BASIC MATERIALS IN WARNDARANG:

GRAMMAR, TEXTS AND DICTIONARY

by

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for Lindsay Joshua

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

List of Abbreviations

(Note: Some abbreviations occur fully capitalised in the texts, with
first letter only capitalised in the grammar and dictionary.)

Abl	Ablative
Abs	Absolutive
Act	Actual
Adj	Adjective, adjectival
Adv	Adverb
All	Allative
Art	Article
Aux	Auxiliary
AuxC	Auxiliary (Continuous aspect)
AuxP	Auxiliary (Punctual aspect)
Ben	Benefactive
Br	Brother
C	Continuous; Consonant
Cen	Centripetal
Ch	Child
Conj	Conjunction
Corr	Correlated with (synonym in other language)
Da	Daughter
Dem	Demonstrative
Dir	Directional
Du	Dual
Ex	Exclusive

F	Feminine
Fa	Father
Fe	Feminine
Fut	Future
Hu	Husband
Imper	Imperative
In	Inclusive
Indef	Indefinite
Infl	Inflectable
Inst	Instrumental
Int	Interjection
Intr	Intransitive
Irr	Irrealis
Loc	Locative
M	Masculine
Ma	Masculine
MaSg, etc.	See Ma and Sg, etc.
Mo	Mother
N	Noun; (unspecified) Nasal
NC	Noun-Class
Neg	Negative
Nom	Nominaliser
Nungg	Nunggubuyu (language)
P	Punctual
Pa	Past
Part	Particle
Pauc	Paucal
Pers	Person
Pl	Plural
pl.n.	place name
Pos	Positive

Poss	Possessive
Pot	Potential
Prf	Prefix
Pro	Pronoun
Pun	Punctual
Pur	Purposive
R	River
Rdp	Reduplication
Recip	Reciprocal
Refl	Reflexive
Sg	Singular
Si	Sister
So	Son
Syn	Synonym
Tr	Transitive
V	Verb; Vowel
Warnd	Warndarang (language)
Wi	Wife

Other Symbols:

Ø	zero; untranslatable morpheme
+	boundary after main verb
-	morpheme-boundary
#	word-boundary
1, 2, 3...	pronominal persons; verb-class number
:::	stylistic lengthening of a vowel

WARNDARANG GRAMMAR

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. The Setting

The Warndarang language (waṇḍaraŋ with retroflexed ṇḍ and flap r) was the northernmost member of the Mara-Alawic family, which included Yugul as well as Mara and Alawa. This family occupied a continuous area ranging from the Gulf of Carpentaria coast just north of the Rose River to a point between the mouth of the Limmen Bight River and Borroloola, and stretching inland to include the areas around Ngukurr (Roper River settlement) and Hodgson Downs. Yugul is now extinct but is said to have been similar to Mara. A rough sketch of the area in question is shown as Map 1.

The last proficient speaker of Warndarang was Isaac Joshua of Ngukurr, with whom I worked in 1973 and early 1974. He belonged to a clan centred at the place maŋajara, and which controlled the area around the Phelp River, a northward-flowing tributary of the Roper River. This clan, whose members have the surname Joshua, were called marawalwal.

A small clan called nuŋgayiñbalañ in Nunggubuyu owned the area around the mouth of the Rose River, including the site of Numbulwar Mission. They are said to have originally spoken Warndarang and Ngandi, but present-day members speak Nunggubuyu and Mara. The clan called nuŋgumajbar in Nunggubuyu, based at wumajbar billabong, also spoke Warndarang and Ngandi originally. The nuŋgaŋulgu clan to the north of the nuŋgayiñbalañ is said to have spoken primarily Warndarang. (The nuŋgumajbar and nuŋgaŋulgu are sometimes lumped together as 'nuŋgumajbar' by Aboriginals as well as researchers.)

An important clan called numamuḍiḍl in Nunggubuyu consists of two subclans. The subclan based at wuyagiba, a beach area just north of the Roper River mouth, probably spoke Warndarang primarily although

1

some descendants claim that Nunggubuyu has always been their language. The other subclan, centred at amaḷibiḷ north of the Rose River and well inland, spoke Ngandi.

Another clan belonging to the same semimoiety (mambali) as the numamuḍiḍi is centred at wanmaṛi, which is somewhere near maŋajara between the Roper and Rose rivers. This clan definitely spoke Warndarang.

Around the mouth of the Roper River and southward along the coast to the Towns River is the territory of the clan called wuḷiñiguḷiñi. This clan probably spoke Warndarang but also knew Mara well.*

The Mara language, which is still spoken by around twenty or thirty persons, and on which I have undertaken fieldwork, was spoken along much of the Limmen Bight River. The Yugul were divided into two groups by Isaac, the yugul proper in the area around Ngukurr, and the yugulmaŋgi in the billabong country south of Ngukurr. Alawa country is inland, west of Mara and south of Yugul, including the Hodgson Downs area.

The term (ṛa-)ŋuŋguḷaŋur was obtained from Isaac as a general designation for the Warndarang and Yugul and perhaps other nearby groups in the Roper River area. It is translated *fish hunters* by Aboriginals speaking English, but etymologically the term contains gentilic ŋuN- and the noun wu-ḷaŋur *corroboree* and hence really means *corroboree people*.

The term waṇḍaraŋ was used by Warndarang people as a designation for their language and for themselves as a language group. The term (ṛa-)wuyarawaḷa is also recorded as a designation for the Warndarang language. The Warndarang and their language are called waṇḍaraŋ by all surrounding language groups to the best of my knowledge.

The social classification of the Warndarang appears to have been essentially identical to that of the Mara. Like the Mara, the Warndarang classified persons into four named patrilineal semimoieties (mambali, muruŋun, wuḍal, guyal~wuyal), which were significant especially in ritual contexts. There was a weak tendency to associate mambali and muruŋun together as one unnamed moiety, and wuḍal and guyal as another. Thus an old man of the mambali clan at wanmaṛi, named Johnnie (ŋaŋuru), explained to me that he was capable of singing, and was permitted to sing, muruŋun as well as mambali songs because these two semimoieties were 'company' (i.e. closely affiliated), but could not help me with wuḍal or guyal songs. My principal informant, Isaac, was guyal.

The Nunggubuyu, to the north, have named moieties and (more-or-less) unnamed semimoieties, but their basic social organisation is similar to that of the Warndarang.

*See note at end of Chapter One, p. 7.

RITHARNGU

NGANDI

NUNGGUBUYU

Cape
Barrow

numamuḍiḍi

nuŋgaŋulgu

nuŋgumajbar

Rose River

Phelp River

Numbúlwar

nuŋgayiñbalañ

mambali
(wanmaṛi)

Edward I.

numamuḍiḍi

NGALAKAN

Roper   River

YUGUL

• Ngukurr

marawalwal

GULF OF CARPENTARIA

yugulmaŋgi

ALAWA

wuḷiñiguliñi

MARA

Bight   River

Limmen

0   10   50 Km
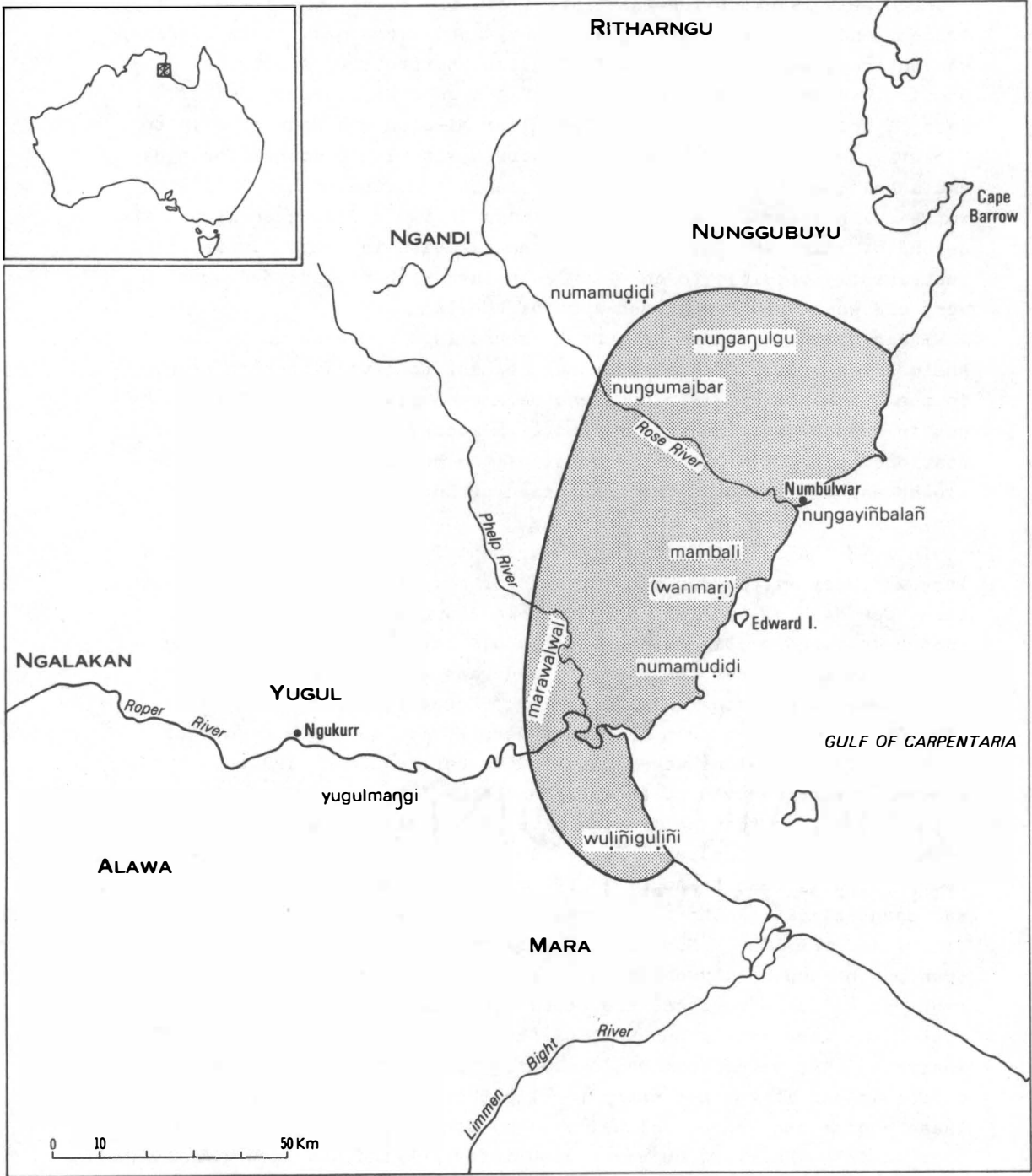
1.2. Fieldwork

From July 1973 until August 1976 I did fieldwork in eastern
Arnhem Land, concentrating on Nunggubuyu and Ritharngu. This research
was entirely supported by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal
Studies. Hearing that there was only one good Warndarang speaker
left, I interrupted my work at Numbulwar Mission and went briefly to
Ngukurr toward the end of 1973. I worked with Isaac Joshua for a day
and a half, mostly getting names of plants and fish. In 1974 I
worked with Isaac for about fifteen days in two separate sessions, the
second of which was terminated by Isaac's death in July. It was
subsequently possible to check a few points with Elizabeth Joshua, a
very old woman who remembered some of the language.

Isaac Joshua was born somewhere around 1904 and grew up in the
Phelp River region. As a young man he went to live with Mara people
in the Limmen Bight River area and became as proficient in Mara as he
was in Warndarang. He then worked as a stockman at a succession of
stations to the south and southeast of the Roper River. In his old
age he was in demand in the area as an authority on Aboriginal
ceremonies.

In 1973 and 1974 the situation was that Isaac had used his native
language very little for twenty years or so. Particularly in the
first few days of my fieldwork, this led to his giving me some
incorrect paradigmatic material or to his failing to remember some
forms. In most cases these errors and gaps were later remedied in
the course of checking and rechecking. However, Isaac could not
remember some of the more difficult verb forms, so these remain as
gaps. A few Mara-isms were noted in the earliest material collected,
and were later removed at Isaac's request.

Somewhat less than half of my time with Isaac was spent recording,
transcribing, and analysing texts, as well as going over texts which
had previously been transcribed by Capell and Sharpe. The remainder
was spent eliciting short utterances such as flora-fauna terms, verb
forms, and the like. Nominal and pronominal morphology was basically
transparent and easily obtained by elicitation, except that kin terms
required a little patience and double-checking. The demonstrative
system was more tricky but most of the nuances emerged from textual
analysis. The verbal system, including pronominal prefixes, was
difficult and it was necessary to elicit persistently in this area;
Isaac became annoyed occasionally at my double-checking 'over and
over again'. However, he was a good informant and his good command of
English and its creole varieties, as well as Nunggubuyu and other

Aboriginal languages, was of invaluable help. The contact language
was mainly English, except that some vocabulary domains (especially
flora-fauna) were sometimes best investigated with Nunggubuyu cues.
On good days our work together totalled five hours or so in two
separate sessions.

Flora vocabulary was elicited principally by collecting specimens
from Numbulwar and Ngukurr, both in or near Warndarang country; these
were identified by botanists in Darwin and Canberra. Fauna vocabulary
was elicited mainly by showing Isaac pictures or photos of species
known to occur in the area. This procedure was far from being
infallible, but it was the only way to operate in a short time, and I
had done enough work on Nunggubuyu flora-fauna vocabulary to enable me
to avoid excessive misidentifications (for example, I knew that
certain pictures of birds could be confusing, but ambiguity could be
resolved by supplying verbal information about habitat, size, etc.).
The usual handbooks such as Munro's *The Fishes of New Guinea* (for
marine fish), Lake's *Freshwater Rivers and Fishes of Australia*,
Cogger's *Australian Reptiles in Color*, and so forth, were used.
Although the accuracy of species identifications for Warndarang is
less than in the other dictionaries I am preparing, the great majority
are certainly accurate in terms of 1974 taxonomy (but readers should
note that taxonomic revisions are constantly changing nomenclature).

Readers interested in library research on this language will find
my typewritten field notes, lodged at the Institute, fairly
intelligible, and can also listen to tapes collected my myself and
Dr Sharpe, which are lodged and catalogued at the Institute.

1.3. Previous Research

Warndarang materials collected by previous fieldworkers, Dr Capell
and Dr Margaret Sharpe (née Cunningham), are mostly unpublished.
Dr Capell published two transcribed and translated texts (1960) and a
few notes on the grammar (1942). His raw field notes were made
available to me by A.I.A.S., but were of little use since they are very
raw indeed and difficult for another researcher to decipher. I did,
however, go through the two texts in Capell (1960) with Isaac and
obtained a revised transcription and analysis, cf. Heath (1974a).
Isaac told me that the principal informant used by Dr Capell was his
brother Joshua Joshua, who died many years ago.

In 1965 Dr Sharpe worked on Alawa at Ngukurr, and on the side spent
three days with Isaac working on Warndarang. She recorded several

short texts and obtained tentative transcriptions and phrase-by-phrase translations in Roper River Pidgin. Although I was unable to go over these texts with Isaac before he died, I did listen to the tapes and revised Dr Sharpe's transcription as well as producing word-by-word glosses. This was possible since most of the material in these texts was relatively easy and repetitive; cf. Heath (1974b).

I wish to thank both Dr Capell and Dr Sharpe for permission to use their unpublished materials and for cooperating with me in other ways. The combination of the materials collected by the three of us has resulted in a much richer textual corpus than any one of us obtained. My texts are mostly of the swashbuckling variety; Dr Capell's are traditional dreamtime narratives; and Dr Sharpe's are mostly melancholy reflections on the passing of the language.

One of my texts, describing a massacre which took place around Hodgson Downs before the turn of the century, will be published in a volume of texts on the subject of Aboriginal-European contact to be edited by Peter Sutton and Luise Hercus and published by A.I.A.S.; cf. Heath (forthcoming -a).

1.4. Methodology

I have tried to write this grammar as far as possible in simple prose, without larding it with transformational algebra. This is due to several factors: the nature of the language itself, the writer's predilections, and the fact that in some instances the data are insufficient to support rigorous formalisations.

The language is already virtually dead, so I have not oriented the grammar toward practical uses such as those to which some of my other publications on viable languages will be applied.

The principal goal which I have had in mind in writing this volume has been contributing some basic descriptive material which will be useful in the long-term comparative study of languages in the south-eastern Arnhem Land area. I believe that this study will prove to be very interesting for theory, since evidence is accumulating pointing to very substantial diffusion of linguistic material across genetic family boundaries in this region. Some things which are not supposed to be transferable have in fact been transferred from one language to another, e.g. from Nunggubuyu to Warndarang or from Ritharngu to Ngandi. I am thinking particularly about grammatical morphemes like case suffixes, noun-class prefixes, verbalising suffixes, and the like (Heath 1978), as well as massive diffusion of vocabulary.

Obviously, for such a study to achieve worthwhile results it is absolutely essential that we get reliable information on every language in the relevant region. Since Warndarang was in immediate danger of becoming extinct when I arrived in Arnhem Land, I am particularly relieved that fieldwork on it was possible.

Although this volume has many defects and gaps, which are quite apparent to the writer, I feel that it will provide sufficient information to make it useful in a broad areal study, and also in the study of the history of the Mara-Alawic family. With respect to the latter, I am especially happy that reasonably detailed information was obtained concerning the forms and meaning of inflectable verbs (including auxiliaries). I believe that this aspect of morphology has been relatively immune from areal borrowings, and so constitutes the most useful basis for applying standard, non-areal historical linguistic techniques and for ultimately determining the genetic position of Warndarang within the Mara-Alawic group.

*Note: Elizabeth (see 1.1 below) belonged to another clan, of wuḍal semimoiety, located between the Rose and Roper rivers. I do not know the exact location of its territory and I am not certain that it was entirely Warndarang-speaking.

CHAPTER TWO

PHONOLOGY

2.1. Consonantal Phonemes

The consonants of Warndarang are listed in Table 2-1.

There are no stop oppositions of the fortis/lenis type found in languages to the north and west (e.g. Ngandi and reconstructed Proto-Nunggubuyu). Occasional reduplications like gunduggundug *crooked* are best considered as containing clusters such as gg rather than a fortis stop k.

In the case of lamino-alveolar j, however, it should be mentioned that there is a fairly common cluster dj which in some ways patterns as the fortis form of j. This sound occurs, for example, in mudju *river coolibah*.

Simple stops are most often phonetically voiced and lenis except in syllable-final position, where they are normally voiceless. However, the uncommon interdental stop d̪ is always fortis and voiceless. Most or all words with this sound are loanwords from Nunggubuyu or another northern language, as in ṛad̪ar *dugong harpoon*.

Table 2-1

	Bi-labials	Inter-dentals	Apico-alveolars	Retro-flexed	Lamino-alveolars	Velars
Stops	b	d̪	d	ḍ	j	g
Nasals	m		n	ṇ	ñ	ŋ
Laterals			l	ḷ		
R-Sounds			r	ṛ		
Semivowels					y	w

A reasonable case could be made for taking homorganic nasal-stop sequences like nd and ŋg as unit phonemes. The evidence is not quite as cogent as in Alawa, where word-initial nasal-stop sequences are found (Sharpe 1972:16).

In Warndarang, such combinations normally cannot occur on the surface, but there are many noun stems which begin with them, e.g. (wu-)ndula *leg*. When the noun-class prefix is omitted the nasal is usually not pronounced, so we get dula. If the question whether nd and other such combinations are phonemic units is decided on the basis of distributional patterning (as it should be), we are then faced with the problem of choosing our reference point - underlying representations (where /ndula/ is possible), or surface forms.

My feeling is that nd and similar sounds are somewhere between ordinary clusters and obvious unit phonemes, so little light is shed by forcing a decision between the unit and cluster analyses. The fact that nd and similar sounds occur initially in many noun stems sets them apart from other clusters; the only other clusters which occur stem-initially are ŋg in interrogative stems like -nga *what?* and dñ~nñ in the demonstrative stem -dñaya~-nñaya. In rules determining permissible triple clusters, nd and similar combinations also tend to differ from ordinary clusters. However, nd and the like cannot occur syllable-finally, whereas all productive unit phonemes can (ḍ cannot, but this is a rare and marginal phoneme).

Phonemic glottal stops abound in languages to the north and west such as Ngandi and Ngalkbon, and probably Ngalakan. However, they are absent from Nunggubuyu, Mara, and languages to the south. In Warndarang, I heard phonetic glottal stops fairly often, but I am aware of no clear evidence that these sounds are phonemic. Words ending in vowels, when pronounced in isolation, often optionally add a phonetic glottal stop at the end, but this is unstable and disappears in non-prepausal position. By contrast, those Ngandi words which have final glottal stops show them clearly in all sentential positions.

The other position where phonetic glottal stops occur in Warndarang is between two consonants. The two are apparently always sonorants (liquids, semivowels, nasals), and by far the most common case is where the first consonant is a liquid and the second is a nasal. An example is mir̥mir̥ya *yesterday*, which was usually heard as mir̥ʔmir̥ya. This phenomenon was also noted over the + boundary (cf. 6.1), as in wur̥+ŋa-gañi (frequently heard as wur̥ʔ+ŋa-gañi) *I put it down*. My conclusion was that the glottal stops in Warndarang are nonphonemic.

Alveolar r is a flap; retroflexed ṛ is a glide like American r.

The sequence ly occurs in only a few words. On the basis of both articulation and distributional patterning I regard this as a cluster rather than as a unit phoneme parallel to ñ.

In general, apico-alveolar and retroflexed consonants are not distinguished word- or stem-initially, or after consonants. Apical consonants which do occur word- or stem-initially are normally heard as retroflexed where it is possible to observe the distinction (i.e., after a word ending in a vowel), and stems like ḍirwu *to dive in* reduplicate as ḍirwu-ḍirwu, where the retroflexion is more easily heard in the second occurrence of the stem. However, initial nd contrasts with ṇḍ in noun stems (these are clearly distinct when a noun-class prefix like wu- is present). There is also one noun beginning in d as opposed to the many with initial ḍ. This is daga *sister*, as in ŋi-daga-ñu *his sister* and (ŋa-nu) daga *your sister*. Since a stem-shape -ndaga is also found (cf. 3.9) we may regard this initial d as representing *nd at least etymologically, so that alongside the nd/ṇḍ initial opposition there are no clear traces of an opposition d/ḍ.

Regardless of whether there is a phonemic opposition between d and ḍ, n and ṇ, and l and ḷ in initial position, I will transcribe these sounds phonetically (hence ṇ and ḷ instead of n and l, and ḍ except in daga). After consonants, where I could hear no apicoalveolar/ retroflexed opposition, I will use the apicoalveolar symbols (hence guḷday instead of *guḷḍay, etc.) except in the cluster ṇḍ and in cases where we know from other forms that the second consonant is retroflexed (as in reduplicated ḍabur-ḍabur).

Boundaries: # is a word- (or clause-) boundary, over which regular phonological rules do not apply. The symbol + is used for the special boundary between a main verb and the following inflected auxiliary. The symbol - is used for other word-internal morpheme-boundaries. There is no clear direct phonological realisation of such boundaries, but + and - both permit various phonological rules to apply across them. For example, rule P-3 applies only at the + boundary, while P-9 applies only at the - boundary (cf. below).

For the symbol N in Gentilic ŋuN-, cf. 3.12.

2.2. Vocalic Phonemes

The basic vowels are a, i, u. In addition to these, Mara has two or three instances of e, and in a more exhaustive Warndarang lexicon one or two of these same lexical items might have turned up with e.

The common interjection yo::::! (usually with some stylistic lengthen-ing) *yes, good!* is the only example of o-quality. This interjection, with a variant yowey!, is found in many Aboriginal languages and in Pidgin English in the area.

Mara tends to phonetically lengthen vowels in open initial syllables in bisyllabic words (e.g. ḏuŋal *spear* becomes phonetic ḏu:ŋal), but no such process occurs in Warndarang.

Despite the apparent absence, or at least extreme rarity, of e and o phonemes, the three basic vowels (a, i, u) do not show any particular tendency toward wide allophonic range. In normal, moderately careful speech I did not notice any of these basic vowel phonemes showing allophones such as [o, ɔ, e, ɛ]. The vowel a is usually a back vowel, like the first vowel of English *father*; I did not notice an allophone [æ] as a regular feature in any environment.

2.3. Distributional Restrictions

I will describe only the main patterns here. There are no word- or stem-initial clusters except as described in 2.14.

Word- and stem-final clusters are of the type AB, where A is a nonnasal sonorant (liquid or semivowel) and B is a velar or lamino-alveolar stop or nasal. Examples: (ṟa-)wajaḷg *mud*; jalg *to stab*; jawj *to surround*; (ṟa-)murñmurñ *bubbles*. The only other apparent stem-final clusters result from Stop-Insertion P-3 (cf. 2.6), e.g. ñimb+u-ŋa-gaya *I will make a camp* from /ñim+u-ŋa-gaya/. However, here it is questionable whether the inserted b is to the left or right of the + boundary.

Medial triple clusters are uncommon. Liquids can be followed by homorganic nasal-stop clusters: (ŋi-)ŋulŋgun *bee sp.*; buṟŋgur *dirty water*. Another type shows a syllable-final cluster beginning the following syllables: (ṟa-)guḷgmin *heavy*. This type also occurs in frozen reduplications like (ṟa-)guralgguralg *koel bird* and (ṟa-)ŋirgŋirg *cockatoo*; note also (ṟa-)murñmurñ mentioned above.

Medial double clusters are of many types, though not all possible combinations are attested. (The cluster nj counts as homorganic, since there is no distinction, to my knowledge, between nj and ñj, and the clusters which do occur are here transcribed as nj.) Geminate clusters do not normally occur, except in a handful of frozen reduplications like garaggarag *darter (duck sp.)*. Some clusters of nonhomorganic stops are attested: jaḏbin *fish trap*; bugbana *swamp pheasant*; ḏiliyagḏiliyag *wedge-tailed eagle*; ṟaŋajba *fat*.

Homorganic nasal-stop clusters are very common medially. Non-homorganic nasal-stop clusters of some types can also be found: yaḷiñga *uncircumcised*. Some examples of nasal-nasal clusters: miññaṇa *sleep (n.)*; biṇmiri *tree sp.*; ḍiñmanjar *kingfisher*. An occasional stop-nasal cluster turns up: wudṇuy *two*; ṇagṇag *white-breasted sea eagle*.

Clusters beginning with liquids are common: galṇi *until*; ṇalbum *to dawn*; muraṛbu *crab*. However, liquids are not normally found as the second members of clusters.

There are a few instances of word-initial vowels, chiefly in adverbs. Examples: argaḷi *west* and its derivatives; ablative prefix an(a)- used with cardinal direction terms, as in ana-wuñmi *from the north*. The common noun-class prefix ṛa- has an occasional variant a-; the latter variant was used rarely by Isaac but regularly by Elizabeth. The third person intransitive pronominal prefixes and some third person on third person transitive prefixes begin with a; e.g. third singular intransitive a-. However, at an underlying level it may be necessary to posit a representation /Wa-/, and so on for the other third person forms, for morphophonemic reasons. The /W/ hardens to surface g after a stop or nasal and disappears otherwise.

The Potential prefix added to verbs appears to have a base-form /u-/, but when word-initial this is normally pronounced wu- and cannot be distinguished from underlying /wu-/. Therefore we can say that u can occur word-initially in underlying representations but not on the surface. Similar comments could be made about i, since at certain intermediate points in the derivation of inflected verb stems beginning with /i/ and preceded only by third singular /Wa-/ there is a word-initial /i/ which later becomes yi.

On the surface, a is the only word-initial vowel permitted.

2.4. Stop-Lenition

Warndarang does not have the elaborate alternations of stops and nonstops found in Nunggubuyu, but there are some examples of the following alternations: g/w, b/w, j/y. In most such instances the stop is historically and synchronically primary.

The alternations b/w and j/y occur in certain reduplications where the second occurrence of the stem-initial b or j is intervocalic: jaṛi-yaṛi from jaṛi *to do continuously* (cf. noun -njaṛi *many*); -biyi-wiyima from -biyima, a reciprocal auxiliary verb. The rule can be given as follows:

$$\text{P-1} \quad \left.\begin{array}{l} b \rightarrow w \\ j \rightarrow y \end{array}\right\} \;//\; \underset{\text{RDP}}{\left[\;\underset{\text{RDP}}{CV((C)CV)}\;\right]} - \underline{\quad} \; V$$

There are exceptions: buwa-buwa from buwa *to face punishment by spearing*.

The only alternation g/w noted is the optional lenition of the semimoiety name guyal to -wuyal when prefixes ending in vowels are added: ŋa-wuyal *I am guyal*. Other stems beginning in g do not show this lenition. Note also the reduplication -gaya-gaya from -gaya, a form of the auxiliary -ga-.

Other traces of the historical process of lenition can be found in frozen reduplications: gujirwujir *jellyfish*; jiriyiri *ray sp.*; biṛiwiṛi *tree sp.* None of these should be treated as synchronic reduplications since they are entirely frozen. In a few examples we find the stop in the second occurrence of the stem and the nonstop in the first: mawaṛayimbirjimbir *hook spear* (perhaps once segmentable as *ma-waṛa-jimbir-jimbir or the like). Here the consonantal environment may have played a role in determining where lenition took place; note that the second but not the first occurrence of *j here was postconsonantal.

Although there are only a few synchronic alternations of the types mentioned above, it is clear that a great many Warndarang words have undergone lenition historically, with the old unlenited form lost forever. For example, we may compare Warndarang waṛiyi *(Aboriginal) person* with Mara gaṛiyi (same meaning).

2.5. The Morphophoneme W

I use the symbol /W/ in underlying transcriptions of third person pronominal prefixes to account for morphophonemic alternations of surface Ø and g. The rule is:

$$\text{P-2} \quad W \rightarrow \left\{\begin{array}{ll} g & //\; \left\{\begin{array}{l}\text{Stop} \\ \text{Nasal}\end{array}\right\} + \underline{\quad} \\[2ex] \text{Ø} & //\; \text{elsewhere} \end{array}\right.$$

The + boundary here is that between a main verb and an auxiliary verb (the latter begins with pronominal prefixes). This boundary is different both from the usual word-internal morpheme boundary - and from the word boundary # between words not bound to each other. Main verbs and their auxiliaries are rather tightly linked to each other.

Examples: jaj+ga-ja *he chased him* and gal+a-ja *he speared him* with /Wa-/ 3SG → 3SG; ṛaŋ+gara-gañi *they killed him* and gi+ara-gañi *they took him* with /Wara-/ 3PL → 3SG. The formula A→B here means a transitive pronominal prefix (cf. 4.4) indicating A as subject and B as object.

It would be entirely possible to do away with the morphophoneme /W/ and instead formulate a rule inserting g in this position; the prefixes would then have an underlying form like /a-/, /ara-/, etc.

2.6. Stop-Insertion

The Potential prefix, which precedes pronominal prefixes attached to inflected verbs or auxiliaries, often shows up on the surface as wu- but is here assigned a base-form /u-/. The form u- is found on the surface when preceded by a main verb ending in a stop, as in ṇad+u-ŋa-ṛa *I will run*. After liquids and semivowels we get either wu- or u-, so that gal+u-ŋa-ṛa and gal+wu-ŋa-ṛa are both possible for *I will grow*. After vowels, or in the absence of a preceding main verb, the prefix was usually heard as wu-, as in wu-ŋa-ṛara *I will go*.

Stop-Insertion applies when /u-/ is preceded by a stem ending in a nasal. A stop is inserted, agreeing with the point of articulation of the nasal except that g (not j) is inserted after ñ. The rule can be written like this:

$$
\text{P-3} \qquad \emptyset \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} b \\ d \\ \d{d} \\ g \end{bmatrix} \; // \; \begin{bmatrix} m \\ n \\ \d{n} \\ \left\{\begin{matrix} ñ \\ ŋ \end{matrix}\right\} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\quad} + \text{u-}
$$

Examples: ñimb+u-ŋa-gaya *I will make a camp*; ḍiwand+u-ŋa-biñu *I will cook it*; ḍuṇḍ+u-mayiñu *he will get up*; ṛaŋg+u-ŋa-giñu *I will kill him*; wuñg+u-∅-naŋima *it (the sun) will shine*. The main verbs here are ñim, ḍiwan, ḍuṇ, ṛaŋ, and wuñ.

2.7. Hardening of /y/ to j

Hardening, as I use the term, is the opposite of stop-lenition. The only clear examples in Warndarang involve the verbal prefixes ya- and yu- (6.4, 6.7), whose initial semivowel is optionally converted into j after a stop or nasal: gu-ṛaŋ+ju-lu-gayimari *they are not fighting* from base-form /gu-ṛaŋ+yu-Wala-gayimari/.

Contrast unhardened yu- in gu-gi+yu-∅-yaṇi *he did not go*.

$$P-4 \qquad y \rightarrow j \quad // \quad \begin{Bmatrix} \text{Stop} \\ \text{Nasal} \end{Bmatrix} + \underline{\quad}$$

The rule applies only across the + boundary, between a main verb and the following auxiliary. It does not apply across the - boundary (other word-internal morpheme-boundaries), and therefore cannot apply to Locative -yaṇa (3.6).

2.8. Other Consonant-Cluster Rules

The cluster /rṛ/ occasionally occurs across morpheme boundaries in underlying representations, since some dual pronominal prefixes end in r and some inflectable verbs and auxiliaries begin in ṛ. When this cluster occurs it undergoes this rule:

$$P-5 \qquad ṛ \rightarrow ∅ \quad // \quad r \underline{\quad}$$

Examples: wu-ñir-a *we*(DuEx) *will go* from base-form /u-ñir(i)-ṛa/.

Often when a stop is followed by a nasal across a morpheme boundary the stop is nasalised; this is usually optional.

$$P-6 \qquad \text{Stop} \rightarrow \text{Nasal} \quad // \quad \underline{\quad} - \text{Nasal}$$

Examples: gi+an-mayi *they*(Du) *went* from base-form /gi+ad-mayi/.

There are other instances of the assimilation or contraction of consonant clusters. The limitations of the data do not permit a complete treatment.

In ṇa-nad, reduplicated from ṇad *to run*, the base-form is /ṇad-ṇad/. First we have /ṇan-ṇad/ by P-6, then contraction of /nṇ/ to surface n.

Another contraction is seen in reduplicated ḍu-ḍub from ḍub *to throw*, which has a base-form /ḍub-ḍub/.

Geminate clusters are generally simplified across - or + boundaries, especially in the case of geminate stops. Example: mulg+a-ba *he went to sleep* from underlying /mulg+Wa-ba/ via intermediate /mulg+ga-ba/.

2.9. Vowel-Shifting

A final /a/ or /i/ in a pronominal prefix in the verb complex is conditionally shifted to surface u by the following rule:

$$P-7 \qquad V \rightarrow u \quad // \quad \begin{bmatrix} \underset{\text{Prefixes}}{\ldots V \ldots V \ldots} \underline{\quad} \end{bmatrix}_{\text{Prefixes}}$$

That is, when the final /a/ or /i/ is preceded by at least two vowels (i.e. two syllables) at the level where P-7 applies, the /a/ or /i/ becomes u.

For example, contrast ala-ṛara *they*(Pl) *went* from /Wala-ṛara/, where the final /a/ of /Wala-/ does not shift, with ya-lu-ṛara *they*(Pl) *came* and wu-lu-ṛara *they*(Pl) *will come*. The latter two consist of /Wala-ṛara/ preceded by Centripetal /ya-/ and Potential /u-/, respectively. Since /ya-Wala-ṛara/ and /u-Wala-ṛara/ both show two vowels preceding the final /a/ of /-Wala-/, this vowel shifts to u. Note that P-7 must precede the rules which contract /uWa/ to u and /yaWa/ to ya.

Several pronominal prefixes are trisyllabic and so always show final u instead of a or i, e.g. ñililu- 2Sg/3Sg→1PlEx. Here it is possible to put the u in the underlying representation and so it is not necessary to have such forms undergo P-7.

The pronominal prefixes ŋala- 1PlIn; 1PlIn→3Sg and ŋara- 2Sg/3Sg→1Sg are exceptions to P-7 and do not shift their final vowel even when a prefix like /ya-/ or /u-/ is preposed to them: gal+u-ŋara-jaŋa *you*(Sg)/*he will spear me.*

2.10 y-Deletion

In certain prefix combinations it appears necessary to set up a rule deleting /y/. For example, gu-gi+ya-Ø-ru-gi *They did not bring it* can be derived from intermediate /gu-gi+ya-u-ru-gi/, where /-u-/ here is not the Potential suffix (which cannot cooccur with Negative gu-) but rather a reduced form of Third Person Negative /-yu-/. Another example is gi+ya-ru-ga *Bring it!*(Pl addressee), which should have a base form /gi-ya-yuru-ga/, with 2Pl→3Sg prefix Curu- taking its imperative form /yuru-/. If we convert this into /gi-ya-uru-ga/ by deleting the /y/, the correct surface form can be generated by the vowel-cluster contraction rule to be described below.

Both examples involve Centripetal ya- just before the /y/ which is deleted. Presumably we are dealing with some sort of haplology to avoid too many /y/'s, but it would appear that the deletion rule is isolated and morphophonemic rather than a productive phonological rule. We state it as P-8.

$$P-8 \qquad y \rightarrow \emptyset \; // \; \left[\text{ya} - \underline{\quad} \; ... \right]$$
$$\text{Prefixes} \qquad\qquad \text{Prefixes}$$

2.11. Vowel-Cluster Contraction

There are several instances where two or three underlying vowels come together and must be contracted into a single vowel. This situation arises frequently in verb complexes.

If the final vowel is /i/ the contracted vowel is i, as in gu-gur+ŋ-idi *I did not steal it* from /gu-gur+ŋa-idi/.

In geminate clusters the surface vowel quality is, of course, the same as that of the underlying vowels: ŋab+ja-Ø-ṛa *It came up* from /ŋab+ya-Wa-ṛa/ via /ŋab+ya-a-ṛa/.

The other underlying clusters which arise are /ua/ and /au/. The former cluster turns up when Potential /u-/ or Third Person Negative /yu-/ precedes third person pronominal prefixes beginning in /Wa/; the /W/ drops out here and /ua/ becomes surface u. An example: wu-Ø-ṛara *He will go* from /u-Wa-ṛara/.

The cluster /au/ becomes a in gi+ya-ru-ga *Bring it!*(Pl addressee) from /gi+ya-uru-ga/, with /-uru-/ from /-yuru-/ by P-9.

We may formulate the rule tentatively as P-9:

$$P\text{-}9 \qquad V_1 V_1 \;\rightarrow\; V_1$$
$$Vi \;\rightarrow\; i$$
$$ua \;\rightarrow\; u$$
$$au \;\rightarrow\; a$$

A triple cluster occurs in gu-gur+y-Ø-ida from /gu-gur+yu-Wa-ida/ *He will not steal it*. When the /W/ is deleted we get a cluster /uai/. The correct output i can be generated by applying P-9 twice, starting either with /ua/ or with /ai/ and then reducing the intermediate form /ui/ to i.

The contraction rule does not operate over the + boundary between main verbs and the following morphemes in verb complexes: wari+wu-ŋa-ṛa *I will go back* from /wari+u-ŋa-ṛa/; wari+a-ṛani *He is going back* from /wari+Wa-ṛani/. Therefore surface sequences a+a, i+a, and u+a are found. In the first of these there is a hiatus (though no glottal stop or other sharp boundary-marker), with two syllabic prominences. In the second case, I am not certain whether phonetic contrasts with i+ya could be directly observed; since the sequence *u+wa does not happen to occur there is no way to tell whether it would be phonetically identical to u+a.

2.12. Semivowel-Insertion

Examples have already been given showing the insertion of initial epenthetic w before Potential /u-/ when this morpheme is word-initial or follows a main verb ending in a vowel or liquid (in the latter case the w is optional). Since there are no other instances of word-initial or stem-initial /u/, this can be considered a regular phonological rule rather than a special morphophonemic one.

Furthermore, auxiliary stems beginning in /i/ receive a parallel epenthetic semivowel y when they become word-initial or follow main verbs ending in vowels, semivowels, or liquids. This happens when a pronominal prefix /Wa-/ 3Sg is phonologically eliminated by the deletion of /W/ in P-2 and by the absorption of /a/ by the stem-final /i/ in P-9. Examples: Ø-yiḍaṇa *he defecated* from /Wa-iḍaṇa/; ḷaw+Ø-yiṇa *he crossed it* from /ḷaw+Wa-iṇa/.

We may formulate the rule like this:

$$
\text{P-10} \qquad \emptyset \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} w \\ y \end{bmatrix} \quad // \quad \left\{ \begin{Bmatrix} V \\ \text{Liquid} \\ \text{Semivowel} \\ \# \end{Bmatrix} + \right\} \quad - \begin{bmatrix} u \\ i \end{bmatrix}
$$

Whenever the sequence /Wa-i.../ occurs after a main verb ending in a stop or nasal, the /W/ becomes g by P-2. Therefore the epenthetic y created by P-10 will never undergo hardening to j by P-4, since P-10 will never introduce a /y/ following a stop or nasal.

2.13. Reduplication

There are three reduplication patterns, all initial:

> a. bisyllabic: CVCV–
> b. monosyllabic: CV–
> c. full

Inflectable verbs normally take the bisyllabic reduplication. There may be lenition of a stem-initial stop in its intervocalic occurrence. Examples: wu-ṇala-gaya-gaya *We will keep taking it*; ala-biyi-wiyima *They were all fighting*.

There are two examples of the monosyllabic type with inflectable verbs: ṇara-wi-wini *They (always) give it to me*; wu-ru-ga-gayama *They will hear it*.

The inflectable verb can be reduplicated only if there is no preceding main verb. If there is a main verb, the latter is what gets

reduplicated. In this event the reduplication is the full type:
waṟ-waṟ+ŋa-wiṇḍima *I saw him frequently*; ŋiṇḍal-ŋiṇḍal+a-gaya
He transported them. This type is quite common.

Reduplication in verb complexes usually indicates repetition,
distribution, or continuity of action. The inflected verb is
therefore normally in the Continuous form in those tenses which
distinguish Continuous from Punctual. However, a handful of
Punctual reduplications are attested, perhaps with intensive or
multiple connotations.

About two dozen noun stems are attested in bisyllabic reduplications
indicating multiple plurality. Most of these are human status terms:
wulu-muna-munaŋa-ñu *white people* (stem -munaŋa-); wulu-jawu-yawulba-ñu
old people; wulu-ṟiḍa-ṟiḍarŋu(-ñu) *Ritharngu people* (a tribe name).
This type of reduplication is very rare with adjectival nouns and
nonhuman nouns; about the only examples which come to mind are
-njaṟi-njaṟi *many* (simplex -njaṟi) and wu-ḷuḷga-ḷuḷga *islands* (simplex
-ḷuḷga-).

This reduplicative type should be distinguished from the many
frozen, lexicalised reduplicated noun stems like marañmarañ *grass sp.*
and gunduggundug *crooked*. In the frozen type the reduplication does
not specifically indicate plurality, and the unreduplicated simplex
does not occur.

When a compounding element is preposed to an uninflected main verb,
only the latter is reduplicated: guḷa-ŋaw *to lie down*, reduplication
guḷa-ŋaw-ŋaw. The composite inflectable stem -maljuṟa (-mal-juṟa)
to be sitting reduplicates to -mal-maljuṟa.

The reduplication of -mama, the Past Actual Continuous/Future
Positive Continuous of the inflectable verb stem -ma-, is irregular.
In this form the second -ma- is a Continuous affix found also with
other verb stems, and is not a reduplicated segment. We would expect
the reduplication of -mama to be *-mama-mama or *-ma-mama, but neither
occurs. As it turns out, the only form which can be reduplicated is
a-mama with 3Sg pronominal prefix a-. The reduplication is formed by
chopping off the final syllable and repeating the entire verb form:
a-ma-a-ma. This has four syllabic prominences.

2.14. Nasal-Deletion

In ordinary speech, noun stems beginning with mb, nd, ṇḍ, ŋg, or nj
lose their nasal when no prefixes are present to 'protect' them.
Hence wu-ndula and prefixless dula *leg*.

P-11   Nasal → Ø // # __ C

This rule also applies to /ŋaŋu/ *east*, with an initial non-homorganic cluster. The usual form is gaŋu, but the adverb wu-niñi *there* combines with it to form a frozen sequence wu-niñi-ŋaŋu. Taking the base-form as /ŋaŋu/, we derive gaŋu by allowing P-11 to apply.

Interrogative stems like -ŋa beginning with ŋg, and demonstrative -dñaya--ññaya, always have prefixes and so are unaffected by P-11.

Verb stems normally do not begin with clusters. However, certain derivatives of gaṟ *to dance* suggest an original by-form *ŋgaṟ. Although the form with Negative gu- is gu-gaṟ (e.g. gu-gaṟ+ŋa-mamari *I am not dancing*) without nasal, note the reduplicated form gaṟ-ŋgaṟ, and see 10.4 for another piece of evidence.

An exception to P-11 is the reduplicated verb stem mbir-mbir *to make a nest*, found in one of Capell's texts and confirmed by my research. This is clearly an archaic word, found only in a traditional narrative.

Aside from /ŋgaṟ/ and mbir-mbir, I know of no verb stems which require an initial nasal-stop cluster at any phonological level. Historically, the reason why such clusters have survived only in nouns (and in demonstratives and other forms which take nominal prefixes) is probably that such stems usually have prefixes protecting the initial cluster from simplification by P-14. Verb stems, on the other hand, are infrequently found with prefixes. Therefore even if a verb stem had a form with initial *nj or *ṇḍ in an earlier stage of Warndarang, the nasal would have appeared on the surface (after P-11) only in a minority of instances, and so might easily have been lost altogether by reanalysis of the most common surface form as representing the underlying form. Only the archaic word mbir-mbir, and the stem /ŋgaṟ/ (whose reduplication is frequent) have retained traces of an original nasal.

In this connection note the contrast of adjectival noun njaṟi *many*, reduplication njaṟi-njaṟi (subject to P-11 if prefixless) to the etymologically identical verb stem jaṟi *to do many times*, reduplication jaṟi-yaṟi (with Lenition). Similarly, note noun (wu-)njiṟiba *nose*, contrasting with the compounding element jiṟi- *nose*, used chiefly in verbal constructions. The loss of final -ba in compounding forms is paralleled by (wu-)ŋaralba *eye*, compounding form ŋaral-.

Two nouns take different forms depending on which of two alternative nominal prefixes is used. *Semen* is wu-ŋguṛa or ṛa-guṛa. *Reddish black water lily fruit* is wu-jagiri or ma-njagiri. Neither noun is attested without prefixes.

CHAPTER THREE
Nominal Morphology

3.1. Nouns and Adjectives

Nouns and adjectives make up a single form class hereafter referred
to simply as 'nouns'. However, it is possible to make a distinction
between those nouns which can take intransitive pronominal prefixes
when functioning as predicates (e.g. jawulba *old man* in ŋa-jawulba
I am an old man) and those which cannot take such prefixes. In
general, nouns denoting human status and most nouns of adjectival
type (i.e. indicating qualities) do take such prefixes. However,
kin terms do not. For many nouns my data do not permit a decision as
to whether they can take these prefixes.

3.2. Noun-class Prefixes

Although nouns can occur without prefixes, especially in citation
forms, they usually take one of a set of noun-class (NC) prefixes.
The principal exceptions are kinship terms with first or second person
possessor, and nouns functioning as predicates and hence taking
intransitive pronominal prefixes.

Human nouns take one of the following NC prefixes:

ŋa-	masculine singular (MSg)
ŋi-	feminine singular (FSg)
yiri-	dual (Du)
yili-	paucal (Pauc)
wulu-	plural (Pl)
ṛa-	indefinite (Indef)

As is suggested by the labels, the categories are based on actual gender and number. Pl wuḷu- can be used for any number greater than two, and therefore overlaps with Pauc yiḷi-, which indicates a number between three and around five. The Pauc is treated like the Pl for purposes of agreement with pronominal elements in the verb: Du yiri-waṟiyi ara-ṟara *They went*; Pauc yiḷi-waṟiyi ala-ṟara; Pl wulu-waṟiyi ala-ṟara. Note the use of ara- in the Du, and of ala- in the Pauc and Pl.

Indef. ṟa- is really a nonhuman NC prefix (cf. below), used here in a special sense. It is indefinite as to gender or number, and can therefore be optionally used in place of any of the human prefixes when number and gender are unknown, contextually clear, or are not considered significant by the speaker. A human noun with ṟa- is treated as singular for purposes of agreement: ṟa-waṟiyi a-ṟara *The Aborigine(s) went*.

Du yiri- infrequently reduces to yir- before stems beginning in consonants: yiri-wuybi or yir-wuybi *the two women*. The unreduced form seems to be preferred in careful speech.

For nonhuman nouns we have the following class prefixes:

ŋa-
ŋi-
(ṟ)a-
wu-
ma-
yiri- Du

The Du prefix is often used with nonhuman nouns, but wuḷu- is never used with them in my data, and yiḷi- is not attested with them either. In forms other than the Du, a given noun usually takes one of the other five NC prefixes shown, the choice depending on the noun.

ŋa- is rare with nonhuman nouns, and seems to occur chiefly with place names. An example is ŋa-ŋarambiḷi, a place name whose stem is also found in (ṟa-)ŋarambiḷi *centipede*. Aside from place names, only one or two other examples of nonhuman ŋa- are found, and these were not carefully checked: ŋa-yirididi *tree sp.*

ŋi- is somewhat more common than ŋa- with nonhuman nouns. It occurs with a fair number of fauna terms, e.g. ŋi-buruŋandiñ *tortoise sp.*, ŋi-ḍarabu *water goanna*. Explicitly female kangaroo terms take ŋi-: ŋi-gaṇḍalburu *female red plains kangaroo*. ŋi- is clearly identical to the FSg prefix ŋi- used with human nouns, but not all nonhuman nouns which take it are explicitly female.

Presumably ṇa- with nonhuman nouns is similarly related to MSg ṇa-,
though in this case there is little semantic evidence to support the
correlation.

The three most important nonhuman NC prefixes are (ṛ)a-, wu-, and
ma-. The distribution of the three is not reducible to a simple
semantic principle, so far as I can determine, though there is some
tendency for names of large animals to take (ṛ)a-, names of plants
with edible underground portions to take ma-, and for names of trees
to take wu-. wu- is also treated as the neuter class, and is used in
demonstrative adverbs of place (and time).

In addition to the fact that there are dozens of exceptions to
the above statements, there are a fair number of nonhuman nouns which
actually fluctuate from one NC to another. For example, wambal
freshwater mussel can take either (ṛ)a-, wu-, or ŋi-, while ŋgumir
tree sp. can take (ṛ)a- or wu-. The most common pattern is to have
(ṛ)a- alternating with one or two other prefixes, often wu-.

It would be nice if we could say that (ṛ)a- gave an indefinite
nuance here as in human nouns. However, the available evidence does
not point clearly in this direction, and I have to conclude that there
is no consistent semantic difference between one prefix and another
with nonhuman nouns. If it were simply a question of indefiniteness,
we would expect that most or all nouns with wu- or ma- could replace
these with (ṛ)a-, but in fact we find many stems which occur only with
wu-, others only with ma-, and others only with (ṛ)a-, in addition to
those which show alternations. This is partly, but not entirely, due
to the small size of the corpus; the full range of prefixes was
carefully elicited for about twenty nouns, with the result that the
above-mentioned types were distinguished.

Aside from the use of ŋi- with female kangaroo terms, Warndarang
rarely uses ṇa- or ŋi- as gender-specified prefixes with names of
animals. On one occasion I elicited ṇa- and ŋi- with yulmunji
shark sp. as gender-specified prefixes instead of (ṛ)a- or wu-, but
this elicitation may have been artificial and this use of ṇa- or ŋi-
was not observed anywhere else in the data.

The prefix (ṛ)a- usually took the form ṛa- in material obtained
from Isaac. There were a handful of examples of a- in his speech.
However, Elizabeth used a- regularly. Hereafter this prefix will be
cited as ṛa-.

In a few cases there appears to be fluctuation between two analyses
of a given noun, with an initial syllable either taken as part of the
stem (so that another NC prefix can be added) or taken as a NC prefix.

The clearest example is *stone*, which is ma-ǀigar or (ṛa-)maǀigar.
The prefixless form *∅-ǀigar is unattested and probably was avoided.
Depending on the analysis, a modifying adjectival noun could take ma-
or ṛa- in agreement. Apparently manuga, a synonym of maǀigar, showed
a similar fluctuation of forms. Another example is ma-gamba (perhaps
also unattested *ṛa-gamba) and wu-ṛagamba *pearl shell*. Possibly
a-maḍuŋal *spear*, occurring once in a text, is a similar case;
ma-ḍuŋal *spear* is common.

The omission of NC prefixes from nouns in sentences (as opposed to
citation forms given by informants in the course of lexical
elicitation) is uncommon, though we find it occasionally in the data.
Especially toward the end of the fieldwork, as Isaac's recollection of
the language improved, he became increasingly reluctant to offer or
even accept prefixless forms of noun stems beginning in (underlying)
nasal-stop clusters, e.g. (wu-)ndula *leg*. In the early stages he
would offer such forms as dula, showing loss of the nasal by P-11,
but toward the end he rejected them.

3.3. The Absolutive Suffix

A suffix which I will call Absolutive is added to nouns in
sentences (usually not in citation forms) when they are not followed
by overt case suffixes or are followed by Locative -yaŋa. The
Absolutive is obligatory before -yaŋa and is common in the
Nominative. There is little semantic difference between nouns with
the Absolutive and the same nouns without it, except that as just
noted suffixless forms tend to occur in citation and suffixed forms
in sentences. Absolutive (or Absolute) is not a case category.

The allomorphs of the suffix depend on the final segment of the
stem, as follows:

-yu	after i
-ñu	after u, a, y
-u	after liquids, y
-gu	after nasals, stops

Examples: wu-bunji-yu *honey*; wu-ndaway-ñu or wu-ndaway-u *words*;
wu-jambagu-ñu *tobacco*; wu-yulba-ñu *tree, stick*; wu-ṛadbur-u *camp*;
ṛa-wariman-gu *stone spear*; ma-yimbiḍ-gu *cypress*; ṛa-jamaḷag-u (with
geminate-simplification from /ṛa-jamaḷag-gu/) *tapsticks*.

3.4. Special Features of Place Names

Some place names avoid both class prefixes and the Absolutive suffix. The latter is not used even with Locative -yaŋa, which for other nouns requires the Absolutive: gunjiḷan-yaŋa *in Queensland*. An Allative example: *Roper-ñiyi to Roper (River)*.

For examples of native place names, cf. miṛiyilmi *Phelp River* twice in Text 1; in the second occurrence (Text 1.5 it occurs without affixes although it is in apposition to the noun wu-ṛadbur-u *country*, showing the class prefix and the Absolutive suffix.

The Locative suffix -yaŋa is usually omitted with place names, though the example gunjiḷan-yaŋa *in Queensland* just given above, and which occurred in a text not published in this volume, shows that this is not an absolute prohibition.

3.5. The Diminutive

There is a diminutive suffix -gaña-, but it is not common. The example I have is wu-balba-gaña-∅ (with Nominative -∅) *small river*, which occurs in Capell's goanna text.

3.6. Case Suffixes

The following case-marking suffixes together make up the Warndarang case system:

-∅	Nominative (often follows the Absolutive)
-wala	Ablative
-miri	Instrumental
-ñiyi	Allative
-ni	Purposive
-yaŋa	Locative (follows the Absolutive)

Examples: wu-yulba-∅ *tree*, more often Absolutive wu-yulba-ñu-∅ in sentences; wu-yulba-wala *from the tree*; ma-ḍuŋal-miri *by means of spears*; wu-yulba-ñiyi *to the tree*; ṛa-waluŋma-ni *for python sp.*; wu-wiji-yu-yaŋa *in the grass* (with Absolutive -yu-).

I transcribed -ñiyi as -ñi at the beginning of the fieldwork. I later heard the suffix clearly as -ñiyi in two or three examples, then went back and retranscribed the previous examples accordingly. However, the Directional suffix with cardinal-direction stems was consistently heard as -ñi (e.g. wuñmi-ñi *northward*).

3.7. Uses of the Cases

The Ablative means 'from', usually in the spatial sense, but can also have the temporal sense 'after', especially with demonstrative stems, as in wu-nñaya-wala *after that* (5.5). More intensive research might have revealed a sense 'because of'.

Instrumental -miri is rarely used; I know of three instances in the corpus. An example:

> jalg+a-ja   ma-ḍuŋal-miri
> *he stabbed it by means of a spear*

There are several exactly analogous examples where -miri is omitted.

The Purposive is similarly rather uncommon. An example:

> yaja+wu-ŋa-buṛa ṛa-waluŋma-ni
> *I will hunt it for python*
> *I will hunt for pythons.*

Here -ni has been added to the direct object NP, emphasising that *python* is the goal of the activity. However, there are other similar examples with the same verb where -ni is not used.

The Locative is used in a static locational sense, but can also be used as a sort of Directional suffix, and the borderline between it and the Allative is hazy. It is possible that the Locative should be translated 'in, on, at' or 'into, onto' while the Allative is translatable as 'to, toward', but the available material does not clearly point to this semantic distinction.

With demonstratives, Allative -ñiyi is not used, so Locative -yaŋa takes on explicitly Directional senses, especially since the static locational sense is expressed by demonstratives in the Nominative (zero-case) form.

For nouns and pronouns, the Nominative is used regularly for subjects of intransitive and transitive clauses, for direct objects, for indirect objects, and for other syntactic functions aside from those covered by the nonzero cases as described above. The Nominative is optionally, and often, used where the Instrumental or Purposive would be appropriate.

The basic genitive construction consists of the possessor NP in Nominative case, juxtaposed to the possessed NP which is followed by a pronominal possessive postposition (unless it is a kin term and therefore already has a possessive affix). An example:

```
wu-yilba-Ø a-gi ṛa-waḍabir
hole        its  the goanna
```
The goanna's hole.

From this discussion it might appear that Warndarang has a 'weakly-developed' case system with fewer oppositions than are found in most languages. This narrow view results from focussing exclusively on the morphology of independent nouns and pronouns, and by consequently overlooking the role played by verb complexes in maintaining case distinctions. Transitive verb complexes distinguish subject from object (e.g. 1SG → 3Sg is distinct from 3Sg → 1Sg). The role function of the object is further specified as direct object, indirect object, comitative object, or the like by means of alternations of auxiliary verbs (cf. 7.8, 7.23, 7.34) along with the use of the Benefactive prefix ma-. Therefore if we define 'case system' as the system of contrasts among semantic and grammatical role functions expressed by the combination of case suffixes, auxiliary verbs, and the Benefactive prefix, we find that the Warndarang system is more elaborate than that of English, for example.

3.8. Articles

The elements which I here call 'articles' are very significant in Warndarang nominal and clausal syntax. These elements consist of a stem -nu preceded by a set of noun-class prefixes somewhat different from that found before nouns. The forms are:

Human:

ṇa-nu	MSg
ŋa-nu	FSg
wuru-nu	Du
wulu-nu	Pl

Nonhuman:

ṇa-nu	
ŋa-nu	
ṛa-nu, a-nu	
wu-nu	
ma-nu	
wuru-nu	Du

Note ŋa- instead of ŋi-, wuru- instead of yiri-, and wulu- instead of yili- and wulu-. There is no Pauc form distinct from Pl wulu-nu, which covers all numbers three or greater.

There is a tendency to retroflex the n of the stem, particularly after ŋa- but sometimes also after wuru- and wulu-. Hence ŋa-nu or ŋa-ṇu, etc.

Sometimes in fairly rapid speech articles are contracted, e.g. ŋa ŋa-ŋiya *this*(MSg) from ŋa-nu ŋa-ŋiya.

The principal uses of the articles are in conjunction with kin terms (which have at most a defective system of noun-class prefixes, so the addition of articles helps express number and gender), in certain combinations involving demonstrative stems, and in the case of wu-nu with a number of temporal and locative adverbs. This wu-nu is also extremely important as a subordinating element in relative clauses, focus constructions, and so forth. See (10.2, 10.3).

Aside from these more or less specialised uses, articles can be used with ordinary nouns: wulu-nu wulu-yugulmaŋgi-yu *Yugulmanggi people*. An example with a personal name: ŋa-nu ḷindi. However, articles are not common before nouns other than kin terms.

3.9. Kin Terms

The regular paradigm of kin terms is exemplified by the forms of -baba- *father*.

ŋa-baba	*my/our father*
∅-baba	*your father*
ŋa-baba-ñu	*his/their father*

Here we have a first person possessive prefix ŋa-, and a similar second person element ∅-. The third person forms contain the Absolutive suffix, here in a specialised use. The prefix ŋa- is a noun class prefix agreeing with -baba- rather than with the possessor.

The forms for -bujin- *wife* are:

ŋa-bujin	*my/our wife*
∅-bujin	*your wife*
ŋi-bujin-gu	*his/their wife*

The only difference is that the FSg prefix ŋi- is used in the third person forms instead of the MSg ŋa- found in ŋa-baba-ñu.

Neither the first nor second person forms may take the Absolutive suffix. Another deficiency is that the first and second person forms indicate neither the number nor the gender of the kin term. The gender is not always predictable from the semantics of the stem since many kin terms can refer to either male or female relatives. For

example, Ø-bujin can mean *your husband* as well as *your wife*, and
there is a form ŋa-bujin-gu *her husband*. As for the third person
forms, the data unfortunately do not indicate whether the noun can be
directly pluralised by replacing ŋa- or ŋi- with a nonsingular prefix
like yiri-, yili-, or wulu-. It is not clear, for example, whether
a form like *wulu-baba-ñu is the correct way to say *his fathers*
(i.e. *his Fa and FaBr's*).

At any rate, first and second person forms (except first person
vocatives) generally take a preceding article showing the gender and
number of the kin term: wulu-nu ŋa-baba *my/our fathers*(Pl); ŋa-nu
ŋa-baba *my/our father*; etc. Articles are also common with third
person forms, but not quite as common as with the others: ŋa-baba-ñu
or ŋa-nu ŋa-baba-ñu *his/their father*.

To further specify the person and number of the possessor, a
possessive postposition can be added. For example, by adding a-gi *his*
to ŋa-baba-ñu *his/their father* we can eliminate the reading *their
father* with Du or Pl possessor and settle on *his father*. Similarly,
ŋa-nu ŋa-baba *my/our father* can be specified for number of possessor,
as well as for inclusive/exclusive in the nonsingular, by adding an
appropriate postposition.

Some kin terms show suppletion depending on the possessor. *Mother*,
for example, is -yibi for first person, -bibi or -gara for second
person, and -gara- for third. The forms are therefore ŋa-yibi,
Ø-bibi or Ø-gara, and ŋi-gara-ñu. The remaining suppletive examples
show one stem in the first person (1) forms, the second stem in the
second and third (2/3) forms; there may or may not be a shared root.
Glosses (except for *Hu*) are for male EGO.

1	2/3	Gloss
-ni-ṛaga	-ṛaga-	*younger Br*
-ḷali	-daga-	*elder Si*
-ndaga	-daga-	*younger Si*
-nija	-jama-	*child (of man), BrCh*
-ni-walŋa	-walŋa-	*child of Si, SiCh*
-liŋali	-bujin-	*Hu (= MoFaSiDaSo)*

Among the nonsuppletive terms are the four terms applied to the
second ascending generation: -muṛi- *FaFa*; -mimi- *FaMo*; -bijaja *MoFa*;
-gaga- *MoMo*. Others are -wayi- *elder Br*; -gumu- *MoBr*; -wuruŋ- *WiMo*.
-bujin (see display above) is nonsuppletive in the sense *Wi
(= MoMoBrDaDa)*.

Two terms are attested only in first person forms: ŋa-nalŋija *my DaSo* (from Dr Sharpe's notes); ŋa-wiṇi *my FaSi*.

In the suppletive forms, note the occurrence of a prefix -ni- in the first person forms for two stems; with prefix ŋa- we end up with ŋa-ni-ṛaga and ŋa-ni-walŋa. Perhaps -nija is likewise really -ni-ja, in which case -ja can be taken as a reduction of -jama. The forms -ndaga and -daga- are probably etymologically identical, and -ṛaga- may also be related.

The forms for *WiBr* are entirely anomalous. They are: ŋa-nu milga-ŋa-bani *my/our WiBr*; ŋa-nu milga-ñi-bani *your WiBr*; (ŋa-nu) milga-bin *his/their WiBr*. These look more like auxiliary verb constructions than like nouns; ŋa- and ñi- are the regular 1Sg → 3Sg and 2Sg → 3Sg transitive pronominal prefixes, and -bani is the present tense of the auxiliary -ba-. This puts milga structurally in the position of a main verb, though since it is not elsewhere attested we cannot determine its original meaning. The third person form is even more anomalous since there is no trace of the expected pronominal prefix a- 3Sg → 3Sg, and since -bin is not a form of the auxiliary -ba-.

It goes without saying that the glosses given here for the kinship categories are oversimplified, and it is quite possible that there were other terms which I did not elicit. I did not attempt to interpret the semantic structure of the kin-term system but rather tried only to get a reasonable idea of morphological peculiarities and to record instances of suppletion. It is possible that one or two of the glosses are inaccurate.**

3.10. Vocatives

There are few clear examples of vocative nouns in my data. Vocatives typically consist of a vocative pronoun (4.3) plus an optional noun or NP specifying the addressee in situations where there are several persons in the vicinity. However, there are one or two attested vocatives without pronouns.

In the context of Aboriginal culture in this region, kin terms are the most appropriate vocative nouns, and the vocatives attested in my data are of this type. The vocative of *(my) father* is ŋa-baba, showing the first person possessive prefix ŋa-, since to omit this prefix would lead to confusion with ∅-baba *your father*. The chief difference between vocative and nonvocative *my father* is that the latter usually has an article (ŋa-nu ŋa-baba) while the former does

** See note at end of Chapter Three, p. 33.

not. There are, of course, no vocatives meaning *your father!* or
his father!. Vocatives of personal names were probably uncommon in
Warndarang in traditional times.

Certain other nouns referring to age, sex, and/or social status
can also be used as vocatives, e.g. jawulba! *old man!*. Noun-class
prefixes and the Absolutive suffix are omitted in vocatives.

3.11. Quantifiers

In addition to the number distinctions expressed by nominal
prefixes (3.2), the numerical value of a noun can be indicated by
juxtaposing a quantifier in the form of an adjective.

Several numerals are attested, including waŋgiñ *one*, wudŋuy or
(less often) mudŋuy *two*, and muluŋuy *a few* (usually three to five).
These occur with the appropriate prefixes, such as yiri- in
yiri-wudŋuy, yili- in yili-muluŋuy, and ŋa- (human MSg) in ŋa-waŋgiñ.
Other prefixes are also possible with waŋgiñ.

Three is wudŋuy ŋa-gayi (literally *two another*) in one of Capell's
texts. *Five* is ṛa-waŋgīn ṛa-murji (*one hand*). *Ten* is ṛa-waŋgiñ
ṛa-murji, baḍa ṛa-gayi ṛa-murji (*one hand, then another hand*) in one
of my texts. The term ṛa-murji *hand* is common only in numerals; the
usual word for *hand* is wu-maba.

The only number adverb attested is wurwaŋgij *once*. This appears to
be a frozen combination of an element wur- and a stem -waŋgij related
to waŋgiñ *one*. However, the contrast of final ñ and j was consistently
made in waŋgiñ vs. wurwaŋgij by my informant.

3.12. Gentilic ŋuN-

The Nunggubuyu language has a common Gentilic prefix nuN-, used
mainly in names of clans, language groups, and so forth (not all such
terms have it). A similar prefix occurs in Enindhilyagwa on Groote
Eylandt and is used in most clan names there. The first syllable of
Nunggubuyu and the second of Enindhilyagwa are examples.

Warndarang allows initial ŋ but not n, so Nunggubuyu terms like
num-buṛindi *people of* wuṛindi *(place name)* are pronounced with initial
retroflexed consonant (ŋumbuṛindi). The Gentilic prefix is used in
several clan names, especially along the northern border of Warndarang
where it meets Nunggubuyu and Ngandi: ŋuŋ-gumajbar *people of* wumajbar
(billabong), ŋu-ma-muḍiḍi *people of scrub wattle country*, etc. It is
not certain whether these are to be taken as etymologically Warndarang
rather than Nunggubuyu constructions. However, there is one example

which seems Warndarang: ṇuŋ-gu-ḷaŋur, usually translated as *fish
hunters* but literally *corroboree people* (cf. wu-ḷaŋur *corroboree*).
This is used as a general term for various clans (Warndarang and
Yugul) whose territory was around the Roper River, some distance from
Nunggubuyu country.

Nevertheless, the phonology of ṇuN- is what we would expect in
Nunggubuyu rather than Warndarang. In Nunggubuyu, final N (an
unspecified nasal, behaving basically like ŋ) assimilates to the point
of articulation of the following consonant or gets deleted (before
nasals and some liquids). If followed by w, y, ṛ, or ḷ it (like any
nasal or stop in Nunggubuyu) hardens this to g or b, j, ḍ, and ḍ,
respectively. This nasal-assimilation process and the hardening of
nonstops to stops are not regular in Warndarang, but note that in
ṇuŋ-gu-ḷaŋur the w of -wu- has been hardened to g, and the preceding
nasal ŋ could be taken as having assimilated in point of articulation
to this g. Note that the same happens in ṇuŋ-gumajbar, while in
ṇu-ma-muḍiḍi the final nasal of the Gentilic prefix has been deleted.

I hesitate to set up special Warndarang phonological rules for
these isolated forms, since it is quite possible that Warndarang
examples of ṇuN- have been directly borrowed from Nunggubùyu and
since the Warndarang examples are very few in number.

**Note: Warner (1933) includes a rough list of 'Wanderung' kin terms. From his
data it appears that -ni-walŋa also means *FaMoBrCh* (including *WiFa*), and that
-bijaja also means *first cross-cousin* and *man's DaCh*. He also gives 'An-ni-ram-in'
for *MoMoBrCh* (= *WiMo* and *WiMoBr*), but this is not in my data. He gives baṇaṇa for
FaSi instead of my -wiṇi (baṇaṇa is a Mara word in my data).

CHAPTER FOUR
Pronouns and Pronominal Affixes

4.1. Independent Pronouns

Independent nominative pronouns are displayed in Table 4-1 along
with the corresponding possessive postpositions.

The latter consist of a prefix identical to an intransitive
pronominal prefix (4.4) followed by Possessive -gi. 1Sg ŋini is
irregular. These postpositions follow the possessed noun: wu-ṛadbur-u
ŋini *my camp*. In this example -ṛadbur- *camp* takes the Absolutive
suffix -u.

There are some difficulties in analysing the independent pronouns,
since some of the elements are obscure and the combinations are rather
frozen. For example, ŋiŋa and ñaña are structurally opaque, and ŋala
is also perhaps best taken as an unsegmentable unit synchronically.
In the other nonsingular forms we may segment initials ñi- 1Du/PlEx,
ŋu- 2Du/Pl, and yi- or wu- 3DuPl. Du -rayi may perhaps be segmented
into Du -ra- and a stem-forming final -yi, or alternatively into Du
-r- and final -ayi. Pl -dbur is best analysed as Pl -d- and final
-bur. -layi in 3Pl wulayi is Pl -la- (or -l-) and stem-forming final
-yi (or -ayi). Nonplural third person forms like ŋiwa and ṛiwa consist
of the regular class prefix plus -iwa, with vowel-contractions as in
P-9.

When nonzero case suffixes are added there is no change in the form
of the independent pronominal stem. Thus ŋiŋa-yaŋa *to me*, with
Locative -yaŋa in its Directional sense. Note that since pronouns
cannot take the Absolutive suffix, the usual requirement that -yaŋa
follow the Absolutive is waived here.

The independent pronoun ŋala *We*(PlIn) is attested in reduplicated
form: ŋala-ŋalay. There seems to be no important difference in meaning
between ŋala and ŋala-ŋalay, and other pronouns do not show this

34

Table 4-1

Pronouns

		Independent (Nominative)	Possessive
	1Sg	ŋiŋa	ŋini
	1DuEx	ñirayi	ñirgi
	1PlEx	ñidbur	ñidigi
	1DuIn	ñaña	ñagi
	1PlIn	ŋala	ŋalagi
	2Sg	ñiñu	ñigi
	2Du	ŋurayi	ŋurgi
	2Pl	ŋudbur	ŋudugi
(human)	3MSg	n̪iwa	agi
	3FSg	ŋiwa	agi
	3Du	yirayi / wurayi	argi
	3Pl	wulayi	alagi
	Nonhuman	n̪iwa	agi
	"	ŋiwa	agi
	"	ṛiwa	agi
	"	wiwa	agi
	"	miwa	agi
	" Du	yirayi / wurayi	argi

reduplication. The final y may be an inorganic element, and is perhaps related to the final y of ŋudjuguñay and ŋuduguñay (4.3). The latter two forms are vocatives, and the attested examples of ŋala-ŋalay could perhaps also be taken as vocatives or at least as interjections.

4.2 Forms in -ñi, -ñi-baŋa

Nominative pronouns, in addition to their simple forms (4.1), have extended forms with -ñi or -ñi-baŋa added to the pronominal stem. The latter may take a different form from that shown in the simple nominative.

The attested forms with -ñi are ŋiŋa-ñi *me too* and ŋura-ñi *as for you*(Du). In both instances the pronoun is contrasted with something else which has just been mentioned. These occur in Capell's goanna text.

An example with -ñi-baŋa also shows up in this text: ñi-ñi-baŋa ñiñu, gi+Ø-mayi *as for you, go*.... Here the extended 2Sg pronoun ñi-ñi-baŋa, based on a reduced stem ñi-, is juxtaposed to the ordinary pronoun ñiñu.

Other forms in my data from Isaac are: ŋa-ñi-baŋa *as for him*; wula-ñi-baŋa *as for them*; and ŋudbur-ñi-baŋa *as for you*(Pl).

An effort was made to elicit further forms from Elizabeth following Isaac's death. This resulted in the following forms: wura-ñi-baŋa *as for them*(Du); ŋala-ñi-baŋa *as for us*(PlIn); ŋura-ñi-baŋa *as for you*(Du); and the rather irregular ŋadba-ñi-baŋa *as for her*. In addition, Elizabeth insisted that the correct form for *as for us*(DuIn) is wuru-ñi-baŋa, with a stem wuru- thoroughly different from the usual 1DuIn stems ñaña, ña-, etc.

Translations like *my turn* instead of *as for me*, and so forth, are sometimes appropriate.

From these data we can at least get an idea of the structure of pronominal stems before -ñi and -ñi-baŋa. Du stems ending in rayi in the simple nominative lose the yi, as in ŋura-ñi vs. simple ŋurayi *you*(Du). Similarly 3Pl wula-ñi-baŋa vs. simple wulayi. 1Sg ŋiŋa and 1PlIn ŋala are unchanged before -ñi and -ñi-baŋa, as is 2Pl ŋudbur (hence presumably also 1PlEx ñidbur). 2Sg ñiñu shortens to ñi- in ñi-ñi-baŋa avoiding *ñiñu-ñi-baŋa with three consecutive syllables beginning with ñ. 3MSg ŋa-ñi-baŋa shows the regular form of the noun-class prefix ŋa-, but 3FSg ŋadba-ñi-baŋa is anomalous. I was unable to elicit forms with nonhuman classes.

These forms in -ñi and -ñi-baŋa appear to represent a distinct type
from quasi-demonstrative forms with -ñi *same* (5.8). The latter appear
to occur only with noun-class prefixes (i.e. not with first or second
person stems), do not have an extension with -baŋa, have clearly
different meanings, and differ formally at least in the 3FSg form
(ŋa-ñi) from the forms discussed here.

4.3. Vocative Pronouns

The following special vocative forms are attested for nonsingular
second person addressee:

<div style="text-align:center">

ŋudjuguñay   *Hey you!*(Du)

ŋuduguñay   *Hey you!*(Pl)

</div>

These forms appear to contain prefixes related to those found as
intransitive prefixes with verbs (4.4, 4.5). In the Pl form, ŋudu-
matches the 2Pl prefix Cudu- (one realisation of which is ŋudu-,
cf. 4.5), while the Du form has ŋudju-, irregularly related to 2Du
intransitive prefix Cud- (ŋud-).

For Sg addressee, the usual interjection for *Hey!* is ṇamaṛ, which
has no obvious relation to any (other) pronominal form.

4.4. Pronominal Prefixes

The intransitive prefixes are shown in Table 4-2, the transitive
ones in Tables 4-3 through 4-7.

By P-2, the morphophoneme /W/ becomes g following a stop or nasal
at the end of a main verb (i.e. in the environments Stop+__ and
Nasal+__ with + boundary, not - boundary), and is deleted otherwise.

Examples of 1DuIn and 1DuIn → 3Sg allomorphs ña- and ñañ-:
wu-ña-ṛara *We*(DuIn) *will go*; gal+u-ña-jiñu *We*(DuIn) *will spear him*;
ḍil+u-ñañ-idaŋa *We*(DuIn) *will hold it*. The only cases where ña(ñ)-
can be followed by a vowel are combinations with following inflected
verb stems beginning with i. Were it not for the existence of the
allomorph ñañ-, in such combinations ña- would be indistinguishable
from 2Sg ñi- following phonological rules.

Although I do not have complete information on the other allomorphic
alternations in Table 4-2, the following comments may be helpful.
The d/r alternation in the 3Du seems to be phonetically conditioned,
with r generally used before stops and ṛ and before vowels, d before
nasals (it may assimilate and end up as n). In the 2Du form, the form
with d seems to be usual even before stops and vowels. The extended

form Curi- is only recorded in ŋuri-ngaŋa *What are you two?* in Capell's
goanna text. Note that the stem begins with a cluster. In the 1DuEx
the forms with r are usual: ñir- and ñiri-. Perhaps ñiri- should be
taken as the basic form and ñir- a reduction, parallel to occasional
reductions of Du nominal prefix yiri- to yir- (3.2). The form ñid-
is uncommon.

Examples of 2Sg and 2Sg → 3Sg ñi- vs. imperative forms with Ø-:
wu-ñi-ṛara *You*(Sg) *will go*; ḍaḍ+ñi-jaŋa *You*(Sg) *cooked it*; ḍaj+Ø-mindi
Sit down(Sg addressee); ḍaḍ+Ø-jaŋu *Cook it!*(Sg addressee). For more
details see 7.37.

Isaac had trouble producing some of the more difficult transitive
combinations, particularly 3rd → 2nd and 2nd → 3rd forms where one or
both categories are nonsingular. Although paradigm-eliciting interview
sessions produced poor results at first, reasonably complete and
reliable forms were obtained by studying texts and other spontaneously
produced forms, by re-checking doubtful forms on two or three different
days, and by using some of Capell's paradigmatic data as cues to be
explained by the informant. In this way some inconsistencies and
contradictions which appeared in the first paradigm-eliciting sessions
were gradually cleared up. However, satisfactory forms for 3Du/Pl →
2Du/Pl were not obtained from Isaac. According to Elizabeth, the
3Du/Pl → 2Sg form ñuru- (which she sometimes pronounced as yuru-) was
also used in the 3Du/Pl → 2Du/Pl sense, but under the circumstances it
is best to be cautious on this point.

1PlIn → 3Du ŋalarŋu- is somewhat problematic. In other combinations
involving two liquids one finds assimilation so that both show up as l
or both as r. Isaac had trouble with the liquids in this form and was
unable to pronounce it easily. When I pronounced it with all possible
variations in liquids the form given was the one which Isaac approved.

The 3Pl category is restricted to human referents, as with 3Pl
independent pronouns and with the Pl noun-class prefix wulu-. The 3Du
category, however, can apply to nonhuman as well as human referents,
again agreeing with independent pronouns and noun-class prefixes.

4.5. The Initials of Second Person Prefixes

C is a cover symbol which should be replaced by Ø, y or ŋ depending
on the morphological context. With an occasional exception, the data
point to the following as being the correct distribution of the three
initials:

Ø after Potential /u-/

y in the Imperative

ŋ elsewhere

Table 4-2

Intransitive Pronominal Prefixes

1Sg	ŋa-
1DuEx	ñir(i)-, occasionally ñid-
1PlEx	ñidi-
1DuIn	ña- before C, ñañ- before V
1PlIn	ŋala-
2Sg	ñi- (∅- in imperatives)
2Du	Cud-, extended form Curi- (for C cf. 4.5)
2Pl	Cudu-
3Sg	Wa-
3Du	Wad-, War-
3Pl	Wala-

Note: For final d → n cf. 2.8 (P-6); for final a → u
cf. 2.9 (P-7).

Table 4-3

Transitive Pronominal Prefixes
First Person Subject

1Sg → 2Sg/3Sg	ŋa-
1Sg → 2Du/3Du	ŋarŋu-
1Sg → 2Pl/3Pl	ŋalŋu-
1Du/PlEx → 2Sg/3Sg	ñir(i)-
1Du/PlEx → 2Du/3Du	ñiriŋu-
1Du/PlEx → 2Pl/3Pl	ñiliŋu-
1DuIn → 3Sg	ña- before C, ñañ- before V
1DuIn → 3Du	ñarŋu-
1DuIn → 3Pl	ñalŋu-
1PlIn → 3Sg	ŋala-
1PlIn → 3Du	ŋalarŋu- (?)
1PlIn → 3Pl	ŋalalŋu-

Table 4-4

Transitive Pronominal Prefixes

First Person Object

2Sg/3Sg → 1Sg	ŋara-
2Du/2Pl/3Du/3Pl → 1Sg	ŋараru-
2Sg/3Sg → 1DuEx	ñiriru-
2Du/2Pl/3Du/3Pl → 1DuEx	ñiriru-
2Sg/3Sg → 1PlEx	ñililu-
2Du/2Pl/3Du/3Pl → 1PlEx	ñililu-
3Sg → 1DuIn	ñararu-
3Du/Pl → 1DuIn	ñalalu-
3Sg → 1PlIn	ŋalalu-
3Du/Pl → 1PlIn	ŋalalu-

Table 4-5

Transitive Pronominal Prefixes

Third → Third

3Sg → 3Sg	Wa-
3Du/Pl → 3Sg	Wara-
3Sg → 3Du	Warŋu-
3Du/Pl → 3Du	Warŋu-
3Sg → 3Pl	Walŋu-
3Du/Pl → 3Pl	Walŋu-

Table 4-6

Transitive Pronominal Prefixes

Third → Second

3Sg → 2Sg	ñi-
3Du/Pl → 2Sg	ñuru-
3Sg → 2Du	ŋururu-
3Du/Pl → 2Du	(?)
3Sg → 2Pl	ŋululu-
3Du/Pl → 2Pl	(?)

Table 4-7

Transitive Pronominal Prefixes

Second → Third

2Sg → 3Sg	ñi-, except ∅- in imperative
2Du/Pl → 3Sg	Curu- (for C cf. 4.5)
2Sg → 3Du	ñurŋu-
2Du/Pl → 3Du	Curŋu-
2Sg → 3Pl	ñulŋu-
2Du/Pl → 3Pl	Culŋu-

In the data which I collected from Isaac I have found eleven examples of Ø in second person prefixes listed in Tables 4-2 and 4-7 with C-. Of these, nine definitely or probably contain Potential /u-/, e.g. wu-d-maljuṛa from /u-ud-maljuṛa/ *You*(Du) *will stay*. The other two examples are glossed as Past tense forms in my notes, but could really be Future forms (which require Potential /u-/ except in the Negative) and therefore may well contain /u-/.

It should be noted that Curu- 2Du/Pl → 3Sg combines with /u-/ to form u-ru-, which is homophonous to u-ru- from /u-Wara-/ with Wara- 3Du/Pl → 3Sg. There are one or two other instances of surface homophony involving second person forms in C- where the C is realised as Ø.

In the same corpus there are nineteen examples of the initial y, all but two of which are glossed as Imperative or could easily be re-glossed as such. An example is ŋayab+jun-mi *Be quiet!* (Du addressee), base form /ŋayab+yud-mi/. The other two may be errors.

Ten instances of ŋ have been found in this corpus, all clearly or possibly nonImperative, nonPotential forms. Examples: gai+ŋudu-jayi *You*(Pl) *speared each other*.

4.6. Analysis of Pronominal Prefixes

I will not attempt to analyse each combination, but will make some general comments which will point the way to an understanding of the structures involved.

The intransitive forms are fairly straightforward, and except for the third person element /Wa-/ they are related to the corresponding independent pronouns (4.1). The Du and Pl prefixes contain a Du element -r(V)- or -d-, except for 1DuIn which is usually not treated morphologically as a Du form. The corresponding Pl element is -dV- or -lV-. In -r(V)-, -dV-, and -lV- the vowel V assimilates to that of the preceding syllable.

In all forms with first person subject, the initial element corresponds to the subject rather than the object. Second and third persons are neutralised in the object category in such forms, and there is no overt marker of object person. However, Du or Pl elements corresponding to nonsingular objects do occur, usually -r- for Du and -l- for Pl, and these require a following morpheme -ŋu-. The forms ñiriŋu- and ñiliŋu-, both with 1Du/PlEx subject, look like contractions from prototypes *ñirirŋu and *ñiliiŋu, the latter analysable as */ñiri-l-ŋu-/ with liquid-assimilation.

Similarly, when the object is first person the distinction between second and third person subjects is neutralised. The form ŋara- is perhaps best analysed as an accusative form of the 1Sg prefix, with no overt subject-marker. In ŋararu- there is a nonsingular element -ru- marking number of the subject.

The form ñililu- looks fairly regular for nonsingular subject on 1PlEx object, and can be analysed as /ñiri-lu-/ with 1PlEx /ñiri-/ and Pl /-lu-/ indicating subject number, then undergoing liquid-assimilation. This form has also been extended to combinations with singular subjects. Similarly, ŋalalu- is a regular form for plural subject but is also used when the subject is singular. The forms with 1DuIn object are a little irregular, but we can take the medial ra of ñararu- as an accusative element parallel to ra in ŋara-, and can then take ñalalu- as deriving from accusative /ñara-/ plus Pl subject /-lu-/. The form ñararu- can then be interpreted also as /ñara-lu-/, identical to the form with nonsingular subject as with the other neutralisations like ŋalalu-/ŋalalu-, but differing on the surface from the other /ñara-lu-/ by assimilating the /l/ to the /r/ rather than vice-versa.

In the 3 → 3 forms, we again find Du -r- and Pl -l- marking object number, and again they are followed by -ŋu-.

In the 3 → 2 forms, we may perhaps take ñuru- as the 2Sg element /ñi-/ followed by Pl subject /-ru-/, but this would require an unusual vowel-assimilation. The forms ŋururu- and ŋululu- consist of 2Du ŋuru- and 2Pl ŋulu-, both differing slightly from the corresponding intransitive forms, followed by an element probably best taken as /-lu-/, but assimilating to -ru- in ŋururu-. If ŋururu- and ŋululu- were the correct forms not only for 3Sg subject (as shown), but also for 3Du and 3Pl subjects, then we can take ŋururu- and ŋululu- as formally marking nonsingularity of subject, but in fact also used with singular subject, exactly like ŋalalu- and other forms with first person objects.

The 2 → 3 forms are fairly straightforward, and show the same -r-ŋu- and -l-ŋu- for Du and Pl object, respectively, seen in other combinations. The initial element ñu- in ñurŋu- and ñulŋu- is presumably related to the usual 2Sg element ñi- and may be another instance of vowel-assimilation.

Aside from situations where we are analysing the structure of these prefixes, the latter will be written hereafter without internal hyphens and treated as units.

Table 4-8 is an alphabetical list of pronominal prefixes; surface
allomorphs (after phonological rules) are included with a cross-
reference to the base form.

Table 4-8

Alphabetical List of Pronominal Prefix Allomorphs

-∅-	a) 2Sg, 2Sg → 3Sg (in positive imperative)
	b) =Wa- (before or after a vowel)
a-	=Wa-
ad-	=Wad-
al-	=Wala-
ala-	=Wala-
alŋ-	=Walŋu-
alŋu-	=Walŋu-
an-	=Wad-
ar-	=Wara-
ara-	=Wara-
arŋ-	=Warŋ-
arŋu-	=Warŋu-
Cud-	2Du
Cudu-	2Pl
Culŋu-	2Du/2Pl → 3Pl
Curi-	2Du
Curŋu-	2Du/2Pl → 3Du
Curu-	2Du/2Pl → 3Sg
-d-	a) =Wad- (mainly before a nasal)
	b) =Cud- (before any vowel or consonant)
	c) =Cudu-(before a vowel)
-du-	=Cudu-
g-	=Wa-
ga-	=Wa-
gad-	=Wad-
gal-	=Wala-
gala-	=Wala-
galŋ-	=Walŋu-
galŋu-	=Walŋu-
gan-	=Wad-
gar-	=Wara-

Table 4-8 cont.

gara-		=Wara-
garŋ-		=Warŋu-
garŋu-		=Warŋu-
-l-		=Wala-
-lŋ-		=Walŋu-
-lŋu-	a)	=Walŋu-
	b)	=Culŋu-
-lu-		=Wala-
-n-	a)	=Wad-
	b)	=Cud-
ñ-		=ñi- (not ña-)
ña-		1DuIn, 1DuIn → 3Sg
ñalal-		=ñalalu-
ñalalu-		3Du/3Pl → 1DuIn
ñalŋ-		=ñalŋu-
ñalŋu-		1DuIn → 3Pl
ñañ-		1DuIn, 1DuIn → 3Sg
ñarar-		=ñararu-
ñararu-		3Sg → 1DuIn
ñarŋ-		=ñarŋu-
ñarŋu-		1DuIn → 3Du
ñi-		2Sg, 2Sg → 3Sg, 3Sg → 2Sg
ñid-	a)	1DuEx
	b)	=ñidi-
ñidi-		1PlEx
ñilil-		=ñililu-
ñililu-		2/3 → 1PlEx
ñiliŋ-		=ñiliŋu-
ñiliŋu-		1DuEx/1PlEx → 2Pl/3Pl
ñir-		1DuEx, 1DuEx/1PlEx → 2Sg/3Sg
ñiri-		1DuEx, 1DuEx/1PlEx → 2Sg/3Sg
ñiriŋ-		=ñiriŋu-
ñiriŋu-		1DuEx/1PlEx → 2Du/3Du
ñirir-		=ñiriru-
ñiriru-		2/3 → 1DuEx
ñulŋ-		=ñulŋu-
ñulŋu-		2Sg → 3Pl
ñur-		=ñuru-
ñurŋ-		=ñurŋu-

Table 4-8 cont.

ñurŋu-	2Sg → 3Du
ñuru-	3Du/3Pl → 2Sg
ŋ-	=ŋa-
ŋa-	1Sg, 1Sg → 2Sg/3Sg
ŋal-	=ŋala-
ŋala-	1PlIn, 1PlIn → 3Sg
ŋalal-	=ŋalalu-
ŋalalŋ-	=ŋalalŋu-
ŋalalŋu-	1PlIn → 3Pl
ŋalalu-	3 → 1PlIn
ŋalarŋ-	=ŋalarŋu-
ŋalarŋu-	1PlIn → 3Du
ŋalŋ-	=ŋalŋu-
ŋalŋu-	1Sg → 2Pl/3Pl
ŋar-	=ŋara-
ŋara-	2Sg/3Sg → 1Sg
ŋarar-	=ŋararu-
ŋararu-	2Du/2Pl/3Du/3Pl → 1Sg
ŋarŋ-	=ŋarŋu-
ŋarŋu-	1Sg → 2Du/3Du
-ŋaru-	=ŋara-
ŋud-	a) 2Du b) =ŋudu-
ŋulŋ-	=ŋulŋu-
ŋulŋu-	2Du/2Pl → 3Pl
ŋulul-	=ŋululu-
ŋululu-	3Sg → 2Pl
ŋun-	=ŋud-
ŋur-	=ŋuru-
ŋuri-	2Du
ŋurŋ-	=ŋurŋu-
ŋurŋu-	2Du/2Pl → 3Du
ŋuru-	2Du/2Pl → 3Sg
ŋurur-	=ŋururu-
ŋururu-	3Sg → 2Du
-r-	a) =War- b) =Wara-
-ri-	=Curi-

Table 4-8 cont.

-rŋ-	{	a)	=Warŋu-
		b)	=Curŋu-
-rŋu-	{	a)	=Warŋu-
		b)	=Curŋu-
-ru-	{	a)	=Wara-
		b)	=Curu-

Wa-	3Sg, 3Sg → 3Sg
Wad-	3Du
Wala-	3Pl
Walŋu-	3 → 3Pl
Wara-	3Du/3Pl → 3Sg
Warŋu-	3 → 3Du

yud-	{ a)	2Du
	b)	=yudu-

yudu-	2Pl
yulŋ-	=yulŋu-
yulŋu-	2Du/2Pl → 3Pl
yuri-	2Du
yurŋ-	=yurŋu-
yurŋu-	2Du/2Pl → 3Du
yur-	=yuru-
yuru-	2Du/2Pl → 3Sg

CHAPTER FIVE
Demonstratives and Related Forms

5.1. Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative system is a difficult one, and in view of the fact that the data contain numerous obscure forms it will only be possible to describe the basic morphological and semantic patterns. We will deal first with demonstrative pronouns, then with adverbs of various kinds based on the same stems. In later sections of this chapter we will discuss some anaphoric and other elements which have some syntactic affinities to demonstratives and to pronouns, and will also describe adverbs of cardinal directions and the like.

The principal types of demonstrative pronouns are as follows, where 'Prf' indicates the position of noun-class prefixes:

Prf-niya	Proximate
a-Prf-ni	Immediate
Prf-wa Prf-ni	Near-distant
Prf-niñi	Distant
Prf-nñaya	Anaphoric

The form of the prefixes is the same as their forms with articles (3.8) rather than their forms with nouns, hence FSg ŋa- instead of ŋi-, Du wuru- instead of yiri-, etc.

The exception to this is the element Prf-wa in Near-Distant Prf-wa Prf-ni, where the FSg has the form ŋi-, hence ŋi-wa ŋa-ni. No Du forms of this combination are attested, but on the basis of ŋi-wa ŋa-ni it would appear that Prf-wa takes the regular noun-class prefixes used with nouns.

It should be emphasised that Prf-wa is distinct from forms with the nondemonstrative pronominal stem -iwa. In the nonhuman ṛa-class, for example, we get demonstrative ṛa-wa ṛa-ni and pronoun ṛ-iwa from /ṛa-iwa/.

unattested with Proximate -niya (demonstrative pronouns) and -naya
(adverbs). It is thus typologically similar to the Nunggubuyu suffix
-u, which is extremely common with Immediate demonstratives but
unattested with Proximate or Distant (Nonimmediate) ones.

By comparing the basic stems -niya, -ni, -niñi, -nñaya mentioned
here with each other and with the stems described in 5.4, it is
possible to further analyse some of them. Leaving -nñaya aside, we
can identify an element -ni- in most other stems, leaving us with
suffixes -ya and -ñi. This -ni- can be contrasted with -na- abstracted
from Proximate -naya (-na-ya), mentioned in 5.4. Since -na- is
specifically Proximate, while -ni- is either general (in demonstrative
pronouns) or nonProximate (adverbs), we can think of an original
-na-/-ni- Proximate/nonProximate opposition, which has been partly
obscured by the disappearance of -na- from demonstrative pronouns.

The suffix -ñi may be related to Ngandi -ñ, a suffix which is added
to nonProximate -ni- to create a combination semantically analogous to
Warndarang -nñaya. Although there is consequently a discrepancy
between the meanings of Warndarang -ñi (used in Distant, nonAnaphoric
forms) and Ngandi -ñ (used in Anaphoric forms), Warndarang elsewhere
uses -ñi in a sense rather similar to that of the Ngandi morpheme
(5.8).

The other segmentable suffix, -ya, occurs only in Proximate and
certain Near-Distant combinations, and can therefore be assigned a
basically Proximate or nonDistant sense. There is no cognate in
Ngandi, but possibly this -ya is connected with Nunggubuyu Proximate
stem ya:- and similar Proximate stems in various other Aboriginal
languages.

Anaphoric -nñaya is not easily segmentable in this fashion.

Hereafter stems like -niya and -niñi will be transcribed without
internal hyphens, as though they were unsegmentable units.

5.2. Ablative Demonstrative Pronouns

The Ablative suffix -wala can occasionally be added to demonstrative
pronouns, as in ṇa-wa ṇa-ni-wala *(he is) that one coming* with Near-
Distant Prf-wa Prf-ni-. Here the Ablative has a special sense, in
that it implies that the entity in question is in motion, and in
particular that it is headed in a direction bringing it closer to the
here of the speech act (hence *coming* in the gloss). This use of -wala
has exact parallels in Nunggubuyu and Ngandi, and the Ablative
suffixes are cognate.

Occasionally the -wa of Prf-wa is elided, especially in rapid or careless speech: ma ma-ni *that one* is an alternative to ma-wa ma-ni.

The stem -nñaya was heard clearly as -dñaya on a few occasions, and in view of P-6, by which stops are often nasalised by following nasals, it is likely that -dñaya is the older form.

Demonstrative pronouns based on Immediate a-Prf-ni and Anaphoric Prf-nñaya seem to be very rare in my data, though adverbs based on them are common. Therefore the basic system of oppositions in the context of demonstrative pronouns is made up, for practical purposes, of the Proximate, the Near-Distant, and Distant categories.

These pronouns generally, though not always, take preceding articles. These combinations may be used independently, or as modifiers of nouns. Examples with FSg prefixes: ŋa-nu ŋa-niya *this*; ŋa-nu ŋa-wa ŋa-ni *that not far away*; ŋa-nu ŋa-niñi *that some distance away*.

The Immediate category appears to refer particularly to the region around the addressee. One of the few attested examples is wu-nu a-wu-ni *that near you*, with one of the nonhuman class prefixes.

The Anaphoric category indicates a demonstrative category mentioned earlier or otherwise contextually clear; it refers rather than points to a location or object. A rare pronominal example is ṛa-nñaya *that (same) one*.

Other unproductive types not listed above also turn up occasionally. A combination a-Prf-niñi was found once: a-wu-niñi *that over there*. The gloss is consistent with the label Distant which we have applied to the type Prf-niñi without the initial element a-.

The combination Prf-wa Prf-niya occurs in a sequence translatable *let us abandon this dugong*. The speaker and addressees were together in a canoe, so it may be that this type indicates a region in the immediate vicinity of both speaker and addressee. Note that it is formally intermediate between Proximate Prf-niya and Near-Distant Prf-wa Prf-ni.

It is rather difficult to assign a specific meaning or function to the element a- found in some of these combinations. It has nothing to do with the noun-class prefix (ṛ)a-, at least synchronically. It seems to occur exclusively, or nearly exclusively, in demonstrative constructions referring to 'middle-distance' regions, i.e. neither closely proximate nor far distant. It is therefore obligatory with the stem -ni (Immediate), and with -niya in the latter's Near-Distant sense in adverbs (5.4) - but not in its Proximate sense with demonstrative pronouns - is very rare with Distant -niñi, and is

In Nunggubuyu the addition of /-ala/ to a demonstrative pronoun
can imply either that the entity is in motion toward the *here* of the
speech act, or that someone in the *here* region is heading or will soon
head toward it (i.e. there is or will soon be some kind of motion
reducing the distance between the entity and at least one person
presently in the *here* region). There are no clear instances of the
second sense in the Warndarang data, though perhaps some instances
could have been elicited. In general, the use of the Ablative with
demonstrative pronouns is less frequent and more restricted semantically
in Warndarang than in Nunggubuyu.

The only stems which are reliably attested in Ablative demonstrative
pronoun forms are Prf-wa Prf-ni, exemplified above, and the expanded
form a-Prf-wa Prf-ni. The latter is attested in the combination
a-ṛa-wa ṛa-ni-wala *(they are) those ones coming*. Here ṛa- is used in
an indefinite sense referring to humans (cf. 3.2). The stem-complex
a-Prf-wa Prf-ni is not otherwise attested, though a larger corpus
might have turned up some examples of this without suffixes or with
other suffixes.

5.3. Directional Demonstrative Pronouns

Parallel to Ablative demonstratives in -wala we find forms ending
in Locative -yaŋa, which here takes a motional sense. An example is
ŋa-niñi-yaŋa a-ṛarani *There he goes*. Note that the sense is not
He is going (in)to that, as might be expected. The -yaŋa here merely
indicates that the object described by the demonstrative stem is in
motion. Furthermore, since -wala is used when the motion is directed
toward the *here* of the speech act, -yaŋa implies that the motion is
in any direction other than toward the speaker.

When -yaŋa follows a demonstrative stem ending in ya, one of the
two ya syllables is deleted: ṛa-nñaya-ŋa (not *ṛa-nñaya-yaŋa) *that one*
(Anaphoric) *going along*.

The set of stems which occur with -yaŋa in this sense appears to be
the same as the set of stems used in demonstrative adverbs (5.4),
which differs in some respects from the set of stems used in simple
demonstrative pronouns (5.1). The stems actually attested with -yaŋa
in forms which are clearly demonstrative pronouns rather than
demonstrative adverbs are: Proximate -naya (e.g. ŋa-naya-ŋa *this one*
(FSg) *going along*); Distant -niñi-; Anaphoric -nñaya-. The first of
these does not occur in simple demonstrative pronouns (instead we find
-niya), while the last is very rare as a simple demonstrative

pronominal stem. All three are common in demonstrative adverbs.

Demonstrative pronouns with -yaŋa are analogous in form and mean-
ing to Nunggubuyu demonstratives with suffix -waj.

Allative -ñiyi does not occur with demonstrative pronouns or
adverbs in Warndarang.

5.4. Simple Demonstrative Adverbs

There is no sharp formal difference between demonstrative
pronouns and adverbs. Forms which are characteristically used as
adverbs (i.e. which normally designate locations or times rather than
objects) are described in this and following sections. Adverbs based
on demonstrative stems always contain wu-, which we may equate with
the nonhuman noun-class prefix wu-.

The basic set of stems used in various types of demonstrative
adverbs are these:

wu-naya	Proximate
wu-niya	Near-Distant
a-wu-niya	Near-Distant
a-wu-ni	Immediate
wu-niñi	Distant
wu-nñaya	Anaphoric

The most important points to note in comparing this with the set of
stems shown in 5.1 are: a new stem -naya replaces -niya in the
Proximate; the Near-Distant type Prf-wa Prf-ni is missing, with -niya
and a-(wu)-niya taking over its sense.

The semantic contrasts between wu-niya, a-wu-niya, and a-wu-ni are
difficult to pin down and the labels attached to them should be used
cautiously. The three do not appear to contrast in all adverbial
formations.

Some of these stems are attested in adverbial uses without further
affixation. These are: wu-naya *here*; wu-niya and a-wu-niya *there*;
wu-niñi *there*(Distant); wu-nñaya *there*(Anaphoric).

The latter form is exemplified in this passage:

munji+ara-ba   ḍuḍul   *Hodgson Downs*
they followed him all the way to

ḍud+gar-iṛayi wu-nñaya
they found him there
They followed him to Hodgson Downs and found him there.

The reason why wu-nñaya was used here instead of another adverb like wu-niñi is that it refers back to a location already named ('Hodgson Downs') rather than pointing to a new location. The expression wu-nñaya bugi *still at that (same) place*, with bugi reinforcing the notion of continuity, is quite common.

Examples of other forms: wu-niñi yiribala wuḍi+ŋa-murgi *I put it there inside*; gu-ḍaj+ŋa-mi wu-nu wu-niya *I won't sit there*; a-wu-niya ḍil+ŋ-idaŋani *I hold it there*; wu-naya wu-nu wu-ŋa-maljuṛa *it is here that we*(DuIn) *are sitting*. Note that an article can be used with an adverb of this sort, as in wu-nu wu-niya in the second of these examples (wu-nu in the last example has a different function and is not a modifier of wu-naya).

The gloss *there* for a-wu-niya is tentative, and in the three clear examples of this form in my data from Isaac the gloss *here* is also plausible. However, in eliciting translations for *here, there not far away*, and *there far away*, Isaac gave wu-naya for the first and a-wu-niya for the second. Therefore the best gloss seems to be *there*(Near-Distant or Immediate). Note that Immediate a-wu-ni is not among those stems listed above which can function as locative adverbs without further suffixation.

5.5. Ablative Demonstrative Adverbs

The Ablative suffix -wala may be added to the simple adverbs listed in 5.4 to form Ablative adverbs. The examples attested are: wu-naya-wala *from here*; wu-niya-wala *from there*; a-wu-ni-wala *from there*; wu-nñaya-wala *from there*. The meaning of the stems is as in 5.4. The absence of *wu-niñi-wala from my corpus may be an accidental gap.

These Ablative forms are semantically and syntactically like the English forms given as glosses. They do not show the unusual semantic twists which we have seen in Ablative demonstrative pronouns (5.2). In these adverbial forms, the motion described is from the position indicated by the stem. If we take wu-naya-wala literally as *from this (place)*, we can immediately see the difference between this type and that represented by ŋa-wa ŋa-ni-wala (5.2), which means *that one coming (from there)* rather than *from that one*.

Ablative adverbs may have temporal as well as locational senses, so that wu-niya-wala, wu-nñaya-wala, etc., may mean *after that* or *from there*.

There is also an irregular adverb wudjiwa (presumably wu-djiwa) *after that; from there*.

5.6. Directional Demonstrative Adverbs

Directional adverbs based on demonstrative stems show the suffix
-yaŋa, identical to the Locative suffix used with nouns (3.6) but in
a somewhat different sense. As noted in 5.3, when -yaŋa is added to
a demonstrative stem ending in ya, one of the ya syllables drops out.

The forms attested are: wu-naya-ŋa *to here, in this direction*;
wu-niya-ŋa *that way, in that direction*; a-wu-ni-yaŋa *that way, in
that direction*; wu-niñi-yaŋa *that way, in that direction* (Distant).
It is likely that a larger corpus of materials would have showed
some examples of *wu-nñaya-ŋa as well.

Although these forms are morphologically identical to the
Directional demonstrative pronouns described in 5.3, there is a major
semantic difference. It is possible to consider a form like
wu-niñi-yaŋa *that way* as literally meaning *to that (place)*. However,
in the type described in 5.3 the semantic scope of the Directional
morpheme is different; it indicates motion by the referent of the
demonstrative stem, not to it.

5.7. The Cardinal Directions and Related Forms

There are special Locative, Directional, and Ablative forms for
each cardinal direction term:

east	Locative	gaŋu
	Directional	yini-ñi
	Ablative	ana-yini
west	Locative	argaḷi
	Directional	argaḷi-ñi
	Ablative	an-argaḷi
north	Locative	guymi
	Directional	wuñmi-ñi
	Ablative	ana-wuñmi
south	Locative	wagi
	Directional	wayburi
	Ablative	ana-yiwayi

The form an-argaḷi *from the west* has a base form /ana-argaḷi/;
the two /a/'s are contracted by P-9.

The forms show some irregularities and stem-suppletions. We may
segment -ñi as the Directional suffix in all but the last paradigm.
This is clearly distinct from Allative -ñiyi used with nouns; when
I realised that the latter was bisyllabic I rechecked the cardinal
direction forms and verified that -ñi here was monosyllabic. The
Ablative prefix ana- occurs nowhere else in the language.

Locative forms of these adverbs are often preceded by wu-niñi
there (Distant). With ganu we get a frozen combination wu-niñi-nganu
there in the east. See 2.14 for the phonology. The form
wu-niñi-ngana with different final vowel was also recorded once.

At least some of the Locative adverbs have specialised reduplicated
variants which appear to mean something like *far (or farther) to the
west* and so forth. The only forms attested are guyma-guyma *far(ther)
to the north* (note the vowel change from guymi) and arg-argaḷi
far(ther) to the west. These forms may have Directional as well as
(static) Locative uses.

Other adverbs which should be mentioned here are the following:
a) arwaṟ *top; region overhead; region up from the coast*, Ablative
arwaṟ-wala; b) yaḷburi *downward* (no Ablative attested), cf. Mara
waḷburi with the same meaning; c) wanga-ñi *in another direction*
(gloss approximate).

5.8. Some Quasi-demonstrative Stems

There are a number of stems used in forms which are not quite
pronouns or demonstrative pronouns but which have similar uses and
are fairly important in the texts.

The stem -ñi *same* indicates an anaphoric relationship to a
previously mentioned or contextually clear referent. Unlike -nñaya
(5.1), -ñi makes no reference to location. It is frequently
juxtaposed to a noun, as in this example:

> ŋa-ñi ŋa-jawulba-ñu wu-nu ŋaḷ-ŋaḷ+a-mama
> *same old man   kept speaking*
> *It was the same old man who kept speaking.* (Cf. 10.3)

See 4.2 for uses of -ñi with pronouns.

In contrast to the preceding we have -gayi *other*:

> warj+ga-numi ŋa-gayi ŋa-jawulba-ñu
> *he grabbed it other   old man*
> *Another old man grabbed it.*

Both -ñi and -gayi, which are used frequently, take the noun-class prefixes used with articles (3.8), hence FSG ŋa-ñi, ŋa-gayi instead of *ŋi-ñi, *ŋi-gayi, etc.

5.9. Some Particles used with Adverbs

The neuter article wu-nu is frequently used as a modifier of a following Locative or Directional adverb: wu-nu wu-niñi-yaŋa *that way, to there*; wu-nu wu-naya *here*.

With temporal adverbs, there are three elements which can be juxtaposed to give various nuances: wu-nu, galŋi, and ñiya. The first two precede the adverb, the last follows it.

galŋi indicates that the time referred to by the adverb is subsequent to some reference time, which is usually the present. Therefore jilgñi *tomorrow* usually occurs in the sequence galŋi jilgñi.

wu-nu does not have a very definite temporal sense, but the mere fact that it is incompatible with galŋi means that wu-nu tends to occur with adverbs referring to present or past time: wu-nu ŋala *today*; wu-nu miɽmiɽya *yesterday*.

In some cases the contrast galŋi/wu-nu is not redundant. Thus jilgñi can mean *the following day* as well as *tomorrow*, and in a Past tense context the form wu-nu jilgñi can occur. Similarly, ŋiliŋiliwayi *morning* can occur in the sequences galŋi ŋiliŋiliwayi *tomorrow morning* and wu-nu ŋiliŋiliwayi *this morning; that morning*.

The particle ñiya is uncommon. It is attested three times in my data, always in a Past tense context: miɽmiɽya ñiya *yesterday*; wu-nñaya ñiya gayari *at that time, long ago*; miɽmiɽya ñiya *in the preceding days*.

CHAPTER SIX
VERB COMPLEXES AND VERBAL PREFIXES

6.1. The Structure of Verb Complexes

There are simple and auxiliary constructions in what we will call
the verb complex. The simple type consists minimally of an inflect-
able verb stem, a pronominal prefix (4.4), and a suffix or suffix-
complex marking tense, mood, and aspect. There may be one or more
additional prefixes such as Negative ɡu- and Potential /u-/.
Examples are: ŋa-wiṇḍi-ma-ni *I go looking for him*, containing ŋa-
1Sg → 3Sg, stem -wiṇḍi-, and Present Continuous -ma-ni; ɡu-ŋa-wiṇḍi-
ma-ri *I am not going looking for him* with Negative ɡu- and a corre-
sponding change in the suffix-complex; wu-ŋa-wiṇḍi-ma-∅ *I will go
looking for him* with Potential wu- from /u-/ and Nonpresent Continuous
Positive -ma-∅.

In the auxiliary type the inflectable verb is semantically
subordinated to a preceding main verb which indicates the basic verbal
idea, though different grammatical nuances are expressed by varying
the inflectable verb. The latter will be called the auxiliary (Aux.).
Many inflectable verbs can function either as main verbs or as
auxiliaries; some can only do one or the other.

The main verb in auxiliary constructions is fused morphologically
and phonologically into the verb complex. It precedes some prefixes,
such as the pronominal prefixes and Potential /u-/, but follows others
such as Negative ɡu-. I will indicate the boundary between the main
verb and the following element with the symbol + rather than with the
usual word-internal morpheme boundary -. Both are distinct from the
word boundary #, over which morphophonemic rules do not operate.

Treating suffix complexes as a unit for the time being, we have the
following order of elements in the verb complex:

1.	gu-	Negative

2.	⎰ -ṛaŋani-	*no-one*
	-ma-	Benefactive
	⎱ -man-	

3.	main verb

4.	ya-	Centripetal

5.	⎰ -yu-	Third Person Negative
	⎱ /-u-/	Potential

6.	pronominal prefix

7.	inflectable verb

8.	suffix complex

The obligatory elements are 6, 7, and 8.

It is possible that the three elements in 2 could be ordered relative to each other, but since -ṛaŋani- and -man- are each attested only two or three times I have no evidence bearing on this.

Examples showing the ordering relations will be presented in the following sections.

6.2. Suffixal Categories

The suffix complex, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, indicates Reflexive and Reciprocal notions, and also the following inflectional categories:

    a. PaActPun (past actual punctual)
    b. PaActCon/FutPosCon (past actual continuous, future positive continuous)
    c. PaIrr (past irrealis)
    d. PrAct (present actual)
    e. PrIrr (present irrealis)
    f. FutPosPun (future positive punctual)
    g. FutNeg (future negative)
    h. Imper (imperative)

The two categories in (b) are differentiated by the occurrence of Potential /-u-/ with FutPosCon and its absence with the PaActCon.

Irrealis (Irr) subsumes Negative and Potential; such forms are therefore normally required to occur with either Negative gu- or Potential /-u-/. This generalisation holds for my materials, but in

Sharpe's texts there is one passage (which I do not understand very well) where the PaIrr is used without either of these prefixes, apparently in a Negative sense.

The Actual/Irrealis opposition occurs in the Past and Present tenses. Since Future forms are all treated as either Potential or Negative, instead of Actual/Irrealis we get a Positive/Negative opposition here. The Positive forms require Potential /-u-/.

The form labelled Imperative (Imper) is overtly distinct from the FutNeg only for a few high-frequency inflectable stems. For the others, there is a single form which functions both as FutNeg and Imperative. Furthermore, even with stems which distinguish the two, the FutNeg is used instead of the Imperative form in commands or prohibitions under certain circumstances (7.37).

6.3. The Word-class Status of 'Main Verbs'

What I have called 'main verbs' in auxiliary constructions are, at least etymologically, from several different word-classes.

Examples of stems which can function as nouns or main verbs: waṛj *urine, to urinate*; jalbij *meat, to eat meat*; ŋari *fight, to have a fight*. Adjectival nouns can fairly freely be used as main verbs with the auxiliary -ma-, as in gabul+a-mi *It became cooked*, cf. gabul *cooked* (adjective).

In gaw+ŋa-mi *I shouted*, the main verb represents the shout itself (gaw!), and the construction could be taken literally as *I said 'gaw!'*.

In many other instances the original word-class of the main verb is unrecoverable. Many are probably verb-like particles or 'root forms', as found for example in Ngandi and Ritharngu.

Occasionally the main verb is used without auxiliary as an abbreviation of an inflected form. An example is guḷ *drink!*, short for guḷ+Ø-jaŋu, but not all examples are imperative. This corresponds exactly to Ngandi and Ritharngu root forms, but it is very uncommon in Warndarang, very common in the other two. Also, some apparent root forms are merely false starts where the informant cut himself short.

6.4. Negative Prefixes

The basic Negative morpheme is the prefix gu-. When this is added to a verb complex containing a third person intransitive or third → third transitive pronominal prefix, a special prefix -yu- is also added.

Examples: gu-ṇad+ŋa-mayaṇi *I did not run* (Negative - *run* + 1Sg - Aux); gu-ŋara-wa *He will not give it to me* (Negative - 3Sg → 1Sg - *give*); gu-war+yu-ru-giri from /gu-war+yu-Wara-giri/ *They are not*

singing it (Negative - *sing* + Third Person Negative - 3Pl → 3Sg - Aux); gu-yu-∅-gayamari *He does not hear it* (Negative - Third Person Negative - 3Sg → 3Sg - *hear*). The verbal suffix complexes used with gu- are Irrealis in the Past and Present, and Negative in the Future.

An example of gu- with a predicate noun: gu-ŋa-waṛiyi *I am not an Aboriginal* (Negative - 1Sg - *Aboriginal*).

6.5. Benefactive -ma-

The Benefactive prefix indicates that the object-marking pronominal in the pronominal prefix identifies the indirect object rather than the direct object. Verbs like -wa- *to give* which always have a semantic indirect object marked by the pronominal prefix do not use the Benefactive prefix. In other words, with an underlying transitive verb the Benefactive is used only if the object-marker would otherwise be interpreted as the direct object; this is not the case with -wa- since the object marked by the pronominal prefix is always the indirect object. It is possible that Benefactive -ma- can also be used with underlying intransitives (which then would take transitive pronominal prefixes) - this would be the usual pattern for languages of this area - but unfortunately I do not have any examples with an intransitive base. It should be noted that the same effect can be achieved by using an auxiliary like -wiṇḍi- or -igira- (transitive, with semantic indirect object specified in the pronominal prefix) instead of the usual intransitive auxiliary.

An example of ma- is ma-ṛaŋ+ŋara-gañi *He killed (it, you, etc.) for me* (Ben - *kill* - 3Sg → 1Sg - Aux); another is gu-ma-gi+ya-ŋara-gi *He did not bring it for me* (Neg - Ben - *take* + Centripetal - 3Sg → 1Sg - Aux).

6.6. -ṛaŋani- and -man-

The prefix -ṛaŋani- *no one* occurs three times in the data. It requires the usual Negative affixes (gu-, and -yu- in the relevant third person forms). Examples: gu-ṛaŋani-ṛaŋ+ŋara-gi *No one hit me* (Neg - *no one* - *hit* + 3Sg → 1Sg - Aux); gu-ṛaŋani-biŋ+ju-∅-ga from /gu-ṛaŋani-biŋ+yu-Wa-ga/ *No one will finish them off* (Neg - *no one* - *finish off* + 3Neg - 3Sg → 3Sg - Aux). The examples show that -ṛaŋani- refers to the subject rather than object in transitive constructions, and the cross-referencing pronominal is 3Sg.

The prefix -man- occurs only twice and is rather obscure. In one instance it appears to be Reflexive in sense: man-garj+ŋ-idaŋani

I scratch myself (Reflex - *scratch* - 1Sg - Aux). However, the usual
Reflexive form is produced by adding -i- to the inflected verb. In
the other example, -man- is added to an already intransitive form:
man-bunji+ŋa-mi *I have gotten dry*, cf. bunji+a-mi *It has gotten dry*.
The contribution of man- here is difficult to determine.

I am not sure that -man- follows Negative gu- since I was unable to
elicit these two in combination.

6.7. Centripetal ya-

The Centripetal prefix indicates that motion is directed toward the
here of the speech act. The addition of ya- distinguishes *to come*
from *to go*, *to bring* from *to take*, etc. Examples: ya-ŋa-gaya
I brought it, cf. ŋa-gaya *I took it*; see also examples in 2.10.

6.8. Potential /-u-/

The Potential prefix /-u-/ is used in non-Negative verb complexes
in any tense. It is obligatory with Future Positive forms (which are
invariably treated as Potential in Warndarang). These Future forms
may have true Potential senses, so that wu-ŋa-ṛara from /u-ŋa-ṛara/
is translatable *I will go, I could go*, etc.

The Past Potential is formed by adding /-u-/ to a Past Irrealis
verb form. Examples: gal+u-ŋa-ji *I was just about to spear him
(but he ran away)*, emphasising that at that time the event of spearing
was very possible; ŋalaŋala wu-nu ŋabaṛ+u-ŋa-maṛi *I nearly died*
(literally, *It was imminent that I would die*); wu-nu yalji wu-yaṇi
wulguy, gal+u-rŋu-ji *If he had gone* (wu-yaṇi) *earlier, all right - he
would have speared them*(Du). The last example is the regular contrary-
to-fact Past conditional construction, with both verbs in the Past
Potential.

The Present Potential, usually translatable with *should* is less
common. An example: wu-ŋa-ŋamari *I should eat it*. The Past Potential
probably also can have this sort of sense (*should have done*), but I
do not have any good examples.

CHAPTER SEVEN

Inflectable Verbs and their Suffixes

7.1. General Comments

Inflectable verb stems, whether functioning as main verbs or
auxiliaries, typically distinguish the nine categories shown in 6.2,
except that the Past Actual Continuous and Future Positive Continuous
are always identical in terms of the suffix complex. Some of the
paradigms to be presented below are defective, however. This may be
because of gaps in the data or because the informant could not
remember some difficult forms, but in some other cases the defective-
ness is genuine. Thus some verbs do not distinguish Punctual from
Continuous forms, while some stems like -juṛa are suppleted by others
(in this case -iṇaji-) in certain categories.

In the following sections I will deal one by one with all of the
inflectable stems attested in the data. The kinds of information
which I will provide are: a) a list of the attested forms; b) an
indication as to whether the verb is used independently, as an
auxiliary, or both; c) in the case of auxiliary verbs a description of
the semantic and syntactic range of constructions in which they occur.
At the end of the chapter are sections on the Reflexive, Reciprocal,
and Imperative.

7.2. Analysis of the Paradigms

The structural analysis of the verbal paradigms to be presented
below is hindered both by imcomplete data for some of them and by the
morphological opacity of some of the more difficult forms. In the
present section, therefore, I will deal chiefly with general patterns
rather than details.

In several of the paradigms there is a fairly clear contrast
between a Continuous system including the FutPosCon, PaActCon, PrAct,

and PrIrr, and a Noncontinuous system including the other categories.
The Continuous system is usually marked by the addition of an augment,
usually -ŋa- or -ma-, between the root and the inflectional suffix.
The Noncontinuous system lacks this augment.

The usual suffixes include -∅ for the FutPosCon and PaActCon, -ni
for the PrAct, and -ri for the PrIrr. In the Noncontinuous system
there is less uniformity, except that -iñu is the invariable form of
the FutPosPun. The PaActPun and FutNeg often have a zero suffix, but
one or both may show a quality shift in the final vowel, e.g.
/a/ → i. The PaIrr shows a variety of allomorphs including -ṛi, -ri,
and ∅.

The Imperative form is usually identical to the FutNeg, and the
only clear counterexamples to this are a handful of high-frequency
stems. In the paradigms where a FutNeg form is given, but an
Imperative is not shown, it is highly probable that the missing
Imperative was identical to the FutNeg.

The citation form of each stem is either the unaffixed root
(e.g. -ba-), where this stem is fairly easy to segment aside from
possible uncertainty as to the final underlying vowel, or a suffixed
form (e.g. -juṛa) where the stem is not easily segmented from the
suffix.

7.3. -ba- *to hit; to kill*

The forms are:

-ba-∅	PaActPun
-bu-ṛa	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-bi-ni	PaIrr
-ba-ni	PrAct
-ba-ri	PrIrr
-b-iñu	FutPosPun
-bi-∅	FutNeg
-bi-ŋu	Imper

The stem shows three forms -ba-, -bu-, -bi- depending on the suffix.
In -bi-ni we could have vowel-harmony from *-bu-ni, while in -b-iñu
the i is due to the suffix, but we still get -bi- in -bi-∅ and -bi-ŋu.
Historically this is *-bu-, a CA stem for *to hit; to kill*.

This meaning is preserved, but is much less common than the combination of main verb ṛaŋ *to hit* with auxiliary -ga-. By itself, -ba- often has the specific sense *to kick*. As an auxiliary, -ba- occurs with a large and heterogeneous collection of transitive main verbs, of which a fair number (e.g. wiṛj *to scrape*; wur *to rub*; ḍira *to tie up*; ḍalag *to drop*; jabi *to grab at*) are in the same general domain as *to hit*. Among the others we may mention munji *to follow*, yar *to dawn*, mirg *to be jealous or resentful of*.

Examples: ŋa-ba-ni *I am kicking him*; jaṛ+ŋa-ba *I pulled it* (Punctual); jaṛag+ŋa-bu-ṛa *I used to make it; I was making it*.

See also the discussion of the imperative of -ṛa- (7.37).

7.4. -ga- *to take to*

-ga-ñi	PaActPun
-ga-ya	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-gi-Ø	PaIrr
-gi-ni	PrAct
-gi-ri	PrIrr
-g-iñu	FutPosPun
-ga-Ø	FutNeg
-ga-ŋu	Imper

The endings -ñi and -ya in the first two forms are unique. The Imperative allomorph -ŋu is found also with -ja- and -ba-. The stem fluctuates between -ga- and -gi-, but the former has a broader distribution (two of three examples of -gi- could reflect vowel-harmony).

As a main verb, -ga- occurs fairly infrequently in the sense *to take, to transport*, though this is more often expressed by the combination of main verb gi and -ga- as auxiliary. An example of -ga- as main verb is given in 6.7 above. As an auxiliary, -ga- can occur with many transitive main verbs; quite a few of these involve the transfer of the object from one point to another: biray *to carry (on back)*; biṛ *to displace*; waḍara *to head for; to understand*; wirju *to miss (e.g. in throwing spears); to make a mistake*. Others include waṛj *to urinate*; war *to call to; to sing*; mud *to break*; ṛaŋ *to hit; to kill; to make (rope)*. As the last examples suggest, there is no sharp break between the semantic domains of -ba- and of -ga- as auxiliaries.

Examples: ya-ŋa-ga-ya *I brought it*; biɾ+ŋa-ga-ñi *I moved it over*; gu-war+yu-ru-gi-ri *They*(Pl) *are not singing (it)*.

-ga- is related etymologically to verbs of the same or similar form in various Aboriginal languages meaning *to carry* or the like.

7.5. -gayama *to hear*

-gayiwi	PaActPun
-gaya-ma-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-gayiwi	PaIrr
-gaya-ma-ni	PrAct
-gaya-ma-ri	PrIrr
?	FutPosPun
?	FutNeg
-gayiwi	Imper

This is a transitive main verb which cannot be used as an auxiliary. The Continuous system is regular, with a theme based on an augment -ma-. The Noncontinuous forms are all -gayiwi, except for the two forms which could not be elicited.

Examples: ŋa-gaya-ma-∅ *I heard him* (Continuous); gu-ŋa-gayiwi *I did not hear him*; gu-ŋa-gaya-ma-ri *I do not hear him*; wu-ŋa-gaya-ma-∅ *I will hear him*.

7.6. -ida-

-ida-∅	PaActPun
-ida-ŋa-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-idi-∅	PaIrr
-ida-ŋa-ni	PrAct
-ida-ŋa-ri	PrIrr
-id-iñu	FutPosPun
-ida-∅	FutNeg
-ida-∅	Imper

The Continuous system shows a theme with augment -ŋa- and is regular. The final a/i alternation in the PaActPun and PaIrr is paralleled in the paradigm of -ja-. The FutNeg and Imperative are not distinguished.

This stem is always used as an auxiliary. The transitive main verbs used with it, numbering around ten, generally indicate forcible manipulation of the object: ḍil *to hold*; gur *to steal*; garj *to scratch*; jaḍ *to grab (by the wrist)*; ŋarwuḷg *to bend*; jawj *to wrap up; to surround*, etc.

Examples: ŋarwuḷg+ŋ-ida-∅ *I bent it*; jawj-galŋ-ida-∅ *They surrounded them*; ḍil+∅-ida-∅ *Hold this!*(Sg addressee).

7.7. -iḍaŋa *to defecate*

?	PaActPun
-iḍaŋa-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-iḍaŋa-ri	PaIrr
-iḍaŋa-ni	PrAct
-iḍaŋa-ri	PrIrr
?	FutPosPun
?	FutNeg
?	Imper

This is an intransitive main verb. The Punctual forms could not be elicited and may have been missing.

7.8. -igira-

-igiri-∅	PaActPun
?	PaActCon/FutPosCon
?	PaIrr
-igira-ma-ni	PrAct
?	PrIrr
-igir-iñu	FutPosCon
?	FutNeg
?	Imper

The Continuous system is represented by the PrAct form, showing the -ma- augment.

This is a transitive stem used exclusively as an auxiliary. It is closely related to the more common stem -wiṇḍi-. Both indicate that the activity (usually motion or an emotional state) is directed toward

an external object. -igira-, to a greater extent than -wiṇḍi-, implies
that the object is potentially menaced by, or is in an inharmonious
relationship with, the subject. Examples are: wirg+∅-igiri-∅ (the
first ∅ represents /Wa-/) *He jumped at him*, cf. intransitive
wirg+∅-iŋa *He jumped* (for the Aux here cf. -ṛa-); guwiḍ+g-igiri-∅
It(crocodile) turned to face him; yaguḷ+ŋ-igira-ma-ni *I am afraid of
him*. In the latter instance -igira- can be replaced by -wiṇḍi-, and
the latter is probably more common.

7.9. -ija

<div align="center">

-ija-∅   PaActPun

</div>

This stem is attested only in the form given. It is used as a
transitive auxiliary with ḍiw *to throw* and ḍuḷ *to release*, both of
which involve releasing an object. An example: ḍiw+ŋal-ija-∅
I threw it.

Some additional paradigmatic forms might have been obtainable, but
I did not elicit them since I originally confused -ija with the
auxiliary -ja-. I now feel certain that the two are distinct.

7.10. -ilama- *to cut up*

-ilami-∅	PaActPun
-ilama-ŋa-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-ilami-∅	PaIrr
-ilama-ŋa-ni	PrAct
-ilama-ŋa-ri	PrIrr
-ilam-iñu-	FutPosPun
-ilami-∅	FutNeg
?	Imper

The Imperative is presumably also *-ilami-∅ but this is not
attested.

This stem is transitive and can be used as a main verb or as an
auxiliary. The two main verbs attested with it are ŋan *to hit*
(not the common word for this) and yabara-mud *to break the leg of*.
The latter is a compound with yabara *leg* and mud *to break*. Examples:
ŋar-ilama-ŋa-ni *It is cutting me; It is stabbing me*; yabara-mud+ŋ-
ilami-∅ *I broke his leg*.

It is interesting to note that ṇuŋguṇa-mud *to break the arm of* with ṇuŋguṇa *arm* takes the auxiliary -ba- instead of -ilama-, and that uncompounded mud *to break* takes -ga-: ṇuŋguṇa-mud+ŋa-ba-∅ *I broke his arm*; gu-mud+ŋa-gi-∅ *I did not break it.* Another compound, ŋalwar-mud *to break in half; to break in the middle*, takes -ida-: ŋalwar-mud+ŋ-ida-∅ *I broke it in half.*

7.11. -iṇaji-

-iṇaji-∅	PaActPun
-iṇaji-ma-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
?	PaIrr
-iṇaji-ma-ni	PrAct
-iṇaji-ma-ri	PrIrr
-iṇaj-iñu	FutPosPun
?	FutNeg
?	Imper

This is an intransitive stem used most commonly in Punctual forms, and is always an auxiliary. The Punctual forms of -iṇaji- supplete the missing Punctual forms of the auxiliary -juṛa, which is used chiefly with position verbs like bay *to stand* and mun *to bend over.* Hence bay+u-ŋ-iṇaj-iñu *I will stand up*, etc. It would appear that most instances of -iṇaji- in my data are with verbs which usually take -juṛa in Continuous forms. The verbs attested with -iṇaji- are ḍalag *to fall down*; ḍil *to land (e.g. bird)*; yar *to fall out*; ḍar *to hide oneself*; waŋgay *to wake up*; baḷa *to be born*; gaburg *to ricochet*; mulg *to go to sleep*; wirg *to jump off* (cf. wirg *to jump* with auxiliary -ṛa-); ŋalwal *to hold spear raised, ready to strike*; maṇaḍ *to strike with spears* (gloss doubtful); bay and mun (cf. above). The common bond here is that most or all of the stems indicate an abrupt change in position or state.

7.12. -iŋama

Only two forms are attested:

-iŋama-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-iŋama-ni	PrAct

It is possible that the basic stem is -iŋa- and that -ma- is there-
fore the augment of the Continuous system.

This is an uncommon transitive auxiliary. The three stems which
occur with it in my data are ḍiw *to throw*, ḍuḷ *to send*, and warj.
The first of these can also be used with -ja-. The verb warj can also
be used with auxiliaries such as -iṛayi-, -ga-, and -numi-. With
-iŋama-, warj acquires the special sense *to catch (a thrown object)*.
Thus all three stems used with -iŋama involve the notion of
(vigorously) transporting an object, e.g. by throwing, and suggest that
the person responsible for the transporting does not accompany the
transported object (i.e. does not carry it). Examples: ḍiw+ar-iŋama-∅
They(Pl) *threw it*; warj+ŋ-iŋama-ni *I am catching it*.

This auxiliary is synchronically unrelated to -iŋa, a tense form of
the intransitive inflected verb and auxiliary -ṛa- *to go*.

7.13. -iṛa-

-iṛa-yi-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-iṛa-yi-ni	PrAct
-iṛa-yi-ri	PrIrr(?)
-iṛa-y-iñu	FutPosPun
-iṛa-wa	Imper

The absence of several forms makes it somewhat risky to interpret
the paradigm. The stem is -iṛa-yi even in the one Punctual form
attested, but the -yi- is dropped in the Imperative. This -yi- is
attested nowhere else in such a morphological context. The form
-iṛa-yi-ri was glossed with Past instead of Present tense, but
structurally it looks like a Present form. It is possible that the
same form is also used for the Past as well.

This is an uncommon transitive auxiliary used with warj in the
sense *to pick up; to get* where the auxiliaries -ga- and -numi- are
also possible, and with ḍud *to find*. Examples: warj+ŋ-iṛayi-∅
I got it; warj+∅-iṛa-wa *Pick it up!*(Sg addressee).

7.14. -ja- *to tell*

-ja-∅	PaActPun
-ja-ŋa-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-ji-∅	PaIrr

-ja-ŋa-ni	PrAct
-ja-ri	PrIrr
-j-iñu	FutPosPun
-ja-∅	FutNeg
-ja-ŋu	Imper

This paradigm is unusual in that the PrIrr lacks the -ŋa- augment found in other forms in the Continuous system; contrast -ida-ŋa-ri, -ilama-ŋa-ri, etc. At the early stages of my fieldwork the paradigmatic material obtained was of low reliability, because Isaac got this paradigm mixed up with that of -juṟa. For example, at one point he gave the PrAct of -ja- as -ja-ni, which turned out to be the corresponding stem of -juṟa. It occurred to me that PrIrr -ja-ri might be a similar error, since this is also the PrIrr of -juṟa. However, even after Isaac sorted these things out he insisted that -ja-ri was the correct form for -ja- as well as -juṟa and rejected *-ja-ŋa-ri.

-ja- is occasionally used in the sense *to tell*, the direct object marked in pronominal prefixes being the addressee. These forms usually follow a quotation. Another sense, attested once in Capell's goanna text, is *to put* (this is usually expressed by main verb wuṟ with auxiliary -ga-).

As a transitive auxiliary, -ja- is as common and important as -ba- and -ga- (with which it shares the Imperative suffix -ŋu). Among the many, semantically heterogeneous main verbs used with -ja- are: gal *to spear; to bite*; ḻuñ *to wrap up; to coil up*; gaw *to shout to*; ŋaḻ *to speak to*; ṟal *to hook up (spear, with woomera)*; yaḍ *to wait for*; gul *to make trouble for*; bal *to draw, to write*; ḍiw *to throw*.

In general, it is convenient to think of -ja- as the transitive auxiliary corresponding to intransitive -ma-. A few stems can occur with either depending on whether an object is overtly indicated: ŋaḻ+u-ŋa-ja-ŋa-∅ *I will speak to him*(FutPosCon) vs. ŋaḻ+u-ŋa-ma-ma-∅ *I will speak*. Similarly, as independent verb -ma- means *to say* (more generally, *to do/be/say like that*), which is again in effect the objectless counterpart of *to tell*.

7.15. -janayajima *to engage in a large fight*

-janayaji-ma-∅   PaActCon, FutPosCon

The only form attested is wu-ŋala-janayaji-ma-∅ *We*(InPl) *will all fight each other*. The root is -janayaji- if we take -ma- to be a

segmentable augment, which is probably correct. The root may well be a frozen Reciprocal in -ji- (elsewhere usually -yi-, but cf. 7.36).

7.16. -juṛa

-ju-ṛa	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-ja-yaṇi	PaIrr
-ja-ni	PrAct
-ja-ri	PrIrr
-ja-ña	FutNeg
-ja-ŋu	Imper

The missing PaActPun and FutPosPun forms are suppleted by forms of -iṇaji-. The form -ju-ṛa shows the same formation seen in the corresponding form -bu-ṛa in the paradigm of -ba-. The suffix -ña in the FutNeg is unique. Imperative -ŋu shows up also with -ba-, -ga-, and -ja-.

On two occasions Isaac gave the FutNeg form as -ja-ŋa, once in a text and once in a translation of an English sentence. However, in a later session where the paradigm was gone over carefully he indicated that -ja-ña was the correct form. Because the suffix here is unique it can hardly be considered an error due to analogy, while -ja-ŋa can be regarded as an irregular intrusion from the paradigm of -ja-. However, the possibility cannot be ruled out that -ja-ŋa was an acceptable variant of -ja-ña.

The verbs used with -juṛa are basically those which can be used with -iṇaji-, where they usually indicate a change in position or state. With -juṛa the aspectual value is Continuous or neutral, so that the reference is to the state resulting from the change. Examples: guḷa-ŋaw-ŋaw+ŋa-ju-ṛa *I was lying down (on my back)*; mulg+u-ŋa-ju-ṛa *I will be asleep*; mund+u-ŋa-ju-ṛa *I will be bending over*; gu-guḷ+ŋa-ja-yaṇi *I did not drink*.

Etymologically, -juṛa is related to stems found in Nunggubuyu, Ngandi, etc. The historical prototype reflected in these languages is *-ḍV-, forming Continuous *-ḍu-ṛa or *-ḍu-ḍa (Nunggubuyu -ḷa-ṛa, Warndarang -ju-ṛa, Ngandi -ḍu-ḍa with possible secondary hardening *ṛ → ḍ), as well as other inflected forms with stem *-ḍa- or *-ḍi-. The Ngandi and Nunggubuyu stems mean *to stand*, and note in this connection that the Warndarang auxiliary is used mainly with stance verbs. Whether at a deeper historical level this *-ḍV- is ultimately

related to *-ju- underlying Warndarang -ja- I am unable to say at
this time.

7.17. -ma- *to be/do/say like that*

-mi-∅	PaActPun
-ma-ma-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-mi-ṛi	PaIrr
-ma-ma-ni	PrAct
-ma-ma-ri	PrIrr
-m-iñu	FutPosPun
-mi-∅	FutNeg
-mi-ndi	Imper

The Continuous system has augment -ma- and is regular. The other
forms show some irregularities, notably the Imperative which has a
unique ending. The ending -ṛi in the PaIrr form shows up also with
-naṇi-, -ṇa-, and -wiṇḍi-.

This stem can be used as an intransitive main verb meaning
to be/do/say like that, and should be accompanied by a preceding
quotation, a gesture with the hands or head, or something of this
sort.

It is also the most important intransitive auxiliary, with the
possible exception of -ṛa-. Adjectival stems may be used as the
main verbs, as in gabul+a-mi-∅ *It became cooked (i.e. It is cooked)*;
cf. ṛa-gabul *the cooked one; something cooked* as a noun with nonhuman
class prefix ṛa-. Among many other stems used with -ma- we may
mention these: ḍaj *to sit down*; jiri *to sneeze* (along with several
other verbs of bodily activities and functions); jaḷab *to paddle*;
gaṛ *to dance*; ḷuḷ *to cry*; yiḷal *to be angry*; ḍay *to flee*; yulu-mug or
mug *to forget*; ŋayab *to be silent*. The relationship between -ma- and
the transitive auxiliary -ja- has been commented on (7.14).

In a very few instances -ma- is attested with main verbs which are
normally transitive and occur with auxiliaries such as -ba-, -ga-,
-ja-, etc. In such cases it seems that the direct object is simply
de-emphasised or made indefinite to the point of not being overtly
indicated, though there must be some such object for the verb to make
sense. The best example of this is warj+∅-mi-ndi *Pick it up!* (Sg
addressee), with -ma- instead of -iṛa-, -ga-, or -numi-. In the

example bal+ŋa-ma-ma-∅ *I pounded it*, the use of -ma- may signal a
different meaning from that of bal with auxiliary -ja- *(to draw)*.

In attempting etymologies for -ma- it is important to emphasise
that it is intransitive in Warndarang, so that direct correlations
with *-ma-, reflected widely in other Aboriginal languages with the
sense *to do (something) to* and with transitive morphology, are
hazardous. For the moment we will merely note the clear correlation
with Mara -ma- and Alawa -mba- (the latter showing an obscure
phonological development, cf. Sharpe 1972, p. 91), and probably with
Nunggubuyu -yama- *to be/do/say like that*, which may contain a frozen
compounding element -yaŋ- *voice, speech*.

7.18. -mal-juṛa *to be sitting*

> -mal-ju-ṛa   PaActCon, FutPosCon
> (etc., like -juṛa)

This is, historically at least, -juṛa preceded by a compounding
element -mal-. Whether this is related to main verb mal *to go up* is
unclear.

The stem -mal-juṛa is found frequently as a main verb: wu-ŋala-mal-
ju-ṛa *We*(PlIn) *sit*. This stem is more common than -na- (7.24). As an
intransitive auxiliary -mal-juṛa is less common than -juṛa and is
used with the same main verbs: wund+u-ŋa-mal-ju-ṛa *I will be bending
over*; ḍar+u-∅-mal-ju-ṛa *He will be hiding*.

7.19. -mayi

> -ma-yi-∅   PaActPun
>
> -ma-ya-ṇi   PaIrr
>
> -ma-y-iñu   FutPosPun
>
> -ma-yu-∅   FutNeg
>
> -ma-yi-∅   Imper

This is an intransitive auxiliary which is optionally used instead
of -ṛa- in the latter's auxiliary functions. The stem is composite,
consisting of -ma- plus a root -yV- which also turns up in -ya-ṇi and
-yu-∅, two forms which pattern as part of the paradigm of -ṛa-. In the
forms which are missing from the paradigm shown above, the correspond-
ing forms of -ṛa- are the only possibilities.

I have been unable to determine any consistent semantic distinction between -mayi and -ṟa-. See (7.29) for more comments.

Examples: ŋuy+∅-ma-yi-∅ *Swim!*(Sg addressee) vs. ŋuy+a-ṟa *He swam*; gil-gil+a-ma-yi-∅ *It crawled* vs. gil-gil+a-ṟa-ni *It is crawling*; ḍalag+u-ma-y-iñu *He will fall down* vs. gu-ḍalag+ŋa-ya-ṇi *I did not fall down*.

7.20. -muṇa- *to sting*

-muṇi-∅	PaActPun
-muṇa-ma-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-muṇa-ri	PaIrr
-muṇa-ma-ni	PrAct
-muṇa-ma-ri	PrIrr
-muṇ-iñu	FutPosPun
-muṇi-∅	FutNeg
?	Imper

The Continuous system has augment -ma- and is regular. Of the other forms, note that -muṇa-ri ends in -ri (as in the PaIrr of -iḍaŋa and -murgi-), not in the allomorph -ṟi found with some other stems. The missing Imperative was probably identical to the FutNeg -muṇi-∅, but is not attested.

This stem is used as a transitive main verb: ŋara-muṇi-∅ *It(bee) stung me.*

7.21. -murgi-

-murgi-∅	PaActPun
-murgi-ŋa-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-murgi-ri	PaIrr
-murgi-ŋa-ni	PrAct
-murgi-ŋa-ri	PrIrr
-murg-iñu	FutPosPun
-murgi-∅	FutNeg
?	Imper

The paradigm is identical to that of -ida-, if we disregard the alternation of root-final vowels shown by the latter. The missing Imperative is probably identical to the FutNeg -murgi-∅.

This is the basic causative auxiliary, and is therefore used instead of a main verb's normal auxiliary when it is causativised. Examples: ḍar+a-murgi-∅ *He hid it* vs. ḍar+∅-iṇaji-∅ *It hid*; gu-ḍaj+ŋa-murgi-ri *I made him sit* vs. ḍaj+ga-mi *He sat*; gu-ḍalag+ŋa-murgi-∅ *I will not make him fall down* vs. ḍalag+∅-∅-iṇaj-iñu *He will fall down*. The eight or so examples attested are causatives of underlying intransitives; it is possible, however, that occasionally an underlying transitive could have been causativised by using -murgi-.

Some historical connection with Alawa causative auxiliary urga is likely, but the Alawa auxiliary is formally intransitive ('mono-referential', Sharpe 1972, pp. 91, 99).

7.22. -naŋi- *to burn* (intrans.)

-naŋi-∅	PaActPun
-naŋi-ma-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-naŋi-ṛi	PaIrr
-naŋi-ma-ni	PrAct
-naŋi-ma-ri	PrIrr
-naŋ-iñu	FutPosPun
-ni-∅	FutNeg

The FutNeg shows a special truncated stem. Other than this the paradigm is the same as that of -wiṇḍi-, -igira-, etc. The Imperative is missing, and it is doubtful that there was such a form in view of the semantic content of the attested combinations involving -naŋi-.

As a main verb it means *to burn; to be on fire*: a-naŋi-ma-∅ *It burned.* As an intransitive auxiliary it is attested with the following main verbs: jad *to burn up*; jaḍjaḍ *to be boiling*; wuñ *to shine brightly; to blaze fiercely (used of sun)*; ŋalwaṛ *to be light out; to be daytime*; ḍaŋ *to be thirsty*. The concept of heat is involved, directly or indirectly, in all of these meanings.

7.23. -nija *to keep in one's possession*

-nija-∅	PaActPun
-niji-ŋayi-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
?	PaIrr
-niji-ŋayi-ni	PrAct
?	PrIrr
?	FutPosPun
?	FutNeg
?	Imper

The Continuous theme seems to contain an element -ŋayi- which is possibly the familiar augment -ŋa- plus an otherwise unattested element -yi-.

As a transitive main verb we find this in ŋararu-niji-ŋayi-∅ *They keep me (here)*. As an auxiliary it shows up in ḍaj+ŋa-nija-∅ *I sat down with it*; ḍaj in the usual sense *to sit* takes the auxiliary -ma-. Using -nija specifie· that there is a sort of comitative object.

7.24. -na- *to be sitting*

-nu-ṛa	PaActCon
-na-ni	PrAct
-na-ri	PrIrr

So far as I can tell, -na- is semantically indistinguishable from -mal-juṛa. Like the latter, it lacks Punctual forms; *to sit down* (Punctual) is expressed by ḍaj plus auxiliary -ma-. I was unable to elicit PaIrr and FutNeg forms, but I am not sure whether they never existed or whether Isaac's memory had failed. The form -nu-ṛa is parallel to similar forms in the paradigms of -juṛa and -ba-.

The stem is always used as an intransitive main verb. Etymologically it is related to Ngandi -ŋV- (e.g. Present -ṇu-ḍa matching Warndarang -nu-ṛa).

7.25. -numi

-numi-∅	PaActPun
-num-iñu	FutPosPun

This transitive stem, attested only in the Punctual forms shown, has been found only with warj *to pick up; to get*. The fact that warj occurs in the same meaning with -iɽa- and -ga-, both of which have full or reasonably full paradigms, suggests that -numi optionally suppletes these two in Punctual forms with warj. Examples: warj+ga-numi-∅ *He picked it up*; warj+u-∅-num-iñu with -∅- from /-Wa-/ *He will pick it up*.

7.26. -ñayima

-ñayi-ma-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-ñayi-ma-ni	PrAct

Other forms could not be elicited. I have taken the ma syllable as the augment -ma- of the Continuous system.

This is attested only as an intransitive auxiliary with the main verb ŋiɽ *to breathe*: ŋiɽ+ŋa-ñayi-ma-ni *I breathe*.

7.27. -ŋa- *to eat*

-ŋa-ma-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-ŋa-ɽi	PaIrr
-ŋa-ma-ni	PrAct
-ŋa-ma-ri	PrIrr
-ŋi-ya	FutNeg
ʔ	Imper

The Punctual forms could not be elicited, and it is doubtful that they ever existed. Aside from the anomalous FutNeg form, the paradigm is similar to that of -naŋi-.

The stem occurs only as a transitive auxiliary. Example: gu-ŋa-ŋa-ma-ri *I am not eating it*.

-ŋa- is related to a stem *-ŋV- *to eat* which turns up in Ngandi (-ŋu-, -ŋo-), Nunggubuyu (-ŋu-), etc.

7.28. -ŋulwaya- *to copulate with*

-ŋulwaya-ŋa-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
ʔ	PaIrr
-ŋulwaya-ŋa-ni	PrAct

-ŋulwaya-ŋa-ri	PrIrr
-ŋulwaya-∅	FutNeg
ʔ	Imper

Aside from the queried forms which I was unable to elicit, the Punctual forms are missing and probably did not exist. The Continuous system is based on augment -ŋa- and is regular.

The stem is always used as a transitive main verb. An example: ŋa-ŋulwaya-ŋa-∅ *I copulated with her*. For the more common Reciprocal form see 7.36.

By comparing Ngandi ŋul *penis*, Nunggubuyu ŋulu *pubic region*, etc. we can deduce that -ŋulwaya- is etymologically complex, viz. *-ŋul-waya- with verb stem *-waya-.

7.29. -ṛa-, -iŋa, -yV-, -bi *to go*

Since these stems combine to form a single paradigm, they will be treated together here. Most of the forms can be used as auxiliaries or as main verbs, though some (-iŋa-∅, -bi-∅, and possibly -ṛa-y-iñu) are used only as auxiliaries. The stem -ṛa- is unique in that it takes a special augment -ra- when used as a main verb.

Main Verb	Auxiliary	
	-iŋa-∅	PaActPun
-ṛa-ra-∅	-ṛa-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-ya-ṇi	-ya-ṇi	PaIrr
-ṛa-ra-ni	-ṛa-ni	PrAct
-ṛa-ra-ri	-ṛa-ri	PrIrr
	-ṛa-y-iñu	FutPosPun
-yu-∅	-yu-∅	FutNeg
	-bi-∅	Imper

Rarely, the auxiliary forms are used in what appear to be main-verb uses. Usually, however, there is a preceding adverb or the like which could be thought of as functioning like a preceding uninflected main verb in an auxiliary construction: wu-niñi-yaŋa a-ṛa-∅ *He went that way*.

Main verb examples: gu-ŋa-ya-ṇi *I will not go*; wu-ŋa-ṛa-ra-∅ *I will go*. The forms which cannot occur as main verbs occur with the main

verb gi to express *to go*: gi+ŋ-iŋa *I went*; gi+ya-Ø-bi-Ø *Come!*(Sg
addressee). In at least some instances the forms with and without gi
are both possible: gu-ŋa-yu-Ø or gu-gi+ŋa-yu-Ø *I will not go.*

Many intransitive main verbs, especially those which involve
motion of some sort, regularly take -ṛa- and its associates as
auxiliaries. These include: yaŋgar *to go ahead*; guṛid *to turn around*;
ḍar *to arrive (at a camp)*, cf. ḍar *to hide* with -iṇaji-; raj *to go
through*; ŋaŋl *to come (to a place, after someone else has left)*;
bulub *to go hunting for kangaroos*; ḍuwa *to appear.* In some cases
motion is not clearly indicated: jalgaḍubḍub *to hiccough*; gal *to grow.*

In auxiliary function, the forms given here can be replaced by
forms of -mayi without appreciably changing the sense. The paradigm
of -mayi is, however, defective. About all I can say about the
semantic difference between the two is that -mayi is rarely or never
found with Centripetal ya-, while -ṛa- and its associates can occur
with or without ya-. Thus the Imperative *Come!* is gi+ya-Ø-bi-Ø, and
Go! is gi+Ø-ma-yi-Ø. However, in forms other than the Imperative,
-mayi can occur (without ya-) in contexts where the motion referred to
is directed toward the speaker. In other words, it is not the case
that -mayi is explicitly non-Centripetal, but rather that it is not
used when ya- is present. -mayi also differs from -ṛa- and so forth
in that -mayi can only be used as an auxiliary.

The stem -yV- which is found in -ya-ṇi and -yu-Ø also shows up in
-mayi (-ma-yi-Ø), whose corresponding forms are -ma-ya-ṇi and -ma-yu-Ø.
Furthermore, in view of the instability of stem-initial *ṛ in languages
in this region, and the occasional shift of *ṛ to y (several examples
in Nunggubuyu, Ritharngu, etc.), we cannot rule out the possibility
that -ṛa- and -yV- are etymologically identical.

7.30. -wa- *to give to*

-wi-Ø	PaAct
-wa-ni	PaIrr
-wi-ni	PrAct
-wi-ri	PrIrr
-w-iñu	FutPos
-wa-Ø	FutNeg

The forms -wi-Ø and -w-iñu are used for both Punctual and
Continuous aspect; formally, they are Punctual forms. The ending -ni

in the PaIrr recurs in the paradigm of -ba-.

Efforts to elicit an Imperative form resulted in FutPos forms:
wu-ñi-w-iñu *You will give it to him; Give it to him!* It may well be
that this was the regular way of forming Imperatives for this
particular stem.

The only attested reduplications are monosyllabic: -wi-wi-ni
(PrAct), -wi-wi-Ø (PaAct).

This stem is transitive. The object marked in the pronominal
prefix refers to the recipient, not the gift: ŋara-wi-Ø *He gave (it)
to me.* The stem is not used as an auxiliary.

A stem *wV- *to give* is reflected in several languages in the area,
e.g. Ngandi -wo-, Nunggubuyu -yi-/-wu-.

7.31. -walmida- *to spear repeatedly*

-walmida-Ø	PaActPun
-walmida-ŋa-Ø	PaActCon, FutPosCon
?	PaIrr
-walmida-ŋa-ni	PrAct
*-walmida-ŋa-ri	PrIrr
*-walmid-iñu	FutPosPun
?	FutNeg
?	Imper

The asterisked forms are not attested, but I feel certain that they
are correct since the PrIrr and FutPosPun are usually regular and
hence predictable (except in two or three of the high-frequency
inflectable stems). The augment -ŋa- in the Continuous system is
found in several other paradigms (e.g. -ŋulwaya-).

As a transitive main verb this stem means *to spear repeatedly;
to riddle with spears,* as in ara-walmida-ŋa-Ø *They speared him
repeatedly.* As a transitive auxiliary it is attested once with mud
to break, here specifically in the sense *to break (bone, by spearing)*:
mud+ga-walmida-Ø *He$_i$ broke his$_j$ (ankle, by spearing).*

7.32. -wangani- *to not want; to reject*

-wangani-Ø	PaActCon
-wangani-ni	PrAct

This is an obscure stem attested once in each of the two forms. It is used only as a main verb, and from the attested forms could be either transitive or intransitive: ŋa-wangani-Ø *I did not want (it)*.

7.33. -waṇV-

-waṇ-iñu   FutPosPun

This is attested only as an auxiliary with the transitive verb maḷ *to learn (well)*: maḷ+u-ru-waṇ-iñu *You*(Pl) *will learn it well*.

7.34. -wiṇḍi- *to go looking for*

-wiṇḍi-Ø	PaActPun
-wiṇḍi-ma-Ø	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-wiṇḍi-ṛi	PaIrr
-wiṇḍi-ma-ni	PrAct
-wiṇḍi-ma-ri	PrIrr
-wiṇḍ-iñu	FutPosPun
-wiṇḍi-Ø	FutNeg
-wiṇḍi-Ø	Imper

The paradigm is similar or identical to those of -ma-, -naṇi-, etc.

The stem is not very common as a main verb, but is attested as such: wu-ŋa-wiṇḍi-ma-Ø *I will go looking for it*. It is fairly common as a transitive auxiliary, where the object marked in the pronominal prefix is indirect or sometimes a quasi-Allative. The main verbs are often, but not always, emotive or perceptual. Examples: waṛ+ŋa-wiṇḍi-ma-ni *I see him*; gaw+ara-wiṇḍi-Ø *They shouted to him*, cf. intransitive gaw+ala-mi-Ø *They shouted*; yaguḷ+ŋa-wiṇḍi-Ø *I became afraid of him* (in this sense -igira- and -ja- are also possible); baḷ+ŋalalu-wiṇḍi-ma-Ø *They*(Pl) *sneaked up on us*(InPl); giṛi+alŋu-wiṇḍi-ma-Ø *They were afraid of them*.

-wiṇḍi- is often interchangeable with -igira-; see the discussion of the latter (7.8) for more details.

7.35. -ya- *to bite*

-ya-Ø	PaActPun
-ya-ŋa	PaActCon, FutPosCon
?	PaIrr

-ya-ŋa-ni	PrAct
-ya-ŋa-ri	PrIrr
?	FutPosPun
-ya-∅	FutNeg
?	Imper

So far as the forms go they match those of -ŋulwaya-, -ida-, etc.

As a transitive main verb, -ya- is attested in ŋara-ya-ŋa-∅ *It(snake) bit me.* It occurs as an auxiliary with waj *to finish off* (cf. waj *to become finished off* with intransitive auxiliary -ṛa-); jag *to chew*; ḷir *to bite*; ḍag *to be cold.* In the latter instance the sufferer is the object and the subject is an invariable third singular: ḍag+ŋara-ya-∅ *I got cold; I have become cold* (literally, perhaps *It [cold weather] bites me)*, with ŋara- 3Sg → 1Sg.

7.36. Reflexive and Reciprocal Forms

The Reflexive is formed by adding a derivational suffix /-i-/ to the inflected verb stem. The inflectional suffixes follow the /-i-/ and their form is determined by the /-i-/ rather than by the stem. The attested Reflexives are: -g-i- from -ga-, -j-i- from -ja-, -id-i- from -ida-, and -b-i- from -ba-. Examples: ḷar+ŋa-g-i-ma-∅ *I cut myself.* The Paradigm is:

?	PaActPun
-g-i-ma-∅	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-g-i-∅	PaIrr
-g-i-ma-ni	PrAct
-g-i-ma-ri	PrIrr
?	FutPosPun
-g-i-∅	FutNeg
?	Imper

The Punctual forms could not be elicited and may have been missing. Note that a FutPosPun form *-g-∅-iñu from /-ga-i-iñu/ would be homophonous with the common form -g-iñu from /-ga-iñu/.

The Reflexive can also have a mediopassive (i.e., agentless passive) sense, so that ḷar+ŋa-g-i-ma-∅ can also be translated *I got cut* or

I was cut, I had a cut.   The reflexive-mediopassive syncretism is
common in languages of this area.

In some of these languages there are occasional 'false reflexive'
uses (this term is taken from R.M.W. Dixon) for perhaps only two or
three verb stems. In these instances the Reflexive form is used when
the underlying object (not subject) is indefinite or otherwise
unimportant; thus Ngandi transitive -ḍa:-bu- *to test (something)*
becomes intransitive -ḍa:-b-i- *to make a test* (not passive *to be
tested* or reflexive *to test oneself*).

A possible example of this in Warndarang is that the verb war
to sing, normally transitive (object representing the song, or the
name of the subject of the song) with auxiliary -ga-, is attested in
'reflexive' forms like war+ŋa-g-i-ma-∅ *I was singing (alone)*, where it
is possible that Reflexive -i- is used to indicate the indefiniteness
of the direct object.

The Reciprocal suffix is -yi-, but shows up as -ji- in a few frozen
or semi-frozen forms and this is probably the older form of the suffix.
The clearly attested combinations are: -bi-yi- from -ba-; ga-yi- from
-ga-; ja-yi- from -ja-. The form -ya-ji- in the conventional war cry
giṇḍir-ḍawj+ŋudu-ya-ji-∅ *You*(Pl) *bit (your) penises* can be taken as an
archaic Reciprocal of -ya- *to bite*. Similarly, -ŋulwaya-ji- *to engage
in copulation* is a slightly frozen Reciprocal of -ŋulwaya- *to copulate
with*. Finally, the stem in the inflectable verb -janayajima *to engage
in a battle* (7.15) may well be -janaya-, with following Reciprocal
-ji-, at least historically.

The Reciprocal paradigm is:

-ga-yi-∅	PaActPun
-ga-yi-ma	PaActCon, FutPosCon
-ga-yi-ṛi	PaIrr
-ga-yi-ma-ni	PrAct
-ga-yi-ma-ri	PrIrr
-ga-y-iñu	FutPosPun
-ga-yi-∅	FutNeg
ʔ	Imper

A Reciprocal example: ṛaŋ+ñiri-ga-yi-ma-∅ *We*(DuEx) *hit each other
(i.e. fought)* (hit + 1DuEx - Aux - Recip - Inflectional Suffixes).

Reflexive /-i-/ occurs also in Nunggubuyu, Ngandi, etc. Reciprocal
-yi-/-ji- corresponds to Ngandi -yḍi-, Nunggubuyu -(i)ñji-, etc.

84

(There are no insuperable phonological problems in the latter correlation.)

7.37. The Imperative

The form labelled 'Imper' in the verbal paradigms is actually only one of the forms which can be used in commands. This form is the one used in Positive commands with Ø- pronominal prefix (2Sg, 2Sg → 3Sg). Examples: gi+Ø-wiṇḍi-Ø *Go for it!*; ḍaḍ+Ø-ja-ŋu *Cook it!*.

It appears that when another prefix, such as Centripetal ya-, precedes the Ø- pronominal prefix, the FutNeg rather than Imper form is used in positive commands: gi+ya-Ø-ga-Ø *Bring it!*(Sg addressee). Note that -ga-Ø (FutNeg) has been used here instead of -ga-ŋu (Imper).

Similarly, when the prefix is other than Ø- (i.e. when the addressee is not Singular, and/or in transitives the object is other than 3Sg), the FutNeg form is used. Thus contrast Sg ḍaj+Ø-mi-ndi *Sit down!* with Du ḍaj+un-mi-Ø /ḍaj+yud-mi-Ø/ and Pl ḍaj+udu-mi-Ø /ḍaj+yudu-mi-Ø/, showing forms of -ma-.

The Prohibitive (Negative command) is formed by using the FutNeg form along with the usual Negative prefix gu-. The pronominal prefix Ø- cannot be used in Negative environments, so instead we get ñi- for 2Sg and 2Sg → 3Sg, this being the regular form in non-Imperative forms as well. Example: gu-gi+ñi-ga-Ø *Do not take him!*

It should be noted that only a few inflectable verbs distinguish the Imper from FutNeg. For the others, the distinction between the distribution of Imper and FutNeg in various types of commands is purely theoretical.

The Imper form -bi-Ø, which belongs to the paradigm of -ṛa- (7.29), differs from other Imper forms in that it is used in all commands, including prohibitives, commands with prefix other than Ø-, etc. Thus gi+yur-bi-Ø *Go!*(Du addressee) instead of *gi+yur-ya-ṇi; gu-gi+yur-bi-Ø *Do not go!*(Du addressee).

Occasionally we find what is formally a non-Imperative future form used as a command: ḍaj+u-du-m-iñu *You*(Pl) *will sit down; Sit down!*. In the case of -wa- *to give* it appears that the true Imperative form does not exist, so that these future forms must be used: wu-ñi-w-iñu *You*(Sg) *will give it to him; Give it to him!*. The FutNeg is used in forms other than 2Sg and 2Sg → 3Sg, as with other verbs: ya-ŋara-wa-Ø *Give it to me* (with Centripetal ya-).

CHAPTER EIGHT

COMPOUNDING

8.1. Generalisations

Most compounds consist of an initial element either clearly or
possibly nominal in origin, although this is not always the case.
The second element is usually an uninflected main verb, but is
occasionally an inflectable verb or an adjectival noun. Compounding
is not as active in Warndarang as it is in such languages as
Nunggubuyu.

A number of instances have been noted where an initial compounding
element is semantically associated with a noncognate independent noun.
The best examples are maŋal- *road, path* (cf. nouns yilgiṇ *road*, maŋal
woomera), and yulu- *ear, hearing, mind* (cf. noun wanam *ear*). An
element yul- occurs once, apparently referring to the nose (cf. noun
njiṛiba).

The usual compounding element for *nose*, however, is jiṛi-. This is
derivable from njiṛiba by a) deletion of the initial nasal, and
b) deletion of the final -ba. (a) is parallel to the alternation of
noun njaṛi *many* with verb jaṛi *to do repeatedly*. This parallelism is
strengthened by the observation that njiṛiba is a noun like njaṛi,
while jiṛi- is found only in verbal constructions like jaṛi. As for
(b), we have another exact parallel in the alternation of ŋaral- *eye*,
a compounding element, with the corresponding independent noun
ŋaralba.

The adverb jiñi *more, again* and the particle (or preposition) ḍuḍul
all the way to, right up to are attested in one compound each:
jiñi-waḍara *to think about (someone) further*; ḍuḍul-ŋaḷ *to speak
(something) completely, in its entirety*. These combinations can, of
course, be distinguished from simple juxtapositions of jiñi and ḍuḍul
to the verb, in that Negative gu- precedes -jiñi- and -ḍuḍul- when
used as compounding elements, but not when they are independent words.

8.2. Types of Compounds

The most useful ways to typologise Warndarang compounds are by the form-class of the second element (and hence of the compound as a whole), and by the semantic function of the initial element.

One of the striking aspects of Warndarang is the rarity or absence of compounds where the first element is the 'logical' subject or direct object of a verb stem in the second position. When such a compound appears to be present, as in cases like yabara-mud *to break* (-mud) *the leg* (yabara-) *of* with a body-part noun, this appearance is doubtful. The real direct object is the victim of the leg-breaking, and yabara- merely specifies the exact point where the break occurs. Quite a few of the predominant type of compounds, those with uninflected main verb as the second element, have body-part nouns as the initial element with similar semantic functions.

There are three or four inflectable verbs which can be considered compounds; all are somewhat frozen and the type is not productive. Alongside -juṛa, an auxiliary, we have -maljuṛa *to sit, to stay*, analysable as -mal-juṛa. Whether this -mal- has anything to do with main verb mal *to go up* is unclear; it is safe to say that there is no synchronic connection. Perhaps the clearest example is -wuj-ga- *to hunt with dogs*, containing -ga- *to take*. Cf. Ritharngu guj-ga- and Nunggubuyu -ijga-, both *to hunt with dogs*, showing that this compound is an old and widespread one. The inflectable verb -ŋulwaya- *to copulate* contains *ŋul *penis* historically.

The only other type of compound attested has a body-part term followed by an adjectival noun: maraŋuṛu-wirju *insane, mentally unbalanced (head-bad)*; maba-ŋgira *sacred-handed, having sacred hands (hand-sacred)*. The body-part noun merely specifies further the semantic scope of the adjectival notion here, and does not drastically change the meaning of the latter. This type of compound is not very common.

CHAPTER NINE
INTERROGATION

9.1. Yes/No Questions

Yes/no interrogatives are formally identical to assertions, except perhaps for slight intonational differences. There is no yes/no interrogative particle. However, the word jabay *maybe* may be added to emphasise that the speaker is uncertain about the truth value of an assertion, and this may help elicit confirmation or correction from the addressee.

Intonation was not investigated in any detail. It appears that yes/no questions are characterised by a sharp rise of tone on the penultimate syllable of the clause, followed by a sharp fall on the final syllable. Normal assertions have relatively level tone, falling off gradually at the end.

9.2. Interrogative Stems

Interrogatives of the who/what/where type are formed from the stems -ŋani, -nga, -ngaŋa, -ngi, and -ngiŋa. Since -nga and -ngaŋa are closely related, as are -ngi and -ngiŋa, it is tempting to take -nga and -ngi as the roots and -ŋa as an extension. It is unclear whether -ŋa here is related to Locative -yaŋa (which reduces to -ŋa following demonstrative stems ending in ya-). If so, this connection is etymological rather than synchronic, since -ŋa in -ngaŋa and -ngiŋa is not explicitly Locative in sense, and since -ngiŋa contrasts with -ngi-yaŋa. Therefore it is best to take -ngaŋa and -ngiŋa as units synchronically.

In addition to their interrogative uses, forms based on these stems can be indefinite pronouns or adverbs (someone, something, somewhere). Although this matter was not researched carefully, it appears that the interrogative and indefinite uses can be distinguished a) in that

interrogatives but not indefinites are typically focussed, by putting
them at the beginning of the sentence, followed by a subordinated or
de-focussed clause in wu-nu (10.2), and b) to some extent by intona-
tional differences. An example of focussing:

> mala-wunga wu-nu ñi-ṛara
> *when?*   *you want*
> *When did you go?*

9.3. Forms of -nga and -ngaŋa

The stem -ngaŋa means *what?/something*. In its interrogative sense
it has the NC prefix wu-: wu-ngaŋa wu-nu wu-niya *What is this?*. As an
indefinite it appears to normally take prefix ṛa-: ṛa-ngaŋa *something*.
As a predicate interrogative (*to be what?*) it takes intransitive
pronominal prefixes rather than NC prefixes: ñi-ngaŋa *What are you?*.
By adding Purposive -ni to wu-ngaŋa we get wu-ngaŋa-ni *why?/for some
reason*. This may be optionally extended by preposing aru *(because)*:
aru wu-ngaŋa-ni *why?*.

Two other interrogative/indefinite words are formed from a rather
tightly fused combination wu-nga with NC prefix wu-; I will hereafter
write this combination as wunga and treat it as a unit. As a main
verb with intransitive Aux -ma- this means *to do what?/to do something*.
By changing the Aux to transitive -ja- we bring in an object: *to do
what to?/to do something to*. Examples:

> gu - wunga   +   yu = Ø   - maṛi
> *not   do something not*   3Sg   Aux
> *He did not do anything.*

> wunga-wunga   +   a   - jaŋani
> RDP   *do what?*   3Sg/3Sg   Aux
> *What did he do to him?*

The word for *when?/sometime* is mala-wunga, containing an initial
element which does not seem to occur elsewhere in the language.

9.4. Forms of -ngi, -ngiŋa

The stem -ngiŋa means *where?/somewhere*. As nonpredicative adverb
it takes prefix wu-:

> wu-ngiŋa wu-nu ŋudu-maljuṛa
> *where?*   *you stayed*
> *Where did you stay?*

I have no good examples of the sense *somewhere*.

As a predicative adverb (*to be where?/to be somewhere*), -ŋiŋa takes the appropriate NC prefix: ṇa-ŋiŋa *Where is he?*; ŋa-ŋiŋa *Where is she?*. As the latter example shows, the NC prefixes used with -ŋiŋa are the same as those used with articles (3.8) rather than those used with nouns.

In the preceding senses -ŋiŋa is *where?/somewhere* in the static sense. In the sense *to where?/to somewhere* we find -ŋi-yaŋa, consisting of stem -ŋi- and the case suffix -yaŋa, here Directional as with demonstrative adverbs. Examples:

> wu-ŋi-yaŋa wu-nu ala-ṛara
> *to where?*　　*they went*
> *Where did they go?*

This form is regularly nonpredicative, and appears to always take prefix wu-.

9.5. -ŋaṇi, ŋaṇi

The word for *who?/someone* is -ŋaṇi, with the appropriate NC prefix: ṇa-ŋaṇi *who*(MSg).

An obscure interrogative ŋaṇi occurs once in a text in the sequence ŋaṇi ṛa-waṛiyi-yu, which was translated *What about (those) Aborigines?* by the informant. The precise sense is unclear.

CHAPTER TEN
SYNTAX

10.1. Generalisations

Warndarang syntax is rather simple. There are no participial
formations, no productive infinitives or other nominalisations, no
gerundial clauses, no well-defined complementising processes. The
general pattern of the syntax is very much like that found in other
nearby languages such as Ngandi and Mara, and to a lesser extent
Nunggubuyu.

There are no structurally significant deletion rules like English
Equi-NP Deletion. NP's may be deleted in a clause if they are
coreferential to NP's mentioned in a preceding clause, but this
deletion is the functional correlate of English Anaphoric Pronominal-
isation, not of Equi-NP Deletion. Note that since Warndarang has
pronominal prefixes in the verb marking subject and object, when an
independent NP is deleted there is still a pronominal trace left of it
as long as it is the subject or object of its clause.

The most common word-order is Subject-Verb in intransitive clauses,
Subject-Verb-Object in transitives. Other orders are attested,
however. For example, the subject NP might be initially omitted, and
then added as an 'afterthought' following a pause at the end of the
verb.   Similarly, a constituent (perhaps the object NP or an adverb)
may be put at the beginning of its clause to focus it.

In the following sections I will deal with several syntactic topics.
I will begin with focus, which is far and away the most important of
these topics, since Warndarang has a well-defined focussing mechanism
which is used very frequently and has important syntactic ramifications.

10.2. Focus within a Clause

A nonverbal constituent X is overtly focussed by converting its clause into the form X wu-nu S, where S is the rest of the clause. wu-nu is an article (3.8), here with NC prefix wu- in neuter function, modifying the following sequence S. The verb complex usually directly follows wu-nu, though this is not always the case. The advantage of having the verb complex follow wu-nu is that this unambiguously signals that a focus construction is at hand, since in no other construction can wu-nu directly precede a verb complex. If a noun were to directly follow wu-nu we might not be able to determine whether wu-nu is part of a focus construction, or is simply a modifier of the following noun.

Examples of focussing:

> ṇala-ṇala wu-nu ṇabaṛ+u-ṇa-maṛi
> *nearly   I was about to die*
> *I nearly died.*

> galŋi jilgñi   wu-nu jalg+u-ṇa-jaŋa   ṛa-muraṛbu-ñu
> *until tomorrow   I will spear it the crab*
> *Tomorrow I will spear the crab.*

Interrogative words like mala-wunga *when?* are usually focussed; see (9.2) for an example

10.3. Focus and Subordination

The same mechanism which is used to focus on one constitutent of a clause (and, by implication, de-focus on the rest of the clause) is used to subordinate one clause to another. Leaving aside relative clauses for the moment, we find subordination by de-focussing (preposing wu-nu to the subordinated clause, which usually follows the main clause) in constructions translatable into English as purpose clauses, time adverbials, and the like. Examples:

> waṇḍaraŋ   wu-nu ṇaḷ-ṇaḷ+a-mama ,
> *Warndarang   they used to speak*

> ṛa-maña-mañagu , wu-nu gal-gal+a-ṛa
> *the children   they were growing up*
> *Warndarang is what they spoke, the children,*
> *as they were growing up.*

In this example the first wu-nu is the intra-clause de-focussing marker, while the second is the clause-subordinating element.

wuɾ+u-ŋa-gaya ,   wu-nu
I will put it down

biŋg+u-ŋa-giñu   bindi
I will finish it really
I will put it (the language) down, so
that I really finish it (the job).

I should add that there are quite a few occurrences of subordinating wu-nu in the texts and other data whose grammatical and semantic nuances are difficult to understand. It seems clear that there is a fair degree of optionality in the addition of wu-nu, since Warndarang often simply juxtaposes two formally independent clauses in situations where English would join them into a gerundial or complement-clause construction.

Clauses with wu-nu can be used in constructions translatable as relative clauses when added to a noun:

ŋa-jawulba-ñu , wu-nu ŋabaɾ+a-mi , ...
old man   he died
the old man who died...

It is also possible to explicitly indicate that the clause here is relative, rather than an ordinary subordinated clause, by replacing wu-nu by a form of the article agreeing with the head noun, in this case MSg ŋa-nu:

ŋa-jawulba-ñu , ŋa-nu ŋabaɾ+a-mi , ...
the old man who died...

I was able to find no examples where both clauses in a two-clause sequence began with wu-nu (i.e., mutual subordination). It is quite possible, though, that such constructions might have turned up if more examples of contrary-to-fact conditionals (cf. 10.5) had been elicited.

10.4. Nominalisations

Although Warndarang has no productive nominalising processes applicable to verb stems, there are one or two unproductive formations attested.

In the data which I collected, an element -maŋgara occurs once added to the uninflectable main verb mud *to break*. The example showed

ḍuḍul *right up to, all the way to* directly before this verb:

wu-naya wu-nu yilţa-mi , wu-nu wu-naya-ŋa
here   it struck   this way

ḍuḍul   mud - maŋgara
all the way to break   Nominaliser

It (a spear) struck him here (in the ankle),
(it came) this way to the point of breaking
(his ankle).

Shortly after this in the same text, Isaac used a different construction to express the same thing. Here a finite, inflected verb complex containing mud along with an auxiliary verb was used:

ḍuḍul mud+ga-walmida
it broke him (i.e. his ankle)
to the point where it broke his ankle

The other form in the available data which may be a nominalisation is in Capell's goanna text. In Capell's transcription we find this: wungarmandjarini *for dancing*. Although when reading this to Isaac I could not get him to understand this, it has occurred to me since that this form may be, in my transcription, wu-ŋgaṛ-manjar(i)-ni, with NC prefix wu-, -ŋgaṛ- *to dance*, nominaliser -manjar(i)-, and Purposive -ni. If so, this construction is completely unlike anything else I have found in the corpus.

The verb *to dance* is usually gaṛ rather than *ŋgaṛ. However, the reduplication gaṛ-ŋgaṛ suggests a prototype *ŋgaṛ-ŋgaṛ, hence simplex *ŋgaṛ, and also suggests that the nasal could remain on the surface provided it is not word-initial. Although the addition of Negative gu- leads to gu-gaṛ, not *gu-ŋgaṛ, this does not mean that a nominalisation *ŋgaṛ-manjar ought to have become *gaṛ-manjar. There are other examples where a stop-nasal cluster has survived in stem-initial position in nouns, but has disappeared in the same stems when functioning as verbs (2.14).

Therefore all morphemes in wu-ŋgar-manjar(i)-ni except for -manjar(i)- can be correlated with morphemes found elsewhere in the language. As for -manjar(i)-, a nominaliser of similar form occurs in Mara and Alawa (Sharpe 1972:69,72).

10.5. Conditionals

I was unable to elicit any well-defined conditional constructions of the type *If he comes, I will kill him.* All I could get from the informant were constructions literally translatable as two independent clauses with jabay *maybe* in each of them: *Maybe he will come, maybe I will kill him.*

A Past tense contrary-to-fact conditional did turn up in a text:

> wu-nu yalja   wu-∅-yaɳi
> *earlier he would have gone*

> wulguy ,   gal+u-rɳu-ji
> *all right he would have speared them*

> *If he had gone earlier, all right then...*
> *he would have (found and) speared them.*

Both verbs here are in the Past Potential. Apparently the wu-nu functions here as a subordinating element, showing that the first clause is dependent on the second. The element wulguy contrasts the statement *he would have speared them* with the fact, previously reported in the text, that he did not in fact catch and spear them.

10.6. Some Other Constructions

Because-clauses are formed by adding aru *because* to the beginning of what is otherwise a well-formed independent clause:

> gu-wunga+yu-∅-maɾi ɾa-waɾiyi-yu ,
> *they did nothing   Aborigine(s)*

> aru   giɾi+alɳu-wiɳḍima
> *because they were afraid of them*

> *The Aborigines did nothing, because they were*
> *afraid of them (the others).*

The verbs jaɾi (reduplication jaɾi-yaɾi) *to do many times* and ḍirg *to continue* can take subordinated clauses with wu-nu as complements. The auxiliary for ḍirg is -maljuɾa. In the available examples of jaɾi the auxiliary is -ga-, but since this also happens to be the auxiliary of the subordinated verb, it is possible that ḍirg merely agrees with the subordinated verb in its choice of auxiliary.

Examples:

> jaɽi+ŋa-gaya   wu-nu ɽaŋ+ŋa-gaya
> *I did it many times   I hit him*
> *I hit him many times.*

> ɖirg+ŋa-maljuɽa wu-nu ḷar-ḷar+ŋa-gaya
> *I continued   I was cutting it up*
> *I continued to cut it up.*

The particle anjala can apparently be used instead of wu-nu at the beginning of purposive, *so that*, and *like* clauses. An example:

> anjala gaɽ-ŋgaɽ+u-lu-mama ɽa-waɽiyi
> *so that they will dance   men*

> wu-nu jaɽag+u-ña-biñu
>   *you and I will make it*

> *Let you and I make it (dancing ground)*
> *so the men will dance.*

10.7. Predicate Nouns

Nouns may function as predicates in equational sentences. Generally such nouns are adjectival in nature, and indicate some quality or status. An example is ŋa-waɽiyi *I am an Aboriginal*, which can be expanded by adding an independent pronoun: ŋiŋa ŋa-waɽiyi *I am an Aboriginal*. Note that the predicate noun takes an intrasitive pronominal prefix like those used in verbs, rather than a NC prefix, and that the Absolutive suffix is not used.

When the predicate noun is a kin term, or another noun which cannot take intransitive prefixes (e.g. nonadjectival nouns like ŋuŋu *fish*), the independent pronoun or NP is the only indication of the subject: ŋaya ŋa-baba-ñu *I am his father*. In this type of construction the predicate noun may take its normal set of prefixes; in the example given ŋa- is a NC prefix and -ñu is the Absolutive suffix (both of these affixes are required in kin terms with third person possessor).

The predicative type ŋa-waɽiyi should be distinguished from the nonpredicative type ŋudu-waɽiyi-yu *you men*, found in one of Capell's texts. The prefix here is the same as the corresponding intransitive pronominal prefix, as in the type ŋa-waɽiyi. However, the Absolutive suffix can be used in the nonpredicative type, and such forms do not function syntactically as predicates.

In the type ŋudu-waṛiyi-yu, the prefix must be first or second person. There is no corresponding third person form; one can say *we men* or *you men*, but not **they men*. Instead of *ala-waṛiyi-yu *they men*, with intransitive prefix, we get the ordinary nominal form wulu-waṛiyi-yu *men* with nominal prefix wulu- (Pl).

It may be that this restriction also applies to the predicative type ŋa-waṛiyi. No third person forms such as *ala-waṛiyi *they are men* or *a-waṛiyi *He is a man* are recorded. Although the data are inconclusive on this point, it may be that the way to express such notions is by having an ordinary noun as predicate, and expressing the subject by an independent noun or pronoun rather than by an intransitive prefix: ṇiwa ṇa-waṛiyi-yu *He is a man (he man)*. If the type *a-waṛiyi with intransitive prefix were permitted, we would get confusion between 3Sg intransitive a- from /Wa-/ and the variant a- of the common nominal prefix (ṛ)a-.

10.8. Negation

The usual way to negativise a clause is to add Negative gu-, with or without Third Person Negative -yu-, to the verb, which must go into an Irrealis (Past, Present) or Negative (Future) form. See Chapters Six and Seven for details.

Nonverbal clauses consist of a nonverbal predicate, normally an adjectival noun, to which is added an intransitive pronominal prefix (4.4). To make this Negative, the usual Negative verbal prefixes are added: ṇa-waṛiyi *I am an Aboriginal*; gu-ṇa-waṛiyi *I am not an Aboriginal*.

The usual way of saying *to be (at a place)* is to use a stance verb like -maljuṛa *to sit; to stay*: wu-nu wu-nñaya a-maljuṛa *He is (staying) there*. The usual way of negativising this is to use the Negative stem -yagu with the appropriate nominal prefix: ṇa-yagu wu-nu wu-nñaya *He is not there*. The stem -yagu can also be used in Negative existential statements: ṛa-mariya ṛa-yagu *There is no food*.

With the neuter nominal prefix wu- we get wu-yagu, which can be a Negative particle *No!* by itself (awayi is also attested in this use), or can be an emphatic Negative translatable *never, nothing at all*, or the like, depending on the context. An example:

> wu-yagu gu-gi+ŋa-yaṇi
> *not   I did not go*
> *I never went.   I did not go at all.*

The nominal prefixes used with -yagu have the forms which they take before nouns, not those they take with articles and most demonstratives. Hence FSg ŋi-yagu (not *ŋa-yagu).

WARNDARANG TEXTS

Introduction

The texts presented here were all obtained by me from Isaac Joshua, and range from the very brief to the very long.

Another text which I obtained from Isaac, titled *Massacre at Hodgson Downs*, will be published separately (Heath forthcoming). It describes how an Aboriginal named Long Peter along with some other Aboriginals killed and ate some horses with which they had been entrusted by a Queensland cattleman, and how they were then tracked down and massacred.

Two important dreamtime stories in Warndarang were published by Capell (1960). I was able to go through these with Isaac, and my retranscription and comments have been lodged with the AIAS library (Heath 1974a) where interested scholars may inspect them.

A number of short texts from Isaac were also recorded on tape and tentatively transcribed by Dr Sharpe, who was good enough to give me copies of this material. Although I did not have time to go through these with Isaac before his death, I did attempt a retranscription after listening to the tapes, and a fairly satisfactory analysis was obtained by examining Dr Sharpe's rough phrase-by-phrase glosses, using my knowledge of the language from my other material, and clearing up some points in interviews with Elizabeth Joshua. My versions of Dr Sharpe's texts (most of which are rambling anecdotes rather than dreamtime stories) are also lodged with the AIAS library (Heath 1974b).

Text 1

1) wu-nu   wu-niñi   miṛiyilmi , wu-nu   jad-jad+gara-buṛa
   NC-ART NC-*there* *Phelp R.*   NC-ART RDP-*dam*+3Pl/3Sg-AUXC

wulu-jawu-yawulba-ñu ,
Pl-RDP-*old man*-ABS

   Around the Phelp River old men used to make dams.

2) ṛa-ŋuŋu , wu-nu   mal-mal+a-ṛa   ṛa-ŋuŋu , wu-jaḍbin-gu-yaŋa
   NC-*fish*   NC-ART RDP-*go up*+3Sg-AUXC NC-*fish*   NC-*fish* trap-ABS-LOC

miṛiyilmi ,
Phelp R.

   Fish would go up into the trap in the Phelp River.

3) galŋi baḍa ṛa-waḷañan-gu ,   wu-nu yar-yar+a-maljuṛa ,
   until later NC-*crowd of fish*-ABS   RDP-*lie around*+3Sg-AUXC

   Before long there would be a crowd of fish lying around
   (in the trap).

4) wudjiwa , bu-bu+ala-mama   wulu-wuybi-yu wulu-jawu-yawulba-
   then   RDP-*burn grass*+3Pl-AUXC Pl-*woman*-ABS Pl-RDP-*old man*-ABS

ñu ,

   Then the old men would burn grass (as a signal for) the women.

5) wu-nñaya-wala wu-ṛandaga wu-nu gudid-gudid+ya-ru-gaya ,
   NC-*there*-ABL   NC-*cooliman* NC-ART RDP-*carry*+CEN-3Pl/3Sg-AUXC

wu-nñaya-wala wu-nu   biḍ-biḍ+gara-jaŋa   gudid-gudid+gara-
NC-*there*-ABL   NC-ART RDP-*carry on back*+3Pl/3Sg-AUXC RDP-*carry*+3Pl/3Sg-

gaya ṛa-ŋuŋu , wu-nu   wu-niñi   wu-nu   ŋiŋa wu-ṛadbur-u   miṛiyilmi ,
AUXC NC-*fish*   NC-ART NC-*there* NC-ART 1Sg   NC-*country*-ABS *Phelp R.*

   Then they would come back carrying the fish in coolimans. They
   would carry them (in their hands), or carry them on their backs,
   there at my country at the Phelp River.

6) gu-ṛaŋani-biŋ+ju-∅-ga ,   wu-yagu wu-njaṛi , ṛa-njaṛi
   NEG-*no one-finish off*+3NEG-3Sg/3Sg-AUX NC-*not* NC-*many*   NC-*many*

ŋaldud+ga-jani , ṛa-ŋuŋu-ñu
abundant+3Sg-AUX NC-*fish*-ABS
   There were so many fish that no one could have caught all of them.

Text 2

```
wu-nu  wu-niya ṛa-maṛawuriṇa ,   ṛa-maṛawuriṇa , wu-nu
NC-ART NC-this NC-magical poison                       NC-ART
```

```
jaṛag-jaṛag+ara-bani , yo , wu-naya wu-nu  ḍiw+ar-ija        yo ,
RDP-make+3Pl/3Sg-AUX         NC-here NC-ART throw+3Pl/3Sg-AUXP
```

```
mangar+ŋararu-ba
throw on body+3Pl/1Sg-AUXP
```

*This is magical poison. They always make poison. Someone threw
it here, someone threw it on my body.*

Comments:
During an illness, Isaac would meticulously scrape grains of sand off
of his body, particularly his chest and belly, with a pocket knife.
This was done to remove particles of magical poison which sorcerers
had thrown on him.

Text 3

```
ṛa-ñaḷñaḷ ,  ṛa-ñaḷñaḷ ,  baḍa  wu-ru-wiṇḍima
NC-bloodwood                later POT-3Pl/3Sg-will look for(C)
```

```
jab+u-ru-gaya               (after an interruption, text resumes:)
pull up+POT-3Pl/3Sg-AUXC
```

```
wu-ñaḷñaḷ ,  baḍa  gi+wu-ru-wiṇḍiñu ,              jab+u-ru-gaya ,
NC-bloodwood later go look for+POT-3Pl/3Sg-AUXP
```

```
gi+wu-ru-wiṇḍiñu , jab+u-ru-gaya
```

*(After being magically poisoned,) then they will go looking for blood-
wood (Eucalyptus polycarpa). They will pull it up. They will go
looking for bloodwood, they will pull it up.*

Comments:
This is a follow-up to Text 2. Medicine was made from bloodwood to
combat the magical poison.

Linguistic Notes:
Observe the fluctuation of NC prefix (wu-/ṛa-) with ñaḷñaḷ.

Text 4

wu-nu yaŋgarmanja , wu-nu yaŋgarmanja , wu-nu jawu-yawulba-ñu ,
NC-ART *first time*   NC-ART RDP-*old man*-ABS

ṛa-munaŋa-ñu   waṛ+ara-wiṇḍi , "wiya ṛa-ngaŋa ṛa-nu ṛa-niya ,
NC-*white man*-ABS *see*+3Pl/3Sg-AUXP *enough* NC-*what?* NC-ART NC-*this*

ṛa-wuruyu , gu jabay ṛa-ngaŋa   ṛa-waṛiyi "
NC-*devil*   *or maybe* NC-*something* NC-*human*

The first time the old people saw white men, (they thought) 'What is
this? A devil? Or maybe some kind of human?' ·

Text 5

1) ŋuduguñay ! , bulub+u-ŋala-ṛa   bulub+u-ŋala-ṛa
   Hey you(Pl) *hunt kangaroo*+POT-1PlIN/3Sg-AUXC

ŋuduguñay ! , bulub+u-ŋala-ṛa ,

   Hey you! We are going hunting for kangaroos.

2) wurgmalan , ṇad+u-ru-ṛayiñu , wu-naya-ŋa , wu-naya-ŋa guyma-guyma
   bush fire   *run*+POT-2Pl-AUXP NC-*here*-LOC   *northward*

wu-naya-ŋa wayburi   wu-naya-ŋa , wu-nu jiṛi-mad+u-ru-biñu ,
           southward   NC-ART *end-connect*+POT-2Pl/3Sg-AUXP

   You will run (setting) bush fires, this way to the north and this
way to the south, connecting the ends (of the string of fires, which
form a circle).

3) a-wu-ni-wala   baḍa wari+wu-du-mayiñu , anjala waṛ+u-ŋala-wiṇḍima
   ?-NC-there-ABL *later return*+POT-2Pl-AUXP   *see*+POT-1PlIn/3Sg-

      wu-nu wirg+u-Ø-ṛa ,   wudjiwa jaj+u-ru-jaŋa , jaj+u-ru-jaŋa ,
AUXC NC-ART *hop*+POT-3Sg-AUXC *then*   *chase*+POT-2Pl/3Sg-AUXC

   Then come back from there, so we can see (kangaroos) hopping
(away from the fire). Then you will chase them.

4) ṛa-waŋgiñ jabay jaj+u-Ø-jaŋa ,   gal+u-Ø-jiñu ,
   NC-*one*   *maybe chase*+POT-3Sg/3Sg-AUXC *spear*+POT-3Sg/3Sg-AUXP

wu-Ø-mama   wu-nu yaŋgar+u-Ø-giñu ,
POT-3Sg-*do this* NC-ART *take forward*+POT-3Sg/3Sg-AUXP

biḍ+u-Ø-jaŋa ,   wu-ṛadbur-u-ñiyi
carry+POT-3Sg/3Sg-AUXC NC-*camp*-ABS-DIR

Perhaps (just) one (of you) will chase them and spear them. He will take them ahead, he will carry them (on his shoulder) to the camp.

Text 6

ṛa-ŋaḍugu-ñu , wu-nu   ṛaŋ-ṛaŋ+gara-gaya ,   waḷi-waḷi+ara-
NC-*rope*-ABS   NC-ART RDP-*make(rope)*+3Pl/3Sg-AUXC RDP-*twist*+3Pl/3Sg-

gaya , wu-nñaya-wala wu-nu   ṛaŋ-ṛaŋ+gara-gaya ,   ṛa-ŋaḍugu
-AUXC   NC-*there*-ABL   NC-ART RDP-*make(rope)*+3Pl/3Sg-AUXC NC-*rope*

They used to make rope. They twisted (bark fibre of kurrajong, Brachychiton paradoxum), then made it into rope.

Text 7
Introductory comments

   This is a long and action-packed text, certainly the most interesting in this collection. It begins with an allusion to an episode involving a Nunggubuyu and Warndarang war party which went south to kill two Mara men; this episode is described in detail in a Mara text which I have collected and hope to publish later.

   The major events detailed in the present text begin during the war party's return northwards, when an unnamed man said to have been a giant was killed by a group including the narrator's (Isaac's) father. To enable the reader to follow the main lines of the action in the first part of the text, here is a schematic summary with diagrams:

    A: narrator's father
    B: narrator's father's brother (died later at Ngudjalayi)
    C: narrator's father's brother (Charley's father)
    D: narrator's FaMoBr Lidjangarra
    E: narrator's FaMoBr Lindy
    V: the victim, a gigantic man
    X,Y: groups of other Aborigines

a) The Aborigines return north in several groups not within sight of
   each other.

                    ⎯⎯⎯→ north
              behind   middle   front
                 X   A,B,D,E   C,V   Y
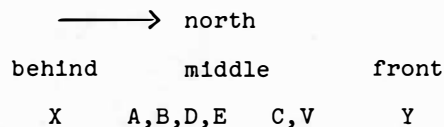
b) Charley's father rejoins his relatives while the victim remains
slightly ahead of them.

          X   A,B,C,D,E   V   Y

c) Lidjangarra and Lindy sneak up on the victim and spear him.

          X   A,B,C   V   Y
                                 ↘ D,E

d) The victim, badly wounded, runs west, then is hailed by A B C and
runs back east toward them, where he is speared and finished off by C.

          V

          X   A,B,C
                               D,E   Y
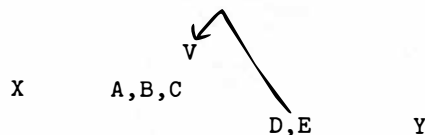
e) Hearing the commotion, the groups of Aborigines in front and
behind run to the scene, but take no action to punish the killers.
Lindy and Lidjangarra have rejoined their relatives.

                    V
         ⟶   X A,B,C,D,E   Y ⟵
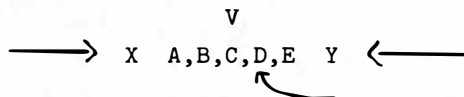
In the remainder of the text, the narrator describes the efforts of
the original war party to evade attacks by a revenge party of the dead
giant's relatives, leading to a wrestling match with a crocodile, an
incident of punishment by spearing, and an escape from the hands of
the enemy as reinforcements come to the rescue.

1) wulu-nu wulu-niya wulu-ŋumburindi wulu-ŋaniyulma wu-nu   ala-ṟara
   PL-ART PL-*this* PL-*Nunggubuyu*   PL-*Nganiyulma*   NC-ART PL-*go*(C)

wayburi   wu-ḍilḍil   ŋiṇdal+ara-gañi [emended from ŋiṇdal+
southward NC-*feathered stick transport*+3Pl/3Sg-AUXP

alŋu-gañi] wu-nñaya war+ara-gaya::: , gal+arŋu-ja   wuru-ŋu
           NC-*there sing*+3Pl/3Sg-AUXC *spear*+3Pl/3Du-AUXP DU-ART

bijaja [ŋa-bijaja would be more correct; bijaja is the Mara form]
grandfather(maternal)

yiri-jawulba-ñu yiri-jawulba-ñu ,
DU-*old man*-ABS   DU-*old man*-ABS

   *The Nunggubuyu (language group around Cape Barrow) and Nganiyulma
(a collection of coastal groups around the mouth of the Rose River)
went south, taking feathered sticks. There (around the Limmen River)*

they sang a (war) corroboree and speared two old men, (classificatory)
grandfathers of mine.

2) wu-nñaya-wala ḍuṇ+g-iṇa   ṛa-waṛiyi-yu   wuñmi-ñi wiya
   NC-*there*-ABL *leave*+3SG-AUXP NC-*Aborigine*-ABS *north*-DIR *enough*

badab+g-iṇa ,   wulu-nu ṇa-baba   baḍa ṇaṇayana wuluṇa wu-nu
turn back+3SG-AUXP PL-ART 1POSS-*father* *later behind*   *middle* NC-ART

ala-ṛara , wuluṇa wu-nu ala-ṛara ,
3PL-*go*(C)

Then the Aborigines left, turning back north. My fathers (a group
including the narrator's true father and one paternal uncle, as well
as two father's mother's brothers) were in the middle (of the whole
group), behind (some others).

3) ṇa-gayi   ṇa-nu   ṇa-baba   wu-niñi yaṇgar-yaṇgar+a-jaṇa
   MASG-*other* MASG-ART 1POSS-*father* NC-*there* RDP-*take forward*+3SG/3SG-

      ṇa-ñi   ṇa-jawulba-ñu , ṇa-ñi ṇa-jawulba-ñu ara-walmidaṇa ,
AUXC MASG-*same* MASG-*old man*-ABS   3PL/3SG-*speared*

Another of my fathers (the narrator's father's brother, hereafter
referred to as 'Charley's father' since the man in question was the
father of a living man named Charley) had taken that old man ahead -
that same old man whom they killed (i.e. whom they were going to kill
shortly).

4) wu-nu wu-nñaya-wala gaw+ara-wiṇḍi ,   "wu-niya wu-yuni , wu-yuni
   NC-ART NC-*there*-ABL *call*+3PL/3SG-AUXP NC-*this* NC-*ochre*

biḍ-biḍ+u-ñi-jaṇa " ,   baḍa "yaṇgar+∅-mayi   a-wu-ni-yaṇa
RDP-*carry*+POT-2SG/3SG-AUXC *later* *go in front*+2SG-AUX ?-NC-*there*-DIR

jawulba " , a-ja   ṇa-ñi   ṇa-jawulba-ñu   "yo! " ,
old man   3SG/3SG-*tell*(P) MASG-ART MASG-*old man*-ABS

They called out from there (to Charley's father): 'You carry this
ochre'. (This was a pretext to get Charley's father away from the
old man they were going to attack.) Then (one of them said to the old
man): 'You go that way, in front'. That old man told him, 'Yes'.

5) "wu-ngaṇa-ni wu-nu yaṇgar-yaṇgar+ñi-ṛani   a-ma-ḍuṇal
   NC-*what?*-PUR NC-ART RDP-*go in front*+2SG-AUX NC-NC-*spear*

[irregular double NC] ma ma-ni [for ma-wa ma-ni] yaṇgar " , wiya
                      NC NC-*that*   *in front* *enough*

```
ara-wi ,        wiya   bid-bid+ga-jaŋa ,
3PL/3SG-give(P) enough RDP-carry+3SG/3SG-AUXC
```

(They asked Charley's father:) 'Why are you going in front? There will be spears there in front.' Then they gave him (the ochre), he was carrying it.

```
6) wiya   ala-ṟara ṟa-waṟiyi      ŋaŋayana , ṟa-waṟiyi yaŋgar ,
   enough 3PL-go(C) NC-Aboriginal  behind              in front

wulayi wuluŋa , ŋa-ñi     ŋa-wargil-u    wu-nu , yaŋgar-yaŋgar+
3PL    middle   MASG-same MASG-victim-ABS NC-ART RDP-take in front+

ara-jaŋa ,    ŋa-balwayi ŋa-ṟugalara ,
3PL/3SG-AUXC MASG-big    MASG-tall
```

They went along in the middle, with (other) Aborigines ahead of and behind them. They kept that victim (i.e. the old man they were about to kill) in front, the big, tall man.

```
7) wu-nu  wu-nñaya-wala , ma-yiṟg+a-gaya       ṟa-wariman-gu ,
   NC-ART NC-there-ABL    BEN-loosen+3SG/3SG-AUXC NC-stone spear-ABS

ṟa-wañin-gu ,        ŋa-nu   ŋa-ḷijaŋara-ñu       wurayi ŋa-nu
NC-stone spear-ABS MASG-ART MASG-Lidjangarra-ABS 3DU    MASG-ART

ḷindi ma-yiṟg+a-gaya ŋa-nu ŋa-ḷindi , ŋa-nu ḷindi ma-yiṟg+a-gaya
Lindy
ŋa-nu ŋa-ḷijaŋara-ñu , ṟa-wañin-gu ,
                       NC-stone spear-ABS
```

After that Lidjangarra and Lindy (the narrator's two father's mother's brothers) loosened (the protective covering on their) stone spearheads.

```
8) ŋa-nad+gar-a ,    wu-niya wu-nu ma-yilgiŋ-gu wu-nu a-mama
   RDP-run+3DU-AUXC NC-there NC-ART NC-road-ABS  NC-ART 3SG-do this(C)

"wu-naya-ŋa gajar+u-ña-giñu" ,                maŋal-gajar-gajar+
 NC-here-LOC take shortcut+POT-1DUIN/3SG-AUXP path-RDP-take shortcut+

ara-gaya     maŋal-gajar-gajar+ara-gaya wiya   ma-biŋ+ga-gañi
3PL/3SG-AUXC                            enough BEN-get rid of+3SG/3SG-

    wiya ma-biŋ+ga-gañi , wu-nu  dab+g-idima       wu-yibar ,
AUXP                      NC-ART be tied up+3SG-AUXC NC-string

duḷ+Ø-ija ,
release+3SG-AUXP
```

The two of them were running. There where the road does this
(meanders), (one of them said to the other:) 'Let's take a shortcut
this way'. They took a shortcut. One of them removed (the covering)
for it (the spear), where it had been tied up with string. He released
it (the spear).

9) ŋad+ga-mayi , ŋalwal+Ø-iṇaji   ŋalwal+Ø-iṇaji ,
   run+3SG-AUXP *prepare to strike*+3SG-AUXP

wanga-ñi   ḍub+ga-ba ,   wu-naya-wala maṇaḍ+gal-iṇaji ,
other way-DIR *throw*+3SG/3SG-AUXP NC-*here*-ABL *injure*+3PL-AUXP

ṛa-wañin-gu wu-naya-ŋa , galimba argaḷi-ñi wu-nu ḍay+a-mi
NC-*spear*-ABS NC-*here*-LOC *and*   *west*-DIR NC-ART *flee*+3SG-AUXP

yibaṛa-ḷuḷuḷu+a-gaya ,   baḍa wari+Ø-yiŋa   wu-nu wu-nñaya-wala
shaft-be through+3SG/3SG-AUXC *later return*+3SG-AUXP NC-ART NC-*there*-ABL

an-argaḷi ,
ABL-*west*

He ran, holding the spear raised ready to strike. He threw it the
other way (from behind him ?). They injured him around here (in the
lower back), with the spear here. Then he (the victim) fled to the
west. The spear shaft was sticking right through him. Then he came
back from the west.

10) "a-wu-ni-wala   gaw ! , gaw ! jawulba a-wu-ni-wala , wu-naya-ŋa
    ?-NC-*there*-ABL *Hey!*   *old man*   NC-*here*-LOC

gaw ! ŋad+ja-Ø-mayi " , ŋa-nu   ṇiya ŋujalayi a-mi ,
     run+CEN-2SG-AUX MASG-ART ?   *Ngudjalayi* 3SG-*do this*(P)

ŋa-nad+ja-ṛa ,   aru   wu-nu wu-niya , wu-nu ŋalwal+a-jaŋa ,
RDP-*run*+CEN-AUXC *because* NC-ART NC-*there* NC-ART *prepare to strike*+

         ŋalwal+a-jaŋa , wu-niya wu-ŋanja gal+a-ja ,
3SG/3SG-AUXC   NC-*this* NC-*belly spear*-3SG/3SG-AUXP

(The narrator's father and others with him called to the wounded
man:) 'Hey! This way, old man! Hey! Run this way!' Then the man
who died (later) at Ngudjalayi billabong (a father's brother of the
narrator) came running with his spear raised ready to strike him, then
speared him here, in the belly.

11) wu-nu ara-gayiwi   wulu-nu yaŋgar , wulu-waṛiyi-yu ,
    NC-ABS 3PL/3SG-*hear*(P) PL-ART *in front* PL-*Aborigine*-ABS

```
wari-wari+a-mayi      ṛa-waṛiyi-yu ,     ṇa-nu     ṇaṇayana baḍa
RDP-return+3SG-AUXP NC-Aborigine-ABS MASG-ART behind    later

ṇad+ga-mayi   wiya ,
run+3SG-AUXP enough
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    The Aborigines in front heard it (the commotion) and came back.
The Aborigines in the rear (also) came running.

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12) wu-nu   yili-muluṇuy , yiri-wudṇuy yiri-wudṇuy ṇa-waṇgiñ , wiya ,
    NC-ART PAUC-few        DU-two                   MASG-one     enough

wulu-nu gal+ara-ja ,          ṇa-ñi      ṇa-jawulba-ñu ,   ṛa-waṛiyi
PL-ART  spear+3PL/3SG-AUXP MASG-same MASG-old man-ABS NC-Aborigine

ṛa-balwayi , yo , gu-wunga+yu-ø-maṛi            ṛa-waṛiyi-yu ,
NC-big            NEG-do something+3NEG- 3SG -AUX NC-Aborigine-ABS

aru       giṛi+alṇu-wiṇḍima ,
because fear+3PL/3PL-AUXC
```

    The ones who had speared that old man, that big man (i.e. the group
including the narrator's father, father's brothers, and father's
mother's brothers) were (only) a few in number, five (2+2+1).
(However,) the (other) Aborigines did nothing (to punish them),
because they were afraid of them.

```
13) wu-nñaya-ṇa-ni    ṛa-galga-ñu ,   ṛa-galga-ñu wu-nu
    NC-there-LOC-PUR NC-soldier-ABS              NC-ART

ma-ḍuṛur-ḍuṛur+ala-gayima , ja-jaj+galṇu-jaṇa      ja-jaj+galṇu-jaṇa ,
BEN-RDP-assemble+3PL-AUXC    RDP-chase+3PL/3PL-AUXC

ṛa-galga-ñu ,  yo , ja-jaj+galṇu-jaṇa,
NC-soldier-ABS
```

    Because of that (episode), soldiers (enemies of the narrator's
relatives, who are hereafter referred to as 'the killers') assembled
(for) each other, and went after them (the killers).

```
14) wu-niñi  baḍa  gal+ara-ja          ṛa-gurwiji       ṛa-wugaḻij ,
    NC-there later spear+3PL/3SG-AUXP NC-female dugong NC-dugong

gal+ara-ja             ṛa-gurwiji ,     ṛa-galga ,   ṛa-waṇgiñ ṛa-murji ,
spear+3PL/3SG-AUXP NC-female dugong NC-soldier NC-one     NC-hand

ṛa-waṇgiñ ṛa-murji , ma-ṇajan-gu  wu-nu yaja+alṇu-buṛa ,
                     NC-canoe-ABS NC-ART hunt+3PL/3PL-AUXC
```

ŋaɳi+al-iŋa ,   ŋaɳi+Ø-yiŋa   ɲiwa ŋa-galga-ñu ,
come after+3PL-AUXP *come after*-3SG-AUXP 3MASG MASG *soldier*-ABS

*Some time later they (the killers) speared a dugong, a female
dugong (they were out in a canoe). The soldiers, ten of them (one
hand, another hand), pursued them with a canoe. They came (to a place
where the killers had been just before), he came, that soldier.*

15) wulayi miɲi   yaḷburi , miɲi yaja+ara-buɽa   wulu-niñi:::
    3PL   *just then* *down*   *hunt*+3PL/3SG-AUXC PL-*that*

yiwawaba jaw+ara-gañi ,   ɽa-gurwiji-yu ,   baɖa
Yiwawaba catch fish+3PL/3SG-AUXP NC-*female dugong*-ABS *later*

ana-yiwayi wari-wari+a-mayi , ɽa-galga-ñu , wari-wari+Ø-yiŋa ,
ABL-*south* RDP-*return*+3SG-AUXP NC-*soldier*-ABS RDP-*return*+3SG-AUXP

*They, those ones (the killers), had just then (gone) down (to the
estuary). They were catching fish, and a female dugong, at Yiwawaba.
The soldiers were coming back (toward the killers) from the south.*

16) ŋan+g-ilami   ŋa-nu   ḷindi , 'jalg+ŋara-ja   baga
    hit+3SG/3SG-AUXP MASG-ART *Lindy* *stab*+3SG/1SG-AUXP *Hey!*

ŋan+ŋar-ilami , giṇḍir-ḍawj+ŋudu-yaji   ɽa-wa ɽa-niya , ɽa-wa
hit+3SG/1SG-AUXP *penis-bite each other*+2PL/AUX NC-? NC-*this* NC-?

ɽa-ni ɽa-galga , wiya bad+ŋala-gini   ɽa-wa ɽa-niya
NC-*that* NC-*soldier enough abandon*+1PLIN/3SG-AUX NC-? NC-*this*

ɽa-wugaḷij-gu ' ,
NC-*dugong*-ABS

*Something struck Lindy (a premonition of danger). 'Hey! Something
stabbed me, something hit me! You bit each other's penises!
[a conventional war cry]. There are soldiers there. We must leave
this dugong [which had been fastened alongside the canoe Lindy and
the others were in].'*

17) wiya   juyub+gara-gañi   wu-nu   ḍira+a-juɽa ,   juyub+gara-gañi
    enough untie+3PL/3SG-AUXP NC-ART *be tied*+3SG-AUXC

bad+gara-gañi ,   wiya jaj+gala-jayi   wu-nu
abandon+3PL/3SG-AUXP *enough chase each other*+3PL-AUXP NC-ART

wu-nñaya-wala ḍuḍul   yiwawaba mal-mal , wanga-ñi ,
NC-*there*-ABL *all the way to Yiwawaba* RDP-*go up other way*-DIR

wu-yinma-yinma bugi ṇa-nad+gala-ṛa , wu-yinma , bugi aṇulya ,
NC-RDP-*foot*   *still* RDP-*run*+3PL-*go*(C) NC-*foot*   *still* *Angulya*

ṇawarwar ḍirwu ,   yijagirirgirirama   ḍirwu+ala-mi
Mt Moore dive into water Yidjagirrirrgirrirrama dive into water+

     wu-nñaya-ṇa ,
3PL-AUXP NC-*there*-LOC

They untied (the rope) where it had been tied up, and abandoned it
(the dugong). There was a chase. They went up to Yiwawaba, then
still on foot they ran in another direction to Angulya. Around
Mt Moore, at Yidjagirrirrgirrirrama, they jumped into the water
(and went) that way.

18) ṛa-galga-ñu   miṇi wuñmi-ñi , baḍa , wari-wari+∅-yiṇa
     NC-*soldier*-ABS *then north*-DIR *later* RDP-*return*+3SG-AUXP

wu-niñi , wu-niya ṇumbulwaṛ , baḍa miṇi ṛa-waṛiyi-yu
NC-*there* NC-*this Numbulwar*   *later then* NC-*Aborigine*-ABS

ḍuṛur+a-gaya ,   wulu-nu *Groote Eylandt* , wulu-nu wulu-baḷamumu ,
gather+3SG/3SG-AUXC PL-ART   PL-ART   PL-*Barlamumu*

wulu-ṛiḍa-ṛiḍarṇu-ñu , ṛa-waṛiyi-yu   wu-nu , wu-nu
PL-RDP-*Ritharngu*-ABS   NC-*Aborigine*-ABS NC-ART

ṇiṇḍal+a-gaya ,   maj-maj+ga-bura ,
transport+3SG/3SG-AUXC RDP-*make sacred*+3SG/3SG-AUXC

Then the soldiers came back north here to Numbulwar (having given
up the pursuit of the killers for the time being). They gathered
Aborigines - Groote Eylandters, Barlamumus (North-East Arnhem Landers),
Ritharngus - whom they brought over and gave sacred powers
ceremonially.

19) wulayi miṇi wargujaja , ala-maljuṛa , wulu-yugulmaṇgi , galimba
     3PL   *then Warrgudjadja* 3PL-*stay*(C)   PL-*Yugulmanggi*   *and*

wulu-yugul , ara-ṇama   ṛa-ṇuṇu-ñu wu-nñaya wu-nu ḍar+∅-yiṇa
PL-*Yugul*   3PL/3SG-*eat*(C) NC-*fish*-ABS NC-*there* NC-ART *arrive*+3SG-

     ṛa-ñi ṛa-ṇalga-ñu   ṛa-balwayi-yu , ' ṇuduguñay ! '
AUXP NC-*same* NC-*soldier*-ABS NC-*big*-ABS

They (the killers) were staying at Warrgudjadja with (their allies)
the Yugulmanggi and Yugul people. That big soldier arrived (at their
camp, and called out:) 'Hey you!'

20) ŋa-nu   ŋa-gayi-yu   ŋa-jawulba-ñu   yur+Ø-yiŋa ,
    MASG-ART MASG-*other*-ABS MASG-*old man*-ABS *come out*+3SG-AUXP

'ŋaṇi   ṛa-waṛiyi-yu ',   'yo! miṇi miṛmiṛya   ñiya
what about? NC-*Aborigine*-ABS   *now in previous days   ?*

gayari   biŋ+gara-gañi   ma-nu   ma-ḍuŋal-u   wu-nu
long time finish+3PL/3SG-AUXP NC-ART NC-*spear*-ABS NC-ART

wiḷ+ara-gaya ',   'yo! baḍa   waŋgay-waŋgay+wu-du-maljuṛa ',
make(spear)+3PL/3SG-AUXC   *later* RDP-*be awake*+POT-2PL-AUX

   *Another old man (from the Yugulmanggi-Yugul camp) came out (to meet
the newcomer). (He asked him,) 'What about (those) Aborigines?'
(The newcomer answered,) 'For some days now they have finished the
spears which they were making.' (The old man said to the other Yugul
and Yugulmanggi men,) 'You must stay awake (in the event we are
attacked).'*

21) ŋa-nu   ŋa-baba   baḍa bur+Ø-yiŋa   a-gayiwi
    MASG-ART 1POSS-*father later set(sun)*+3SG-AUXP 3SG/3SG-*hear*(P)

yiri-waḷmañ   ḷir+arŋu-gañi   yiri-wirjiŋ-gu , ŋiwa
DU-*black duck scare*+3DU/3DU-AUXP DU-*spy*-ABS   3MASG

ŋaṇi+Ø-yiŋa   wurayi yaŋgar wu-nu   yaḷjaḷ+ar-iŋa ,
go after+3SG-AUXP 3DU   *in front* NC-ART *slip away*+3DU-AUXP

yaŋgarmanja , wu-nu   yalja wu-Ø-yaṇi wulguy , gal+u-rŋu-ji ,
before   NC-ART *early* POT-3SG-*go all right spear*+POT-3SG/3DU-AUX

   *My father, later when the sun had gone down, heard (the noise made
by) two black ducks frightened by two spies (from the enemy camp).
He went after the two (spies), but they slipped away. Had he gone a
bit more quickly, he would have speared them all right.*

22) a-gayiwi   'wu-wu-wu-wu!' ṛa-wuŋgan-gu , ṛa-nñaya-ŋa
    3SG/3SG-*hear*(P)   NC-*dog*-ABS   NC-*that*-LOC

yulu-wiṛ+a-juṛa , ṛa-balwayi-yu , wu-nu garaṛ+a-ba , ŋawaṇul ,
ear-hear+3SG-AUX(C) NC-*big*-ABS   NC-ART *howl*+3SG-AUXP *Nawarnul*

ṛa-nñaya ṛa-balwayi-yu , 'ñaru! wari+Ø-yiŋa   ŋuduguñay
NC-*that* NC-*big*-ABS   *There! return*+3SG-AUXP

waŋgay-waŋgay+wu-du-maljuṛa yo!, ṛa-wirjiŋ baḷ+ŋalalu-wiṇḍima
RDP-*be awake*+POT-2PL-AUXC   NC-*spy   sneak up on*+3SG/1PLIN-AUXC

wu-nu ṇala , waŋgay '
NC-ART *now*   *be awake*

*He heard the sound of a dog howling, going along there, then a big
(group of dogs) howling from around Nawarnul billabong. (These were
a spy signalling the main group by dog calls, then the main group
answering.) (The narrator's father then said to the others in his
camp:) 'Hey you! They were there and have gone back. Stay awake!
Spies have been sneaking up on us just now. Stay awake!'*

23) wu-nñaya-wala mulg+ara-ba ,   ṇiwa gu-mulg+ju-Ø-bini ,
    NC-*there*-ABL *go to sleep*+3PL/3SG-AUXP 3MASG NEG-*go to sleep*+

            yulu-wiṛ-wiṛ+a-juṛa   bugi , maṇal-waṛ-waṛ+a-wiṇdima
3NEG-3SG/3SG-AUX *ear*-RDP-*hear*+3SG-AUXC *still* *road*-RDP-*see*+3SG/3SG-AUXC

ṛa-waṛiyi-yu ,   wu-nñaya-wala wu-nu yar+ya-Ø-buṛa ,   galṇi
NC-*Aborigine*-ABS NC-*there*-ABL   NC-ART *dawn*+CEN-3SG/3SG-AUXC *until*

baḍa wu-nu baṛa+a-mi   wu-niñi wuñmi-ñi , ṛa-ṇalabura-ñu
later NC-ART *look back*+3SG-AUXP NC-*there* *north*-DIR NC-*white paint*-ABS

ḍuwa+Ø-yiṇa ,
be visible+3SG-AUXP

*After that they (the others) went to sleep, but he (the narrator's
father) did not. He kept listening, and watching the path for
Aborigines. After it dawned, he looked around to the north, and white
paint (on the bodies of the attacking soldiers) was visible.*

24) ' ṇuduguñay ! ṛa-galga   ḍuṇ+yudu-mayi , ṇad+yudu-bi , ṛa-galga ' ,
    Hey you(PL) NC-*soldier* *get up*+2PL-AUX *run*+2PL-AUX   NC-*soldier*

wu-nñaya-wala miṇi jawj+galṇ-ida   yo , wu-niñi-ngaṇa , wu-niya
NC-*there*-ABL   *then* *enclose*+3PL/3PL-AUXP   NC-*there-east*   NC-*there*

arg-argaḷi , wu-niya ana-wuñmi ,
RDP-*west*   NC-*there* ABL-*north*

*(The narrator's father called out to the others:) 'Hey you!
Soldiers (are coming)! Get up and run! Soldiers! Then they (the
soldiers) surrounded them, to the east and west, from the north.*

25) wulayi , wulu-nu wulu-yugulmaŋgi-yu , miṇi argaḷi-ñi wu-nu
    3PL   PL-ART PL-*Yugulmanggi*-ABS   *then west*-DIR NC-ART

ḍay+ala-mi , yaŋgarmanja , ṇaṇi+Ø-yiṇa   ṛa-galga-ñu ,
flee+3PL-AUXP *before*   *come after*+3SG-AUXP NC-*soldier*-ABS

```
wurayi bugi  an-maljuɽa , baḍa  bay+ara-juɽa , wu-nñaya bugi ,
3DU    still 3DU-stay(C)   later stand+3DU-AUXC NC-there still
```

*They, the Yugulmanggi (and Yugul), fled then to the west, before
the soldiers came to them. The two of them (the narrator's father
and father's brother) were the only ones still there. They were still
standing there.*

```
26) waɽ+ara-wiṇdi      ɽa-balwayi ɽa-waɽiyi , ṇa-nu    wuyagiba-yaygi ,
    see+3PL/3SG-AUXP NC-big       NC-Aborigine MASG-ART Wuyagiba-?
```

```
arŋu-ja ,    'ɽa-balwayi ɽa-nu  ɽa-niya ɽa-waɽiyi-yu    baga ! ,
3SG/3DU-AUXP  NC-big      NC-ART NC-this NC-Aborigine-ABS watch out!
```

```
andagari ḍirwu+yun-mi ,          wayburi  miṇi ŋuy+yur-bi , aru
go on!   dive into water-2DU-AUX southward now  swim+2DU-AUX because
```

```
jabay gu-maṇ+ŋarŋu-ba ' ,
maybe NEG-save+1SG/2DU-AUX
```

*They saw a big group of Aborigines. A man from Wuyagiba told them,
'Watch out! These Aborigines are big (in number). Go on, dive into
the water and swim south, since I may not be able to save you.'*

```
27) wu-dñaya-wala ḍirwu+an-mi ,    ŋuy+ar-a ,     ŋuy+ar-a , wu-nu
    NC-there-ABL  dive in+3DU-AUXP swim+3DU-AUXC             NC-ART
```

```
wuluŋa , wuljur     wu-nu a-ɽara ,   ɽa-ṇaŋguru-ñu , wuljur
middle   underwater NC-ART 3SG-go(C) NC-crocodile-ABS underwater
```

```
wu-nu  ya-Ø-ɽara     ɽa-ṇaŋguru-ñu , wu-nu  arŋu-gayiwi    wu-nu
NC-ART CEN-3SG-go(C) NC-crocodile-ABS NC-ART 3SG/3DU-hear(P) NC-ART
```

```
ŋuy+ar-a ,
swim+3DU-AUXC
```

*Then they jumped into the water and swam. In the middle, under-
water, a crocodile was going along. The crocodile came along
underwater, and heard them swimming.*

```
28) jalg+a-ja           ma-ḍuṇal-u , wu-nu  wu-niya ,
    strike+3SG/3SG-AUXP NC-spear-ABS NC-ART NC-there
```

```
jaig+a-ja           ṃa-ḍuṇal-miri , jalg+a-ja , 'andagari wu-niya
strike+3SG/3SG-AUXP NC-spear-INST                Oh dear!  NC-there
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```
jalg+ŋa-ja          jabay wu-ngaŋa ,   jabay ma-ḷigar , jabay
strike+1SG/3SG-AUXP maybe NC-something maybe NC-stone   maybe
```

ṛa-ṇaŋguru , andagari garjaḷ ŋuy+Ø-mayi ' , a-ja
NC-*crocodile go on!   quickly swim*+2SG-AUX 3SG/3SG-*tell*(P)

ṇa-nu   ṇa-balwayi-yu ,
MASG-ART MASG-*big*-ABS

He (the narrator's father) struck it (accidentally), he struck it
*with the point of the spear.   He told the big one (i.e. his older
brother): 'Oh!   I have struck something, maybe a rock, maybe a
crocodile.   Go on, swim fast!'*

29) ṇa-ñi-baṇa ŋuy+Ø-yiṇa   garjaḷ , miṇi ŋab+ja-Ø-ṛa ,
    as for him swim+3SG-AUXP *fast   then rise*+CEN-3SG-AUXC

ṛa-waḷajandama-ñu miṇi ŋab+ja-Ø-ṛa ,   wu-nu baw+Ø-yiṇa
NC-*crocodile*-ABS   *then rise*+CEN-3SG-AUXC NC-ART *stick out head*+3SG-AUXP

waṛ+a-wiṇḍi   ṇa-niya ,
see+3SG/3SG-AUXP MASG-*this*

He himself (the narrator's father) began swimming fast.   Then it
*rose up, the crocodile rose up.   It stuck its head out and saw him
there.*

30) galimba, wu-nu wu-nñaya-wala wirg+Ø-igiri
    and   NC-ART NC-there-ABL jump at+3SG/3SG-AUXP

jabi+a-ba ,   ṇiwa yaḷburi , yaḷburi wirju+a-gañi
grab at+3SG/3SG-AUXP 3MASG *downward   miss*+3SG/3SG-AUXP

wu-niya garj+ga-gañi   wu-yidma-ñiyi , wirju+a-gañi
NC-*there scratch*+3SG/3SG-AUXP NC-*foot*-DIR   *miss*+3SG/3SG-AUXP

wu-nu wṳ-nñaya-wala baḍa jiñi , baḍa biriḍ+ga-ba ,
NC-ART NC *there*-ABL *later again   did again*+3SG/3SG-AUXP

jaj+ga-ja ,
chase+3SG/3SG-AUXP

Then it lunged at him and tried to grab him (in its jaws).   He
*(went) down, so that it missed and just scratched him on the foot.
It turned to face him, and (again) it missed him.   Then it did it to
him again, it charged at him.*

31) yil+a-mi   wu-nu wayburi , ṇiwa yaḷburi , wu-nu
    attack+3SG-AUXP NC-ART *southward* 3MASG *down   NC-ART

ja-jaj+gala-jayima ,   'wari+yur-bi   wari+yur-bi , wari+yur-bi'
RDP-*engage in chase*+3PL-AUXC *return*+2DU-AUX

```
ṛa-galga-ñu     wu-nu  gaw+a-mama      gaw+aṛŋu-jaŋa ,
NC-soldier-ABS NC-ABS call+3SG-AUXC call+3SG/3DU-AUXC
```

It attacked to the south, but he (went) downriver (east). There was a chase. 'Come back, you two!' the soldiers (who were watching the chase from the river bank) called out, they called out to them.

32)
```
wari+an-mayi ,  mal-mal , ṛa-waṛiyi-yu-yaŋa ,  wu-nñaya wu-nu
return+3DU-AUXP RDP-climb NC-Aborigine-ABS-LOC NC-there NC-ART

wiŋ+garŋu-gaya    wiya , wu-nu wu-nñaya-wala miŋi , miŋi
rest+3SG/3DU-AUXC enough NC-ART NC-there-ABL   then

ala-janayajima ,            wu-nu wu-nñaya-wala miŋi ala-janayajima ,
3PL-engage in battle(C)
```

They went back and climbed (onto the bank), to the (enemy) Aborigines. They rested there for a while, then after that they engaged in a battle.

33)
```
ŋa-nu     ŋa-baba     ḍub+ga-ba           wu-naya-ŋa , baḍa
MASG-ART 1POSS-father throw+3SG/3SG-AUXP NC-here-LOC  later

biriḍ+ga-ba           ŋa-nu     ŋa-baba ,    ŋa-nu
do again+3SG/3SG-AUXP MASG-ART 1POSS-father MASG-ART

ŋiṇḍal-ŋiṇḍal+a-gaya      ṛa-galga-ñu , baḍa wu-naya-ŋa baḍa
RDP-transport+3SG/3SG-AUXC NC-soldier-ABS later NC-here-LOC

jiñi  gal+a-ja ,         wu-gaṇḍurba ,
again spear+3SG/3SG-AUXP NC-hook spear
```

My father threw (spears) this way (into the shoulder of the adversary), then he did it again, my father, to the one who had brought all the soldiers. Then he speared him again here, with a hook spear.

34)
```
baḍa  jiñi  wiya , baḍa wu-nu  jilgñi   wiya    buwa-buwa+a-ṛa ,
later again enough      NC-ART next day enough RDP-face ordeal+

       'wu-yagu gu-buwa+ŋa-yu            gu-bay+ŋa-jaña [emended
3SG-AUXP  NC-not  NEG-face ordeal+1SG-AUX NEG-stand-1SG-AUX

from -jaŋa]' , wiya  ŋujalayi  wu-nu buwa+a-ṛa
               enough Ngudjalayi NC-ART face ordeal+3SG-AUXC

wulguy    jalg+ara-ja        ma-yarbij , baḍa ma-yarbij ,
all right stab+3PL/3SG-AUXP NC-thigh     later

maŋgal-ḍa+ara-ba ,          miyirbaṛbar-ḍa+ara-ba , wiya ,
head strike+3PL/3SG-AUXP head strike+3PL/3SG-AUXP enough
```

Then later, the next day, he (the narrator's father) was to face
punishment by ordeal (having a hook spear thrust into his legs around
the thighs). (He said,) 'I will not face the ordeal'. (The narrator's
father's brother, who died later at) Ngudjalayi, faced the ordeal
alone. They stabbed his thigh (with the hook spear), then the other
thigh. They struck him on the head (with woomeras). It ended.

35) 'wiya   wiya wu-ŋari-yu   arimigi ' , baḍa   jilgñi , wu-nu
      enough   NC-*fight*-ABS *hopefully   later next day* NC-ART

yaṛ+a-gaya   baḍa jiñi ṛa-galga   ' ŋuduguña   ṛa-galga ' ,
be light+3SG/3SG-AUXC *later again* NC-*soldier   Hey you*(PL)! NC-*soldier*

baḍa jiñi jaj+galŋu-ja ,   miŋi yaḷburi , wu-nu ṛambi+a-ja ,
later again chase+3PL/3PL-AUXP *then down*   NC-ART *attack*+3SG/3SG

mayiwuṛ+ala-juṛa yiwiṇ+<g>a-jima aru   ṛa-gabaja
    ?   *splash*+3SG-AUXC *because* NC-*good*

ṛa-mawaṛayimbirjimbir ma-waṛagulu ...
NC-*hook spear*   NC-*hook spear*

(The soldiers said,) 'That should be enough fighting. But the next
day when it got light, soldiers were there again. (The narrator's
father called to his comrades, some of whom had rejoined him and his
brother,) 'Hey you! Soldiers (are coming)!' Then they (the soldiers)
chased them down to the river, where they attacked them with spears,
showering them with spears. The water was splashing because of the
good (abundant) hook spears ...

[There was an interruption at this point as the tape ran out and a new
tape was put on the recorder.]

36) baḍa jiñi ṛambi+a-ja ,   baḍa jiñi ṛambi+a-ja , wu-nu
    later again attack+3SG/3SG-AUXP   NC-ART

wu-niya-wala yar+ya-∅-buṛa   baḍa jiñi ṛambi+a-ja ,
NC-*there*-ABL *dawn*+CEN-3SG/3SG-AUXC *later again attack*+3SG/3SG-AUXP

wiya   yaḷburi , wu-nu jaj+galŋu-jaŋa ,   aru   ṛa-gabaja
enough down   NC-ART *chase*+3PL/3PL-AUXC *because* NC-*good*

ṛa-mayaḷuŋgu , ṛa-wanuŋgu , ṛa-mawaṛayimbirjimbir , mayiwuṛ+ala-juṛa ,
NC-*hook spear* NC-*hook spear* NC-*hook spear*   *?*+3PL-AUX

wu-balba-ñiyi , mayiwuṛ+ala-juṛa , wu-nu ḍu-ḍub+gara-buṛa ,
NC-*river*-ALL   NC-ART RDP-*throw*+3PL/3SG-AUXC

Then they (the soldiers) attacked again. They attacked again after
daybreak. They (the narrator's father, et al.) went down (into the
river). They chased after them, showering them with spears which they
threw into the river.

37) jaj+galŋu-ja::::   wu-niñi giṛiṛi , ḍirwu+ara-ja
    chase+3PL/3PL-AUXP NC-*there Giriri*   *take into water*+3PL/3SG-AUXP

ŋa-gayi , jaj+galŋu-ja   ḍirwu-ḍirwu+alŋu-jaŋa
MASG-*other chase*+3PL/3PL-AUXP RDP-*take into water*+3PL/3PL-AUXC

wu-nñaya-ŋa:::: miŋi ŋuy+ala-ṛa , miŋi wuluŋa wu-nu ŋuy+ala-ṛa ,
NC-*there*-LOC   *then swim*+3PL-AUXC *then middle* NC-ART *swim*-3PL-AUXC

ŋa-waŋgiñ ŋa-nu   ŋa-baba   ŋa-balwayi , baḍa buliñ+g-iŋa ,
MASG-*one* MASG-ART 1POSS-*father* MASG-*big*   *later stay behind*+3SG/AUXP

   They chased them there, at Giriri. They chased another man (Lindy)
into the water, they chased them into the water. They were swimming
that way. They swam in the middle. One of my fathers, the big one
(i.e. the narrator's father's elder brother), stayed behind (on the
river bank).

38) ŋa-ñi   wu-nu guṛŋguṛ+a-mama ṛa-waṛiyi-yu , ŋad+ga-mayi
    MASG-*same* NC-ART *gather*+3SG-AUXC NC-*Aborigine*-ABS *run*+3SG-AUXP

yaŋgar wu-niñi ŋalwaḷa+a-buṛa ,   ŋalwaḷa+a-buṛa wu-nu
ahead NC-*there clear*+3SG/3SG-AUXC   NC-ART

gaḷ+u-lŋu-ji   wulu-nu wulu-niñi ŋuy+ala-ṛa ,   aru
spear+POT-3SG/3PL-AUX PL-ART PL-*that*   *swim*+3PL-AUXC *in order that*

gaḷ+u-lŋu-ji ,
spear+POT-3SG/3PL-AUX

   That same one who had gathered the Aborigines (the enemy soldiers)
ran ahead there and cleared (a little space among mangroves on the
river bank). He cleared it so he could spear the ones who were swim-
ming (the narrator's ancestors).

39) ṛa-bulugija-yu ,   a-mama ,   wu-naya wu-nu , wu-naya
    NC-*mangrove sp.*-ABS 3SG-*be like this*(C) NC-*here* NC-ART

wu-nu miñ+ga-ba ,   gaburg+Ø-iŋaji , mal+Ø-yiŋa
   aim+3SG/3SG-AUXP *rebound*+3SG-AUXP *go up*+3SG-AUXP

ma-guḍijbal-u-yaŋa ,   wu-naya wu-nu yil+a-mi ,   wu-nu wu-naya-ŋa
NC-*mangrove sp.*-ABS-LOC NC-*here*   *hit*+3SG/AUXP NC-ART NV-*here*-LOC

ḍuḍul mud-maŋgara , wu-nu wu-naya-ŋa , wu-nu wu-niya wu-guṇḍi ,
until break-NOM   NC-*ART* NC-*here*-LOC   NC-*this* NC-*ankle*

wu-guṇḍi wu-niya , ñanani wu-niya , ḍuḍul mud+ga-walmida ,   wu-nñaya
NC-*ankle* NC-*this*   ?   NC-*this*   *until break*+3SG/3SG-AUXP NC-*there*

bugi yal-yal+a-murgi ,
still RDP-*make fall*+3SG/3SG-AUXP

   One type of mangroves were doing this (leaning over the water).
He (the narrator's father's brother) aimed (his spear) at him (the
leader of the enemy soldiers). (When he threw it,) it rebounded off
one of the mangroves, went up into another kind of mangroves, and hit
him (the enemy leader) here in the ankle, (so hard that) it broke it.
He was still there (among the mangroves), but it made him fall.

40) ' garara yudu-mi   ḍub+ŋa-ba ,
        2PL-*do this* *throw(spear)*+1SG/3SG-AUXP

giṇḍir̪-ḍawj+ŋudu-yaji'   alŋu-ja   wulu-nu wulu-niñi ,
penis-bite each other+2PL-AUXP 3SG/3PL-*tell*(P) PL-*ART* PL-*that*

wu-nu ŋuy+ala-r̪a , yo !, wula-ñi-baŋa 'gararararara !' ,
NC-*ART* *swim*+3PL-AUXC   *as for them*

   He (the narrator's father) told those men who were swimming,
'Shout "garara"; I have speared him! You bit each other's penises!' '
They shouted "gararararara' (a signal of victory).

41) r̪a-galga-ñu   wu-nu a-gayama ,   wu-nu an-argaḷi , 'wu-niñi
   NC-*soldier*-ABS NC-*ART* 3SG/3SG-*hear*(C) NC-*ART* ABL-*west*   NC-*there*

wu-nu ŋuy+ala-r̪ani wu-nu garara ala-mi ,   jabay
NC-*ART* *swim*+3PL-AUX NC-*ART*   3PL-*do this*(P) *maybe*

ḍub+gara-ba   wulayi ' , yuṇḍar̪a wu-nu war̪+alŋu-wiṇḍi ,
throw(spear)+3PL/3SG-AUXP 3PL   *true*   NC-*ART* *see*+3PL/3PL-AUXP

wiya   wu-nu biray-biray+ara-gaya , biray+ya-ru-gaya ,
enough NC-*ART* RDP-*carry*+3PL/3SG-AUXP *carry*+CEN-3PL/3SG-AUXP

   The soldiers heard the sound from the west. (They said to each
other:) 'The ones swimming over there made a victory shout. Maybe
they speared him.' (They knew this was) true, as they saw them.
Then they carried (the wounded man) away, they carried him this way.

42) ŋiyal ṛa-wa   ṛa-ni   ŋiyal wu-nu   munji-munji+ŋulŋu-wiṇḍimani ,
     ?   NC-*that* NC-*that*   NC-ART RDP-*follow*+2PL/3PL-AUXC

wulu-nu a-wulu-ni , wula-ñi-baŋa , ma-ḍuŋal-u   ḍil+ar-idaŋani ,
PL-ART ?-PL-*that*   *as for them*   NC-*spear*-ABS *hold*+3PL/3SG-AUX

wu-niya wu-wujula-ñu ' , ' yo ! ŋala   ŋunju   ḍil+ŋal-idaŋani ' , wiya ,
NC-*this* NC-*woomera*-ABS   1PLIN *likewise* *hold*+1PLIN/3SG-AUX *enough*

wu-nñaya-wala mud+g-iŋa   ṛa-galga-ñu
NC-*there*-ABL *break*+3SG-AUXP NC-*soldier*-ABS

   (The soldiers said to each other,) 'You chased them, that group,
but (now) they have spears too, and woomeras.' (One of the swimmers,
in the narrator's ancestors' group, called to them:) 'Yes, all of us
have them like (you).' That is all, the (group of) soldiers broke up
and left.

WARNDARANG-ENGLISH DICTIONARY AND SUPPLEMENTS

INTRODUCTION

This dictionary is based on material obtained from Isaac Joshua, supplemented by materials given to me by Drs Capell and Sharpe, in most instances rechecked or reworked by me with Isaac. Some details were cleared up in interviews with Elizabeth Joshua following Isaac's death.

Each entry is followed by an indication of its part of speech, using the following abbreviations:

Adj	adjectival
Adv	adverb
Art	article
Conj	conjunction
Dem	demonstrative
Infl	inflectable
Int	interjection
Intr	intransitive
N	noun
Part	article
Pro	pronoun
V	verb

Inflectable verbs include auxiliaries (*AUX*) and a few main verbs which directly take inflectional affixation. All other verbs require auxiliaries, and the particular *AUX* used with each verb is indicated in parentheses. Thus bad *VTr* (-ga-) means that bad is a transitive verb which takes the *AUX* -ga-. If a particular main verb can take two or more different auxiliaries, perhaps in different senses, this is indicated.

121

Nonhuman nouns are shown with the appropriate noun-class (NC)
prefix(es) in parentheses. These prefixes are disregarded in
alphabetisation. For human nouns the class prefix is normally
predictable on the basis of actual sex and number and is therefore
omitted. Adjectival nouns, which agree in class prefix with which-
ever noun they modify in given sentences, have variable class prefix.

Other abbreviations used, typically at the end of an entry:

> *Cogn*   cognate (in another language)
>
> *Corr*   correlated with (a word in another language)
>
> *Syn*   synonym of
>
> *Var*   variant

The term 'cognate' here is used loosely to include shared vocabulary
which may have spread by diffusion. Cognates have only been listed
where the cognate set is nonobvious or interesting for some reason,
in order to save space. Many other cognate sets involving Warndarang
can be found by comparing this dictionary with the other dictionaries
I am preparing. Since a great many Warndarang words are shared with
Mara and/or Alawa I have not indicated these except in a few cases.

The term 'correlated with', used especially with flora-fauna
vocabulary, means that Isaac or another informant indicated that the
Warndarang term is applied to the same object as the word in the other
language.

To save space, the slash / is used instead of the arrow in transi-
tive pronominal prefix formulae, hence 1SG/3SG instead of 1Sg → 3Sg.
Abbreviations are generally fully capitalised, hence SG instead of Sg.

It is likely that there are occasional mistranscriptions in this
dictionary. I had trouble distinguishing nj from ñj. Sometimes I
also had trouble distinguishing apicoalveolar from retroflexed
consonants, especially after u.

The order of phonemes for purposes of this dictionary is:

a, b, d, ḍ, ḏ, g, i, j, l, ḻ, m, n, ṇ, ñ, ŋ, r, ṛ, u, w, y.

The dictionary is followed by a list of nouns in various domains
(flora-fauna and human body parts). This in turn is followed by a
brief English-Warndarang index. Warndarang items in the domains
lists are omitted from the index. Thus readers wishing to find
Warndarang terms form particular plants, animals, or human body parts
should consult the domains lists rather than the index.

WARNDARANG-ENGLISH DICTIONARY

A

andagari *Part* indicates anticipation, fear, or urging of an impending event. ñuŋ+ga-ṛani andagari Go on! Smell it! andagari wu-ŋara-wiñu maybe she will give it to me soon.

anga *Int* Yes!

anjala *Conj* as, like, so that.

arajay *adv* on top. above. *Cf.* arajiyi, arwaṛ.

arajiyi *Adv* (same meaning as arajay).

argaḷi *Adv* in the west. argaḷi-ñi westward. an-argaḷi from the west. arg-argaḷi in the west, far to the west (*RDP*). *Cogn* Nungg.

arimigi *Part* indicates hopefulness or effort. gl+ñiri-wiṇḍi ṛa-ŋaŋguru, arimigi We went (hunting) for crocodiles, hoping/ trying (to kill some).

aru *Conj* because. Goes at beginning of clause.

arwaṛ *Adv* on top, above. More common than arajay, arajiyi. arwaṛ-wala from on top. *Cogn* Nungg.

awayi *Int* No!

B

-ba- *VInflTr* 1. to hit, to kick. ŋa-bani I am kicking him.
    2. *AUX* NB: -bi, the *FutNeg* form, is also used as the *Imper* of -ṛa-. *Reflex* -bi-, *Recip* -biyi-, *Recip RDP* -biyi-wiyi-.

-baba *N* father.

babŋalan *NAdj* short.

bad *Vtr* (-ga-) to abandon, to leave behind or aside.

bad+ŋa-gañi I abandoned it, I rejected it.

badab *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to turn back, to change direction sharply.

(ṛa-)badaŋga *N* stone axe.

baḍa *Adv* later. baḍa jiñi again, a second time.

baḍaḍa *N* baby. NC often wu- or ṛa- even for human babies.

baḍurga *N* saltwater long-tom fish. NC unknown.

baga *Int* Watch out! Help! Indicates fear or warning.

(ṛa-)bagmanjar *N* 'milk snake' (snake-lizard).

bal 1. *VIntr* (-ma-) to pound something. bal+ŋa-mama ma-ḷigar I was pounding (it) with a stone.
    2. *VTr* (-ja-) to write, to draw.

(wu-)balaŋgar *N* fork in tree. *Syn* galagala.

(wu-)balara *N* buttocks.

(wu-)balba *N* river.

balgiñ *NAdj* bitter-tasting.

(ŋi-)balubalu *N* pelican. *Syn* gulanbiri.

balwayi *NAdj* big.

baḷ *VTr* (-wiṇḍi-) to sneak up on.

baḷa *VIntr* (-iṇaji-) to be born.

baḷabaḷa *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to revolve. baḷabaḷa+a-ṛani It goes round and round.

(ṛa-)baḷajalbaḷajal *N* vine with yam, probably *Ipomoea sp.*

(wu-)baḷara *N* *Acacia sp.*, probably *A. difficilis*. *Cogn* Nungg., Rith.

(ṛa-/wu-)baḷgan *N* mangrove with prominent buttressed roots,

Rhizophora stylosa (and perhaps other Rhizophoras).

(ṛa-)baḻya *N* woomera, not as sharply curved as wujula.

(ṛa/wu-)bamaṇa *N* tree *sp.* with yellow fruit, *Diospyros sp.* *Syn* gaḍaburañ.

(ṛa-)bambal *N* 1. coral.

2. sea sponge.

(ṛa-)bambuja *N* stringybark tree, *Eucalyptus tetradonta.* bark: yalanu, yulway.

(ṛa-)bandiyan *N* king brown snake.

(ṛa-/wu-)baṇar *N* marble tree, *Owenia vernicosa. Cogn* Nungg.

(ṛa-)baṇbaṇgari *N* a prostrate vine, *Ipomoea pres-caprae.*

(wu-)baṇḍij *N* kidney. Etymologically identical to waṇḍiñ.

(ṛa-)baṇmira *N* a tree, *Wrightia saligna.*

baṇ *VIntr* (-juṛa) to bloom.

(ṛa-)bara *N* north to west wind.

bara *VTr* (-ja-) to feel restless, 'tight'. The subject is invariable 3Sg, the object represents the sufferer. bara+ṇara-ja I feel restless.

(ṛa-)barambal *N* low mangrove scrub. Etymologically identical to warambal.

(ṛa-)barawu *N* boat. A Macassan word.

(ṛa-)barga *N* sawshark. *Cogn* Nungg., etc.

(ṛa-)baruwa *N* red ochre.

baṛa *VIntr* (-ma-) to look back.

(wu-)baṛan *N* track, trail (e.g. of snake). Not footprints (yinma).

baṛmunu *N* sand goanna, *Varanus gouldii.* NC unknown. *Cf.* waḍabir.

(wu-)baṛurbaṛur *N* type of kurrajong tree, *Brachychiton diversifolium. Syn* ṇḍilan.

baw *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to stick one's head out (e.g. of water).

bay *VIntr* (-iṇaji-, -juṛa) to stand up.

-bibi *N* mother (with 2nd pers. poss.). Can be replaced by -gara. *Cf.* also -yibi.

(ṛa-)bidiliriliri *N* masked plover (bird).

biḍ 1. *VIntr* (-maljuṛa) to lie face down.

2. *VTr* (-ja-) to carry on the back.

bij *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to spread out, to extend over an area; (sun) to rise.

-bijaja *N* maternal grandfather.

bilg *VIntr* (-ma-) to be weak, feeble.

(ṛa-)bilimar *N* freshwater fork-tailed catfish *sp.* Distinct from walmagara, ṇaḷaṇaḷa.

(ṛa-)bilinjiri *N* grass *sp.* or *spp.* Has strawlike texture, good for bedding.

(ṛa-)bilmabilmin *N* seagrass (fodder for dugong).

(ṛa-)biḻbar *N* throat, neck.

(ṛa-)biḻgur *N* dingo. *Cf.* wuṇgan.

biḻi *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to enter, to go in or through.

bindi *Part* really, truly, indeed. Postposed to the modified constituent. *Cf.* gudagaya for example.

(wu-)biŋmiri *N* river red gum (tree), *Eucalyptus camaldulensis*.

(ṛa-)biñbinjaḷa *N* bats, except flying foxes.

(wu-)biñbiñ *N* long stick.

biŋ 1. *VIntr* (-ṛa-, -iṇaji-) to become finished or extinct, to die off.

2. *VTr* (-ga-) to wipe out, to finish.

3. *VTr* (-ya-) to finish up (food, by eating it).

bir *VIntr* (-ma-) to become full of food, sated; to be frightened, to jump in fear (this sense doubtful).

biray *VTr* (-ga-) to carry on shoulder or back.

(wu-)biribiri *N* horse-mussel shell, *Modiolus sp.*

biriḍ *VTr* (-ba-) to do it again to (someone).

biṛ *VTr* (-ga-) to move, to shift.

(wu-/ṛa-)biṛir *N* a grass on sand dunes, *Vetiveria elongata*.

(wu-/ṛa-)biṛiwiṛi *N* a tree, *Canarium australianum*.

bu *VIntr* (-ma-) to burn something. bu+wu-ŋa-miñu I will burn (it), I will set fire to it.

(wu-)bubu *N* sore, wound.

(ŋi-/ṛa-/wu-)bubunara (or bubuṇara) *N* black-headed rock python, *Aspidites melanocephalus*. *Cogn* Nunggubuyu bubuṇara.

(ṛa-)buḍalar *N* firestick.

buḍilbuḍil *NAdj* red.

(ṛa-)buḍuga *N* a tree, *Clerodendrum floribundum* or a form thereof. *Cogn* Nungg., etc.

bugaḍ *VIntr* (-ṛa-) wu-niya wu-ṛaba maba-bugaḍ+ŋ-iŋa The fingernail (wu-ṛaba) came out of my hand (maba-).

(ṛa-)bugbana *N* swamp pheasant, pheasant coucal.

bugi *Part* nothing but, only, still. Postposed to modified constituent. wu-nñaya bugi still there (i.e. nowhere else). ñiñu bugi only you.

(wu-)bugun *N* large tree *sp.* near water, good for shade.

-bujin *N* wife (with any poss.); husband (with 2nd or 3rd pers. poss.). *Cf.* -liŋali.

buju *VTr* (-ba-) to produce flame from firestick. Object is always 3Sg.

(wu-)bulbul *N* heart. *Syn* ŋiṛŋiṛ.

bulbuldu *NAdj* light (in weight).

buliñ *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to stay behind (while others go on ahead).

bulub *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to hunt kangaroos by setting grass fires.

(ṛa-)bulugi *N* bullock. A fairly old loanword.

(ṛa-)bulugija *N* mangrove tree, *Excaecaria agollacha*.

bulujiḍimiñga *N* waterhole. NC unknown.

(wu-/ṛa-)buḷaŋaŋga *N* a shrub with soft white fruits, *Securinega virosa*. *Cogn* Nungg.

(wu-)buḷŋu *N* ashes.

(ṛa-)buḷunbuḷun *N* spoonbill (bird).

bunji *VIntr* (-ma-) to be/become dry. bunji+a-mi It has become dry, it is dry. man-bunji+ŋa-mi I got dry.

(wu-/ra-)bunji *N* honey. *Syn* ŋulawar.

(wu-/ra-)buṇḍubuṇḍu *N* shellfish *spp.*, including ground snails.

(ra-)buñala *N* over-mature water lily root (gaṇaya).

bur 1. *VIntr* (-ra-) (sun) to set.

2. *VTr* (-wiṇḍi-) to be fond of, to like (an object or person).

buralgmin *NAdj* light- or bright-coloured, shiny, white.

(ra-)burgun *N* chest scars on men.

(wu-)buruḻu *N* river pandanus, *Pandanus aquaticus*.

buruḻuburuḻu *N* shellfish *sp.* NC unknown.

(ŋi-)buruŋandiñ *N* tortoise *sp* (has strong smell), perhaps *Chelodina novaeguineae*.

burŋguṛ *NAdj* dirty (especially, dirty water). wu-burŋguṛ wu-ŋaḻaja-ñu dirty water.

buwa *VIntr* (-ra-) to face punishment by ordeal (e.g. having hook spear jabbed into one's thighs), to 'stand up' to punishment.

D

-daga *N* (elder or younger) sister (with 2nd or 3rd pers. poss.). *Cf* -ḻali, -ndaga.

-dñaya *Dem* there; (rarely) that. Also -nñaya.

Ḍ

ḍa *VTr* (-ba-) attested only in compounds: maŋgal-ḍa, miyirbarbaṛ-ḍa to hit on top of the head.

ḍab *VTr* (-ida-) to surround, to enclose, to wrap up.

(wu-)ḍabaliya *N* tree, stick, wood. *Syn* yulba.

ḍabur *VTr* (-ba-) to hit with a thrown object (e.g. boomerang); to shoot.

(wu-)ḍabururu *N* grasshopper. *Syn* ḍajbiḍajbi.

ḍad *VIntr* (-maljuṛa) to hang, to perch, to be aloft.

(ra-)ḍadba *N* frilled lizard, 'blanket lizard'. *Syn* ḍalŋunji, gabaḻa.

ḍaḍ 1. *VIntr* (-ma-) to be hot, to feel hot. Used of a person or object.

2. *VTr* (-ja-) to heat, to cook.

(ra-)ḍaḍajara *N* freshwater crocodile.

ḍag *VTr* (-ya-) to feel cold. Subject is invariable 3Sg, Object represents sufferer. ḍag+ŋara-ya I became cold.

ḍagiḍagi *Adv* upwards, above, on top.

ḍaj 1. *VIntr* (-ma-) to sit down.

2. *VTr* (-murgi-) to cause to sit down.

3. *VTr* (-nija) to sit down with, to keep with oneself (while sitting).

(wu-)ḍajbiḍajbi *N* grasshopper. *Syn* ḍabururu.

ḍalag 1. *VIntr* (-iṇaji-, -ra-) to fall down.

2. *VTr* (-murgi-) to cause to fall.

3. *VTr* (-ba-) to knock down.

(ra-)ḍalŋunji *N* frilled lizard, 'blanket lizard'. *Syn* ḍadba, gabaḻa.

ḍaŋ *VIntr* (-naŋi-) to be thirsty.

(ṇa-/wu-)ḍaṇaḍaṇa *N* month.

(ma-)ḍaŋgaḻgara *N* lancewood tree, *Acacia shirleyi*.

(wu-)ḍaŋul *N* tree trunk.

ḍar 1. *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to come out, to arrive (at a camp).

2. *VIntr* (-iṇaji-, -maljuṛa) to hide.

3. *VTr* (-murgi-) to conceal.

(ṇi-)ḍarabu *N* freshwater goanna.

(wu-)ḍarin *N* jungle cane grass, *Phragmites karka*.

ḍawj *VTr* occurs only in the phrase giṇḍiṛ-ḍawj+ŋudu-yaji You have bitten each other's penises (giṇḍiṛ-). This is a conventional war cry.

ḍay 1. *VIntr* (-ma-) to run away, to flee.

2. *VTr* (-ja-) to chase away.

3. *VTr* (-murgi-) to light (fire).

ḍi *VTr* (-ga-) to break off claws (e.g. of crab).

ḍib *VTr* (-ga-) to carry in hands. *RDP* ḍi-ḍib.

ḍiduŋ *VTr* (-ga-) to play didjeridu. Object is 3Sg.

(ṛa-)ḍiḍibawaba *N* lotusbird or swamphen.

(wu-)ḍigay *N* (used as *Adv*) nearby.

ḍil 1. *VIntr* (-iṇaji-) (bird, aeroplane) to land.

2. *VTr* (-ida-) to hold, to grasp. *Cpd* ŋalwar-ḍil (-ida-) to hold in the middle.

(wu-)ḍilḍil *N* feathered sticks; funeral ceremony sung with boomerangs.

(ṛa-)ḍilḍilgururu *N* peewee, mudlark.

(ṛa-)ḍiliyagḍiliyag *N* wedge-tailed eagle.

(wu-)ḍilyar *N* tree *sp.* used for boomerang, *Hakea arborescens*. *Syn* yingiṛiri.

(ṛa-)ḍiñmanjar *N* kingfisher.

(wu-/ṛa-)ḍiŋgaḻdiŋgaḻ *N* prostrate vine with yellow flowers, sharp spinescent fruits, *Tribulus cistoides*.

ḍir *VIntr* (-ma-) to fart.

ḍira 1. *VIntr* (-juṛa) to be tied up.

2. *VTr* (-ba-) to tie up.

ḍirg *VIntr* (-maljuṛa) to continue (doing something); to keep going. ḍirg+ŋa-maljuṛa wu-nu ḻar-ḻar+ŋa-gaya I continued cutting it up.

(ṛa-)ḍirŋgiḻgḍirŋgiḻg *N* bush lily, *Crinum asiaticum*.

ḍirwu 1. *VIntr* (-ma-) to plunge into (water), to dive in.

2. *VTr* (-ja-) to accompany into the water; to take or force into the water.

ḍiw 1. *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to fly away.

2. *VTr* (-ija, -iṇama-) to throw.

(ṛa-)ḍiwaj *N* green pygmy-goose, especially juvenile. *Syn* madiwaj. *Cogn* Nungg., etc.

ḍiwan *VTr* (-ba-) to cook in ashes; to burn slightly. ḍiwan+ŋara-ba He burned me.

ḍub 1. *VTr* (-ba-) to throw (a spear).

2. *VTr* (-ga-) to uproot (grass, etc.).

(wu-)ḍubal *N* large tree *sp.*, probably *Nauclea coadunata* (leichhardt tree).

ḍud 1. *VIntr* (-ma-) to grow up, to up raised.

2. *VTr* (-iṛa-) to find. *RDP* ḍu-dud (from /ḍud-ḍud/).

(ṛa-)ḍujaḍuja *N* vine with yam.
Boerhavia diffusa. *Cogn* Nungg.
ṛi:ja, Mara ḍuja.

(ṛa-)ḍulbari *N* honey bee,
Trigona sp. 'short-nosed' or
'circumcised sugarbag'. *Corr*
Nungg. ŋalyurwa.

ḍul *VTr* (-ija) to send, to send
away.

(ṛa-/wu)ḍumbuyumbu *N* sandalwood,
Santalum lanceolatum. *Cogn*
Nungg. ḍumbuṛumbu, Rith.
ḍumbuḍumbu, etc.

ḍuṇ *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to get up; (to
get up and) to set off, to
depart. ḍuṇḍ+u-ŋa-ṛa I will get
up.

(ma-)ḍuŋal *N* spear (of any kind).

ḍuṛur 1. *Vtr* (-ga-) to round up,
to muster (e.g. stock), to bring
together.

2. *VIntr* (*Recip* of -ba-) to
assemble, to come together.

ḍuwa *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to gleam, to
shine, to be visible.

(wu-)ḍuymanji *N* a small plant with
a roundish 'potato' as root.
Distinct from ŋambiḍŋambiḍ. *Cogn*
Nungg. wuḍuñmanji, etc.

G

-ga- 1. *VInflTr* to take, to convey.
gi+ya-∅-ga ṛa-mariya-ñu Bring
food!

2. a common transitive *AUX*.
RDP -gaya-gaya (from -gaya,
PaActCon). *Cpd* -wuj-ga- *VInflTr*
to take (dogs) hunting, to hunt
with dogs.

gabaja *NAdj* good, proper;
abundant.

gabajaya *Adv* properly. From
gabaja, with obscure ending.

(ṛa-)gabal *N* tree *sp*., on sand-
ridges or hilly country, bark
said to be yellowish.

(ṛa-)gabaḷa *N* frilled lizard.
Syn ḍalŋunji, ḍadba.

(ṛa-)gabilili *N* skink *sp*.
(lizard).

(ma-)gabir *N* swamp plant with
edible tubers, *Triglochin
procera*. *Cf*. jaṛguḷ.

gabubulya *NAdj* full-grown.

gabul 1. *NAdj* cooked, ripe,
ready to eat.

2. *VIntr* (-ma-) to become
cooked or ripe.

gaburg *VIntr* (-iṇaji-) to rebound,
deflect, bounce off.

(ŋi-/ṛa-)gaḍaburay (also
gaḍaburañ) *N* a tree,
Diospyros sp. *Syn* bamaṇa.

(wu-)gaḍiṛa *N* diarrhea. Possibly
a loanword.

-gaga *N* maternal grandmother;
sister's daughter's child.

gajar *VTr* (-ga-) to take a
shortcut. Object is invariable
3Sg. *Cpd* maṇal-gajar (same
meaning).

gal 1. *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to grow.

2. *VIntr* (-ma-) to obtain
(honey) by chopping tree down.
gal+u-ŋa-mama ṛa-ŋulawar I got
honey by chopping tree down.

3. *VTr* (-ja-) to bite; to
spear.

(ma-)galagala *N* tree fork.
Syn balaŋar.

(ṛa-)galaŋaṇḍa *N* 'wild onion'.
Cogn Nungg. wugalaŋaṇḍa.

galawa *N* Alawa (tribe and
language). *Cf*. waliburu.

(ṇa-)galga *N* soldier, warrior.

galgalgaṛa *NAdj* strong. As
predicate: ŋa-galgalgaṛa
I am strong.

(wu-/ṛa-)galijiri *N* tree *sp*.
with reddish fruits.

galimba *Conj* and; then. Said by informant to be really a Mara conjunction.

galŋi *Adv* later, until. Generally used with another following time adverb; galŋi emphasises that the time of this adverb is subsequent to the reference time (usually the present). Hence galŋi baḍa later; galŋi jilgñi tomorrow; galŋi ŋiliŋiliwayi tomorrow morning (vs. wu-nu ŋiliŋiliwayi this morning).

gaḷ 1. *VTr* (-ida-) to dig.

2. *VTr* (-ga-) to remove from fire, to dig out of fire or oven.

(ṛa-)gaḷaḷgaḷaḷ *N* skink lizard.

(wu-/ṛa-)gaḷambar *N* tall grasses (*Sorghum spp.*).

(wu-)gaḷiwan *N* tree *sp.*, *Melaleuca acacioides*. *Syn* wuluṛu.

(wu-)gaḷŋar *N* anus.

(ma-)gamba *N* pearl shell, *Pinctada sugillata*. Also (wu-)ṛagamba.

(ṛa-)gambuma *N* ray *sp.* *Cogn* Nungg.

(ṛa-)gamirinji *N* star.

(ṛa-)ganayi *N* yamstick.

(wu-/ṛa-)gandar *N* paperbark tree, *Melaleuca cajaputi*. In coastal jungle and at edge of billabongs. *Cogn* Nungg. magandar.

gangima *NAdj* raw, uncooked, unripe.

ganuŋ *N* old person. All examples are reduplicated multiple plurals: (ṛa-/wulu-)ganu-ganuŋ-gu. I have taken -gu as the Absolutive suffix, but it is possible that it is part of the stem.

(wu-)gaṇamuru *N* honey bee, *Trigona sp.* 'long-nosed' or 'uncircumcised sugarbag'. *Corr* Nungg. miṇiguya.

(ma-/ṛa-)gaṇaya *N* root of jadabul water lily (*Nymphaea sp.*, probably *N. violacea*). immature: jirigiiil; over-mature: buñala.

(ŋi-)gaṇḍalburu *N* female antelopine kangaroo (garjambal).

(ṛa-)gaṇḍaṇilili *N* tree *sp.* similar to ŋumir, said to have yellowish fruits. Possibly an *Antidesma* or *Bridelia* (family *Euphorbiaceae*).

(ṛa-)gaṇḍawaḍjiri *N* wading bird *sp.* with long legs.

(ṛa-)gaṇḍina *N* walking stick, cane.

(wu-)gaṇḍurba *N* hook spear with hooks on both sides.

gañan *VTr* (-igira-) to occupy country of (exact sense unclear).

gaŋu *Adv* in the east. Contracts with wu-niñi to form wu-niñi-ngaŋu there, in the east. *Cf.* yini.

-gara *N* mother (with 2nd or 3rd pers. poss.). *Cf.* -yibi, -bibi.

garabi *N* See ŋgarabi.

(ŋi-)garaggarag *N* darter, 'diver duck'.

(wu-)garaḷaḷa *N* tree *sp.*, said to resemble *Acacia holosericea*. *Cf.* jugul.

(ṛa-)garañbilili *N* grasslike plant with reddish seeds found near water, *Leptocarpus spathaceus*.

garara *Int* Victory cry in war.

garaṛ *VTr* (-ba-) (dog) to howl. Object is 3Sg.

(ma-)gargañ *N* a hawk, probably the brown falcon.

garig *VIntr* (-ma-) to begin.

(ṛa-)garimaḻa *N* 1. taipang snake.
2. tree *sp.*, similar to
maḻaḻañga and yiwanguḻubuju.

(ṛa-)garinji *N* jabiru.

garj *VTr* (-ida-) to scratch.
man-garj+ŋ-idaŋani I scratched
myself. Possibly an early English
loanword.

garjaḻ *Adv* fast, quickly.

(wu-)garjambal *N* antelopine
kangaroo, *Macropus antelopinus*,
especially male. female:
gaṇḍalburu. *Cogn* Nungg. arjambal,
Rith. garčambal, etc.

(ṛa-/wu-)garmbagarmba *N* small
scrubby tree *sp.*

(ŋi-)garubu *N* hawksbill turtle.
Syn ŋaluwa.

garwiṛi *N* dog. NC unknown.
Syn wuŋgan.

gaṛ *VIntr* (-ma-, -juṛa) to dance;
to play, to frolic. *RDP* gaṛ-ŋgaṛ.

gaṛay *VTr* (-ga-) to open up, to
uncover.

gaṛayara *NAdj* clean, clear.
wu-ŋaḻaja wu-gaṛayara clean
water.

(ṛa-)gaṛbi *N* black-striped
grunter (fish).

(ŋi-)gaṛgunja *N* nankeen night-
heron (bird).

(ṛa-)gaṛjir *N* python *sp.* often
found near water, probably
Liasis fuscus. *Corr* Nungg. aḻja.

gaw 1. *Int* Hey! Used to attract
someone's attention, or to evoke
a response (also gaw) from
someone out of sight so that his
position can be determined.
2. *VTr* (-ma-) to call out, to
shout 'gaw'.
3. *VTr* (-wiṇḍi-) to call out to.

-gayama *VInflTr* to hear, to listen
to. *Rdp* -ga-gayama. Root is
-gaya-/-gayi-.

gayari *Adv* (for) a long time;
long ago. wu-nñaya ñiya gayari
way back then. wu-nu wu-naya
gayari wu-d-maljuṛa will you
stay here long?

(ṛa-)gayawuwu *N* 'jumping mullet'
(fish *sp.*).

-gayi *NAdj* other, different.
Cf. -wayara.

gi 1. *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to go.
Cpd yar-gi (-ṛa-) (water, tide)
to recede.
2. *VTr* (-ga-) to take, to
deliver.

(ṛa-)giḍigiḍi *N* freshwater
eel-tailed catfish *sp.*,
perhaps 'toothless' catfish,
Anodontiglanis dahli.

gig *VIntr* (-ma-) to sing a
curse against someone.
ŋa ŋa-niya gig+ŋa-mi I sang a
curse against this one.

gil *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to crawl;
to move very slowly.

(ṛa-)gilibirma *N* red emperor
(fish), *Lutjanus sebae*.

(ṛa-/wu-)gilwir *N* yellow clay
and body paint.

(wu-)gimalamalaŋgaḍji *N* log with
branches of certain chemically
potent trees tied to it, dragged
through billabong to stun fish.

giṇḍiṛ *N* a rare compounding
element referring to the penis.
Cf. ḍawj for the only instance
attested. *Cf.* also yiwur.

(wu-)giŋgira *N* wild rice,
Oryza sp.

(ṛa-)girimbu *N* euro (hill
kangaroo), *Macropus robustus*.
Syn girmu.

(ṛa-)girmu *N* euro. *Syn* girimbu.

giṛi *VTr* (-wiṇḍi-) to be afraid
of.

(wu-)giwgiw *N* lungs.

giyagiya *VTr* (-ja-) to shake.

(ṟa-)gubijiji *N* rain.

gudagaya *Adv* continuously, constantly. gudagaya biṇdi a-ṟaraṇi She is indeed still going.

gudid *VTr* (-ga-) to carry, to convey.

(ṟa-)guḍargu *N* brolga. *Syn* walunara. *Cogn* Ṉungg.

(wu-)guḍaṟi *N* Gunabibi headdress. *Cogn* Ṉungg. wuguḍaṟi.

(ṟa-)guḍijbal *N* a mangrove with pointed leaves, edible fruits, *Avicennia marina*.

(wu-)gujan *N* sand.

(ṟa-)gujaṇi *N* possum, probably the brush-tailed possum.

(wu-)gujirwujir *N* jellyfish.

gul *VTr* 1. (-murgi-) to soak.

2. (-ja-) to make trouble for.

(ŋi-)gulanbiri *N* pelican. *Syn* balubalu.

(ṟa-)gulduru *N* bony bream (fish), *Fluvialosa erebi*.

(wu-)gulinja *N* black plum tree, *Vitex glabrata*.

(ṟa-)gulubiṉḍama *N* tree *sp.*, probably *Persoonia falcata*.

(wu-)gululu *N* head. Not a common word. *Syn* wadamuru, miyirbaṟbaṟ.

(ṟa-)guluŋ *N* witch doctor.

guḷ *VIntr* (-juṟa) to drink. wu-ŋaḷaja guḷ+ŋa-juṟa I drank some water.

guḷa- *N* Compounding element; *cf.* yar, ŋaw.

gulday *VTr* (-ga-) (flood) to let (someone) go, to cease blocking (someone's) path. Exact sense and transcription uncertain.

Possibly related to ŋguḷday.

guḷgmin *NAdj* heavy.

(wu-)guḷugal *N* brain.

(ma-)guḷuḷu *N* black fruit of water lily, *Nymphaea gigantea*. *Cf*. yaḷbun, njagiri.

(ṟa-)guḷumbilguḷumbil *N* shrub or vine with red-and-black berries, *Abrus precatorius*.

(wu-)guḷuŋurwa *N* long yam *sp.*, *Dioscorea ?sativa var. elongata*.

(ṟa-/wu-/ma-)gunaḷu *N* woody climbing vine *sp.*, *Tinospora smilacina*.

(ṟa-)gunaŋgaḷa *N* fish *sp.*, perhaps a grunter such as *Hephaestus carbo*.

(ŋi-/ṟa-)gundi *N* python *sp.*, perhaps *Liasis olivaceus*. *Syn* waluŋma, etc.

(ṟa-)gundir *N* toadfish, toado.

gunduggundug *NAdj* crooked.

(wu-)gungaṉḍa *N* pollen.

(wu-/ṟa-)gunubul *N* tree *sp.*, *Alphitonia sp*.

(wu-)guṉḍi *N* ankle.

(wu-)guṉḍil *N* bush fly; flies, bees, and wasps generally.

(wu-)guṉḍuru *N* Milky Way.

guṇij *VTr* (-murgi-) to burn; to cook on an open fire.

guṇ *VIntr* (-ma-) (tapsticks) to clatter, to resound.

(wu-)guŋur *N* 1. ant mound, termite mound.

2. oven made with ant or termite mound sections.

gur 1. *VTr* (-ida-) to steal.

2. *VIntr* (-murgi-) to soak.

(ṟa-)guralgguralg *N* koel (bird).

(ŋi-/ṛa-)gurbuḻugurbuḻu (also
gurbuḍugurbuḍug) *N* 'rainbird'
(unidentified).

(ṛa-)gurgur *N* blue-winged
kookaburra. *Syn* jiriyirgu.

(ṛa-)gurjaḍa *N* tree *sp.*,
Eucalyptus ferruginea.

(ṛa-)gurujaḍbuŋgu *N* python *sp.*,
perhaps *Liasis olivaceus*.
Syn waluŋma, etc.

(ṛa-)gurujgu *N* marine fish *sp.*,
probably sweetlips emperor.

(ṛa-)guruḻuwul *N* paperbark tree
with thick trunk along rivers.
Perhaps a form of *Melaleuca
leucadendron*.

(ṛa-)guruwalya *N* stone spear.
Syn wariman, ḻarŋinja.

(ṛa-)gurwiji *N* female dugong.
Cf. wugaḻij.

(ṛa-)guryala *N* red flying fox
(fruit-bat), *Pteropus
scapulatus*.

(ṛa-)guṛa *N* semen. Also ŋguṛa.

gur̤guṛ *VIntr* (-ma-) to cough.

guṛid 1. *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to turn
around. guṛid+ŋ-iŋa I turned
around.

2. *VTr* (-ga-) to turn around;
to flip over.

gur̤ŋguṛ *VIntr* (-ma-) to gather
something. Object not mentioned
in verb. Exact sense not clear.

guwiḍ *VTr* (-igira-) to turn on,
to face menacingly.

(ṛa-)guwiḻu *N* southern stone
curlew. *Cogn* Nungg.

-guwu *N* uncle (mother's brother).

(ṛa-)guyabiri *N* boomerang.
Syn mulwari.

guyal *NAdj* of the Guyal semimoiety.
May become -wuyal after prefixes.

(wu-)guyiya *N* small plant with
edible berries, *Grewia
retusifolia*.

guyma-guyma *Adv* in the north,
far to the north. *Cf.* guymi.

guymi *Adv* in the north. *Cf.*
wuñmi, guyma-guyma.

I

-ida- *VInflTr* a transitive *AUX*.

-iḍaŋa *VInflIntr* to defecate.
Root probably -iḍa-.

-igira- *VInflTr* a transitive
AUX.

-ija *VInflTr* An uncommon
transitive *AUX*.

-ilama- *VInflTr* 1. to cut, to
make an incision in.

2. an uncommon transitive *AUX*.

-iṉaji- *VInflIntr* an intransitive
AUX.

-iŋa *VInflIntr* the PaActPun
form of -ṛa-.

-iṉama *VInflTr* a transitive
AUX.

-iṛa- *VInflTr* a transitive *AUX*.

-iwa *Pro* the stem for nonplural
3rd pers. pronouns.

J

-ja- *VInflTr* 1. to tell (someone).
Object is addressee.
ŋara-jaŋa He told me. Usually
follows a quotation.

2. to put (something) down.
This sense is rare, *cf.* wuṛ.

3. a common transitive *AUX*.
RDP of PrAct -jaŋa-yaŋani.

jab *VTr* (-ga-) to pull up, to
uproot.

(wu-)jabaḍa *N* short-necked
tortoise.

jabay *Adv* maybe.

jabi *VTr* (-ba-) to grab at.

(ṛa-)jabiṇmuru *N* large fish *sp.*, said to resemble long-tom.

jad *VTr* (-ba-) to dam up (a creek).

(ṛa-)jadabul *N* water lily, probably *Nyphaea violacea*. Found in shallow water in billabongs.

jadba *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to go chopping trees down.

jaḍ *VTr* (-ida-) to seize by the arm.

(ṛa-)jaḍbaramba *N* nest of wedge-tailed eagle (ḍiliyagḍiliyag).

(ṛa-)jaḍiwaṇaṇi *N* flatback turtle, *Chelonia depressa*.

jaḍjaḍ *VIntr* (-naṇi-) to be boiling; to be on fire.

(ṛa-/wu-)jaḍñin *N* bloodwood, *Eucalpytus polycarpa*. *Syn* ñaḷñaḷ.

jag *VTr* (-ya-) to chew.

(ṛa-)jagaḷmara *N* wooden two-pronged spear with hooks on inside.

jagaṛ *VTr* (-ba-) to eat breakfast. Object is 3Sg.

(wu-)jagiri *N* reddish black fruit of water lily, *Nymphaea sp.* Also (ma-)njagiri. *Syn* ŋgiḷiriŋggiḷiri, ŋguluṛuŋguluṛu.

(wu-)jagul *N* testicles.

(ṛa-)jaguṛudjaguṛud *N* pigeon *sp.*

jaj *VTr* (-ja-) to chase. *RDP* ja-jaj. Possibly a loanword.

jalaḷa *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to go walkabout.

jalbij 1. *N* (wu-) meat.
   2. *VIntr* (-ma-) to eat meat.

(wu-)jalbijalbij *N* rainbowfish *sp.* *Corr* Nungg. buyal.

jalg *VTr* (-ja-) to stab, to puncture; to plunge spear into.

jalgaḍubḍub *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to hiccough.

jalji *Adv* early, earlier, previously, before.

(ṛa-/ma-)jalma *N* round yam *sp.* Taxonomic status unclear; previously referred to *Dioscorea sativa var. rotunda*.

jaḷ *VTr* (-ba-) to hold by the hand.

jaḷab *VIntr* (-ma-, -ṛa-) to paddle, to paddle along.

-jama *N* son, daughter of male *EGO* (with 2nd or 3rd pers. poss.). *Cf.* -nija.

(ṛa-)jamaḷag *N* tapsticks. *Syn* jandayi.

(ṛa-)jamanbara *N* paperbark tree, in sand ridge country. Probably *Melaleuca viridiflora*.

(wu-)jambagu *N* tobacco. A loan-word.

(ŋi-)jambirina *N* bustard, plains turkey.

(wu-)jaminjamin *N* eyebrow.

(ṛa-)jamiñanba *N* shell *sp.*, *Terebralia palustris*.

(ṛa-)jamulmulanja *N* hermit crab.

(wu-)janamba *N* forehead.

-janayajima *VInflIntr* to fight, to engage in battle.

(wu-)janda *N* lower back. *Cf.* malir.

(ma-)jandayi *N* tapsticks. *Syn* jamaḷag.

(ṛa-)jangar *N* nest.

jaṇmijaṇmi *N* file snake. NC unknown.

jaṇar *VTr* (-ga-) to shoo away, to keep at a distance.

(wu-)jaŋguyaḷa *N* cycad damper. *Cf.* maŋaju.

(ma-)jaŋuḷ *N* bamboo spear.

jar *VTr* (-ba-) to cut, to carve.

(ṟa-)jaraḍadbuwa *N* chestnut rail (bird).

(ṟa-)jarag *N* seagull, silver gull.

(ṟa-)jaraji *N* yamstick.

(ṟa-)jarbiḷijarbiḷi *N* wren.

jaṟ *VTr* (-ba-) to pull along, to drag.

jaṟag *VTr* (-ba-) to make, to manufacture.

(wu-)jaṟbur *N* a vine.

(ṟa-)jaṟguḷ *N* a plant said to be very similar to gabir; possibly a form of *Triglochin procera*.

jaṟi *VIntr* and *VTr* to do repeatedly or continuously. Apparently agrees in choice of *AUX* and pronominals with the *AUX* of the complement clause. jaṟi+ŋa-gaya wu-nu ṟaŋ+ŋa-gaya I hit him many times. *RDP* jaṟi-yaṟi. Etymologically identical to njaṟi.

jaṟud *VIntr* (-ṟa-) to hobble along, to grope.

jaw *VTr* (-ba-) to catch (fish).

(wu-)jawaḍu *N* menstrual blood.

(wu-)jawal *N* jaw. *Syn* ŋayala. *Cogn* Rith. ḍakal, etc.

(ṟa-)jawaṇḍa *N* beard.

jawj *VTr* (-ida-) to enclose, to surround.

(wu-/ṟa-)jawjaw *N* stem of water lily, *Nymphaea gigantea*.

jawulba *N* old person. ṇa-jawulba old man. ṇi-jawulba old woman. *RDP* wulu-jawu-yawulba old people.

(ṟa-)jawurŋalayi *N* heavy shell *sp.*, family *Veneridae*. *Corr* Mara guruyuyu.

(ṟa-)jawuru *N* baby dugong (wugaḷij).

ji *VTr* (-ba-) to shake.

jid *VTr* (-ba-) occurs in *cpd* ŋaral-jid to poke in the eye.

(wu-)jiḍigara *N* ant mound, termite mound.

(ṟa-)jigjig *N* small bird *sp.*

(ṟa-)jilagjilag *N* water plant, possibly *Nymphoides sp.*

(wu-)jilbi *N* spring (of water); jungle, rain forest.

jilgñi *Adv* tomorrow; the following day. Often preceded by galŋi.

jililij *VIntr* (-ṟa-) in *cpd* ŋaral-jililij to have tears running (down one's cheeks).

(wu-)jimbalan *N* crayfish.

(ṟa-)jimbijamba *N* fish *sp.* (marine and freshwater).

(ṟa-)jimiṇdi *N* 1. 'nail' or spike of dugong harpoon (ṟaḍar). *Syn* maḷbi.
   2. long seed pod of mangrove (baḷgan).

(wu-/ṟa-)jinma *N* whaler shark (enters freshwater).

(ṟa-)jiṇdijiṇdi *N* tree *sp.*, *Thespesia populnea*.

jiñi *Adv* again, additionally, more. In *cpd*: *cf.* waḍara.

(ṟa-)jiŋuḷiḷi *N* conkerberry shrub, *Carissa lanceolata*.

(ṇi-)jirbiyug *N* water whistling duck; grass whistling duck.

(ṟa-)jirg *N* shrub *sp.*, *Clerodendrum inerme*.

jiri *VIntr* (-ma-) to sneeze.

jiribi *VIntr* (-juṟa) to be abundant.

(ṟa-)jirigilil *N* young water lily root (gaṇaya).

(ṟa-)jirilma *N* tree *sp.* Probably *Atalaya hemiglauca.*

(ṟa-)jiriṇḍiḍ *N* quail.

(ŋi-)jiriyirgu *N* blue-winged kookaburra. *Syn* gurgur.

jiriyiri *N* large ray *sp. Corr* Nungg. ṟabarayala. NC unknown.

(ṟa-)jirŋujga *N* eucalypt *sp.* said to resemble woollybutt (mangaḍa).

jiṟi- *N* a compounding element related to njiṟiba (nose; tip). *Cf.* mad.

(wu-)jiṟjiṟ *N* tree *sp.*

(wu-)jiwuru *N* wild cassava tree, *Cochlospermum sp. Cf.* ḻibulu.

(wu-)jiwuyiwulya *N* firestick.

jub *VIntr* (-ṟa-) to go down. *RDP* ju-jub.

(wu-)jugul *N* 'soap tree', *Acacia holosericea.* Possibly refers only to a heavy-wooded variety, *cf.* garaḻaḻa. *Cogn* Nungg. wuḍugul, Rith. ḍukul, etc.

jul *VTr* (-ga-) to swallow.

juḻuḻu *VTr* (-ga-) to push.

-juṟa *VInflIntr* an intransitive AUX.

(ṟa-)juṟir *N* bird *sp.*

(ṟa-)juṟyar *N* friarbird.

juy 1. *Int* refers to the notion of going.
2. *VIntr* (-ṟa-) to go away.

juyub *VTr* (-ga-) to pull out, to remove, to untie.

L

-liŋali *N* husband (with 1st pers. poss.). *Cf.* -bujin.

Ḻ

(wu-)ḻagurja *N* wild cucumber, *Cucumis melo.*

-ḻali *N* elder sister (with 1st pers. poss.). *Cf.* -daga.

(ŋi-/ṟa-)ḻaŋguṇa *N* pied (magpie) goose.

(wu-)ḻaŋur *N* corroboree.

ḻar *VTr* (-ga-) to cut up (e.g. meat), to cut deeply into.

ḻara *VIntr* (-ma-) to perform a burial.

ḻarañ *VTr* (-ga-) (flood) to cease, to recede. Object appears to be invariable 3Sg. ḻarañ+ga-gañi It (flood, rain) receded.

(wu-)ḻarin *N* bushes.

(ṟa-)ḻarŋinja *N* stone spear. *Syn* wariman, etc.

ḻaw *VIntr* (-ṟa-) to cross. ḻaw+ŋ-iŋa wu-balba-ñu I crossed the river.

ḻib *VIntr* (-ṟa-) to bathe, to be immersed in water.

(wu-)ḻiba *N* paperbark (bark only). *Cogn* Nungg.

(wu-)ḻibulu *N* gutta percha tree, *Excaecaria parvifolia. Cogn* Nungg. wuḻibulu (*E. parvifolia*), Mara ḻibulu (*Cochlospermum sp. cf.* Warnd. jiwuru).

(ma-)ḻigar *N* stone. ma-ḻigar ma-balwayi big stone. Also (ṟa-)maḻigar. *Syn* manuga.

ḻiŋ *VIntr* (-maljuṟa) to be abundant.

(wu-)l̪iŋl̪iŋ *N* hills, ridge country.

l̪ir *VTr* (-ya-) to bite; to scare away.

(r̪a-)l̪irad̪uma *N* red-tailed black cockatoo.

(ra-)l̪irga *N* blue-tongued lizard. *Cogn* Nungg. l̪irag ~ l̪irwag.

l̪iṛi *VIntr* (-ma-) found in *cpd:* ŋanja-l̪iri to have a belly ache.

(r̪a-/wu-)l̪iril̪iri *N* scrubby tree with thick, jagged leaves, *Bossiae bossiaeoides*.

(r̪a-)l̪iriŋgiñ *N* small fish *sp.* (in fresh and saltwater).

(ma-)l̪irjal *N* jungle, especially mangrove jungle.

(r̪a-)l̪iwaray *N* freshwater eel-tailed catfish *sp.*, *Neosilurus ater*. *Corr.* Nungg. aṇṇalbiya.

(r̪a-)l̪iyaga *N* shell *sp.*, *Telescopium telescopium*.

l̪ulga *N* *Cf.* l̪ul̪ga.

l̪ul̪ 1. *VIntr* (-ma-) to cry, to weep.

2. *VTr* (-ja-) to cry for, to mourn.

l̪ul̪bam *N* young euro (girimbu).

(wu-)l̪ul̪ga (possibly l̪ulga) *N* island. *RDP* l̪ul̪ga-l̪ul̪ga (multiple plural).

l̪ul̪uj *VTr* (-ja-) to chase after (pray).

l̪ul̪ul̪u *VTr* (-ga-) in *cpd:* yibar̪a-l̪ul̪ul̪u (spear shaft) to be through (someone's body).

(r̪a-)l̪ul̪umara *N* wooden spear, sharp stick.

l̪uñ *VTr* (-ja-) to coil up, to wrap.

l̪urg *VTr* (-ja-) to enclose in

coffin. *Cf.* l̪urgun.

(wu-)l̪urgun *N* log coffin. *Cf.* l̪urg.

M

-ma- *VInflIntr* 1. to do/say like this. Usually accompanied by a gesture or a quotation.

2. a common intransitive *AUX*.

(wu-)maba *N* hand. *Cf.* murji. *Cpds cf.* ñugur, wur, ŋgira.

mad 1. *VTr* (-ga-) to meet, to meet with. mad+ñiri-gañi We met with him.

2. *VTr* (-ba-) in *cpd:* jir̪i-mad to connect the ends of.

(wu-)madamada *N* woman's genital cover, made from possum skin.

(r̪a-)madiwaj *N* green pygmy-goose, especially adult. *Var* madiwañ. *Syn* d̪iwaj.

(r̪a-)madiwañ *N* Variant of madiwaj.

(r̪a-)madjur *N* black flying fox (fruit-bat), *Pteropus gouldii*.

(wu-)mad̪aŋar *N* chest (body part).

(r̪a-)mad̪iga *N* swamp plant with edible tubers, *Eleocharis dulcis*. *Syn* ŋgarabi. *Cf.* mulalu.

(r̪a-)mad̪un *N* south wind.

(r̪a-)magurmagur *N* dragonfly.

(wu-)magur̪ *N* face, forehead.

maj *VTr* (-ba-) to make sacred.

(r̪a-)maja *N* pond scum, algae. *Cogn* Nungg., etc.

(r̪a-)majal̪adi *N* woody climbing vine with edible roots. *Cogn* Nungg. (maṇa-)jalad̪i, Ngandi ma-jalaṭi?, etc.

(r̪a-)majaṇmajaṇ *N* grass or grasslike plant *sp.*

mal *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to go up; (sun) to rise. ṛa-maḷigar mal+ŋ-iŋa I went up on the stone (hill).

(wu-)mala *N* 1. cloud.

2. abdomen, area around navel.

(ṛa-)malambaŋin *N* mangrove *sp.*, *Ceriops tagal*.

(wu-)malaŋin *N* firewood.

mala-wunga *Adv* 1. when?

2. sometime. *Cf.* wunga.

(ṛa-)malbamba *N* ironwood, *Erythropleum chlorostachyum*. *Syn* wiḷwiḷ.

(ṛa-)malir *N* back (body part). *Cf.* janda.

-maljuṛa *VInflIntr* 1. to sit, to remain.

2. an intransitive *AUX*.

(wu-)malmalwana *N* ridge country.

(wu-)malŋuñ *N* spirit, image. *Cogn* Nungg. malŋuj, etc.

(ŋi-)maluruŋguruna *N* female agile wallaby (ŋargulamba).

maḷ 1. *VTr* (-ga-) to take to, to convey to. Object is recipient. maḷ+ŋara-gaya ṛa-mariya He brought the food to me.

2. *VTr* (-waŋV-) to learn.

(ṛa-)maḷabaŋu *N* clitoris. *Cogn* possibly Nungg. maḷabaŋu (freshwater mussel).

(ṛa-)maḷaḷañga *N* a tree used for firesticks, found in black soil country.

(ŋi-)maḷamaḷaba *N* girl.

(wu-/ŋi-)maḷawal *N* a plum tree, *Terminalia sp.* (perhaps *T. ferdinandiana*).

(ŋi-)maḷawururu *N* loggerhead turtle.

(ṛa-)maḷbi *N* 'nail' or spike of dugong harpoon (ṛaḍar). *Syn* jimiṇḍi.

maḷgayayi *NAdj* many. Can function as *Adv*: maḷgayayi ṛaŋ+ŋalŋu-gañi I hit them many times.

(ṛa-)maḷigar *N* stone; stone hill. Also (ma-)ḷigar. *Syn* manuga.

(ṛa-)maḷugundu *N* bone-pointed spear.

(ṛa-)maḷuŋgariñin *N* tree *sp.* used for boomerang, *Petalostigma pubescens*. *Syn* wangadiyin.

(ṛa-)maḷuruḷuru *N* saltwater.

mambali *NAdj* of the Mambali semimoiety.

(ṛa-)mambubu *N* yam *sp.* in black soil country.

(ṛa-)manabaru *N* water buffalo. *Syn* wali.

(wu-)manba *N* armband, made from ṛilgara.

(ṛa-)mangaḍa *N* woollybutt tree, *Eucalyptus miniata*. *Syn* yaḷiriyaḷiri.

mangar *VTr* (-ba-) to throw (poison) on the body of. mangar+ŋararu-ba They threw (poison) on my body.

mani-ŋala *Adv* every day. *Cf.* ŋala.

manjawumanjawu *VIntr* (-juṛa) to go walkabout.

(ṛa-)manuga *N* stone. *Syn* maḷigar, ḷigar.

maṇ *VTr* (-ba-) to save, to defend.

maṇaḍ 1. *VTr* (-ba-) to break, to injure.

2. *VIntr* (-iŋaji-) to injure or break something.

(wu-)maṇaŋar *N* bees wax.

maṇḍar *VIntr* (-ma-) to burp.

maṇḍiwa *N* circumcision ceremony.

(ṛa-)maṇḍiwaja *N* a vine whose
berries are eaten by emus,
Cassytha filiformis.

maŋgaḷgaḷ *N* eagle ray, *Aetobatus
narinari*. NC unknown.

(ṛa-)maṇiwi *N* a climbing vine,
with little fruits eaten by emus.

maṇjurjur *NAdj* straight.

(ṛa-)maṇuŋgurun *N* cypress,
Callitris intratropica. *Syn*
yimbiḍ.

maṇur 1. *NAdj* circumcised.
2. *VTr* (-ga-) to circumcise.

mañagu *NAdj* small; child. *RDP*
maña-mañagu.

(ṛa-)mañarara *N* soldier crab.

(ṛa-/wu-)maŋagu *N* a fig tree,
Ficus virens.

(ṛa-)maŋaju *N* cycad palm, *Cycas sp.*
Cf. jaŋguyaḷa. *Cogn* Nungg.
(mana-)ŋaḍu, etc.

(ṛa-/wu-)maŋal *N* woomera. *Syn*
wujula.

maŋal- *N* a compounding element
referring to a road, path, etc.
Cf. yaḍ, yaja, gajar, waṛ.

maŋgal- *N* a compounding element
referring to the head. *Cf.* ḍa.

(ma-)maŋgaṇ *N* road. Less common
than yilgiṇ.

(wu-)maŋunga *N* white clay and
body paint.

mara *N* Mara (tribe and language).

maramara *NAdj* ripe, in bloom, etc.

(wu-/ṛa-)marañmarañ *N* chenopod *sp.*,
probably *Tecticornia australasica*
(small plant found in saltpans).

(ṛa-)maraŋgaḷba *N* black whip snake.
Syn ŋuluḷ.

(ṛa-)maraṇuṛu *N* 1. head. Can be
used in *cpd.*, *cf.* wirju.

Syn miyirbaṛbaṛ, etc.
2. yam *sp.* in black soil
country, possibly *Ipomoea
graminea*.

(ṛa-)marayuḷuyuḷu *N* flower of
water lilies (*Nymphaea spp.*).

(ṛa-)mariya *N* food, especially
vegetable food.

(wu-)marjaṇaŋa *N* daytime.

(wu-)marwaḍaga *N* dillybag.

(ṛa-)marwiḷiñbiḷiñ *N* a climbing
vine, *Flagellaria indica*.
Syn ṛilgara.

maṛamaṛa *Adv* slowly.

(ṛa-)maṛawuriṇa *N* magical poison.

(ṛa-)maṛbaṛba *N* small branch of
tree. *Cf.* ṇuŋguṇa.

(wu-)maṛbur *N* hand. *Syn* maba.

(ṛa-)maṛur *N* witchetty grub.

(ṛa-)mawaḷ *N* floater (used with
dugong harpoon, ṛaḍar).

(ṛa-)mawar *N* ghost gum,
'whitebark', *Eucalyptus papuana*.

(ṛa-)mawaṛayimbirjimbir *N* hook
spear. Probably a synonym of
mayaḷuŋgu.

(ṛa-)mawuḷuḷugu *N* tree *sp.* with
red fruits, along coast,
possibly *Glycosmis sp.* *Cogn*
Nungg. (mana-)wuḷuḷugu.

mawurgayi *NAdj* other, different.
Cf. -gayi.

(ṛa-)mawurugu *N* spangled perch,
Madigania unicolor.

(ṛa-)mayaḷuŋgu *N* hook spear,
with closely-spaced hooks on
one side. *Cf.* wanuŋgu.
Possibly *Syn* mawaṛayimbirjimbir,
waṛagulu. *Cogn* Nungg.
(mana-)ḷaḷuŋgu.

(wu-)mayamaya *N* plain; flat
open country.

(ṛa-)mayaranja *N* sandpaper fig, *Ficus opposita*.

-mayi *VInflIntr* an intransitive *AUX*.

(ṛa-)mayigaḻ *N* nut of *Pandanus spiralis* (waguru, mugara).

mayiwuṛ *VIntr* (-juṛa) apparently refers to spears raining down on people. Exact sense and structure unclear.

(wu-)mbiḻal *N* water lily leaf.

mbirmbir *VTr* (-ba-) to make a nest. An archaic word.

miḍ *VTr* (-ga-) to comprehend, to remember well.

(ṛa-)migaḻ *N* shrub on coast, with small red fruits, *Malaisia scandens*. *Syn* waḍarayu, walanjurga.

(ṛa-)mijuruŋu *N* a small saltwater fork-tailed catfish.

(ṛa-)milawur *N* a chenopod *sp.*, 'tumbleweed', *Salsola kali*.

milga- *N* milga-ŋa-bani my wife's brother. milga-ñi-bani your wife's brother. milga-bin his wife's brother.

(ṛa-)milgiwiri *N* full-grown barramundi fish, *Lates calcarifer*. *Syn* miriji.

(ṛa-)miliḍiḍi *N* rib.

(ṛa-)miliñmar *N* lorikeet.

(wu-/ṛa-)mimbi *N* ants, including meat ants.

-mimi *N* paternal grandmother.

(ṛa-)mindiwaba *N* baler shell, *Melo umbilicus*.

(ṛa-)minjigawugawu *N* scar.

(ṛa-)miṇbilŋin *N* sugar glider, 'flying squirrel'. *Syn* waṛmur.

(ṛa-)miṇija *N* tree with large thorns, *Cathormion umbellatum*.

(wu-)miṇijar *N* salt.

miñ *VTr* (-ba-) to aim (a weapon) at.

(wu-)miñŋaŋa *N* sleep. gayari wu-miñŋaŋa-ñu wu-nu yaŋa+ñi-juṛa You were asleep a long time.

miŋi *Adv* just now, just then. Indicates the temporal immediacy of one event to a reference time.

mirg *VTr* (-ba-) to be jealous or envious of, to have a grudge against.

(ṛa-)miriji *N* barramundi, *Lates calcarifer*. *Syn* milgiwiri.

mirŋaḍu *N* a light-coloured shovelnose ray. *Corr* Nungg. ḻaŋij.

(ŋi-)miṛiyi *N* dolphin *sp.*, cream-coloured. *Cf.* yuḻarŋu.

mirmirya *Adv* yesterday.

(ṛa-)miyaṛigaṛi *N* a wattle with long thin leaves, *Acacia torulosa*.

miyirbaṛbaṛ *N* head. NC unknown. Can occur in *cpd.*: *cf.* ḍa. *Syn* maraŋuṛu, gululu, waḍamuru.

mud 1. *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to break up, to disperse.

2. *VTr* (-ga-) to break (e.g. a long object).

3. *VTr* to grab. Uncommon in this sense. *Cpds:* yul-mud (-ga-) to break the nose of. yabara-mud (-ga-, -ilama-) to break the leg of. ŋuŋguŋa-mud (-ba-) to break the arm of. ŋalwar-mud (-ida-) to break in the middle.

(ṛa-)mudiḍi *N* *Cf.* muḍiḍi.

(ṛa-)mudju *N* coolibah, *Eucalyptus microtheca*. *Cogn* Nungg. wumudju.

mudŋuy *NAdj* Two. Less common
than wudŋuy.

(wu-)mudurmudur *N* head hair.

(ṛa-)muḍiḍi (also mudiḍi) *N* scrub
wattles, e.g. *Acacia conspersa*.
Cogn Nungg.

mug *VIntr* (-ma-) to forget.
mug+ŋa-mamani I have forgotten.
Cpd yulu-mug (same meaning).

(ṛa-)mugara *N* pandanus tree,
Pandanus spiralis. *Syn* waguru.

(ṛa-)mugmug *N* owl *sp.*, said to
have large eyes, probably barn
and masked owls.

(ma-)mulalu *N* sedge in swamp,
Eleocharis sphacelata.

mulg 1. *VIntr* (-juṛa) to be
sleeping.

2. *VTr* (-ba-) to go to sleep.
Invariable 3Sg object.
mulg+ŋa-ba I went to sleep.

muluŋuy *N* a few, several (usually
three to five). Prefix usually
yili-. *Cf*. mudŋuy, wudŋuy, which
share the ending -ŋuy.

(ṛa-)mulwari *N* boomerang, treated
as a 'boy' in ceremonies. *Syn*
guyabiri. *Cf*. yuḷanji. *Cogn*
Nungg. wulmuwari.

(ṛa-)mulwaṛwaṛ *N* grass *sp.* on
beach, *Spinifex longifolius*.

(ṛa-/ŋi-)muḷa *N* mosquito.

(wu-)muḷiriñ *N* bones, skeleton.

mun *VIntr* (-juṛa, -maljuṛa,
-iṇaji-) to bend over. *Cf*. also
mud, which may become mun after
phonological rules.

munaŋa *NAdj* white person. *RDP*
muna-munaŋa.

(wu-)mundur *N* backbone.

munji 1. *VTr* (-ba-) to follow, to
pursue.

2. *VTr* (-wiṇḍi-) to follow after.

(ṛa-)munjuj *N* green plum,
Buchanania obovata. *Cogn*
Nungg.

(wu-)munŋu *N* tree *sp.*,
Pouteria sericea.

(ṛa-)munurwiḷa *N* large tree *sp.*
in swamps. *Corr* Mara bulgur.

-muṇa- *VInflTr* to sting, to
jab at.

(ṛa-/wu-)muṇḍa *N* 1. root of
tree or plant.

2. muscle.

(ṛa-)muṇḍin *N* fish, probably
mouth almighty fish.

(wu-/ṛa-)muraṛbu *N* 1. crab.

2. scorpion.

-murgi- *VInflTr* a transitive
AUX.

murgu *NAdj* few, not many.
Cf. muluŋuy.

(ṛa-)murji *N* hand. Used
especially in counting:
ṛa-waŋgiñ ṛa-murji one hand
(i.e. five). *Syn* maba.

(ṛa-)murñmurñ *N* bubbles.

(wu-)murunji *N* elbow.

muruŋun *NAdj* of the Murrungun
semimoiety.

(ṛa-)mururuŋgu *N* barracuda.

(ṛa-)muṛ *N* something.

-muṛi *N* paternal grandfather.

muy *VTr* (-ja-) to miss, to not
hit. *Cf*. wirju.

N

-na- *VInflIntr* to be sitting.
Not common. *Cf*. -maljuṛa.

-nalŋija *N* daughter's child
(male EGO).

-naŋi- *VInflIntr* 1. to be burning, to be on fire.

2. an intransitive *AUX*.

-naya *Dem* here; (rarely) this.

-ndaga *N* younger sister (with 1st pers. poss.). *Cf.* -daga.

(wu-)ndagi *N* nape.

(wu-)ndaway *N* word(s), language; news.

(wu-)ndula *N* leg.

(wu-)nduru *N* shin (from knee to ankle).

-ngaŋa *N* functions as interrogative pronoun (what?) or indefinite pronoun (something). ñi-ngaŋa What are you? ṛa-ngaŋa something.

-ngaŋu *Adv* *Cf.* gaŋu.

-ngiŋa *N* which? where? ŋa-ngiŋa Which one is she? Where is she? Takes a nominal prefix agreeing with referent. For neuter adverbial where? *cf.* wungiŋa.

-ni *Dem* that; there.

-nija *VInflTr* 1. to keep, to hold on to, to have in one's possession.

2. a transitive *AUX*.

-nija *N* son or daughter (of male EGO, with 1st pers. poss.). *Cf.* -jama.

-niñi *Dem* that; there.

-ni-ṛaga *N* *Cf.* -ṛaga.

-ni-walŋa *N* *Cf.* -walŋa.

-niya *Dem* this; there.

(wu-)njagaṛ *N* saliva

(ma-)njagiri *N* dark red water lily fruit. Also (wu-)jagiri.

(ŋa-)njalguyi *N* man. *Syn* ŋaŋgiwar.

(wu-)njaḷbar *N* vulva, female genitals.

(wu-)njanur *N* cold (disease). *Cogn* Nungg. yinur.

njaṛi *NAdj* many, much. *RDP* njaṛi-njaṛi. *Cf.* jaṛi.

(wu-)njigur *N* tail. *Syn* ṛabara.

(wu-)njiṛiba *N* nose; tip, corner (e.g. of blanket). *Cf.* jiṛi-, yul-. For the ending -ba *cf.* ŋaralba (ŋaral-).

(wu-)njiwa *N* charcoal.

(wu-)njiyilŋ *N* tongue.

(ṛa-)njuḷa *N* rain. *Syn* gubijiji.

-nñaya *Dem* there; (rarely) that. Also -dñaya.

-nu *Art* The stem for articles. Nominal prefixes before -nu are the same as those used with nouns, except FSg ŋa-nu, Du wuru-nu. No Paucal form. Stem may become -ṇu, expecially after MSg ŋa-.

-numi *VInflTr* a transitive *AUX*.

Ṇ

(wu-)ṇabi *N* honey bee, *Trigona sp.*, 'cheeky sugarbag'. *Syn* ṛimaradji. *Corr* Nungg. ṇabi.

ṇad *VIntr* 1. (-ṛa-) to run. *RDP* ṇa-nad from /ṇad-ṇad/.

2. *VTr* (-ga-) to rip, to tear.

(ṛa-)ṇaḍi *N* frog *sp*. *Cf.* yulwu.

(ma-)ṇajan *N* dugout canoe.

ṇala *Adv* now, today, these days. wu-nu ṇala (same meanings). *RDP* ṇala-ṇala just about to. miŋi ṇala-ṇala jalg+u-ŋa-ji I was about to spear him, I nearly speared him. *Cf.* mani-ṇala.

ŋalaymaryi *Adv* soon.

ŋamaṛ *Int* Hey! Used to attract someone's attention.

ŋamiri *Adv* at night; (last) night.

ŋaṇaṇaṇa *Adv* behind; after. Not common.

ŋaṇayana *Adv* behind, following. *Cf.* ŋaṇaṇaṇa, ŋaṇi.

(ŋa-)ŋaŋgiwar *N* man. *Syn* njalguyi.

(ṛa-)ŋaŋguru *N* saltwater crocodile. *Syn* waḷajandama.

ŋaṇi *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to arrive after (someone else has left), to arrive too late (to find someone).

ŋaṛuma *N* chest, brisket. NC unknown. In *cpd*: ŋaṛuma-jiwiyiwiya chest hair.

(wu-/ṛa-)ṇḍilan *N* a kurrajong tree, *Brachychiton diversifolium.* *Syn* baṛurbaṛur.

(wu-)ṇḍuḷar *N* smoke.

(ṛa-)ṇinin *N* small bird *sp.*, perhaps a finch.

-ṇu *Cf.* -nu.

ŋumbuṛindi *N* Nunggubuyu (tribe and language), especially those around Cape Barrow and Wurindi.

ŋuŋgayi *Adv* merely. ŋuŋgayi ŋaḷ+ŋa-mamani wu-yuḍmuŋgi I am merely speaking briefly. *Cogn* Ngandi.

ŋuŋguḷaŋur *N* 'Fish Hunters', general term for Yugul, Warndarang, and other groups around the Roper River area. From Gentilic ŋuN- and wu-ḷaŋur corroboree.

(wu-)ŋuŋguṇa *N* 1. arm.

2. limb of tree.

Ñ

ñab *VIntr* (-ma-) to take a meal.

(wu-)ñagagul *N* a large tree found in Mara country.

ñal *VTr* (-ga-) to want (?).

(ṛa-)ñaliñali *N* native cat.

(wu-)ñaḍin *N* 1. skin.

2. bark of trees.

(ṛa-)ñaḷñaḷ *N* bloodwood, *Eucalyptus polycarpa.* *Syn* jaḍñin.

(wu-)ñanay *N* long distance; far away. Usually functions as *Adv*.

ñaru *Int* There! There it is! Emphasises actual manifestation of something the speaker has been talking about.

-ñayima *VInflIntr* a rare intransitive *AUX*.

-ñi *NAdj* same, aforesaid. Prefixes as with -nu.

ñil 1. *VTr* (-ba-) to shut off, to block off (e.g. sunlight).

2. *VTr* (-ja-) to cover (e.g. fire) with sand; to bury.

ñim *VTr* (-ga-) to make a camp. Object 3Sg.

ñiya *Part* used occasionally with preceding temporal adverb referring to antecedent time. miṛmiṛya ñiya a-ṛara He went yesterday.

(wu-)ñiyin *N* name.

ñugur *NAdj* sacred. *Cpd*: maba-ñugur one with sacred hands. *Cf.* ŋgira.

ñuŋ 1. *VIntr* (-ra-) to smell something.

2. *VTr* (-ja-, -ida-) to smell.

N

-ŋa- *VInflTr* to eat.

ŋab *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to rise (in water). *Cf.* mal.

ŋabalaŋa *N* garfish. *Syn* wurjulugu. NC unknown.

(wu-)ŋabaḷa *N* shoulder.

ŋabaṛ *VIntr* (-ma-) to die.

ŋad *VIntr* (-maljuṛa) to be alive.

(ṛa-)ŋaḍiñ *N* a tree, *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.

(ṛa-)ŋaḍugu *N* rope, fishline. *Cogn* Nungg., etc.

(ṛa-)ŋagŋag *N* white-breasted sea eagle. *Cogn* Nungg. ŋagaŋaga.

(wu-)ŋajal *N* waterhole, well.

ŋajbaŋajbaya *NAdj* fat, corpulent.

(ṛa-)ŋalabura *N* white clay and body paint.

(ṛa-)ŋalaḍara *N* archer fish, 'rifle fish'.

ŋalagan *N* Ngalakan (tribe and language).

(wu-)ŋalaŋin *N* bush, open forest.

ŋalbum *VIntr* (-ma-) to be daybreak.

ŋaldud *VIntr* (-juṛa) to be sitting in a large group.

ŋalgañan *VTr* (-igira-) to occupy or fill up (an area). ŋalgañan+ g-igiri (White men) have filled up (this country). *Cf.* gañan.

ŋaljug *VTr* (-ja-) to spit. Perhaps etymologically segmentable *ŋal-jug.

(wu-/ṛa-)ŋalmi *N* 1. fresh water (wu-). Not common in this sense. *Syn* ŋaḷaja.

2. mangrove *sp.*, *Bruguiera sexangula* (ṛa-).

(ŋi-)ŋaluwa *N* hawksbill turtle. *Syn* garubu. *Cogn* Nungg. ŋaḷuwa.

ŋalwal 1. *VIntr* (-iṇaji-) to be in position to strike with spear.

2. *VTr* (-ja-) to be in position to strike (someone, something) with spear.

ŋalwaḷa *VTr* (-ba-) to clear off (ground, bushes, etc.).

ŋalwar- *N* middle (in *cpds.*). *Cf.* mud, ḍil.

ŋalwaṛ 1. *VIntr* (-naŋi-) to be/ become daylight.

2. *VTr* (-wiṇḍi-) to be looking around. Object 3Sg.

ŋaḷ 1. *VIntr* (-ma-) to speak, to talk; to make a sound (e.g. dog barking). *Cpd:* ḍudul-ŋaḷ to speak (e.g. a story) in its entirety.

2. *VTr* (-ja-) to speak to.

(wu-)ŋaḷaja *N* freshwater. *Syn* ŋalmi.

ŋaḷaŋaḷa *N* a freshwater fork-tailed catfish, smaller than walmagara. *Corr* Nungg. giṇgiṇ.

(wu-)ŋaḷimur *N* collarbone.

ŋamba *VTr* (-ja-) to summon, to call for.

(wu-)ŋambiḍŋambiḍ *N* a *sp.* of wild potato, distinct from ḍuymanji. *Corr* Nungg. wuŋambiṇŋambiṇ.

ŋambud *VTr* (-ga-) to drown (someone).

(wu-)ŋambur *N* fire; firewood.

ŋan *VTr* (-ilama-) to hit, to strike. Exact sense unclear, much less common than ṛaŋ.

-ŋani *N* who? ṇa-ŋani ṇa-nu ṇa-niya Who is this (man)?

ŋaniyulma *N* Nganiyulma, name of

people around mouth of Rose
River, formerly speaking
Warndarang and Nunggubuyu.

(wu-)ŋanja *N* belly, stomach.

(ṛa-)ŋanḍal *N* mouth.

ŋaṇi *Adv* ŋaṇi ṛa-waṛiyi-yu What
about (those) Aborigines?
Exact sense unclear.

(ṛa-)ŋarabuṇa *N* marine fish *sp.*

ŋaral- *N* eye (in *cpds.*). *Cf.* jid,
jililij. *Cf.* also ŋaralba.

(wu-/ṛa-)ŋaralba *N* 1. eye.

2. seed; fruit with seeds.
Takes the form ŋaral- in *cpds.*
For final -ba *cf.* njiṛiba vs.
jiṛi-.

(ṛa-)ŋarambili *N* centipede. *Cogn*
Rith. ŋarambali? scorpion.

(wu-)ŋaraŋaḷñin *N* ankle. *Syn*
guṇḍi.

(ṛa-)ŋarayaḷ *N* Saratoga fish,
Scleropages jardini.

(ṛa-/wu-)ŋargu *N* billabong.

(ṛa-)ŋargulamba *N* agile (sandy)
wallaby, *Macropus agilis.*
female: maluṛuŋguruna. *Cogn*
Nungg. ŋargu.

ŋari 1. *N* (wu-) fight, war,
dispute.

2. *VTr* (-ja-) to be angry.
Dummy 3Sg object. wu-ŋari
ŋari+ara-ja They are angry. They
are having a fight.

3. *VTr* (-wiṇdi-) to be angry at.
Cogn Nungg. wuṇa:ri.

(ṛa-)ŋarmaḷ *N* armpit.

ŋarwuḷg *VTr* (-ida-) to bend.

(wu-)ŋaṛaŋaṛa *N* knee.

(ṛa-)ŋaṛñŋaṛñ *N* shovel spear.

-ŋaw *VIntr* (-juṛa) in *cpd:* guḷa-ŋaw
to be lying down. *RDP* guḷa-ŋaw-
ŋaw.

ŋay *VIntr* (-ma-) to be sick.

ŋayab *VIntr* (-ma-) to be silent.

(wu-)ŋayala *N* jaw. *Syn* jawal.

(wu-)ŋayigan *N* bone.

(ṛa-)ŋgalin *N* spear shaft.
Syn ŋgumul. *Cogn:* perhaps
Rith. giliŋ, ŋiliŋ.

(wu-)ŋgaḷŋar *N* stone oven.

(ṛa-/wu-/ma-)ŋgarabi *N* swamp
plant with edible tubers,
Eleocharis dulcis. *Syn* maḍiga.
Cf. mulalu.

ŋgarwa *NAdj* smelly, foul-smelling.

-ŋgaṛ see gaṛ.

(ṛa-)ŋgaṛar *N* river whistling
tree, *Casuarina cunninghamiana.*
Cogn Nungg. wuŋgaṛar.

(ma-)ŋgawuja *N* rough, irregularly-
shaped water lily root, found in
deep water in billabongs,
sometimes floating on surface
(from *Nymphaea gigantea*).
Cogn Nungg. maŋgawuja.

(ma-)ŋgiḷiriŋgiḷiri *N* dark red
water lily fruit. *Syn* jagiri,
ŋguluṛuŋguluṛu.

-ŋgira *N* sacred. Attested only
in *cpd:* maba-ŋgira having
sacred hands. *Syn* ñugur.

(ma-)ŋguluṛuŋguluṛu *N* dark red
water lily fruit. *Syn* jagiri,
ŋgiḷiriŋgiḷiri.

(wu-)ŋguḷday *N* season (of year).
Cf. guḷday.

(ṛa-/wu-)ŋgumir *N* shrub with
juicy black fruits, probably
Antidesma ghaesembilla.

(wu-)ŋgumul *N* spear shaft.
Syn ŋgalin.

(ma-/wu-)ŋgurya *N* 1. excrement
(ma-).

2. bees eggs (wu-).

(wu-)ŋguṟa *N* semen. Also (ṟa-)guṟa.

(ṟa-)ŋilili *N* little corella (bird).

ŋiliŋiliwayi *Adv* morning. wu-nu ŋiliŋiliwayi this morning; that morning. galŋi ŋiliŋiliwayi tomorrow morning; the following morning.

ŋiḷ *VTr* (-wiṇḍi-) to inquire of. ŋiḷ+ŋa-wiṇḍima wu-ndaway-ñu I asked him for news. Object is addressee.

ŋimug *VIntr* (-ma-) to become dark, to become night. *Cogn* Nungg. ŋamug.

ŋiṇḍal *VTr* (-ga-) to transport.

(ṟa-)ŋirgŋirg *N* sulphur-crested white cockatoo. *Syn* ŋirwula.

(ṟa-)ŋirwula *N* sulphur-crested white cockatoo. *Syn* ŋirgŋirg.

ŋiṟ *VIntr* (-ñayima) to breathe.

(wu-)ŋiṟŋiṟ *N* heart. *Syn* bulbul.

(wu-)ŋubal *N* song, singing. *Cogn* Nungg. wuŋubal.

(ṟa-)ŋubari *N* 'queen fish', *Chorinemus sp.*

ŋudjuguña(y) *Int* Hey you (Du)!

ŋuduguña(y) *Int* Hey you (Pl)!

(ṟa-)ŋulawar *N* honey.

(ṟa-)ŋuliji *N* blood.

(ṟa-)ŋuliri *N* black duck. *Syn* waḷmañ.

ŋuljun *N* sleepy cod, 'mud fish', *Oxyeleotris lineolatus.*

(ŋi-)ŋulŋgun *N* honey bee, *Trigona sp.*, 'girl sugarbag'. *Syn* wanjimbu. *Corr* Nungg. ŋa:nig.

(ṟa-)ŋuluḷ *N* black whip snake. *Syn* maraŋgaḷba.

(ṟa-)ŋulumidin *N* large fork-tailed catfish *sp.* *Cogn* Rith. ŋulumitin.

(ṟa-)ŋulumuru *N* nail-tailed wallaby, *Onychogalea fraenata.* *Cogn* Ngandi ŋoḷomoro, etc.

(ṟa-)ŋulumurun *N* pubic hair.

-ŋulwaya- *VInflTr* to copulate with. *Recip.* -ŋulwayaji-.

(wu-)ŋumba *N* itchiness (?).

ŋunjuŋunju *NAdj* equal(ly), reciprocal(ly). Often functions as adverb. yiri-ŋunjuŋunju wu-nu ŋabaṟ+an-mi they both died.

(ṟa-/wu-)ŋuṇu *N* fish (generic term). NC usually ṟa-.

ŋur *VTr* (-ba-) to dig (a well).

(wu-)ŋuriḍin *N* wild banana, *Leichhardtia australia.* *Cogn* Nungg. wuŋuruḍin, etc.

(wu-)ŋurja *N* river bank.

ŋurŋurŋur *VIntr* (-ṟa-) to go along making a loud noise (e.g. a truck).

(wu-)ŋurudu *N* certain eucalypts including *Eucalyptus latifolia.*

(ṟa-)ŋuruwañin *N* sweat.

ŋuy *VIntr* (-ṟa-) to swim.

(ṟa-)ŋuyŋuy *N* rays, stingrays (generic term).

R

raj *VIntr* (-ṟa-) to go through.

Ṛ

-ṟa- *VInflIntr* 1. to go.
2. a common intransitive *AUX*.

(wu-/ŋi-)ṟaba *N* 1. tooth (wu-).
2. fingernail, toenail (ŋi-).

(wu-)ṛabara *N* tail. *Syn* njigur. *Cogn* Nungg.

(wu-)ṛadbur *N* camp; country, place.

(ma-)ṛaḏar *N* dugong harpoon. *Cogn* Nungg.

-ṛaga *N* younger brother (with 2nd or 3rd pers. poss.). Takes the form -ni-ṛaga with 1st pers. poss., hence ŋa-ni-ṛaga my/our younger brother.

(wu-)ṛagamba *N* pearl shell, *Pinctada sugillata*. Also (ma-)gamba.

(wu-)ṛagulunju *N* trumpet (triton) shell. *Syrinx aruanus*.

ṛal *VTr* (-ja-) to hook (spear) onto woomera.

(ṛa-)ṛalyi *N* eel.

(wu-)ṛaman *N* emu feathers, painted white (body decoration in corroborees). *Cogn* Nungg., etc.

(wu-)ṛambana *N* paperbark tree on coastal dunes, a form of *Melaleuca leucadendron*.

ṛambi *VTr* (-ja-) to attack.

(ṛa-/wu-)ṛamulbiya *N* scrubby tree *sp*.

(wu-)ṛandaga *N* cooliman.

(ṛa-)ṛanuga *N* butter fish, *Scatophagus argus*.

ṛaŋ *VTr* (-ga-) to hit (hard); to kill. *Recip* to fight. ṛaŋ+ñiri-gayima We had a fight.

(wu-)ṛaŋajba *N* fat, grease. *Cf.* ŋajbaŋajbaya.

(wu-)ṛaŋga *N* a paperbark, *Melaleuca sp.*, found near swamps. The bark is used for coolimans. Perhaps *M. nervosa*.

(ṛa-)ṛaragal *N* sharp stick from mangroves, e.g. ŋalmi, used as a spear.

ṛiḏarŋu *N* Ritharngu (tribe and language). *RDP* ṛiḏa-ṛiḏarŋu.

(ṛa-)ṛilgara *N* 1. a climbing vine, *Flagellaria indica*. *Syn* marwiḷiñbiḷiñ.

2. armband made from this vine. *Syn* manba.

(wu-)ṛimaradji *N* honey bee, *Trigona sp.*, 'cheeky sugarbag'. *Syn* ŋabi. *Corr* Nungg. ŋabi.

ṛimbarŋa *N* Rembarrnga (tribe and language).

(wu-)ṛimbir *N* leaf.

ṛud *VTr* (-ga-) to get plenty (game, etc.).

ṛugalara *NAdj* tall.

(wu-)ṛujuru *N* young green turtle (yunduñuga). *Cogn* Nungg.

ṛuŋgal *N* enormous; terrible, terrifying. *Cogn* Nungg.

W

-wa *VInflTr* to give. Object is recipient.

-wa *Dem* stem of part of one demonstrative form, e.g. ṛa-wa ṛa-ni that one.

(ŋa-)wabalu *N* boss, owner.

-wad *VIntr* (-ṛa-). In *cpd*: yulu-wad to forget (a fact or name); to forget, to leave behind.

(ṛa-)wadamuru *N* head. *Syn* gululu, miyirbaṛbaṛ, maraŋuṛu.

(ṛa-)wadbaṛ *N* a tree, *Grevillea pteridifolia*. *Cogn* Nungg.

(ṛa-)waḏabir *N* various goannas including the sand goanna, *Varanus gouldii*. *Cf.* baṛmunu.

(ṛa-/ŋi-)waḍaŋarin *N* moon.

waḍara *VTr* (-ga-) 1. to think about; to understand. *Cpd* jiñi-waḍara to think about further.

2. to head for (a place).

(ŋi-)waḍarayu *N* shrub *sp.* along coast with red fruits, *Malaisia scandens*. *Syn* migaḷ, walanjurga.

(ṛa-)waḍawaḍa *N* tree *sp.* used for stone spear shafts, with small leaves, away from coast. *Cogn* Nungg. (where the term refers to a different *sp.* also used for spear shafts).

(ṛa-)waḍuwaḍu *N* liver.

wagi *Adv* in the south. *Cf.* wayburi, -yiwayi. *Cogn* Ngandi bakič, etc.

(ṛa-)waguru *N* pandanus, *Pandanus spiralis*. *Syn* mugara. nut: mayigaḷ.

(ṛa-)waguwagu *N* coastal whistling tree, *Casuarina equisetifolia*.

waj 1. *VIntr* (-ṛa-, -iṇaji-) to disappear, to become finished or extinct. waj+gal-iŋa They died off.

2. *VTr* (-ba-) to finish; to finish off.

3. *VTr* (-ya-) to finish off (by eating). *Syn* biŋ.

waja 1. *NAdj* wet.

2. *VIntr* (-ma-) to be/become wet.

(ṛa-)wajaḷg *N* mud.

(ṛa-/wu-)wajawul *N* a eucalypt.

wal *VTr* (-ja-) to step on.

(ṛa-)walagari *N* marine fish *sp.*

walanaga *N* dark shovel-nosed ray. NC unknown. *Corr* Nungg. ma:mbaṇi.

(ṛa-)walanjurga *N* shrub *sp.* along the coast, with red fruits,

Malaisia scandens. *Syn* migaḷ, waḍarayu.

(ṛa-)wali *N* water buffalo. *Syn* manaburu.

waliburu *N* Alawa (tribe and language), or a subgroup thereof. *Cf.* galawa.

(ra-)walmagara *N* a freshwater fork-tailed catfish *sp.*, *Hexanematichthys sp.* Distinct from ŋaḷaŋaḷa. *Cogn* Nungg. almagara.

(ṛa-)walmaṇ *N* a tree, *Terminalia carpentariae*.

(ṛa-)walmaraba *N* blue swimmer crab, *Portunus pelagicus*. *Cogn* Nungg. almaraba.

-walmida- *VInflTr* 1. to spear many; to spear many times. ŋuru-walmidaŋa You speared many (fish).

2. an uncommon transitive *AUX*.

-walŋa *N* son or daughter (female EGO), sister's son or daughter (any EGO, with 2nd or 3rd pers. poss.). Becomes -ni-walŋa with 1st pers. poss., hence ŋa-ni-walŋa my/our nephew.

(wu-)walŋi *N* body. *Cogn* Rith. walŋa healthy.

(ṛa-/wu-)walulu *N* wind.

(ṛa-)walunara *N* brolga. *Syn* guḍargu.

(ni-/ṛa-)waluŋma *N* a python *sp.*, perhaps *Liasis olivaceus*. *Syn* gurujaḍbuŋgu, guṇdi. *Corr* Nungg. majbarwar.

waḷ *VIntr* (-ma-) to go around, to go in various directions.

(ṛa-)waḷajandama *N* saltwater crocodile. *Syn* ṇaŋguru.

waḷaḷawaḷaḷa *N* suckerfish, *Remora sp.* NC unknown.

(ṛa-)waḷamagamaga (transcription approximate) *N* flood. *Syn* waṛajara.

(ṛa-)waḷan *N* hill coolibah, *Eucalyptus tectifica*. *Cf*. mudju.

(ṛa-)waḷañan *N* crowd or school of fish.

(ṛa-)waḷgamban *N* spear with one hook near tip.

waḷi *VTr* (-ga-) to twist.

(ṛa-/ŋi-) waḷmañ *N* black duck. *Syn* ŋuliri.

(ṇa-)waḷya *N* man, boy. *RDP* waḷya-waḷya.

waman *VIntr* (-ṛa-) (e.g. stingray) to glide along.

(ṛa-/wu-/ŋi-)wambal *N* freshwater mussel. *Cogn* Nungg. ma:mbal.

(wu-)wambibi *N* 1. milk.

2. breast.

(ṛa-)wambigud *N* a plant with berries, perhaps *Solanum sp*.

(wu-)wanam *N* ear.

(wu-)wanbaḷgur *N* ground.

(ṛa-)wangadiyin *N* a tree, *Petalostigma pubescens*. *Syn* maḷuŋgariñin.

-wangani- *VInflTr* to not want, to reject.

wanga-ñi *Adv* in the other direction. Exact sense unclear.

(wu-)wangubi *N* flesh, meat.

(ṛa-/ŋi-)wanjimbu *N* honey bee, *Trigona sp.*, 'girl sugarbag'. *Syn* ŋulŋgun. *Corr* Nungg. ŋa:nig.

(ṛa-)wanuŋgu *N* hook spear with widely-spaced hooks on one side. *Cf*. mayaḷuŋgu.

-waṇV- *VInflTr* a rare *AUX*. Stem-final vowel unknown.

(wu-)waṇḍag *N* a tree found on river banks; tortoises eat the fruits.

waṇḍaraŋ *N* Warndarang (tribe and language). *Cf*. wuyarawala.

(wu-)waṇḍiñ *N* a tree with kidney-shaped nuts, *Terminalia grandiflora*. *Cf*. baṇḍij.

(ṛa-)waŋugu *N* rock wallaby, *Petrogale sp*.

(ṛa-)waŋurag *N* bandicoot. *Corr* Mara maṛumaṛu.

(ṛa-)wañin *N* stone spear. *Syn* wariman, etc.

waŋa *VTr* (-ga-) to coil up (rope, etc.).

waŋgay *VIntr* (-iṇaji-,-juṛa, -maḷjuṛa) to wake up, to stay awake.

waŋgiñ *NAdj* one. *Cf*. wurwaŋgij.

waŋgurañja *NAdj* dark; black.

war *VTr* (-ga-) to sing (in a corroboree); to call (name of). *Reflex*: to sing (by oneself). war+ŋa-gima I was singing by myself.

(ṛa-)warabawaraba *N* spider.

(wu-/ṛa-)warambal *N* a mangrove with roundish leaves, *Aegialitis annulata* (and perhaps others). *Cf*. barambal.

(ṛa-)warawi *N* spinifex grass, *Triodia spp*.

wari 1. *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to return.

2. *VTr* (-ja-) to take back.

(ṛa-)wariḍila *N* hook boomerang, treated as a 'girl' in ceremony. *Syn* yuḷanji. *Cf*. mulwari.

(ṛa-)warigari *N* honey-dipping implement.

(ṛa-)wariman *N* stone spear. *Syn* guruwalya, ḷarŋinja, wañin.

(ṛa-)wariyaŋalayawu *N* hammerhead shark.

warj 1. *VIntr* (-ma-) to pick
something up.

2. *VTr* (-iṛa-) to grab, to pick
up.

3. *VTr* (-iŋama) to catch
(a thrown object); to pick up.

4. *VTr* (-numi-) to pick up.

5. *VTr* (-ga-) to get.

warŋgu *Adv* until, all the way to.
Precedes a locative expression
or a clause. ara-ŋama-ŋama
warŋgu waj+gara-ya They kept
eating until they finished it
off. *Cf*. ḍuḍul.

(ŋi-/wu-)warṇiwarṇi *N* sun.

waṛ *VTr* (-wiṇḍi-) to see; to look
at. *Cpd*: maŋal-waṛ to look at
(on road).

(ma-)waṛagulu *N* hook spear. *Syn*
(?) mayaḷuŋgu.

(wu-)waṛajara *N* flood. *Syn*
waḷamagamaga.

(ŋi-)waṛanbaṛangar *N* young girl.

(ṛa-)waṛgwaṛg *N* crow.

(ṛa-)waṛil *N* mud crab, *Scylla
serrata*.

waṛiyi *NAdj* human; Aboriginal.

waṛj 1. *N* (wu-) urine.

2. *VTr* (-ga-) to urinate.
Object 3Sg.

(ṛa-)waṛmur *N* sugar glider,
'flying squirrel'. *Syn*
miṇbilṇin.

(ṛa-/wu-)waṛugu *N* egg.

(wu-)waṛwaṛ *N* (used as *Adv*) away.
wu-ŋa-ṛara wu-waṛwaṛ I will go
(far) away.

wayar *VIntr* (-juṛa) to be hungry.

wayara *NAdj* others, remaining.
Only attested in *Pl*: wulu-wayara-
ñu the others. *Cf*. -gayi.

wayburi *Adv* southward. *Cf*. wagi,
-yiwayi.

-wayi *N* elder brother.

(ṛa-)wayway *N* snake (generic
term).

wi *VIntr* (-juṛa) to vomit.

(ṛa-)wiḍaragama *N* rainbow.

(ṛa-)wiḍiga *N* hair belt.

(ṛa-)wiji *N* grass (generic
term).

wiḷ *VTr* (-ga-) to tie up (e.g.
a spearhead, onto the shaft);
to enclose, to cover up (e.g.
an object associated with the
victim, in a tree trunk, to
magically kill him). *Cf*.
wiḷgin.

(ṛa-)wiḷgin *N* piece of clothing
or other object of victim used
in black magic. *Cf*. wiḷ.

(ṛa-)wiḷmur *N* wire spear.

(ṛa-)wiḷwiḷ *N* ironwood,
Erythropleum chlorostachyum.
Syn malbama.

windiḷibindiḷi *N* shellfish *sp*.
NC unknown.

-wiṇḍi- *VInflTr* 1. to go looking
for.

2. a transitive *AUX*.

(wu-)wiṇgir *N* milkwood,
Alstonia actinophylla.

-wiṇi *N* ŋa-wiṇi 'my aunt
(father's sister)'.

(ṛa-)wiṇjudu *N* a saltwater fish
sp.

wiŋ *VTr* (-ga-) to rest. Subject
is 3Sg, object represents
rester. wiŋg+u-ŋara-gaya
I will rest.

wirg 1. *VIntr* (-ṛa-, -iṇaji-)
to jump; (kangaroo) to hop.

2. *VTr* (-wiṇḍi-, -igira-) to
jump at or for.

(ṇa-)wirjiṇ *N* spy.

wirju 1. *NAdj* bad; skinny, lean.
Cpd: maraŋuṛu-wirju insane ('bad-
head').

2. *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to be worried,
to be anxious.

3. *VIntr* (-ma-) In *cpd*: ŋanja-
wirju to be unhappy, to feel
bad. *Cf.* local Pidgin: him no-
good binji.

4. *VTr* (-ga-) to miss (e.g. with
spear); to make a mistake. *Cf.*
muy.

wiṛ *VIntr* (-juṛa) to listen, to
hear. wiṛ+ŋa-juṛa I listened
(to him). Also yulu-wiṛ.

(ṛa-)wiṛiwiṛiga *N* various small
bivalve shells with smooth,
glossy surfaces (families
Mactridae, *Veneridae*).

wiṛj *VTr* (-ba-) to scrape.

wiw *VTr* (-ga-) to lift.

wiya *Part* that's all, enough.
Tends to emphasise an abrupt
transition between the subject
matter of two clauses.

wudjiwa *Adv* after that, then;
from there.

wudŋuy *NAdj* two. yiri-wudŋuy
yiri-wuybi two women. For -ŋuy
cf. mudŋuy, muluŋuy.

wuḍal *NAdj* of the Wurdal (Burdal)
semimoiety. *RDP* wuḍa-wuḍal.

wuḍi *VTr* (-murgi-) to put inside.

(ṛa-)wugaḷij *N* dugong. young:
jawuru. female: gurwiji.

-wuj-ga- *VInflTr* see -ga-.

(ṛa-)wujuja *N* hollow log.

(ṛa-/wu-)wujula *N* woomera. *Syn*
maŋal. *Cf.* baḷya.

(ṛa-)wulbajajali *N* a marine turtle,
probably the Pacific (olive)
Ridley.

wulgulya *NAdj* everyone, all.

wulguy *Part* indeed, all right.
Sometimes translatable
'although' in context.

(ṛa-)wuliḍa *N* fan-palm,
Livistona loriphylla. *Cf.*
yawaḷama.

wuljur *Adv* underwater.

(ṛa-)wulugugu *N* a large,
dangerous shark *sp.* or *spp.*

wuluŋa *Adv* in the middle; part
or half-way.

(ma-/ŋi-/ṛa-)wuluṛu *N* a tree,
Melaleuca acacioides. *Syn*
gaḷiwan.

wuḷ *VTr* (-ga-) to tell a lie.
Object 3Sg. wuḷ+ŋa-gaya
I told a lie.

(ṛa-)wuḷñin *N* man's genital
cover, made from possum skin.

(ma-)wuḷŋurguḷŋur *N* coconut.

wun *VIntr* (-maljuṛa) to bend
over.

wunga 1. *VIntr* (-ma-) to do
what?; to do something.

2. *VTr* (-ja-) to do what to?;
to do something to. *Cf.* mala-
wunga.

wungaŋa *N* what?; something.
jabay wungaŋa waṛ+a-wiŋdi
Maybe it (the dog) found some-
thing. wungaŋa wu-nu wu-niya
What is this? (aru) wungaŋa-ni
What for? Why?. *Cf.* -ngaŋa.

wungiŋa *Adv* Which way?; (to)
where? *Cf.* -ngiŋa.

(ṛa-)wuniñbuniñ *N* sea snake.

(ṛa-)wunjurwunjur *N* a tree
with reddish fruit in wet
season, bitter-tasting.

(ṛa-)wuṇiwuṇi *N* mullet *sp.* (fish).

(ṛa-)wuṇuŋgulun *N* a kurrajong
tree, *Brachychiton paradoxum*.

wuñ *VIntr* (-naŋi-) (sun) to shine brightly.

wuñmi *Adv* wuñmi-ñi northward. ana-wuñmi from the north. *Cf.* guymi, guymaguyma.

(ṛa-/wu-)wuŋgan *N* dog. NC usually ṛa-. *Syn* garwiṛi. *Cf.* biḷgur.

wuŋun *NAdj* unaware, ignorant. ŋa-wuŋun I do not know.

wur *VTr* (-ba-) to rub. *Cpd* maba-wur to rub the hands of.

(ṛa-)wuray *N* open plain.

(ṛa-)wurgmalan *N* bush fire, especially one set by people when hunting kangaroos.

(ṛa-)wurjulugu *N* garfish. *Syn* ŋabalaŋa. *Cogn* Nungg.

wurmaṇamaṇa *N* ray *sp.* NC unknown.

(ŋi-)wurugayin *N* emu.

(ṛa-)wurugugu *N* flower (general term).

-wuruŋ *N* 'cousin' (wife's mother or wife's mother's brother).

(ṛa-)wuruŋaran *N* beach.

(ṛa-)wuruyu *N* devil (animated corpse).

wurwaŋgij *Adv* once, one time. wurwaŋgij wu-nu ṛaŋ+ŋa-gañi I hit him once. *Cf.* waŋgiñ.

wuṛ *VTr* (-ga-) to put down.

(ṛa-)wuwu *N* a tree in the jungle, *Lumnitzera racemosa*.

-wuyal *NAdj* See guyal.

(ṛa-)wuyaraŋa *N* painted sweetlips (a marine fish).

(ra-)wuyarawala *N* Warndarang language.

(ŋi-)wuybi *N* woman.

Y

-ya- *VInflTr* 1. to bite.

2. a transitive *AUX*.

(ṛa-)yabara *N* 1. leg. *Cpd: cf.* mud.

2. trunk of tree.

(wu-)yabuduruwa *N* Yabuduruwa ceremony.

(wu-)yadayadawuḷa *N* certain wattles, including *Acacia auriculaeformis*.

yaḍ 1. *VTr* (-ja-) to wait for.

2. *VTr* (-ga-, -ba-) to block (the path of), to obstruct. *Cpd:* maŋal-yaḍ (-ba-) to block the path of. maŋal-yaḍ+ŋara-ba ma-yilgiŋ-gu You blocked my path on the road.

(wu-)yaḍbin *N* fish trap.

yagar *VTr* (-ja-) to tell. Object is addressee. yagar+u-ŋa-jaŋa I will tell you.

-yagu 1. wu-yagu *Int* No! Also used as emphatic negative. wu-yagu gu-ṛaŋ+ñiri-gi We killed no-one.

2. *NAdj* missing, absent. ŋi-yagu wu-nu wu-niya She is absent from here, she is not here.

yaguḷ 1. *VIntr* (-juṛa) to be frightened or scared.

2. *VTr* (-wiṇḍi-, -igira-) to be scared of. Pronounced yagur by another informant (Elizabeth).

(wu-)yaguñ *N* a tall sedge in clay in swamps, *Scirpus litoralis*. *Cogn* Nungg.

yagur see yaguḷ.

yaja *VTr* (-ba-) to hunt for. Object optionally takes *Purp* cases: yaja+wu-ŋa-buṛa ṛa-waluŋma-ni I will hunt for pythons. *Cpd:* maŋal-yaja to hunt by following tracks or trail.

-yaji *VInflIntr* *Recip* of -ya-.
Cf. ḍawj.

yal *VTr* (-murgi-) to knock down.

(ṛa-)yalanu *N* bark of stringybark
tree (bambuja). *Syn* yulway.

(wu-)yalara *N* a wattle, *Acacia sp.*

(wu-)yalbir *N* a mangrove with
inedible 'apples', *Xylocarpus
australasicus*.

(wu-)yalijali *N* death adder.

yalja *Adv* early, earlier,
previously. *Syn* jalji.

yalya *NAdj* aware, knowing.
ŋa-yalya I know.

yal̪ 1. *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to go past,
to slip away.
2. *VTr* (-murgi-) to miss (with
spear); to cause to go past.
Cf. yal̪jal̪. *Cogn:* Nungg. -yal̪ḍa-
(*-jal̪g-ḍa-), etc.

(wu-)yal̪bun *N* 1. black fruits of
water lilies (*Nymphaea gigantea*).
Syn gul̪ul̪u.
2. edible portions of water lilies
(general term).

yal̪buri *Adv* downward, downhill,
downriver, towrad the coast.
Cogn Mara wal̪buri.

yal̪iñga *N* uncircumcised.

(wu-)yal̪iriyal̪iri *N* woollybutt
tree, *Eucalyptus miniata.* *Syn*
mangaḍa.

yal̪jal̪ *VIntr* to slip away. Probably
the *RDP* (*jal̪g-jal̪g-) of yal̪
(*jal̪g-)

(ṛa-)yaminji *N* 1. gecko lizard.
2. thunder and lightning (caused
by gecko in myth).

(ṛa-)yanambur *N* a paperbark tree,
Melaleuca sp., found along river
banks, similar to yirimal.

(wu-)yandawañ *N* long-necked
tortoise, *Chelodina ?rugosa.*

yaṇa *VIntr* (-juṛa) to be asleep
to sleep well.

-yaṇi *V* PaIrr of -ṛa-.

yaŋgar 1. in front, ahead.
wulu-nu yaŋgar those (who are)
ahead.
2. *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to go in
front.
3. *VTr* (-ga-) to take forward.

yaŋgarmanja *Adv* before, formerly.
Cf. yaŋgar, jalji, yalja.

(ṛa-)yaŋgawuma *N* whale. *Cogn*
Nungg. yaŋgawu.

yar 1. *VIntr* (-iṇaji-) to fall
wu-maba-wala yar+Ø-yiṇaji
It fell out from (my) hands.
2. *VIntr* (-maljuṛa) to lie
around (in a crowd).
3. *VTr* (-ba-) (sun) to come
out, to rise. Usually with
CEN ya- in this sense. Object
3Sg. yar+ya-Ø-buṛa it (sun) has
risen. In *cpd:* gul̪a-yar (-ba-)
to get/kill plenty.
gul̪a-yar+ñiri-ba We got/killed
plenty (fish).
4. as initial of *cpds*, *cf.* gi.

(ṛa-)yaraman *N* horse.

yaramba *NAdj* dangerous, harmful,
'cheeky'.

(wu-/ṛa-)yaraṇal̪ *N* wild grape,
perhaps *Ampelocissus sp.*

(ma-)yarbij *N* thigh.

yaṛ *VTr* (-ga-) to become
daylight. Object is 3Sg.

(wu-)yaṛigu *N* shade, shadow.
wu-yaṛigu-ñu-yaṇa wu-nu
wu-ña-maljuṛa We two will sit
in the shade.

(ṛa-)yawal̪ama *N* (apparently)
fan-palm, *Livistona loriphylla.*
Syn wuliḍa.

-yaygi *N* wuyagiba-yaygi a person
from Wuyagiba. Exact sense
unclear.

(wu-/ṟa-)yibar *N* 1. sinew, tendon. 2. string.

yibaṟa- *N* spear shaft. Attested only in a *cpd*, *cf.* ḷuḷuḷu. *Cf.* ŋgalin, ŋgumuḷ.

-yibi *N* mother (with lst pers. poss.). *Cf.* -gara, -bibi.

(wu-)yidma *N* foot; footprints. Also yiṇma.

yigu *NAdj* small. *Syn* mañagu.

yij *VIntr* (-maljuṟa) to stay for good. *Cf.* yijiri.

(ṟa-)yija *N* large game animals (e.g. kangaroos, crocodiles, emus).

yijiri *NAdj* for good. ŋa-yijiri I (will stay here) for good.

yil 1. *VIntr* (-ṟa-) to be tired. 2. *VIntr* (-ma-) to attack. Exact sense unclear.

(wu-)yilba *N* hole; burrow.

(ma-)yilgiṇ *N* road. *Syn* maŋgaṇ. maŋaḷ-.

yiḷal 1. *VIntr* (-ma-) to be angry. 2. *VTr* (-wiṇḍi-) to be angry at. *Cf.* ŋari.

(ṟa-/ŋi-)yimayiri *N* Queensland groper (rock-cod).

(ṟa-/wu-/ma-)yimbiḍ *N* cypress, *Callitris intratropica.* *Syn* maṇuŋgurun. *Cogn* Nungg.

(wu-)yingiṟiri *N* a tree used for boomerangs, *Hakea arborescens.* *Syn* ḍilyar.

yini *Adv* yini-ñi eastward. ana-yini from the east. *Cf.* gaṇu.

(wu-)yinma *N* foot; footprints, tracks. Also yiḍma. *Cf.* baraṇ.

-yiŋa *V* PaActPun of -ṟa-. The base-form is /-iŋa/.

yiribala *Adv* inside. *Cogn* Nungg. ḷiribala.

(ṇa-)yirididi *N* a tree, *Planchonia careya.* *Corr* Mara wuḍuḍa.

(wu-)yirimal *N* a paperbark, *Melaleuca sp.*, along rivers, similar to guruḷuwuḷ.

(ŋi-)yirmaŋa *N* echidna, porcupine. *Cogn* Nungg., etc.

(wulu-)yirwa-yirwan *N* (*RDP*) (my/our) sisters. Pl of ŋa-ḷali.

yiṟg *VTr* (-ga-) attested only with BEN: ma-yiṟg+a-gaya They loosened its covering.

yiw *VIntr* (-ṟa-) (fire) to die out.

(wu-)yiwal *N* a tree, *Pemphis acidula.*

(wu-)yiwaŋguḷubuju *N* a tree, similar to maḷaḷañga.

-yiwayi *Adv* ana-yiwayi from the south. *Cf.* wayburi, wagi.

yiwiṇ *VIntr* (Reflex of -ja-) to splash, to make ripples (in water).

(ṟa-)yiwur *N* penis. *Cf.* giṇḍiṟ-.

yo *Int* 1. Yes! 2. untranslatable particle in narratives.

-yu *V* FutNeg of -ṟa-.

(wu-)yuḍmuŋgi *N* short time. As *Adv*: briefly. With Diminutive: wu-yuḍmuŋgi-gaña a very short time.

yugul *N* Yugul (tribe and language).

yugulmaŋgi *N* Yugulmanggi (tribe), a Yugul-speaking group who lived in 'billabong country' south of the Roper River.

yul- *N* an initial in *cpds*,

referring to the nose, *cf.* mud.
Cf. also njiṛiba, jiṛi-.

(wu-)yula *N* leg.

(wu-/ṛa-)yulba *N* tree; stick.

yulbaj *Adv* truly, indeed.
yulbaj bindi wu-nu ŋaḷ+ŋa-mama
It was the truth that I spoke.
Cf. yuṇḍaṛa.

(ṛa-/wu-)yulmanji *N* various large,
dark-coloured, edible sharks.
Corr Nungg. ḷamaḷguru.

yulu- *N* in *cpds*, referring to the
ear, hearing, or mind. *Cf.* mug,
wad, wiṛ.

(ṛa-)yulway *N* bark of stringybark
tree (bambuja). *Syn* yalanu.

(ṛa-)yulwu *N* green tree frog.
Cf. ṇaḍi.

(ṛa-)yuḷanji *N* hook boomerang,
treated as a 'girl' in ceremony.
Syn wariḍila. *Cf.* mulwari.

(ṛa-)yuḷarŋu *N* dolphin *sp.*,
dark-coloured. *Cf.* miṛiyi.

(ṛa-)yumaŋi *N* freshwater long-
tom fish.

yumar 1. *NAdj* good, good-
smelling, fragrant.
2. *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to be happy.
Cf. yumaryi.

yumaryi *Adv* properly. *Cf.* yumar.

(wu-)yunduñuga *N* green turtle.
young: ṛujuru.

(wu-)yuni *N* ochre. *Cogn* Nungg.
ḷuni, Rith. ḍuni, etc.

(ṛa-)yunju *N* oyster.

yuṇḍaṛa *Adv* truly (?). Exact
sense unclear. *Cf.* yulbaj.

yuŋguḍ *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to be
smoking, to be emitting smoke.

(ṛa-)yuŋguwan *N* (any) ceremony.
Cogn Yuulngu juŋguwan.

yur 1. *VIntr* (-ṛa-) to come out
(from camp).
2. *VTr* to pour out (liquid).

LEXICAL DOMAINS: FLORA-FAUNA AND (HUMAN) BODY PARTS

FLORA (wiji, yulba)

(a) *yams and edible roots:*

baḷajalbaḷajal, banbangari,
ḍujaḍuja, ḍuymanji, gabir,
galaṇaṇḍa, guḷuṇurwa, jalma,
jaṛguḷ, maḍiga, majalaḍi,
mambubu, mulalu, ṇambiḍṇambiḍ,
ṇgarabi, yaguñ.

(b) *water lilies (and their parts):*

buñala, gaṇaya, guḷuḷu, jadabul,
jagiri, jirigilil, marayuḷuyuḷu,
mbiḷal, njagiri, ṇgawuja,
ṇguluṛuṇguluṛu, yaḷbun.

(c) *grasses and herbs:*

bilinjiri, biṛir, ḍarin,
ḍirṇgiḷgḍirṇgiḷg, gaḷambar,
garañbilili, giṇgira (wild rice),
majaṇmajaṇ, marañmarañ, milawur,
mulwaṛwaṛ, warawi (spinifex).

(d) *aquatic herbs, algae, etc.:*

bilmabilmin, jilagjilag, maja.

(e) *vines:*

ḍiṇgaḷḍiṇgaḷ, guḷumbilguḷumbil,
gunaḷu, jaṛbur, ḷagurja (wild
cucumber), maṇḍiwaja, maṇiwi,
marwiḷiñbiḷiñ, ṇuriḍin (wild
banana), ṛilgara, wambigud,
yaraṇaḷ (wild grape).

(f) *eucalypts:*

bambuja (stringybark), biṇmiri
(river red gum), gurjaḍa, jadñin
(bloodwood), jirṇujga, mangaḍa
(woollybutt), mawar (ghost gum),
mudju (coolibah), ñaḷñaḷ
bloodwood), ṇurudu, wajawul, waḷan
(hill coolibah), yaḷiriyaḷiri
(woollybutt).

(g) *paperbark trees:*

gaḷiwan, gandar, guruḷuwul,
jamanbara, ṛambana, ṛaṇga, wuluṛu,
yanambur, yirimal.

(h) *kurrajong trees:*

baṛurbaṛur, ṇḍilan, wuṇuṇgulun.

(i) *fig trees:*

maṇagu, mayaranja.

(j) *plum trees:*

gulinja, maḷawal, munjuj,
walmaṇ.

(k) *mangroves:*

baḷgan, bulugija, guḍijbal,
malambaṇin, ṇalmi, warambal,
yalbir.

(l) *wattles:*

baḷara, daṇgaḷgara (lancewood),
jugul, miyaṛigaṛi, muḍiḍi,
ṛamulbiya, yadayadawuḷa, yalara.

(m) *cypress and whistling trees:*

maṇuṇgurun, ṇgaṛar, waguwagu,
yimbiḍ.

(n) *pandanus:*

buruḷu, mayigaḷ (nut), mugara,
waguru.

(o) *palms:*

maṇaju (cycad), wuliḍa (fan-
palm), wuḷṇurguḷṇur (coconut),
yawaḷama (fan-palm).

(p) *other trees and shrubs:*

bamaṇa, baṇar (marble tree),
baṇmira, biṛiwiṛi, buḍuga, bugun,
buḷaṇganga, ḍilyar, ḍubal,
ḍumbuyumbu (sandalwood), gabaḷ,
gaḍaburay, galijiri, gaṇḍaṇilili,
garaḷaḷa, garimaḷa, garmbagarmba,
gulubiṇḍama, gunubul, guyiya,
jiṇḍijiṇḍi, jiṇguliḷi
(conkerberry), jirg, jirilma,
jiṛjiṛ, jiwuru (wild cassava
tree), ḷibulu (gutta percha),
ḷiriḷiri, malbamba (ironwood),
maḷaḷaṇga, maḷuṇgariñin (quinine
bush), mawuḷuḷugu, migaḷ,
miṇija, munṇu, munurwiḷa,
ñagagul, ṇaḍiñ, ṇgumir, wadbaṛ,
waḍarayu, waḍawaḍa, walanjurga,
wangadiyin (quinine bush),
waṇḍag, waṇḍiñ, wiḷwiḷ
(ironwood), wiṇgir (milkwood),
wunjurwunjur, wuwu, yingiṛiri,
yirididi, yiwal, yiwanguḷubuju.

MAMMALS (including yija *large game animals*)

(a) *kangaroos and wallabies:*

garjambaḷ (antelopine kangaroo), gaṇḍalburu (female garjambaḷ), girimbu or girmu (euro), ḷuḷbam (young girimbu), maluruŋguruna (female ŋargulamba), ŋargulamba (agile/sandy wallaby), ŋulumuru (nail-tailed wallaby), waŋgugu (rock wallaby).

(b) *cattle:*

bulugi (bullock), manabaru or wali (buffalo), yaraman (horse).

(c) *canines:*

biḷgur (dingo), garwiṛi or wuŋgan (dog).

(d) *small mammals:*

gujaṇi (possum), miṇbilŋin or waṛmur (sugar glider), ñaliñali (native cat), waŋgurag (bandicoot), yirmaŋa (echidna).

(e) *bats:*

biñbinjaḷa, guryala (red flying fox), madjur (black flying fox).

BIRDS

(a) *hawks:*

ḍiliyagḍiliyag, gargañ, ŋagŋag.

(b) *owl:*

mugmug.

(c) *ducks and geese:*

ḍiwaj, jirbiyug, ḷaŋguṇa, madiwaj, ŋuliri, waḷmañ.

(d) *others:*

balubalu (pelican), bidiliriliri (plover), bugbana (pheasant), buḷunbuḷun (spoonbill), ḍiḍibawaba (lotusbird), ḍiḷdiḷgururu (peewee), ḍiñmanjar (kingfisher), gaṇḍawaḍjiri, garaggarag (darter), garinji (jabiru), gaṛgunja (nankeen night-heron), guḍargu (brolga), gulanbiri (pelican), guralgguralg (koel), gurbuḷugurbuḷu, gurgur (kookaburra),

guwiḷu (curlew), jaguṛudjaguṛud (pigeon), jambirina (turkey), jaraḍadbuwa (chestnut rail), jaṛag (gull), jarbiḷijarbiḷi (wren), jigjig, jiriṇḍiḍ (quail), jiriyirgu (kookaburra), juṛir, juṛyar (friarbird), ḷiraḍuma (black cockatoo), miliñmar (parrot), ŋinin (finch), ŋilili (corella), ŋirgŋirg or ŋirwula (sulphur-crested cockatoo), walunara (brolga), waṛgwaṛg (crow), wurugayin (emu).

REPTILES (including wayway *snakes*)

(a) *goannas:*

baṛmunu, ḍarabu, waḍabir.

(b) *other lizards:*

bagmanjar (snake-lizard), ḍadba or ḍalŋunji or gabaḷa (frilled lizard), gabilili (skink *sp.*), gaḷaḷgaḷaḷ (skink *sp.*), ḷirga (blue-tongue), yaminji (gecko).

(c) *freshwater tortoises:*

buruŋandiñ, jabaḍa, yandawañ.

(d) *marine turtles:*

jaḍiwaŋaṇi, maḷawururu, ŋaluwa, ṛujuru, wulbajajali, yunduñuga.

(e) *crocodiles:*

ḍaḍajara, ŋaŋguru, waḷajandama.

(f) *pythons:*

bubunara, gaṛjir, gundi, gurujaḍbuŋgu, waluŋma.

(g) *deadly snakes:*

bandiyan (king brown), garimaḷa (taipan), maraŋaḷba or ŋuluḷ (black whip), yalijali (death adder).

(h) *others:*

jaŋmijaŋmi (file snake), wuniñbuniñ (sea snake).

FISH (ŋuṇu), RAYS (ŋuyŋuy), SHARKS, SEA MAMMALS

(a) *rays:*

gambuma, jiriyiri, maŋalgal, mirŋaḍu, walanaga, wurmaṇamaṇa.

(b) *sharks:*

barga (sawshark), jinma (whaler), wariyaŋalayawu (hammerhead), wulugugu, yulmunji.

(c) *dugong:*

gurwiji, jawuru, wugaḷij.

(d) *other sea mammals:*

miṛiyi, yaŋgawuma, yuḷarŋu.

(e) *fork-tailed catfish:*

bilimar, mijuruŋu, ṇalaŋala, ŋulumidin, walmagara.

(f) *eel-tailed catfish ('nailfish'):*

giḍigiḍi, ḷiwaray.

(g) *mullets:*

gayawuwu, wuṇiwuṇi.

(h) *perch:*

gaṛbi, gunaŋgaḷa, mawurugu.

(i) *other fish:*

baḍurga (marine long-tom), gilibirma, gulduru (bony bream), gundir (toado), gurujgu, jabiŋmuru, jalbijalbij (rainbow-fish), jimbijamba, ḷiriŋgiñ, milgiwiri or miriji (barramundi), muṇdin, muruṛuŋgu (barracuda), ŋabalaŋa or wurjulugu (garfish), ŋalaḍara (archer fish), ŋarabuṇa, ŋarayaḷ (Saratoga), ŋubari (queenfish), ŋuljun (sleepy cod), ṛalyi (eel), ṛanuga (butterfish), walagari, waḷaḷawaḷaḷa (suckerfish), wiṇjudu, wurjulugu (garfish), wuyaraŋga, yimayiri (groper), yumaṇi (long-tom).

SHELLS AND CRUSTACEANS

(a) *crabs:*

jamulmulanja (hermit crab), mañarara (soldier crab), muraṛbu, walmaraba (blue swimmer), waṛil (giant mud crab).

(b) *other crustaceans:*

jimbalan (crayfish).

(c) *shells:*

biribiri, buṇḍubuṇḍu, buruḷuburuḷu, gamba, jamiñanba, jawurŋalayi, ḷiyaga, mindiwaba, ṛagamba, ṛagulunju, wambal (freshwater mussel), windiḷibindiḷi, wiṛiwiṛiga, yunju.

INSECTS

(a) *honey bees* (ŋubari), *Trigona spp.:*

ḍulbari, gaṇamuru, ṇabi or ṛimaradji, ŋulŋgun or wanjimbu.

(b) *others:*

ḍabururu or ḍajbiḍajbi (grass-hopper), guṇdil (fly), magurmagur (dragonfly), maṛur (witchetty grub), muḷa (mosquito), warabawaraba (spider).

OTHER FAUNA

(a) *frogs:*

ṇaḍi, yulwu.

(b) *others:*

bambal (sea-sponge; coral), muraṛbu (scorpion), ŋarambili (centipede).

HUMAN BODY PARTS AND EXCRETIONS
(waḷṇi *body*)

balara (buttock), baṇdij (kidney), biḷbar (neck, throat), bulbul (heart), gaḷŋar (anus), giṇdir (penis), giwgiw (lung), guḷulu (head), guḷugal (brain), guṇḍi (ankle), guṛa or ŋguṛa (semen), jagul (testicle), jaminjamin (eyebrow), janamba (forehead), janda (back), jawaḍu (menstrual blood), jawal (jaw), jawaṇda (beard), maba (hand), maḍaŋar (chest), maguṛ

(face), mala (abdomen, area around navel), malir (back), maḻabaŋu (clitoris), maŋgal- (head), maraŋuṟu (head), maṟbur (hand), miliḍiḍi (rib), miyirbaṟbaṟ (head), mudurmudur (head hair), muḻiriñ (skeleton), mundur (backbone), munḏa (muscle), murji (hand), murunji (elbow), ndagi (nape), ndula (leg), nduru (shin), njagaṟ (saliva), njaḻbar (vulva), njiṟiba (nose), njiyilŋ (tongue), ṇaṟuma (brisket), nuŋguṇa (arm), ñaḏin (skin), ŋabaḻa (shoulder), ŋaḻimur (collarbone), ŋanḏal (mouth), ŋanja (belly), ŋaralba (eye), ŋaraŋaḻñin (ankle), ŋarmaḻ (armpit), ŋaṟaŋaṟa (knee), ŋayala (jaw), ŋayigan (bone), ŋgurya (excrement), ŋguṟa (see guṟa), ŋuliji (blood), ŋulumurun (pubic hair), ŋuruwañin (sweat), ṟaba (nail, tooth), wadamuru (head), waḏuwaḏu (liver), wambibi (breast), wanam (ear), waṟj (urine), yabara (leg), yarbij (thigh), yiwur (sinew), yidma or yinma (foot), yiwur (penis), yul- (nose), yula (leg), yulu- ear.

ENGLISH INDEX

A

Aboriginal See 'human'

absent yagu

accuse See 'blame'

afraid giṛi, yaguḻ

afternoon miṛmiṛya

again jiñi

ahead yaŋar

aim miñ

alive ŋad

almost ṇala-ṇala

always gudagaya

angry ŋari, yiḻal

antmount guṇur, jiḍigara

appear See 'go out'

armband manba, ṛilgara

arrive ṇaŋi (See also 'go out')

ashes buḻŋu

ask ŋiḷ

attack ṛambi, yil

awake waŋgay

away waṛwaṛ

axe badaŋga

B

baby baḍaḍa

bad wirju

bank ŋurja

(tree) bark ñaḍin ('skin')

bathe See 'go into water'

beach wuruŋaran

because aru

before jalji, yalja, yaŋgarmanja

begin garig

behind ṇaṇaṇaṇa

belt See 'hairbelt'

bend, bent See 'crooked', 'lean'

big balwayi, ṛuŋgal

billabong ŋargu

bite ḍawj, gal, ḷir, -ya-

bitter balgiñ

black waŋguranja

block jad, ñil, yaḍ

bloom baŋ

boat barawu

boil jaḍ

boomerang guyabiri, mulwari, wariḍila, yuḻanji

born baḻa

boss wabalu

bounce gaburg

branch maṛbaṛba, ṇuŋguṇa

break maṇaḍ, mud

break off ḍi

breakfast jagaṛ

breathe ŋiṛ

briefly yuḍmuŋgi

bubble murñmurñ

burn bu, guṇij, -naŋi-

burp maṇḍar

bury See 'cover'

bush ŋalaŋin

bushes ḷarin

C

call ŋamba

call out gaw

camp ṛadbur, ñim (verb)

canoe ŋajan

carry, take bịd, biray, ḍib, -ga-, gi, gudid, maḷ, ŋiṇḍal

carve jar

catch fish jaw

cease ḷarañ

ceremony ḍilḍil, maṇḍiwa, yabuduruwa, yuŋguwan

charcoal njiwa

chase See 'follow'

chew jag

child See 'small'

chop gal, jadba

circumcised maṇur

circumcision maṇḍiwa

clay gilwir, maṇunga, ŋalabura

clean, clear gaṛayara, ŋalwaḷa

cloud mala

coffin ḷurgun

coil ḷuñ, waŋa

cold ḍag

come See 'go;

continue ḍirg, jaṛi

cook ḍiwan, guṇij

cooked gabul

cooliman ṛandaga

copulate -ŋulwaya-

corroboree ḷaŋur

cough guṛguṛ

cover, bury ḷara, ḷurg, ñil

crawl gil

crooked, bent gunduggundug, ŋarwuḷg

cry jililij, ḷuḷ

cut -ilama-, jar, ḷar

D

dam up See 'block'

damper jaŋguyaḷa

dance See 'play'

dangerous yaramba

dark ŋimug, waŋguranja

dawn See 'morning'

day marjaŋaṇa, ŋalbum, ŋalwaṛ

defecate -iḍaṇa

defend maṇ

desert See 'bush'

devil wuruyu

diarrhoea gaḍiṛa

die ŋabaṛ, yiw

dig gaḷ, ŋur

dillybag marwaḍaga

dirty buṛŋgur

dive in See 'go into water'

do that -ma-

down yaḷburi

draw bal

drink guḷ

drown ŋambud

dry bunji

E

east gaṇu, yini

eat jalbij, ñab, -ŋa-

egg waṟugu

end, tip njiṟiba ('nose')

enjoy See 'like'

enter biḷi

every wulgulya

F

face punishment buwa

fall ḍalag, yar

far away ñanay

fart ḍir

fast garjaḷ

fat ŋajbaŋajbaya, ṟaŋajba

feather ṟaman

feathered stick ḍilḍil

feel sorry See 'pity'

few See 'several'

fight -janayajima (verb), ŋari (noun and verb)

find ḍud

finish biŋ, waj

fire ŋambur, wurgmalan

firestick buḍalar, buju (verb) jiwuyiwulya

firewood malaŋin

fish See 'catch fish'

flash See 'lightning'

flat country See 'plain'

flee ḍay

flip over See 'turn over'

floater mawaḷ

flood walamagamaga, waṟajara

flower marayuḷuyuḷu, wurugugu

fly ḍiw

follow, chase jaj, ḷuḷuj, munji

food See 'meat', 'vegetable food'

forever yij, yijiri

forget mug, wad

fork in tree balaŋar, galagala

full bir, ŋalgañan

full-grown gabubulya

G

gather guṟŋguṟ

genital cover madamada, wuḷñin

get, pick up ṟud, warj

get up ḍuṇ

girl maḷamaḷaba, waṟanbaṟangar

give -wa

glide See 'slide'

go gi, juy, -ṟa-

go across ḷaw

go around baḷabaḷa, waḷ

go down jub

go into water ḍirwu, ḷib

go out ḍar, yur

go past yaḷ, yaḷjaḷ

go through raj

go up bij, mal, ŋab, yar

good gabaja, yumar

grab jabi, jaḍ, mud

grope jaṟud

ground wanbaḷgur

grow ḍud, gal

H

hairbelt wiḍiga

hang ḍad

happy yumar

harpoon ṟaḍar

head for waḍara

headdress guḍaṟi

hear -gayama, wiṟ

heavy guḷgmin

hiccup jalgaḍubḍub

hide ḍar

hit -bu-, ḍa, ḍabur, ŋan, ṟaŋ

hold ḍil, jaḷ, -nija

hole yilba

hollow tree wujuja

hook up spear ṟal

hop See 'jump'

hot ḍaḍ

howl garaṟ

hungry wayar

hunt bulub, -wuj-ga- (see -ga-),
  yaja

I

ignorant wuŋun

injure maṇaḍ

inside yiribala

island ḷuḷga (ḷuḷga)

J

jealous mirg

jump wirg

jungle jilbi, ḷirjal

K

keep See 'hold'

kick -ba-

knock down yal

know yalya

L

land ḍil (verb)

later baḍa, galŋi

leaf mbiḷal, ṟimbir

lean, bend over mun, wun

learn maḷ

leave bad

lie (untruth) wuḷ

lie down biḍ, (guḷa-)ŋaw, yar

light (fire) ḍay

lightning yaminji

lightweight bulbuldu

like, enjoy bur

long, tall ṟugalara

long time gayari

look ŋalwaṟ

look back baṟa

look for -wiṇḍi-

M

make jaṟag

make trouble gul

man ŋaŋgiwar, njaḻguyi, waḻya

many See 'much'

maybe jabay

meat jalbij, wangubi

meet mad

middle ŋalwar, wuluŋa

milk wambibi

Milky Way guṇḍuru

miss (not hit) muy, wirju, yaḻ

month ḍaṇaḍaŋa

moon waḍaŋarin

morning, dawn jilgñi, ŋiliŋiliwayi, yaṟ

much, many jiribi, ḻiŋ, maḻgayayi, njaṟi

mud wajaḻg

muster ḍuṟur

N

name ñiyin

nearby ḍigay

nest jangar, mbirmbir

night ṇamiri

no! away i

north guymi, wuñmi

now miṇi, ŋala

O

ochre baruwa, yuni

old person ganuŋ(gu), jawulba

one waŋgiñ, wurwaŋgij

open gaṟay

other -gayi, mawurgayi, wayara

oven guṇur, ŋaḻṇar

P

paddle jaḻab (verb)

pain ḻiri, ŋumba

paint See 'clay', 'ochre'

paperbark ḻiba

path maṇal-, maŋgaṇ, yilgiṇ

person waṟiyi

pierce See 'puncture'

plain (flat country) mayamaya, wuray

play, dance ḍiduŋ

plunge in See 'go into water'

point, spike jimiṇḍi, maḻbi

poison mangar, maṟawuriṇa

poke jid

pollen gungaṇḍa

pound bal

pour, spill yur

pull jaṛ

pull up, pull out jab, juyub

puncture jalg

push juḷuḷu

put down -ja-, wuṛ

put in, put on wuḍi

R

rain gubijiji, njuḷa

rainbow wiḍaragama

raw gangima

really bindi, yulbaj

red buḍilbuḍil

reject -wangani-

remember miḍ

remove gaḷ

rest See 'sleep'

restless bara

return wari

ridge ḷiŋḷiŋ, malmalwana

ripe maramara

rise See 'go up'

river balba

road See 'path'

roast See 'cook'

rope See 'string'

rub wur

run ŋad

S

sacred maj, ñugur, -ŋgira

sad (ŋanja-)wirju

salt miṇijar

saltwater maḷuruḷuru

same -ñi

sand gujan

say See 'do that'

scar burgun, minjigawugawu

scare ḷir

scrape wiṛj

scratch garj

season ŋguḷday

see waṛ

send ḍuḷ

(sun) set bur

several muluŋuy, murgu

shade yaṛigu

shaft of spear ŋgalin, ŋgumul, yibaṛa-

shake giyagiya, ji

shift biṛ

shine ḍuwa, wuñ

shoo away jaŋar

short babŋalan

shortcut gajar

shut See 'close'

sick njanur, ŋay

silent ŋayab

sing, song ŋubal, war

sit ḍaj, -maljuṛa, -na-, ŋaldud

sleep miñŋaŋa, mulg, wiŋ, yaŋa

slide waman

slow maṛamaṛa

small mañagu, yigu

smell ñuŋ, ŋarwa

smoke ṇḍuḷar, yuŋguḍ (verb)

sneak away See 'flee'

sneak up baḷ

sneeze jiri

soak gul, gur

soon ŋalaymaryi

sore bubu

sound guŋ, ŋurŋurŋur

south wayburi, wagi, -yiwayi

speak ŋaḷ

spear (noun) ḍuŋal, gaṇḍurba, guruwalya, jagaḷmara, jaŋuḷ, ḷarŋinja, ḷuḷumara, maḷugundu, mawaṛayimbirjimbir, mayaḷuŋgu, ŋaṛññaṛñ, ṛaragal, waḷgamban, wanuŋgu, wañin, wariman, waṛagulu, wiḷmur

spear (verb) gal, -walmida-

spill See 'pour'

spirit malŋuñ

spit ŋaljug

splash yiwiṇ

spread bij

spring jilbi

spy wirjin

stand bay

star gamirinji

stay buliñ

steal gur

step on wal

stick biñbiñ (see also 'tree')

sting -muṇa-

stone ḷigar, maḷigar, manuga

straight maŋjurjur

string ŋaḍugu, yibar

stringybark yalanu, yulway

strong galgalgaṛa

sun warŋiwarŋi

surround jawj

swallow jul

swim ŋuy

T

tail njigur, ṛabara

take See 'carry', 'get'

take out See 'remove'

talk See 'speak'

tall See 'long'

tapstick jamaḷag, jandayi

tell -ja-, yagar

think waḍara

thirsty ḍaṇ

throw ḍiw, dub

tie ḍira, wiḷ

tired yil

today See 'now'

tomahawk See 'axe'

tomorrow See 'morning'

track, trail baṛan

trap for fish yaḍbin

tree, wood ḍabaliya, yulba

trunk of tree ḍaŋul, yabara

turn on guwiḍ

turn over guṟid

twist waḷi

two mudŋuy, wudŋuy

U

uncircumcised yaḷiñga

underwater wuljur

up arajay, arajiyi, arwaṟ, ḍagiḍagi

urinate waṟj

V

vegetable food mariya

vomit wi

W

wait for yaḍ

walkabout jalaḷa, manjawumanjawu

walking stick gaṇḍina

want ñal

warrior galga

water ŋalmi, ŋaḷaja

wax maŋaŋar

weak bilg

well (of water) ŋajal

west argaḷi

wet waja

white buralgmin

White munaŋa

wind bara, maḍun, walulu

witch doctor guluŋ

woman wuybi

wood See 'tree'

woomera baḷya, maŋal, wujula

word ndaway

wrap ḍab

Y

yamstick ganayi, jaraji

yes! anga

yesterday See 'afternoon'

young See 'small'

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