or* grandchild (Pun JT).
- manu** (Kal) *n.* bread.
- mara** *dem. suffix* 9.6-7.
- maraña** *n. erg. marañandru; art. erg. marañaulu* bird, magpie (Pun JT): **marañaulu taltara ñuti** the magpie eats meat, **maraña ñuti** game birds.
- mari-** *v. ipf. marira; pf. mariña; progr. marikala; ger. marila* burn (transitive or intransitive): **mariña ñani wiandru** I was burned by the fire, **mak·ura mariña wiandru** fire burned the log *or* the log was burned by fire, **wi mat^ya marila** (while) the fire was already burning (Pun JT).
- marikan** *n.* gun (common word in eastern Queensland).
- markala** *n.* leaf, leaves (Pun JT).
- markala** (Kal) *n.* pichery leaves (chewed like tobacco).
- markañ** *n.* the name of a tribe and language about Quilpie, Comongin *or* the Bulloo river.
- marpila** *n.* red (Pun JT).

maṛa *n. erg.* maṛandru; *art. nom.* maṛa-nani; *erg.* maṛaandru hand, finger(s): ṅatu mandara maṛaandru I take with (my) hand (Pun JT), maṛa muntara thumb cut off (Pun JT).

maṛa (Kal) *n.* hand. —cf. (Kal) mala.

maṛi- *v. progr.* maṛikala marry (Pun JT).

mata *n.* big man, chief (from English 'master'; Pun JT).

matina *n.* match (for lighting).

mat^ya *adv.* long ago, already, then: mat^ya ṅatu pumpaṅa I have already lit the fire (Pun JT), mat^ya ini ṅalawina kulakala where did you live long ago? (Pun JT).

mila *n. erg.* milandru; *loc.* milalaṅa; *art. nom.* milanani; *acc.* milanana sun: ini marira milandru the sun is burning you (Pun JT), mila ip-arikala sundown, ṅani jantakala milalaṅa walpakala I am going eastward (where the sun rises; Pun JT).

mila (Kal) *n. loc.* milaṅa mountain, hill: kula milaṅa tinanana a kangaroo is standing on top of the hill (Kal PA).

milkina *n.* milk.

mina *interr. pron.* 9.10.: mina mak-uranani what kind of tree is that? (Pun JT).

minaga (minaṅa) *interr. adv.* why? what for?: minaṅa nani what is that for? (Pun JT), minaga ini ṅant^yakala what do you want? (Pun JT).

minda *interr. pron.?* minda minda tali what is wrong?

mini- (Kal) *v. pf.* miniṅara ? cf. 11.7. do: ṅanandu miniṅara who did it? (Kal PA).

miṅki (Kal) (minki, miṅki) *n.* nose (Kal PA, PM).

mipa- *v. ipf.* mipara *pf.* mipaṅa; *m. pf.* mipamani, mipumani make, create: mipaṅa nanaipuk-a (God) has created all this (Pun JT), muraulu tak-anana

mipumani God created the earth (Pun JT).

mip-a *n. art. nom.* mip-ia, mip-anani bad, wrong, sin: mip-ia niai he (this one) is no good (Pun JT), mip-anani kundinani a bad house (Pun JT), nulu (or nuli) mip-a munkaga murana or muranana he was breaking the Rule (Pun JT), mip-a munkara jawaranana makes a mess of words (Pun JT).

mipi- *v. ipf.* mipira; *pf.* mipiṅa become, turn into: mipira titia turning into a dog (Pun JT).

miri (Kal) *n.* dog (Kal PA; common word in eastern Queensland and New South Wales).

mirka *n. loc.* mirkalaṅa river bank: ṅak-alaṅa wal^yikala mirkalaṅa in the water coming out of the bank (Pun JT).

mirkuṅini *n.* moon.

miriṅa *n.* hole (in a tree, the ground or in a house; Pun JT).

miṅa- *v. ger.* miṅala stare, look.

muk-a muk-ari- *v. ipf.* muk-a muk-arira; *pf.* muk-a muk-ariṅa forget.

muku *n. art. acc.* mukunana tobacco or any smoke.

muk-u¹ *n. erg.* muk-uandru; *art. acc.* muk-unana; *acc. pl.* muk-unanapuk-a bone: muk-uandru ṅatu mandara I am boning (him) (Pun JT). —cf. tandakuru.

muk-u² *n.* gully (Pun JT). —cf. ṅuk-u.

muk-ura *n. art. acc.* muk-uranana stone or stones (Pun JT).

muna (Kal) *n. erg.* munaṅu; *poss. abl.* munakani snake (Kal PA).

munawalka *n.* chest (Pun FG).

mundu *postp.* 12.

-mundu *car. suffix* 6.7.

mundup-a *n. erg.* mundup-andru axe (Pun JT).

munka- *v. ipf.* **munkara**; *pf.* **munkaŋa** make, fix. —cf. **maŋka-**.

munta- *v. ipf.* **muntara** cut off (Pun PP).

mura¹ *n. loc.* **muralaŋa**; *art. nom.* **muria**; *erg.* **muraulu**; *acc.* **murina**, **muranana** 1. bora ring (initiation place, etc.); 2. law, rule; 3. God: **muralaŋa kut^yara ninai** put or send this one to the bora ring (to be initiated; Pun JT), **muria tali** God is good, **nuŋka alpa mura** God's law, the Rule, **muraulu tali munkara** God created or creates, **kak-ut^ya murina** brother God (Pun JT), **muria ŋanitia** God the Father (Pun JT).

mura² *n.* place where to lie down, camp. —cf. **ŋura**.

mura (Kal) *n.* big: **ŋap-a mura** big water (Kal PA).

muraka *n. erg.* **murakandru**; *loc.* **murakalaŋa**; *art. nom.* **murakanani** car (from 'motorcar').

muruka (Kal) *n. loc.* **murukaŋa** car (Kal PA).

murumuru *n.* black colour (Pun JT).

murumuru (Kal) *n.* black (e.g. a cat; Kal PA).

muŋa- (Kal) *v. ger.* **muŋaliŋu** go (Kal PA).

muŋu (Kal) *n.* blue or black (Kal PA).

muti *v.* **ŋuti**.

mut^ya- *v. ipf.* **mut^yara**; *pf.* **mut^yaŋa** give: **ŋak-anana mut^yara ŋana** give me water, **mut^yaŋa ŋatu nanai** I gave (it) to her (Pun JT). —cf. **ŋut^ya-**.

muŋu *adv.* self (?): **muŋu nat^yara ŋani** I can see myself (Pun JT).

N

-na *acc. suffix* 7.1.

-na (Kal) *ipf. suffix* 11.5.

-nana (Kal) *ipf. progr. suffix* 11.5.

naŋala *adv.* there, at: **ŋani jantara naŋala alpa** I am going up there (Pun JT).

naŋalai *adv.* here: **kawa naŋalai** come to me (Pun JT), **naŋalai ŋak-atangka** (= -tuŋka) **kulakara** they were camping round about or at Nockatunga (Pun JT), **wal^ya naŋalai** (they) are not here, **naŋalai kulara nanai** a woman (*acc.*) sitting here (Pun JT), **naŋalaipuk-a** the whole crowd, **nat^yara taldranana naŋalai** can you see a or the kangaroo over there? (Pun JT).

naŋalakai *adv.* over there: **naŋalakai nia jantara naŋalai** he is coming here from over there (Pun JT), **naŋalakai walkanani** there is a woman over there (Pun JT), **naŋalakai jantakala taldrina** there is a kangaroo walking (Pun JT).

nanalamara *adv.* over there: **paŋitia naŋalamara** the Rainbow Serpent is over there (Pun JT).

naipa *n.* knife.

naji (**nai**) *n. art. nom.* **najinani**; *acc.* **najinana** girl, daughter: **ŋant^yani najinani** my daughter (Pun JT).

nama- *v. ipf.* **namara**; *pf.* **namaŋa** touch (Pun JT).

namaŋa (Kal) (**namaŋa** ?) *adv.* here: **namaŋa nina** sit down here (Kal PA).

nana¹ *pers. pron.* 9.3.

nana² *dem. pron.* 9.5.

nanai *dem. pron.* 9.7.

nandru *pers. pron.* 9.3.

nandu *n. poss.* **nanduana**; *art. erg.* **nanduulu**; *acc.* **nandunana**; *poss.* **nanduuna** horse (Pun JT).

nanduani *poss. n.* someone's horse.

nani¹ *pers. pron.* 9.3.

nani² *dem. pron.* 9.5, 7.

-nani *art.* 8.3.

nanikai *dem. pron.* 9.7.: **mina nanikai** what is that over there? (Pun JT).

nanipuk-a¹ *pers. pron.* 9.3.

nanipuk-a² *dem. pron.* 9.7.

nant^yina *n.* 1. any skin; 2. paper money: **paṭila mant^yina** snake skin (Pun JT).

nat^ya- *v. ipf.* **nat^yara**; *pf.* **nat^yaṇa**, **nat^yaraṇa** 11.13.; *m. prf.* **nat^yamani**; *progr.* **nat^yakala**, **nat^yakara**, **nat^yakara**, (Pun FG) see, look: **jundru ṇana nat^yara** you look at me, **ṇala nat^yakara** we can see one another (Pun JT). —cf. **ṇat^ya-**, **Kal ṇant^ya-**.

nat^yaṇala- *v. rec. progr.* **nat^yaṇalakara** look at each other.

nat^yawari- *v. pf.* **nat^yawarina**; *progr.* **nat^yawarikara** look down.

nia *pers. pron.* 9.3.: **nia alpa** God (Pun JT).

niai *dem. pron.* 9.7.

niakai *dem. pron.* 9.7.

niamara *dem. pron.* 9.7.

niṅki (Kal) *pers. pron.* 9.3.

nina *pers. pron.* 9.3.: **nina alpa** God (*acc.*: Pun JT).

nina- (Kal) *v. imp.* **nina**; *ipf.* **ninana**; *ipf. progr.* **ninanana**; *ger.* **ninaliṅu**, **minakaliṅu** ? 1. sit; 2. live: **ini nina** you sit down, **ṇalindu nirana** (= **ninana**) we two are sitting (Kal PA), **wura nira** (= **nina**) you all sit down (Kal PA), **ṇarukuni niraaliṅu** (= **nina(k)aliṅu** ?) while (my) father was living (Kal PA).

ninai *dem. pron.* 9.3.: **ninai alpa murina** God (*acc.*; Pun JT).

nuṇala *pers. pron. adv.* 9.3.: **nuṇala alpa** from God.

nuṇalai *dem. pron.* 9.7.

nuṇalakai *adv.* over there (Pun JT).

nuka *n.* 1. big; 2. old; 3. full: **nuka kuaandru** full of fish (Pun JT).

nuka ṇak-a *n. erg.* **nuka ṇak-andru** sea, ocean: **nuka ṇak-andru jantamani** came out of the sea or ocean (Pun JT).

nuli *dem. pron.* 9.7.

nulu *pers. pron.* 9.3.

numpa- *v. ipf.* **numpara**; *pf.* **numpaṇa** kick, push: **numpara ṇatu tinaandru** I kick with (my) foot (Pun JT).

nundri *n.* yam (Pun JT).

nupat^ya *rel. n.* one's wife: **iṅkani nupat^ya** your wife, (Pun JT), **nupat^ya wal^ya** having no wife (Pun FG).

nupat^yamundu *n. art. nom.* **nupat^yamundia** having no wife: **wal^ya ṇani nupat^yamundia** I have no wife (correct ? Pun FG). —cf. *s.v.* **ṇak-amundu**.

ṇ

-ṇala- *rec. suffix* 10.5.

ṇant^ya- (Kal) *v. imp.* **ṇant^ya**; *ipf.* **ṇant^yana**; *pf.* **ṇant^yala**; *ipf. progr.* **ṇant^yanaṇa** see, look at: **ṇant^yi** (= **ṇant^ya**) **ṇap-a** look at the water (Kal PA), **ṇat^yu ka ṇant^yanaṇa ina** I can't see you (Kal PA), **ṇaja ṇant^yanaṇa niṅkina** **muraṇiṅu** I see him going (Kal PA), **ṇaja ṇant^yala niṅkina** I have seen him (Kal PA). —cf. **ṇat^ya-**, **nat^ya-**.

ṇant^yala- (Kal) *v. rec. imp.* **ṇant^yalana** see each other: **ṇalindu ṇant^yalana** we two can see each other (Kal PA).

ṇuna (Kal) *pers. pron.* 9.3.

P

-pa- *caus. suffix* 10.7.

-p-a- *der. v. suffix* 10.8.

pak-arani *n.* boomerang: **ini pak-arani jalkara** you throw a boomerang *or* boomerangs, **pak-arani tatiṅa** cut *or* made a boomerang *or* boomerangs (Pun JT).

pak-uña *n.* red (Pun JT).

- pala** *adv.* now: **pala ini ɲalawina kulakala** where do you live now?, **pala ini jantaŋa** did you come now? (= when did you come?; Pun JT).
- palaili** *n. loc.* **palaililaŋa** the name of a bush of which the (intoxicating) leaves used to be chewed mixed with ashes and tobacco (Pun JT).
- palaili mak-ura** *n. loc.* **palaili mak-uralaŋa** the same as the preceding (Pun JT).
- palarilpia** *n.* the Aboriginal name of Pun JT (supposed to mean 'walking in the front').
- palka-** *v. ipf.* **palkara** hit (Pun JT).
- palu-** *v. ipf.* **palura**; *m. pf.* **palumani** die: **parkulu jaŋu palura, paluŋa** two cats died, were dead (Pun JT).
- panara-** or **pana-** (Kal) *v.* cook (?): **panara malpa** cook and kill (sic; Kal PM). —cf. Kal **malpa**.
- pap-a** (Kal) *n.* old fellow, grandfather (Kal PA).
- pandal^{ya}** *n.* blood (Pun JT). —cf. **kali¹, tati**.
- pandal^{ya}paŋu** *n. art. nom.* **pandal^{ya}paŋunani** menstruating (woman) (Pun JT).
- pandi-** *v. ipf.* **pandira**; *pf.* **pandiŋa** hit: **wal^{ya} ɲana pandira** don't hit me (Pun JT), **pandira ninai, nanai** hit him, her (this one; Pun JT), **maŋandru ɲatu pandiŋa** I hit (him) with (my) hand (Pun JT).
- pandiŋala-** *v. rec. ipf.* **pandiŋalara**; *pf.* **pandiŋalaŋa**; *progr.* **pandiŋalakara** fight: **wal^{ya} jula pandiŋalara** don't you (two) fight, **pula pandiŋalakara** the two are fighting (Pun JT).
- pani pani** *n.* little, small: **jaŋu pani pani** a small or little cat (Pun FG).
- pant^{ya} pant^{ya}** *n.* spirit (little man, corresponding to the eastern Queensland **d^{ya}and^{ya}ari**; Pun JT).
- pant^{yi}** *n.* brother-in-law (Pun JT).
- pant^{yi}man** *m. com.* **pant^{yi}manaluŋa** brother-in-law: **wal^{ya} titira pant^{yi}manaluŋa** don't joke with (your) brother-in-law (Pun JT).
- paŋpura** *n.* cup.
- parakara** *v. ?*: *ipf.* **parakarara**; *pf.* **parakarana** drink, be drunk (of strong drink): **parakarara nanipuk-a** they are drinking (Pun JT).
- para para** *n.* 1. drunk; 2. mad, silly: **kuk-a para para** a child a bit mad. —cf. **parakara-**.
- pari** *n.* a sore (Pun JT).
- paripaŋu** *n.* sore: **paripaŋu tinanani ɲant^{ya} or tina ɲant^{ya} paripaŋu** my foot is sore (Pun JT).
- parkula** or **parkulu** *n.* two: **jantaŋa parkulu** the two went, **parkula jantara** two are going, **waŋka parkulu nat^{ya}na ɲana** two women saw me (Pun JT), **parkula wat^{yu}wali** three (Pun JT), **parkulu parkulu** four, **parkulu parkulu wat^{yu}wali** five (Pun JT).
- parkuwat^{yu}** *n.* three.
- paŋita** *n. art. nom.* **paŋitia**; *erg.* **paŋitaulu, paŋitulu**; *acc.* **paŋitina, paŋitanana**; *poss.* **paŋituŋa abl. paŋituŋu**; *com.* **paŋituluna** the Rainbow Serpent, bunyip: **nulu paŋitulu mipaŋa ɲuk-unana(puk-a)** he, the Rainbow Serpent created the creek(s) (Pun JT), **paŋitia kulara** the Rainbow Serpent remained (Pun JT).
- paŋu** *postp.* 12.
- paŋu** *attr. der. suffix* 6.8.
- paŋila** *n.* snake (Pun JT).
- pik-aŋa** *n.* nail(s) (Pun JT).
- piliwara** *n. erg.* **piliwaraandru** net (Pun JT).
- pilta** *n.* yellow (Pun JT).
- pina (pinaŋ)** (Kal) *n.* ear (a word common in eastern New South Wales).

- piñki** *n.* bread (Punthamara according to Kal PA).
- pit^yapit^ya** *n.* 1. lightning; 2. light, glittering (Pun JT): **pit^yapit^ya talara** it is flashing (Pun FG).
- pit^yara (pitara)** *n. loc.* **pit^yaralaja** the name of a plant, pitchery (cf. **markala**), and a place: **pit^yaralaja nia kulala** he living at P. (Pun JT).
- piṭa** *n.* 1. rain (Pun FG); 2. rainbow. —cf. **puṭa**.
- piṭa (Kal)** *n.* dark (Kal PA).
- piṭa-** (Kal) *v. ipf.* **piṭana** get dark (Kal PA).
- piṭaani** *poss. n.* there being rain: **naṅalai piṭaani pala** it is raining now (Pun JT).
- piṭawara (Kal)** *adv.* tomorrow: **piṭawara ṅat^yu ṅiant^yana** I will see (him) tomorrow (Kal PA).
- puṅkala** *n.* knee (Pun FG).
- puk-a** *pl. suffix* 6.3; 8.3; 9.3, 7.
- puk-ura (puk-ur)** *n. art. nom.* **puk-urnani**; *acc.* **puk-ur(a)nana** dream: **puk-urmana wakara ṅani** I dreamed (Pun JT), **puk-urnani ṅani tali wakaṅa** I had a good (nice) dream (Pun JT), **mip^ya puk-ura ṅani** I had a bad dream, **puk-ura ṅani wakaṅa** I dreamed, **mat^ya ṅani wakaṅa puk-ura** I dreamed long ago, **jaramanaṅa ṅani puk-ur(a) wakaṅa(?)** I dreamed about a horse (Pun JT).
- pula** *pers. pron.* 9.3: **ṅalaṅa pula jantara** where are you two going? (Pun JT).
- pulai** *dem., pron.* 9.7.
- pulandu (Kal)** *pers. pron.* 9.3.
- pulaṅu (Kal)** *pers. pron.* 9.3.
- pulawara** *n.* flour (from English).
- puldru** *n. erg.* **puldruandru**; *loc.* **puldrulaja**; *art. nom.* **puldrunani** eye(s): **tak-a puldruraja** (for **-laja**) dust in (my) eyes.
- puldrumundu** *car. n.* having no eyes (blind; Pun JT).
- puldrupaṭu** *attr. n.* having eyes (= can see well; Pun JT).
- puli-** *v. ipf.* **pulira**; *pf.* **puliṅa** fall: **wal^ya (ini) pulira** don't (you) fall (Pun JT), **puliṅa waṅiwia** the child fell (Pun JT).
- pulima-** *v. caus. ipf.* **pulimara**; *pf.* **pulimaṅa** fell (a tree or a person), drop.
- pulu** *pers. pron.* 9.3.
- pul^yura** *n. erg.* **pul^yurandru** mud (Pun JT).
- pumpa-** *v. ipf.* **pumpara**; *pf.* **pumpaṅa** burn, light (fire, wood): **pumpara wi** the fire is burning (Pun FG), **jundru pumpara winana** you light the fire (Pun JT), **nulu wi pumpaṅa** he lit a fire (Pun JT), **pumpara ṅatu winana** I burn the wood or I light a fire (Pun JT).
- punda (Kal)** *n.* head (Kal PA, PM).
- puntamara** *n.* the Punthamara or Wilson river language.
- puntamara (Kal)** *n.* the Wilson river language (Kal PA).
- punt^yu (Kal)** *n.* any hair (on arms or the body; Kal PA).
- punu** *n. loc.* **punulaja**; *art. acc.* **pununana** ground, any land or country: **kulara punulaja** (the Rainbow Serpent) remained in the land (Pun JT), **naṅalai punulaja** in this country (i.e. around Woorabinda; Pun JT).
- pupa-** *v. ipf.* **pupara**; *progr.* **pupakara** smoke: **pupara mukunana** smoking tobacco.
- pura-** *v. ipf.* **purara**; *pf.* **puraja**; *m. pf.* **puramani** tell: **ṅani jandaṅa puraja ina** I spoke and told you (Pun JT).
- puru** *n. com.* **puruluṅa** (correct?), *loc.* **puruluṅa** bag (Pun JT).
- purua** *n. art. acc.* **puruanana** dream (Pun JT; see **waka-**). —cf. **puk-ura**.
- putikat (Kal)** *n.* pussy, cat (Kal PA).

puṭa *n. art. nom.* **puṭanani** rain (Pun JT).
puṭa puṭa *n.* rain (Pun JT). —cf. **piṭa**.

R

-ra *ipf suffix* 11.4.
-ra (Kal) *pf suffix* 11.7.
-ra- (Kal) *caus. suffix* ? see 10.4.
-ri (Kal) *acc. suffix* 7.3.
-ri- intransitive *der. suffix* 10.9.
-ru *ipf suffix* 11.13.

T

taja *n.* mouth.
taja (Kal) *n.* mouth (Kal PA).
tak-a *n. erg.* **tak-aandru**; *loc.* **tak-alana**;
art nom. **tak-anani**; *acc.* **tak-anana**
dust, dirt, earth, ground, place: **kulara**
tak-alana sitting on the ground (Pun JT),
nanai tak-anana this earth (Pun JT).
tak-amuka (? prob. **-nuka**) *n.* the big earth,
the world (Pun JT).
tak-apaṭu *attr. n.* having dust, dusty:
puldru tak-apaṭu dirt or dust in your
eye (Pun JT).
tak-ara *n.* plain, claypan (Pun JT).
tala- *v. ipf.* **talara** come, appear (as of
rain, etc.): **talara piṭa** it is raining (rain
is coming; Pun FG).
talaja (Kal) *n.* tongue (Kal PA).
talaṛa (-ra ?) *n.* cloud, —cf. **tala-**.
taldra *n. erg.* **taldraandru**; *art. nom.*
taldraia, **taldria**, **taldranani**; *erg.*
taldraulu; *acc.* **taldraina**, **taldranana**;
poss. **taldraana**; *nom. pl.* **taldra-**
nanipuk-a; *acc. pl.* **taldrananapuk-a**
(red) kangaroo: **jantara ṅani taldra-**
ana I am going for (to hunt) kangaroo
(Pun JT), **nat'ana ṅatu taldranana** I
saw a kangaroo (Pun JT).

taldraani *poss n.* there being kangaroos:
taldraani jundru you have kangaroos
(Pun JT).

taldrapaṭu *attr. n.* having kangaroos:
taldrapaṭu naṅalakai there are kangaroos
there (Pun JT).

tali *n. art. nom.* **talia**, **talinani** good, well:
talinani a good girl (Pun FG), **talinana**
ṅak-a good water, a good drink (Pun JT).

tali- (Kal) *v. ipf.* **talina**; *ipf. progr.*
talinaṅa eat, drink: **jundu talina** you
eat that (Kal PA), **ṅap-a talina** drink
water (Kal PA), **ṅap-a talinaṅa tanandu**
they all drink (Kal PA).

talimaṅka- *v. ipf.* **talimaṅkara** make
(well): **ṅatu talimaṅkara** I can make (a
boomerang) (Pun JT).

talimunka- *v. ipf.* **talimunkara**; *pf.*
talimunkana make, create (Pun JT).
—cf. **tali**, **maṅka-**, **munka-**.

talta- *v. ipf.* **taltara**; *pf.* **taltaṅa**; *progr.*
taltakara eat; **ṅala taltara kuṅanana**
we eat the tucker (Pun JT), **taltakara**
ṅatu tandul'a I am eating crawfish (Pun
FG).

talū (Kal) *n. all.* **taluku** home: **ṅant'yakini**
talū my home (Kal PA), **taluku** (going)
home.

tana *pers. pron.* 9.3.

tana (Kal) *pers. pron.* 9.3.

tanamara *dem. pron.* 9.7.

tandakuru *n. erg.* **tandakuruandru** bone
(to be pointed, as in 'boning'; Pun JT).
—cf. **muk-u**¹.

tandañala- *v. rec. progr.* **tandañalakara**
cohabit (coitus; Pun JT).

tankia (Kal) *n.* dead: **ṅanikuni tankia**
(my) father is dead Kal PA; is **-ia** a
masculine article, as in Punthamara? —cf.
8.8.

tap-a- *v. ipf.* **tap-ara** drink: **ṅani tap-ara**
kaṭi I drink any grog (Pun FG), **wal'a**
ṅani tap-ara ṅañara kaṭi I do not

- want to drink grog. (Pun FG), **ḡak-a tap-ara** drinking water.
- tara** (Kal) *adv.* where: **inḡani kundi tara** where is your house? (Kal PA).
- taramaḡka** *n.* frog (Pun FG).
- tarawuli** *n.* trousers (Pun JT; from English 'drawers').
- tari-** *v. ipf.* **tarira** adorn, dress: **tarira kukuandru** dressing themselves with clothes (Pun JT), **tana tarira kukuandru** they all are dressing (Pun JT).
- tati** *n.* vulva: **tati pandal^{ya}** (said either to a man or a woman and considered a 'swearword' by Pun JT). —cf. **pandal^{ya}, pandal^{ya}paḡu**.
- tati-** *v. ipf.* **tatira**; *pf.* **tatiḡa** cut: **nulu tatira winana** he is cutting wood, **tatiḡa ḡani tina** I cut my foot (Pun JT).
- taun** *n. all.* **taunku** town (Kal PA).
- tiḡki** (Kal) *n.* knee (Kal PA).
- tik-a-** *v. ipf.* **tik-ara**; *progr.* **tik-akala** return, go back: **tik-akala ḡani kundiaḡa** I am going back home (Pun JT).
- tik-ara** (Kal) *n.* scrub turkey (Kal PA).
- tikawandi-** *v. ipf.* **tikawandira**; *pf.* **tikawandiḡa** turn over (intransitive; Pun JT).
- tikawandima-** *v. caus. pf.* **tikawandimaḡa** turn over or upside down (Pun JT).
- tik-uli-** *v. ipf.* **tik-ulira** turn over: **tik-ulira parkula** turn over twice (Pun JT). —cf. **tik-a-, tikawandi-**.
- tik-ulima-** *v. caus. ipf.* **tik-ulimara** turn over (Pun JT).
- tilama-** *v. caus. ipf.* **tilamara** cool (Pun JT). —cf. **tilapa, til^{ya}pa**.
- tilapa** *n.* cold: **ḡani tilapa** I am cold (Pun JT).
- tili** (Kal) *n.* eye(s) (probably from Gungari).
- til^{ya}pa** *n.* frost (Pun JT). —cf. **tilapa**.
- tina** *n. erg.* **tinaandru**; *loc.* **tinalaḡa**; *art. nom.* **tinanani** foot: **tinaandru numpaḡa** kicked (Pun JT).
- tina** (Kal) *n.* foot (Kal PA).
- tina-** *v. imp.* **tina**; *ipf.* **tinara**; *progr.* **tinakara** stand.
- tina-** (Kal) *v. imp.* **tina**; *ipf. progr.* **tinanaḡa** stand.
- tinag** *n.* foot (Pun PP; probably from another language).
- tinagaḡarala** *n. erg.* **tinagaḡaralaandru** poison: **tinagaḡaralaandru ḡatu mandala** I (hunted) getting him by poison (Pun JT).
- tinalit^{ya}** *rel. n.* one's uncle or nephew (Pun JT).
- tinama-** *v. caus. ipf.* **tinamara** stick (something) into the ground (Pun JT). —cf. **tina-**.
- tinamara** (Kal) *n.* woman (correct ? Kal PM).
- tinap-a-** *v. ipf.* **tinap-ara**; *pf.* **tinap-aḡa** stand (something) up: **jundru tinap-ara nani** you stand that up (Pun JT).
- tinawari-** *v. imp.* **tinawari** put down (into a hollow; Pun JT).
- tinta** *n.* nose (Pun FG).
- tipa** *n.* alive: **nia, nani tipa** he, she is alive (Pun JT), **ḡanitia ḡant^{ya} tipa** I have a father alive (Pun JT).
- tip-u** *n.* whistling duck (Pun JT).
- titi** *n. art. nom.* **titia** dog.
- titi-** *v. ipf.* **titira**; *pf.* **titiga**; *progr.* **titikala** laugh, joke: **wal^{ya} titira** don't laugh or joke (Pun JT).
- titu** *n.* dog (Punthamara according to Kal PA). —cf. **titi**.
- tunḡka** *n. erg.* **tunḡkandru** rotten (as meat), dirty, stinking smell: **tunḡkanana ḡak-a** that water is stinking, **tunḡkandru kuḡita** sick from the smell (Pun JT).
- tumpi-** *v. ipf.* **tumpira** tell: **ḡatu ina tumpira** I will tell you (Pun JT).

tuna *adv.* after, later on: **ḡatu ina tumpira tuna** I will tell you after (when I come back; Pun JT).

tuna (Kal) *n.* ghost.

tunuja (tunia) (Kal) *n.* —cf. 8.8. sun: **tunuja kamirani** (for -na ?) the sun is setting (Kal PA).

tup-u *n.* smoke.

turi *adv.* home: **turi ḡani jantara** I am going home (Pun JT).

turka *n.* the whole leg (Pun JT).

turpa *n. loc.* **turpalaja** ashes: **ḡatu, ḡandra kut^yara mukunana turpalaja** I, we put (used to mix) the tobacco with ashes (Pun JT).

turukaḡa (tuḡu-) *n.* sand goanna (Pun JT).

T^y

-t^ya *rel. suffix* 6.9.

t^yui (Kal) *n.* ?: **ḡaja t^yui watikari (= -kani)** I (was) riding through the scrub (Kal PA).

ḡ

ḡia (Kal) *n.* teeth (Kal PA). —cf. **draja**.

ḡia ḡiari (Kal) *n.* red (Kal PA).

ḡiri ḡiri (Kal) *n.* red (Kal PA).

U

-uḡa *art.* 8.3.

-uḡu *art.* 8.3.

-ulaḡa *art.* 8.3.

-ulu *art.* 8.3.

-uluḡa *art.* 8.3.

W

waḡkarandra *n.* the name of a tribe and language, about Alice Springs (Pun JT).

waḡkumara *n.* name of a tribe and language at Nockatunga and the Bulloo river, the Bulloo river language.

wajiwa (waju(w)a) *n.* young, small (Pun JT). —cf. **waḡiwa**.

waka (Kal) *n. loc.* **wakaḡa** tree: **wandina wakaḡa** climbing a tree (Kal PA).

waka- *v. ipf.* **wakara**; *pf.* **wakaḡa**; *m. pf.* **wakamani**; *progr.* **wakakala**, **wakakara** lie, lie down, sleep: **wakara niai** he (this one) is lying (in the grave) (Pun JT), **ḡuraluḡa ḡala wakara** we (two) sleep at the camp (Pun FG), **mat^ya wakamani (?) puruanana** in the dreamtime (Pun JT).

wakama- *v. caus. ipf.* **wakamara** lay down, put to sleep (Pun JT).

wakap-a- *v. ipf.* **wakap-ara**; *pf.* **wakap-aḡa** sleep in the morning: **ini wakap-aḡa** you slept in (Pun JT).

wakaḡati *n.* crow (totem; Pun JT).

wakawari- *v. ipf.* **wakawarira**; *pf.* **wakawariḡa**; *ger.* **wakawarila** lie down (Pun JT).

wakuḡku *v.* **wakuḡku ḡaja** I have to go (Pun FG; probably from some other language).

wali- *v. ipf.* **walira** run (of water): **ḡak-a(nani) walira** running water *or* the water is running (Pun JT). —cf. **wal^yi-**.

walka *v.* **waḡka**.

walka- *v. ipf.* **walkara** get, fetch: **walkara ḡak-a ḡalaḡu wip-ara** get water from the creek (Pun FG).

walpa- (waḡpa-) *v. ipf.* **walpara**; *pf.* **waḡpaḡa**; *progr.* **waḡpakala**, **walpakara** rise, go up: **mila walpara** sunrise, **mila walpakara** the sun rises, **mila waḡpakala** the east, **waḡpaḡa** (the sun) is already up, **ḡani jantara mila waḡpakara** I am going eastward, **walpara niai** he (this one) rises (from the dead) (Pun JT).

walpira (warpi-) *n. loc.* walpiralaṅa shadow, shade: walpiralaṅa ṅani kulara I am sitting in the shade (Pun JT).

walta- *v. ipf.* waltara 1. chase; 2. take (catch; Pun JT): waltara nina chase him (Pun JT).

wal^ya *adv.* no, not, don't, cannot: wal^ya jantara don't go, wal^ya nat^yara cannot see, wal^ya piṭanani no rain, wal^ya no, nupat^ya wal^ya having no wife (Pun FG). —For constructions with the privative -*mundu*, see ss. vv. ṅak-*amundu*, nupat^yamundu.

wal^yapaṭi *adv.* perhaps: wal^yapaṭi piṭani I wonder if it is raining (Pun JT).

wal^yi- *v. pf.* wal^yiṅa; *progr.* wal^yikala, wal^yikara run (of water): ṅak-a wal^yikara running water, a spring (Pun JT), —cf. wali-.

wal^ypala (-pali) *n. art. acc.* wal^ypalina white fellow, white people: wal^ypalina nat^yaṅa jundru you have seen a white person (Pun JT).

wal^ypalaani *poss. n.* there being white people: wal^ypalaanipuk-a there were white people (also) (Pun JT).

wandi- (Kal) *v. ipf.* wandina climb (Kal PA).

wanki- *v. m. pf.* wankimani; *progr.* wankikara search for (Pun JT).

waraṅu (Kal) *n. poss.* waraṅukani, -kini another (probably an original interrogative-indefinite pronoun): waraṅukani another's (Kal PA). —cf. waraṅa, waraṅalu (9.10).

wari- *v. ipf.* warira; *pf.* wariga leave: ṅatu warira ina I leave you (Pun JT).

-wari- directional *der. suffix.* 10.10.

waraṅkani *n.* snake (Pun FG).

waraṅalu *interr. pron.* 9. 10.

waraṅa *interr. pron.* 9.10.

warīwa *n. erg.* warīwaandru; *acc.* warīwana; *loc.* warīwalaṅa; *art. nom.* warīwia; *erg.* warīwaulu; *acc.*

warīwina, warīwanana; *acc. pl.* warīwananapuk-a child (boy or girl), baby, son: ṅant^yani warīwa son (Pun JT), ṅani warīwia (died when) I was a child (Pun JT), nandru mandana warīwananapuk-a she has many children (Pun JT).

warṅa (walka) *n. erg.* walka(a)ndru; *acc.* walka(a)na; *poss.* walka(a)ṅa; *com.* walkaluṅa; *loc.* walkalaṅa; *art. nom.* walkanani; *nom. pl.* warṅananipuk-a woman, wife: warṅa wat^yuwali one woman, walkaluṅa pula jantakala two walking with a woman (Pun JT), possibly 'a man and a woman' (?), ṅant^ya walkanani my wife, warṅa kupinani a female doctor (Pun JT).

warṅaani (walka-) *poss. n.* one's woman or wife, there being a woman: walkaani jundru have you got a woman (wife)? (Pun JT).

warṅamundu (walka-) *car. n. art. nom.* walkamundia without a woman or wife: walkamundia ṅani I am not married (Pun FG).

warpa- *v.* walpa-.

warpira *v.* walpira.

warpirapaṭu *n.* shady.

wati (Kal) *n. abl.* watikani, -kari; *loc.* watiṅa bush, scrub: watikari through the bush or scrub (Kal PA).

watikan *n.* white woman (Pun JT).

watina *n. erg.* watinandru; *acc.* watinana; *poss.* watinaga; *art. poss.* watinanaga white woman: watinandru mipaga or talimugaṅa the white woman did or fixed it (Pun JT).

wat^yu *n. loc.* wat^yulaṅa another: kaṅa wat^yu another man, punu wat^yulaṅa in another country (Pun JT). —cf. wat^yuwali.

wat^yuni (Kal) *n.* wife (Kal PA). —cf. watina.

wat^yuwali *n.* one. —cf. wat^yu.

waṭa (Kal) *n.* thigh and leg (Kal PA).

waṭu *n.* cat (Pun JT). —cf. **jaṭu**.

wi *n. erg.* **wiandru**; *art. nom.* **winani**;
acc. **winana** 1. wood; 2. fire; 3. warm,
hot: **winani marikala** the fire is burning
(Pun JT), **mariga ṅani wiandru** I was
burned by the fire (Pun JT).

wi (Kal) *n.* fire.

wik-ala (Kal) *adv.* tomorrow (Kal PA).

wilkaña *n.* dingo (Pun JT).

winta- *v. pf.* **wintaṅa**; *progr.* **wintakara**
swim: **ṅak-alaṅa nia wintakara** he is
swimming in the water (Pun JT).

wip-aṅa *n.* 1. arm; 2. creek (Pun FG).

wipaṭu *attr. n.* having fire: **wipaṭu** there
is a fire (Pun JT).

wulukari (Kal) *n. v. ?* gallop (Kal PM).

wura (Kal) *pers. pron.* 9.3.

wuṛupinda *n. loc.* **wuṛupindalaṅa** the
Woorabinda settlement: **naṅalakai**
wuṛupindalaṅa taldrapaṭu there are
kangaroos at Woorabinda (Pun JT).

