LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF
SOUTH-EASTERN QUEENSLAND

by
Nils M. Holmer
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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

**INTRODUCTORY NOTES AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

**PART I: THE LANGUAGES OF THE WAKKA GROUP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wakka-Wakka</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barunggam</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuli-Wuli</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goreng-Goreng</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goeng-Goeng</td>
<td>105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kabi-Kabi</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batjala</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes to Part I</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PART II: THE LANGUAGES OF THE GUNGGARI GROUP**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Gunggari</td>
<td>179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bidjara</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marganj</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gangulu</td>
<td>267</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wirri</td>
<td>282</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birri</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ngawun</td>
<td>319</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes to Part II</td>
<td>375</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**PART III: OTHER LANGUAGES OF SOUTH-EASTERN QUEENSLAND**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nunagal</td>
<td>392</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manandjali</td>
<td>410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jualrai</td>
<td>438</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Darumbal</td>
<td>456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Notes to Part III</td>
<td>478</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bibliography</td>
<td>484</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
"If the distance from the most evolved languages (let us say the Indo-European) to the first beginnings of human speech be estimated at one kilometer, then the Aranta language in Australia ... hardly brings us a few centimeters nearer to those beginnings"—V.I. ABAEV.\

INTRODUCTORY NOTES AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It might seem a venture to attempt a survey of the Aboriginal languages of south-eastern Queensland today, even though it be made explicit that it will have to be restricted to scanty remnants of surviving linguistic material. For almost the length of the last hundred years the Aboriginal languages, along with the Aboriginal population, have been on a steady decline in this area of early and concentrated European settlement, as evidenced by the anthropological and linguistic works of the period (those by Edward M. Curr, R.H. Mathews, John Mathew and others). The following account therefore will be limited to a description of facts as found by the author to exist in the present day, with the intention in the first place to salvage surviving linguistic data, without any pretension to reconstruct a picture of the linguistic situation at the time when Aboriginal languages were still current among the tribes as a means of communication.

In the second place the author intends to bring together the complete data from the various localities investigated into a wider context forming a larger area so as to view the individual phonological, morphological and lexical data from one language or group of languages in conjunction with corresponding ones in other languages or groups, for the purpose of analysing the entire linguistic material on a comparative basis.

The reason for applying this basis of analysis lies in the advantage of having a continuity of data at hand representing a coherent linguistic area, with acceptance of the principle that forms of speech pertaining to adjoining localities are bound to mutual influences and assimilation. By being able to observe the details of this process of assimilation in a concrete way a more realistic understanding of linguistic relationship is expected, on which fresh

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1 "Jesli rasstojanie ot naibolee razvitykh, skazhem, indoeuropejskich jazykov do pervykh nachatkov rechi prinjat' za kilometr, to jazyk aranta v Avstralii ... približit nas k etim nachatkam jedva na neskol'ko santimetrakh" (V.I. Abaev, Otrazhenie raboty soznaija v leksiko-semanticheskoi sisteme jazyka, in Leninizm i teoreticheskie problemy jazykoznaniya. Akademija nauk SSSR, otdelenie literatury i jazyka, Institut jazykoznaniya, Moscow, 1970, p.234).
principles of comparative linguistics might ultimately be arrived at, as a counterbalance and healthy offset to the prevailing mechanically based principles of 'genetic' relationship and as a means of checking these against the weight of obvious facts. Whether or not this different angle will in any way influence the dominating theories of comparative linguistics the author is not certain of, but still thinks that by viewing the facts from this point the true nature and function of many linguistic forms presented will be seen more clearly.

The bulk of the linguistic material recorded and analysed falls in two clearly distinguished main groups—generally recognised as such according to various names by the linguistics—for which the present author has searched suitable designation and which we might for certain reasons choose to call respectively 'Wakka' and 'Gunggari' languages. The members of these two groups are usually well distinguished morphologically and lexically, the latter (that is those of the 'Gunggari' group) being especially closely knit together as a linguistic family, while those of the 'Wakka' group—falling in a western and an eastern subgroup—are more diversified. While distinctive criteria are naturally sought in the first place within the morphology, certain phonological features also characterise either group. The Gunggari languages make an all-over distinction between dental (or alveolar) and retroflex consonant sounds (a retroflex r, for instance, is different from the normal r), which is not the case in the Wakka languages (where a single trilled alveolar r prevails). Connected with this fact is probably the phonological value of the fairly common interdental sounds, which in all these languages are evident 'allophones', but in such a way that in the Gunggari languages they are variants of the dental series, while in the Wakka languages they may take the place of the sounds in the palatal series. Finally, the likewise often encountered open e and o sounds are in most cases to be considered as phonetic variants in the Gunggari languages, but as true phonemes in the languages in the Wakka group.

Of languages falling outside of these two main groups four only are included in this survey (see Part III), others met with or partly studied being excluded either on account of their belonging to areas beyond those under investigation or else on account of the scantiness of the material recorded. They are nevertheless being considered and utilised from the point of view of comparison with the other languages studied here, in cases where parallels are found either on the phonetic or morphological and lexical levels.

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These roughly coincide with what is named respectively 'Waka-Kabic' and 'Mari' languages on the preliminary map Aboriginal Languages of Australia, by O'Grady, Wurm and Hale (1966); in W.J. Oates Report 1967-68, Australian Languages Linguistic Survey (AIAS Doc. No. 68/696) mention is also made of the 'Waka-Kabic' and 'Pama-Maric' groups of South Eastern and Central Coastal Queensland (pp. 29-31), although including a great deal more than what is recorded (or recognised) by the present author.

In the 'Gunggari' languages, for instance, the test words for 'eye(s)', 'ear(s)', 'hand(s)', 'water' and 'fire' generally show a remarkable concordance.

In no language among those investigated in south-eastern Queensland a distinctively triple series of sounds (retroflex, dental-alveolar and interdental) was found.
These latter groups of languages either form linguistic entities of their own or else are to be classed within larger linguistic groups outside Queensland (for instance in New South Wales).

As is to be expected in an investigation of a linguistic area in which many—or most—of the languages are not currently spoken and further imperfectly remembered by the informants, a certain number of doubtful or erroneous forms may have slipped into the notes of these languages. In some cases these have been weeded out from the material intended for publication, as being improbable or absurd. In other cases, however, they have been retained, although provided with a question mark. This is in order to leave the opportunity open to other field workers to check on them, using them as hints for a reconstruction of correct forms. It needs not to be said that such forms may also be used for comparison with forms previously recorded of which the present author has no knowledge. As a matter of fact, it is believed that a considerable amount of recording (either in field notes or on tape) has been done all over this part of Queensland and that some of these scattered notes and records may still be available if they could be traced to their place of origin and actual whereabouts.

The fact that most of the recorded languages—especially insofar as the vocabulary is concerned—appear mixed is also to be taken into account. This has a double explanation: first of all (as will no doubt be found in most parts of Australia), because there has always been a notable intercourse between the tribes, which also accounts for the much spoken-of bilingualism or even multilingualism among the Aborigines, and further also because many of our informants have travelled much and far, either to visit friends and relations or else to work for white employers in different parts. The author holds that a great number of these words of mixed origin ought to be included into the vocabulary of the language for which they have been noted. It would in any case be useless to try to sort out all elements which would rightly belong to another language from a supposed indigenous vocabulary. After all, the languages of the world are all mixed and will continue to be so.

The material presented in the following three Parts of the present Survey comprises a phonetic and morphological analysis, some texts and vocabularies. A limited part of the recorded material has been taken down on tape in order to illustrate the sounds of the languages, especially in cases where specimens of coherent speech was procured. A fair number of so-called 'corroboree songs'—although of less interest from a linguistic point of view—were also recorded. Copies of selected commented parts of the tapes have been sent to the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in Canberra.

Although this fact has been traditionally assumed and is still accepted by many Australian linguists, the present author has hardly found a single acceptable case of the pretended polyglot gift among the people met with—unless it be taken in the sense that quite a few are equally incompetent in a number of different Aboriginal languages. The following opinion expressed by one informant is typical: "Pontius (a Punthamara named Pontius Pilate) speaks five different languages, although I don't say he would talk them". The knowledge of persons familiar with more than one language is usually restricted to the concrete vocabulary (nouns and sometimes verbs), whereas the morphology does not seem in any way affected.
The field work, which extended over two and a half years, mainly in the south-eastern areas of Queensland, has been sponsored and financed by means of generous grants from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, to which body the author wishes to express his grateful appreciation. Some of the material had been gathered previously, on a visit to Queensland several years back (in 1964), for which the author likewise owes his gratitude to the same Institute, from which on that occasion also benevolent support had been enjoyed by means of a money grant. The author is further indebted to the Australian National University's Department of Linguistics, Research School of Pacific Studies and particularly to Professor Stephen A. Wurm for kindly considering the publication of this work in Pacific Linguistics.
PART I

THE LANG UAG E S OF THE WAKKA GROUP

1.1 The languages of the Wakka Group, to which among others Wakka-Wakka and Kabi-Kabi belong, are rightly representative of south-eastern Queensland. Those of which it has been possible to gather information at this stage are readily divisible into two subgroups, a western group including the closely related Wakka-Wakka, Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli and an eastern group including Goreng-Goreng, Goeng-Goeng, Kabi-Kabi and Batjala. Of the latter four languages Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng are closely related variants, while Kabi-Kabi and Batjala seem so similar that in the opinion of many of the informants they are the same language. Unfortunately, very little information could be gathered regarding the former language, as hardly a single competent Kabi-Kabi speaker was available, although many of the 'corroboree songs' were said to be in the language of this once important tribe. Of the languages in the Wakka Group, Wakka-Wakka proper is no doubt the most important one, appearing to have been so for long and having the prestige of a kind of lingua franca, for whatever the position of Kabi-Kabi may have been at one time it is now an extinct language, while Wakka-Wakka is generally known to some extent among the Aborigines of the Burnett river area (with the Cherbourg settlement).

1.2 The early travellers and anthropologists usually had some notion regarding the areas inhabited by the various tribes, sometimes based on the natives' own information. Today there are no tribes and the few remaining speakers of the languages are scattered—hence there are no tribal or linguistic boundaries in existence. Unless one decides to rely upon the information gathered by those previous writers who have inquired into the matter, perhaps as far back as a hundred or more years ago, the only means available to us in order to get an idea of what parts the different languages actually belonged to—apart from what we are told by the Aborigines themselves from hearsay—would be to consider where either the speakers or their parents or grandparents from which they had learned the language had been born or else spent their early years. For the presumed Wakka-Wakka country, one will see in the first place the account by Mathew (1910). According to what we may conclude from comparing data furnished by surviving speakers or informants, this area ought to take in at least the following places: Cherbourg (the old Barambah Mission, south of Murgon), Kingaroy, Taabinga station, Cooyar, Hawkewood station (on the Auburn river), Eidsvold, Gayndah, Ban Ban Springs and Mount Perry; this coincides at least roughly with John Mathew's account (1910, pp. 68-69, with the map sketch on p. 66). On the other hand it is asserted by the native people that the Wakka-Wakka language belonged to the Gayndah district and the Burnett river. Often it is
customary among the Aborigines to refer to a language by mentioning a place in which a certain language would have been spoken—or rather one where speakers of a certain language had for various reasons been found to be living: hence the 'Stradbroke Island language' (here referred to as Nunagal), the 'Beaudesert language' (the same as Manandjali), the 'Fraser Island language' (Batjala), etc., or else (if it is the question of a group of related languages) the 'Burnett (river) lingo', the 'Dawson river lingo', etc.

1.3 For the other members of the western group of Wakka languages, Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli, the latter was represented by members of a single family (Pope) and the former by one single competent informant. Yet places mentioned in connection with Wuli-Wuli (Hawkwood station, the Dawson river) suggest that the area of this language (which by one native was described as a 'Dawson river language') would have had a north-westerly extension in relation to central Wakka-Wakka. As for Barunggam, the single informant as well as his parents were from Taroom, but the same person described the extension of his language as far as Dalby to the south and Duaringa to the north (including the following places: Dalby, Warra, Chinchilla, Miles, Taroom). Since the name Barunggam (barunggam) appears to be connected with the word barunga, which now means (1) kangaroo rat and (2) Dalby, the Dalby language might perhaps be an appropriate designation. In any case, both these languages are western varieties of Wakka-Wakka.

1.4 Applying the same method to the languages of the eastern subgroup (Goreng-Goreng, Goeng-Goeng, Kabi-Kabi and Batjala) we arrive at the following conclusion. The Goreng-Goreng speakers, interviewed or heard of, were all connected with the Bundaberg or Gladstone areas (taking in places also such as Woodgate, south of Bundaberg, and Mount Perry) —hence with a north-eastern extension in regard to the central Wakka Wakka area. One person defined this language as pertaining to 'Maryborough, Monto and Mount Perry'. Goeng-Goeng, on the other hand, would according to the native places of the informants or their ancestors have extended to Gayndah, Eidsvold and Mount Perry, so that it may be considered to have been an inland variety of Goreng-Goreng (the differences between both may, besides, be described as merely dialectal).

1.5 Although for Kabi-Kabi hardly any competent informant was available (cf. Note 3), the places mentioned in connection with its original area (Gympie, Nambour, Kilkiven, Miva) would indicate an eastern extension in relation to Wakka-Wakka, mainly near the coast (one native mentioned Kabi-Kabi as the 'Wide Bay language', that is toward the southern point of Fraser Island). The above extension corresponds well with Mathew's account (1910, pp. 67-68, with the map on p. 66), with one singular exception: whereas Mathew takes in the Maryborough area into the Kabi-Kabi territory, the latter area is—according to our informants—occupied by another language, Batjala, which is not mentioned by Mathew. This is however insignificant since both languages are close enough to be considered by many as one and the same (cf. above). The Batjala, according to our informants, were settled on the sea around the present Maryborough, Pialba, Urangan, possibly also Yandina and Childers, and above all Fraser Island (some simply call it the 'Fraser Island language). According to another, Batjala extended from Kilcoy, in the west, to Bundaberg, Woodgate and Fraser Island, in the east. This indicates a northern and definitely coastal extension in relation to Kabi-Kabi.
1.6 Still another language should be mentioned in this connection, namely Dunggija (Dunggaja, Dunggadjia, Dunggadjji), the language of one Willie McKenzie (much spoken of by the Aborigines in that area and to whom most claimed some kind of relationship), briefly interviewed by the author in 1964. Mr. McKenzie, who was born on Durundu cattle station (near Woodford and Kilcoy), maintained that his language was the Stanley river language. Most people however of those who knew him would assert that his language was Batjala (evidently meaning by this that it was about as close to Batjala as for instance Kabi-Kabi) and the few words which it was possible to gather during our short conversation did not contradict this assertion. Unfortunately Mr. McKenzie mixed his language to a great extent with Wakka-Wakka (a language of prestige), whether purposely or not. This language, if different enough from Batjala or Kabi-Kabi, would constitute the southernmost member of the group.

PHONETIC NOTES AND LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS USED IN PART I
(a) Vowel symbols
2.1 The following vowel symbols are being used:
   - a, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'cut';
   - e, more or less as in English 'bed';
   - i, more or less as in English 'sit';
   - o, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'got';
   - u, more or less as in English 'put'.

2.2 Notice that i and u, when short, show a certain range of allophonic variation tending toward wider sounds (like narrow forms of e and o), which are at the same time somewhat lengthened: (Wakka-Wakka) nин you, dadulu with a stick may hence become like нен, dato·lu. These lengthened sounds, which must be distinguished from both e, o and e·, o· (see below) will however not normally be marked in the phonetic spelling of the words.

2.3 A raised period (·) indicates a lengthened form of the above primary vowel sounds:
   - a·, more or less as in English 'father';
   - e·, more or less as in English 'where';
   - i·, more or less as in English 'be';
   - o·, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'call';
   - u·, more or less as in English 'do'.

2.4 Final vowels are always long in most monosyllabic words (particles excluded); in words of more than one syllable (along with particles) they are indifferent as to quantity (either long or short). In the former case (e.g. Wakka-Wakka ga· eat) they are marked as long but not in the latter case (e.g. Wakka-Wakka waga no, not, = waka or waka·). Vowels are sometimes found long or lengthened in closed syllables, especially in monosyllabic words and before final r (e.g. Wakka-Wakka gun or gu·n water, wamba hang, gange call, janande going, bawar brush, gundir clever man). As this lengthening is irregular and evidently not distinctive it will not normally be marked in the phonetic spelling. (On the other hand: Wakka-Wakka ba·n comes, as against ban grass, ma·na get, as against mana that; this means in practice that words marked by (·) have always a long vowel,
while those not marked may have a long vowel.) In non-initial syllables it is taken for granted that long and short vowels are not distinguished and length will therefore not be marked. Further, in quoted contexts vowel length will be shown more sparingly, in order not to overload the phonetic writing.

2.5 Vowel sounds occurring in combination, although normally pronounced separately (yet usually without any marked hiatus) tend to acquire a diphthongal character, possibly due to the influence of English among bilingual speakers; notice especially ai, which often sounds as in (Australian) English 'high'. Otherwise ai may acquire a sound similar to ei, that is the standard (but not Australian) diphthongal sound in 'take', etc. As a matter of fact, it seems that ei does not exist in any of these languages except as a phonetic variant ai (cf. Wakka-Wakka gai-gei ate; Goreng-Goreng waibe-weibe camp). Regarding ou (that is more or less the diphthongal sound in Australian 'go', etc.), it is doubtful whether it occurs as an independent sound combination at all or as a mere variant (either of o· or au).12 The sequence je might theoretically be different from ja and also *wo from wa, although there are hardly any examples to substantiate the latter differentiation. On the other hand, the combinations ie and uo (as in Wakka-Wakka) alternate too often with respectively ia and ua to be considered as anything more than phonetic variants of the latter. However, bie throwing is sometimes differentiated from bia throw (imperative); this may be artificial: compare bia~bie baak and other cases of phonetic variation (perhaps also in this connection: ƞinau-ƞineu to sit).

2.6 In contact with j (or any palatal consonant sound; cf. 2.7), a often turns into e, but as these are clear cases of allophones they will not be normally indicated in the spelling. Similarly a tends toward o in contact with w (as in English 'want', 'what'; cf. 6.10), which also will be left without indication in the phonetic writing.

(b) Consonant Symbols

2.7 The following consonant symbols are used:

b, a bilabial plosive (or semiplosive) varying between English 'b', 'p' and a corresponding voiced fricative (as in Spanish haber);

d, a dental or alveolar plosive varying between English 'd' and 't';

g, a palatalised dental or interdental plosive or affricate, either between Indonesian dj and tj or else somewhat like English 'th' in 'father' (cf. 14.10);

g, a velar (or, in contact with a front vowel, palatal) plosive or semi-plosive, between English 'g', 'k' and a corresponding voiced fricative (as in Spanish lago, aguila);

m, a bilabial nasal, like the English 'm';

n, a dental or alveolar nasal, like the English 'n';

ƞ, a palatal nasal, like the Spanish ň or the combination 'ni' in (especially Scottish) English 'onion', etc.;

ƞ, a velar (or, in contact with a front vowel, palatal) nasal, as in English 'song' or 'sing';
1, a voiced alveolar continuant or lateral, like the French or Italian \textit{l};
\[ \text{r}, \text{a slightly trilled continuant, somewhat like the Spanish soft r (ere)} \]
or the Queensland \textquote{r} in certain words, e.g. \textquote{throw}, \textquote{three} ('tree');\[13\]
\[ \text{j}, \text{a palatal semivowel, like \textquote{y} in English \textquote{yes}}; \]
\[ \text{w}, \text{a bilabial semivowel, like the English \textquote{w} (as in \textquote{water}, etc.)}. \]

The aspiration (\textit{h}), often heard initially before vowels, is (as in Queensland English) a mere \textquote{ornament}.

2.8 Regarding the consonant sounds represented by \textit{b}, \textit{d}, \textit{g}, a certain difference in pronunciation may be observed between the languages of the western and the eastern subgroup of the Wakka languages. Normally, \textit{b}, \textit{d}, \textit{g} are of the so-called \textquote{devoiced} type, that is they are weak plosives (of the same kind as English \textquote{b}, \textquote{d}, \textquote{g}) with reduced sonority. In the western group especially they are somewhat more voiced in the initial position as well as after a nasal consonant sound, whereas they are entirely voiceless and at the same time lengthened in the intervocalic position. In the eastern languages there is a tendency toward a fricative pronunciation in the latter (intervocalic) position, while they tend to be voiceless plosives in any other position (the one after a homorganic nasal not excluded—if the nasal is not homorganic the fricative pronunciation is possible: Goreng-Goreng \textquote{ŋalinbaŋi with us}). Although even in this group of Wakka languages initial \textit{b}, \textit{d}, \textit{g} tend to be slightly voiced one Goreng-Goreng informant positively declared that this was not the pronunciation of the old people, who spoke voiceless unaspirated sounds. This difference between the eastern and western subgroups is certainly not absolute: fricative sounds may be found intervocically in Wakka-Wakka also, while the voiceless lengthened plosives may occasionally occur in languages of the eastern group. It might be worth mentioning, however, that the difference indicated above between the western and eastern subgroups is typical enough to induce one Wakka-Wakka speaker (who also knew Batjala, which she had learned) to pronounce the verb form \textquote{wugu (to give)} as \textquote{wuk·u} in Wakka-Wakka, but as \textquote{wuYu} (with a fricative \textit{g}) in Batjala. Hence there is something to be said for the traditional spelling of the language names as respectively \textquote{Wakka-Wakka} (western group) and \textquote{Kabi-Kabi} (eastern group).

2.9 Stress is not significant in any of the languages dealt with in this survey. Still a certain tendency persists everywhere to stress the vowel of the second initial syllable in words or utterances of some length, as in the common Wakka-Wakka greeting \textquote{wangá ɲin jańande where (i.e. how) are you going?}. Here we have two stress units, of which the former consists of two words or morphological elements; similarly in Goreng-Goreng: \textquote{gilamámmin turned round}, Goeng-Goeng \textquote{wajálara} (mountain name), \textquote{goréŋ goréŋ} (language name), etc. This tendency also explains the origin of certain shortened forms, e.g. \textquote{(Wakka-Wakka) ga not (< \textquote{waga})}, \textquote{gú I (< \textquote{ŋagu})}, \textquote{(Barunggam) ñangu why? (< *míñangu}, ñunga \textquote{where? (< \textquote{wanunga})}, etc. Compare the common stress pattern in Aboriginal place names of the type \textquote{'Cutharába}, \textquote{'Didíllibah}, \textquote{'Barálaba}, all over Queensland.\[16\]

2.10 As no marked separation of words or unbound morphemes exists in the current speech of the Aborigines (cf. 2.9), the words and morphemes (as pronounced individually) may sound quite different in a spoken context, which at first seems puzzling. As a consequence of this it must be understood that the separation of morphemes here is made on a logical, and not a phonetic, basis.
GENERAL MORPHOLOGY AND MORPHOLOGICAL CATEGORIES

Introductory remarks

3.1 It is convenient when dealing with the Australian Aboriginal languages to divide the word categories, or morphological elements ('word classes'), into two main groups: independent (or 'concrete') words, that is such as are meaningful in themselves or when uttered alone, and dependent (or 'relational') words or such morphological elements as are not meaningful in themselves, but require to make sense the construction with an independent word or word stem. Within the former group are to be ranged: nominal words (or word stems), verbs (or verbal stems), pronouns and relation words; in the latter group: articles (for the use of this term, cf. 3.18), postpositions, particles (for the use, cf. 3.3) and connectives. The choice of the above terms has sometimes had to be somewhat arbitrary.

3.2 Although in the Aboriginal languages distinctions may exist on a semantic level between nouns, adjectives (qualifiers) and numerals, such a distinction is not warranted on the purely morphological level. Words corresponding to nouns in English ('man', 'camp', 'stone', 'water') or adjectives ('big', 'small', 'good', 'bad') are inflected according to the same pattern and from a morphological (although perhaps not a semantic) point of view such a construction as 'good man' must be considered perfectly analogous to 'father (and) mother' (hence: 'a good one (and) a man'), there being no word corresponding to the English 'and' in this type of construction; in either case both words may be inflected or else one may occur in the stem form (the nominative; cf. 3.15) and the other inflected. The same may be said regarding numerals, which in the proper sense of the word are missing in the Australian languages. The most common word of this kind, the one corresponding to 'two', actually expresses the same as the dual forms of nouns (in all their varieties) in the oldest Indo-European languages (cf. Holmer 1963, p. 72; 1970, pp. 67-69). Verbal stems are characterised as such—apart from their semantic function—by a special verbal inflection (cf. 3.23-24). Of the pronouns (divided into personal, demonstrative and interrogative; see 3.20) nothing else is to be said than that they correspond to similar word categories in English or, as a matter of fact, most languages in the world. The relation words are practically devoid of an inflection, although they may (like many adverbs in English or other Indo-European languages) show traces of a flection, either akin to a nominal or verbal paradigm. The limit between relation words (relating to or determining either nouns or verbs) and true nouns or verbs may sometimes seem arbitrary.

3.3 Among the dependent morphemes, the articles (a term used here in a very particular sense, for which see 3.18) are morphologically akin to nouns or pronouns, being differentiated from these chiefly by their incapacity of functioning except in construction with a nominal word. The postpositions are generally short uninflected forms attached to or construed with a nominal word, analogous to an English preposition; sometimes a postposition may be used as a case suffix or an element of a nominal paradigm. By particles (in want of a better term) we shall mean relation words which do not occur independently, but in construction with a nominal or verbal form only. Finally, the connectives are particles which either introduce a sentence (originally perhaps to connect an utterance with another or to bring it in as part of a narrative) or else to fill out a pause in a conversation, being hardly more than ornamental. In current speech these particles rarely occur among the Aborigines of the investigated parts of Queensland today, but they are the more common in songs.
Structure of the morpheme

3.4 The independent morpheme shows a varying structure. Nominal stems (whether simple or derived) either end in a vowel or a consonant and may be either monosyllabic or longer. Usually simple nominal stems are at least disyllabic in the languages of the Gunggari type, while in those of Wakka type monosyllabic stems are common (Wakka-Wakka na- 'hand, ga- 'ground, guŋ water). Monosyllabic stems may occur everywhere as a result of contraction (Gunggari gu- 'nose, Wakka-Wakka daŋ 'stone, the latter from daŋji, dawi; cf. 6.13). Verbal stems have a more regular appearance and usually end in a vowel. In the Gunggari languages the simple verb stems are normally dissyllabic; in the Wakka languages they are either disyllabic or monosyllabic (Wakka-Wakka ñina- or ñine-infinitive, na- 'see, ga- 'eat'). In some of the languages studied (e.g. Darumbal) there are verbal stems (either simple or derived) which end in a consonant (e.g. Dal- 'eat'), but in most of the languages dealt with here different stem variants may be used in the different modes or aspects (cf. 3.23) on one basic verbal stem (e.g. Wakka-Wakka na- 'and na-í- 'see, ma-í- 'and mān(a)- 'get, Goreng-Goreng daji- and jana- or jan- 'go, Darumbal Naga-í, NaN-í, Naŋ- 'see). The dependent morphemes are mostly monosyllabic.

Derivation

3.5 Both nominal and verbal stems may be derived from simple stems of the same order, that is to say that nouns are derived from nouns and verbs from verbs.18 There are consequently (except from the semantic point of view) no verbal denominatives or nominal deverbatives and so it is sufficient to speak of nominal and verbal derivation only.

(a) Nominal derivation

3.6 Nominal derivation is much less evolved in the languages studied than is verbal derivation. There are no clear augmentative, diminutive or pejorative suffixes as in so many European languages (English 'mankin', 'piglet', etc.). In many of the Queensland languages the suffix -gan marks a female (Wakka-Wakka bangurugan a female Bandjur, Barunggam bandagan a female Bunna, that is members of special social sections; Gunggari mamigan old woman, wagigan white woman) and -ba expresses a place (Wakka-Wakka buranba Barambah, probably from buran wind; cf. the common suffix '-ba(h)' in a great number of place names in Queensland). There are, however, a different kind of nominal derivative suffixes, namely such as consist of a single consonant (-ŋ, -l, -n, -m).19 The exact signification or function of these is however difficult (or rather impossible) to fix, as no difference in meaning whatsoever can be perceived in cases where the simple and derived form are found together (as in the almost universal bina or bināŋ ear).20 For the function of the same elements in the conjugation of the verb, compare below (3.23) in dealing with the morphology of the verb.

3.7 Of special interest are the sociative and caritative suffixes, which express the ideas of respectively 'having' or 'being provided with' and 'not having' or 'being) without'. Of this kind are the suffixes (SOC) -bari or bai and (CAR) -gara in the Gunggari languages (e.g. Gunggari gamubari having water or a drink—usually in the sense of drunk—and gamugara without water, etc.).
In a certain way these suffixes are analogous to case suffixes (see 3.14), but the fact that they are declinable according to a nominal paradigm makes it preferable to consider them as nominal derivative suffixes. — For a particular use of the sociative -ŋa(1) in Goeng-Goeng, see in the special chapter describing the morphology of this language (18.12).

(b) Verbal derivation

3.8 A clear and consistent system of verbal derivation is found in practically all of the languages studied (that is as far as the informants were able to give anything beyond plain items of vocabulary). The derivation is of various kind, but the most common forms may be referred to as of either causative, associative, reflexive or reciprocal derivation. The causative verbs (which are most commonly derived by means of one of the suffixes -ma- or -ba-, sometimes also -mba-) express a verbal action (in itself usually neutral or intransitive) as caused by an agent (as in English 'set', = 'make sit', from 'sit', etc.): Wakka-Wakka garima- put in (from garī- enter, go in); Gunggari bindama- set or let sit (from binda- sit).

3.9 The associative derivation (often by means of -ri-, -ri-, -ndi-) serves to denote an action performed in the company of another, so that the same relation arises between the simple and derived verb as between 'to go' and 'to accompany' (= 'to go with') in English, the primitive verb usually being neuter or intransitive. Of this type are: Goreng-Goreng webendi- bring (= 'come with'), from waba- come, or Wirri wuṛbaŋi- bring, from wuṛba- come.21

3.10 The reflexive derivation (generally by means of a suffix -li- or sometimes -ri-, -ri- or, in the Wakka languages, -ŋi-) serves to express a reflexive or intransitive action in general; the simple verb stem is mostly transitive: Wakka-Wakka gawani- cut oneself, from gawa- cut; Wirri, Birri nagali- look at oneself (as in a mirror), from naga- see, look at. In languages which do not have a special reciprocal verb stem (see 3.11) the reflexive form may express a reciprocal action also: Wakka-Wakka ɲaŋi- look at one another, from ɲa'- see, look at.

3.11 Reciprocal derivation (as in the English verb 'to fight' in relation to 'to hit'; hence 'to hit one another') occurs (for instance by a suffix -mia- or -mi- or also by -ra-) in some languages studied: Gunggari ɲalgamia- talk, say, Wirri, Birri gundara- fight, from gunda- hit, nagara- look at one another, from naga- see, look at. In languages which do not have corresponding forms, reciprocal action is expressed by the reflexive forms (see 3.10) and sometimes in other cases also: Bidjara ɲagali- look at oneself or at one another, from naga- see, look at, beside ɲalgami- talk to one another, from ɲalga- talk, say.

Compound words

3.12 Compound nouns (of the type 'seaman', 'housewife', etc. in English) are normal in all Australian languages and—as also in English—it is often a matter of juxtaposition of two noun stems (cf. English 'country house', 'city water', etc.). In this way we find: Wakka-Wakka dadu gari limbs or leaves of a tree, Gunggari juŋi gamuŋ beef broth (soup). Since adjectival word stems are ranged
(from the morphological point of view) along with substantival stems (cf. 3.2), such forms as Nunagal gugi mulu red stone (i.e. the island name 'Coochie-mudlo') are on the same level as those above (gugi originally means red clay or stuff, so that the above compound is equivalent to red-clay-rock). This type of compound is further not morphologically distinguishable from 'red (clay) and rock', since 'and' finds no expression in the native languages—whether or not any kind of semantic distinction would be felt is quite beyond our knowledge so far. Compounds may be inflected either in one or both of the components (in the latter case grammatical agreement is the rule). Of quite a different kind are reduplicated forms (e.g. waga-waga, the name of a language); although written here as two words, they form a unit insofar as they are inflected in their last component only.

3.13 Verbal compounds are occasionally found. In Gunggari a few compound verbs occur of the type: Ñalgabinda- sit talking, Ñalgadana- stand talking (as if talk-sit, talk-stand); since Ñalg- does not have any independent occurrence (except as a rare variant of the imperative form, which would be out of question here), such compounds must (according to Note 22) be written in one.

Morphology of the nominal stems

3.14 The noun or the nominal word in the languages studied in this survey is declined for case only, but not for number, gender or person. The case forms are usually the following seven: nominative, ergative, objective, possessive, ablative, locative and allative; in the pronominal declension an eighth case form may be used, expressing a dative relation (Goreng-Goreng Ñaji to me, Ñingi to you; see 15.16). The case forms are all expressed by means of suffixes.

3.15 The form referred to here as nominative is the plain stem of the word without any affix or other modification. It is used when the noun or nominal word is the subject of an intransitive verb or—in some languages—the direct object of a transitive verb. It is also used as a vocative form. The ergative case form is used in two different ways: (1) as subject of a transitive verb (i.e. one provided with a direct object), chiefly in the case of animate nouns (living beings) and (2) as an expression of the instrument, chiefly in the case of inanimate nouns (or things); both functions may occur together in the same phrase or sentence (as in 'the man hit him with a spear'). The objective form is used in some languages only (e.g. those of the Wakka group) to express the direct object of a transitive verb (i.e. one having an agent expressed by the ergative form), generally in the case of animate words only. The other languages (such as those in the Gunggari group) do not have special objective forms, except in the pronominal declension (see 3.20-22).

3.16 The possessive form, that is one expressing the owner (hence mostly of animate nouns) is not common to all the languages studied here. It is found, for instance, in Wakka-Wakka wangeri of a snake (waŋe), belonging to a snake (as a 'hole'). More often it is either identical with the ablative form (see 3.17), as in Gunggari marĩu dungu a man's head (from maṛi or mařin Aboriginal man), or is expressed by a postposition, as in Wakka-Wakka murun gari belonging to a man (from murun man). The possessive form is further used to express a
dative relation: Wakka-Wakka baran mairi wuge giving a boomerang to the white man (from mai white man). For a special dative form, see 3.14). One important characteristic of the possessive form is that it may be provided with another case suffix or a postposition: Wakka-Wakka wangerinu into a snake's (hole).

3.17 The following three case forms (ablative, locative and allative), which may be called local case forms, are all generally found of inanimate nouns. The ablative expresses direction 'away from' and may be rendered by the English prepositions 'from, off', etc. When an ablative relation is expressed of an animate noun in the Wakka languages a postposition is used, e.g. Wakka-Wakka murun bonj with the man, that is the man's or belonging to the man. Finally, the allative, which expresses the direction 'toward' and thus answers to English constructions with the prepositions 'to' or 'for'. The two relations ('to' and 'for') are expressed in the same way in the Gunggari languages, namely by the allative form: Gunggari gamugu to or into the water or (to go) for water. In the Wakka languages, however, these ideas are differentiated so that the original allative relation ('toward, to') is expressed by an ablative form, while the purpose of an action ('for') is rendered by the use of a postposition (gu). Hence, in Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng gugu means into the water, as well as out of the water, while gu gu means (go) for water or a drink. —For other case forms, such as the 'comitative', 'perlative', see the chapters dealing with the individual languages.

Articles

3.18 For the use of this term, compare Holmer 1971, 4.1-2. The morphological elements referred to here by the term 'article' have nothing in common with either a definite or indefinite article in English or any of the European languages. While they do determine the nominal word to which they belong (being attached to the latter as a suffix and never occurring independently), they do so in quite a different way. In the Aboriginal languages studied in this survey the articles are all indicators of plurality; where there are several different articles in the same language, however, it has not been possible to trace what different shades of meaning they confer, or may at one time have conferred, to the nominal word or whether any clear distinctions have ever been made or the difference in form depends on other factors. The articles sometimes appear so closely joined to the nominal stem as to give the impression of a flectional element rather than of an affixed or enclitic word; cf. Wakka-Wakka murulam some men (= murunbom) and murun Aboriginal man, men. In such a case the noun with the incorporated article must naturally be written as a single word and, as a matter of fact, it seems in most cases preferable to represent the various forms of the article as suffixes.
3.19 As mentioned above (3.14), the nominal words in the languages described here mark no difference of number, that is to say that they can be understood either as singular or plural: Wakka-Wakka murun means both (Aboriginal) man and (Aboriginal) people; such forms as murunbam (3.18) consequently do not render 'people' in English, but rather (as suggested by the informants themselves) mob of people, the suffix expressing the idea of a 'group'. As a matter of fact, if the difference in meaning can be rendered at all in English, one might say that Wakka-Wakka murun means either man or men, people, any man or men, any people, while murunbam means the particular group of people or some (particular) people, that is whenever it is indicated that there is or was a group of people present in any particular situation (cf. the use of mga (manga) in Tagalog). Looking for wallaby or wallabies would never be rendered by anything but wajaga in Wakka-Wakka, while, when the animals are actually seen, those wallaby or wallabies may be referred to by wajalam. The rule—although at times perhaps vague—evidently holds for all languages in which article elements of this kind have been noted. The articles, which seem to be used preferably of animate nouns (persons and animals), are inflected according to a nominal paradigm.

The morphology of pronominal stems

3.20 As in other Australian languages studied by the present author, it seems convenient to divide the pronouns into three different categories: personal, demonstrative and interrogative. The personal pronouns are normally used in reference to animate words (living beings or persons) only. The demonstrative pronouns are used in reference to persons as well as things, but also to locality (i.e. the place occupied by a person or a thing). The interrogative pronouns are used of persons or things, either in questions or indefinite statements. The pronouns have a basically nominal declension, but often differ on certain points from the declension pattern of nominal words: the personal pronouns (apart from having certain different case forms) always refer to either one, two or more persons only (cf. English 'I' as against 'we'). The demonstrative pronouns do not usually have ergative or objective forms as they at the same time indicate the 'place' (‘this’ = ‘here’, which latter does not indicate or admit of activity). Finally, the interrogative pronoun, referring to indefinite or unknown entities, are consequently indefinite as to number as well (cf. English 'who?', 'what?') and cannot be provided with an article (cf. 3.18-19).

3.21 The personal pronouns often have the same form, whether originally nominative or ergative, to express both functions. In all the languages studied here they have special object forms (usually ending in -na). The possessive form often has an irregular appearance (cf. the possessive pronouns in English) and may—as occasionally the possessive form of the nouns—be provided with still another case suffix. A special dative form is sometimes found (as in Goreng-Goreng; cf. 15.15). As used in reference to persons some of the local forms (see 3.17) acquire special shades of meaning: the ablative means 'off', the locative 'with' and the allative 'for'. The demonstrative pronouns, which also refer to the 'place', are more typically declined in the local case forms, which then often may correspond to English adverbs ('here, hither, hence', etc.).
The morphology of the verb stems

3.22 The verb stems in the majority of the languages studied here are inflected according to mode or aspect only. This means that neither 'time' nor 'person' is expressed by dependent morphological elements. In most of the languages analysed we find four fundamental aspect or modal forms, which may be referred to as: (1) imperative; (2) imperfective; (3) perfective; and (4) intentional (for further details, see 3.24). Except for the imperative (which is mostly identical with the verb stem (cf. 3.24), the different inflection (or conjugation) forms are mostly made up from the verbal stem plus (1) a (probably) original 'nominalising' suffix (-ŋ, -i, *-j, -n, -m, etc.; see 3.6), as a rule followed by an original case suffix (a locative -a or -i), or an equivalent local element -ba-, as in Wirri and Birri, an allative—or postposition—-gu, -u, etc., so that—according to this analysis—such a Wakka-Wakka form as ŋaŋji saw would be analysed as: 'in (-i) see—(ŋaŋ-) -ing (-ŋ-)' or a Gunggari form nagala (idem) as 'in (-a) see—(naga-) -ing (-i-)'; an intentional (Gunggari) nagalgu to see would be made up of the following elements: naga- (verbal stem), -1- (nominaliser) and -gu (allative suffix), while the Wakka-Wakka ŋau or the Wuli-Wuli ŋawa to see would be analysed as: ŋa- (verbal stem) and -u or -wa (allative suffix)—in this case without the nominalising element.

3.23 Regarding the use and function of the particular modal forms, the following may be said. The imperative (usually the plain verb stem, as in Wakka-Wakka ŋa', Bidjara naga see, look) expresses an English imperative, but also a kind of hortative (let me or us see or look). The imperfective forms, although often rendered by English present forms by the Aborigines when being explained, have nothing to do with the 'present time', neither have the perfective forms—although often translated by English preterit forms—anything to do with 'past time'. Such a Gunggari form as wulaŋa (imperfective) means is or was dying, while wulala (perfective) means is or was dead; similarly Barunggam baŋi (perfective) means means standing (or having got up). The intentional mode is used either to express the purpose of an action or else an intention, wish or necessity; such forms as Wakka-Wakka ŋe jangu or Gunggari ŋaja mandalgu (more or less I must or want to go) are to be properly analysed as I (am) for (-gu) going (ja-ŋ-, manda-l-; cf. 3.24). The same forms are, of course, used to express 'in order to': Wakka-Wakka bala maŋgu means (going) to get or catch jewfish. In several languages the intentional mode forms are also used (generally with an introductory interrogative-indefinite relation word, 'where') to express a temporal or conditional subordinate clause (cf.7.35).

3.24 In some languages (for instance those of the Gunggari group) a special kind of adverbial form of the verb is found, which might be called the accidental form. This form serves many purposes, but is especially used to express an English either temporal or conditional subordinate clause (introduced by respectively 'when', 'as' or 'if'). In Gunggari such forms are evidently made up from a nominalising element -j- plus a locative -a, as in: jinda gura mandaŋja when you come back (based on the imperfective stem form mandaŋa going, coming), Birri ŋaja waburu wunbalajala when I was little, to be analysed as: wuna- (live), -l- (nominalising -ing), -ba- (equivalent to a locative suffix, the place—or in this case rather the time-of, followed by the imperfective -la- (introduced somewhat out of place) and the reduced form of the personal pronoun (ŋa)ja I. Hence (at) the time-of liv-ing I (not considering the exact function of the perfective -la-, which possibly expresses action completed in the past).
### ABBREVIATIONS

#### (a) Languages

4.1 The following abbreviations of language names are used in Part I:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>Bar</td>
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<td>Bat</td>
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#### (b) Morphological terms

4.2 The following abbreviations of morphological terms are used in Part I:

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<td>reflexive</td>
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<tr>
<td>REL</td>
<td>relation word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SFX</td>
<td>suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOC</td>
<td>sociative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>verb or verbal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### (c) Informants

4.3 Reference to informants is made by the above abbreviation of language names, followed by the initials of the person who by speaking or knowing it represents that language, e.g. Wak WC, the Wakka-Wakka informant Mrs. Winnie Cobbo—for the names of and data about the various speakers or informants, see under the respective languages in the subsequent phonological and morphological analysis. Since a few of our informants have a knowledge of more than one Aboriginal language, morphological and lexical items obtained from persons not in the corresponding list of informants are marked by the language signature followed by a colon before the signature of the respective informant (e.g. Wak:Gor RD = a Wakka-Wakka form supplied by Gor RD).
WAKKA-WAKKA

Introductory remarks

5.1 Wakka-Wakka is by far the most important member not only of the western subgroup of the Wakka languages, but also of the entire group. It will hence be chosen as the basic object of analysis in describing the phonology and morphology of the western Wakka languages. To avoid useless repetition, its vocabulary will be presented in conjunction with those of the other two members of the subgroup, Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli, to form an incorporation of all the material collected from the western Wakka languages and to be placed after the chapters on Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli.

List of informants

5.2 Reference to informants for Wakka-Wakka is made by the following abbreviations, being the initials of the persons preceded by the letters Wak (for Wakka-Wakka). In the case of more than one informant having supplied a certain linguistic form, the language name is not repeated (e.g. Wak JW, WC, etc.). The brief data gathered about the people listed below may be of interest. For Wakka-Wakka (A) and (B), see Note 5.

Wak AB: Mr. Arthur ('Jock') Bootha, at Moura.
Wak BC: Mrs. Beatrice Conlan, at Gympie.
Wak CF: Mrs. Celia Fogarty, living near Kingaroy.
Wak DK: Mr. Douglas Kina, brother of Wak NK
Wak DL: Mr. Danny Law, at Mundubbera; his mother was Wakka-Wakka.
Wak DW: Mrs. Daisy West, from the Burnett and Barambah creek district, first met at Cherbourg in 1964.
Wak GC: Mr. Geoffrey (Jeffrey) Coochie, at Eidsvold; his mother was a Wakka-Wakka from Gayndah (his father was white).
Wak JC: Mrs. Janet Collins (about 60), at Eidsvold, born on Coonambula station; her father (Crabbie Chapman) was from Mount Perry, her mother from Hawkwood.
Wak JD: Mr. Jimmy Daylight (70), at Biloela; both father and mother were Wakka-Wakka.
Wak JW: Mr. Joe Weasel, a good Wakka-Wakka informant, whose people were from the Gayndah district; Mr. Weasel, who has since died, was first met in 1964, at Cherbourg.
Wak LH: Mrs. Louise Hornett (between 70 and 80), at Gayndah; at least her mother was a Wakka-Wakka (probably Wakka-Wakka (B)).
Wak LM: Mrs. Lily Hill (née Mimi) born at Gayndah and sister of Wak TM (see below); her language seems to be Wakka-Wakka (B).
Wak NF: Mrs. Nita Fewings, at Bouldercombe (south of Rockhampton), born at Taroom or Hawkwood; her mother and mother's father were Wakka-Wakka while her father was Irish.
Wak NK: Mr. Nat Kina (about 40), from the Glasshouse area; his father was said to be Wakka-Wakka, but his mother was probably Kabi-Kabi (?); he was met at Murgon.
Wak NS: Mr. Nelson Saltner, near Kingaroy (later at Miles), born on Hawkwood station.
Wak PB: Mr. Percy Bond (64), at Cherbourg, born on the Barambah Mission (Cherbourg).
Wak RS: Mrs. Rachel Saltner (née Dodd), at Cherbourg; her father was Wakka-Wakka and her mother Goreng-Goreng (Mrs. Saltner, who was first met in 1964, said she was baraŋ (see 12), like her mother).
Phonology

Evolution of the vowel system

6.1 The main principles in the evolution of the Wakka-Wakka phonetic system—as well as that of the Wakka languages in general and those of the western branch in particular—regard the vocalism and more precisely the history of the vowel sounds e (e·) and o (o·), which must be considered as independent phonemes in most of the Wakka languages.2 The evolution of these new phonemes may be observed at different levels, namely: (1) as contraction products of original diphthongal sounds; (2) as arising through a process of assimilation (or 'vowel harmony'); (3) as due to 'vowel leveling' (see 6.6); and finally (4) due to analogy. These different levels will be shown and illustrated in the following sections (a), (b), (c) and (d).

(a) Primary origin of e and o

6.2 The vowels e (e·) and o (o·) seem originally to have arisen as products of a contraction of diphthongal groups of sounds, in the first place *aj and *aw. As the latter combinations seem perfectly identical with corresponding diphthong sounds in English (as in 'high', 'how', etc.), usually understood to be a combination of a and i, u (ai, au), the latter symbols will be used instead of *aj, *aw. Counting on the primitive nature of these, it may be safely laid down that original sequences *aj, *aw have in all positions been reduced to respectively e· and o· (-e, -o, in words of more than one syllable; cf. 2.4) in the western branch of the Wakka languages, while they turn into ai and *au in the eastern branch (of *au there are hardly examples).4 The diphthongs ai and au, which however do occur in Wakka-Wakka (and the languages of the western branch), for instance in Wakka-Wakka mai white man, bai came, has come, jangai has made, mau head, etc., must therefore be assumed to have a different origin (see 6.3-4).

6.3 In comparing the languages of the eastern and western branches, one will find that Goreng-Goreng and Batjala, for instance, show the diphthong ai where Wakka-Wakka has e· (or -e): Goreng-Goreng, Goeng-Goeng and Batjala wangai snake corresponds to Wakka-Wakka wange, (from a primitive *wangaj), Goreng-Goreng and Batjala ganai spear, to Wakka-Wakka (A) gane, (B) and Wuli-Wuli gene, Batjala .Endaiga freshwater mullet, to Wakka-Wakka (B) ãnde mullet and similarly Wakka-Wakka jange makes, making corresponds in its termination to Batjala and Kabi-Kabi verb forms of the type ñinai sita, sitting, jummai going to sleep (representing an original *-aj). Since jangai is the perfective form corresponding to the imperfective jange in Wakka-Wakka, it is natural to assume that the former termination (-ai) represents an original *-aj- plus a perfective *-i (hence *-aji), by analogy with Batjala perfective ñinami (sat, has sat),
from imperfective ɲinam (sits, sitting), ɲamnani (saw), from imperfective ɲamnən (can see) or the Goreng-Goreng perfective -min alternating with an imperfective -(g)im; the Batjala perfective forms in -ajə (see 25.13) seem to answer directly to the Wakka-Wakka forms in -ai.\(^5\)

6.4 According to the analysis in 6.3, the Wakka-Wakka (A) diphthong ai would represent an evolution of a primitive *aji, which remains as such in Wuli-Wuli and Wakka-Wakka (B), as in maji white man (= mai), daji stone (= dai), waji climbed (= wai; all from Wak TM), and by analogy Wakka-Wakka (A) au would represent an original *awu, which still occurs in Wakka-Wakka (B), as in mawu head (= mau).

(b) e, o arisen through assimilation

6.5 In most of the languages in the Wakka group (and in some others; cf. Note 42) a marked tendency may be noted in words having more than one syllable to repeat an e or o in two or more syllables: Wakka-Wakka gende yaṃstiek, geomplay, gengenge calling, moro light (a fire), moron home, ɲomgori your(s) (dual), jomgori their(s) (dual), Barunggam wenge (cf. 6.3), Goreng-Goreng ɲemen saw, Goeng-Goeng begege fight (also compare Nunagal dege white man, as against Manandjali dagai, idem). As most of the examples show, it is a question of an original *a becoming assimilated to e or o (while original *i and *u are usually intact); compare the above: Wakka-Wakka wange and Barunggam wenge, Wakka-Wakka moro- and Wuli-Wuli, Dunggija marwa- (same meaning), Wakka-Wakka ɲomgori, jomgori and ɲingari (your); Goreng-Goreng ɲemen and ɲagim (sees; from the stem ɲa-) etc. On the other hand, Wakka-Wakka ɲinenge sits, sitting keeps its -i- in the first syllable (while the original *-a- of the second syllable is changed into -e-, the basic form evidently being something like *inangaj). The vowel assimilation (or 'vowel harmony') described above is however, to be characterised as a 'tendency' rather than a 'phonetic law',\(^6\) of which the above Waka-Wakka wange (in comparison to Barunggam wenge) is sufficient proof; likewise the normal form in Wakka-Wakka is janande (going; cf. the imperative jana go and the stem jana-), although the alternative form jerenge occurs (Wak VL; both forms from original *janangaj).

(c) Vowel levelling

6.6 For this term, cf. Holmer 1960, pp. 14-23. Vowel levelling occurs still more sporadically, being reduced to cases in which the vowels are different (but on the same 'level'), according to the pattern o-e, which may represent original u-e, as in the language names Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng (for guren, from original *guriŋ and *guŋ, *gu(w)iq, respectively).\(^7\) A Wakka-Wakka instance of this is the fairly common gagore child, beside more original gasure.

6.7 A vowel levelling of a different kind arises as a sort of compromise between an a and an ə or an a and an u in the same word, the result being that both vowels turn into respectively e or o. This seems to have happened in Wakka-Wakka (B) ɲogorin son (Wak TM), corresponding to Wakka-Wakka (A) ɲagareŋ (Wak JC). An interesting case is found in the correspondence of Wakka-Wakka (A) ɲail eaglehawk (Wak SH, JC) and Wakka-Wakka (B) ɲevel (id.; Wak TM), which would according to the above pattern be from an original *ɲawai (cf. 6.13).\(^8\)
(d) Analogous e and o

6.8 From forms such as the above Wakka-Wakka qinenge (see 6.5), of which the original stem is evidently *qına-, an imperative qina is formed instead of the regular *qına (cf. Goreng-Goreng qına sit) and similarly from the imperfective junenge (lying down; <*junangaj) the analogically formed imperative june occurs instead of a regular *juna (cf. Goreng-Goreng juna, idem).

6.9 In Wakka-Wakka the vowels e and o may arise by contraction of original ia (ija, ja) and ua (uwa, wa), which currently—especially in rapid pronunciation—tend to become respectively e' and o' (incidentally, in certain contexts they may be still further reduced to e and o). Such contracted forms may assume the value of phonemes. Examples of this are numerous; the following only may suffice: Wakka-Wakka me' eye (very seldom mia, Wak BC; cf. Wuli-Wuli mial, idem), moro- light a fire (cf. Wuli-Wuli, Dunggi marwa-, idem), ěe' (ěe) I (sometimes ńia, as regularly in Wuli-Wuli), '9 jo' (jo) he, she (sometimes jua), jo'ńa (joña) him, her (also juna), ěuroi hungry (beside ěurwai), ńoroŋ (section name; beside ěarwai), etc.50 It ought to be mentioned, however, that there are words and forms in which the contraction was never noted: bia- throw, dia bone, dią tooth, ńua egg, ńual tears, ěuar face, which latter three are however respectively de'ńa, no'ľ and no' namedtuple in Wakka-Wakka (B). For this and other reasons e', o', arisen from ia, ua, have the value of phonemes in the same way as e' arisen from *aj (see 6.5), although this does not hold for the common intermediate forms (ie, ua), which therefore are represented here by respectively ia and ua.

6.10 As was mentioned in an earlier context (2.6), the vowel a tends toward e in contact with a palatalised sound. Although this is to be viewed as a mere allophonic variation, the e sound arisen in this way occasionally obtains phoneme character, as in the case of wepe used by a couple of Wakka-Wakka informants (Wak BC, NF) for original wanga, wåna (the latter in rapid contexts) where, when, if, as the final -e evidently has become firmly enough established to effect the assimilation of the vowel in the first syllable. Conversely, the labialising influence of the initial w- has had the opposite effect in changing the first vowel (a) into a vowel like o (cf. 2.6), which has further proceeded to u, as in (w)uña (same meaning); since o (or the o-like sound), but not in the same sense u, may be considered a phonetic variant, one actually has to assume that forms such as wunga, wura, although typical of the rapid pronunciation, are phonetically different words. For an analogous passing of u to i in similar conditions, compare 10.5.

6.11 Other irregular cases of labialisation of a are found in contact with the labial consonants m and b, in such words as mon, mona, mono (the last one by assimilation; cf. 6.5) for man, mana that, there, then, as heard by some Wakka-Wakka speakers. More common still are the postpositional forms boņu and boņi, the ablative and locative forms of a stem *ba-, expressing both locality and ownership or association (belonging to, of, off, from, etc.), of which the original forms must be supposed to have been boņu (also occurring in Wakka-Wakka)51 and *boņi. The locative form boņi (at, near, with, etc.; cf. Goreng-Goreng -boņi from) consequently differs in sound from Wakka-Wakka bo'ńi dead (from buańi).
6.12 The long vowel a' also is most probably a contraction product, arising from such combinations as *aja, *awa, *awu, *awi; compare Wakka-Wakka ba'n comes, coming and Wuli-Wuli baje (< *bajaj), of the same meaning (and different from Wakka-Wakka ban grass), Wakka-Wakka ga' cut (imperative), beside gawa (idem).\(^5^2\) Wakka-Wakka ga'n elder sister, beside gawin (idem), or Wakka-Wakka ga'ri- or gawuri- urinate, from gawur urine (cf. Barunggam and Batjala gawur, idem); the latter word hence differs from Wakka-Wakka gari leaf. The evolution of *awu is, however, different in Wakka-Wakka go'n (go'na) want, to which corresponds Barunggam ga'n, Wuli-Wuli ga'n, ga'n (idem).

6.13 In Wakka-Wakka (B) (cf. Note 5), the sequence awi often occurs for ai in Wakka-Wakka (A): mawi (= mai white man), dawi or daji (= dai stone), gawir or gajir (= gair not yet; Wak TM). Otherwise, awi corresponds to a' in Wakka-Wakka (A), according to the evolution mentioned above (6.12): Wakka-Wakka (B) bawi- (= Wakka-Wakka (A) ba'- get up, stand), bawinge (= ba'inge, also be'inge, standing). In a somewhat similar way Wakka-Wakka (B) iwi corresponds to Wakka-Wakka (A) i', as in diwir (B), di'- (A) a fly, and a -wi- is probably also lost in the intentional forms maria, wulia to burn, swim, from *mariwa, *wuliwa (see 7.29).

6.14 As final vowels in monosyllabic words are never pronounced short (a short vowel in such words would indicate a particle or analogous morphological element), such vowels must be considered as distinctively long. When occurring in noun or verb stems (e.g. ga' earth, na'- see) they tend to remain long in inflected or derived forms as well, as in Wakka-Wakka ga' gu to the earth (cf. ga'gu always), mu'nja full, from mu' belly, na'ji saw, from na'- see (imperative).\(^5^3\) Even in cases where the vowel length is not distinctive (as in gu'n beside gun water; cf. 2.4) inflected forms may keep the long vowel under the influence of the shorter stem forms: gu'nji in the water, gu'nju into or out of the water (besides guni, gunu). In the same way, as any word-final vowel may occur lengthened (cf. 2.4), such forms are frequent in Wakka-Wakka as wange'rin belonging to or of the snake (from wange' = wange).\(^5^4\)

6.15 Lengthening and widening of i and u in closed syllables (n'en or n'e'nb normal n'ni you, etc.) is sporadic and definitely non-distinctive in Wakka-Wakka: mem fat (cf. the ergative mimbu and Kabi-Kabi mim fat); it is particularly common before -r: bajir mountain (along with bajir, bair), gunder (beside gundir) clever (man) (Wak JC), gid(')r clothes (Wak WC). In other positions (including word-final) the mentioned widening of i is much more common in the areas bordering on the original Wuli-Wuli country (see 10.7); people at Eidsvold will say: ji'n for ji'nj (was, etc.; Wak JC), n'a'ne for na'ni (saw; Wak JC) and also in Wakka-Wakka (B): jige (or even jege) for jigi (the same; Wak TM).

6.16 Since no word is found to begin with a vowel in the Wakka languages (neither, as it seems, in any of the languages investigated in the present survey), it is reasonable to assume that syllables originally begin with a consonant, that is to say that there are no original cases of hiatus or diphthongs in these languages. It is, on the other hand, possible that a hiatus (and in consequence of this a diphthong) may have arisen by some kind of analogy in inflected forms, namely if a stem ends in a vowel and a following suffix for some reason appears as a vocalic element or one beginning with a vowel.\(^5^5\) This appears to have happened when the suffix -gu (to, for, as in jangu to go, ma'ngu to get) in most Wakka-Wakka verb forms
appears as -u (e.g. nau to see, from the stem na-'), that is the -u of for instance gunu (in) to the water (guu). Except for cases such as this (in which the arising hiatus has a secondary origin) and in view of what has been stated above as to the fundamental syllabic structure of these languages, it would be perfectly logical to assume that diphthongs are everywhere a later product and that forms of the type mawu (beside mau head), baji (beside bair mountain), nwa (beside nwa egg), bubi (beside bui cars, pet snake), mujim (beside muim tomahawk), bijon (beside bion dream), gujij (beside guj red), etc., are primitive in relation to the parallel diphthongal forms. The matter is, however, not quite simple. No form *nawu (although possibly existing as a variant) was found from which nau (see above) might have resulted (on the other hand, Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli have nawa in the same sense) and of the forms biju and bui (to carry off), the latter is of course the primitive (or 'etymological') one (cf. above). In short, one is never in a position to determine with certainty whether the -j- and -w- are to be understood as primitive and functional or merely as intercalated 'glides', arisen in hiatus. This seems the case in the above biju (for bi-u) and it is definitely the case in gijur (Wul LW) beside giur and gijur sickness (Wak TM, SH), but possibly not in the ergative form bariju (= barilu, from bari child). However, as long as the question cannot be settled definitely, it seems safer to represent such forms as those above either with or without the -j- or -w- according to the frequency with which the one or the other kind of pronunciation has been noted.

6.17 All native words in Wakka-Wakka begin with a consonant and adopted English words only may begin with a vowel (e.g aibol gu to Eidsvold). Usually such words prefix the η sound to any initial vowel in the Aboriginal languages studied by the author (e.g. Goeng-Goeng ηarip orange, Thangatti (N.S.W.) ηapal apple; no instance was recorded for Wakka-Wakka). As, however, nothing indicates that the Australian languages did not originally permit initial vowel phonemes, one might surmise, for instance, that the Wakka-Wakka second person singular personal pronoun nin (you) represents an original *in (since η- is usually the exponent of the first person in the Australian languages), which also would be the original stem of the same pronoun in the Gunngari languages (jinda), where j- for similar reasons might have evolved.

Evolution of the consonant system

6.18 The consonantal inventory of Wakka-Wakka (and the Wakka languages in general) comprises: (bilabial) b, m; (palatalised dental) η, n; (dental or alveolar) d, n; (palatal or velar) g, η; further the continuants l and r and the semivowels j and w (for details as to their phonetic values, etc., see 2.7-8). A Wakka-Wakka word or syllable can begin with any of these consonant sounds, except l and r, but can end only in a vowel or nasal (-m, -n, -r, -η). The acceptance of diphthongal values of some combinations (ai, ia, au, ua) allows us to exclude any vowel-initial syllables from the system. Neither initial nor final consonant clusters normally occur, but between vowels clusters of any two consonants are theoretically possible, as long as the first element is one of the syllable-ending consonants (see above) and the second element one of the possible word- or syllable-initial consonant sounds (cf. above). Many clusters thus arise which seem difficult to pronounce from the English point of view (e.g. -ηη-, -mη-, as in gamηa- break, jamηa- quarrel, nimηa- pinoh; Wak TM). The combination -ηη- (which in these languages is clearly distinct from -ηη-) is—unlike the case in English—quite common. Nevertheless, cases are
found in which this combination (-ng-) has been assimilated either to -ng- or to -nd-, that is to a homorganic cluster, as in bangâ- for bangâ- fear or in the common verb form janande going, which apparently is to the imperative jana (go) as is NullPointerException to the imperative NullPointerException (sit) or junenge lying down to june (lie down); the forms junende (sitting) and junende (lying) also occur (Wak WC, TM), as well as ma'nde beside ma'nge holding. The forms gindu for gin gu (to, for a woman), jaramandu for jaraman gu (want a horse), mawilambu for mawilam gu (for the white people) are examples of analogous assimilation products in Wakka-Wakka (B)—all examples from Wak TM.

6.19 An important phonetic peculiarity has to be mentioned in dealing with the consonant system, namely the passing of various single intervocalic consonant sounds (most often an -n-) into -r-. The following are examples from Wakka-Wakka: jaranje, jerenge for common jananè (probably from *janger, *jenenge; cf. Note 60), garan (geran) for garan sun, ba'ringe for ba'ninge standing, etc. That it is actually a matter of variants of the same word becomes evident when a good informant (Wak JW) was asked (in 1964) to say to go home in Wakka-Wakka repeating the word three times, which he did as: jaranu, janangu, janangu, (that is, the latter two as corrections of the first one). Instances of this passing into -r- were found in practically all of the languages studied in south-eastern Queensland.

6.20 As in most languages studied in this survey a certain tendency exists to simplify the sequence -nd- to -n- and -nd- to -n- in the current pronunciation. One of the most common instances of this is found in the interrogative wanâ (which?), which is frequently reduced to waña (wuña, wepe; cf. 6.10).

Morphology
(a) Structure of stems and derivation
7.1 Structure. For the structure of the morphological units see in the chapter of General Morphology and Morphological Categories (3.4). Apart from the fact that verbal stems more regularly end in a vowel (mostly -a- or -e-—the latter arisen from -a- according to 6.5—sometimes -i-) there is no structural difference perceptible between nominal and verbal stems and it may happen that semantically related noun and verb stems are identical, being distinguished in the inflection only: compare Wakka-Wakka ganga noise and ganga- call, shout, ga'ri urine and ga'ri- urinate. The 'nominalising' suffixes mentioned in 3.6 (with the Note 19), of which the original function is unknown, therefore do not properly serve to change a verbal stem into a noun stem, which also appears from such cases bina- bina' ear, dina- dina' foot, in many Australian languages, or in Wakka-Wakka guna' and Barunggam guna (faeces). As these suffixes occur in the verbal system as well, one might suspect that they are originally exponents of different 'aspect' (whether in the nominal or the verbal system; cf. 3.23).

7.2 Compounds. Nominal stems are freely joined to form compounds according to the principles mentioned in 3.12 (the stems—insofar as they may exist as independent forms—are written apart here): Wakka-Wakka dadu gari leaves or branches of a tree, gina' du' footprint, nia dian' gangur I have a toothache, du' gangur heartache. Constructions of this kind may sometimes be interpreted
as having attributive character, as in: gior gan male rainbow, gior gin female rainbow (rather than rainbow man, woman respectively). Copulative compounds occur: gam bulor meat and bread (Wak TM), but unlike the Indian dvandva compounds they are not distinguished (except semantically) from other nominal compounds, as duality is not formally indicated in Wakka-Wakka. Of more importance is the potential predicative analysis of many nominal compounds: nja dandar gàngur, for instance, rather corresponds to English I have a sore chest than to I am chest-sore. Formally none of these types of compounds (from the English point of view) are really differentiated in the same way in Wakka-Wakka; notice that murun ginaŋ a man's footprint, as occurring in the construction muruna ginaŋ naŋi saw a man's footprint is quite analogous to any 'attributive' construction in which one member only is inflected (cf. 7.34).

7.3 Derivation. The principles of nominal derivation have been explained in 3.6-7. The suffix -gan (cf. 3.6), marking females, is common in designations of social sections: barangan woman of the baran section. In some cases it is questionable whether a certain morpheme should be understood as a derivative or a case suffix. This may be said of the local suffix -ba (common and typical in modern Queensland place names), which rather fills both functions. Usually it marks the locative and allative case of a common noun as indication of a place, as in: jandane dulanba going to Jimmy's scrub), jandane gurulba going to Gooroolba, in which -ba evidently is best rendered by to or at the place of. On the other hand, an allative form of the same suffix (-bau) is occasionally found: gurulbau jandane (idem; Wak WC), in which the allative suffix (-u) is further the same as the one used in verb forms to express the intentional mode (see 7.29), as in bau to come.

7.4 The same points of view may hold for the common sociative suffix -ŋa (usually corresponding to English having or provided with), which typically forms nouns or nominal words (cf. giraŋa porcupine and gira prickers). In some constructions, however, such an analysis is not appropriate either semantically or syntactically: memeŋa (came) with (his) mother, for instance, if analysed according to the sociative sense would mean one having a mother (came), which implies one person, whereas analysed according to the proper sense here two persons are involved. In the latter case it is more suitable to speak of memen as a comitative case form. (This, of course, does not mean that there are never cases in which the meaning might be ambiguous.)

7.5 Regarding verbal derivation in Wakka-Wakka, compare the 3.8-10. Wakka-Wakka has the following three kinds of verbal derivative suffixes: (1) causative; (2) associative (often with a causative function); and (3) reflexive (sometimes with a reciprocal function). Of causative suffixes -ma- (-me-) is the most typical one, as in garima- put in, enter, from gari- enter (ITR), ġarima- turn round (TR), from ġari-, idem (ITR), or wulima- wash, from wulli swim. The suffix -ba- (-be-), as in: gumba- light a fire, ġumbe- smoke, gurumba- make a noise, murba- smell, is more often added to word stems having a nominal character (cf. gujemy fire, ġum smoke, gurun noise, mur smell) and a further derivation in -bama- (as in ġumbama- smoke, gurumbama- make a noise) also occurs.
The clearest associative suffix is the syllable -ri- found in two Wakka-Wakka verbs: ba·ri- bring (from ba- come) and bi·ri- take (from bi-, which in Wakka-Wakka in itself means take, while Goreng-Goreng has an intransitive bi- go). The suffix -ndi- (as in śinendi- set down from śine- sit down) has a causative meaning, while the associative function is perceived in the formally identical Goreng-Goreng śinendi- sit with (someone). In the verb guarendima- turn round (TR) the causative -ma- is added (cf. guarima-; 7.5). Alternating with -ri- are found the variants -ra-, -na- and -la- (-le-) : bi·ra-, bi·na- , bi·la- take away , ja·le- talk (speak with), gaila- (ga·la-) look for (cf. gaji-, idem). Otherwise -ri- has a reflexive sense in Wakka-Wakka (see 7.7).

The most common reflexive suffix is -ni-, as in gawa·ni- cut oneself, from gawa- cut, nōni- burn oneself, from nā- burn, or (in the reciprocal sense) nāni- look at one another, from nā- see, look at, ja·ni- talk to one another, from ja·- tell, talk. As mentioned in 7.6, the suffix -ri- is reflexive in some verbs: guari- turm (oneself) round (cf. the transitive guema- turn round, me·ri- run (cf. the transitive mia- chase), which latter (me·ri-) appears augmented by -ni- in miarṇi- (idem). The formative -ji- has a reflexive (or reciprocal or general intransitive) sense in: wundajī- cover oneself (cf. wundaj- cover), morojī burn (ITR; cf. moro- kindle), borojī- fight (reciprocal; cf. boro- fight, TR), gurojī- get hungry (cf. guroi, gurwai hungry, which however seems to be the same word as the verbal stem; in Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng the corresponding word, gugali hungry, contains the reflexive -lī-; see 15.7).

Some derivative suffixes are difficult to classify as to function, as the number of verbs in which they may be supposed to occur is too limited. Several verbs in -ga- (-ge-) have an intransitive character: bege- come (Wak JW; a Wakka-Wakka word? cf. Wakka-Wakka ba·- and Batjala baga- come), dunga- cry, bangā- be frightened, gunge- flood, but analogous simple verbs have generally not been found (also cf. bunga- fight, mentioned in Note 69). It may also be remembered that -ba- (-be-) is not always causative, nor even transitive (as in bilbe- be cold).

A certain group of suffixes is used especially to make native verb stems of English root words: 'wash', 'chop', 'drive (a car)', usually in the Pidgin stereotypes ('washim', 'choppim' 'drivim', etc.) and more or less adapted to Wakka-Wakka phonetics (wağim, gābim, etc). The suffixes in question are: -ge- (the most common one; cf. the verb stem ge·- go), -je- (cf. the verb stem jia- become), -je-: wağime·ge- wash, laitimge- or laitimje- light a fire, nāgu gujum laitimge or -je let me light a fire; Wak LH), drivim·ge- (ŋomgan(du) drivim·genge (my) wife drives; Wak WC). The sense is either transitive or intransitive. Of -ge- and -je- reflexive forms in -ni- (hence -gejni-, -jejni- are found: wağimjeni wash oneself (Wak WC). These suffixes are occasionally used with native word stems as well and may then be considered as true verbalising suffixes (cf. 3.5, Note 18); such a derived verb is gongamjeni- tire, from gongam tired (literally without desire, disinclined; Wak WC).

(b) Inflection

The only word categories subject to inflection (declension or conjugation) are nouns (or nominal words), articles, pronouns and verbs. Relation words are either evident declension (or possibly conjugation) forms or else capable of a
limited declension (e.g. binu, bini behind, wanaŋu, wanaŋi (from) afar, apparently the ablative and locative forms of noun stems not found isolated), while wanaŋa when? seems a 'perlative' (see 7.11) form of wanaŋa where? (itself a perlative of a pronominal stem *waŋ, also found in the ablative waŋu whence?). All such words which show no regular declension pattern will be listed as relation words.

7.11 Declension. The regular nominal declension comprises the following six case forms: nominative, ergative, objective, possessive, ablative and locative (cf. 3.14). In a few cases a clear allative is found; a perlative (expressing the idea of 'through, along, all over') is occasionally found, but is more typical of relation words (cf. 7.10), while a comitative is rather the same as a sociative derivation, used in a somewhat different function (see 7.4). The case suffixes — unlike the postpositions (cf. Note 70) — usually change according to the structure of the stem of the word declined, which may be of three basically different kinds: (1) stems ending in a vowel; (2) stems ending in a nasal; and (3) stems ending in -l or -r.

7.12 Paradigms. Nominal stems ending in a vowel form the ergative either by the suffix -lu, -ru or -ju, the objective either by -ŋa or -na, the possessive by -ri, -rin or -r̪iŋ (or -r̪iŋa, which however seems an original inflected possessive; cf. 3.16), the ablative by -ŋu or -nu, the locative by -ŋi or -ni and the allative (where it is found) by -u. The perlative is formed by changing the final -u of either the ergative or ablative forms into -a (hence either ending in -la, -ra or -ŋa, -na, respectively), while the comitative (being the same as the sociative in -ŋa; cf. 7.10) is formed equally of all stems. A paradigm of vowel-ending stems would consequently have the following appearance (of the stems: baba father, meme mother, wange snake, nala hole, gundu camp, home):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>baba, meme, wange, nala, gundu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>babalu, babaju, memelu, memeju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>babaŋa, memeŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>wangeri (-r̪iŋ, -r̪iŋa), gunduri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>nalaŋu (-nu), gunduŋu (-nu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>nalaŋi (-ni), gunduŋi (-ni)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

An unambiguous allative is found in gurulbau to Gooroolba (from the place name gurulba; cf. 7.3), the perlative in the forms dambara, dambaŋa along the road (from damba track), duŋina there in the creek (from duŋi creek; Wak TM) and (probably) in dingura (at) Tingora (from a word dingu, meaning wattle tree in Barunggam) and the comitative in memeŋa along or together with (one's) mother (cf. 7.4), ganaŋa wa·r̪eŋi hunted with a spear (Wak SH; more or less equivalent to the ergative ganela, used in the instrumental sense). As indicated in 3.16, the possessive form (in -r̪iŋ) may be further declined (according to the paradigm in 7.13), so that an objective in -r̪iŋa or an ablative in -r̪iŋu may occur: wangeriŋu into a snake's (hole) (Wak SH). The vowel-ending mai white man alternates with a form in -n (main): ergative maindu, possessive main gariŋ (= mai gariŋ or mairi) gana dai this money is the white man's (Wak SH); compare murun and muru- dark man (7.13; also Gunggari mari or marin Aboriginal).
7.13 Of stems ending in a nasal (-ŋ, -m, -n, -n̥) the ergative ends in (including the stem-final nasal) respectively -ŋgu, -mbu, -ndu, -ŋgu, the objective in -a, the ablative in -u and the locative in -i. A possessive form is generally missing (although a rather strange formation was found in murun the man’s from murun, Wak WC, the normal one being murun gari or garin; cf. mai and main, in 7.12). A paradigm would have the following appearance (of murun man, gin woman, guŋ water, gujum fire, muraŋ white alay):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>murun, gin, guŋ, gujum, muraŋ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>murundu, gindu, guŋu, gujumbu, muraŋgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>muruna, gina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>murur (see above)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>murunu, guŋu, gujumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>guŋi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The allative is similar to the ablative (guŋu), whether or not this is original (cf. Note 70). In any case there is a clear difference between the locative-ablative guŋu into the water and guŋ gu (going) for water (cf. Note 73). Of the perlative examples are found in: jaramanda on horseback (from jarama horse), gananda (in the) daytime (Wak WC; from ganan sun, day).

7.14 Of stems ending in -l or -r the case suffixes are: ergative -u, objective -na, ablative -nu, locative -ni (there being no possessive form) according to the following paradigm (ŋail eaglehawk, me·l eye (Wakka-Wakka B), bil oold, gundir clever man, go·r hornet, bajir mountain, bawar bush).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>ŋail, me·l, bil, gundir, go·r, bajir, bawar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ŋailu, bilu, go·ru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>gundirna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>me·lnu (= me·ŋu), bajirnu, bawarnu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>bajirni, bawarni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A perlative is found in bawara janande going along or through the bush. The ablative bawarnu is found in the sense of from or in the bush and bawar gu in the sense of to the bush. No possessive forms were found (cf. 7.13).

7.15 Articles. For the occurrence and functions of articles, see in 3.18-19. In Wakka-Wakka (A) the forms are usually: -bam or -bom (possibly < -buam, as heard from Wak SH; the phonetic evolution is according to 6.9), with the alternative forms -lam, -lom, -ram, -rom, which seem to be based on the ergative case form (cf. ergative barilu, bariru, article form barilom, barirom, from bari child), while retaining the termination of the probably more fundamental -bom. The latter variants are common after vowels or -r: barilom (cf. above), mailom (from mai white person), daïlom (from dai stone), bajirom (from bajir mountain); in other cases (chiefly after nasals) -bom (-bam) is the rule (murunbom, ginbom; in the case of a stem in -m, the initial sound of the article -bom would agree with that of the ergative form in -bu; cf. 7.13).

7.16 In Wakka-Wakka (B), beside -bam, -lam (as in ganbam men, ginbam women, mawilam white people, there being no examples found of -bom, -lom, which are more typical of Wakka-Wakka (A); cf. 10.4), there is also another plural article -gin (of which no instance was found in Wakka-Wakka (A)): balagin (some) jewfish, jinbağin (some) eels, njedegin (some) mullets. There is further what seems a variant (-gin) of the same suffix, as in: njedegin (cf. above) and miorgin (some) turtles (from mior; Wak TM). Although it is probable that these latter
suffixes originally had a certain distinctive character, it is not necessary to
conclude that it is at present limited to names of fish or animals (as in the
above examples), as it is also found, for instance, in bandagin all the Bundas
(a social section; Wak TM); also compare 9.5. Besides, the same suffix (-gin)
is liable to be added to the article -bam, as in ganbamgin, ginbamgin (some)
men, women (Wak TM).

7.17 The articles are inflected according to the declension pattern in 7.13,
that is that of stems ending in a nasal. Because of their special character
and their preferential use with animate nouns (cf. 7.19), the only case forms
met with are the **ergative** and **objective** (the possessive would have to be
expressed by a postposition; cf. 7.13).Examples: (ergative) ganbambu
(Wak TM), barilombu; (objective) bariloma (from gan man, bari child).

7.18 **Personal pronouns.** The declension of the pronouns, and especially the
personal pronouns, shows certain deviations from the ordinary nominal inflection
and a number of irregularities. Unlike the languages of Gunggari type (in which
the nominative and ergative of the personal pronouns are the same), the Wakka-
Wakka personal pronoun generally makes a clear formal distinction between these
two case forms. However, since personal pronouns are normally used in reference
to animate nouns only, certain case forms may be missing, while others may be
used in specialised senses (cf. 3.21): no allative forms seem to occur and the
ablative and locative (when found) may express a comitative ('with'); of other
comitative forms, as well as of perlocative forms, no trace has been found. The
possessive form is, by analogy with the same form in the noun declension,
capable of inflection (that is like the possessive pronouns in the classical
languages of Europe). There are special personal pronouns with a dual and
plural sense. Inclusive and exclusive forms are also used, but by means of a
compound construction (see 7.19).

7.19 Simple personal pronouns are found for nine different persons, namely the
first, second, third person in the singular and the same three persons in the
dual and plural, respectively, of which the nominative and ergative of the personal pronouns are: (singular)
**ŋe·** (ŋia) I, **ŋin you, jo· he, she;** (dual) **ŋam we, no·m you, jo·m they;** (plural)
**ŋai we, ŋinbonm** (see 7.20) you, jau they. An inclusive dual may be expressed by
**ŋam ŋin you and I** and an exclusive dual by **ŋam jo· (he or she and I);** in the
plural a corresponding differentiation was not found. In the compound
constructions one or both of the pronouns may be inflected (as is the general
rule for compound words in Wakka-Wakka; cf. 7.34).

7.20 **Paradigms.** The following is a listing of inflected forms found according
to paradigms for each person (the forms are usually those of Wakka-Wakka (A);
Wakka-Wakka (B) forms follow a semicolon):

**First person singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td><strong>ŋe·</strong> (ŋia)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ŋagu, ŋu     (cf. 2.9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>ŋana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>ŋa·ri, ŋa·rind; <strong>ŋe·ri</strong> (Wak TM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ŋianu, ŋianu, <strong>ŋe·nu</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>ŋianjį</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Second person singular

NOM ɲin
ERG ɲindu, -ndu
OBJ ɲina, na
POSS ɲingari, ɲingarin
ABL ɲinbaŋu
LOC ɲinbaŋi

Third person singular:

NOM jo' (jua, jo, Wak SH; cf. 6.9); ja
ERG jalu, lu (-lu)
OBJ jo'ña (joña; 6.9); jaña
POSS jo'ri (juari, jori), joriŋ, jorɔri
ABL jo'nu
LOC jo'ni

First person dual:

NOM ɲam
ERG ɲambu
OBJ ɲama (Wak WC), ɲamaŋa (Wak SH)
POSS ɲamgari, ɲamgarĩŋ
ABL ɲamboŋu; ɲambaŋu (Wak TM)
LOC ɲambaŋi

Second person dual:

NOM ɲo'm
ERG ɲombu
OBJ ɲo'ma
POSS ɲo'mgori
ABL ɲomboŋu, ɲombaŋu
LOC ɲomboŋi (cf. Notes 79, 84)

Third person dual:

NOM jo'm (juaŋa), jombua (Wak SH); ɲowĩ (? Wak TM)
ERG jombu (juambu)
OBJ jo'ma, joma, jo'maŋa (Wak SH)
POSS jo'mgori (-riŋ), jomgori
ABL jomboŋu; jombaŋu

First person plural:

NOM ɲai, ɲau, ɲi; ɲawi
ERG ɲaindu (Wak:Gor RD); ɲawi
OBJ ɲaina
POSS ɲairi, ɲangari, Wak AB; correct ?); ɲawigari
ABL ɲauŋu, ɲaumboŋu

Second person plural:

NOM ɲinbom (Wak SH); ɲombam (Wak TM)
ERG ɲombambu (Wak TM)
ABL ɲinbamuŋu (Wak SH)
Third person plural:

NOM jau; jawi
ERG jau, jaundu; jawiju
OBJ jauŋa, jauna; jawiŋa
POSS jauŋari (Wak WC); jawigarì (Wak TM)
ABL jaubonù (-baŋu), jaumbonù, jaʔnbonù (Wak TM)

7.21 The following compound forms (see 7.19) of the personal pronouns are found: ŋam ŋin (first person inclusive), ŋam jo' (first person exclusive), ŋo'm jo' (second person), all in dual senses (you and me, her and me, you and he). The paradigms are as follows:

First person inclusive:

NOM ŋam ŋin
ERG ŋambu ŋinda (Wak WC)
LOC ŋam ŋindaŋi (cf. Notes 79, 83)

First person exclusive:

NOM ŋam jo'
ERG jo' ŋambu (Wak AB)

Second person:

ŋo'm jo' (Wak WC)

7.22 An alternative third person pronoun, mo' (said to be the same as jo'; Wak SH) was used both in Wakka-Wakka (A) and (B), in the following forms: nominative mo', ergative malu (mo', Wak TM), objective mo'ŋa, possessive mo'ri. Sometimes it was rendered by the other one over there: malu ɡiranaŋu bumi ɡina that porcupine hit you (Wak SH), mo' murundu jaŋgai that other man did it (Wak TM). The inflection shows that it is not a demonstrative (cf. 7.23); the use of a personal pronoun (such as jo' or jalu) would be admissible in the same sense and construction.

7.23 Demonstrative pronouns. By a demonstrative pronoun is meant here any word of demonstrative character which is subject to declension, although the border line between such words and those which have been referred to as 'relation words' (see 3.2) is not always clear, as the latter also may have the appearance of inflected forms (according to the declension patterns in 7.12-14). Demonstrative pronouns (like demonstrative words in general) indicate direction or locality rather than person: mana murun that man rather means the man there and is therefore analogous to, for instance, murun mana ba'ngi (a man is standing there) rather than to jo' murun (he, the man), in spite of the suggestion by one informant, who thought these meant the same. In any case, there is no difference in Wakka-Wakka (or elsewhere) between that man and there is a man, which both correspond to mana murun.87

7.24 The basic demonstrative pronouns (in the above sense) as found in Wakka-Wakka are: gana, gara here, this; mana, mara there, that—the rendering in English is approximate (as the informants would occasionally give the reverse sense, depending on the circumstances). From a semantic point of view it would be admissible to include the forms gan and man (cf. gan jaraman this or that horse—this horse here, that horse there or here is a horse or there is a horse),
but for the fact that of the latter two no declension forms were recorded. As mentioned in another place (3.20), the ergative, objective and possessive forms do not occur (or occur exceptionally). No particular difference could be detected between the forms with medial -n- and -r-; as a matter of fact, one might get the impression that they are originally identical (according to 6.19), so much the more so as no forms *gar or *mar are found, reflecting the alternation gan ~ gana, man ~ mana. As, however, both -n- and -r- forms seem as common and equally well established it will be safer to consider them as originally different. They might even represent obsolete case forms (perlatives? cf. 7.10) of still shorter demonstrative stems (*ga- and *ma-), which occur in other languages in south-eastern Queensland (cf. Manandjali gali this, mali that).

7.25 The following inflected forms of the demonstrative pronouns are recorded from Wakka-Wakka informants, according to the paradigms below:

**gana** this, here:
- NOM gana
- ABL ganaŋu (Wak TM)
- LOC ganaŋi
- ALL ganaŋu

**gara** this, here:
- NOM gara
- ALL garagu

**mana** that, there:
- NOM mana, mona, mono, muna (6.11)
- ALL managu

**mara** that, there:
- NOM mara
- POSS marari mararin
- ALL marar

It is possible that the short elements -na, -ra are enclitic forms or respectively mana (gana?) and mara (gara?), as in: **qui baina the emu came there?** (= bai (ma)na? Wak JC), waqimjena clothes, wash the clothes (= waqimje ma(na)? Wak JC), qaju qina ne-ra I will see you there? (= qe' (ma)ra? Wak JC). Compare 11.8.

7.26 Interrogative pronouns. For general remarks regarding the interrogative pronouns, see 3.20. Since the interrogative pronouns refer directly either to persons (the only meaning of qan is somebody or who?) or things (miña, miñaŋ something or what? is no doubt the same word as the common, especially northern Queensland, miña meat, game, anything that can be hunted), whereas the relational somewhere where? is derived from a different stem (in Wakka-Wakka *waŋ-), the declension of the interrogative pronouns is more complete. The interrogative pronouns are **qan** (ŋa·n) who? and **miña**, miñaŋa (Wak A), miña (Wak B) what? Forms after the semicolon are Wakka-Wakka (B).
7.27 The declension is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nan (ŋana)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ŋandu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>ŋana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>ŋangari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ŋanaŋu, ŋanbaŋu; ŋanu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

miŋaŋ, miŋanda what?:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>miŋaŋ, miŋanda; miŋa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>miŋandu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>miŋangu⁹³; miŋagu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form miŋanda, which has the appearance of a 'perlative' (see 7.11 and cf. the ergative miŋandu) is occasionally used in the sense of when? or why?, but also (of persons) in the sense of what kind (or way) of person?, while ŋan means who? (e.g. by name).⁹⁴ That the interrogative pronoun often corresponds to English indefinite pronouns was pointed out in 3.20; this occurs in: ŋandu gamqi somebody broke it (Wak SH), miŋanda ŋinbaŋi bini there is something behind you (Wak WC).

7.28 Conjugation. The verbal stems in Wakka-Wakka normally end in a vowel (-a- or -i-; the stem-final -e- has a secondary origin, cf. 6.5); in monosyllabic stems the stem-final vowel may appear as long (ba' - come, pa' - see), probably mostly in cases of contraction (cf. 6.12). No particular semantic or other function seems connected with the difference of verbs with stem-final -a- (which are in majority) and stem-final -i- (such cases as gira- scratch and girī- scratch oneself or buma- hit and bumi- fall hardly constitute a semantic pattern); in the actual stage of the language no regular connection with transitivity or intransitivity exists and, besides, there are several verb stems which admit either of a transitive or intransitive construction. The verbs are further capable of two different kinds of conjugation: (1) one in which the imperfective and perfective modes (see 3.23) are characterised by the 'nominalising' (it should perhaps rather be called 'thematic') element *-j- and (2) one in which the same mode forms are characterised by a nasal, namely -n- (imperfective) or -ŋ-, -ŋ- (perfective). The former conjugation is restricted to verbs of which the stem-final vowel is -a-, the second one pertains to verbs of which the stem-final vowel is -i- (but also to some stems ending in -a-); neither here any connection between these two conjugations and the transitive or intransitive character of the verb stem seems to exist (although perhaps the second conjugation is more typical of intransitive than of transitive verbs); here also the same verb, irrespective of type of conjugation, may function either as transitive or intransitive. Finally, one and the same verb may appear to have more than one stem: e.g. ja- (as in jaŋi went), jaŋ- (as in jangu to go), jana- (as in janande going).

7.29 The structure of the verbal flection is basically as follows. The imperative is the stem of the verb and always ends in a vowel (with a certain tendency of generalising the vowel -a in all verbs). The imperfective mode requires one of the 'thematic elements' (7.28): bumble (from *bumba-j; cf. 6.2) hitting, jana-n-, the latter normally with the additional suffix -ge, -de (cf. 6.18, with the Note 60),⁹⁵ hence janange, janande going.⁹⁶ The perfective mode is characterised by the vowel -i added to the same 'thematic element' of the
imperative mode: bai (baji) has come (cf. 6.3), ŋineŋi sat down (for ŋina-ŋ-i, with perfective -ŋ- instead of imperfective -n-; cf. 7.28). Finally, the intentional mode is formed by an allative suffix (-u, -(w)a or -gu; cf. 3.17,23) added to the verbal stem (or to one of the verb stems): ŋina-u (or ŋineu, by analogy; cf. 6.8) to sit, wulia (< *wuli-wa) to swim, maria (< *mari-wa; cf. 6.13) to burn (the suffix -wa being more typical of Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli), jan-gu to go. In some verbs (especially those having more than one stem) the formation of the mode forms is quite irregular.

7.30 In accordance with what has been said in the preceding sections (7.28-29) one may distinguish three different conjugations in Wakka-Wakka: (1) regular verbs in -a- with the 'thematic element' *-j-; (2) regular verbs in -e- (originally -a-; 6.5) or -i-, with the 'thematic elements' -n- and -ŋ-; and (3) irregular verbs. The latter differ from those of the preceding types either (1) by having more than one stem or (2) by having the perfective formative -ŋ- in place of -n- (see 7.28) or finally (3) by forming the intentional mode by the suffix -gu in place of the regular -u (or sometimes -(w)a). Strictly speaking, many would-be 'regular' verbs in Wakka-Wakka have an irregular appearance owing to mixture of modal formatives and conjugation types.

7.31 Paradigms. The following paradigms will show the main types of conjugation in Wakka-Wakka, as found in the present material. The type verbs are: (1) jaŋga- put, do, make; (2) ŋine- sit, garĩ- enter (ITR); (3) ja- go, ba- come, na- see, wa- give. The forms quoted are in the first place those of Wakka-Wakka (A); Wakka-Wakka (B) forms are given after a semicolon.

**jaŋga- put, do, make:**
- IMP jaŋga
- IPF jaŋge
- PF jaŋgai
- INT jaŋgau

**ŋine- sit:**
- IMP ŋine (ŋina)
- IPF ŋinenge (ŋinange, ŋinende, ŋinande, 6.18), ŋinge (Wak PB)
- PF ŋineŋi
- INT ŋineu (ŋinau)

**gari- enter (itr):**
- IMP gari
- IPF garinge
- PF garĩŋi
- INT gariu; garingu

**ja- go:**
- IMP jana
- IPF janande (janange, Note 60), jange, janan (Note 97)
- PF jaŋi
- INT jangu, janangu
(c) Construction

7.32 As a basic principle of construction (or syntax) it has to be taken into consideration that Wakka-Wakka (or the Australian languages in general) make no distinction between an attributive and a predicative construction or between a phrase and a sentence, that is to say that no difference in sense exists between, for instance, *big head* or *small stick*, on the one hand, and *the head, is big, the stick is small*, on the other, neither that these are to be differentiated from *it is a big head or it is a small stick*, all three alternatives being expressed by Wakka-Wakka *mau* *dandi* and *dudu* *bali* *bali*, respectively (in which, incidentally, the integrant members could theoretically have been put in the reverse order). Similarly, *wangerin* *nala* may correspond to either *the snake’s hole, the hole is the snake’s, it is a snake’s hole or the snake has a hole* in English and *duminge* can mean either *the rock is laughing or the Laughing Rock* (at the Cherbourg settlement). The reason for this is that there is no copula in the Australian languages."96 This state of things holds whenever a nominal word occurs in the nominative or possessive form, in constructions without a verb; the other case forms are normally used in connection with a concrete verb only, which serves as a formal predicate. The nominative of an animate noun can be construed with an intransitive verb only and the ergative and objective forms with a transitive verb only; the other case forms (including the nominative of an inanimate noun) may be construed with either kind of verb.99 In this connection it should be pointed out that a transitive verb may have two ergative forms, one of which would correspond to the *agent* in English and the other to the *instrument*, as in: *jindu* *dadulu* *buma* *you* (agent) *hit* (him) *with* *a stick* (instrument) (Wal SH); compare 3.15. Associative verbs (although mostly conjugated according to the second conjugation, which is more typically intransitive; cf. 7.28) are construed as transitive verbs (that is with an ergative), which is perfectly analogous to the relation between an intransitive *'come'* and a transitive *'come with'* (that is, with an object) in English.
7.33 The possessive case form is analogous to a nominal derivation insofar as it may be declined (cf. 3.16): binur gariŋi wangeriŋu naluŋu a bandicoot entered a snake’s hole (Wak SH). The alternative possessive suffix (-riŋa; cf. 7.12) has the appearance of being an original personal objective form. Taking the possessive ŋaŋri (mine) as a case form, ŋari wuŋi would seem to mean gave to me, whereas taken as a derived form, it would seem equivalent to gave mine—nevertheless no differentiation is possible in Wakka-Wakka; in the same way ŋari waŋ mana dai may (theoretically) mean either give me that money or give me my money (to the Aboriginal mind identical ideas as frequently reflected in Aboriginal English).

7.34 The objective form is used of animate nouns only (cf. 3.15). If, however, the noun is used in an indefinite sense, the nominative form is rather used: wajaja ga-le looking for wallabies (Wak SH), as no animal is actually present, while wajaja would be used of a wallaby (seen) or the wallaby (in question). The rule is hence more or less the same as for the use of the plural articles (see 3.19). It is questionable whether in the construction muruna ginaŋ (saw) a man’s footprint (which may be considered a compound; cf. 7.2) the last member (footprint) is understood as animate in the same sense as man, in spite of its normal (inanimate) objective form (ginaŋ). Nominal words occurring together, in construction with a verb, may either both be provided with the appropriate case suffix (according to a common rule of congruence) or else one of the members may be left in the stem form (or nominative), so that two constructions are possible: (a) ŋariŋa gandana my younger sister (personal objective; Wak SH), wangeriŋu naluŋu (ablative; see 7.32) or (b) ŋaringu meme my mother (did it) (ergative and nominative; Wak JW); in other words, grammatical agreement is optional in Wakka-Wakka.

7.35 Regarding the syntax of the verb, one important point is to be mentioned, namely the use of the intentional mode form in an accidental function (cf. 3.24). Originally, no introductory word (wanga if, when, etc.) would have been necessary: ŋe gue janandeganan nindau I am going or leaving when the sun goes down (Wak SH) as the verbal form nindau is actually the same as at (-u) sunset (ganan ninda-; that is a compound) (cf. 7.2 and the Note 62). Possibly due to English influence, however, the interrogative relation word wanga (where?, when?) is frequently used as an introductory word answering to an English subordinate conjunction. In this way the following construction arises: wanga ŋindu mana biju (intentional) ŋaju ŋina bumbe if you take away that I will hit you (Wak SH), wanga ŋin dungu (intentional) ŋadu ŋina bumbe If you cry I will hit you (Wak WC), wuŋa (= wanga) ŋin dungau (intentional) If you cry (Wak SH), wanga baju (intentional) ŋe bangenge when it rains I am frightened (Wak WC), wuŋa ŋindu gana wau (intentional) ŋaju ŋingari mana we: if you give me this I will give you that (Wak NS).
BARUNGGAM

Introductory remarks

8.1 As mentioned (1.3), a single informant only was found to be of value for a knowledge of this language. Although he was generally instructed in matters Aboriginal and also had a fair command of what he claimed to be his native language, he evidently was inclined to fall into Wakka-Wakka—the language of prestige in his area—and probably to a certain extent presented the linguistic data in a mixed form. He however pointed out on several occasions that his language was very close to Wakka-Wakka and that many forms were actually the same. In most cases he must have been right when indicating that such a form belonged to Barunggam, corresponding to such another form in Wakka-Wakka. Where two different forms were given (on different occasions) by our informant, it is to be presumed that the one which deviates from Wakka-Wakka is the true Barunggam one. Forms, however, which may properly be Wakka-Wakka are included in this description of Barunggam insofar as they may prove or illustrate interesting points of phonology or morphology in the latter language.

Informants

8.2 The only persons met who might be supposed to have Barunggam as their native language would be the two mentioned below. Reference to them are made in the same way as for the informants of Wakka-Wakka, with the abbreviation Bar (= Barunggam) preceding the initials of the person.

Bar AB: Mr. Arthur Bundi (87), at Kingaroy, born at Taroom; he mentions his mother as having been a Barunggam.

Bar HD: Mr. Harry ('Bunda') Darlow (died at an age of 98 near Dalby); although he claimed that his and his father's language was Wakka-Wakka, the fact that his people hailed from Dalby seems to support the opinion of the preceding informant (Bar AB) that Harry Darlow's native language was really Barunggam (or the 'Dalby language'—cf. the native name of that place, which is barunga or kangaroo rat).

Phonology

8.3 The phonology of Barunggam is fundamentally the same as in Wakka-Wakka. The following points, which usually indicate the same phonetic trends and structural characteristics as are found in Wakka-Wakka, may be of interest.

Evolution of the vowel system

8.4 As in Wakka-Wakka, the vowels e (e·) and o (o·) have distinctive value, arising generally in the same conditions as in Wakka-Wakka. Thus final e· is usually the product of an original *-aj (cf. 6.2), while in other positions e· and o· are normally contraction products of respectively ia and ua. In this way bie·ne hearing, knowing may arise from biañe (originally *bi(j)anaj), me·l eye from mial, jo· he, she from juwa, no·m husband from puam (puwam), etc. Intermediate forms (without distinctive value) are frequent: bie̱ne (cf. above), mean, mien for mian Aboriginal man, puom for puam (cf. above), puomgan for puamgan wife, joari for juari (his, her), etc.
8.5 The widening of i in closed syllables are frequent (and perhaps more common than in Wakka-Wakka): ūn for ūn you (cf. Wakka-Wakka ūn), murge beside murgēn eel; the widening of word-final -i (as for instance in Goreng-Goreng; cf. 14.3) is more common in Barunggam (as also in Wuli-Wuli and Wakka-Wakka(B)), although -e has normally phonematic value.

8.6 Otherwise, non-final e is—as in Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng—due to assimilation to a (usually word-final) e (cf. 6.5), as in bebejem father; cf. baba, idem). Sometimes this happens in cases where the assimilation is missing in Wakka-Wakka (e.g. Barunggam wenge snake); (cf. Wakka-Wakka wange), bengenge fearing (cf. Wakka-Wakka bangange), sometimes on the other hand it is missing where it occurs in Wakka-Wakka: gangange calling (cf. Wakka-Wakka(A) usually gangenge, Wakka-Wakka (B) gengenge). The very common effect of palatal contact whereby a may turn into e is not on the phonematic level (cf. 2.6; 6.10). Whether such cases as wenmeri (white woman) may also be accounted for according to the rule of vowel assimilation is more than problematic. The distinction of ai and ei or of au and ou likewise seem uncertain; for instance, both jaw and jou (the latter more common) may be heard in the sense of yes.

8.7 Vowel length is chiefly due to contraction (cf. 8.4); sometimes, however, in current sequences the length may disappear: be傑 for be·ge (blaże), etc. (cf. ibid.). Apart from the lengthened forms of e and o, one also has to count on a contraction resulting in a·: wa·n scrub turkey (cf. Wakka-Wakka wawun), ga·re passing water (cf. gawur urine); whether the current form ba· to come is due to a contraction of bawa (idem) or to 'monosyllabic lengthening' (cf. 2.4) is irrelevant. As a contraction product of interconsonantal *aw( see 6.13), Barunggam has either a· (as in Wakka-Wakka) or e·, in the verb stem ba·nga- or be·nga- (get up stand). By analogy, word-final lengthening—whether due to contraction or to other factors—may be retained in medial positions: ma·ni got (monosyllabic stem ma·), giro·na drunk (cf. giro ~ giro· grog). The lengthening in closed syllables (as in wubi·r (beside wubir) white man, wandir (beside wandir) small, ga·mba (beside) gamba good, etc. is of no account.

Evolution of the consonant system

8.8 Everything essential is as in Wakka-Wakka (see 6.18-20). Medial and intervocalic plosives are typically voiceless and somewhat lengthened; this is of no consequence from the phonematic point of view (cf. Barunggam waga or wak·a no, not). More important is the common change of especially -n- into -r- in the same position: jeran(d)e for janande (gotng), gurundin for gunungin (a hollow); compare 6.19, with the Note 61. That -nd- may be reduced to -n- in Barunggam as elsewhere (cf. 6.20) appears in the above example (jeren).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

9.1 As Barunggam is closely related morphologically to Wakka-Wakka it would be unnecessary to indicate more than a few points where the two languages go apart, Barunggam showing special forms peculiar to that language. The structure of the concrete word stem is the same as in Wakka-Wakka and in spite of the limited material gathered from Barunggam it is evident that both the bulk of the
vocabulary and the principles of derivation are basically the same as in the
former language. Compound stems occur in the same way as in Wakka-Wakka and
the integrant members are represented as separate words in the same conditions
as outlined in 7.2: gaun gimbem owner of the land. An interesting (and perhaps
somewhat unusual) type of compound is found in wina ma·na pelican (literally
fish catcher), which was mentioned and explained in Note 62; in this case the
latter member (ma·na) is identical with the verb stem ma·na- (catch), but having
nominal character it is capable of entering into a compound with the noun stem
wina (fish). Another example of a verb being used as a noun is janande, which
either means going or a step (Bar AB); if the word gaQga i a shout, cry, calling
(of a spirit) is correct, the formation is unusual (cf. gai food, in 19).

9.2 The derivational suffix -gan (marking females) is used as in Wakka-Wakka,
often in designations of female members of a social section (cf. 7.3):
bandurgan a bangur woman, bandagan a female Bunda, wungugan a female member of
the wungu section (= Wakka-Wakka baran) and similarly na·mugan wife (cf. na'am,
no'm husband). When occurring in words not having personal character, the
suffix -gan may still be supposed to have marked a female in earlier times;101
such a word is wa·gan crow (in Wakka-Wakka wa·Q, of which the root is reasona-
ably wa', a word representing the cawing of the crow); the identical word (wa·gan)
in the sense of mother-in-law more clearly retains the female character, while
ba·mugan daylight may indicate a personification of the sun (cf. Note 101) and
the word bu·ga·gan (pussy) cat may either contain the suffix -gan or simply
reproduce the English word in native phonetics. The sociative and caritive
suffixes also are the same as in Wakka-Wakka (see 3.7): guni·a having a name,
guni·a·m without a name (from guni· name; Bar AB). A suffix -bara (common in
Goreng-Goreng, Kabi-Kabi and Batjala; see 15.3; 25.2) may occur in gagunbara
home, country (= gajun).

9.3 Of verbal derivations in Barunggam (which are basically of the same type
as in Wakka-Wakka; see 7.5) a reduced number only was met with owing to the
limitation of the material. The causative suffix -ma- appears in nurama- hide,
steal, but no simple word stem was found (apart from nura- kick, which appears
unrelated).102 Occasionally, -ma- merely gives a transitive sense to the verb
stems as in mugimma- laugh at (from mugi- laugh), which consequently does not
mean make laugh. The associative suffixes -ri-, -re- (originally -ra-), -le-
(originally -la-; cf. 7.6) were found in bi·ri- (bi·re-) take away, ja·le-
speak (with). Of the suffixes described in 7.8, -ge- (originally -ga-) is
found in benge- fear (Wakka-Wakka bange-), dunge- cry (Wakka-Wakka dunga-),
gunge- smoke (waga baim gunge (I) do not smoke a pipe; in Wakka-Wakka the
corresponding verb is gumbe-). A variety of this suffix is probably -gi- in:
ma·ngi- steal (from the stem ma·(n)- take), the same verb being found in Wakka-
Wakka also. The reflexive suffix -ni- also occurs in Barunggam: gawan·ni- cut
oneself (from gawa- cut).

(b) Inflection
9.4 Declension. The declension of nominal words is according to the same
principles as in Wakka-Wakka (7.10-14). Although the case forms recorded are
scanty it is quite evident that three different paradigms are represented in
Barunggam as in Wakka-Wakka. The most typical deviation is in that the ergative
form of nouns ending in a vowel is in -ndu (probably carried over from stems in
-n). Of perlitative and comitative forms no instances are recorded. The follow-
ing paradigms will illustrate the declension of nominal words in Barunggam.
The model words are: (1) biralu God, ñaba child, gua koala, ñuri emu, wenge snake, bula cow, na· hand, mi· eye, dadu tree, nala hole, ñuri blanket; (2) gun water, ginan foot, giem (ge·m) mouth, mian Aboriginal man, warin boomerang, durun spear; (3) wubir white man, gaiwar rainbow, ñe·r cold.

**Stems ending in a vowel:**

| NOM  | biralu, ñaba, gua, ñui, wenge, bula, na·, mi·, dadu, nala, ñuri |
| ERG  | ñabandu, guandu, ñuindu, nandu, ñurindu |
| OBJ  | biraluŋa |
| POSS | biraluri, wengeri, bulari,(-rin) |
| ABL  | daduŋu, mi·ŋu, nalanu |
| LOC  | nalanı |

**Stems ending in a nasal:**

| NOM  | gun, ginan, giem, mian, warin, durun |
| ERG  | gungu, ginangu, gembu, miandu, warindu, durungu |

**Stems ending in -r:**

| NOM  | wubir, gaiwar, ñe·r |
| ERG  | gaiwaru, ñe·ru |
| POSS | wubir gari (cf. 3.16) |

9.5 *Articles.* The following basic forms of the plural article is found in Barunggam: -bam, -lam, -ram, (that is as in Wakka-Wakka (B); cf. 7.15-16), which are illustrated by such forms as: ginbam (some) women, barilam (some) children, bağaram (some) others. A strange formation is found in ñabambam children (from ñaba child, of which the ergative is ñabandu; cf 9.4). These forms of the article are inflected as in Wakka-Wakka: ñabambambu (ergative; Bar AB). The Wakka-Wakka (B) article -gin was heard in bujun bujengin brothers, in which it consequently denotes a social group (as possibly also in Nunagal and Manandjali; see in Part III). Also compare 11.7.

9.6 *Personal pronouns.* The personal pronouns are almost the same in Barunggam and Wakka-Wakka. The following paradigms will give the forms recorded:

**First person singular:**

| NOM  | ñe· (ŋia) |
| ERG  | ñagü, gü |
| OBJ  | ñana |
| POSS | ña·ri (ŋa·riŋ) |

**Second person singular:**

| NOM  | pin (/gin) |
| ERG  | ñindu (ŋindu) |
| OBJ  | ñina |
| POSS | ñingari (ŋingari) |

**Third person singular:**

| NOM  | jo· (juwa) |
| ERG  | jalu |
| OBJ  | jana |
| POSS | ja·ri (juari, jo·ri) |
First person dual:

NOM ɲam
ERG ɲambu
POSS ɲamgari

Third person dual:

NOM juam
POSS juamgari

9.7 Of compound pronouns (cf. 7.19, 21), the following were found: (inclusive) ɲam ɲin you and me, (exclusive) ɲam jo· he or she and I.

9.8 Demonstrative pronouns. Apart from the basic Wakka-Wakka forms gana (gara) and mana (mara) Barunggam also has: gaŋa here, this and maŋa there, that. No inflections were recorded and the following examples will merely serve to illustrate the usage: gana ɲari gundu this (or here) is my house, ɲui mana the (or that) emu, mana dai that stone, mana ɲa· look at that, mana ba·n he is coming there, maŋa ɲinenge staying over there, bari maŋa ɲangge that young (of possum) is calling (somewhere) (Bar:Man EW), mende mende maŋa ɲa· look at that step (out into the tree), it is there (Bar AB).

9.9 Interrogative pronouns. The interrogative pronoun indicating persons is ɲana who? (evidently an original objective form; otherwise no inflections were recorded). The interrogative indicating things or kind (cf. 7.26-27, Note 94) is ɲaŋa what? (possibly—like Wakka-Wakka miŋanda—an original perlative form), as in: ɲaŋa gindu ja· (correct?) what are you saying?. The only inflected form found is the allative ɲaŋgu (= Wakka-Wakka miŋangu) what for?, why?: ɲaŋgu jo· bai why has he come? ɲaŋgu ɲin(du) duŋ ɲaŋgu what are you to eat for? (Bar AB). In ɲaŋgu ɲin bengenge why are you afraid? (Bar AB), the use of the allative (= why?) may simply copy English.105

9.10 Conjugation. The verbal stem in Barunggam has the same appearance as in Wakka-Wakka. The occurrence of one single apparent verb stem in -u (buju-: ɲam bujunge we two are brothers; Bar AB) is probably of no consequence,106 as it may depend on an attraction by the common noun bujun two (persons). The dominating type of verb comprises stems in -a-—(alternating with -e-, as in Wakka-Wakka; cf. 7.28) and -i-; it is possible (as also in Wakka-Wakka; cf. ibid.) that some particular shade of meaning is connected with the difference between -a- and -i- stems, which however is difficult to specify; in Barunggam, for instance, buma- is transitive (hit), while bumi- is intransitive (fall; the same stems are found in Wakka-Wakka).

9.11 The three kinds of conjugation in Wakka-Wakka exist in Barunggam also, with some minor points of divergence. In the first type of conjugation (verbs in -a-) the imperfective is occasionally (as in Wuli-Wuli) formed by the suffix -ena (instead of -or along with—the common -e of Wakka-Wakka; see 7.29): gianna (i.e. giia- go, and the intentional is usually in -wa (instead of Wakka-Wakka -u), in which latter the -w- may disappear (6.12), so that this form becomes identical with that of the imperative. The conjugation of verbs in -e- and -i- is as in Wakka-Wakka (except in the intentional mode, where -wa prevails over -u and may in fact be the only correct Barunggam form), while the irregular type of conjugation shows particularities of its own (usually, however, in strict agreement with Wakka-Wakka and Wuli-Wuli).107
9.12 Paradigms. The forms recorded of the Barunggam verb will be illustrated in the following paradigms (arranged in the same way as for Wakka-Wakka; cf. 7.31); the model verbs are: (1) jima- do make; (2) nine- (nine-) sit, bumi- fall, baji- stand, munji- laugh, wui- swim; (3) ja- go, ba- come, na- see and wa- give.

jima do, make:

IMP jima
IPF jime
PF jimai
INT jimawa, jima
	nine- (nine-) sit:

IPF ninege, ninege
INT ninewa, nine

bumi- fall, baji- stand, munji- laugh, wui- swim:

IPF baenge (beenge), muninge
PF bumin, ba'ni, wuni
INT ba'ngu

ja- go:

IMP jana
IPF janande (jerenge)
PF ja'ni
INT ja'ngu

ba- come:

IMP ba
IPF ba'n
PF ba
INT ba (< bawa; cf. 9.11)

na- see:

IMP na
IPF na'ge (?)
PF na'ni
INT na'wa (na')

wa- give:

IPF we
PF wuni

WULI-WULI

Introductory remarks

10.1 Wuli-Wuli is about as closely related to Wakka-Wakka as is Barunggam. It is hardly more than a dialectal variant of the former language. The name Wuli-Wuli is evidently from the form of the personal pronoun wuli they, corresponding to Wakka-Wakka (A) jaw, (B) jawi. As the three informants available were all members of one family (Pope), now living at Eidsvold and Maura, no important divergences occur in the linguistic data obtained from them. By and large, Wuli-Wuli (as also Wakka-Wakka (B)) appears to be more conservative in its phonetic structure than Wakka-Wakka (A).
List of informants

10.2 In the following short description, as well as in the material incorporated in the general Wakka-Wakka vocabulary (12), reference to informants is according to the principles in the Wakka-Wakka and Barunggam sections (5.2; 8.2).

**Wul BP**: Mr. Bernie Pope, at Eidsvold; he says both his father and mother were Wuli-Wuli.

**Wul LW**: Mrs. Lottie West (about 75), at Eidsvold, the sister of Bernie Pope; she says her mother was from the Springsure area (while her grandmother, also from Springsure, was said to have been a Gangulu).

**Wul QD**: Mrs. Queenie Dodd (now Mrs. Meldrum), at Moura, younger sister of the preceding informant.

Phonology

10.3 The phonetic system of Wuli-Wuli is the same as that of Wakka-Wakka and Barunggam and most of the current sound changes and general trends in the phonetic evolution are found to be the same. Wuli-Wuli (like Wakka-Wakka (B)) often shows more original forms than Wakka-Wakka (A): *dij'm* a *fly* hence corresponds to Wakka-Wakka *di'n* as *I* to Wakka-Wakka *qe* and *giam* *mouth* to Wakka-Wakka *ge'm* (the uncontracted forms occurring more seldom in Wakka-Wakka). The common tendency according to which *ia* passes to *e* in the Wakka languages is often at an intermediate stage in Wuli-Wuli, the diphthong *ea* being a typical product, as in: meal for *mial* *eye* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *me*'), mea*n* for *mian* *chased* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *me*ni, idem). In an analogous way we find *boal* *boal* (or *buol* *buol*) for *bual* *bual* *butterfly*, *gam* *goa* for *gam* *gua* *for* *meat* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *gam* *gu*, idem).

10.4 More typical, however, is the contraction of *u(w)a* to *a* (in place of *o*', as in Wakka-Wakka): *ja* *he*, *she* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *jo*'), *ja'n*a *him*, *her* (for *ja'na*; cf. Wakka-Wakka *jo'na*, *jo'na* idem, the primitive forms being respectively *ju(w)a*, *ju(w)ana*; in the same way probably also: *ga'wa* *put into* (cf. Wakka-Wakka *go'wa*, idem, if originally *gu(w)awa*). Original *awu* corresponds to *a* in Wuli-Wuli *ga'n* or (shortened) *ga* *want*, to which corresponds Barunggam *gau*, Wakka-Wakka *go'n* (shortened *gon*; cf. 6.12).

10.5 Wuli-Wuli has, like Barunggam, the vowel *u* in *gumbem* *owner*, where Wakka-Wakka has *i* (gimbem), which latter may be due to the influence of the preceding palatal consonant (cf. 6.10); the Wakka-Wakka form would then be secondary in relation to the one in Wuli-Wuli. The relation between Wuli-Wuli *piwam you two* (see 11.6) and Wakka-Wakka *go'm* (idem) is difficult to see (perhaps the forms are quite unrelated, as the initial sound also differs). The forms *gōwa* or *gua* *nightow*l or *mopoke* are both found in Wuli-Wuli (as also in Wakka-Wakka); in this case it is difficult to determine which might be the more original one.

10.6 The form *gaiwar* (*rainbow*) is found in Wuli-Wuli and Barunggam, corresponding to Wakka-Wakka *gior*, and in exactly the same way Wuli-Wuli *bailwin* *dream* corresponds to Wakka-Wakka *bion*. The exact course of phonetic evolution in this particular case is by no means clear, but it seems that Wuli-Wuli represents a more primitive stage.
10.7 Assimilation of a to e is as common in Wuli-Wuli as in Wakka-Wakka and Barunggam: Wuli-Wuli gengena calling, jerenge going (home) (from *janangaj; cf. Wakka-Wakka janande, idem). (The latter form in Wuli-Wuli, jerenge, also shows the almost universal passing of intervocalic -n- into -r- in the current pronunciation.) Also the widening of i to e in any final syllable of disyllabic (or longer) words is more common in Wuli-Wuli than in Wakka-Wakka (cf. 6.15).

10.8 Some cases of intrusive -r were noted in the pronunciation of our main informant (Wul QD) and are worth mentioning, as in: jo·r for jo· he, she, je·r for je (= ja(·), idem) or in the verb form jumbe·r for jumbe· (sending). This merely copies a current tendency in Queensland English.

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

11.1 Wuli-Wuli diverges perhaps more from Wakka-Wakka in point of morphology than does Barunggam; at the same time the material collected from the former language is rather more limited. In these circumstances the morphological picture of Wuli-Wuli will be somewhat rudimentary. The structure of the various word stems as well as the principles of derivation are largely the same as in Wakka-Wakka and Barunggam and so are the derivative suffixes. Among nominal derivational suffixes we find: -gan (expression of females), as in ɲuamgan wife (cf. ɲuam husband); -ŋal (sociative), as in buluŋal pregnant (cf. bulu or buluŋ stomach, belly).

11.2 The following verbal derivative suffixes were recorded: (1) causative -ma-, as in: garima- put in (cf. Wakka-Wakka garī- enter), gilama- turn round (TR; cf. below); (2) associative -la- (-le-), as in gaila- look for (cf. Wakka-Wakka gaji-, idem, and 7.6); and (3) reflexive -ŋi-, as in gilaŋi- turn round (ITR; cf. gilama-, TR, above). The suffixes -ge-, -ge-, -ji- are used in Wuli-Wuli in the same way as the corresponding ones in Wakka-Wakka (see 7.9): e.g. wagimge- wash (Wul LW).

(b) Inflection

11.3 Declension. The nominal declension in Wuli-Wuli does not seem to deviate from Wakka-Wakka. No possessive forms were met with; ergative forms probably as in Wakka-Wakka (cf. 7.12). Of nouns ending in a vowel the following forms only were recorded (from gane spear, damba track, maura, name of a place, 'Moura'):

- NOM gane, damba, maura
- ERG ganeju
- ABL dambanu, muraŋu

Of nouns ending in a nasal (murun Aboriginal man, gujum fire, glam mouth, gamgun spear):

- NOM murun, gujum, glam, gamgun
- ERG gliambu, gamgunu
- OBJ muruna
- ABL gujumu
Of nouns ending in -l or -r (mial eye, gagar porcupine, gumundur turtle, manburir blue gum tree):

- NOM mial, gagar, gumundur, manburir
- ERG gagaru, gumunduru
- ABL mialnu (mialu ?), manburirnu

11.4 The locative is expressed—as occasionally in Wakka-Wakka—by the ablative form and the allative either by the ablative or the postposition gu (which in Wuli-Wuli is more typically gua): gam gua (go) for meat (cf. the use of an originally allative suffix -wa for the Wakka-Wakka -u in the intentional mode; cf. 11.12). An unambiguous allative suffix (-wa) is used in gunduwa, gundua, (go) home (cf. Wakka-Wakka gurulbau to Gooroolba; see 7.12). A perlative form (cf. 7.11) is found in: dambara janande going along the road, jurumbara on the sand (from respectively damba; jurumbar; both from Wul QD).

11.5 Articles. The articles found in Wuli-Wuli are -bam (cf. 6.9; 10.4) and -gin. No difference in meaning can be detected: murunbam or murungin (some) dark people. The mixed form brother-gin (my) brothers (Wul QD) indicates the use of -gin in terms of relationship (cf. 7.16; 9.5); compare further nga·ringin my relations (Wul QD; see 11.7). Both suffixes are joined together in gimbamgin, in the same sense as gimbam (some) women.

11.6 Personal pronouns. Forms of the personal pronouns were recorded for the following persons: (singular) nga I; gin you; jo-, ja- (ja) he, she; (dual) ngaom we; niwam you, wulam they; (plural) ngaom we; wuli they. The paradigms are as follows:

**First person singular:**

- NOM nga
- ERG ngaugu, gu
- OBJ nga
- POSS nga·ri (-riŋ)

**Second person singular:**

- NOM gin
- ERG gindu
- OBJ gina, na
- POSS gingari

**Third person singular:**

- NOM jo-, ja
- ERG jalu, jaru, ru
- OBJ ja, na

**First person dual:**

- NOM ngaom
- ERG ngaomu, ngaomdu

**Second person dual:**

- NOM niwam, no-m
Third person dual:
NOM wulam
ERG bulambu

First person plural:
NOM ŋai

Third person plural:
NOM wuli, li (-li)
ERG wuliru
OBJ wulina

11.7 Compound forms are found as in Wakka-Wakka and Barunggam: (inclusive) ŋam ŋin we two, you and me; (exclusive) ŋam jo· (ŋam ja) she and I (Wul QD); ŋo·m jo· you two appears to be Wakka-Wakka. The alternative third person form malu is the same as the identical ergative form in Wakka-Wakka (see 7.22), but is used in Wuli-Wuli as a nominative also: ŋana malu ba·n who is coming there? (who is he coming? Wul QD). The possessive form ŋa·rin my, mine was found provided with the plural article -g̱in (see 11.5) in the sense of my relations.

11.8 Demonstrative pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns are: gana, gara here, this and mana, mara there, that; no inflection forms were recorded. Examples: gana jo· bai he has come (here) (Wul LW), mana jo· ba·n he is coming (there) (Wul LW). As in Wakka-Wakka there are what appears to be shortened forms: na and ra (-ra), as in biriŋe ŋa ra took him there (?) (Wul QD). In Wuli-Wuli the form na is however ambiguous, as -na is a common verbal (imperfective) suffix: ŋidu ŋana naje na you will see me there (Wul LW), for instance, may be understood as najena seeing, will see (cf. 11.10).

11.9 Interrogative pronouns. The interrogative pronouns in Wuli-Wuli are (personal) ŋana who? and (of things or kind) mîna what, of which the following inflected forms were recorded:

ŋana who?:
NOM ŋana
ERG ŋandu
OBJ ŋana

mîna what?:
NOM mîna
ALL mîngû

11.10 Conjugation. The Wuli-Wuli conjugation pattern recalls Barunggam. There are two regular types of conjugation: (1) one with the 'thematic element' (see 7.28) *-j- and (2) one with the corresponding element being a nasal (-n-, -ŋ-); besides (3) there are irregular types. In the first type of regular conjugation the imperfective mode ends in -ena (corresponding to Wakka-Wakka -e; also cf. 9.11) and the intentional in -wa; in the second regular conjugation the imperfective may end in -na (instead of -nge) and the perfective in -nì while the intentional is in -wa (otherwise the inflection is as in Wakka-Wakka).
Paradigms. The following paradigms will illustrate the above points
(model verbs: (1) janga- do, make, ganga- call; (2) nine- sit, juli- sing,
bawi- (bau-, baji-) stand; (3) ja- go, ba- come, na- see, wa- give).

janga- do, make; ganga- call:

IMP janga
IPF jange, gangena
PF jangai
INT jangawa

nine- sit:

IMP nine
IPF ninena (ninenge)
INT ninewa (ninawa, ninau)

juli- sing:

IMP juli
IPF julina
PF julini
INT juliwa

bawi- (bau-, baji-) stand

IMP baje (< baji; cf. 10.7)
IPF bajena, baine, bauna, ba'enge
PF baiile, baiuli
INT bajewa

ja- go:

IMP jana
IPF janande (jerenge)
PF jani
INT jangu

ba- come:

IMP ba
IPF baje, ba'n, be
PF bai
INT bawa, ba

na- see:

IPF ne'na, ne'ra, naje, ne
PF na'ni (na'ne)
INT nawa

wa- give:

IMP wa
IPF we' (Wakka-Wakka ?)
PF wungi
INT wugu (weu; Wakka-Wakka ?)
11.12 The principles of construction are in every respect the same in Wuli-Wuli as in Wakka-Wakka and Barunggam. The use of two ergatives with a transitive verb is seen in: wuliru jimbine ganeju or gamgungu they hit or piroed (him) with spears (Wul QD; cf. 3.15). A variant of the common construction with two forms expressing the purpose, that is an allative of a nominal word and the intentional mode of the accompanying verb (see 3.23, Note 39) is found in: jande gungu(w) a june wa going home for to sleep (Wul QD); here gunduwa is the allative of the noun gundu house, home (cf. 11.4). A case of grammatical agreement is found in: bağanu dambanu on another road (Wul QD), from bağa another and damba track, road (cf. 3.12; 7.34).

Wakka-Wakka, Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli vocabulary

12. For practical reasons this vocabulary is based on one language, Wakka-Wakka (A). Words and forms which are the same in the other languages are not entered separately, while such forms as have been found in one of the latter languages only are indicated by the corresponding signatures (Wak B, Bar, Wul; cf. further Note 41). In the cases of words and forms heard from more than one informant these are not mentioned by their initials, whereas in the opposite case complete reference to the informants is made (also cf. 4.3). For each item indication of word category (see 3.1; 4.2) is made; for nominal and verbal stems—the latter always followed by a hyphen—the recorded flectional forms are listed (for brevity the verb forms are placed in this order: imperative, imperfective, perfective, intentional, without further indication) or else reference is made to the corresponding brief chapters on phonology and morphology. The arrangement of the items is alphabetical, the phonetic symbols being ranged in the following order: a, b, d, g, e, g, η, i, j, l, m, n, η, o, r, u, w.
banga N, LOC bangani log (Bar AB).
bangabula N, ERG bangabulandu pelican (Bar AB).
bangu N money (Bar HD).
banu (bonu) POST (3.17; 6.11) from, off: jo budin ne bonu he is bigger than I (Wak SH), gana mana bonu galan this is better than that (Wak SH).
baim N pipe.
baima- V TR baima; baima; baimai take off (scales of fish; Wak SH).
baiwun N (10.6) dream; baiwun gu nani I dreamed (Wul QD).
baij (baij) N long-leaved ironbark (Wak WC); also the name of a place, Byee (near Murgon).
baiji- V ITR ba'; ba'nge, bajinge, be'nge (Wak VL, Bar AB), ba'ninge (Wak SH); ba'ni; baju (ba'ngu, Bar AB); (6.13; 8.7; 9.12). 1. stand up; 2. come up, out, rise (sun or moon); 3. get wild (mad, angry): wanga baju when it rains (rain comes up, Wak WC; cf. ba''). -cf. bau-, bawi-.
bajir (bair) N (7.14, 15, Note 75) 1. mountain; 2. rough (ground; Bar AB).
ba'1 N wild, angry: ba'1 waa- (cf. wa''-2).
bal N fish, (especially) jewfish; bala gu gon I want jewfish; ART balagin some or a lot of jewfish (Wak TM).
bal N 1. semen (Wak TM); 2. penis (Bar AB; cf. daga(η)); 3. sexually active person (Bar AB; cf. balan).
bala bala N = bala2 (Wak SH).
bulan N sexually active person (Bar AB). -cf. bala2.
balan N flat: mu: balan, ginaq balan flat belly, feet (Wak BC).
-bam (-bom) ART (7.15-16).
bama N black fellow; murun bama (idem; Bar AB).
bama- (-bama-) V TR bama; bame; bama; bamaau make, be occupied in: gangu bama- make sick (Wak SH), gum bama- smoke (Wak WC).
bama V CAUS ba'ma; ba'me; ba'mai; ba'mau stand (something or someone) up (Wak WC). -cf. baji-
bamba- V TR bamba; bambe; bambai; bambaiu hit, strike, spear, shoot: bambai (the lightning) struck (Wak TM), bambai ganeru spearred (Wak JC). -cf. bomba- (Wak A).
bamgan N (9.2) day, daylight, daybreak (Bar AB).
ban N, ABL banu grass.
ban ban N, ABL banu Ban Ban (a place): ban banu janande going to Ban Ban (Wak WC). -cf. ban.
banda N Bunda, name of a social section (a banda marries a bangurgan and the children become baran); ART bandagan all the Bundas (Wak TM).
bandagan N a female Bunda (see banda; Bar AB).
bandu N paddymelon (Bar AB).
bangi N friend, sweetheart (= nomgan; Bar AB).
bangili N, ERG bangiliju, bangilinu or bangiliru net, especially fish net: thanbang bangiliya (SOC) janande the men go with a fishing net (Wak TN).
bangur N name of a social section (a bangur marries a bandagan and the children become baran).
bangurgan N a female bangur (Bar AB).
banga- (banga-) V ITR bangenge (bangange, Wak SH, RS); bangeni (6.18) be frightened, afraid. -cf. benge- (Bar).
bangema- \( V \) CAUS IMP bangema; INT bangema (Wak JW) frighten. \(-\text{cf. bang}-\).

\( \text{banì} \ N \) 1. bunya tree (= \( \text{banì} \) dadu Wul QD); 2. bunya nut(s) or pods (Wak JW, DK); 3. any pine tree (Wak WC): \( \text{banì} \) gari doroñ needle(s) of pine tree (Wak WC).

\( \text{bangu} \ REL ? \) (coming) from: jo \( \text{bangu} \) gindanu he comes from Gayndah, nge Europe-nu \( \text{bangu} \) I come from Europe (Wak TM).

-\( \text{bara} \ N \) DER SFX (9.2).

ba\( \text{ra}- \) \( V \) ASS ba\( \text{ra} \); ba\( \text{re} \); ba\( \text{rai} \); ba\( \text{ra} \text{u} \) bring (Wak TM). \(-\text{cf. ba\( \text{ri} \)-}\).

\( \text{baran} \) (ba\( \text{ran} \)?) \( N \) Barang, name of a social section (baran\( \text{marries garwa} \)) Wul QD).

\( \text{bara} \text{nban} \ N \) the same as \( \text{bara} \) (Wak TM).

\( \text{bara} \text{ngan} \ N \) a female \( \text{bara} \)

baralga \( N \) native companion (Bar AB).

baram \( N \) red ant, meat ant.

\( \text{baran} \ N,\ ERG \) barandu boomerang: \( \text{bara} \text{n} \) (SOC) jo ba\( \text{n} \) he comes with a boomerang (Wak TM).

\( \text{bari} \ N,\ ERG \) bariju, barilu, barindu; OBJ bari\( \text{na} \), barina; POSS bari\( \text{ri} \) (-rin, -riñ) child, young of animal, little, small: bari\( \text{ri} \)ñ(sic) gari the child’s belonging (Wak SH), gagore bari little child (Wak SH); ART barilam (-lon; ERG barilombo, OBJ bariloma), bariron (Wak RS) the children, some children.

\( \text{bari} \ \text{bari} \ N \) little child, baby, little; ART bari barilom (some) little ones.

ba\( \text{ri}- \) \( V \) ASS ba\( \text{ri} \) (ba\( \text{ra} \), Wak SH, once); ba\( \text{ri} \text{ge} \); ba\( \text{ri} \text{ni} \); ba\( \text{ri} \text{u} \) (7.6) bring; jia ba\( \text{ri} \)- bring (here). \(-\text{cf. ba\( \text{ra} \)-} \) (Wak B).

barang \( N \) 1. kangaroo rat;
2. Dalby (Bar AB); 3. the Dalby Aboriginal language (Bar AB):
barang gu jangu to go to Dalby. \(-\text{cf. barangam}\).

barangam \( N \) Barunggam (the name of a tribe and language; see 1.3): nge barangam I am a Barunggam (Bar AB). \(-\text{cf. barangu}\).

bau- (baji) \( V \) ITR 11.11) stand, stand up (Wul QD). \(-\text{cf. baji-} \) (Wak A), bawi- (Wak B).

bawan \( N \) bad (Wul LW)

bawar \( N \) (7.14) bush, scrub; bawar gu (go) to the bush (also used as an euphemism for having intercourse; Bar AB), bawara (perlitative) janande going along the bush (Wak SH).

bawem \( N \) tongue (Wak WC)

bawi- \( V \) ITR bawi (bawa); bawinge; bawiñi; bau (6.13; 11.11) stand, stand up (Wak TM). \(-\text{cf. baji-} \) (Wak A), bau- (Wul).

bebejem \( N,\ ERG \) bebejembu, bebejumbai (true) father, (especially) God (Bar AB); biralu man bebejem God is the Father. \(-\text{cf. baba, babu}\).

bege- \( V \) ITR begenge come; nge gue nge begenge I am coming from there (Wak JW). \(-\text{cf. Batjala baga-} \) come.

be\( \text{na}- \) \( V \) bia\( \text{na}\)-

be\( \text{l} \ N \) hair, (especially) hair on the body (Wak SH, WC)

be\( \text{l} \) be\( \text{l} \ N \) fig tree (Wak WC)

bem \( N \) skin (Wak JW)

benge- \( V \) ITR bengenge be afraid (Bar AB). \(-\text{cf. bang}-\).

be\( \text{nge}, \ v.\ bajie-, bia-\).

be\( \text{ngir} \ N \) red oak (Wak WC).
be·nu REL (from) above (Wak TM):
gundu(ŋu) be·nu above the house,
dadunu be·nu up in the tree.
—cf. bi·nu (Wak A).

be·nu REL from above (Wak TM):
be·nuŋu ŋe bai I have come from
above.

bi·- V TR bi·, binge, bi·ni, bi·ju,
biu carry, take (away):
joŋa (memeju) bi·ni he was born (by
his mother; Wak WC), bi·ni gungu
was taken by the water (Wak JW).

bia REL back; bia ba·- come back.

bia- (bi·ja-) V TR bia; bie (cf.
2.5), be·ŋe (Wak SH); biai
(be·ŋi, Wak TM); biau throw,
drop; jaramandu biai ŋaŋa the
horse threw me (Wak RS).

bi·nu REL from behind (Wak SH).
—cf. bi·nu.

bi·ŋa- (be·ŋa-) V TR bi·ŋa, bi·ŋe,
biaŋi (?) ; biaŋai; biŋaŋaŋaŋa hear,
listen, know, understand, remem-
ber, think: ŋagu joŋa biaŋi I
know him, ŋagu waga biaŋi or
waga ɡu bi·ŋe I do not know,
biaŋaŋaŋaŋa to remember me
(Wak SH), ŋagu mana giraŋa be·ŋi
I think it is a porcupine (Wak
SH), ŋe biaŋi I was thinking,
ŋindu bi·ŋa ɡaŋga listen, brother
(Wak SH), binangu bi·ŋe hears
(Wak TM), giam bi·ŋe (can)
understand (a language; Bar AB).

biaŋi REL (probably) behind:
ɡanana biaŋi ba·ŋe the sun is
rising behind ... (?) (Wak WC).

bi·ŋu REL (from) behind; burum
joŋa buai bi·ŋu hit him (in) his
back from behind (Wak SH).

bi·ma REL back; bi·ma bai has
come back (Wak JW), ŋin bi·ma
you (come) back (Wak RS), je jana
bi·ma go back (here; Wak RS).
—cf. bia.

bi·ŋu REL on top; gunduŋu bi·ŋu
on top of the house (Wak WC).
—cf. be·nu (Wak B).

bi·ar N (6.7, Note 48) mountain
(Wak WC). —cf. bajir.

bi·bar (biba) N letter, newspaper
(Bar AB; Wul QD).

bi·bi·re- V ITR bibirenge walk over,
go over (Wak:Gor VR).

bi·gari N native tobacco, chewing
tobacco ('pitchery'; Bar AB).

bi·ganu REL behind; gundu bi·ganu
(= binu) behind the house. —cf.
bi·ganu.

bi·ganu REL behind; ɡin bi·ganu
behind you, dadunu bi·ganu behind
the tree (Wak TM; also bi·gan (?),
the corresponding LOC form).
—CF. bi·ganu.

bi·gan ɡa n  N snake (Wul BP, LW, QD).

bi·l N (7.14) cold; guŋ bi·l cold
water, bi·l janande getting cold,
bi·l bai dying from cold (Wak WC).

bi·l bai N cold; bi·l bi· re-
getting cold; also the name of a
place, O'Bil Bil (Wak WC).

bi·la- V ASS bi·le take; jalu
mana bile he is sneaking away
with that (Wak TM). —cf. bi·ra-,
bi·ri-.

bi·lai bi·lai REL ? doing oneself up;
jo bi·lai bi·lai he is showing off
(also 'he is cheeky'; Wak TM).

bi·laŋ N hawk, eaglehawk (Wul QD).

bi·la·  V ITR bi·le take; jalu
mana bile he is sneaking away
with that (Wak TM). —cf. bi·ra-,
bi·ri-.

bi·lar N dry (Wak:Gor RD); bugur
bilili dry throat.

bi·na- V ASS bi·ne take; biraŋu
bine ɡai ɡa God takes everybody
(or 'us all') home. —cf. bi·na-,
bi·na-, bi·ri-.
binaŋ N, ERG binaŋgu ear, binaŋ wamba-listen, binaŋgu binaŋa-hear (Wak TM), binaŋ jombu wambe mında dam jom jale they are listening to one another (Wak WC), binaŋ ɲari guin I cannot hear (Wak WC), bà na guina a gua I am deaf (Bar AB). —cf. wamba-
binaŋguin (-gûn) deaf, disobedient: binaŋguin bari a disobedient child (Wak BC).
binar N initiation rule or ceremony, bora ground, meeting (place); according to Wak WC, 'war', which seems mistaken: binar gu (or gua, Wak TM) ɲe jana bene I am going to the bora ring.
binbir N grasshopper (Wak WC)
binja N the name of a place, Binjour (Wak DL). —cf. binur.
binga N hat.
bingin N turtle (Wak DK).
bin (bine) REL behind (Bar AB).
binu REL behind: waga binu ba' don't stand behind (Wak PB), gundu binu behind the house, dadulu binu behind the tree (Wak PB), binu wane- leave behind (Bar AB).
binur N bandicoot, grey rat; also the name of a place, Binjour. —cf. binja.
bion N (10.6) dream (Wak SH). —cf. biun biun, baiwun.
bionba- V TR (bionba; bionbe; bionbai) dream; ɲaŋu bionbai mana, joŋa I dreamed about that, him (Wak SH), bionbai waga galan had a bad dream (Wak SH).
bir- ra- V ASS (bi' re; bi' rau) take, take away (Wak TM). —cf. biri- (Wak A).
biralu (biralu; biralunga; biralu(ŋ)gan ?) N, ERG biralungu; ABL biralungu (9.4) God, Creator; biralunga darin God is strong (Wak SH),
biralu jo galan God is good (Wak SH), biralungu ɗa' jangai God has made the earth, ɲinenge biralungu stays with God (Wak SH).
biran N big; me', mu' biran big eyes, stomach (Wak BC).
bi'ri- V ASS bi' ri (bi' re); bi' ringe; bi' rin; bi' reu take, take away, carry; mana jalu mujim biringe he is carrying the tomahawk (Wak SH). —cf. bira-, bila- (Wak B), bina-.
binrun N ABL birunu; LOC biruni stump of a tree; mana biruni guŋ there is water in the stump (Wak SH).
biruŋ N ribs ('elbow' or 'shoulder' Wak PB).
biauŋa N real bottle tree (Bar AB).
biru biun N dream; biru biun ɲaŋu ɲaŋi I have seen in a dream (Bar AB).
boŋi (baŋi) POST (6.11) of, from, belonging to: murun boŋi the man's, barilam boŋi belonging to the children, maŋi boŋi dia carcass of a sheep, guŋ boŋi maŋi got it from the water (Wak PB). —cf. baŋu.
bo'ni, v. bua-3
bo'ni- V ITR (PF) bo'niŋi die (Bar AB). —cf. bo'ni (bua-3)
boŋu, v. baŋu.
boja-1 V TR bo'; boje (boi) poke; waga ɲindu joŋa bo' don't you poke him (Wak TM). —cf. bua-1
boja-2, v. bua-3.
boju N two (people); murun ɗan boju ba'ŋ two men or people are coming (Wak TM). —cf. buaju
- bom, v. -bam
bomba- V TR (bomba; bombai) hit; waga ɲindu ɲaŋa bomba don't you hit me (Wak SH); originally *bumbamba- (?). —cf. bamba- (Wak B).
boro- V TR (IMP) boro fight
  (Wak SH): waga njindu jona boro
don't you fight him. -cf. boroji-
boroji- V REFL boroji (boroja);
borojinge (borojinge, Wak TM);
boroini; boroingu (boroju, Wak
WC; borojigu, Wak TM); (7.7)
fight; bujun boroinge two are
fighting. -cf. boro-
bowa N POSS bowari; ABL bowanu
mother's mother (Wak JC); bowanu
(living) with (or 'off') his
grandmother. -cf. buja.
bua1 N maggot (Wak SH)
bua2 N ERG bualu; OBJ buan;
ABL buanu, buanu two: buliman
bua two policemen, buanu nano
saw both, buanu twice or two
nights (Wak SH), jalu na na bumi
buanu he hit me twice or again
(Wak SH). -cf. buaju.
bua-1 V TR bua; bue; bai (boi);
buau poke, spear, sting; guendu
bue spearing (Wak SH), goru
nina buai the wasp stung you
(Wak WC). -cf. boja- (Wak B).
bua-2 (bo-') V TR bua (bo'); boe;
bai (bo) blow, put out (fire);
jindu mi bua jurinba blow and
wipe your nose (Wak SH), gujum
bua (bo') blow out the fire.
bua-3 (bo-', boja-) V ITR bo';
boje, boe; bo'ni; bou (2.5, 
Note 12) die, go out (of the
fire); gujum boe the fire is
going out, murun boe a man is
dying, duroi boje (I) am hungry
(Wak VL), waga bo bo'ni he never
died (Wak SH), jo bo'ni he is
dead, bula bo'ni the cow is dead
or a dead cow.
bua bua N butterfly (Wak WC)
buaju N EKR buaju; OBJ buaju
na two. -cf. boju (Wak B).
bual bual N butterfly (Wul QD).
  -buam, v. -bom, -bam.
buan REL asleep (Bar AB); buan
junenge lying asleep. -cf.
buandi-.
buanda REL at night (Wakka-Wakka ?
from Willie McKenzie, cf. 1.6;
possibly a perative). -cf. buan.
buandi- (buande-) V ITR buande
(buanda); buandinge (buange);
buandini; buandingu; buangu,
buandeu sleep, go to sleep,
camp; nia mari buandini buanu
I camped there two nights (Wak
SH), jo jan buan(du)ingu he went
to sleep (Wak SH), memendu bairi
jagai buanu the mother put the
child to sleep (Wak SH), narn nia
buandeu we must or want to sleep
(Wak JC). -cf. buan.
buanna- V CAUS (IMP) buanna put
to sleep (Wak SH); njindu gagorena
buanna you put the child to
sleep. -cf. buan, buandi-.
bubidjan N the name of a place,
Boobyyjan (Wak WC, DL).
bubul N tired, weak (Wak TM, Wak:
Gor RD). -cf. bubur.
bubur N tired (Wak SH, Wak: Gor RD);
ne bubur I am tired. -cf. bubul.
budi- V ITR budinge rise (of
water, with the tide; Wak SH).
  -cf. budin, bidin.
budin N big (Bar AB). -cf. bidin.
budin N big, many: budin gan or
dan budin many people, gundu
bajir bidin a big house,
mountain, bidin je' (the water)
is rising (Wak SH; cf. bidin-);
(ART) bidinbom many (people).
  -cf. budin.
budir N dead, finished; jo budir
he is dead (Wak SH), bubir gu
bo'ni (idem; Wak SH), buma-
budir gu kill (Wak SH, TM).
bujigan N (9.2) cat, pussy (Bar AB).
bujun N nose (Bar AB).
bungum (Wak PB; bungan, Wak SH)  
spunk (to light a fire); either  
a soft powder (Wak SH) or dry sap  
of trees (Wak PB).

buga N stinking, rotten (as of  
clothes; Wak TM).

bugin N ERG bugingu; OBJ bugina  
tame dog; bugin naaji dingo  
(Wak TM); (ART) buginbom mob of  
dogs (Wak SH).

bugur N ERG buguru; ABL bugurnu  
1. throat; 2. string; 3. clever  
man (= gundir; Wak JC); buguru  
dari tie with a string.

buger N bottle tree (Wak WC).  
-cf. bunair.

buinba N the name of a place,  
Booinba (Wak WC).

buja N POSS bujari mother's  
mother (Wak JC).  
-cf. bowa

bujam N witchetty grub (Wak DL).

buj V ITR bujenge (9.10) be  
brothers (Bar AB); gam bujenge  
we two are brothers.  
-cf. buju, bujun bujun.

buji (bui) N ERG bujilu, bujindu  
carpetsnake.

buju N calf of leg, leg,  
shin (bone).

buju- V ITR bujunge (9.10) be  
brothers (Bar AB); gam bujunge  
we two are brothers.  
-cf. buje-,  
 buju buju-, bujun bujun.

bujju V ITR buju bujunge  
(9.10) be brothers (Bar AB); gam  
buju bujunge we three (sic) are  
brothers.  
-cf. buju.

bujun N ABL bujunu two (human  
beings), two brothers, twins.

bujun bujun (bujun bujen-, Bar AB);  
N ERG bujun bujunu two  
(brothers; = bujun), each other;  
bujun bujun naanje the two can see  
one another (Wak SH), gam bujun  
bjunu na- you two look at one  
another (Wak SH); (ART) gam bujun  
bujengin we two (are) brothers  
(Bar AB).  
-cf. buje-, buju buju-.

bula1 N two; bula two (children;  
Wul QD), bula gior two rainbows  
(Wak SH).

bula2 N bullock, cow, cattle,  
meat; bulari gam beef (Bar AB),  
bulanu dia bones of a (dead) cow  
(Wak SH); (ART) bulabom cattle  
(Wak SH).

bulam N or PERS PRON (11.6) the  
two (Wul QD).

bular1 N cattle (Bar AB).  
-cf. bola2.

bular2 N bread (Bar AB).  
-cf. bulor.

bulel N narrow-leafed ironbark,  
also the name of a place (Wak WC).

bulgal N the name of a place,  
Boolgal (Wak WC).

buliman N ERG bulimandu policeman.

bulor N flour, bread.  
-cf. bular2

bulu N LOC buluni 1. stomach;  
2. front: buluni in front (Wak TM).  
-cf. bulunj1.

bulunj1 N LOC bulunj 1. stomach  
(Wak TM); 2. front: bulunj in  
front (Wak TM).

bulunj2 N top (Wak SH); bulunj gu  
(climbed) to the top.

bulunjal N (11.1) pregnant (Wak TM).  
-cf. bulu, bulunj1.

bulunjungan N my dear old home  
 (= ganan ganan, Wak TM; according  
to Wak WC, it is Wuli-Wuli)

buma- (bum-) V TR buma; bune; bumi;  
bungu (9.10) hit, beat, strike,  
kill, kick, scratch, punish:  
dadulu buma hit with a stick,  
gilindu bumi scratched (Wak SH),  
wulu lu bumi kicked (Wak SH).  
-cf. bumba1,2.

bumba1 V TR bumba, bumbe, bumbi,  
hit, beat; dadulu bumbe hitting  
with a stick.  
-cf. buma-.

bumba2 V ITR (PF) bumbane fight  
(Wul QD); bulambu (sic) bumbane  
the two fought.  
-cf. bunge-.
bunge- V REC bungenge; bungeni fight (Wak SH).

bumi- V ITR bumi; buminge; bumi; bumi (9,10, 12) 1. fall; 2. die; ġaba bumi fell down (Wak BC), ġandu bumi who died? (Wak PB), bumi dead (Wak RS).

bunair (buner) N fully grown bottle tree (Wak SH). —cf. bunair.

bunbi (bunbir, Wak BC) N ABL bunbinu, bunbinu bag, dillbag.

bunduma N a little yellow nut, also the name of a place, Boondoooma (Wak WC).

bundur N ERG bunduru knee; bunduru bumi kicked with the knee (Wak SH).

bunem N a kind of pine tree (Wak WC).

bunma- V TR bunma; bunmai take off, take out, push, pull, skin; dilim bunma take off the skin (Wak SH), bunma, bunmai (= dari darini) pull, pulled (Wak WC).

bunur N dust, ashes (Wul QD)

bura N OBJ buraŋa Bootha (surname), the common way of referring to Wak AB.

buran N ERG burando wind; buran janga make wind, blow (Wak PB), buranudo wungini gone with the wind (Wak PB). —cf. burandu.

buranba N Barambah mission, Cherbourg; usually explained as (Wakka-Wakka) buran be (wind coming), but it is evidently one of the many place names in 'ba(h)' (see 3.6); janande buranba going to Cherbourg (buranba gu is purely artificial). —cf. buran.

buranŋa N storm (Bar AB; sociative derivation of buran, q.v.).

bure- V ITR burenge be frightened (Wak RS).

buri- V TR (PF) buriŋi take from (Wak:Gor RD); naŋu joŋa buriŋi I took it off him.

buru1 N ERG bururu 1. axe (Wak TM); 2 penis; bururu gawa cut with an axe.

buru2 N ABL burunu; LOC buruni hill (Wak RS). —cf. buru.

buruŋ N mountain (Wak SH); buruŋ gu to the mountain top. —cf. buru2.

buruŋa N male (dog, etc.; Bar AB). —cf. buru1.

burum1 N ABL burumu back; burumu on the back (Wak SH).

burum2 N ABL burumu mountain (top); burumu wai climbed the mountain (Wak SH), burum gu to the top (Wak SH).

burumbi N thunder or loud noise (Wak TM).

burumgi N ABL burumginu; LOC burumgini big cave (Wak SH); burumginu bai came out of the cave.

dadu N ERG dadulu; ABL daduŋu, dadunu; LOC daduni (9.4) stick, tree, log, wood; dadulu wamba- climb a tree, dadulu (fighting) with a stick, dadulu or daduŋu wamba- hang (something) on a tree, dadunu ɲinenge sitting on a log, dadulu we- climbing a tree, daduna (perlative) wa- climb a tree (Wak WC); the form dadulu is occasionally used as nominative; dadulu maŋa grab a stick (Wak PB), dadulu gari leaves of a tree, hence the ablative dadulunu (= daduŋu; Wak SH).

dadu gari N limbs or leaves of a tree (Wak SH). —cf. dadu.
daduŋa N wooded (Wak SH); mana bajir daduŋa that mountain is wooded.

daga or dagaŋ N male private parts (Bar AB).

daŋa¹ N thunder (Bar AB); daŋa beŋe hearing thunder.

daŋa² REL fast; daŋa jana go quick (Wak:Gor RD), daŋa jani ran away (Bar AB; Wul LW), daŋa jangu to run away in a fright (Wak DW, JW, JC), ŋam ŋin daŋa jangu let us (two) run away (Bar AB), waga ŋin daŋa jana don't you run away (Wul LW).

dai N ERG dailu; ABL daiŋu 1. stone, rock; 2. silver, gold; 3. money; bumĩni daiŋu fell off the rock; (ART) dailam (some) stones (Wak SH). -cf. daiji, dawi (Wak B).

dai dai N pebbles (Wak SH).

daŋa N stony; gana ɡa· daŋa this ground is stony (Wak SH).

daŋi munginge N the Laughing Stone (at Cherbourg).

daıl REL (probably) not yet (Wak TM). -cf. gawir.

daım REL (probably) in time, later; daım ŋindu biaŋe you will know in time (Bar AB). -cf. da·m.

daği N ABL daiŋu 1. stone, rock; 2. money (Wul QD); daği gu gijaŋ turned into stone (Wak TM). -cf. dai (Wak A), dawi.

dalar N good or healthy (of persons; Wak TM).

da·m¹ N ABL da·muŋ 1. (bunya) nut; 2. yam (perhaps a different language or dialect; Wak WC): go·go damuŋ ants in the nut, dam gu gon want(s) nuts.

da·m² REL (probably) later on, in time (Wak WC); da·m ŋindu biaŋe you will know (the law) in time (when you come back from the bora ground). -cf. daim.

daamba N ABL dambaŋu, dambanu; (7.12; 11.3-4) 1. (bush) track; 2. way, road; dambaŋu janande going on or along the road, dambara (Wak SH; Wul QD), dambaŋa (Wak TM) (going, coming) along the road (perlative).

dandar N chest.

dandi N big; mau dandi big head, dandi ɡan, gundu big man, house.

dangi N sick (Bar AB); ɡe dangi I am sick.

da·ran N white woman.

dari- V TR dari; daringe; dariŋi; dariu 1. tie (with string); 2. pull (out), drag; 3. pinch; 4. dig; buguru dariu tie with a string; gilin gilin dariu (going) to pull (the fishing line), gilindu daringe pinching (with the nails), nala dariu dig a hole.

darin N heavy, solid, strong, hard, hot (of the sun); ɡanana darin je the sun is getting strong or hot, ɡun darin jini the water was strong.

darin darin N very strong (Wak SH); ɡun ɡana darin darin this water is very strong.

daru REL now, today; ɡia daru janande I am going now (Wul QD).

darum N 1. pomegranate; 2. Taroom; darum gu jande going to Taroom (also 'going for pomegranates').

dawi N stone (Wak TM). -cf. dai, daji.

dege N dead (Bar AB); cf. Nunagal dege white man (originally 'stranger, ghost').

dei-tooth, teeth (Wak TM). -cf. di·aŋ (Wak A).

dia N bone(s), shinbone, carcass, skeleton (cf. bula² and wangun); dia ɲumbe pointing the bone (Wak SH), bari barijun en dia there was a skeleton of a little child (carved in the rock; Wak TM).
dianə N ERG diaŋgu (7.2) tooth, teeth. -cf. deŋ (Wak B).
dianə N having teeth (Wak SH); ŋia waga dianə I have got no teeth.
diŋ N (6.13) fly (Wak WC, Bar AB). —cf. dijiŋ.
dijjiŋ N (10.3) fly (Wul QD).
dilim N ERG dilimbu; ABL dilimu skin (Wak SH); dilimu skin (the wallaby).
dinbe- V ITR dinbe (dinba, Wak SH); dinbenge; dingeni (dinbai, Wak WC); dinbeu get up, stand (up), come out. —cf. gunbe-
(dinjil).
dinbema- V CAUS IMP dinbema raise (Wak WC); dinbema get (him) up. —cf. guninbama-
dingu N 1. wattle tree (Bar AB) or white ants (? Wak PB); 2. Tingora; dingu gu jangu to go to Tingora (Bar AB), dingu (7.12) Tingora (Wak PB).
dior N kidney(s) (Wak SH).
diŋ N blood.
dirŋa N bloody or full of blood.
diri- V TR dira; diringi; direu carry (something) unseen; jalu diriŋi he sneaked it (Wak SH).
diwiŋ N (6.13) blowfly or any fly (Wak TN). —cf. diŋ, dijiŋ.
do'm REL yesterday (Wak DW).
do'mu REL tomorrow (Wak JW).
dorong N needle of coniferous tree (Wak WC).

du'1 N mother (= meme, Wak SH); mana du' duŋge (the koala baby's) mother cries. —cf. du'ŋ.

du'2 N heart; ŋia du' ŋangur I have got heart pain (Wak SH). —cf. dulu (Wak B).

duŋ (duwaŋ) N tucker (food; Bar AB).
duduri N ironbark (Wak SH). —cf. dururi.

due due N ERG due dueju soldier bird (Wak SH) or peewee (? Wak TM); a greyish bird, the size of a starling.

duŋa- (duŋa-, duŋ-) V ITR duŋa (Wak WC); duŋge; duŋgai; duŋgu cry; barilam duŋge kids crying, duŋge bari gu (the koala mother) cries for the baby (Wak SH). —cf. duŋima-
dungi N ABL dungi (7.12) 1. creek, river; 2. the Milky Way (Bar AB); dungi (gu) ŋe jani I went to the creek. —cf. dungir.
dungiŋi N the Brisbane river area or language (Bar AB); gaun dungiŋi janande going to the Brisbane river country. —cf. dungi.
dungir N creek (Wak:Gor RD). —cf. dungi.
duŋima- V IPP duŋime cry (Wak BC). —cf. duŋa-
du'1 N juice, gravy, honey (Wak TM); du'1 gu gôn want(s) the juice, etc.
dulaŋba N (7.3) the name of a place, Jimmy's scrub (Wak JW).
dulu or dulur N heart or liver (Wak TM). —cf. du'1.
dumug N bee (Bar AB).
du'n N ERG dundu mother (Wak SH); ŋana gari (or mari) dundu biriŋi I was born here (or there). —cf. du'1.
dunbe N maggot (Wak WC).
dundur N (witchetty) grub (Wak WC) or maggot (Wak TM); ART dundungin (probably) maggots or grubs (Wak TM).
du'1 1. track, footprint(s); 2. bora ring, circle (ceremonial place); wangeriŋa du' 1 a snake's track (Wak SH), du'1 gu (go) to the bora ring (Bar AB), gin gari du'1 the women's circle (at the bora ground; Bar AB). —cf.duwur.
dura $N$ the name of a coastal tribe (Wak PB).

durun $N$ ? nia durun bil I have a cold in my nose (Wak SH).

durun $N$ (9.5) spear (Bar AB).

dururi or dururir $N$ ironbark or boxtree (Wak SH). –cf. duduri.

duwaŋ $N$ horn (Wuli-Wuli, according to Gor RD); duwaŋ gunburu long horns.

duwar $N$ butcherbird (Wak SH).

duwur $N$ bora ring (Bar AB). –cf. du'r.

du' $N$ ABL du'ŋu; ganu (6.14) earth, ground, dirt, the whole earth, outside; nìn jana du'ŋu ñine you go sit down outside, du'ŋu gun be' a spring ('water comes out of the ground'; Wak SH). –cf. gaba.

du' $V$ TR d̂u'; ge' (d̂ajë, d̂aë, Bar, Wul); gâi (d̂ajë, Wul LW); gau (d̂a'wa, d̂a', Bar, Wul) eat, drink; gun d̂a' drink water, gam bulor gau to eat meat and bread, duan gau to eat (Bar AB), gun gau to drink (Bar AB), d̂a' gauŋ want to eat (Bar AB), nìn d̂angur je ñinu mana ñau you will get sick if you eat or drink that (Wak SH; cf. 3.24). –cf. gawà (Wak B).

gaba $REL$ on or to the ground (Wak WC).

gabil $N$ nulla-nulla (Wak JD). –cf. gabir.

gabimje$ - V$ TR (7.9) chop (Wak LH).

gabir $N$ nulla-nulla (Wak WC). –cf. gabil.

gaga $ERG$ gagu (Bar AB) elder brother, brother (Wak SH, Wake Gor RD, Bar AB); gagu nari jangai my brother made it.

gage $N$ grasstree (Wak WC).

gâgin gâgim $N$ a kind of owl or night bird (Wak TM; explained as meaning 'coming', i.e. a ghost or bad people –cf. Goreng-Goreng gâgim 'going').

gâgu $REL$ always (Wul QD); gâgu julina always singing.

gâgun $N$ home (place where you used to stay, Wak RS), land, one's birthplace or burial place (Wak TM); giranda gâgun Cooranda station (Wak SH).

gâgunbara $N$ home, country (Bar AB).

gâgunde $N$ name of the Dalby Aboriginal language (Wak NS). –cf. gâgun.

gâ' $N$ tongue (Wak:Gor RD).

gânar $N$ shin or leg bone, leg, thigh.

gângur $N$ sick, sore; nê dângur I am sick, nia dandar dângur I have a sore chest.

gâlan $N$ a social section (gâlan should marry bângur; Bar AB) –hence the same as Wakka-Wakka, etc. banda (q.v.).

gâm $N$ meat, food (Bar AB); waga nari gâm I have no meat (Wak WC); gôn gâm gu (Wak TM), gâm gu (or gua) gâp (Wul QD) want(s) meat, gûmâ (SOC) having meat (Wak:Gor RD).

-gâm CAR SFX (3.7; 9.2).

gâmë $REL$ on the ground (Wak WC).

gâmû $REL$ on the ground (Wak WC).

gàn $ERG$ gându; OBJ gâna man, male; gân gaiwar the male rainbow, or the one on top, when two rainbows are visible (Bar AB); ART gânbam; ERG -bambu mob of men (Wak TM), gânbamđin, idem (Wak TM).
ganan N ERG ganandu (7.13) sun, sunshine, day, summer; ganan be' (or ba'n) the sun is rising or sunrise, ganandu bumi the hot sun hit or burned (Bar AB), gananda (perllative) daytime (Wak WC), at sunrise (Wak SH).

gan N son (Wak TM).

gangari N river spirit, spirit living in water, little ghost or imp.

gangur N ABL gangurnu a big lily with broad leaves, also the name of a place, Ban Ban Springs (Wak WC); njinenge gangur (gu) lives at Ban Ban. -cf. ban ban.

gan N having a man (Wak TM).

gan N iron, iron bar, toy (any metal that can roll); the original sense of the word is 'flint', according to Willie McKenzie (1.6).

gan N tongue (Wak SH). -cf. gunu, ga·n.

gan or gawan N OBJ da·nna elder sister (Wak JC).

ganum N REL ABL gangumu close, near, close together; ganum gar a close or near to here (Wul QD), ganumu close together (Bar AB), wana'gu na ganumu du naje I can see you near (when) I am far away (Wul QD).

ganumu, v. ganum

garam N poisonous or no good for eating (Wak TM).

gare- V ITR gare; garengi; gareni; gareu go home (Wak WC); jo gareni (= janji jo) he went home.

garuga N trousers, pants.

garwan (garon, goron, Wak WC, garan, Wul RS) N name of social section (darwan marries barangan, the children being gangur, q.v.).

garwangan N female garwan (q.v.; Bar AB).

gau N ERG gau brother-in-law (Bar AB).

gau N home, land (Bar AB); gau gimsem owner of the land, gau gu jangu to go home. -cf. gagun.

gau, v. ga·n

gawa- (ga·-) V TR gawa, ga'; gawe; gawai; gau eat, drink (Wak TM). -cf. ga· (Wak A).

gawan N (scrub) possum (Wak PB; the same sense in Kabi-Kabi).

gawin, v. ga·n

gawun N younger sister (Bar AB). -cf. ga·n.

g·e- V ITR g·e'; genge go (Wak WC, TM); jo genge (= janande) he is going. -cf. gia·, -ge-.

g·e- V DER SFX (7.9, 11.2).

g·e- V DER SFX (7.9).

g·l N jail (Wak SH); g·l gu ja ni went to jail.

g·l N salmon (Wak WC, TM).

g·a- V ITR IPF giana (9.11) go (Bar AB). -cf. ge·-

giama (gema) N dry (Bar AB).

gianbom N tea-tree (Wak SH).

gibi N forehead (Wak WC).

gi N kangaroo (Wak JW).

gi N dried (Wak SH).

gi·m N worm (Wak WC).

gima- V TR gima; gimai; gimau keep warm, heat (Wak SH); guŋ gima keep the water warm.

gimbem N OBJ gimbema l. owner; 2. relation(s); gundu gimbem or gimbem gundu (I am) the owner of the house (Wak WC), gau gimbem owner of the land (Bar AB), gimbem ḥari my own people (Wak PB). -cf. gumbeum.
gime- V ITR (PF) gimeni warm oneself (Wak SH); gujumu gimeni kept warm by the fire.
gin (gi'n) N wood, log (Wak JW, Wul QD); gin mangu to get wood.
-gin ART (3.18; 7.16; 11.5).
ginan N ERG ginangu (9.4) foot, feet, footprint(s), man's track; gagu muruna ganan naqi I saw a man's track (Wak SH).
ginan du'r N footprint, track (Wak SH).
-ginbun N lightning (Bar AB). -cf. ginbun.
gin gin N 1. sticks or chips to light a fire; 2. the name of a place, Gin Gin (Wak SH, LH). -cf. gin.
-ginše- V ITR (PF) ginšeni run away (Bar AB); daña ginšeni ran away.
girebe- V TR (IMP) girebe sing out (Wak JW).
-giwa N mopoke (Wak SH), a certain night bird or night owl (Wul QD). -cf. gua.
-gi- , v. guaŋ.
golor N catfish (Wak SH).
gorong, v. gorwaŋ.
gu PERS PRON (7.20; 9.6; 11.6).
-gua N ERG guaju mopoke (Wak JC; Wul QD); gua gangenge the mopoke is hooting (Wak JC). -cf. giwa.
guan (guwan, go'na) N OBJ go'na younger brother (Wak SH, JC).
guare- V ITR guare (guara, Wak RS); guarenge (go'renge) guareni turn round, spin; ne guare jo guare when I turn round he goes round (old saying, Wak PB; use of the imperative ?). -cf. guari-. guarendi- or guarendima- V ASS CAUS (IMP) guarendi, guarendima turn round (Wak SH). -cf. guarima-.
-guarire- (go'ri-) V RFL go'ri; guaringe (go'ringe); guarini (go'ri) turn (oneself) round, turn into; jo dai go'ri he turned into rock (Wak WC). -cf. guare-.
guarima- V CAUS guarima; guarime; guarimai turn (something) round, turn into; gundiru gurumana dai guarime the clever man can change a kangaroo into a rock (Wak SH).
gue N ERG guelu, gueru or guendu 1. spear; 2. prickle (Wak SH).
guema- V CAUS (IMP) guema turn round (Wak WC, LH). -cf. guari-.
gugai N sugar (Wak WC).
gunur N ERG gunuru knife.
gunur gunur N catbird (= dagim dagim; Wak JC, TM), mopoke or other night bird (Wul LW).
gui1 N ERG guiľindu quick; gui jana go quick, ne guiľindu jangu I have to go quick (Wak PB), guiinda (perlative) quickly (Wak SH; cf. 3.17). -cf. guiŋa.
gui2 (guwi, Wak: Gor RD) N excrement, faeces. -cf. gui-.
gui- V ITR gui; guinge; guju cacare: gunaŋ guinge evacuating bowels (Wak SH), nia janande guju, įndu guju ('to evacuate'; Wak SH).
guinya N quick (Bar AB); guiŋa jangu to hurry (to go with speed; SOC). -cf. gui1.
gum N 1. smoke; 2. a smoke, tobacco; goŋiya gum gu (Wak NS), gaun gum gu (Bar AB) want(s) a smoke. -cf. gumba-, gumde-.
gumba- V ITR gumbe; gumbai smoke. -cf. gumbe-.
gumbaga N tobacco. -cf. gumbe-.
gumbage- V ITR (INT) gumbageu smoke (Wak NS); nia goŋiya gumageu I want to smoke. -cf. gumba-, gumde-. 
gunu $N$ female private parts, vulva (Wak TM, Bar AB).
gunuŋ $N$ tongue (Wak SH). —cf. ganuŋ, gunum (Wak B).
gunuŋa $N$ female (Bar AB); bugiŋ gunuŋa female dog. —cf. gunuŋ.
gunum $N$ tongue (Wak TM). —cf. gunuŋ (Wak A).
gur $N$ bread (meat, Wak SH). —cf. guroi.
gurai $N$ hungry (Bar AB). —cf. guroi, gurwai.
guroi (guroi, Wak DW, gurwai, Wak JC; 6.9) $N$ 1. food, tucker, a feed, something to eat; 2. hungry; ņe guroi I am hungry, guroi boje (getting) hungry, guroi jani (gone) hungry (Wak SH), ŋam ŋin ŋe' guroi we two will have a feed (Wak DW), ŋaŋu (sic) guroi ŋe' I will have a feed (Wak SH), waga ŋari guroi I have got no feed, jalu ŋari guroi mande she will get me a feed. —cf. gurwai.
guroinba— $V$ ITR guroinbe; guroinbai be hungry (Wak SH).
guroji— $V$ ITR (IPF) guroinge, guroje get hungry (Wak SH). —cf. guroi.
guru $N$ sun (= ganan; Bar AB).
gurugan, v. jurugan
gurwai $N$ food (Wul QD); gurwai gawa to eat food. —cf. guroi.
gabul N carpetsnake (Wak SH; not properly Wakka-Wakka). —cf. buji.

gaga DEM PRON (9.8).

gagar N ERG gagaru (11.3) porcupine (Wul QD).

gagore (gagure) N ERG; gagorelu gagoreju, gagorendu; OBJ gagoreña, gagorena; POSS gagoreri; ABL gagorenju child, son; gagore bari little child. —cf. gaguru.

gagur N child, kid (Wak TM).
—cf. gagore, gaguru (Wak A).

gaguru N ERG gagurulu; OBJ gaguruña; ABL gagurunu child, kid. —cf. gagore.

gan N saliva (Wak SH); qindu gan bia you spit.

ganga N (7.1) noise (Wak TM); ganga jange makes a noise.

ganga- V ITR ganga; gange (gangena, Wul QD); gangai; gangau (11.11) call, sing out, hoot; dua (or giwa) gangena (or gengena) the mopoke is calling or hooting (Wul QD).

gangai N (9.1) shout, cry, calling (of a spirit; Bar AB).

gange- (ganga-) V ITR gange; gangenge, gangagange; gangeni, gangani call, shout, sing out, cry, pray; qindu gange ñañan you shout at me, biraluñ gu gangelenge calling on or praying to God (Wak SH). —cf. genge- (Wak B, Wul).

gail, v. gair.

gaila- (ga·la-) V ASS (IPF) gaille (ga·le) (7.6) look for; waja ga·le looking for wallabies (Wak SH). —cf. gaji-.

gair (gail, Wak TM) REL not yet (an expression of expectancy); gair ñagu biañe I do not know yet (Wak TM), gair jalu biañe he is wondering to know (Wak WC), gair qindu biañe you might know (later on? Wak WC).

gairana REL a long time ago, (something) left behind (Wak TM). —cf. gaurama, gauramba.

gaiwar N (9.4; 10.6) 1. rainbow; 2. bunyip (i.e. the Rainbow Serpent, who is supposed to have made waterholes, rivers, mountains; Bar AB); biralu gaiwar wambai God has put the rainbow (in the sky, that is according to later ideas; Bar AB). —cf. gior.

gaja- (ga·-) V ITR (IPF) gaje; (INT) gau go (Wak SH); gunu gaje will go into the water (or possibly Goreng-Goreng gai- 'go into'?). —cf. ga·le-.

gajañ N sinew (Wak:Gor RD).

gaji- V ITR ga·, gajinge. qani look for; qindu waja ga· you look for wallaby (Wak SH). —cf. gaila-.

gaiñi- V ITR (IPF) qainiñe look (Wak WC); qangari qin ga(j)injinge whom are you looking for?

gajir REL (6.13) for a long time (Wul QD); ga gajir gaile haven't seen you for a long time. —cf. gair, gawir.

galañ N good, pretty, clever, glad, all right; waga galañ (I) do not feel any good (Wak JW), qin galañ you are a good fellow, galañ jande going about fine or all right, mau galañ clever head, galañ jinji was glad. —cf. galamba.

galamba N all right (Wul QD, LW); daru galamba is getting better now. —cf. galañ.

gale- V TR (IMP) ga·le spill; waga mana gun ga·le don't spill that water (Wak PB). —cf. gaja- (?) .

gam PART might be (?); ñandu gam qindu gam might be a man, might be a woman ('I wonder was it a man or a woman who did it'; Wak WC).
ga'm N head (Bar AB).

gamadan N ERG gamadandu boss. -cf. gamaran.

gamaran N ERG gamarandu boss, owner (Bar AB); gamaran gari (afraid) of the boss. -cf. gamadan.

gamba N good, safe, (sit) pretty (Wak RS, Bar AB).

gambangan N two (people or animals; Bar AB); gambangan' benge two people standing, gambangan wai two (bears) have climbed up.

gambur N name of a language and tribe (Bar HD).

gambuwa N name of a language or tribe (Wak PB).

gamgun N (11.3) spear (Wul QD; said to be the real Wuli-Wuli word). -cf. gane.

gamga1 (gama-) V TR gamga; gamnge; gamnai break; nandu gamnai somebody has broken it (Wak SH).

gamga2 V ITR gamnange; gamnai break; dia gamnai gajor boni (my) leg bone broke (Wak SH).

gami N ERG gamiju aunt (Wak WC, Bar AB).

gan REL here, now; gan ne here I am (Wak JC), gan ne janande here I am going (Wak TM). -cf. gana2.

-gan N DER SFX (3.6; 7.3; 9.2; 11.1).

gana1 N parcel, belongings, etc. (Wak SH).

gana2 DEM PRON (7.25; 9.8; 11.8).

ganaq N liver.

ganaq REL (7.23) here.

ganan ganan N ERG ganan ganandu poor, poor (little) fellow.

gandabi N ABL gandabiju 1. roots or yams; 2. the name of a station, Yandabi (Wak WC, TM).

gandan N ERG gandandu; OBJ
gandana 1. younger sister (Wak SH, JC); 2. elder sister (Bar AB); mo jalu gandana bi' bawar gu may he take (your) sister to the bush (an imprecation; Wak SH). -cf. ga'nn.

ganga- V ganga; gange vomit (Wak SH).

gane N ERG ganeru, Wak JC, gameju, Wul QD; (11.3) spear; ganeqa (SOC, COM) with (or having) a spear. -cf. gamgun.

ganim N hip (Wak PB, Wak:Gor RD).

ganma REL here (Wak PB); ganma n'am njenenge here we two are sitting.

ganun N sweat (Wak SH).

ganunba- V ITR ganunbene perspire (Wak SH).

gar N REL (10.4) want (Wul QD, LW); nau gan wants to see. -cf. gon, gaun.

gana N house (Wak RS).

ganil N fish scales (Wak SH).

gar REL quiet, on your own, doing nothing; gar nje sit or be quiet (Wak SH), gar n'in janande you are going on your own (Bar AB), gar gungu informant's Aboriginal name (Bar AB). -cf. gungu.

gara1 DEM PRON (7.25; 9.8; 11.8).

gara2 N grog (Bar HD).

gara REL long ago (Wak JC). -cf. gaura.

garaq REL: garaq nge benge I am standing beside you (Wak VL). -cf. gara1.

garaq REL over here (Wak TM); garaq jo jani he went or passed through here.

gari1 N branches, twigs, leaves, tea-leaves, tea. -cf. gari gari.
gari^2 (gariŋu) REL here, (over) there; ŋia gari (= gariŋu) janande I am going from here (Wak SH). -cf. gara^1.

gari^3 REL, POST inside, in; gundu gari inside the house, nala gari in a hole (Wak PB). -cf. gari^-.

gari^4 (gariŋ) N, POST (7.13) of, belonging to; gamadan gari gundu the boss's house (Wak JW), murun gari mana it is the man's, bugiŋ gari ḡun dog's tail (= bugiŋ boŋi), bari bari gari mawu a skull belonging to a child (Wak TM; while ḡan would indicate 'the skull of a child'), ŋana guni wubir gari what is the white man's name? (Bar AB).

gari- V ITR (7.31) enter, go into (side), go, get into; gUL)u ma ra gari go into the water, gari nge I)ia I am inside (Wak SH; usually 'entering, going inside'), ga o mi ·I) u ga riri dirt has got into (my) eye (Bar AB).

gari- N (7.1) urine (Wak PB, TM); ga riŋa (SOC) passing water (Wak TM; = ga're Bar AB). -cf. gawur.

gari-¹ V TR ga·ri; ga·riŋi; ga·reu look (for); ŋai waja ga·riŋi we looked for wallaby (Wak SH). -cf. gaji-, gaila-.

gari-², v. gawuri-.

gariŋan N currajong (tree; Wak SH).

gari gari N leaves or limbs (of a tree; Wak SH). -cf. gari^1.

gariŋa REL along; gariŋa jana walk along (Wak SH), mendem jaŋi gariŋa grandfather went that way (Wak JC).

gariŋu, v. gari^2.

garima REL over there (Wak PB); garima ba·' stand over there.

garima- V CAUS garima; garime; garimai; garimau put in, enter (something): (ŋindu nalaŋu) garima (you) put it (into the hole) (Wak LH, Wul LW). -cf. gari^-.

garindi- V ASS, CAUS girindi; garindinge (garinde, Wak WC); garindiŋi; garindiu; garindigu put in(to), bring in, duck, bury; gulu garindi put (it) into water (Wak SH), duck him (Wak TM). -cf. gari^-.

garu N one, on one's own (Wak SH). -cf. garwu, garun.

garu garu N self (Bar AB); garu garu ba·'ne getting up myself. -cf. garu.

garun N ERG garundu; OBJ garuna; ABL garunu one, alone, self, once; ŋadu gundama garundu let me sing alone (Wak AB), ŋadu juliwa garundu I will sing alone (Wul QD), man jo garunu ŋinenge he lives alone or on his own (Wak SH), garun ŋinena sitting alone (Wul QD), ŋadu ŋona garunu bumi I hit him once (Wak SH).

garunba REL a long time ago (Wak SH). -cf. gaurunba.

garunba- V TR garunba; garunbai; finish (Wak SH); ŋindu mana ŋua garunba you finish that egg.

garun garun N alone (Wul QD); garun garun ŋinena sitting alone.

garwu (correct?) N one (Wul QD); garwu (?) ŋunam one child. -cf. garu.

gauŋ (ga·ŋ, gawuŋ, gaune, ga·niŋa) N REL want, must (Bar AB); ga·' auŋ want to eat, ŋin gaŋ ŋinawa do you want to sit? ja gaune ŋina ŋawa he wants to see you, ga·ŋa ŋina ŋawa wants to talk to you, ga·niŋa bulor gu want bread. -cf. ga·ŋ, goŋ, gawuŋ.

gaur (ga·raj REL long ago (Wak JC).

gaurama REL a long time ago, long ago (Wak WC). -cf. gaurama.

gauringindu ERG ? N or REL ? the old law, in the old time (Bar AB); gauringindu jangai (they) made it in the old time.
gaurungum REL a long time ago (Wak NS).
gauruma REL long ago (Bar AB). -cf. gaurama.
gaurunbai or gauranba REL a long time ago (Wak SH, NS). -cf. gurunba.
gawa¹ N scrub (Wak JC).
gawa² or gawar N porcupine (Wak SH; in another dialect). -cf. gagar, giraga.
gawa- (ga·-) V TR gawa (ga·); gawe, ge· (gawewe, Wak TM); gawai (gai); gawau, gau (gawau, Bar AB) cut; mende njindu ga· you cut steps (to climb a tree; Wak WC), njindu jiga gawa you cut (shave) the beard (Wak SH).
gawa- V TR ga·wa (ga·, Bar AB); ga·we; ga·wai (= goi, Wak TM); ga·wau (Wak B and Wul); (10.4) put in(to), put (away), put on (the fire), bury; ganu ga·wa put it on the earth or in the earth, bury it (Wak TM), gujumu ga·we putting (it) on the fire (Wak TM), gawau gam to put on meat (Wak TM). -cf. gua- (Wak A).
gawanji- V RFL gawanji; gawanjinge; gawanjini (gawani, Bar AB); gawanjingu cut oneself; waga nin (nin) gawanji don't cut yourself (Wak WC), (Bar AB). -cf. gawa-.
gawame- V TR gawame; gawameni cut up (a wallaby or other game; Wak JW).
gawuN ERG gawungu; OBJ gawuña; ABL gawunu one, single, alone, self (Wak A,B, Bar, along with Wul gawuru? -Mathew 1910, p. 222, however, has Wakkaka-Wakkaka kabuín); gawuña (gabuña?) ɲagu ɲaŋi ɬ I saw one (Wak WC), gawunu ba·n comes alone (Wak TM).
gawur N urine (Wak SH, Bar AB).
gawuri- (ga·ri-) V gawure; gawuringe, ga·ringe (ga·re, Bar AB); gauriŋi; gawuriu, gawureu, (Wak SH) urinate, pass water. -cf. gawur ga·ri.
-ge- V DER SFX (7.9; 9.3; 11.2).
gebe N honey, sugar, (English) bee, beehive (Wak TM; cf. Goreng-Goreng and Batjala gabai 'bee, honey').
ge·gun N father-in-law (Bar AB); jalu ge·gun (he) the father-in-law (ergative).
eger N silvery (or silver-leafed) ironbark (Wak WC; cf. Mathew 1910, p. 232).
ge·ŋa N red ants, also the native name of Kingaroy (Bar AB); ge·ŋu (going) to Kingaroy.
enge· V ITR (IPF) engenge (Wak TM), engena (Wul QD); (PF) engeni call, shout, cooee. -cf. gange· (Wak A).
ge·m, v. giam.
geombe- (gembë-) V TR gembe; gembenge; gembeŋi (gembëni, Bar AB); gembeu play, dance, corroboree; bari barilam gembinge the children are playing (Wak SH), man jo gembinge he is going to sing corroborees.
gende N ERG gendelu yam stick (Wak SH); gendelu ma·na get (i.e. dig) it with the yam stick.
gene N ERG generu spear (Wak TM); generu bua- (to) spear. -cf. gane (Wak A).
ergwa V TR gerwa; gerwe; gerwai spill, pour (Wak TM); guŋ mona ɲaru gerwa pour that water on the ground or floor (cf. Goreng-Goreng ge·ri·, idem).
-gi- V DER SFX (9.3).
giam (ge·m) N ERG giambu (gembu) (9.4; 11.3) 1. mouth; 2. talk (word, language, voice); giam biran big mouth (Wak BC), giam jale speaking the language (Wak TM), jale gembu speak, giam ṣa gu biananda I recognise (know) your voice (Wul QD).

giar N ERG giaru white cockatoo (Bar AB).

giaun (geon) N (ladies') dress. -cf. gion.

gibar N young man to be initiated, young boy (Bar AB).

gibar gibar N young lad, boy to be initiated (Bar AB), young man; wanda Nin ğinegi gibar gibar when you were a boy (Wak TM).

gider N clothes, blankets (originally bark clothes, Bar AB); ṣa gu gider wajimdenge I am washing clothes (Wak WC), mona gider wulima wash these clothes (Wak TM).

gi génér N ERG género; OBJ gi génér any sister (Wak TM).

gija- (gia-) V ITR gija; glje; gijai turn (round), turn (into); Nin gija you turn round (Wak TM, LH), daji gu, nla ngu gijai turned into rock, mud (Wak TM).

gijama- (gima-) V CAUS gijama; gi jame; gijamai turn (round), turn (into) (Wak TM, LH); jalu jona daji gu gijamai he turned him into stone. -cf. gija-, gilama-.

gilánj- V REFL gilañj; gilañinge; gilañjini turn (oneself) round (Wul LW).

gilama- V CAUS gilama; gilame; (INT) gilama turn round (Wul LW); ğindu mana gilama you turn that round, jo gан gilama he wants to turn (it) round. -cf. gija-, gijama-.

gilañ N 1. reflex (light on water, etc.; Wak TM); 2. moon (Wak TM, Wul BP; = gulo, q.v. Wul LW).

gilin1 N ERG gilindu nail(s) (Wak SH); gilindu buni scratched.

gilin2 N ERG gilindu fish line; jinba mangu gilindu to fish or catch fish with a line (Wak SH), gilinɡa (SOC) janande going (to fish) with a line (Wak WC).

gilin gilin N fish line (Wak SH); ğindu gana gilin gilin dari you pull this fish line. -cf. gilin2.

gimbi gimbi N stinging plant or tree (Wak BC; in Batjala = 'nettles').

gińa N Burnett creek (Wak SH).

gin N (7.13) native or dark woman, young woman, girl, female, daughter; gin gari giaun woman's dress (Wak JW), ğingari gin your daughter (Wak WC), gin gu (gindi, Wak TM; 6.18) or gin gari (go) for a woman or (want) a woman, ğe gon mananu gu (or gindi), managu gin (gu) I want that woman (Wak TM), gińa (SOC) with a woman (Wak TM), gin gaiwar the female rainbow (i.e. the one below when two are visible, Bar AB; cf. gior); (ART) gimbam (ERG gimbamdu), gimbamgin (some) women (Wak TM, Wul QD).

-gin ART (7.16).

ginawān N maiden (Bar HD).

ginben N true goanna (Wak SH). -cf. ginben.

ginbombi N young dark woman (Wak DK).

ginda N ABL gindaŋu, -nu 1. yam(s) (Wak SH), (little) yam(s) (Wak TM); 2. Gayndah; gindaŋu ğinegi lived at Gayndah, ginda gu janande going to Gayndah (also 'going for yams').

ginder ginder N wagtail (Wak SH).
ginga N chips for kindling (Wak PB).

ginga- V TR ginda; ginge whistle at (Wak PB, Bar AB); bugina ginda whistle at the dog. —cf. ginp.
gin gin N (young) girl (Wak TM). —cf. gin.
gini (gini, Wak RS) N arm, upper arm(s) (Wak SH), shoulder (Wak PB).
gi · r N whistle (Wak SH). —cf. ginga-.
ginba- TR (IMP) ginba whistle (Wak SH); ān duo bugin gari ginba you whistle at the dog. —cf. ginga-.
ginbun N lightning (Bar AB). —cf. ginbun.
gion N ladies’ dress, clothes. —cf. giaun.
gior N ERG gioru (7.2; 10.6) rainbow, monster in rivers, Rainbow Snake; gior muraŋ the personified Rainbow (cf. muraŋ; Wak SH), gioru bu ranjage the Rainbow makes the wind (Wak SH), gioru ān a ngur bamaŋ the Rainbow has made me sick (Wak SH), gior ān the male or clear rainbow (when there are two; Wak SH), gior in the female or dim rainbow (Wak SH). —cf. gaiwar.
gira N ERG giraru prickle (as of porcupine; Wak SH); giraru buma, bua- hit, poke with prickles. —cf. giro1.
girar- V TR gira; gire; girai; girau (7.28) scratch, disturb, wake up, stir up (fire, a noise); waga ān a gira don’t disturb me, leave me alone (Wak SH), gaga girai stirred up a noise (Wak TM), jalu gujum girai he stirred up the fire (Wak TM). —cf. giri-.
gira gira V or REL? cheer up (Bar AB); ān ān gira gira I am livening (them) up.
giran N ERG giranulu; giranaru; (7.4) porcupine. —cf. gira.
giranba V? ān ān waja giranba I am going for wallabies (Wak SH).
giranda N the name of a station, Cooranda (Wak PB).
girar N river, creek, especially the Barambah creek at Cherbourg (Wak JW).
giri- V ITR or TR gira; giringe (7.28) scratch or scratch oneself. —cf. gira-.
giribin N dove, pigeon (Wak SH).
giro N ERG giroju prickle (Wak SH); giroju bumi hit with prickles or prickled. —cf. gira.
giro1 N ERG giroju; POSS girori; ABL giroju grog, rum, liquor; ān ān giroju I want a drink (Wak SH), giroju or giroju waŋ get drunk (Wak SH).
giroja N drunk (Bar AB). —cf. giro2 (of which it is a sociative derivation; cf. 3.7).
girun1 N dingo (Bar AB).
girun2 N true (Wak SH). —cf. girunba.
girunba N or REL true (= girun2), really (Wak SH); ān ān darin girunba a really hot day, ān ān giroju jale I am telling you the truth. —cf. girun2.
giunnaŋ N turtle (Bar AB).
giur (gijur, giwur) N ERG giuru (6.16) sick, sickness; bari, jo giur or giuru the child, he is sick (Wak SH), giuru ān a bu mi sickness hit me (Wak SH), giur ān ān e giuru the child is sick (Wul QD), giur janande sickness is about, giur galaŋ is (your) sickness all right? (Wak TM).

goa- , v. gua-.

goen goen N the name of a language, Goeng-Goeng, the language at Mount Perry or the low Burnett river (Wak SH, Bar AB).
go·ge- (go·gi-) V ITR go·ge;
go·ginge cough (Wak SH).

go·go N black sugar ant (Wak SH),
little tiny ant (Wak WC). -cf. guam.

golo, v. gulo.

gongam N tired (a caritative
 derivation of goŋ, q.v.).

gongamde- V TR gongamde;
gongamdeu make
tired, tire (out) (Wak WC, JC).
- cf. goŋ, gongam.

go·n (goŋ) N REL want;
ŋangari
Inactive goŋ whom do you want? (Wak WC),
ŋe goŋ guŋ gu I am thirsty
(want water; Wak WC). - cf. goŋia, gaŋ, gaun.

go·nia N REL want; ŋia goŋia mana
jangau I want to do that (Wak SH),
ŋia goŋia jangu I want to
Active goŋ (Wak NS), ŋia ŋingari goŋia
I want you (when making love;
Wak SH). - cf. goŋ.

go‘r N (7.14) wasp, hornet.

gore- (gure-) V TR gorenge;
goreŋi; goren gure forget (with
binaŋ, q.v.; Wak WC);
ŋaŋu binaŋ
goreŋi I forgot or have
forgotten.

goreŋ goreŋ (gureŋ gureŋ, Bar AB)
N the name of a language,
Goreng-Goreng, the upper Burnett
river language (Bar AB).

gor gor N fool's gold
(looking
like hornets, go‘r),
also the
name of a sacred place, where
'mundick', or fool's gold, is
seen strewn over the rock side;
(Wak TM). - cf. go‘r.

goro N cough (Wak SH).

goroja- (-je) V ? ŋia goroja I
have got a cough (Wak SH).

goroman, v. guruman.

gorona, v. guruna.


gu POST (7.12; 10.3; 11.4, Note 73).

gua1 N (9.4) native bear, koala
(Bar AB).

gua2 POST (10.3).

gua- (go‘-) V TR gua (go‘);
gue (goje, goe, goi);
guai (goi);
guo (go‘); (Note 52) put in(to),
put on (the fire), roast, burn;
ŋindu bunbinu go‘ you put that
Active into the bag, ɡin ɡin mara gujumu
gua put those sticks on the fire,
ŋin jana dadu bari gujumu go‘
(= gou) you go and (or to) put
Active small sticks on the fire, jalu
jona guŋu goi he put him into
the water, mana bala ŋindu ba‘ri
ɡujumu go‘ bring that jewfish
to roast on the fire (Wak SH),
ŋaŋu na‘ gujumu goi I burned my
hand ('I put it into the fire';
Wak SH). - cf. ga·wa- (Wak B,
Wul).

guam N black sugar ant (Wak SH).
- cf. go‘go.

guander N moon, moonlight (Bar AB).

gubon N frog (Wak TM).

guga N little black bee, honey,
sugar; gua ba‘nge dadu there
is honey in the tree (Wak SH),
ŋe gua gu goŋ I want honey
(Wak TM).

guğanban N sugarbag (Wak TM).
- cf. guja.

gue REL soon, by and by, then,
and then; ɡue ɡia bi‘ be‘ by
Active and by I come back (Wak SH).
- cf. guja, guje (Wak B, Bar).

guengi N long, tall; ɡun guengi
a long tail.

guere- (guiri-) V ITR guerenge,
guirengi sneak up (Wak:Goŋ VR);
ɡanum gu guerenge sneaking up
close to one.

gugaga N ERG ? gugagu kookaburra.
- cf. gurgargar.

gugi N star(s); (ART) gugilam,
gugirom a 'mob' of stars (Wak SH).
gugunde N black scrub possum (Bar AB).

guŋ N (7.13; 9.5) water, flood, rain, wet, water hole, river, a drink; ga· guŋ the ground is wet (Wak RS), dandi mana guŋ a big water hole (Wak TM), guŋgu wulima wash with water (Wak TM), guŋ gu jangu to go for water (Bar AB), waga guŋ ba· n no rain will come (Bar AB), guŋ baje raining (Wul BP, LW), a flood is coming (Wak TM); guŋgam (CAR) without water (Wak TM).

guŋara N hair of head (Wak WC).

gungai N the name of a language, Gunggari, or the Roma language (Bar AB).

gungi N or REL thirsty (Wak SH).

gungir N ribs (Wak WC).

guŋ (guŋŋ) N ERG guingu clay, red clay, red (Wak SH); guŋŋu nami- paint (yourself) red, guŋga (cf. 7.12-13) red (ga· guŋga red earth), guŋ gume (like) red, guŋa (SOC) red ('having red clay').

guŋ1 N black swan (Bar AB).

guŋ2 N or REL deaf (Wak PB). - cf. binaŋ.

guja, v. guje.

gujama N a lie (Wak JW); gujama jai told a lie.

gujama- V gujama; gujame tell a lie (Wak PB); waga gujama don't tell a lie, gujame jale (sic) telling lies.

guje (guja, Bar AB) REL 1. later, afterward, then; 2. a while ago (Wak TM); guje ŋindu muna janga then you make that. - cf. gue (Wak A), gujenba.

gujenba REL way back in time (Wak TM); gujenba mona jangai made it way back in time. - cf. guje.

gujum N (7.13; 11.3) 1. fire; 2. (burning) stick; 3. camp, home; 4. menses (cf. gujumge; Bar AB); gujum guŋŋi cooked on fire (Wak JW), gara gujumu ŋinenge sitting here by the fire (Wak SH), gujumbu ban mare burning grass with fire (Wak SH), gujumu jā bumiŋi he fell into the fire (Wul QD), ņe jaŋi gujum gu ņau I went to see the fire (Wak TM), ņagu gujum ma· ni, be· ni I got, threw a burning stick (Wak TM), ņin janande gujum gu you are going home (Wul BP).

gujumba- V gujumbe light a fire (Wak DW).

gujumgām N the name of a place, Jimmy's scrub (Wak JW, VL; according to Wak VL, 'fire ground', but it rather seems to mean 'without a fire').

gujumge N or V cleaning ceremony, burning of bark cups and blankets used by woman having her courses; also 'woman's courses' or 'having courses' and, further, 'pain in stomach caused by touching such things' (Bar AB); ginbam gujumge the women are having courses, mana gujumge jori those are her things (to be burned). - cf. gujum, gujumgi.

gujumgi N woman's courses (Wak: Gor RD). - cf. gujumge.

gujur N carpet snake (Bar AB).

gula N native bear, koala; gula bari bari koala baby (Wak SH).

gulo (golo) N 1. moon; 2. something shining or a sheen (on the water); mana gulo ņul ņul mana guŋŋu there is a sheen on the water (Wak JC).

gumari (gunmari, Wak PB) N 1. (prickly) corkwood; 2. shield, coolamon; 3. the name of a place, Goomeri; ņe janande gumari gu I am going for corkwood or to Goomeri (Wak TM).
gume REL or POST like (Wak SH); mana gume like that, mana wange gume jige that looks like a snake, murun gume je is like an Aboriginal, jo budin ne gume he is as big as I, gana galan mana gume this is as good as that.

gume- V ITR (PF) gumesi be like (Wak SH); jo gumesi mana dadu that tree was like it.

gumundur N ERG gumunduru turtle (Wul QD, LW).

gumur N stomach (Bar AB).

gunan (guna, Bar AB) N excrement, faeces (= gui2; Wak SH); gunan guinge evacuate the bowels (Wak SH), gunan gu jo gon (cactaturire; Wak TM).

gunan or gunanjal N frightened (Wak TM). -cf. gunan.

gunba N deaf (Bar AB).

gunda- V ITR (IMP) gunda cross (water, etc.; Wak WC); waga jan gunda gu gungenge don't you cross, the water (river) is flooding.

gundama- V TR gundama; gundame (gundamen, Bar AB) sing; nagu gundame walara I am singing (a corroboree song; Wak SH), waga nagu walara gundame I cannot sing (Wak SH).

gundani- V ITR gundani; gundaninge; gundanini jump, jump on horseback; jaraman gundaninge riding on horseback (Wak JC). -cf. wundane-.

gunde N star(s) (Bar AB, Wul QD); gunde majan all the stars (Wul BP).

gundir N (7.14) clever (man), (witch) doctor; gundir jigu to become clever (Wak SH); (ART) gundirbom (some) clever men (Wak SH).

gundirgan N female clever person (Wak JC). -cf. gundir.

gundu N (7.12; 11.4, 12) 1. bark; 2. house, camp, home, place, cattle station; 3. canoe, boat; (canoes were still better made of corkwood; Wak TM); njin jana gunduri you go to (your) place (Wak SH; for the possessive case, cf. Holmer 1963, pp. 65-66), nje janande gundu gu I am going to town (Wak SH), janande gunuwa junewa going home for to sleep (Wul QD).

gundu gundu N drinking cup (made of bark; Bar AB).

gungu REL up, into the house (? Bar AB); gungu ba'neg standing up, nje gungu I (go) into the house (Bar AB). -cf. ga'ru.

guni N 1. name; 2. namesake (Bar AB); nana guni what is your name? (Bar AB), nari guni ga'ru gungu my (Aboriginal) name is Gar Gundju, man jo nari guni he is my namesake; guniwa (SOC) having name, guni lagu (CAR) without a name (Bar AB).

gunmari, v. gumari.

gunu N, REL, POST ABL gunu hollow, gully, below, underneath, deep; gu gunu deep water (Wak SH), gunu guo gunu underneath the house (Wak SH). -cf. gunungin.

gunungin N REL hole, hollow, cave, gorge, waterfall, down below (Bar AB), also the name of a cave and burial ground in the Nyarrigan mountain, Dike End (Wak TM, Bar AB); jaran(de) gunungindu (= gunungin gu; cf. 6.18) going to Dike End. -cf. gunu.

gun N corroboree song (Wul QD); gun glambu juli sing a corroboree song.

gunji N younger brother (Bar AB).

gunu N truth (Bar AB); gunu nagu njina jale I am telling you the truth.
gurema- V TR (IMP) gurema stop (Wak TM); ṇindu joņa gurema you stop him.
gureņ gureņ, v. goreņ goreņ.
gurgargar N kookaburra (Bar AB). —cf. gugaga.
guri N black man (Wak RS).
guriņa N old man (Wak VL, Bar AB).
guriņ N creek (Wak RS); gurina (perlitative) to or at the creek —cf. gurun.
gurū gurū N currrajong tree (Bar AB). —cf. garigān.
gurulba N (7.3, 12), the name of a place, Gooroolba (Wak WC, LH); gurulbajande, be  going to, coming from Gooroolba (Wak WC), jande, ēinenge gurulba going to, living at Gooroolba (Wak WC, LH).
guruman (goroman) N kangaroo; goroman budiņ many kangaroos (Wak SH).
gurū1 N noise (Wak SH).
gurū2 N creek (Wak SH); gurun gujande going to the creek. —cf. guriņ.
gurūna (gorona) N possum (Wak SH, TM), grey forest possum (Bar AB).
gurunba- V ITR gurunba; gurunbe; make a noise (Wak SH); waga gurunba don't make a noise.
gurunbama- V CAUS (PF) gurunbamaĩ make a noise to raise game for hunting (Wak SH).
gurū N dark (Wak RS).

ŋa CONN (3.3). —cf. ma.
-ŋa SOC DER SFX (3.7; 7.4; 9.2).
ŋaba N (9.5) child (Bar AB); (ART) ŋabambam (ERG -bambu) lots of, many kids.
ŋaba ŋaba N little child, baby (boy or girl; Bar AB).
ŋaŋa N mother's father or daughter's child (Wak JC), grandfather or grandson (Bar AB).
ŋaŋambaram N grandchild(ren) (Wak TM).
ŋagu PERS PRON (7.20; 9.6; 11.6)
ŋai PERS PRON (7.20; 11.6).
ŋail N (6.7; 7.14) eaglehawk (Wak JC). —cf. ṇial, ṇewel.
-ŋal SOC DER SFX (3.7; 11.1).
ŋala REL away; jalu ŋala biriņi he took it away (Wak SH), ŋala jo jani he went away (Wak TM).
ŋam PERS PRON (7.20; 9.6; 11.6).
ŋam ŋin PERS PRON (7.21; 9.7; 11.7).
ŋam jo PERS PRON (7.21; 11.7).
ŋamu N breast, teats (Wak SH, TM).
ŋamuŋ N breast, teats; 2. milk.
ŋamuņa N young girl (at age of initiation), mature, marriageable (Bar AB). —cf. ṇamu, ṇamuņ.
ŋan INTERR PRON (7.26–27).
ŋana INTERR PRON (7.27; 9.9; 11.9).
ŋagamba REL a long time (Wul QD); ŋangamba ŋa giur ķiņe I have been sick for a long time.
ŋangari PERS PRON (7.20).
ŋaŋa PERS PRON (7.20; 9.6; 11.6).
ŋari PERS PRON (7.20; 9.6; 11.5).
ŋarija (ŋaria) N fish, especially mullet.
ŋarin, ŋarin, v. นาง.
ŋau PERS PRON (7.20).
ŋawi PERS PRON (7.20).
ŋe PERS PRON (7.20; 9.6).
ŋeŋe N mullet (Wak TM).
ŋewel N (6.7) eaglehawk (Wak TM). —cf. ṇail.
Qe·r *N* (9.4) cold, frost (Bar AB); Qe·r u bumi the frost killed (the crops). —cf. Qe·r.

Qe·ri, *v.* Qe·ri.

Qe *PERS PRON* (7.20).

Qe *REFL DER SFX* (7.7; 9.3; 11.2).

Qia, *v.* Qe.

Qial (Qe·1) *N* eagle hawk (Wak SH).

Qia, *v.* Qe.

Qia (Qe·l) *N* cold (Wak SH).

Qia (Qe·l) *N* flash; Qia Qia sits flash (on a horse; Wak SH), jaraman Qia Qia a good 'flash' horse (Wak PB). —cf. Qia.

Qia, *v.* Qe.

Qia, *v.* Qe.

Qia Qia (Qe·l) *N* cold (Wak SH).

Qia Qia, *v.* Qe.

Qia, *v.* Qe.

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Qia, *v.* Qe.
Qoro- (qora-) V TR qoro, qora; qore; qoroi, qorai step, tramp, kick; murundu ginangu qorai the man stepped with his foot (Wak TM), naq qoroi tramped the mud (Wak TM), ginangu qoro- step, tramp or kick with the foot (Wak WC, RS).

ŋua N egg.

ŋua- (ŋo-) V TR ŋo·; ŋue (ŋoje); ŋuai; ŋoju burn, cook; ŋazu ɡam ŋue I cook the meat (Wak RS). -cf. ŋue-.

ŋua ŋua N brain (Bar AB).

ŋual N tear(s); ŋual be· me·nu tears come from the eyes (Wak SH). -cf. ŋo·l (Wak B).

ŋuar (ŋuwar) N face. -cf. ŋo·r (Wak B).

ŋudigana ŋu N cat (Wakka-Wakka ?).

ŋue- V TR ŋue; ŋueŋe; ŋuepi burn, cook; ɡam ŋazu ɡam ŋueŋe I am cooking meat (Bar AB). -cf. ŋue-.

ŋuen N ɡum leaves (food of the koala; Bar AB).

ŋun N ɡum leaves (food of the koala; Bar AB).

ŋui N (9.4) emu (Bar AB, Wak: Gor RD). -cf. mui.

ŋuim N sun (Wak JW).

ŋuiwan N 1. the Seven Sisters (also called the Walla mountain, at Ban Ban, near Gayndah; Wak WC); 2. name of a place, Coulstown, near the Seven Sisters (Wak TM); according to a legend these mountains are transformed emus (Wak SH). -cf. ŋui.

ŋujuŋ N spirit, as seen in a dream (Bar AB). -cf. ŋujuŋ.

ŋujuŋ ŋujuŋ N 1. spirit (= ŋujuŋ, q.v.); 2. photo (Bar AB); ŋujuŋ ŋujuŋ mangu(a) to take a photo. -cf. ŋujuŋ.

ŋujuŋ N spirit (Wak SH, Bar AB). -cf. ŋujuŋ.

ŋulu (ŋul-) N 1. shadow; 2. spirit; 3. photo; ŋul janande (her) spirit was going (Wak TM), eparator (or ɡari) ŋulu mangu to take my photo (Wul QD).

ŋulgen ŋu REL night time, last night or tonight (Wak WC); ɡe janaŋe ɡaru joŋa ɡau ŋulgen I will go and see him tonight. -cf. ŋulu.

ŋul ɡul N (little) shadow, shade, sheen, ghost, darkness, Aboriginal picture (as in rock carvings; Wak TM), photo; ɡul ɡul (I waited) to see the dark (i.e. until dark; Wak TM), ɡul ɡul maŋi took (one's) photo (Wak WC). -cf. ɡul.

ŋulu N REL night, tonight (Wak SH); gue ɡin ɡulu ba· then you come tonight. -cf. ɡul.

ŋunar N sky, cloud (Wak, Wul).

ŋunu N ABL ɡununu morning, early, tomorrow (Wak WC); ɡaru joŋa ɡari ɡunu I saw him this morning, ɡe dinbeŋi ɡunu I got up early.

ŋura- V TR (PF) ɡurai kick (Bar AB); ɡinangu ɡaru ɡurai I kicked with my foot. -cf. qoro-.

ŋurama REL early in the morning, tomorrow, next day or week (Bar AB). -cf. ɡuruma.

ŋurama- V TR ɡurame hide, plant, steal (Bar AB); dai ɡurame stealing money. -cf. ɡuruma- (Wak).

ŋuri N (9.4) blanket (Bar AB); ɡurindu wunda cover up with a blanket. -cf. ɡuria.

ŋuria N clothes (Wul LW); ɡuria ɡaru waqimge I am washing clothes. -cf. ɡuri.

ŋuru N black, black skin, dirty, darkness, night time; ɡa· ɡuru black earth (Wak RS).

ŋuruŋa N black (Wak SH). -cf. ɡuru.
70

ńuru ńuru  N black, dirty (clothes) (Wak SH); ja· ńuru ńuru black ground. —cf. ńuru.

ńuruje (for -ja?)  N black (Wak WC). —cf. ńuru.

ńurume (-me) REL in the morning, tomorrow, yesterday (Bar AB); ńurume jimai made early this morning. —cf. ńurama.

ńuruma-  V TR ńuruma; ńurume; ńurumai; ńurumau hide, plant, steal; ńagu waga ńurume I don't steal (Wak SH), ńurume jalu he is a thief (Wak WC), ńam ńuruma stole my meat (Wak VL). —cf. ńurama-, ńurume-.

ńurume-  V TR ńurume; ńurumenenge; ńurumeni plant, hide, steal. —cf. ńuruma-.

J

ja· (ja) PERS PRON (7.20; 11.6).

ja- (jan(a)·, jane-)  V ITR (6.18; 7.31; 9.12; 11.11) go, go home, leave, walk (about), be alive; ńin jana you go, ńe jangu I must go, ńam ńin janan we two are going (Wak JC), man jo janan he is going over there (Wak SH), jo janan he is gone (Wak SH), ńe jarenge (janenge, jenenge) men I am going now (Wak JW). —cf. janande-.

ja·- (jaja-)  V TR ITR ja·; je· (jajene); jai; jau (jawa, jajau, jajeu) tell, talk, say; ńindu ńapa ja· you tell me (Wak VL), waga ja· don't talk, ńam ja jaje giambu she and I talk in the lingo (Wul QD), ńam jo jai giambu he and I (have) talked in the lingo (Wul QD), ńagu ńina jawa I want to tell you (Bar AB), jom ńon jajeu they two want to talk (Wak WC). —cf. jaje-.

jabur  N swimming (Wak DW).

jaña  PERS PRON (9.6; 10.4; 11.6).

janga-  V TR (7.31; 11.11) put, feel, shake (hands), do, make, fix, dig, paint, become; ńiŋangu (ńiŋanda) ńindu jange what are you doing? (Wak SH, PB), ńagu gujum jange I will make a fire, bunur jange becoming ashes (Wul QD), ńurumau boŋu dilim jangai wundir made clothes of the skin of a kangaroo (Wak SH), murangu ńindu mona janga paint that with white (Wak TM), jangai made, created (= jimai; Bar AB), nala janga dig a hole (Wul QD), waga (ńin) gāŋ jangawa (you) do not want to do it (Wul QD).

ja·qi-  V REFL REC ja·ôte (7.7) talk to one another (Wak WC, TM); ńom jo jaŋinge you two are talking to one another. —cf. ja·-, jaje-.

jaje- (jaja-, jaji-)  V ITR jaje, ja·; jaŋinge, jaŋene, ja·je; jaŋeni (jaŋani, jaŋini); jaŋeu talk; oga ńom jaje don't you two talk together (Wak WC), ńam ńin ńenenge ja·ŋe we two are sitting talking (Wak SH), bujum bujun jaŋe (= ja·le, q.v.) two are talking together (Wak SH), wuli jaŋe people are talking (Wul BP). —cf. ja·-, ja·le-.

ja·le-  V ASS ja·le; ja·le; ja·leni; ja·leu (7.6; 9.3) speak, talk, tell, ask, call, (be ?); giam jale speaking, ńin waga jale you don't talk, ńindu ńapa jale you tell me, jalu ju· jale he is telling a lie (Wak TM), ńagu bujun jale I am talking to them both (Wak SH), ńagu jone jale I am asking him (Wak SH), jaleu ńapa (has come) to talk with me (Wak SH), jau jale dai mundinge they call it the 'Laughing Rock' (Wak SH), mara jale giro mangu gāŋari there he is (or 'is talking' ?) to get drink ('grog') for all of us (Wak AB).
jalu₁ N ERG jalul, jalulu, jaluru
father's father, great-uncle
(Wak TM), uncle, son, visitor,
guest; jalulu or jaluru jangai
(my) uncle (has) made it (Wak TM).
- cf. jalulu.

jalu₂ PERS PRON (7.20; 9.6; 11.6).

jalulu N ERG jalulu; OBJ
jaluluŋa; POSS jaluluri grand-
father, grandson, etc. (= jalul,
q.v.); jaluluŋa gu naŋi I have
seen the grandson (Bar AB),
jaluluri (= jaluluŋi) wuŋi
gave to the grandson (Bar AB).

jalumbaran N (probably) great-
great-grandfather ('the oldest',Wak TM)
or great-grandson. - cf. jalulu₁.

jalundem N grand-uncle (Wak TM).
- cf. jalul₁.

jamaŋa- V ITR jamaŋange; jamaŋau
quarrel (Wak SH); jom bua jamaŋange
they two are quarrelling.

jana, v. ja-.

janandé₁, v. ja-.

janandé² N (9.1) a step (Bar AB).

janande- V ITR (PF) janandeni
go (Wak SH); mari jo janandeni
there he is gone (possibly =
jan₁). - cf. ja-.

jara REL over there, along that
way (Wak TM); jara gon jangu
want(s) to go over there, jara
ŋin jana you go over there,
jara ne jani I went along that
road.

jara- V TR jara; jaraŋ cut, split,
chop (Wak TM); ñindu dadu jara
you chop the stick or tree, muna
jarai (he) cut or split it.
- cf. jerema-.

jaran N ABL jaranu; LOC jaranu
heat, hot, burning (Wak TM);
jaranu mana that (iron) is burning
hot, jaranu jo ŋangur he is sore
from the heat.

jarair (jarajer) N ABL jarairnu
blue gum tree (ABL jarairnu
ŋe waji I climbed the gum tree.
- cf. manburir (Wak A, Wul).

jaraman N ERG jaramanu; ABL
jaramanu 1. horse; 2. the name
of a place, Yarraman (co called
—according to Bar AB—because
of the number of wild horses
there at one time); jaramanu wai
climbed onto or mounted a horse
(Wak SH), mana jaramanu (for
jaraman gu; 6.18) ŋe gonŋ I want
that horse (Wak TM), jaraman gu
jangu to go to Yarraman (Bar AB)
jaramanda (see 3.17) on horse-
back (Wak AB); (ART) jaramanbam
(-bom) (some) horses.

jari PERS PRON (9.6).

jaru jalu₂.

jarumbar N sand (Wak TM). - cf.
jurumbar.

jau₁ PERS PRON (7.20).

jau² (jou) REL yes.

jawi PERS PRON (7.20).

je- (je), v. jia.

je-, v. jia-.

-je- V DER SFX (7.9).

jeŋi REL POST in front (of)
(Wak TM); gundunu jeŋi in front
of the house. - cf. jia.

-jeŋi- V DER SFX (7.9).

jeŋa REL POST below (Wak WC);
jemu gundunu below the house.
- cf. jia.

jeŋu REL POST in front (of)
(Wak TM); gundunu jeŋu in front
of the house. - cf. jia.

jeŋu- V DER SFX (7.9).

jeŋa REL POST below (Wak WC);
jemu gundunu below the house.
- cf. jia.

jera (jeraŋ) V ITR jere; jeraŋe,
erane; jeraŋe; jereu; jere gaŋ,
go home (Wul LW); ŋin jere you
go home, ŋia gaŋ jere, jo gaŋ
jereu I want, he wants to go
home. - cf. ja- (jana-) and
6.5, 19.
jerema- V TR (IMP) spread
or split (Wak TM). -cf. jara-.

ji-1 (jia- ) V TR jia; jie; jiji,
ji-; jiu bite; waga ŋaŋa jia
don't bite me (Wak SH), buginu
jie the dog bites (Wak SH),
ŋina jiu (the dog) will bite
you (Wak PB).

ji-2, v. jia-.

-jia- V DER SFX (7.7; 11.2).

jia (je-, je) REL here, over here,
this way, out; ŋin jia ba- you
come out (here; Wak SH), jia
bāri bring it here (Wak SH),
jia ba- ŋaŋ come here to me
(Wak RS), je jom janande
they two are coming this way (Wak SH),
nalāŋu jia ba’n comes out of the
hole (Wak TM). -cf. jenī.

jia- (je- , je-) V ITR jia; jie,
je-; jini (je-ŋi); jigu become,
get, be, turn into; ŋin jia dai
you become a rock (Wak SH), bair
jia become a mountain (Wak SH),
arin jie getting hot (Wak SH),
ghanan mara darin je the sun is
getting hot (Wak SH), bīl jie
getting cold (Wak PB), ŋin gāŋgur
jē you will get sick (= ŋineni;
Wak WC), ŋin gara jine you were
here (Wul QD), ŋia jine Theodore
dido) gu I was at Theodore
(Wul QD), jini is set there
(Wak TM), ŋu mana mian jini
(long ago) the emu was a man
(Bar AB), ŋin ma-ŋa jini you
are full of food (Wak SH), ŋia
gari bari bari jini I was born
here or there (Wak SH), jo waga
galaŋ jini he was no good (Wak
SH), jaramaŋ jini (the clever
man) could change himself into
a horse (Wak JC), galaŋ jini
was glad (Wak JC, guŋu gariŋi
gundir jigu entered the water
to get clever (Wak SH). -cf.
jigi.

jiami (jemii) REL POST below (Wak
WC); gundūŋi, moroni jiami
below the house. -cf. jemu.

jiga N beard, whiskers; jigaŋa
(SOC) having a beard, bearded
(Bar AB), jigaŋam (CAR) beardless.

jigi (jige, jigia) REL POST alike,
like; ŋia ŋina jigi I am like
you (Wak SH), wange jigi like a
snake (Wak SH), jiga the dog is like a
dingo (Wak PB), mana wange (gume) jiga
it looks like a snake (Wak NS),
jige jom the two look alike
(Wak TM); possibly an imperfective
form (jige) of the verb stem jia-
(q.v.), cf. dal jige like stone
(Wak TM) and jia dai become a
rock ('become like rock?'). -cf.
jia- (ji-).

jilim N lip(s); bula jilim two
lips (? Wak DW).

jima N REL that thing, that way
(Wak SH); waga ŋindu jima janga
don't do that (bad) thing (said
to a child), jalu mana jima
janga he did it that way.
- cf. jima-.

jima- V TR (9.12) do, make (Bar
AB); warin ŋaŋu jima I am making
a boomerang, ŋagū gaун warin
jima(wa) I want to make a
boomerang, gaiwaru jima Nala
the Rainbow (serpent) has made
water holes; possibly a causative
derivation of jia- (ji-), q.v.
- cf. ŋima-, jia- (ji-).

jimbi- V TR (PF) jimbiñe hit,
pierce (Wul QD); waliru jimbiñe
ganejū or gamgundu they hit with
the spears. - cf. jimbi- (Wak A).

jinba N eel; jinbagam (CAR)
without eels (Wak TM); (ART)
jinbaŋin shoal or lot of eels
(Wak TM).

jinbi- V TR jinbi; jinbe; jinbiñe
hit, prick (Wak SH); waga ŋaŋa
jinbi (= basename, sic) don't prick
me. - cf. jimbi- (Wul).

jingun N ERG jingundu native
cat (Wak JW).
jira- V TR jira; jire cut, chop (Wak WC, LH).
jire- V ITR jirenge go (Wak LH); jirenge going (= janande). -cf. jere-.
jo.1 (jua, jo) PERS PRON (7.20; 9.6; 11.6).
jo.2 REL yes; jo jo (idem; Bar AB). -cf. jau2, joi.
jogo- (jugo-) V TR jogo; jogoi; jogoi; jogou show, point; ñindo  ña nga jogo you show me (Wak SH), jogoi ñingari (he) will show you (Wak JC), jo bai ña nga jogou (= ñumbau) he has come to show me (Wak SH), jogou ñon (I) want to show (Wak TM). -cf. jugua- (Wul).
joña PERS PRON (7.20).
joi REL yes. -cf. jau2, jo, juai.
jo'm (juam) PERS PRON (7.20).
joi'ri (juari) PERS PRON (7.20).
jou, v. jau2.
jowa- (jowo-) V TR jowo (?); jowe; jowai show (Wak TM). -cf. jogo-.
jowi PERS PRON (7.20).
ju. N a lie; ju. jalu jai, jalu ju. jai he (has) told a lie (Wak WC, TM). -cf. ju'ma.
juai REL yes. -cf. joi.
juam PERS PRON (9.6).
juamgari PERS PRON (9.6).
jugua- (jugua-? jugo-?) V TR jugua; jugue; juguwei; juguwa (jugowa ?) show (Wul LW); ñia gan ñina juguwa I want to show you. -cf. jogo-.
jungungu N short (Wak WC).
juli- V TR (11.11) sing (Wul QD); ñagu julina always singing.
ju'ma N a lie; jalu jale juma he is telling a lie (Wak SH), mana juma that is a lie (Wak SH), ña nga juma jale telling me a lie (Bar AB), juma jalu jai he told a lie (Wak TM). -cf. ju-.
jumba- V TR jumba; jumbe; jumbai send; biba(r) ñari jumbe sending me a letter (Wul QD), biralu jari mian mian jumbai God has sent His son (Bar AB).
jumin REL? jumin ñai all of us (Wak:Gor VR).
juwe- (juna-) V ITR june; junege (junende); juneñi; juneñu; juneñu (junengu, junegu, junewa, junawa) lie down, sleep, camp; ñin (mara) june you lie down (there), you go to sleep (Wak WC, SH), murun junege a dark fellow lying down or sleeping (Wak RS), ñe juneñu ña ñi I am lying on the ground (Wak JW), ñia juneñi mara ñambañu gawuñ. I slept there on the road alone (Wak SH), jo ñara jani juneñu or juneñu he went there to sleep (Wak SH), juneñi (we, they) camped (Wak SH), jowi juneñi they two lay down (had intercourse; Wak TM), ñawuñ juneñu want(s) to go to sleep (Wak TM).
junena- V CAUS junena; juneñi; juneñu; juneñu; lay down (Wak WC); ñindo joña junañu you lay him down. -cf. june-.
junendi- V ASS CAUS junendi; junendiñi; junendu lay down, put to sleep (Wak TM). -cf. june-, junema-.
junme- V ITR junme (junma); juneñu (junman); juneñu (junmangu lie down, go to sleep, sleep; ñin juneñu you go to sleep (Wak RS, PB). -cf. june-.
junun REL in the morning (Wak SH).
jurila N the name of a place, Yerilla (Wak WC).
jurinba- V TR jurinba wipe (Wak SH); ñindo mi bua jurinba you blow (and) wipe (your) nose.
juru N ERG jurulu rope (Wak TM).

jurugan (jurugan?) N young bottle tree (Wak SH); jurugan garu bottle tree leaf. —cf. bunair.

jurumbar N (11.4) sand; jarumbar menu (Wak TM), mialnu (Wul LW) sand in (my) eyes. —cf. jarumbar.

ma CONN PART yet; ga ma gumina naji I have not seen you yet (Wak: Gor VR), ga ma ja bia bai he has not yet come back (Wul QD).

ma -(ma'n(a)-) V TR ma'na; mande, manande, mange, ma'ni; mangu, mangua get, take, give, catch, put, hold, grab, touch, steal, watch, mind; mana ma'na or ma'na mana get that, gindu guro ma'na jongori you get tucker for him (Wak SH), guroi mande getting tucker (ready; Wak SH), gam mangu, bala mangu to get food, to catch jewfish (Wak SH), na'a manande I hold (a ball, etc.); Wak SH), wagandu (= waga(ni)ndu) ma na don't you touch it (Wak LH), bula mande watching or minding cattle (Wak WC, TM), gindu jo'na ma'na you catch him (Bar AB), wina ma'ni caught a fish (Bar AB), gindu mana jurulu ma'na you hold it with a rope (Wak TM), na'a gana nandu mande I am holding it in my hand (Wak SH), dani mangu (go) to get bunya pods (Wak JW), gindu jana waja mangu you go to catch wallaby (Wak SH), jalu ma'ni he took or stole it (Wak SH), jalu ma'ni jo'na he got or took it off him (Wak SH). —cf. mande-, manande-, mangi-.

ma- CAUS DER SFX (7.5; 9.3; 11.2).

mabin N grandson (Wak TM, LH).

magu N ERG magulu nulla-nulla (Wak SH); magulu bumgeni (the two) fought with nulla-nullas.

mangan N young woman (Bar AB).

mangi N sheep (Wak SH); (ART) mangilam flock of (or some) sheep.

mai1 (main) N ERG maindu; OBJ mai'a, maina; POSS mai'ri; ABL mai'gu; (7.12) white man (fellow or person); maindu barini the white man brought it (Wak PB), mai'ri (gave it) to the white man; (ART) mai'lo (lot of) white people. —cf. maji, mawi.

mai2, v. mari.

mai mai N OBJ mai mai'a
1. shelter, shade (of a tree); 2. the surname Mimi (Wak TM); qindu na'na mai mai'a you have seen Mr. (or 'King') Mimi.

main, v. mai1.

majan N ERG majandu a lot ('mob'), plenty, many, three, all (of people, animals and things), that 'mob', those; gan mon majan there are many people (Wak TM), majandu jangai (you) all did or made it, jinba majan, majan man mior there are lots or plenty of eels, turtles (Wak WC, JC), majan na' many (imprints of) hands (Wak TM), majani (LOC ?), or majan, ganan many days away or left behind, long ago (Wak TM).

maji N white man (Wul LW). —cf. mai, mawi.

malu PERS PRON (7.22; 11.7).
mama N mother's father (Wak PB), uncle (Wak TM, BC).

mamarr N wattle tree (Bar AB).
   -cf. me· murambi.

mambul N lump, plump, fat or strong (like a hand), fist (Wak TM).

mamgure v. manburir.

man REL (7.24) there.

mana1 DEM PRON (6.11; 7.25; 9.8; 11.8).

mana2 N the name of a place, Mannar, west of Gayndah (supposed, probably incorrectly, to mean 'over there'; cf. mana1).

ma·na-, v. ma·-. 

manaña (maraña) DEM PRON, REL (7.25, Note 90) that (if far away; Wak SH), that way (Wak TM);
manaña jo ja·ni he went that way. 
   -cf. mana1.

mananda (manande) DEM PRON, REL over there (pointing), that one over there; mananda mana giraña that thing over there is a porcupine (Wak SH), manande jo ju·nenge there he is lying down (Wak:Gor VR), manande ja bawarnu ba'ng there he is standing in the bush (Wak AB). 
   -cf. manara.

manande, v. ma·-.

manande- V TR (PF) manande·ni hold (Wak SH). 
   -cf. ma·-.

manar N duck (Wak:Gor RD).

manara (manare) REL there (Wak:Gor VR); manara jale nā there he is talking to her (the woman). 
   -cf. mananda.

manburi, v. manburir.

manburir (-er, manburi; (Wak:Gor RD), mamgure (Wak SH; correct?) N ABL manburirnu blue gum tree; manburirnu waji (he) climbed the gum tree (Wul LW). 
   -cf. jarair (Wak B).

manda REL there (Wak AB); ŋana manda ba'n who is that coming there?

mandabara N a place, Mundubbera, west of Gayndah.

mande1 N step (cut into tree for climbing); mande jange making or cutting a step (in a log; Wak WC). 
   -cf. mende (Bar), mendem (Wak B).

mande2, v. ma·-. 

mande- V TR (PF) mande·ni catch (Wak SH). 
   -cf. ma·-.

mandebara N ABL mandebaranu Mundubbera (Wak JC). 
   -cf. mandabara.

manderem N a kind of duck (either the white or black one; Wak TM). 
   -cf. manar, menen (Bar).

mangar N red or spotted gum tree.

mange, v. ma·-. 

mangi- (mange-) V TR mangi (mange) manginge (mange); mangi (mange·ne, Bar AB); mangi take, steal; 
waga mangi don't steal, mangi jalu he stole it, he is a thief (Wak PB), jo ja·ni mana mangiu he went to steal that (Wak SH). 
   -cf. ma·-.

manaŋ N the name of a place, Manyung, near Murgon.

manal N wet (Wak WC); ɗa mana manal the earth is wet, ɗa manal nalaŋ wet earth (is, becomes) mud.

manambara N the place Mundubbera (Wak SH). 
   -cf. mandabara, mandebara.

mara1 N ERG mararu 1. lightning, thunder; 2. rifle, gun; mararu bambai the lightning struck (Wak TM), mararu bambe shooting with a rifle (Wak TM). 
   -cf. margan.
mara2 DEM PRON (7.25; 9.8; 11.8, Notes 91, 92) there, over there, that way, that; mara gundu that house (Wak WC), mara ɲinenge sitting over there (Bar AB).

maranja REL there, that way; maranja ɲe janande I am going that way (Wak TM).

marama REL over there (Wak PB).

maran N big kangaroo (Wak PB).

marga N fork between two branches (of a tree; Bar AB).

margan N ERG margandu 1. lightning, thunder; 2. rifle, gun; 3. the place Murgon (also called in joke margan gan 'Murgun gun'; Wak PB); margandu dadu bambe (or bumbe) the lightning strikes or hits the tree (Wak SH). -cf. mara1.

mari (mai) REL there, over there, after that. -cf. mara2.

mari- V TR ITR mari; maringe (mare); mariɲi; maria (6.13) burn; waga ɲindu na mari don't you burn your hand (Wak SH), mari gumjumbu burn yourself (Wak WC); gumjum mariɲe fire is burning, hot (Wak PB), ban mariɲi grass burned (Wak TM), mana ɲindu bi or ba r mari you take away or bring that to burn (Wak SH). -cf. marwa-, moro-.

mariɲa REL there; waga jana mariɲa gum gu (or gumu ?) don't go there into the water or don't go into that water (Wak JW), ɲe mariɲa janande I am going there (Wak JW). -cf. mari.

marima REL there, over there (Wak PB); waga jangu marima must not go there, don't go there. -cf. mari.

marun N sand goanna.

marwa- (mara-) V TR marwa; mare; marwai; mara make a fire (Wul LW); ɲagu gumjum marwa let me make a fire, ɲia gan gumjum mara I want to make a fire. -cf. moro-.

mau (mawu) N 1. head; 2. hair (of the head); mau galan clever head (Bar AB), mau Ꙧungur headache (Wak WC). -cf. mawu (Wak B).

mau balan (baran) N flat head (of persons or mountains), mountain with a flat top, the Bunya Mountain (Bar AB), mau baran bald head (Wak Kab DC). -cf. mau, balan.

maugun N a stump of a tree ('headless'; Wak WC).

maura N (11.3), the place Moura (Wul QD).

mawi N ERG mawiju (6.13) 1. white man; 2. ghost; 3. anything white (Wak TM, LH); (ART) mawilam, mawilam (some) white people, mawilambu (for mawilam gu; cf. 6.18) for the white people (Wak TM).

mawu ABL mawuɲi; LOC mawuɲi head, skull (Wak TM). -cf. mau.

me- (mia) N ERG mendu; ABL me-ɲu eye(s); me biran big eyes (Wak BC), me-ɲe looking (Wak BC), waga mendu nee cannot see, is blind (Wak SH). -cf. mial (me-). -cf. mial (me-).

me- , v. mia-. -cf. mial (me-).

me- da- V TR me-ды; me-ɗai chase, run (Wak JC); ɲindu joŋa meɗe you run him, bul ɲindu meɗe you chase the cattle. -cf. me-ɗi-, miɗa-.

me- di- V ASS (?) TR me-ɗinge chase (Wak TN). -cf. me-ɗa-, miɗa-.

me- ɲ gum (me-ɲuɲ) N blind, one-eyed, having sore eyes. -cf. me, guɲ.

me- ɲ now (? Wak JW; cf. ja-).

me- 1 N (me-) (7.14) eye(s) (Wak TM); ɲeŋu ɲol tears from or in (my) eyes, ɲelnu Ꙧa- dirt in (your) eyes, me-ɬjam (CAR) without eyes, me-ɬgum blind (= me-ɬgum). -cf. me- (Wak A).

me- ɬon N a kind of ghost (Wak SH).
mem (mim-) N ERG mimbu (6.15)
fat (Wak RS, SH); jo mem dandi
he is a big man, mimbu wumbe
smearing with fat.
meme N ERG memeju, memelu,
memendu; OBJ memenga (6.15).
mother, aunt, grandmother or
mother-in-law (Wak SH); memelu
bариña jai the mother told the
child (Wak SH); memenga (COM)
came or went) with (his) mother.
- cf. meme.
memeŋ N mother-in-law (Wak SH).
- cf. meme.
memorambi N the place Memorambi,
near Kingaroy (Wak SH). - cf.
me· murambi.
me· murambi N broad-leafed wattle
tree (Bar AB). - cf. memorambi,
murambi.
me·na-, v. me·ni-.
mende N step, steps, ladder (Bar
AB); ḋari mende my steps. - cf.
me·nde , mende mende.
mendem1 N father's father or son's
child (Wak JC).
mendem2 N 1. steps, tracks, foot-
prints; 2. step(s), stairs (Wak
TM). - cf. mande1, mende.
mende mende N steps (Bar AB).
- cf. mende.
meneŋ N duck (Bar AB).
menembara N the place Mundubbera
(Wak TM; the various name forms
of the place are usually
associated in some way with the
words mande, mende, mendem, q.v.).
- cf. mandabara, mandebara.
me·ni- , v. miani-.
me·ri- V ITR me·ri; me·ringe;
me·ripi (7.7) run (Wak TM); ḋirin
bawgi meri you stand, don't
run, mana jo meringe there he
is running. - cf. miani-.
mi· N nose.
mi·2 N (9.5) eye(s) (Bar AB, HD);
da· mi·nu earth or dirt in (my)
eye. - cf. me· (Wak A).
mia, v. me·.
mia- (me·-) V TR mia (me·); miange
miani, me·ni (Wak), mianji (Wul);
mia (mianu, Wul) chase; ḋinjo
joŋa me·, waga joŋa mia (don't)
you chase him (Wak SH, JC), jalu,
jau joŋa meŋi he, they chased
him (Wak SH), mianji (jaŋa)
chased him (Wul LW), jalu miange
he is chasing (him; Wak WC), ḋia
gan jaŋa mia(u) I want to chase
him (Wul LW), waga joŋa miandu
(= mia (ŋi)ndu) don't you chase
him (Wul LW). - cf. miada-.
miada- (me·da-) V TR miada; miade;
miadai; miadu chase; ḋaŋi ḋina
miade I am chasing you (Wak JC),
jalu joŋa miadai he chased him
(Wak JC), jo gon joŋa miadu he
wants to chase him (Wak JC).
- cf. mia-.
mial (mia) N (11.3) eye(s) (Wul);
mialnu jurumbar sand in my eyes
buŋur mialu (correct?) dust in
my eyes (Wul QD). -cf. me· (mia;
Wak A), me·l (Wak B). mi· (Bar).
mian N (9.4) man (Bar AB).
miani- (me·ni-, miari-) V ITR
miani; mianinge (miaringe,
me·ringe; mianji; mianiu,
me·nau) run (originally a
reflexive form of mia-, q.v.:
'chase oneself' = 'run', cf.
mianri--; sometimes used in a
transitive sense: 'run someone'=
'chase', which may be erroneous);
waga mian don't run, ḋin me·ne
(sic) you run (Wak SH), jo
miaringe he is running (Wak WC),
ŋaŋi ḋina me·ringe I will chase
you (Wak SH; cf. above), jau joŋa
me·ringe they are chasing him
(Wak SH). - cf. mia-
mian mian N little boy, son (Bar AB).
miari- V REFL miari; miariinge;
miariji; miariju (7.7) run
(originally 'chase oneself', cf.
mian-; Wak WC). - cf. mia-.
miari-, v. mian-.
miaur, v. mior.
miŋar N cold (Bar AB).


milbe V man jo milbe he is starting to get better (Wak SH).

mingom N bad stones in the body (causing disease; Wak SH).

miŋa INTERPRON (7.26-27; 11.9) what?; miŋa mana what is that? (Wul LW), miŋa ŋingari ŋe What is your name? (Wak TM), miŋa ŋindu jange what are you doing? (Wul QD). —cf. miŋa, miŋanda (Wak A).


miŋan INTERPRON (7.26-27) what? miŋan mana what is that? Wak JW.

miŋangu INTERPRON (7.27) what for? (wanting) what? why?; miŋangu ŋin bai what have you come for? (Wak SH, Wul LW), miŋangu ŋin dungau what do you cry for? (Wak SH), miŋangu mana what does that belong or pertain to? (Wak WC). —cf. miŋan, miŋangu.

miŋanda INTERPRON (7.27) what? something, where?; miŋanda mana murun what kind is that man? (Wak JW), miŋanda ŋindu ɡe what are you eating? (Wak PB), miŋanda mana bai where did that come from? (Wak SH), miŋandu ŋindu jàŋgai what did you make it with? (Wak WC). —cf. miŋa(ŋ).

mior (miaur) N turtle; mior majan, majan man mior (there is) a lot of turtles (Wak WC, JC); (ART) miorgin (some) turtles (Wak TM).

miria (mirija, mire) N rain, storm, thunder, thunderhead, storm cloud; mire ba'n or baje rain is coming (Wak TM), mire bajinge (id.; Wak WC), mirija baje thunder is coming (Wul BP).

miringim N stars (Wak JW).

mo' PERS PRON (7.22).

moborin N stranger (Wak PB); moborin mana those are strangers.

moje V? båni moje gathering bunya nuts (Wak JW).

mon, mona, v. man, mana.

moran, v. moron.

moro- V TR moro; more; moroi make or light a fire, put (stick, etc.) on the fire, burn; gujum moro light a fire (Wak PB), ŋagdu gujum more, moroi I light, lit a fire (Wak SH), waga ŋindu moro don't you burn it (Wak SH). —cf. marwa-, mari-.

moroji- V REFL moroinge (7.7) burn (Wak SH); mana gundu moraleinge that house is burning, is on fire. —cf. moro-.

moron (moran) N ABL moronu; LOC moroni camp, home, house, nest; (ŋari) moron gara this is (my) house, home (Wak RS, SH), go' r gari moron the wasp's nest (Wak WC), ŋe ŋinenge moronu I am (sitting) at home (Wak SH), moroni ŋinenge is at home (Wak TM), jori moronu bai came from his home (Wak TM), moron gu jangu to go home (Wak TM), jana moron gu go home (Wak WC), ŋe janande moron gu I am going home (Wak WC); moron (< *marwan? cf. 6.9) would originally be 'fire (place)', as also gujum 'fire' and 'camp, home', q.v. —cf. moro-.

mu' N stomach, belly. —cf. muŋa.

muanin N big (Wak JW).

mudun N lump, knot (Wak TM); mudun mon there are lumps (on the stem of the tree), mudun janga bugurnu make a knot on the string.
muna N 1. full (after eating), satisfied; 2. pregnant, with child (Wak SH); ƣ muña jini I was satisfied, jou ƣia muña yes, I am satisfied. —cf. mu-

muñe- V ITR (PF) muñe ni be filled up (Wak SH); gue ƣ muñe ni there, I am full (after eating). —cf. muña.

muñe ma- V CAUS (PF) muñe mai fill up (Wak SH); jombu ƣa muñe mai they (two) filled me up. —cf. muña, muñe-

mung - V TR munga, mungai, mungau cook on fire (Wak SH); ƣindu waja mung a you cook the wallaby, put him on the fire.

mui (muji) N emu (Wak RS, DW, JW, Wak: Gor RD, Bar AB). —cf. ƣui.

mujim (muim) N ERG muimbu axe, tomahawk; muimbu gawa cut (it) with a tomahawk. —cf. mujum (Wak B).

mujum N ERG mujumbu tomahawk (Wak TM); mujum bu gawa cut (it) with a tomahawk. —cf. mujim (Wak A).

mula N ABL mulanu bank (elevation; Wak WC); mulanu down (i.e. off the bank).

muna, v. mana1.

munaŋ N woman's private parts (Bar AB); ƣindu ƣana munaŋ ƣingari ƣana we' (favours, intercourse).

mundi N posterior, backside (Wak SH, BC).

mundu N (something) black (Wak PB); mana ƣa mardu that is black earth.

mundu mundu N black (Wak PB); ƣa mardu mundu black earth. —cf. mundu.

mundunba N black (paint; Wak PB). —cf. mundu.

mungí- V ITR mungí; munginge; mungíni laugh; waga (ƣin) mungí don't (you) laugh (Wak JC, Wul LW), waga mungí ma don't laugh (Wak PB), ƣinagí ƣin munginge what are you laughing at? (Wak JC). —cf. dai munginge.

mungíma- V CAUS TR mungíme laugh at (something; Bar AB). —cf. mungí-.

mungul N sweet (Wak SH); mana mungul that is sweet.

mungur N 1. a little blue or green ant, a kind of meat ant, (stinging) ant (Wak PB, WC; Wul LW); 2. the name of a place, Mondure.

muníŋ N spider (Wak TM)

mur1 N smell (Wak SH).

mur2 (mu' r) N nulla-nulla (Wak TM).

muraŋ N animal, snake, bunyip (especially the one living in the 'bad waterhole' at dai munginge, q.v.; Wak WC, SH, BS).

murambi N tree, especially gum tree (Bar AB). —cf. me' murambi.

muraŋ N (7.13) white clay, chalk or paint; murangu naminge painting himself (Wak SH), jo muraŋa naminge he is painting white (Wak SH).

muraŋa N 1. white chalk, war paint (Bar AB); 2. Mt Edward (Wak PB); mara muraŋa ba' nge there the white mountain is standing (Wak PB). —cf. muraŋ.

murba- V TR ITR (IPF) murbe smell (Wak SH); ƣagu murbe I can smell, mana, gana galang murbe that, this smells good.

murgiŋ N eel (Bar AB).

muri- V TR muri; muringe; muriŋi cohabit, have intercourse (Bar AB); ƣindu ƣana muri you do it, ƣaju ƣina muriŋi I used you.
muru N nose (Bar HD, Wak BS—if used in Wakka-Wakka, probably a Goreng-Goreng word).  —cf. mi.
murum, v. murun.
murun (muru-) N  (7.13; 11.3) (Aboriginal) man, dark man, (dark) people; murun majan people (Wak WC), murunu baran the man's boomerang (Wak SH), mana murunu ŋagu māɲi I got it from that man (Wak TM), mara murun gu ɲe gōɲ I want that man (Wak TM); (ART) murunbam (-bom, -buam), murungin (Wak TM, Wul QD), murulam (Wak BC) (some) dark men, people.
murun N a lot, three or four, crowd, mob, people (Bar AB); gin murun a lot of women, ɲam murun ŋinenge we three are sitting, murun gari for the people.

nala N ABL nalaŋu (-nu); LOC nalaŋu (‐ni) (7.12; 9.4) hole, hollow, waterhole (artificial word? Bar AB), cave, inside; jo nalaŋu bai he came out of the hole (Wak SH), nalaŋu garĩnge going into the hole (Wak SH), man jo bia jandande naŋ gu there he goes back into (or for) the hole (Wak SH), nalaŋu garĩñe entered the hole (Bar AB), nala dari (Wak SH), nala janga (Wul QD) dig a hole, gaiwaru jímají nala the Rainbow (serpent) has made the waterholes (Bar AB),
diaŋ nala a hollow tooth (Wak SH), dadu nalaŋu in the hollow tree stump (Wak SH), nalaŋu junenge is lying inside (the hole; Wak:Gor VR).
nalaŋu N hollow, having a hole or hollow; dadu nalaŋu a hollow tree.
nāˈm (correct?) N hand (Wak BC).  —cf. naˈ.
nama-, v. nami-.
nami- (nama-) V TR ITR nami (nama, name); namine (name) paint, wipe; gujingu nami paint (yourself) red (Wak SH), ġindu nama ɖana you paint the man (Wak SH), man jom bujun bujun murangu namine they are painting one another with white clay (Wak SH), jalu joŋa namine he is painting him (another; Wak SH); a transitive nami- and an intransitive nami- might be merged in this verb.
naran N goanna (Wul QD, BP).
-ndi- ASS DER SFX (7.6).
-ndu PERS PRON (7.20).
ńiŋ N spark (Wak SH); ńiŋ buma make the spark.
ńiŋ ńiŋ N night, dark (Wak SH); ńiŋ ġi ńiŋ ńiŋ gu I am walking in the dark.  —cf. ńiŋ.
nima REL? nima ja ɡa ma bia bai he has not come back yet (Wul QD).
nimą- or nimège- V TR nimą; nimège; nimemachine; nimime pinch (Wak TM); jalu ɲaŋa nimeme he pinched me.
ninąŋuru or niŋąŋuru N REL 1. person who owns the land; 2. in the old time (Bar AB).  —cf. ńiŋąŋura (Wak).
ninda- V ITR ninda; ninde; nindai; nindau come down, go down, get off, set (of the sun), sink (of water); ḡanān, gulo ninde the sun, moon is going down (Wak SH), nindai jo dadunu he got off the log (Wak WC), ḡun mana nindai the water sank (Wak SH), ḡe gue janađe ḡanān nindai I am going when the sun sets (Wak SH).
nine- (nina-) V ITR (11.11) sit (down) (Wul QD); gara ṣia ninena I am sitting here, garun ninena sitting or being alone, ḡi ba' ninewa you come to (or and) sit down, nina(u) ḡan or ḡan ninau want(s) to sit down. —cf. ʹnine- (Wak, Bar).

ni’r REL ? dai nir the rock slides (Wak SH).

noiñe (correct?) N stranger (Wak PB); noiñe mana that is a stranger. —cf. nuají (?).
nanon N baby (Wak RS).

nuají N bugị̃ nuají dingo (Wak TM). —cf. noiñe (?)
nurun N 1. tired; 2. with child; nurun bo ‘ne tired (Wak WC; cf. bo’ṇi), man jo nurun she is with child (Wak SH). —cf. nurunbama-, nurunṣa.
nurunbama- V CAUS nurunbama; nurunbama tire (Wak WC); wağa ṣịndu nurunbama don’t tire (me), jo ḡon nurunbama he wants to tire (me). —cf. nurun.
nurunṣa N with child (Wak SH); man jo gin nurunṣa that woman is with child. —cf. nurun.

ʹna- N marrow (Wak TM).

ʹna-¹ V TR (7.31; 9.12; 11.11) see, look (at), visit, take care of; ḡaŋa ḡa’ look at me, ḡom bujun bujundu ḡa’ you two look at one another (Wak SH), ḡin (correct?) me’ ḡa’ you look (Wak SH), me’ ne’ looking (Wak BC), ḡaŋu ḡaje, ḡaŋi muruna I can see, saw a man (Wul BP), ḡaŋu ḡaje (Wak LM), pe’na (Wul QD) I can or will see, ḡaŋu ḡina pe’ra I will see you (Wak JC), ḡe’ra ḡina bai saw you coming (Wul QD), ga ṣari wuli baje ḡawa they don’t come (or nobody comes) to see me (Wul QD), ḡin bia bai ḡaŋa ḡa’ you have come back to see me (Bar AB), darum ḡaŋu ḡawa I am to see (visit) Taroom, I am off to Taroom (Bar AB).

ʹna-² V REC (IPF) ḡa’nge see one another (Wak SH).

hapus N grandmother (Bar AB).

hapus ḡaŋa N grand-daughter (Bar AB).

hapus INTERR PRON (9.9).

ŋangu REL (9.9) what for? why? (Bar AB); ḡangi jo bai what has he come for? ḡangi ḡin bengenge what are you afraid of? why are you afraid? ḡangi ḡin duŋ ḡawa what are you to eat for? —cf. miŋangu.

ṇaŋi- (ṇa’ŋi-) V REFL REC ḡa’ŋi; ḡaŋinge; ḡaŋi; ḡaŋingu look at one another, look (like); jo m ḡaŋinge, gawuŋ ḡaŋingu they both (want to) look at one another (Wak TM), da’ gume ḡa’ŋinge it looks like rock (Wak:Gor RD).

ṇaŋa N ABL naŋaŋu; LOC naŋaŋi mud; ḡinaŋ ḡaŋi naŋaŋi I saw a footprint in the mud (Wak TM).

ṇaŋa V ? look, let me see you (Bar AB).

ṇarīgīn (ṇerīgīn) N ABL ḡarīgīn the Blue Mountain at Hawkwood station; ḡariṭi ḡe waje I climb (or used to climb) the Blue Mountain (Wak WC), ḡariṭi ḡum ḡum ḡbia smoke is coming from the Blue Mountain (Wak TM).
parinbom N turtle.

parun N back (Wul QD); parun jimbine pierced (his) back.

nau N PERS PRON (7.20, Note 78).

ne' N name; gin gin gari ne' the girl's name (Wak TM), n'an n' in ne' what is your name? (Wak WC).

ne'ų1 N snake (Wak PB).

ne'ų2, v. niaŋ.

neba- V ITR neba; nebe; nebbei; ne'b'bau come out; wange, wangu (mana) nebe (there) a snake, ghost is coming (out) (Wak WC, AB), nalujo nebbei, gon nalujo nebbei he has come out, wants to come out of the hole (Wak WC).

niaŋ (ne'ŋ) N REL? n'in niaŋ ba you are finished or have finished doing something (Wak SH; or the same as neba, q.v., 'you come away?').

ni'łęŋa N angry, mad, wild; waga n'in nilŋa jía don't you get mad (Wak SH); cf. Goreng-Goreng ni' sulking.

nim (ni'm) N anus, pudex, cunnus (Wak: Gor RD).

nimai- (correct?) V TR (PF) nįmai do (Bar AB); nįdu waga nimai you did not do it. - cf. jima-.

nimba REL when? (Wak AB); nimba n'in janande when are you going? - cf. waŋumba, numba.

nimba- (nimbo-) V TR pimba; (PF) nimboi copulate, have intercourse (Wak SH); jalu nimboi nariŋa gandana he has had intercourse with my younger sister (if said of another, an insult). - cf. bua-1, nim.

nin PERS PRON (9.6).

ninja N eel (Bar AB). - cf. jinba.

nine- (pina-), v. nįne-.

ningari PERS PRON (9.6).

ninendi-, v. nįnendi-.

pin pin N small sticks for kindling fire (Wak SH); pin pin ba'ri bring small sticks. - cf. gin gin.

piwam PERS PRON (11.6).

nagogiņ N OBJ nagogina (correct?) (6.7) son (Wak TM). - cf. nugar e (Wak A).

po'm, v. nuam.

po'mgan, v. nuamgan.

nuam (po'm) N ERG pombu husband (Wak TM, Bar AB, Wul QD).

nuamgan (nomgan) N ERG pombandu wife; pombandu nẹn l (his) wife has finished cooking (or cooked) it (Wak PB). - cf. nuam.

nuga- (nugo-) V TR nuga (nugo); nuge look (for one), show; nịdu nuga you go and look (Wak RS), nịdu nẹna nuga you go and look for me (Wak RS), nịdu nẹna nuga you show me (Wak SH), nadu nẹna nuge I will show you (Wak SH). - cf. jogo-, jugua-.

nugarę N son (Wak JC). - cf. nagogiņ (Wak B).

nuna REL when? (Wak AB); nuna n'in daru bai when did you come now?

nunga or nuge REL where? when? (Bar AB); nungu n'in janande where or when are you going? nunga n'in giana when are you going? nunge jo bai when did he come? - cf. waŋuna.

nungera REL where? (Wul QD); nungera n'in janande where are you going to? nungera naringin where are my people? - cf. nunga, nunge.

nunu REL where? where from? (whence?), when?; nunu n'in ninena where do you live? (Wul QD), nungu n = nunu (ni) ndu manya na where did you get it from? (Wul LW).

numba REL when?; numba n'in janande when are you going? (Wul QD), numba n'in baje when are you coming? (Wul LW). - cf. waŋumba.
numba- (numba-, Wak: Gor RD) V TR
numba; numbe; numbai; numba
point, show, push; hindi numba
you show me (Wak RS),
waqo numba don't push me
(Wak SH), hindi numba
you point a bone at me (Wak SH),
haedu numba I will
(or let me) point the bone at
you (Wak RS), dia jal mu numba
juari he pointed the bone at
him (Bar AB), gel numba talking
or telling (Bar AB).

numbe- V (IPF) numbenge laugh
(Wak SH).

num N ashes (Wak SH, AB).

numam (numem-) N child (Wul);
waqo numam Hawkwood station-u I was
a child at Hawkwood station (Wul
QD); (ART) nunembam (-bom),
nunembomqarin (some) children
(Wul QD, LW).

numba-, v. numba-

num nun N dust (Wak SH).—cf. nun.

numungan N wild apple tree (Wak SH).

numun (purun) N REL sundown,
night, tomorrow (Wak SH); purun
guengi the night is long.

ra (-ra) DEM PRON (7.25; 11.8).
-ram ART (7.15-16).
-ri- ASS REFL SFX (7.6-7; 9.3).
ru (-ru) PERS PRON (11.6).

wa-1, v. wa-ŋ.

wa-2 REL no, not (Wak RS, SH);
wa galaŋ no good (= waga galaŋ).
wa-1 (wu-) V TR (7.31; 9.12; 11.11)
give; hindi wa- (Wak RS),

wada- (numba-, Wak: Gor RD) V TR
numba; numbe; numbai; numba
point, show, push; hindi numba
you show me (Wak RS),
waqo numba don't push me
(Wak SH), hindi numba
you point a bone at me (Wak SH),
haedu numba I will
(or let me) point the bone at
you (Wak RS), dia jal mu numba
juari he pointed the bone at
him (Bar AB), gel numba talking
or telling (Bar AB).

numbe- V (IPF) numbenge laugh
(Wak SH).

num N ashes (Wak SH, AB).

numam (numem-) N child (Wul);
waqo numam Hawkwood station-u I was
a child at Hawkwood station (Wul
QD); (ART) nunembam (-bom),
nunembomqarin (some) children
(Wul QD, LW).

numba-, v. numba-

num nun N dust (Wak SH).—cf. nun.

numungan N wild apple tree (Wak SH).

numun (purun) N REL sundown,
night, tomorrow (Wak SH); purun
guengi the night is long.

R

ra (-ra) DEM PRON (7.25; 11.8).
-ram ART (7.15-16).
-ri- ASS REFL SFX (7.6-7; 9.3).
ru (-ru) PERS PRON (11.6).

W

wa-1, v. wa-ŋ.

wa-2 REL no, not (Wak RS, SH);
wa galaŋ no good (= waga galaŋ).
wa-1 (wu-) V TR (7.31; 9.12; 11.11)
give; hindi wa- (Wak RS),

hindu nari wa- (Wak RS, Wul LW)
you give me, handa hindi dai we.
I will give you money, jalu hindi
wunji he gave me (Wak TM), ne
gon jorigori wugu (Wak WC), hindi
gan wugu or weu (Wul LW) I want
to give (him).—cf. we-1.

wa-2 (waje-, waji-?) V ITR wa-;
we- (waje); wa (waji, wa-ŋi);
wau (wa-, wajeu, walu, Bar AB)
climb, get up (on a horse); hindi
mari dadulu wa- you climb that
tree (Wak SH), dadulu we- (Wak
RS), we- dadunu (Wak WC) climbing
a tree, hindi daduna (perlicative)
wa- mande hindi ga- (if or when)
you climb a tree, you cut steps
(Wak WC), jarairnu ne waji I
climbed the gum tree (Wak TM),
mun sgai jari jin a man got on
horseback (Wak RS), barilom bajir
waini or wa- the children climbed
the mountain (Wak SH), go gon wau
(Wak WC), jo gon wa- (Wul LW)
he wants to climb, jiramanda walu
(or wajeu) to get on horseback
(Bar AB), ba-l wa- get angry
(see ba-1).

wabu N ERG wabaru; OBJ wabaŋa
a big crowd, a mob, nation, all;
handa wabaŋa haŋi muruna I saw a
big crowd of dark people (Wak SH),
waba hindi my nation (Wak SH),
haŋi waba je bai mana giran bungu
then all came to kill that
porcupine (Wak SH).

wabe- V ITR wabe; waboo wait
(Wak WC); bulimen (sic) waboo
damabanu policemen waiting on the
road, gan jo hindari waboo here he is waiting for you (Wak
SH).—cf. wabe-.

wadulu REL sideways, aside (Wak:
GOR VR); wadulu ne- looking
aside.

waje N ERG wajelu; OBJ wajeŋa
dingo; wajelu gurumana ji- (jjii)
the dingo bit the kangaroo (Wak
SH).
wadigan N white woman (Wak PB; Wakka-Wakka ?). —cf. waŋneri.
wagima- V TR wagima wash (Wak SH); ɔin jana wagima you go (and) wash it.
wagimda- V TR wagimda; wagimde; wagimdau wash (Wak SH); ɔindu na- wagimda you wash (your) hands, ɔindu ɔari gana wundir wagimda you wash these clothes for me, ɔin jana mau wagimda you go (and) wash your head.
wagimde- V TR wagimde; wagimdeŋe; wagimdeŋi wash; wagimde gider wash the clothes (Wak WC), ɔadu gider wagimdeŋe I am washing (or going to wash) clothes (Wak WC).

wagimdeŋi- , v. wagimdeŋi-.
wagimga- V ITR wagimga; wagimga wash; ɔin wagimga you wash (yourself; Wak SH), wagimga washing (Wul LW).
wagimje- (wagimji-) V wagimjenge; wagimji wash (Wak TM, Wul LW).

wagimjeŋi- (wagimjiŋi-) V REL wagimjeŋi (-jini); wagimjeŋinge; wagimjeŋiŋi wash oneself (Wak WC).
waga (oga, ga) REL (2.9) no, not, cannot, none, nothing, don't; waga mana wange it is not a snake, waga (oga) mana ɔingga that is not yours, oga ɔin jana don't you go, waga ɔam no meat (Wak TM), ɔun waga ɔari I am without water (Bar AB), ɔu ɔumdena I do not smoke (Wul QD).
wa'ga N crow (Wak RS).
wagaŋam N nothing (Wak:Gor RD).
wa'gan1 N ERG wa'gandu (9.2) crow (Bar AB).

wa'gan2 N ERG wa'gandu (9.2) mother-in-law (Bar AB); ɔadu jari wa'gan ɔani I have seen his mother-in-law.
wagaŋ N jewfish (Bar AB).

waga waga1 N the Wakka-Wakka language.
waga waga2 REL no (Bar AB).
wa'ŋ N crow (Wak SH; because of its sound: wa').
waŋar, v. waŋur.
waŋum N cheek (Wak TM).
wangun N ERG wangungu ghost, spirit ('white spirit', your spirit, not body, Wak TM); wangun ɔadu ɔani I have seen a ghost (Wak TM), wangun dia ghost in the form of a skeleton, wangungu biŋi manaŋa bula the spirit took that bullock (Wak JW).
wani- V ITR wanjinge, waniŋi be mad, silly, drunk, shy, frightened (Wak:Goe AS); waga ɔin wanjinge you are not getting silly (Bar AB), ɔia waniŋi I am drunk (Wak SH), giroru wanjinge getting drunk (Wak SH; cf. giro2).

wani wani N mad, silly.

waŋur (waŋar, Wul BP) N fish, especially jewfish (Wul QD); ɔia janande waŋar ɔu mangu I am going to get fish.

waindem (wajundem) N ERG waindembu father's mother (Wak JC), grand-uncle (Wak LH).

waja N ERG wajalu; OBJ wajaŋa; ABL wajaŋu wallaby (especially whiptail, Wak TM); waja ga'le looking for wallabies (Wak SH); (ART) wajalam the wallabies (Wak SH).

waji-, v. wa'ji-2.

walai N cool (Wak SH).

walara N corroboree (Wak JW, SH, Wak:Gor RD). —cf. warara, gundama-
wale, v. wele.
wamba-1 V TR  ITR wamba; wambe;
   wambai (wambani, -be) put (on),
   put up, hand, leave (hanging),
   climb, hold, lift, carry on back,
   rise; ĵindu man (or mara) wamba
   you hang that up (Wak SH, WC),
   guć wamba put on water (to
   clean; Wak SH), muran wamba put
   on paint (Wak SH), dadulu wamba
   climb the tree (Wak SH), ģalu
   đam wambe I am hanging up meat
   (Bar AB), ĵindu waju wambe
   where have you left it? (Wak SH),
   mara ĵindu door (do') wambe
   you hold on to the door (Wak SH),
   guć wambei the water rose or
   filled up (inside the stump; Wak
   SH), binaŋ wambe- listen, hear,
   know; binaŋ jombu wambe they
   (two) are listening (Wak WC),
   binaŋ ĵindu wamba you listen
   (Bar AB), ģalu binaŋ wambei
   ĵingari ge'm numbe I listen to
   you talking (Bar AB), ģia gaų
   binaŋ wambei(wa) I want to hear
   (Bar AB), wağa ģe binaŋ wambe
   ģunge ģia bia ba' I do not know
   when I come back (Bar AB). -cf.
   wamba-2.

wamba-2 V ITR wambange; wambani
   hang down (Bar AB); wağa ģin
   wambange dadulu you are not
   hanging down from the tree.
   -cf. wamba-1, wambae-.

wambame- V CAUS (PF) wambameńi
   lift up (Wak PB).

wambe- (wamba-) V ITR wambenge;
   (wambange); wambeńi; wambaę;
   hang, float, be (the latter
   always in the perfective; cf.
   3.24); man jo gior wambenge
   there the rainbow is hanging or
   floating (Wak SH), dadulu
   wambenge hanging on the tree
   (Wak SH), mara guć wambeńi nalaŋu
   there was water in the hollow
   (Wak SH), giro mara wambeńi
   there is grog (in the glass;
   Wak SH), man guć bunbinu wambeńi
   (= je') there is water in the
   bag (Wak SH), ģalu bunbinu guć
   wambeńi (probably incorrect for
   wambai; see wamba-1) I left
   water in the bag (Wak SH), daińu
   ga' wambeńi there is earth on
   the rocks (Wak SH). -cf. wamba-2
   (Bar).

wambendi-  V ASS CAUS wambendi;
   (IPF) wambende fill up (Wak SH);
   jalu guć wambendi bia ba' ri let
   him fill up water (and) bring it
   here, guć wambende naři filling
   up for me. -cf. wamba-1.

wa'ın N scrub turkey (Wak AB).
   -cf. wawun.

wana-, v. wane-.

wanaŋa (wanaŋa, correct? Wak JD)
   REL from a long way (Bar AB),
   keep quiet or far away, look out,
   watch out (Wak JD).

wanaŋu REL far (Wul QD); wanaŋu
   ģin janande you are going far.

wanaŋi REL (7.10) far away, a
   long way; jo wanaŋi ģinenge he
   lives far away (Wak SH, Bar AB).

wanaŋu REL (7.10) far away, from
   afar; jo be' wanaŋu (Wak SH, Wak:
   Gor RD), wanaŋu bai or baje (Bar
   AB) he comes (has come) from far
   away, wanaŋu ģin ģinena you live
   far away (Wul QD).

wanda N neck (Wak PB); wanda
   ģamŋai broke the neck.

wanda-1 V ITR wanda; wandai;
   wanda≥ (Bar AB) climb (Wak:Gor
   RD).

wanda-2 V ITR (IPF) wandange
   snore, sleep (Wak JW); ģe wandange
   I am sleeping, snoring or will
   sleep.

wandai N LOC wandaiņi (Note 161),
   the name of a place, Wondai (Wak:
   Gor RD, Bar AB); wandai gu ģaju
   to go to Wondai.

wandama- V CAUS wandama; wandame
   lift, pick up, lift up (dress).
   -cf. wanda-1.
wande- V TR wande (wanda); wandeŋi climb (Wak SH). – cf. wanda-1.

wandir N small (= bari bari; Bar AB).

wanga (wana, winga, wunga, wuŋa) REL (6.10, 20; 7.35, Note 100) when? how? when? if; wanga ɡin janande where are you going? or how are you going? (greeting), wanga ɲe gari bai when I came there (Wak TM), wanga jo gagore when he, she was a child (Wak WC), wandari (POSS) gana baran whose is this boomerang? (or to where does it belong? Wak SH).

wangaŋa (wangaŋe, ɡaŋe, wanaŋa) REL (2.9; 7.10) when? (Wak SH); wanaŋa nœm janande when are you two going? ɡane bari bari jiŋi when (I) was a child (Wak JC).

waniŋu REL whence? from where? (Wak SH); waniŋu bai where (does he) come from?

wangaŋamba (ɡamba) REL (2.9) when? (Wak JC); ɡamba ɲin bia be when do you come back?

wangu REL when? (Wak:Gor RD); wangu ɲin be when do you come? – cf. wânu.

wąnguna (wąŋuna) REL when? (Wak SH); wąnguna ɲin bia be when do you come back? (Wak TM).

wąngumbamba REL when? (Wak WC); wąngumbamba bia be (do not know) when (you) come back. – cf. wąngamba, wąnguna.

wane- (wane-, wani-) V TR wane (wana); waneŋe (wane, Wul QD); waneŋi (wani, Bar AB); waneu (wanīwa, waneous, Bar AB) leave, forget; wane, wana mana leave it, leave that, ɲagu ɲiŋa wane I am leaving you (Wul QD), ɡarum wani ɲe I have left Taroom (Bar AB), ɲagu binu wani I have left it behind (Bar AB), ɲo ɦambu waniunga let us two leave (him; Bar AB), ɲe gaŋe wane wane (Bar AB), ɲagu ɲiŋa wane (ʔ) ɡanane be (Wak SH) I want to (must) leave (you at sunrise), waga ɲindu binga wane don't forget (leave) your hat (Wak SH), murundu ɡinaŋ waneŋi the man has left his footprint (Wak WC). – cf. wene- (Wak B).

wange N POSS wangeri, wangeriŋ(a); (7.12, 33) snake; wangeriŋ nala a snake's hole (Wak SH); wangeriŋa mana nala that hole is a snake's nest (Wak SH), binur gariŋi wangeriŋa nalaŋu a bandicoot entered a snake's hole (Wak SH), wangeri nala a snake's hole (Wak WC). – cf. wene- (Wak B).

wani-, v. wane-.

wâŋ N bad (Bar AB).

wâna, v. wanga.

wânaŋa, v. wangaŋa.


wâŋmeri N white woman; (ART) wâŋmerilom (some) white women (Wak WC). – cf. wêŋmeri (Bar).

wâŋu (weŋu) REL (7.10) where from? whence? where? when?: wâŋu jo bai where did he come from? wâŋu joŋa (memejü bini) where was he born? (Wak WC), wâŋu ɲin bia be when do you come back? (Wak SH), wâŋu ɲin bai when did you come? (Wak:Gor RD). – cf. wâŋu.

wâŋuna, v. wâŋuna.

wâŋubaba, v. wâŋumbamba.

wâŋuna REL whence? where? when? (Wak SH); ɲindu wâŋuna wambai where did you leave it (hanging)? wâŋuna ɲin bai where do you (or have you) come from? or when did you come?
warumba (warunba, warunba) REL
when? when; warumba ŋin be'an
janande when will you come, go?
warumba ŋin bia bau gair ŋindu
biane when or by the time you
come back you might know (Wak WC).

war - N butcherbird (Wak SH).

waranj N bad (Wak TM); waranj jalu
jangai giŋana he was bad to or
violated his sister.

warara N corroboree (Bar AB);
warara gembu a corroboree.
—cf. walara (Wak).

war-e- V ITR (PP) wa-reŋi hunt
(Wak JC); jo ganeŋa wa-reŋi he
hunted with a spear.

war N black tree goanna (Bar AB).

warin N (9.4) boomerang (Bar AB);
warindu ŋagu bumi I hit with
the boomerang.

wa'wa (wa-wa) N crow (Wak TM,
Wul QD). —cf. wa'ŋa.

wawun (waun) N ERG wawundu scrub
turkey, any fowl or bird, chicken
(Wak: Gor RD), black shag (Bar AB).

we'1 V REL? take it, here you
are, give (Wak PB); gari ma we'
give me (cf. wia 'pass me', used
by Willie McKenzie—see 1.6—
whether or not Wakka-Wakka).

we'2 REL wrong (Wak TM); we'
janande going a crooked way,
we' ŋindu mande you are holding
it wrong. —cf. we'ŋa.

we'ŋ N REL? sore (Wak SH); mu'
we'ŋ stomach ache. —cf. we'2.

wenge N one (Bar AB).

wele (wale, Wak: Gor RD) N ERG
weleru whiptail wallaby (Wak TM);
weleru mana gawai the wallaby
ate that. —cf. waja.

wene- V TR wene; weneŋe; wenei;
weneŋu leave (Wak TM); ŋagu gana
weneŋe I am leaving (putting)
this here, jalu giŋaŋ wenei
ŋalaŋu he left a footprint in
the mud. —cf. wane- (Wak A).

wenge N (8.6; 9.4) snake (Wak B,
Bar); nala mara wengeriŋ that
is the snake's hole or where the
snake came out (Bar AB), gaiwar
man wenge he is a Rainbow snake
(Bar AB). —cf. wange (Wak A).

wene REL (6.10) where? (Wak BC,
NF); wene ŋin janande where are
you going? —cf. wanga.

wenmeri (wanmeri) N white woman
(Bar AB).

wia, v. we'1.

wina N fish (Bar AB).

wina ma-na N (9.1) pelican ('fish
catcher'; Bar AB). —cf. bangabula.

wina, v. wanga.

wina- V TR (IMP) wina whistle
(Wak TM); buginŋa wina whistle
at the dog.

winguŋan REL whence? (Wak AB);
winguŋan ŋin bai where have you
come from?

wirgu N binga wirgu big "flash"
hat (Wak SH).

wu-, v. wa'1.

wuge- V ITR (IPF) wubenge wait
(Wak SH); jo wubenge baran gari
he is waiting for the boomerang.
—cf. wabe-.

wubin N good, clever, champion;
wubin gabir boŋi a nulla-nulla
champion (Wak PB), gaŋaŋ wubin
good or clever (Wak: Gor RD, Wak:
Goe AC).

wubin wubin N jaraman wubin wubin
a good horse (Wak: Gor VR). —cf.
wubin.

wubir N white man, fellow (Bar AB).

wugindi- (wuginde-) V TR wugindi;
wugindenge (wuginde); wugindiŋi
(wugindeŋi); wugindu (wugindeu)
put (Wak WC); wugindeŋi gaba
put it down on the ground, gop
wugindiŋu want(s) to put it.
wuğun N throat (Bar AB); wuğun gamje cutting the throat (executing).

wui- V (9.12) swim (Bar AB); guŋ wuiŋi swam. —cf. wuli (Wak).

wujambu N big eaglehawk (Wak JC). —cf. qail.

wujeŋ N bad (Wak:Gor RD); bion wujeŋ a bad dream.

wulam PERS PRON (11.6).

wuğun N big waves, the sea (Wak DW).

wuli- (wule-) V ITR wuli; wulinge (wule); wuliŋi; wulingu (wuligu, wulia, wuliu, wuleu) swim; guŋ wulinge going for a swim (Wak WC), ḏe waga wule I cannot swim (Wak PB), dungiŋu wuliŋi swam in the river (Wak TM), waga wuleu don’t swim (must not swim; Wak PB). —cf. wuli-.

wulima- V CAUS wulima wash (Wak TM); ḏindu gider guŋgu wulima you wash the clothes with water. —cf. wuli-.

wuli wuli N the name of a language, Wuli-Wuli, on the Burnett and Dawson rivers.

wu1 ERG wulu1 heel, ankle (Wak SH); wululu bumi kicked.

wu2 N 1. a kind of wattle tree; 2. the name of a place and mountain, Wooroolin (Bar AB); bair wulu the Wooroolin mountain, wulu gu jangu to go to Wooroolin.

wumba- V TR (IPF) wumbé smear (Wak SH); mimbu wumbe smearing with fat.

wumba- V TR (PF) wunbai pull or knock off, futuroe; burandu mona wunbai the wind knocked it off (Wak TM), wunbai broke (in an obscene sense; Bar HD). —cf. wunma-.

wunda- V TR wunda; wunde; wundai; wundau cover, close, protect, drown; me’ wunda close (your) eyes (Wak RS), ḏindu murangu wunda you paint white (cover with white paint; Wak SH), guŋu wundai covered with water (Wak SH), waga guŋgu wundai ġaun the water did not drown the earth (Bar AB), jalu ḏurindu wundai ḏe’r ġaŋu she protected (herself) from the cold with a blanket (Bar AB).

wundanja- V REFL (IMP) wundanja? cover itself up (Wak TM). —cf. wundaji-.

wundaja- V REFL (IPF) wundaje; (INT) wundaje (7.7) cover itself up (Wak RM); wundaja goŋ wants to cover itself up. —cf. wunda-.

wundane- V ITR wundanenge jump (Wak WC). —cf. gundaja-.

wundir N clothes (Wak SH).

wunga, v. wanga.

wundaga REL where? (Wak:Gor RD); wundaga ḏin jande where are you going?

wendja- V TR ITR wendja; wunjinge; wunjini 1. blow, scatter, break, let loose; 2. come loose, come off; gujum wunjî blow the fire (to make it go; Wak SH), burandu wunjini the wind scattered it (gone with the wind; Wak SH), wunjini came loose, came off (Wak TM).

wunja- V TR wunjinge swim (Wak DW). —cf. wuli-, wui.-

wungu N the name of a social section (= baraŋ, q.v.; Bar AB).

wungugan N female member of the wungu section (Bar AB). —cf. wungu.
wunma- V TR wunma put out the fire (Wak PB); gujum wunma.
   -cf. wundī-, wunba-.

wuṇa REL (6.10; 7.35).
wupim V REL ? sleeping (Wak RS).

GORENG-GORENG

Introductory Remarks

13.1 Among the languages of the eastern Wakk subgroup, Goreng-Goreng is the one from which the most complete information was obtained. Unfortunately, practically one competent informant only was available, whose father was a Wakk-Wakk while his mother was a Goreng-Goreng. The latter language he had practiced more recently (he had been able to converse in it until a few years ago with a well known Goreng-Goreng speaker, one Bob Johnson, who had died but a few years earlier), whence our informant might have had a fresher recollection of this language than of his father's. This and also the fact that the author of this survey was more anxious to get Goreng-Goreng material was the reason why this informant was depended on chiefly for the latter language. Although he was an intelligent person, who knew the difference between the two languages (as spoken by his father and mother respectively) he might have been inclined on certain points to mix his Goreng-Goreng with Wakk-Wakk, at least during the first interviews had with him. Especially certain words (such as would rather have been learned from his father than from his mother) he remembered better in the latter language. As the initial stages were passed, however, and he realised that it was Goreng-Goreng rather than Wakk-Wakk that was wanted, he was evidently able to call back to mind his talks with his old friend Bob Johnson and his memory improved noticeably during the months spent with him.

List of informants

13.2 Reference to informants for Goreng-Goreng is made by means of the following abbreviations, being the initials of the persons, preceded by the letters Gor (for Goreng-Goreng; cf. 4.3).

Gor DH: Mr. Darby Hill, at Bundaberg.

Gor DW: Mrs. Diane Walker, at Bundaberg; her father was a Goreng-Goreng (from Banana) and her mother a Wakk-Wakk (from Bundaberg).

Gor HA: Mr. Henry Albert(s), at Clermont.

Gor HJ: Mr. Hector Johnson, at Gladstone, either from Eidsvold or Cracow; his father was a Goreng-Goreng.

Gor JM: Mr. Johnson Mate-Mate (65), at Woorabinda; both his father and mother were from Mount Perry.
Gor MJ: Mrs. Mabel Johnson (née Minikin), at Bundaberg, the late Bob Johnson's (13.1) wife; her father was a Pacific Islander (from the New Hebrides) and Mrs. Johnson had learned some Goreng-Goreng from her husband.

Gor NJ: Mr. Nulang Johnson, at Gladstone, brother of Gor HJ (see above).

Gor RD: Mr. Reggie ('Digger') Dodd, at Bundaberg, our chief informant (cf. 13.1), born on Hawkwood station; his father was a Wakka-Wakka from Taabinga and his mother a Goreng-Goreng from Mount Perry (his sister, Mrs. Rachel Saltner-Wak RS—has been listed as a Wakka-Wakka informant in 5.2).

Gor VR: Mr. Victor Reid (63), at Woorabinda, born at Gayndah; his father (from Roma or Taroom) was Goreng-Goreng and his mother (from Mount Perry or Bundaberg), Goeng-Goeng. Mr. Reid also knew Wakka-Wakka (rather the variety B; cf. Note 5) and had made corroboree songs in that language.

Phonology

14.1 The phonemes are the same in Goreng-Goreng as in Wakka-Wakka (or the languages of the western subgroup of the Wakka languages), but are on certain points actualised differently, for which compare in a previous section (2.8) and also below (14.10).

Evolution of the vowel system

14.2 Goreng-Goreng has the same five vowel phonemes (a, e, i, o, u) as Wakka-Wakka. Among the diphthongs, however, ei is equivalent to ai (waibe—weibe camp) and ou to au (jau—jou yes). The vowel sounds are normally short, but may be lengthened as in Wakka-Wakka; only if the length appears regular in a word it will be marked by the inverted period (a·, e·, i·, o·, u·).

(a) Origin of primary e and o

14.3 As in all languages of the Wakka group the vowels e and o most certainly have a secondary origin. However, unlike Wakka-Wakka and the languages of the western subgroup, these vowel sounds generally do not represent a contraction of a diphthong or any other vowel combination. In Goreng-Goreng a strong tendency prevails to widen an original i (and more seldom an u) whenever occurring in the last syllable of a disyllabic (or longer) word, whether word-final or not. Often the widened vowel sound alternates with the original narrow vowel in the same word; compare wugim or wugem giving, malugi or maluge to him, mali or male those, ŋingi or ŋinge to you, ŋaji or ŋaje to me, etc. In spite of this it seems necessary to consider an e arising in this way as a phoneme of its own, for reasons to be explained below.
14.4 On the other hand, original *aj does not become e* as in Wakka-Wakka (cf. 6.2), but evidently coincides with original *aji, resulting in a(j)ii. This means that the vowel e has a slightly different distribution in Goreng-Goreng and Wakka-Wakka. For the short e, see above (14.3); the long e regularly represents a reduction of *ia (cf. 14.8), hence for original *giam (mouth; cf. Wakka-Wakka, Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli giam or ge·m) the only attested form in Goreng-Goreng is ge·m. In the same way o· arises regularly from *ua in Goreng-Goreng: no· face from original ƞual (as in Wakka-Wakka (A); cf. 6.9).

(b) e, o due to assimilation

14.5 The same kind of assimilation of an original a to e or o as found in Wakka-Wakka occurs in Goreng-Goreng also. Here, of course, it is the e arisen in final syllables from original i (according to 14.3) which determines the change of a preceding a into e (examples of o are rare), whereby it also becomes evident that the determining phonetic factor is not to be considered as a mere variant of i (cf. 14.3). It must be admitted, however, that any e (or o) in final syllables need not necessarily represent an evolution of original *i. The typical pattern of assimilated forms are shown in the following examples (regardless of the probable origin of the determining vowel): mebeŋ emu, gege porcupine, belhem standing (cf. balba stand, imperative), genmen ate (stem ƞa-) menmen took, got (stem ma-), genmen fell (cf. gamma fall, imperative), ƞemen saw (stem ƞa-). Some cases may be due to analogy of some sort: begegim (also begegem) fighting, begega fight (imperative) which evidently are from the same stem (bagi-) as bagilim hitting, in which neither the change of -im to -em nor the subsequent assimilation (*begelem) happens to take place. In bureŋalim (= buraŋalim hearing, knowing; Gor RD), the first a has been affected by the i, but not the second one. 118

(c) e, o due to vowel leveling

14.6 Instances of 'vowel leveling' (cf. 6.6) are occasionally found. The common negative gureŋ no, not may turn into goreŋ (cf. the language name goreŋ goreŋ Goreng-Goreng), beside which the evidently more original gurŋ is sometimes found. Of the verb form ƞinem sitting the original ƞinem is also used as a variant, but the more unusual ƞenem (same sense) can only be due to a sporadic case of vowel leveling, since neither i nor u is regularly affected by vowel assimilation (which is restricted to a in all Wakka languages or, as a matter of fact, wherever it occurs).

14.7 The effect of palatal and bilabial sounds on a following or preceding a is a current phonetic feature in Goreng-Goreng as elsewhere. Of waibë camp, for instance, the variant weibë occurs. This can not be explained as due to assimilation, as the regular form waibë exists beside it. (Notice that assimilated forms do not occur as phonetic variants.) Of the effect of a preceding w (cf. 6.10) instances are found in the common verb stem woba- for waba- come (Gor RD) or in the interrogative wangu where, when, if, etc., which further may proceed to wungu (in which u is a phoneme, not a variant). Whether the word wu· white man is originally distinct from wau (idem) is uncertain; in any case it cannot be considered as a mere phonetic variant.
14.8 Diphthongs occur in Goreng-Goreng as in Wakka-Wakka, but only ai and au are common (in alternation with respectively ei and ou; cf. 14.2), as in: waibē (cf. 14.7), jau (more often jou yes). The diphthong ua is found (in this material) in three words only: bua- look for, gua- talk, and mua kangaroo, while of *ia no instance is found.

14.9 Whether the semivowels j and w after respectively i and u are distinctive or not depends on the structure of the word. It certainly is in such a case as ŋaijī (to me), as against ŋai (I; cf. 14.4); the former, however, alternates with the more common ŋajē (which of course is quite distinct from ŋai). On the other hand, Goreng-Goreng ɡajīn (as used by one informant) is hardly more than a variant of ɡai (there), which is decidedly diphthongal and monosyllabic (it sometimes sounds more like ɡa'ŋ). By this it is by no means claimed that a general distinction between ai and ajī may not at one time have existed. As in the case of similar sequences in Wakka-Wakka (see 6.16), the semivowel will be represented where it has seemed to be general.

Evolution of the consonant system

14.10 All consonant phonemes in Goreng-Goreng are actualised more or less as in Wakka-Wakka with the exception of the palatalised dental ɡ. Probably owing to the influence of English (all informants being bilingual), this phoneme appears in two quite different forms, namely (1) as a palatalised and (2) as an interdental (or dental) sound. Although it is difficult to make a reconstruction of the primitive character of this consonant sound, it seems perhaps most likely that it was originally a palatalised dental with an interdental release. As such a sound is foreign to English it became gradually replaced either by the kind of palatal sound used in Queensland English (especially among the Aborigines), which is more like the Indonesian dj than the normal English 'j', or else by an interdental sound like English 'th' in 'father'. Although consequently heard as quite different sounds it is necessary to count both as variants of a single phoneme (which will represented here by ɡ); even though one actualisation seems restricted to a particular word (for instance maqār white man, almost regularly with the 'th' sound), both pronunciations are common in other words (e.g. daqim going, gābīl child, ɲiñqūn you, maqūna that one, -qam (caritative suffix), which are all pronounced either with a palatal or interdental sound). This double actualisation of the original phoneme is typical of the languages in the eastern subgroup of the Wakka languages.

14.11 Another difference between the two subgroups regards the so-called 'devoiced' actualisation (see 2.8). While in, for instance, Wakka-Wakka the voiceless pronunciation of the devoiced plosive is common intervocally and the voiced realisation after a nasal, Goreng-Goreng (and the languages of the eastern group generally) prefer the voiceless actualisation after a nasal and often shows a voiced, not seldom fricative, articulation in the intervocalic position (cf. Wakka-Wakka wanda and Goreng-Goreng wantal neqk, Wakka-Wakka damba, Goreng-Goreng dampal way, road; normalised in writing Goreng-Goreng as wandal, dambal). No rules may, however, be laid down for this tendency and we still have to count on single phonemes (represented; b, ɡ, d and g). A remark by our principal Goreng-Goreng informant is interesting in this connection, as he maintained that the old people regularly used voiceless sounds (e.g. ɡakim for ɡagim going; cf. 2.8). -As for consonant clusters, the same rule holds in Goreng-Goreng as in Wakka-Wakka (see 6.18).
Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

15.1 The structure of the concrete morpheme in Goreng-Goreng is of the same type as in Wakka-Wakka (see 3.4; 7.1). Nominal and verbal stems are consequently either disyllabic (or longer) or monosyllabic and it appears that the latter are regularly original monosyllables in Goreng-Goreng, as on the whole contraction of longer forms does not take place to the same extent as in Wakka-Wakka. Hence monosyllabic verb stems normally have a short vowel Goreng-Goreng (Na- see = Wakka-Wakka na'-, etc.), while vowel-ending nominal stems are always long. Monosyllabic words having the character of particles (dependent words; cf. 3.1) have short vowels (gu to, for, postposition). Monosyllabic stems ending in a consonant are normally short (that is of standard length), showing the usual tendency toward lengthening as in Wakka-Wakka (see 2.4). Reduplication of syllables occurs, but seldom and exceptionally: galaqan quite nice (cf. galaqan good). The formation is analogous to the one mentioned in Note 17 and shows that the repetition of syllables—although more frequent in songs—may not altogether be due to the requirements of the melodic structure.

15.2 Nominal stems of whatever structure, either end in a consonant or a vowel; verbal stems mostly end in a vowel, but there are a few (e.g. jan-go) that may be considered to end in a consonant in Goreng-Goreng. There are some cases of nominal stems being identical with verbal stems related in meaning (cf. 7.1): jamga quarrel and jamga- (to) quarrel, wamba (the name of a cattle station) and wamba- lift, put up, fence; these then differ only in respect of the type of their inflection (either declension or conjugation). Mostly, however, nominal and verbal stems differ in form as well. Compounds arise in the same way as in Wakka-Wakka, that is that independently occurring concrete morphemes may be juxtaposed to form a semantic unit (for the particular character of compounds, see further in 7.2).

15.3 Nominal derivation. A regular nominal derivation is much more restricted than verbal derivation. The derivative suffixes are more or less the same as in Wakka-Wakka (see 7.3-4). The mentioned -gan marking females occurs in: ginbelamgan wife (cf. ginbelam husband, spouse). The caritative suffix -gam is used as in Wakka-Wakka gunag without water, buligam naked (without clothes), bingagam without a hat. The sociative suffix is (as in Wakka-Wakka) either -na or -nal, but the latter is more common and may be considered typical of Goreng-Goreng; binaQal listening (having ears), bingalan having or wearing a hat. The meaning of the suffix is more abstract in such cases as dugunQal stars (insofar as the word contains the sociative suffix; cf. dugulgam, duQalam stars in Goeng-Goeng, which however has the appearance of a caritative derivation, without stars ??). This use of the sociative suffix is analogous to its use in Goreng-Goreng daliQal = dali sick (naI dali(нал) I am sick) and related to a very special usage in Goeng-Goeng, for which see in 18.12. Of the local derivative suffix -ba no other instance has been found in Goreng-Goreng than the place name gurulba Gooroolba (east of Gayndah; cf. 7.3), which appears to have a Goreng-Goreng origin (Goreng-Goreng gurul being equivalent to fish). The suffix -bara is used (as in Batjala; 25.2) in tribe, language or place names: bagabarara (Gor RD); also in the adjectival word wulaibara noisy (Gor NJ; cf. wulaI noise).
15.4 Of the apparently functionless 'nominalising' suffixes (see 3.6, 23; 7.28), the following are clearly represented in Goreng-Goreng: -ŋ. *-j and -l. Of these, -ŋ is the most common one, as in: bināŋ (= bina) ear, ǧiŋāŋ (= ǧina) foot.125 giniŋ ( = ǧini) arm. Alternation of forms with or without -l is found in warul or waru head. Of the Goeng-Goeng taboo word gunu (*gunus; also in Wakka-Wakka and other south-east Queensland languages) the variants gunuŋ and ḣunu are both found in Goreng-Goreng (Gor RD). The termination -l clearly occurs in Goreng-Goreng jinbal eel (cf. Wakka-Wakka jinba, idem) and further in dambal track (cf. Wakka-Wakka damba, idem) and wanda neck (cf. Wakka-Wakka wanda, idem) and probably also in Goreng-Goreng dagil (transitive; cf. Kabi-Kabi dagi, idem) and damb (cf. Wakka-Wakka dai, stone).126 The suffix *-j evidently occurs in Goreng-Goreng gaba (cf. 14.4, Note 117) bee, honey (as against Batjala gaba, idem). For the occurrence of -l- as an element in the Goreng-Goreng conjugation, see 15.20, Note 139.

15.5 Verbal derivation. The verbal derivation in Goreng-Goreng is strictly along the same lines as in Wakka-Wakka. There are (1) causative, (2) associative and (3) reflexive derivative suffixes. Of causative suffixes we find: -ma- (that is as in Wakka-Wakka; cf. 7.5), as in gilamu turn round (transitive; cf. gilamu turn round, intransitive) and -na-,127 as in gainma- put into (from gai-go into, enter; cf. Wakka-Wakka gari- and garima-, 7.5).

15.6 The associative suffixes play an important part in Goreng-Goreng. The most common one is -ndi- (also found in Wakka-Wakka; see 7.6), which marks a verbal action (generally intransitive) performed in company with someone else or with something (the corresponding noun being construed in the objective case, indicating that the derived verb is transitive; the causative function as in Wakka-Wakka—occurs more seldom in Goreng-Goreng: bindi- take (from bi-go, hence go with,128 belbendi- stand with (for instance in jindu bula belbendi you stand or stop with the cattle, i.e. tend or look after; from balba- stand), ḥinendi- sit with (as in gūra ḥinendigu to watch the house; from ḥina- sit), jumendi- lie or sleep with (also cohabit; from jumma- lie down), maindi- chase (as in wani jindu waguna maindi (= maili) don't chase the chickens, run with or after the chickens, Gor RD; from mai- originally run). A variant of -ndi- seems to be -ni-: bini- take (cf. bindi-, idem, above), as in: ḥaŋu bingim jumagū I take, i.e. put, (the child) to sleep (Gor RD). The suffix -li- seems to have an associative-causative function in maili- chase (= mainli-, Gor RD), although this verb usually means run (the transitive usage may possibly depend on a mistake on part of the informant, as run may be equivalent to chase in English). It is further possible that -la- (cf. Wakka-Wakka, 7.6 and the Note 128) has an associative function in mundil- cuddle up, have intercourse with (cf. Goeng-Goeng mundi podex).129

15.7 The reflexive (and also reciprocal) suffixes are -ŋi- (as in Wakka-Wakka; cf. 7.7) and more often -li- (or -ri-; as in the Gunggari languages); gilangi turn (oneself) round (= Wu-Wu gilangi-, idem; cf. gila- turn round, transitive gilama-, idem, causative), garili- paint oneself (cf. hari- paint), gangallicall to one another (cf. ganga- call, transitive), garali- hide (oneself) (cf. gara- hide, steal), guali- talk (no simple verb was found; cf. however Goreng-Goreng gual noise, with 'nominalising' -l ? cf. 15.4), jamjali- quarrel (reciprocal; cf. jamna- scold and jama quarrel, 15.2), maili- run (cf. mai-run or chase, 15.6), ḥaŋgū look at oneself or one another (from ḥaŋga- see,
Look; 15.24). For ḡugali hungry (= Wakka-Wakka ḡuroji-, ḡuroi (get) hungry), compare 7.7. A reflexive-intransitive formative -li- may be found in the alternative form, wabali-, of the verb stem waba- come (cf. 15.24).

15.8 Some derivative suffixes—generally corresponding to analogous ones in Wakka-Wakka (see 7.8-9)—are used more indefinitely as to meaning: -ga- (-gi-), -ga- (-ge-), -ja- (for the latter two, compare the verb stems ga- and ja(n)- go which might here function as 'auxiliaries'), as in: jirga- rub (cf. the shorter stem jir-, in jirgu to rub), fencing-ga- (or fencim-?) fence, wağı̱mga- (or -ja-) wash; the latter verb is conjugated according to the pattern of intransitive verbs (see 15.23: wani-, bali-), but construed as a transitive verb (i.e. with an ergative: ṇagu wağı̱mga̱min I have washed; Gor RD). From the latter verb a reflexive verb stem in -li- is formed: wağı̱mga-ı̱ wash (oneself); Gor RD. In jami̱ga- quarrel the same suffix is found (cf. jami̱ga- quarrel, soold, in 15.7—the reciprocal sense is not necessarily connected with the suffix -ga-, but may be inherent in the verb).

15.9 Among features related to derivation might be mentioned augmented or extended verb stems, as found in the verbal system in Goreng-Goreng. As in Wakka-Wakka, stems normally end in a vowel (-a- or -i-; cf. 15.20), but odd cases in Goreng-Goreng indicate that this vowel may represent an extension of a shorter stem. A typical instance is found in the verb 'to go', of which the root (both in Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng) must be considered *ja-. In Goreng-Goreng this root is augmented by means of a nasal (-n-) and hence appears as jana- everywhere except in the imperative, where this new stem is provided with an additional stem-final -a, so that this mode form becomes jana- (as also in Wakka-Wakka). This stem (jana-), which exists for instance in Manandjali, may appear as a supplementary verb stem in Goreng-Goreng, being provided with a 'thematic element' (jana- gone; cf. 15.24).

(b) Inflection

15.10 Declension. As in the languages of the western Wakka group, the declension of nominal stems is based on their structure, of which the same three basic types may be observed (7.11), namely: (1) stems ending in a vowel, (2) stems ending in a nasal and (3) stems ending in -l or -r, to which the case suffixes are added (sometimes incorporated into the stem). In Goreng-Goreng the case forms are: the nominative (the stem of the word), the ergative (always ending in the vowel -u), the objective (always ending in the vowel -a); further the ablative and locative (often used alternately). The possessive and allative are (in the nominal declension) formed by means of the postpositions gi (more or less the Wakka-Wakka garı; cf. 7.13) and gu, respectively. Both these postpositions are further used to express purpose and regularly with the word gulgi̱ want (to) (= Wakka-Wakka gőp; cf. Note 73). In the case of personal pronouns the ablative and locative relations (besides, not always kept strictly apart) are expressed by the respective postpositions bańu (ablative) and bańi (locative); these local case forms are used particularly in reference to animate nouns (as also in Wakka-Wakka; cf. 3.17). No trace of an inflected possessive is found in Goreng-Goreng. On the other hand, stray cases of a comitative (being identical with a sociative derivation; see 15.3) may be found (mańuña muni ganaṉal waban that woman comes with a man; Gor RD) as well as of a perlative—formed as in Wakka-Wakka; cf. 7.11—, as in: gınmanga in the sun(light) or in the daytime (Gor RD). There are instances of an original case form having
become part and parcel of the stem: the Goreng-Goreng forms walaru and walaru (corroboree) seem to be respectively the ergative and perlate forms of a shorter stem *walar, but are treated as stem forms: walaru gu or walaru gu go to the corroboree (cf. Wakka-Wakka walaru corroboree). Incidentally, the same is evidently the case of Wakka-Wakka biralu God, originally the ergative of a shorter stem *biral (= Goreng-Goreng biral eaglehawk or God; also cf. Goreng-Goreng birabir God, Gor NJ), or, conversely, the Goreng-Goreng nai lu eaglehawk (cf. Wakka-Wakka nai, ergative nai lu, idem). The place name gina (beside gin) Gayndah may be an original perlate (= at, about Gayndah; the Wakka-Wakka form is ginda).

15.11 Paradigms. Of nouns ending in a vowel the ergative is normally formed by the suffix -bu, the objective by the suffix -na (or -na) the ablative by the suffix -nu (-nu) and the locative by -ni (-ni), according to the following paradigm (the type words being: gibl Aboriginal man, muni woman, miri dog, gu·tree, gu·home, house):

| NOM | gibl, muni, miri, gu·, gu· |
| ERG | gibibu, munibu, miribu, gu·bu |
| OBJ | gibina, munina (munina), mirina |
| ABL | muni··, gu··, gu·nu |
| LOC | mirini, gu·ni, gu·ni |

The possessive relation is expressed by the postposition gi (= Wakka-Wakka gari): muni gi of the woman, wangai gi of the snake (= Wakka-Wakka wangeri), gu·gi belonging to the house; the dative relation appears in gibl gi to the man. The ablative relation is expressed alternatively by means of banu and the locative (of personal nouns) by banji (with): nai balban banji namin I have been watching (sitting with) the children (Gor RD). The comitative appears in balban balu·al (sitting) with two children (Gor RD).

15.12 Of stems ending in a nasal (-n, -m, -n, -n) the ergative is formed (as in Wakka-Wakka; see 7.13) by adding to the stem respectively -gu, -bu, -du, -gu (in the last case the stem-final nasal and the case suffix are written in one as -ngu), the objective is formed by -a, the ablative by -u and the locative by -i, according to the following paradigm (the type words being: meben emu, gu·water, gunum tongue, gan man, nul·n fire, gin gin Gin Gin (a place), ginman sun):

| NOM | meben, gu·, gu·num, gan, nul·n, gin gin, ginman |
| ERG | mebengu, gunumbu, gandu, nul·ndu, ginmangu |
| OBJ | gan |
| ABL | gunu, nul·nu |
| LOC | gunumi, gin gin |

The dative relation is expressed in gan gi to the man, the possessive relation in mugen ge (= gi) the old woman's, purpose is expressed in gu·gi (go) for water and an ablative relation (alternatively by the postposition banji) in gan banji (for banu; cf. 15.10) off the man.

15.13 Of stems ending in -l or -r, the ergative is formed by the suffix -bu (or sometimes -u, as in Wakka-Wakka), the objective by the suffix -na, the ablative by the suffix -nu and the locative by -ni (in a couple of cases, -i). The paradigm is as follows (of the type words: gabil child, gurbel old man, gilal possum, gurul fish, dagil stone, daigal bone, gagur animal, kangaroo, ginir cat):
The dative relation is expressed in gurbel gi to the old man, gînjir gi to the cat, purpose is expressed in gağur gi, gîlal gi (= gîlal gu) nai jangim I am going for kangaroo, possum (for snaring; Gor RD) and the comitative in gâbilnal (coming, running) with a child. The irregular locative appears in dambali on the road (from dambali track; Gor RD).

15.14 Articles. Goreng-Goreng has the same forms of the plural article, -bom or -bam, as Wakka-Wakka. If derived from an original *-buam (cf. 7.15 and the Note 74), one would expect the article to be *-bo’m (-bom; cf. 14.4) in Goreng-Goreng, but as a matter of fact both in Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng the form -bam seems more common, which allows us to suspect that the Goreng-Goreng plural article is actually borrowed from Wakka-Wakka (it is to be noticed that these forms of the article do not seem to occur in the other languages of the eastern group). For the character and function of the article, see in 3.18-19. Examples from Goreng-Goreng: gânbam (or -bom) (some) men, munibam (or -bom) (some) women, gâbilbom children, jaramanbom (or -bom) (some) horses, gailambom (some) others. The article is inflected according to the paradigm in 15.12: ergative gânbombu, munibombu, etc., as in: gailambambu bi’nm în the others took it (Gor RD).

15.15 Personal pronouns. Goreng-Goreng forms of the personal pronouns have been recorded for the following persons: (singular) first person: nai I; second person: nîn you; third person: nîngun he, she; (dual) first person: nâlin we; second person: nûrala you; third person: nîngiri they. There is actually some doubt as to the true value of some of he above forms: it is especially remarkable that the first person plural forms are not very well represented and that the nominative was once given as nâlin (that is the dual form, we two; in the same sense nâlin bula was found). No clear distinction can be made between forms of the personal pronoun in the third person (bula) and forms which might be either nominal (bula = two) or demonstrative in character (nîngun was declared to be equivalent to ma’gûna, which is the demonstrative that (one)). The personal pronouns have a special dative form (see 3.14 and the Note 130) and also comitative forms (by means of the locative suffix -nâl) and corresponding caritative case forms (by the suffix -gâm; see 15.3).

15.16 Paradigms. The following inflected forms of the personal pronouns have been recorded:

First person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>nga’u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>nga’na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>nga’unda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>nga’ji (ŋaje; cf. 14.3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>nga’bani132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>nga’bani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The ablative expresses 'from': Ɪ玱玱� jangim going from me and the locative 'with': Ɪ玱玱� nhinem sitting with me. No allative forms are found, but the dative form is used in the sense of '(going, coming) to (a person)', e.g. Ɪ玱玱� waba come to me, Ɪ玱玱� waban comes to me (Gor RD). The comitative is Ɪ玱玱� (go, come, sit) with me (said to be the same as Ɪ玱玱� bulam together with me; Gor RD) and the caritative Ɪ玱玱� without me.

**Second person singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>Ɪ.Println</th>
<th>ERG</th>
<th>Ɪ.Println(n)</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>Ɪ.Printlna</th>
<th>POSS</th>
<th>Ɪ.Printlnda</th>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>Ɪ.Printlni (-ge; cf. 14.3)</th>
<th>ABL</th>
<th>Ɪ.PrintlnbaQi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

A comitative noted as Ɪ.Printlnal with you seems strange (if correct)—it ought to have been Ɪ.Printlnal, but the caritative form Ɪ.Printlnam without you (Gor RD) is regular.

**Third person singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>mingu(n)</th>
<th>ERG</th>
<th>mingundu</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>minguna</th>
<th>ABL</th>
<th>mingunbaQi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

**First person dual:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>Ɪ.Printlnin</th>
<th>ERG</th>
<th>Ɪ.Printlnindu</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>Ɪ.Printlnina</th>
<th>POSS</th>
<th>Ɪ.Printlninda</th>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>Ɪ.Printlninge (cf. 14.3)</th>
<th>ABL</th>
<th>Ɪ.PrintlninbaQi (cf. Note 133)</th>
<th>LOC</th>
<th>Ɪ.PrintlninbaQi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Along with this pronoun a compound form Ɪ.Printlnin bula we two is used: ergative Ɪ.Printlnindu bula or Ɪ.Printlnin bulabu, objective Ɪ.Printlnina bula, ablative (locative) Ɪ.Printlnin bulabaQi. In this connection may be mentioned compound forms of the type described in 7.21: Ɪ.Printlnin Ɪ.Println you and me. A comitative is found in Ɪ.Printlniŋŋal with us two (said to be equal to the locative Ɪ.PrintlninbaQi, see above); the caritative Ɪ.Printlniŋŋam means of course without us two (Gor RD).

**Second person dual:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>Ɪ.Printlnala, Ɪ.Printlnula, Ɪ.Printlnun</th>
<th>ERG</th>
<th>Ɪ.Printlnala bulabu</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>Ɪ.Printlnalaña</th>
<th>POSS</th>
<th>Ɪ.Printlnala (sic)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

No other inflections were found. Beside Ɪ.Printlnun the form Ɪ.Printlnun bula (you two) was given by Gor RD; in the same way Ɪ.Printlnala bula (idem), of which the ergative form is seen in the above paradigm.

**Third person dual:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>bula</th>
<th>ERG</th>
<th>bulabu</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>bulana</th>
<th>DAT</th>
<th>bulagi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
These are actually used of any person and even (in the nominative) as a noun (= 'two', 'both') and relation word or postposition (= 'together with' or 'twice' or 'and'): bula we two or you two, bulagi to you two, bula balbam or balbam bula two children, naï bulagi gulgin I want two, bula ŋinim two are sitting, bula ŋindu ŋana jilim ŋunga kiss me twice (Gor RD), naï bulam bula jangim (= naï bulam balbamnal jangim) we two are going with a child (Gor RD), julaŋ bula (to cook it) together with the skin (Gor RD), muni balbam bula jenmen the woman and the child went (Gor RD; from the Aboriginal point of view indistinguishable from went with the child).

First person plural:

NOM naïjumbu  
ERG naïjumbu

This only form, which was explained as meaning we all, the mob (Gor RD), has the appearance of an ergative, but may have been a nominative in function as well. No other forms were given.

Second person plural:

NOM ñurari  
ERG ñurari  
DAT ñurali (correct ?)

Third person plural:

NOM mingirî (mingi ?)  
ERG mingirî (mingirîbu)  
OBJ mingirîna  
POSS mingirinda  
DAT mingirigi  
LOC mingirîbâni

The comitative mingirînal with them was also noted.

15.17 Parallel to the third person pronouns listed in the preceding section (15.16) another series was given by Gor RD, of which all forms begin with the syllable ma- (cf. Wakka-Wakka ergative ma lu; 7.22). The forms are as follows:

NOM maçuña, maluña, malî  
ERG maçu, malu(n), malundu, malibu, malî(ndu)  
OBJ maçuña, maluña, maçuña, maçuña  
POSS maçunda, maçuða(n), maçunda, malinda  
DAT maçugi, maçuçagi, malungi (correct ?), maligi  
ABL maçuçan(banu), maluçan, malubanî, malinbañî  
LOC maçinbangañi, maluçanbañi

The forms of the stem mali- were often (although not consistently) said to be plural (= they, them, their). On the other hand, mali was said to be equal to malun (he, she) at the same time as maçuña was said to be equal to mingun (he, she). The election does not seem to indicate that this latter series (the forms in ma-) are demonstratives, although Gor RD equalled maçuña (he) to Wakka-Wakka mana that (one) - naï gulgin maçuçagi would be the same as Wakka-Wakka ne managu goŋ I want that (cf. Note 90). That these forms may be construed with a noun (as in mali miribu jilim that or the dog bites) is of course no criterion of a demonstrative pronoun (as the same thing might be said by means of any third person personal pronoun). The strange form maluçalbangañi (sitting)
with him looks like a cross between maluṇanbaṇjī (idem) and a comitative *maluṇal (along with him), otherwise not recorded.

15.18 Demonstrative pronouns. In comparison to the wealth of forms for the third person of the personal pronouns (see 15.16-17), the system of demonstrative pronouns in Goreng-Goreng, as recorded here, seems rudimentary. As in Wakka-Wakka (7.24), the two series of demonstratives (in ga- and ma-) are represented in Goreng-Goreng as well: gai, gaṇa, gaṇa, gaṇa (this, here) and mana, maṇa, mara (that, there). These are akin to demonstrative relation words (that is to original local case forms of demonstrative stems), such as: (ablative) maṇu, maṇgū (from) over there, (allative) maṇgū (to) over there.

Evidently owing to the fact that most of the third person pronouns are from the primitive stem ma- (see 15.17) and some are apt to take the place of demonstratives in ma-, the majority of demonstratives recorded are those beginning with ga-, all appearing in the nominative or local case forms: gaṇī nai jangīm I am going to this or that one, wani ǧingu gaṇi gaṇu ǧin do n't give it to that one, nai jangim gaṇgu ǧundu balim, gaṇu gura gu; gaṇu guŋ gu I am going over to where the fire was, over to that house, over there for water (Gor RD), ǧin gaṇu waba you come over here, gaigula over here (= gaigui; Gor RD), gaṇa ḡan, gurbel waban there an (old) man is coming or that (old) man is coming, gaṇa guŋ that water, gura gaṇa ǧanunda this house is mine, gaṇa ḡandu ja ganmin this man has made it (gaṇa cannot be in the ergative and it is inessential in Goreng-Goreng whether the sentence is understood as this man or the man here), gaṇa ǧingu ǧaŋu biŋaŋu gaṇa ǧalim you take that and I take this, ǧanagi (wants) this (whether forms with the plural article, (NOM) gaŋabam, (OBJ) gaŋabama those, are correct or not may be questioned; cf. Note 136); gaṇu gu· this tree or the tree here or here is a tree, etc.; gaṇa mingu(n) waban he is coming this way, gureŋ maŋuṇa gaṇa ǧailam mana not it, bring that other one (Gor RD), gaṇa ḡura that house, gura gaṇa belbem that house (standing) or there is a house standing, gaŋagū ḡura to that house (this is equivalent to gaṇa ḡura gi, according to Gor RD). The comitative is found in gaŋaŋ(i) waban coming with that (Gor RD) and may be justified in consideration of the parallel caritative form gaŋaŋagam he has not got it or that (Gor RD; it may of course be rendered impersonally by there is nothing, cf. the Wakka-Wakka wagaga m nothing). More questionable is the ergative form in gaŋabu jangammin (as if this one made it), which was accepted by Gor RD in the sense of maluṇ (he), and similarly the objective form in nai ɡemem gaŋaŋa I have seen this or that one, while the form with the plural article gaŋabambaŋi belonging to those might be parallel to the above gaŋabam (whether correct or not). Of the demonstrative in ma- may be quoted: ǧin ǧungu mana webendi you bring that, ǧin ǧungu bagi mana you hit that one (notice absence of objective suffix) and mara over there.

15.19 Interrogative pronouns. The personal interrogative pronoun in Goreng-Goreng is from a primitive stem *waŋ (cf. 7.26): waŋuŋa who?, while the impersonal interrogative is (as in Wakka-Wakka) miŋa(ŋ) what?. These also express the idea of respectively somebody and something (cf. the word miŋa game, kind of meat, mentioned in 7.26). The declension of these pronouns is as follows:

waŋuŋa who ?:

- NOM waŋuŋa, waŋuŋa
- ERG waŋu
- OBJ waŋuŋa
- POSS waŋunda (waŋaŋa ?)
- DAT waŋi
Examples: 

101

Examples: wāngu (wanu) maŋuŋu who is he?, wāngu ŋin who are you?, wāngu ŋiŋgu ŋumen whom have you seen?, wāngunda maŋuŋu ŋinem whose is that?, wāngi ŋiŋgu wumen whom did you give it to? There is a comitative wāngu(l), as in: wāngu(l) ŋin wabanmin with whom did you come?; the allative wāngu, wāŋula are rather relation words (to where?) as is also the ablative wāŋu whence?

miŋa(ŋ) what?:

NOM miŋa(ŋ)
ABL miŋaŋu
ALL miŋaŋu, miŋaŋu

Examples: miŋa ŋinda, maŋunda ge·m what is your, his language?, miŋaŋu ŋiŋgu gaŋa jangammin from what or how have you made that? miŋaŋu ŋin wabanmin what have you come for?, miŋaŋu ŋin gulgin what do you want?

15.20 Conjugation. For the structure of the verbal stem in Goreng-Goreng, compare 15.2. Most stems are dissyllabic, usually ending in -a- or -i- (of stems in -u- there are but scarce instances, the most important one being baludie), while a few monosyllabic stems are found, ending either in -a-, -i- or -u-; besides a few (mostly monosyllabic) verbal stems end in a nasal (-ŋ- or -ŋ-).

As in Wakka-Wakka (see 7.28) no semantic distinction is apparently possible between stems in -a- or -i-; it is, however, an interesting circumstance that while dissyllabic stems in -i- (like those in -a-) may be either transitive (wani- leave, bagi- hit) or intransitive (gai- enter), they are nevertheless mostly conjugated according to the intransitive pattern (wanamin left, like gainamin entered); the transitive conjugation form wanamin, where it occurs, appears not quite correct.137 Some verb stems (e.g. bali- burn, ganma- fall or break) may have either a transitive or intransitive meaning and employment (in some cases certainly due to imitation of English). Unlike Wakka-Wakka (and the languages of the western group), Goreng-Goreng often shows an interchange of the stem vowels -a- and -i- in dissyllabic stems, according to mode or aspect: ŋina- and ŋini- sit, etc.138 On the other hand, one verb is found of which several different stems appear in the conjugation, namely na-, ŋaga- and ŋagi- (see; cf. 15.24). There are two basic kinds of conjugation in Goreng-Goreng: transitive and intransitive. The transitive conjugation—except of associative verbs; see 15.6—is characterised by a stem extension in -l-,139 as in: jangal-) do, make, bagi(l)- hit, as against ŋina-, ŋini- sit; to these augmented stems 'thematic elements' (see 7.28) or analogous morphological elements may be affixed (cf. 15.21).

15.21 The Goreng-Goreng conjugation has the same four basic modal (or aspectual) forms as are found in the western group of Wakka languages (see 7.29): imperative, imperfective, perfective, and intentional. The imperative is mostly the same as the verbal stem (ŋina sit, wani leave); of transitive verb stems, however, the transitive -l- may or may not appear in the imperative, in the former case with an additional -a: bagi or bagila hit. For imperatives in -ga, see 15.24. The imperfective mode is characterised in a double way: either (1) by the 'thematic element' -m or (2) by the 'auxiliary' verb stem -gi- (cf. Note 95) plus the same thematic element -m (consequently -gi)m. Both types of conjugations are found either of transitive or intransitive verbs (the latter type recalls the second Wakka-Wakka conjugation; see 7.28-29). It should be noticed that the -g- of the 'auxiliary' is suppressed in dissyllabic verb stems having the transitive -l- extension: bagilim hitting (for *bagiligm; cf. galigm eating), as is also the -g- of the (original) postposition -gu in the intentional mode
The perfective mode is always formed by the suffix -min (-men; cf. 14.3), evidently to be analysed as 'thematic element' (-m-) plus locative case suffix (-i-) plus a functionless element (-n); compare the analysis of the Wakka-Wakka perfective mode forms in 3.22 and 7.29; as for the final -n it is to be noticed that it is a favorite addition to case forms in Goreng-Goreng, as in mingun = mingu he, she, wanun = wunu where? where? when?, etc.—in other words, Goreng-Goreng -min may justly be identified with the corresponding modal termination -mi in Batjala (for which see 25.13). Of the transitive verbs of which the enlarged stem is in -l- (see above), the perfective mode forms are in -nmin (in place of *lmin). The intentional mode is expressed by the postposition -gu added to the plain or extended (i.e. transitive) verb stem (cf. Wakka-Wakka; 7.29, with references): qinagu to sit, baligu to burn; of dissyllabic (or longer) transitive stems in -l- the -g- of the postposition is suppressed: bagilu to hit (but galgu to eat; cf. the imperfective -im and -gim in the same conditions, above).

15.22 Verb stems ending in a consonant (mostly monosyllabic) are either intransitive (e.g. jan- go) or transitive (e.g. man- take); it is likely that the stem-final consonant (-n- or -η-) is an original 'thematic element' (see 15.20-21), generalised throughout the paradigm. The modal forms are construed as follows: the imperative is formed by addition of the vowel -a (jana go, mana take). The imperfective mode is formed by the 'auxiliary' -gi- plus the 'thematic' -m (hence -gim) added to the verb stem: jangim going. The perfective is formed by addition of the syllable -min (-men; to be analysed as in 15.21): jenmen gone, went (for *janmin; cf. 14.5) and the intentional by addition of the postposition -gu: jangu to go.

15.23 Paradigms. The following regular paradigms will give a survey of the common forms of Goreng-Goreng conjugation (the type verbs are: jaŋga(l)- do make, wani- leave (TR), be left (ITR), bali- burn, qini- (qini-) sit, ji(l)- bite, man- take, qin- scratch):

jaŋga(l)- do, make:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>jaŋga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>jaŋgalim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>jaŋgamin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>jaŋgaliu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

wani- leave, bali- burn:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>wani, wane,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>wanilim (TR), wanigim (ITR), baligim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>wani(n)min, bali(n)min (cf. 15.20)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>wanilu (TR), baligu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

qini- (qini-) sit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>qina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>qinim (qinem)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>qinamin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>qinagu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ji(l)- bite:
IMP jila or jilga (cf. 15.24)
IPF jilgim
PF jinmin
INT jilgu

man- take:
IMP mana
IPF mangim
PF manmin (menmen; 14.5)
INT mangu

giŋ- scratch:
IMP ginga (cf. 15.24)
IPF gingim
PF ginmin
INT gingu

15.24 Although no group of 'irregular' verbs may properly be accepted in the sense they occur in Wakka-Wakka (see 7.29-30), certain irregularities are—as is to be expected—found in Goreng-Goreng as well. The imperative often terminates in the syllable -ga (in place of -a; see 15.21 and the paradigms, 15.23); this -ga might either represent the imperative form *ga of the 'auxiliary' (see 15.21) or be due to analogy (notice that jilga bite is to the imperfective jilgim as is gina sit to ɲinim sitting) or, finally, -ga may be a special imperative particle, perhaps a connective.14 The imperfective is formed either with or without the 'auxiliary' -(g)im (see 15.21) and sometimes both forms have been recorded of the same verb: bagim or bagilk hitting. The intransitive inflection of the same verb stem (in the form bege-; cf. 14.5) is used in the reciprocal sense of fight: imperative begega, imperfective begegim, perfective begegin and intentional begegu. An alternative perfective form janan (muni janan = jananmin or jenmen (my) wife has gone) is unique, but may be correct as it appears in many Wakka languages (cf. Note 96). Structurally it is the imperfective form (in 'thematic' -n); the perfective sense may be inherent in the verb stem (cf. Note 96). The intentional has a double allative suffix (-u and -gu) in buralgu to pull out and garilugu to paint (see Note 142); this is quite exceptional and if correct it may be due to attraction by such forms as jagulugu to talk (from a stem jagulu-, which seems to contain a reflexive-reciprocal -li- (see 15.7), assimilated to the vowel (-u-) of the preceding syllable (a variant form of this verb stem is jalulu-, idem; cf. 15.1). Of one verb, waba(l)i- come (cf. 15.7) two alternating stems are found and the conjugation is as follows: imperative waba, imperfective waban or wabalim, perfective wabamin and intentional wabagu. As in the case of the form janan (see above), the differentiation of perfective and imperfective is probably only formal (cf. Note 96), as waban has been identified both with wabalin (Gor RD) and wabamin (Gor DW). The verb is conjugated identically in Goeng-Goeng (cf. 18.10). Of the verb to see, three different stems are found: na-, naga-, nagi- (cf. 15.20). The first one (na-) appears in the perfective (nemen; cf. Note 139) and the intentional (ŋagu), the second one (naga-) in the imperative (ŋaga) and an alternative perfective (ŋaganmin) as well as in the reflexive-reciprocal derivative stem ŋagari- (see 15.7) and the third one (ŋagi-) in the imperfective (ŋagim; cf. Note 139), as well as in alternative imperative (ŋagi) and perfective (ŋaginmin) forms.
(c) Construction

15.25 By way of introduction nothing more is to be said about Goreng-Goreng construction than what has been stated for Wakka-Wakka in the corresponding section (7.32). Although the verb ŋina- (sit) is frequently used to express the English to be in any sense, Goreng-Goreng has no copula, whereby certain constructions in this language may be rendered in various ways in English. This, however, does not mean that a distinction of subject and predicate parts does not exist in Goreng-Goreng (or the Australian language of similar structure). In whatever way such a sequence as ġura ñanuda is rendered in English (my house, it is my house, the house is mine, etc.), one of the members (ġura or ñanuda) will be predicate, while the other will be subject and the same thing will hold for the reverse construction (ñanuda ġura), which according to the information obtained expresses the same idea (the difference in stress between English my house and my house or the house is mine and the house is mine does not seem to have a parallel in the Australian language). As a matter of fact, the word order is mostly free, as in the old Indo-European languages, and one can speak of certain tendencies only. The basic principle seems to be—as also in Wakka-Wakka and the other languages investigated in this survey—that the verb tends to be placed after a nominative or ergative case form and that objective case forms tend to be placed between the ergative form and the verb (hence: ŋagū ŋina ŋagūm I can see you). According to a further tendency the determining word (the predicate part) is placed after the determined word (the subject part): ġura jingagū a big house rather than according to the English word order; this consequently corresponds to the word order in the English predicative my house is big, that is ñanuda ġura jingagū in Goreng-Goreng (on these two points the Aboriginals are usually aware of the fact that the Aboriginal languages express things 'backwards' or put 'the cart before the horse'). A third tendency would be to place (short) pronominal forms after longer words. The problem of word order in the Australian languages would need a special investigation.

15.26 Grammatical agreement is found in Goreng-Goreng as in Wakka-Wakka: ġuraŋi ġuniniŋi ŋinem living in a small house, but the construction ġuŋi ŋinem ġunini or ġuŋi ġuniniŋi (sits) in a small tree is also possible. From the Goreng-Goreng point of view the former construction can be rendered literally in English by 'in a house, in a small one', but it is of course possible to assume that the agreement has turned into an altogether mechanical process (as in the European classical languages). In gaŋa ġandu (by) this man (ergative) the lack of agreement is on another level, as gaŋa also means here (by the man here; cf. 15.18). Not very much different from the above case of agreement is the common construction of a noun with the postposition ġu and an intentional mode form of a verb, as in: ŋai ŋandigim ŋalbin ġumu I am afraid they will steal my clothes (literally on behalf of my clothes, on behalf of stealing); this is a variant of the Wakka-Wakka and Wuli-Wuli construction mentioned in previous sections (3.23, Note 39 and 11.12). The use of the intentional mode in what has been called the accidental construction (see 3.24; 7.35) is found in Goreng-Goreng also. Usually an introductory word (waŋu or wunŋu) is employed, corresponding to the English subordinating when or if: waŋu ŋinšu maluŋa ŋagu (INT) ŋinšu jala when or if you see him, you tell (him) (Gor RD), wunŋu bunu wabalu (INT) ġulus (or gun) jingagū ŋinem if rain comes there will be a big flood (Gor RD), wunŋu ŋin dungilagū (INT) if you cry (Gor RD). For the analysis of such constructions—which to some extent only seem to copy English—compare the Note 100.
GOENG-GOENG

Introductory remarks

16.1 Goeng-Goeng is closely related to Goreng-Goreng and but for the different name might rather be reckoned as a mere dialectal variant of the latter. Two Goeng-Goeng informants (Goe AS and MG) actually claimed that their language was Goreng-Goreng, while a Goreng-Goreng speaker (if such a term may be used of a person who has but a limited recollection of the language) referred to Goeng-Goeng as the 'soft' talk, while his own and his parents' language was the 'hard' variety of Goreng-Goreng, evidently on account of the different pronunciation of the negative no, not, nothing, namely goen, respectively gureŋ (goreŋ), from whence the language names also are derived. The disappearance of r actually occurs in some other words as well in Goeng-Goeng (e.g. biu for Goreng-Goreng biru hand, dia or diaŋ for Goreng-Goreng dira teeth, mu· (sometimes muru) for Goreng-Goreng muru nose and (probably) muendem (yesterday) as against Goreng-Goreng murenda, murendu a long time ago, but it is by no means a general rule or even a tendency, since theoretically it would be as likely that an r would disappear in Goreng-Goreng while remaining in the other language (a similar two fold variety of forms exists in Batjala biri and Dunggija (1.6, Note 8) bi·hand).

List of informants

16.2 Reference to Goeng-Goeng informants is made by means of the abbreviation Goe (for Goeng-Goeng), followed by the initials of the person. Compare further under Wakka-Wakka (4.3; 5.2).

Goe AC: Mr. Archie Carlo (64), at Kingaroy, Mrs. Alice Stephan's (Goe AS) uncle, born at Bundaberg; his mother was from Eidsvold.

Goe AS: Mrs. Alice Stephan, at Churchill, south of Ipswich; her mother (Annie Beckett) was said to have been Goreng-Goreng (cf. however 16.1), while her father (George (?) Beckett) may have been a Wakka-Wakka (cf. below).

Goe BB: Mr. Bertie Beckett, at Kingaroy, Mrs. Stephan's brother; he says his mother was Goreng-Goreng (from Gayndah) and his father a Wakka-Wakka (from Fraser Island).

Goe JB: Miss Jane Beckett, at Ipswich, Mrs. Stephan's sister.

Goe LR: Mrs. Lena Richards, at North Ipswich, Mrs. Stephan's sister; she said her father (whom she called Bert Beckett) was Wakka-Wakka and her mother Goreng-Goreng.

Goe MG: Mrs. Maggie Glenbar, met in 1964 at Cherbourg, sister of Archie Carlo (Goe AC, above) and Annie Beckett (see under Goe AS, above); she said she was Goreng-Goreng, but her language was evidently of the Goeng-Goeng type.

Goe NB: Miss Nelly Beckett, at Ipswich, Mrs. Stephan's sister.

Phonology

17.1 Goeng-Goeng phonology corresponds on every point with that of Goreng-Goreng. The five vowels a, e, i, o and u must all be considered as fundamental and distinctive and vowel length occurs, either occasionally in concrete
monosyllabic words (e.g. ga·n man, mi·l eye, gu·m smoke) or as a product of contraction (e.g. ge·m mouth; cf. 14.4).147 The twelve consonant phonemes also are the same as in Goreng-Goreng and the typical double actualisation of the palatalised dental or interdental sounds prevail in Goeng-Goeng also. The following additional notes on Goeng-Goeng phonology may suffice.

Evolution of the vowel system

17.2 The effect of a neighboring (usually preceding) palatal sound on a, which thereby approaches or becomes e, is noticed as elsewhere: jengım for jangım (going), etc. Analogously, a approaches or becomes o after w; woka for waga (no, not).148 An i may be broadened to e (not always distinctively) in any closed syllable (e.g. melbi for milbi turtle), but particularly in final syllables (whether open or closed) in words of more than two syllables: mugen beside mugın (old woman), jummen (lying down; but jilgım biting, bungım hitting), ńembe (beard), ńinge (sour) beside ńingįnał (idem; -ńal being a sociative suffix with or having).

17.3 As in Wakka-Wakka (see 6.5) an e in a final syllable often affects (by assimilation or 'vowel harmony') an a of a preceding syllable: gele (leaf, tea (leaf); cf. Wakka-Wakka garı leaf), ńemen (gone), ńelgę (dirty), etc.149 The phoneme character of such an e becomes evident in cases where it is retained in related forms having no e in the final syllable (as in belba stand, modelled on belbe standing; cf. 6.8). There are cases also in which a is assimilated to an e in a preceding syllable: begege fight (for begega; cf. 18.9; 19). Finally, a similar broadening of u to o may be due to 'vowel leveling' (see 6.6), as in: goren, ńen (no, not), nőe- cook (= ńue-).150

17.4 Owing to the influence of English, a Goeng-Goeng e· is occasionally (as also in Wakka-Wakka and elsewhere) changed into the English vowel sound (æ·) in 'bird', etc. (as pronounced in Queensland). This actually aims at a restitution of the proper vowel sound in certain English words, which in the Aboriginal pronunciation are pronounced with e· for ø· (hence be·d for be·d bird, etc), but is then extended to native words as well as in ge·m for ge·m mouth (Goe LR).

Evolution of the consonant system

17.5 English phonetic patterns may to some extent affect the pronunciation of the native consonant sounds. Especially the syllable-final r, apart from being substituted in wrong places, is more often dropped or changed into something else, a common substitute being a supradental (or English alveolar) 'd' (网约): guşbel for gurbel (old man), ńaŋašt for ńaŋar (leg), bulašt for bular (flour; from English); also an Aboriginal r in any position may be replaced by the supradental or alveolar plosive: waŋmiği for waŋmırı (usually waŋmerı white woman, literally white Mary).

17.6 For consonant clusters the same rules apply as in Goreng-Goreng and Wakka-Wakka (see 6.18; 14.11). Exceptions from the rule are usually to be explained as due to the loss of a vowel, as in dürlem beside dürlem (crying; notice that l, which is non-initial in these languages, can not occur as last element of the cluster. In ńi·l bra·gli (crying) a vowel may, of course, have been lost
between b and r (as also in Birri brigi-era), but it may also be a matter of a non-Aboriginal word. Cases of simplification—or perhaps a mere tendency toward a simplification—of certain consonant clusters (-nm-, -gm-) should be noted here: Goeng-Goeng gemen ate (for *gəmən, cf. Goreng-Goreng gəmen, idem), ɣuemen cocked (cf. Goreng-Goreng ɣuəmen, idem), gimen broke (for giəmən, as in Goreng-Goreng); also notice janganin for janganin made (see Note 153). For a suggestion that Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng (n)m- may in certain cases represent original *-lm-, see 15.21, Note 140.

Morphology

18.1 Structure of word stems. Although the material gathered from Goeng-Goeng is limited in comparison with what has been obtained from Goreng-Goreng, it is nevertheless quite evident that the structure and morphology of the former language (as well as the phonology and vocabulary) are in most respects the same as in the latter. The fact that Goeng-Goeng possesses a few concrete stems which (owing to the loss of intervocalic -r-; cf. 16.1) are shorter than the corresponding forms in Goreng-Goreng does not alter the structure of the word stem, which is basically the same in both languages (mu· nose, which is the same as Goreng-Goreng muru, idem, has exactly the same structure as Goreng-Goreng gu· tree), and has, of course, no effect either on the derivation or inflection of the words. There are cases of nominal and verbal stems (of related meaning) being identical, as in the case of Wakka-Wakka (and probably also Goeng-Goeng) dungi creek and Goeng-Goeng dungi drink. The compound character of such constructions as guna ge·ri- (evacuate bowels), gabu bunguji- (micturate) must be recognised, since ge·ri- and bunguji- are both intransitive, whence the first member in the above constructions (guna faeces and gabu urine, respectively) cannot function as direct object of the verbal part (the literal rendering in English would however pose a problem). On the other hand, these constructions are perfectly analogous to Goreng-Goreng fencing-ga- to go fencing, that is (to) fence, put up fences (Gor RD; cf. 15.2, 8 and the Note 123). Reduplication of concrete stems are found in, for instance, bina bina (said to be equal to bina ear; Goe NB), mil bulen bulen blue eyes (Goe AS, JB; probably the same as bulin smoke, hence smoky ?), darin darin strong (Goe AC; cf. Wakka-Wakka darin strong).

18.2 Derivation. Few derivative suffixes have been recorded for Goeng-Goeng. The female-denoting -gan was found in wagi gay white woman (probably < *waɡi-), corresponding to English white; cf. Wakka-Wakka waɱeri white woman), but it is also possible that we have here the Gunggari word waɡi gyan (idem). Of derived nominal forms those by means of the sociative suffixes -ŋa and -ŋa are most common (being used as in Goreng-Goreng; see 15.3): balgiŋal fat (person) from balgi fat (also bula balgiŋal fat beef), jigaŋal gurbel old man with a beard (Goe AC); the sociative suffixes are common in words corresponding to English adjectives (also color names: ɣuŋaŋal black) and often seem to be superfluous, as in dalikan sick (cf. dali, idem; see 15.3). The caritative suffix -gan occurs in: milgaŋam blind (from mil eye), gubuŋam bald (from gubu head or hair). For such constructions as dalikan ɣiŋaŋal all sour (from giŋe sour), compare further in 18.12. Parallel forms with or without a terminating -ŋ or -1 occur in the same way as in Goreng-Goreng: bina or binaŋ ear, giŋa or giŋaŋ foot, dila or dian teeth, guna or gunaŋ faeces (for the words dagil stone, money, dail egg, which are also found in Goreng-Goreng, see 15.4); Goeng-Goeng dambal (i.e. the Wakka-Wakka damba) means both track and hill, while the Goreng-Goreng jinbal eel is found in the form jinba in Goeng-Goeng (i.e. as in Wakka-Wakka).
The use of \textasteriskcentered{-j} (see 15.4) in Goeng-Goeng is interesting: in \textasteriskcentered{gai} food, which—like the equivalent form \textasteriskcentered{gam}—is related to the verb stem \textasteriskcentered{ga-} eat, the suffix \textasteriskcentered{-i} (from \textasteriskcentered{-j}, as in Goreng-Goreng; cf. 14.4) appears more justly to be described as 'nominalising' (answering more or less to English '-ing' in 'eating'),\footnote{151} but at the same time it must be kept in mind that an original \textasteriskcentered{*gaj} is also the primitive form of the Wakka-Wakka imperfective verb form \textasteriskcentered{ge} (eating; see 6.2-3; 7.28-29). The same suffix \textasteriskcentered{(-i)} occurs in the word \textasteriskcentered{gabai} sugar (Goe JB; cf. Goreng-Goreng \textasteriskcentered{gabai} honey, 15.4)\textsuperscript{151}—what the terminating \textasteriskcentered{-bi} would represent does not appear from our Goeng-Goeng material. Of verbal derivative suffixes very few were recorded, the only productive one being \textasteriskcentered{-ga}—(probably originally in the character of an 'auxiliary'; cf. the verb \textasteriskcentered{ga- go} and further in 15.8) in such verbs as: bulin\textasteriskcentered{- smoke} (from bulin smoke, noun), waqin\textasteriskcentered{-} (from English wash, washing).

18.3 Declension. The declension of nominal words may be said to be identical in Goeng-Goeng and Goreng-Goreng, the case suffixes used depending on the nature of the stem-final sound (whether a vowel, a nasal or \textasteriskcentered{-l} or \textasteriskcentered{-r}; cf. 15.10). In the paradigms to follow, the first type of declension may be represented by the type words: \textasteriskcentered{mun} woman, \textasteriskcentered{mi} dog, \textasteriskcentered{biu} hand, \textasteriskcentered{gu} tree, \textasteriskcentered{gau} earth, the second by the type words: \textasteriskcentered{gan}, \textasteriskcentered{murun} Aboriginal man, \textasteriskcentered{wagun} scrub turkey, \textasteriskcentered{bugin} dog, \textasteriskcentered{wagun} ghost and the last type by the words: \textasteriskcentered{gabil} child, \textasteriskcentered{gurbel} old man, \textasteriskcentered{mil} eye. The paradigms are as follows:

\textbf{Vowel-ending stems:}

- \textbf{NOM} muni, miri, biu, \textasteriskcentered{gu}, gau
- \textbf{ERG} muni\textasteriskcentered{ju}, \textasteriskcentered{gu}\textasteriskcentered{u}
- \textbf{OBJ} miri\textasteriskcentered{na}
- \textbf{ABL} biu\textasteriskcentered{u}, gau\textasteriskcentered{u}

The typical Goeng-Goeng ergative suffix is \textasteriskcentered{-gu} (evidently taken over from stems in \textasteriskcentered{-j}, just as the corresponding Goreng-Goreng \textasteriskcentered{-bu} is generalised from stems in \textasteriskcentered{-m}); it is possible that the suffix \textasteriskcentered{-ju} in muni\textasteriskcentered{ju} is the original one after stem-final \textasteriskcentered{-i} (cf. Note 72). The ablative suffix is used for either an ablative or a locative.

\textbf{Stems ending in a nasal:}

- \textbf{NOM} \textasteriskcentered{gan}, \textasteriskcentered{murun}, wagun, bugin, wagun\textasteriskcentered{u}
- \textbf{ERG} \textasteriskcentered{gendu}, \textasteriskcentered{mu runday}, wagun\textasteriskcentered{gu}
- \textbf{OBJ} waguna, bugin\textasteriskcentered{a}, murun\textasteriskcentered{a}

The objective form of murun was recorded as murun\textasteriskcentered{a} (Goe AC), which looks as if from a shorter stem \textasteriskcentered{*muru} (cf. Wakka-Wakka murur, Wak WC, mentioned in 7.13). It is, however, also possible that it depends on a mere slip due to the frequent alternation of the objective suffixes \textasteriskcentered{-\textasteriskcentered{na}} and \textasteriskcentered{-\textasteriskcentered{na}} in vowel-ending stems (cf. 7.12).

\textbf{Stems ending in \textasteriskcentered{-l} (or \textasteriskcentered{-r}):}

- \textbf{NOM} \textasteriskcentered{gbil}, gurbel, \textasteriskcentered{mil}
- \textbf{ERG} \textasteriskcentered{gabilu} (also \textasteriskcentered{gbilbu}, Goe AC)
- \textbf{OBJ} gurbel\textasteriskcentered{na}
- \textbf{ABL} \textasteriskcentered{mil} \textasteriskcentered{nu}

The ergative suffix is probably originally \textasteriskcentered{-u} (cf. 15.12), the suffix \textasteriskcentered{-bu} being carried over from stems in \textasteriskcentered{-m} (the suffix \textasteriskcentered{-gu} was heard in jiril\textasteriskcentered{gu}, from jiril ghost). The ablative form is also used in a locative sense: \textasteriskcentered{milnu gau} dirt in
(my) eye (Goe AC). No peritative forms were recorded; the suffix -ŋal is, on the other hand, sometimes to be understood as marking a comitative.

18.4 Articles. The only clear forms of a plural article are the same -bam or -bom (the former more common) as found in Goreng-Goreng (see 15.14): ɣanbam (some) men, ɣinbom (some) women, ɣabibam (some) children. The strange word ɣanbul people (Goe JB) has the appearance of a derivation of ɣan man, but a suffix -bul is not found in any other word, either in Goeng-Goeng or elsewhere.

18.5 Personal pronouns. Personal pronouns were recorded for the following persons (all in the singular): first person: ŋai I; second person: ŋin you; third person: mĩngun he, she. The forms will appear from the paradigms:

First person singular:
- NOM ŋai
- ERG ŋaŋu
- OBJ ŋana
- POSS ŋaŋunda

Second person singular:
- NOM ŋin
- ERG ŋingu(n)
- OBJ ŋina
- POSS ŋinda (ŋingari, Goe AC)
- DAT ŋinge

The form ŋingari is probably Wakka-Wakka; ŋinge was used in a possessive sense in ŋinge mu your nose (Goe JB, LR).

Third person singular:
- NOM mĩngun
- ERG mĩngun

Of the parallel forms in ma-, as found in Goreng-Goreng (see 15.17), some were found in Goeng-Goeng also: nominative maguŋa, malu he, she, ergative malu(n), objective maluŋa, dative maluŋi (correct? should perhaps be *malungi, like the above ŋinge = ŋingi to you); the dative form was used in a possessive sense by Goe LR. No dual or plural forms were met with. The strange form ŋala was heard from three of the informants (Goe AS, NB, LR) and explained to mean I: ŋala jangim I am going (Goe AS, NB), ŋala ɣagim or biγalim (idem; Goe LR). As nothing like it has been found elsewhere as a first person singular in the areas investigated, the most probable explanation would perhaps be that the form in question (if correct) is a first person dual (cf. Goreng-Goreng ɣalin, 15.15, Batjala ɣalam, 24.7), presuming the speakers have actually intended to say we two.152

18.6 Demonstrative pronouns. The only clear demonstrative pronoun recorded is mana, na that (cf. Goreng-Goreng; 15.18): guŋ mana galgu to drink that water or to drink water there, mam na galgu to drink milk (a baby: Goe AS). Whether the word maγima, used in similar connections (dail, ɣanul, juri maγima galgu to eat an egg, bread, meat; Goe AS) is to be considered as a demonstrative is questionable; in any case no concrete English equivalent to the word was suggested (the form recalls such Barunggam demonstratives as mada that, there, mentioned in 9.8, or the Wakka-Wakka marama over there, but the Kabi-Kabi maγuman ɣan (sic) tucker to eat (Kab DC) must be taken into account as well.
18.7 Interrogative pronouns. Of the personal interrogative pronoun *who?* the
ergative form *jandu* was recorded from Goe AC, but since the phrase in which it
occurs, *jandu jangai who did it?,* is pure Wakka-Wakka and considering that
Goreng-Goreng uses quite different forms (see 15.19), it is not unlikely that
the above *jandu* (which also occurs in Batjala) is not the real Goeng-Goeng form
(although otherwise this language seems to be somewhat closer to Wakka-Wakka
than is Goreng-Goreng). Of the impersonal interrogative pronoun *what?* nothing
was recorded.

18.8 Conjugation. The conjugation in Goeng-Goeng agrees on practically all
points with that of Goreng-Goreng (see 15.20, sqq.). There are verbal stems
in *-a* (e.g. *janga-* do, make, *ga-* eat, drink), or *-i* (e.g. *bagi-* hit, *ji-* bite).
There are two types of conjugation: the transitive and intransitive, the former generally with the formative *-1*
(cf. 15.20, with the Note 139) and the latter having the 'thematic element'
(see ibid.) and mode-indicating suffixes directly added to the verbal stem.
The stems in *-a* usually alternate with stems in *-i*, namely in the imperfective
mode (*junma*, *junmi-* lie down; cf. 15.20). The imperfective may be formed
either directly from the stem (in *-i*; hence ending in *-im, -em*) or by an
'auxiliary' (*-gi*, hence ending in *-gim*; cf. 15.21); the *-g* of the 'auxiliary'
is dropped in the same conditions as in Goreng-Goreng (cf. Note 140). Two verbs
are found, probably derived by a reflexive suffix *-li* (cf. 15.7), namely
*bigali-* go and *wabali-* (wubali-) come, which may be considered 'irregular'
(see 18.10).

18.9 The modal forms are made in the following way: imperative is the verbal
stem (with or without the transitive *-1*; see 18.8—in the latter case the vowel
*-a* is added), which is occasionally provided with the suffix *-ga* (cf.
Goreng-Goreng; 15.21-22); the imperfective ends in *-m* or *-gim* (of monosyllabic
transitive stems: *-lgim*, of other transitive stem *-lim*, through loss of *-g*,
for which see 18.8); the perfective ends in *-min* 153 and the intentional in *-gu*
(*-lgu, of monosyllabic transitive stems, otherwise *-lu*; cf. above).

18.10 Paradigms. The paradigms below will further illustrate the points
mentioned in 18.8-9; the type verbs are: *janga(I)*- do, make, *junma-* lie down,

**janga(I)**- do, make:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IMP</th>
<th>janga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>jangalim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>jangalu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**junma- (junmi-)** lie down:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IMP</th>
<th>junma</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>junmem</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>jungu (irregular; Goe AC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ga(I)**- eat, drink:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>IMP</th>
<th>gaga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>galgim</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>galgu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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153: squ. = square
da- go:

- IMP  gaga (jana; cf. below)
- IPF  gagim
- PF   gemen

No intentional was recorded. The imperative coincides with the imperative of da(l)- eat (see above); as a verbal suffix, however (cf. 15.8; 18.2), the imperative is -da and the intentional -gagu, which are regular formations.

bagi(l)- hit:

- IMP  bagi
- IPF  bagilim
- PF   baginmin
- INT  bagilu

jan- go:

- IMP  jana
- IPF  jangim (dagim; cf. above)
- PF   janan (gemen; cf. above)
- INT  jangu

For the perfective form janan (mindun janan he is gone; Goe AC), cf. 15.24.

bigali- go, wabali- (wubali-) come:

- IMP  bigali, waba
- IPF  bigalim, wabalim (wubalim), waban
- PF   wabanmin
- INT  wabagu

The form waban is evidently made from the stem waba- (that is without the reflexive suffix -li-) by analogy with janan (cf. above) and the perfective jananmin is formed in its turn form janan (the termination -min is consequently not the same as in janganmin, etc. (see above and in 18.9). Although janan has been given as a 'perfective' form above and waban as an 'imperfective' the most likely thing is that both are actually of the same kind (cf. further Note 96).

na- (naga-) see:

- IMP  naga
- IPF  nagim
- PF   nemen (na-nji, Goe AS)

For this verb, which is entirely irregular in Goeng-Goeng as well as in Goreng-Goreng, see 15.24, with references. The form na-nji seems to be Wakka-Wakka.

18.11 Construction. The construction of a noun with the postposition gu (for) and the intentional form of the verb man- (get) occurs in: munigu mangu (go) to get a woman (Goe AC: literally for a woman, for to get). For an analogous construction in Goreng-Goreng, see 15.26.

18.12 The sociative suffixes -nja and -nja (both being current in Goeng-Goeng; cf. Note 124) may be said to correspond to the Tagalog mai (having) and may— as also the latter—be used in a predicative sense (or in sentence form) to express the idea of there is or (you) have, etc. in English.154 The construction is used very freely in Goeng-Goeng, as appears from the following examples mu-nja buganja you have got a dirty or running nose (mu- nose, bunga mucus, buganjal dirty),
binañal nanñal you are deaf (literally (you) have a bad ear; Goe AS), ñañarñal
ñingañal you have got a sore leg (or there is a sore on your leg), mañña na
bungim there is a white man shooting (Goe AS). Often any noun (especially
names of parts of the body) were given with the sociative suffix: miñña (= mił)
eye(s) (Goe AS, JB), gubuña your head (Goe NB), mañña your ears (Goe AS), miñña
your mouth (Goe AS, JB). This is probably to be understood as an attempt to
render the current English 'your eyes', 'your ears', 'your nose', etc. (when
the terms for these parts of the body are being asked for or told), because in
an Australian language the idea of 'your eyes', etc. is the same as that of
'you have got eyes', etc. (cf. 7.32; 15.25). In such cases as the above muñña
bugañu various attempts toward a literal rendering might be suggested: your
nose has dirt, you have a dirty nose, etc.; it is needless to say that these
constructions—as well as those mentioned in the preceding section—have to be
looked at from a purely Australian point of view, according to which it might
even be possible to speak of a kind of 'grammatical agreement' (cf. 15.26),
although on a different level.

Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng vocabulary

19. The following vocabulary is based on Goreng-Goreng. Indication as to
informants is not made for words and forms which are frequently used in Goreng-
Goreng. Words found in Goeng-Goeng only are provided with the corresponding
signature (Goe) and initials of the informants. Morphological forms, or forms
mentioned or dealt with in the morphological sketches or elsewhere in this survey,
are referred to by corresponding section numbers. Verb stems are followed by
a hyphen and the modal forms are quoted in the following order: imperative,
imperfective, perfective, intentional (with or without the corresponding
abbreviations). The alphabetic order is the same as for the Wakka-Wakka,
Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli vocabulary (12).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ba- V ITR IPF ba-\n INT bagu come (Gor RD).—cf. waba-.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baba N father.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagabarana N language or tribe name (Gor RD).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bagala N the Batjala language.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| bagin N rain, storm (Goe AS, JB, AC): bagin waban (Goe AC) or
  wabalim (Goe AS) rain or a storm is coming. |
| bagan N boomerang: bagan bira
  throw a boomerang. |
| bagi- V TR bagi, bagila; bagilim, bagim; baginmin; bagilu (18.10)
  hit, kill; ñagu ñina ñugu bagilim |
| I will hit you with a stick
  (Goe AC), muña bagilu to kill
  a kangaroo (Gor RD), ñanindu
  baginmin gurul speared a fish
  (Gor RD). |
| bagili- V REFL (PF) bagilimin
  fight (Gor RD); ñindu bula
  bagilimin the two had a fight.
  —cf. bege-. |
| banguji- V ITR banguiga; banguim;
  banguimin; bangulu jump (Gor RD;
| bani POST (15.11). |
| bai POST (15.11). |
| baim N pipe (Gor RD); baim gu
  malun burañammin he brought
  (me) pipe tobacco. |
ba'l N angry, wild, (bad) temper (Gor RD); ba'l buraŋalim I am feeling wild, gan ba'l walgim the man is getting angry, ba'l buraŋalim ȵadj (he) is angry with me.

bala¹ N eel (correct? Gor RD; more likely 'jewfish', as in Wakka-Wakka, Kabi-Kabi and Batjala).

bala² N semen (Gor RD); bala muni bunda or muni bala a bad woman, gaŋa gan bala that is a bad man. —cf. bunda-.

balaŋ N creek, river (Goe AS, JB).

balam N sand (Gor VR); balam mangu to get sand.

balba- (belbe-) V ITR balba (belbe, Goe AC); belbe; balbam; balbagu stand, stand up, go; goŋ ȵin balba (belbe) don't you stand (Goe AC), belbe gurumani standing in the shade (Gor RD), ȵag ū ȵagım belbe I can see (somebody) standing (Gor RD).

balbam N ERG balbambu; OBJ balbama child, baby; balbam gundu small child (Gor RD), bula balbama binnin (she) had two children (Gor RD), balbam gaŋ ţur ȵagım memen I caught a baby kangaroo (Gor RD); (ART) balbambam (OBJ: -bama) (some) children.

balbamŋam N without children.

balbamŋal N having a child, with a child (COM; cf. 15.10); mingiri ʑinem balbamŋal they have a child (Gor RD), gaŋa balbamŋal wabalim coming with that child, maŋuŋa balbamŋal ʑinem he lives with a child (Gor RD).

balgi N fat.

balgiŋal N fat, fat person (Goe AS, JB); bula balgiŋal a fat cow.

bali- V ITR (15.23) burn, shine; ȵu'n baligim the fire is burning, ȵu'n balimin the fire has burned; sometimes used as a transitive (PP balimin or balimin): ȵagu balimin I have burned down the tree (Gor RD); ȵai guliŋ ȵu' baligu I want to burn the tree (Gor RD), ȵen gundu balimin there was a bush fire here (Gor RD).

bali- V ITR baligim; baligu come (Gor RD); mingun ba'ligim he is still coming. —cf. ba-, waba-.

balili- V ITR baliligim burn (Gor RD). —cf. bali-.

balu- V ITR (IPF) balugim, baluban, balun (?) ; INT balugu die, go out (of fire); ȵun balugim or baluban the fire is going out (Gor RD), balumen died (of the fire or a person; Gor RD), ȵun baluman (correct?) the fire went out (Gor RD), ȵagu ȵun balun I put out the fire (correct? Gor RD), ȵai wanmiligim ȵun balugu I am waiting for the fire to go out (Gor RD).

baluba- V CAUS baluba, balubanmin; balubagu put out (fire); ʑingu ȵun baluba you put out the fire. —cf. balu-, baluma-.

balunji- V TR (IPF) balunjim put out (fire; Gor RD); ȵag ū ȵun balunjim I will put out the fire (correct?).

baluma- V CAUS baluma; balumagu put out (fire; Gor RD); ȵag ŭ ȵun baluma you put out the fire. —cf. balu-.

balun N ? dead (Gor RD). —cf. balu-.

-bam (-born) ART (15.14; 18.4).

ban N grass.

banda¹ N ERG bandabu, the name of a social section (banda marries garwaŋ; Gor NJ).
I went to Bundaberg (Gor RD).

A female member of the banda section (Gor RD).

A sweetheart (Gor RD).—cf. bandi.

A female member of the bandur section (Gor RD).

A sweetheart (Gor RD), lover, boyfriend, girlfriend (Goe AS, JB).—cf. bandi.

Dark man (Goe NB).—cf. bandi.

The name of a social section, the name of the woman who is a bandur (Gor RD).—cf. bandi.

A white (Goe AS, JB).—cf. baral.

The name of a social section (according to Gor RD, originally the name of a language or locality).—cf. baral.

A female member of the bandur section. (Gor RD).

Rel top, high, up; (Gor RD), standing; a high or tall tree (Gor RD). I am climbing up (a high tree; Gor RD). Gaña mingun barai qinem ḡuńi this one is sitting high up on the tree (Gor RD).

High (Gor RD); you go away. —cf. bi-1.

A knee (Goe JB, LR).—cf. bi.

Biga, bigim, bimín (= jenmén); go, come; you go (over there; Gor RD), you come over here (Gor RD), the dog is having puppies (Goe AS) (Gor RD).—cf. bi-1, bindi-.
bibar N paper, letter; bibar gu (waiting) for the letters (Gor RD).

bigali- V ITR bigali; bigalim go, get up, get away (Goe AS, NB).

bim N grub (Gor VR). -cf. bujum.

bimbi N throat (Gor RD); bimbi jumbimbi dry throat.

bina N ear; bina muga deaf (Gor RD, JM), bina njingu buraŋa you listen (Gor RD), binaŋal nanjaŋ (you are) deaf (Goe AS, JB), sore ears, (my) ears run (Goe AS). -cf. binaŋal.

bina bina N ears (Goe AS).

bina garum N deaf (Goe AC; literally 'strange ears').

binaŋ N ear(s); according to Gor RD, binaŋ is rather Wakka-Wakka. -cf. binaŋal.

binaŋal N have ears, listen; mingun binaŋal (njinem) he is listening (Gor RD).

binanguŋ N deaf (Goe AS).

bina muga, v. bina.

bindi- (binda-) V ASS bindi; bindigim; bindinmin (bindamin); bindigu take (away), bring, send; njingu bindi you take it away (= bi; Gor RD), bulu njingu bindi take away (shift, etc.) the cattle (Gor RD), njingu bindi bibar you send a letter (Gor RD), njingu bindi naje you bring it to me, njagu bibar, balbama bindamin I have sent a letter, the child (Gor RD). -cf. bi-1½.

binga N (15.3) hat.

bini- V ASS binigim (15.6) take (Gor RD). -cf. bindi-.

bira- (biri-) V TR bira; birem; biramin (biralmin, biramin); birlagu, birugu throw; dagil biramin threw a stone (Gor RD), gem biramin spat (Gor RD); it seems that forms of a transitive and intransitive verb are mixed here; gureŋ njin bira don't you fall (Gor RD), jaramandu biramin the horse threw him (Gor RD; to be analysed as 'he fell by the horse').

birabin N God (Gor RD). -cf. biral.

biral N ERG biralu; OBJ biralna 1. eaglehawk; 2. God (Gor RD); biralu barai binmin wangaŋa the eaglehawk took up the snake, ḥaŋu biralna ṭemen I have seen an eaglehawk, biralu ḥaŋu janganmin God has made the earth. -cf. birabin.

biru N ERG birubu hand; biru dali sore hand (Gor JM), birubu with (my) hands, biruŋal has got hands, biruŋam without hands. -cf. biu (Goe).

biu N ABL biunu hand; (Goe AS, NB, JB, LR, AC, BB); biuŋa daliŋal sore hand (Goe AS; cf. 18.12), biuŋu dali sore in (your) hand (Goe AS). -cf. biru (Gor).

biuŋ N ribs (Gor RD).

-bom, v. -bam

bra·gi, v. nil.

bu- (bum-) V TR buma; bungim; bumen; bunmin (-men); bungu push, shoot; njingu buma you shoot it, njagu bunmen I pushed, ḡubu ḥaŋu bunmen I shot (him; Gor RD), ṭai ṭaligious ḅubu bungu I want to shoot (Gor RD). -cf. bunma-.

bua- V TR bualu; bualim; buamin; bualigu look for, find (Gor RD); njingu ṭapa bualu you look for or find that, ṭura bualim looking for a house, malun buamin he found it.

bubi (bube) N weak, soft (Gor RD); be·n bubi a soft wind.

bubiram N white paint or clay, paint (= Wakka-Wakka muran; Gor RD).

budinge N big (Goe JB).
buga $N$ mucus (Goe AS); mu bugan$\mathbf{\mathbf{a}}$l dirty nose (cf. 18.12).

buge $\mathbf{REL}$ back (Gor RD); buge wabanmin has come back, gin buge jana, bigim you go, are going back. —cf. bugen, bugenu$^2$.

bugen $\mathbf{REL}$ back (Gor RD). —cf. buge.

bugenu$^1$ $N$ posterior, seat (Gor RD); malun bugenu bagimmin he hit (his) posterior. —cf. bugenu$^2$.

bugenu$^2$ $\mathbf{REL POST}$ behind; gana bugenu wanimin has left me behind (Gor RD), bagenu wabalim (Gor RD), waban (Goe AC) coming (from) behind, du· bugenu behind the tree (Gor RD), bula bugenu jana you two go behind (Gor RD). —cf. buge, bugen.

bugin $N$ OBJ bugina dog (Goe AS, NB, JB, AC; also Wakka-Wakka). —cf. miri.

bui $N$ carpet snake (Gor RD; also Wakka-Wakka).

bujum $N$ grub (Gor RD). —cf. bim.

bula$^1$ $\mathbf{PERS PRON}$ (15.16).

bula$^2$ $N$ ERG bulabu (15.15) two; bulabu biru ginem has got two or both hands (Gor RD), (gana) bulabu muni (wabalim) (these) two women (are coming) or here are two women coming (Gor RD, Goe AC), bulabu nagim two looking at one another (Gor RD), bula $\mathbf{nula}$ three (Gor NJ).

bula$^3$ $N$ OBJ bulana cow, cattle; ginu bula mana you hold the cow (Gor RD).

bula$^4$ $\mathbf{REL POST}$ together (with), and bulabu ginim (two) sitting together (Gor RD), ginlin balbim bulabu jangim we two are going with a child (Gor RD), julan bulabu (cook) together with the skin (Gor RD), muni balbim bula jenmen the woman and the child went (Gor RD).

bulali $N$ clothes (Goe AS, JB). —cf. buli.

bulam $\mathbf{POST}$ like; nai bulam nagim (my brother) looks like me (Gor RD), nai mingun bulam nagim I look like him (Gor RD), jingagu nai, gin bulam as big as I, you (Gor RD).

bular $N$ flour (and flower? Goe JB).

bulen bulen $N$ blue, blue-eyed (as of a white person; Goe AS, JB); mil bulen bulen blue eyes (Goe AS). —cf. bulin.

buli $N$ clothes (Gor RD, Goe AC); buli gana under my clothes, bulinag dressed, buli galängangal all dressed up (Gor RD), buliğan belbem standing naked (Gor RD). —cf. bulali (Goe).

buliman $N$ ERG bulimandu policeman (Gor RD, Goe AS, AC).

bulin $N$ 1. smoke; 2. tobacco (Gor RD, JM, Goe MG). —cf. bulen bulen.

bulinga- $V$ TR ITR bulinga; bulingagim; bulingagin; bulingagu smoke ginu bulinga you smoke, malun bulingagim (Gor RD), mingin bulingagim (Goe AC) he is smoking, gingu baim bulingagim I am smoking a pipe (Gor RD).

bulu $N$ belly (man's or woman's; Gor RD); bulu dali belly ache.

buluna $N$ full, satisfied (Gor RD); buluna nai I am full.

bulunagh $N$ pregnant (Gor RD); mañuna muni bulunagh that woman is going to have a child.

bum-, $V$ bu-

bumbir $N$ clothes; ginu wamba bumbir put on your clothes (Gor RD).

bumbira- $V$ ASS (PF) bumbiramin have (one's) clothes on (Gor RD; cf. 15.6 and the Note 129).

bumbirgam $N$ without clothes (Gor RD); mingun bumbirgam he is naked.
bun-, v. bungi-.

bunbi N bag (Goe AS, JB).

bunda- (bundi-) V TR bunda (bundi);
bundalim; bundamin; bundalu take, steal, strip, ask; malun bundamin he stole it, ŋingu bunda you strip, bunda bundi take off (your) hat, ŋingu bunda you ask (it of him; Gor RD), ŋagü bundalim I will ask (him), gundu bundalu in order to take off the bark ('ring barking'; Gor RD).

bundalim V REFL ITR (INT)
bundaligu ask (Gor RD).

bungi- V ITR bungi; bundigim; bundigin, bun diguy die, die for, want, go out (of the fire); weni ŋin bungi don't you die, gibü bundigim the dark man has died, gugali bundigim dying from hunger (Gor RD), gun gu bundigim being thirsty (Goe AC), ngi gugu gu bundigim I want meat (Goe AS), ŋun bundigim the fire has gone out (Gor RD).

bungi- (bun-) V ITR (IPF) bundim (18.12) shoot (Goe AS); compare bungu jangu or jangu bungu to go to war (from Willie McKenzie; see 1.6).

buni N smoke (of fire; Goe JB). —cf. bunim.

bunim N LOC bunimi ashes, dust, dirt; ŋundu bunim wani(n)amin the fire has left ashes, ŋingu bunim wajimda you wash off the dirt (Gor RD). —cf. buni.

bunma- V TR bunma; bunmalim;
(bunnem); bunmanmin; bunmalu (= bilu), bunmalu push, put in, poke, take; ŋingu gana gu- rangu bunma push or put that stick into the earth (Gor RD). —cf. bungi- (bun-), bunma-.

bunu N ERG bunubu rain, storm, thunder; bunu wabani rain is going
to rain, bunubu wulai jangaliim the storm makes a noise (Gor RD), bunubu gil biranmin the storm threw a lightning (Gor RD).

bunu gurgun N thunder (Gor RD);
bunu gurgun waban thunder is coming (literally 'noise of the storm'). —cf gurgun.

bungana- V TR bunana; bunmalim;
bunanmin; bunmalu push (Gor RD); ŋingu ġu- bunna you push the tree or wood. —cf. bunna-.

bura- V TR burala; buralim;
buralim; buralugu (cf. 15.24, Note 142) pull out, take, dig (Gor RD); ŋingu gana burala pull out that, ġau ŋingu buralim you are digging the ground.

buraŋa- V TR burana; buraŋalim;
buraŋanmin; buraŋalu hear, listen, remember, feel, learn, teach (?), understand, know, bring; ŋagü manuŋa buraŋalim I can hear him, ŋingu or ŋin buraŋa you listen, ŋaŋa buraŋa listen to me, maluŋa waban ŋalina buraŋalu he has come to listen to us two, ŋingu buraŋalim do you remember? malun ŋaŋa buraŋanim he has understood me, gureŋ ŋagü buraŋalim I do not know him, ŋagü mure buraŋanim bagan biragu I have learned to throw a boomerang (Gor RD), malu buraŋalim g'emi he understands the lingo, goen buraŋalim I do not know (Goe AC), ŋingu buraŋa you bring it (= webendî; Gor RD), ŋingu ŋaje gumgema buraŋanim you have brought me tobacco (= webendimin; Gor RD). —cf. burali-.

burali- V REFL ITR (and TR ?) buraligim hear, listen, know, bring (?); ŋingu buraligim you know, hear (Gor RD), gureŋ ŋai buraligim I do not know (Gor HJ), malu ŋaje buraligim he is bringing it to me (correct? Gor RD).
buram N man (Goe AS, JB); in Kabi-Kabi, however, buram means 'silly'.
buranba N the Barambah mission, the Cherbourg settlement.
burendi- V ASS burendi (= bindi); burendigim bring (Gor RD); mali ṇaje burendigim he is bringing it to me. -cf. buranja-, burali-.
burgu N ERG burgubu axe, tomahawk (= Wakka-Wakka muim; Gor RD); ğu• burgubu gawanmin (he) cut the tree or stick with an axe.
buri N fire (Goe AS, JB, BB; perhaps the Gunggari buri, which is used or understood in many south-east Queensland languages).
buru- V TR burula; burulim (burulagim); burunmin; burulu pull, milk (Gor RD); ṇaju mam burula or burula mam mangu let me (pull the) milk, ṇaju mure mam burunmin I have already milked, wuŋi ọai jangim (mam) burulu mam mangu I am going to milk just now, gele burulagim (correct ?) pulling leaves or twigs (off a tree; Gor RD).

daba- V TR daba (?) dabala; dabalim; dabanmin; dabalu 1. follow, accompany; 2. sing (Gor RD); ọardu ṇaju daba you come with me, ṇaju dabalim follows me, ṇaju (dabalu) dabalim I am going to sing a (corroboree) song, goren ṇaju dabalim I cannot sing, dabalim ọgarigim singing and dancing (Gor VR), ṇaju dabanmin ọlu, bulu I have sung one song, two songs (Gor VR), gara daba (?) be quiet (Gor NJ). -cf. dabalu, debendi-.
dabalu N ? corroboree song (Gor RD). -cf. daba-.
dagal N bone (Goe LR; correct ?). -cf. daigal.
dagil N ERG dagilbu; ABL dagilnu 1. stone, rock; 2. money; mọnuja dagilbu jangamin (has) made it of stone (Gor RD), dagilnu ṣai ganmamin I fell from or off a rock, dagilŋal (SOC) ọinem has money, dagil gu ọgarigim playing for money (Gor VR).
danjaŋ REL fast, quick (Gor RD); danjaŋ mailigim running fast (in Wakka-Wakka ṣanja). danjaŋi N ? V ? evacuate, evacuation (of bowels; Goe JB).
danga N a lie (Gor RD); ṇaju danga jalim I am telling a lie.
daigal N ABL daigalnu; LOC daigalni bone, bones, skeleton; daigal ṣanmen ọnuj (or bunimi) ọdura gi daigal the bones lying on the ground (or in the dust) are animal bones (Gor RD), daigal ṣawunj a ghost in the form of a skeleton (Goe AC).
dail N egg.
dalgu N sore (Goe AS, JB). -cf. dali.
dali N (15.3) sore, pain, sick; dali mure ganjanimal the sore has already got well (Gor RD), dali bagim the sore is hurting (Gor RD), mali ṣaju dali janganimal he hurt, wounded me (Gor RD), biru dali a sore hand (Gor JM), milnu, biunu dali a sore in the eye, hand (Goe AC), -cf. dalgu.
dambal N LOC dambali (Gor RD) 1. track, way, road; 2. hill (Goe); dambal gina ọnum I have seen footprints in or along the road (Gor RD), dambal jangim going over the hill (Goe JB).
dani (?) N earring (Goe JB);

danįgal having an earring
(cf. 18.12).

darin darin N strong (Goe AC).

daun N town; daun gu jangu to
go to town (Goe AC).

debendi- V ASS debendi; debendigim;

debendi̱n; debendigu follow;
miribu debendigim, nana
debendim the dog is following,
followed (me). — cf. daba-.

dende N chest (Goe RD; cf. 14.5,
Note 118).

dia N teeth (Goe MG). — cf. dią̱,
dira.

dią̱ N teeth (Goe AS, JB). — cf.
dia, dią:redend i;

dilą̱ N ERG dilangu penis or
testicles (Goe RD).

dira N teeth (Goe RD). — cf. dia,
dią:redend i; debend im in;
debend ig u follow;
mi ribu debend igi m, Qan a
debend i min the dog is follo
ing , followed (me). — cf.
daba-.

denda N chest (Gar RD; cf. 14.5,
Note 118).

dia-Q, di ra.

di a-Q N teet h (Gae AS,
JB) . — cf. dia, di a-
(di a-Q)
(Gae).

di lan N ERG dilangu penis or
testicles (Goe RD).

di la N town;
di an gu ja ngu
to go to town (Goe AC).

debend i- V ASS debendi; debendig i;
debendi̱n; debendigu follow;
miribu debendig i, nana
debendim the dog is following,
followed (me). — cf. daba-.

dende N chest (Goe RD; cf. 14.5,
Note 118).

dia N teeth (Goe MG). — cf. dią̱,
dira.

dią̱ N teeth (Goe AS, JB). — cf.
dia, dią:redend i;

dilą̱ N ERG dilangu penis or
testicles (Goe RD).

dira N teeth (Goe RD). — cf. dia,
dią:redend i; debend im in;
debend ig u follow;
mi ribu debend igi m, Qan a
debend i min the dog is follo
ing , followed (me). — cf.
daba-.

denda N chest (Gar RD; cf. 14.5,
Note 118).

dia-Q, di ra.

di a-Q N teet h (Gae AS,
JB) . — cf. dia, di a-
(di a-Q)
(Gae).

di lan N ERG dilangu penis or
testicles (Goe RD).

di la N town;
di an gu ja ngu
to go to town (Goe AC).

debend i- V ASS debendi; debendig i;
debendi̱n; debendigu follow;
miribu debendig i, nana
debendim the dog is following,
followed (me). — cf. daba-.

dende N chest (Goe RD; cf. 14.5,
Note 118).

dia N teeth (Goe MG). — cf. dią̱,
dira.

dią̱ N teeth (Goe AS, JB). — cf.
dia, dią:redend i;

dilą̱ N ERG dilangu penis or
testicles (Goe RD).

dira N teeth (Goe RD). — cf. dia,
dią:redend i; debend im in;
debend ig u follow;
mi ribu debend igi m, Qan a
debend i min the dog is follo
ing , followed (me). — cf.
daba-.

denda N chest (Gar RD; cf. 14.5,
Note 118).

dia-Q, di ra.

di a-Q N teet h (Gae AS,
JB) . — cf. dia, di a-
(di a-Q)
(Gae).

di lan N ERG dilangu penis or
testicles (Goe RD).

di la N town;
di an gu ja ngu
to go to town (Goe AC).

debend i- V ASS debendi; debendig i;
debendi̱n; debendigu follow;
miribu debendig i, nana
debendim the dog is following,
followed (me). — cf. daba-.

dende N chest (Goe RD; cf. 14.5,
Note 118).

dia N teeth (Goe MG). — cf. dią̱,
dira.

dią̱ N teeth (Goe AS, JB). — cf.
dia, dią:redend i;

dilą̱ N ERG dilangu penis or
testicles (Goe RD).

dira N teeth (Goe RD). — cf. dia,
dią:redend i; debend im in;
debend ig u follow;
mi ribu debend igi m, Qan a
debend i min the dog is follo
ing , followed (me). — cf.
daba-.

denda N chest (Gar RD; cf. 14.5,
Note 118).

dia-Q, di ra.

di a-Q N teet h (Gae AS,
JB) . — cf. dia, di a-
(di a-Q)
(Gae).

di lan N ERG dilangu penis or
testicles (Goe RD).

di la N town;
di an gu ja ngu
to go to town (Goe AC).

debend i- V ASS debendi; debendig i;
debendi̱n; debendigu follow;
miribu debendig i, nana
debendim the dog is following,
followed (me). — cf. daba-.

dende N chest (Goe RD; cf. 14.5,
Note 118).

dia N teeth (Goe MG). — cf. dią̱,
dira.

dią̱ N teeth (Goe AS, JB). — cf.
dia, dią:redend i;

dilą̱ N ERG dilangu penis or
testicles (Goe RD).

dira N teeth (Goe RD). — cf. dia,
dią:redend i; debend im in;
debend ig u follow;
mi ribu debend igi m, Qan a
debend i min the dog is follo
ing , followed (me). — cf.
daba-.
gaga- V TR ğagalim have a feed (Gor RD); malu(n) ğagalim he is having a feed. —cf. ğa-1.

ğanar N leg (Goe AS, JB; cf. 18.12).

ğanul N bread; ğanul ɲaʃe ɲinu wuga you give me bread (Gor RD), ɲinu ğanul ğaga you eat bread (Goe AC).

ğai N food (Goe AS, JB); waga ğai the food is finished. —cf. ğa-1.

ğalan N stick, tree (= Wakka-Wakka dadu; Gor RD); ğalan baŋu guruman shade or shadow of the tree.

ğalbiŋ N clothes, laundry (Gor RD); malun or mingun ğalbiŋŋal mailimin he ran away with (my) clothes (cf. 15.26).

ğam N meat, food; nai gulgiŋ ğanul ğam gu I want to eat bread (or bread for to eat; Gor RD).

-ğam CAR SFX (15.3; 18.2).

ğan N ERG ğandu; OBJ ğana (Aboriginal) man, (black) fellow; ɲaɲunda ğan my man (husband), ğan gi ɲinu wuga give it to the man, ğan ğabil black boy (Goe AS); (ART) ğanbom (ERG ğanbomu), ğanbam (Goe JB).

ğanan N hot (Goe AC).

ğanbul N people (Goe JB). —cf. ğan.

ğandili N grandchild (Goe AC); ğabil ɲaɲunda ğandili the boy is my grandchild.

ğan ġan N young fellow or boy (Gor RD); ġan ġan galanaj a good little boy.

ğangari N little fellow, small person, protecting spirit (to be feared by other tribes; Goe AS, Gor RD).

ğanin N ERG ğanindu iron, horseshoe, car, bicycle, train, plane (anything made of iron; Gor RD—the original sense of the word in Wakka-Wakka is 'flint').

ğara N the whole leg (Gor RD, Goe AC).

ğaran N white rice (Goe JB).

ğargi (ğarge, ğerge) wet (Gor RD); ban ğargi wet grass, ġau ğerge mud. —cf. ğere, ğelgelge.

ğari-1 V TR ğari, ğarilu; ğari(n)min; ğarilgu, ğarilugu (cf. 15.24, Note 142) paint; ɲinu ğarilu you paint (him), nai gulgiŋ ğarilu I want to paint (him).

ğari-2 V ITR ğarigim paint (oneself; Gor RD).

ğarili- V REFL ğarili; ğariligim; ğariligim; ğariliglu paint, smear oneself; ğariligim nulengu (sic) painted myself, yourself (Gor RD), nín jana ğariliglu you go to paint yourself.

ğaruğa N trousers, pants.

ğarwaŋ N the name of a social section (according to Gor RD, ğarwaŋ marries a bandagan, q.v.).

ğarwaŋgan N female member of the ğarwaŋ section.

ğau N ERG ğaubu; ABL ğaŋu; LOC ğaŋu 1. earth, sand, dust, dirt; 2. ground, land, property; ğau ɲulgi black earth, ğaubu ɲinu (sic) ğariligim you smeared yourself with dirt (Gor RD), ğaŋu, ğaŋu on the ground, ġau ɲaŋu wabalim a spring, fountain ('water coming out of the ground'; Gor RD), ġaŋu ɲaŋu ɲaŋu bim新闻中心 he took my land or property (Gor RD).

 mógelgelge N dirty (Goe AS, NB). —cf. ğargi, ğere.

ğere N mud (Gor RD). —cf. ğargi.

ğibiŋ N fly (Gor RD, Goe AC).

ğingal N sore (Goe AS; cf. 18.12).

ğingim N tear(s) (Gor RD); ğingimŋal nai wabalim I come with tears (crying or weeping).
gilal N ERG gilalbu possum (Gor RD); gilal gi or gilal gu (snaring) for possum.

gilنج N a half-caste (Gor RD).

gina (ginaŋ) N foot, feet, foot-prints; ŋadu ginaŋ nenem I have seen the footprints (Gor RD), ginaŋ gimen broken leg (Goe JB).

gin gin N LOC gin gini 1. twigs, etc. (to make fire); 2. the name of a place, Gin Gin; gin gin gi gagim going to Gin Gin.

girba- V TR girbalim; girbagu eat (Gor NJ).

gu· N ERG gubu (gugu, Goe); ABL gunu; LOC guŋi 1. tree, stick (= galan), branch, limb; 2. spear; 3. wood; 4. gun; gu· belbem a tree (standing), gubu gawanmin poked or speared with a stick, gubu ŋadu bumen I shot him, gunu ŋin bugeŋu balba you stand behind the tree.

gugali N 1. hungry; 2. food, a feed, tucker; ŋai dugali I am hungry (cf. bun gi-), galan digali good or fine tucker (Goe AC), ŋai dugali gu gagim I am going to have a feed.

gulba N strong (Gor RD); be'n, gan gulba a strong wind, man, ginman gulba gen ŋinim the sun is strong here or today.

gulun N LOC guluni creek, water running to a river (Gor RD); gulun jingagu a big flood.

γum N smoke, tobacco (Goe AS, BB).

gumbega N tobacco (Gor RD).

gumga- V TR gumga; dumgalim; gumanmin suck, kiss (Gor RD); baim gumga suck (your) pipe, malun gumanmin he kissed (her).

γun N 1. tail; 2. penis (Gor RD, Goe AC).

gunburu N long, tall (Gor RD); gunburu wau a tall white man.

gune REL always, all the time, too much (Gor RD); male γune γal gim he is eating all the time, (mingun) γune ja alim or gual gim (she) talks too much, balbam γune duŋal gim the children always cry.

γunu N vagina, cunnus (Goe AC). -cf. γunuŋ, γunuł.

γunuŋ N vulva, cunnus, woman's private parts (Gor RD). -cf. γunul, γunu (Goe).

γunungi N tongue (Gor RD). -cf. γunum.

γunul N ABL γunulnu vulva, cunnus (Gor RD); γunulnu ġenmen had intercourse, γunul gu gagim going or looking for intercourse.

γunum N ERG γunumbu; LOC γunumni tongue; wani ŋingui γunumnu mana don't touch it with your tongue (Gor RD). -cf. γunungi, γunumgi.

γunungi N ERG γunungibu tongue (Gor RD). -cf. γunum.

γura N ABL γuraŋu; LOC γuraŋi home, house (= Wakka-Wakka gundu; Gor RD); γura ŋapuŋdu my house, γuraŋu wabanmin came from the house, γuraŋi ŋinim is (sitting) in the house, gura gu janmin went home, gura gi ŋanin something belonging to the house.

γuroi (γurwai) N hungry (Goe AS); gunani gabil γuroi ganan ganan the poor little child is hungry, γuroiŋal (SOC) hungry.

G

gabai N 1. little black native bee; 2. its honey (Gor RD).

gabaibi N sugar (Goe JB). -cf. gabai.
gabal N ABL gabalnu; LOC gabali
scrub, bush (Gor RD); dambal
jangim gabalnu the road or track
goes through the bush, maŋuŋa
gabali jenmen he went through
the bush. —cf. gawar.

gabi N urine (Gor RD); ŋai’ (gulgin)
gabingu (‘micturate’), gabil
gabi banguigim the boy is
wetting his pants (probably
‘micturates’; Goe AS).

gabiŋu, v. gabi.

gagur N ERG gaĝurbu; LOC gaĝurni
animal, kangaroo (Gor RD); gaĝur
gi daïgal animal bones, gaĝur
gi ŋai jangim I am going to hunt
kangaroos.

gagungun N ERG gagungundu
kookaburra (Gor VR).

gaga DEM PRON (15.18).

ganga- V TR ganga; gangalim;
ganganmin call out, sing
(of birds); ŋindu maŋuŋa jari
ganga you call him here (Gor
RD), gagungundu gangalim the
kookaburra is singing (laughing).

gangali- V REFL REC gangaligim
call out, shout; bula gangaligim
they are shouting at one another
(Gor RD).

gangu REL yesterday, tomorrow,
until next day; gara ŋina nagim
gangu (I) will see you tomorrow
(Gor RD), gangu ʒanan it was
hot yesterday (Goe AC).

gai DEM PRON (15.18).

gai- V ITR gaiça; gaigim; gaimin;
gaiça go into (Gor RD); ŋin
gunu gaiga you go into the
water.

gaiça, gaigula REL (15.18).

gailam N ERG gailambu; OBJ
gailama; LOC gailami (15.14)
another, the other, some;
gailambu jaŋmin some said
(Gor RD), guren maŋuŋa gailambu
it was not he, another (did it;
Gor RD), ŋagu gailama ŋemen I
saw another one, gailam gura
the other house, gailami waibeyi
or waibeyi at or from another
camp, miŋa gaŋa gailam what
else? (Gor RD); (ART) gailambam
(ERG -bambu).

gainma- V CAUS gainma; gainmanmin;
gainmagu put into (Gor RD);
ŋindu maŋuŋa gunu gainma you
put that into water.

gain REL over there; guren jari
ŋinem gaŋ mingun ŋinem not
here, he lives over there, gurul
gaŋ juluni ŋinem there is fish
in the creek.

gaŋgu REL over there; gaŋgu
gagim I am going over there.

gaŋnu REL from over there; gaŋnu
wabaling coming from over there.

galaŋan N good, well, (all) right,
nice, pretty, clever, thank you;
galaŋa ŋindu janga you make it:
well, right, gureŋ maŋuŋa galaŋan
it is no good (= waran; Gor RD),
mingun galaŋan he is all right
(Goe AC), muni galaŋan a nice
or pretty woman or girl (Goe AC),
ŋin galaŋan ŋina you sit pretty
or stop that noise, etc.

galaŋan- V ITR galaŋangim;
galaŋanmin get well, all right
(Gor RD); mali galaŋanmin he
got over it.

galaŋan N (15.1) nice, anything
nice (Gor RD); muni galaŋan
a nice woman or girl.

galbin N flat nose, flat (Goe AS,
JB); mu galbin flat nose,
galbinŋal flat-nosed.

galga- V TR galgalim cut (Goe AC);
gulunj galgalim cutting the bark.

gamadan N boss (Gor RD).

gamam N hip(s) (Gor RD).

gambi N woman (Goe JB; otherwise
a Gunggari word).

gaŋmi N clothes (Goe JB).
gana¹ N liver (Gor RD).
gana² DEM PRON (15.18).
ganan 광ана 광ана N poor little one, sorry (Gor RD; properly ganan, as in Goeng-Goeng and Wakka-Wakka ?); 광나 광나 광나 광나 I am sorry.
ganai N spear (Gor RD).
ganan 광انا 광انا N poor little (fellow; Goe AS).
gangal N penis (= dilaŋ; Gor RD).
gani N prickly water lizard (Goe AS, JB, NB).
ganna¹ V ITR ganana; ganmagim (genmem); ganamamin; ganagagu fall, break; guřeŋ giŋ ganama don't you fall, maŋuŋa ganamamin it broke, gana guŋ' genmem this is about to fall.
ganna² (ganna(I)-) V TR ganama; ganmalim; ganamanin; ganamalu break; gele ganamanin broke off a twig or leaves.
ganu N boat (Gor RD; from English 'canoe' ?).
gana¹ N camp, home, (bush) humpy (Gor, Goe).
gana² DEM PRON (15.18).
ganil N 1. fish scales (Gor HJ); 2. any fish (Goe).
gará REL then, after(wards), later, behind, back; gara giŋ jana (eat first) then you go, gara naŋu galgim I will eat afterwards, giŋ jenì jana (or bi') gara naŋu bugenu wabalin you go first, then I come behind (Gor RD), gara giŋ waban are you coming back? (Gor VR), gara daba be quiet (as if 'follow behind'? Gor NJ).

garaー V TR garala; garalim; garammin; gawalu steal; wangi naŋu garala don't (you) steal, guřeŋ naŋu garalim I do not steal.
garagu REL to here (Gor RD); garagu naŋi wabalin I will come here (properly Wakka-Wakka ?).
garaliー V REFL ITR garali; garaligim; garalimin hide ('plant'), steal; guŋ' bugenu garali(gi)m hiding behind a tree. —cf. garaー.
garum N strange, wild; miri garum wild dog, dingo (Gor RD). —cf. garum garum, bina garum.
garum garum N stranger (Goe AC).
gawaー V TR gawa; gawalim; gawannim; gawalu cut, prick, poke, spear, shave; giŋ gubu gawalim will spear or prick you, mil malu naŋa gawannim he poked out (my) eyes, naŋu ban gawannim I have cut the grass, naŋu ŭenbe gawalin I am going to shave.
gege N ERG gegebu porcupine.
gegi REL DEM PRON here, to him or this one (Gor RD); giŋu gegi webendi bring it to him, gegi giŋu wuga give it to this one. —cf. ge'gu.
ge'gu REL here, hither (Gor RD); gego giŋ bi' you come here.
gegula REL over here (Gor RD); gegula naŋi bigim I am coming over here. —cf. gegu.
ge'ŋ¹ N saliva (Gor RD; = Wakka-Wakka ga'ŋ).
ge'ŋ² REL here, today; geŋ naŋin ninim we two are sitting here, geŋ ŭndu balimin there was a bush fire here, wula jingaŋu geŋ ŭninem is this a very noisy place? (Gor RD).
geŋu REL here, hither; maluŋa waban geŋu he came (Gor RD).
gele N 1. leaf, leaves (= Wakka-Wakka gari; Gor RD); 2. tea (Goe AS, JB); ŭŋ geleŋal (SOC) leaves of the tree, the tree has leaves (Gor RD), waga gele there is no tea (Goe AS).
ge·m N ERG gembu 1. mouth;
2. beak; 3. language ('lingo');
gingun gembu jalim gureŋ gureŋ
can you talk Goreng-Goreng? ŋai
gulgiŋ gembu jalu I want to
talk, ŋadu ge·m buraŋalim gureŋ
gureŋ I can understand Goreng-
Goreng, ŋai gureŋ gureŋ ge·m
I am a Goreng-Goreng, ge·m
buraŋalim teaching (learning?)
the language (Gor RD).

genu REL from here; genu ŋai
jangim I am going from here
(Gor RD).

geri- V ITR ge·rigerim (15.2,
Note 123) pour; ŋuŋ ge·rigerim
pouring water (Gor VR), guna
geri·rigerim evacuate bowels
(Goe AS).

gibi N ERG gibibu; OBJ gibiŋa
Aboriginal, dark fellow.

giŋ N TR ginga; gingim; giŋmin
(gimen, Goe JB); girgu
1. scratch (Gor); 2. break (Goe);
wanı giŋgù biru ginga don't you
scratch (your) hand (Gor RD),
giŋi gimen broke his leg
(Goe JB).

gingi (ginge) N 1. any drink
(= gün; Gor RD); 2. sour (Goe AS,
JB).

ginginal N all sour (Goe AS, JB).

gi·1 N TR ginga; gingim; giŋmin
(gimen, Goe JB); girgu
1. scratch (Gor); 2. break (Goe);
wani giŋgù biru ginga don't you
scratch (your) hand (Gor RD),
giŋi gimen broke his leg
(Goe JB).

giŋ N arm, elbow (Gor, Goe).

- cf. giŋiŋ.

gin N arm (Gor RD). —cf. gini.

ginma-1 V ITR ginmagim; ginmamin;
ginmagu wake up.

ginma-2 V TR ginma; ginmalim;
ginmanmin; ginmalu wake up;
gingu ŋana ginmanmin you woke
me up (Gor RD).

ginman N ERG ginmanda sun, sun-
light, daytime; ginmanda baligim
julan the sun is burning my
skin (Gor RD), ginmanda in the
sun, daytime (cf. 15.10).

ginir.

- ginil N arm (Goe JB). —cf. gindil.

- ginir N ERG giniru cat, kitten
(Gor RD); ginir gi wuga give it
to the cat. —cf. ginı (Goe).

gira- V TR gira; giralim; giranmin;
giralu sharpen; burgu ŋindu gira
you sharpen the tomahawk (Gor RD).
gion N dress (Goe JB). —cf. giun.
giro N grog; giro ǯalgim having a grog, drink (Goe AS, JB).
giun N dress (Goe AC). —cf. gion.
goe ǯ N no, not, don't; goe ǯ dagil no money (Goe AC), goe ǯ ǯalgim does not want (Goe AC). —cf. goreŋ.
goeŋ N the name of a language, ǯoŋ-Goeng (Goe AC).
goreŋ, v. guren.
goreŋ goreŋ, v. guren ǯuren.
goron N creek (Gor RD). —cf. gurun.
gu POST to, for. —cf. gula2.
gual N noise (Goe AC); gual jingali big noise. —cf. guali.
guali- V ITR guali; gualigim; gualimin; gualigu talk; wani ǯinin guali don't you talk, ǯalin bula gualigim we two are talking together.
gubu N head, hair (of head; Goe AS, JB, AC).
gubuŋam N bald (Goe AC). —cf. gubu.
guģa N sugarbag, honey (Gor, Goe).
guģaŋ V? ǯai guģaŋ I am going out (Goe JB).
guģu N animal, beast, meat (Gor, Goe).
guģu guģu N any bird (Goe AC).
gugui V? look out (Goe AS).
guŋ N ABL guŋu water; ǯai gaigum guŋu I have to or want to go into the water (Gor RD), guŋ gi ǯai gaigim or jangim I am going to get water (Gor RD).
gunguri N clever (Goe AS).
-.green, v. binanguri.
gunjum N fire (Goe AS; properly Wakka-Wakka?).
gula1 N koala (Goe AS).
gula2 POST to, for. —cf. gu.
gulgiŋ REL want to (Gor, Goe); gulgiŋ guɗu gu want meat (Goe AC), gulgiŋ ǯuelu want to cook (Goe AC).
gulŋ1 N bark (of tree; Goe AC).
gulŋ2 N cold (Goe AS, JB).
guna or gunaŋ N excrement, faeces (Gor, Goe); gulgiŋ gunaŋu want to evacuate. —cf. ge'ri-.
gunanal N frightened (Goe AS).
gunangu, v. guna, gunaŋ.
gunani N little (Goe AS); gunani ǯabil little boy. —cf. gunini.
gundir N clever man (Gor, Goe). —cf. ǯanbai.
gundu1 N bark (Gor RD).
gundu2 REL down; gundu junmem lying down, gundu jangim going down, to the bottom; gundugu ǯin jana you go down, gunduŋu ǯai wabanmin I have come from the bottom (Gor RD).
gundugu, gunduŋu, v. gundu2.
gundulu N emu (Goe AS, JB; properly a Gangulu word?).
gun gun N face (Gor, Goe); gun gun galanŋu nice (girl; Gor VR), gun gun ǯagu ǯagim I am looking at myself (Gor RD).
guninigi N ABL guninigi; LOC guninigi little, small; gibị, muni, balbam gunini a little person, girl, child, guraŋi guninigi ǯinem living in a small house, guŋu gunini or guŋu guninigi ǯai walgim I am climbing a small tree. —cf. gunini.
gurar N 1. corkwood; 2. shield, coolamon (Gor RD).
gunal N hair of the head (Gor RD); muni gunal gunbaru a woman (girl) with long hair.
günim N REL sleep, asleep; günim jummem, 黥em lying, sitting asleep (Gor RD, Goe AS), galarang, waraŋ günim a good, bad sleep (Gor RD).

gurbel N OBJ gurbelna old man (Gor, Goe); gurbel gi wuga give it to the old man, mëngun gurbel banji 黥em he is with the old man, gurbel gi balbam 黥em the child belongs to the old man.

gureŋ (goren) REL no, nothing, not, don't; gureŋ baraŋ mëngun ġara he has not got two or both legs, dan gureŋ ġinem muni gi the woman has no husband, gureŋ /qu gu buraŋalim I do not know.

gureŋgám N nothing (Gor RD; cf. Wakka-Wakka wagaŋgam, idem). -cf. gureŋ.

gureŋ gureŋ (goren goren) N the name of a language, Goreng-Goreng; gureŋ gureŋ gibí a Goreng-Goreng, gureŋ gureŋ gebu jalim I can speak Goreng-Goreng, gureŋ gureŋ /qu gu ge'm buraŋalim I understand Goreng-Goreng.

gurgun N 1. noise; 2. salt water, sea (Gor RD); /qu gu gurgun buraŋalim I heard a noise.

gurul N ERG gurulu fish (Gor RD); (ART) gurulbam lots of fish.

gurulba N LOC gurulbaŋ the name of a place, Gooroolba; gurulba ġaŋ jangim I am going to Gooroolba.

guruman N ABL gurumanu; LOC gurumani shade (Gor RD); ġin jana guruman gu you go (to look) for shade (= guruman /qu gu).

gurun N ABL gurunu creek (Gor RD); ġaŋ gugĩŋ gurunu ñere jangu I want to cross the creek. -cf. goron.

guruna N possess (Goe AC; also Wakka-Wakka).

-ŋa SOC SFX (15.3; 18.2).

ŋaga N grandfather (Gor RD). -cf. ġagaam.

ŋaŋam N grandfather or grandchild (Gor RD).

ŋaŋamburam N grandfather or grand-daughter (Gor RD); ġaŋunda ŋaŋamburam my grand-daughter, ʔa ʔaŋamburam I am her grandfather.

ŋaju PERS PRON (15.16; 18.5).

ńai PERS PRON (15.15-16; 18.5).

ńailu (ńa·lu) N ERG ńailubu eaglehawk (Gor RD); (ART) ńailubam (some) eaglehawks.

ńaji, ńaje PERS PRON (15.16).

-ńal SOC SFX (15.3; 18.2).

ńala PERS PRON (18.5).

ńalin, ńalinda PERS PRON (15.16).

ńalungan N moon (Goe AC). -cf. ġalulam.

ńalulam N moon (Gor VR, Goe AC); the variant forms ġalulom, ġalalom and ġalelom (Gor RD) may be incorrect (some mythological connection with ġailu, ġalu, q.v. may exist). -cf. ġalungan.

ńamu N milk (Gor RD).

ńanbai N the power of 'clever men' or doctors (Gor RD); gibí, gundir ġanbaiŋal (SOC) the secret power of a dark man, a clever man.

ńandu INTERR PRON (18.7).

ńaŋa PERS PRON (15.16; 18.5).

ńaŋunda PERS PRON (15.16; 18.5).

ńari N gambling (Gor VR).

ńari- V ITR ńari; ńarigim; ńarimin; ńarigu play (at cards or games or music), dance, gamble; wani ġin ńari don't gamble, ġabil ńarigim the child is playing, dabalim ńarigim singing and dancing (at a corroboree; Gor VR).
'g u REL over here, to me (Gor RD); jari ณ waba ณ egu you come over here to me (= ณ je; properly Wakka-Wakka?).

ณ enbe N beard, whiskers (Gor, Goe); ณ enbeŋal (SOC) wearing a beard, ณ enbeŋam (CAR) without a beard (Goe AC).

ณ ere REL across (Gor RD); ณ ere jangu to cross. –cf. ณ eregu, ณ ereŋi.

ณ erenu REL from across (Gor RD); ณ erenu wabanmin has come from across. –cf. ณ erengu.

ณ in PERS PRON (15.15-16; 18.5).

ณ ina PERS PRON (15.16; 18.5).

ณ ina (~ν ina~) V ITR ณ ina; ณ inim (ณ inem); ณ inamin; ณ inagu sit (down), stay, live, be; nalanu ณ inem sitting inside, Barambah ณ inim lives at Cherbourg (Goe JB). ณ in bal am ณ inamin I was a child (Gor RD), ณ inal ณ inem it was nice (at Gayndah; Gor RD).

ณ inda PERS PRON (15.16; 18.5).

ณ inqu, ณ inqu PERS PRON (15.16; 18.5).

ณ inegal (ณ ingal ?) PERS PRON (15.16).

ณ inendidi- V ASS ณ inendidi; ณ inendigim; ณ inendimin; ณ inegudi (15.6) sit with, watch (Gor RD).

ณ ingi (~ν inge~) PERS PRON (15.16; 18.5).

ณ ol N glass (Gor HJ, NJ).

ณ ogu N shadow; wangu ณ ogu a ghost (Gor VR).

ณ eu (~ν eu~) V TR ณ eu; ณ eu lim; ณ eu gumin (ณ eu men, Goe AC); ณ eu lu cook, bake; ณ eu gumin ฎ ugu cooked the food (Gor RD), ฎ ugu ณ eu lu to cook meat (Goe AC).

ณ jeŋ N fire (Goe LR). –cf. ɳue- (?) ɳun.

ɳul N shade (Goe AC).

ɳula PERS PRON (15.16).

ɳuli N black, coloured man: ฎ au, dagil ɳuli black earth, rock (Gor RD, NJ).

ɳulgu N REL 1. night, dark;
2. in the night, tonight, last night (Gor, Goe). –cf. ɳul

ɳun N ERG ɳundu; ABL ɳu·nu fire, wood, light, hot; ฎ u ɳundu biru balinmin I burned my hand (Gor RD), ɳundu ɳu gumin cooked by or on fire, ɳunu wamba, wambanmin put it, roasted it on the fire, ɳu·nŋa there is wood or fire (Goe AS), ɳun baligim a light is shining (Gor RD), ฎ uŋ ɳun ɳagim I can see a light (Gor RD).

ɳurala PERS PRON (15.15-16).

ɳurari PERS PRON (15.15-16).

ɳuru N black (Goe JB); ɳuru mil black eyes.

ɳuruŋal N all black (Goe AS).

J

ja·- V TR ja·la; ja·lim; ja·mim; ja·lu tell, say, speak, talk, teach; wani ɳingu danga jala don't you tell a lie, ฎ uŋ maŋuŋa jalim I will speak to him, gembu jalim speaking, ɳingu ɳana jala you teach me, ฎ uŋ jaŋmin gembu I taught him, put him through the rules (Gor RD). –cf. ja·li-.

-ja- V DER SFX (15.8).

jaŋulu- V ITR jaŋulu; jaŋuligim; jaŋulumin, jaŋulugu talk together, converse (Gor RD); ฎ alin bula jaŋulu, jaŋulugu let us have a talk.

jaŋa- V TR jaŋa; jaŋalim; jaŋanmin; jaŋalu do, make, coire (a euphemism; Goe AC); ɳun jaŋa make a fire (Gor RD).
jaŋ jaŋ REL slowly (Gor RD); jaŋ jaŋ wabalim coming slowly.

jailam N mother (Goe AS, JB).

jaja N ERG jajabu mother or aunt (Gor RD).

ja·li- V REFL ja·li; ja·ligim; (ja·lim); ja·limin talk; mingun jalin he is talking (Gor NJ), nāgu buranāmin jalinin I heard (him) talking (Gor RD). -cf. ja·-

jalulu- V ITR (PF) jalulumin talk (Gor RD); nālin bulajalulumin we two have been talking together.

jamña N quarrel, row; jamña jingadu a big row.

jamna-¹ V ITR jamña; jamŋagim; jamŋagu quarrel, swear.

jamna-² V TR jamña; jamŋanmin; jamŋalu scold; wani ŋingu nāna jamña don't you scold me, malun nāna jamŋanmin he scolded me.

jamnąda- V ITR jamnądagim; jamnądagimin quarrel (Gor RD); minggiri (bula) jamnądagim they (two) are quarelling.

jamŋali- V REFL ITR jamŋala; jamŋaligim (= jamŋagim) quarrel, have a row (Gor RD); wani ŋin bula jamŋala don't you two have a row (forms of this verb and of the transitive jamña-¹, q.v., may have been mixed up here).

jan- V ITR jana; jangim; jenmen (janmin, janan, janmanmin); jangu (18.10) go; muni janan(min) my wife has gone away (Gor RD), be·n janan(min) the wind has gone (Gor RD), mingun janan he is gone (Goe AC).

jangi-¹ V ITR jangigim (jangim) be frightened, afraid; ŋai jangigim I am frightened, afraid (Gor RD), ŋai jangigim jirilgu I am frightened by the ghost (Goe AC).

jangi-² (jangi(l)-) V TR jangilim; jangimin; jangilu scare, frighten (Gor RD); malun nāna jangilim he is frightening me.

jana- V ITR jana; jannagim go (Gor RD, DW); wani ŋin jana don't you go (= jana).

jarangi N any gum tree (Gor VR).

jaraman N ERG jaramandu OBJ jaramana horse; jaramandu biramin fell off the horse (or the horse threw him; Gor RD), jaraman baŋi (fell) from a horse (Gor RD), jaraman gi ġanjin horseshoe (Gor RD); (ART) jaramanbam (=bom) lots of horses.

jari REL here (Gor RD); jari ŋin waba you come here.

jarigu REL here (Gor RD); jarigu waba come here.

jau REL yes, goodbye (as answer to ŋai jangim I am going, goodbye; Gor RD). -cf. joi.

je· REL towards (Goe LR); je waba come toward (here). -cf. je·ŋi.

je·ŋi REL POST in front, first (Gor RD); ŋin jeŋi jana gara ŋai bugęnu wabalim you go first, then I will come after, ŋin jeŋi waba you come in front, ŋuruŋi jeŋi belbel standing in front of the house. -cf. je·.

ji- V TR jila or jilga; jilgm; jinmin (-men); jilgu bite, sting; gurulu jilgm the fish will bite (Gor RD), wangai jilgm snake bite (Goe AS; a nominalised verbal compound, according to 15.2, Note 123).

jiga N beard (Goe AC); jiganal (SOC) gurbel an old man with a beard.

jingalu N big (Goe AC). -cf. jingadu (Gor).

jila N crab (Gor NJ).
jilba- V TR jilba; jilbalim; jilbanmin; jilbalu lick (Gor RD); gembu, gunumbu jilbanmin licked with the mouth, tongue.

jilbali- V REFL jilbaligim; jilbalimin lick oneself (Gor RD); giorni jilbaligim the cat is licking itself (= giorni ụnọ ụnọ jilbalim). —cf. jilba-.

jilim N lip, lips, mouth (Gor, Goe); ụnọ ụnọ jilim ụmụa or ụmụa ge'm you kiss me (Gor RD).

jin- V TR (INT) jingu make (causative verb, possibly a derivative suffix; cf. 15.9); dali gara jingu to cure a sore (Gor RD).

jinba N eel (Gor HJ, NJ, Goe AC). —cf. jinbal.

jinbal N eel (Gor RD). —cf. jinba.

jingadu N big (Gor RD); ụrụ jingadu a big tree, jingadu ọdị bu ịa as big as I. —cf. jingadu (Goe).

jinma- V ITR (PF) jinnamim wait (Gor RD).

jirga- V TR jirga; jirgalim; (jirgim); jirganmin; jirgalu rub, grind; burgu jirgalu to grind an axe (Gor RD).

jiril ? ERG jirilgu (cf. 18.3) ghost (Goe AC).

joi REL yes (Gor NJ). —cf. jau, juai.

juai (juwai) REL yes (Gor, Goe). —cf. jau, joi.

juga- V TR juganmin leave (Gor AS).

julan ABL julanu skin; julan bundalu to skin (the possum, etc.; Gor RD), wani mađuna julanu leave (the possum, etc.) in the skin (Gor RD), julanam (CAR) without the skin.

jumbimbi N dry (Gor RD); ban jumbimbi dry grass.

jumbimbi- V ITR jumbimbegim be dry (Gor RD); ọzọ ọzọ jumbimbegim I am thirsty.

junma- (jun(a)-) V ITR junma (juna); junmagim (junnem); junnamin; junmagu (jungu, Goe) lie down, sleep; ịn junma or juna you lie down or go to sleep, mịndịn ụngịm junmagim or junnam ị is (lying down) asleep, going to lie down, jajabu bilim junmagu the mother puts (him) to sleep, bula junnam two lying together, junmagu ọzọ to lie down or sleep on the ground.

junmama- V CAUS (IPF) junnamem put to bed (Gor RD); ọzọ ọzọ balbama junnamem I am putting the child to bed.

junmendi- (junmandi-) V ASS junmandi; junmendi'min sleep with (Gor RD); mađuna, munina junmendi cohabit.

juri N meat (Goe AS; from the Gunggari languages?). —cf. guçu.

M

mabu N stomach (Goe AS, AC).

mabụnja N pregnant (Goe AC).

mađar N white man (Gor NJ; properly Batjala ?).

mađima N? (18.6) mađima ọzọ go and eat, to eat (Goe AS).

mađu, mađuna PERS PRON (15.17; 18.5).

mađunda PERS PRON (15.17).

magu N ERG magubu nulla-nulla (Gor RD, VR).

maŋa N ear (Goe AS, JB; the same in Gunggari).
mai \( N \) white, white man (Goe AS, BB; the same in Wakka-Wakka); mai \( \text{ga} \) bila white boy, mai jangim he or you are going (of a white man; cf. 25.15).

mai- \( V \) \( \text{ITR TR} \) mai\( g \) a; mai\( g \) im; mai\( m \) imin; mai\( m \) i\( m \) i\( g \) run, chase (Gor RD); \( \text{ingu} \) mai\( g \) a you run or chase (him), malun mainmin, mainmin \( \text{mi} \) ri\( g \) a he chased him, chased the dog (transitive and intransitive conjugation has been mixed).

maili- \( V \) \( \text{REFL ITR} \) maili; mailigim; mailimim; mailigu run (and sometimes 'chase', as in English; Gor RD). —cf. mai-.

maindi- \( V \) \( \text{ASS} \) maindi; maindimin; maindimu (15.6) chase (Gor RD). —cf. mai-.

mali (male) \( \text{PERS PRON} \) (15.17).

malu, malu\( \text{a} \), malun \( \text{PERS PRON} \) (15.17; 18.5).

ma\( \text{m} \) \( N \) 1. breast; 2. (any) milk; mun\( \text{gu} \) mam woman's breast (Gor VR), mam galgu to drink milk (of babies; Goe AS, NB).

mama \( N \) uncle (Gor RD).

mamailam \( N \) mother (Goe AS, JB; = jailam, q.v.).

man- \( V \) \( \text{TR} \) (15.23) touch, hold, take, catch, grab, steal, bring, get; \( \text{ingu} \) mana you touch (her, i.e. pat, caress; Gor RD), balam mangu to get sand, gu\( \text{g} \) gi mangu (go) to get water, ga\( \text{gil} \) mangu or mangu ga\( \text{gil} \) to catch fish, to fish (Goe AC), \( \text{na} \) \( \text{g} \) \( \text{g} \) \( \text{im} \) mangu gu\( \text{g} \) gu I am going to get meat (Goe AC), \( \text{ingu} \) \( \text{na} \) je mana you get it for me, wani \( \text{ingu} \) mana don't touch.

mana\( ^1 \) \( \text{DEM PRON} \) (15.18; 18.6).

mana\( ^2 \) \( N \) the name of a place, Mannar (Gor RD); mana\( \text{ni} \) \( \text{ni} \) nem lives at Mannar.

manandali \( N \) the name of a language, Manandjali (Goe JB).

manburi \( N \) \( \text{LOC} \) manburini 1. gum tree (Gor RD; perhaps Wakka-Wakka); 2. the name of a place near Gayndah.

mandabara \( N \) \( \text{LOC} \) mandabarani the name of a place, Mundubbera (Gor RD); mandabarani \( \text{n} \) inem mingun he lives at Mundubbera.

ma\( \text{na} \) \( \text{DEM PRON} \) (15.18).

ma\( \text{nu} \) \( \text{REL} \) over there (Gor RD); \( \text{jin} \) ma\( \text{nu} \) jana you go over there.

ma\( \text{nu} \), ma\( \text{nu} \)ngu, ma\( \text{nu} \)ngu \( \text{REL} \) there, from over there, that way (Gor RD); ma\( \text{nu} \) \( \text{ju} \) jana \( \text{gone} \) over that way, ma\( \text{nu} \)ngu waban comes from over there.

ma\( \text{nu} \)nga, ma\( \text{nu} \)nda \( \text{PERS PRON} \) (15.17).

mara \( \text{REL} \) over there (Gor RD; also Wakka-Wakka).

maru \( N \) goanna (Gor, Goe).

me\-\( \text{be} \)\( \text{n} \) \( \text{ERG} \) me\-\( \text{be} \)\( \text{ngu} \) emu (Gor RD, VR).

me\( \text{n} \) \( N \) wind (Gor MG; correct ?). —cf. be\-\( \text{n} \).

mil \( N \) \( \text{ABL} \) milnu eye (Gor, Goe); mil wara\( \text{n} \) poor sight, mil \( \text{nga} \), \( \text{ng} \) \( \text{g} \) \( \text{i} \), see (cf. 15.2, Note 123), mil\( \text{g} \) \( \text{am} \) (CAR) has got no eyes, poor sight or blind, mil\( \text{ja} \)\( \text{l} \) (SOC) good eyes, mil muga blind, milnu dalu, gau a sore eye, dirt in the eye.

milbi \( N \) turtle (Gor, Goe).

mil gawan \( N \) the name of a place, Millawaquin (at Bundaberg; Gor RD).

mingi, mingirin \( \text{PERS PRON} \) (15.15-16).

mingu, mingun \( \text{PERS PRON} \) (15.15-16; 18.5).

minguna, mingunda \( \text{PERS PRON} \) (15.16).

minga (minga) \( \text{REL} \) last night (Gor RD); minga wabanmin came last night.
miña INTERR PRON (15.19).

miṅagu INTERR PRON REL what for? why?

miṅangu INTERR PRON (15.19).

miṅangu INTERR PRON REL from what? how? (Gor RD); miṅangu ŋiŋgu gaŋa jangganmin how or from what have you made this? (Gor RD).

miri N ERG miribu; OBJ miriŋa; LOC miriŋi dog (Gor, Goe); miribu wulai jangalim a dog barks or dogs bark; (ART) miribam some dogs, the dogs.

miri garum N strange dog or dingo (Gor RD).

miu N mouth (Goe AS, JB).


mua N OBJ muana kangaroo or (rather) wallaby (Gor RD).

mua- (mue-) V TR (IPP) mualim smell (Goe AS).

muŋa or mudange N something stinking (?); muda (mudange) mualim smelling something stinking (Goe AS).

muwendem REL yesterday (Goe AC). —cf. murenda, murendu.

muga N mil muga blind, bina muga deaf.

mugen (mugin) N old woman (Gor RD, Goe AS, AC).

mugim N stone axe, tomahawk (Gor RD).

mugul N ankle (Goe JB). —cf. wugul.

mu'n N LOC mu'ni hill (Gor RD); ŋai barai jangim mu'ni I am walking up the hill. —cf. barai mu'ni.

mundi N posterior, podex, anus (Goe AC).

mundila- V ASS mundilagim; mundilagu cuddle up, have intercourse (Gor RD); ŋaŋu ŋina mundilagu.

muni N ERG muni bu (Gor), munigu (-ju; Goe); OBJ muniŋa (-na); ABL muniŋu woman, wife, girl (Gor, Goe); maŋuna muni gi gan ŋinemin that woman has a man, is married, jangim muni gi going for (or in search of) a woman; (ART) munibam (-bom; ERG -bombu) (some) women (Gor RD).

muni balbam N little girl (Gor RD).

munijal N having a woman, wife (Gor RD); maŋuna ŋan muniŋal that man is married.

muni muni N little girl, young girl (Gor, Goe).

muntuŋgil N hair on the body (Gor RD).

muraŋ N meat (Goe AS, NB; also Wakka-Wakka).

mure REL already, before, first, for a long time (Gor RD); mure waban already coming, ŋaŋu ŋemen mure I have seen (him) before, ŋiŋgu ḡaŋa mure you eat first, maŋuna mure wannmilim im he has been waiting for a long time. —cf. murenda, murendu.

murenda, murendu REL a long time ago, long ago (Gor RD); murenda ŋaŋu ŋenen I ate a long time ago. —cf. mure, muwendem.

murgu N short person, short (Gor RD); gibī murgu a short man.

muru N nose (Gor, Goe). —cf. mu' (Goe).

murun N ERG murunu OBJ muŋuna dark man, black fellow (Goe AC).
N

na DEM PRON (18.6).

nagí- V ITR (IPF) nagígim, nagígim go (Goe AS); mai nagígim you are or he is going (of a white person), bangí nagígim (his) sweatheart is going or gone.

nala N ABL nalanu; LOC nalaní 1. hole, interior, inside; 2. empty, fasting; nala janga dig a hole, gáin nala giném wangai gi that is the snake's hole (Gor RD), nalanu giném sitting inside, nalanu nagím, jangim looking, going through (Gor RD), nala jingún (sic) you are empty (Goe AS).

nangá V TR (PF) nanganmin finish (Gor RD); nanganmin (-men) have, has finished.

nani N (8.12) bad (Goe AS, JB).

N

ña-1 V TR (15.24; 18.10) see, look; níngú nägi (= naga) you see or look (Gor RD), nágu nína nágím I am looking at you or can see you, nín jana gurbélna nágu you go to (or and) see the old man, mál nagím (can) see, bulábu nagím two looking at one another (Gor RD).

ña-2 V ITR nágím look (Gor RD); dagil bulám nágím it looks like rock.

ña- V REFL REC nágari; nágarín; nágarígin look at oneself or one another (Gor NJ); nái nágarín I am looking at myself, bulá nágarín they are looking at one another.

ña- V REL ? dagil gure ngaamba the money is finished (Gor DH).

ña- V REL to the other side (Gor RD); ñeregu jana go over to the other side. — cf. nere.

ña-2 N REL over there, on the other side (Gor RD).

ña-3 N REL from over there (Gor RD); ñeregu wabálim coming from the other side. — cf. nere, ñeregu.

ña-4 N 1. cold (Gor RD, VR); 2. cold wind, omen, death sign, ghost (Goe AS, JB, AC).

ña-5 N REL crying, sulking (Goe AS, JB); gábil nil (bra'gi) the child is crying. — cf. nilá.

ña-6 N sulking (Goe AS; the same in Wakka-Wakka). — cf. nil.

ña-7 N anus, podex or vulva (Gor, Goe); gápa pula m that is his, pula gurá gu I am the owner of the house, mígún pula m gún gu the car is his alone. — cf. pula-2, pula-3.

ña-8 N ERG nulengu; OBJ nulëna 1. one, alone, lonely; 2. owner (= Wakka-Wakka gimbem); 3. one's self; 4. the last (child, etc.; Gor HJ); gára nulëna giném he has only one leg (Gor RD), nín nulëna you are alone or on your own (Gor RD), nái nulëna gágím I am going alone (Gor RD), gáligi nulengu eating on one's own (Gor RD), nána nulëna wánimín left me alone (Gor RD), gíriru nulëna jíbalím the cat is licking itself (Gor RD). — cf. nula, nulam.

ña-1 N a lie (Goe AC).

ña-2 N one, single, alone; pula balbam giném there is one child (Gor RD), pula bula naje giném I have a single cow (Gor RD), pula jangim he is going (Goe AS), pula bula three (Gor NJ).

ña-3 N owner or owned thing (Gor RD); nápunda nulam my (own) thing, gána nulam that is his, nái nulam gúra gu I am the owner of the house, mígún nulam gún gu the car is his alone. — cf. nula-2, nulëng.

ña-4 N ERG nulengu; OBJ nulëna 1. one, alone, lonely; 2. owner (= Wakka-Wakka gimbem); 3. one's self; 4. the last (child, etc.; Gor HJ); gára nulëna giném he has only one leg (Gor RD), nín nulëna you are alone or on your own (Gor RD), nái nulëna gágím I am going alone (Gor RD), gáligi nulengu eating on one's own (Gor RD), nána nulëna wánimín left me alone (Gor RD), gíriru nulëna jíbalím the cat is licking itself (Gor RD). — cf. nula, nulam.
The policeman is tying you up, hung himself on a tree.

The man is tying you up, climbing the tree.

The man is climbing the tree.

The man is coming, but he has already come or been here.

He has come yesterday.

I am coming with the child.

I am going to climb a tree.

I am snaring possum.

White woman.

The name of a mountain.

White woman.

The name of a mountain.

Whiptail wallaby.

Waking (Gar RD).

Waking (Gar RD).

Waking (Gar RD).

Waking (Gar RD).

Put, put up, put on, lift up, hang.

I have finished the washing already.

The Wakka-Wakka language.

The Wakka-Wakka language.

You have nothing to eat.

You have no tea, money, water.

The Wakka-Wakka language.

The Wakka-Wakka language.

The Wakka-Wakka language.

The Wakka-Wakka language.

The Wakka-Wakka language.
wana REL far (Gor RD); wana jangim nai I am going far.

wanagu REL far away (Gor RD); wanaung jangim nai I am going far away.

wanangin, v. waniingin.

wanaŋi, wananaŋi REL far, a long way (Gor RD); mingun wanaŋi belbem he is far, a long way, wananaŋi wabanmin has come from afar, damba (Wak) wanaŋi jangim the track or road is going a long way (Gor RD).

wanaŋu REL from afar (Goe AC); wanaŋu waban comes from afar.

wandai N LOC wandaiŋi, the name of a place, Wondai, south-west of Murgon.

wandal N neck (Gor RD).

wanga, wunga REL where? when?; wanga mingun njenem where does he live? wanga njen waban when did you come? (Gor RD), wanga njen jangim when are you going? (Goe AC). —cf. wanghaiala.

wandala (wankind, wandaŋala) REL where? when? when; wandala njen jangim where are you going? wandala njen waban (min) when did you come? (Gor RD).

wangu¹ INTERPRON (15.19).

wangu² REL when? when, if; wangu njen wabalim, wabanmin when do, did you come? njen nengu maŋu nala wangu nengu muluŋu nugu you tell him when you see him (Gor RD), wangu nengu muluŋu nengu nengu jala if you see him tell (him; Gor RD). —cf. wungu².

wanguŋa, v. wangu².

wanguŋun REL when?; wanguŋu njen wabanmin when did you come? (Gor RD).

wangai N OBJ wangaiŋa snake (Gor, Goe); wangai gi waibe njenem it is a snake's hole (literally 'home'; Gor RD); (ART) wangaibaŋa (OBJ) (took up) some snakes (Gor RD).

wani V (Note 143) don't (literally 'leave it'); wani njen dunja, jamaŋa don't you cry, swear, wani bula ŋaŋari don't look at one another. —cf. wani-¹.

wani-¹ V TR (15.23) leave, let, give up; nʒiŋu maŋuŋa wani ḋiŋu you let him sit down (Gor RD), malu munina wani in he left his wife, waŋila njiŋu nari you give up gambling (Gor VR).

wani-² V ITR (15.23) be left (Gor RD); ganul waniŋi bread is left (the verbs wani-¹ and wani-² are mixed up in this material).

waniŋin (wananŋin) REL alone, on his own (Gor DW).

wanmili- V ITR wanmili; wanmiligim; wanmilimin; wanmiligu wait (Gor RD); wani njiŋu wanmili don't wait, njiŋu maŋuŋa wabanmin wanmiligu I have come here to wait.

waŋa REL where? when? (Goe AC, LR); waŋa njiŋu gagim where are you going? waŋa njiŋu waban when did you come? —cf. waŋa.

waŋana INTERPRON (15.19).

waŋbagay REL when? (Gor RD); waŋbagay jela when did you, the rain come?

waŋgi INTERPRON (15.19).

waŋgu, waŋguŋa REL to where? (Gor RD); waŋguŋa (la) njiŋu jangim where are you going (to)?

waŋmeri N white woman, lady, girl (Gor, Goe).

waŋu INTERPRON REL (15.19) whence? from whom? from what? how? (Gor RD); waŋu njiŋu wabanmin where did you come from? waŋu njiŋu menmen from whom did you get it? waŋu njiŋu njaŋa jangamin from what or how have you made this?

waŋuŋa INTERPRON (15.19).
wuŋuŋa({1}) INTERR PRON (15.19).

wuŋun REL where? when? (Gor RD);
wuŋun ɲinda ɲura where is your house? wuŋun ɲin jangim where are you going? —cf. wuŋun.

wuŋumba INTERR PRON (15.19).

waraj N bad, silly (Gor RD).

warai N very bad (Goe AS, JB).

wari N rain, storm (Goe AS, JB);
war robalim rain is coming.

waru¹ N ERG warubu 1. black goanna; 2. Warroo station (Gor RD).

waru², v. warul.

lararası N LOC waruŋi the name of a place, Warroo (about Maryborough; Gor RD). —cf. waru¹.

warul (waru, walur) N head (Gor RD, HA).

warun, warunu REL sitting down waiting (Gor RD); warunu ɲin jinmamin you have been sitting down waiting.

waru waru N fence (Gor RD).

wau N ERG waubu OBJ wauŋa white man (Gor RD); waubu ɲina jangim the white man is telling you, wau gi wuga give it to the white man, wau banu ɲingu mana (you) get it from the white man; (ART) waubam (some) white men. —cf. wu⁻.

wawa N lolly (Goe JB).

webendi- V ASS webendi;
webendigim; webendimin; webendigu come with, bring, fetch; ɲalbin ɲingu jari webendi you come with or bring the clothes (Gor RD), gaŋa malun jari webendigim he is going to bring this over here (Gor RD). —cf. wabi⁻.

wingle, v. wangle.

wu¹ N ERG wubu white man:¹ (Gor, Goe). —cf. wau.

wu⁻ VI TR wuga; wugim (-em); wumen;
wugu give (Gor, Goe); wuga bulŋagung give me a smoke ('to smoke'; Goe AC), ɲaŋu ɲinge wugim I will give you, malu wumen ɲaje he gave me, ɲaje wugu give (it) to me (Gor RD).

wubali⁻ VI TR (IPF) wubalim come (Goe AS). —cf. wabili⁻.

wu'yan N blackfellow (Goe AS, JB).

wuŋabe v? going home (Goe LR).

wugul N ankle (Goe LR). —cf. mugul.

wułai N noise; wani ɲingu wulai janghai don't you make a noise (Gor RD), wulai jangalim miriŋu the dog is barking (Gor RD). —cf. wurai.

wułaibara N noisy (Gor NJ).

wulba N old (Gor RD). —cf. wurba.

wulbali⁻ VI TR wulbalim be old (Gor RD); gaŋa gulbe (incorrect for gurbel, q.v.?) wulbalim that is an old man or that man is (getting) old, muni wulbalim an old woman.

wungala, v. wangle.

wungu REL (15.27). —cf. wungu².

wuŋi REL just now, this morning (Gor RD); wuŋi wabanmin (he) has just come, ɲai wuŋi ɲugali I had a feed just now, miŋa ɲingu wuŋi jangalim what were you doing this morning? ɲundu wuŋi baligim it is going to be hot.

wurai N noise (Goe JB). —cf. wula.

wurba N old (Gor RD); muni wurba an old woman, ɲura wurba an old house —CF. wurba, wulbali⁻.
KABI-KABI

Introductory remarks

20.1 If Kabi-Kabi at one time was one of the important languages of south-eastern Queensland (cf. Mathew 1910, pp. 68, 198 sqq.), it is now practically extinct. Seeing that of the five or so natives whom it was possible to pick out from among the Aborigines still living in that part of Queensland none was really competent as an informant for the language, the data obtained are quite insufficient and especially the notes on the morphology are extremely scanty. The introductory sections on Kabi-Kabi are therefore almost entirely limited to a summary of phonological points, to some extent to be completed by comparison with the closely related Batjala. The Kabi-Kabi morphology, although expected to be similar to that of Batjala, nevertheless seems to deviate in respect of some minor details. The vocabulary will be listed along with that of Batjala at the end of the sections dealing with the latter language.

List of informants

20.2 The following persons were found to have a slight recollection of the Kabi-Kabi language, although two of them at least were not Aborigines (as a matter of fact some of the Aboriginals interviewed were not much better informed about the language). In reference to these informants the letters Kab stand for Kabi-Kabi and the letters following are the initials of the respective persons.

Kab CC: Mrs. Colin Chilly, at Nambour (a white lady).
Kab DC: Mr. Dick ('Nyalbo') Cobbo (about 65), at Cherbourg, born at the former Barambah Mission; his father (one Robin Cobbo) was from the Gayndah area (which is not properly Kabi-Kabi country), but Dick Cobbo reckoned himself as a Kabi-Kabi in spite of contradictory information by some other Aborigines (cf. Note 3).
Kab DW: Mrs. Daisy Weasel, at Cherbourg; although she claimed to know Wakka-Wakka and Gunggari, the words and forms she was able to give agreed more with Kabi-Kabi.
Kab FA: Mr. Frank Atherton (88), a white gentleman at Mannar (west of Gayndah; he had learned Kabi-Kabi as a young man at Kilkivan, Miva and other places within the ancient Kabi country territory.
Kab LD: Mr. Les Davidson, at Churchill, by Ipswich.
Kab WS: Mr. Willie Sanda, at Cherbourg (died a couple of years ago); his mother was Kabi-Kabi and his father a white man (incidentally, Mr. Sanda maintained that Kabi-Kabi and Batjala are virtually the same language).

Phonology

21.1 The phonetic system of Kabi-Kabi differs from those of either Wakka-Wakka (in the western subgroup of the Wakka languages) or Goreng-Goreng (in the eastern subgroup) in respect of its vocalism, while the consonant system is basically the same as in the latter language (or the languages of the eastern subgroup generally). On the whole, Kabi-Kabi is more conservative than either of the mentioned languages (cf. Mathew 1910, p. 198).
Evolution of the vowel system

21.2 Kabi-Kabi has the three basic vowels a, i and u, which are either short (or of normal length) or long (a', i', u'), although vowel length is not always fundamental or distinctive (as usual the long vowels are marked by the raised period where it seems permanent or where no alternative forms with a short vowel were noted, as, for instance, in ǧam or ǧa·m food). These vowels may (theoretically) enter into diphthongs, of which ai is most frequent. The vowel sounds e and o may appear as phonetic variants of respectively i and u, but do not occur as independent phonemes.¹³⁵

21.3 Common modifications of the basic vowels occur, for instance, in contact with palatal sounds, in which case a may approach or turn into e (as in ĝege, ĝegegan for ĝaĝa son, ĝaĝagan daughter; Kab DC). Analogously a basic a may approach or turn into o after the bilabial semivowel w (as in wolbai for walbai child; Kab WS).

Evolution of the consonant system

21.4 The basic consonant phonemes in Kabi-Kabi are the following: (bilabial) b, m; (palatalised dental or interdental) ĝ, n; (alveolar) d, n; (palatal or velar) g, ĝ; (lateral continuant) ĝ; (alveolar continuant or trill) r; (palatal semivowel) j; and (bilabial semivowel) w.

21.5 The plosives b, d, ĝ and g are 'devoiced' (cf. 2.8); except after a (homorganic) nasal, b and g tend to become fricative (as in Spanish). Contrary to Wakka-Wakka, for instance (see 2.8), all plosives are often typically voiceless initially and after a nasal; hence ĝabi ĝabi (Kabi-Kabi) may sound like ĝabi kabi (the medial b being fricative) or ĝanga (mouth) as ĝança, etc. As in Goreng-Goreng (see 14.10) the palatalised dental is actualised in two different ways: either as a palatal sound (like the initial sound in English 'dew' or the sound in common Queensland pronunciation—especially among the Aborigines—of English 'j') or as an interdental sound (similar to the one in English 'this').¹³⁶

21.6 An interesting example of 'pre-occlusive' (see 23.5) l is found in the word judlo (for julu eel, Kab CC; cf. Batjala julu, idem, Bat:Wak WC); this word is preserved in the place name 'Eudlo' (near Nambour), which proves that the articulation of the occlusive element before l has been generally heard (cf. the island name 'Coochiemudlo', in Moreton Bay, representing Nunagal guği mulu red rook).

21.7 Initial consonant clusters are normally not permitted in Kabi-Kabi. Where they arise, it is probably through the loss of an intermediate vowel; this was found in the word blai blai flying fox (Kab CC), also used as a place name (Bli Bli).

Morphology

22. Since very scarce data have been obtained of what may with certainty be assumed to represent Kabi-Kabi morphology, the few points gathered from supposedly Kabi-Kabi informants will be mentioned in connection with the account of Batjala morphology given in the following sections (25.1 sqq.).
23.1 Batjala is considered by many to be the same language as Kabi-Kabi (cf. 1.5). As it was possible to gather more information on Batjala than on Kabi-Kabi, the material collected from the former language may in some measure supplement the scantier material from the latter. Nevertheless, there are minor divergences between the two languages, which may justify—apart from the accepted use of different names—a treatment of Kabi-Kabi and Batjala as different languages.

List of informants

23.2 Reference to the various informants for Batjala is made in the usual way by the abbreviation Bat (for Batjala) followed by the initials of the informant. Some information was obtained from one Mrs. Konomici Richards and her family (Dar KR, CR, ER; for which see under Darumbal, in Part III of this survey); such data are marked by the abbreviation Bat:Dar KR, etc. (cf. 4.3).

Bat BM: Mr. Billy Munro, at Bundaberg, Harry Munro's (Bar HM) son.
Bat EB: Mrs. Elsie Broome, at Bundaberg, probably from Maryborough.
Bat EH: Mrs. Elsie Hill (née Williams) at Cherbourg, Ernie Williams' (Bat EW) sister, born at Yandina.
Bat EO: Mrs. Edith ('Edie') Owen (about 60), at Maryborough, Ike Owen's (Bat IO) sister.
Bat EW: Mr. Ernest ('Ernie') Williams, at Memorambi by Kingaroy (died a couple of years ago).
Bat FR: Mr. Fred(eric) Ross (about 60), at Urangan.
Bat HM: Mr. Harry Munro (born in 1885 and about 90 when he died at Gin Gin); Mr. Munro, who was born at Bundaberg, had travelled afar and had first learned the language, as he said, from one 'old Fat Maria' (at Childers) and later—after years of absence from an Aboriginal milieu—picked it up afresh at Urangan and other places within the limits of the old Batjala country.
Bat IO: Mr. Isaac ('Ike') Owen, at Urangan; he was born at Urangan, but his father (Garry Owen) was from Fraser Island (where he used to live at Owen's Camp).
Bat KR: Mrs. Kate Rowe, at Bundaberg, Mr. Steve Broome's (Bat SB) sister; their father was one John Broome from Maryborough, who was said to have been an important person and a good speaker of Batjala.
Bat LR: Mr. Leonard Rowe, at Bundaberg, Mrs. Rowe's (Bar KR) son.
Bat MW: Mrs. Mabel Williams, at Berajondo; her mother was a Batjala, but her father a white man.
Bat PR: Mrs. Pearl ('Pearly') Rookwood (about 80), at Maryborough (later at Duaringa), born at Gayndah (or Taroom ?); her father (Darby) was from Fraser Island, while her mother was a Goreng-Goreng from Mount Perry.
Bat SB: Mr. Steve Broome, at Bundaberg and born at Bundaberg, Mrs. Rowe's brother; he says both father (Johnie Broome) and mother were Batjala.

Reference is further made to Mrs. Winnie Cobbo (Bat:Wak WC; see 5.2), who had learned Batjala from her husband, Mr. Robin Cobbo.
Phonology

24.1 It may be safely accepted that the phonology of Batjala is that of Kabi-Kabi in all its important phases. As, however, more Batjala informants were available than for Kabi-Kabi, some irregularities within the former language were apt to appear, which may be briefly mentioned.

Evolution of the vowel system

24.2 In Batjala primitive dissyllabic sequences of the type aJi, awu are frequently found: gawuŋ (want; cf. Wuli-Wuli ga·ŋ, gaŋ, Wakka-Wakka go·ŋ, goŋ, hence with original -w-), gawur (urine; cf. Barunggam gawur, gaur, idem, Wakka-Wakka ga·ri- pass water, with original -w-), gamaŋi (ate; Bat:Wak WC), namŋaŋi (saw; Bat:Wak WC).

24.3 An example of word-final -a passing to -i is found in waŋi for waɡa (dog; Bat HM). This is probably in imitation of English speech habits; on the other hand, the influence of an adjoining palatal element is probably the cause of the occasional change of the verb stem junma- (lie down) to jinma- (Bat HM).

Evolution of the consonant system

24.4 As in Kabi-Kabi (see 20.5), the palatalised dental appears either as such (English 'tune', 'dew', etc.) or as an interdental fricative (approximately English 'th' in 'father'), which latter often approaches the alveolar d. The difference between both series becomes clear in the pronunciation of Bat:Wak WC, who consistently sticks to the palatalised variant, as in her native Wakka-Wakka.

24.5 Instances of 'pre-occlusives' (that is an l or n preceded by a plosive d) are found in Batjala dadla (= dala hair of the head; Bat EH) and jidni (= jini, a kind of vine, Bat IO; cf. the place name 'Yidney', on Fraser Island); this type of articulation of l and n is very frequent in the Nunagal language (Stradbroke Island), but definitely not a feature of the Wakka languages. English influence is probably found in Batjala ɲabąŋ (for ɲaban mother), as it mirrors Queensland English 'something', 'nothing', etc. The pronunciation na·d (for na·r duck; Bat IO) probably—as in other cases noted—derives from the difficulty of articulating syllable-final r among bilingual speakers.

24.6 The syllabic structure is the same in Batjala as in Wakka-Wakka and the other languages of the Wakka group (cf. 6.18). It is important to notice that consonant combinations which seem impossible in English are quite normal in these languages and, insofar as Batjala is concerned, even preferred to such as may seem 'easier'. An interesting case of the metathesis, or transposition, of -ŋm- to -mŋ- is found in some verb stems: jamŋala- beside jaŋmala- quarrel, namŋa- (for *ŋamŋa- (see; stem form na(·)ŋ-, cf. Wakka-Wakka na·ŋi, Darumbal Naŋ saw), wumŋa- for *wuŋma- (give; stem form wuŋ-, cf. Wakka-Wakka wuŋi gave). Compare further 6.18 and the Note 59.
Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

25.1 The structure of concrete word stems (either nominal or verbal) has the same appearance in Kabi-Kabi and Batjala as in the languages of the Wakka group in general.159 Contraction of vowels (as in Wakka-Wakka) is hardly found at all in Kabi-Kabi and Batjala, whereby these languages show the characteristic features of the languages of the eastern Wakka subgroup. Vowel length is, however, not absent: final vowels of monosyllabic concrete stems are long as elsewhere and this length may by analogy be propagated to derived or inflected forms (cf. 6.14). Both nominal and verbal stems can be monosyllabic or longer, ending either in a vowel or a consonant, but according to the current pattern verbal stems are disyllabic, ending either in -a- or -i-; the vowel-ending monosyllabic verb stems are given with a short vowel: Kabi-Kabi and Batjala become (= Wakka-Wakka ba-). Reduplication of noun stems (often in adj ectival words or color names) are found, as in: Batjala mundai mundai pretty, mulu mulu black; reduplication of part of a noun stem (according to the principles mentioned in 15.1, with references) is found in walarbai small (Bat: Wak WC; cf. walarbai child), damaramai small (Bat IO; cf. damarmai, idem). Of verbal compounds (cf. Note 123) an example occurs in biri bangi- hit with the hand (as if hand-hit).

25.2 Nominal derivation. Although very little has been recorded regarding the derivation of nominal stems, it is evident that it takes place along the same lines as in Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng. Of the suffix -gan, which mostly marks females, several examples are found: jirgan (little) girl (Bat EW, Bat: Wak WC; cf. Kabi-Kabi ji ram woman), da·rgan white woman (cf. da·ran, idem), jangan wife, woman you can marry (Kab DC; no single stem found), maringan wife (Kab DC; from English 'marrying?'), gagagan daughter (Kab DC; cf. ga·ga son—the feminine signification also occurs in Dunggija wangan woman); further nga·bangan ghost (Bat MW; perhaps not necessarily female ghost), biralugan God (beside biral, idem; originally eaglehawk), gawangan dugong, gurugan black man (here rather diminutive: ganan ganan gurugan poor little black man; Kab DC). The sociative suffix in Batjala seems to be -mur, as in dununmur pregnant, with child (from dunun belly, hence formed by analogy with Wakka-Wakka bulungal; see 12); an analogous suffix -mur in Kabi-Kabi is somewhat doubtful. The caritative suffix is the same as in Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng, namely -gam, as in nga·gam without trees (treeless; Bat-Wak WC).160 A suffix -bara, which denotes tribes (cf. Dunggija bulbara the Carpetsnake tribe) or areas, is found in the names of some places: bandabara Bundaberg (also banda), marabarai Maryborough (also maribari; Bat HM); it also occurs in jalabarai or jalunbara (= julun) old man (Bat EB—what the original designation might have been could not be ascertained; as for the formation, cf. the Goreng-Goreng wulaibara noisy).

25.3 Of the affixes without a precise concrete function (mentioned in 3.6; 7.1 and elsewhere) -ŋ and *-j occur in our Kabi-Kabi and Batjala material; Kabi-Kabi nga·ŋ egg (beside nga, idem, which however is Wakka-Wakka, while the Batjala word for egg is bam), Batjala wi·ŋ fire (beside wi·; Bat SB, EB, KR), Batjala gaba· bee, honey (beside gaba, idem) and possibly Kabi-Kabi wambai, the name of a place, Woombye (Kab CC), if connected with the Batjala verb stem wambai- lift up.161
25.4 Verbal derivation. No proper causative derivations were recorded; it is significant that the typical causative suffix -ma- (cf. 7.5; 15.5) has, in Batjala and Kabi-Kabi, the character of an 'auxiliary' (corresponding to the Goreng-Goreng -ga-, -gi-; see 15.21 and the Note 95). The causative function may, however, be present in the (originally sociative) Batjala verb binda-send, if related to Goreng-Goreng bi-go (hence make go?),162 Another derivative suffix having an originally sociative sense is -la- (cf. 15.6), which in Batjala and Kabi-Kabi is rather reciprocal: Batjala bagila-fight (from bagi-hit; hence hit one another), Batjala jamgala- (or jumjala-; cf. 24.6) quarrel (from the same stem as Goreng-Goreng jamja- quarrel, scold; hence scold one another), Kabi-Kabi jala-talk (cf. Batjala ja-tell; hence tell one another) and finally Batjala gañgala copulate (construed as transitive), to which may be compared the equivalent Goreng-Goreng mundila- (see 15.6). Of reflexive suffixes -li- and -ñili- are found, the former evidently the same as in Goreng-Goreng (15.7) and the latter a combination of this and another reflexive derivative suffix, -ñi-, found both in Wakka-Wakka (7.7) and Goreng-Goreng (15.7): Batjala ñañali- (probably appear (cf. the verb stem nañ(a)- see),163 Batjala wambañili-hang oneself down (from wamba-lift, in Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng also hang, etc.).

(b) Inflection

25.5 Declension. In the nominal inflection special forms exist for the following five cases: nominative, ergative, objective, ablative and locative. The nominative, as elsewhere, is the stem of the word. The form of the ergative (which always ends in -u) depends on the nature of the word stem, whether ending in a vowel, a nasal or -l or -r (cf. Goreng-Goreng; 15.10); in the case of vowel-ending stems the suffix is -ru (rarely -lu, as in Wakka-Wakka), of a stem in -ai (< *-aj; cf. 6.3) this diphthong is changed into -aju, of stems in a nasal (-ñ, -m, -n, -ñ) the suffix is the corresponding plosive (-g-, -b-, -d-, -g-, respectively) plus the vowel -u (for further details, cf. 15.12); of stems ending in -l or -r the ergative suffix is -u. The objective (which is formed of personal or animate nouns only; cf. 3.15) was found in the case of stems ending in a nasal or in -r, in which cases the suffix appears to be -a;164 of stems ending in a vowel nothing was found (-ña, -na?). The ablative of stems ending in a vowel is -nu (with the usual alternative -nu; cf. 7.12; 15.11), while the termination -ai is changed into -aju; in other cases the ablative suffix seems regularly to be -u. The locative is in -ni (probably also -ñi; cf. Note 165) of stems ending in a vowel; in other cases -i.165 It seems that the ablative is also used as possessive (and hence also dative) in Batjala: walsamu (walsainu) belonging to the child or of the child (from walsai child), as in ñugu wunajali walsainu I gave it to the child (Bat:Wak WC). Two ergative forms in -bu were noted: garulinbu (from garulin one (person); Bat:Wak WC) and sa'bu with a saw (Bat HM; from English saw). An allative in -ru was found in odd cases: bandaru nai jannami I went to Bundaberg (banda; Bat HM), Gayndah-ru to Gayndah (Bat HM); otherwise it may occur in relation words (bararu jannan goes upward into the sky—occurring in a song—Kab DC, whether this is supposed to be Kabi-Kabi or Batjala). A single case was noted of a comitative in -gu (walbaigu bagan comes with a child; Bat HM). Finally, a perative may possibly occur in the place name bunara (Kab FA; if from buna bloodwood tree).
25.6 Paradigms. The paradigms below show typical forms recorded (most are from Batjala informants; Kabi-Kabi informants are indicated by Kab). The type words are: (1) gula koala, biri hand, gu· tree, gundu home, house, gira fire, marabara Maryborough; (2) wlbai child (cf. 25.5); (3) gan man, jaraman horse, gina foot, gugun home, gin gin Gin Gin (place name); (4) gibir Aboriginal, gundir clever man, gugar nulla-nulla.

Stems in a plain vowel:

- NOM gula, biri, gu·, gundu, gira, marabara
- ERG gularu, biriru, giraru
- ABL gu·nu, gundunu, marabanu
- LOC marabarani

Stems ending in -ai:

- NOM wlbai
- ERG wlbaju
- ABL wlbaju (walbainu)

Stems ending in a nasal:

- NOM gan, jaraman, gina7, gagun, gin gin
- ERG gandu (also Kab), gina7gu (also Kab)
- OBJ jaramana
- ABL gaga7nu, gin ginu
- LOC gina7jina (Kab; cf. Note 165), gin gin

An objective form mi̱gami (Bat HM) for expected mi̱gama (from mi̱gama woman, girl) is either wrong or due to the tendency mentioned in 24.3.

Stems in -r:

- NOM gibir, gundir, gugar
- ERG gundiru, gugaru
- OBJ gibira

The form gawuru (from gawur urine; Bat HM) is to be considered as an allative. No articles (cf. 7.15; 15.14) were recorded in the material from Kabi-Kabi and Batjala.

25.7 Personal pronouns. Kabi-Kabi and Batjala personal pronouns were recorded for the following persons: (singular) first person: ŋai I; second person: ŋin you; third person: ṣunda (Kab ŋuna; cf. 6.20) he, she; (dual) first person: ŋalam, ŋalin or ŋalira we; second person: wulam you; third person: bula they; (plural) third person: ḷa7bula they. As in Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng, a special possessive form exists of the personal pronouns. The recorded forms are the following (mostly Batjala, Kabi-Kabi forms being indicated by Kab):

**First person singular:**

- NOM ŋai (also Kab)
- ERG ŋadu (also Kab)
- OBJ ŋa8a (also Kab)
- POSS ŋa8u7ga (Kab:Wak WC), ŋa8uŋa (Bat HM)

In the above possessive form it seems that -ga is a postposition (possibly the same as Wakka-Wakka gari; see 7.13, 20). The possessive form may be further inflected: ŋa8uŋgu (also ŋa8uŋgu) to mine (i.e. to my place or home; Bat:Wak WC). A form which looks like a comitative was found in ŋa8ila with me (?), in a song:
jirilgu ȵila ȵulbangan jain the ghost and I walked together to bed (Bat MW); the form would contain a 'perlate' suffix -la (see 7.12; 15.6 and the Note 129) and be equivalent to Goreng-Goreng ȵaiŋal (see 15.16). No dative or local (ablative or locative) forms were noted.

Second person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>ȵin (also Kab)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ȵinu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>ȵina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>ȵiŋu (gai), ȵiŋungai (Bat:Wak WC), ȵiŋungan (Bat HM).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the forms in -gai, cf. above; no dative or comitative form was found. For Kabi-Kabi, forms with initial ř- were also recorded.

Third person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>ȵunda (Kab ȵuna)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ȵundaru, ȵundalu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>ȵundana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>ȵundanu (Bat:Wak WC), ȵunda, ȵuna (Bat HM)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the shorter possessive forms (ȵunda, ȵuna), compare Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng ȵinda your, etc. (see 15.16; 18.5).

First person dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>ȵalam (Bat:Wak WC), ȵalin (Bat HM), ȵalira (Bat:Dar KR)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>ȵalamu (Bat:Wak WC), ȵalindu (Bat HM)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form ȵalindu (which like ȵalamu, wulamu and bulamu, etc. — for which see below—has the appearance of an original ablative) was used in a dative sense: ȵundaru ȵalindu wunman ře he gives to us (Bat HM). The compound pronoun ȵalin ȵin (Bat HM) means you and me and the alternative ȵalin bulu (Bat HM) we two.

Second person dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>wulam</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>wulama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>wulamu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third person dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>bula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>bularu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>bula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>bulamu, bulanu, bulandu (Bat:Wak WC).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third person plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>ȡanabu</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ȡanabu, ȡanaburu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>ȡanabunu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

25.8 Demonstrative pronouns. Of demonstratives based on the two stems ga- (here, this) and ma- (there, that; cf. 15.18) the following only were recorded: gai, gara here, garaŋa this, garĩ here (also Kab), garĩŋa this, that, mara there, maraŋa that, maraŋa that thing (Bat:Wak WC), mara there, maraŋa that. Examples: gara ȵinam (we are) sitting here (Bat:Wak WC), gari ȵina-na-mi I have lived here (in a song), ȵin mara garĩ (IMP) ȵalanu you go into that hole (Bat:Wak WC), ȵan gariŋa who is that? (Bat:Wak WC), gariŋa gabu this boy (Bat:Wak WC), buŋar gariŋa that hawk (Bat:Wak WC), gari bulam ȵinam (we) two are sitting here (Kab DC).
25.9 Interrogative pronouns. The personal interrogative who? is "nan in Batjala and "andum in Kabi-Kabi. The impersonal interrogative what? is mi"an in Batjala and Kabi-Kabi. The declension is as follows:

nan who?:
- NOM "nan (Kab "andum)
- ERG "andum (Bat HM, Bat:Wak WC), "andumu (Bat HM)
- OBJ "ana
- POSS "anu"ugai (Bat:Wak WC), "anu"ugan (Bat HM)

(From Willie McKenzie (cf. 1.6) two forms were recorded: "anga who? and "angari whose?, of which the latter is Wakka-Wakka.)

mi"an what?:
- NOM mi"an
- LOC mi"anin (Kab)
- ALL mi"angu

Batjala mi"angu means why? and Kabi-Kabi mi"anin (which looks like a locative; cf. 25.5, Note 165) was rendered by what for? A Kabi-Kabi form mi"an"an why? has the appearance of a perative (cf. 7.12).

25.10 Conjugation. Batjala (and Kabi-Kabi) conjugation has points in common both with the languages of the western Wakka subgroup (Wakka-Wakka, etc.) and the languages of the eastern subgroup (Goreng-Goreng, etc.). Like these languages, Batjala and Kabi-Kabi have verbal stems of various structure: either disyllabic (or if derived, longer) or monosyllabic, ending in the former case either in -a- or -i-, while in the latter case stems ending in any vowel or in a consonant are possible also. Occasionally a verb has more than one stem, but no regular interchange of stem vowels (as in Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng; see 15.20; 18.8); compare Batjala and Kabi-Kabi "ina sit (imperative, "inam sitting (imperfective) and the corresponding Goreng-Goreng forms "ina and "inim. Unlike Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng, there is no difference in Batjala and Kabi-Kabi between a transitive and intransitive conjugation (cf. 15.20; 18.8). Finally, there are some verbs which show an irregular conjugation.

25.11 Batjala has the four basic modal forms (imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional) as are found in the other languages studied in this survey (cf. 3.23). As usual, the imperative is identical with the verbal stem (except where the latter is monosyllabic and ends in a consonant, in which case an -a is added to the stem: jana go, from jan-); in odd cases the imperative ends in -ga (cf. 15.24, Note 144). The imperfective is formed in various ways in Batjala and Kabi-Kabi. The usual principle is by means of the same 'thematic element' -m as in Goreng-Goreng (see 15.21), added to the stem: Batjala and Kabi-Kabi "inam sitting (= Goreng-Goreng "inim). Corresponding to the alternative conjugation in Goreng-Goreng (by means of the 'auxiliary' -ga-, -gi-; see ibid.) some Batjala verbs are conjugated by the aid of an analogous element, "ma- (which consequently may be considered to have the character of an 'auxiliary' verb stem);166 the Batjala imperfective janman, janman going would consequently answer (except for the different 'thematic element', -n, -n, respectively -m) to the Goreng-Goreng jangim (idem) and, likewise, Batjala bunman pricking to Goeng-Goeng bungim shooting.
25.12 Batjala as well as Kabi-Kabi informants have given forms with the 'thematic element' *-j* (that is as in Wakka-Wakka; 7.28): bai *coming* (Kab DC; = Wakka-Wakka be', idem), junmai *lying down* (Bat EH), pinai *sitting* (Bat EH, Kab DC). Whether these forms (if correct) are with equal right to be considered as Kabi-Kabi and Batjala is not to be determined from the present material. One Batjala informant (Bat HM) had imperfective forms in either -n or -n: junman or junman *lying down*, pinan *sitting*, while of the verb stems jan- *go*, nan- *see* (extended by the 'auxiliary' element -ma-; see 25.11) the imperfective universally ends in -n or -n: janman (-n) *going*, namman *seeing* (cf. 24.6). For other forms in -n, see in the following section (25.13) and in the Note 169.

25.13 The *perfective* mode is regularly obtained by addition of -i (or -in; cf. Note 165) to the imperfective form (this is evidently the same locative -i(n) as in Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng; cf. 3.23; 15.21 and Note 165). The most usual termination is therefore -mi (pinami *sat*; cf. pinam *sitting*), but forms in -ji are also found (that is, 'thematic' -j- with locative -i or, in fact, the same as the regular Wakka-Wakka perfective suffix in, for instance, jangai *made*; cf. 6.3; 7.29): gamaji *ate* (Bat:Wak WC; although the imperfective is gamam, gaman or gaman), namaji *saw* (beside namani, the imperfective being namman). Otherwise, the verbs that form the imperfective mode in -n (or -n) naturally make the perfective in -ni (-ni): janman *went*, namman *saw* (Bat HM pronounces respectively janmari, nammani, according to 6.19, with the Note 61). The intentional always ends in -gu, which is added to the plain stem of the verb (*jangu to go*, nagu *to see*) or to the 'thematic element' (which then regularly appears as -n): pinangu *to sit*.

25.14 Paradigms. The following paradigms show the more important conjugation forms met with in Batjala and Kabi-Kabi; the type verbs are: ḡinga- *throw*, gawa- *cut*, ḡama- *eat, drink, take*, jan- *go*, baga- (ba-) *come*, nañ- (na-) *see*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>IMP</th>
<th>IPF</th>
<th>PF</th>
<th>INT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ḡinga- <em>throw</em></td>
<td>ḡinga</td>
<td>ḡingam (ḡingan)</td>
<td>ḡingami (also Kab)</td>
<td>ḡingangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gawa- <em>cut</em></td>
<td>gawa</td>
<td>gawam (gawan, Bat HM, MW)</td>
<td>gawami</td>
<td>gawangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ḡama- (gaman) <em>eat, drink, take</em></td>
<td>ḡama (ga·, Bat:Wak WC, Kab DC; Wakka-Wakka ?)</td>
<td>ḡamam (gaman, gaman)</td>
<td>ḡamaji (-je), gamami (Kab), gamari (Bat HM)</td>
<td>ḡamgu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The form ḡaman took (*ate;* Kab DC), if correct, seems rather an imperfective. Compare, however, Goeng-Goeng gemen (18.10).
Jan- go:

IMP jana (also Kab), janma (Kab; correct ?)
IPF janman (also Kab), janman
PF janmani, janmai, janmar (cf. 25.13), janin, janan
INT jangu

Baga- (ba-) come:

IMP baga, ba’ (also Kab)
IPF bagam (also Kab), bagan, bagan (Kab), ba’n (Bat: Wak WC, Kab DC; Wakka-Wakka ?)
PF bagami
INT bagangu

Na- (na-) see:

IMP na ga, na đa (na’, Bat: Wak WC; Wakka-Wakka ?)
IPF namgan, namgan (Bat HM)
PF namgani (Bat: Wak WC), namgari (Bat HM), na gin
INT na gu

(c) Construction

25.15 Very little is to be said about Batjala and Kabi-Kabi construction. A case of grammatical agreement is found in Batjala ŋNgu maγar u you (if addressed to a white person, maγar white man), both the pronoun and the noun appearing in the ergative case form (incidentally, this construction has been noticed by the author in other Aboriginal languages as well). The word order is according to the models shown in 15.25, with the Note 145, in dealing with Goreng-Goreng: Batjala galaŋur ŋai, ŋin I, you are well (Bat HM), galaŋur gi bir a good or sound dark man (Bat HM; this of course also means the dark man is good or sound), gam galaŋur fine head (or has a fine head, etc.).

Batjala and Kabi-Kabi vocabulary

26. The vocabulary is based on Batjala; entries in Kabi-Kabi (or deriving from Kabi-Kabi informants) are indicated by the signature Kab (with or without informant’s initials). The arrangement of the material is otherwise as for Wakka-Wakka (12) and Goreng-Goreng (19). The entries are arranged alphabetically according to the following order of symbols: a, b, d, g, e, g, n, i, j, l, m, n, o, r, u, w.
ba CONN then, and then (Bat:Wak WC); janin ba went then (?).

ba-, v. baga-.

baba N father (Kab DC, WS).

babaram N periwinkle (a mussel; Bat SB, IO).

babu N the moon (Bat SB).

babun N 1. father (or grandfather; Bat HM); 2. the moon (Bat, Kab); 3. the sun, sky or rainbow (Kab DC).

badi badi N young girl (Kab WS).

bagala N the name of a language, Batjala (Bat, Kab).

baga- (ba-) V ITR (25.14) come; jari ñin baga (Bat), ba' gari (Kab; properly Wakka-Wakka?) (you) come here, jurum bagam (-ŋ) rain is coming, maqar bagam a white man coming (Kab FA), gagangu bagangu wants to come (Bat:Wak WC).

bagi- V TR bagi; bagim; bagin hit.

bagila- (bagili-) V REC bagilam (-im, Kab) fight; bula bag(i)lim two fighting (Kab DC).

bagimba N the name of a place, Bogimbah (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

baguðar N big; gun baguðar a flood (Bat HM).

baji N sick (Kab DC).

bajilba, v. bialba.

bala1 N jewfish (Bat, Kab).

bala2 N semen (Bat HM).

balanu? N old man (Bat EB).

balgal N Pulgal creek (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

balgu or balgun N the name of a social section (Bat HM, KR).

balu- V ITR TR (?) (IPF) balum (-ń, -ń); (PF) balumi 1. die; 2. kill (correct ?); gagangu balum very hungry, really hungry ('dying of hunger'; Bat HM, SB), gibir ñunda balun the dark man (he) is dead (Bat HM), ñunda, jaraman balumi he, the horse has died or is dead (= Wakka-Wakka boñi; Bat:Wak WC). - cf. gagangu.

bam (ba'm) N egg.

ban N grass.

banba N self (?); murun banba the man himself (Kab DC).

banda1 N the name of a social section.

banda2 N Bundaberg; bandaru ñai janmari I went to Bundaberg (Bat HM).

bandabara N (25.2) Bundaberg (Bat SB). - cf. banda2.

bandur N stomach (Bat MW); bandur dali stomach pain, trouble.

bangli N 1. brother-in-law or sister-in-law; 2. term of address ('brother', etc.; also bangä? Kab); 3. sweetheart.

bangi- V TR (PF) bangimi hit (to break bunya nuts); biri bangimi hit (the bunya nut) with the hand (Bat HM; cf. 25.1).

bangur N the name of a social section.

bäña N 1. bunya nut (Bat EH, Kab DC); 2. a devil (correct? Bat EB).

bara REL upward (Kab DC).

bara- V ITR (PF) barami 1. be sick; 2. be mad; ñai ñinañin (ginan) barami my foot is sore (Kab DC, Kab:Wak VL), ñin barami you are mad (Bat:Wak WC).

-barä N DER SFX (25.2).
bararu REL upward (Kab DC);

barabu janman goes upward into the sky. —cf. bara.

baran¹ N boomerang (Bat EW; correct ?). —cf. bargan.

baran² N the name of a social section.

baram, v. guğaram.

bargan N ERG bargandu boomerang (Bat SB, HM, Bat:Wak WC, Kab DC).

bawâ- V ITR bawa; bawam; bawami; bawangu stand, stand up; nîn bawa you stand up, nągu nundana bawami I stood him up (Bat:Wak WC; correct ? probably copying English).

bi, v. biri.

bia N father (Bat SB).

bial ? N peewee (Bat FR, IO; the base of the place name bialba, q.v.).

bialba N the name of a place, Pialba (explained as meaning 'peewee'; Bat FR—according to Bat SB, bajilba).

biari- (bijari-) V ITR (IPF) biarin call, sing out (Kab DC); gaí nuna biarin there he is singing out.

biabaram 1. black snake;
   2. Beerburrum, one of the Glasshouse mountains (Kab CC).

biawa (biawar? bi·wa·', Kab:Wak NK) N 1. eagle; 2. Beerwah, one of the Glasshouse mountains (Kab CC).

bibara N paper (Bat HM).

bibi REL behind (?); bibi wana leave behind (Kab DC).

bigali- V ITR bigali; bigaliŋ run (Bat HM, Bat:Wak WC).

bijaga N tobacco (Kab WS).

bilai N red oak (Bat:Wak WC).

binan̄ N ear (Bat, Kab).

binângara N 1. frilled lizard;
   2. the name of a place, Bingera (by Bundaberg; Bat SB, EB).

binângulum (-gurum, Bat EH) N deaf (Bat SB, EB, PR).

binan N vulva, cunnus (Bat HM). —cf. dimbañ.

binda- V TR (IPF) bindan send (Bat HM).

binga N bread.

bingar N bread (Bat PR; probably intrusive -r; cf. 10.8). —cf. binga.

binga N hat.

biral N God (Bat SB, KR, Bat:Wak WC, Kab WS).

biralugan N God (Kab WS). —cf. biral.

biri N ERG biriru hand, finger (Bat, Kab); biri gamami took (his) hand (to say goodbye; Kab DC); in Dunggija the form is bi' (cf. 16.1).

biribiri(j)ai N the name of Lake Birribeen (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

birun N ABL birunu (Note 160) plain, flat.

blai blai N 1. flying fox; 2. the name of a place, Bli Bli (Kab CC). —cf. giraman.

bua- V TR (IMP) bua spear (Kab DC; perhaps Wakka-Wakka).

buandu REL as sleep (Bat EH); ñan buandu a man asleep, ñin junma buandu you lie down to sleep.

buba- V ITR (IPF) bubai sleep (Kab:Wak DK).

bubigânan N the name of Lake Boeminger (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

bugar N 1. eaglehawk; 2. aeroplane (Bat, Kab).

bugu N 1. big; 2. Puthoo creek (Fraser Island; Bat IO).
buibara N the name of a tribe
   (see 25.2).

buju N shin, leg (Bat, Kab).

bujuan N the name of a place,
Poujungan (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

bujum N witchetty grub (a reddish
grub; Bat SB).

bula1 N ERG bularu two (Bat,
Kab); maqar bula two white
people (Kab DC).

bula2 PERS PRON (25.7).

bula3 REL together (Bat HM);
ŋalin ŋin bula bula ŋin ŋinu
janman we two are going together
from Gin Gin.

bula4 N cow, cattle (Bat, Kab).

bulam N two (Kab DC).

bulamgara N two (Kab DC).

buliman N ERG bulimandu police-
man (Bat, Kab).

bulu N stomach (Bat SB, EB).

buma- V ITR (PF) bumami die
(Kab DC; b umami dead). —cf.
bumi-.

bumbir N clothes, dress, any
clothing.

bumi- V ITR bumi; bumiŋ (bumin)
bumimi; bumingu 1. fall; 2. die
(Bat, Kab); waga bumi don't fall
(Kab DC; might be Wakka-Wakka),
wa ŋin bumi don't you fall
(Bat:Wak WC), bumin dying or
dead (Bat SB).

bunbi N dillybag (Bat:Wak WC)

buna N bloodwood tree (Kab FA);
bunara (25.5) is a place name.

bun bun N 1. a kind of small
fruit; 2. the name of Bun Bun
creek (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

bundi N back (Bat HM). —cf.
bundur.

bundur N back (Bat KR); bundur
burin broken back. —cf. bundi.

bungha N brother-in-law or sister-
in-law (Kab DC), mother's son-in-
law. —cf. bangha.

bunma- V TR bunman; bunmam prick,
pull, take, (with gam) deflower;
ŋagu ŋina gam bunman (Bat HM;
cf. bunman pulling up, used by
Willie McKenzie—see 1.6),
walbaju ŋagu bunmam I took it
from the child (Bat:Wak WC).

buraŋa- V TR buraŋa; buraŋam;
buraŋami hear, listen, know
(Bat, Kab); wa ŋagu buraŋam I
don't know (Kab DC).

buraŋama- V TR (IPF) buraŋaman
understand (Bat EH); wa buraŋaman
I do not understand. —cf. buraŋa-. 

buram N silly (Kab DW).

buran N wind (Kab DC, DW; possibly
Wakka-Wakka).

buranba N Barambah mission,
Cherbourg settlement (Kab DC).

buri N fire (Kab CC; possibly
from Gunggari).

buri- V (IPF) buriŋ break
(Bat SB). —cf. bundur.

burumŋan (burungan) N storm,
thunder(storm; Bat, Kab).

buwal (bual) N the name of Bowal
creek (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

buwaradi N the name of Lake
Bowarrady (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

D

daba REL daba janin go away
(Bat MW; possibly a verbal form,
cf. Goreng-Goreng daba- follow?).

dagai N white man (Bat BM, Kab LD).

dagan N explained as 'Loch Ness
monster' (Bat:Dar KR, CR).

dagi N 1. stone; 2. knife;
3. (char) coal (Bat, Kab).
dagil $N$ shag (a bird; Bat IO).

dagilba $N$ the name of a place, Torquay (between Pialba and Urangan; Bat IO).

dala, v. dalar.

dalar (dala ? Bat EH) $N$ hair of the head (Bat: Wak WC).

dalara $N$ whiting (a fish; Bat IO).

dali $N$ pain (Bat EH).

damai damai $N$ small (Bat EH).

damamaramai $N$ small (Bat IO; cf. damamai).

gun damamaramai small water, the name of Coondaquarramine creek (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

damarai $N$ small (Bat EH). - cf. damai.

dami REL on the ground (Kab DC).

daram $N$ the name of a big flat (about Gympie) and of a tribe and language (Bat IO).

da'ran, v. da'rgan.

da'rgan (da'ran) $N$ white woman (Kab DC, WS).

didilaba $N$ the name of a place, Didillibah (Bat MW).

dimbaŋ $N$ vulva, cunnus (Bat IO). - cf. binan.

dira $N$ tooth, teeth (Bat MW).

dubai (correct ?) $N$ eel (Bat EW). - cf. duwai (?).

duŋa- $V$ ITR (IPF) duŋa' cry (Bat EH). - cf. duŋi-.

duŋi- $V$ ITR (IMP) duŋi' cry (Bat: Wak WC). - cf. duŋa-.

dungaŋi $N$ the name of a language related to Kabi-Kabi and Batjala (Kab WS; perhaps correctly duŋiŋgi; cf. 12).

duŋin REL quick (Kab DC); ŋin duŋin bai you (will) come quickly.

duŋinba $N$ the name of Tenimbi creek (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

duŋŋu $N$ stomach, belly (Bat, Kab).

duŋŋumur $N$ with child (Bat HM); ŋunda duŋŋumur she is in the family way.

dulanan $N$ kind of mud for painting white (Bat HM).

dulin $N$ mopeke (bird; Kab DC).

du'luŋ $N$ the name of a place, Dulong (Kab CC). - cf. dulan (?).

dun $N$ stone (Bat HM).

dun duŋur $N$ the name of a place, Dundonga (Fraser Island, Bat IO). - cf. dun.

dungu $N$ bandicoot (Bat EH).

duwa $N$ the name of Towoi creek (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

g'a. $N$ earth, dirt, ground, place, house, town (Bat, Kab); jana g'a. gu go to (your) house (Bat MW), ŋai jannan g'a. gu I am going to town (Bat SB).

g-a-, v. gama-.

gambil $N$ nulla-nulla (Bat HM); gambil ŋingu mana get your nulla-nulla.

gaga $N$ son (Kab DC).

gagagan $N$ daughter (Kab DC).

gagu $N$ little stick or wood, tree (Bat EH, Kab DC).

gagun $N$ ABL gagunu home (Bat, Kab); gagun gu ŋanungu to my home (Bat: Wak WC), janin ba gagunu went from home (Bat: Wak WC; the connective ba used in a song).

gaga $N$ mouth, teeth (Bat, Kab); gagaga baguŋir big mouth (Bat HM), gagaga ŋaran no good (used of persons; Bat HM).
galu N short (Bat: Wak WC).
gali REL today (Bat: Wak WC).
gam N meat (Kab DC; possibly Wakka-Wakka).
gama- (gam-, ga-) V TR (25.14) eat, drink, take, catch, pick up, hold; gun gaman drinking water, ṣędzu biriru gama you catch it with (your) hand, biri gamami took (his) hand (Kab DC).
gan N (25.6) man, boy (Bat, Kab); gandu bargan ḣan the man makes or can make (a) boomerang(s).
ganabu PERS PRON (25.7).
gan gan N little boy, pickaninny (Bat SB, KR).
gangari N pixie (Bat: Dar KR, ER).
gangila- V ASS (IPP) ḣangilam copulate, have intercourse with; ḣadu ḣina ḣangilam (Bat HM).
ganin N ERG ḣanindu plough or any iron or iron instrument (Bat HM; according to Willie McKenzie—see 1.6—'flint' or 'steel').
garan N leg (Bat KR).
garuga N trousers.
garwar N the name of a social section.
gawan N possum (Kab DW).
giban N salmon (Bat: Wak WC).
ginga- V TR (25.14) throw, drop (Bat, Kab); wa ṣędzu inga don't you drop it (Bat: Wak WC), dagi ingami threw stones (Kab DC).
gimana N the name of a place, Jimna (Kab CC).
ginan N ERG ḣinangu LOC ḣinanin foot (Bat, Kab); ḣinan gura kick (the foot? Bat EW), ḣinangu ḣuramami kicked with the foot (Kab DC).
gin gin N ABL ḣin ginu; LOC ḣin gini the name of a place, Gin Gin.

Gu N ABL ḣu stick, tree, log, wood (Bat, Kab).

Guṣ N Ban Ban Springs (south-east of Gayndah) nai guṣ gu ḣanman I am going to Ban Ban Springs (Bat: Wak WC).

Guṣam N ABL ḣuṣamu without trees (Bat: Wak WC); guṣam gu birun ḳu to a flat without trees.

Gum N smoke, tobacco, smoking; ḣuṣ ṣędzu ḣa ḣa you leave (give up) smoking, ḣuṣ ḣaman smoking.

gun N tail (according to Willie McKenzie; see 1.6).

Gungamari N porpoise (Kab DW).

Gunuṣ N tongue (Kab FA).

Gura N camp, home, house; gura ḣanman went home, gura (correct?) ḣinman sleeping at home (Bat HM).

Guri N bush (Bat: Wak WC).

Guwalban N curlew (Bat SB, EB).

G

ga CONN ga ḣanman then I am going (Bat, Kab).

gaba N small brown native bee or its honey.

gabai N yellow bee (Bat HM).—cf. gaba.

gabala N black scrub possum (Bat SB).

gabi1 N penis (Bat HM).

gabi2 REL no, nothing, don't, why? (Kab DC, WS); gabī ḣanman don't go (= wa ḣanman, Bat).

gabi gabī N the name of a language, Kabi-Kabi.

gabu N boy (Bat: Wak WC); garina gabu this (little) boy (according to Wak WC, the origin of the surname 'Cobbo').
gabul \(N\) carpet snake (Kab DC).

gabulga \(N\) Caboolture (north of Brisbane; Bat SB), the meaning being 'carpet snake place'.

gabuna \(N\) sea mullet (Kab IO, FR).

gagarababa \(N\) the name of a place, Cutharaba (Kab CC).

gagandu \(N\) \(\text{ERG}\) hungry; gagandu \(\text{ŋai balup}\) I am hungry (Bat HM), gagandu \(\text{ŋai drew ga}\) I am hungry (and) want to eat (Bat HM).

-cf. gagun.

gagar \(N\) porcupine (Bat, Kab).

gagi \(N\) blood, raw (Bat HM). -cf. muran.

gagun \(N\) \(\text{REL}\) want (Bat:Wak WC); \(\text{ŋunda gagun jangui}\) he wants to go. -cf. gagandu.

gagur \(N\) children (Bat KR; the same in Wakka-Wakka B).

gangawa \(N\) the name of a place, Ungowa (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

gai \(DEM \text{PRON}\) (25.8).

gajam \(N\) himself (Kab DC; correct?).

gala \(DEM \text{REL}\) over here (Bat HM); gala \(\text{ŋai janman}\) I am going over here.

galan\(g\) \(N\) well (Kab DC; perhaps Wakka-Wakka). -cf. galan\(g\)ur.

galan\(g\)ur \(N\) good, fine, well, all right, nice, tasty, good to eat; galan\(g\)ur \(\text{gibir a good (sound) black man}\) (Bat HM), galan\(g\)ur \(\text{ŋai I am well, galan\(g\)ur ŋin you are good or thank you}\) (Bat HM), galan\(g\)ur \(\text{ŋai janmari I am (have been?) all right}\) (Bat HM), galan\(g\)ur \(\text{wuru pretty girl}\) (Bat EH), galan\(g\)ur \(gami\) fine head (Bat:Wak WC).

gal\(\text{lim}\) \(V \text{REL}\) by oneself, alone, one (Bat EH, Bat:Wak WC). -cf. garulin.

gam \(N\) \(1.\) head (Bat, Kab); \(2.\) glans penis (Bat HM); gam \(\text{bagudgar big head}\) (Bat:Wak WC) or big glans penis (Bat HM), gam \(\text{waran bad head, forgetful}\).

gam\(g\)ja- \(V \text{TR (IPF)}\) gam\(g\)jan break.

gana\(n\) \(\text{gana\(n\)} \(N\) \(1.\) poor fellow; \(2.\) rainbow (Bat EW; correct?); \(\text{gana\(n\) gana\(n\)}\) I must leave you (Bat PR). -cf. gana.

gania \(N\) spear; gania\(ŋ\)\(d\)u g\(i\)\(ŋ\)\(n\)\(a\) I am throwing a spear (Bat HM; gania is also used by Willie McKenzie, see 1.6).

ganan \(N\) poor fellow (Kab DC); ganan gurugan poor little black man.

gan\(n\)an \(N\) mother (Kab DC).

gandir \(N\) twig (a word used by Willie McKenzie; see 1.6).

gandu \(\text{ga\(nd\)u}\) \(N\) hungry (Bat EH). -cf. gagandu.

ganda\(n\)a \(N\) the name of a place, Kandang (Kab CC).

gandur \(N\) child (Bat IO).

gang\(\text{ari}\) \(N\) a water spirit (Bat HM). -cf. gang\(\text{ari}\).

gangibal \(N\) policeman (Bat SB, EB).

gangal \(N\) \(1.\) penis (Bat HM, IO); \(2.\) the name of a place, Congull (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

gan\(\text{ni}\) \(N\) frilled lizard (Bat EH).

ga\(na\) \(N\) humpy. (Kab DC, CC).

gara \(DEM \text{PRON}\) (25.8).

gara\(n\)a \(DEM \text{PRON}\) (25.8).

gara\(n\)a\(l\)i- \(V \text{TR (IPF)}\) garan\(a\)lin call or sing (of birds; Kab DC).

garara \(N\) \(1.\) crooked, bent; \(2.\) the name of a mountain (Kab DC).

gari\(1\) \(N\) native name of Fraser Island (Bat IO).

gari\(2\) \(DEM \text{PRON}\) (25.8).
gari- V ITR (IMP) gari enter (Bat:Wak WC); gin mara gari nalanu you go into that hole.

gariniŋa1 DEM PRON (25.8).

gariniŋa2 REL inside (Kab DC).

garulim (garulin, garulŋ); N ERG garulimbu by oneself, alone, one (Kab, Bat); garulim ŋinam sitting alone (Kab DC). —cf. garuna, galim.

garum N dingo (Bat:Wak WC; cf. Goreng-Goreng garum wild, of a dog).

garuna N self, on one's own, alone, one; ŋagu, gin garuna I myself, you yourself (Kab DC). —cf. garulim.

gaurama REL far away, a long way (Bat:Wak WC; perhaps Wakka-Wakka).

gawa- V TR (25.14) cut; ginaŋ ŋagu gawan I cut my foot (Bat HM).

gawangan N 1. dugong; 2. the name of a place on Fraser Island (Bat IO).

gawuŋ N REL want (Bat:Wak WC); ŋai gawuŋ gun gu I want water, ŋunda gawuŋ ŋinangu, ŋagu he wants to sit, see. —cf. gagun.

gawur N ALL gawuru (25.6) urine; ŋai janman gawuru (Bat HM), gawur gawur (Bat IO) I am going to pass water.

gibar N young man (Bat:Wak WC).

gibir N ERG gibiru; OBJ gibira Aboriginal, dark man.

gimbi 'N 1. stinging tree or any stinging 'thing; 2. Gympie, place name (Bat SB, Wak WC).


gimi N little boy or girl (Kab DW).

gin N woman (Bat, Kab).

gin gin N the name of a place, Kin Kin (Kab CC).

gininiŋ N arm (Kab DC, FA).

gira1 N ERG giraru 1. fire, light (Bat, Kab); 2. sun (Bat EW). —cf. wi(ŋ).

gira2 N mountain (up or high? Bat EW).

gira3 N hole (Bat EW).

girabi N rainbow snake (Bat MW, EW).

girim dyn fly (Kab DC).

girili- V ITR (IPF) giriliman fly (Kab DC).

guarimi- V ITR (IPF) girim fly (Kab DC).

gu POST to, for (cf. 25.5).

guana N 1. a wild flower; 2. the name of Kawana island (Kab CC).

guŋar N ERG guŋar uNulla-Nulla.

guŋarambaram N brother-in-nulla.

guŋin N Coochin, one of the Glasshouse mountains (Kab CC).

guŋ N water (Bat, Kab); guŋ gu (going) for water.

guju N fish (Bat IO).

gula N ERG gularu native bear, koala (Bat, Kab).

gulam N the name of a place (Kab CC).

gular N angry (Bat:Wak WC).

gulman N small (Bat EW).

gululai N 1. cypress pine; the name of a place, Coolooli (Fraser Island, Bat IO; cf. Mathew 1910, pp 189, 232).

-gulum, v. binangulum, milgulum.

gulurua N bunya pine (Kab DC).

gumari1 N ABL gumarinu 1. corkwood; 2. native shield (Kab DW); 3. a place, Goomeri; gumarinu to Goomeri (Kab DC); the form gumarela (?) was given by Willie McKenzie (see 1.6) in the sense of 'shield'.
gumari\(^2\) \textit{N} rain (Bat EW).
gumaru \textit{N} drunk (Bat EW).
gunan \textit{N} excrement, faeces; gunan\(\text{gu}\) to evacuate bowels.
gundir \textit{N} ERG gundiru witch doctor (Bat HM); gundiru galaŋur jaŋgan the doctor made her well.
gundu \textit{N} ABL gunđunu house, home (Bat, Kab); gunđunu at home (Bat HM), gunđu\(\text{gu}\) (go) home (Kab DW).
gundun \textit{N} ABL gunđunu hollow, gorge (Bat HM).
gundur \textit{N} the smallest honey bee (Bat:Dar KR).
guran\(^1\) \textit{N} stone (Bat EW).
guran\(^2\) \textit{N} tall (Bat:Wak WC).
guran\(^3\) \textit{N} the name of a place, Cooran (Kab CC; cf. guran\(^1\) ?).
guri \textit{N} dog (Kab CC).
guri guri \textit{REL} around (Kab DC).
gurilba \textit{N} the name of a place, Kureelpa (Kab CC).
gurugan \textit{N} black man (Kab DC).
gurui \textit{N} 1. possum (Bat, Kab); 2. the name of a place, Cooroy (Kab CC).
gurul \textit{N} fish (Bat SB, KR; also in Goreng-Goreng).
-gurum, \textit{v.} -gulum.
guruman \textit{N} kangaroo (Bat, Kab).
guwiŋan \textit{N} ghost (Bat MW; perhaps in another language).

\(\eta\)

ŋagu \textit{PERS PRON} (25.7).
ŋai \textit{PERS PRON} (25.7).
furun N noise or thunder (Bat HM);
furun bagan a noise, or thunder, is coming.

furun N emu (Bat HM; possibly from Gunggari).

ja-1, v. jan-.
ja-2 V TR ja'; jam (jaŋ); jami; jangu? tell, ask (Bat, Kab);
ŋiŋdu ŋaŋa ja' you tell me, ŋaŋu ŋina ŋaŋa maŋaŋ I am asking you (if addressed to a white person; Bat HM), ŋaŋdu ŋina jami who told you?

jabar N corroboree (Kabi-Kabi, according to Wak JW; also used in this sense by Willie McKenzie, see 1.6); Mathew (1910, p. 251) interprets the fricative -b- as -w- (hence jawar), whether correct or not).

jabuŋ N sister (Bat EH, Wak WC).

jagai N REL? a word or exclamation used interjectionally at finishing a corroboree song (Bat HM).

janga- V TR janga; jaŋgaŋ;
jaŋgami; jaŋgangu make, do, shake, throw; waga guran jaŋga don't throw stones (Bat EW), bargan ŋaŋu jaŋgaŋ I (can) make a boomerang (Bat HM), ŋanaburu jaŋgami they made or did it (Bat:Wak WC).

jaŋmala-, v. jaŋmala-.

jala- V ASS (PF) jalami talk to one another, converse (Kab DC). -cf. ja-2.

jalabara N old man (Bat EB). -cf. juluŋbara.

jama- V TR jama; jamam; jamami; jamangu get (Bat:Wak WC).

jamba- V TR (IPF) jamban put down (Bat HM); jamban penny (beni) putting a penny down in a game.

jamŋala- (jaŋmala-) V ASS (IPF) jamŋalaŋ have a row with (Bat HM).

jan- (ja-) V ITR (25.14) go; ŋiŋ jana you go (Bat HM, Kab DC), ŋaraŋaŋaŋa jaman brother, I am going (Kab DC).

janan, v. jan-.

jandina N the name of a place, Yandina (Bat EH, Kab DC).

jangan N wife or any woman you can marry (Kab DC).

janin, v. jan-.

janmara- V ITR (IPF) janmaram, janmaran go (Bat:Wak WC; cf., however, Note 17).

jaraŋ N the name of Urang creek (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

jaraman N OBJ jaramana horse (Bat, Kab).

jaraŋ N beard, whiskers.

jari REL here (Bat:Wak WC); ŋiŋ jari baga or jari ŋiŋ baga you come here or inside.

jariŋ N small (? Bat EW).

jau REL yes (Kab WS).

jawar, v. jabar.

jiliŋba- (jiriŋba-) V ITR (PF) jiliŋbami cry (Kab DC).

jini N 1. a kind of vine or cane;
2. the name of a place, Yidney rock, lake (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

jimma- V ITR jimma; jimmam (jimmaŋ); jimmami; jimmangu lie down, sleep. -cf. junma-.

jiram N dark woman, girl (Kab DC, DW). -cf. jirgan.
jirgan N woman, (little) girl (Bat, Kab).
jirilgu V REL? (25.7) to bed, go to bed(?). —cf. however, 18.3.

julu N 1. eel (Bat, Kab); 2. the name of a place, Eudlo (Kab CC).
juluŋ N old man (Bat EB).

juluŋbara N old man (Bat EB).
—cf. jalabarara.

junbi N loincloth.

junma- V ITR junma; jumnam (-man, -man, -mai) used by Willie McKenzie, see 1.6) lie down, sleep (Bat, Kab). —cf. jinma-.

ju'r N eel (Kab DC; correct ?). —cf. julu.

juru N ERG jururu string, rope, fish-line (Bat HM).

juruŋ N 1. rain (Bat, Kab); 2. the name of a place, Eurong (Fraser Island; so called because the rain 'always comes right across from there', Bat IO); juruŋ bagam (bagan) rain is coming. —cf. jurum (Kab).

jurum N rain (Kab DC, DW); jurum bagam rain is coming. —cf. juruŋ.

mabí N small black bee.

maģar N ERG maģaru white man (Bat, Kab).

maŋar maģar N spirit (Bat:Dar KR).

maŋim N 1. a kind of fish or crab (? Kab CC); 2. the name of a place, Mujimba (Kab CC).

maŋuman? N Tucker (Kab DC).

mala N the name of a place, Park (Kab CC).

malaru N bad person (Bar SB).

malimban (for -mgar, according to 6.18) N ERG malimbu wife (Kab DC; in a song). —cf. maringan.

mara DEM PRON (25.8).

marabarara (maribari) N (25.6) Maryborough.

marabiŋ N bad (person; Bat SB); malaru marabiŋ bad person. —cf. waramin.

maranja DEM PRON (25.8).

marami DEM PRON (25.8).

margi- V ITR TR (IPF) margin burn, make a fire (Bat HM); gira margin fire is burning, ｎaŋg ｇira margin I am making a fire.

mari¹ N kangaroo (Bat EH).

mari² DEM PRON (25.8).

maribari, v. marabarara.

mariga DEM PRON (25.8).

mariŋa (mali-) N wife (Kab DC; cf. Mathew 1910, pp. 162-163, 225: mali-). —cf. malimban.

marunu N sand goanna (Kab DC; probably Wakka-Wakka).

mi· N eye (Bat, Kab). —cf. mil.

mibir N turtle (Bat, Kab). —cf. milbi.

migam N dark woman, girl, wife.

migariŋ N the name of a place, Waddy Point (Fraser Island; Bat IO).

mil N eye. —cf. mi·.

milbi N 1. turtle (Bat SB, EB, KR); 2. a plant, 'milbi grass', used to make dillybags (has nice-smelling yellow flowers, Bat EB). —cf. mibir.

milgaguŋ (milguguŋ) N the name of a place, Millaquin, by Bundaberg; Bat SB).
migulum N blind (Bat SB, EB).
migun N blind (Bat:Wak WC).
milu N an evil spirit (Bat:Dar KR; cf. Wakka-Wakka me·loŋ ghost).
mim N fat (Kab DC).
mına INTERR PRON (25.9)
mınaan minاج ad INTERR PRON (25.9).
mınaangu INTERR PRON (25.9).
miri N dog.
muga- V TR (PF) mugami put into (Bat:Wak WC); njundaru nalanu mugami he put it into the hole.
mugim N tomahawk (Bat, Kab).
mugini N REL far away, a long way (Bat:Wak WC); ganabu mugini those far away.
mulu N black (Bat EH, Wak WC);
mulu muraŋ black snake (Bat EH).
mulula N 1. red clay; 2. the name of a place, Moolooloo (Kab CC).
mulu mulu N black (Bat EH, HM).
mumu N posterior, backside.
mundai mundai N pretty (Bat EH).
mundi N 1. posterior, anus; 2. the name of a place, Moon Point or Moonbi (Fraser Island; Bat IO).
munjur N 1. cattle dung; 2. the name of a place, Mundure (Kab DC).
mur N DER SFX (25.2).
muraŋ N 1. snake; 2. any animal; 3. meat (Bat, Kab); 4. Rainbow Snake (one living in rivers, never seen; Kab WS); muraŋ gagí raw meat (Bat HM). — cf. gagí.
murambi N box tree (Kab DC; cf. Barunggam murambi gum tree).
muru N nose (Bat, Kab); muru waraŋ bad nose ('cannot smell'; Bat HM).
muruguai N the red spot on black swan's beak (Kab CC; the supposed origin of the place name Maroochidore, the final part being -ga ground). — cf. muru.
murugurai N snake (Bat:Wak WC).
nalwar ? N crab (Bat FR, IO).
nambar N 1. tea-tree; 2. a place name, Nambour (Kab CC).
nandari N the name of a mountain (Bat, Kab; the origin of Ninderry (Beach); Kab CC).
na·r N duck (Bat IO).
nala N ABL nalanu hole.
naraŋ N forest (Bat:Wak WC).
nigi- V TR (PF) nigimi rattle; bargan nigimi rattled the boomerang (forms given by Willie McKenzie (see 1.6), which appear to be Kabi-Kabi).
nila N brush (?); nila bunmaŋ pulling up the brush wood (forms given by Willie McKenzie (see 1.6), which appear to be Kabi-Kabi).
"158

πina- V ITR πina; πinam (πinan, πinai); πinami; πinangu sit, stop, live (Bat, Kab).
πuan N dark fellow (Kab DC).
πubandi N husband or wife, a couple (Bat EH).
πugin N creek (Bat: Wak WC; cf. Mathew 1910, p. 237; nügan river).
πumba- V TR (IMP) πumba show (Bat: Wak WC).
πun N brother (Bat: Wak WC).
πundai N grandfather (Bat OW).
πungin N worm (Kab DC, OW).
πung N brother (Bat:Wak WC).
πunda- V ITR wanda; wanda mi; wanda ngu you climb the tree.

W

wa· REL no, not, nothing, don't (Bat, Kab); wa· dagi no money (Bat HM), wa· bají not sick (Kab DC). —cf. gabi².
waga N dog (Bat, Kab).
wاغنba N the name of a place, Wathumba creek (Fraser Island; Bat IO).
waga REL no, not, etc. (Bat, Kab; = wa·, gabi²).
waga waga N name of a language, Wakka-Wakka (Kab WS).
wagun N 1. scrub turkey; 2. fowl, chicken, bird.
wانai N carpet snake. —cf. wangai.
wانان N fish (Bat EW).
wانارí N dingo (Bat IO).
wاناغan N woman (cf. 25.6).
wابba N the name of Lake Weyba (Kab CC).
wاجa N whiptail (a grey or white wallaby), kangaroo (Bat, Kab).
wالإ N cold (Bat, Kab).
wالإبإ N small (Bat: Wak WC).
wاب N (25.6) child, children, baby (Bat, Kab).
wالإبإ N boy (Bat EW).
wابإ N the name of a place, Woombye (Kab CC).
wانا- V TR wana; wانإ (wanai?) leave; wana don't (leave it).
wانإ N a family name (the name of the last Fraser Islander; Bat IO).
wانإ N dog (Bat BM).
wانإ- V TR (IPF) wانإ gather together (a form used by Willie McKenzie; see 1.6).
wانإ (وانإ) REL where? (Bat, Kab); wانإ أjanمن where (or how) are you going? (greeting; Bat HM), wانإ أjanبangan where do you come from? (Bat HM).
wانإ N snake. —cf. wانإ.
wانإلإبإ N the name of a place, Woongoolba (Fraser Island; Bat IO).
wanëin N small (Bat MW; Batjala? cf. Goreng-Goreng gunini small).
wانإ N v. wانإ.
wanëin REL where (from)? when? (Kab DC, Wak VL).
wanëmi (wan-) N white woman (Bat, Kab; = Wakka-Wakka wanëmeri).
wanu REL from where? (Bat:Wak WC).

waran N bad, sick, sore, no good (Bat, Kab); gan waran bad man (Bat EH), gina waran a sore foot (Bat HM).

warambalam N medicine (Bat SB). -cf. waran (?) .

waramin N bad people (Bat EW). -cf. marabijn.

waru N kangaroo (Bat EW).

warui N goanna (Bat HM).

wi', v. wiŋ.

wida N the name of a place (Kab CC).

wiŋi- V ITR (IPF) wiŋim be afraid (Bat:Wak WC); ŋai wiŋim I am afraid.

wiŋ (wi') N fire (Bat, EB, KR). -cf. gira.

wiluŋ N the name of a fish ('happy moment'? Bat IO).

winŋur N large, big (Bat EH).

winŋmari N white woman (Bat FR, IO). -cf. wanŋmari.

wu-, v. wuŋ-.

wuba N big, big thing (Bat EW).

wuŋ- (wuŋ-, wu-) V TR wuga; wunmaŋ; wunmari (wunŋaje, wunŋaji); wugu give (Bat, Kab ?); ņagu wunŋaji wallbainu I gave it to the child (Bat:Wak WC).

wula- V TR wulan; wulami open, turn (the ground, as in ploughing; Bat HM); ŋaŋ wulaŋ I will turn the ground.

wulam PERS PRON (25.7).

wun¹ N the mopoke or the call of the mopoke (Kab DC); wun garanalin the mopoke is singing out.

wun² REL tomorrow (Kab DC); wun bagam will come tomorrow.

wun-, v. wuŋ-. 

wunba- V TR (IPF) wunbaŋ open (Bat HM).

wunda- V ITR (IPF) wundam climb (Bat:Wak WC). -cf. wanda-. 

wunma- V TR (IPF) wunmai; (INT) wunmangu 1. break; 2. win (money; Bat HM); giniŋ jange (?) wunmai almost broke my arm shaking hands (Kab DC).

wuru N girl (Bat EH).

wurubinda N the Woorabinda settlement (Kab DC).
NOTES TO PART I

1. As early as 1910 John Mathew referred to Wakka-Wakka and Kabi-Kabi as Two Representative Tribes of Queensland (see the Bibliography at the end of Part III of this survey). F.J. Watson included two more (to be dealt with in Part III of this work) among representative languages of south-eastern Queensland (see the Bibliography).

2. An ingenious remark was however made by one old lady, who in addition to her own language had some knowledge of Batjala also, to the effect that Kabi-Kabi must necessarily be different from Batjala since the Kabi-Kabi use the word gabî (=Kabi) for *no*, while the Batjala say *wa*. Incidentally, the word for eye is further more typically *mi* in Kabi-Kabi and *mi1* in Batjala and *fire* is typically *gari* in Kabi-Kabi and *wi* or *wiŋ* in Batjala.

3. Of the only person met who claimed his mother to have been a Kabi-Kabi and who knew several songs supposedly in that language some doubt seemed to prevail, as another informant maintained that he was a Batjala and still another one that he was a ṇijman (a term not identified, possibly a language or dialect about Blackbutt); in 1964 the term ṇalbu was used in connection with him (possibly the name of a tribe or language about Miva). In any case, his knowledge of the language (often mixed with Wakka-Wakka) was limited.

4. Wakka-Wakka is named for the word waga *no*, nothing (according to the principles of naming many of the surrounding languages) and it is typical that owing to the importance of the Wakka-Wakka language this common negative tends to oust corresponding ones in the related languages, also those within the eastern subgroup.

5. This term is used here—instead of 'dialect'—according to the principle that anything that has got a name is a language, other varieties being considered as 'dialects'. Although Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli would be easily understood by any speaker of Wakka-Wakka they are referred to here as 'languages'. On the other hand, the language of three of our Wakka-Wakka informants, which actually had points in common with Wuli-Wuli and was by some informants claimed to be Wuli-Wuli, will be considered as an archaising dialect, or variety, of Wakka-Wakka (referred to as Wakka-Wakka (B), while the main dialects will be called Wakka-Wakka (A)), since the persons in question did not admit of speaking anything but the 'real old Wakka-Wakka'.

6. It is known that a number of Aborigines were at one time evacuated from Dalby and brought to a Mission at Taroom.
7. On page 108 (Mathew 1910) he speaks of 'the Bìdhala, or coast blacks', whatever connection that may have with our Batjala, while on page 225 its Wakka-Wakka equivalent is given as ba'tyla; also compare Patyala (a community on Fraser Island), mentioned on the pages 130 and 146.

8. The name Dunggija was noted down in that form in 1964, but others met with later preferred one of the forms mentioned alternatively.

9. Mr. McKenzie, who has since died, was one of those famous 'polyglots'—some of his friends maintained that he 'spoke' as many as thirteen different Aboriginal languages—; in any case he evidently knew Wakka-Wakka.

10. Since the Aboriginal sounds have much in common with current sounds used in Queensland English, it seems more practical and convenient to describe the Aboriginal sounds through corresponding ones in English than by using the traditional phonetic terms (according to Henry Sweet, Daniel Jones, etc.).

11. Due to the influence of English, e· is sometimes—and all over the area—pronounced like the vowel in (standard) English 'girl', which is considered more elegant (cf. the opposite tendency among Aborigines to pronounce this vowel as e· in English words, e.g. me·gan for 'Murgon', etc.).

12. It is common in Wakka-Wakka jou yes and possibly in jogou to show, which are barely distinguishable form respectively jo· he, she and jogo show (imperative). On the other hand, mau (head) alternates with mou, dungau (to cry) with dungou and jau (they) with jou. Rare cases of an intended pronunciation -ei, -ou in verb forms may possibly have an artificial character.

13. This is the basic r sound in south-east Queensland Aboriginal languages, being the kind of r sound which normally renders English 'r' in long established loan words. However, under the influence of English among bilingual speakers it is occasionally replaced by a voiced continuant.

14. Such a distinction as was universally upheld by Wakka-Wakka speakers, according to which balá· (jewfish) was different in sound from bāla (semen)—with a different stress and vowel quantity—finds no support from further investigation into the matter; besides, a Barunggam informant pronounced balá· in the sense of penis (for semen), so that both words are consequently homophonous (or homonyms).

15. Non-distinction of noun and adjective has obtained in a sense in the Indo-European languages as well, but since the Australian languages do not, for instance, use comparative or superlative forms one of the main morphological criteria for a differentiation disappears.

16. cf. in English such quasi-numerals as 'pair', 'couple', 'dozen', 'score', 'myriad', etc., which of course are genuine nouns and further often convey a vague meaning from the numerical point of view.

17. In the 'corroboree songs' such words may be used as a kind of starting signal and then intercalated between almost every other concrete (i.e. nominal or verbal) form, more or less in the same manner as syllables occur repeated in the songs, either in order to fill out a line, or to adapt a word or phrase to the musical notes, as in gari ŋi-na-na-mi (here I have lived) in a popular song at Cherbourg or in jara-ra-man for jaraman (horse) in a song made by an informant at Woorabinda; cf. also in 15.1.
18. The Australian languages studied here do not appear to have derivations of the type 'maker' or 'making' (from 'make') or 'shorten' (from 'short'). As a matter of fact, such a word as 'maker' in English (if expressed at all) would be identical with the imperfective or perfective form of 'to make' (cf. in Wakka-Wakka maŋiŋi stole it or a thief). This is due to the fact that any noun may function either as subject or predicate (that is 'man' also means 'is a man') and every verbal stem may be taken in a relative sense (hence the above mangiŋi means either stole or (one) who stole, etc.). If a derivation of the type 'shorten' (cf. above) would occur (cf. 7.5 and the Note 67) it is rather because 'short' would be equivalent to 'be short'.

19. cf. Holmer 1966 a, 5.3-5.

20. Usually it is a matter of different languages or dialects, but cases are found (perhaps owing to dialect mixture) in which both the simple and derived form are used by the same person or group of persons. The common form ɣam food may appear a nominalisation of the equally common verb stem ɣa- eat, but in Kabi-Kabi and Batjala the -m- appears in the verb stem as well (gama-). Also cf. 7.1.

21. The difference between the associative and causative is sometimes slight. It would, for instance, be possible to explain 'to bring' in terms of 'to make (something) come' and it is rather certain that the Wakka-Wakka causative suffix -ndi- (in garindi- put in; cf. 7.6) is historically the same as the identical associative suffix in Goreng-Goreng.

22. It seems preferable to write nominal compounds in two words as long as the components exist as independent word stems (as in the above island name). If in such a form as buranba (see 3.6) the final part means place, the latter is never found to occur by itself, but as a common suffix. In some cases consistency is impossible: if Nunagal gabulğa (carpetsnake place and Caboolture) represents the true etymology of the place name, it might as well be written as gabul ɣa', since both morphemes exist as independent words in this language.

23. That is to say that a possessive declension ('my, your, his', etc.) by means of prefixes or suffixes, as in some of the Australian languages (Northern Territory, etc.), is not found.

24. The vocative is always like the nominative. In such cases as Gunggari jabula father (nominative) and jabu father (vocative) we actually have two different word stems (used in special circumstances).

25. This analysis is, of course, from the English point of view. To the Aboriginal mind there would hardly be any difference between the above sentence and one like 'a spear hit him by (the agency of) the man'.

26. The objective case forms are often used to express a dative relation with such verbs as 'to give', 'to tell', alternatingly with the possessive case forms (see 3.16).

27. This is not considered as a possessive relation in the Aboriginal language: the footprints are supposed to come 'off the man'. The difference between the possessive and the ablative is however many times vague.
28. It is clear that this gu (-gu) in the Wakka languages is identical with the allative case suffix -gu in the Gunggari languages. Owing however to the different construction it will be most appropriate to consider the Wakka-Wakka gu as a postposition and the Gunggari -gu as a case suffix, the difference between both categories being, however, often vague.

29. cf. English 'child-ren', 'ox-en', 'house-s', 'men', 'women', etc., in which the difference in the plural form is merely formal (or 'allomorphic').

30. In that way the various forms of the article in Wakka-Wakka (-bam, -lam, -ram) would be represented as mere 'allomorphs' (cf. Note 29).

31. Or better: interrogative-indefinite pronouns, since they actually function as both (cf. Holmer 1966 a, 9.15; 1966 b, pp. 22-23; 1971, 7.16).


33. As the locative is often formally the same as the ablative in Wakka-Wakka, the original ablative giangu may mean either off me or with me.

34. An exception is perhaps found in Birri, owing to the fact that reduced pronominal elements are so closely joined to, or even incorporated into, modal or aspectual forms as to appear to be personal suffixes. Mostly such reduced forms are easily identified with the original longer forms of the personal pronouns. Their placement within the complex is not always fixed in Birri and occasionally—although more seldom—traces of a similar course of evolution may be found in other languages (e.g. those of the Wakka group), where their occurrence is clearly sporadic. In principle the evolution in Birri is on the same level as in colloquial English 'says-I', 'says-he', etc. rather than analogous to Latin amo, amas, amat.

35. Notice that the differentiation of 'imperfective' and 'perfective' is secondary and that it may happen that the same suffix has the opposite function in two different languages; cf. Gunggari naga-la (perfective) and Manandjali na'la (imperfective), the latter from the stem na'-(= Gunggari naga- see).

36. As the verb stem may in itself serve the purpose of a nominal stem (cf. Note 18), the 'nominaliser' is of course not compulsory.

37. cf. Holmer 1966 a, 10.5, Note 100.

38. This becomes more evident in a spoken context than in cases where the explanation in English of an individual form is solicited or attempted (in lack of appropriate equivalent terms in the latter language).

39. The relationship of this latter form of the verb to the allative form of the noun is clearly seen in such constructions as Wuli-Wuli gam gu (or gam gua) janande going for meat, which is equivalent to gam ma'ngu (going) to get meat; incidentally, a common variant of this phrase is: gam gu mangu, that is (going) for meat, to get it.

40. cf. Holmer 1971, 8.21-27, where it is termed 'gerundial'. These forms correspond to the constructions with the intentional mode mentioned in 3.24, which are therefore also referred to as 'accidental' forms (e.g. in 7.35 and 15.27).
As it has been necessary to incorporate data from various languages (or dialects) in the same vocabulary, the indication of informants will at the same time mark the language the respective forms represent, but it is important to keep in mind—as all languages appearing in the same vocabulary are closely related and often intermixed—that the signature of one language by no means excludes the occurrence of the corresponding form in any of the others. It is, in fact, often impossible to draw fixed limits between items of linguistic material gathered from different related languages—no doubt to the disappointment of those who believe in 'lexicostatistics' and 'glottochronology'.

This holds for some languages outside the group as well, notably in Nunagal (Stradbroke Island; see in Part III). In the languages of the Gunggari group e and o evidently occur, but are most often reducible to mere variants of other sounds or sound complexes. In the western, northwestern and northern languages of Queensland they hardly seem to occur at all.

The sound groups ai, au in many of the Aboriginal languages studied here further clearly reflect the current Australian English pronunciation of the same diphthongs.

cf., however, Wakka-Wakka (A) gion (ladies' dress; from English 'gown'), to which answers Wakka-Wakka (B) giaun (Wak TM); the Wakka-Wakka forms are probably based on an English pronunciation geun, understood as a variant of giaun.

The same relation exists in Darumbal (see Part III) between an imperfective form ending in a consonant (Dal eating) and a perfective form ending in a consonant plus -i (Dal ate).

The question is in fact whether all so-called 'phonetic laws' are not in reality mere 'phonetic tendencies'.

In Goreng-Goreng the pronunciation gureŋ is also common. The same tendency may occur elsewhere; one might compare the Manandjali (or Bandjalang dialect ?) boren bread (for buren, from English 'bread').

Incidentally, another form njial is also found in Wakka-Wakka (according to Wak SH); the latter recalls a Wakka-Wakka alternative form biar (Wak WC) of the more common bair (mountain).

This latter form shows, of course, that although ne· could theoretically be the Goreng-Goreng, etc. njai (according to the principle mentioned under (a) above), it still evidently has a different origin.

The evolution of i(j)a and u(w)a to respectively e· and o· is matched in Queensland English: 'I an' /ian/ becomes /e·n/ (same value as Aboriginal e·), 'sure' /sua/ becomes /fo·/ (same value as Aboriginal o·) and similarly 'cruel' is pronounced /kro·l/ and 'jewel' /go·l/ (same value as Aboriginal g). This, which is general all over, is pointed out here whether or not any real connection exists between the evolution in the Aboriginal languages in this part of Queensland and the one in Queensland English.

As the same form (bāŋu) is found as far north as the languages (or dialects) around Tully, it has the appearance of being an ancient formation (corresponding to the common pidgin English 'belonga') and part of the 'Common Australian' vocabulary.
52. On the other hand, Wakka-Wakka go- (put into) seems to represent an original *guwawa- (?); in Wakka-Wakka (B) and Wuli-Wuli this stem is ga'wa-, while the one meaning cut is gawa-. cf. 10.4.

53. But jani went has a short vowel. The stem is ja-, but no monosyllabic forms seem to occur (the imperative, for instance, is jana go).

54. It is less likely that the word in question would continue a primitive *wangajri (with -aj- turning into -e-).

55. This actually happens in Punthamara, where the original ergative suffix *-ndru regularly appears as -andru (e.g. wiandru, from wi fire; tinaandru, from tina foot, jandraandru, from jandra stone), although words (or syllables) do not normally begin with a vowel. It is evidently due to false restitution, starting from inflected forms, such as makurandru with a stick, wrongly analysed as makur-andru (perhaps because no word begins with *ndr-).

56. Also cf. Goreng-Goreng -lu, from a transitive formative -l- plus the same intentional -u (instead of -gu, as in the analogous suffix -lgu in the Gunggari languages). As a matter of fact, it is often impossible to make out exactly what is the primitive form of a morphological element of this kind: in Wakka-Wakka guŋi (from gun water) the locative suffix is evidently -i, while in bawarni (from bawar bush) it is -ni and in gundunji (from gundu home), -ŋi (or by analogy, -ni).

57. cf. Aranda unta you (singular), Birri junda (= jinda), Puntamara jundru (ergative), idem.

58. For original *-j and *-w, see 6.2.

59. As a matter of fact, such combinations are quite common in Australian languages: Bidjara winjin flying fox, Barunggam guŋŋŋurtle, gamnga-
cut, break; the latter sequence even seems a favorite one: Goreng-Goreng jamŋali- quarrel, cf. Manandji jaŋma- swear, which is no doubt primitive. See further in 24.6).

60. The dialectal forms jarange, jerenge (< janange; cf. 6.19) show the original termination -ge.

61. This has been noted also by the author in previous works on Aboriginal languages (Holmer 1966a, pp. 28-29, with the Note 36; 1971, 1.8) and sometimes attributed to the influence of English (cf. 'porridge' from 'pottage' or Irish 'praties' for 'potatoes'). On further thought this theory seems, however, unlikely, considering the widespread occurrence of this evolution in the Australian languages studied by the author and, besides, since clear parallels are found elsewhere (e.g. Celtic). However, whether or not due to English influence the ultimate product of the phonetic evolution is exactly the same as in Queensland English (for instance in 'goodie', pronounced 'gooree' or 'today', pronounced 'tooray', the 'r' being fairly trilled; in Queensland English, however, medial 't' and 'd' only seem involved, but hardly any other medial consonant).

62. The verbal stem is indicated by a hyphen after the final stem vowel (cf. also 12). -Similar cases of identical noun and verb stems are found elsewhere: Barunggam wina ma'na (pelican, fish catcher) and ma'na- (catch), Punthamara t'ina (foot) and tina- (stand) and (probably) kula grass and kula- (sit).
63. cf. the Mexican (Aztecian) -c, -co (in Tehuantepec, Xochimilco and other names of places), which are case suffixes having become part and parcel of the noun.

64. The meaning of dulan was not ascertained (cf. Batjala dulan mud; see 26), whereas gurul is the Goreng-Goreng word for fish (hence to or at the place of fish).

65. From the formally identical stem ba- (come). Whether the locative suffix (-ba) is in fact etymologically connected with the verb stem is of course a problem.

66. For the forms in -e-, see 7.28.

67. The latter suffix (-bama-) may sometimes be considered as an independent verb (make), e.g. gangur bama- make sick, but the limit between the two kinds (if any) is of course fluctuant.

68. The same use of an associative form in a causative sense is found elsewhere, for instance in the American Indian languages. The idea is naturally the same as in English 'to go, come with a letter', in the sense of 'carry, bring a letter' (or 'make it go, come'), but in the languages in which associative forms occur the usage is extended so far as to express the transitive 'to graze' (e.g. cattle) by a form meaning literally 'to eat grass with'.

69. The reciprocal sense is found in the verb bume- fight (cf. bumba- hit and Goreng-Goreng begegi- fight), but the suffix -ga- (-ge-) is otherwise not found in that sense (cf. 7.8). The Wakka-Wakka range seeing one another (if correct) is by no means clear.

70. The allative is normally expressed either by the ablative form or by a postposition gu (to, for; cf. 3.17). The possessive and ablative may be expressed alternatively by the postpositions gari and banu (bôni), respectively (cf. 3.16-17).

71. It is usually impossible to reconstruct a unitary form for the different case suffixes. The nominative is always identical with the stem. The ergative, ablative and allative always end in -u, but are otherwise different in Wakka-Wakka, while the objective and perative (also mostly formally distinguished in Wakka-Wakka) end in -a; the locative always ends in -i. The possessive contains the syllable -ri-, but is not made of all types of nouns.

72. The latter (-ju) is more common in Wakka-Wakka (B): babalu (Wak SH), babaju (Wak TM), from baba father. It is possible that -ju originally belongs to stems in -i or -e (memuju, Wak WC, from meme mother; cf. Holmer 1966 a, 6.13, Note 67; 1971, 3.24), but memelu is also found (Wak SH).

73. The ablative would be in -baņu (6.11). Otherwise the postposition gu is more commonly used. This postposition either indicates a place or is used to express purpose (bala gu to, for jewfish) as well as always in the construction with gon(ia) want, wish; hence gundu gu (go) home, ginda gu to Gayndah, while gundunu means either from, out of the house (ablative) or into the house (allative) or even occasionally in the house (for the more proper gunduņi).
Since the forms -bom, -bam do not depend on the character of the preceding nasal (there being no *-gam, *-dam or *-gam) and besides their usage is not excluded after other sounds than nasals (as in gundir bom, mawibam = mawillam white people, Wak TM), it seems that -bom (-bam) represents the more primitive form (perhaps *bu(w)am).

The forms bairlom, bairom mountains (if correct; cf. 7.15) would then be quite exceptional. Incidentally, they were used (by Wak SH) in speaking of mountains which were supposed to have been emus transformed into rock (hence a sort of personification?).

The latter is the primary (although less current) form (cf. 6.9).

Inflected: (ERG) ḋa'irin gu meme my mother (Wak JW), (OBJ) ḋa'iri nga gandana my younger sister (Wak SH).

The strange form ḋauŋu with me (correct?) was given by Wak WC.

Found in ḋiaŋi bini behind me (Wak WC), which suggests attraction of the locative form in the last member (bini behind).

Inflected (OBJ) ḋingari nga, but used as nominative also.

The strange form ḋinbu was used by Wak PB, RS and some other speaker in the sense of to you (that is an allative?), but has no counterpart in the other persons.

Inflected (OBJ) juari nga (Wak TM).

In ḋo'ni bini behind him (Wak WC; cf. Note 79).

In ḋambaŋi bini behind us two (Wak WC; cf. Notes 79, 83).

This seems a compound of ḋo'm and bua (two); cf. ḋo'm bujun bujun they two ... each other and ḋo'm bujun bujun you two ... one another (Wak SH).

The latter form (ṇi·) was frequently used by Wak SH and once by Wak WC (who, however, on being questioned about it, denied its existence, saying the right word was ḋai).


The English this one did it is therefore expressed by gana jalu jangai in Wakka-Wakka, that is with the personal pronoun jo· (he; it could of course also mean here he did it). The form gana nga dadu (this tree), which looks like an objective form (in -ŋa), can hardly be anything but an uninflected gana (= gana; cf. mana nga there = mana), especially as dadu, being an inanimate noun, does not admit of an objective form. As for the possessive manari (see Note 91), it is quite analogous to wangari belonging to where? or whose?, which latter is normally ṇangari (see 7.27).

As in the construction 'want(s) this' (Wak TM).

e.g. in managu goŋ want(s) that (Wak TM). Whether a form manaŋa (or maraŋa) can be understood as an objective form is problematic (cf. Note 88). The informant Wak TM admits such constructions as manaŋa ṇinru ṇaje do you see that person? mana gari ṇinru gana wa· give this to that one (whether or not correct and current).

e.g. waga ṇia marari goŋia jangau I do not want to do that (Wak SH), marariŋ bari mana ɡanin that toy belongs to that child (Wak SH; cf. Note 88), mararin gundu his or her house (Wak: Gor RD; perhaps not idiomatic).
92. e.g. ṅe ḡimbem marau gundu *I own that house* (Wak WC).

93. The allative miŋangu (what for?) is frequently used in the sense of waŋangu (why?).

94. A 'name' is idiomatically personal (who?) in Wakka-Wakka: ḡana jorin ṅe- *(what is his name?; Wak TM), while a person's 'kind' is 'what?', evidently because one's 'kind' (i.e. 'totem' or 'section', etc.) is one's meat (miŋa) in Aboriginal parlance (cf. 7.26).

95. Although the 'thematic element' (or 'nominalising' suffix, in 3.22) is usually followed by an original postposition or case suffix (cf. ibid.), it seems more likely in this particular case to consider the element -ge (< *-gaj; cf. 6.2, 5) as of an 'auxiliary' verb stem ga-, gi- to be, of 'Common Australian' origin (cf. Holmer 1966 a, 10.16-17; 1971, 8.5, Note 86), so that the Wakka-Wakka suffix in reality coincides with the Goreng-Goreng suffix -gim; cf. Wakka-Wakka jana-n-ge (janande) = Goreng-Goreng jan-gi-m *going*.

96. The simple form janan is also found, either in the same sense (going) or in that of gone (perhaps just another way of putting it). The same kind of formation is found in the imperfective mode of ba- (come): ba'n coming (used especially in Wakka-Wakka (B) for be'); see 7.31.

97. These paradigms may be said to be typical. For a complete collection of verb forms, see the Vocabulary in 12.

98. Neither is there a verb 'to be' in any sense, while the verb ṇine- (to sit) or jia- (become) are frequently used in cases where 'to be' would be appropriate in English: jo gundir ṇinenge *he is a doctor or clever man* (Wak WC), jo waga galan jiŋi *he was no good* (Wak SH); still there is no word-for-word conformity between the constructions in Wakka-Wakka and English.

99. Hence the verb marī- burn must be considered as intransitive in gujum maringe *fire is burning*, but as transitive in marini gujumbu *burned (himself) by the fire* (Wak WC), as the latter is the same in Wakka-Wakka as the fire burned *(him)*.

100. This assumption is not unreasonable considering the introductory character of the Wakka-Wakka relation word, which further tends to be unstressed (wuŋa, etc. for wanga) by analogy with an English when, if. On the other hand, it must be taken into account that wanga ndau (for plain ndau; cf. above) would be perfectly acceptable in the sense of somewhere (wanga) at or toward sunset (ndau), which of course answers quite well to the English when the sun sets.

101. That words which do not denote persons may be considered as 'male' and 'female' in the Australian languages was pointed out in Holmer 1966 a, 5.9, Note 53; 1971, 3.12. In Barunggam one finds ḡan gaiwar male rainbow (the one on top when two are seen) and gin gaiwar female rainbow (the one below); gaiwar is of course at the same time the mythological Rainbow Serpent.

102. In Wakka-Wakka the corresponding verbs are ɲuruma- *(steal)* and ɲoro- *(kick)*, the latter possibly from *ɲura- *(cf. 6.7).

103. e.g. buhari ɲan *beef*, baŋarin gundu *someone else's house* (from baŋa another).
104. cf. the Wakka-Wakka (A) -bo·m (-bom), which would indicate that the primitive form is *-buam (cf. Note 74).

105. Unless the form in question be an ergative form of the stem *ŋaŋ (= mĩŋaŋ; cf. 2.9), expressing the cause of the fear.

106. An alternative form bujenge was heard as well.

107. It should be noted that our Barunggam informant was inclined to use Wakka-Wakka forms quite frequently.

108. Forms with o· (jo· he, she, etc.) are however found parallel to those with a·, no doubt owing to Wakka-Wakka influence. The change of ua to a· is occasionally reflected in Wakka-Wakka (B) also: ga·wa· put into, which is different from gawa- out.

109. The form ja· may be more genuine (cf. 10.4), while jo· is properly Wakka-Wakka.

110. The form niwam (or correctly niwam ? cf. 10.5) is probably the genuine one, ɲo·m being Wakka-Wakka.

111. This is actually the ergative form of the word bulam two, both.

112. The latter, which seems to be a Wakka-Wakka form, is used in the sense of why?: mĩŋangu ŋin bai why have you come? (Wul LW).

113. The form jange seems to be Wakka-Wakka.

114. The forms ba·nge, be·, ŋaje (?), ŋe· are Wakka-Wakka.

115. That e has phonematic value is confirmed by the test word dũmbeŋa tobacco, in which e renders English 'a' (which otherwise would have been treated as a variant of i(j)a, so that the word would have become *dũmbi(j)aga, as also happens in some of the languages studied). Among the diphthongs, however, e· is equivalent to ai and ou to au (cf. 14.2).

116. This tendency is found sporadically in the western subgroup as well, especially in Wuli-Wuli (cf. 10.7).

117. Unless aji be changed into aje, according to the above tendency (14.3). As a matter of fact, the occurrence of the latter (aje) in Goreng-Goreng is interesting as it shows that an original *aj (becoming ai in Goreng-Goreng and e· in Wakka-Wakka) is distinct from *aji in the initial stages in these languages.

118. The case of Goreng-Goreng gege (= Wuli-Wuli gagar) porcupine is difficult to account for, but is paralleled by Goreng-Goreng dende chest (= Wakka-Wakka dandar). Other cases of vowel assimilation are occasionally found in Goreng-Goreng. An i may be assimilated to an u in a following syllable, as in jadulu(u) (to converse), jadulugim (conversing; stem probably *jaduli-); buralugu (to pull) may, however, be differently explained (see 15.24, Note 142).

119. This view is supported by the fact the corresponding nasal (n) does not normally acquire the interdental articulation, as such a sound does not occur in English.

120. Our main informant (Gor RD) recognises the distinction of two different sounds in English, but maintains that they are equivalent in Goreng-Goreng.
That is, independent forms ending in a vowel. The same holds for vowel-ending imperatives (bi· bring, take), according to the general rule in 2.4. By analogy (cf. 6.14), the long vowel of the imperative may be generalised in other forms (bi·gu to take, etc.).

In this respect Goreng-Goreng differs from Wakka-Wakka, which has consonant-ending stems as supplementary verb stems only (cf. 7.28).

Owing to their structure such combinations as guŋ ge·ri- pour water must be considered as compounds, since the verb stem is intransitive and consequently the first member (guŋ) cannot function as direct object (guŋ ge·rigim therefore means water-pouring rather than pouring water); cf. similar constructions in Goeng Goeng (18.1). In this way are probably to be understood such compound constructions as Goreng-Goreng buraŋa- hear, listen, Goeng-Goeng mil na- see, look, which further recur in practically all languages in south-eastern Queensland.

Hence ġanŋal having food is the regular Goreng-Goreng formation corresponding to the Wakka-Wakka ġanŋa (idem, Gor RD).

Both word pairs are used in Goreng-Goreng; however, according to Gor RD, the forms in -ŋ are more typical of Wakka-Wakka: hence Goreng-Goreng bina = Wakka-Wakka binaŋ and Goreng-Goreng ġina = Wakka-Wakka ġinaŋ; in the same way Goreng-Goreng ġana liver corresponds to Wakka-Wakka ġanana (idem).

Hence the same semantic relation as between Mexican (Aztecan) tetl stone and totol tetl egg (literally chicken-stone, hen fruit) or centetl one (stone), used when counting eggs.

Possibly answering to Bidjara -lma- (waralma- make fall, from wara- fall), provided that the passing of *-lm- to -nm- in Goreng-Goreng can be definitely accepted (cf. 15.2, Note 140).

That is the Wakka-Wakka bi·ri- (bi·la-, bi·na-); the suffixes -li- and -ri-, which are reflexive or reciprocal in Goreng-Goreng, are seldom found in the associative sense (cf. below).

If this is reasonable it might be said that the associative verb stem (derived by -la-, as in wangala = wanga where? or in the postposition gula = gu) is identical with a perative case form of the noun. Since verb stems are not seldom identical with noun stems (cf. 7.1; 15.2), it is worth while to consider whether verbal (as well as also nominal) derivatives may not occasionally coincide with case forms.

In the pronominal declension (see 15.15 sqq.) the morpheme -gi has a special use in Goreng-Goreng, namely to express a dative (cf. 3.14) and as the possessive and dative are identically expressed in these languages (see 3.16) one might alternatively refer to the possessive case by the term possessive-dative. However, it seems preferable to retain the same terminology for Goreng-Goreng and Wakka-Wakka.

It seems however that the ablative may occasionally serve the purpose of the missing possessive form, as in muniŋu mam woman's breast (Gor RD).

It should properly be *ŋaibaŋu, but the use of ablative and locative forms is often optional.
133. This is formally a locative, but no example was noted of the locative function (ŋinbaŋi means from or off you; Gor RD).

134. Whether in any other respect they can be made analogous to Wakka-Wakka mo', malu (see ibid.) is problematic.

135. The rendering in English is according to the preference given in 7.24 (for Wakka-Wakka). In reality, the equivalence to respectively 'this' and 'that' in English is somewhat vague, as seen in the examples quoted below.

136. The personal or individualising forms (ergatives and forms with plural articles) are not necessarily incorrect (they may at best be due to imitation of English). As for the forms with the article, the possibility always pertains of interpreting the latter in its original concrete sense of 'crowd' ('mob'; cf. Note 74), whence gaŋamba, for instance, would in reality be the same as *gaŋa buam this or that crowd or the crowd here or there.

137. cf. regarding verbal stems in -a- and -i- in Barunggam (9.10).

138. cf. Holmer 1966 a, 10.2, Note 94; 1971, 8.1. This alternation of stem vowels may possibly indicate that the original relation between stems in -a- and -i- is rather one of aspect (imperfective, perfective, durative, instantaneous, etc.) than of transitivity or intransitivity (cf. ibid., 1966 a, Note 94).

139. This element does not correspond or is in any way analogous to the 'thematic element' spoken of in 7.28, although it might possibly be identical with the 'nominalising' -l- mentioned in 15.4, which in the Wakka languages at least does not appear as a 'thematic element'; the transitive -l- has nothing to do with mode or aspect, while it appears in most or all forms of a transitive verb (or in the transitive conjugation). Of the verb 'to see', although transitive, no -l- extension appears anywhere (see 15.24). cf. further Note 140.

140. This may actually depend on a phonetic tendency (or 'law'), as the sequence -lm- is not a usual one in Goreng-Goreng; cf. also the causative suffix -nama- (< *-lma-) mentioned in 15.5 and Note 127. As a matter of fact, a single example of -lm- was noted and significantly in the perfective form of the transitive verb stem wa(l)- climb: wenmen (Gor RD; used beside wenmen, from original *walmin).

141. Notice that the vowel is short in Goreng-Goreng, while it is long in Wakka-Wakka: ma'na. —For imperatives in -ga, see in 15.24.

142. The form jangan (= janganmin; Gor RD) is hardly correct. The forms buralugu to pull out, ġarilugu to paint (instead of *buralu, *ḏarilu) may be acceptable, the postposition being put twice (cf. 15.24).

143. The imperative of wani- is often used in the sense of don't (= leave it): wane ŋin jamŋa don't you swear (Gor RD).

144. The form jilga, then, (instead of the plain stem *jil) would mean bite then (cf. Holmer 1966 a, 10.5). This latter theory is perhaps borne out by such forms as ġaga (not *ḏalga) eat (it), since the imperfective form of the verb stem ġa- is ġalgim (not ġagim, which means going).
If anyone is asked how, for instance, 'I am going' is said in Goreng-Goreng, the answer will inevitably be ŋai jangim (that is, the English word order) and the same would hold for Batjala (ŋai janman), etc. The situation is quite different if we take the case of the popular corroboree song: ga jamma-(ma)ra-n ŋai then I am going, etc., in which the natural word order (from the Batjala point of view) is kept (the meaningless syllables are intercalated according to a common practice in singing; cf. Note 17).

It is not so likely that this use of the intentional is analogous to the English (or Indo-European) one of the type: 'going for fish to catch'. cf. Note 39.

Diphthongs others than ai are rare; of ia and ua only one case of each was found: diaŋ (teeth) and muŋ- (smell).

Notice that the negative is often waga (instead of the proper goen), as in several of the Wakka languages.

In cases in which an e is due to 'broadening' of i (in final syllables) it would be possible to count on the particular kind of vowel leveling mentioned in 6.7; hence ḡemen form *ḏamin.

Notice that a preceding i or u are not normally affected by an e in the last syllable of disyllabic words; hence Goeng-Goeng bulen blue eyes, jimen bit, guren ḡuren (= goen ḡoren, language name).

cf. Holmer 1966 a, 5.8; 12.1-5; 1971, 3.18; 8.24).

Yet the author has not heard a similar first person dual from nearer than Punthamara (in western Queensland).

Two cases of a form in -nin (janganin for regular janganmin or *jangamin, according to 17.6 ?) may possibly be incorrect; similarly one case of -i (jangal), as this is the regular Wakka-Wakka form (cf. above, 18.7).

cf. Tagalog maŋ kuwart a ako I have (got) money (in Goeng-Goeng this would be dalŋa(l) ŋai) and Tagalog maŋ tinapay there is bread (in Goeng-Goeng gamga or ḡamgal).

Hence when such forms as meme (mother) or meŋ (eye) are given by our Kabi-Kabi informants, the former must be considered as not belonging to Kabi-Kabi proper (in this case they are evidently Wakka-Wakka). In other cases where informants have used Wakka-Wakka words they have modified the vowel sound: gunban for ḡunben (goanna), gaŋungan for geŋum- (as in Wakka-Wakka; mother-in-law). The form of the test word bi(j)aga tobacco (cf. 14.2, Note 115) clearly indicates that Kabi-Kabi does not possess the vowel phoneme e (eŋ). Similarly white woman is waŋmeri in Kabi-Kabi and Batjala (= Wakka-Wakka waŋmeri) and English saw is rendered by saŋ in Batjala (Bat HM).

That this was so as early as John Mathew's days is evidenced by his description of this sound in dealing with Kabi-Kabi (Mathew 1910, p. 199).

It is perhaps not insignificant that the informant (Bat EH) claimed that she (or her people) had Stradbroke Island connections.

While the sequence -ŋa (as in 'hangman') is not among the most common ones in English, the sequence -maŋ is unpronounceable; one readily concludes from this that what is 'easy' and 'difficult' in language is relative in a very high degree.
In this section will be included some points obtained from informants supposed to represent Kabi-Kabi and which are consequently assumed to pertain to Kabi-Kabi morphology (cf. 22).

The nominal character of such derivations is borne out by their capacity of inflection: ḡuŋamu birunu on a flat or plain without trees.

cf. the place name Wondai (near Murgon), which is wandai in Wakka-Wakka and usually connected by the Aborigines with the Wakka-Wakka (B) and Barunggam verb stem wanda- climb.

This stem is not found in Batjala or Kabi-Kabi, whereas Batjala has the same extended stem biğa(li)- as in Goeng-Goeng, in the sense of run. Formally the suffix -nda- seems related to the Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng associative -ndi- (7.6; 15.6). Notice that Goreng-Goreng bindi- (binda-) also means send.

cf. the imperative naṣa beside naqa (see, look).

An alternative suffix -i (in gibiri from gibir Aboriginal, miḡami from miḡam girl, woman) must either be erroneous or to be explained according to 24.3.

It appears alternatively in -in, -ṇin: Kabi-Kabi ḡinānin (from ḡinān foot), Batjala gaṇin inside (from a stem gaị-; also cf. the Kabi-Kabi relation word miṇanin what for? and further in 25.13).

In both Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng verbs are found in which this element appears incorporated into the verb stem: Wakka-Wakka junma- (junme-) , Goreng-Goreng junma- (junmi-) lie down (cf. the Goeng-Goeng intentional jungu). In Batjala junma- (or jinma-) the same element is found incorporated into the verb stem.

cf., however, stray forms in -ai in Mathew 1910 (wona leave; p. 186).

This probably represents a more or less regular evolution of -m- before -g-; cf. one case of wambamgu for wambangu to lift up (Bat: Wak WC), the 'thematic element' being -m-, as in the imperfective wambam lifting.

The form janan (Bat EH; also Kab) may be explained as Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng janan (see 7.29; 15.24, with the Note 96); the form janin seems analogous to Batjala ṃaṇin saw (see below), from the stem ṃaŋ-.

For the forms in ṃ maneu- (< *naṁane-), see 24.6, with references. The perfective ṃaṇin, which was used by Bat HM, MW and PR, corresponds to Wakka-Wakka ṃaṇi ḍi (7.31).
PART II

THE LANGUAGES OF THE GUNGGARI GROUP

1.1 As in dealing with the languages described in Part I of this survey, we are able to select a particular one as being more important and more representative of the group than the remaining ones (cf. Part I, 1.1). Among the languages described in Part II, the Gunggari language without hardly any doubt plays something of the part Wakka-Wakka plays among those dealt with in Part I (*The Wakka Languages*). There is consequently some reason for referring to the present group of languages as the *Gunggari languages*. While notes were taken of the remnants of languages found nearer to the coast or to Brisbane, mention was often made among the Aborigines of another one, generally referred to as *Gunggari*.¹ It was soon found that a group of languages, closely knit together, extends immediately to the west of those of the Wakka group (see Part I), forming a wide zone between the New South Wales border in the south and the Burdekin river in the north, with a westward extension at least as far as the Warrego river, whence the present author at first intended to name this group the 'Warrego-Burdekin languages', which perhaps might have been justifiable from a purely descriptive point of view.² Our Gunggari (or, if one prefers, Warrego-Burdekin) group consequently corresponds more or less to what is frequently named the *Mari* group of languages (from *marj*[^2], a common designation of *Aboriginal man* in most of the languages of the group; however, this term is not used universally within the group described in this part of the survey neither is it restricted to the same group (as *murry* is a common name for *blackfellow* in the English of the Aborigines of south-eastern Queensland).³

1.2 From an analysis of the morphology of the Gunggari languages, it appears that we may speak of a southern subgroup (comprising Gunggari proper, Bidjara and Marganj) and a northern subgroup (comprising at least Gangulu, Wirri, Birri and Ngawun), the differences being rather marked, so that our main Gunggari informant (Gun TC; see 4.2) claims she does not understand a Birri informant (Birri VA; see 14.3) 'except in part';⁴ for the localisation, etc. of these languages, see further in the subsequent sections (1.3-4). However, the limits between these subgroups are by no means fixed and it is easy to see that here, as elsewhere in Australia (not to speak of Europe or any other part of the world), that morphemes and morpheme categories as well as lexical items tend to converge in proportion to proximity and contacts existing between the speakers of the languages in question.

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1.3 By taking into account the places or districts which the individual informants consider as their home country, or the native territory of their parents or grandparents, that is by applying the same principle as in Part I (1.2), it is possible to form an idea of the approximate linguistic area corresponding to any particular language within the group. Within the southern subgroup, for instance, the Gunggari language is particularly associated with such names as Roma or Mitchell, Bidjara with such names as Springsure and Marganj with the Warrego river (cf. further in 4.1; 7.1; 10.1). Within the northern subgroup, Gangulu informants often hail from Springsure, Emerald, Duaringa or the Dawson river (the Woorabinda settlement, for instance, is to be considered as within the original Gangulu territory), the Wirri informants available are from Clermont, while Birri is to be localised around Bowen and Mackay or to places inland from these towns. The only informant found for Ngawun was from a place considerably farther westward, namely Cambridge Downs (West of Richmond). Of languages further north, which might be suspected to belong to our Gunggari group, contact was made with one only, namely Gudjal, which appears to be the original Charters Towers language; however, hardly any material of value was secured. For further details regarding the position of these latter languages, see in the corresponding sections (14.1; 17.1; 20.1 and 23.1).

1.4 While investigation was carried out among Birri-speaking people at Rockhampton, it was hinted that deviating dialects (or languages) were found further north, referred to by the general name dall (i.e. 'Tully'). During a short visit to the latter place, nothing was however found of this: what might reasonably have been meant by the 'Tully' language (or languages) is entirely different from Birri and could probably not be understood at all by a Birri speaker. As these latter languages (or dialects) are not further studied and others to the north, such as the Gugu languages (e.g. Gugu Bujun, Gugu Jalandji, superficially studied by the author on earlier occasions), morphologically fall entirely out of the Gunggari pattern, the northern limit of our Gunggari group has to be considered provisionally as coinciding with that of Gudjal.

PHONETIC NOTES AND LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS USED IN PART II

(a) Vowel symbols

2.1 The following symbols are used:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{a, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'cut'};^6 \\
\text{e, more or less as in English 'bed'}; \\
\text{i, more or less as in English 'sit'}; \\
\text{o, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'got'}; \\
\text{u, more or less as in English 'put'}. \\
\end{align*} \]

Regarding the actualisation of the phonemes i and u, the same remarks hold as made in Part I, 2.2. A raised period (·) indicates a lengthened sound of the primary vowel phonemes, insofar as it is considered basic:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{a·, more or less as in English 'father'}; \\
\text{e·, more or less as in English 'where'}; \\
\text{i·, more or less as in English 'be'}; \\
\text{o·, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'call'}; \\
\text{u·, more or less as in English 'do'}.^7 \\
\end{align*} \]
2.2 Vowel length is not marked in non-initial syllables, even though the vowel sound may be lengthened in word-final open syllables (cf. Part I, 2.4). Vowel-ending monosyllabic concrete words always have a long vowel (which will be so marked), in contradistinction to words which have particle character (cf. Part I, 3.1-3) and will always be represented as with a short vowel sound.

2.3 Normally in the Gunggari languages a word does not begin with a vowel (notice, however, certain forms in Gunggari, mentioned in 5.4). A syllable may begin with a vowel only insofar as we consider such sequences as ia, ua, iu, etc. as dissyllabic (instead of these, however, one often finds the sequences ija, uwa, iju, etc. respectively; cf. Part I, 6.16; 14.9). Such combinations of vowels will be written as heard in each individual case; it is hence of no consequence whether or not we ought to consider, for instance, ai, au as diphthongs (as one would no doubt in the cases of such English words as 'high', 'how') or not, while in cases of the alternative sequences aji, awu, etc., we are forced to accept a dissyllabic pronunciation.8

(b) Consonant symbols
2.4 The following consonant symbols are used:

- b, a bilabial plosive or fricative (cf. Part I, 2.7);
- d, a dental or interdental plosive or fricative (for further details, cf. in 2.6);
- t, a dental or interdental plosive, occurring after a homorganic nasal (see further in 2.6);
- g, a palatalised dental plosive (see Part I, 2.7).
- j, a supradental or slightly retroflex plosive;
- g, a palatal or velar plosive (see Part I, 2.7).
- m, a bilabial nasal (like English 'm');
- n, a dental or alveolar nasal
- ñ, a palatalised nasal (like the Spanish ñ);
- ŋ, a supradental nasal (see 18.4);
- ŋ, a palatal or velar nasal like English 'ng' in 'sing' or 'song';
- l, a voiced alveolar or lateral continuant (cf. Note 9);
- r, a soft alveolar trill or continuant (like the Italian r or the weak Spanish r, or ere );
- ř, a retroflex sound varying between r, l and d (cf. below, 2.5);
- j, a palatal semivowel (like 'y' in English 'yes');
- w, a bilabial semivowel (like 'w' in English 'water').

2.5 The languages of the Gunggari group differ from those of the Wakka group (See Part I of this survey) in having basic supradental or retroflex phonemes (ď and ř). Of these ď is comparatively rare and it seems that in some words this plosive is not clearly distinguished from, or may take the place of, either ř or r. In Gangulu (B), for instance, the verbal stem wud- jull has been heard in this way from one informant (Gan KW; see 14.3), but as wure- from another (Gan CA)—unfortunately, however, neither of them had a very clear articulation of the Aboriginal sounds. Some bilingual speakers, do not, of course, distinguish well between ř and r, either, usually substituting a plain English 'r' sound (cf. the remarks in Note 9).
2.6 Practically all of the languages within the Gunggari group distinguish between an alveolar and a dental (or interdental) plosive after the nasal n, whence we have chosen a special symbol, t, to mark the dental-interdental sound. This peculiarity, which has not been found in the Wakka languages, is connected with the particular articulation of plosives in the Gunggari languages and particularly with that of d. Normally, the Gunggari plosives are of the 'devoiced' type in the word-initial position or after a nasal (where, however, they may be slightly more voiced; cf. Part I, 2.8), while after other consonantal phonemes and further especially in the intervocalic position they tend to become fricatives. As for d, this sound is best described as dental in the word-initial position and as interdental (and further typically fricative) in the intervocalic position, while after n and t it approaches the alveolar articulation (n and d in this way becoming homorganic). The phoneme t, on the other hand, occurring only after the nasal n, is clearly dental or interdental, with a tendency to become a voiceless fricative (that is as in English 'thing'). Although in this particular case the nasal is undoubtedly dental-interdental (both components of the sequence becoming homorganic), it will be marked by the simple use of n (as also in the homorganic sequence -ng-, in which the nasal is probably palatalised; cf. Part I, 15.12 and elsewhere). Although in this way such words may be distinguished as Ngawun manda head (plosive alveolar) and manta food (plosive interdental), many informants do not seem to differentiate between the two forms of articulation (the word manta food, which is normal in Gunggari, is not seldom heard as manda, whether to be considered as dialectal or due to imperfect articulation).

2.7 In any other sense, a basic alveolar plosive (such as 'd', 't' in English) has not been found in the languages of this group. It is typical, for instance, that the English word potato is rendered either as budai̱da (dental-interdental d) or bu dai̱da (supradental-retroflex d) in Gunggari, while English cattle is rendered by giaḏa (Gungari)TC). As d is never found as word-initial in these languages, an initial English 'd' naturally sounds like Gunggari d among the natives (in loanwords or in the English as spoken by the Aboriginals).

2.8 As for the dental-interdental phoneme d, it seems to hold for all Gunggari languages studied here that it becomes more or less palatalised in front of the vowel i and most probably coincides with the d phoneme in this position, whether occurring initially or medially. In any case, we shall regularly write d in front of i, whether the sound is heard as dental (d) or palatalised dental (d). The same seems to hold for the corresponding nasal (n), which alone is written before i (hence Gunggari nani what?, not *nani, although this pronunciation may occur alternatively).

2.9 The matter is entirely different in the case of the dental alveolar d occurring after n (according to 2.6). This plosive never assumes the palatalised pronunciation, so that the sequence -nd- is normally clearly differentiated from the sequence -ng- (e.g. Gunggari bandi pine tree and bangi sweetheart). In the same way the sequence -nt- is always dental-interdental before i, as in Gunggari danti, Bidjara nanti ground, earth (never *dang, *nangi, although both danti and nandi— with alveolar d— have been recorded).
2.10 The occurrence of the individual consonant phonemes in the Gunggari languages is largely regulated by their position in the word unit. In all Gunggari languages the following consonant phonemes may occur word-initially: b, d, (g), g, m, n, (n), η, j and w. Except as variants of d, respectively n, the sounds of g and n rarely occur initially (cf. 13 and 26). This probably holds for any syllable-initial position as well, with the exception that g is quite common after the nasal n (cf. 2.6). In the word-final (or syllable-final) position the following consonant phonemes are found: m, n, p, η, l, r and r. Whether or not j and w occur (or have once occurred) in this position also, we shall prefer to represent them as diphthongal elements (hence by writing respectively i and u). Finally, in the intervocalic position, all consonant phonemes are permissible. Consonant clusters arise through combination of a word-ending (or syllable-ending) phoneme with a following syllable-initial phoneme (cf. Part I, 6.18). In the separate languages within the group, several abnormal clusters may be met with (cf. 5.6; 15.7; 21.3), probably originally due to the elision of an intermediate vowel.

2.11 Word or syllable stress is not significant in any of the languages studied here. The spoken context runs smooth without emphasis of any syllable unless in cases of long vowels (or diphthongs), besides not very frequent in the Gunggari languages. As usual, in a spoken context or sequence of syllables, however, the second initial syllable often carries mechanically more stress than the others (cf. in Part I, 2.9), which explains the origin of such shortened forms as ge' (Gun EA) for jingia where?; this tendency is frequently reflected in the current pronunciation of place names of several syllables, derived from Aboriginal words, in Queensland: Baralba, Mundubbera etc. In consequence of the above remarks, the separation of words or flectional elements (that is lexical or morphological units) must be made chiefly on the basis of etymology and must, in some cases, be arbitrary (for instance in cases where we write 'case suffixes' in one with the concrete word to which they are added, but leave 'postpositions' and 'connectives' as independent words (or 'particles'; cf. Part I, 3.3).

ABBREVIATIONS
(a) Languages
3.1 The following abbreviations of language names are used in Part II:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bid</th>
<th>Bidjara</th>
<th>Mar</th>
<th>Marganj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bir</td>
<td>Birri</td>
<td>Nga</td>
<td>Ngawun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gan</td>
<td>Gangulu</td>
<td>Wir</td>
<td>Wirri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gun</td>
<td>Gunggari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For Gan (A) and Gan (B), that is Gangulu (A) and (B), see further in 14.2.

(b) Morphological terms
3.2 The following abbreviations of morphological terms are used in Part II:
(c) Informants

3.3 Reference to informants is made by the above abbreviations of language names (3.1), followed by the initials of the person who by speaking or knowing it represents that language, e.g. Gun TC, the Gunggari informant Mrs. Tottie Carbine—for the names and data about the various speakers or informants, see under the respective languages in the subsequent phonological and morphological sketches (4.2; 7.2; 10.2, etc.). — For further details, see in Part I, 4.3, with the Note 41.

GUNGGARI

Introductory remarks

4.1 Gunggari is by far the most important language within the group we have chosen to call the Gunggari languages (cf. 1.1). This language, which is usually referred to as the 'Roma language' by the Aborigines in south-east Queensland, probably has had a wide extension immediately to the west of the area occupied by the Wakka languages (see Part I, 1.1.6). One of the informants for Wakka-Wakka (Wak PB; see Part I, 4.3) considered Gunggari as belonging to the following places or areas: Roma, Mitchell, Charleville, the Maranoa river, extending as far as Springsure, Rolleston and Injune. Our chief informant for Gunggari (Gun TC; see 4.2) says her language was spoken at Roma, Mitchell, Taroom, Surat, Charleville and Cunnamulla and a Gangulu informant (Gan MM) includes Barcaldine, that is a place considerably to the north-west of those mentioned. It has been remarked before (1.1) that Gunggari may be considered as a kind of lingua franca in areas to the west of that of the Wakka languages and speakers of languages to the south, such as Manandjali and Jualrai (see in Part III, 8.1 sqq.; 12.1 sqq.), usually have some acquaintance with and knowledge of what they understand to be Gunggari. Our main Wirri informant (Wir AM; see 17.2) maintained that she herself was a 'Gunggari' and that Gunggari was in fact the same as Wirri.13 As for dialectal differences, nothing very definite can be said. It is, however, reasonable to assume that such differences should exist within the large area of Gunggari speakers. Our main informant (Gun TC)
mentions two names of languages, which she holds to be akin to her own, namely one referred to as guamu and another one, muruwari. Of these the former would be spoken about Cunnamulla, while the latter was located on the Culgoa river and possibly extending into New South Wales. These two variants were said to be 'almost the same' and regarding guamu Gun TC pointed out that it retained a clearly pronounced initial g- (which in her own Gunggari strongly tends to disappear; cf. 5.7), so that corresponding to her own amu Guamu would have gamu (water), for ugu Guamu would have gugu (here) and for urgan (long), unilgu (to kill), aimbaŋ (little) Guamu would have respectively gurgan, gunilgu, gaimbarr, etc. For Gunggari wunaŋa (lying down, staying) Guamu would however have quite a different word, wuguliŋa (-rŋa).14 A more realistic difference might be perceived in the speech of our two main informants (Gun TC and Gun EA), of whom the former would represent the Roma area (cf., however, Note 14) and the latter an area to the south-west (Bendana, Fernlee, Coomburra); the differences are, however, slight (Gun TC uses, for instance, the word ŋurŋ for emu, while Gun EA prefers gulbari, and further guringal for peewee, where Gun EA has guringa; differences such as Gun TC dilaμu, Gun EA dilambu galah are however of no consequence, as being mere instances of the pronunciation -m- for -mb-, which is quite common and universal (see 5.8).

List of informants

4.2 Reference to informants for Gunggari is made by the following abbreviations, being the initials of the persons preceded by the letters Gun (for Gunggari). In the case of more than one informant for the same language the language signature is not repeated (e.g. Gun TC, EA, etc.). Compare further in 3.4 and in Part I, 4.3, Note 41).

**Gun BT:** Mr. Bill Tobane, at Maryborough; his father and uncle were from Roma, while his mother was Wakka-Wakka.

**Gun EA:** Mrs. Effie Armstrong, at Woorabinda, born at Bendana or at Coomburra; her father (from Fernlee station) and mother (from Bendana) were both Gunggari.

**Gun ES:** Mrs. Eileen South, at Murgon.

**Gun GD:** Mr. George Daisy, at Cherbourg, from Mitchell (he also mentions Wyandra, which is far more to the west, and a Clifton station).

**Gun LM:** Mrs. Liza Malone (died at Kingaroy a couple of years ago), born at Roma.

**Gun NM:** Mr. Niney McDonald, at West Ipswich, from St. George (his father was white).

**Gun PH:** Mrs. Phyllis Hall, at North Toowoomba, sister of Gun BT.

**Gun QL:** Mrs. Queenie Long, at Josephville (south of Beaudesert), born and raised at Roma and St. George; she had learned the Beaudesert language (Manandjali; see Part III) and sometimes mixed both languages.

**Gun TB:** Mrs. Tilly Bond (née Roberts), at Sandy Creek, Clermont, from Mitchell way (but she also mentions Bendana and Clifton).
Gun TC: Mrs. Tottie Carbine, née Cubby, first met on the Woorabinda settlement and later at Comet, born at Angledool (New South Wales); since her father was a Juurlrai from Lightning Ridge (New South Wales) and her mother a Muruwari from Goodooga (N.S.W.), she must have learned Gunggari (a language in which she was fluent and most proficient) from her husband or while living at St. George.

Phonology

5.1 In a general way, the phonetic system of the Gunggari languages differs from that of the Wakka languages on three main points: (1) the vowel system is almost universally of the 'triangular' type, that is the vowel phonemes are reduced to the basic a, i and u, which are primarily short (or of normal length), long forms (a', i', u') arising secondarily by contraction of basic vowels (for a deviating system in Gangulu (B), see 15.2); (2) all Gunggari languages studied here make a distinction of dental-alveolar and supradental-retroflex plosives and continuants; and (3) interdental plosives (which are sounds found in both linguistic groups) are variants of the dental-alveolar sounds in the Gunggari languages, while in the Wakka languages they occur as variants of those of the palatalised dental series (in the former languages interdental sounds may alternate with palatalised dentals before the vowel i only; cf. 2.8). In other respects, such as the actualisation of the plosives (which are throughout the 'devoiced' type; cf. 2.6), the Gunggari and Wakka languages follow the same principles; for an exceptional occurrence of an interdental t in the former group of languages, see in 2.6.

Evolution of the vowel system

5.2 As indicated in the preceding section (5.1), Gunggari possesses the three basic vowel sounds denoted by a, i, u, which are normally short (or of medium length), long forms (a', i', u') occurring occasionally as contraction products. The lengthened sounds of e (e') and o (o') may occur as variants of a(j)i, i(j)a and u(w)a, respectively, e.g. ne· for ŋaja I, bimbe for bindaja sit (Gun LM), gu· for gumbaja give (Gun TC), gunina for gumina fighting, ge·bør for gaimbør little (Gun EA), wagan(d)e for wagan(d)ija run (Gun EA), ŋalgme for ŋalgamija talk to each other (Gun TC), -be for -bali (= -bali, sociative suffix), ŋanigora for ŋanigu gara why, I wonder? (Gun TC), etc. Other long vowels occur by contraction of identical basic vowel sounds, as in: bu· (bu·gga) (in the nose (Gun TC), gu· face (Gun TC; cf. guwu in Breen 1973, p. 205) or else in loanwords: gi· key (Gun TC); the sounds of i· and u· are often broadened (resembling respectively e· and o·), especially in contact with g, as in: ge·nu (for gi·nu) with the key, go· (for gu·) face (cf. above). English speech habits are responsible for such abnormal articulations as bangu money (cf. 2.1, Note 7), jaŋ ge·l young girl (Gun EA; this might have been turned into *gi(j)al according to Note 16); notice the identification of the English vowel sound in 'bird', etc. with the sound of e· among English-speaking Aborigines (cf. Part I, 17.4). Vowels may appear lengthened inorganically in certain surroundings, as for instance before a homorganic nasal consonant cluster, in such words as: gandu (ga·ndu) child, jilangu (jilau·ngu) here, mirandu (miran·du) down (Gun TC), etc. Vowel length is further not marked in non-initial syllables.
5.3 The quality of the vowel sounds a and u are often modified by contact with a palatalised sound or the semivowel j, the former turning into e (which is not a basic phoneme in Gunggari) and the latter into i: jērban for jērban spirit, sacred (Gun TC), jinuna beside jununa you (Gun TC), jilangu beside jilangu here (Gun TC), jimbə- beside jumba- hear, etc.

5.4 Words do not normally begin with a vowel in the Gunggari languages. Vowel-initial forms arise, however, secondarily. In the first place the sequences ji- and wu- are almost normally actualised as respectively i- and u-: jinda you mostly sounds like inda, wuna- lie down, like una-, etc., a circumstance which occasionally may present a difficulty in analysing the forms, considering that initial g- also is often entirely suppressed in Gunggari (cf. 5.7). In this latter case, however, the problem is in some measure facilitated by the tendency in the vowel u to become slightly broadened (approaching or turning into an o; cf. above, 5.2), as in the words: gudu (> odu) hard, steady, guru (> oru) all, gubil (> obil, obel) blue-tongue lizard, gundu (> ondu) away, gunilgu (> onilgu) to kill, etc. (mostly from Gun TC). As for initial a-, several pronominal forms have been recorded in which this vowel seems to be basic (that is, not alternating with any consonant-initial form), namely the demonstrative stems aba- and abu- (that, there). Various explanations of this occurrence are possible: one might think that they originally began with a g- (an isolated gabangulu over there was actually recorded from Gun LM), but that the frequent occurrence of forms of the demonstrative pronoun in which g- would tend to disappear (see 5.7) had caused a universal outting of other variants; another explanation would be that the vowel-initial forms have arisen in sandhi, for instance in cases such as gundi jabana that house (> gundi abana, Gun TC), gundi jabadu (> gundi abagu, Gun TC; cf. 5.5), that is from the parallel and equivalent demonstrative stem jaba-.

5.5 In this connection it is necessary to mention sequences of the type a(j)i, i(j)a, a(w)u, u(w)a, etc., in which the pronunciations with and without the intervocalic semivowel alternate (cf. Part I, 6.16) and in which it is often not possible to decide whether the semivowel is primitive or not. In a case such as gaimbaran little, for instance, it is reasonable to think that this form is a variant of a primitive gajimbaran, seeing that a parallel (and probably more primitive) form gajumbaran exists (Gun TC), which would have passed to gajimbaran according to the tendency dealt with in 5.3. In a case such as mandui shoes, footgear we seem, however, to be at a loss, as both manduji and manduwi, along with still another manduri, have been noted. We must thus adhere to the principle of writing the forms exactly as heard in each individual case.

Evolution of the consonant system

5.6 The following consonant phonemes are basic in Gunggari: (bilabial) b, m; (dental-interdental) t; (dental-alveolar) d, n; (palatalised dental) j, n; (supradental-retroflex) ɖ, r; (palatal or velar) g, ɳ; further the continuants ɭ and r (for which see Note 9) and the semivowels (palatal) j and (bilabial) w. For their occurrence according to position within a word unit, the following is important: words may begin with any of the above consonant sounds, except t, ɖ, l, r and r. The phonemes ɡ and ɳ are, however, rare or exceptional in the initial position (mostly occurring in loanwords: ġaral salt, ġuininga Duaringa, etc.).
a place name), except as variants of respectively d and n before an i (see 2.8). In the syllable-initial (though not word-initial) position t (only after n) and g are permitted and common. In the word-final (or syllable-final) position the following consonant phonemes only are allowed: m, n, l, r and r (for j and w, cf. 2.10). By combination of a syllable-final phoneme with a following syllable-initial phoneme consonant clusters (not exceeding a sequence of two phonemes) arise; any consonant clusters of another type indicate either a loan-word or some kind of special or secondary evolution (for instance the loss of an intervenient vowel); a word of this type is manru (a kind of) wild duck (Gun TC, EA).

5.7 Initial plosives are 'devoiced' (for the term see Part I, 2.8); after nasals, b, d, g and g tend to be slightly more voiced. In the intervocalic position, b, d and g are articulated either as initially (possibly less voiced and somewhat lengthened) or else as fricative sounds (that is as in Spanish). It should be noticed that g has a particularly weak articulation and is often entirely suppressed, even initially: amu for gamu water, etc. (cf. 5.4). The behaviour of the dental-alveolar d is especially interesting: (cf. Note 10); when fricative the basis of articulation is interdental, while after n and l it is rather alveolar (while a dental-interdental plosive after n is represented by t; cf. 2.6). Before i, the dental or interdental sound is frequently palatalised and hence coincides with that of g (dibin or giben little bird) and we are therefore justified in representing either form of articulation by simply writing d; the alveolar variety (that is in the position after n—of l no example is recorded) is however not affected by any noticeable palatalisation, whence we have to differentiate between the sequence -ndi- (alveolar) and -ngi- (palatalised; cf. 2.9 and Note 12). Of the sequence -nti- (dental-interdental) no perceptible variant shade is noticed (as in bunti postor, Gun TC). The same holds for the dental-alveolar nasal (n) as for the corresponding plosive (d), namely that it may be palatalised before i and hence indistinguishable from n in this position (where we consequently write n).

5.8 Consonant clusters consisting of a plosive preceded by a homorganic nasal (hence -mb-, -nd-, -ng- and -ng-) may not seldom lose the plosive element: bamu- for bambu- open (Gun TC), dilamu (Gun TC) for dilambu (Gun EA) galah, dūnunu for dūnunu off the head (Gun TC), gudalangu for gudalangu the eagle hawk (Gun TC), bagaŋa for bagaŋga on the tree (Gun TC), dulgarana for dulgaranga on the log (Gun TC) and several other cases of -nu, -ŋa for ergative, respectively locative, -ŋu, -ŋa; further gunari for gungari Gunggari (Gun LM).

5.9 Of the passing of any intervocalic consonant into -r- (cf. Part I, 6.19), an example is found in wagalguru for wagalu du must climb also (Gun TC). Undoubtedly such forms with a secondary -r- may become standard (cf. Holmer 1966a, 3.2). If this be granted, of the alternative forms gara and gala (perhaps, I wonder, etc.; Gun EA), the former may rather be secondary, provided that both forms represent variants of the same primitive word. In this connection something must be said about 'alternation' of sounds, a term much misused in linguistics since its very beginning. In the Australian languages one finds ever so often cases of duplicate forms of the type Gunggari bunda-~bunta-pick up, lift, take, etc. (Gun TC), manda and manta food, ŋargu and ŋargu kangaroo, mara- and mara- get (cf. Bidjara ᵃnduru and ᵃndur who?) or further Gunggari mara and Birri mala hand, Gunggari and Bidjara waga- and Gangulu (B) jaga- climb. Certainly, in some cases these 'alterations' are due to the
difficulty among bilingual speakers to manage the Aboriginal r sounds and possibly also the not too common combination -nt- (comparatively rare in English also), but in many cases it is just a matter of formally different words, having assumed an identical or similar meaning (cf. Holmer 1966a, 5.16; Capell 1962:14, 84). Alternation of sounds do of course exist in many languages (a typical instances is found in the Indo-European apophony, as still reflected in English 'drink', 'drank', 'drunk', etc.), but to justify the term alternation a system must be involved. When considering Australian duplicate forms of the type Kattang giwaŋ, Thangatti gitapa, Bandjalang gibam moon, it is probably too often forgotten that English 'head' (Anglo-Saxon hēafod) is by no means a modification of a primitive form underlying the Latin caput. A certain formal similarity exists between Gunggari bigaŋ the Native Rule or Law and mgaŋ good, right, proper, yet in spite of the similarity in sense these words are no doubt historically unconnected.

5.10 While in the Aboriginal languages r and ŋ represent different phonemes, more or less similar sounds in English have rather a dialectal than distinctive character. Hence among our bilingual Aborigines in south-eastern Queensland, a certain confusion of both Aboriginal sounds may take place, under the influence of English. The phoneme r is quite often replaced by an English 'r' sound, which may resemble the Aboriginal ŋ. On the other hand, the true retroflex pronunciation of ŋ is often modified into something else, such as (apart from the common Australian English 'r' or the Aboriginal r) a sound recalling -Ir- (-Idr-) or -1d-, e.g. marli for maŋ Aboriginal man (Gun NM), daŋald (daŋul?) for daŋul possum (Gun NM). On the other hand, for some reason Gun TC uses initial ŋ- in place of n- in some words (which cannot, of course, be attributed to the influence of English): ŋaga- for naga- see, ŋula for nula he, she and so also in ŋuman skin (cf. Bidjara and Gangulu (B) ŋuman, idem) and ŋaŋi name (cf. Gangulu (B) and Birri ŋari, idem).

Morphology
(a) Structure of stems and derivation

6.1 Structure. The concrete word stem in Gunggari is normally and primitively dissyllabic (or longer, particularly if derived); monosyllabic stems (regularly with a long vowel) are either loanwords or due to contraction (cf. 5.2). Nominal stems may end either in a vowel or a consonant, while verbal stems (if underived practically always dissyllabic) end in one of the vowels -a-, -i-, -u- only, e.g. binda- sit, bingi- rain, banbu- fall. Longer stems (especially verb stems) are usually derived; in many nominal stems the character of the termination cannot be defined. For derivations by means of the short elements -ŋ, -n, -m, -l, etc. (cf. Part I, 3.6), see in a following section (6.7). Some stems (e.g. bigiri, bigiri- dream) may occur as either nominal (bigiriŋa in a dream) or verbal (bigiriŋa dreaming).

6.2 Compound stems. Both nominal and verbal stems may be combined into semantic units (cf. English 'seashore', 'seafort'; in Gunggari we usually write the component elements of nominal compounds separately (in so far as they are also found to exist independently). Nominal compounds hence are of the same type as in English: ŋuŋaŋ gabuŋ emu egg. For the construction of compounds, see further in 6.40. Verbal compounds are always written in one, since the
first component is normally the stem, which usually does not occur as an
independent verbal form in Gunggari. 2 This type of compound hardly exists in
English ('lend-lease'?): ngalgada- stand talking, ngalgabinda- sit talking,
bulgubinda- sit smoking, bulgudada- stand smoking, wari dana- think (stand
thinking); 25 instead of these it is also possible to say: ngalgana bindana
(talking sitting), etc. (see 6.45), that is by two inflected words. Finally,
there are cases of a noun stem being combined with a verbal stem in such a
way as to form a logical compound: maŋa jimb- hear (literally ear-hear), maŋa
jabu̍r- forget; we write these as two words since the component elements (maŋa,
jimb- , etc.) occur as independent words (cf. above), but logically these
constructions are compounds, as otherwise one would expect an ergative or other
case form of the nominal part (answering to English 'hear with your ears' or
the like). These kinds of constructions are very common in the Aboriginal
languages studied (cf. Part I, 18.1).

6.3 Reduplication. As elsewhere, reduplicated nominal stems are common in
Gunggari. The meaning and function of these varies greatly and is sometimes
not to be determined. Often a diminutive sense is expressed, as in: maŋi maŋi
boy (cf. maŋi man), gambi gambi girl (cf. gambi woman), but other times the
meaning is different or contrary: wamba wamba really mad (as against wamba
a bit silly; Gun TC), baŋa baŋa many, also grown-up (Gun TC). Reduplication
often occurs in the case of colour names or words having adjectival character:
gudi gudi red, guda guda white, gubur gubur black, barun barun crooked, murga
murga clever (Gun TB), waŋi waŋi mad (Gun LM). It is common in animal names:
dini dini or diri diri wagtail, duli duli mopoke, maŋi maŋi sheep, lamb,
gubur gubur black crow (Gun TB), dambal dambal snakes or grubs, dambun dambun
(a kind of) beetle (Gun TC). In other cases the function is not clear; madan
madan prickles of the porcupine (Gun TC), nalga nalga cow's horns (Gun TC),
bural bural echo (Gun TC), mila mila poor, beggar, mir mir mates (Gun TC; from
English 'mate', cf. 5.6, Note 18), bari bari crybaby (the verbal stem bari- cry
must be taken nominally, *bari crying; cf. 6.1), guru guru all, altogether,
jangara jangara many (Gun TC).

6.4 Nominal derivation. By nominal derivation we mean the providing of a
nominal word stem with a suffixed element, the derived form keeping its nominal
character (cf. Part I, 3.6-7). Among the most common derivative suffixes we find
the sociative -bari (-bai), corresponding to English having and the corresponding
caritative -garba not having or without. Examples: gamubari full of water
(gamu) or drunk, dilibari having eyes (dili), that is being able to see,
dalabari having leaves, dungubari having a head or hair (Gun LM), mungabari
having hair (of a dog; Gun LM), wurigabai having a stick (in his hand), ngangabara
bearded, junabari hollow (having a hole, juna), gandubari having a child or
children, gindinbari having a cold (Gun TC), jilabari in a hurry (Gun TC);
gamugearba dry, without water (gamu), jurigarba without meat (jurigri), mantagarba
without bread (manta). 26 The sociative -bari (-bai) may function in the way of
a postposition in such cases as: mantabari (eat something) with bread (Gun TC),
nula gurbala jabilabai he came with his father (Gun TC), gura ganana jurilabari
has come back with meat (Gun TC), gungurubari (the flies) are buzzing (with
a buzzing noise; Gun TC); compare in Part I, 7.4. A very special use of -bari is
found in: naku maŋabari (literally with my ear), which expresses English my
poor ear! (Gun TC) and similarly naku gandubari my poor child! (Gun TC), which
latter is to be distinguished from ngaŋu gandubari I have a child (Gun TC). The
analysis of gurganbari (Gun TC) tall or long is not quite clear.
The feminine suffix -gan is found in ma·migan old woman (Gun TC, EA), wadigan (also wadin) white woman (Gun LM, QL, TC); the meaning is, however, different in gabugan hat (Gun TC; another derivation of the same stem gabu- is gabundi hat, Gun TC). While the common local suffix in the Wakka languages (-ba; cf. Part I 7.3) is not represented in Gunggari, another termination having suffixal character exists, which may vaguely express locality, namely the element -ra, often in local words such as: bandara sky (if indicating something like above-place? cf. banda sky, Gun GD), balbara (on the) river bank, gawara gully (Gun TC) and perhaps in the same way budara ashes (cf. Bidjara buda buda white) and dulgara log (if indicating a place to sit on); it is significant that these may also express the locative relation without a locative suffix (cf. balbara, above; so also Bidjara, Wirri, etc. bandara in the sky).

In words expressing relationship a suffix -(i)la, which seems an exponent of a dual relation, or relation between two, occurs, that is of words which (in the Australian languages) are relative and hardly exist except in conjunction with a corresponding term (e.g. 'father' in relation to 'son', etc.). The following are Gunggari examples: jabula father (Gun QL), jaŋaila mother (Gun QL), dabunila brother (Gun TC; cf. Wirri dabu, idem). When a relation between two is not present to the mind, the word in its basic forms is used, for instance in a vocative sense: jabu father, jaŋa mother (Gun QL). We refer to this suffix as a 'dual-comitative' (cf. 6.43); that this suffix has derivational (and not flectional) character is evident from the fact that it can take an additional derivative suffix: jabu labari having his father with him, with his father.

Of the non-functional suffixed consonant elements referred to (in Part I, 3.6; 7.1) as 'nominalising', the following are noted in Gunggari: η, -l, -m, -n and -n. Examples: dinaj (Gun NM) beside dina (Gun LM) foot, gunaŋ excrement (cf. Bidjara gu, idem), gunaŋ night, dark (cf. Bidjara gu, idem), widiŋ sore (cf. Birri widi, idem), gurul codfish (Gun EA) beside guru, idem (Gun TC), gurungal (Gun TC) beside guŋa (Gun EA) peewee, namun cow's dugs beside namu breast (both from Gun TC), maŋi beside maŋi Aboriginal man, wadin white woman (cf. the stem wadi- in wadigan, idem), gamuŋ soup or broth (Gun TC), which seems related to gamu water. An instance of three alternative forms is found in ŋura (Gun LM), ґuran (Gun GD, BT, TC) and ґuram (Gun QL) dog. The element -l may be described as nominalising in the relation word gambuguran round about, as gamba- tum is a verbal stem and -guran a postposition, whence -l- would be expected to answer to English -ing in the construction by turning round or some similar phrase. On the other hand, -n is usually a modal element in the conjugation system (see 6.34); Gunggari junaŋ empty would therefore rather express the idea of being hollow (although from a nominal stem juna hole).

Verbal derivation. The four types of verbal derivation as described in Part I, 3.8-11 (causative, associative, reflexive and reciprocal) are all found in Gunggari. Causative derivation is in the first place by means of the suffixes -ma- and -ima-: baraŋa- do (from bara- come about), wulama- put out fire (from wula- die, go out), wailma- roll (transitive; from waili- roll, intransitive), badama- make (the fish) bite, catch (from bada- bite), galama- frighten (cf. galali- get frightened), banbuma- fell (from banbu- fall), nagama- show (from naga- see), wunama- lay down, put to sleep (from wuna- lie down), bindama- let sit down (from binda- sit), danama- stand (something) up (from dana- stand), nari- to name (from nari- name), bulguma- make a mouse hole or
store (food) (from bulgu mouse hole; Gun TC), junama- make a hole (from juna hole), wambama- make mad (from wamba mad), gubama- burn (transitive; cf. gubanda-, idem, intransitive); gambilma- turn (something) round (from gambi-turn round, intransitive), junalma- empty (from juna hole, hence make a hole; cf. junan empty), baralma- make (cf. above), jimbalma- let hear (from jimba-hear), nagalma- let see, show (cf. above), nubilma- startle (transitive; cf. nub- , idem intransitive) — as is seen, the derivation is often from nouns or nominal words. It is likely that the original sense of these suffixes (-ma- and -lma-) is associative (cf. 6.9) or expressing a prepositional relation in English (as in 'withstand', transitive, from 'stand', intransitive, originally 'stand against'). Such is rather the case in the following Gunggari verbs: qalgama- talk with or to (cf. galga-talk), bindama- sit with or nurse (a child) (cf. above), warlma- think about (cf. war- think), wadama- go away from (one without telling) (from wa∂a-go), wulama- die on (to use an Irish idiom, that is in the sense of bereave or leave destitute and hence quite different from the causative to kill; Gun TC), gadima- tell a lie to, cheat (from gadi- lie), bagama- bite for (one) (when fishing; from ba∂a- = bada-, cf. above), gunima-fight (with) (from guni-hit, Gun TC; usually to fight is gunimia-, cf. 6.11); sometimes the difference in meaning between the basic and derived verb is slight or none: warama- play (perhaps play with? cf. wara-, idem), bumbulma- open (cf. bambu-, bu∂u-, idem), biguma- throw, push over (cf. bigu-throw), waduma- put on, cook, make (cf. wadu-, idem). There are examples of the causative suffix (-ma-) being added to a shorter form of the basic verb stem, as in danama-put (if related to dana-stand; cf. danama- above).

6.9 The associative derivation expresses verbal action in conjunction with another or simply the idea of 'acting with' (cf. some of the examples in 6.8). The typical derivative suffix is -ndi-, as in: wagandi- run away with (cf. wagali-, wagani-run), bigundi- throw with (practically the same as bigu-; cf. the early English construction throw with a spear etc.). The meaning is sometimes the same as in the simple verb: wagandi- (= wagali-, wagani-run).

6.10 Reflexive derivation is by means of the suffix -li-: nagali- look at oneself (from naga-see, look), gundali- shave (oneself) (from gunda-cut), gambili- change (into) (change oneself; from gambi-change, turn), galali-get scared (scare oneself; cf. galama-, in 6.8), gurgali- paint oneself (the simple verb not recorded). The sense is sometimes indirect reflexive, in that it expresses the idea of doing with or for one's own or oneself, as in: gunili- kill one's own (not oneself, Gun TC; from guni-hit, kill), dagali-put on one's own (clothes) or dress (the simple verb not recorded), danguli- take off one's (clothes) (cf. dangulma-take off), gambali-give (to one's own), feed (from gumba-give), banbali-throw one's own (from banba-hit), magali-tie (a knot) for oneself (from maga-tie (a knot)). Sometimes the meaning expressed by -li- seems merely intransitive (cf. the difference between English 'eat' = 'have a meal' and 'eat something or it'): jugali- eat (intransitive; from juga-, idem, transitive), qalgali-talk (from qalga-say), bandali-sing (intransitive; from banda-sing, transitive), gangu- low (of cattle) (cf. Wakka-Wakka.ganga-call; see Part I, 12), but many times the suffix does not seem to change the meaning at all: buγali-fly (from buγa-, idem), gambilturn round (from gambi-, idem), dungali-run (over) (a simple verb stem not recorded), wagali-walk about (from waga-walk), gurbali-come (from gurma-, idem), banbuli-fall (from banbu-, idem), dumbali-boil over (from dumba-jump), wagali-run (cf. wagani-, wagandi-, idem), mandali-walk about (from manda-walk).
The difference between tell in: ṣagunta gulba tell me and ṣagunta gulbalila told me (both Gun TC) does not appear, neither is the function of -li- clear in nagali- look like (from naga- see).

6.11 The reciprocal suffix in Gunggari is -mia- (with one informant, Gun LM, -mi-, as in Bidjara, see 9.11); these suffixes express the idea of each other or one another: gunimia- or gundimia- fight (cf. guni- hit, hence hit each other), nagamia- look at one another (from naga- see, look), bidumia- fight (from bidu- throw, hence throw each other), ẓalgamia- talk to each other, digamia- have a row (the simple verb not recorded; cf. Birri, Wirri diga- rouse or startle), nagamia- look at one another (cf. above; Gun LM), (maŋa) jimbami-listen to one another (from jimba- hear; Gun LM). A derivation of -mia- (-miara- or -miari-) is also used in the reciprocal sense: gunimiara- or gunimiari- fight (Gun TC); it is possible that the element -ra- is the same as the Birri and Wirri reciprocal suffix -ra- (see 19.8; 22.9).

6.12 Other verbal derivative suffixes occur, but are difficult to associate with any particular shade of meaning. The suffix -ni- is intransitive in: wagani- run (waga- usually means climb; also cf. Bidjara wagani- run), wambani-be silly (from wamba silly). In the same way seem to be used -ndi- (cf. 6.9) and -nda-: wagandi- run, wambandi- go mad (cf. above; it is possible that these suffixes are identical in their origin, cf. 5.8), gubanda- burn (of the fire) (intransitive; cf. gubama- burn, transitive, in 6.8). The intransitive suffix -gi- is found in gəmbiri- turn round (Gun TC) and in gabiri- get hungry (cf. gabinu hungry, which itself probably represents a verbal form; cf. 6.34); the meaning seems inchoative or denoting a change of state. Whether the termination -giri (usually not inflected), as in gunigiri kill all (Gun TC), is to be considered as a verbal derivative suffix or a flectional element in the conjugation (see 6.35) remains unsettled.

(b) Inflection

6.13 Declension. Compared to the Wakka languages (see Part I), the system of case inflection is on the whole less evolved in the Gunggari languages, which on the other hand make more use of postpositions (see 6.19; 9.18, etc.). In Gunggari the following case forms are regularly made: nominative (or stem of the word), ergative, ablative, locative and allative. Forms looking like possessive forms occur, but seem somewhat doubtful; of ablative forms very few are recorded in this material. The basic case forms are made up in the following way: the nominative is the stem of the nominal word, whether ending in a vowel or a consonant. The ergative always ends in -u (which can normally not be preceded by a nasal); the ablative (of vowel-ending words) ends in -ndu, the locative in -a (normally not preceded by a nasal) and the allative (of all words) ends in -gu. The particular form of the case suffixes depends on the structure of the word stem, whether ending in a vowel, a nasal or one of the consonant sounds -l, -r or -r (cf. Part I, 7.11-12). Of vowel-ending stems the ergative ends in -ngu, of stems ending in a nasal the ergative -u is preceded by a plosive of the same category as the nasal, whereby homorganic groups arise (written respectively: -ngu, -ndu, -mbu, -ngu, including the stem-final nasal), while of stems ending in -l, -r or -r the ergative suffix is simply -u, yet with an intercalation of -d- after -l- (yielding an ergative form in -1du). The ablative (which is recorded of vowel-ending stems only) is always formed by
the suffix -ndu; of nouns ending in a consonant the ablative is expressed by a postposition (mundu from; see 6.19). The locative of vowel-ending stems is in -nga and of stems ending in a nasal the suffix is -a preceded by a homorganic plosive (cf. the ergative, above); of other stems no instance of a locative is recorded, but the allative (cf. below) may be used instead, especially in designations of places. Finally, the allative is formed (of nouns of all types) by addition of the suffix -gu.

6.14 Some special remarks have to be made in connection with the structure of the case forms. First of all, since according to 5.8 homorganic consonant clusters may be simplified by losing the plosive element we occasionally get ergative forms in -ŋu, ablative in -nu and locative forms in -ŋa: gi·ŋu (for gi·ŋugu) (open) with a key (gi·, from English; Gun TC), ganduŋu (for gandungu) the child (ergative; Gun TC), dungunu (for duŋgundu) off the head (Gun TC), bagaŋa (for baganga) on a tree (Gun LM), diliŋa (for dilinga) in (my) eye (Gun EA), maŋa on or in (my) hand (Gun EA), dulgaŋa (for dulgaranga) on the log (Gun TC), nandiŋa (for nandinga) (rolling) on the ground (Gun TC), gubaŋa (for gubaŋnga) in the stump (Gun TC).

A couple of possessive forms in -ŋu have been recorded from Gun LM: maŋiŋu dungu man's head (maŋiŋu the man's is accepted by Gun TC), ŋuŋaŋu dog's (head, etc.), that is with the same suffix as in the personal pronouns (nuŋu his, her, etc.). This possessive suffix occurs in some northern languages in the declension of the nouns as well, but as it is very sparingly recorded in the southern languages, it might possibly be due an error on part of the informants (cf. the following section: 6.15).

6.15 On the other hand, possessive case relation is expressed in different ways. Instead of a special possessive form a compound may be used of the type: ŋuruŋ gabun emu egg (see 6.2; = egg of an emu); similarly jamba maŋi the name of the settlement (Gun TC). The allative case form (in the sense of for) is also used: ŋuruŋu ŋagugu dog's bone (or a bone for the dog; Gun TC), gandugu ŋamak the child's food (Gun TC), maŋiŋu ƥa the man's (Gun TC), jamba gudalagu a hawk's home or nest (Gun TC), muningu jamba spider's nest or web (Gun TC), maŋingu jamba a man's home (Gun TC), gandugu jamba Children's Home (Gun TC). Finally, a construction with a personal pronoun in the possessive form is possible: maŋi nuŋu the man's (literally the man, his ... , as in the English Billy Bones, his fancy, etc.; Gun TC) or a combination of both constructions, as in: garə nuŋu jilungu maŋiŋu that is not this man's or does not belong to this man (Gun TC).

For the strange construction maŋi dungubari a man's head, baga dalabal leaves of the tree (both from Gun LM), see in 6.41. – The ergative is normally construed with a transitive verb only (that is one having a direct object, whether expressed or not): gurguru galamala the night owl scared (me); whether such a construction as: ŋaja galalila gurguru I was scared by the night owl (Gun TC) is correct or not is doubtful (it gives the impression of a mere copying of the English passive construction).

6.16 Of other terminations, appearing to denote a case relation, we find a locative (?) in -da in the form burida (= buryinga) on the fire or ashes (Gun TC). Whether the termination -ra mentioned in 6.5 as having a local designation should alternatively be considered as a locative suffix is irrelevant (it would be the regular locative form of a stem in -r; see 6.17 (c)); from a form of this type an ablative is made by the suffix -ndu (cf. 6.13): bandarandu in (properly from) the sky (Gun TC). Original 'dual-comitatives' (see 6.6, Note 27) in -ru (cf. Bidjara, 9.15) are found in a few relation words:
mugaru tomorrow, balgaru yesterday (for the semantics, cf. 9.15, Note 68). The suffix -ru has, of course, a dual sense in Bidjara bularu two, which in Gunggari is bulari. In consequence of this one might expect to find analogous 'dual-comitatives' (in -ri) in Gunggari, as possibly in the relation word nandari and all: gandunu nandari children and all (Gun TC).

6.17 Paradigms. The following paradigms will illustrate the principles of the regular declension of nominal words in Gunggari. The following are type words: (1) vowel-ending stems: baga tree, burgu back, buṛi fire, dandi ground, gamu water, gandu child, gundi house, juna hole; (2) stems ending in a nasal: bangun head, jaraman horse, jurun road, bungan scrub turkey, nurun emu, wangun right (hand); (3) stems in -I, -r or -r: guirlingal peewee, gilar glass, gurgur mopoke, madir match(es), mangar basket, dandur star.

(1) vowel-ending stems:
- NOM baga, burgu, buṛi, dandi, gamu, gandu, gundi, jaraman, juna
- ERG gandungu
- ABL baganu, burgundu, dandindu, gamundu, gundindu
- LOC bagangga (baganga), burgunga, buṅgiga, gamunga, gundinga
- ALL burgugu, gamugu, gandugu, gundigu, junagu

(2) stems ending in a nasal:
- NOM bangun, jaraman, jurun, bungaṇ, nurun, wangun
- ERG jaramanu, burgangu, nurungu
- LOC bangundu, jaramanda, jurunda, wangungu
- ALL bangungu

(3) stems ending in -I, -r or -r:
- NOM guirlingal, gilar, gurgur, madir, mangar, dandur
- ERG guirlingaldu, gurguru, madiru
- LOC gilara, mangara, dandura

6.18 Article. To express definite or observable plurality, suffixed elements are used, which indicate that several specimens of the noun so indicated are present (for details, cf. in Part I, 3.18, with references). The Aborigines usually render the plural article by the English 'mob of', that is a 'crowd or group of'; the article in Gunggari therefore is 'definite' in regard to number only. The article also is individualising and is hence not used when the noun is taken in a general sense, as in: dana maṛi (all) the dark people (Gun EA);33 in maṟindu dana (all) the dark people, maṟindu is consequently an ergative form (without the article; cf. below). The basic form of the plural article in Gunggari is -nu (at least of vowel-ending stems): gandunu two or three children or the children (Gun TC; from gandu child, children), gambinu three or so women (Gun TC; from gambi woman, women), widunu some white people (Gun TC; From widu). Of nouns ending in a consonant (nasal-ending forms only are recorded) the suffix is either -u, e.g. wadiganu some white women (Gun TC; from wadigan) or -du, e.g. nimundu the flies, some white women (Gun TC).34 For the use of the article with the possessive form of a personal pronoun (jununu yours), see in 6.22, at the end. The article element may be declined according to the paradigm in 6.17 (1), the ergative being in -nuŋgu: gandununugu some children.
6.19 Postpositions. To express certain case relations (especially of the local kind), postpositions are largely used in Gunggari. The following have been recorded: bara *below*, gadi *like*, garĩ, garĩn *on*, gi, giŋ *off*, from, guŋ *toward*, mugū *on* (also used in place of the locative form; cf. 6.13), mundu *from* (also used for a missing ablative form; cf. 6.13); when used with nominal forms (nouns, etc.), the postposition is written as an independent word (the reason being that these forms may occasionally function as relation words; cf. Part I, 3.3), otherwise they are often (as in relation words) written in one word with the determined form. Examples: marĩ gadi, mugĩn gadi like a man, (old) woman, ʧa jã gadi *like me*, ʧuran gadi *changed* into a dog (Gun TC), jurun garĩn on the road, duru ʧamara garĩn *on the left hand side* (Gun TC), baru gi gamu water from the creek (Gun TC), bandara gi gamu rain water (Gun TC), dandi gi *pick it up* from the ground or floor (Gun TC), gunũ gi *from the bush*, gamu gi *off the water* (Gun TC), jaraman gi *fell off the horse* (Gun TC), marĩn gi maraja *take it off the man* (Gun TC), gandu giŋ (= gandu mundu) *take it off* or from the child (Gun TC), duru wagaŋ gurĩn *toward sunrise*, Rockhampton way (Gun EA), ḡana gurĩn toward us (Gun TC), mandaja baga gurĩn go past the tree (Gun TC), baru gurĩn go toward the river, bangun mugu *on the head*, gundi mugu *on top of the house* (= gundiga; Gun TC), baga mugu *on top of the tree*, bangu mugu *on top of the rock(s)*, baru mundu from the river, gamu mundu from or out of the water (Gun TC), gandu mundu from the child (ablative sense, cf. above; Gun TC), gundi mundu out of the house, baga mundu down from the tree, jaga mond (got stuck) from the cold (hence for the missing ablative form; Gun TC), ʧajamundu *from me* (= ḡaŋurĩn, ablative; cf. 6.22). The postposition occasionally follows a case form of the noun: gundigu bara below the house (Gun LM). A postposition has been found combined with a verbal stem, as in: ḡa ra jinda ḡa juna mandacija ʧaja wadumundu *don't call me while I am cooking* (Gun TC; literally from cooking, I, the verb stem being used nominally; cf. 6.1).

6.20 Personal pronouns. The personal pronouns refer to persons, or animate nouns, only (cf. Part I, 3.20-21). Those of the third person consequently express English 'he' or 'she', but not normally 'it'; the latter might, if necessary, be referred to by a demonstrative pronoun (see 6.25). Gunggari has three pronominal stem forms each in the singular, dual and plural; no distinction of exclusive and inclusive first person forms are made in the simple personal pronouns, but such a specialisation can be made by means of certain compound forms, for which see in 6.23. The basic forms of the simple personal pronouns in Gunggari are: (singular) ḡa ja I, jinda you, nula (also ʤu l; see 5.10) he, she; (dual) ḡalı we, jubalu (also jubala, jibala, bula) you, bula they; (plural) ḡana we, jura you, dana they. The form jubalu is possibly an original ergative, but is used as nominative (or stem form) as well.

6.21 The inflection of the personal pronoun is basically that of nominal words (see 6.13 sqq.). However, the personal pronoun (as a rule) has the same form in the nominative and ergative and, in addition, has a special objective and possessive form. The local case forms (ablative and locative) have specialised meanings, owing to their referring to persons: the ablative, for instance, denotes 'off' (as in taking something off a person) and the locative does not normally mean 'in' or 'on', but 'in or to one's place', that is 'with' (as in 'staying with') or 'on a visit to', while the allative does not exist at all (or is at least not found in this material; cf. Part I, 7.18).
6.22 Paradigms. The following inflected forms of the personal pronouns have been recorded:

**First person singular:**
- NOM ɲaja
- ERG ɲaja
- OBJ ɲaŋuna, ɲana
- POSS ɲaŋu (ɲaŋuŋa, Gun TC; cf. below)
- ABL ɲaŋurĩŋ
- LOC ɲaŋunda

**Second person singular:**
- NOM jinda
- ERG jinda
- OBJ jinuṇa (jununa, junana, jindaṇa, Gun TC, jindaŋuna, Gun LM)
- POSS jinu, junu, jinuŋa (jin(d)ana, Gun TC)
- ABL jinuřiŋ
- LOC jinanda, jununda

**Third person singular:**
- NOM nula (nula)
- ERG nula (nula)
- OBJ nunuṇa
- POSS nunu
- ABL nunuřiŋ
- LOC nunuṇda

**First person dual:**
- NOM ɲali
- ERG ɲali
- OBJ ɲaliŋuna
- POSS ɲaliŋu
- ABL ɲalinuŋuŋiŋ (Gun TC)
- LOC ɲaliŋanda

**Second person dual:**
- NOM jubalu (jubala, jibala, bulu)
- ERG jubalu (jubala, jibala, bulu)
- OBJ jubaluṇa
- POSS jubaluŋu
- LOC jubalunda

**Third person dual:**
- NOM bulu
- ERG bulu
- OBJ buluŋuna
- POSS buluŋu
- LOC bulanda (buluŋu mu Ὴanda; cf. below)

**First person plural:**
- NOM ɲana
- ERG ɲana
- OBJ ɲanana (ɲana, Gun TC)
- POSS ɲanaŋu
- LOC ɲananda
Second person plural:

 NOM jurə
 ERG jurə
 OBJ jurənəna
 POSS jurənu
 LOC jurənda

Third person plural:

 NOM dana
 ERG dana
 OBJ danaŋa
 POSS danaŋu
 LOC dananda

Some remarks should be made regarding the use of some of the above forms. The form ηάŋûna for ηάŋu (mine) was used by Gun TC in ηάŋa ganila ηάŋûna I hid mine; it is consequently not certain whether this form would not be an inflected (objective) form of the common possessive ηάŋu. Otherwise Gun TC has several possessive forms in -ŋa (see the paradigms). Another inflected possessive form is junaŋu yours (= your lot of children; Gun TC), which seems provided with the plural article. Further, the form bulari munda (= bulanda with them (both)) renders (coming to stay) with you two; bulari is a nominal word two and munda is evidently a locative variant of the common postposition mundu (from).

6.23 To make a distinction between an inclusive and exclusive first person, the following compound forms are used: ɳali jinda (ŋalinda) you and me (inclusive), ɳali ḥuila or ɳali ḥunda he or she and I (Gun TC), jubala ḥunda he or she and you (Gun TC; exclusive). These compound pronouns may be inflected: ɳaliŋu ḥundaŋu hers and mine (Gun TC).

6.24 By analogy with nominal words, the personal pronouns can be constructed with a postposition: ηάŋa gadi like me, ηάŋa mundu from me, jinda mundu from you, nula mundu from him, ḥana guŋiŋ to or toward us (Gun TC; cf. 6.19). In ηάŋa migan as good as I (Gun LM), the personal pronoun enters into a compound (literally I-good) and in nunguŋiŋ over there (literally toward him; Gun TC) the postposition is affixed to a variant of the possessive case form (?). Another isolated form is jindala in: bigariŋa ɳája jindala I dreamed about you (Gun TC). Locative forms in -la occur in Bidjara (see 9.20).

6.25 Demonstrative pronouns. For general remarks regarding demonstrative pronouns, see in Part I, 3.3 and 7.23. The Gunggari demonstrative pronoun lacks those forms which are essential in the declension of personal (or animate) words, namely the ergative, objective and possessive form, and is consequently inflected in the local forms only, that is the ablative and allative (no locative forms are found and the ablative is rarely used); this is due to the fact that they at the same time express a person or thing as well as locality. In Gunggari this man or that tree is at the same time the man here or the tree there and this man’s is rendered by the man’s here only, whence the nominal part (man) is the only one to occur in the possessive form (as far as Gunggari is concerned, this would normally be the allative; see 6.15). (However, should the demonstrative pronoun occur in the allative as well, no functional connection would exist between these case forms, as will be seen in 6.26). Like the nominal words, the demonstratives lack special plural forms: jina means either this or these and abuda either that or those.
6.26 Since the local case forms (the ablative, locative and allative) seldom occur of personal or animate nouns (except in special senses; cf. 6.21), it is clear that the local forms of the demonstrative pronouns refer to the locality or place of the noun determined and not to the noun itself. The inflected forms of demonstrative pronouns mostly have the character of relation words (see Part I, 3.2), that is to say that the ablative and allative forms of a pronoun corresponding to 'this' or 'here' in English mean respectively 'hence' and 'hither' (and not 'from or to this (one)'). The local forms of a demonstrative pronoun in construction with a nominal word does not express ablative or allative case (in the same sense as in the nominal declension; see 6.13): a construction such as 'this man hence' would not mean 'from this man' neither would 'that man hither' be the same as 'to that man'. In Gunggari it is possible to say jilůŋugu maŋju belonging to this man (Gun TC) in which both words are in the allative; yet the literal translation is not to or for this man, but the man's hither, which would mean belonging to the man who is or comes from here, but in practice the import of the allative of the demonstrative is inessential.

6.27 The recorded stem forms of the Gunggari demonstrative pronouns are the following: aba that, abada that, there, abuda that, gabâ- that, over there, ȵaba that other, over there, ȵuna that, there, jaba that, there, jilů (julu, jila-) this, here, jina (jini, Gun TC) this, here, jũa- that, mana this, that, here, nani that, wuna that, there; the rendering of these forms in English is in accordance with the explanations given by the Aborigines or the translation of the examples quoted (cf. Note 40). A hyphen indicates that the stem form has not been found isolated.

6.28 Paradigms and examples. The following forms of the above demonstrative stems are recorded:

aba that, over there:

NOM aba, abana
ALL abâŋgu (abâŋgu), abagu

Examples: aba guñdi that house (Gun TC), aba waŋgara that one, aba bulari those two (Gun TC), guñdi abana, guñdi abagu that house (over there) (Gun TC); abagaŋju and abagaŋju over there may be considered as relation words.

abada that, there:

NOM abada

Example: abada guñdi (= aba guñdi) that house (Gun TC).

abuda that, there:

NOM abuda
ALL abudaŋgu

Example: abuda bula those two.

gabâ- that, over there:

ALL gabâŋgu

Example: gabâŋgu bindaja sit over there (Gun LM).
ŋaba- that other, over there:
NOM ŋabana
Example: ŋabana gambi that other woman (Gun TC).

ŋuna that, there:
NOM ŋuna, ŋunana
ALL ŋunangu
Examples: ŋani ŋuna what is that?, ɡa ŋa ŋuna jinaŋa that is not yours (Gun TC), ŋunana that thing (Gun TC), nula ŋunana baga wagala he climbed that tree (Gun TC), ŋunangu gandu(ŋu) that child (Gun TC; not to be understood as two ergatives in grammatical agreement).

jaba that, there:
NOM jaba, jabana
ALL jabangu, jabaŋu
Examples: jaba that thing, jaba (or aba) danaŋa standing there (Gun TC), jaba gundi that house, jaba jamba the camp over there (Gun EA), jaba bula those two.

jilu (julu) this, here:
NOM jilu (julu), jiluna, juluna (jilana, Gun TC)
ALL jilungu, julungu, jilangu, jiligugu
Examples: mařin jilu this man, nuŋu jilu (julu) this is his, mařin jiluna this man, gundi jiluna this house (Gun TC), jiluna miغا this corroboree (Gun TC), gundi julungu this house (Gun LM), ŋani julungu what is this? (Gun LM), julungu dulgarą this log (Gun TC), jilangu duri this is good (Gun TC), jilangu gağa this is bad (Gun TC), jilangu baŋari this is big (Gun TC), jilangu gandu that child (Gun TC), mařin julungu, julungu mařindu this man (Gun TC), julungu mařigu this man's (cf. 6.26).

jina (jni) this, here:
NOM jina (jni), jinana
Examples: jina over here (Gun TC), jina ɲaŋu this (that) is mine (Gun QL), ɲura jini barila a dog over there barked (Gun TC).

juŋa- that, there:
NOM juŋana
Example: dula juŋana ɡaŋa gunma or gundima don't cut down that tree (Gun LM).

mana this, that, here:
NOM mana
ABL manandu
ALL manangu
Examples: mana here they come (Gun TC), jamba manandu from that camp (Gun TC).

nani that:
NOM nani
Example: jinjiaŋu nani where is that? (Gun TC).
wuna that, there:

wuna, wunana

Examples: widu wunana that white man (Gun EA), ñani wunana what is that? (Gun EA).

6.29 Interrogative pronouns. For general remarks on interrogative pronouns, see in Part I, 3.20. The interrogative stems in Gunggari are: (personal) ñandulu (Gun LM), ñunduru (Gun TC, EA), ñunturu (Gun TB) who? and ( impersonal) ñani what? These are inflected according to the pattern of nominal words (for a paradigm, cf. Bidjara, 9.25); the only inflected form recorded here is the allative ñanigu what for?, why? The ergative is equal to the nominative (ñunduru Gun EA), which in itself is no doubt an original ergative form (in -u). Examples: ñunduru gandu bindana who is that child? (Gun EA), ñunduru gara I wonder who? (Gun TC), ñunduru jilaña who is here? (Gun TB), ñunduru wunana who is over there? (Gun EA), ñandulu marí jinda who are you? (Gun LM); ñani juluŋu what is this? (Gun LM), ñani bindana what is sitting? (i.e. what is it?; Gun TC), ñani wunana what is that? (Gun EA), ñanigu jura gun(d)imaña why are you all fighting? (Gun LM). Instead of ñanigu the nominative ñani has been found in: ñani jinda wunana what are you lying down for? (Gun EA), ñani jinda ṇaguna nagana why are you looking at me? (Gun TC).

6.30 The personal interrogative is used of a person's 'home' or 'camp' and of his 'name': ñunduru jaba jamba jigaña whose is the camp over there? (Gun EA; literally who is the camp over there?), ñunduru naři what is (your) name? (Gun TC; literally who the name?); compare Holmer 1966b, p.24; 1963, p.77. The indefinite sense of 'somebody, anybody' respectively 'something, anything' is found in negative constructions with the relation word ga ra no, not: ga ra ñunduru no one (was there) (Gun TC), ga ra ñani nothing (Gun TC).

6.31 Conjugation. The verbal stem in Gunggari, which is at least lessyyllabic and may be longer in derived forms, always ends in one of the basic vowels (-a-, -i-, -u-; cf. 6.1). The stem-final vowel is usually unchanged throughout the paradigm, the conjugation being mostly by means of suffixed elements, indicating the various modal forms (cf. Part I, 3.22). According to the principles explained in the section referred to, the stem is mostly provided with a consonant element, in Part I termed 'nominalising' (ibid., 3.22) or a 'thematic element' (ibid., 7.28), to which original case suffixes or post-positions (-a, -gu) may be added. In Gunggari the 'thematic elements' are -η-, -n- and -l- (whether in the imperative, which mostly ends in -ja, an analogous element -j- is present is quite uncertain). The nasal increments (-η- and -η-) are used (as it seems indiscriminately) in the imperfective mode, while the increment -l- occurs in the perfective and intentional modes.²²

6.32 The Gunggari language has the same four basic modal forms as are found in the Wakka languages (cf. Part I, 7.28; 15.21), namely: the imperative, the imperfective, the perfective and the intentional; in addition we find a number of accidental forms (cf. Part I, 3.24). The appearance of the fundamental modal forms is as follows. The imperative is either the stem of the verb (e.g. binda sit, Gun TC, LM, waga alimb (= wagaja, Gun TC), ga ra jinda bigu don't throw it, Gun LM, and regularly of reciprocal verbs in -mia-: ga ra jibala gunimia don't you fight, Gun TC) or more often the stem increased by the syllable -ja (bindaja sit,
Gun TC, EA, gara gadaüa don't tell a lie, Gun LM, gara jinda jidija don't be afraid, Gun LM). The imperfective mode is formed by the suffix -ŋa or -na (of which the former may be more common and typical), to be analysed as above (6.31). The perfective mode form ends in -la (cf. above, 6.31) and the intentional in -Ʌgū (being the 'thematic' -1- plus the postposition or allative suffix -gū, expressing purpose). Of reflexive verbs in -li- (see 6.10), the 'thematic' element seems to be absent: gambiligu to turn (oneself) round. The imperfective functions as hortative as well: bindaja let me sit down (= bindalgū; Gun TC), gujū Ʌjā Qambumajā I will catch fish or let me catch fish (Gun EA).

6.33 The imperfective mode denotes either a durative or an impending verbal action (irrespective of whether the 'thematic element' is -ŋ or -ŋ'; cf. Note 42): njali bindaŋa or bindana we are two sitting, gamu bandina it is raining all the time (Gun TC), jinda mandaŋa you are going (Gun LM), gamu jugaŋa has come to drink water (Gun LM; literally is going to); the imperfective also expresses 'possibility': nagaŋa can see (Gun LM). The perfective mode expresses a finished or completed verbal action and therefore mostly past time (although this is not binding; cf. in Part I, 3.23). The intentional mode marks purpose, intention or necessity: Ʌjā mandaŋa daungu I must or intend to go to town (Gun LM) and also renders English constructions with 'in order to': gamu jugalgū (went) to drink water (Gun LM). — For the various accidental forms and their construction, see in 6.36.

6.34 Certain apparent derivations or flections of verbal stems do not fit into the current pattern, as described in the preceding sections (6.31-33). Among these we find forms with a 'thematic' increment, but without a following postpositional element. Such forms are those in -l and -ŋ, of which a few cases are found: wagal climbing (Gun TC), duṟu banbung sunset (Gun TC), westward (Gun EA), duṟu wagaŋ sunrise (Gun TC), gundaŋ stealing (Gun LM), banbung deafening, making a noise (Gun LM). As is seen, these partly have a nominal function (notice the 'nominalising' increment -ŋ), but may possibly be used rather by analogy with the accidental verb forms (see 6.36). Beside the imperfective forms in -ŋa, -na (see 6.32), two rare forms in respectively -ŋu and -nu occur, namely (jinda) bindaŋa and bindanu. The former is explained as an imperative (you sit down) by Gun BT, the latter as being equivalent to bindana (sitting) by Gun TC, TB. It may possibly be neither; perhaps the final -u is a variant of -gū (cf. Wakka-Wakka, in Part I, 7.29), whence these forms may come closer to the intentional forms in -Ʌgū (6.32-33). Another irregular verb form is the imperfective in -ra (which is common in Gangulu; see 16.26); it has been noted in such Gunggari forms as: nagara seeing (Gun EA), mandara going (= mandaŋa; Gun TC, EA), Ʌalgara saying (Gun NM; = Ʌalganaga, Gun LM), marin jilu danara a man standing here (Gun TC).

6.35 The termination -ra occurs in certain forms derived by an element -Ʌgā-, that is (as it appears) the 'nominalising' -1- (see 6.31) with addition of a formative suggesting an auxiliary verb stem (cf. Holmer 1966a, 10.16, p.82; 1971, p.41—also cf. in Part I, 7.8; 15.8); the only basic form recorded is the imperfective (?) -Ʌgara, which seems to have a durative function (or marking a continued action), much by analogy with English constructions with the verb to be plus an -ing form of a main verb. This form is explained by Gun TC as meaning to be busy, once with an additional I am sorry to say as in: Ʌjā jugu bindalgara gurū I am sitting here alone, I am sorry to say. However, this form may be augmented by the ordinary imperfective -ŋa, as in:
danalgarana (= dana) standing, nagalgarana (= naga) looking (Gun TC) and there is even a derived perfective form in -la: jamalgarala (= jamala) has been doing, nail walulagarala buringa we were busy cooking on the fire (Gun TC). In the same way the related derivative -gi- is used: nagalgi- look for, find, probably a variant form of -ga- (cf. Bidjara -gi-; 9.31). Another verbal form having the character of a construction with an auxiliary is the one in -giri-; the meaning can only be ascertained from the examples, which suggest a successive verbal action or the idea of one after another, one by one, altogether; it seems -like -lgara (see above) -originally not inflected: banbugiri (lemons) falling one by one (Gun TC; said to be the same as banbu(li)la, however which is perfective), nagagiri I have seen the mob, I did not count them (Gun TC), gunigiri kill a lot (Gun TC), naja gunigiri guru gandunu or naja gandunu guru gunigiri I have killed all the young ones (Gun TC); a case in which -giri is added to a perfective form, as in wulalagiri all are dead (Gun TC), seems strange and the form might not be correct.

6.36 Accidental forms. For general remarks, see Part I, 3.24. In Gunggari several verbal forms of this kind are recorded, which are all characterised by the termination -ja, evidently an original locative -a added to a 'nominalising' element -j- (cf. Holmer 1966a, 12.1-5; 1971, 8.21-24). The suffix -ja is usually added either to the imperfective form (in -ga or -na; see 6.31-32) or to the perfective form (in -la; see ibid.), whereby we obtain accidental forms in -naja, -naga or -laja. A difference in meaning does not seem relevant, neither noticeably connected with a distinction between perfective and imperfective action (according to the use of -ga, -na or -la), all accidental forms rendering English if, when, while or, occasionally, the more primitive where, as appears from the examples: (with -ga) naja gura gana naja naja jindana nalgaglu when I come back I will tell you (Gun TC), jinda bari naja naja jinuna gunilgu if you cry I will hit you (Gun TC), jinda gura man danajaja when you come back (Gun TC), naja gamu juganaja naja gundu gana naja when I had drunk water I went away (Gun TC), dibin jinda naganaja if you see a bird (Gun TC), gali nani jinda gunanaja if perhaps you should kill some (game) (Gun TC); (with -na) wallinaja rolling along (Gun TC), nalgalinaja (he came) while we were talking (Gun TC), nali nalgamianaja while we two are talking together (Gun TC), gabun naganaja if (you) see an egg (Gun TC; cf. naganaja, above), gamu gurbinalaja dandindu where the water comes out of the ground, that is a spring (Gun TC); (with -la) marji marji jinalaja when I was a child (Gun TC), bindalaja sitting, wunalaja lying down (Gun TC), nalgalaja bindana sitting talking (Gun TC), nula naguna mantala naja nalgalaja he called me while I was talking (Gun TC), jinda nadjuna gulbaja jinda gura wadalaja you tell me when you come back (Gun TC). The relation word gambili(j) a round, about (jamba gambilia round the house; Gun TC) is, of course, an accidental verb form (turning about, rounding).

6.37 There are certain irregular accidental forms. First of all, the 'nominalising' element is missing in, for instance, badama la the place where I am fishing (for *badamanj-), so that we get: naja guju badamanja where I (usually) fish (Gun TC), naja guju badamanagu (going) to where I (usually) fish (Gun TC) and in much the same way we find examples of a postposition added directly to the verbal stem: naja wadumundu (don't call me) while I am cooking (Gun TC; literally from cooking); whether the construction dibin jinda nagana if you see birds (Gun TC) may be justified from the above point of view or not, it is still not the normal one (which would demand naganaja; cf. 6.36). Another irregular form shows the 'nominalising' -l- in place of -j-, so that we get
a termination -ŋala: buŋala rushing, blowing (of the wind) (Gun TC). For (nominalised ?) forms in -l and -ŋ, which occasionally appear to have the character of accidental forms (as in: maŋa ŋaguna diŋgal hitting my ear; Gun EA), see in 6.34.

6.38 Paradigms. Although Gunggari conjugation is generally quite regular and simple, a survey of representative forms will be given in the following paradigms (the type verbs—intransitive, transitive and reflexive—being: binda-sit, manda-go, come, juga-eat, drink, naga-see, look; gambili-turn (oneself) round, nagali—look at oneself).

binda—sit:

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manda—go, come:

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juga—eat, drink:

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naga—see, look:

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gambili—turn (oneself) round:

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nagali—look at oneself:

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6.39 Connectives. For the use of this term, see in Part I, 3.1, 3.3. In Gunggari the short particles bu, du and ba may be counted as connectives. These always follow a concrete or independent word, so that they may either be an introduction to a following clause (usually not expressed) or else to have acquired the enclitic position through a tendency in these languages to place short or dependent words after a concrete one (cf. Holmer 1966c, 20.1). The particle bu is—perhaps due to association with the English word—explained to mean but (Gun TC), as in: manrâu gaṟa bu (you will not kill) ducks, however (Gun EA; cf. the double construction in English though not ducks and not ducks, though, where the placement of the conjunction varies). The same enclitic position is occupied by the connective du, which—probably mistakenly and also due to association with an English word—is explained to mean too by Gun TC. It occurs, for instance, in: jinda, jibala binda du you sit down (Gun TC; = bindaja, hence imperative), ŋaja wagalgu du I must climb also (Gun TC), wagana du climbing too (Gun TC), nula wagala du he climbed, too (Gun TC), wulala du dead, too, 48 gaṟa du not yet, jugalila du (we) also ate (Gun TC), jinda binda du you sit too, ŋaja du me too, ŋali du wagalgu we will go walking (Gun TC).49 The third connective, ba, which might be equalled to English then, is perhaps the one which comes closest to what the author understands by the term 'connective' as occurring in the Australian languages (see Holmer 1963, pp. 71-73). One example only is recorded: julun ba here we go (Gun TC; said to be the same as julun here, hence: here then), but the same particle is known in Wirri also: jara ba go then (see 19.37).

(c) Construction

6.40 Most problems pertaining to the construction of phrases and sentences in Gunggari, as in all Australian languages studied here, center around the analysis of sequences in which English would make use of a copula ('is', 'was', etc.; cf. particularly in Part I, 7.32; 15.25). Theoretically, nominal words in the nominative form may be combined in three (from our point of view) entirely different functions: (1) as a compound (see 6.2), which further may be either of a determinative (emu egg; cf. ibid.) or a copulative (father (and) mother; cf. below) order; (2) as an attributive construction ('good man' in English) or, finally, (3) as a predicative construction (the man is good'). Owing to the absence of a copula or analogous distinctive means particular to English or most European languages, these functions cannot be distinguished formally in the Australian languages. If to be rendered in English, the proper equivalent construction must be determined by context or similar factors; generally the intended meaning in each particular case does not present a problem. No confusion would, for instance, be involved from a practical point of view as to whether the proper rendering of Gunggari ŋuruŋ gabuŋ is emu egg (compound) or the emu is an egg (predicative construction), neither as to whether jabulla jaŋaila properly means father and mother (copulative construction) or father's mother (compound, expressing possessive relation; see 6.15).50 For the remaining two functions, the attributive and predicative, no distinction whatsoever exists to the Aboriginal mind, phrasings such as English 'good man', 'it is a good man', 'the man is good' being perfectly equivalent, so that the translation is open to choice. In the constructions ŋura malgaŋa as big as a dog (Gun LM), ŋaja migan as good as I (Gun LM), we probably have original compounds (dog-big, I-good).
6.41 As a corollary to the remarks made in the preceding section (6.40), it follows that Gunggari admits of a construction answering to an English attributive phrase of the type leaves of the tree, expressed in what seems a topsy-turvy manner: in Gunggari baga dalabai means of course a tree having leaves (see 6.4), but as this according to a predicative rendering (the tree has leaves) is equivalent to there are leaves on the tree, which in its turn is (attributively) leaves on the tree, we obtain the required meaning of leaves of the tree. In exactly the same way mari dungubari does not mean a man having a head, but merely a man's head (Gun LM). This is quite by analogy with Goeng-Goeng constructions mentioned in Part I (18.12), according to which the word owned is expressed by a sociative derivation (in -ŋa, -ŋal, = Gunggari -bari).

6.42 Inflected nominal words express a relation, either to another noun (in the case of possessive forms or forms expressing a possessive relation; cf. 6.15) or a verb (in the case of ergative, ablative, locative and proper allative forms) and no ambiguity of either meaning or analysis is possible (whether the ergative be rendered by an English nominative or by the preposition 'with' or 'by' is immaterial from the Gunggari point of view; cf. Part I, 3.15, Note 25). An exception to this rule would be found in cases where grammatical agreement (or concord) is found, in which case the construction is to be considered as attributive, as in: widu bularingu gandungu (ergative) two white girls (Gun TC), to be analysed as: white two (compound or attributive construction), (it was by) children, the latter part of the phrase determining or completing the former part. (Without grammatical agreement, the whole construction would be attributive or a compound, according to choice.)

6.43 The copulative construction arises from the absence of a copulative conjunction 'and' in the Aboriginal language. The normal way of expressing such a relation between two words in Gunggari is by marking one or both as being a dual. This is done, in the case of a personal pronoun being co-ordinated with a noun, by the use of a dual pronoun, which then may be followed by the noun, as in: ŋali Queenie-ŋgu (ergative) I and Queenie (Gun TC; literally we two, Queenie (did, etc.). In a similar way the dual noun bula two may be used: gulbari bula bungaŋ the emu and the turkey (Gun TC; difficult to render literally in English: the emu-couple, (including the turkey or the like). In the case of terms of relationship (father, mother, etc.), a special dual-comitative suffix -(i)la (see 6.6) is used, according to the construction: jabaŋa jaŋaila nula gurbala he came with his father and mother (Gun TC). If more than two members are involved, dual words and forms are naturally out of place; a plural personal pronoun is used, for instance, in: ŋana gandu jugala ŋamaŋ we all and the children ate tucker (Gun TC; to be analysed as above).

6.44 As realised from the above analysis and discussion (6.40-43), the concept of 'compound' is used here in a wide sense. In the first place, members of groups which are considered as compounds may be separated: maŋa ŋaja ŋargulina I am deaf (Gun EA; for *maŋa ŋarguli-, cf. 6.2), dili ŋaja mugabar an I am blind (Gun EA; for dili mugabar an eye-blind), dina ŋaja wadalaŋa I have a sore foot (Gun EA; probably something like I am foot-sore, although the verb stem wadali-usually means walk about— an alternative construction is dina ŋaŋaŋa wadalaŋa my foot is sore). In a similar way we get: jarga mandana durga wind blowing dust (Gun EA), which might be analysed in various ways (wind-dust is blowing? etc.). These are all compounds of nominal and verbal stems, according to 6.2.
6.45 Verbal stems may be combined into a verbal unit (see 6.2). It also happens that two verbal forms (such as we should call 'finite') enter into a compound construction: űalgana bindana sitting talking, űalgana danana standing talking, bulguna bindana sitting smoking (all from Gun TC); these are not quite analogous to the corresponding English duplicate constructions, in which one member certainly has to be taken as dependent on the other (as a kind of 'gerund' or adverbal form). Instead of the above construction, Gunggari admits of alternative ones: (1) of the above-mentioned type űalgabinda, űalgadanana, űalgabulguna (talk-sitting, etc.; see 6.2) and (2) with an accidental form: űalgala bindana sitting talking (see 6.36), which latter comes closest historically to the English construction.

6.46 The use of the accidental forms in Gunggari are typical not only of the Australian languages at large, but also of the linguistic type within which the majority of Australian languages fall. Examples may be found profusely in stories and myths as formerly told by the Aborigines (cf. Holmer 1963, p. 70), but it is still today possible to gather fragments of analogous turns of speech in genuine Aboriginal talk: ŋaja mandala wabalgu gundugu (I went to the bush to hunt) ... ŋaja gundugu mandalaja ņaja juna gamu buntalina ŋidguna (when I had gone or got to the bush I looked for a spring) ... ņaja juna nagalaja ŋaja bandur baru wunalaja ... gamu jugala (when I had found the spring, lying down on my belly, I drank water) ... ņaja gamu jugala bindala, etc. (when I had drunk water, I sat down, etc.; Gun TC); according to the typical construction each 'finite' verb form is taken up in the following context by the accidental form of the same verb stem.

6.47 A favorite construction in the languages studied in this survey is found in the co-ordination of an allative form (in Gunggari in -gu) with the intentional mode form (in Gunggari in -Igu), which constitutes a kind of grammatical agreement in a wider sense (the terminations of the co-ordinated words containing the same element -gu, expressing purpose). An example is: ŋaja mandala wabalgu gundugu I went to the bush to hunt (see above); similarly: migagu waralgu to start a corroboree (Gun TC; literally for a corroboree, for to start). Compare in Part I, 3.4, Note 39, and further ibid., 11.12; 15.26 and elsewhere in this survey.

BIDJARA

Introductory remarks

7.1 As Bidjara is closely related to Gunggari, a description may conveniently be based on the one made of the latter language (in 4.1-6.47), by comparing features of the former to particulars already dealt with. Bidjara is often referred to by the speakers as the 'Springsure language' (for instance by Gun TC). It evidently has a considerable extension, especially westward, where the limits are hardly to be drawn. By taking into account the places referred to by our informants as being their home areas or those of their people (cf. 4.1), one may form a rough idea of the area once covered by the language in question. By including places such as Barcaldine (and the Barcoo river), Babbiloora, Bogarella, Augathella (and the Warrego river), Springsure, Rolleston and Clermont, we easily find—disregarding the somewhat indefinite western extension of the language—that Springsure occupies in a sense a central position.
We hereby get the impression that Bidjara in a general way extends immediately
to the north of Gunggari, toward the areas of Gangulu and Wirri (see 14.1 sqq. and 17.1 sqq.). The many analogies with the Gunggari language are therefore easily understood. Nevertheless, and no doubt due to the large area once covered by the language, Bidjara shows some dialectal variation, being chiefly a difference between the western part (the Warrego river area) and the Springsure area. The informant Bid RH (from Springsure), for instance, maintains that her language differs from that of another good informant, Bid OC (from the Warrego area). For want of a sufficient number of data from the various parts of the Bidjara area, it has not been possible to observe dialectal differences in detail; however, some few points are noted on which the language of Bid RH deviates from that of Bid OC: while the former, for instance, says wugu for here the latter has jugu or julu (idem), while Bid RH says ƞanila when?, Bid OC says ƞaniŋa, for Bid RH's bangar sick Bid OC has the verbal stem bunđa- (bunđana, bunđala is, was sick) and Bid RH further uses the word bindil for Bid OC's barbaŋ noise. On the whole the differences are insignificant at the same time as the agreements with Gunggari are noticeable.

List of informants

7.2 The following informants for Bidjara have been consulted, to which reference is made in the usual way by means of the initials of the respective persons, following the language signature Bid (for Bidjara). Otherwise the same principles are applied as for Gunggari (4.2) or as explained in Part I, 4.3 and Note 41.

Bid AC: Mr. Adrian Conway, at Woorabinda, from Rolleston or Springsure (his father seems to have spoken a different language).

Bid JL: Mr. John (?) Lynch, at Churchill, by Ipswich, from Barcaldine and the Barcoo river; his people also were of the 'Barcoo tribe'.

Bid OC: Mr. Oscar Collins, died a few years ago at Cherbourg at an age of between 68 and 85 years; he was from the Warrego area, born either at Babbiloora or Bogarella station, and both his father and mother were Bidjara (according to one informant he was of the 'Big Boomerang tribe', whatever this may imply).

Bid RH: Mrs. Rosie Holt, at Cherbourg; she and her people are from Springsure.

Bid SK: Mr. Sidney King, at Clermont (very briefly interviewed).

Phonology

8.1 The inventory of phonemes in Bidjara is the same as in Gunggari (see 5.1-6). Such minor differences as, for instance, a less noticed tendency to suppress an initial g- (see 5.7) are hardly worth mentioning.\(^{53}\)
Evolution of the vowel system

8.2 The vowel system is, as in Gunggari, of the so-called 'triangular' type, that is, the basic vowels are a, i and u, which are normally short or of medium length, except in a few cases of vowel contraction, e.g. nu'-na for nuŋuna him, her (Bid OC), gu· nose, face (incidentally, the same tendency to widen the u· sound in this word into o· as noticed in Gunggari—see 5.2—prevails in Bidjara). While the sounds of respectively e· and o· are not phonemes in Bidjara (this is position) and e· often from contraction of E. position the former may or may not be suppressed. We find alternations of the English), variants in many cases, o· arising from sound in this word into o· as noticed in Gunggari—see 5.2—prevails in Bidjara) .

Evolution of the vowel system

8.3 The same principles hold for Bidjara as for Gunggari (see 5.5) in regard to the semivowels j and w in contact with respectively i and u, in which position the former may or may not be suppressed. We find alternations of the type: bijaga·biaga tobaccoo, baji·baji· sing, etc. The semivowel is clearly a secondary product (a kind of 'glide') in such sequences as: $\text{ŋ}$$\text{ŋ}$turuwina for $\text{ŋ}$nturu jina who is this? (Bid RH) or guwela for gujala wife (Bid OC). The former has evidently passed through the loss of initial j before i (cf. 5.4), whereby we get the intermediate form *$\text{ŋ}$nturu ina; the latter (guwela) has evidently passed through *$\text{ŋ}$uela, in which -e- arises from -ja-, due to fronting in palatalised contact). We must consequently count on the presence of diphthongs or syllable-initial vowels and write the semivowels j and w as heard in each particular case.

8.4 Word-initial vowels may more safely be assumed to be secondary. We may consider every initial i· as a variant of ji and every initial u· as a variant of a basic wu· (cases where u· appears for gu· are not so common in Bidjara as in Gunggari; cf. Note 53) and we consequently write jinda for ina (you), jina for ina (this), wuga wuna for uga una (go to sleep; Bid OC), etc. One single case is found of word-initial a·, namely the demonstrative stem abu· (in abuna over there; Bid AC), that is as in Gunggari (for comments, see 5.4).

8.5 As in most other parts, the influence of a palatalised or labialised phoneme on the vowel sound of a is noticed, which may approach respectively e or o: compare the pronunciation of basic gujala (8.3); wangara one may pass via *wongara into wungara (Bid OC). In the same way u may turn into i in the same palatal environment: jibala beside jibala you two, jimba· beside jumba· hear, jilu beside julu this here, jaŋ Ji· beside jangu· go. The quantity of vowels may be affected by special consonantal environment, for instance before certain consonant groups (-nd-, -lg-), which tend to lengthen the vowel sound: ga·ndu for gandu child (Bid RH), gura·ndu for gurandu behind, dana·gu for danalgul to stand (Bid RH); this lengthening is probably not distinctive. Neither is word

204
stress. As pointed out in Part I, 2.9, a certain tendency exists in a spoken context, or in long words, to accentuate the second initial syllable, with secondary stress appearing on subsequent alternate syllables, as in: biba' nagana looking at a paper (Bid AC).

Evolution of the consonant system

8.6 The consonant phonemes are actualised as in Gunggari (5.6-7). Long medial consonants (frequent in Wirri; see 18.4) are exceptional: ɲaŋa wagan'a (for waganina) I am running (Bid OC). Word-initial plosives are of the 'devoiced' type, remaining as such after a homorganic nasal, but usually appearing as voiced weak fricatives in the intervocalic position, whence a certain tendency persists for them to vanish in the current pronunciation; compare, for instance, (g)andu child, bir(g)a(g)u tomorrow (Bid OC). The plosive d, which is basically dental or interdental (especially intervocally), becomes alveolar after n and l (cf. 5.7); hence the sound of d is different in gandu (child) from the initial sound in dana- (stand) or the middle sound in widu (white man). A dental-interdental plosive after a (homorganic) n is marked by the symbol t (regarding this, see in 5.7): nanti earth, manta food (although also manda), ɲuntuɾu who? (also ɲunduru; the alveolar pronunciation may in many cases depend on a faulty or incorrect pronunciation). Dental d and n are not distinguished from corresponding palatalised sounds (g and ŋ) before i (the palatalised pronunciation perhaps prevailing), but an alveolar d (that is after n) is clearly distinct from the palatalised d in the same position: hence ɟiغاŋ = ɟiŋa koala, ɟina = dina foot, ɟingila = dingila Chincilla (place name), whereas the middle consonant groups are all different in the words: bindi- keep, jangi- go and nanti earth.

8.7 The universal tendency in the languages studied here to change intervocalic -n- (and sometimes other consonant sounds as well) into -r- (cf. Part I, 6.19) in current or rapid pronunciation is often noticed among our Bidjara informants: ɡuriŋa for guniŋa hitting (Bid OC), bangari for bangani sandalwood (Bid AC) and possibly muranaŋa for mundaŋara rainbow (unless depending on association with mura = ɲura dog; cf. ɲura ɲura rainbow, Bid OC). This is paralleled by the Aboriginal (and otherwise also fairly common) pronunciation of English words of the type 'motorcar' (in Bidjara murura-, Bid OC), (a) good one or (a) good while ago, which could easily be represented in our Bidjara phonetics as respectively ɡuruŋa and guruwa(l)lagu (both from Bid RH). The equally common reduction of homorganic nasal clusters to a plain nasal, by loss of the plosive element, occurs in: wiŋaru for wingaru bird (Bid RH), buɾŋu, gamuŋu for buɾŋu, gamuŋu with fire, respectively water (ergatives; Bid OC). Probably due to the influence of English the phonemes r and ŋ are not always kept distinct, an English 'r' sound (often of the trilled type; Bid RH) being substituted. In other cases, the sound of ŋ may be attempted by forcibly articulating something like -r(d)l- (e.g. mar(d)la for maɾa hand; Bir RH).

8.8 As for possible word-initial and syllable-initial consonant phonemes, along with the structure of consonant clusters, see in 5.6. As in Gunggari, word-initial ɲ- and ŋ- (except before i, as in ɲina = dina foot; see 8.6) occur very sparingly: ɲuŋar sugar (Bid AC), ŋumba spit, saliva (Bid RH; cf. the Wirri form numba, idem).
Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

9.1 Structure. The structure of concrete word stems is as in Gunggari (see 6.1). Most stems are dissyllabic; monosyllabic noun stems are found either as a product of vowel contraction or in loanwords, e.g. gi·key, di·tea. Derived stems are usually longer. Occasionally nominal stems are identical with verbal stems, as in the case of: bigi a dream and bigi·to dream, wamba silly, mad and wamba·lose one's mind, winguma a question and winguma·to ask; also possibly ma·hand and ma·take. The close relationship in many cases between nominal and verbal conceptions is seen from the fact that even inflected verb stems may function as nouns: ngalina a shadow (Bid RH; literally sees itself or is seen (as a reflex)), maramina wedding (Bid RH; literally take—or possibly 'marry', from English—each other), ma·ringiŋa the Bidjara language (Bid RH; literally speaking like an Aboriginal), gadina gundara a thief (Bid OC; literally lying (and) stealing), wunala a bed (literally lying down). There are cases in which a nominal stem is provided with what seems a verbal modal suffix, as in mandala full (after eating) (Bid OC), as if the perfective form (see 9.28) of a verb stem *manda· (eat?) otherwise not met with. The common verbal form (cf. 6.34) gundan may be rendered either by stealing or by a thief (Bid RH).

9.2 Compounds. Nominal stems form compounds of the type: baga dala leaves of the tree (tree leaves; Bid AC), nūran dina dog's leg (dog leg; Bid AC); these are used to express the function of missing possessive forms in the nominal declension (see 9.14). The compound jurī waja wallaby meat (Bid OC) is unusual, but has counterparts in the languages further north (Cape York, etc.), in constructions with mai (vegetable food) and mīna (game, meat). Compounds of a nominal and a verbal stem occur as in Gunggari (see 6.2); an example is: mambu baila·to corroboree (sing corroborees), assuming that the verb stem baila·(sing) is intransitive (see 9.12).

9.3 Reduplication. Reduplicated nominal stems are used freely; usually they add a diminutive sense to the word, but it is also used in many other ways (for instance in animal or color names or in adjectival words), often, without any definite shade of meaning. The following are examples: ma·marī little boy (Bid RH, SK; cf. ma·man), gambi gambi little girL (Bid RH, SK; cf. gambi woman), digar digar wagtail (Bid OC), bua bua butterfly ( Bid OC), wu·ba wu·ba black butterfly, gudi gudi red (Bid RH; cf. gudi red paint), mīda mīda blue or black (Bid RH), budu budu white, waŋi waŋi deaf, mugu mugu blind or deaf (Bid RH; also old lady), wamba wamba mad or mischievous (cf. wamba silly), gada gada hair, bindil bindil noise, gungul gungul (also gungul gugul or gungul gungul a tin cup (to drink from) (Bid OC), gura gura rainbow (Bid OC; gura means dog), guŋi guŋi ghost, bindi bindi spots, gundu gundu across (cf. gundu, idem).

9.4 Nominal derivation. The sociative suffix in Bidjara is -bari (or -bai) and the caritative suffix is -garba (cf. Gunggari, 6.4). Examples: bindi bindibari full of spots (bindi bindi), jaŋbari (or jaŋgabari) bearded (from jaŋ or jaŋa beard), di· namunbai milky tea, jaŋbanbai having a cough (jaŋban), jaŋgalbai having a cold or being cold (jaŋgal; cf. below), durubari sunshine (cf. duŋu sun), milgiribari (or milgiri) summer, jaŋgalbai or jaŋgal cold, winter (cf. above), wuŋgabari big, thick, heavy (cf. wuŋa plenty), jaŋnabai Augathella (having a hollow; Bid OC); ma·(n) garba without people, empty of people, deserted (from ma·(n) Aboriginal), gambigarba without a woman, having no
woman (gambi), gandugarba without children (gandu). The sociative suffix (-bara) may be used in the sense of an English preposition: dunmanbari in the mud (dunan; Bid RH), marinbari (I dreamed) about an old Aboriginal (Bid OC); compare Gunggari (6.4).

9.5 The feminine suffix -gan occurs in: wadigan white woman (possibly from English 'white?'), waßmerigan white woman (= waßmeri, idem, Bid RH; this is probably a Wakka-Wakka word, as indicated by the vowel -e-); it also occurs in waragan black crow and gabungan hat. Some terminations having a derivative character are doubtful as to their meaning. The suffix -bara indicates a person (as also in Wirri, 19.6, Goreng-Goreng and Batjala, see Part I, 15.3; 25.2) in bangabarabara poor man, skeleton (bones only, Bid RH; the simple noun is not recorded). A similar function is perhaps found in the suffix -gai, as in: bandaragai God (from bandara sky, heaven; cf. the Gangulu (A) -gari in bandaragari God).

9.6 The dual-comitative suffix (see 6.6) is -(i)la, -nqila (-dila, -nila) or -rilà in Bidjara. The suffix properly indicates a relation between two people (father and child, grandparent and grandchild and possibly, as it seems, father and mother, etc.), but the adequate construction does not always appear in the recorded material. Examples are: jañila one's father (as vocative: jañub), jañaila (my) mother (as vocative: jañà), Nañila or Nañilà (Bid OC) (one's) mother's father or grandson (vocative: Nañi), gunigaila (one's) husband (as vocative: guniga), gujarilà (Bid RH) or gujila (Bid OC) (one's) wife (vocative: guja), gaminqila (one's) grandmother or grand-daughter (as vocative: gami), burgula (burgaila, Bid OC) (one's) daughter, great-granddaughter or great-grandmother (Bid RH; as vocative: burgu), dagungila (my) elder brother (Bid OC; as vocative: dagu), waribula (my) younger brother (Bid RH; as vocative: wabu), bajuñila (my) elder or younger sister (Bid RH). –For the dual-comitative -ru, see in 9.15.

9.7 Of consonantal suffixes, or extensions of the noun stem (cf. 6.7), one finds in Bidjara -l and -n; compare: bindil bindil itch and Wirri bindi bindi (idem), mañà mugal deaf and muga muga (idem), gambal (young) girl (cf. Gunggari gamba girl), ńuran and ńura dog. A similar relation might possibly exist between the words banana board and bannab chest (Bid RH).

9.8 Verbal derivation. The four basic types of verbal derivation (causative, associative, reflexive and reciprocal) are all well represented in Bidjara and closely along the same lines as in Gunggari (cf. 6.8-11). Causative verbs are derived by the suffix -ma- or -lma-: bañama- (and bañalma-) make (from bañam- happen, become), wulama- put out (fire) (from wula- die, go out), wañama- (and wañalma-) drop (from wañama- fall), bindalma- let sit (from binda- sit), danalma- stand (something) up (from dana- stand), wambalma- lose (from wamba- be lost, stray), gamblma- turn (something) round (from gambi- spin), buñalma- raise up (from buña- get up), wunalma- put to bed (from wuna- lie down), nagalma- let see, show (from nagalma- see, look at), nagalma- frighten (cf. nagarì- get frightened); sometimes a causative derivation is based on a nominal stem, as in wanganma- make well, cure (from wanga well) and sometimes no difference in meaning is noticed between the simple and derived verb, as in: dumilma- = dumma- jump, gadilma- = gadi- tell a lie, gurilma- = guri- break (cf. guna- hit, from which gunma- cut may be derived, as also in Gunggari, cf. 6.8). The meaning of the causative suffix is probably originally associative (see in 9.9) and traces of
this are still to be seen, as in: jimbama- listen to (one) (from jimba- hear),
gamu ġarginama- (warginama-) wash with water (cf. ġargin, ġargina washing),
nagama- look at (cf. above), ġundara- ask for (from ġundara- ask). Causative
verbs are sometimes formed by a compound suffix -rima-: bindarima- make sit
down (from binda- sit), wagarima- make run (from waga- run), bangarima- make
sick (cf. bangar sore).

9.9 The associative suffix proper is -rī- (corresponding to the Gunggari -nd-;
see 6.9): burbari- fetch (come with; from burba- come), dungari- run away with
(from dunga- run away), wağari- go away with or get (from wağa- go or aome).
The associative sense is sometimes expressed by the reflexive suffix -lī-
(see 9.10): burbari- fetch (cf. above) or by a suffix -rī- (unless the latter
represents a faulty pronunciation of -rī-; cf. 8.7), as in burbari- bring (come
with; cf. above).

9.10 The reflexive derivative suffix is -lī- (cf. Gunggari, 6.10). It is
either directly reflexive, as in: nagalī- look at oneself (from nagal- see, look
at), nambali- paint oneself (from namba- smear, paint), jamali- do, make oneself
(from jamo- do, make), gambali- put on oneself, dress (from gamba- put on),
wurali- strip (cf. Birri wura- take out), gambili- spin round, turn oneself;
from gambl- turn), or indirect reflexive, as in: warginamali- wash one's own
(clothes) (cf. 9.8), nagali- see one's own (shadow) (cf. above and 9.1),
danguli- change one's (clothes) (from dangu- take out); the difference is not
always a clear-cut one.59 Sometimes -lī- indicates intransitive verbal action
(that is, the absence of a direct object): jugali- eat (cf. jiga- eat it or
something), but many times none or only a slight difference is perceived
between the simple and derived verb: dungali- = dunga- run, wagali- = waga- run
(also climb), burbali- get ready (cf. burba- come). For -lī- in the reciprocal
sense, see 9.11.60

9.11 The reciprocal suffix in Bidjara is -mi- (answering to Gunggari -mia- or
-mi-; cf. 6.11): digami- quarrel (the simple verb not recorded; cf. Birri diga-
rouse), gunimi- fight (from guni- hit), wunami- chase one another (from wuña-
chase), nagami- look at one another (from nagam- see), jimbami- listen to one
another (from jimb- hear), dungami- chase one another (from dunga- run),
marami- marry (probably from English; cf. however the verb stem maɾa- or mara-
take). The reflexive suffix (-lī-; see 9.10) is sometimes used in the recipro-
cal sense: bularu nagalina the two are looking at one another (Bid RH), nambali-
paint one another (cf. 9.10).

9.12 Certain verbal derivative suffixes are not easily determined as to
function; usually they form intransitive verbs. This is the case of the suffix
-rī- (mentioned in 9.9), in such verbs as: ġamari- get frightened (cf. ġamalma-
frighten ), gambiri- turn round (more or less the same as gambili-; see 9.10);
it is remarkable that the corresponding causative may also be formed with -rī-
instead of -lī-, namely in gambirma- turn (something) round (= gambilma-; see
9.8). Parallel to the stem gambiri- is also found gambira- in the same sense
and an intransitive derivation in -da- has been noted also: gambida- (idem).
Another intransitive suffix of this kind is -ni- in: wagani- run (more or less =
wagali-, idem; see 9.10); it is probable that this suffix is the same as the
Gunggari -ndi-, -nda-, mentioned in 6.12; it also has an associative sense: run
with (as also corresponding forms in Gunggari). An intransitive suffix -la-
appears in bai1a- sing (also used in a compound: mambu bai1a- to corroboree; see 9.2), from the simple stem bai1i- sing (e.g. mambu bai1i sing a corroboree). A suffix -nau-, probably of a similar type, is found in: wa1ana- get, become (as in gunda wa1ana getting dark or night; from wa1a- go, come), wambana- get silly (from wamba- stray), warana- play (from wara-; idem).

9.13 The derivative element -gi- (in an indefinite sense and function, but probably marking the sense of to be) may have the character of an auxiliary verb (it may be related to the Gunggari -girl, mentioned in 6.35). 61 It has been found in the verb stems: mara1gi- speak the Aboriginal language or Bidjara (Bid RH; if taken as an auxiliary: be a Bidjara?) and wudu1gi- (probably) speak English (Bid RH). 62

(b) Inflection

9.14 Declension. The number and forms of the case suffixes recorded in Bidjara conform in the main with what is found in Gunggari (cf. 6.13). Apart from the nominative (or stem form), we find the ergative, ablative (?), locative and allative of most nouns, the form of the suffixes being adapted to the stem-final sound of the nominal word, according to the same principles as in Gunggari. The nominative, hence, may end either in a vowel, a nasal or one of the consonant sounds l, r or ð. The ergative always ends in -u: of vowel-ending stems it is in -nguu, of stems ending in a nasal it is in -u preceded by a homorganic plosive (that is, it ends in -bu, -du, -gu or -gau, respectively); 63 of stems ending in -r it is in -u and of stems in -l the ergative is formed (in one instance) by change of the -l into -ru (Bid OC). 64 The possessive case presents the same problem as in Gunggari (cf. 6.14). A form with the pronominal suffix -ngu (cf. 9.20) is recorded from Bid OC (winga1u nga1gal bird's wings) and another (bagaa1u janda danana the leaves of the tree) from Bid AC, while a third form (dingi-lu daun the town of Chinchilla, which appears to copy English) was obtained from Gun TB (who thought it was Bidjara). 65 The normal way of expressing the possessive in Bidjara is probably-as in Gunggari-by either using a compound construction: baga da1u leaves of a tree (or tree leaves; Bid OC), bangani da1u leaves of the sandalwood (Bid OC) or else the allative form (= to, for): bagagaa1u da1u leaves of the tree (Bid RH), ą1rugaa1u (it is) the dog's (Bid AC; literally for the dog). The ablative is probably (as in Gunggari; see 6.13) in -ndu of vowel-ending stems (cf. gunaa1u from here, being ablative of a local stem gu-, of which the allative is gungaa1u hither and the locative probably gunaa off); however, the only ablative found in the present material is of a stem in -n (ngamuu breast: gundu ngamuu jugana the baby is sucking, drinking from the breast; Bid OC); otherwise a construction with the postposition mundu from is used: bu1i mundu from the fire (Bid OC), dingi1a mundu burbala coming from Chinchilla (Bid OC), which in any case would be the only possible one of nouns not ending in a vowel. A locative of a stem ending in a vowel is recorded in jalganda wajana going along the road (Bid RH; jalga wajana is also used); 66 of a stem in -r the form muga1a on the old deserted camp (Bid AC) occurs (provided the stem form is *muga), while of the English loanword gila(s) mirror (glass) the locative has been heard either as gila1na or gila1na (Bid AC; cf. Note 63). Of words expressing locality the stem form may be used for a locative form (a fairly current construction in the languages studied): ja1mbaa binda sit down at the camp (Bid OC), muruga bindana sitting in the car (Bid OC), gundii (eat) at home (Bid RH),
guga bindana sitting in the house (Bid OC), nula bindana ɲaŋu jamba he stays at my place (Bid RH). Otherwise the allative form is often used in a locative sense, especially of place names and analogous words: gundigu (eat) at home (cf. above), hospital-gu in the hospital. The allative suffix is in -gu of all nouns: gundugu to (my) child, gurbala jamba gu came to the camp, julgagu (fell) into the hole, but of local words the stem form may be used in the allative sense also: gundi waŋgalgu to walk home (Bid RH; for gundigu).

9.15 As in Gunggari (see 6.16), forms which we have referred to as 'dual-comitative', ending in -ru of vowel-terminating stems, are found in Bidjara as well.67 They have predominantly a temporal sense, as in: ganduru ɲaŋa guila when I was a small kid or when a small child (Bid OC), ganduru ɲaŋa warana as a boy I played (Bid OC), maɾi jangaru ɲaŋa guila when I was a young man (Bid OC).68

9.16 Paradigms. The following recorded forms make up rather incomplete paradigms. The type words are: (1) vowel-ending stems: maɾi Aboriginal man, duɾu sun, gundi house, jalga road, baga tree, bara axe; (2) stems ending in a nasal: ɲuran dog, ɲamun breast; (3) stems ending in -l or -r: waŋal boomerang gundir clever man.

(1) vowel-ending stems:
NOM maɾi, duɾu, gundi, jalga, baga, bara
ERG maɾingu, duɾungu, baraŋu
LOC jalganda
ALL gundigu, bagagu

(2) stems ending in a nasal:
NOM ɲuran, ɲamun
ERG ɲurandu
ABL ɲamundu
ALL ɲurangu

(3) stems in -l or -r:
NOM waŋalu, gundir
ERG waŋaru, gundiru

9.17 Articles. To denote known or directly observable plurality (= some, a lot of, a mob), Bidjara makes use of the same suffixed plural articles as Gunggari (see 6.18), namely -nu and -ndu. The basic form is no doubt -nu, as in: gandunu some children (from gandu child, children), gambinu some women (from gambi woman, women). Originally, as it seems, with noun stems ending in -n (in which the article element -nu would not conveniently be joined to the stem), the suffix is -du (perhaps attracted by the form of the ergative; see 9.14),69 from whence it would have spread to other stems as well (in the form -ndu; probably since at least one of the common -n stems alternates with a vowel-ending stem: maɾi or maɾin Aboriginal man): maɾindu a mob of men, gambindu a lot of women (also:'gambi-lotta', Bid RH), widundu a lot of white people (Bid RH). It should be noticed that as long as a plural number is not visibly present, the stem form (whether inflected or not) may render either singular or plural forms in English: gandungu the child (has done it) or (if plurality is merely supposed) the children (have done it).
9.18 **Postpositions.** The limited number of case forms in current use (see 9.14) favours the use of postpositions (as also in Gunggari). The most important one is mundu *from*, which takes the place of missing ablative forms: baga mundu *from the tree*, jamba mundu gururu *on the other side of the camp* (Bid OC), ṇaja dungena gurip mundu *I am afraid of the rock python* (Bid OC; the verbal stem dunga- also means *run away*, hence *run away from*), jurĩ mundu *(sick) from the meat (= after eating it)*; from the sense *away from* evolve such constructions as: gundu waga la gamu mundu *to go away before the rain* (oomes) (Bid RH), ṇaja jangilugu jambagu gamu mundu *I will go home before (or after) the rain* (Bid RH; in either case the primitive meaning is *away from the rain*). 70 Other postpositions are: gadi *after*, gunda *off*, 71 gurandu *after* (properly an ablative of a stem gura-, cf. Gunggari gura *back*, hence *from behind*), junə *inside* (properly a noun stem hole, hollow). Examples: jugana gadi *after eating* (that is construed with a nominalised verbal form: cf. Wirri-gari, in 19.17), gađaru gadi *immediately after* (construed with a relation word), maği gunda *(took money) off the man* (Bid RH), jugana gurandu *after eating* (cf. above), gund i junə in(side) the house (Bid RH).

9.19 **Personal pronouns.** For remarks on personal pronouns, compare Part I, 3.20-21; Part II, 6.20). The personal pronouns recorded, which are practically the same as in Gunggari, are the following: (singular) ṇaja *I*, jinda *you*, nula *he, she*; (dual) ḋali *we*, jubala *(jibala, jimba) you*, bula *they*; (plural) ḋana *we*, jura *you*, dana *they*. These are basic stem forms; besides we find the usual compound forms, expressing a difference between an inclusive and exclusive first person dual (see 9.21). No ablative or allative forms are recorded, but the allative suffix -gu often appears in the possessive forms (see the Paradigms, 9.20). The possessive form may be used in a dative sense: juraŋa gumbala *(I) have given (to) you* (Bid OC). For a supposed 'dual-comitative', see in 9.21.

9.20 **Paradigms.** The personal pronouns are inflected as follows:

**First person singular:**

- **NOM** ṇaja
- **ERG** ṇaja
- **OBJ** ṇaŋuna, ṇana
- **POSS** ṇaŋu, ṇaŋugu
- **LOC** ṇaŋunda *(and ṇaŋanda ?), ṇaŋula*

**Second person singular:**

- **NOM** jinda
- **ERG** jinda
- **OBJ** jindaŋuna, jindaŋa *(Bid OC), jindaŋana*
- **POSS** jindaŋu, jundu, junu, junugu
- **LOC** jindaŋunda, jindanda

**Third person singular:**

- **NOM** nula, nuŋ, nʊ (Bid RH), nu *(? Bid OC)*
- **ERG** nula
- **OBJ** nʊŋuna, nuŋna, na72
- **POSS** nʊŋu, nʊŋunaŋu *(Bid RH)*
- **LOC** nʊŋunda *(nʊŋuna)*
First person dual:

NOM ŋali, ŋalina, ŋalina (Bid OC; cf. Note 74)
ERG ŋali
POSS ŋaliŋa (Bid OC), ŋaliŋa (Bid OC)
LOC ŋaliŋanda (cf. Note 74)

Second person dual:

NOM jubala, jibala, jimbala (Bid RH)
ERG jubala
OBJ jimbalaŋuna (Bid RH)
POSS jubalaŋu, jibalaŋ (Bid OC), jimbalaŋu (Bid RH)

Third person dual:

NOM bula
ERG bula
POSS bulaŋugu

First person plural:

NOM ŋana
ERG ŋana
OBJ ŋanana, ŋanaŋuna
POSS ŋanaŋu

Second person plural:

NOM jura
ERG jura
OBJ jurana, juruna (Bid AC), jurana
POSS jurana, jurana, juranaŋugu (Bid AC), jurana (Bid OC)
LOC juranda

Third person plural:

NOM dana
ERG dana
POSS danagu (Bid RH), dananugu (Bid AC)
LOC dananinda, danajinda (? Bid OC)

9.21 Some special forms have been noted which do not fit into the above paradigms. First of all, in the second person dual (or rather in any dual form) we find the nominal stem bularu (bularu) two used instead of the more typical pronominal bula. We hence find: bularu bindana they two are living (Bid OC), bularu waŋana you two are going (Bid AC), bularu we two (Bid OC). This stem is inflected as a noun (see 9.14): bularuŋunda with ·them two (Bid OC). A strange form, which gives the impression of being a 'dual-comitative' (due to its termination -ri; cf. 6.16), is jindaŋari, heard from Bid OC in: ŋaja jindaŋari waŋabari I am as big as you (cf. in 9.15 for the use of 'dual-comitative' forms in -ru). A form which appears to be a second plural (jura) provided with the plural article -nu; see 9.17) is jurana, as in: jurana ŋalgana you two are talking; possibly this copies colloquial English 'youse' (i.e. a plural form of 'you').

9.22 A special compound form in the first person dual, ŋalinda (= ŋali jinda you and me) is used to express an inclusive form. The following constructions have been noticed: ŋalinda ŋalgana we two are talking (Bid AC), ŋalinda ŋalgamina we two are talking to one another (Bid RH), ŋalindaŋu ours (the possessive form; Bid RH).
9.23 Demonstrative pronouns. For general remarks on demonstrative pronouns, compare Part I, 3.21, and Part II, 6.25. The following demonstrative stems have been found in Bidjara (a hyphen marks that the stem has not been found without a suffixed element): abu- over there (Bid AC; perhaps Gunggari), ṇunu that, there, jaba that, there, jina this, here, junu that, there. These stems are declined, or inflected, for local case forms only (ablatives and allatives being the only forms recorded); these mostly function as relation words (cf. 13). In the nominative, derived forms in -na are occasionally found (in meaning probably identical with the plain stem forms); for a similar suffix in the interrogative pronouns, see 9.26.

9.24 Paradigms. The following inflected forms have been recorded (many are further found in 13, being dealt with as relation words):

- abu- that, over there:
  - NOM abuna

- ṇunu- that, there:
  - NOM ṇunu

- jaba that, there:
  - NOM jaba, jabana
  - ABL jabamundu
  - ALL jabagu, jabangu (jabangu)

- jina this, here:
  - NOM jina, jinana
  - ALL jinagu

- junu that, there:
  - NOM junu
  - ALL junugu

Examples: ṇani ṇunu what is that? (Bid OC), marī ṇunu ṇundaru who is that man? (Bid OC); gawun jaba those clothes (Bid RH), wanjal jaba that boomerang (Bid RH), jaba marī ṇundaru who is that man (Bid OC), ṇundaru jaba who is that (Bid RH), jaba bindana lives over there (Bid OC; notice locative sense), marī jabana wabalina (I) like that man (Bid OC); wanjal jina this boomerang, jina jamba this camp, jina gumbala give this (Bid AC), ṇunduru nula jina who is he? (Bid AC; in Bidjara this is equivalent to who is he here?), marī jina ṇundaru who is this man? (Bid OC), jina marī budabai this man is good (Bid OC), buři jina this fire or there is fire here (Bid OC), ṇunduru jina who is this? (Bid RH), jinda jina wadi you take this (Bid RH), marī jinana this man (Bid OC), jinagu widugu this white man's (Bid AC); ṇunu marī that fellow (Bid AC), junu or junugu marigu that man's (Bid AC), junu(ŋu) maringu that man (Bid AC).

9.25 Interrogative pronouns. The interrogative pronoun (which is also indefinite; cf. Part I, 3.20) is either personal (who?) or impersonal (what?). In Bidjara the personal interrogative is from the stems: ṇuntururu, ṇuntaruru (ṇunduru, ṇundaru), ṇandulu who? and the impersonal interrogative from the stem ṇani what? The flections are as follows:
Examples: mari nyundaru who is the man?, jinda nyundaru mari who are you? (Bid OC), nyundaru nuŋ who is he? (Bid RH), nyunduru ɲaŋuna durala somebody told me (Bid RH), nyunduru jina, jaba who is this? that? (Bid RH), nyunduru ɲalana who is talking? (Bid OC), nula nyunduru who is he? (Bid AC), ñandulu ɲaga ɲag Î gundalawa who or somebody took my thing (?) (Bid RH), ñunduru gunila who killed? ñunduru baraŋalwa who did it? (Bid OC), ñunduruŋu ñaguru whose money? (Bid OC), ñunturula bindana staying with whom? For the possessive ñuntururu, the allative ñunturugu (for whom?) may also be used: ñundurugu d方guru whose box? (Bid RH); the use of the possessive form for the locative (in the sense of with whom?) is, however, doubtful (though perhaps not impossible; cf. Holmer 1963, pp. 65-66), ñundarangi bindana staying with whom are you staying? (Bid OC). As in Gunggari (see 6.30), the personal interrogative is used of one's camp or home, as in: ñunduru jamba whose camp? (literally which camp? or who is the camp?) The frequent indefinite sense (ñunturu = somebody, anybody) is paralleled by the use of the indefinite relation word guliru long ago in the interrogative sense of when (or properly how long ago?). Of the impersonal interrogative ñani (what?), the allative only occurs, which is: ñaniŋu for what? (usually in the sense of what for? or why?): ñani jinda jamana what are you doing? (Bid OC), ñani wambaŋalwa lost something (Bid RH; indefinite sense), ñaniŋu jinda burbalwa what have you come for? (Bid AC).

9.26 Certain other interrogative forms have been found, namely the following variants of the impersonal interrogative: ña-n (Bid RH) and ñaninda (Bid OC): ña-n nuŋ what is it? (Bid RH), waragan (sic) ñaninda ɟuŋgana what does the crow eat? (Bid OC), while the former is probably the original stem of the interrogative pronoun (*ñan; cf. Note 79), the latter (if correct) is a derivation of the same stem. No difference in meaning is to be detected. A third interrogative, ñu-na which? may possibly represent a contraction of a form ñunturuna (?) —although the latter is, of course, an objective form—; the form ñu-na may be inflected (ñu-nagu, allative) and is used as follows: gandu ñu-na which child? (Bid RH), gandu ñu-nagu of which child (Bid RH). For the termination (-na), compare in the sections on demonstrative pronouns (9.23-24).

9.27 Conjugation. Bidjara conjugation is in all respects parallel to that of the Gunggari verb (6.31 sqq.). The basic modal forms are: the imperative, the imperfective, the perfective and the intentional. The imperative is regularly the stem of the verb: binda sit, waŋa go (the special Gunggari affix -ja, for which see 6.32, has not been met with in Bidjara). On the other hand, reciprocal verbs in -mi- (see 9.11) form their imperative in -mina, that is, it is made equal to the imperative form (9.28): jibala nagamina you look at one another: this is according to Bid OC, while Bid RH freely uses forms in -mi. It is possible that there is a tendency for any imperative form to end in the vowel -a (even though the verb stem may be in -i or -u), whence the alternation of the three stems: janga-, jandi-, jang- go might be explained, supposing that the one in -a- is based on the imperative form janga, which incidentally is the only imperative recorded of this verb.
9.28 The imperfective is formed by the suffix -na to the verbal stem; the Gunggari alternative form in -ŋa (see 6.32) is seldom found. The sense may be either durative (gunina hitting (him) all the time; Bid OC) or future (intended: gunina (I) will hit (you); Bid OC), but in any case it marks an unfinished action. The perfective form is always in -la (that is as in Gunggari; see 6.32). It is important to notice that the difference between the imperfective and perfective is one of aspect, not one of time (cf. jinda ŋاغuna bigina you were dreaming about me, imperfective; Bid RH). While it often happens that the imperfective form in Bidjara is rendered by a present and the perfective by a past form in English by the Aborigines, a great many forms ending in the perfective -la have been rendered by an English present (usually a form in -ing). As it seems, this is most often the case of intransitive verbs: wunala lying down (Bid RH), wuna wunala he is asleep (Bid RH), bindala sitting (Bid RH, OC), danala standing (Bid AC), Burbala (Bid OC), gurbala (Bid AC) is coming, jinda waga la where are you going? (Bid OC), gamu wagala the water is boiling (Bid RH). The explanation of this usage is readily seen is such cases as the following: the Bidjara wulana (imperfective) and wulala (perfective) do not mean respectively dies and died, but is or was dying and is or was dead, respectively (or in a simpler way, wulana is dying and wulala is dead). In the same way bindana marks the act of sitting down and bindala the state of being seated, which, of course, both must be rendered by sitting (down) in English. In exactly the same way the imperfective nuŋ maramina means he is getting married and the perfective nuŋ maramila he is married (both from Bid RH; it goes without saying that was getting married and was married would be expressed by the same forms, respectively). Some transitive forms in -la are also rendered by English -ing forms (as heard from Bid AC, especially), some being perhaps due to an incorrect translation. A form, however, such as ȵaja garą nagala I do not know (Bid RH) is interesting as this sense is derived from I have not seen, but the perfective form is occasionally used in a future, imperative or potential sense as well: ȵaja jina gumbala I will give this (Bid AC), gunila (I) will hit (you) (Bid OC), bidi nagalla will see (him) tomorrow (Bid OC), julu gurbala come here (Bid OC), gurbala du come (Bid OC), jura gurbala you come (Bid OC), ȵاغuna jina gumbala give me this (Bid AC), jinda wandila leave it alone (Bid OC), jinda wunala you chase (hit) (Bid AC), garą ȵaga nagala I cannot see (Bid OC), ȵaga jimbala ȵalgana I can hear him talking. The intentional mode is always expressed by the suffix -lu, that is as in Gunggari (6.32): danalgu to stand up (Bid RH), wunalgul to lie down (Bid RH), gumba jugalgu give to eat (Bid AC), ȵali Jimbalgu that we may hear (Bid OC), gunu wagalgu must go away (Bid RH), juri jugalgu (I went) to eat (Bid RH), jangalgu (jang1gu, jandalgul) will go (Bid RH), nagalu (you) look (Bid RH), that is to express a purpose, a necessity or an intention or sometimes a request.

9.29 As in Gunggari (see 6.35), a form in -ra has been met with in a few cases but unlike Gunggari the sense appears rather to be perfective: ȵaja nagara I have seen (him) (Bid OC); it is however possible that this form is incorrect for nagala, as in: nu(ŋ)una nagala have (you) seen him? (Bid OC). Although Gunggari has forms in -nu, -ŋu beside the imperfective forms in -na, -ŋa, an analogous Bidjara form in -lu alternating with -la (jimbalu = jimbalu has heard) is more doubtful, as it derives from a tape recording. The form bindana ȵalgalgu sitting talking (Bid AC), on the other hand, seems to have another function; possibly it is meant to express sitting down to talk and so analogous to bindalu (= bindalgul; Bid AC), in which -lu seems a variant of -1gu (cf. 6.34).
Along with the basic modal forms described in 9.27-28, several accidental forms (cf. Part I, 3.24; Part II, 6.36-37) are found, expressing as a rule a subordinate verbal action. Among these one must reckon the rather common forms in -1 (that is the 'thematic element' without a following postpositional element; cf. 6.34). Forms of this type are: jangil gabal naughty (Bid OC; probably walking about (of children), cf. jangil- go), munmal moving (going away; Bid RH), jugal gambaligul to dress while eating (Bid RH; the meaning is probably something like dress for dinner), bunçana wunana jambugu wunal he is lying sick, lying in hospital (Bid RH), gundigu wungal lying down in the house (Bid RH), jangil going (cf. above), nuna wunana bungal he is lying sick (Bid RH), dingga gangal calling out, singing out (Bid RH). Corresponding to the Gunggari forms -ŋa, -na, -laga (see 3.36), which are based not on the verbal stem, but on modal forms, Bidjara has accidental forms which seem derived from either the imperfective in -na or the perfective in -la, namely: -naŋa, respectively -laga, which consequently are extensions by a different 'nominalising' element (-ŋa), followed by the postpositional -a. The following verbal forms are recorded: naganaŋa seeing (Bid OC), jinda ŋaŋuna jaba gumbanaŋa (or gumbalaŋa) ŋaŋa jindaŋaŋa jina gumbana if you give me that I will give you this (Bid OC), ŋaŋa ŋuŋuna nagaalaŋa ŋuŋuna gulbala when I saw him I told him (Bid OC), ŋaŋa bunçalaŋa when I was sick (Bid OC). (It seems that, unlike the case in Gunggari, a certain semantic connection with respectively the imperfective and perfective mode exists in Bidjara.) Forms without the modal or aspectual element (-na- or -laga-) also exist, as in: jinda bariŋa jindaŋaŋa gunina if you cry I will hit you (Bid OC), wandi jinda guriŋa (for gunina) nula jindaŋaŋa badana if you hit the dog he will bite you (Bid OC), waŋana ŋaŋa duŋa gurbarna I am going when the sun rises (Bid AC), duŋa wuŋuna at sunset (Bid AC), jinda jamaŋa ... gunina juruna if you do (I) will hit you (Bid AC).

The element -gi- in the derived verbal forms mentioned in 9.13 (maringi- , widugi-) may be considered an auxiliary verb stem, analogous to the English to be in periphrastic constructions. Hence gara maringiŋa (ŋa for -na; cf. 9.28) I do not talk (Bidjara) (Bid RH) is to be analysed as not being an Aboriginal). An analogous auxiliary is also found in Gunggari (see 6.35).

Paradigms. Bidjara conjugation is basically on the same lines as in Gunggari, as appears from the following paradigms (the type verbs being: binda- sit, jugu- eat, drink, naga- see, look, wuna- lie down).

binda- sit:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Stem</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>binda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>bindana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>bindala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>bindalgu</td>
</tr>
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</table>

jugu- eat, drink:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Stem</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>jugu</td>
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<tr>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>jugana</td>
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<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>jugala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>jugalgu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>jugalaŋa, jugal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
naga- see, look:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMP</td>
<td>naga</td>
<td>look</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>nagana, nagara (?) Bid OC</td>
<td>look at, glance at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>nagala</td>
<td>look at, glance at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>nagalbu</td>
<td>look at, glance at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>nagananja, nagalanja</td>
<td>look at, glance at</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

wuna- lie down:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tense</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IPM</td>
<td>wuna</td>
<td>lie down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF</td>
<td>wunana, wunanja</td>
<td>lie down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF</td>
<td>wunala</td>
<td>lie down</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT</td>
<td>wunalgu</td>
<td>lie down</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.33 Connective. The only connective met with in Bidjara is the particle du (also in Gunggari; see 6.39). The function of this connective is hardly made clear by the examples gathered from Bidjara. No suggestion as to its meaning is proffered by the informants and judging from the examples furnished no definite shade of meaning becomes evident. The particle is common after imperative forms: jinda gamba du you turn round, gunma du cut it (Bid OC), buri jinda gamba du you light the fire (Bid OC), jinda buri wulama du you put out the fire (Bid OC), jinda ńaguna jimba du you hear me (Bid OC), binda du sit down (Bid OC), jinda dana du you stand up (Bid OC), ńaja juri bugugu garbi du I must put the meat into the bag (Bid RH; in Bidjara an imperative form), but it occurs after other modal forms as well: ńaja wunar wunalgu du I am sleepy or want to go to sleep (Bid RH). In Birri verbal forms in -gu sometimes express direction toward the speaker (it is actually the short pronominal form of ńagu mine, to me; see 22.16). This would certainly suit such phrases in Bidjara as: ńaja waq du mother, come (Bid OC), burbala du come (Bid OC), but this assumption is immediately contradicted by such an example as: gundu waq du go away (Bid OC). Some of our instances suggest a sense again, e.g. in bidalgu wandalu bidal mundu maqa du put it on the floor (and) take it off the floor (again ?) (Bid RH), jinda juri bugugu wanda jinda juri bugu mundu dangu du put the meat into the bag (and) you take the meat out of the bag (again ?) (Bid RH). In these examples, however, du may just as well indicate a connective sense proper, by answering to the unexpressed conjunction and in Bidjara. As a matter of fact, in most of the examples quoted it may be possible and sometimes quite suggestive to render the connective du by then (as attempted for Gunggari also; cf. 6.39), a word which does not after all convey a sense very different from the mentioned one of again (for an alternative rendering into English, cf. Breen 1973, 6.3.2, p.89).

(c) Construction

9.34 A few points only may be said regarding the principles according to which concrete words (whether inflected or not) are combined to form a context. That nominal word stems, or nouns in the nominative case, as well as a nominal and a verbal stem, are capable of being juxtaposed to form compounds and further that a nominal stem may be reduplicated to modify the meaning of a component element, has been explained in a previous connection, in dealing with the morphology of the language (9.2-3). While reduplicated forms as well as compounds having a nominal and a verbal element in every respect behave as morphological units, a combination of two different nominal stems form a syntactic construction,
which may be analysed in a twofold way, as regarded from the English point of view: wudun jibu wet grass (from the Bidjara point of view alternatively a compound, wet-grass) or the grass is wet (both representing one concept in the native language). This non-distinction of (English) attributive and predicative construction may be extended still further in cases in which a verbal form is given a nominal sense (cf. 9.2), so that baganu janda danana may mean the leaves of the tree (Bid AC), that is the attributive counterpart to the leaves of the tree stand (i.e. grow). 87

9.35 That the English conjunction 'and' has no direct equivalent in Bidjara is indicated in 9.33. A verbal action may be either subordinated (by means of an accidental form; see 9.30) or co-ordinated with another, without any connective. For the former practice, see in 9.30, while the following instances illustrate co-ordination: nun bindana barina he is sitting crying (Bid RH), bungana wunana he is lying (being) sick (Bid RH), nununa jimbala gandu barina I heard the child crying (Bid RH), jurji wağula jugala having cooked the meat he ate it (Bid OC). The English renderings are manifold, none being literally equivalent to the Bidjara constructions.

MARGANJ

Introductory remarks

10.1 Although relatively little information has been obtained on the Marganj (margan) language, it is evident that it is closely related to Bidjara. The informants available all came from the far west inland and it appears from comparison of the data furnished by Aborigines further east that the Marganj linguistic area extends in a westerly and south-westerly direction from that of Gunggari and Bidjara. A Gunggari informant (Gun TC) locates Marganj at Cunnamulla and Thargomindah. Otherwise Marganj is usually referred to as the 'Warrego language' (Bar MP). 88 Our informants hail from, or mention as the home of their people, such places a Charleville and Bogarella or, in general, places on the Warrego river. These are all situated to the west of the Gunggari country.

List of informants

10.2 Reference is made to the following informants for Marganj by means of the signature Mar (= Marganj), followed by the initials of the respective persons. Otherwise compare 4.2.

Mar DF: Mrs. Doreen Fraser, at Blackwater and Yeppoon, from the Warrego river (Charleville); her father is Jim Laughton (80-90), at Clermont.

Mar JD: Mrs. Jacqueline (Jackie) Daly (née Fraser), Mrs. Fraser's daughter, at Yeppoon.

Mar MC: Mrs. Madeline Chubb, at Neramberah and West Rockhampton.

Mar MD: Mrs. Margaret Davies (née Fraser), at Marmor, south of Rockhampton, Mrs. Fraser's (Mar DF) daughter
Mar MP: Miss Mabel Pegler (42), at Cunnamulla, the sister of Mar WP (see below).

Mar RF: Mr. Rocket Fraser, at Yeppoon, Mr. Fraser’s son from Bogarella.

Mar WP: Mr. Wally Pegler (38), at Toowoomba, from the Warrego river.

Phonology

11.1 The phonology of Marganj is on all essential points that of Bidjara and Gunggari. The test word biaga tobacco shows that the vowel system is of the triangular type (based on the three primary vowels a, i, u; e and o being absent as phonemes). Such a word as waŋmerigan white woman (Mar MC) is clearly derived from a language possessing the e phoneme (or else immediately from English ‘white-Mary’).

11.2 Within the consonant system, the distinction between the consonant groups -nd- and -nt- (see 5.9) is clearly marked with Mar MC: munda snake, gundi house, gandu child, as against manta food, nanti earth, ɲantur who?, wanti dingo (the latter, however, possibly not a Marganj word). As the sound of a palatalised l (i.e. ɬ) is entirely foreign to the language, such a word as wałbala white man (‘whitefellow’) used by Mar WP, must be derived from some other western language (perhaps Puntamara).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

12.1 Structure. The structure of the concrete word stem in Marganj is according to the same principles as in Bidjara. Underived noun stems are practically always dissyllabic; of monosyllabic stems one may particularly notice the words da· mouth (Mar DF; this word is also found in Gunggari) and gu· nose (Mar DF, WP; with the same tendency to widen the final vowel sound— hence go·—as in Gunggari and Bidjara, see 5.2). Underived verbal stems are always dissyllabic and end in a vowel (-a-, -i-, -u-). There are nominal stems which also function as verb stems: gaɾi, for instance, means dead, but can also be inflected as a verb: nula gaɾila he died (Mar MC).

12.2 Reduplication of noun stems may indicate diminution, as in: maɾi maɾi little boy (Mar MC; cf. maɾi Aboriginal man), gambi gambi little girl (Mar MC; from gambi woman), but it is also found in adjectival and other words: murga murga beautiful (Mar DF), guri guri clothes (Mar MC), guɾi guɾi ghost (Mar MC).

12.3 Nominal derivation. The sociative suffix is -bəɾi or -bəi, marking the idea of having: gabuganbai wearing a hat (gabugan; Mar MC). The feminine suffix -gan occurs in wadigan lady (Mar MC), waŋmerigan white woman (cf. 11.1); it evidently denotes something else in gabugan hat (Mar mc; also gabuḍi, cf. below), madigan boss (Mar MC; probably derived from English ’master’; cf. Gunggari mada, idem). The unusual suffix -di in gabuḍi hat (Mar WP) recalls the Gangulu (B) -di in widiŋi hat (cf. widu white man).
12.4 The 'dual-comitative' suffixes (cf. 6.6) in Marganj are -ila, -ności and -lu: jañailla mother (Mar MC; as a vocative: jaña), gungaila husband (Mar MC; cf. Bidjara gunga, idem, vocative), gujarila wife (Mar MC; cf. Bidjara guja, idem, vocative), jabulu father (Mar MC; vocative: jubu), dagulu brother (Mar MC; vocative: dagu), bailu sister (Mar MC; vocative: baju). As for the termination -lu, some connection might possibly exist with the Bidjara 'dual-comitative' in -ru or -ru (cf. 9.15).

12.5 Verbal derivation. The only verbal derivative suffixes recorded are the reflexive -li- and the reciprocal -mi-: nagali- look at oneself (cf. naga- see, look), dingali- hit oneself (cf. dingami- fight, i.e. hit one another); nagami- look at one another (cf. above), dingami- fight (cf. above), all instances being furnished by Mar MC.

(b) Inflection

12.6 Declension. The rudiments only of a declension have been recorded, namely the ergative (in -ńgu), locative (in -ńga) and the allative (in -ńgu) forms of vowel-ending stems; as is seen, the flexions agree with Gunggari and Bidjara (see 6.13; 9.14). A paradigm of the words marį Aboriginal man and dili eye would consequently have the following appearance:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>marį, dili</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>marįngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>dilinga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>marįgu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ergative marks the agent (marįngu jamala wańal the man has made the boomerang; Mar MC) and the allative may be used in the possessive sense (as in Gunggari and Bidjara): marįgu gundi a man's house (Mar MC).

12.7 Article. The plural article, indicating visible plurality, is the suffixed element -nu (cf. 6.18; 9.17). The following examples are recorded: gandunu some children (Mar MC, Jua JM), gambinu some women (Mar MC), marinu some men (Mar:Gün TC).

12.8 Personal pronouns. Personal pronouns for the following persons are obtained: (singular) ńaja I, jinda you, nula he, she; (dual) ńali we, jubala you; (plural) ńana we, jura you; for the third person dual, see below. The paradigms are as follows (all forms from Mar MC):

First person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ńaja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ńaja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>ńagunu (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>ńagu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>jinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>jindabu or jindągu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>jindągu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Third person singular:
NOM nula
ERG nularu
POSS nulu

First person dual:
NOM ŋali
ERG ŋalibu
POSS ŋalinu

Second person dual:
NOM jubala, bularu
POSS bularu

Third person dual:
NOM bularu
POSS bularu

First person plural:
NOM ŋana
ERG ŋanaru
POSS ŋanaru

Second person plural:
NOM jura
POSS jura

One feature in regard of which this language differs from Gunggari and Bidjara (and practically all 'Gunggari languages' studied) is the existence of a special ergative form in Marganj (see the paradigms above). Examples of the use of the personal pronouns: gundi ŋaŋu, jindaŋu, nulu my, your, his (or her) house, ŋalibu ŋaŋu jamana we two are making a fire, jindaŋu jalu your father. -No demonstrative pronouns are recorded.

12.9 Interrogative pronouns. The personal interrogative is ŋuntu ŋu who? and the impersonal interrogative is ŋaŋi what?. Of the latter only an inflected form is recorded, namely the allative ŋanigu (mostly = what for?, why?). Examples: ŋuntu nula who is he? (Mar MC), ŋaŋi ŋaŋa what kind of tree? (Mar MC), ŋanigu jinda waŋala what have you come for? (Mar MC).

12.10 Conjugation. The Marganj conjugation is strictly along the lines of Bidjara. The four basic modal (or aspectual) forms (the imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional) are all found and made in the following way. The imperative is the stem of the verb: jinda binda you sit (down), jinda naga you look, jama make (Mar MC). The imperfective is formed by either of the suffixes -na (as mostly in Bidjara) and -ŋa (as mostly in Gunggari): ŋalibu ŋaŋu jamana we two are making a fire (Mar MC), nula waŋana (Mar MC) or waŋaŋa (Mar DF) he is coming or going. The perfective is in -la: waŋala came (Mar MC), jamala has made (Mar MC). Finally, the intentional is formed by the suffix -lgu: jugalgu to eat (Mar DF). Some forms in -laŋa are furnished by Mar MC, who is however not able to translate them into English, except in a very general way: bindalga sitting, wargalga falling, waŋalanga coming (= waŋana), danalanga standing, wunalanga lying down.91 There is, however, hardly any doubt about their formal (and hence also semantic) equivalence to Bidjara accidental forms in -laŋa (for which see in 9.30).
12.11 Paradigms. Regular paradigms of the verb stems binda- sit and juga- eat appear as follows:

binda- sit:

**IMP** binda
**IPF** bindana (bindanja, Mar DF)
**PF** bindala
**ACC** bindalanja

juga- eat:

**IMP** juga
**IPF** jugana
**PF** jugala
**INT** jugalgu

12.12 Some forms have been noted which have an irregular aspect. Such forms are: bindangu come and sit down (Mar MC) and bindandu (not explained, but probably the same). These recall the Gunggari and Bidjara imperatives with the connective du (see 6.39; 9.33), on the one hand, and the Gunggari imperfective forms in -nu, -nu, on the other (cf. 6.34). The true explanation and rendering in English is not ascertainable from our material.

Gunggari, Bidjara and Marganj vocabulary

13. According to the principle adhered to in Part I of this survey, identical data from any of the languages comprised in this vocabulary are placed under one entry, which answers in the first place to words recorded from Gunggari. No signature or initials of informants indicates a common Gunggari form; forms derived from Bidjara or Marganj are marked as such (by the use of respectively **Bid** or **Mar** or by corresponding reference to informants). This does of course not mean that such forms are lacking in Gunggari, as negative evidence is not conclusive, neither does, for the same reason, the absence of a signature or other reference indicate that the word is common in Gunggari only. Nominal words are given in the stem (or nominative) form; inflected forms (as far as they are not to be found in the morphological sketches) are quoted within parentheses. Verbs—as well as any other kind of word not recorded in their stem forms—are given with a hyphen following the stem; in the case of a verb, the basic modal forms (unless appearing in the morphological sketches) are given in this order (whether or not indicated by their respective abbreviations): **imperative, imperfective, perfective, intentional** (accidental forms are always marked by **ACC**). For further particulars as to the arrangement of the vocabulary, compare in Part I, 12. The order of the entries is alphabetical, the symbols being ranged as follows: a, b, d, d, d, g, g, g, g, j, j, j, l, m, n, n, r, r, r, t, u, w.
aba DEM PRON REL (6.27-28) that, there: wadiganu aba danana some white women (are) standing there (Gun TC).

abagaři REL to the side (left or right; Gun TC).

abagařin DEM PRON REL over there, to that side (Gun TC): abagařin marin the man over there, abagařin gambilija turn over to that side, gundi mundu abagařin in front of the house. -cf. abaguriŋ.

abagařindu or abagařinmundu REL from over there or in front (Gun TC).

abagu REL over to that side (Gun TC). -cf. jabagu.

abaguriŋ REL over to that side. -cf. abagařiŋ.

abangu, v. abangu.

abana DEM PRON (6.28).

abangu (abangu) REL there: marin abangu danana a man standing there (Gun EA).

abangmundu REL from there (or 'that one'; Gun TC).

abu (abu-) DEM PRON REL (9.23-24); also used as an interjection: 'Oh!'.

abuda DEM PRON (6.27-28).

abugařin REL duru abugařin toward the other side (Gun TC).

abugařin REL over there.

abuna DEM PRON (9.24).

baba- V TR (INT) babalgu spear, throw (Bid RH).

babuŋ N bottle tree (Bid OC).

bada- V TR badana; badala; badalgu bite (Bid OC, RH).

badama- V CAUS badamaŋa; badamala; badamalgu make bite, catch (fish): ɲaŋa ɡuju badamaŋa I fish or am fishing (Gun TC), ɡuju ɲaŋa mada badamala I tried to catch fish (Gun TC), ɲaŋu ɡuju badamalgu I will catch fish (Gun TC). -cf. bada-, baŋama-.

badara N V sick (Gun LM). -cf. badaři-.

badaři- V ITR (PF) badařila be sick, get sick (Gun TC). -cf. badara.

badi N any clothes or dress (Mar WP).

badi- V TR IPF badina; PF badila run (Gun TC): gamu badina it is raining, gamu or jugan badila it has rained. -cf. bandi-.

bağa bağa N mara bağa bağa young woman (Gun LM).

bağala N the name of a language, Batjala (Gun TB).

bağama- V ASS (PF) bağamala bite for (Gun TC): ɡara ɲaŋu bağamala (the fish) did not bite for me. -cf. badama-.

bağari N another, different (Bid OC).

bağu N ERG bağungu frog (Gun, Bid): bağu(ŋ)u bindil baŋalmana the frogs make a noise (Bid RH).

bağuri- V ITR (IPF) bağuriŋa smell (Gun TC): gaŋa bağuriŋa smelling bad.

bagã N ABL bagandu; LOC bagañ(g)ə; ALL bagagu stick, tree (Gun, Bid, Mar): baga dala or bagagu dala leaves of the tree (Bid OC), bagagu wagala climbed the tree (Bid AC), wiŋaru bindana bagagu the bird is sitting on the tree (Bid AC).
baga- V TR (IPF) bagana dig: juna bagana digging a hole (Bid RH).


bangi- V TR (PF) bagiila take, take out, along (Gun TC): gura bagiila took back.

bangu N ALL bangugu 1. stone, rock; 2. mountain; 3. money (Gun, Bid): bangu mugu on top of the rock (Gun TC), bularu bangu two dollars (Bid RH), bangugu wagalgugu to go to the mountain (Bid RH), bangugu danana standing on (top of) the mountain (Bid OC).

bangubari (-bai) N having money (Bid RH, OC): bangubari naja I have got money. -cf. bangu.

bangun LOC bangundu; ALL bangungu head (Gun, Mar MP, WP): bangun gurbi death (Gun TC).

-bai, v. -bari.

baibu N pipe (for smoking; Bid OC).

bailla- V baila; bailana; bailalgla sing (Bid RH, OC): mambu baila sing a corroboree song, danu mambu bailana all are singing. -cf. baijai-

baillu N one's sister (Mar MC). -cf. baiji, bailingila.


bajii- (bai-) V IMP bai or baja; IPF bajina; INT bajilgu, bailgu sing, make a noise (Bid RH): mambu bai, jinda baja (you) sing (a corroboree song), gandu bindil bindil bajina the children make a noise.

bajingila N one's elder or younger sister (Bid RH). -cf. bailu, baji.

bala N leg (Gun, Bid, Mar).

balaji- V IPF balaina be hot (Bid AC).

balanguru (-aban- ?) N nest (Gun TC, EA).

balbara N river (bank), creek (Gun, Mar): balbara bindalaja (they drink) sitting on the river bank (Gun TC).

balga N forehead (Mar MC).

balga- V ITR IPF balgana: gamu balgana rain is coming (Bid OC).

balgaru REL yesterday: balgaru nula gurbala he came yesterday (Gun TC).

balun N ERG balundu tomahawk (stone axe; Gun TC). -cf. balun.

balun N tomahawk (Gun BT, QL). -cf. balun.

bamba N board, a (wooden ?) thing (Bid RH): qunturu bamba gunmala who broke the thing? bamba gurila that thing is broken. -cf. bambaçu.

bambaçu N firewood (Mar MC). -cf. bambaçu, bamba.

bamban N chest, heart (Bid RH, OC).

bambu- (bamu-) V TR IMP bambuja, bambuja open (Gun TC): da' bambuja or bambuja open the door or open your mouth.

bambulma- V CAUS IMP bambiluma open (Gun TC): bambiluma gi'nu open with the key. -cf. bambu-

bambun V N deafening, making a noise (Gun ML).

bamu-, v. bambu-

banba- V TR banba; banba; banbala hit, throw (Gun TC): gulirangu banbala (he) hit with a spear or threw a spear.

banbali- V REFL PF banbalilu throw one's own (Gun TC): guliqanu banbalila (probably) threw their own spears into his back. -cf. banba-

banbu N stomach (Bid OC, Mar MC, DF).
banbu- (bambu-) V ITR bambuja; banbuna, banbuna; banbula, bambula fall (down), set (of the sun), drop: baga banbula a tree fell (Gun TC), gamu banbula it rained (Gun TC), gura bambula (her head) fell back, dropped (dejectedly; Gun TC), banbugiri (lemons) falling one by one (= banbuna or banbulina; Gun TC). - cf. banbuni-. 

banbuli- V ITR IPF banbulina fall (Gun TC). - cf. banbu-. 

banbulma- V CAUS banbulmaja; banbulmala fell, push over, drop (Gun TC): gara banbulmaja don't push (him, it) over, banbulmala dropped it. - cf. banbu-. 

banbuma- V CAUS PF banbumala fell (Gun TC): baga (or baga ?) banbumala felled the tree. - cf. banbu-, banbulma-. 

banbun V N setting (of the sun): duru banbun sunset, westward (Gun TC, EA). - cf. banbu-. 

banda N sky (Gun GD). - cf. bandara. 

bandara V REL gandunu gamu bandara (some) children splashing (Gun TC). 

bandara N ABL bandarandu; ALL bandaragu 1. sky, in the sky, high up, heaven; 2. God (Bid OC): bandara mundu from above or (also) God (Bid OC), bandarandu in the sky (Gun TC), bandaragu jangila (the bird) flew up (Bid RH), bandaragu in the sky, in heaven or God (Bid AC), mira bandaragu above in heaven (Gun TC). - cf. banda, bandaraagi. 

bandaragari (-gai, -gi ?) ERG bandarag(a)ingu 1. the world; 2. God (Bid RH): bandaragaingu wudun baralmala God has made the grass (i.e. 'the earth'), bandaragingu nanti baralmala (idem). - cf. bandara. 

bandarandu, v. bandara. 

bandi N pine tree (Gun TC). - cf. bandara. 

bandi- V ITR IPF bandina: gamu bandina it was raining all the time (Gun TC). - cf. badi-. 

bang- V IPF bangana sing (Gun TC): bu'nga jinda bangana you are singing through your nose. - cf. bangali-. 

bangali- V REPL IPF bangalina sing (one's own ?) (Gun TC): bangalina mija or miya bangalina singing (a corroboree song). - cf. bang-. 

bangar N sore, sick (Bid RH): gawa bangar sore throat. 

bandara N pine tree (Bid OC). - cf. bandi. 

bangi N sweetheart (Gun PH). 

bangu- V TR IMP bangu; INT bangulgu cut, trim: jinda bangu bu're you make a fire ('cut firewood'; Bid OC), bangulgu barunggu to cut with a tomahawk (Bid RH), wanajal bangulgu to trim the boomerang (Bid RH). 

bangur N stomach, belly: bangur baru wunalaja lying down on (my) belly (Gun TC). 

bangau (bang-) V TR IPF bangana; PF bangala make (a boomerang; Gun TC): bangala wana jal made a boomerang. 

bangabara N poor man, skeleton ('bones only'; Bid RH). 

bangani (bangari, Bid AC) N sandalwood: bangani dala leaves of sandalwood (Bid OC). 

banigin N cup, mug (Bid AC, Mar MC). 

baña N a mob (Gun TC). 

baña baña N many, plenty, grown-up (Gun TC): njaja baña baña I am grown-up. - cf. baña.
barangari N big: barangari bangu big rock (Gun EA), naja, jinda gadi barangari as big as I, you. —cf. bara.

baranguru N bottle (Bid OC).

bara REL POST down, below (Gun, Bid): bara binda sit down, bara maqalali move down and up (Gun ML; perhaps 'beating the time (when singing)'?), bara bindana, waqana sitting, going down, biri bara down on the plain (Gun TC), gundigu bara below the house (Gun LM).

—bara N DER SFX (9.5).

baragurin REL down the river (Gun TC).

baralga N native companion, brolga (bird). —cf. buralga.

baramundu REL from below.

barandu REL from below.

baragari N noise (as of children; Bid OC). —cf. bindil.

bari- V ITR IPP bariña, barina; PF barila; ACC barinajaja cry, howl (Gun, Bid): bindana barina sitting crying (Bid RH), gumbina barina the dingo is howling (Bid RH), gandu barila the child cried (Bid RH), nura jini barila a dog over there howled (Gun TC).

—bari N DER SFX (6.4; 9.4; 12.3).

bari barin N crying or cry-baby (Gun TC).

brijan REL down (Bid OC): brijan nagana looking down. —cf. bara, baru.

baru REL POST down, down on, eastward: baru naja mandalgu I am going Rockhampton way (Gun EA), baru wandaŋa goes down (Gun TC), bangur baru flat on (one's) stomach (Gun TC). —cf. bara.

barugurin REL downward (Gun TC). —cf. baru.


bara-1 V ITR IPP baraŋa, baraŋa; PF baraŋala; ACC baraŋalajaja turn into, become, get, be (Gun, Bid): migan baraŋa is good (Gun TC), wanja naja baraŋa I am getting all right (Bid OC), migan baraŋala changed, became good (Gun TC), wanja baraŋala got well (Bid OC), bangugu baraŋala (Bid RH), bangu baraŋala (Bid OC) turned into a mountain, became stone, mari baraŋala became a man (Bid RH), baraŋalajaja when it was (dry, wet; Bid RH).

bara-2 V TR PF baraŋala scratch (Gun TC).

baralma- V CAUS baraŋama; baraŋaljama; baraŋalama make, make good, create (Gun, Bid): bindil baraŋaljama making a noise. —cf. bara-.

baraŋama- V CAUS IPP baraŋamaŋa, baraŋama; PF baraŋalama make, do, create (Gun, Bid): nani jinda baraŋama what are you doing? (Gun LM), wanja baraŋalama made a boomerang (Bid RH), manta baraŋalama jugalgu made food to eat (Bid RH), dagu dagu(ngu) nana wanda baraŋalama the doctor cured me (Bid OC), migan baraŋalama created (Gun TC), jamba baraŋalama (God) created the earth (Gun TC), biraŋulu nandi baraŋalama God has made the earth (Bid OC). —cf. bara-, baraŋalma-.

barbara N ALL baraŋaruŋu creek, river, Barambah Creek (at Cherbourg): baraŋaruŋu in the creek (Bid RH).

barbiru (barbiru, barbiru) N ALL baraŋiruŋu porcupine (Gun, Bid, Mar).

bangu N ankle (Bid OC, RH).
baru¹ N ABL baru 1 rundu; ALL baru gurugu river, creek, waterhole (Gun, Bid): baru gurin to the river (Gun EA), baru gadi like a river, (clear) as a river (Gun TC), baru gurugu to the river or waterhole (Gun TC).

baru² N ERG baru 2 gurugu axe, tomahawk (Gun, Bid, Mar).

baru 3 rundu N crooked (for instance, a road; Gun TC).

bauru N REL bark (of tree); 2. floor (of house; Gun, Bid): bauru danalu to stand on the floor (Bid RH), bauru wanda ła put on the floor (Bid RH).

bauru REL tomorrow (Bid OC).

bauru REL when? (Bid RH): bauru 1 jinda nagana when will you see (me)? (probably 'some time ahead'; cf. 9.25). -cf. bauru.

bauru REL around (Gun TC).

baura N big red kangaroo (Gun TC, EA, NM).

biaga (bijaga) N tobacco, snuff (Gun, Bid, Mar).

bibu N REL bark (of dogs), howling (of dingoes): gura bau danana the dog is barking (Bid OC), jamba bau danala the camp is deserted (Bid OC; probably with reference to dingoes howling).

bauru REL around (Gun TC).

bauru REL round (Gun TB).

bauru REL around: bauru 2 wila naga flying around (Gun TB, TC), gundi or jamba bauru rundu round (about) the house (Gun TB).

bigara N the Springsure language, Bidjara (Gun, Bid).

bi gu- V TR IMP bigu, bi guja; IPF bigu ə; PF bigula throw, send away, fight: gara jinda bigu don't you throw it (Gun LM), gunda bigu ə throw it away (Gun TC), biba bigu ə send a letter (Gun TC), bigula they fought (Gun TC), ganda bigula spat (Gun TC), wuju bigu- breathe (Gun TC).

biguma- V CAUS IMP bigumaja throw over: gara bigumaja don't throw (him) over (Gun TC). -cf. bigu-.

bigumia- V REC IPF bigumiana; PF bigumiala fight, wrestle (Gun TC): digar gala bigumiana the dingo pups are fighting, bigumiala gunimiala fought and killed, julun ba əali bigumiala here we go, let us fight. -cf. bigu-.

bigundu- V TR PF bigundila throw (one) over (Gun TC). -cf. bigu-.

biga N REL quiet (Bid OC): biga binda keep quiet.

biga 3 N the native rule or law, religion (Gun TC, EA): ma r ə biga the Aboriginal law (Gun TC).

bigari N cockatoo (Bid OC; correct? cf. Gunggari digar i).

bigi N REL around (Gun TC).

bigi N REL around (Gun TC).

bigi REL when? (Bid RH): bigi 1 jinda nagana when will you see (me)? (probably 'some time ahead'; cf. 9.25). -cf. bigi.

bigi REL dream: bigi wanda ə a bad dream (Bid RH), bigi nagala (I) saw a dream, dreamed (Bid OC). -cf. bigi-, bigiri.

bigi- V IPF bigina; PF bigila dream (Bid RH): əa bigi ə I dreamed, əduna bigina dreaming about me. -cf. bigi, bigiri.
bigiri N LOC bigiringa dream  
(Gun TC): bigiringa nagala saw in a dream. -cf. bigi (Bid).

bigiri-, V IPP bigiringa dream  
(Gun TC): bigiringa ńaja jindala I was dreaming about you. -cf. bigi- (Bid).

bijaga v. biaga.

bijulbiwal N ghost (Gun BT).

bilajar N plate, saucer (Bid OC). -cf. bulajar.

biligan N can, jug (Bid OC).

binbi N good (Bid RH): bu ri binbi the fire is good.

binbiruru N happy family (a bird; Gun TC). -cf. binbi.

binda- V ITR (6.38; 9.32; 12.11) sit (down), enter, stay, live, be (Gun, Bid, Mar): bara binda sit down (Gun QL), binda du sit down (Bid OC), duri bindaja be good (Gun TC), gamu bindanu there is water (Gun TC), ṣunduru gandunu bindanu who is that child? (Gun EA), nula bindanu yet ga ṣula wulala he is still alive (Gun TC), jambagu ńali bindanu we are staying at home, jaramanda bindanu riding on horseback (Gun TC), bindalgu ńagun(d)a (you come) to stay with me (Gun TC), bindalgu bus to catch (literally 'enter') a bus (Bid RH), bindalgaru sitting (alone), I am sorry to say (Gun TC, TB).

bindali- V ITR IPP bindalina sit (of many ? Gun TC): dana bindalina you all are sitting. -cf. binda-.

bindalma- V CAUS bindalma; bindalmana; bindalmala let sit (Bid). -cf. binda-, bindama-.

bindama- V ASS bindama; bindama; bindalma sit with, nurse (a child; Gun TC). -cf. binda-.

bindarima- V CAUS PF bindarimala make one sit down (Bid OC). -cf. binda-, bindalma-.

bindi- V TR bindi; bindina; bindila; bindilgu keep (Gun, Bid): bulari jinda gandunu bindi; you keep two children (Gun TC), ńa bindi; keeping the lot (Gun TC).

bindi bindi N spots: nula bindi bindibari (-bai) he has got spots (face, hands full of spots; Bid OC, RH).

bindil or bindil bindil N noise (Bid RH).

bingi N stomach (Gun PH).

bingi N tail (Gun TC): bingi nagaja look at the (dog's) tail.

biraŋulu N ERG biraŋulu, biraŋulungu God (Gun, Bid): biraŋulu danu God himself (Gun TC), biraŋulu bandara mundu bindana God is (from) above (Bid OC), biraŋulu ńaguna jimbana God hears or listens to me (Bid OC).

biraŋulu REL tomorrow or yesterday (Bid OC, AC): biraŋulu ńaja bindala I was sitting up yesterday (Bid OC).

birija N the name of a language, Birri, the Burdekin language (Gun LM, EA).

biriŋ (biriŋ) N dust, open ground, playground, plain: biriŋ baɾama; (= baɾamana ?) rolling in the dust (while playing; 'making, raising dust', Gun EA), biriŋ bara down on the plain (Gun TC).

bu CONN (6.39).

bu' N LOC bu'ga nose (Gun TC). -cf. gu'.

bua bua N butterfly (Bid OC).

budabai N good, nice, strong (Bid): gandu budabai a good boy (Bid OC), jina maɾi budabai this man is good (Bid OC), bigi nagala budabai I had a nice, good dream (Bid OC), julgu budabai a strong (good) heart (Bid AC), gaɾa budabai no good (Bid AC).
buda buda  N  white (Bid RH, OC).

budaida  N  potato (Gun TC).
  -cf. budâida.

budalgudal  N  good (Bid RH).
  -cf. budabai.

budařa  N  ashes (Gun TC).
  -cf. buda buda.

budigar  N  cat, pussy (cat; Gun, Bid).

budu  N  star (Bid, Mar; also 'sky'? Bid RH).

budun  N  mosquito (Gun, Bid, Mar).

budur  N  REL still (= migan, q.v.): budur bindaja sit still (Gun TC).

bugu  N  LOC bugunga ALL buğugu basket (Gun TC), bag (Bid RH):
  jinda jurî buğugu wanda you put the meat into the bag. -cf. mangar.

bugu-  V TR IPP buguna INT
  buğulgu spear, throw, blow (Bid RH): jarga buguna the wind is
  blowing, jinda buřî buğulgu you (must) blow the fire.

budâida  N  potato (Gun TC).
  -cf. budaida.

buga-  V ITR IPP bugana grow (Bid RH):  nøja bugana gurgandari I am growing tall.

bugan  N  grass (Gun TC): bugan jaramandu jugala the horse has
  eaten the grass.

bugaŋ  N  prickly lizard (Gun LM).

bugili  N  crawfish (Gun TC).

bugun  N  ant hill (of big ants; Gun TC).

buña  N  1. tail (Bid RH); 2. penis (Gun BT).

bungaji-  V ITR IPP bunga(j)ña be warm (Gun LM): nøja bungaiña I am warm. -cf. bungar.

bungar  V N  warming oneself (Bid OC): buřîgû nøja bindana bungar I am sitting by the fire
  warming myself. -cf. bungaji-.

bungar  N  hungry (Bid RH).
  -cf. bungur, gunjar.

bungur  N  hungry or thirsty (Bid AC): nøja (gamu) bungur I am
  hungry, thirsty. -cf. bungar, bungar.

buja-  V IPP bujaña, bujana blow, smoke (tobacco; Gun, Bid): jarga
  bujaña garîgä the wind is
  blowing hard (Gun LM), buřî
  bujaña blowing up the fire (Gun LM), nøja baibu bujana I am smoking a pipe (Bid OC).

bula1  PERS PRON REL (6.20, 22; 9.19-20) two, both, together:
  jaba bula or jabangu bula those
two (Gun TC), bula bundana
  fighting (Bid RH). -cf. bulari, bularu.

bula2  N  cattle, beast, cow (Gun QL, NM).
  -cf. buligi.

bulangin  N  LOC bulanginda blanket (Gun TC).

bulajar  N  LOC bulajara plate (Gun TC).
  -cf. bilajar.

bulari  N  ERG bularingu two,
  both: duru bulari both wings
  (of a bird; Gun TC), jaraman
  bulari the two horses (Gun TB).
  -cf. bularu (Bid).

bularibari  N  having two or both: nømun bularibari (configuration
  in the rocks, resembling the
  breasts of a woman; Gun TC).

bularu, v. bularu.

bularini  N  three (Bid RH).
  -cf. bularingara.
bularu, bularu N LOC bularunda (also used as a PERS PRON, 9.21, or REL) two, twice (Bid, Mar, Gun LM, BT): bularu munda two snakes (Bid JL), mambu bularu two corroboree songs (Bid OC), nula nguna bularu gunila he hit me twice, bularu waagna you two are going (Bid AC), bularu danana two are standing (Mar MC), bularunda (staying) with them (or 'the two'; Bid OC). —cf. bulari (Gun).

bularungara N three (Bid OC): mambu bularungara three corroboree songs. —cf. bularinti, bularu wanga.

bularu wanga N three (Bid OC). —cf. bularu, wanga.

bulbo- V bulbu; bulbuna; bulbula blow or blow out (Bid OC): buri bulbu blow the fire (to make it go), buri bulbuna blowing out a light. —cf. bulgu-.

bulburin N whirlwind (Gun TC). —cf. bulbo-.

bulgu N LOC bulguna mouse hole (Gun TC): bulgu junagu into the hole.

bulgu- V TR IPF bulguna smoke (Gun TC): biaga njaja bulguna I am smoking tobacco. —cf. bulbo-.

bulgubinda- V ITR IPF bulgubindana sit smoking (Gun TC); also: bulguna bindana sitting smoking.

bulgudana- V ITR IPF bulgudanana stand smoking (Gun TC); also: bulguna danana.

bulguma- V CAUS IPF bulguma, bulguma, make a mouse hole, store like a mouse in a hole (Gun TC). —cf. bulgu.

buligi N cow, cattle (Bid, Mar). —cf. bula².

buliman N policeman (Gun TC).


bumba (ra ?) N black or brown snake (Bid OC).

bunda-¹ V IPF bundana fight (Bid RH): bularu or bula bundana the two are fighting.

bunda-², v. bunta-.

bunga- V ITR IPF bundana; PF bungalal ACC bungal, bungalana ache, be sick (Bid, Mar): njaja bundana hospital-gu I am (or was) sick in hospital (Bid RH), nuj wunan bundal he is lying sick (Bid RH).

bungarima- V CAUS IPF bundarimala make sick (Bid OC): juríngu bundarimala the meat has made (me) sick (or I am sick having eaten meat). —cf. bunga-.

bungan N ERG bungangu plains turkey (a bigger kind than the scrub turkey or malley chicken; Gun, Bid, Mar).


buni N porcupine (Gun NM).

bunta- (bunda-) V TR bundaja; bundana, buntana; buntala pick (up), lift, take, carry, get: dandi gi manda jinda bundaja you take or lift the bread from the floor (Gun TC), njaja buntala (bundala) dandi gi I picked it up from the ground (Gun TC), buntala (a hawk) picked (a grub; Gun TC), guju jinda malga buntana (Gun TC), bundana (Gun TB) you get a lot of fish.

buntali- (bundali-) V ITR IPF bundalalina spring up (Gun TC): gamu bundalalina running water. —cf. bunta-.

bunti N posterior, backside (Gun TC).
**Bura-**  V ITR bura; burana; burala  
get up, rise (Bid): jinda bura  
you get up (Bid RH), dūrū  
buralana (?) the sun coming up  
(Bid RH), nula burala he is  
gone (Bid AC). —cf. bura-.  

buralga  N native companion,  
brolga (Bid OC). —cf. baralga.  

buraŋ  V N beating boomerangs to  
make music (Bid RH). —cf. buraŋ  

burba-  V ITR burba; burbana;  
burbala come (Bid, Mar): ŋaŋuna  
burbala has come to me (Bid OC),  
nula julu burbala he has come  
here (Bid AC), birgagu burbala  
coming tomorrow (sic; Bid AC).  
—cf. gu- (Gun).  

burbuli-  V ASS IMP burbuli  
IPP burbulina fetch, bring  
(Bid OC): jinda ŋaŋu burbuli  
you bring (to) me, ŋaja nuŋuna  
burbalina I fetch him. —cf.  
burbaŋ-.  

burbuli-2  V ITR IPP burbulina  
get ready (Bid RH): nula  
burbulina he is getting ready.  
—cf. burba-.  

burbaŋ-  V ASS IMP burbaŋi  
IPP burbaŋina fetch, bring  
(Bid): nuŋuna burbaŋi fetch him  
(Bid OC), nula jurĩ ŋaŋuna  
burbaŋina she will bring me  
meat (Bid OC). —cf. burba-,  
burbuli-1.  

burgaila  N one’s daughter (Bid OC):  
burgaila jurãŋ your daughter,  
gandu burgaila a daughter.  
—cf. burgula.  

burgian  N cat, kitten (Gun TC).  

burgu1  N shield, hillamon (Gun,  
Bid).  

burgu2  N daughter, great-grand-  
daughter or great-grandmother  
(Bid): burgu burba Granny come  
(Bid RH). —cf. burguila,  
burgaila.  

burgu3  N back (Mar MC); perhaps  
incorrect for burgu, which is  
the Gunggari and Bidjarra form.  
—cf. burgu.  

burguila  N one’s daughter or  
great-grandmother (Bid RH).  
—cf. burgu2.  

buringu  N the native pronunciation  
and name of ‘Springsure’ (Bid OC,  
SK).  

buru  N penis (Gun BT; perhaps  
Wakka-Wakka, see Part I, 12).  

buruma (-mu ?)  N blackberries  
(Bid OC): burumu jugana eating  
blackberries.  

bururu  N dina bururu a track  
(Bid OC).  

bura-  V ITR bura, buraja; burana,  
burana; burala; ACC buranja  
fly, rush, get up, wake up (Gun,  
Bid): gundu buraja fly away  
(Gun TC), jinda bura or burala  
you get up (Gun TC, Bid OC),  
jugan burana it looked like  
rain (Gun TC), gudala buranja (?)  
the hawk flying (Gun EA), buŋaŋ  
burala the turkey flew (Gun TC),  
winjaŋu burala baga mundu the  
bird flew from the tree (Bid OC,  
AC), wuga burala woke up (Bid  
AC), buranja rushing on (of  
the wind; Gun TC). —cf. bura-.  

bural bural  N echo (Gun TC):  
bural bural waŋala the echo  
went.  

burali-  V ITR buralija; buralina;  
buralija fly (of many ? Gun):  
gundu burali ja fly away. —cf.  
bura-.  

buralma-  V CAUS PF buralma  
wake up, rouse (Bid OC): nula  
nuŋuna buralma he woke him  
up. —cf. bura-.  

buraŋ  N singing sticks (Gun TC).  
—cf. buraŋ.
burgu N ABL burgundu; LOC burgunga; ALL burgugu back, behind (Gun, Bid): burgundu from behind, burgunga gundi mundu back of the house, burgugu wadaja go back or behind, widiŋ burgugu a cut or sore in the back (Bid RH). —cf. burgu³.

buɾi N LOC buɾinga; ALL burgu fire, firewood, matches (Gun, Bid, Mar): buɾi gunma cut fire- wood (Bid OC), buɾi mundu (smoke) from the fire. —cf. buɾida.

buɾida REL on the fire or ashes (= buɾinga; Gun TC). —cf. buɾi.

daga N 1. mouth (Gun TC, Mar DF); 2. door (Gun TC; perhaps influenced by English 'door'): da. bamuja open the door (Gun TC), da. wudaja close the door or shut your mouth (Gun TC). —cf. dagula.

daba- V TR IMP dabaja push (Gun TC).

dabi- V TR IPP dabina; PF dabila send (Bid): ñaja nuŋuna daングu dabila na I have sent him to Murgon (Bid OC), gundu dabila sent away (Bid AC).

dabunila N one's brother (Gun TC). —cf. dagu (Bid, Mar).

dagal N mouth (Gun LM). —cf. da.·

dagali- V REFL IPP dagalina put on (one's clothes; Gun TC): guri ñaja dagalina I am putting on my clothes, dressing.

dاغu N ALL daڠu sand goanna (Gun, Bid, Mar; also used as a totem name, e.g., Gun TC's, who would not be allowed to marry a 'Sand Goanna').

dagiŋ N socks (Mar WP).

dagu N brother (Bid OC, Mar MC). —cf. dabunila.

dagu dagu N ERG dagu dagungu doctor (Bid OC).

dagulu N one's brother (Mar MC). —cf. dagu.

dagungula (-ndila) N one's elder brother (Bid OC, RH). —cf. dagu, dabunila.

dagunu N one's brother (Bid OC): dagunu ʧaru my brother.

dاغu N head (Mar): dagu maɾʃ weak head (Mar DF, JD).

dاغu- V TR dاغu; dاغuja; dاغuŋa; dاغuŋulu pull, take off, take out (Gun, Bid): gulgun dاغuŋa pull the string (Gun TC), jurĩ buɾuŋu dاغuŋu du take the meat out of the bag (Bid RH).

dاغu- V REFL IPP dاغulina INT dاغulilugu take off or change (one's clothes, etc.; Gun, Bid): gawun dاغulilugu to change one's clothes (Bid RH). —cf. dاغu-.

dاغu- V CAUS IMP dاغulmaja take off (Gun TC): guri ñaja dاغulmaja let me take off my clothes. —cf. dاغu-.

dاغu N box (Bid RH).

dاغu N (big) possum (Gun LM; Bid OC, AC, JL). —cf. dاغu.

dاغu N possum (Gun TB, TC, NM). —cf. dاغu.

dala N leaf, leaves (Gun, Bid): baga dala or bagagu dala leaves of the tree (Bid RH, AC).

dala N having leaves: baga dalaba (there are) leaves on the tree (Gun LM).

dalaŋ N tongue (Gun QL, Bid, Mar).

damba N REL hard, sharp, keen (Gun, Bid): julungu maɾʃu ʧaŋuna damba nagana this man is
looking hard at me (Gun TC), dana damba nagana they are all looking hard (Gun TC), often used with reciprocal verbs: bularu damba nagamina the two are looking at one another (Bid OC), damba گالوغامينا we two are talking to one another (Bid OC).

dambal N a (black) snake (Gun TC, EA).

dambal dambal N grub (Gun TC).

dambun (-buң) N witchetty grub (Gun, Bid, Mar); also used as 'teething powder' (toothpaste? Gun TC).

dambun dambun N a kind of beetle (Gun TC): dambun dambun gağa a smelly black beetle.

dambuң v. dambun.

dana PERS PRON (6.20, 22; 9.19-20).

dana- V ITR dana; danaça, danana, danara; danala; danalgu; ACC danalaja, danalaça stand, stand up, be (Gun, Bid, Mar): jinda dana du you stand up (Bid OC), dana danaça they are (all) standing (Gun TC), aba danana standing there (Gun TC), marин jilu danara a man standing here (Gun TC), wadigan danala there is a white woman (standing; Bid AC), danalara mira stands on high (of the hair; Gun TC), گاجا گادي danala گولا he is like me (Gun TC), mugara danalaja standing on the old camp (Bid AC), danalgarجا stand (danaça; Gun TC).

danalma- V CAUS IMP danalma IPF danalmana raise, stand (something) up (Bid): گاجعا danalama stand me up (Bid OC). -cf. danama-.

danama- V CAUS IMP danamaja IPF danamanja stand (something) up (Gun TC). -cf. danalma-.

dandi N (6.17 (1)) earth, ground, floor, sand, dry (Gun): dandi mundu or gi from the earth or the floor (Gun TC), bindaja danidugu sit down on the ground (Gun EA), گارو danid (danu) the river or creek is all sand or dry (Gun TC). -cf. nanti.

dandruŋ N (6.17 (3)) star (Gun TC).

dangan N rag (Gun TC).

dangar N log (Gun EA).

dangun N blue gum tree (Gun LM, Bid AC), big white tree in the swamp (Bid AC): baga dangun, idem.

danma- V TR IMP danamaja put (Gun TC): manda bulajara danamaja put the bread on the plate.

dantu N blue-tongue lizard (Bid AC).

danu N REL all, oneself, alone (Gun TC): گارو danu the creek is all sand, biraŋulu danu bindanına God himself lives (in space), burgian danu the cat himself or on his own.

dara N ALL dargu thigh, leg (Bid, Mar): widiŋ dargu a cut or sore in the thigh (Bid RH).

dara- V TR INT daralgu sew (Gun TC): guri daralgu to sew clothes.

darabai N drunk (Gun TB).

daraburu N trousers (Mar WP).

darağu N trousers (Mar MC).

daran N root (of tree; Gun TC).

daran garan N the name of a water-hole (pond) near Comet, where there are wild ducks (Gun TC).

darawara N trousers (Bid OC; probably from English 'drawers', but possibly associated with dara 'leg'?).
darga- V ITR IPF dargana step (Gun TC): gundigu dargana stepping into the house.

dari N language, talk (Gun EA): ḍa rga jinda dari ḍalgana or ḍalgana dari what language do you speak? ḍa ḍa gu my language or talk.

darinaga N rain cloud(s), storm (Gun TC, EA): da rinaga gamu wagana a storm is coming with rain.

darbin N penis (Gun BT).

daun N ALL daungu town, Murgon, Springsure (Gun, Bid): daun mundu from town or from Springsure (Bid RH).

di- N tea (Bid OC): di- ḍa jgalu I want tea, di- ḍa mumunbai milky tea.

dibin N bird, little bird or any bird.

dibal dibul N ERG dibul dibuldu ghost, spirit (Gun TC): dibul dibul jila jidan a spirit lives in there (at the sacred place), dibul dibul gara bindana gagaranga ghosts or 'little people' might be living on the moon.

dibulibul N ERG dibulibuldu ghost (Gun TC). -cf. dibul dibul.

-dibal N DER SFX (9.6).

dilala1 N ALL dilalagu 1. galah (Gun TB): 2. Dillalah, the name of a station (Gun TC, TB, EA), supposed to be derived from sense (1): dilala jamba Dillalah station (Gun EA), dilala jamba mana(gu) (to) that camp 'that stays forever' (Gun TC). -cf. dilambu.

dilala2 N small possum (Bid AC).

dilambu (dilamu) N galah (Gun TC, EA). -cf. dilala1.

dili N LOC dilingga eye (Gun, Bid, Mar): dili muga (Gun, Bid), dili mugal (Bid RH) blind.

dilibari N able to see ('having eyes'; Gun TC, TB).

dimba N sheep, lamb (Gun TC).

dimban or dimban N vulva, cunnus (Gun BT).

dina N foot, feet, toes, footprint, track, hoof (Gun, Bid, Mar): dina bururu a track (Bid OC), dina mugu a sore foot (Bid RH), dina ḍa gara (? ) kicking with the foot (Gun LM). -cf. dinaŋ.
dinaŋ N foot (Gun NM). —cf. dina.
dinamuga N shoes (Bid OC).
dinar N dinner (Bid OC).
dini dini N wagtail (Gun EA).
  —cf. diri diri.
dingila N ALL dingilagu Chinchilla (Bid OC): dingilagu daungu to Chinchilla town.
diri N three (from English; Gun TC).
diri diri N wagtail (Gun TC).
  —cf. dini dini.
dirigiri N wagtail (Gun TC).
  —cf. diri diri, dini dini.
diwa N kite hawk (Gun TC).
du CONN (6.39; 9.33).
duga N smoke, a smoke (Gun, Bid).
dunga- V IPF dungana 1. be afraid (Bid OC); 2. chase, frighten (Bid RH): nga jinja dungana gurirī mundu I am afraid of the rock python (Bid OC), mundu nga jinja dungana I am afraid of the snake (Bid OC), gunugungana chasing away (Bid RH).
dungali- V REFL ITR dungali; dungalina run (over; Gun, Bid): jinda dungali you run (Bid RH).
  —cf. dunga-.
dungami- V REC IPF duggamina chase or frighten each other (Bid): bularu duggamina the two are chasing each other. —cf. dunga-
dungari- V ASS dungari; dungarina; dungarila run away with (Bid OC): garā jinda dungari don't you run away with it. —cf. dunga-.
dunguban, duggumban or duggumanāŋ N short (Gun TC, EA): maŋ duggumban a short man (Gun EA).
duiri N ashamed (Bid RH).
dula N tree, especially sandalwood (Gun TC, LM).
dulba- V TR PF dulbala plant, hide (Bid AC). —cf. gani-.
dulgarā (-gara) N LOC dulgaraŋ(g)at log (Gun TC).
duli duli N mopoke (Gun TC).
dulu N posterior (Mar MC).
dumba- V ITR dumbaŋa; dumbaŋa, dumba; dambala; dambalgu jump, dive, swim (Gun, Bid): dumbaŋa dulgarā jump over the log (Gun TC), gamugu dambaŋ, dambala jumping into the water, went for a swim (Gun TC).
dumbali- V ITR IPF dumbalanga boil over (Gun TC): gamu dumbalanga the water is boiling. —cf. dumba-
dumbama- V IPF dumbamana jump (Bid RH). —cf. dumba-
dunbi- V IPF dunbina: namun dunbina milking (Gun TC).
dungu N ABL dungun(d)u head, hair (Gun, Bid, Mar): dungu gi off the head (= dungundu; Gun TC).
dungubari N having a head (Gun LM): maŋ dungubari a clever man.
dunman N mud (Bid RH): guna dunman some children (playing) in the mud, dunmanbiri in the mud, dina dunmanai (= dunmanbai?) a footprint in the mud.
dura- V TR IPF durana; PF durala tell (Bid): qunturu naŋgana durala somebody told me (Bid RH).
duranga N drunk (Bid RH).
durbuŋ N big shower of rain (Gun EA).
durga N dust (Gun TC, EA): dili durga dust in my eyes, durga buranala the wind rushing on (raising dust; Gun TC).
duri N good (Gun TC): duri bindaja be good, duri gambi nice girl or woman, ŋalinda gadi duri as good as we two, duri misiŋ nana jugalila we ate well there.
durińga N white cockatoo (also the origin of the place name Duaringa; Gun BT).

duru N 1. arm(s); 2. wing(s) (Gun, Bid, Mar): duri bulari two wings (Gun TC), duru garıń wargun, ŋamaara (on) the right, left hand (side; Gun TC).

duru gurugu N an Aboriginal name or nickname (Bid OC, AC).

duru N ERG duruńgu; ALL durugu sun, day, daytime, daylight (Gun, Bid, Mar): duru wulala night (Gun LM), duru wagań sunrise, duru banbun sun (Gun TC, EA), duru garıń toward sunrise (Gun EA), duru wagań, banbun garıń toward the east (or Rockhampton), west (Gun TC, EA), duru banbula sunset (Gun TC), duru waganapa sunset (Bid AC), duru warana sunset (Bid AC), duruńgu bindalgu to sit in the sun (Bid RH).

duruńbari N sunshine (Bid RH).

duruń N hair (of the head; Mar WP, MP).

garal N salt (Gun TC).

guarińga N ALL guarińgagu Duaringa (Gun TC): guarińgagu du to Duaringa, too.

guńar N sugar (Bid AC).

gidi- N DER SFX (12.3).

gabi- V TR PF gabila burn (Bid OC): gundli ŋaja buringu gabila I have burned the house.

gabi gabi N the name of a tribe, Kabi-Kabi, 'Saltwater people'. (Gun LM).

gabirī- V ITR IPP gabirinya; PF gabirila get hungry (Gun TC).

gabuda N an Aboriginal name or nickname, Gun TC's native name (Gun TB, TC).

gabugan N hat (Gun, Bid, Mar): gabugan garabari without a hat (Mar DP). -cf. gabańi.

gabuganbai N having a hat (Mar DF): wadigan gabuganbai a lady wearing a hat.

gabul N carpetsnake (Gun, Bid, Mar).

gabula REL by and by (Bid AC): jinda gabula waganapa you are going by and by.

gabun N egg (Gun, Bid, Mar).

gada N hair of the head (Gun, Mar): gada gurgan long hair, gada gurganbai having long hair (Gun TC).

gada gada N hair of the head (Bid OC).

gadalgua N black rock python (Gun TC).

gadi POST (6.19; 9.18).

gadi- V ITR gadija; gadiņa, gadina; gadila tell a lie (Gun, Bid): gaŗa gadija don't tell a lie (Gun LM), gadiņa jinda jala you are telling a lie (Gun LM), gadina gundana a thief (Bid OC).

gadima- V ASS PF gadimala lie or tell a lie to (Gun, Bid): ŋaguna gadimala lied to me (Gun TC). -cf. gadi-.

gadingi- V PF gadingiļa tell lies (Gun TC). -cf. gadi-.

gadu N big meat ants (Gun TC).
gaga N bad, old (Gun, Bid): gaga baduriña smelling bad (Gun TC), guga gaga an old house (Gun TC).

gagaru REL at once, now (Bid RH): gagaru gadi immediately after, gaga wagaña gagaru I am going at once.

gaganguru N kookaburra (Gun EA). -cf. gagubara.

gaga N LOC gagaranga moon (Gun, Bid, Mar).

gaguba N kookaburra (Bid AC, AC).

gagul N kookaburra (Gun TC).

gagulu N the name of the Mimosa Creek language, Gangulu (Gun TC).

-gai N DER SFX (9.5).

gaimbar N small (Gun QL). -cf. gajumbaran.

gaimbara, gainbara v. gajumbaraän.

gaju N ERG gajungu woman (Bid OC; properly a Gangulu word). -cf. gambi.

gajumbaraän (gaim-, gain-, gaimbarin) N little, small, skinny (Gun): gandu naja gaimbarin when I was a child (Gun LM), gajumbaraän bangu small rock (Gun EA), gajumbaraän bulgu a little hole (Gun TC). -cf. garumaraän.


galali N the name of a language, Kalali (Gun NM).

galali- V ITR IPF galalina; PF galalila get frightened, scared (Gun TC).

galalma- V CAUS PF galalmána frighten (Gun TC). -cf. galali-.

galama- V CAUS IPF galamaña; PF galamala scare, frightened (Gun TC): dibul dibuldu, gurguru ngaduna (or ñana) galamala the ghost, the mopoke scared me. -cf. galali-.

galbular N magpie (Gun TC).

galgi- V TR PF galgila wet (Bid OC): nandî gamuñ(g)u galgila has made the ground wet with water.

gamba N girl (Gun TC): naja gandu gamba jinalaja when I was a child (or girl). -cf. gambal.

gamba- V TR gamba; gambaña; gambala; gambalgu put on (firewood or clothes), make or light a fire, dress, cover up (the fire; Gun TC), put out (the fire? Gun BT), burn (Gun, Bid): buři jina gamba du light this fire (Gun OC), buři gamba light the fire (Bid OC), buři gambaña making or lighting a fire (Gun LM), buři gambala has covered up the fire (Gun TC), have put on or made a fire (Bid RH), ñali buři gambalgu we have to light a fire (Bid OC), naja gandu gambalgu I have to dress the child (Bid RH). -cf. gambal-.

gambal N (young) girl (Bid RH). -cf. gamba.

gambali- V REFL INT gambalilgu to dress (oneself or one's own; Bid RH): jugal gambalilgu to dress when eating (that is 'dress to eat'), gandu gamalilgu to dress one's child. -cf. gambala-.

gambari N REL far away (Bid OC, RH): jamba gambari a place far away, gambari bindana lives far away or a long way.
gambi N ERG gambingu woman, Aboriginal woman (Gun, Bid, Mar): gambi wuga a lot of women (Bid RH); (ART) gambinu three or so women (Gun TC), some women (Bid RH, Mar MC), gambindu a lot of women (Bid RH).

gambi- V TR PF gambila; INT gambilgu turn round (Gun, Bid): jinda jaba gambilgu you should turn that (Bid RH).

gambida- V ITR IPF gambidana; PF gambidalala; INT gambidalgu turn round (Bid RH): nula gambidala he turned round. -cf. gambi-.

gambi gambi N little girl or young girl (Gun, Bid, Mar): gandu gambi gambi girl (Gun TC, EA), gambi gambi warala girls were playing (Bid OC). -cf. gambi.

gambigan N Aboriginal woman (= gambi; Mar MC).

gambigarba N having no woman or women, without a woman (Bid OC, RH).

gambilgurang REL round about (Gun TC): baganga gambilgurang round about the tree. -cf. gambi-.

gambil- V REFL (6.38) turn (oneself) round, spin round, turn (Gun, Bid): nula gambilila ɲurang gadi he turned into a dog (Gun TC). -cf. gambi-.

gambilia POST round about (the accidental form of gambil- q.v.): jamba gambilila round about the house (Gun TC). -cf. gambil-.

gambilma- V CAUS gambilmaja; gambilmanja; gambilmala; gambilmalgu turn (something) round, twist (a rope), turn change (into; Gun, Bid): gambilmaja mana turn that round (Gun TC). -cf. gambi-.

gambar-, v. gambiri-.

gambiri- (gambira-) V ITR gambira; gambirja, gambirina; gambirila, gambirala turn round (Gun, Bid): jinda gambira du you turn round (Bid RH), gamu gambirina a whirlpool (Gun TC). -cf. gambi-.

gambirma- V CAUS IMP gambirma; PF gambirmala turn (something) round (Bid): jinda jaba gambirmala you (have) turned that round (Bid OC). -cf. gambi-.

gambu- V PF gambula finish (Bid AC): gambula jugala has finished eating.

gami N grandmother or grand-daughter (Gun, Bid), auntie (Bid AC).

gamirrai N the name of a language Kamilroi (Gun TC, QL).

gamingila N one's grandmother or grand-daughter (Bid RH). -cf. gami.

gamu N ERG gamuŋ(g)u; ABL gamundu; LOC gamunga; ALL gamugu water, rain, (strong) drink (Gun, Bid, Mar): gamu banbula waterfall (Gun TC), gamu wagana it is raining (Mar MC), gamu mundu (go away) before the rain (comes; Bid RH), gamu jugana drinking grog (Gun LM), gamu dana mari jugana the dark people all drink whiskey (Gun EA), gamu dana standing in the water (Bid AC), gamu dana the people are walking in the rain (Gun EA), gamu mandala went for a drink (Gun TC), bada rila gamundu got sick from the water (Gun TC), gamu bulari ('the two waters') Coomooboolaroo (the name of a place; Gun TC).

gamubari N full of water, drunk (Gun TC): marin gamubari a drunk man. -cf. gamu.

gambarba N having no water, without water, dry (Gun TC).

gamugamba N soup or broth (Gun TC). -cf. gamu.
-gan *DER SFX* (6.5; 9.5; 12.3).

gana- *V ITR* gana, ganajja, ganaqa, gananja, ganala; ganalgu; ganajlu; ganajra
ganajja come (back), go (home; Gun, Bid): wugu gana come here (Bid RH), gura ganajja come back (Gun TC), wugu ganana is coming here (= waqala; Bid RH), gura ganana jurbari brings meat (Gun TC), ganaqa going home (= ganna; Gun TC, TB), jilalbari gura ganalgu in a hurry to go back or home (Bid RH), nqalila ganalgu to go home (Bid RH), nqalila ganalgu when is he going away? (Bid RH), ganajja when (I) come back (Gun TC).

-gan i- 2.

ganba- *V TR INT* ganbalgu put out (Gun BT): bu'ri ganbalgu to put out the fire. -cf. gamba-.

ganda *N* saliva (Gun TC): ganda bigula spat.

gandalma- *V CAUS PF* gandalma
to blow the fire (Bid RH): bu'ri nqalila gandalma I blew the fire (to make it go).

-gandu *ERG* gandungu; *ALL* gandugu child, kid, boy, girl, baby (Gun, Bid, Mar): jinda gandunda (probably = gandu jinda ?) janggil galab you are a bad child (Bid OC), gandu young girl (jang g'e'li) teenager (Gun EA), nqaja gundu waqala gandugu I went to my child (Bid RH), gandugu jamba Children's Home (Gun TC), gandurugu when a boy, as a boy (Bid OC); (ART) gandunu (ERG gandungungu) some children.

-gandubari *N* having children (Gun TC): nqaja gandubari I have a child, nqaju gandubari my poor child!

-gandugarba *N* having no children (Bid OC): nula gandugarba he is without children.

-gangal *N* wing, wings (Bid OC).

-gangari *N* knife (Mar MC).

gangun *N* blue gum tree (Bid OC).

gani-1 *V TR PF* ganila hide (Gun, Bid): ganila hid (her wings, folding them, Gun TC; = dulbala, Bid AC).

gani-2 *V ITR* IPF ganilha; *PF* ganila go back home (Gun TC, TB): ganilha going home (= ganilha; Gun TC), ganila gunqala returned home again. -cf. gana-.

ganimira *REL* in front (Bid AC).

ganja *N* hut (Mar MC).

-ganaru *REL* soon (Bid OC): ganaru nu(la) burbana nqalila soon she will come to me.

gara *REL* I wonder, I do not know, perhaps (Gun TC): jingila gara I do not know which way I am going, nqandura gara I wonder who? nqani gara I wonder what? gandu abana dulqara nqalila junabai barbira gara bindana child, look or see that hollow log (if) a porcupine might be there. -cf. gala.

garbadala *N* train (Gun TC).

garbugi- *V TR* IPF garbugina
wait for (Gun EA): garbugina nqalila dilalagu waiting for me at Dillalah.

gargan *N* 1. leaves, the bush;
2. cards, card game (Gun TC): nqula gargan waganu he is gambling.

-gari *N* DER SFX (9.5).

gariga *N* REL hard (Gun LM):
tanga bujana gariga the wind is blowing hard.

gara *REL* not, nothing, no, don't (Gun, Bid, Mar): gara nqala ji I have no meat (Gun ML), gara gamu (Gun QL), gamu gara (Gun LM, TC) without water, gara jugala before eating (Bid OC), gara nqalula have not seen, do not know (Bid RH), gara gunupa don't cut (it) down (Gun ML), gara waqala don't fall, gara gunupa don't steal (Bid OC).
garâ- V IPP garâna kick (Gun LM):
dinaña (?) garâna kicking with
the foot.
-garâ CAR SFX see Note 70.

garâbari N REL nothing, no,
without (Gun, Bid, Mar): gamu,
gundi, bangu, jaraman garâbari
without water, a house, money,
a horse (Bid OC, RH), garâbari
maři bindana no man is left
(Bid OC), garâbari nagalgu
cannot see anything (Bid RH),
dili garâbari blind (Mar MC),
maŋa garâbari deaf (Mar MC).
-cf. gaŋa.

garâna- (garâga-) V IPP garânaŋa;
PF garânaŋala miss, fail, get
nothing (Gun TC): garânaŋala ŋana
marala we got nothing (when
fishing), badamala garânaŋala
we failed (when fishing;'the
fish did not bite'). —cf. gaŋa.

-garâba CAR SFX (6.4; 9.4).

garbi- V TR IMP garbi put
(Bid RH): garbi du' let me put
(the meat into the bag).

gari¹ N dead (Mar MC): jaŋaila
gari my mother is dead.

gari² POST (6.19).

gari- V ITR PF garila die, go
out (Mar MC): nula garila he
(has) died, buɾi garila the
fire has gone out. —cf. gari¹.

garin POST (6.19).

garumaɾaŋ N little (Bid RH).
-cf. gajumbaraŋ.

garumari N little, thin (Bid):
maɾi garumari little thin man
(Bid RH), nula garumari he is
little (Bid AC).

garumariŋ (-maɾın) N small (Bid):
gandu garumariŋ a small boy
(Bid OC), garumariŋ a small
(bird; Bid AC).

-garundaŋ (?): garundaŋ marala (= ?
Gun TC).

garuru N chicks of emu or other
birds (Bid RH).

gau N cow(s), cattle (Bid AC):
gau mugara danalaja cows grazing
on the old camp site.

gawa N throat (Bid OC, RH): gawa
bangar sore throat.

gawari N REL a long way (Bid RH).
guwaɾa N gully, gullies (Gun TC).
gawun N dress (Gun, Bid, Mar).

gi POST (6.19).

-gi- N ERG gi·ŋ(g)u key (Gun,
Bid).

-gi- V DER suffix or auxiliary
(6.35).

giadal N ERG giadaldu cattle
(Gun 'lC).

-gi·gə N (freshwater) shrimp
(Gun TC).

gilar N (6.17 (3)) glass (eye
glasses, looking glass), mirror
(Gun TC).

gilaru N LOC gila(s)ŋ(g)a glass,
mirror (Bid AC).

giŋ POST (6.19)

-giri V DER suffix or auxiliary
(6.35).

-gi· N nose, face (Gun, Bid, Mar):
ŋagu gi· nagalina gamunga
seeing (the reflexion of) my
face in the water (Gun TC), gi·
garâbari without a nose (Bid RH).

gua N yam (Bid OC). —cf. guar.

guamu N the name of a language
(about Cunnamulla), related to
muruwari (q.v.; Gun TC).

-guar N yams (Gun TC). —cf. gua.

-gubu- V IPP gubana PF gubala
burn, smoke (Bid OC): buɾi gubana
fire is burning, buɾi gubala
the fire is smoking, buɾi gubala
gundi fire burned the house.
-cf. gubama-, gubanda-.
gubama- V CAUS PF gubamala
burn (Gun TC): madiru ɲana
gubamala the match burned me.
- cf. guba-.

gubanda- V ITR IPF gubandaŋa
burn (Gun ML): burĩ gubandaŋa
fire is burning. - cf. guba-.

gubar gubar N black crow (Gun TB).
- cf. gubur gubur.

gubaru N LOC gubaruŋa(g)a stump
of tree (Gun TC): gamu bindaŋa
gubaruŋa there is water in the
stump. - cf. guburu, wuburu.

gubil N blue-tongue lizard (Gun
LM, TC).

gubin N whistle (Gun TC): aba
nula gubinbari he is whistling
over there. - cf. wubin (Bid, Mar).

gubiŋi N baby duck (Gun TC).

guburu N tree stump (Bid RH).
- cf. gubaru.

gubur gubur N black (Gun TC):
gubur gubur jaraman black horse.

guda, v. maŋa guda.

guda- V TR IMP gudaja close,
shut (Gun TC): daŋ gudaja close
the door or shut (your) mouth.
- cf. wuda-.

guda guda N white (Gun TC): guda
guda jaraman white horse.

gudala N ERG gudalaŋ(g)u; ALL
gudalagu hawk, eagle, eaglehawk
(Gun, Bid): gudalagu balanguru
hawk's nest (Gun TC). - cf.
guridala.

gudi N red paint (Bid OC).

gudi gudi N red (Gun, Bid): guri
gudi gudi a red dress, gudi
gudi jaraman a red horse (Gun
TC), gudi gudi wuba a red flower
(Bid RH). - cf. gudi.

gudiri N 'lot of red' (probably
'red clay or paint'; Gun TC).
- cf. gudi.

gudu N REL hard (as in 'looking
hard'; Gun TC). - cf. maŋa gudu.

guda N honey, sweet (Gun TC).
- cf. gaba.

guda- N gudana; gudala; gudalgu
throw, hit (as with a boomerang;
Bid OC, RH).

gudabari, v. wudabari.

gugara V N REL splashing,
swimming (Bid AC): gamu gujara
(idem).

gugugana N short, low (Bid RH):
marĩ gujugana a short man,
jalga gujugana a short way.

gugu REL here, hither (Gun, Bid):
jinda guwaŋaja you come here
(Gun TC), gugu nagana looking
hither (Gun TC), gugu mandala
has come here (Gun LM), gugu
waŋala came here (Bid AC).
- cf. wugu.

gugubin N scrub turkey (Bid, Mar).
- cf. gumbin.

gugura N big black kangaroo
(Gun TC). - cf. wuru.

guguru REL on the other side,
across (Bid OC): jamba mundu
uguwu bindana he lives on the
other side of the camp, uguwu
jinda waŋa you go across.

gunga, v. gunga-.

gungan1 N bloodwood (Gun TC).

gungan2 N ERG gungandu frog
(Gun LM).

gungar N hungry (Gun LM): ɲaja
gungar I am hungry. - cf. buŋgar.

gungari N the name of a language,
Gunggari or the Roma language
(Gun, Bid): gungari ɲaja ɲalgana
I speak Gunggari (Gun EA).

gungul gungul (gungul gungul, gungul
gugul) N tin cup (to drink
from; Bid OC).

gunguru N buzzing noise (Gun TC):
mimundu gunguribari the flies
buzzing.
guila\textsuperscript{1} \textit{N} small (Gun TC).

guila\textsuperscript{2} \textit{REL} some time ago or long ago or when (Bid OC): gdynduy \textit{na} guila \textit{when} I was a small kid, mar\textit{i} jangaru \textit{na} guila \textit{when} I was a young man, mar\textit{i} wadarinya \textit{na} guila \textit{when} I grow old. \textendash cf. gulidila, guli\textit{ri}.

guja \textit{N} wife (Bid RH). \textendash cf. gujala, gujarila.

gujala \textit{N} one's wife (Bid OC, RH): gujala \textit{na}\textit{du} my wife, gujala bindana (my) wife is sitting there. \textendash cf. guja.

gujarila (gujara) \textit{N} one's wife (Bid, Mar). \textendash cf. guja.

guja\textit{rilagarba} \textit{N} widower ('without one's wife'; Bid OC).

guju \textit{N} ALL gujugu fish (Gun, Bid): gujugu wajada \textit{go} for fish (fishing; Gun TC).

gujun \textit{N} flood (Bid RH): gujun barala there was a flood, gujun baralalanga when the flood was. \textendash cf. gjur.

gujur \textit{N}: gujur gamu big water, flood (Bid RH). \textendash cf. gujun.

gula \textit{N} native bear, koala (\textit{= digan}; Bid OC).

gulbali\textsuperscript{-} \textit{V TR IMP} gulbaja; \textit{PF} gulbala \textit{tell} (Gun, Bid): gun\textit{du}na gulbala \textit{tell} me (Gun TC), nula gun\textit{du}na gulbala he told me (Bid AC), gara gun\textit{du}na gulbala did not tell me (Gun TC).

gulbai, v. gulbari.

gulbali\textsuperscript{-} \textit{V REFL PF} gulbalilala tell (one's own; Gun TC): gun\textit{du}na gulbalilala \textit{told} me. \textendash cf. gulba-.

gulbari (gulbai) \textit{ERG} gulkaning\textit{u} emu (Gun, Bid, Mar). \textendash cf. gurun.

gulbarin (gulbri\textit{n}) \textit{N} emu (Gun GD). \textendash cf. gulbari.

gulu \textit{N} butcherbird, magpie (Gun, Bid).

gulgun \textit{N} string (Gun TC): magalina gulgun tying a knot.

gulidila \textit{REL} a good while ago (Bid OC). \textendash cf. guila\textsuperscript{2}.

gulidi \textit{N} rock python (Gun TC). \textendash cf. guririn.

guligin \textit{REL} long ago (Bid RH). \textendash cf. guila\textsuperscript{2}, gulidila.

gulira \textit{N} ERG gulkan\textit{angu} spear (Gun TC): bugun gulira gadi spear grass ('grass like spear').

guliru \textit{REL} long ago, when? (Bid): gdynduy \textit{na} gulira I was a child long ago (Bid AC), gulira \textit{na} gubula I came long ago (Bid AC), guli\textit{ra} jinda nagala when did you see him? ('how long ago did you see him?'; Bid RH). \textendash cf. guila\textsuperscript{2}.

guma \textit{N} blood (Gun, Bid).

gumba- \textit{V TR IMP} gumba, gumbaja; \textit{PF} gumbala; \textit{ACC} gumbana, gumbala\textit{na} \textit{give} (Gun, Bid): gamu gun\textit{du}na gumbaja \textit{give} me water (Gun TC), gumba jugalu \textit{give} (me) to eat (Bid AC), w\textit{an}al gun\textit{du}na gumba \textit{give} me a boomerang (Bid RH), \textit{\textit{\textit{n}}ani gumba \textit{want} what? (Bid OC), jinda gun\textit{du}na jina gumbala you \textit{give} (sic) me this (Bid AC).

gumbaja \textit{V REL} want (actually the imperative of gumba- \textit{give}, q.v.; cf. Ngawun wini \textit{want}, from wini-\textit{give}, see 26): nula gumbaja gambiligu he wants to turn round (Gun TC).

gumbali- \textit{V REFL IPF} gumbalina \textit{give} (to one's own; Gun TC): gumbalina \textit{namu} \textit{giving} milk (to one's children). \textendash cf. gumba-.

gumbara \textit{N} iron bark (Bid).

gumbina \textit{N} dingo (Bid, Mar).

gumb\textsuperscript{in} \textit{N} scrub turkey (Mar DF). \textendash cf. gugubin.

guna \textit{N} excrement, dirt (Bid RH): guna dunman gun\textit{du}na kids (playing) in the dirt. \textendash cf. gunun.
gunaŋ N excrement (Gun BT). – cf. guna.
gunari N flat country, plain (Gun TC).
gunbai N emu (Bid OC). – cf. gulbari.
gunda¹ N REL ALL gundagu night, dark, last night (Bid): gunda wağanana getting dark (Bid RH), gunda jangila or wağala went last night (Bid RH), gundagu tonight (Bid RH). – cf. gundaŋ.
gunda² POST (9.18).
gunda-¹ V TR IMP gundaja; PF gundala cut, strip (Gun TC): duru bulari gundaja cut both wings, gundala balundu bidal stripped the bark with an axe, gundala (he) cut (gullies).
gunda-² V TR gunda; gundana; gundala; gundalu take, steal (Bid): gağa gunda don't steal (Bid OC), ngaaju ruju gundala the dog has stolen (eaten) my meat (Bid OC).
gunda-³ V IPF gundana fight (? = gunimina; Bid OC).
gundaŋ ALL gundanguna night (Gun TC): gundangu mandaŋa walking at night. – cf. gunda¹.
gundal- V REFLECT gundalija; gundaliŋa; gundalila cut (for) oneself, cut one's own, shave (Gun): ngaŋa jinda gundaliŋa you shave your beard (Gun EA), baruŋu dina gundalila cut her foot with an axe (Gun TC), wumbara gundalila (the children) cut sticks (for a fire; Gun TC), – cf. gunda².
gundamin V REL getting dark (Bid RH). – cf. gunda¹.
gundaŋ V N stealing, a thief (Gun, Bid): nguŋ gundaŋ ḏala (?) he steals (Bid RH).
gundi N (6.17 (1); 19,16 (1)) house, home (Gun, Bid, Mar): ngaŋa gundi my house (Bid AC), gundi juraŋu your house (Mar MC), wuŋa wunala gundi asleep at home (Bid RH), gundigu (go) home, at home, inside the house.
gundima- V TR IMP gundima cut down (Gun TC): gaŋa gundima don't cut (it) down. – cf. gunma-.
gundimia- V REC IPF gundimiaŋa fight (Gun LM): ganigu juraŋa gundimiaŋa why are you all fighting? – cf. gunimia-.
gundir N (19.16 (3)) clever (Bid OC): gundiru baɾimala the clever man has made it.
gundu REL away, far from here (Gun, Bid, Mar): gundu mandaŋa go away (Gun LM), ngaŋa gundu I am going, I am off (Gun TC), gundu naga look away, far (Gun TC, TB), ngaŋa gundu look that way (Bid OC), gundu waḍanā going away (Mar DF), gundu waḍalgu to go away (Bid OC), gundu bindana lives far away (Bid RH), gundu gundu away (Bid AC).
gunduŋa (guntu-) REL across (Bid AC): baru gamu gunduŋa down the creek across the water. – cf. gundu.
gundula REL POST across (Bid OC): jalg a gundula across the road.
gundulu N emu (Mar MC; perhaps a Gangulu word).
gungu N ALL gungugu bush, scrub (Gun TC): gungu gi from the bush.
gunga N husband (Bid RH).
gungaila (gungaila) N one's husband (Bid, Mar). – cf. gunga.
gungailagarba (gungaila-) N without a husband (Bid OC).
gungan N tin can, cup (Bid OC).
gungu N lizard (Gun BT; perhaps another language?).
guni- (guri-) V TR gunija, gunia; guniňa, gunina; gunila; gunilugu beat, hit, kill, fight (Gun, Bid): garা jinda nunguna gunia don't you fight him (Gun TC), wandi jinda guniňa (if) you hit the dog (Bid OC), jurı guniňa killing game (Gun EA), waqugulu dana gunila they killed (the wallaby) in the bush (Bid OC), jurı gunilugu to kill meat (Gun TC), jinuna gunilugu I will hit you (Gun TC), gunigiri kill all (Gun TC). -cf. guri-.
gunili- V REFL ITR IPF gunilina; PF gunililugu kill one's own or be killed (Gun TC): gunilililugu was killed (as in an accident). -cf. guni-.
gunima- V TR PF gunimala kill, fight (Gun TC). -cf. guni-.
gunimi- V REC IMP gunimi, gunimin; IPF gunimin; PF gunimirilugu fight (Bid): garा jimbala gunimi don't you two fight (Bid RH), bularu gunimin two are fighting (Bid OC), galı gară gunimin we two do not fight (Bid OC). -cf. gunimia- (Gun).
gunimia- V REC gunimia; gunimia‰a; gunimiala; gunimialugu kill each other, fight (Gun TC): garা (jibala) gunimia don't (you two) fight. -cf. gunimi- (Bid), guni-.
gunimiara-, gunimiliarı- V REC IPF gunimiliara‰a, gunimiliarina fight (Gun TC). -cf. guni-., gunimia-.
gunirgja N wasp (Bid OC).
gunma- V TR gunma, Gunnaja; gunma‰a, gunmana; gunnala; gunmalugu cut (down), break (Gun, Bid): garা gunma don't cut it down (Gun LM), jinda gunma du you cut (the sandalwood; Bid OC), garা gunmana cannot cut (Bid AC). -cf. guni-.
gunmari N coolamon, shield (Gun TC; perhaps Wakka-Wakka). -cf. gurbal.
gunta- (gunda-) V TR IPF gunça; PF guntala steal (Gun TC). -cf. gunda-2.
gura REL back (Gun TC): gura ńaja ganala I have come back, gura bambula dropped his head dejectedly (probably 'fell back').
gura- V TR IMP guraja take off (Gun TC): dungun(du) (= dungu gi) gabugan guraja take off your hat.
guramundu REL from behind (said to be Bidjara; Gun TC).
gurandu REL POST (9.18) after, behind (Bid AC).
gurba N perch (fish; Gun TC).
gurba- V ITR IPF gurba‰a, gurbana; PF gurbala come, rise (of the sun; Gun, Bid): julu gurbana coming here (Bid OC), nula gugu gurbala he has come (here), duru gurbana (when) the sun rises (Bid AC). -cf. burba- (Bid).
gurba N whitewood, coolamon (more or less = gunmari, q.v.; Gun TC).
gurba- V ITR IPF gurbalina; ACC gurbalinajıa come (out; Gun TC): dana gurbalina they are coming, gamu gurbalina dandindu (where) water comes out of the ground (= 'a spring'). -cf. gurba-.
gurbalma- V CAUS IMP gurbalma let come (Bid AC): jinda gurbalma you tell him to come. -cf. gurba-.
gurga N neck or throat (Mar MC). -cf. gurga.
gurgali- V REFL PF gurgalila paint oneself (Gun TC): magira gurgalila painted himself.
gurgan N long, tall (Gun TC): gurganbāri gada wearing the hair long or down.
gurganbāri N long (Gun TC). -cf. gurgan, gurgandari.
gurgandali (-dari) N long, tall, high (Gun, Bid): gurgandali marī(n) danana (there is) a tall man (Gun EA), marī, jalga gurgandari a tall man, a long way (Bid RH). -cf. gurgan, gurganbāri.
gurgandari (-dali) N long, tall, high (Bid RH): marī, jalga gurgandari a tall man, a long way. -cf. gurgan, gurganbāri.
gurgur N (6.17(3)) mopoke (Gun TC), night owl (Gun EA).
guri N clothes, dress, blanket (Gun, Bid): guri gudi gudi a red dress (Gun TC). -cf. guri guri.
guri- V ITR IPF gurina; PF gurila break (Bid RH): jaba gurina that is getting broken,amba gurila the thing is broken. -cf. gurin-.
guridala N eaglehawk (Gun, Bid). -cf. gudala.
guri guri N clothes (Mar MC). -cf. guri.
gurilma- V CAUS IPF gurilmama break (Bid RH): gandungu gurilmama the children are breaking it. -cf. guri-, guni-.
guru¹ N REL all, altogether (Gun TC): nula guru gunigiri or gunila he killed all, guru dana they all.
guru² N cod fish (Gun TC). -cf. gurul.
gurugun N a white bird, like a pigeon (Gun TC).
guru guru N REL all, altogether (Gun TC): guru guru wagandila they all ran. -cf. guru¹.
gurul N cod (a big fish; Gun EA). -cf. guru².
gurun N clothes (Bid OC). -cf. guri.
gurur N native companion, brolga (Bid AC). -cf. gurur.
gurūn N naked, bare: bangun gurūn bald (Gun TC), gurūn gandunu mandana the children go naked (Gun EA).
gurga N neck (Bid OC, RH). -cf. gurga.
gurīga N peewee (the size of a magpie; Bid OC).
guri guri N ghost (male or female; Bid, Mar).
gurīlban N curlew (Gun TC).
gurīnda (Gun EA), gurīnda (Gun TC) N (6.17(3)) peewee.
gurin POST (6.19).
gurīrī N rock python (Bid OC). -cf. gulidi.
gurun N nose (Bid RH).
gurūn (gurūn) N alone, one one's own (Gun, Bid): naja gurūn bindala he left me behind, alone (Gun TC), nula gurūn bindana he is living alone or is lonely (Bid OC), gurīn naja I am on my own (Bid OC).
gurūr N native companion, brolga (bigger than a crane; Gun TC). -cf. gurur.
ŋaja PERS PRON (6.20, 22; 9.19-20; 12.8).

ŋalga- V IPP ŋalgaŋa, ŋalgana, ŋalgar; PF ŋalgala; INT ŋalgalgu; ACC ŋalgalaŋa say, talk, tell (Gun, Bid): ŋani jinda ŋalgana (ŋalgar, Gun NM) what do you say? what are you talking about? ŋañuna ŋalgana talking about me (Gun LM), ŋula ŋalgala, ŋañuna ŋalgala she said (to me), told me (Gun TC), ŋalgala gułbari said to the emu (Gun TC), ŋaja ŋalgalgu bigara I am to speak Bidjara (Bid RH), bindana ŋalgalu (= ŋalgalgu ?) sitting talking (Bid OC), ŋalgalaŋa bindana sitting talking (Gun TC).

ŋalgabinda- V ITR IPP ŋalgabindana sit talking (Gun TC).

ŋalgadana- V ITR IPP ŋalgadanana stand talking (Gun TC).

ŋalgalı- V ITR IMP ŋalgalija; IPP ŋalgalina; PF ŋalgalila; ACC ŋalgalinaŋa talk (Gun TC): gaŋa manqanga ŋalgalija don't talk into the ear ('don't whisper'), jubaŋa ŋund'a ŋalgalila you two (you and she) have been talking, ŋali ŋalgalinaŋa (he came) while we two were talking. -cf. ŋalga-.

ŋalgama- V ASS ŋalgamaŋa; ŋalgamaŋa widu I am talking to the white man, ŋaja mada ŋalgamaŋa nunquna I tried to speak to him. -cf. ŋalga-.

ŋalgami- V REC ŋalgamina; ŋalgaminaŋa talk to each other (Bid): damba ŋalgaminaŋa ŋali we two are talking to each other (Bid OC), ŋali or ŋalinda ŋalgamina (idem; Bid OC, RH). -cf. ŋalgama- (Gun).

ŋalgamia- V REC ŋalgamiaŋa; ŋalgamiaŋa; ŋalgamila; ACC ŋalgamianaŋa talk to each other (Gun TC): jubaŋa ŋalgamiaŋa you two talk to one another, bula ŋalgamila they (have) talked to one another, ŋali ŋalgamianaga while we two are talking together. -cf. ŋalgami- (Bid).

ŋalgamiara- V REC IPP ŋalgamiraŋa talk together (Gun TC; ŋalgamiraŋa = ŋalgamianaga). -cf. ŋalgamia-.

ŋali PERS PRON (6.20, 22; 9.19-20; 12.8).

ŋali ŋula, ŋali ŋunda PERS PRON (6.23).

ŋali jinda, ŋalinda PERS PRON (6.23; 9.22).

ŋalinda PERS PRON (9.20).

ŋamalma- V CAUS PF ŋamalmala frighten (Bid AC). -cf. ŋamari-.

ŋamaŋ N food, tucker, bread, milk (food for children; Gun, Bid, Mar).

ŋamara N ABL ŋamarandu; ALL ŋamaragu left (hand; Gun TC): duru ŋamara gar'iŋ to or on the left-hand side, ŋamaragu to the left. -cf. wängun.

ŋamari- V ITR PF ŋamariaŋa get frightened (Bid AC). -cf. ŋamalma-.

ŋambuma- V ASS IMP ŋambumaja PF ŋambumala grope (for), catch, fish (Gun EA): gujü ŋaja ŋambumaja let me catch fish.

ŋamu N breast, teats, milk (Gun BT). -cf. ŋamun.

ŋamun N (9.16 (2)) breast, (cow's) dugs, milk (Gun, Bid, Mar): ŋamun bularibari (a rock shaped like a woman) with the two breasts (Gun TC), ŋamun dunbiŋa milking (Gun TC), gandu ŋamundu nugana a baby sucking (Bid OC).

ŋamunbari (-bai) N having breasts or milk (Gun, Bid): diŋamunbai milky tea (Bid OC). -cf. ŋamun.
gan PRON (9.26).

1)ana 1 PERS PRON (6.20, 22; 9.19-20; 12.8).

1)ana 2 PERS PRON (6.22; 9.20).

1)anda REL where? (Bid RH): 1)anda nula bindana where does he live?

1)andagu REL whither? to where? (Bid RH): 1)andagu nula jangila where has he gone to?

1)anda- V TR PF 1)anda lay (eggs; Gun TC): gabun nula 1)andala she laid eggs, gabun bungan 1)andala bulari the scrub turkey (had) laid two eggs.

1)andari N REL and all (Gun TC): gandunu 1)andari the children and all, giağal 1)andari cattle and all.

1)andulu INTERR PRON (6.29-30).

1)anggan N taboo (Gun TC): jurji 1)anggan forbidden meat.

1)anggan N beard (Gun, Bid).

1)angabari (-bai) N having a beard, bearded (Gun, Bid): 1)angabai jinda you wear a beard (Gun EA).

1)angan N cough, coughing (Bid RH).

1)anganbai N having a cough (Bid RH): 1)aja 1)anganbai I have a cough.

1)ani INTERR PRON (6.29-30; 9.25; 12.9).

1)anigu INTERR PRON (6.30; 9.25; 12.9): 1)anigu gambi what kind of woman? (Gun TC), 1)anigu dibin what kind of bird? (Gun TC), 1)anigu (an exclamation; Gun TC).

1)aniga REL when? (Bid): jinda 1)aniga burbala when did you come? (Bid OC), jinda 1)aniga gunu wağana, wağalgu when are you going away? when do you have to go away? (Bid OC).

1)anigamundu REL since when? (Bid RH): 1)anigamundu jinda bungan since when are you sick? —cf. 1)aniga.

1)anigara REL what for? how? (Gun TC): 1)anigara bigumiana what are they fighting for (= 1)anigu).

1)anila REL when? (Bid RH): 1)anila gunu gañalgu when is he going or to go away (home)?

1)animburu N how many? (Bid OC): gunu 1)animburu juran or jubalangu gunu 1)animburu how many children children have you?

1)anturu INTERR PRON (12.9).

1)ara REL up (Bid OC). —cf. 1)ara.

1)aragu REL up (OC): 1)aragu wağana going up.

1)aramundu REL from above (Bid OC).

1)argia N possum (Mar DP).

1)argimali- V REFL wash one's own (e.g. a baby; Bid OC). —cf. 1)argin(a), 1)arginama-.

1)argin or 1)argina (wargi-) N washing (Bid OC): 1)aja 1)argina jamalila I have washed myself.

1)arginama- V ASS IMP 1)arginama wash with (Bid OC): jinda gunu 1)arginama you wash the baby with water. —cf. 1)argin(a), 1)arginimi-.

1)argu N kangaroo (Bid, Mar). —cf. 1)argu.

1)arguli- V IPP 1)argulina: maña 1)aja 1)argulina I am deaf (Gun EA).

1)arumban N swan or pelican (Gun TC).

1)ara REL up (Gun TC). —cf. 1)ara.

1)aragurun REL (probably) up the river or toward the west (Gun TC, EA). —cf. 1)ara.

1)argu (1)argu) N grey or blue kangaroo or wallaby: 1)argu bindana a kangaroo sitting down (Gun TC). —cf. 1)argu.

1)ari N name (Gun TC): 1)unduru 1)ari what is the name?
name (Gun TC): dana jamba nārimalā

they named the settlement (Woorabinda). - cf. nāri.

ŋiŋu- V TR IPP ŋiŋuŋa; INT

ŋiŋulŋu look for, find, get:

gamu ŋiŋuŋa looking for water
(or waŋaŋa) gamu ŋiŋulŋu I am going to get a drink (Gun TB).

- cf. ŋiŋu-.

ŋiṃaŋ N small black ants (Gun TC).

ŋindin N a cold (Gun TC).

ŋindinbari N having a cold (Gun TC).

ŋiŋu- V TR IPP ŋiŋuna PF

ŋiŋula look for (Gun TC): ŋani jinda ŋiŋuna what are you looking for? - cf. ŋiŋu-.

ŋu REL over there (Bid AC):

gandu nula ŋu bindana the child is sitting over there.

ŋubi- V ITR IPP ŋubiŋa startling

(Gun TC).

ŋubili- V REFL IMP ŋubiliŋa
dress up smartly, put on good clothes (Gun TC): ŋubiliŋa guri 'slick up'. - cf. ŋuḍali-.

ŋubilmalā V CAUS PF ŋubilmalā

startle, make turn round ('sit up'); Gun TC. - cf. ŋubi-.

ŋuḍali- V REFL IPP ŋuḍalina

show off, dress up, coquet (in front of the mirror; Gun TC).

- cf. ŋubili-.

ŋui REL ŋui ŋaja bindana I am thinking (Bid OC).

ŋula PERS PRON (6.22).

ŋuman N skin, hide (Gun TC, EA).

- cf. numan (Bid).

ŋumbi- V PF ŋumbila; ACC

ŋumbilajaja swim (Bid AC): gamu

ŋumbilajaja (while) swimming.

ŋumbira- V ITR IPP ŋumbiranaj

swim (Bid AC): nula gundu ŋumbiranaja he is swimming across.

- cf. ŋumbi-.

ŋuna DEM PRON (6.27–28; 9.23–24).

ŋu-na INTERPR PRON (9.26).

ŋunangu DEM PRON (6.28).

ŋunana DEM PRON (6.28).

ŋunangu REL over that way (Gun TC).

ŋunda, v. ŋali 蛉nda.

ŋundaru INTERPR PRON (9.25).

ŋundara- V TR PF ŋundaralāa INT ŋundaralgu ask (Bid RH): nula ŋaŋuna waŋal ŋundarala he asked me for a boomerang.

ŋundaraŋa- V ASS IMP ŋundaraŋa

ask for or of (Bid OC): waŋal ŋundaraŋa ask for a boomerang.

- cf. ŋundara-.

ŋundul N long (Bid RH).

ŋunturu (ŋunduru) INTERPR PRON

(6.29–30; 9.25; 12.9).

ŋunu DEM PRON (9.23–24).

ŋura N POSS ŋuraŋu ? dog (Gun, Bid). - cf. ŋuram, ŋuran.

ŋura ŋura N rainbow (Bid OC).

- cf. ŋuranbaŋa.

ŋuram N ALL ŋuramgu dog (Gun TC, QL): ŋuramgu ŋagu a bone for the dog. - cf. ŋura, ŋuran.

ŋuran N ERG ŋurandu; ALL ŋurangu
dog (Gun, Bid, Mar): ŋuran gadi (changed) into a dog (Gun TC).

ŋuranbāra (-bāra ?) N rainbow
(Bid OC). - cf. ŋura ŋura, muraŋara.

ŋūra N shadow (Bid RH): ŋūra
nagalina seeing one's shadow.

ŋurun N (6.17 (2)) emu (Gun):

ŋurun gabuŋ emu egg (Gun TC).

- ila COM SFX (6.6; 9.6; 12.3).
jabagu REL over there (Gun, Bid).

- cf. abagu.
jabagundu REL over there (Gun TC).
jabangu DEM PRON (6.28; 9.24).
jabar N a big pigeon (Gun TC).
jabar, v. jabubila.
jabula (jiliba, Bid AC, jabula, Gun QL) N one's father (Gun, Bid): jabula jaqaila nula gurbala he came with his father and mother (Gun TC). - cf. jabu.
jabulabai N having one's father, with one's father (Gun TC): nula gurbala jabulabai he came with his father. - cf. jabuila.
jabula, v. jabula.
jabulu N one's father (Mar MC): jabulu garla my father (has) died, jinda jubulu your father. - cf. jabu.
jaburi- (jaguri-) V jaburiya; jaquriya; juburiya forget, lose (Gun TC): gaq a maq a jaburiya don't forget.
jadi- V ITR IPF jadina, jadina laugh (Gun, Bid).
jagal N cold, winter (Gun, Bid, Mar): gamu jagal cold water (Bid RH), Ṽaja, jinda jagal I am cold, you are cold (Mar MC).
jagalbalai N cold, winter (Bid RH; = jagal).

jaguri-, v. jaguri-.
jaña N mother (Gun, Bid, Mar): jaña waq du mother come (Bid OC).

jañaila N one's mother (Gun, Bid, Mar): jañaila gari my mother is dead (Mar MC), jañaila gulbaj the mother emu (Bid RH). - cf. jaña.

jaña- V TR INT jañgalgu look for (something; Gun TC, TB).

jañara jañara N many (used for higher numerals than 'two'; Gun TC).

jala¹ N a lie (Gun LM; originally from Wakka-Wakka?).

jala² N yellow (from English? Gun NM): jala maça my hand is yellow (i.e. 'I am not a full blood').
jalaburu N black swan (Bid AC).
jalga N way, road (Bid OC, RH).

jama- V TR jama; jamaña, jamana; jamala; jamalgu make, do (Gun, Bid, Mar): jinda jama you make (it; Mar MC), gar a jama jinda don't you do it (Bid AC), (madir) buɾi Ṽaja jamaña or jamana I am making a fire, lighting a fire with a match (Gun TC, EA), mada Ṽaja buɾi jamaña I am trying to make a fire (Gun TC), Ṽalibu buɾi jamana we two are making a fire (Mar MC), marindu jamala (Gun TC), maringa jamala (Bid SK) the man (has) made it, gani jinda jamala what have you done? (Bid OC), bandaragaingu nanti jamala (= baɾamała) God has made the earth (Bid RH), Ṽanduru waŋal jamala who (has) made the boomerang? (Bid AC).
jamalgara- V PF jamalarala be busy making or doing (Gun TC). -cf. jama-.

jamali- V REFL PF jamalila make or do for oneself (Bid OC): ŋaja ŋargina jamalila I have washed (myself). -cf. jama-.

jamba N ALL jambagu camp, home, house, nest, station, hospital, the earth, etc. (Gun, Bid, Mar): jamba gudalagu a hawk's nest (Gun TC), jamba muningu a spider's nest or web (Gun TC), manda jambagu go home (Gun ML), jambagu ŋali bindala we used to live at the camp or at home (Gun TC), jambagu wunal (while) lying in hospital (Bid RH).

janda N leaf, tea leaf (Bid AC): bagan ju janda danana the leaves of the tree.

jandi N waist or waistband (Gun TC).

janga-, jangi- v. jangi-

jangil gabal N bad, naughty (of a child; Bid OC): gandu jangil gabal a bad, cheeky or mischievous boy. -cf. jangi-

jangu- (jangi-, janga-) V ITR IMP janda; IPP janguna; PF jangula, jandila; INT jangulgu, jangilgu; ACC jangil go (away), fly (of a bird; Bid RH): jinda janga you go away, winderu bandaragu jandila the bird flew up.

janga N young (man; Bid OC): marinya janga a young man, marinya jangaru when (I was) a young man. -cf. Wirri nanga (26).

jaraman N (6.17 (2)) horse (Gun, Bid, Mar): jaraman bindana riding on horseback (Gun TC).

jaramanbari N riding ('having a horse'; Gun TC). -cf. jaraman.

jaramburu REL across (Bid OC): jalga jaramburu across the road.

jaramunu REL across, from over there (Bid OC): jaramunu jinda burba you come over here.

jaraŋ N beard (Gun QL, Bid, Mar).

jaraŋbari (-bai) N bearded (Bid RH): nula jaraŋbari (-bai) he has a beard. -cf. jaraŋ.

jarga1 N ALL jargagu wind (Gun, Bid, Mar): jarga mandana (Gun EA), burbana or buguna (Bid RH), burbala or gurbala (Bid AC) the wind is blowing, jarga waŋana wugu the wind is blowing this way (Bid RH), jarga mundu away from the wind (Gun TC), jargagu bindana sitting in the wind (Bid RH).

jarga2 REL across (Bid RH).

jarun N bones (Bid RH, AC). -cf. ŋagu (Gun).

jarban N ALL jarbangu sacred place, sacred being (inside it), spirit (man, animal or bird), ghost (Gun TC): jarban jamba sacred place, junji jarban sacred cave, juri jarban sacred animal, jarban jila bindana something sacred is inside, ŋaǰa jinda waga jarbangu don't you climb up to the sacred place, jarbangu jamba spirit home.  

jau REL yes (Gun BT).

jiba- V jiba; jibana; jibalgu wait (Bid OC, RH): jinda jiba you wait, ŋaǰa jiba ŋaŋuna don't wait for me.

jibala, v. jubala.

jibigu N REL ? he is drunk or in for a drink (Gun TB).

jibu N wet (Bid RH): wudun jibu wet grass or grass is wet.

jida-1 V ITR jidana; jidala live stay (Gun TC): jidala (the possum) stayed ('we could not catch him').
jidà-\(^2\) \*V \*TR \*PF\* jidala leave (Bid AC): jamba jidala left the camp.

jidà-\(^3\) \*V \*jidaŋa; jidala dream (Gun TC): bigiringa jidaŋa jununa dreaming about you, bigiringa jidala (= bigiringa nagala) dreamed ('saw in a dream').

jidi- \*V \*ITR \*IMP\* jidija; \*IPF\* jidiŋa be afraid (Gun LM): gaŋa jinda jidija don't you be afraid

jigana \*REL\* over there (Gun EA): ŋunduru jaba jamba jigana whose (or 'which?') is that camp over there?

jila \*REL\* inside (Gun TC): jila bindana sitting (being) inside, jila jidana lives inside.

jilagundu \*REL\* that way (Gun TC): ḥaja jilagundu mandaŋa I am coming back that way.

jilagurĩŋ \*REL\* this way (Gun TC).

jilaŋa \*REL\* here (Gun TC): ŋunturu jilaŋa who is here?

jilangu \*REL\* here (Gun TC): jilangu ŋula that one here, wiɗu ŋula jilangu gurbala the white man has come here.

jilabari \*N\* being in a hurry, anxious (Gun TC): gaŋa ḥaja jilalbari I am not in a hurry or longing to go.

jilamundu \*REL\* from in there (Gun TC). -cf. jila.

jilangu \*REL\* here or there (Gun TC).

jilalaŋu \*REL\* right here (Gun TC).

jilalru \*REL\* tomorrow (Bid RH).

jilu \*DEM PRON\* (6.27-28).

jilugu \*REL\* in there (direction; Gun TC).

jilungu \*DEM PRON\* (6.28).

jiluna \*DEM PRON\* (6.28).

jilungu \*DEM PRON\* (6.28).

jilumundu \*REL\* from here or there (Gun TC): maŋala jilumundu got from there or from this one.

jimba- (jumba-) \*V \*TR \*IMP\* jimba, jimbaja; \*IPF\* jimbaŋa, jimbana; \*PF\* jimbalu, jimbala; \*INT\* jimbalugu hear, listen, understand, obey, think (Gun, Bid): jinda ŋaŋuna jimba (Bid OC), jimbaja (Gun TC) du you hear or listen to me, ḥaja nunuŋa jimbaŋa I can hear him Gun TC), barbaŋ jimbana hearing a noise (Bid OC), gaŋa ŋaŋuna jimbana (the horses) do not obey me (Gun TB), ḥaja jimbana I am thinking (Bid RH), wubiŋ jinda jimbala you have heard the whistle (Bid OC), ḥaja gaŋa jimbalugu I do not understand (Bid RH).

jimbala, v. jubala.

jimbalĩ- \*V \*ITR \*IPF\* jimbalina sound, be heard, felt (Bid): bindil bindil or barbaŋ jimbalina a noise is heard (Bid RH, OC), miɽu jimbalina be itching (Bid RH), mambu jimbalina music is heard (Bid RH). -cf. jimba-.

jimbalma- \*V \*CAUS \*IPF\* jimbalmaŋa let hear (Gun TC). -cf. jimba-.

jimbama- \*V \*ASS \*IPF\* jimbamaŋa listen to (Bid OC): jinda ŋaŋuna jimbamaŋa you listen to me. -cf. jimba-.

jimbami- \*V \*REC \*IMP\* jimbami, jimbamaŋa; \*IPF\* jimbamina listen to one another (Gun LM, Bid): bularu jimbami let them (two) hear each other (Gun LM), jibala jimbamina you two listen to each other (imperative; Bid OC), manaŋa jimbamina listening to one another (Gun LM), bularu jimbamina two listen to one another (Bid OC). -cf. jimba-.

jina \*DEM PRON\* (6.27-28; 9.23-24).

jina- \*V \*ITR \*IPF\* jinaŋa; \*ACC\* jinalaja sit, be (Gun LM, TC): ḥaja giŋu gamba jinalaja when I was a child (little girl; Gun TC).
ji naŋa REL over there (Gun TC).

jinana DEM PRON (6.28; 9.24).

jinanagu REL over this way (Gun TC).

jinda PERS PRON (6.20, 22; 9.19-20; 12.8).

jindagu REL here (Mar MC): jindagu bindana sitting here.

jindan'gu REL here (Bid RH): jindan'gu binda sit here.

jinda REL where? (Gun LM, Bid):

jinda ju nu gundi where is your house? (Gun LM), jinda ŋaja warala where was I born? (Bid OC), jinda jinda bindana where do you live? (Bid OC), jinda waŋala went where? (Bid RH). —cf. jingia (Gun).

jindiagu REL where? whither? (Bid):

jindi(j)agu jinda waŋana or waŋalgu where are you going? (Bid RH, OC), jindijagu jinda wunana how long will you stay? (Bid RH). —cf. jingiandu (Gun).

jindiamundu REL from where? whence? (Bid):

jindiamundu jinda burbala where do you come from? (Bid OC), jindiamundu jinda wugu waŋalgu from where are you to come here? (Bid RH). —cf. jingiandu (Gun).

jingia (dia) REL where? (Gun, Bid RH): jingia jinda (gundu) mandana where are you going? (Gun TC), jingia gaŋa I wonder where? (Gun TC), jingia nula where is he? (Bid RH). —cf. jindia (Bid).

jingiagu REL where? whither? (Gun, Bid RH): jingiagu jinda mandaŋa where are you going? (Gun TC), jingiagu waŋalgu where is (he) going? (Bid RH), jingiagu nani where is that? (Gun TC). —cf. jindia (Bid).

jingiandu REL from where? whence? (Gun TC). —cf. jindiamundu (Bid).

jingana REL where? (Gun EA):

jingana jinda mandalgu where are you going? jingana jinda bindana where do you live?

jini REL over there (Gun TC): ŋura jini barila a dog howled over there.

jirga REL in a hurry (Bid OC):

jirga waŋa hurry, ŋaja jirga waŋalgu I must hurry.

jira N teeth (Gun, Bid, Mar).

jualrai N the name of a language, Jualrai (‘Yualeai’, Mathews 1902, p.137; spoken at Goondiwindi and St George, according to Gun TC).

juama- V CAUS PF juamała chase (Gun TC): juamała mada tried to chase (the cattle). —cf. Gangulu (B) jua- (see 26).

jubala PERS PRON (6.20, 22; 9.19-20; 12.8).

jubala ŋunda PERS PRON (6.23).

jubalu PERS PRON (6.20, 22).

juga- V TR (6.38; 9.32; 12.10) eat, drink (Gun, Bid, Mar): jinda juga juri you eat meat (Bid OC), jungena manta eating bread (Gun TC), juri jugana eating meat (Bid OC), jurun jugala (a dog) eating a bone (Bid AC), ŋaja manta, gamu jugalgu I want to eat bread (or 'bread to eat'), drink water (Gun TC), ŋaja gamu junaŋaja when I had drunk water (Gun TC).

jugali- V ITR jugalina; jugalila; jugalilgu eat (Gun, Bid):

jugalila du ŋana jilangu we also ate there (Gun TC). —cf. juga-.

jugan N cloud(s), appearance of rain, rain (Gun, Bid): jugan badila it rained (Gun TC), jugan buŋana it looked like rain (Gun TC), jugan (or gamu) banbulu it rained (Gun TC, EA), jugan darinjara cloud (Gun EA).
jugu REL here (Bid): jugu wağa come here (Bid OC), naga jugu look here (Bid OC), jugu danana standing here (Bid RH).
jugungla N looking glass, mirror (Bid OC). —cf. gilaru.
juña- DEM PRON (6.27-28).
julăngu (julăngu) REL here, there (Gun TC).
julga N ALL julgagu hole (Bid OC): julgagu waarala fell into a hole.
julgu N heart (Gun, Bid).

julu (jilu) REL here, this way, today (Gun, Bid): (nall) julu bindana (we) are sitting here (Bid OC, RH), julu burbala or gurbala has come here (Bid OC), wunana julu lives here (Bid OC), julu bindana (I am) sitting up today (Bid OC). —cf. julugu.

julu- DEM PRON (6.27-28).
julugarĩ, julugarĩn REL to the near side (Gun TC).
julugu REL here, hither (Bid RH): julugu burbala, bindana coming, sitting here. —cf. julu.

julunu REL here (Bid AC): julunu danana, gurbala standing, came here. —cf. julu.
julumundu REL from here, hence (Bid OC, RH): julumundu wağa go from here, julumundu ṇaja wağana I am going from here. —cf. julu.

julun REL here (Gun, Bid): nula julun burbala he has come here (Bid AC), julun ba here we go (Gun TC). —cf. julu.

juluna REL (6.28).
julundaru REL julundaru jamba (she) is from here (Bid OC).

juluugu (juluugu) REL here (Gun LM).

jumba-, v. jimba-.

juna¹ N ALL junaugu hole (in the earth, etc.: Gun, Bid). —cf. juna².

juna² N REL POST (9.18) ALL junaugu inside, in, into (Gun, Bid): juna bindana sitting inside (Bid OC), bulgu junaugu into the hole (Gun TC). —cf. juna¹.

junabari (-bai) N hollow, hollow tree (Gun, Bid): junabai dulgaɾa hollow log (Gun TC): junabai is also the name of Augathella (Bid OC). —cf. juna¹,².

junalma- V CAUS IMP junalmaja empty (Gun TC). —cf. juna¹.

junama- V CAUS IPP junamaŋa make a hole (Gun TC). —cf. juna¹.

junan N empty (Gun TC): baŋgu junan a cave. —cf. juna¹.

juṇgi N little spirit (Gun BT), ghost (Mar MC).

junu DEM PRON (9.23-24).

jura PERS PRON (6.20, 22; 9.19-20; 12.8).

juram N whisky (Gun EA).

jurama N beer (Mar JD).

juramu N rum, liquor (Bid OC).

jurul N red gum tree (Bid OC).

jurun N LOC jurunda way, track road (Gun TC): jurun garĩn on the road.

jurı N ERG jurigu; ALL jurigu 1. meat, game; 2. animal (Gun, Bid, Mar): jurigu to eat meat (Bid RH), jurı madu (sick) from meat (Bid OC), jurı namun beef broth (Gun TC), jurı waja wallaby meat (Bid OC), jurı jaɾbaŋ a sacred animal (Gun TC).

juɾibari N having meat, with meat (Gun TC).

jurigara N without meat (Gun TC).

-la N DER suffix (6.6; 9.6)

-lgara- V DER suffix or auxiliary; (6.35).
-li- V DER SFX (6.10; 9.10; 12.5).

-lma- V DER SFX (6.8; 9.8).

-lu N DER SFX (12.3).

-ma- V DER SFX (6.8; 9.8).

mada REL try to (Gun TC, TB):
guju ŋaŋa mada badamala I tried
to catch fish, mada ŋaŋa buŋi
jamāŋa I try to make a fire,
juamala mada tried to chase
(the cattle), ŋaŋa mada gura
waridanalaja (standing) think-
ing to try (to find the way)
back home, ŋaŋa mada gee (di·)
ŋalgamala I tried to talk to
(the horses) or to say 'gee (up)'
to them.

mada N big boss or owner (Gun TC):
wīdu mada white master, the
manager (on a settlement), mada
ŋula mjaŋu he (was) the owner
of the corroboree (from English
'master').

madaŋara N ERG madaŋarangu
lightning (Bid OC, RH):
madaŋarangu baga gunila the
lightning struck the tree.

madan N small sticking burrs
('bindieyes'), prickly grass
('goat's head'), spine (Gun TC,
EA): madan gadi like spines or
prickles.

madan madan N prickles (Gun TC):
madan madan gadi gulīra (baralä)
the spears became prickles (on
the porcupine's back). —cf.
madan.

madigan N boss (Mar MC).

madir N (6.17 (3)) match, matches
(Gun TC, EA; = buŋi).

maŋali- V ITR IMP maŋali play,
'hack' (probably 'move boomerangs
or singing sticks up and down to
mark rhythm while playing or
singing'; Gun LM).

maga- V TR IMP maga; IPF 
magaŋa tie a knot (Gun TC): jinda 
maŋa jiluna gulgun you tie a knot on
this string.

magal N old, dry bread (Gun TC).

magali- V REFL IPF magalina
tie a knot for oneself (Gun TC).

magira N white paint (Gun, Bid):
magira namba paint (Bid OC).

maŋa N LOC maŋanga ear (Gun,
Bid, Mar): maŋa jimbana hearing
or listening (Gun LM), ḡalinda
maŋa jimbamina we two are
listening to each other (Gun LM),
garag mana jagurija don't forget
(Gun TC), maŋa gudu (Gun TC),
maŋa guda (Bid OC), maŋa mugal,
maŋa wamba (Bid RH) hard of
hearing, deaf.

maŋabari N having ears (Gun TC):
ŋadu maŋabari my poor ear or
you pulled or hurt my ear.

maŋabinda N the name of a place
(said to mean 'thinking of home';
Gun TC). —cf. maŋabinda-.

maŋabinda- V ITR IPF maŋabindaŋa
think of home (Gun TC).

maŋadana- V ITR IPF maŋadanaŋa
listen (Gun TC).

maŋala N sand (Bid RH).

maŋaŋ N young girl (Bid SK).

mangi maŋi N sheep, lamb (Gun TC).
—cf. dimba.

maŋulaŋ N yellow sand goanna
(Gun BT), small goanna (Bid AC).

maji N fruit (e.g. bananas; Bid
RH), bread (= manda; Bid AC).

malar (-r?) N box tree (Gun TC,
Bid OC).

malga N a lot (e.g. of fish; Gun
TC, TB). —cf. malgalu.

malgaŋa N big, thick, important
(Gun TC): ɲura malgaŋa as big
as a dog (Gun LM). —cf. malga,
malgalu.
malgalu $N$ a 'mob' (Bid OC); gambi
malgalu a mob of women. –cf. malga, malgaña.

malu $N$ shade, shadow (Gun TC).

mambu $N$ corroboree song (Bid OC, RH). –cf. miğa (Gun).

mamigan $N$ old woman (Gun TC, EA).

mana $V$ TR PRON (6.27-28).

mana- $V$ TR IMP mana take, get (Gun TC). –cf. manda- dob, mana-.

managu REL dilala jamba managu to Dillalah (station; Gun TC). –cf. mana.

manandu REL from there (Gun TC): jamba manandu from that camp (= jamba mundu; Gun TC). –cf. mana, managu.

manda, v. manta.

manda-1 $V$ ITR manda, mandaja;
mandaña, mandana, mandara;
mandala; mandalgu; ACC
mandanja, mandalaja walk, go,
come (Gun): gundu manda or
mandaña go home (Gun ML), gugu
jinda mandaja you come here
(Gun TB), barangu mandanja going
to the river (Gun TB), ġara naja
mandaña I cannot walk (Gun EA),
gugu mandala came here (Gun LM),
gundu mandala gone (Gun LM),
gundu naja mandalgu I have to
go now (Gun EA), gura mandalgu
to come back (Gun EA), gura
mandaña when (I) come back
(Gun TC).

manda-2 $V$ TR IMP mandaja; INT
mandalgu fetch, catch (fish;
Gun EA, TB): gamu jinda mandaja you fetch the water (Gun EA).
–cf. mana-.

mandala $N$ full after eating (Bid
OC = manda wagala).

mandali- $V$ ITR IMP mandali; IPP
mandalina walk, go about (Gun
TC, EA): mandali ba walk about
then, mandalina gambilguran
going round about (Gun TC).
–cf. manda-1.

mandi- $V$ TR mandia; mandina;
mandila; mandilgu bring, take
(back; Gun TC): mandia you can
take it back, nula gura mandila
manda he brought back the bread.
–cf. manda-2.

manduji (mandui) $N$ shoes, boots
(Gun TC). –cf. manduri.

manduji.

manda- $V$ TR IMP mandaja;
PF
mandaña call (Gun TC): ġara
mandaña don't call (me), nula
naguna mandala he called me.

mangar $N$ basket (Gun TC). –cf.
bugu.

manmara $N$ ghost (Gun QL).

manrau $N$ wood duck (Gun TC, EA).

manta (manda) $N$ tucker, damper,
bread, full (Gun, Bid, Mar):
jugana manta gandunu the children
eat bread (Gun EA), manta naja
I have eaten (bread; Bid OC),
ľaga manda (wagala) I am full
(after eating; Bid OC), manta
jugalgu bread to eat (Gun EA).

mantabari $N$ having bread, with
bread (Gun TC). –cf. manta.

mantagarba $N$ without bread (Gun TC).

marä $N$ young girl (Gun LM): mara
bağa bağa young woman.

marami- $V$ REC IPP maramina; PF
maramila marry (Bid RH): nuna
maramina, maramila he is going
to marry, is married, maramina
wedding (from English 'marry'?).

margala¹ $N$ native (yellow ?) bee
(Bid, Mar).

margala² $N$ plenty (Bid OC). –cf.
malgalu.

margan $N$ goanna (Mar MC).

mariga $N$ all right (Gun TC, TB):
jinda mariga you are all right.

marä $N$ hand, fingers (Gun, Bid,
Mar). –cf. mara-.
mara- V TR mara, maraja; maraŋa; marala; maralgulu take, get (Gun, Bid): mara du take it (off the floor; Bid RH), garajinda maraja don't you take (the eggs; Gun TC, jinda maraja jurī you want meat? (Gun TC), nula bangu marīgunda marala he took money from the man (Bid RH), jinda nungunamarlulu you (have to) get or take him (Bid RH). - cf. manda- 2.

margan N the name of a language, Marganj, the 'Warrego river language' (Gun, Mar).

margins N gun (Bid RH; cf. the Wakka-Wakka margin, idem, see Part I, 12).

marī N ERG marīŋu; POSS marīŋu (?); ALL marīgu man, Aboriginal man, blackfellow (Gun, Bid, Mar): marī wiŋa lot of men (Bid RH), marīŋu durgu man's head (Gun LM); (ART) marīn, marindu (some) men (Bid RH, Mar MC). - cf. marīn.

marīgarba N empty of people (Bid OC). - cf. marī.

marī marī N boy, son, little dark child (Gun, Bid, Mar): gandu marī marī boy (Gun TC), son (Gun TC, Bid OC, RH, AC). - cf. marī.

marīn N ERG marindu; ALL marīŋu Aboriginal man, (dark) man, people (Gun, Bid): marīn gadi like a man (Gun TC); (ART) marindu mob of men (Bid RH), people (Bid OC). - cf. marī.

marīnbari N having a man or people (Bid OC): bigi nagala marīnbari I dreamed about an old man. - cf. marīn.

marīngarba N having no people, without people (Bid OC, RH): jamba marīngarba a deserted camp (Bid OC).

marīngi N an Aboriginal (Bid RH): jinda marīngi bigara you are a Bidjara, speak Bidjara. - cf. marīn, marīngi.

maringi- V ITR IMP maringi; IPF maringiŋa speak an Aboriginal language or Bidjara (Bid RH). - cf. marīn, marīngi.

marīn N dangu marīn weak head ('crazy, mad'; Mar DF, JD).

-mi- V DER SFX (6.11; 9.11; 12.5).

-mia- V DER SFX (6.11).

mian N a nickname of a person (Bid AC).

mida mida N charcoal (Gun TC).

mida mida N black or blue (Bid OC, RH): mida mida wuba a blue flower (Bid RH).

midar N fog (Bid RH).

midar N good, nice (Bid RH).

miga N ALL migagu corroboree, (corroboree) song (Gun TC): migagu waralgu to start a corroboree, miga bandalina singing. - cf. mambu (Bid).

migaj N good, well, right, straight, proper, nice, pretty, tasty (Gun, Bid): garajinda migaj bad (Gun LM), ńaja migaj as good as I (Gun LM), migaj jinda bindaja you sit properly (Gun EA), gamubari mandala migaj walking straight or properly (although) drunk (Gun TC), migaj barajala (God) created ('made well'; Gun TC), (the doctor) made (me) all right, cured (me; Bid RH), jamba migaj a nice place (Bid RH), gundi migaj a good house (Bid RH), jinda migaj are you all right? (Bid RH), jinda wajaran ńaju (migaj) barajala you make me a boomerang (Bid RH).

migulu N white man (Gun QL).

mila mila N poor (Gun TC): mila mila jinda you are a poor beggar.

miligaj N face (Mar MP).

miligana N (cow's) milk (Gun TC). - cf. miligina

miligana N milk (Bid AC). - cf. miligana.
mi Igi ri N summer (Bid RH); ice, frost (Bid OC; correct?).

migiribai N summer (Bid RH).
- cf. migirl.

mimuru N fly, flies (Bid OC).

mindi N chest, heart (Bid OC, RH); mindi bungana heart or chest aching (Bid RH).

mindi banbu (bambu) N ALL mindi bambugu emu (? Gun: Kab DC); also a nickname.

minguma- V TR PF minjumala; INT mingumalgu visit (Gun TC, TB): (nali gurbala) jununa mingumalgu, jamba naga mingumalgu (we came) to visit you, to see my home.

mingundaida N the name of a station (Bid AC), an Aboriginal personal name (Bid OC).


mira N REL ABL mirandu; ALL miragu top, high, above, up high (Gun TC): mira danana stands high, danala mira stood up or out (hair, prickles, spears; Gun TC), mira wadana goes up, mira bandaraugu above in heaven, mira baga top of a tree, mira(gu) wagaja climb up.
- cf. miramundu.

miramundu REL from above (Gun TC).
- cf. mira.

mirandu REL from above, down (Gun TC): mirandu nula gura gurbala he has come back down.
- cf. mira.

mir mir N mate(s) (Gun TC): mir mir bula they or the two were mates (from English 'mate').

mi rili- V ITR IPF mi rilina shine (Gun, Bid): du ru mi ri li na the sun is shining (Bid RH). - cf. mi ri mi ri.

mi ri mi ri N shining, polished (Bid OC): wagle naga mii mi ri ba rama na I am polishing the boomerang.

mirin N kind of gum tree used as timber (Bid OC).

miru N 1. nail(s) (Bid AC); 2. itch (Bid RH).

muga, v. dili.

mugabaran N blind (Gun EA): dili naga mugabaran I am blind.
- cf. mugal, muga muga1.

mugal, v. dili

muga muga1 N dili muga muga blind (Bid RH).

muga muga2 N old woman (Bid SK).
- cf. mugaran.

mugar (?) N LOC mugara old deserted camp (Bid AC): jamba jurana gau mugara danalaja cows are (standing) grazing on your old camp.

mugara REL tomorrow (Gun TC).
- cf. mugaru.

mugaran N old woman (Gun TC).
- cf. muga muga2, mugin.

mugaru REL tomorrow (morning) (Gun Bid): mugaru naga gurba na I am coming tomorrow (Gun TC), jangilgu mugaru to go tomorrow (Bid RH). - cf. mugara.

mugin N old woman (Gun TC): mira mugin bindana up there (in the mountains) there is (the formation of) a woman. - cf. mugaran.

mugu1 N knee (Gun, Bid, Mar).

mugu2 POST (6.19).

mugu3 v. dili, dina.

mugu rin (mugaran) N old (dark) woman (Gun TC, EA). - cf. mugaran, mugin.

mungu N ALL mungugu hills or mountains (Gun TC).

mula N posterior (Gun BT).

munda1 N snake, any snake, death adder (Gun, Bid, Mar).

munda2 POST (6.22, at the end).
mundanγara N ERG mundaŋaranggu
rainbow (portent of death; Gun BT), bunyip, the Rainbow Serpent
(he is 'a snake with an emu's head', according to some, or 'a big eel that never dies', Mar MC), sea serpent, (water) snake (Gun, Bid, Mar).
mundu POST (6.19; 9.18).
munga, v. mungaba ri.
mungabari N having hair (munga; Gun LM): ḫura mungabari a dog having hair.
munγu N thunder, thunder storm
(the noise; Bid RH, OC).
munin N ALL muningu spider (Gun TC): jamba muningu spider's web.
munma- V ITR INT munmalgu; ACC munmal move, go away (Bid RH): ḫaja munmal I am moving (= 'going away').
munu N lips, mouth (Bid, Mar).  
−cf. mini.
mura N dog (Gun, Bid). −cf. ḫura.
muraŋara N rainbow (Bid OC).  
−cf. mundaŋara.
muraŋgal N nulla-nulla (Gun BT).  
−cf. muru.
murga murga N clever (Gun TB), flying in the air (Gun GD), beautiful (Mar DF).
muru N nulla-nulla (Gun BT, Bid RH); also a nickname. −cf. muraŋgal.
muruwar, N the name of a language
(on the Culgoa river), related to guamu (q.v.; Gun TC).
mura N shadow (Bid RH): ḫadu, jindaŋuru mura my, your shadow.  
−cf. muru.
murbaruŋ (-barin) N tail (of dog, kangaroo, etc.; Bid, Mar): murbaruŋ garabari (a dog) having no tail (Bid RH).
muru N shadow (Bid OC): muru nagalina can see a shadow.  
−cf. mura.
murula N coolibah tree (Gun TC).

Naγa N thing (belonging(s)); Bid RH: ḫandulu naγa ḫadu gundala who has taken my thing?
naγa- (naγa-) V TR (6.38; 9.32) see, look (at) (Gun, Bid, Mar): jinda naγa māri you look at the man (Gun LM), duṛu ḫa nagana I look at the sun (Bid OC), ḫa nagala māri I have seen a man (Gun LM), gabu ḫaganaja if (you) see an egg (Gun TC), nagalaṇa when (I) saw (him; Bid OC), ḫa guru guru nagarir I have seen the mob ('I did not count them'; Gun TC).
nagalgarra- V TR IPF nagalgarraṇa be busy seeing (Gun TC): ḫa nagalgarraṇa jaba I am seeing that (= naγaŋa).
nagalgi- (naγalgi-) V TR ACC nagalginaja look for, find
(Gun TC): ḫa jurun ḫagalinaja (thinking) where I might find the way.
nagali- (naγali-) V REFL nagali; nagalina; nagalila look at oneself or one's own, look at one another, look (like), appear (Gun, Bid, Mar): jinda nagali look at yourself (Gun LM), ḫa jugunγa nagalina I am looking at myself in the mirror (Bid OC), ḫa gu- nagalina gamunγa seeing my image in the water (Gun TC), ḫa gedi nagalina gu- looks like me (in) the face (Gun TC), nagalina a shadow (Bid RH), duṛu nagalina this morning ('the sun appears'; Bid RH), gilaru nagalina looking at oneself in the mirror (Bid OC),
ajaranagalina seeing my own shadow (Bid RH), bularuagalina two are looking at one another (Bid RH; = nagalma), ɲalinda nagalina we two are looking at one another (Bid AC), nula ɲaja nagalina he looks like me (Bid RH), mundanagalina looks like a snake (Bid OC), marị nagalina looks like a blackfellow (Bid AC), ɲana gudu galina looked hard at us (Gun TC). -cf. naga-

nagalma- V CAUS IPF nagalma; PF nagalmala let see, show (Gun, Bid): jinda ɲaguna nagalma you let me see (Bid AC). -cf. naga-

nagama- V ASS CAUS IMP nagama, nagamaja; IPF nagamana; PF nagamala look at, show (Gun, Bid): nagama ɲaguna show me (Gun TC), biraŋulu ɲaguna nagamana God is looking at me (Bid OC), nula nagamala he showed (it to me; Gun TC). -cf. naga-

nagami- V REC IMP nagami, nagamina; IPF nagamina; PF nagamila look at one another (Gun, Bid, Mar): jibala nagami (Gun LM), jibala nagamina (Bid OC), jimbala nagami (Bid RH) you two look at each other, bularu damba nagamina the two are looking at each other (Bid OC). -cf. naga-, nagamia-

nagamia- V REC IPF nagamiana look at each other (Gun TC): nagamiana bula the two are looking at each other. -cf. naga-, nagami-

nagura N the Nogoa river (Gun TC).

nanaŋ N bread (Mar DF): nanaŋ ɲaja jugala I have eaten bread. -cf. ɲamaŋ.

nalga nalgə N cow's horns (Gun TC).

namba- V TR IMP namba smear, paint (Bid OC): jinda ɲaguna magira namba you paint me.

nambali- V REFL IMP nambali, nambalina paint oneself (Bid OC): jibala nambalina you two paint one another. -cf. namba-

nandi, v. nanti.

nani¹ DEM PRON (6.27-28).

nani², v. nanti

nanti (nandi, nani) N LOC nandị(g)a ground, earth, sand, dirt, outside (Gun, Bid, Mar): nanti baɾala became sand (Bid RH). -cf. dandi.

nara REL I wonder (Gun TC): ɲani nara nula nagana I wonder what he is looking at, ɲuntuɾu nara (= gara) I wonder who? -cf. gara.

-ndi- V DER SFX (6.9; 9.9).

-ndila N DER SFX (9.6).

-nil a N DER SFX (9.6).

nimun N fly (Gun TC); (ART) nimudu the flies.

nu· (nu) PERS PRON ? REL ? see 9.20: ɲaguna burbala nu· (he, she ?) came to me (Bid OC). -cf. ɲu·.

-nu ART (6.18; 9.17; 12.7).

nunguli- V IPP nungulina show (Bid AC).

nu·ŋ PERS PRON (9.20).

nunga N bottle tree (Bid AC).

nunu DEM PRON (9.27-28).

nunguŋuŋ REL over there (Gun TC): wądaja nunguŋuŋ go over there.

nuil N bellbird (Bid AC; it has red at the back of its head).

nula PERS PRON (6.20, 22; 9.19-20; 12.8).

numan N skin (Bid AC).

nundur N nose, face (Bid OC, RH). -cf. nuntuɾ.
nuru N dillibag (Bid RH).

numba N spit (Bid RH).

ra N DER SFX (6.5).
ri- V DER SFX (9.9).
rilila N DER SFX (9.6; 12.3).
ru COM SFX (9.15).

waba- V ITR IPF wabaŋa; INT wabalgu hunt (Gun TC, TB): ŋaja gundu wabaŋa I am going hunting (Gun TB), ŋaja mandana wabalgu gungugu I went to hunt to the bush (Gun TC).

wabi N bad temper (Gun TC):
wabigu danala angry.

waburila N one's younger brother (Bid RH): ŋaju waburila my younger brother.

wada N crow (Gun LM, TC, TB).

waðarin (?) N LOC (?) wadaringga old man (Bid OC): mari wadaringga ŋaja guila when I grow old.
—cf. wadurīŋ, waðulaŋ.

wadi-1 V TR IMP wadi; PF wadila take, bring (Bid): jinda gundu wadi you take it away (Bid OC, RH), nununa wadi take him away (Bid OC), jinda jugu wadi you bring it here (of things; BidOC).

wadi-2 V IPF wadina; INT wadilgu want (Bid RH): nula jindaŋuna wadina ŋalgalgu he wants to talk to you, ŋaja bijaga wadilgu I want tobacco (notice use of intentional form). —cf. wangī-.

wadigan N ERG wadigandu white woman, lady, ladies (Gun, Bid, Mar): (ART) wadiganiu some white ladies (Gun TC). —cf. wadin.

wadin N ERG wadindu white woman (Gun, Mar). —cf. wadigan.

wadu- (waðu-) V TR waduja; waduŋa, waduna; wadula put (on), make, cook (Gun, Bid): waduŋa ŋaja jurī I am cooking meat (Gun ML), manta waduna or waduna manta cooking (Gun TC), waduna ŋamaŋ cooking (Bid OC), nula mařindu wadula he, the man, made it (e.g. a boomerang; Gun TC), 芜īŋa wadula we made a fire (Gun TC; = jamala), jurī ŋaŋa wadula we put on or cooked meat (Gun TC), nununa wadula cooked him (the wallaby; Bid OC), 芜īŋa wadula cooked on fire (Bid OC), ŋaja wadumundu (don't call me) while I am cooking ('from (my) cooking'; Gun TC).

wadugan N old woman (Mar MC).

wadulgarara- V ITR PF wadulgarala be busy cooking (Gun TC): ŋali wadulgarala buiringa we two were busy cooking (on fire). —cf. wadu-.

waduma- V TR PF wadumala make (Gun TC): jilaŋu wadumala budaid (we) made potatoes there. —cf. wadu-.


waða- V ITR waða; waðaŋa, waðaŋa; waðala; waðalgu; ACC waðalaŋa walk, go, come (Gun, Bid, Mar): gundu waða go away (Bid RH), ŋaja waða du mother come (Bid OC), waðaŋa ŋaja I am going (Bid AC), gundu waðaŋa going away (Mar MC), gamuŋu waðaŋa going for water or a drink (Mar DP), waðaŋa going (= waðaŋa; Gun TB), gundu waðala went away (Bid RH), wiḍu waðala a white fellow has come (Bid RH),
why have you come? (Mar MC), gundu waqalgu to go for a walk (Bid RH), nja gundu waqalgu we two must go (Bid AC). - cf. wađa-1.

waqan- V ITR IPF waqana na go (Bid RH): duřu waqanana the sun is going (down). - cf. wağa-.

waqari- V ASS IMP waqari; INT waqarilgu go away with, get (Bid): gara jinda waqari don't go away with it (Bid OC), nja waqarilgu I have to get or am going to get those things. - cf. wağa-.

wagu N ALL wağugu scrub, bush (Bid OC).

wađa-1 V ITR wađaja; wađana, wađana; waqalgu; ACC wađanja, waqalaja walk, go, come (Gun TC): jinda naqunda gugu wađaja you come here to me, nja gundu wađana I am going away, mira wađana, baru wađana goes up, down, mańin gugu wađana a man is coming, gujugu wađala went for fish, gura waqalaja when (you) come back, wantan wađanja (wondering) when (we) are going away. - cf. wağa-.

wađali- V ITR IPF wađalina, wađalina walk about, ache (?) (Gun TC, EA): dina nja (or naqunda) wađalina my feet are sore (from walking? Gun EA). - cf. wađa-1.

waqama- V ASS PF waqamala go away without telling (Gun TC): nula gundu waqamala gara naqunda gubala he went away without telling me. - cf. wađa-1.

wağulan N old man (Bid SK). - cf. wağuriŋ.

wağa- V ITR waga, wagaŋa; wagaña, wagaña; wagała; waqalgu; ACC wağa, waqalaja climb, rise (e.g. the sun or a storm), boil, run play (Gun, Bid): gara (jinda) wağa(ja) don't (you) climb (Gun TC), mira(gu) wağaja climb (Gun TC), nja baga waqana I am climbing a tree (Bid OC), gamu waqana the water begins to boil (Bid OC), duřu waqana the sun is coming up, rising or sunrise, at sunrise (Bid AC), gandunu waqana some children are playing (Gun TC), gargaŋ waqana gambling (Gun TC), gamu waqala the water is boiling (Bid OC, RH), baru, gamu waqala mira the river has risen, is flooded (Gun TC), manda waqala full (after eating; Bid OC).

wagal N eel (Gun TC).

wagali- V ITR IPF wagalina run (Gun, Bid): gamu wagalina water running (Gun TC), gamu wagalina dandi mundu a spring (Gun TC). - cf. wağa-.

wagalma- V CAUS IMP wagalma; IPF wagalmana raise (up), lift, boil (Bid): jinda wagalma you raise (him) up (Bid OC), gamu jinda wagalma you boil the water (Bid RH). - cf. wağa-.

wagandi- V ASS wagandi(j)a; wagandiŋa, wagandiŋa; wagandiľa; wagandiľgu run away with, run away, run (Gun TC): gara jinda wagandi(j)a don't you run away (with it), jinda wagandia you run (i.e. 'you come on the train', explaining associative form: 'on it, by it'), jurigu gura wagandi-(to) run back for meat, bangu gundu wagandila he ran away with the money. - cf. wağa-, wagandi-.

wagani- V ASS ITR IMP wagania; IPF waganinga; PF wagania run away with, run away (Gun, Bid): nula money waganinga gundu he is running away with the money (Bid AC). - cf. wağa-, wagandi-.

wagan1 N catfish (Bid JL). - cf. wagan.

wagan2 V N rising of the sun (Gun TC): wağaŋ guniŋ toward the east. - cf. waga-, duřu.
wagarima- V CAUS PF wagarimala
make run (Bid OC); naja wagarimala
I made (him) run. – cf. waga-, wagani-.
waga waga N the name of a language,
Wakka-Wakka (Bid RH).
wagun N fish (Gun NM). – cf. wagan
wanjal N ERG wajaran boomerang
(Gun, Bid, Mar): nụnụna wajaran
gudala hit him with a boomerang
(Bid OC).
wanjan wanjan N silly (Bid OC; =
wamba, q.v.).
wanjan N Clermont (Bid RH).
wangara N one, a single (one),
alone (Gun, Bid, Mar): wangara
manda, mafi one snake, man
(Bid OC), mambu, gandu wangara
one corroboree (song), one child
(Bid OC).
wangun N LOC wangunga right,
right hand (Gun TC): mugir du
wanga on the right-hand (side) of
the woman, wangunga on or to
the right.
waği waği N mad (Gun LM), deaf
(Bid RH); possibly Wakka-Wakka.
waja N wallaby (Bun, Bid, Mar).
waja- V TR IMP waja pass (Gun
TC): bulajar naja wağa pass
me the plate.
waği N REL thinking (Bid OC):
naja nụnụna wagi bindana I am
(sitting) thinking about him,
waği nają, jinda bindana I, you
have been thinking (of him),
nụnụna naja wagi bindana I am
thinking of him. – cf. waği, wařbinda-.
waği- V ITR PF wajilića,
wağița; PF wajilića; ACC
wağićilinaj a roll (Gun TC):
jinda wağićilinaja nandina you
are rolling on the ground, wačilinaja
(a train) puffing or rolling
along.
waği-limaj a V CAUS IMP wağiľimaja
roll (something; Gun TC). – cf.
waği-.
walu N ear (Bid OC, = manja; rather
a Gangulu word).
wamba N 1. silly, mad; 2. deaf
(Gun, Bid, Mar): nula wamba
barala he (has) got mad (Bid RH),
wamba nula he is silly (Bid OC),
manda naja wamba I am deaf (Gun
EA), nula manja wamba he is deaf
(Bid RH). – cf. wamba-.
wamba- V ITR PF wambala get lost
(e.g. in the bush), lose one's
mind, get silly (Bid RH): wağugu
nula wambala he got lost in the
bush. – cf. wamba.
wambalma- V CAUS PF wambalma
lose (Bid RH): naji wambalma
lost something. – cf. wamba-.
wambama- V CAUS PF wambamala
make mad (Gun TC): bangun
wambamala (this) made (them)
mad or like animals. – cf. wamba-.
wamban N baby, kid (Gun): wamban
gamba little baby (girl; Gun TC).
– cf. wamba.
wambana- V ITR IPF wambanana;
PF wambanala get silly (Bid OC).
– cf. wamba-.
wambandi- V ITR PF wambandila
go mad, get silly (Gun TC):
wambandila du bangun (they) got
mad or silly in their heads.
– cf. wamba-.
wambani- V ITR wambanina; wambanila;
wambanilgu go astray, lose the
way, get silly (Gun): dungi
wambanina silly (Gun EA),
wambanina going silly (Gun TC),
a baby (Gun EA). – cf. wamba-.
wamba wamba N mad, real mad,
mischievous (Gun, Bid): nula
wamba wamba he is mad (Bid RH).
– cf. wamba.
wambi N ALL wambigu (probably)
the name or nickname of an
Aboriginal woman (Gun EA).
wanda REL where? (Gun TC): wanda ɲaįa jurun ɲagalginja where I might find the way (home).

wanda-1 V TR wanda, wandaja; wandaŋa; walalal; wandalgu leave, put, pass, go away (from English 'to leave: = 'to go'; Gun, Bid): wanda(ja) leave it (Gun TC), put it (into the bag; Bid RH), ɲaja wandaŋa I am leaving (Gun TC), bidalgu wandala put (it) on the floor (Bid RH), nula wandala he is gone (Bid RH), gundu wandala (the money) is gone (Bid RH).

wanda-2 V TR IPP wandana shine on (?): duɾuŋgu ɲaŋuna wandana the sun is shining on me (Bid OC).

wandali- V REPL ITR IMP wandali leave, desert (one's own; Bid OC): ɲaŋa jinda wandali don't desert (the camp). -cf. wanda-1.

wandį N dingo or fox (Gun, Bid). -cf. wanti.

wandį-1 V TR IMP wanda; PF wandila leave (Bid OC): ɲaŋa jinda wandila jamba don't you leave the camp, ɲaja jamba wandila or wandila jamba I left the camp or my home, jinda wandila leave it alone. -cf. wanda-1.

wandila N God (Bid AC).

wandima- V CAUS IPP wandimana like (Bid RH): ɲaŋa ɲaŋa wandimana I do not like it (possibly from English 'want'). -cf. wandi-, wadi-2.

waga N REL well, all right (Bid): waγa ɲaŋa barana, barala I am getting all right, got well (Bid OC, RH), waga barama- (to) cure (Bid OC).

wangalma- V CAUS PF wangalmala cure (Bid RH): widuŋgu nuna waγalmala the white man (or doctor) cured him. -cf. waga.

wandi- V TR IPP wandina want (Bid RH; probably from English 'want'). -cf. wadi-2, wandima-.

wanga N bad, no good (Bid OC, RH): guga wanga a bad house (Bid OC).

wanga N chest (Gun TC, TB).

waniŋ N possum (Mar MC).

wantan (wandan) REL when? some time (Gun): wantan jinda ganala when did you come back? (Gun TC), wandaŋ jinda waγana when are you going? (Gun TC), wandaŋ jinda gundu waγana when you went away (sic; Gun EA).

wanti N dingo (Mar MC; perhaps not a Manganj word). -cf. wandi.

wanmariya, wanmariyan, wanmeriğan N white woman (Bid RH).

wanmerigang N ALL wanmerigangu white woman (Mar MC).

wara- V ITR waraja; waraŋa, warana; warala; waralgu play, dance, sing, put on a corroboree, gamble (Gun, Bid): gandumu warana some children are playing (Gun TC, Bid RH), mambu warana (warana) corroboree singing (Bid AC), bulu miga waralgu the two wanted to put on or start a corroboree (Gun TC), nalinda mambu waralgu let us (two) sing and dance (Bid OC).

warabinda- V ITR sit gambling. -cf. wara-.

waragan (waragan) N waragandu black crow (Bid OC, AC, Mar MC): waragandu ɲaninda jugana what does the crow eat?

waralı- V ITR IPP waralina play (Gun TC): birin bara waralina playing down on the plain. -cf. wara-. 
waralma- V CAUS waralma;
waralmana; waralmana let fall, drop (Bid OC): gara waralma don't drop it (Bid OC). -cf. wařa-.

warana- V CAUS PF waramala drop (Bid OC): waramala jinda you dropped it. -cf. vara-.

waran N root (Bid RH).

waři- V ITR IPP wařiŋa think, wonder (Gun TC): jinda wařiŋa you are wondering. -cf. wajii-
(Bid).

wařibinda- V ITR IPP waribindaŋa sit thinking (Gun TC): ḥaŋa waribindana wanqalaŋi gundu waḏaŋaŋa I am (sitting) thinking (wondering) when we two are going away. -cf. waři-.

wařidana- V ITR IPP wařidanaŋa, wařidananana; ACC wařidananalaŋa stand thinking or wondering, think (Gun TC).

warilma- V ASS IPP wařilmaŋa think about (Gun TC): ḥaŋa dabunila wařilmaŋa I am thinking of (my) brother. -cf. waři-.

waṛun N tree goanna (Gun BT, Bid AC).

wiŋ N firewood (Gun PH).

wiŋiŋ N a cut, sore (Gun EA, Bid RH): wiŋiŋ maʁaŋa a sore on my hand (Gun EA).

widu N ERG wiŋuŋu; ALL wiŋugu white man, white people (Gun, Bid, Mar): wiŋu mada white master (Gun TC); (ART) wiŋunu (Gun TC), widunu (Bid RH) some white people.

widugi- V ITR IPP widugiŋa speak English or the white man's language (Bid RH).

wilq- V ITR IPP wilqan; INT wilalgu; ACC wilqanaŋa fly (Gun TC, TB): bidurundu wilqana flying round about (Gun TB), wilqanaŋa (? 'looking funny'; Gun TC).

wina N fish (Gun, Bid, Mar).

winçaru (wiŋçaru) N ERG winçarungu; POSS winçarunguŋ? bird (Bid): winçarunguŋ ganqal bird's wing(s) (Bid OC).

winçu- V TR IMP winçu, winçula ask (Gun, Bid).

winguma N question (Bid RH).

winguma- V ASS TR IMP winguma INT wingumalgu ask (of) (Bid RH): jinda ḥaŋuna winguma you ask me, ḥaŋa jindaŋaŋa (jindaŋuna ?) wingumalgu I must ask (of) you. -cf. wingu-.

winçin N flying fox (Bid AC).

winta N any kind of dish, bathtub, etc. (Gun TC).

wiŋçu, v. wiŋçaru.

wiŋbir N perspiration (Gun TC).
wiŋbirbari N perspiring (Gun TC).

wirgi N stick (Gun QL). —cf. wurgi1.

wuba (wu'ba ?) N flower ('pretty-flower'; Bid RH).

wuba wuba N black butterfly (Bid RH).

wubir̈in N whistle (Gun BT, Bid, Mar). —cf. gubir̈in (Gun).

wubir̈in N puppy (Gun TC).

wuburu N stump of tree (Gun TC). —cf. guburu, guburu.

wudaj̈a close (Gun TC): da' wudaj̈a close the door. —cf. guda-.

wudun N grass, a kind of tall grass ('kangaroo grass'; Gun TC), field, land, all the earth (Gun, Bid, Mar).

wuga N plenty, a lot (Bid RB): wina wuga plenty of fish, mari, gambi, wudu wuga a lot of men, women, white people.

wugaba ri (guga-) N big, thick, heavy or hefty, strong, (too) much (Bid): wulur wugabari thick or heavy clothes (Bid RH), mari wugabari a big or hefty man (Bid RH), jarga wugabari a big, strong wind (Bid OC), nilai wugabari talks too much (Bid AC). —cf. wugala.

wugali- ITR PF wugaliņa lie down (Gun TC): wugaliņa = wunana (said to be guamu, q.v.; Gun TC). —cf. wuga.

wugumundu REL from here (Bid RH). —cf. wugula.

wuŋ1 REL asleep (Bid RH): wuŋa wunana is asleep. —cf. wuga, wuŋara.

wuŋa2 (wuŋa) N ERG wuŋaŋa noise (Gun LM): wuŋa wuŋa wuŋa noise or sound of the frog. —cf. —cf. wuŋa.

wuŋa- V TR IMP wuŋa PF wuŋala chase (Gun, Bid): jinda wuŋuna wuŋa you chase him (Bid OC).

wuŋami- V REC PF wuŋamina chase one another (Bid OC): bulaŋu wuŋamina two chase each other. —cf. wuŋa-.

wuŋara REL asleep, to sleep (Bid): naja wuŋar wunalaŋu du I am sleepy or want to sleep (Bid RH), wuŋara naja wunana I am asleep (or perhaps rather 'sleepy'; Bid OC). —cf. wuga, wuŋa.

wuŋa N ERG wuŋaŋa noise of the frog (Gun LM). —cf. wuŋa2.

wungai- V ITR PF wuŋaŋa; INT wuŋailgu lie down, go to sleep, be sleepy (Bid): nula wuga wuŋailņa he is lying asleep (Bid AC), jinda wuŋailņa you are sleepy (Bid AC), wuŋailņa (= wunana) lying down (Bid AC), wadana wuŋailgu going to lie down or to sleep (Bid AC).

wuŋadi ? N possum (Gun NM).

wuŋa REL asleep, to sleep, sleeping, from sleep (Gun, Bid): gandu, nula wuga wunana the child, he (she) is going to sleep (Gun TC), gandu wuga wunamaja put the child to sleep (Gun TC), wuga wuna go to sleep (Bid OC), wuga buŋa get up from sleep (Bid OC), wuga wunana lying down or asleep (Bid OC, AC), wuga bindana sitting asleep (Bid OC, AC), wuga buŋala waking someone up (sic; Bid AC).

wugali- V ITR IPP wugaliņa lie down (Gun TC): wugaliņa = wunana (said to be guamu, q.v.; Gun TC). —cf. wuga.

wugu REL here, this way (Bid RH): wugu ganana, ganala (he) is coming here, wugu burva come here, jarga waŋana wugu the wind is blowing this way. —cf. gugu.

wugumundu REL from here (Bid RH). —cf. wugula.

wuŋa1 REL asleep (Bid RH): wuŋa wunana is asleep. —cf. wuga, wuŋara.

wuŋa2 (wuŋa) N ERG wuŋaŋa noise (Gun LM): wuŋa wuŋa wuŋa noise or sound of the frog. —cf. —cf. wuŋa.

wuŋa- V TR IMP wuŋa PF wuŋala chase (Gun, Bid): jinda wuŋuna wuŋa you chase him (Bid OC).

wuŋami- V REC PF wuŋamina chase one another (Bid OC): bulaŋu wuŋamina two chase each other. —cf. wuŋa-.

wuŋara REL asleep, to sleep (Bid): naja wuŋar wunalaŋu du I am sleepy or want to sleep (Bid RH), wuŋara naja wunana I am asleep (or perhaps rather 'sleepy'; Bid OC). —cf. wuga, wuŋa.

wuŋa N ERG wuŋaŋa noise of the frog (Gun LM). —cf. wuŋa2.

wugula N frog (Gun BT). —cf. wuga.

wuŋa N breath (Gun TC): wuju biŋu- (to breathe).
wu-  V *ITR* wulaŋa, wulana; wulala; wulalgug die, go out (of the fire; Gun, Bid): nula wulaŋa he is dying (Gun TC), nula (nula, nuŋ) wulala he is dead (Gun TC, Bid RH), wulalagiri or dana guru wulala all died or they have all died (Gun TC), buŋi wulalgug the fire is about to go out (Bid RH).

wulama-  V *CAUS ASS IMP* wulama; IPF wulamaŋa; PF wulamala put out (fire), die (in the sense of 'bereave'; Gun, Bid): jinda buŋi wulama you put out the fire (Bid RH), buŋi wulamaŋa putting out the fire (Gun LM), buŋi wulamala (he) put out the fire (Bid OC), gandu nاغu wulamaŋa, wulamala my child is dying, has died ("unknown to me"); Gun TC). - cf. wulaŋa.

wu-  V *ITR* wulura put to sleep, to bed (Bid AC): 

wu-  V *CAUS IMP* wunanuŋa put to sleep, to bed (Bid AC): gandu wuga wunanunja you put the child to bed. - cf. wuna-

wu-  V *CAUS IMP* wunanuŋa put to sleep (Gun TC): gandu wuga wunanuŋa put the child to sleep. - cf. wuna-

wu-  V *ITR* wunanuŋa (6.28) over there (Gun EA): ŋunduru wunanuŋa who is over there?

wu-  V *ITR* wulanugulu, wulanana; wulanala; wulanalgug die, go out (of the fire; Gun, Bid): nula wulanuŋa he is dying (Gun TC), nula (nula, nuŋ) wulanala he is dead (Gun TC, Bid RH), wulanagiri or dana guru wulanala all died or they have all died (Gun TC), buŋi wulanalgug the fire is about to go out (Bid RH).

wu lar N clothes (Bid RH).

wu-  N wumbar put to sleep, to bed (Gun TC).

wu-  V *ITR* wuna put to sleep, to bed (Gun TC): gandu wuga wunanuŋa you put the child to bed. - cf. wuna-

wu-  V *CAUS IMP* wunanuŋa put to sleep (Gun TC): gandu wuga wunanuŋa put the child to sleep. - cf. wuna-

wu-  V *CAUS ASS IMP* wulama; IPF wulamaŋa; PF wulamala put out (fire), die (in the sense of 'bereave'; Gun, Bid): jinda buŋi wulama you put out the fire (Bid RH), buŋi wulamaŋa putting out the fire (Gun LM), buŋi wulamala (he) put out the fire (Bid OC), gandu nاغu wulamaŋa, wulamala my child is dying, has died ("unknown to me"); Gun TC). - cf. wulaŋa.

wu-  V *ITR* wulanuŋa (6.28) over there (Gun EA): ŋunduru wulanuŋa who is over there?

wunbaruŋ N ALL wunbaruŋu waist (Gun TB), hollow in tree (where a possum might live): daŋuŋ wunbaruŋu jidala the possum stayed in the hollow (Gun TC).

wunari-  V *IMP* wunariŋa; PF wunariŋa ask (Bid OC).

wunça-  V *ITR* PF wunçaŋa be sorry, sad (Bid RH).

wurali-  V *REFL IMP* wuraliŋa strip, undress (Bid RH): gawun wurali, wuralina strip.

wura N kangaroo, joey, young kangaroo (Gun, Bid, Mar): - cf. wuru.

wurabinda (wura-) N the Woorabinda settlement (explained as meaning 'kangaroo sit down'; Gun BT). - cf. wurubinda.

wurgiN tree, stick (Gun EA). - cf. wirgi.

wurgi bird's nest (Gun EA). - cf. wurgi.

wurgibai N having a stick (Gun EA): wurgibai maŋa having a stick in my hand. - cf. wurgi.

wuruN big black kangaroo or wallaroo (Gun TC, EA). - cf. wura.

wuru2 N hair (Mar DF).

wurubinda N ALL wurubindagu Woorabinda, the Aboriginal settlement (explained as meaning 'kangaroo sit down'; Gun, Bid): bindaŋa wurubindagu living at Woorabinda (Gun TC); according to Bid SK, it was originally the name of a lagoon. - cf. wurabinda.

wuruna N the name of a station, Wooroonah (Gun TC).

wurugunu the name of a station, Wooroonah (Gun TC).
GANGULU

Introductory remarks

14.1 The Gangulu language presents itself in two variants, which by analogy with Wakka-Wakka (see Part I, 1.3, Note 5) we distinguish respectively by the forms Gangulu (A) and (B). By Gangulu (A) is meant a form which was met with at the outset and referred to by the term 'Gangulu' (gaQu lu) by various speakers or informants, while Gangulu (B) indicates a somewhat different form of the language met with later on and also referred to as 'Gangulu'. In considering these two forms as one fundamental language, the principle is followed that forms of speech known by the same name among those who use or are acquainted with them are given the name current among the same informants and consequently considered by them as one language. Otherwise, the differences between Gangulu (A) and (B) might have justified a separate treatment of the two kinds of Gangulu, especially considering the fact that certain other languages within the 'Gunggari' group, which actually do not differ more radically (Gunggari and Bidjara or Bidjara and Marganja, for instance) have been given different names (still according to current practice among the speakers themselves). As a matter of fact, the differences between Gangulu (A) and (B), which occur on the phonetic as well as on the morphological and lexical levels, may in certain respects be even greater than between those mentioned.

14.2 The Gangulu speech area extends over a large portion of country, to the east or north-east of the Bidjara area (cf. 7.1), with the Mimosa valley and the Woorabinda settlement as a likely center; according to Gun TC, Duarringa and Emerald would also be included. Otherwise, Gangulu has been located by the informants both at Springsure (which might be more typically Bidjara) and Clermont (which might be more typically Wirri); one person even referred to Gangulu as a 'Springsure' language. By application of the principle adopted in dealing with the other languages studied (for which see in Part I, 1.2), the extension of the Gangulu area would be found roughly limited in the following way, according to the information given by the speakers of both varieties (Gangulu A and B). Informants for the former dialect (Gangulu A) mention both Springsure and Nebo (which is far to the north-east from Clermont) as a home area of their people, while the three informants for Gangulu (B) all seem to have general connections with the vicinity of Woorabinda (Wooroonah, Nulalbin, Rockhampton), which would suggest that Gangulu (A) represents a western (or interior) branch and Gangulu (B) an eastern (or coastal) branch. As the Nebo informant's (Gan MT) speech shows again minor deviations (cf. 14.3; 16.24-25, 28), one might even tentatively assume a western, northern (Gangulu A) and eastern (Gangulu B) division.

14.3 The main difference between Gangulu (A) and (B) is on the phonetic level, insofar as the latter is characterised by the passing of original (intervocalic) `r (remaining in Gangulu A) into j, along with the existence of a phoneme e (which occurs merely as a phonetic variant in Gangulu A). Morphologically and lexically Gangulu (A) approaches Gunggari and Bidjara: Gan NO, for instance, prefers the negation gara (typical of most Gunggari languages) to the more genuine Gangulu gan (from which the name of the language is evidently derived); Gangulu (A) seems to prefer the Gunggari dula (stick, tree) to the Gangulu (B) dulap (idem) and Gangulu (A) has the Bidjara and Gunggari didap (koala), where Gan KW has gula (idem); further, while the Gunggari-Bidjara maŋa ear is known in Gangulu (A), the form walu alone is recorded for Gangulu (B), while both
dialects use the verb naga- *see*, the alternative stem wana- (idem) occurs in
Gangulu (B) only and, similarly, to Gangulu (A) bara- *happen, become* (which is
generally Gunggari) corresponds Gangulu (B) we’- (idem; the latter from original
*wa'ra-, as in Birri), etc. It seems that the Gangulu (B) informant Gan CA is aware
of a dialectal difference within Gangulu, as he speaks of a form of language
called garanbal (evidently 'garā talk'), in which his own buji (fire), for
instance, is buři (that is the Gangulu (A) form).⁹⁴

List of informants

14.4 Reference to the various informants for Gangulu (A) and (B) is made in
the usual way, by the signature Gan (for Gangulu) followed by the initials of
the persons furnishing the data. These are ranged alphabetically in the list
below according to the initials, with a further indication as to whether they
represent the variety (A) or (B)—as a matter of fact, the distinction is not
always equally certain. For further details, compare in Part I, 4.3 and the
Note 41.

Gan CA: Mr. Claude Anderson (born in 1896, died on August 13, 1972, at
Rockhampton; an excellent Gangulu speaker from Bouldercombe, by
Rockhampton, while his father and mother were either from
Nulalbin (by Woorabinda) or from Comet. (Gangulu B).

Gan KW: Mr. Kruger White (70), at Coomooboolaroo (by Duaringa), born and
raised at the nearby Wooroonah station, from whence were his
father and mother also; his father used to speak to him in
Gangulu. (Gangulu B).

Gan MM: Mr. Michael Murphy, at Cherbourg, born (in 1897) at Springsure,
his mother being a full-blood Gangulu and his father an Irishman;
he has, however, been abroad for many years. (Gangulu A).

Gan MT: Mrs. Maudy Tilbury, at Woorabinda; she and her people are from
Nebo. (Gangulu A).

Gan NO: Mrs. Nelly Orton (or Roberts), at Cherbourg, born at Capella (by
Springsure), her mother being a Gangulu from the same place,
while her father was a white man. (Gangulu A).

Gan TA: Mr. Tim Albury (73), at Rockhampton, originally from Springsure,
Emerald or Clermont. (Gangulu B).

As is seen, three informants represent Gangulu (A) and three represent Gangulu
(B); the latter particularly show much agreement in all phases of the linguistic
structure and hence give evidence of a closely knit linguistic unit. Hence
information is rather more complete for Gangulu (B) than for Gangulu (A).

Phonology

15.1 In dealing with Gangulu phonology, some important differences between the
variant (A) and the variant (B) must be mentioned. First of all, a basic
feature in the phonetic system of the two variants is the existence of a fourth
vowel phoneme (e) in Gangulu (B), as against the three fundamental vowel
phonemes (a, i, u) in Gangulu (A). This was first noticed in the important
word for hand (in Gangulu (A), as in most languages of Gunggari type, mara),
which by all three Gangulu (B) informants is pronounced me‘. This, however,
would not be a sufficient criterion for the existence of a vowel phoneme e, as the long e· sound is frequently heard in all Gunggari languages (inclusive Gangulu (A)). The important thing is that cases of assimilation are found in Gangulu (B), whereby an a in a preceding syllable is changed into e in the same way as in the Wakka languages (see Part I, 6.5); an instance of this is the Gangulu (B) word for the moon, gege (= gege·; cf. Part I, 2.4), corresponding to Gangulu (A), and common Gunggari, gagar a (idem). The evolution of this sound in Gangulu (B) is clarified by the second important tendency in the latter language, namely the passing of intervocalic r into j (for which see further in 15.5). In all other respects, Gangulu (A) and (B) agree mutually as well as with the Gunggari languages in general.

Evolution of the vowel system

15.2 As pointed out in 15.1, Gangulu (A) possesses the three basic vowel phonemes a, i, u (the 'triangular' system), while Gangulu (B) must be considered as having four basic vowel sounds: a, e, i, u. 95 These may be either short (respectively of medium length) or long, but except in the case of e· the lengthened forms are infrequent and probably due to vowel contraction or other secondary factors (e.g. by contraction, ji· < jiji meat, nu· < nuju his, hers, nu·na < nuju na him, her or, in loans, ga'n shirt, from English). The origin of e· (which is evidently more primitive than e; cf. below) appears immediately due to the influence of an intervocalic j (as in the evolution of Gunggari and Bidjara words of the type naja > ne·, -ba(j)i > -be, etc.; cf. 5.2). Although no intermediate form *maja is recorded for Gangulu (B), underlying the form me-hand, there are still such cases as waJba (originally *wajaba, *waJaba) for common we·ba (became; there is also an intermediate form weaba, idem). The short (or normal) e is (except when written for -e or -e· in the word-final position; cf. above) mostly, or always, due to assimilation of an original a in words ending in -e: gege moon (for gage·; cf. Gangulu (A) gagar a), webe and wabe one (for wabe·; cf. Gangulu (A) warba); the assimilation takes place according to the same principles as in Wakka-Wakka (see Part I, 6.5), that is to say that it affects the vowel sound a only: while *gage· turns into gege, the words duge- (jump down), guge (flying fox) remain as such (Gan KW). The change of an a into an e before a following e sound seems further quite mechanical and unnoticed by the speaker himself: one informant, when asked whether gage would be an acceptable variant of gege (moon), simply answered 'yes, gege'.

15.3 The above modification of the vowel sound a is originally due to a primary palatal environment (cf. below). According to a similar tendency, a u may turn into i in contact with palatal or palatalised sounds: Gangulu (A) jurji meat becomes Gangulu (B) jiji (and ji·; for the medial -j- cf. 15.5), wuranbar a or wuranbara (Gan CA) big becomes wi(j)albara (Gan KW); 96 conversely, it seems that Gangulu (B) has preserved a more original stem of the verb to die, maji-, which is maji- in Gangulu (A), as also in the other Gunggari languages studied. Due to the influence of a labial sound, an i may change into u: Gangulu (A) and (B) wuni- give hence corresponds to Ngawun wini- (idem; the form wuni- is, however, also found in Wirri). It seems reasonable to assume that Gangulu (B) wude- fall is connected with Gangulu (A), Gunggari, Bidjara waJra-, Marganj waJa- (idem) and hence due to the labialising influence of the initial w-. In a similar way, Gangulu (A) gada wJan waJan silly is actualised as waJanuJnan (waJano·Jnan, for waJanwaJnan).
15.4 A peculiarity of Gan NO's pronunciation (although not uncommon elsewhere; cf. Part I, 23.3, or Holmer 1971, 1.5) is the modification of a word-final -a, which may appear as any vowel sound intermediate between a and i: janine for janina going, ṇani for ṇana we all, gadani for gadana one's brother, etc.

Evolution of the consonant system

15.5 The most significant feature in the evolution of the consonant system is no doubt the passing of an intervocalic -r- into -j- in many cases in Gangulu (B). This has been indicated in dealing with the origin of the phoneme e, when e- arises from the sequence a- (see 15.2). Other examples of this evolution are found in: buji fire for Gangulu (A) and Gunggari, etc. buji (idem), jiji (jij-) meat for Gangulu (A) and Gunggari, etc. jiju (idem), jajuji liver (cf. Birri jajuji, idem); notice further the alternation of the forms wuранbara (Gan CA), on the one hand, and wujanbara (Gan CA) or wualbara (Gan KW) biŋ, on the other. An example parallel to the case of Gangulu (B) meŋ hand, answering to Gangulu (A), etc. maŋa (idem), is found in Gangulu (B) weŋ happen or want (cf. Birri waŋa-, idem). For a parallel to this evolution in Gangulu (B), one may compare an analogous passing of r into j in certain Jualrai words (as mentioned in Part III, 12.3). Otherwise, any kinds of r sounds apparently offers difficulty to our Gangulu (B) speakers (some having lost their teeth) and there is a general uncertainty as regards the r and d phonemes, which in many cases alternate to the extent that it is difficult to decide whether we have cases of phonetic variants or which one of alternating forms should be considered as original: guđu altogether (Gan KW) as against Gunggari guru (idem), ṇuđa dog (Gan KW) for common Gunggari ṇura (idem), wuđe- (Gan KW), wure- (Gan TA) fall, wuđemba- (Gan KW), wuramba- (Gan TA) drop. As usual, word-final -r involves a problem, owing to the common Australian English tendency to drop or add a final 'r' (as in 'idea'-'idea-r') and so Gan NO, for instance, says mungara (sometimes with an English 'r' sound) for mungar mountain (unless a locative form; cf. 16.12).

15.6 In this connection may be mentioned the common tendency to pronounce an interdental consonant (mostly an -n-) as -r- (cf. Part I, 6.19, Note 61), as in: muranŋal (Gan CA) for munuŋal (Gan KW) moustache (cf. munu mouth, lip), ṇari for ṇani what? (Gan TA), ṇarigu (Gun CA) for ṇarigu why?, waranu (Gan TA) for wanana to see, look for, duriba for duriba told, satd, daran for dalan tongue. The common reduction of a sequence consisting of a nasal plus a homorganic plosive (-nd-, etc.) by loss of the latter (cf. 5.8) is seen in: ṇuguna (Gan NO) for ṇugunda tonight, gamuŋa (Gan KW) for gamunga (Gan C) in the water, baŋar for banar sick (Gan NO). An assimilation of the group -ng- to -nd- (as also in Wakka-Wakka, see Part I, 6.18) appears in wananda- look at one another (Gan CA) as compared to jumbanga- listen to one another (i.e. with the reciprocal formative -nga-; cf. 16.10).

15.7 The rules regarding the distribution of consonant phonemes in word or syllable-initial respectively word and syllable-final position are the same as in Gunggari (see 5.6). Hence word-initial ñ is not recorded for Gangulu, while g- occurs sparingly, mostly in loan words: gariga trousers (cf. Wakka-Wakka garuŋa, idem, a common Aboriginal word, probably ultimately from English 'drawers'), ɣaŋn shirt (from English 'shirt'), ḡugi ḡugi foul (from English), ḡaŋga talk (cf. Batjala, Kabi-Kabi ḡange mouth), ḡumbega tobacco (probably from
the Wakka languages, where similar forms are common). An irregular consonant cluster is seen in wadria other (Gan CA), probably due to a secondary loss of a vowel (cf. Wirri wadira, idem).

**Morphology**

(a) *Structure of stems and derivation*

16.1 *Structure.* As in the Gunggari languages at large, concrete nominal or verbal stems are basically dissyllabic; longer stems (at least verb stems) are as a rule derived. Shorter (that is monosyllabic) stems occur, but are practically always due either to contraction of original dissyllabic forms or to their character of being loanwords: Gangulu (B) me· hand (cf. Gangulu (A) ma·a, idem; see 15.2), ji· meat (a shorter from of jiji; in Gangulu (A) juri, idem), ga·n shirt (from English 'shirt'), bu·n boot(s) (from English 'boot'), baim pipe (from English 'pipe'). Verbal stems are not seldom identical with nominal stems: gunda a fight (e.g. dalgaju gunda a big fight), and gunda- to fight (e.g. gundana (is) fighting), danga mouth and danga-talk, nimu sick and nimu-be sick. Some verbal stems are either used intransitively or transitively: buji gubara the fire is burning, bujingu gubala the fire has burned (it) or burned by fire (Gan CA); we may accept as a principle that any verb stem construed with a nominative is intransitive, while one construed with an ergative or objective form is transitive (cf. daga-¹ and daga-², in 26).

16.2 *Compounds.* Nominal stems may be joined to form compounds in the usual way (cf. English 'housetop', etc.): gargu numan kangaroo skin, gargu dundan kangaroo tail or kangaroo's tail, dili webe one-eyed, dumu webe one-legged, mala webe one-armed. A noun stem may also be combined into a compound with a verbal stem, the compound being verbal and intransitive: gamu ba·ra- want a drink (Gan NO); notice that this cannot be analysed as in English, since ba·ra- want is intransitive in Gangulu (the literal rendering would be drink-want) and in an analogous way we must analyse: walu jumba- think (literally ear-listen, hear or listen being semantically identical with think in Australian languages), walu bajia- forget (literally ear-getting-lost).

16.3 *Reduplication.* Reduplication of nominal stems expresses slightly different shades of meaning, such as animal or color names, etc.: budi budi pussy (from English), gugi gugi fowl, chicken (from English), bigi bigi pig (from English), duni duni night owl, mida mida black, waña waña mad (Gan TA), gada waña wanjan silly (Gan NO), bindi bindi heavy lumps (prickly heat? Gan NO), junjur junjur a lot (of kids, etc.), mala mala wings (cf. mala arm), burjan burjan rainbow.

16.4 *Nominal derivation.* Among nominal derivative suffixes we notice in the first place the sociative -bari and various caritive formatives: -mulu, -junda, -gara (unless the last one be considered an independent relation word, nothing, not). Examples: jaranbari having a beard (jaran), bangubari or baribari rich, wealthy (having money, bangu, bari), dinjabari having a cough (dinga), malabari having hands (or rather arms, mala), gamibari having grandchildren (gami), bujibari burning (having fire, buji), nanibari dirty (cf. nani earth, mud), jurabarri having a dog (nura), jaramanbari having a horse (jaraman), dugabarri having tobacco (duga smoke), murungalbari jewfish (catfish; literally having barbels or feelers, from murungal moustache, Gan CA); the function of -bari is
somewhat different in: dili mugabarbi having bad eyes (more or less the same as dili muga blind), bandarbari stick (= bangar, idem), nimbubari stick or having a sore (= nimu, idem), gugunbari early in the morning (cf. ɣugun night), maganbari pretty (the corresponding simple word not recorded), madibari poor, thin (cf. madi sick), galgubari full after eating (from ɣalgu belly) and, finally, in gañubari no, none, nothing (Gan NO; formed by analogy of the Gunggari and Bidjara garabari, idem). The function of -bæri answers to that of an English preposition in: gangaribari (he went away) with a knife (Gan NO), mebæri (having something) in the hand (Gan KW). Of the negative (or caritative) formatives, -mulu and -jundu at least may be considered as caritative suffixes, as in: gandumulu having no children (gandumu; Gan MT), mujamulu without clothes (mujan; Gan CA), bamamulu widow (without a man, bama), gajumulu widower (without a woman, gaju), mujanjunda, wididi junda without clothes, a hat (mujan, wididi), barijunda without money (bari), gajujunda single man (having no woman, gaju); possibly also -gudu in: walugudu deaf (Gan MM; cf. Wirri -gudu, in 19.4). In the form bangugara without money (= barijunda, cf. above), garà is rather an independent relation word (= no, none), as also in gadadalà ganu having no hat (gadadali; Gan TA).

16.5 The suffix -gan mostly denotes female gender, as in: bunjanigan old woman (cf. bunja old man), wadugan or waɗugan old woman (cf. wadurun old man), waŋmerigan white woman (from English 'white-Mary'), nangangan young woman (cf. nanga young man), gau ɣangan young woman, but it is also found in other words, e.g. waɗagan crow. Some apparent derivative suffixes are isolated or have no clear function: -di in wuddi or wididi hat (probably some connection with the common word for white man, wudu in the Gunggari languages),97 gamudi drunk (from gamu water, a drink) and the analogous -dalà in: gadadalà hat (cf. gada head) and dinadalà shoe(s) (cf. dina foot; perhaps equivalent to cover(ing)) or -gal in: munugal moustache (cf. muna mouth, lip). The suffix -ŋamu may originally express similarity (as the Wirri ŋamu like); in our Gangulu material it occurs in bandarangamu God (Gan NO). A suffix -nara occurs in mundanja (a common Gunggari designation of the Rainbow Serpent) as well as in gujuna either black snake, rock python or eel (the simple noun guju means fish, especially eel). The Gangulu (A) suffix -gari in bandaragari God answers to the Bidjara -gari, -gai (in bandaraga(r)i, idem).

16.6 The 'dual-comitative' suffix commonly added to noun stems expressing relationship (cf. 6.6) is -na in Gangulu: jabuna one's father (from jabu father), jaŋana one's mother (from jaŋa mother, e.g. in the vocative); the examples are all from Gangulu (A). Some of the consonantal suffixes, or 'nominalising' elements (cf. Part I, 3.6; 7.1), -n, -m and -ŋ have been noted in Gangulu: mujan (Gan KW, MT) and mujam (Gan CA) clothes, swag, dulâp tree, stick (Gan KW, MT) and dula (idem; Gan MM, MT).

16.7 Verbal derivation. In both Gangulu (A) and (B) the four basic types of verbal derivation (causative, associative, reflexive and reciprocal) are represented. The causative suffixes are -ma- (in both dialects) and -mba- (in Gangulu B): dangama- talk (from danga a talk, danga- to talk), bârama- make (from baɾa- happen, come about), bindama- make sit down (from binda- sit down), wunama- or jinama- lay down, put to bed (from wuna-, jina- tie down), bangarma- make sick or hurt (cf. bangar sick; Gan NO), jilama- turn round (transitive; from jila-, idem, intransitive), banganma- frighten (from bangan (afraid), majuma- put out (fire) (from maju- die, go out), ganima- plant, hide
(cf. Gunggari gani- hide, intransitive), wudemba- fell (from wude- fall),
danamba- stand (something) up (from dana- stand (up)), wunamba- put down (cf.
above), bindamba- make sit (cf. above), waŋamba- lose, forget (cf. waŋa waŋa
mad, properly lost), wagamba- make rise, raise (from waŋa- run; cf. Gunggari
waga- rise), majimba- put out (fire) (= majuma, cf. above). For other uses of
the above suffixes, compare in 16.8).

16.8 The associative suffixes are -ni- (Gangulu A) and -ji- (Gangulu B),
but the suffixes -ma- and -mba- (see 16.7) are also used in the associative
sense (cf. 6.8): burani- get away with (from bura- get away), janini- go with
(from jani- go), wubaji- (wube-; cf. 15.2) bring (from wuba- come), dune- say
to, tell (from duni- say), gande- bring (from gandi- come),99 diamba- play at
(from dia- play); also compare dagaŋma- (in 16.7), if originally conveying the
idea of talk to, with or about. An element -ŋ- is intercalated in: gandiman-
tie to (cf. Gunggari, Bidjara gadi- tell a lie), gundanja- steal from (cf.
Bidjara gunda- steal, gunda- stealing).

16.9 The reflexive suffix (in A and B) is -li-: dagali- put on (dress oneself;
cf. Wirri daga- plant, put), bambuli- scratch oneself (from bambu- scratch),
wanalali- look at oneself (from wana- see), wandali- get well, better (cure one-
self; cf. wanda enough, Gunggari wanda well, all right), gunnalali- cut oneself
(from gunma- cut). In many cases the reflexive sense is not apparent, the sense
being merely intransitive: gunmalali- break (intransitive; cf. above), bangali-
be sore (from bangali-, idem), galgalali- rain (cf. Birri galga-, idem), dialali-
play (from dia-, idem), burali-, burali- get up (cf. bura-, idem), nagali- look
out (from naga- see). When the sense is indirect reflexive (i.e. the action is
performed on one's own), the verbs in -li- are transitive: dagali- put on, dress
one's own (children; cf. above), wandali- cure for oneself or one's own (cf.
above). The causative and reflexive senses are combined in: ganimbali- hide
oneself (make oneself hidden; from ganimba- hide, transitive). For -li- used
in a reciprocal sense, see in 16.10).

16.10 The reciprocal suffix is -mi- in Gangulu (A) — that is as in Bidjara
(cf. 9.11) —, while in Gangulu (B) it is either -ra- (as in Wirri and Birri) or
-nga- (-nda-, by assimilation; cf. 15.6): nagami- look at one another (from
naga- see), dangamali- talk to one another (from danga- talk), gundara- fight
(from gunda- hit), jumbanga- listen to one another (from jumba- hear), wananda-
look at one another (from wana- see), while in the verb jilanga- turn round
(from jila-, idem, transitive) the reciprocal sense does not appear, the
derived verb being merely intransitive (or reflexive: turn oneself round).
The reflexive -li- is occasionally used in the reciprocal sense: nagali- or
nagamali- look at or see one another, dangamali- talk to one another (the
latter two with the causative-associative -ma-), jimbalali- listen to one another
(from jimba- hear; unless simply intransitive: listen).100

(b) Inflection

16.11 Declension. The declension of nominal stems, as far as it has been
possible to ascertain from the rather limited number of recorded inflected
forms, is strictly along the same lines in Gangulu (A) and (B), both agreeing
on main points with Gunggari and Bidjara, as well as with Wirri and Birri.
No possessive (with a couple of exceptions; see 16.14) or ablative case forms
have been found; for the former the allative is used (gandugu wulur clothes for the child = the child's clothes) and for the latter a postposition (usually mundu from: jamba mundu from home; = Wakka-Wakka moronu, idem, ablative). Other case forms may be found in inflected relation words.

16.12 The **ergative** (which always ends in -u) is formed in various ways according to the stem-final sound: if a vowel, the ergative is in -ŋu; if a nasal, it is formed by the corresponding homorganic plosive added to the stem; cases of an ergative of a stem ending in any other sound are not recorded. The **locative** (always in -a) is formed by adding -ŋa (or imperfectly articulated: -ŋ) to vowel-ending stems and by -a with a preceding homorganic plosive to stems ending in a nasal; of a stem in -r, the locative suffix is probably -a, as in: ŋaja bangara when I was sick (Gan NO), as appears from comparison with ŋaja gandu while I was a child (Gan NO; literally in sick(ness), in child(hood), by analogy with a common Celtic idiom). The allative is always in -gu, of all stems.

16.13 **Paradigms.** According to the statements in the sections (16.11-12), we obtain the following regular paradigms for both dialects. The type words are:

1. **vowel-ending stems:** bama man, gandu child, nura dog, gamu water, buji fire (Gangulu B), jamba camp, jalga way, me· hand (Gangulu B);
2. **stems in a nasal:** jaraman horse, wadun grass, baism pipe.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(1) vowel-ending stems</th>
<th>(2) stems ending in a nasal:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NOM</strong> bama, gandu, nura, gamu, buji, jamba, jalga, me·</td>
<td><strong>NOM</strong> jaraman, wadun, baism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ERG</strong> bamangu, gandungu, nurgangu, bujingu</td>
<td><strong>ERG</strong> jaramandu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOC</strong> ganduŋ(g)a, gamunga, jalnga, me·ŋ(g)a</td>
<td><strong>LOC</strong> wadunda, baismba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ALL</strong> gandugu, nurgagu, jambagu</td>
<td><strong>ALL</strong> jaramangu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

16.14 Apart from what has been remarked in 16.12, some additional irregularities may be observed. A couple of instances of a possessive form in -ŋu have been heard: ŋargaŋu, ŋuraŋu (buŋa) kangaroo's, dog's (tail) (Gan TA, NO), whether correct or not (cf. nuraŋu, jaramangu buŋa dog's, horse's tail; Gan NO). The ergative of miru nulla-nulla is regularly mirungu, but a form miruju was alternatively heard from Gan KW (in which the -j- might possibly represent an original -r-; cf. Darumbal, Part III, 18.8). Otherwise a suffix -rũ (or -rû) occurs in relation words: balandaru long ago, gunduru across, ŋandaru when? (possibly having the same function as in Gunggari and Bidjara; cf. 6.16; 9.15).

16.15 **Article.** In Gangulu (A) an instance of a form with the plural article -ŋu (that is as in Gunggari and Bidjara) is recorded: gandunu birala some children are playing (Gan NO).

16.16 **Postpositions.** The following postpositions are recorded: baral along, overl, across, ŋamu like, juna in, mundu from; some are also used as relation words. Examples: waru baral along, over the plain, dura, balbara baral across the road, creek, mundu ŋamu like a snake (Gan NO), guga juna inside the house,
buri mundu (smoke) from the fire, jamba mundu janira going from home, dulang mundu wudeba fell from the tree, banga mundu maru or maru bangla mundu leaves off the tree (Gan TA; alternatively used for the possessive case), burungi ju ngi mundu afraid of the ghost.

16.17 Personal pronouns. Of personal pronouns (which are used in reference to persons or personified entities only) the following are recorded: (singular) nga I, jinda you, nula he, she; (dual) nali we, jubala you, bula they; (plural) nana we, dana they. The nominative (or the stem form listed above) and the ergative seem to be everywhere identical. Of other case forms one will notice a special objective and possessive form, while local forms (ablative, locative and allative) have not been recorded (apart from one locative form).\(^{102}\)

16.18 Paradigms. We consequently get a declension comprising a nominative-ergative, an objective, a possessive and (for one person) a locative form, according to the paradigms below:

First person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>nga</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>nga nuna, nga na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>nga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>nga nunda</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>jinda</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>jinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>jinda nuna, jinda na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>jinda nuna, junu, jinu (Gan KW)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>nula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>nula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>nuna, nu na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>nuna, nu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

First person dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>nali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>nali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>nalin na</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>nalin nagu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second person dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>jubala, jibala, bula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>jubala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third person dual:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>bula</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| ERG | bula nanga |\(^{103}\)
**First person plural:**

- NOM ȵana
- ERG ȵana
- OBJ ȵanana
- POSS ȵananagu

**Third person plural:**

- NOM dana
- ERG dana

Examples: ȵaja janira I am going (Gan KW), ȵura nęgu my dog, nęgu gundi my house, jinda nęgu wubai you bring (it) to me (Gan MT, CA; the possessive form used in a dative sense), wuni ȵana give me (Gan KW; the objective used in a dative sense), jinda ńgunda wubaji you bring me (Gan TA; the locative used in a dative or allative sense), wabị ńgunda banda sing a song to me (Gan TA), bindara ńgunda staying with me (Gan TA), nula janira he is going, bari junu your money (Gan KW), nuŋu gada his head (Gan NO), juŋg Dundu nu· (= nuŋu) that is his (Gan TA), ńali janina we (= you and me) are going (Gan NO), ńali bindana we two are sitting (Gan NO), nula ńalina nagana he can see us two (Gan NO), dana diara or card diara dana they are playing (cards) (Gan KW).

16.19 According to Gan NO, the forms based on the first person plural, ȵana (we), such as ȵanana us, ȵananagu (guga) our (house), are exclusive, while those based on the first person dual, ńali (we two), such as ńalina (guga) our (house), are inclusive (= yours and mine). Otherwise compound forms are used to indicate whether the forms in question are inclusive or exclusive: ńalinda (= ńali jinda) you and me, as in: ńalinda nagamina we two are looking at one another (Gan NO), ńalinda da· we·ra (Gan KW), ńali jinda da· we·ra (Gan CA) we two are talking, ńali nula he and I (Gan KW).

16.20 Demonstrative pronouns. Different forms are used in Gangulu (A) and Gangulu (B), the former (probably owing to the limitation of the material obtained) showing a more simple aspect. One may arrange the demonstrative pronouns in either dialect according to their basic sense and function, as to whether they answer to English this or that (other shades of meaning escape us entirely). Hence, in Gangulu (A) we find the two stems: jina this and jaba that, of which no inflected forms are recorded. Examples: jamba jina this home (Gan MM), jina ńgudu this is my house (Gan MT), ńani jina what is this? (Gan MT), ńanduŋu jina whose is this? (Gan MT); jaba guga that house (Gan NO), jaba wulur that thing. As usual, a local sense is understood in each case (cf. 6.25-26) and sometimes prevails: muraga jina, for instance, does not necessarily mean this motor car, but more often here is a car or a car is coming, etc., neither does jina gadana normally mean this brother, but rather here, brother, come in, brother, etc. (Gan MM).

16.21 The Gangulu (B) forms recorded are more complicated. The following stems rather indicate the sense of this: ńina-, jila-, julu or jilu, while the idea of that is denoted by: ńuna, jara, juga- or juŋa-. A stem gundu (in gunduŋu that, ńani gunduŋu what is that? Gan KW) is in itself an inflected form (an ablative) of a more primitive stem *gu here. These demonstratives either occur in the stem or nominative form (occasionally enlarged by a syllable -na) or else in an inflected form, the most common one being the allative in -ńgu or -ńu (cf. 15.6). A couple of paradigms will show this:
jula- (jila-) this, here:

LOC jilaŋa
ALL jilaŋu, julaŋu, jilagu

julu or jilu this, here:

NOM julu, jilu, juluna, jiluna
ALL juluŋu, juluŋu, jiluŋu, julugu

Examples: ngu jilaŋa this is mine, ñanduŋu jilaŋu whose is this? (Gan KW), ñani jilaŋu (jilaŋu) what is this?, julu binbi jamba it is nice here (also this is a nice camp; Gan TA), ñani juluna what is this? (Gan KW), jinda juluna juga you eat this (Gan TA), julugu binbi this thing is nice (Gan TA), nula juluŋu this is he or he is here (Gan TA), julugu gandu this boy (Gan TA), julugu banga nunu this is his stick (Gan TA), julugu bama this man (Gan KW), ñani jiluŋu what is this? (Gan KW), bama juluŋu jamaba this man has made it (Gan CA), bama juluŋu ñandulu who is this man? (Gan CA), bama juluŋu this man (Gan TA); nula ñuna wubajiba he brought that thing (Gan CA), jarangu bindi that is nice (Gan TA), ñani jugangu what is that? (Gan TA), ñuŋangu that thing (Gan TA), ñuŋangu that is he (Gan TA), bama ñuŋangu that man (Gan TA), ñuŋangu ñuŋ that is his (Gan TA), ñani gunduŋu what is that? (Gan KW). The local sense is apparent in many cases, for instance in: julu ñaja wunara here I am living (Gan TA), in which the rendering by an English demonstrative pronoun (this) would be out of place.

16.22 Interrogative pronouns. The interrogative pronouns are very similar in Gangulu (A) and (B). The personal interrogative who? is ñandulu (ñanduru) and the impersonal interrogative what? is ñani. These are also used in an indefinite sense (somebody, something, etc.). The following paradigms show the inflected forms of either pronoun.

ñandulu (ñanduru) who?:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ñandulu, ñanduru (Gan NO, KW)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ñandulu, ñandalungu (Gan NO; correctly: ñandulungu ?)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>ñandana (Gan MT), ñanduna (Gan KW)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>ñandunu (Gan MT, KW), ñandulunu (Gan NO)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples: ñandulu jinda marji who or what man are you? (Gan NO), ñandulu jamala waŋal (Gan MT), ñandulu waŋal jamaba (Gan KW) who (has) made the boomerang? ñandulu marala who got hold of it? (Gan NO), ñandulu bama nari what is his or the man's name? (Gan KW), ñandulu bama which man (Gan KW), bama ñandulu another man (Gan KW), ñandulu jamaba somebody made it or who made it? (Gan CA, TA), ñandulu jinda who are you? (Gan KW), ñandulu migulu who is the white man? (Gan KW), ñandulu wubara who is coming? (Gan KW), ñandulu bama danara who is the man standing over there? (Gan KW), ñanduru nari what is your name? (Gan KW), bama ñandulu who? (Gan KW), ñanduna jinda nagaba whom did you see? (Gan KW), wandi ñandulunu whose dog? (Gan NO), ñandunu jina whose is this? (Gan MT), gandu ñandunu whose child? (Gan KW), guga ñandunu whose house? (Gan KW), ñandunu jilaŋu whose is this? (Gan KW).

ñani what?:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ñani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>ñanigu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples: ɳani jina what is this? (Gan MT), ɳani jaba what is that? (Gan NO), ɳani jindaŋu which one is yours (Gan MT), ɳani jumbala listening to something (Gan KW), ɳani jamara what are (you) doing? (Gan KW), ɳani dunira what were (you) saying? (Gan KW), ɳani jiluna or ɳani jilunγu what is this? (Gan KW), ɳani(gu) jinda we-ra what do you want? (Gan KW), ɳanigu jinda nagana ɳaŋuna why are you looking at me? (Gan NO), ɳanigu jinda dangaŋama what are you talking about? (Gan NO), ɳanigu why? (Gan NO), ɳanigu jinda wubaba what have you come for? (Gan CA), ɳanigu jinda gandeba why did you take it? (Gan TA).

16.23 Conjugation. Gangulu (A) diverges from Gangulu (B) in respect of the conjugation of the verb, inasmuch as the former agrees almost entirely with Gunggari and Bidjara, while the latter definitely goes with Wirri and Birri. While the structure of the verbal stem is the same in both dialects, corresponding to the general type in the Gunggari languages, the system of conjugation as well as the formative elements themselves differ. In Gangulu (A) we find the four basic modal forms (imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional); in Gangulu (B) traces appear of a more complicated system along the same lines as in Birri (see 22.27). For a basic analysis, however, it is suitable to co-ordinate the two conjugation types as far as it is possible.

16.24 As in most of the languages studied here, the imperative is the unaltered stem of the verb: binda sit (stem binda-), jani go (stem jani-), (Gangulu B) wuγe fall (stem wuγe-); a single example of an imperative in -a corresponding to a stem-final -i (cf. 9.27) is found in jana go (Gan MM), of which the stem is jani- (cf. above; it is however possible that Gan MM has used a Wakka-Wakka form). In Gangulu (A), the imperfective is in -na (cf. Bidjara; 9.28): bindana (is) sitting, janina (is) going, with some traces of the suffix -ra (as in Gangulu (B) and occasionally in Gunggari; cf. 6.34): bangara ɳaja I am sick (Gan NO; stem bang-a-), janina going (Gan MM, MT), wubara coming, nula bindara jugana he is sitting eating (Gan MT), danara standing (Gan MT; stem dana-), wunara lying down (Gan MT), nagara seeing (Gan MT; hence perhaps mostly 'Northern Gangulu', cf. 14.2); even one case of -ŋa (cf. Gunggari and Bidjara; 6.32; 9.28) is found: danaŋa = danara (standing; Gan MT). In Gangulu (B), however, the typical imperfective formative is -ra: bindara (is) sitting, janira (is) going, wuŋera (is) falling (stems: binda-, jani-, wuŋe-).105

16.25 The perfective in Gangulu (A) is formed as in Gunggari and Bidjara (see 6.32; 9.28), that is by the suffix -la to the stem: bindala sat, janila went, gone; in Gangulu (B) the form of the perfective agrees with those in Wirri and Birri, being characterised by a postpositional element -ba, sometimes preceded by a 'nominalising' -l- and consequently expressing the original locative sense of -la (cf. in Part I, 3.23): janiba = Gangulu (A) janila (went, gone), baŋala or baŋaba bit (stem baŋa- bite; Gan KW), wanala or wanaba = Gangulu (A) nagala (saw). Incidentally, a perfective in -lba has been recorded for Gangulu (A) as well (ŋa jindaŋa nagalba I have never seen you before; Gan MT, Northern Gangulu ?), which shows that Gangulu is by no means a uniform language (cf. 14.1-2).

16.26 The intentional is further different in both main dialects. In Gangulu (A) it always ends in the postpositional -gu (cf. Part I, 3.23), which is either preceded by a 'nominalising' element (cf. above, 16.24), -l- or -ŋ-:
16.27 As for the function of the above modal forms little is to be said. The imperative renders English 'should' in jinda ṇuḍalì you should know (Gan KW). The imperfective in Gangulu (A) renders either the durative or imminent sense (which latter is probably the original one as far as the suffix -na goes; cf. 6.31, Note 42): dangamana talking (Gan NO; durative), jinbana listening (Gan NO; durative), bindana sitting (Gan NO; durative), nula barina he is crying (Gan NO; durative), manda jugana going to eat (Gan MT; imminent), gamu jugana I want to drink water (Gan MT; imminent), janina going (Gan NO; imminent), burbana is coming (Gan NO; either durative or imminent); the sense is potential in: nagana can see (Gan NO). In Gangulu (B) practically all recorded forms in -ra are durative: bindara (sitting), danara (standing), gubara (burning), wanara (can see; potential), jugara (eating), wagara (running), bumbulira (scratching oneself), wanalira (looking at oneself); such a one as jinbana going (Gan KW) may, of course, be imminent (according to English usage), but janina (want to go) is used probably in the same sense. It is in any case evident from the examples quoted above (gamu jugana want to drink, etc.) that the (imminent) suffix -na has an essentially identical function in both Gangulu (A) and (B). The difference in sense between an imperfective and a perfective modal form is made clear from such parallels as: majina (Gan NO), majura (Gan KW) dying and majila (Gan NO), majuba (Gan KW) dead, bugari barana (I am getting cold and bugari barala (I) am cold (Gan NO), waɾana falling and waɾala fallen (down) (Gan NO). The use of a perfective form in, for instance, gandunu birala the children are playing (Gan NO), jinbala = jinbana listening parallels Bidjara usage, as mentioned in 9.28.

16.28 Certain modal forms have been recorded which appear irregular. In Gangulu (A) some imperfective forms end in -da (in place of -na or -ra): ṇaja, jinda janida I, you go or are going (Gan MT), nagada can see (Gan MT; = nagana); for danaṣa = danara (standing; Gan MT), see in 16.24, above. The imperfective form in -n (cf. 6.34) occurs in bangana afraid (cf. Wakka-Wakka banga- be afraid; Part I. 12). A quite unusual form is found in: janina going (najina jambagu I am going to the camp; Gan MM); although this would be a regular locative form of a vowel-ending stem (cf. 16.12-13), the assumed locative suffix in imperfective forms (cf. Part I, 3.22) nowhere appears except as -ṇa (strangely, whether by coincidence or not, a similar imperfective suffix
recurs in Nunagal *jarga* going; see Part III, 6.14). According to Gan TA, the imperfective of (reflexive) derivations in -li- (see 16.9) is in -(j)a (and not in -ra): gamu galgalia *it is raining*, dialia playing, wanalia looking at oneself; similarly jargun galgalia *bleeding* (Gan KW), wangalalia *getting better* (Gan CA), *nujali*alia *knowing* (Gan CA): however, forms in -ra are sometimes used: wangalilali, *nujalila* (Gan CA), bambulilari *scratching oneself* (Gan CA), wanalila *looking at oneself* (Gan CA). The nature of the termination -ngi of some verbal forms cannot be ascertained. We find, for instance, in Gangulu (B): burangui *afraid*, frightened (cf. bura-fly, burali-get up), wagarinji *running*, danangi (danani; cf. 15.6) *standing up* (cf. wagara-run, dana-stand), wuqangi *been swimming* (sic, Gan CA; cf. wuqe-swim); the function of these forms seems in some ways analogous to that of accidental forms (for which see in 16.29): jinda bula wanara danani *can you see the cattle standing?* (Gan KW).

16.29 **Accidental** forms (cf. 6.36) appear in Gangulu (A) to be of the same type as in Bidjara (and Marganj; see 9.30; 12.12), forms in -la (that is to say that they coincide formally with Gangulu (A) perfective forms; cf. 16.25): bama dana bindara manda jugala all the men are sitting eating (Gan KW), manta jugala dinner time (literally when eating, Gan CA; cf. Note 106), jinda nuquna jimbala when you are thinking of him (Gan KW), naja danara nani jumbala I am standing listening to something (Gan KW), nala jinda bindara nali da: we la we are sitting talking, card diala bindara sitting playing cards (Gan KW), jaramangu bindara nula bula jamala he is sitting on horseback tending (literally doing) the cattle (Gan KW), bindara nula nula baim jabala he is sitting (he) smoking a pipe (Gan KW), janila nala tired (of) going, walking (Gan CA), nala we 1a tired (from) talking (Gan CA). The alternative use of the intentional form, as in: jinda bindara manta jubana you are sitting eating (Gan KW), dulang nana bindara gurumangu diana we are all sitting in the shade of the tree playing (cards; Gan KW), etc. is paralleled by the Bidjara construction with forms in -lgu: bindana nalgai(1)gu sitting talking; these evidently express the idea of respectively sitting to eat, to play, to talk (cf. 9.21). For the construction wanara danani *can see (the cattle) standing* (Gan KW), see in 16.28).

16.30 The use of what appears to be an 'auxiliary' verb form (cf. 6.35; 9.31) occurs in the Gangulu (B) form jilangari *turning round*, spinning (Gan CA), to be analysed in the same way as the Gunggari jamalgara *being busy doing*, danalgara *standing* (see 6.35); the structural difference between the Gunggari and Gangulu forms consists in the use of a 'nominalising' -n- in the latter language for the -l- in the Gunggari form. The precise shade of meaning does not appear in the only Gangulu form recorded (the English rendering would be that of the regular imperfective jilara *turning round*).

16.31 **Paradigms.** The conjugation system in Gangulu (A) respectively (B) can be shown by the following simple paradigms; the type verbs are: binda-*sit*, jani-*go*, juna-*eat*, naga- (A), wana- (B) *see*, we-- (B) *happen*, be, want, wuba-*come*, wuna-*lie down*. In cases where differences arise between the two forms of Gangulu, Gangulu (A) forms (marked by (A)) are given first; Gangulu (B) forms (marked by (B)) follow after a semicolon.
binda- sit:

|   | IMP  | IPF bindana (A); bindara (B) | PF bindala (A); bindaba (B) | INT bindanagu (A); bindana (B) |

jani- go:

|   | IMP  | IPF janina, janira (A); janira (B) | PF janila (A); janiba (B) | INT janiŋu (A); janina, janinu (B) |

juga- eat or drink:

|   | IMP  | IPF jugana (A); jugara (B) | PF jugala (A); jugaba (B) | INT juganagu (A); jugana, juganu (B) | ACC jugala (B) |

naga- (A), wana- (B) see:

|   | IMP  | IPF nagana (A); wanara (B) | PF nagala (nagalba, Gan MT) (A); wanaba, wanalba (B) | INT nagalgu (A); wananu (B) | ACC nagalaŋa (A) |

we - (B) happen, be, want:

|   | IMP  | IPF we·ra | PF we·ba (waiba) | INT we·na | ACC we·la |

wuba- come:

|   | IMP  | IPF wubara | PF wubala (A); wubaba (B) | ACC wubala (B) |

wuna- lie down:

|   | IMP  | IPF wunana, wunara (A); wunara (B) | PF wunala | INT wunanu (B) |

16.32 Connectives. A couple of particles have been noted in Gangulu (A) which suggest the character of connectives. This holds in the first place of the particle ba, as in: jinda dana ba you stand up (Gan MM), jani ba you go (Gan MM). Since these forms represent Gangulu (A), there is hardly any reason to think that they are perfective forms (danaba, janiba—as in Gangulu B), used in an imperative sense (cf. Note 43); as a matter of fact, they are quite analogous to Gunggari juluŋ ba (see 6.39) or Wirri jara ba go then (see 17.37).108 A similar kind of construction with an imperative form is: buŋi ganma da cut firewood (Gan MM), from which might be derived a connective da. (As, however,
such a particle has not with certainty—cf., however, 22.38—been noted elsewhere, the construction may be a mistake, perhaps involving an imperfective form in -da; cf. 16.28).

(c) Construction

16.33 The usual equivalence in Aboriginal languages of attributive and predicative construction in the case of coordinated nominal words in the nominative form accounts for such constructions as: bama nimu danara a sick man or the man is sick (Gan KW), garigu bunbul (rendered by in the hot sun by Gan TA; cf. 6.40-41). In reality the latter is equivalent to it is hot in the sun or even (since bunbul hot is doubtless a verbal form in -I; cf. 6.34) in the sun, it being hot. On the other hand, the apparent ambiguity does not exist in cases of inflected forms: wulangu dawgu in the cold night (always attributive, with grammatical agreement of the allative case forms). The current construction of an allative with an intentional verb form occurs in: nula janira wurgunagu bindana he goes to Wooroonah to live (Gan KW), ŋaja janiba winagu maranu I went to catch fish (Gan TA; literally for fish, for to catch); compare the identical construction in Gunggari (6.47).

WIRRI

Introductory remarks

17.1 For this important language a single informant has been mainly depended on, a circumstance which has to be kept in mind when trying to understand the phonology and morphology of this language. This informant, who was first met on the Cherbourg settlement, was evidently an excellent speaker of her language, but unfortunately her articulation was not very clear on all points (a very weak voice, for instance, may account for certain cases of a voiceless pronunciation or complete suppression of final vowels). The lady in question—as well as her people—hailed from Clermont and she also considered Wirri as the 'Clermont language'. At the same time, however, she claimed to be a 'Gunggari' and further maintained that 'Gunggari' and 'Wirri' are actually the same language. This probably may be taken as an indication of the general importance of the Gunggari language (see 1.1) within the group which we have chosen to call the 'Gunggari languages'. Apart from this, there is no immediate connection between Wirri and Gunggari proper, which both rather belong to different subgroups inside the main group. Wirri is clearly related to Gangulu, Birri and Ngawun and forms along with these languages a northern subdivision of the Gunggari group of languages.

List of informants

17.2 The following two persons were interviewed in connection with the Wirri language; reference to them is by means of the signature Wir (= Wirri) along with their initials. For further details, compare in Part I, 4.3 and the Note 41.

Wir AM: Mrs. Ada Mack (or Duncan, néé Russell), at Cherbourg; born at Clermont, where she and her people belonged, both father and mother being Wirri.
Wir MS: Mrs. Melba Saunders, in Brisbane, from the same area as Mrs. Mack.

As most data are derived from Wir AM, special reference to this informant is as a rule omitted.

Phonology

18.1 The inventory of phonemes in Wirri is basically that of Gunggari (see 5.1, 6); for a couple of divergences, see in the section dealing with the Wirri consonant system (18.4). As practically a single informant was available in the initial stage of the study of this language, it is impossible to ascertain whether certain phonetic peculiarities are to be taken as individual traits or to be attributed to dialectal variation or to the language as a whole. At any rate, the lack of comparative data is to some extent made up for by the informant's unquestioned efficiency and fluency in speaking her language.

Evolution of the vowel system

18.2 Wirri has the three basic vowel phonemes a, i, u (according to the 'triangular' system; cf. 15.2). These may be either short (or of normal length) or long (or lengthened); as a matter of fact distinctive vowel length is a rare feature, usually rising from contraction of vowels: nu·na for nununa (him, her; notice the broadening of the lengthened sound, which approaches o', as also in Gunggari and elsewhere, cf. 5.2), ju·(jo·) yes (the basic form is not recorded, but may be disyllabic; incidentally, monosyllabic vowel-ending words—unless particles—have always been heard with a long vowel sound in the languages studied) and the rule may hold for any monosyllabic concrete word (nu·n his, her(s) is a shorter, but not contracted, form of nu·nUQ, idem). In non-initial syllables vowel length is not marked (cf. 5.3), although frequent in some words (wada·n crow).

18.3 The fronting of a in contact with a palatal or palatalised sound is noticed as elsewhere: jenba for ja`nba tell, wadie, wagie for wadi(r)a another, gamie for gami(j)a come here (ultimately from English) and in a similar way u may be fronted to i: jimba for jumba hear (also common in other Gunggari languages). Conversely, a may change into o in labial surroundings: bir(g)ou for bir(g)a(g)u tomorrow.

Evolution of the consonant system

18.4 In addition to the consonant phonemes met with in Gunggari, Bidjara and Gangulu (see 5.6, etc.), Wirri possesses a supradental (or possibly weakly retroflex) nasal, which is a contraction product of an original group -rn- (in its turn arisen through the elision of a middle vowel sound) and consequently always lengthened; we shall represent this lengthened sound by the simple symbol η (the length not being indicated as a special feature). This new sound mostly arises in long words (inflected forms) and hardly deserves a place of its own in a vocabulary; besides there are cases of an interchange of contracted and uncontracted forms: jana and jarana going. In an analogous way, a lengthened dental nasal (which we shall mark by n·) may arise through contraction:
jin'a going (for jinina), wun'a lying down (for wunana), frequent interchange
between contracted and uncontracted forms being found in this case also.
Parallel to this evolution is the simplification of -ln- (always occurring by
contraction of the sequence -lin-) into -n- (lengthening of the nasal, as in
the above cases, may have taken place, but has not been observed): gadiña
stealing (from gadilina), guřina looking for (from *guřilina), junguna washing
your own (from jungullina).

18.5 Another feature of Wirri is the occurrence of 'pre-occlusive' nasals
(see Part I, 21.6; 24.5); in Wirri this sound alternatively arises from the
lengthened nasals: jidna for jin'a (going), wudna for wun'a lying down, dadna
for dan'a (for danana standing), gadna for gan'a (for gandana burning), nagaŋa
for nagaŋa (for nagarana looking at one another); compare 18.4. One single
case of a 'pre-occlusive' l has been recorded, namely budlara for bularu.

18.6 The occurrence of the sequence -nt- (see 2.6) is not recorded for Wirri:
the word for bread, (non-animal) food is consequently manda (not *manta, as in
Gunggari, etc.) and the verb gunda-steal (in Gunggari gunag-) coincides with
gunda-hit (in Gunggari gundag-); this assertion, however, may not carry great
weight in regard to Wirri as a whole, since a modification of -nt- is commonly
although not universally—found in the Gunggari languages and, besides, our
information on this point derives from one speaker only. As regards Wir AM's
particular form of Wirri, we may still establish the rule that the phoneme
represented by d is (1) a dental plosive word-initially, (2) a dental or inter-
dental plosive or fricative between vowels and (3) a voiced to voiceless
alveolar plosive after n and l: dabu brother, gudan elder sister, manda bread,
food, buldan heart. The dental-interdental variant is indistinguishable from
the palatalised ɭ before l (cf. 5.7), whereas the alveolar variant is not:
ŋadi or ŋagi grandfather, but bandi get, become, wandi dog. In the same
position (that is before l) the dental n is not distinguished from the
palatalised n (ŋani or ŋani what?).

18.7 The fricative pronunciation in the intervocalic position is especially
marked in the case of b and g, and the latter particularly is apt to vanish:
gugau for gugagu into the house, birga(g)u for biragu tomorrow; as is seen,
the fricative variants generally appear in the medial position, excepting the
one after a (usually homorganic) nasal, but the fricative pronunciation (or
ultimate loss) of the plosive may also occur initially (especially in (g)ara
no, not).

18.8 The pronunciation of the 'r' sounds (r and ɭ) involves certain problems.
A priori one may establish the fact that the sounds of l and r in the Aboriginal
languages studied in this survey (and probably the majority of others as well)
are nearly identical with corresponding sounds in Italian and Spanish (as far as
the r sound goes, rather with the weak sound of r (ere) in the latter language)
and further that, although they differ from corresponding sounds in English in
general, they are yet identified with the latter in early, or naturalised,
loanwords from the latter language: nambar name (originally 'number', from
English). This is, of course, not the actual English pronunciation in Australia
and, as a matter of fact, wherever l or r occur in positions where they are
modified or dropped in English our bilingual Aboriginal speakers meet with
corresponding difficulties. In this light has to be explained Wir AM's alter-
native pronunciation of the above nambar, that is to say nambara, by substituting
an 'r' sound (r) which may approach the actual English 'r' and by helping along the un-Australian final -'r' (cf. common Queensland 'numbah') by a supporting vowel; in the same way bangara, wumbara may be heard for bangar sick, wumbar asleep. However, the Aboriginal retroflex r is a sound equally foreign to Australian English and consequently offers difficulty to bilingual speakers. It seems in its original form to be a sound similar to the Indian retroflex sound commonly transcribed by 'r' (as Hindustani ghorā horse); as heard among the Aborigines, it suggests a sound fluctuating between a retroflex 'r', 'l' and 'd' (often—as among speakers interviewed by the present writer—constituting a unitary phoneme: our r). It is very typical that Wir MS (who lives in Brisbane) tries to imitate the genuine pronunciation of Wirri ḍ (that is the retroflex plosive), as in the word waḍa word, speech (possibly from English 'word'? cf. Wirri waga work), by articulating something not very different from wardla.112 (Incidentally, the plosive ḍ, which is a rare sound in Wirri, might possibly be a variant of r, although denied by Wir AM, who does not accept *waṛa as an equivalent of the above waḍa). The Wirri r, being different from the English 'r' (cf. above), is sometimes, especially in syllable-final positions (that is where this sound does not occur in English), replaced by another similar sound, especially ḍ, as in: diga diga for digar digar wagtail, baḍi for bari cliff, rock.

18.9 Strangely, however, the r sound arises in Wirri in many cases in the intervocalic position and especially in the current pronunciation (as also in Gunggari, etc.; cf. 5.9): jara go (cf. bura jana hurry and Wakka-Wakka jana-, idem; see Part I, 12), jara for jana there, jarang for jang in (cf. jana, jara there, jinambaru this side), mara take (cf. Birri mana- or mara-, idem). Whether or not any connection exists with Queensland English speech habits (cf. Part I, 6.19 and Note 61), the Wirri r sound is in this case identical with the kind of 'r' (or modification of 'd') heard in Aboriginal English, for instance in 'a good one' (see 8.7).

18.10 Simplification of consonant groups consisting of a nasal and a homorganic plosive, by loss of the plosive element (cf. 5.8) is found in: wiŋaru for wiŋaru bird, jama- for jamba-, janba- tell. The intervocalic nasal is often dropped in nuŋuna him, her (nu'na), and juŋana that one (juana). The palatalised ḍ is occasionally heard as j: ŋuja- for ŋuğa- know, wujabari for wuğabari big and (as commonly in the Gunggari languages) the sociative suffix -bāi (see 19.4) drops the middle -r-, becoming -bāi. The original consonant group -nm- turns into -rm- in: guŋma- cut (beside gumna-, idem), guṟmari shield, hillamon (cf. Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng gunmari, idem), warmal koala (beside wannal, idem).

18.11 The rules governing the occurrence of word or syllable-initial and final consonantal phonemes are the same as in Gunggari (see 5.6). No word is recorded in Wirri beginning with ḍ or n; these sounds may, of course, occur as variants of respectively d and n before i (dina and gina foot, etc.; cf. 18.6), but it is significant that the English name 'Joy' is pronounced doi (with a dental-interdental 'd') by Wir AM and that the Bidjara ŋumba apit (cf. 8.8) is numa in Wirri. Initial or other irregular consonant clusters (cf. above) occur sometimes due to the elision of a vowel, as in drin for darin alone. Whether coincidental or not, no Wirri word has been found ending in -m; one might consider in this connection the Wirri bananbara second son (from a stem banan; cf. 19.6), with which might be compared the Manandjali banam brother (also cf. Holmer 1966 a, 3.5).
Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

19.1 Structure. The simple, or underived, concrete word stem in Wirri is normally dissyllabic; this holds especially in the case of verbs, where derivational elements are easily recognised. Nominal stems having a more irregular appearance, may end either in a vowel or one of the consonant sounds permitted as word-final according to the rule in the Gunggari languages (cf. 18.12); verbal stems always end in a vowel (-a-, -i-, -u-): binda- sit, bandi-become, happen, wandu- ask. In consequence of this, English monosyllabic loanwords frequently add a final vowel when adopted into Wirri: baika pipe (cf. Gangulu baim, idem), waqa work, waqa word, language. Vowel-ending stems may function either as nouns or verbs: jadi laughter and jadi- to laugh, and inflected verbal forms are also occasionally found constructed as nominal words: gundarana or gundaña (are) fighting or (a) fight (e.g. dalgaju gundaña a big fight), gadina (are) lying or (a) lie, baramana work (to do), gamu jugana drinking water or a cup; binbi jugana could be rendered either by good eating or by good to eat (cf. 19.32). In the same way we may analyse: gari jagana sunrise or the sun is rising, gari waraba sunset (= ńugun night) or the sun has set. The form gundañ stealing, thief (cf. 19.33) definitely functions as a personal noun in the ergative form gundandu (the thief).

19.2 Compound stems. Any two nominal stems may be combined into a compound of the type 'house top' in English: guga ńara top of the house (as far as the component parts exist as independent words they are written apart), migulu waqa white man language (that is English), mugul dina shadow foot (that is the shadow of the foot); such compounds may express a possessive relation: gaju guga the woman's house (literally woman-house). Noun stems may be constructed so as to form a compound with a verbal stem, according to a principle not normally found in English grammar,113 where the nominal part is construed as direct object (provided the verb is transitive): waqa bara- speak a language (literally language-speak, since the verb bara- is intransitive in Wirri), waqa waña- forget, dinbaru wuqa- rub with paint (literally white-paint-rub), waga bara- to work (literally work-happen); the intransitive character of bara- is seen in the perfective form waga baraba (I have worked, according to 19.30); the construction gubun banda lbadi (I can hear the birds) singing (literally singing a song) is, on the other hand, not a compound, since the verb banda- (to sing) in this case is transitive, having gubun (a song) for its direct object. As is seen from the above examples, the 'compounds' (as they are hardly compounds in a formal sense) are often loosely constructed and the component parts may even be separated by another word, as in: jabu ńagu guga my father's house (jabu guga), gaju jana guga that woman's house (gaju guga; cf. above), waqa migulu bara- (beside migulu waqa bara-) to speak English (cf. above), waqa ńara wañaña don't forget.

19.3 Reduplicated forms. Nominal stems are often found reduplicated, expressing a more or less different shade of meaning from that of the basic word: gamu rain (cf. gamu water), baña baña small (the simple stem not recorded: cf. bagari, idem), gada waña waña silly (cf. wañaña- be lost), wangi wangi silly (a common term at Cherbourg), mida mida black (cf. mida, idem), baru baru crooked, diga diga or digar digar wagtail; generally the reduplicated form expresses a diminutive sense, an adjectival sense (often a colour name) or an animal or bird. We write reduplicated forms in two words when both components occur independently
or are identical in form; on the other hand, such a form as wadi wad iragu to all kinds of places is written in one word. The construction gaña gaña (emphatic) no! is probably a mere reflex of an English 'no, no!'.

19.4 Nominal derivation. The sociative suffix in Wirri is -bari or -bai, denoting having or provided with and the caritative suffix is -gudu not having or without: ᵇaŋgabari having a beard (ŋanga), buŋbari having a tail (bupa), murgunbari having a spot, bangubari having money, dinnalbari having a cold or cough, mala warminbari having one hand or arm, dili warminbari having one eye; bunganbaru having no tail, malagudu having no hands or arms (sometimes the negative relation word, gaña, takes the place of a caritive suffix, as in: gandu gaña childless, gamu gaña without water. 

Sometimes, the sociative sense is not evident, as in: buŋbail white (cf. buŋa, idem; possibly originally white clay, paint, whence buŋbail would properly be having white clay), wugabar i big (cf. Gunggari wudga plenty), birgabari early (cf. birga morning). In some cases the suffix -bari is analogous to an English preposition: winaaru(ngu) gangalbari the bird flew (to be rendered rather (went) on the wing or (took) to the wings than had wings).

19.5 Another common nominal derivative suffix is -gan, which usually (and perhaps originally) denotes women or females, as in: bunjāgan old woman (cf. bunja old man), wangeriğgan white woman (originally 'white-Mary', whence the phonetically abnormal -meri-), wabugan younger sister (cf. wabu younger brother), dilanɡan eldest daughter (cf. dilan firstborn), bananbaru second daughter (cf. bananbari second son), julugan third daughter (cf. julgu third son), nalamugan last-born daughter (cf. na lami the last son).

19.6 Of other evident derivative suffixes the meaning and function is not always clear. A suffix -bara (cf. Part I, 15.3; 24.2) is found in some nouns denoting persons: gangunbara (-bara) children (cf. gandu, idem), dalgabar a (-bara) big (person) (cf. dalgaju big), bananbaru second son (cf. banan gana second daughter; cf. 18.12), bandarinbaru God (cf. bandara sky and Bidjara bandaragari God). A suffix which bears some similarity in function to the sociative -bari (19.4) is -dir (n) or -di (also in Gangulu; see 16.5), as in: gada dir (n) hat (cf. Gangulu, Birri gada head), gamudi drunk (cf. gamu (strong) drink and Gunggari gamubari drunk) and possibly in wununiga old (cf. wununga a while ago). Of the 'dual-comitative' suffix -na in terms of relationship (cf. Gangulu -na, 16.6) a couple of instances are noted: gadana one's elder brother (cf. gada brother), gudana one's elder sister (cf. gudan sister). Of the so-called 'nominalising' suffixes (see Part I, 3.6), -l, -n and -ə are found in our Wirri material; compare: darinya and daripal alone, by oneself, wadan crow and Gunggari wada (idem), gudan elder sister and Birri guda (idem) or the stem guda- in Wirri gudana (see above), gadadirın and gadadirı (cf. above).

19.7 Verbal derivation. As in the Gunggari languages as a whole, four basic types of verbal derivation are represented in Wirri: causative, associative, reflexive and reciprocal (cf. 6.8-11). Causative derivation is by means of the suffix -mba-, more seldom -ma-: waramba- drop (make fall; from wara- fall), majimba- put out (fire) (from maji- die, go out), bəramba- or bərama- make, do, cause (from bəra- happen, come about), gudirimba- make come back (from gudiri- come back), wuramba- make (someone) come (from wurba- come), bugamba- make grow, raise (from bugs- grow), badimba- make grow, plant (from badi- open, grow),
wunamba– lay down (from wuna- lie down), bindamba- set down (from binda- sit), jilamba- turn (something) round (from jila- go round). The associative formative is -ri-, as in: buraŋi- go away (from bura- go away), burbaŋi- bring (come with; from burba- come), jiniŋi- take away (go with; from jini- go), wagabandiri- run with (from wagabando- run), dangaŋi- send (someone) with (something) (from danga- send); the same suffix (-ri-) occurs in bagalbari- carry (a baby), but the meaning of the first part of the word (bagalba-) is not ascertained (cf. baga baga, bagari little?). In gadibilma- tell a lie the sense may properly be associative (lie to), as in Gunggari gadima- (idem); compare 6.8).

19.8 The reflexive verb is, as in most of the languages studied, formed by the suffix -li-, which denotes either direct or indirect reflexive verbal action or else intransitivity (cf. 6.10): ganili- hide (oneself) (cf. gani- put away), mangali- hurt oneself (from manga- hurt, hit), guŋali- paint oneself (from guŋa- rub, paint), wunali- run (chase oneself; from wuna- chase), nagali- look at oneself or look at one's own (from naga- see, look), jungulali- wash oneself or wash one's own (from jungu- wash), gambali- put on one's (clothes), dress (from gamba- put on, dress), barambali- do to oneself (from baŋamba- do; cf. 19.7), gadili- steal for oneself (from gadi- lie, steal), gunmali- break (intransitive; from gunma-, idem, transitive), bambuli- break (intransitive; from bambu-, idem, transitive), gadili- tell lies (from gadi-, idem); the sense appears that of an impersonal passive in nūga jumalina a noise is heard (cf. jumba- hear), but the analysis of the form (if it is correct) may be different, as a passive is generally absent in the Aboriginal languages. Causative-reflexives may be formed in: -mbali-, e.g. barambali- make oneself (from baŋamba- make, causative of bara- happen). Finally, the reciprocal formative is -ra-, indicating the idea of each other or one another: gundala- fight (hit one another; from gundali- hit), nagara- see or look at one another (from naga- see, look), wuŋara- chase one another; from wuŋa- chase).

19.9 It should be observed in this connection that associative verbs are transitive: wuŋbarilba has brought it (but wurbaba has come) and that reciprocal verbs are intransitive: bulara gundaraba the two fought (hit each other; but gundalba hit), nagaraba looked at each other (but nagalba saw). Indirect reflexive verbs may be expected to be transitive (e.g. in mugul naja nagalina I am looking at my own shadow, gadina barari stealing money (for oneself), but perfective forms in *-lilba (which would indicate transitivity) are not recorded. Instead, either (transitive) forms in -lila or (intransitive) forms in -liba are used (see 19.33).

(b) Inflection

19.10 Declension. The following case forms are found in the nominal declension in Wirri: nominative, ergative, locative and allative. The nominative is the stem form of the noun, being used as subject of an intransitive verb (or a verb not having a direct object) or else as direct object of a transitive verb and further before a postposition or as first member in a compound (see 19.2). The ergative (used to express the agent or instrument with a transitive verb or one having a direct object) always ends in -u, the form being different according to the terminal sound of the word stem: vowel-ending stems end in -ngu, stems ending in a nasal make the ergative form in -u preceded by a homorganic plosive (hence: -ngu, -ndu or -nugu, cf. 6.13, with references; stems in -m have not been
The locative always ends in -a; as for the particular forms arising according to the stem-final sound, the same rules seem to hold as for the ergative (cf. above), recorded locative terminations being: -nga, -nda and -unga. The allative of all stems ends in -gu. For irregularities, see further in 19.14. Wirri has no plural forms or plural article (cf. 6.18); wingaru renders English bird as well as birds.

19.11 As for the use of the regular case forms, the following may be resumed in addition to what is stated in the preceding section (19.10). The ergative is not always used with what appears to be a transitive verb form. Unless it be cases in which an informant has avoided the use of the ergative as being un-English (and instances of this have been found), the nominative is used in its place for the reason that the verb is not provided with a direct object form, as in: marji jana jugana that man is eating. Perhaps in some case it may be found that a nominative is preferred to an ergative when the verb form is imperfective (cf. Holmer 1971, 5.2; 8.12, with references). The possessive relation (in the absence of a special possessive form in the noun paradigm) is expressed in three different ways: either (1) by a compound construction (gaju guga the woman's house, jabu jaŋa jamba (my) father('s) and mother's home; cf. 6.15) or (2) by the allative case form: gajugu wulur woman's dress (literally dress for a woman), bangagu wilba leaves of the tree, wandigu buŋa dog's tail, marigu gada man's head, guga jina marigu this house is the man's, jana gandugu naga that is my boy's; finally, (3) the possessive relation is expressed by the possessive form of a personal pronoun, in Wirri nnuŋ his, her (cf. 6.15), as in: guga jabu nnuŋ father's house (literally father, his house), gandu nnuŋ nuga noise of the children (literally the children, their noise), naja gungal nnuŋ my husband's (literally my husband, his), jaraman nnuŋ the horse's (literally the horse, its), wingaru ganu nnuŋ the bird's egg (literally the bird, its egg).

For the missing ablative form, one of the postpositions ndi (with a personal noun) or mundu (with an impersonal noun) from is used (cf. 19.16).

19.12 The locative is used with impersonal nouns in the sense of in, an, at, over, along, etc.: mungaranga all over the bush, jambanga jin-a going all over the camp, naja jin-a jalanga I am going along the road, garinga in the sun or in the daytime, ngunda in the dark or at night. Of personal nouns the locative expresses (going) to (visit) or (staying) with (cf. 6.21): gandunga or gandunda (staying) with a child, gajunga (staying) with a woman, jiniba gandunga went to visit a daughter. The locative also expresses the idea of when, while being, while still, as in: gandunga when or while a girl, naja gambalunga when I was a young girl, gabinunga when (he) is hungry, gamuga (for gamunga?) when it rains. Of nouns denoting locality, the nominative is often used for the locative: naja bindana jamba I stay at the camp or at home, jamba gaŋa wun-a, does not stop or stay at home, wunaba jamba stayed at home, guga bina-sitting in the house; this also explains the use of certain local nouns as postpositions: mungugu nara on top of the mountain (literally on or to the mountain, (on) the top; cf. guga nara the top of the house, but evidently also on top of the house).

19.13 The allative would originally express 'motion toward' or 'purpose' and therefore renders the English prepositions to and for. As a matter of fact, it often expresses locality (that is to say, has the function of a locative), especially in words or names denoting places: jambagu to the camp, Murgon-gu
to Murgon, ɲaja barina jambagu I am crying for home, jalgagu (= jalganga) on the road, barigu (stepped) on a stone, nanigu (sitting) on the ground, nula bin·a gugagu he is sitting in the house, gamugu wun·a (the Rainbow Serpent) lives in the water, ganiliba bangagu hid behind a tree, wangangu waɾaba was born at Clermont.

19.14 Some irregular locative forms have been recorded. The form gamuga when it rains (according to 19.12) might be due to imperfect articulation and stand for regular gamungga (a similar slip occurs in bangangu wilba leaves of the tree, for bangagu wilba); for jalgalga (= jalganga) along the road, compare Note 131. The locative of vowel-ending stems is regularly in -غا (cf. above), but of the word gandu (child) it is alternatively gandunga and gandunda (it appears that the latter form depends on an alternative stem gandun-, which also occurs in gandunbara children; see 19.6). A double locative suffix occurs in ɲugundanga night time (literally in the dark or night). This suffix recurs in the locative forms of the English names 'John' and 'Fay': John-undaoga (staying) with John, Fay-undaonga with Fay; the intercalated -u- may be explained as in ergative forms in -ʊɣu (see 19.10; cf. also knife-angu with a knife).

19.15 Paradigms. The rules and general tendencies stated in the preceding sections (19.10-14) are summarised in the following paradigms. The type words used are arranged according to their stem-final sound: (1) vowel-ending (marĩ Aboriginal man, gandu child, wandi dog, gamu water, jalga way, track, path); (2) ending in a nasal (wadan crow, ɲuɣun dark, night gugubiɲ scrub turkey); (3) ending in -ɬ, -ɭ or -ɭ (gambil young girl, wanmal (warmaɬ) koala, gangal arm, wing, waŋal boomerang, wuɾur native companion, waɡaɬ frog).

(1) vowel-ending stems:
NOM marĩ, gandu, wandi, gamu, jalga
ERG marĩŋu, gandungu, wandingu
LOC marĩŋa, gandunga (gandunda), gamuga (cf. 19.14), jalganga
ALL marĩŋu, gamugu, jalgagu

(2) stems ending in a nasal:
NOM wadan, ɲuɣun, gugubiɲ
ERG wadandu, gugubiɲu
LOC ɲuɣunga (ɲugundanga)

(3) stems ending in -ɬ, -ɭ or -ɭ:
NOM gambil, wanmal (warmaɬ), gangal, waŋal, wuɾur, waɡaɬ
ERG gambilŋu, wanmalu (warmaɬu), gangaru, waŋalŋu, (waŋalŋu), wuɾurŋu, waɡaɬu
LOC gambilŋa
ALL waŋalŋu

For the irregular form gangaru (see above under (3)), compare in Part III, 18.9.

19.16 Postpositions. A number of postpositions have been recorded in Wirri, of which some are important as substitutes for missing case forms (cf. 19.11); true postpositions are added to the stem form (nominative) of the noun. The following postpositions occur in the present material: bandagu behind, bara in, inside, below, damu out of, guma with, to, ɲamu like, ɲara on top of (cf. 19.12), ɲudi from (with personal nouns), ɲambaru across, mundu (with impersonal nouns).
Examples: bangga bandagu behind the tree, dili bara galbul sand in my eye, guga bara dan'a standing below the house, mungu bara below the mountain, nani bara below the earth or ground (inside the earth), gamu bari damu wurbana water coming out of the rock (a spring), nani damu out of the earth, bangga damu wurbana coming out of a tree, guga damu out of the house, marí, gandu (g)uma jiniba (I) went to a man, a daughter, jina ńamu, jana ńamu like this, like that, winaru bangga ńara a bird on (top of) the tree, ńandulu ńudi whom is that from?, gandu ńandana ńudi or ńandana gandu ńudi from which child? gandu bağari janya ńudi wurbala the little boy came from (his) mother, jaramanuńudi from the horse,122 barba ra jarambaru across the creek, guga mundu from the house, wangan mundu from Clermont. Some of these postpositions are also relation words: bara bin'a sitting down, guga jarambaru the house across. In such cases they may be construed with a case form (an allative) of the noun determined, as in: gugagu bara below the house, mungugu ńara on top of the mountain.

19.17 Some postpositions or postpositional elements are found attached to (nominalised) verb forms: wandįgu badańmundu jindānuwa watch the dog does not bite you (literally from biting, badan probably being an accidental form; cf. 19.33), gari warabagari after sundown (for the termination -gari, cf. Gunggari gadi like, Bidjara gadi after; cf. 6.19; 9.18). By analogy with Gunggari, we write the postposition in one word with the preceding verb form (cf. 6.19: wadumundu from (my) cooking, while I cook).

19.18 Personal pronouns. The personal pronouns refer to persons or personified nouns only. They are inflected in the following grammatical cases: nominative, ergative (formally identical with the nominative or stem form), objective, possessive and locative. The objective form is used whenever the pronoun is the direct (or indirect) object of a transitive verb (cf. below). The locative is used in the same cases as the locative of personal nouns (see 19.12),123 that is in the sense of (staying) with, (going) to, etc., hence serving the purpose of a missing allative form. The likewise missing ablative form is expressed by a postposition (ńudi) meaning from, while in place of a missing dative form either the objective or the possessive form may be used: ńagiuna jänba tell me (objective), jindānu (I will tell) you (possessive).

19.19 Paradigms. The following basic forms of personal pronouns are recorded from Wirri: (singular) ńaja I, jinda you: nula he, she; (dual) ńali(n) we, jubala you, bula they; (plural) ńana(n) we, jura you, dana they. The following paradigms show the recorded inflected forms.

**First person singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ńaja, ja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ńaja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>ńa̤guna, ńana, -guna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>ńadu, -du</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>ńa̤gunda, ńa̤gundanga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Second person singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>jinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>jinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>jindānu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>jindānu, jindaŋ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>jindānunda(ŋga)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Third person singular:

NOM nula
ERG nula
OBJ nuna, nu·na
POSS nunu, nu·ŋ
LOC nununda(-ŋa)

First person dual:

NOM nali(n), nalin
ERG nali(n)
OBJ nalinuna
POSS nalinu
LOC nalinda, nalinundanga

Second person dual:

NOM jubala, bula
ERG jubala, bula
OBJ jubalana, jibalana
POSS jubalanu, jubala
LOC jubalandanga

Third person dual:

NOM bula
ERG bula
OBJ bulanuna
POSS bulanu

First person plural:

NOM ḋana(n)
ERG ḋana(n)
OBJ ḋananauna, ḋanana
POSS ḋananau, ḋanunu

Second person plural:

NOM jura
ERG jura
OBJ Jurana, jurana
POSS juranu, juran
LOC juranundaŋa (probably for -ŋa)

Third person plural:

NOM dana
ERG dana
OBJ danauna
POSS danaŋu
LOC dananda

The third person dual and plural forms, bula, respectively dana, are properly speaking nouns (two, both, respectively the people): ḋandamundu dana wurbaba where have the people come from? Consequently, instead of bula (which incidentally is used in the second person dual as well; cf. above) the purely nominal form bularu (two, both) is alternatively used. The form bula is often used as a relation word in the sense of together; bularu wa đa bula bana the two are talking together, bularu bula gundaŋa the two are fighting (together);
from the Wirri point of view bula is, of course, a pronoun, although used redundantly (with bularu two or a reciprocal verb form).

19.20 Some irregular forms have been observed (apart from such as depend on evident mistakes). In the first person dual (and plural?) the forms naligara (in naligara gugā our (two) house) and narabana (tell us two, sic) seem impossible to analyse. Unless an intervocalic -ŋ- has disappeared, the second person dual and plural locatives, jubalaundanga, respectively juraundanga (with you) seem to have their termination (-undanga) from the nominal declension (see 19.15 (1)). The third person plural wundana (in wundana gundana they are fighting) is further exceptional. The use of a locative in: waḍa jinda(ŋ)unda bana (talking to you) is further unusual.

19.21 The shorter forms ja (I), -du (my), -duna (me) are used enclitically: ングa ja waraba where I was born? gandungagu (staying) with my child, wandunaguna (= wanduna ングuna asking me. Such short enclitic forms are extensively used in Birri (see 22.15-16; 22.34-37).

19.22 The first person dual ングli(n) is said to be used either inclusively (you and I) or exclusively (he or she and I). In order to make a distinction between these two senses certain compound forms may be used, ングli jinda or ングliinda (you and I): ングli jinda (ングliinda, ングliina jinda) bin'a we two (you and I) are sitting. This construction is based on the same principle as the one in: ングlin birgu I and my wife (in which ングlin is, of course, exclusive).

19.23 Demonstrative pronouns. As in the other languages studied here, the Wirri demonstrative pronoun expresses reference to person or thing at the same time as to place; this means that the same form renders this and here (hither, hence) or that and there (thither, thence). Besides the stem form, which consequently functions as nominative (this, etc.) and locative (here, etc.), local forms (allatives) only are found in the declension of these pronouns (cf. Gunggari, 6.25). In the nominative sense a syllable -na is sometimes added (jina, etc.), which also occurs in the interrogative ングandana which? (cf. ングanda where?: see 19.28). The following demonstrative stems have been recorded (stems found inflected only are marked by a following hyphen): jina this or here, jana that or there, ganda- that, gandu over there , ングjanua (Juanua) that.

19.24 Paradigms and examples. Recorded inflected forms, illustrated by some examples, will be found in the paradigms below.

jina this, here:

NOM jina, jinana
ALL jinangu, jinagu

Examples: gugā jina ングagu this house is mine, ングaja jina gaju or gaju jina nagalba I have seen this woman, gaju jina dan'a there is a woman standing here, jina maringu this man (ergative), jinana gaju this woman, jinangu (or jina) guga waraba was born in this house (cf. 19.12), nula jinangugu majiba he died here, jamba jinangugu bin'a he lives here; notice that ングaja jinangugu bana I want this one rather means I want (or am for) here. (The construction jina nunu this one's (cf. 19.11) is questionable, as it also—and normally—means this is his.)
jana that, there:

  NOM  jana
  ALL  janangu

Examples: ñanda marí jana where is that man? gaju jana nagalba I have seen that woman, jana Townsville-gu there at Townsville wulur jana the things over there, jana box-gu jîn' a it is in that box, guga jana nuŋu that house is his, ga' jana ñadu that car is mine, ganda jana that spear, marí(ñgu) jana jugana that man is eating, jamba janangu at that place, ñaja janangu baña I want that (one) (cf. above).

ganda- that:

  ALL  gandagugu

Examples: jamba gandagugu to that place.

ganduŋ over there:

  NOM  ganduŋ

Examples: ganduŋ guga or guga ganduŋ this house over there.

guñana (juana) that:

  NOM  guñana, juana, juanana
  ALL  juanangu

Examples: marí juana (more or less = jana) wargu that man is bad, juana marí = jana marí that man, juñana (juana) nula = nula he, juana gaju baðari that woman is little, guga juana gajjugu that house is the woman's or the house is that woman's or the house is the woman's there (identical ideas to the Aboriginal mind).

19.25 Interrogative pronouns. The personal interrogative pronoun (who?) is ñandulu in Wirri, while the impersonal interrogative (what?) is ñani. These also indicate indefinite persons or things: ñandulu may mean somebody, I do not know who and ñani something. The personal interrogative refers to a person's name also: ñandulu jinda nambar or jinda ñandulu nambar what is your name; ñani nambar (what name?) is, however, accepted by Wir AM (perhaps copying English). The impersonal interrogative (ñani) also denotes what kind?; jaraman ñani what kind of (a) horse?.

19.26 Paradigms. The personal interrogative has the following case forms: nominative, ergative (formally identical with the nominative), objective, possessive, locative and allative, according to the paradigm below:

  NOM  ñandulu
  ERG  ñandulu
  OBJ  ñanduluna
  POSS ñandulugu
  LOC  ñandulunda or ñandulunga
  ALL  ñandulugu

Examples: jinda ñandulu who are you? ñandulu marí bindana who is the man? ñandulu nambar what is the name? ñandulu ɡala (or gara) maralba who, I wonder took it? or someone must have taken it, ñandulu juři wagulba I do not know who cooked the meat (= ñaja gara nagalba ñandulu juři wagulba I did not see who ...), ñandulu (correct ?) jinda baña whom do you want? jinda ñanduluna maralba
whom did you marry? ɲanduluna jinda guştän with whom do you stay? ɲanduluğu
jana whose (or for whom?) is that?

19.27 Of the impersonal interrogative (ɾanî) the locative and allative only
are found in this material, according to the following paradigm:

| NOM | ɾanî      |
| LOC | ɾanîŋgâ   |
| ALL | ɾanîŋgu   |

Examples: jana ɾanî what is that thing? jinda ɾanî wanduna you are asking some-
thing, ɾanî jinda bîrçagû what will you do tomorrow? jinda ɾanî bârçambâna what
are you doing? ɾanî jinîba why did you go? ɾanî jinda guli wurbana why are you
getting angry? ɾanî (= ɾanîŋgâ, see below) gara gudîrîna I don't know when I am
going away, ɾanî garâ jumbalba he heard something, ɾanîŋgû ɾaja wurbâna why I
came back? ɾanîŋgû jinda baramîna why do you do it? ɾanîŋgû jinda gudîrîba why
did you come back? the locative ɾanîŋgâ is used both in the sense of when? and
what is that for?

19.28 A third interrogative pronoun is ɾandana, which is used—at least in
our material from Wirri—at least in
persons only, rendering the English which? The
inflected forms recorded are (beside the nominative or stem form) the ergative
and possessive, according to the following paradigm:126

| NOM | ɾandana |
| ERG | ɾandanaŋgû |
| POSS | ɾandanaŋçu |

Examples: marî ɾandana or ɾandana marî which man? ɾandana gandu or gandu ɾandana
bândar which child is sick? marî ɾandana jinda nagalba which man did you see?
ɾandana gandugu wâŋal which child's (is the) boomerang? marî ɾandanaŋgû
bârçambalba which man did it? gandu ɾandanaŋgû wâŋal gunmalba which child cut
(or made) the boomerang? gandu ɾandanaŋçu (= ɲanduluğû) wâŋal which child's or
whose boomerang?

19.29 Conjugation. The structure of the verbal stem is as in Gunggari (cf.
6.1; 19.1). The same basic modal forms (imperative, imperfective, perfective,
intentional) also are found in Wirri as in Gunggari. Wirri, however, makes a
difference between a transitive and an intransitive conjugation, which appears
in the perfective and intentional modes, the former being characterised by a
transitive element -l- (see further in 19.30).127 There are further various
kinds of accidental mode forms (see 19.34–35).

19.30 As for the structure of the various modal forms, the following general
marks hold for the regular conjugation in Wirri. The imperative is always
the stem of the verb: binda sit (stem binda-), jini go (stem jini-), wandu ask
(stem wandu-). The imperfective, whether the verbal stem is transitive or
intransitive, ends in the syllable -na (which evidently corresponds to the
imminent suffix -na in Birri; see 22.28 and also cf. Note 42): bindana or bin¥a
(cf. 18.4) sitting, jinina or jin¥a going, wanduna asking. The perfective
mode forms (as indicated above, 19.29) differ according to whether the stem
has a transitive or intransitive function, that is whether it is provided
with a direct object form or not. In the former case, the verb stem is
extended by a morphological element -l- (e.g. nagal-, from nagå- see, look;
cf. the imperative naga, imperfective nagana), which in several languages in eastern Australia is characteristic of transitive action (cf. Note 127). The perfective mode is then expressed by the same locative element -ba as found in Gangulu (B)—see 16.25—so that the intransitive stems form the perfective in -ba and the transitive stems in -lba: jiniba went, gone, nagalba saw, seen; in this way the function of the verb stem, whether transitive or intransitive, is ascertained: ba̱raba became (intransitive) and ba̱raba did, made (transitive; from the same verbal stem, ba̱ra-).

19.31 The intentional is formed in two different manners: (1) by addition of the allative -gu to the intransitive or transitive verbal stem (see above, 19.29-30) or else (2) by the imperfective, that is, the original imminent form (cf. 19.30) in -na, with or without the same allative suffix -gu; no difference in meaning has been observed between the two different ways of forming the intentional. Of intransitive stems we consequently find: bindagu to sit (e.g. juran bindagu for you to sit, i.e. a chair) or bindanagu (in order) to sit, jinina to go, jinibalana jinina told (him) to go, jinda nuna janba gudirina you tell him to come back and of transitive stems: nagalgu or naganugu to see, juganagu to eat, nuna dangana başa want to send him.128

19.32 As for the use of the various modal forms, a few remarks may be made. As in the other languages studied in eastern Australia by the present writer, the imperative serves also as a hortative: naja jini let me go, nalinina jini let us two go (= nalinina jini, jini, that is with the imperfective, or imminent, form of the verb), naja wuda junguli let me (or I will) wash my face. The imperfective is, as for instance in Bidjara (see 9.28), either durative (habitual, potential): bindana sitting, wunanaling going down, nula nara marana he always takes things, naja nagana nuna I (can) see him or imminent: naganugu will see (you) tomorrow, naja nuna jidana I am going to leave him; from this latter sense the use of the imperfective as an intentional form (cf. 19.31) starts. The perfective mode is not restricted to past time (which for natural reasons, however, is most frequently the case) and may be used in such cases as ganlliba hiding (having put oneself into hiding); it has been noticed, for instance, in such a construction as: naja garan gunana gudiriba dangu I do not know if I will come back (it possibly copies the English if I shall be back). The intentional denotes either intention (I will or want to go, etc.), necessity (I must or have to go), purpose (in order to go, etc.) or, finally, is used with forms of the verb ba̱ra- in the sense of want; these distinctions seem to have nothing to do with the existence of two sets of intentional forms (see 19.31) or with the presence or absence of the allative -gu in one of these sets: nagalu (I) have got to see, naja bindanagu I have got to sit, jinina (I) am going to go, mara naganugu (in order) to see a man, naja jana nuna nagana I am going to see him, waja mantana (gu) to hunt wallaby, danu wurbana (tell him) to come back, nagalinagu (you go) and have (or to have) a look at yourself, naja gamu bara̱ba juganagu I wanted water to drink or to drink water, ġani jinda gunana başa what do you want to know?

19.33 Certain irregular forms have been noted in the Wirri conjugation. The imperfective is in -nu instead of common -na in: jinda gabinu are you hungry? (so also in Birri, of the same verb stem gabi-; see 22.30). Of indirect or causative reflexive stems in -li-, which are transitive in Wirri (see 19.8), the perfective form is not in *-lba (according to 19.30), but in -la: binbibi ba̱rambalila cured his own, naja gambalila gawun I have put on my dress.129
As for the true function of the short forms in -l or -n (jagal, gunDan) much cannot be said; these sometimes give the impression of being imperfective (habitual), sometimes accidental forms (cf. 6.34): naja jagal wumar gari jagabanga I get up (as a habit) when the sun rises, gari jagamundu before the sun rises (literally away from when the sun rises), bangDan frightened (also in Bidjara, see 9.30), nula gunDan he is a thief (always stealing). The strange form jin'al gone the present writer is unable to account for.

19.34 Accidental forms. A great number of accidental forms (see Part I, 3.24) occur in our Wirri material. These are of various kinds. In the first place, one has to distinguish between accidental forms which refer to a nominative (or subject) and such as refer to an objective (or direct object form). In the former case, the accidental form is an original locative form (in -nga; cf. 19.10) added either to an imperfective form (in -na; cf. 19.30) or a perfective form (in -ba or -lba; cf. 19.30), consequently resulting in one of the terminations: -nanga, -bangA or -lbangA, depending on whether the verbal action is conceived as imperfective or perfective and whether it is intransitive or transitive. In the latter case, if the accidental form refers to an objective form, the accidental suffix is always -lbadI (if the verbal action is intransitive) or -lbadI (if it is transitive).

19.35 The following examples will illustrate the rules stated in the preceding section (19.34): (1) reference to a nominative, verbal action imperfective (suffix: -nanga): naja nagananga nuNuna jambana nuNuna if or when I see him I will tell him, gandu barinanga naja gaba wunina when the child cries I give him honey, gamu waRananga when rain is falling, binBi gari jagananga it is nice when the sun rises, naja jininanga naja barina jambagI if I go I shall be crying for home, naja bindananga, danananga wurwul bana I am getting tired of sitting, of standing (when I sit, stand), nula waJa baNa wumar wunananga he is talking in his sleep (when lying asleep), wununanga while cooking, naja gudirina gari warananga I will return at sunset (when the sun sets), jinda barananga jinda gandi if you want, carry or take it, naja bunja barananga when I am getting old, naja bugananga when I grow up, gandu jinda barinanga naja jindaNuNa gundana child, if you cry I will hit you, further (suffix: -nuNga; cf. 19.33): nula gabinunuga barina he is crying because he is hungry (when he is hungry he cries), gabinunuga gandu barina the child cries when he is hungry; (2) reference to a nominative, verbal action intransitive perfective (suffix: -bangA): jaNa nuNu majiba nula warabanga his mother died when he was born, nula majiba gara naja warabanga he died before I was born, Mack majibanga wadira maralba when Mack died I took another (husband), mungargu jinibanga when (they) had gone to the scrub, naja jagal wumar gari jagabanga I get up when the sun rises (better when the sun is up), nula jiniba gari jagabanga he went after sunrise, jinibanga nula after he had gone, naja warabanga when I fell down, burabanga nula jumalba Nani gara he heard something when he woke up, nanga baRabanga when I become a young man, naja bugabanga when I grow up (more exactly have grown up or am grown-up); (3) reference to a nominative, verbal action transitive perfective (suffix: -lbangA): waja naja wadulbangA nuNuna jugana, jubalga when I have cooked the wallaby I will eat, I ate him, waja naja nagalbangA nuNuna gundana if I see (or having seen) a wallaby I will kill him (4) reference to an objective form, verbal action intransitive (suffix: -lbadI): naja nagalba nuNuna bindabadI I saw him sitting down, naja nagalba (bularu) gundarabadI I have seen (the two) fighting, naja nagana nuNuna gandibadI I see him wearing (a hat), naja nagalba nuNuna danabadI I saw him standing, naja jumalba baribadI I heard (him) crying, naja mari nagalba jugabadI I saw the man eating (used intransitively); (5) reference to an objective form, verbal action transitive (suffix: -lbadI): naja nuNuna nagana or nagalba.
waŋal barambalbadi I see or saw him making a boomerang, ṣaja nnuŋuna nagana or nagalba baiba dunibilbadi I see or saw him smoking a pipe, wiŋaru gubun bandalbadi (I can hear) the birds singing.

19.36 Paradigms. The paradigms below show the regular conjugation of intransitive, transitive and reflexive verbs in Wirri. The type verbs are: (a) (intransitive stems) binda- sit, jini- go, wuna- lie down; (b) transitive stems) juga- eat, drink, naga- see, look at; (c) (reflexive stems) nagali- look at oneself, gambali- put on oneself, dress.

binda- sit:

- IMP binda
- IPF bindana (bin’a)
- PF bindaba
- INT bindagu, bindanagu
- ACC bindananja, bindabadi

jini- go:

- IMP jini
- IPF jinina (jin’a)
- PF jiniba
- INT jinina
- ACC jininana, jinibanga

wuna- lie down:

- IMP wuna
- IPF wunanana (wun’a)
- PF wunaba
- ACC wunanangana-

juga- eat, drink:

- IMP juga
- IPF jugana
- PF jugalba
- INT juganagu
- ACC jugalbadi, jugabadi

naga- see, look at:

- IMP naga
- IPF nagana
- PF nagalba
- INT nagalgu, nagana(gu)
- ACC naganangana, nagalbanga

nagali- look at oneself:

- IMP nagali
- IPF nagalina
- PF nagaliba
- INT nagalinagu

gambali- put on oneself, dress:

- IPF gambalina
- PF gambalila
Connectives. Two particles are met with in our Wirri material which suggest the character of connectives (cf. Part I, 3.3 and Note 17), namely ba and bu, of which a couple of instances are recorded. The former (ba) might be supposed to answer to English then, as in: jara ba go then,\textsuperscript{141} Bob maiba ba Bob, well he died (Bob, he died then). The other particle, bu, seems analogous to the Gunggari and Bidjara connective du (see 6.39; 9.33), which has often been rendered by English too in our material. In Wirri bu occurs in gudan bu my sister, too (died). Incidentally, the form bu occurs in Gunggari as well (see ibidem) being explained as equivalent to English but. No doubt the Wirri and Gunggari connectives are formally identical, showing a not very significant semantic difference, and may represent a particle having a certain extension in areas of eastern Australia (cf. the Note 47).

(c) Construction

In the first place some instances ought to be pointed out, which illustrate the common non-distinction of attributive and predicative construction in Australian languages (cf. 6.40, with references). On this non-distinction are based such constructions as: wandi nagu I have a dog (also my dog), nu'g gandu nangara he or she has lots of children (his or her many children), gadana nagu bularu I have got two brothers (also my two brothers), dana nugu they have houses (also their house(s)); this ambiguity (from the English point of view) is due to the absence in Wirri of anything analogous to a copula.

The absence of a word corresponding to English 'and' (whether connecting nominal or verbal forms) or other conjunction accounts for a further divergence between Wirri and English construction. In the following instances nouns, or a noun and a pronoun, are found in juxtaposition to express various kinds of syntactic relation: jabu jaqa father and mother, nagu jabu jaqa my father and mother (according to 19.38, this could evidently also mean I have a father and mother), nali John wun'a I and John stay, nalin birgu I and my wife, birgu jibalana you and your wife (objective form). Asyndetic construction of 'finite' (i.e. non-accidental) verb forms occur in the examples to follow: naja gamu baqa jugana I want water to drink (literally drinking, that is I am thirsty), jaqa nu'nu majiba gandu waraba his mother died when the child was born, barina gandu wunina gaba when the child cries (I) give (him) honey, gadu nanigu bindana barina the child is sitting on the ground and is crying, nula danana barina or bariba he stands and is or was crying,\textsuperscript{142} dinbara wugana dana gubun dana dirana they are painting and are singing a corroboree, mari bindana jugana the man is sitting and is eating (i.e. is sitting eating; cf. a preceding example), jin'a marana will go and will get (i.e. will go and get or to get), jandingu bura jana quick get away and go (i.e. hurry up), nula gubun bandara or bandalba baiba jugana or jugalba he sings or sang and smokes or smoked (i.e. he sings or sang while smoking); in several of these instances accidental forms could have been used to the same effect (see 19.34). Many of the examples quoted above clearly show how imperfective forms (in -na) may come to serve as or become intentional forms (cf. 19.31-32), for instance wugana ... dirana (see above) paint(ing) and sing(ing) rather suggests an English rendering paint(ing) in order to sing.

Of the favorite sequences involving 'finite' and 'accidental' forms in the Australian languages, described in dealing with Gunggari (6.46, where reference is made to analogous constructions elsewhere), the following is recorded from Wirri: dana mungargu jiniba, mungara jinibanga, etc. they went to the scrub, when they had gone to the scrub etc.
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

20.1 To the east of the Wirri area, as far as the Pacific coast, the Birri area extends. Although the language is important and on many points interesting, relatively little material has been secured. The area being extensive (reaching, along the coast, almost from the vicinity of Rockhampton or, in any case, Mackay to that of Bowen and perhaps further north), dialectal differences are observable, although unfortunately hardly more than a single informant was found to represent each one of these dialectal varieties of the language. The language is known by several names: Birri (birri), Birrija (birija), Birrijaba (birijaba), etc., but these different designations do not seem to have anything to do with dialectal variation, as observed in the present account.\(^{143}\) Birri is closely related to Wirri, but differs on important points in the conjugation of the verb (for which see in 22.27).

20.2 As to the precise extension of the original area occupied by speakers of Birri, no more can be said at the present moment than what may be deduced from information given by the informants as to their native place or that of their parents and ancestors. By this method (for which cf. Part I, 1.2), the following places would reasonably be within the one-time Birri country: Barwon, Nebo, Mackay, Strathmore (on the Bowen river), Bowen, as well as the Bowen and Burdekin river areas in general; as a matter of fact, Birri is perhaps most often referred to as the 'Bowen language'. Although one good informant (Bir RD; see 20.3) speaks of a northern dialect of Birri as being different from his own (that is the one of Strathmore), the only northern variant of Birri of which a trace is found today would be the one around Mackay (represented by one informant, Bir AL).\(^{144}\) Otherwise, it is possible to distinguish between variants of the language, each represented by at least one informant: Nebo (Bir VA), Stranthmore (Bir RD) and Ukanunda (Bir AL). Although the differences may fall within the phonology, morphology (declension and conjugation) and to some extent vocabulary, they are on the whole slight (cf., for instance, 21.3; 22.10, 16; 26; 27.28-29).

LIST OF INFORMANTS

20.3 The following informants for Birri have been interviewed, being referred to in the usual way by the signature Bir (for Birri), followed by the informants' initials. For other details, compare in 3.2.

- Bir AL: Mr. Archie Lay, at Bowen, born at Ukanunda station (inland from Bowen).
- Bir CC: Mr. Cecil ('Pinchy') Cook, at Mackay, from the Nebo area; both father and mother were Birri.
- Bir JH: Mr. Joe Hegarty, at One-Mile, Stradbroke Island; his father was a Birri from the Burdekin river.
- Bir LJ: Mrs. Liza Jackson, at Woorabinda, born at Barwon (inland from Rockhampton, between Nebo and Emerald), her mother being from Nebo and her father from 'up and down'; she calls her language birija.
Bir RD: Mr. Reginald ('Reggie') Dodd, at North Rockhampton, originally from Strathmore, on the Bowen river, or the Kirkness or Woodtown area; his totem is dagaŋ (sand goanna).

Bir VA: Mrs. Violet Abingdon (or Tear; also referred to as Mrs. Plate), at Woorabinda, born (in 1917) at Nebo (inland from Mackay).

Bir WS: Mr. William ('Bill') Skene, at Esk, from the Bowen river.

Phonology

21.1 The phonetic structure of the Birri dialects studied does not in any important respect differ from either that of the southern Gunggari languages (Gunggari, Bidjara, Marganj) or the northern languages (Gangulu and Ngawun) — as for the specific Wirri features mentioned in 18.4, they are hardly in any way reflected in Birri and the specific Gangulu (B) vowel phoneme e is also absent in Birri.

Evolution of the vowel system

21.2 The vowel system in Birri is of the triangular type (cf. 18.2 and Note 109), the basic vocalic phonemes being a, i, u (usually short or of medium or normal length; occasional length in non-initial syllables is left unmarked, although sometimes noticeable, as in wadan (wada·n) crow (cf. 18.2). Other vowel sounds may arise in special conditions, due to environment: jei for jai yes (Bir RD, AL), ŋe’, ŋe for ŋaja I, etc.

21.3 Assimilation of vowels in words of more than two syllables is quite common in Birri: ŋalana us two (for *ŋalina, cf. ŋali we two), waŋa waŋambilini talking for *warambilina (cf. 22.9), waŋambilina dana for waŋambilina they used to paint themselves (Bir RD), ŋali janilili we two went (probably for *janilali, cf. ŋana janilana we all went, ŋaja janilaja I went; Bir RD). Elision of vowels in all positions is also fairly common: janildana they have gone (for *janila dana; Bir RD), wulalbula they two have died (for *wulala bula; Bir RD); this is especially common with Bir AL, who regularly uses the suffix -l for Bir RD's -la, -li and -n for Bir RD's -na (cf. 22.37 (4)): bɾamba- (bramba-; Bir AL) for bəɾamba- do, make; in this way the initial consonant clusters in briguna wife (cf. Wirri birgu, idem), bɾiɡi- cry or the medial cluster in gulbran native companion (Bir AL) have probably arisen. The borrowed birimu- bɾeem (fish) corresponds, however, to the original Birri syllabic structure.

Evolution of the consonant system

21.4 The consonantal phonemes in Birri are the same as in Gunggari (see 5.6), the modifications due to position or environment as well as occurrence of the phonemes in the word or syllabic context being the same (cf. ibid). A form such as gina is consequently a mere variant of dina (foot), while in the word biriŋiligi pewee (Bir VA), the palatalised ŋ has phoneme value and differs from the (alveolar) d in buldaŋ heart or baldira husband (cf. 2.6, Note 10). In English words the alveolar 't' or 'd' (except after n and l; cf. above) may be rendered by the Birri (dental-interdental) d, as in: budal bottle (Bir AL).
As in the other Gunggari languages, words beginning with ɡ or ɲ (except as variants before l) are exceptional: ġungi ghost (Bir VA; cf. juṅgi, juṅgi, jongi, idem).

21.5 Our informants often have difficulty in differentiating clearly between the phonemes r and r (cf. 5.10), so that words such as mara take (imperative) and maṛa hand (Bir VA) are apt to be pronounced identically (whenever in this material doubt may arise as to the proper sound in words of this kind, we shall prefer to write the alveolar r, implying that it may in reality be actualised as an English 'r' sound). Other common difficulties with the r sound appear in: baladja for balara boat (Bir RD), bangara for bangar blue-tongue lizard (Bir VA). The form r arising in the intervocalic position for certain other consonant sounds in the current pronunciation (cf. 18.10) is found in Birri ɡarana for ɡanana we all (Bir RD), ɡaranna for ɡananna us all (Bir RD), mara-get beside mana- (idem; Bir VA), marali took beside manali (idem; Bir RD), dirala tea (Bir VA; probably from *didala tea-leaf; cf. Gunggari dala leaf : tea-dala). In long words an intervocalic -l- may be dropped: ɡanja wurajilaja for *wuralilaja I pulled off (Bir RD), wurallina for wurallilina (took off with), ɡani warambiilila for warambilila what did he do? (Bir RD); notice the optional intercalation of the semivowel -j- between a and i (cf. 5.5).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

22.1 Structure. The structure of the concrete word stem is as in Gunggari or Wirri (cf. 6.1; 19.1). Simple nominal stems are in most cases dissyllabic, ending either in a vowel or a consonant (-ŋ, -m, -n, -l, -r or -r); underived verbal stems are likewise dissyllabic and may end in a vowel only (-a-, -i-, -u-). Vowel-ending stems may sometimes be either nominal or verbal waɡa word, waɡa- speak (imperative waɡa).

22.2 Compounds. Compounds of the type 'blackfellow', etc. are normal in Birri; compare: maɾi bama Aboriginal man, maɾi gaju black woman, migulu gaju white woman (Bir RD). The order of the components is generally not fixed (cf. 19.2): baɾu balban bony back (not backbone, as the order of the elements would suggest in English).

There are examples of nominal or verbal stems occurring in compound construction with a verb stem, as in: galmaɾa galga- urinate, guna galga- defecate; that these are compounds according to the principles expressed in Part I, Note 123 and elsewhere is evident from the fact that the verb stem (galga-) is intransitive (gamu galɡaṇa it is raining). A compound of two verb stems is found in: wagawanga- run away (cf. waga- run, wanga- go away).

22.3 Reduplication. Reduplicated nominal stems are common. Although such forms generally express either diminutives, animal names, color names or adjectival ideas (cf. 6.3) in the Gunggari languages, the recorded instances from Birri however hardly bear out this tendency: gamu gamu grog or a drink (Bir JH, WS), bangil bangil cheek, diga diga or digar digar wagtail, munu munu bat, gubal gubal pretty, bana bana clever man (but bana is stomach), buɾi buɾi doctor (buɾi is fire), bangu bangu (Bir RD), bangi bangi (Bir AL) hat (bangi is brother-in-law).
22.4 Nominal derivation. The sociative derivative suffix in Birri is -bari or -bai and the caritive suffix is -mulu: baldirabarri having a husband (baldira), wulibai wild, wanting a fight (from wuli bad temper), gambimulu without clothes (gambi), bumbumulu without feathers (bumbu); in bana banabari doctor, the function is paled (cf. bana bana, idem; possibly bana bana has the original sense of magic or curative power, whence bana bana bari is one having such power). In manta gara no bread, baldira garã without a husband (cf. above), the last word is probably the common negative relation word garã (nothing, etc.), which may occur as an independent unit and ought to be written as a word apart (cf. 6.4, Note 26).

22.5 The common feminine suffix -gan occurs in wamplerigan white woman (a common term in south-eastern Queensland), but also in other words: guŋgan (Bir JH), guŋgan (Bir VA) spirit, ghost. Other suffixes occur in isolated cases and the function is not to be determined: in bandašabarri (Bir AL) and bandašami (Bir VA) God, the suffix (-bara or -ml) is evidently analogous to the Bidjara -gari, -gai (see 9.5) and seems to denote 'inhabitant'; the suffix -ml is found also in derived forms of the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns (see 22.21, 25). The suffix -di in gadadi hat (Bir VA; cf. gada head) is the same as the Gangulu (B) -di or the Wirri -diri(n), -di (see 16.5; 19.6), which have an identical function. The suffix -gara in: bamašara little boy, gambalšara little girl (Bir VA) seems to have a diminutive function.

22.6 Finally, the 'dual-comitative' formative in terms of relationship (see 6.6 and Note 27) is -na in Birri: jabuna one's father (from jabu father), jaŋana one's mother (from jaŋa mother), briguna one's wife (from brigu wife), ŋadinana one's grandfather or grandson (from ŋadi grandfather or grandson), gamina one's grandmother or grand-daughter (from gami grandmother or grand-daughter); these derived forms appear to be used either in such constructions as jabu jaŋana father and mother (hence involving duality)147 or whenever two persons are mentioned together in a context: da muŋu jabuna Tom King's father (Bir RD).

22.7 Verbal derivation. The four basic types of verbal derivation (causative, associative, reflexive, reciprocal) are all represented in Birri, being characterised by a corresponding derivative suffix to the simple stem. Causative verbs are formed by one of the suffixes -ma- and -mba-, the latter being more common and typical: gambirama- turn round (transitive; from gambirä- turn round, intransitive), baŋrama- (Bir AL, VA), waŋrama- (Bir RD) do, make, bring about (from baŋra-, waŋra- happen, come about), baŋama- change (transitive; cf. banali-, idem, intransitive), waŋama- lay down (from wuna- lie down), danama-set (from dana- sit), jagamba- lift up (from waga- climb, get up), jidirama-soare (from jidira- take a fright), galgamba- empty (water) (from galga- run, flow, drip), ŋugamba- teach (from ŋuga- know, ŋuŋali- learn); the suffix is -mbi- in jagambi- hang up (from jagä- climb), probably due to vowel assimilation (cf. -mbili-, below, 22.9, and in 21.3).

22.8 Associative derivation is by means of the suffix -ri- or -ji- (cf. 16.8): manda- go away with (simple verb not recorded; cf. Gunggari manda- go), wangari- go away with (from wanga- go), janiri- bring (from janji- go, come), danari- sit with (from dana- sit), wunari- lie with (form wuna- lie down), bangari- knock down (causative sense, cf. 6.8; from bangä- fall, hence
originally fall with), guraji- bring home (from gura- go home). Associative verbs are transitive, that is they have an ergative subject and an objective form or object word: gajurbaŋgu danariŋala jalu the woman is sitting with (nursing) the baby (Bir RD).

22.9 The reflexive suffix is -li-: nagali- look at oneself (from naga- see, look at), gulmali- cut oneself (from gulma- cut); the sense is generally intransitive (often inchoative) in: ngali- learn (from nūga- know, hence begin to know), wulali- die or be dying (from wula- die), bangali- almost fall, be about to fall (from banga- fall). Occasionally the sense is reciprocal: nagali- look at one another (cf. above). A combined causative-reflexive sense (make oneself) is expressed by the suffix -mbili- (from *-mali-, by assimilation, cf. 21.4), as in: waŋambilili- paint oneself (madirangu waŋambililiŋa used to paint themselves, literally make oneself with paint or painted), waŋambilili- talk a lot (as if make oneself talk waga-). A variant of this suffix is -mbari-, as in: gurambaŋi- turn round (make oneself turn round; cf. guraga- return). The proper reciprocal suffix is -ra- or -na-: gunda ra- fight (from gunda- hit, hence hit one another; Bir VA), nagana- look at one another (from naga- look at; Bir RD). The suffix -ra- in gambirai- turn round seems to have a general intransitive or reflexive sense (cf. Gunggari and Bidjara gambirai-, gambiri-).

22.10 Declension. Birri declension comprises the following recorded case forms: nominative (or stem form), ergative, possessive, ablative, locative and allative. The nominative serves as basis of the other case forms as well as in construction with a postposition (see 22.14). The ergative always ends in -u; according to the termination of the stem form, the form of the ergative varies: vowel-ending stems take the suffix -ŋu, stems ending in a nasal take -u with a preceding homorganic plosive (hence ergative forms arise in: -ŋu, -ndu; no stem in -m or -n is recorded) and other stems take plain -u (with or without modification of the stem-final consonant). The possessive form has been recorded of vowel-ending stems only and ends in -ŋu. The ablative varies according to the different dialects of Birri, so that three different suffixes are recorded: -nudu (Bir RD), -di (Bir AL) and -ni (Bir VA; the latter, however, in pronominal forms only, see 22.16, 24), all found with vowel-ending stems (cf. the Paradigms, 22.12). The locative always ends in -a, with or without a preceding consonant or consonant group (-ɡ-, -d-, -ɡ-, -ŋɡ-, etc.), according to the same principle as noted for the ergative form (see above). Finally, the allative always ends in -gu. For details, compare further the Paradigms in 22.12.

22.11 As for the use of the case forms little is to be said. The ergative expresses the agent of a transitive verb (bandaraŋingu nani jabalba God has made the earth) or the instrument (malaŋgu, mirungu (hit) with the hand, the nulla-nulla). The possessive case also expresses a dative relation: bamanu (gave) to the man. The local case forms (ablative, locative and allative) of personal nouns usually have specialised senses, the ablative indicating (take something) off (one), the locative (stay) with (one) or (going) to (visit one) and the allative for or intended for or belonging to (hence the possessive sense). Other case relations, especially where case forms are missing (as of consonant-ending noun stems; cf. 22.10), may be expressed by postpositions (see 22.14).
22.12 Paradigms. In order to further illustrate the principles stated in 22.10-11, the following paradigms are given of nouns ending in (1) a vowel, (2) a nasal and (3) any other consonant (in practice, -l or -r, no stems in -r being recorded). The following are the type words chosen: (1) bama, maři man, gamu water, jamba camp, nani earth, mambu nose; (2) jaraman horse, balban bone, ṣugan night; (3) daŋul possum, gabul carpetsnake, bangur turtle, wuŋar sleep.

(1) vowel-ending stems:
- NOM bama, maři, gamu, jamba, nani, mambu
- ERG bamaŋgu, mařingu
- POSS bamaŋu
- ABL bamaŋungu, mambudi (Bir AL)
- LOC bamaŋga or bamaŋunda, gamunga, jambaŋga, naniŋga
- ALL bamaŋgu, jambaŋgu

(2) stems ending in a nasal:
- NOM jaraman, balban, ṣugan
- ERG jaramandu, balbandu
- LOC jaramanda, ṣuganda (last night)
- ALL jaramangu

(3) stems ending in -r or -l:
- NOM daŋul, gabul, bangur, wuŋar
- ERG daŋulu or daŋuru, gabulu, banguru
- LOC wuŋaranga
- ALL daŋulagu (Bir RD).

22.13 Article. Any noun in the stem form or its inflections may be used in a plural as well as in a singular sense in Birri: mařingu (ergative) therefore either means the man or the people (Bir RD) and in the following instances the use of a plural personal pronoun indicates that the sense is plural: buɾi buɾiŋgu jamaŋandana the doctors, they (-dana) used to tell us, maɾi bama, gajurba ... diŋa dana the Aboriginal men, women, they used to dance, banambilba danana maɾi changed them, the men (Bir VA). A plural article (-nu, that is as in Gunggari; cf. 6.18) is, however, used by Bir VA, to express observable plurality (i.e. English some), in gandunu some children (from gandu child). The form in -rĩ in jalarĩŋ children (from jalu child; Bir RD) seems to serve as a plural article (unless it is simply an adaptation of the English termination '-ren' in 'children'? incidentally, a form jalarĩŋ child, recorded from Bir WS, may be incorrect).

22.14 Postpositions. One postposition only has been recorded, namely damu from, off, which serves to express an ablative of certain nouns: jamba damu from home (jamba; Bir VA), dibila damu (feathers) off a bird (Bir VA), gaga damu from the house (Bir RD), gamu damu from the water (Bir RD; hence = the Gunggari gamundu), mambu damu from the nose (= mambudí, Bir AL). The ablative suffix -ŋundu (see 22.10) might, of course, be referred to as a postposition with the same right as the Wirri ŋudi (19.16); both seem in any case to be based on a possessive form (whether nominal or pronominal; cf. 22.10) in -ŋu, the Birri ablative suffix representing this form plus an ablative suffix -ndu (cf. 6.13) and the Wirri ŋudi, the same form plus a postpositional (or ablative) -di (cf. 22.10).
22.15 Personal pronouns. Birri is characterised by a rich development of the pronominal system (for which see below as well as in 22.21, 33 sqq.). For the personal pronoun the same general principles hold as in the other languages within the group or, as a matter of fact, all languages studied in this survey, namely that they refer to persons or animate beings only, that they have a special objective and possessive form (the ergative being generally like the nominative) and further that where local case forms (ablative or locative; of allatives no instances are found) these are used in special senses (e.g. the locative in ņa gunda dana nala stays with me (and not *in me), ņa ni jinda nanda what is wrong with you? cf. 6.21). Birri, however, differs from the other Gunggari languages studied here in having (in most persons) a double set of personal pronouns, which we may term (1) independent and (2) enclitic; as a matter of fact, sporadic tendencies to use shorter, or enclitic, forms of the personal pronouns are met with elsewhere in the languages studied (cf. Part I, 7.20; 8.6; 11.6; Part II, 19.19), but in Birri (or rather in certain ones of the dialects recorded here) the use of enclitic forms (which we write in one word with the concrete form to which they belong) has evolved into a regular system, namely in the conjugation of the verb (see further in 22.33-37). In dealing with the personal pronouns in the section of paradigms (22.16), the enclitic forms are given after the independent forms, being provided with a hyphen. Pronouns for the following persons (given in the independent form) are recorded: (singular) ņaja I, jinda you, nula he, she; (dual) ņali we, jubala you, bula they; (plural) ņana we, jura you, dana they. For additional, or variant, forms as well as for enclitic forms, see in the Paradigms below (22.16).

22.16 Paradigms. The following paradigmatic forms are recorded, independent ones given in the first place, followed—after a semicolon—by the corresponding enclitic forms, which are hyphenated.

First person singular:

| NOM  | ņaja; -ja |
| ERG  | ņaja; -ja |
| OBJ  | ņa guna; -na |
| POSS | ņa gu; -gu |
| ABL  | ņa gundu (Bir RD), ņa guni (Bir VA) |
| LOC  | ņa gunda, ņa guna (Bir VA) |

Second person singular:

| NOM  | jinda (junda, Bir RD); -nda |
| ERG  | jinda |
| OBJ  | jinda na, jununa (Bir VA); -nu |
| POSS | junu, jinda (Bir RD), juna (Bir VA); -nu |
| ABL  | jinda nundu |
| LOC  | jinda nunda, jununda (Bir RD), jinda nunda, jununa (Bir VA) |

Third person singular:

| NOM  | nula; -la, -li, -lu, -l (Bir AL) |
| ERG  | nula; -la, etc. |
| OBJ  | nu nuna (nu-na); -na |
| POSS | nu n (nu-n), nununu n (Bir RD); |
| ABL  | nunundu (Bir RD), nununi(n), nununamun (Bir VA) |
| LOC  | nununda |
First person dual:

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Third person dual:

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First person plural:

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Second person plural:

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<th>OBJ</th>
<th>POSS</th>
<th>ABL</th>
<th>LOC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ιουρα; -να</td>
<td>ιουρα</td>
<td>ιουρανα, ιουρανυ</td>
<td>ιουρανυ</td>
<td>ιουρανυνυ</td>
<td>ιουρανυνα, ιουρανυνα</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third person plural:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>ERG</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>POSS</th>
<th>ABL</th>
<th>LOC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>ιανα (ιανανα, Bir RD); -να</td>
<td>ιανα; -να</td>
<td>ιανανυνα, ιανανα; -να</td>
<td>ιανανυ</td>
<td>ιανανυνυ</td>
<td>ιανανυνα, ιανανυνα</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

22.17 Some remarks are apt here as to the use of the above pronominal forms (22.15-16). As far as the inflected forms go, several examples bear out that the nominative is regularly used for a missing (inflected) ergative form (this holds almost universally throughout the paradigm; in the third person plural, the form dananγu is originally nominal, = the people). This also holds for the enclitic forms, as seen from comparing: jambagu guranγa I am going home (-ja, nominative) and manda ηαγα jugefanγa I am eating meat (-ja ergative; Bir VA).
The objective form is used to express either a direct or indirect object: nula nagali なんくな the has seen us (direct object), jaba なんくな give him (indirect object), but a dative relation is also expressed by the possessive form: (jaba) なんぐ or jaba なんぐ give (to) me. Otherwise the possessive form expresses ownership: jamba なんくな your camp (Bir VA), なんぐ brigna み 之 wife, なんぐ guga み 之 house, junnu なんくださ your house, jinami, gunami なんくな (?) this, that is his. As for the enclitic forms, these are usually combined with verb forms (in the 'personal conjugation', for which see in 22.33-37), but they may also be joined to nominal or pronominal forms, according to a special construction, as in: jinda binbinda you are good (= binbi jinda), gujali (= guja なんくな) he is no good, jinda なんなinda what (kind) are you? (Bir RD), jinda なんなるunuda who are you? (Bir RD), jinamila it is this one, jinamilo marī this is an Aboriginal, なんなる what kind was he? jinamilo or nunulu this is he, it is he, danulu it is they, なんなるunamulo who is that? jinda なんなinda what (kind) are you (cf. above), なんなるunu (?) jinda who are you? (all from Bir RD).

22.18 To express a differentiation between an inclusive and an exclusive form or an analogous distinction in the first and second persons dual, compound forms may be used: なんな jinda or なんなinda you and me (inclusive), jinda なんなula (= jinda なんな) you and he, she, that is, in either case, in speaking to one person (although referring to two).

22.19 In this connection compound forms of the enclitic personal pronouns (which are of great importance in the personal conjugation of the verb; see 22.33-37) may be mentioned. Such forms are: -jana I for you (i.e. nominative or ergative -ja plus possessive -nu), -gunda you for me (i.e. possessive -gu plus nominative or ergative -nda), -lanu he you (i.e. ergative -la plus objective -nu). For special or contracted forms, such as -ganda you him, -nsa I him, -nga he him, see in 22.37 (4).

22.20 Demonstrative pronouns. Birri has two different sets of demonstrative pronouns: (1) one of the usual type, involving denotation of locality and having a rudimentary pronominal inflection (cf. 6.25) and (2) one being nominal in character and having typically 'personal' declension forms (see 22.10). In the former set the following demonstratives belong (whether or not by coincidence, the instances under (1) are all from Bir VA): jina this, here, なんな that, there and wuna that, there. Of these an alternative nominative form in -na (perhaps not involving locality) and an allative in -gu are found, according to the following paradigms.

jina this, here:

NOM jina, jinana
ALL jinagu, jinalgu (correct ?)

なんな that, there:

NOM なんな, なんなな
ALL なんなぐ

wuna that, there:

NOM wuna, wunana
Examples: jamba jina or jina jamba this camp or place (or the camp here, etc.),
jinana this (one), jinagu (come) here, jinalgu (?) jida ụna leave that here;
ụna that, ụnana that thing, ụnagu over there; jamba wuna that camp, wuna
binbi that is nice, wuna junu that is yours, wunana that (one).

22.21 In the nominal set (see 22.20), the demonstratives appear derived by the
same suffix -mi as mentioned in 22.5, which evidently has a personalising or
individualising character (possibly denoting one being (at a place)). The
following stems are recorded: jinami this (the one being here), gunami and
ţunami that; with the exception of gunami, the pronouns in this set are clearly
derived from those in set (1), for which see above in 22.20. These
demonstratives refer to persons or things, but hardly to locality (even in the
allative forms in -qu. the reference is rather to an individual person or thing
than to place155). Further, no ablative or locative forms are recorded, but by
contrast the typically personal objective occurs, ending in -na (cf. below).
(Incidentally, no instance of these forms is recorded from Bir VA (cf. 22.20),
most being from Bir RD). The recorded flections appear in the following
paradigms:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{jinami} & \\
\text{NOM} & \text{jinami} \\
\text{ERG} & \text{jinamĩŋu} \\
\text{OBJ} & \text{jinamina} \\
\text{POSS} & \text{jinamĩnu} \\
\text{ALL} & \text{jinamigu} \\
\end{array}
\]

Examples: jinani that thing, jinami bama, migulu this (white) man, guga jinami
this house, jinami gaga binbi this house is nice, jinamili maři or jinami maři
this (one, he) is an Aboriginal, jinami damu manalaja I took or got it from
this one (used for a missing ablative), jinamigu bamaŋu this man (ergative),
jinamina bama this man (objective), jinamĩnu bamaŋu this man's or for or to
this man (dative), jinamigu (ask) for this (one).

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{gunami} & \\
\text{NOM} & \text{gunami} \\
\text{ERG} & \text{gunamĩŋu} \\
\text{ALL} & \text{gunamigu} \\
\end{array}
\]

Examples: gunami jabaŋu give me that, ġani gunami what is that? gunami bamaŋu
that is the man's, guga gunami the house over there, gunami gaga that house,
gunami bangu bangu that hat, gunamĩŋu maři that man (ergative), gunamigu (ask)
for that thing, gunamigu (wants) that.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ţunami} & \\
\text{NOM} & \text{ţunami} \\
\text{ALL} & \text{ţunamigu} \\
\end{array}
\]

Examples: ġandunu ġunami whose is that? ġani ġunami what is that? ġunami bama
that man, ġunamigu (want) that one.

22.22 The forms quoted in 22.21 are used either in a singular, dual or plural
sense, as appears from constructions with a plural or dual pronoun (or other
word): gubuŋ dialbaŋa dana gunami while those there were dancing (Bir RD; dana
indicates plural sense), gunami bularu those two (Bir RD), gunami banduŋa
bula those two, they are fighting (Bir RD; bula and bularu indicate dual sense).
22.23 *Interrogative pronouns.* The basic personal interrogative pronoun (*who?*) in Birri is ɲandulu and the impersonal interrogative (*what?*) is ɲani. The former (ɲandulu) is used of persons and of their name (e.g. ɲandulu jinda numba( ra) *what is your name?* Bir AL), while the latter (ɲani) is used of things or matters, but also of one's kind (that is in reference to totem or — in more modern times — to nationality), e.g. ɲani jinda or jinda ɲani *what are you*? (Bir RD), jinda ɲaninu *what are you?* or *what is yours?* (e.g. totem; Bir RD).

22.24 *Paradigms.* Both these pronouns are inflected according to the general pattern of a nominal paradigm, that of the personal ɲandulu (*who?*) agreeing closely with that of the demonstratives in -mi (see 22.21), for instance in having a special objective form; the paradigms are as follows:

ɲandulu *who?*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ɲandulu (ɲanduru)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ɲandulungu, ɲandulu (Bir VA), ɲandaru (Bir RD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>ɲanduluna, ɲandana (Bir RD), ɲandunà (Bir VA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>ɲandugu, ɲandaŋu (Bir RD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ɲandaŋundu (Bir RD), ɲandaŋuni (Bir VA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>ɲandaŋunda (Bir RD)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>ɲandulugu (ɲandurugu)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples: ɲandulu nula *who is he?* (Bir VA), ɲandulu jinda who *are you?* (Bir WS), ɲandulu(nu) jinda (that is with an enclitic personal pronoun -nu; cf. 22.16) who are you? or what is yours? that is *your name*; Bir RD), ɲandulungu guɾmaba dula *who broke the stick?* (Bir VA), ɲandulungu jamaba, maraba who made, took it? (Bir VA), ɲandulungu or ɲandaru waɾambali who (has) made it? (Bir RD), ɲandaŋuna jinda nagaba *whom did you see?* (Bir VA), ɲandaŋuni maraba from whom did (you) take or get it? (Bir VA), ɲandaŋunda danaŋanda with whom are you staying? (Bir RD), ɲandulugu whose? (Bir VA; allative used in the possessive sense; cf. 22.11).

ɲani *what?*:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ɲani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ɲanĩŋu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>ɲanigu, ɲanilugu (Bir RD)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples: ɲanĩlu what kind is he? (white or black?; Bir RD), ɲani jinda jamaŋa what are you doing? (Bir VA), ɲani jinda maraba what did you get? (Bir VA), ɲani why? (Bir VA), ɲanigu waɾambaŋanu what is ailing you? or what is the matter with you? (Bir RD), ɲanigu why? (Bir VA), what do you want? (Bir RD), ɲanigu bariba what did he cry for? (Bir VA), ɲanilugu what for? (Bir RD).

22.25 In addition to the above basic forms (described in 22.23-24), Birri has a derived form in -mi (cf. the demonstrative pronouns, 22.21 and further in 22.5), of which the nominative or stem form is ɲandami. This form might generally be rendered by English *which?* and hence corresponds to the Wirri ɲandana (see 19.28). The Birri ɲandami is declined according to the nominal paradigms or to those of the demonstratives in -mi (see 22.21), in the following way:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ɲandami</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>ɲandaminya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>ɲandamigu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples: ɲandaminya *in which one?* (Bir RD), ɲandamigu to or for which one? (Bir RD), ɲandamigu waɾaŋanda whom do you want? (Bir RD).
22.26 An isolated form in -ru (evidently a 'dual-comitative'; cf. 6.16; 9.15) is found used in place of a 'personal locative' (see 22.11) or ķandulu (who?) in: ķandaru danañanda with whom do you stay? (Bir RD; hence = ķandanañunda with whom?); that is in a proper comitative sense (in Gangulu (B) the corresponding word, ķandaru, occurs in a temporal sense, = when?).

22.27 Conjugation. Conjugation in Birri constitutes a complicated chapter. First of all, certain dialectal differences arise in the formation of the basic modal forms (much along the same lines as in Gangulu (A) and (B); cf. 16.23). It appears especially that our informant from Nebo (Bir VA; see 20.3) deviates from the two other chief informants (Bir RD and AL, representing areas further to the north) at the same time as her language assumes features of the neighbouring Wirri and Gangulu. Secondly (as noticeable especially in recordings from Bir RD and AL), Birri subdivides the imperfective mode into two subtypes, which we may refer to as the durative and the imminent modes (cf. Holmer 1971, 8.11, where, however, the term progressive is used for durative). In the third place, Birri makes an extensive use of enclitic pronouns, so that the conjugation takes on an aspect of that in the old Indo-European (or classical) languages (cf. Latin amo, amas, amat, amabam, amabas, amabat, etc.). Consequently, we can speak in Birri of (1) a modal (or aspectual) conjugation and (2) of a personal (or pronominal) conjugation. These have to be dealt with separately in subsequent sections (22.28–32, respectively 23.33–37) and further illustrated by separate paradigms (22.32, 37).

22.28 Modal (or aspectual) conjugation. The four basic mode forms are present in Birri as in Gunggari (imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional); the imperfective—which in Gunggari has two different, but evidently semantically equivalent suffixes (-ŋa and -na; see 6.31 with Note 42)—appears in two different varieties or subtypes (cf. 22.27). As for the formation of the modal forms, the following principles are valid. The imperative is always the stem of the verb: dana (or binda, Bir VA) sit, jani go, wangu ask. The imperfective presents a subdivision into a durative (formed by a suffix -ŋa) and an imminent (formed by a suffix -na); one informant (Bir VA) does not seem to make any distinction in the use of these forms. The imminent form may be used in a potential sense: bulgŋ wuranalanu he could take out your liver? (Bir RD; for -lanu, see 22.35). The perfective is formed in two ways: (1) by the (postpositional) suffix -ba (occasionally -lba, as in Gangulu, see 16.25, yet without a functional difference between -ba and -lba, as in Wirri) and (2) by the (locative) termination -la (that is as in Gunggari, Bidjara, Gangulu (A), etc.; cf. 6.31; 9.28; 16.25); the former suffixes (-ba, -lba) are used (as it seems indiscriminately) by Bir VA, the latter (-la) by, for instance, Bir RD and Bir AL. For modifications of the above suffixes, see further in dealing with the personal conjugation (22.33–37). Finally, the intentional also appears in two distinct forms (with the same repartition as for the perfective formative; cf. above), namely (1) with a termination -lgu (as in Gunggari and Bidjara) and (2) with the same termination -nagu as in Gangulu (B) and Wirri (see 16.26; 19.31). As in Gangulu and Wirri, the intentional sometimes appears without the postpositional (or allative) -gu and consequently becomes formally (and semantically?) equal to the imminent mode form. For accidental forms, see in 22.31.
22.29 Although the above forms (22.28) must be considered as the original ones, since they answer to corresponding ones in Gunggari, Wirri, etc., certain variants are actually more common in determined positions. Especially the perfective -la (see 22.28) appears almost regularly as -li when final in the word: jani (he) went (Bir RD, from jani- go; also jani, idem, Bir VA), jinda wanguli did you ask? (Bir RD; stem wangu-), nula jabiliga he gave me (Bir RD; stem jaba-), nula nagali ñanauna he saw us all (Bir RD). The process by which the original -la has become changed into -li is by no means evident; it seems, however, that some kind of vowel assimilation has taken place (cf. 21.3). Usually the form -la- is kept whenever a following enclitic pronoun contains the vowel -a, as in: jambalanga (I) lifted him (Bir RD), manalaja I took (Bir RD), Mandelaja I walked away with it (Bir RD); so also in nula wangulan he asked him (Bir AL), since -n is a shorter form of original -na (see 21.3); -li- would then have arisen before a suffix ending in -i (e.g. -li we two, see 22.15: ñali janili we two went, Bir RD) or else after the reflexive stem in -li- (see 22.9) or any verb stem ending in -i (janili went; cf. above), but unfortunately no reflexive forms ending in the expected *-lli happen to be recorded and, on the contrary, several forms are found in which the perfective -la- occurs before the enclitic personal -li or the perfective -li- before an enclitic ending in -a: ñali janilali we two went (Bir RD), wurali(l)ilina he took away with him (Bir RD), wulalila he died (Bir RD), waralija I wanted (Bir RD), warälinda you wanted (Bir RD), gani nula bangallala he almost fell (Bir RD). Bir AL regularly uses the apocopated form -l (cf. 21.3); for other forms with -l-, arisen from perfective -la- through elision (wulalbula they (two) have died, etc.), see in 21.3.

22.30 Of other irregular forms may be mentioned the imperfective (or imminent?) form in -nu for the common suffix -na, in gabinu (being) hungry (Bir VA; the same form is found in Wirri also, see 19.33). Perfective forms in -la (or -li) are occasionally recorded from Bir VA, who normally uses the Wirri and Gangulu (B) termination -(l)ba (cf. 22.28): nagala saw (= nagaba), ñandulu banduli who hit? For perfective forms without a clear perfective formative, see in the sections on Personal (or pronominal) conjugation (22.36).

22.31 Accidental forms. A large number of accidental forms have been recorded from Birri (especially from Bir RD). As a matter of fact, two different types of accidental forms are found: (1) such as are made up on the basis of an imperfective (durative) form in -ña, followed by an original locative -la (cf. Part I, 3.22), which are used by Bir VA, and (2) such as are made up by means of a basic subordinating formative -(l)ba- (that is the 'nominalising' -l- plus a locative or postpositional -ba; cf. Part I, 3.22; Part II, 19.30), which could carry the sense of (at) the place of (doing something) and to which is then added one of the modal suffixes (imperfective-durative -ña (hence: -ibaqa), (imperfective-imminent) -ña (hence: -ibana) or (perfective) -la (hence: -ibala), according to whether the verbal action is conceived as durative, imminent or perfective; these last-mentioned forms are used in the dialects represented by Bir RD and Bir AL. Examples: (1) wubañala coming (Bir VA), bindaṣa juguñala sitting eating, bindaṣa nagañala sitting looking (Bir VA); (2) (durative forms in -ibaqa) buri gándañala while the fire burned (Bir RD), gara ġugalañanda jimbananda when you do not know you must listen (Bir RD; -nda is the enclitic pronoun you, see 22.35) (imminent) wulalbanaja when I die, wulalbananda when you die (Bir RD; -ja, -nda are enclitic pronouns I, you); (perfective) mari wulalbala or wulalbali when a man (had) died (Bir RD). There are examples in
which no modal formative is represented: gubun dialbana when we all danced (Bir RD), jalu wunalbaja when I was a child (Bir AL; -na, -ja are enclitic pronouns we all, I). An intentional form (see 22.28) may be used with or without the element -lb- in the sense of an accidental form, as in: dalgari wunalbanagu if too much was (or should be) left (Bir RD), janmirananda if you should laugh (Bir RD; -nda is an enclitic pronoun you); for an analogous use of the intentional form in Wakka-Wakka, see in Part I, 7.35.

22.32 Paradigms. The following paradigms will illustrate the conjugation of the Birri verb without enclitic pronouns. The following are type verbs: jani-go, juga-eat, drink, naga-see, wuba-come, wula-die, wuna-lie down, stay, be. In forms occasionally quoted with an incorporated enclitic pronoun the latter is placed within parentheses.

jani-go:
- IMP: jani
- IPF (dur.): janiña
- IPF (imm.): janina
- PF: janiba, janilba, janila, janili (Bir RD)
- INT: janinagu, janina(nda) (you have to or must go)

juga-eat, drink:
- IPF (dur.): juganaja(ja)
- IPF (imm.): jugana(ji)
- PF: jugala(ba) (Bir VA)
- INT: juganagu

naga-see:
- IPF (dur.): naganja(la)
- IPF (imm.): nagana
- PF: nagaba, nagalba (Bir VA), nagala, nagali (Bir RD)
- INT: nagalgu (Bir VA), naganagu (Bir RD)
- ACC: nagañala (Bir VA)

wuba-come:
- IMP: wuba
- IPF (dur.): wubanja
- PF: wubala (Bir VA), wubala (Bir VA, AL)

wula-die:
- PF: wulali
- ACC: wulalbana(ja), wulalbala

wuna-lie down, stay, be:
- IMP: wuna
- IPF (dur.): wunaña
- IPF (imm.): wunana(nda)
- PF: wunali
- ACC: wunalbaña(na), wunalbana(nda), wunalbala(ja), wunalbanagu, wunalba(ja)
22.33 Personal (or pronominal) conjugation. The use of shorter forms of the independent personal pronouns joined enclitically to a concrete word stem or inflected form (mainly verb forms) has occasionally been observed elsewhere among the languages studied here, whether of the Wakka or Gunggari group (so, for instance, in Bidjara and Wirri; see 9.20; 19.19). In as far as such shorter forms can be pronounced as independent words (ja, na) they have been written as units apart, by analogy with the independent forms of the personal pronouns; in Birri, however, many of the enclitic forms (-la, -nda, -nga, etc.) contain phonemes or groups of phonemes not normally admitted in the word-initial position (being consequently hyphenated; cf. 19.21, Note 124) and to conform with such morphological elements all pronominal enclitics in Birri are treated here as bound morphemes (apart, of course, from the fact that they actually never occur independently). In brief, they form as a rule a solid unit with the (usually) inflected verbal form to which they are added. On the other hand, the enclitic personal pronouns, as occurring in the conjugation of the verb, are sometimes movable in the sense that they may occasionally be placed either before or (which is by far the more common practice) after the modal formatives in inflected forms (cf. 22.37): danaŋala or danalaŋa he is sitting (Bir RD). Also the order of the enclitic suffixes (if more than one are used) is fluctuant: jinda janindaŋu or janigungunda you come to me (imperative; Bir RD).

22.34 For the basic pronominal formatives in the personal conjugation, see in the sections dealing with the personal pronouns (22.16), in which the shorter forms clearly connected with the longer independent forms of the personal pronouns are quoted with a preceding hyphen, to indicate their character of enclitics. In the conjugation, however, some other analogous elements occur, of which the connection with an independent form is not clear. In order to give a survey of the occurrence of (simple or compound) pronominal formatives in the personal conjugation, an entire inventory of such forms are given in next section (22.35).

22.35 The following pronominal formatives are recorded in our material from Birri: (1) subject forms (of either intransitive or transitive verbs): (first person singular) -ja, (second person singular) -nda, (third person singular) -la, -li, -l (the last one from Bir AL); (first person dual) -li, (second person dual) -la, (third person dual) -la; (first person plural) -na, (second person plural) -na, (third person plural) -na (-la); (2) direct object forms: (first person singular) -na, (second person singular) -nu, (third person singular) -ŋa; (first person plural) -nana; (3) possessive forms expressing a dative relation: (first person singular) -gu, (second person singular) -nu (?); (4) subject forms with a direct object form: (first person singular - second person singular) -janu, (first person singular - third person singular) -ŋa, -n (the latter with Bir AL), (second person singular first person singular) -ndana, (second person singular - third person singular) -ndança, (third person singular - first person singular) -lana (a single instance is quoted), (third person singular - second person singular) -lanu (in a couple of instances); (5) subject forms with an indirect object (or dative) form: (first person singular - second person singular) -janu, (second person singular - first person singular) -ndaŋu, -gunda. Most of the above forms derive from Bir RD, while some are from Bir AL; Bir VA seldom uses them, the only recorded one being -ja (I), as in: bindaŋŋa I am sitting, danaŋŋa I am standing, janîŋŋa I am going. In cases in which no enclitic formatives are recorded (and also in other cases) constructions with independent personal pronouns have been found,
as in the other Gunggari languages studied (waŋa na bula they both want, = waŋaŋala). The independent forms are frequently found along with enclitic forms, as in: ŋa ja waŋaŋa  I want (Bir RD), ŋa li danaŋali we two are sitting (Bir RD).

22.36 Certain irregularities are to be noticed. First of all, owing to the similarity in form between the perfective modal formative -la (-lI) and the third person singular subject form -la (see above, 22.30), one of these is usually omitted in the third person singular perfective form, so that perfective forms in -la or -lI either include or do not include a third person pronominal subject: nagala, nagali either means saw or he or she saw, wunalI means either was or he or she was, etc. (forms in -lali, -lila, -lilli do, however, occur). The omission of the perfective -la- or -lI- sometimes takes place (by analogy?) before the enclitic second person singular pronoun as well: ŋani naganda what did you see? ŋandana jinda naganda whom did you see? so that the second person singular perfective becomes equal to the corresponding imperative form (naganda-); this might possibly be explained by assuming that the omission of the perfective formative has started in reflexive verbs (such as nagali- look at oneself), of which the second person singular perfective is nagalinda (you have looked at yourself) in preference to *nagalilinda. In some forms elision of the vowel of the perfective modal formative takes place (cf. 21.3): wulabula they have died (for wulali bula), janildana they have gone (for janila or janilli dana); these are written in one word since the elision has taken place after the word unit is formed. The intentional form in -nagu (see 22.28) does not admit of enclitic pronominal forms: ŋa ja waŋaŋa  janinagu I want to go (Bir RD), nula waŋaŋa juganagu he wants to eat (Bir RD); however, a form without -gu may take an enclitic pronoun, being used in the same sense of an intentional: ŋana janinana we all want to or must go (= ŋana janinagu; -na is the enclitic we (all), see 22.33), nula janilli jinagu nanganana he came here to see me (= nula janilli naganagu, idem; here -na is the enclitic me).

22.37 Paradigms. In order to get a clearer impression of the forms arising by combination of modal and personal formatives, the following paradigms are given below, in such a way that the five typical cases in which enclitic personal pronouns are used (see above, 22.35) are put as headings to each group of modal paradigms, exemplified by representative verb stems. The model verbs are: jaban- give, jani- go, nag- see, nagali- look at oneself, wangu- die, waɾa- become, happen, be, waɾamba- make, do, wula- die, wuna- lie down.

(1) subject forms of either transitive or intransitive verbs:

**First person singular:**

- IPF (dur.) janinaja, nagaŋaŋa, nagalinaŋa, waɾaŋaŋa, waɾambaŋaŋa
- IPF (imm.) jabanaja, janiŋaŋa, waɾambaŋaŋa
- PF janilaja, nagalaja, nagalilaja, waɾalaja, (waralija), waɾambaʃala
- ACC wulabanaja, wulanbanaja, wulanbalaja, wunalbaja

**Second person singular:**

- IMP janinda, naganda, nagalinda
- IPF (dur.) janinanda, nagaliŋanda, waɾaŋanda
- IPF (imm.) janinanda, wøunanda, wunananda
- PF janilinda or janindali, janinda, naganda, nagalinda, wøunilinda or wøunanda, waralinda
- ACC wulabananda, wulanbananda
Third person singular:

IPF (dur.) janiŋala, nagaŋala, nagaliŋal(a), waŋaŋala (waŋaŋali),
waŋambaŋala, wunaŋala
IPF (imm.) janiŋala, nagaŋala
PF janiila, janiili (janiilali, janiilila), nagala, nagali,
wani, wari(li), waŋalila, waŋala, wula(li), wula
ACC wula (wula)

First person dual:

IPF (dur.) wuŋaŋali, wunaŋali
IPF (imm.) janiŋala, waŋambaŋali, nagalinana (sic)
PF janiila, janiili, nagalinana (sic)
ACC wula, wula

Second person dual:

IPF (dur.) waŋaŋala
PF waŋambaŋula

Third person dual:

IPF (dur.) waŋaŋala (waŋaŋula)
PF wula

First person plural:

IPF (dur.) waŋambaŋana
IPF (imm.) janiŋana
PF janiila, waŋambaŋana, wula
ACC wula, wula

Second person plural:

IPF (imm.) janiŋana

Third person plural:

IPF (dur.) waŋaŋala (? waŋaŋana)
PF janiildana, waŋambaŋana
ACC wulaŋana

(2) direct object forms of transitive verbs:

First person singular:

IPF (imm.) naganana, wani
PF nagalina, wani

Second person singular:

IPF (dur.) waŋaŋana, waŋambaŋana
PF naganana

Third person singular:

IMP nagaŋa
PF nagalina, wani (correct ?)

Second person dual:

IPF (imm.) janiŋana
PF naganana
First person plural:
IMP nagalina

Third person plural:
IPF (dur.) janiğana
IPF (imm.) janiğana

(3) possessive forms expressing a dative relation:
First person singular:
IMP jabağu, janiğu
IPF (dur.) janiğagu, warañanağu
PF jabağu, janiğu, warañanağu, wunañanağu

Second person singular:
IPF (dur.) wañağana (wañağanda),¹⁶¹ wañağanu
PF janindala (sic), wañağanu

Third person singular:
IPF (dur.) warañanağa or warañana¹⁶¹

(4) subject forms with a direct object form:
First person singular - second person singular:
IPF (imm.) wanganajau
PF nagalajau

First person singular - third person singular:
IPF (dur.) wanganan
IPF (imm.) wanganajana
PF nagalajana (or nagalan), wangan (Bir AL)

Second person singular - first person singular:
IMP wangananda
IPF (imm.) nagananandana
PF wangananda (?)

Second person singular - third person singular:
IMP nagandanaga

Third person singular - first person singular:
IPF (imm.) wanganalana

(5) subject forms with an indirect object (or dative) form:
First person singular - second person singular:
IPF (imm.) jabanajau

Second person singular - first person singular:
IMP janiğanu or janiğunda
IPF (dur.) jabanajandagu
Connective. The only connective recorded is ga, which is found attached to an imperative form in: guranda ga go back (then) (Bir RD). For a similar use of the same connective (ga) in Goreng-Goreng, compare in Part I, 15.24, with the Note 144. It may be questioned whether the termination -ra in jandu wa(n) jandara come over here (Bir RD) is the same as the Gangulu da mentioned in 16.32.

(c) Construction

Although no distinction is made from the Birri point of view between an attributive and a predicative construction (as in English), it is always possible to distinguish a subject and a predicate part in constructions implying two nominal words in the nominative form, as in: bumbu gubal gubal pretty feathers or the feathers were pretty (Bir VA), dara balban skinny legs or the legs are skinny (Bir VA), in which the words bumbu (feathers) and dara (legs) represent the subject part, independent of which English rendering is preferred; in such cases the general context or general character of the nominal words serves as a criterion. A personal pronoun by nature always takes the place of the subject part: nula marī he (the peewee) was a man (still in the 'dreamtime'; Bir VA), nula migulu he is a white man (Bir RD); notice that if the noun referred to by the personal pronoun (i.e. the peewee, etc.) were expressed directly, a formal (although perhaps not a semantic) ambiguity would arise as to whether the meaning should be the man was a peewee or the peewee was a man, since the word order in Birri would not be conclusive (as in English), and further that a kind of attributive analysis is still possible (he the man, respectively he, the white man), according to context.

On the same ambiguity (still from the English point of view; see 22.39) is based the rendering into English of baldira nuņu (her husband) as she has a husband or briguna nuņu (his wife) as he has a wife, that is he, she is married. In probably all Australian languages a plain expression such as 'my dog' or 'my cat' (if this is taken as a statement) is sure to mean 'I have a dog or a cat' (cf. Holmer 1966 a, 12.8).

The use of the 'dual-comitative' form (see 22.6) is analogous to that of the third person dual form of the personal pronoun; compare jabu jaņana wunāna bula both father and mother are alive and jinami bama janina bula jinda this man will go with you and both this man and you will go (neither bama man nor the personal pronoun jinda has a dual-comitative form).

Grammatical agreement (or concord) is found in: jinamingu bamaņgu baŗambali this man has done or made it (Bir RD); it is, however, not compulsory, as is seen from: gunamingu marī that man (Bir RD). Related to grammatical agreement is the use of an allative form (in -gu) of a noun with the intentional form (also in -gu) of a verb, or else two allatives, in constructions of the type: ņaja waņaŋala jurig u juganagu I want meat to eat or I want to eat meat (properly want meat, (namely) to eat), budig u daɲulagu (going) to the bush for possum (Bir VA). The construction is very common in the Australian languages studied (cf. Part I, 15.26, with references). The repetition of reduplicated forms in, for instance, nula waņa waņa waņaŋala waņaŋala he is always talking (Bir RD) is in a way akin to the construction mentioned above, as falling within the notion of grammatical concord.
NGAWUN

Introductory remarks

23.1 Apart from Gudjal (or the 'Charters Towers' language), from which a few words and forms only were recorded, Ngawun is the northernmost language in the Gunggari group, at least as far as the present research goes. From the sparing data obtained from the only informant available at the time, it further appears that Ngawun has a considerable western extension, as counted from Charters Towers.

Informant

23.2 Reference to our informant for Ngawun is made by the language signature Nga (for Ngawun), occasionally followed by the informant's initials. For other details, compare in 4.3.

Nga RF: Mrs. Rosie Freeman, at Woorabinda, from Cambridge Downs, west of Richmond; both father and mother were from Cambridge Downs.

Phonology

24.1 The phonologic system of Ngawun is exactly that of Gunggari (see 5.1 sqq.). The test words biaga tobacco and wapmari white woman ('white-Mary') clearly show that the basic vowel phonemes are arranged according to the 'triangular' system, comprising the vowel sounds a, i, u (cf. 5.2 and Note 95); the English loan word motor car is consequently adopted in the form muraga or maragan (also cf. below). The effect of a palatal sound on the vowel quality is probably the cause of the form jirar beside the common jarar beard (arisen in the same way as Wirri jini-go, from jani-, as in Gangulu and Birri). Cases of vowel assimilation are found in jambugu beside jambag to the camp, home. For diphthongs interchanging with forms with a medial semivowel (ai ~ aj, au ~ aw, etc.), see in Part I, 6.16; 14.9); we write these as heard in each case (e.g. gawun dress, from English 'gown').

24.2 Within the consonantism, one will notice the common passing of an inter-vocalic consonant sound to r (cf. Part I, 6.19, Note 61): jura that (cf. Gunggari juna, Bidjara junu, etc.), muruga motor car (cf. 24.1). A case of a 'pre-occlusive' l is found in didli for dili eye (cf. Part I, 20.7; Part III, 5.5). No word is recorded with an initial g-, the palatalised n- occurs initially in front of i only, as a variant of n-: nimun fly.

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

25.1 Structure. The structure of the concrete word stem in Ngawun is as in Gunggari and the Gunggari languages at large. The nominal stem mil eye is, however, surprising (if correct; as eye is alternatively dili, as in the other languages in the group, it is rather likely that Nga RF has taken the form mil from some other south-east Queensland language). Reduplicated stems are found in much the same cases as in Gunggari (cf. 6.3): mari mari boy (from mari Aboriginal man), waga waga crow, mida mida black, guru guru ghost (the same in Bidjara and Marganj).
25.2 **Nominal derivation.** The sociative suffix (*having, provided with*) is either -bari (as in most Gunggari languages) or the probably more typical and genuine -diri: gundulbari *having a cold* (gundul), gamudiri *drunk*, having a *drink* (gamu), mantadiri *having food* (manta), jaranqiri (= jaranqiri or jaranqandi) *bearded, having a beard* (jaraņ), gubinqiri (= gubinqiri) *windy* (from gubin *wind*). The feminine suffix -gan is found in waflmarig an (-meri-) *white woman* (cf. 24.1) and in the strange maragan *car* (from English 'motor car', also muraga; cf. 24.1). The dual-comitative (cf. 6.6) is -nara in Ngawun (corresponding to Gangulu Wirri and Birri -na; see 16.6; 19.6; 22.6), as in: gunganara nagu *my husband* (from gugal *husband*, or rather from a stem guqga, cf. Bidjara gunga, idem, while the final -l is to be explained as in 6.7).

(b) **Inflection**

25.3 **Declension.** As the material recorded is very scanty it can only be said that the Ngawun declension pattern fits in with that of the Gunggari languages at large. Apart from the nominative or stem form, an ergative, locative and allative are the only case forms recorded; these are made up strictly according to the rules in Gunggari (see 6.13), as seen in: (ergative) bangangu *with a stick* (banga), bulimandu *the policeman* (buliman), gubingu (by) *the wind* (gubin); (locative) naninga *on the ground* (nani), maranga *in (your) hand* (mara); (allative) winagur *for fish or (want) fish* (wina), maragangu *sit* in the car (maragan; used in a locative sense).

25.4 **Postpositions.** A single postposition, mundu *from*, is recorded; it evidently takes the place of a missing, or seldom occurring, ablative (cf. 25.3), as in: jamba mundu *from the camp or from home*.

25.5 **Personal pronouns.** The personal pronouns recorded closely agree with those met with in the other Gunggari languages. Basic forms for the following persons occur in our material: (singular) naju I (cf. 25.6), jinda *you*, nula *he, she*; (dual) nali *we, jubala you*; (plural) nana *we, jura you*. The flections also in main agree with those in the Gunggari languages in general.

25.6 **Paradigms.** The few inflected forms recorded of the personal pronouns appear in the following paradigms.

**First person singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>naju (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>naju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>nagna, nana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>nagu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Second person singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>jinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>jinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>jina, jinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>junu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Third person singular:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>nula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>nula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>nunu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
First person dual:
NOM ŋali
ERG ŋali
POSS ŋalinu

Second person dual:
NOM jubala
ERG jubala
POSS jubalanu

First person plural:
NOM ŋana
ERG ŋana

Second person plural:
NOM jura
ERG jura

The ergative is used in the ordinary sense: ŋaju nagaŋu nula (sic) I must see him or her; the possessive marks the relation of ownership: ŋagu jimba my mother, juři ŋagu my meat and the objective may alternatively express a dative relation: biaga ŋana winiŋa give me tobacco, ŋaju jinda winiŋa I will give you.

25.7 Demonstrative pronoun. A single demonstrative pronoun is recorded: jura that, as in gani jura what is that?

25.8 Interrogative pronouns. The personal interrogative pronoun is waŋu who? and the impersonal interrogative is ŋani what? Of the former the objective form is waŋana (whom?) and the possessive waŋunu (whose?). Examples: waŋu jinda who are you? waŋu nula who is he or she? waŋana jinda nagalba whom did you see? ŋani jinda nagaŋa what do you see?

25.9 Conjugation. The four basic modal forms (imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional) are all represented in our material, the structure of the individual forms being closely along the same lines as in the other Gunggari languages studied here. The imperative is the plain verbal stem: jina sit down, dana stand, jani go, juga eat, wuna lie down; the imperative is (as commonly) used in a hortative sense as well: ŋaju juga let me eat. The imperfective in Ngawun ends in -ŋa (a suffix not found in the other Gunggari languages recorded); this, however, only means that a different 'thematic element' (cf. 6.31) is used in Ngawun (viz. -ŋ-, corresponding to the -ŋ- or -n- element of Gunggari and Bidjara), while the final -a is the same originally locative suffix as in Gunggari, etc. (see ibidem).

25.10 The perfective is formed as in Wirri (see 19.30), that is intransitive stems take the suffix -ba (janiba went, gone) and transitive stems the suffix -1ba (jamalba made, gundalba hit, nagalba saw). The intentional ends in -ŋu in which the final vowel probably serves the function of an allative -gu (as in Gunggari and Wirri): nagaŋu to see or want(s) to see, wuba bindaŋu come to sit, janiŋu must go, nagaŋu jinda you want to see. There are a couple of examples in our material of a form in -na, used as an intentional (cf. Birri, 22.28): ŋaju jugana, janiŋa manta jugana (I am) going to eat (food). The intentional forms are also understood to be imperatives: janiŋu go, jugąŋu eat.
(c) Construction

25.11 A couple of instances may be quoted as examples of general tendencies in the sentence building in the Australian languages. The use of a possessive form in a predicative sense occurs in: jurī ḡ Ja Qa gu jambagu I have got meat at home (cf. an analogous example in Birri, 22.40). The coordination of verbal forms (for want of a copulative and) is seen in: jinda jani wuna you go (and) lie down (cf. Holmer 1966a, Note 125).

Gangulu, Wirri, Birri and Ngawun vocabulary

26. For general remarks as to the arrangement of this vocabulary, compare in 13 as well as in Part I, 12. The languages from which the various entries are derived are indicated by the corresponding signatures: Gan (A) and (B) means Gangulu (A), respectively (B), Wir means Wirri, Bir means Birri and Nga means Ngawun. For Gangulu (A) and (B) and for Birri, the informants are usually referred to by their initials, but generally not for Wirri and Ngawun (as for these languages practically one single informant was made use of). Sometimes an indication is made as to the existence of identical forms in Gudjal. Notice that for Birri modal conjugation forms are given with a hyphen (-) in cases in which a form with an enclitic pronoun only is recorded. The arrangement of the entries is alphabetical, according to the following order of phonetic symbols: a, b, d, g, ḡ, e, ɒ, i, j, l, m, n,  المسلحة, (०), r, ḍ, t, u, w.

B

ba CONN (16.32; 19.37).

bada- V ITR IPP badana; PF badalba bite (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): wandingu badana the dog bites (Wir), gulneringu badanana a snake will bite you (a curse; Bir RD), badaṃmundu from biting (Wir). −cf. ba ḡa- (Gan A), ba ḡa- (Gan B).

badana N one's elder brother (Wir): ḡa ḡu badana my elder brother.

badi- V ITR IPP badina; PF badiba open (up), grow: banga mala, bulban badina branches, flowers growing, dili badiba is awake ('eyes have opened'), garabari bulban badiba flowers never grew.

badiman N small (Gan KW): dula ḡ badiman a small stick. −cf. badi ḡaman, bidiman.

badimba- V CAUS IPP badimbana make grow, plant (Wir): bulban badimbana planting flowers. −cf. badi-.

badi ḡaman N small (Gan CA). −cf. badiman.

ba ḡa- V TR IPP ba ḡana bite (Gan NO). −cf. bada-, ba ḡa-.

ba ḡa ḡa N small (Wir): wina ba ḡa ba ḡa small fish. −cf. badiman, ba ḡari.

ba ḡalba ḡi- V ASS IMP ba ḡalba ḡi; IPP ba ḡalba ḡina carry (a baby; Wir): gandu ba ḡalba ḡi carry the baby. −cf. ba ḡa ba ḡa, ba ḡari.

ba ḡari N ERG ba ḡaringu; LOC ba ḡaringa; ALL ba ḡarigu little, small (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): ba ḡari wina small fish ('perch'; Gan MM), ba ḡari gaju little girl (Gan MM), gandu ba ḡari little child, little boy (Wir), mungu ba ḡari a small mountain (Wir), ba ḡari dibala little bird ('peewee'; Bir VA), ḡa ḡu gandu ba ḡaringa when I was a little girl (Wir), island ba ḡarigu to the little island (Bir RD). −cf. badiman.
bagur N money (Bir LJ; correct?). - cf. bağuru.

bağuru N ALL bağurugu money (Bir): bağurugu (playing) for money (Bir VA, RD).

bađa- V TR IPF bađara; PF bađaba bite (Gan KW): ŋura bađara the dog bites, ŋaragu jindana bađaba the dog has bitten you. - cf. bada-, bađa-.

baga N ALL bagagu wood, tree (Gan NO, TA): bagagu wilbara leaves of the tree (Gan NO). - cf. baga.

baga- V TR IMP baga; IPF bagana; PF bagalba dig, pluck (Wir, Bir): juna baga jinda you dig a hole (Wir), nani bagana digging the ground (Wir), bidili baganali we two will pluck the birds (Bir RD).

baŋara N blue-tongue lizard (Gan KW). - cf. bangara.

baŋa N ERG baŋangu; ALL baŋangu (dry) stick, (fire)wood, tree (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): gunma baŋa cut that tree (Gan MM), baŋa 냶ara on the tree (Wir), baŋagu bara bin·a sitting below the tree (Wir), งาม� n·a baŋangu he is up on the tree (Wir), baŋagu wilbara leaves of the tree (Wir), nula baŋangu bin·a he is sitting on a tree (Wir). - cf. baga.

baŋga- V ITR IMP baŋa; IPF baŋana; PF baŋamba, baŋamba fall (Bir): dula baŋana, baŋamba the tree falls, fell (Bir VA), gani baŋalgi he almost fell (Bir RD).

baŋalgi- V REFL ITR PF baŋalilila fall (Bir RD): gani nula baŋalilila he almost fell. - cf. baŋa-.

baŋan V N afraid, frightened (Gan (A), Wir): baŋan digara scaring (Gan MT), ŋaja baŋan baŋa I am afraid or frightened (Wir), jinda งาม� baŋan baŋa don't you be afraid or get scared (Wir).

baŋanma- V CAUS IPF baŋanmana frighten (Gan NO): ŋanigu ŋaŋuna baŋanmana why do (you) frighten me? - cf. baŋan.

baŋar N ERG baŋaru blue-tongue lizard (Bir VA). - cf. baŋara.

baŋara N blue-tongue lizard (Bir, Wir). - cf. baŋar.

baŋari- V ASS CAUS PF baŋariiba knock down (Bir VA): nula ŋaŋuna baŋariiba he knocked me down. - cf. baŋa-.

baŋaru N turtle (Bir JH; correct?). - cf. baŋar(a), baŋur.

baŋgıl baŋgil N cheek? (Bir VA).

baŋgu N money (Gan (A), Wir): baŋgu งาม� or baŋgu garabari (洸琶) (I) have no money, am without money.

baŋgubari N having money, rich, wealthy (Gan (A), Wir): baŋgubari (sic) gandina carrying money (Wir). - cf. baŋgu.

baŋgur N ERG baŋguru turtle (Bir VA).

-bai, v. -bari.

baiba N pipe (Gan (A), Wir): baiba juga- to smoke a pipe (Wir), baiba dunbina lighting a pipe (Wir). - cf. baim (Gan B)

baim N LOC baimba; ALL baimgu pipe (Gan KW). - cf. baiba.

baji- V IMP baji; IPF bajira; PF bajiba get lost, forget, (with walu), get scared (Gan (B)): gangu waju jinda baji don't you get lost (Gan KW), ŋaja burangi bajira I am getting scared (Gan KW), walu bajira, bajiba forgetting, forgot (Gan CA).

balamu N gully (Gan CA).

balandaru REL long ago (Gan TA).

balara N LOC balaranga boat (Bir RD).

balban N ERG balbandu; ALL balbandu bone, bony, skinny (Gan, Wir, Bir): baŋu balban bony back (Bir VA), dara balban skinny legs (Bir VA).
balbara N ALL balbaragu creek, river (Gan): balbara baral across the creek (Gan CA), balbaragu wunera swimming in the creek (Gan CA).

balbi N fish (Nga).

baldira N husband (Bir RD): baldira gaara without a husband.

baldirabari N having a husband (Bir RD).

balgan N bark (Bir AL).

balgara N 1. sand, sandy; 2. policeman (from the colour of the uniform? Bir RD).

balgun N quick (Gan TA): balgun nula we ra he is in a hurry.

bama N ERG banangu; POSS bama; ABL bamamundu; LOC bamanga, bamaunda (any) man, boy (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): mari bama Aboriginal man (Bir RD), banangu jamaba the man has made it (Gan CA).

bamaqara N little boy (Bir VA): gandu bamaqara (idem).

bamaqunda N widow (Gan TA).

bamamulu N widow (Gan TA).

bambu- V TR IMP bambu; PF bambuba, bambulba break, strike, scratch (Gan (B), Wir): mlindindu bambu scratch with (your) nail (Gan CA), waqal bambulba broke the boomerang (Wir), madangarangu bangal bambulba the lightning has struck the tree (Wir).

bambuli- V REFL ITR IPF bambulira; PF bambulibra break (intransitive), scratch oneself (Gan (B), Wir): waqal bambulibra the boomerang broke (Wir). — cf. bambu-.

bana1 N LOC banangga stomach (Bir), = ngalgu (Bir VA); the same in Gudjal. — cf. ngalgu.

bana2 REL outside (Wir): jinda bana wurba please come outside. — cf. banagu.

bana bana N clever man (Bir RD). — cf. banali-, banamba-.

bana banabari N clever man, doctor (Bir AL). — cf. bana bana.

banagu REL outside (Wir): nula banagu bin a he is sitting outside. — cf. bana2.

banali- V REFL ITR PF banaliba change (oneself) into (Bir VA): mari banaliba dibila a dark man became a bird, dibila banaliba he was changed into a bird.

banamba- V CAUS IPR banambalba change (something) into (Bir VA): banambalba banana mari changed them into (dark) people. — cf. banali-, bana bana.

bananbara N the second son (Wir).

banangan N the second daughter (Wir). — cf. bananbara.

banba N dew (Wir).

banba- V TR ITR IMP banba; PF banbana; PF banbalba poke, smash, light or make (a fire, cigarette or pipe), (with walu ear) listen, hear (Wir, Bir): gaara banba don't poke (me) (Wir), gaara jinda mipara banba don't smash (that; Bir VA), (jinda) buri banba (you) light the fire or make a light (Wir), buri banbana lighting a fire, the fire is burning (Wir), winbanjagu (?) buri banbana blowing the fire (Wir), jinda walu banbana you listen or hear (Wir), naja buri banbalba I have made a fire (Wir).

banban N bald, (being) without (Wir): nula gada banban he is bald, banban mala (having) no hands or arms, wandi buja banban a dog without a tail.

banbu N ALL banbugu stomach, belly, inside (of a bird; Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga).

banda- V TR ITR IMP banda; IPF bandana, bandara; PF bandababa, bandalba; INT bandanu sing (Gan (B), Wir): wabi nganuna banda sing a song to me (Gan TA), jinda gubun banda you sing a song (Wir), wabi naja bandara I am
singing a song (Gan TA), wingāru bandana the birds are singing (Wir), gaṛa ḋāja bandana I cannot sing (Wir), gubun bandalba sang a song (Wir), ḋāja bandanu we'ra I want to sing (Gan TA).

bandagu REL POST (19.16) behind (Wir): bangga bandagu behind the tree.

bandara N ALL bandaragū sky, up (above), up in the sky, heaven (Gan (A), Wir, Bir, Nga): bandara mundu from above (Wir), bandara damu from heaven (Bir VA), bandaragū jiniba went up, flew (Wir), bandaragū bindana (God) is in heaven (Wir).

bandarañabara N God (Bir AL).

bandarāgari N ERG bandarāgarinīgu God (Gan NO). –cf. bandara.

bandarāñamu N ERG bandarāgamungu God (Gan NO). –cf. bandara.

bandarāmi N ERG bandarāmagu God (Bir VA): bandarāmagu nani barambalba God has made the earth. –cf. bandara.

bandari(n)bara, bandarīnbara N belonging to the sky, God (Wir): bandarīnbara (sic) nani barambalba God has made the earth. –cf. bandara.

bandar- V TR IMP bandi; IPF bandiṇa; PF bandiba become, get, turn, rain, shine, make or light (a fire; Gan (A), Wir): jinda buṛi bandi you make a fire (Gan NO), buṛi bandina lighting a fire (Gan NO), miḍa, ḋugun bandina it is getting dark, night (Wir), gamu badina it is raining (Wir), buguri bandina it becomes cold (Wir), nani gamu bandina the earth is getting wet (Wir), waguṛa gamugū bandina the grass is getting wet (Wir), bīragu bandina it will rain tomorrow (Wir), gari bandina or bandiba the sun is shining (Wir), miḍa bandiba it has become dark (Wir), miḍa miḍa bandiba it has turned black (Wir), gamu bandiba it has rained (Wir).

bandu- V TR IMP bandu; IPF banduṇa-, banduna; PF bandubā, bandulba, bandulī; INT bandulgu hit, smash (Bir): gaṛa banduṇa(nda) ḋūna don't hit me (Bir VA, RD), ḋāja jindana banduṇa (Bir VA), bandunanjanu (Bir RD) I will hit you, nula ḋūna banduṇa ḋāja gaṛa banduṇa ṇunun he hit me, I did not hit him (Bir VA), ḋandulū bandulī who hit? (Bir VA).

bandura- V REC IMP bandura; IPF bandurāna hit, do harm, fight (Bir): gaṛa jinda bandura don't you do any harm (Bir RD), gunami bandurāna bula the two are fighting (Bir RD), dana banduṇa (?) they are fighting (Bir VA).

banga N REL ?: ḋāja bangga gundiba I hurt myself (Wir), bangga ḋāja gundiba ḋāja waṛabanga I hurt myself when I fell (Wir), gaṛa jinda bangga gundiba don't hurt yourself (Wir). –cf. bangā-,

banga- V ITR IPF bangara be sick (Gan NO): bangara ḋāja I am sick. –cf. bangār, bangāra-.

bangali- V ITR IPF bangalina be sore (Gan NO). –cf. bangāra-.

bangar N LOC bangara sore, sick (Gan (A), Wir): buldaṇ bangar sore heart, bangar mala sore hand (Gan NO), ḋāja bangar (baṇa) I am (getting) sick, suffering (Wir), dina bangar a sore foot (Wir), bangar ḋūgu dina I have a sick leg (Gan NO), bangar banbugu sick in the stomach (Gan NO), dina nuṇu bangar bārālba he hurt his foot (Wir), bangar dagu baṇa all are sick (Wir), ḋāja bangara when I was sick (Gan NO). –cf. bangār, bangara-.

bangara- V ITR IPF bangaraṇa be sick (Bir RD): bangaraṇa bula they both are sick. –cf. bangar bangari-.

bangarbari N LOC bangarbarin(g)a sick (Gan NO): bangarbarin(g)a when (he) was sick. –cf. bangar.
bangarma- V CAUS PF bangārmala
make sick, hurt (Gan NO). —cf. bangār.

bangari- V ITR IMP bangari; IPF bangariña; PF bangariila-
bangari: be or get sick (Bir RD): gāra bangari don't get sick, āja bangariñaja I am or was sick, jinda gāra bangariñaanda you are not sick, bana bangariñaja I have a stomach ache, āja bangariñaja I got sick, jinda bangariinda (perfective) you are or got sick, bangari he got sick. —cf. bangarā-

bangi N brother-in-law (Bir RD).

bāngi- V ITR IPF bangira cry (Gan KW).

bāngi bāngi N hat (Bir AL).

bāngu bāngu N hat (Bir RD).

banga- V TR IPF bangana break (= gunma-; Gan NO): bangana jinda you are breaking firewood.

bāngan N sandalwood (Wir).

bāṅjanā N one's nephew (Gan NO).

bara REL POST (19.16) down, below (Gan, Wir, Bir): (jinda) bara binda (Gan KW, TA, Wir), bara bindana (bindara, bin-a) sitting down (Gan NO, KW, Wir), bara dugura go down (Wir), gugagu bara wun-ā is lying below the house (Wir), guga bara below the house (Bir AL), mungu bara below the mountain (Wir).

-bara N DER SFX (19.6; 22.5).

baragu REL down (Wir).

barama- V TR IMP barama dig (Gan NO): nanigu jinda juna barama dig a hole in the ground.

bāṛamundu REL from below (Wir).

bararu N frog (Bir VA).


bāṛi N name or nickname of the people of Mackay (Gan TA).

bāṛiba N porcupine, the Birri tribal totem (according to Bir RD, no Birri child could eat this meat). —cf. bāṛura.

bāṛundu REL in a hurry (Gan CA). —cf. bāṛundu.

bāṛura N porcupine (Bir JH). —cf. bāṛiba.

bāṛa N throat (Wir, Bir VA), mouth (Gan CA): bāṛa bāṛa a sore throat (Wir).

bāṛgalā N black earth, like on the plains out west (Wir): marĩ wurbana bāṛgalā mundu a man coming from the plains.

bāṛgan N crow (Gan MT).

bāṛundu REL quickly (Gan CA): janira bāṛundu goes quickly —cf. bāṛundu.

bāṛi N ALL bāṛigu 1. stone, rock, cliff, mountain; 2. money (Gan, Wir): bāṛi jaganu to climb a mountain (Gan TA), bāṛigu dina danaba he stepped on a stone (Wir).

bāṛi- V ITR IMP bāṛi; IPF bāṛina, bāṛina; PF bāṛiba; ACC bāṛilaṇa, bāṛiṅa, bāṛibādi cry, sing (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): gāra (jinda) bāṛi don't (you) cry (Wir, Bir VA), gandu bāṛina the kid is crying (Wir), (ṇali) gubun bāṛināli we two will sing or let us sing a (corroboree) song (Bir RD), jinda bāṛinaṅa if you cry (Wir).

-bāṛi N DER SFX (16.4; 19.4; 22.4; 25.2).

bāṛibari N having money (Gan TA).

bāṛi juna N cave (Wir).

bāṛi junda N without money (Gan TA).

bāṛi bāṛu N crooked (Wir): bāṛa bāṛu bāṛu crooked stick.

bāṛa- V TR ITR IPP bāṛa; bā ṝa; PF bāṛala, bāṛaba, bāṛabla; ACC bāṛalaṇa, bāṛaṅa, bāṛaṅa become, get, be, want, (with or without waḍa 'word') say (Gan (A), Wir): bāṛa bāṛa fire is burning
(Gan NO), gamu bårana - raining (Gan NO), gamu nája bårana I want a drink (Gan NO), nája bårana balbagu I want a pipe (Gan NO), jinda bårana you say (Wir), nája, wandi gamu bårana I am, the dog is thirsty (Wir); náni jinda núdana bårana what do you want to know? (Wir), náni or náni ginda jinda bårana what do you say? (Wir), jumbaná bårana I want to listen (Wir), jinda nágana bårana you want to see (Wir), mulí nála jinda bårana do you want more? (Wir), nája bårana wulur jana I want that thing (Wir), jana nula bårana he wants that (Wir), wírí wáda bårana speaking in Wirri (Wir), nula gandugu bårana she wants a child (Wir), gugagú, mandagú, gamugú bårana wants a house, food, a drink (Wir), nula jindajuna bårana he wants you (Wir; probably copying English), nája jana bårana nágana bårana I want to see or look at that (Wir), wújári bårala I am cold (Gan NO), bürü bårala fire (has) burned (Gan NO), binbi båraba he (has) got well (Wir), bángu båraba became a stone (Wir), banga bungu båraba the log has become ashes (Wir), mungugu båraba was changed into a mountain (Wir), nája wandi buláru båraba I have got two dogs (Wir), nája gára pussy cat båraba I have no cat (Wir), nája jaraman gágu båraba three I had three horses (Wir), náni jinda båraba what did you say? (Wir), gamu båraba juganajú want(ed) water to drink (Wir), budari (buğari) gára nula båraba or gára nula båraba budari gú he does not want the cold or winter (Wir), nája gára lik’im båraba I do not like it (Wir), gára nája lik’im båraba I did not like it (Wir), dina núnu bángara båraba he hurt his foot (Wir), náninga nula bángara båraba dina when did he hurt his foot? (Wir), nügunda båraba he did it last night (Wir), nája waga båraba I have finished working (Wir), bürü båralaŋa when the fire burns or burned (Gan NO).

bårada N name of a language (at Clermont; Gan NO).

bårál POST (16.16).

bårama- V CAUS IMP bårama; IPF båraramana; PF båraramala make, do (Gan (A), Wir): jinda buri bårama you make a fire (Gan NO), náni jinda baramana what are you doing? (Wir), náni ginda baramana what are you doing? (Wir), gára nája bårama what are you doing it? (Wir), gára nája bårama I cannot do it (Wir), wángal, náni båramala has made a boomerang, created the earth (Gan NO).

- cf. båramba-.

båramba- V CAUS IMP båramba; IPF bårarambana, bårambilana; PF bårambilbalba, bårambilala-; INT bårambilbanagú; ACC bårambilbalbadi make, build, work, create, change (into), give, do (Wir, Bir): jinda wángal båramba you make a boomerang (Wir), nája wángal bårambilana I am making, will make a boomerang (Wir), nája scratching bårambilana I am scratching (Wir), náni jinda bárambilana what are you doing? (Bir VA), jinda wángal bårambilana you are making a boomerang (Bir AL), nája núnu wáda bårambilana I make him speak (i.e. teach him the language; Wir), binbi bårambilba cured (him; Wir), náni bårambilba (God) has made (created) the earth (Wir, Bir VA), nája finished bårambilala I have finished (Wir), nula núnu bári bårambilala he changed him into a stone (Wir), náni jinda bårambilala what have you done? (Wir), nándungu núna bårambilala who gave you that? (Bir VA), muri bårambilala I have made it before (Bir AL).

bårambilá- V CAUS REFL PF bårambilalila make oneself, do to oneself (Wir): binbi bårambilalila he has cured him- self. - cf. båramba-.
baraambara- V TR IMP baraambara;
IPF baraambana; PF baraambara,
(sic) make, build, do (Wir):
waŋal baraambara jinda you make
a boomerang, jinda ñaŋa baraambana
what are you doing? ñaŋa waŋal
baraambana I am making a boomerang,
gaga (gaŋgu) baraambana
(my father) was building a house
(for me), ñandulu baraambaraba
who (has) made it? baraambaraba
gaga has built the house. —CF. baraamb-.

bara N ALL baraŋaru river,
creek, the Belyando River, the
Barambah Creek (Wir): baraŋaru
jararaburu mungu the mountain on
the other side of the creek.

bara (bara, barbara) N
porcupine (Gan NO, MT, MM).

baraŋi N ERG baraiŋingu
porcupine (Wir): baraiŋingu
niman jugana the porcupine eats
flies. —CF. bara.

baru N ERG barungu axe (Wir).

baru N back (Bir VA, LJ, AL).

biaga (biyaga) N tobacco (Gan (A),
Wir, Nga): ñaŋa baŋa biyaga I
want tobacco (Wir), nula gaŋa
baŋa biyaga he does not want
tobacco.

bibi N aunt (Wir).

bibura N any river or the Dawson
River (Gan CA).

bida N floor (Gan NO).

bidili N bird (Bir RD): bidili
manganali we two will knock
birds.

bidimana N small, little (Gan KW).
—CF. bidimana.

bidin N ALL bidingu small, a
little (Gan TA): ñaŋa bidingu
we-ra I want a little. —CF. bidimana.

bidinmana N skinny (Gan TA).
—CF. bidinmana.

bigaŋmin N small (Gan KW):
bigaŋmin barí a small stone
—CF. badiṣnaŋa.

bigara N the name of a language,
Bidjara (Gan MM).

bidi (biri) REL close by (Wir):
bidi (biri) bin-a lives close
by, nula jambagu bidi bin-a she
lives close by (on the same road).

biga N nail (Bir VA, AL).

bigi bigi N pig (Gan NO).

bиграi N name of a station,
Strathmore (Bir RD, AL, WS, CC).

bilga- V TR bilga; bilgana;
bilgalba push, throw, spit,
blow (Wir): barí bilga throw a
stone, gaŋa gaŋuna jinda gaŋa
bilga malangu don't you push me,
jargangu bilgana the wind is
blowing (the window blind),
numba bilgana spitting.

bimbara N bimbaraŋugu white clay
(Wir): bimbaraŋugu guŋana
painting white.

bina N ear (Bir WS; perhaps from
the Wakka languages); the same,
however, in Gudjal. —CF. walu.

binbi N good, well, all right,
nice, pretty, beautiful, good-
looking, new; also the name of
a place, Binbi Siding (Gan, Wir,
Bir, Nga): ñaŋa binbi or binbi
ñaja I am well or all right
(Gan NO, Wir), binbi gaju, gandu
a pretty girl, child (Gan NO),
buji binbi a good light (Gan
KW), gaju binbi a good woman
(Gan CA), binbi bama good-
looking man (Gan CA), wamergi
binbi pretty (white) lady (Gan
TA), binbi nula he is well, all
right (Gan TA, Wir), julu binbi
jamba it is nice here (Gan TA),
manda binbi good food (e.g.
bananas; Gan TA), binbi jama
cure (him; Gan TA), (jinda) ñaŋa
binbi how are you feeling? (Wir),
jinda binbi how are you? (Wir),
wandi binbi a good dog (Wir),
binbi jugana good to eat (Wir),
jamba binbi (Townsville) is a
nice place (Wir), waga binbi
time work (Wir), naja binbi
baraba I had easy work or a
good time (Wir), gada binbibari
has beautiful hair (Wir), waŋal
binbi a new boomerang (Wir),
bumbu ḡa binbi (it had) not
get pretty feathers (Bir VA),
jinda binbi you are good (Bir
RD; used for 'thank you', etc.).

binbibila N good, nice, a good
fellow, the 'Good Fellow' (a kind
of Aboriginal God or Christ; Bir
RD): muringa binbibila marji wunali
jina long ago Binbibila came
down here as a man, muringa bama
wunali jina long ago lived
here (as) a man. —cf. binbi.

binbiña REL all the time (Nga):
nula gamu jugana binbiña he is
drinking all the time.

binda- V ITR IMP binda; IPP
bindaŋa, bindana, bindara, bin’a,
bindaŋa; PF bindala, bindaba;
INT bindana, bindanagu, bindagu,
bindanu; ACC bindananaŋa,
bindabadi sit (down), stay, live,
be inside, be (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga):
jinda binda you sit down (Nga),
bara binda sit down (Wir), bara
bindana, bindara (muruguag)
sitting down (in the car; Gan NO,
KW), bindanaja (Bir VA), naja
bindana (Nga) I am sitting (down),
gugagu, box-gu bin’a (it) is in
the house, in a box (Wir), bara
bindana (come) to sit down (Gan
KW), naja bindanagu I have got
to sit (Wir), naja dariŋa bindanagu
wun’a I am (here) to stay (sit)
by myself (Wir), juraŋ bindagu
for you to sit (i.e. 'a chair';
Wir), naja bindanaŋa when I am
sitting (Wir).

bindama- V CAUS bindama; bindamana;
bindamal make sit, set down
(Gan NO): gandu bindamala (the
mother) made the child sit down.
—cf. binda-.

bindamba- V CAUS IMP bindamba;
IPF bindambana make sit, set
down (Gan (B), Wir). —cf. binda-.

bindi bindi¹ N itch, scratch,
'heaty lumps' ('prickly heat'? Gan
NO, Wir): naja bindi binda
baŋa I am scratching (probably
'feeling an itch'; Wir), mara
bindi binda baŋa my hand is
itching (Wir).

bindi bindi² N hill (Bir CC), also
the name of a place.

bira- V ITR PF birala play
(Gan NO): gandunu birala some
children are playing.

birga N ALL (biragu, q.v.)
morning (Wir): birga binbi nice
morning.

birgabari REL early (Wir): birgabari
naja buɾaba I got up early.
—cf. birga.

birgagu REL tomorrow (morning),
yesterday (Gan (A), Wir, Bir):
birgagu janina going tomorrow
(Gan NO). —cf. birga.

birgu N wife (Wir): birgu ᓂaŋu,
jindaŋu my, your wife. —cf.
brigu, briguna (Bir).

biriga N the name of the Bowen and
Burdekin River language, Biriri
(Wir, Bir): naja biri waga nununa
(sic) I talk in Biriri with him
(Bir VA).

biribaŋ a little creek (Gan CA;
cf. Australian 'billabong').

birigaba, birigabagu N the name
of a tribe and language (= biri,
q.v.; Wir MS, Bir RD, AL).

birija, birijaba N the name of a
tribe and language at Bowen
(= biri; Wir, Bir): naja waŋa
baŋa birija or birijaba waŋa baŋa
I speak Biriri (Wir).

birimu N bream (fish; Bir VA).

biɾɨɨgɪlɪɡɪl N pee wee (Bir VA).
—cf. biɾɨɨɡɪlɪɡɪl.

biwali N 'flash' (elegant; Bir VA).
biwali- V REFL ITR PF biwaliba be 'flash', coquet (Bir VA).

brigi- V ITR IMP brigi; IPP (DUR) brigina-, (IMM) brigin- cry (Bir): ga ra brigi don't cry (Bir WS), briginanda you cry (Bir RD), briga ngal he is crying (Bir AL), jinda ga ra briginanda you will not cry (Bir RD).

brigu N wife (Bir RD). -cf. birgu (Wir).

briguna N one's wife (Bir). -cf. birgu.

bu CONN (19.37).

buban N lizard (Wir).

budal N bottle (Bir AL).

budari v. bugari.

budi¹ N dry, thirsty (Gan TA):
    gamu budi, naja budi (I am) thirsty, nani, wudun budi dry earth, grass.

budi² N ALL budigu bush (form English; Bir VA): budi damu from the bush, budigu du ngulagi (go) to the bush for possum.

budi budi N pussy cat (Bir TA).

budigar N cat (Gan MM).

budil N flower? (Gan CA).

budu N star, stars (Gan, Wir, Bir).

buğa N white, grey (Wir, Bir):
    wandi buğa a white or grey dog (Wir).

buğabai N white (Wir). -cf. buğa.

buğari (budari) N ALL buğarigu cold (weather), cold wind, winter (Gan (A), Wir): buğari da ra na (ba na, bandina), ba rala (baraba) (getting) cold (Gan NO, Wir), buğari da runa cold last night (Gan NO), naja buğari ba na I am getting cold (Wir), buğari dalgaju plenty of cold wind (Wir), ga ra binda buğari don't sit in the cold (Wir), buğari jaban a cold wind blowing (Wir).

buğan N mosquito (Wir).

buga- V ITR IPP bugana; ACC bugananga, bugabanga grow (Wir), gandu jana bugana that child is growing, bugananga, bugabanga when (I) grow, have grown up.

bugamba- V CAUS IPP bugambana;
    PF bugambalba make grow, raise, rear (Wir): naja g anu bugambana I am raising or rearing a child, naja bugambalba I (have) reared (him). -cf. buga-.

bugan¹ N blue-tongue lizard (Wir).

bugan² REL early (Gan TA): naja bugan buraba I got up early this morning.

bugangu REL tomorrow (Gan CA, TA). -cf. bugan².

buganu REL from the morning (Gan TA): dana j anira buganu ındun they walk from morning till night. -cf. bugan².

bugur N bubble (Gan CA): bugur jagala (water) boiling or bubbling, bugur jagamba blowing bubbles.

buña 1. tail; 2. penis (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): buña banban (dog) without a tail (Wir).

buğabarisi 1 having a tail (Wir):
    wandi buğabarisi the dog has a tail.

buğagudu N without a tail (Wir):
    wandi buğagudu the dog has no tail or the tail cut off. -cf. buña.

buğa N ashes (Wir).

buji N ERG bujiğu; ALL bujiğu fire, light (Gan B): buji bınbi a good light (e.g. a torch; Gan KW), buji wijal bright light (Gan TA), bujiğu naja waguba I cooked him on the fire (Gan TA). -cf. buɾi (Gan (A), Wir, Bir, Nga).

buğibari N burning (Gan TA): banba buğibari a burning stick. -cf. buji.
bunjun N eyebrow(s) (Bir VA).

bula\(^1\) PERS PRON (16.17-18; 19.19; 22.15-16).

bula\(^2\) N cow(s), cattle (Gan (B), Wir). — cf. bulaga (Bir, Nga).

bulaga N cattle (Bir). — cf. bula\(^2\).

bulari, v. bularu.

bularu (bulari) N two (Gan B):
gandu bularu two children (Gan CA), bularu wařba (Gan CA),
bularu wabe (Gan TA) three,
bularu bularu four (Gan CA). — cf. bularu.

bularuba N three (Gan KW). — cf. bularu.

bularu (bularu) N ERG bularuŋugu;
POSS bularuŋu two, both (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): guga bularu two houses (Wir), maři bularu two men (Wir), wandi bularu two dogs (Wir), bularu wađa bula baŋa two are talking together (Wir),
bularu maiba both are dead (Wir), bularuŋugu nagaŋa the two look at each other (Wir),
ularuŋu of the two (= bularu their(s); Bir RD). — cf. bularu (Gan B).

bulban N flower (Wir, Bir VA):
bulban badina flowers are growing (Wir).

buldaŋ\(^1\) N heart (Gan (B), Wir, Bir):
thesame in Gudjal.

bulga N LOC bulgaŋa relative,
relation (Wir): nula bulga ŋagu,
jindaŋu he is my, your relative.

bulgaŋ N liver (Bir RD; correct? cf. buldaŋ).

bulgaŋa N big (Bir VA).

buli N more (Gan KW): janira nula
gumbe buli marana he is going
toget more tobacco, gumbe buli
jabana smoking more. — cf. muli (Wir).

buliman N ERG bulimandu policeman (Gan (A), Wir, Bir, Nga).
— cf. balgaŋa.

bulungara N pelican (Bir VA).

bumal N ERG bumalangu 1. breast
(Gan NO); 2. wind from the chest, breath (Wir): bularu bumal both
breasts (Gan NO), ŋaja bumal
wargu jabana I am breathing with
difficulty, panting, tired (Wir),
bumal jabalba blew (Wir). — cf.
buma (Bir VA).

bumba N chest (Bir VA). — cf.
bumal (Gan (A), Wir).

bumbu N feather(s) (Bir VA):
bumbu dibila damu maralba took
feathers off a bird.

bumbumbulu N without feathers
(Bir VA). — cf. bumbu.

bumburiŋ N hot (Wir). — cf. bunbul
(Gan B).

bu'n N shoes (Gan KW; from
English 'boot').

bunbul N hot (Gan TA): juluŋ(g)u
bunbul this one is hot, garigu
bunbul jinda bindara you are
sitting in the hot sun or on a
hot day. — cf. bumburiŋ (Wir).

bunda N peak (Gan TA). — cf. maŋa
bunda.

bunda-, v. gunda-.

bunqai (? bunge) N son-in-law
(Wir)

bungaŋ N carpet snake (Gan KW).

bungul (bungur) N knee (Nga).

bunja N old man (Gan NO, Wir).

bunṇagan N old woman (Gan NO, Wir).

bura- V ITR IMP bura; IPP burana;
Pf buraba; ACC buralba get up,
getaway, fly, go away, wake up,
hurry up (Gan, Wir): jinda bura
you get up (Gan NO), gaŋa jinda
bura don't you get away (Bir),
jinda jadingu bura (jana) you
hurry up (Wir), gaŋa burana
not getting away (Gan NO), bugaŋ
buraba got up early (Gan TA),
nula buraba he has gone away
(Wir), birgabori ŋaja buraba
Igot up or woke up early (Wir),
buralba when he woke up (Wir).
burañ-a- V TR IPF burañana pull off, pick (berries; Gan NO).

burali- V ITR IMP burali; PF buraliba; INT buraligu get up (Gan): jinda burali you get up (Gan KW, TA), nula buraligu we-ra he wants to get up (Gan TA).

burañi (burani) V N afraid, frightened, flying (i.e. in a fright or hurry; Gan (B)) buranji jala rumandu afraid of the snake (Gan KW), ganju jinda nañuna buranji diga don't frighten him (Gan KW), buranji je-ba got frightened (Gan KW), buranji we-ra, we-ba taking, took a fright (Gan KW, CA), buranji nuguanda afraid in the darkness (Gan TA), nañi buranji juñi mundu I am afraid of the ghost (Gan TA).

burani- V ASS IMP burani; PF buranila get away with, take away (Gan NO): gañu jinda burani don't you get away with it, nula jaba (wulur) buranila he took away that thing. —cf. bura-, burali-.

burañi- V ASS IMP burañi; IPF burarina; PF burarilba go away with, take away (Wir): nula burarilba gañu wulur he went away with my things. —cf. bura-, burani-.

burba- V ITR IPF burbana come (Gan NO; the same in Gunggari): jarga burbana wind is coming.

burgari (burgiri, burguri) N moon (Bir VA, RD).

buri- V TR IMP buri; PF burilba burili pull (Wir, Bir): dangu buri pull back or toward you (Wir).

burili N sick (Gan TA): burili nula he is sick.

burumu N blackberry (Gan MM, Wir): burumu jugana eating blackberries (Wir).

buran N rainbow (Gan CA).

buri N ERG buringu fire, stick (for making fire or burning stick), match, light, star (2) (Gan MM; probably wrong, cf. budu) (Gan (A), Wir, Bir, Nga): buri burala fire burned (Gan NO), guga buringu a house on fire (Gan NO); the same word is used in Gudjal.

buri buri N ERG buri buringu (witch) doctor (Bir RD).

burinchingil N peewee (Gan CA).

—cf. birilgilgil.

D

da CONN (16.32; 22.38).

da- N talk, talking (Gan (B); cf. Gunggari da- mouth); chiefly with we-', q.v., in the sense of 'to talk': ganju jinda da- we- don't you talk (Gan KW), nañi, nañi da- we- ra, we- ba I am, we two are talking, have talked (Gan KW), da- wangi we- ra talking (having) a long talk (Gan CA), da- (we- ra) wanga talking a little (Gan TA), nula we- ra da- we- na he wants to talk (Gan KW), da- we- la talking (accidental; Gan KW).

dabu N all (Wir): majiba dabu or dabu majiba they are all dead, nañi dabu dan- a we all are here, bangar dabu dan- a all are sick.

daga-1 V ITR daga; dagara; dagaba; daganu get (in), come (in), get up (Gan (B), Wir): daga come in (Wir), nugu dagara getting dark (Gan TA), nunun walu gu dagaba a fly got into my ear (Gan KW), nula gugagu dagaba he came into the house (Wir), nañi bugangu daganu I will get up tomorrow (Gan TA). —cf. daga-2
daga-2  V TR IPF dagana- ; PF
dagaba send, plant (put in;  
(Gan (B), Bir): gunami dagananda
nanigu you are planting that
into the ground (Bir RD),
jaburangu dunbula diligu dagaba
dust got into my eye by the wind
or the wind sent dust into my
eye (Gan KW). - cf. daga-1.
dagali-  V REFL IMP dagali ; IPF
dagalira ; PF dagaliba put on, 
dress (Gan B) : wididi dagali or
jinda dagali (you) put on a hat
(Gan KW), nula gambi dagalira
gandugu he is dressing
the child (Gan TA; indirect

daga-1  •
dagali- v  REFL IMP dagali ; IPF
dagalira ; PF dagaliba put on, 
dress (Gan B) : wididi dagali or
jinda dagali (you) put on a hat
(Gan KW), nula gambi dagalira
gandugu he is dressing
the child (Gan TA; indirect

daga-1 •
dagani- v REFLEX IMP
dagani-

danul N possum (Gan NO). - cf. 
danuru , gulaçu.
danuru (danulu, originally *danur,  
*danul, as in Gunggari ?) ALL
danulagu possum (Bir) : budigu
danulagu (go) to the bush for
possum (Bir RD). - cf. danul,
danaru.
dai miningi, maningi or muningi N
Cherbourg, the settlement at
Barambah creek (Wir; from Wakka-  
Wakka dai munginge the Laughing
Rock).
dalan N tongue, language (Gan,  
Wir, Nga): dalan wargu (using)
bad language (Wir).
dalgabarà N big (Wir) : wina
dalgabarà a big fish, marî, gaju
dalgabarà a big man, woman, jina
gaju dalgabarà this woman is big,
jina jana ñamu dalgabarà this is
as big as that. - cf. dalgaju.
dalgaju N big, high, strong, a
lot, plenty (Gan (A), Wir):
dalgaju wina a big fish (Gan MM),
wina dalgaju barbaràgu plenty of
fish in the creek (Wir), dalgaju
gundañà a big fight (Wir), wina
baça baça dalgaju plenty of
small fish (Wir), buğari dalgaju
plenty of cold, winter (Wir),
wàça nula dalgaju baña he is
talking a lot (Wir), jarga
dalgaju wurbana a strong wind
is blowing (Wir), mungu dalgaju
a high mountain (Wir). - cf.
dalgabarà, dalgarì.
dalgarì N plenty, too much (Bir):
gamu dalgarì plenty of water
(Bir RD), dalgarì wunalabanagu
if too much was left (Bir RD).
- cf. dalgaju.

dangamali-  V ASS REFL REC IMP
dangamali; IPF dangamalinà
talk to one another (Gan NO).  
- cf. danga-, dangama-.
dangami-  V REC IPF dangamina
talk to one another (Gan NO).
- cf. danga-, dangama-, dangamali-.
danfi N possum (Gan NO). - cf.
danuru, gulaçu.
danuru (danulu, originally *danur,  
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danulagu possum (Bir) : budigu
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wina dalgaju barbaràgu plenty of
fish in the creek (Wir), dalgaju
gundañà a big fight (Wir), wina
baça baça dalgaju plenty of
small fish (Wir), buğari dalgaju
plenty of cold, winter (Wir),
wàça nula dalgaju baña he is
talking a lot (Wir), jarga
dalgaju wurbana a strong wind
is blowing (Wir), mungu dalgaju
a high mountain (Wir). - cf.
dalgabarà, dalgarì.
dalgarì N plenty, too much (Bir):
gamu dalgarì plenty of water
(Bir RD), dalgarì wunalabanagu
if too much was left (Bir RD).
- cf. dalgaju.

dangamali-  V ASS REFL REC IMP
dangamali; IPF dangamalinà
talk to one another (Gan NO).  
- cf. danga-, dangama-.
dangami-  V REC IPF dangamina
talk to one another (Gan NO).
- cf. danga-, dangama-, dangamali-.
dali N Tully, also the name of various languages or dialects spoken in the Tully area (Bir RD).
-dalî n DER SFX (16.5).

damba- V TR PF dambali- hold (Bir RD): malangu dambalina danga (the witch doctor) held (my) throat with his hand.

dambun (-buŋ) N grub, witchetty grub (Gan (B), Bir).

dami N fat (Wir).

damiwanğa N big, fat fellow (Gan KW). - cf. dami.

damu1 N possum (Wir).

damu2 POST (19.16; 22.14).

da·mu N POSS da·muŋu the name of an Aboriginal, Tommy King (Bir RD): da·muŋu jabuna Tommy King's father.


dana- V ITR IMP dana; IPF danaŋa, danana, dan·a, danara, danaŋa; PF danala, danaba; ACC danananga, danabidi 1. stand (up), get up, step, wait (for), be, look like; 2. (in Birri, usually or with Bir RD) sit (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): jinda dana ba you stand up (Gan MM), ñara dana stand up (Wir), danaŋunda you have better sit over here (Bir RD), nula danana he is standing (Gan NO), gaɾa jinda danara don't you stand (Gan MT; imperative use of the imperfective), dulaŋ danara gundu a tree standing over there (Gan KW), ñanda nula danara where is he? (Gan KW), ñaŋa jindaŋuna dan·a I am waiting for you (Wir), jinda ñagu dan·a you are waiting for me (Wir; or you wait for me, cf. above), ñaŋa ñamu dan·a nula she looks like me (Wir), wina ñamu dan·a looks like a fish (Wir), danaŋaja, bula danaŋa(la), ñali danaŋali I am, they both, we two are sitting (Bir RD), danaŋala he stays (Bir RD), ñanana jingu danaŋala we all are sitting here, gugaru danaŋa a house stands (Bir RD), juŋdji danaŋal a ghost was standing (by my side; Bir AL), ñanalu danaŋala who is there? (Bir RD), ñali dananani we two will sit down (Bir RD), jinda danananda ñagunda you will stay with me (Bir RD), barigu dina danaba (he) stepped on a stone (Wir).

danaji- V ASS IPF danajina hold (literally 'stand with'; Wir): mala ñani danajina what do you hold in your hand? - cf. danari- (Bir).

danamba- V CAUS IMP danamba stand (something) up (Gan KW), set (Bir RD): danamba set him (Bir RD). - cf. dana-.

danari- V ASS IPF danariŋa- sit with, nurse (Bir RD): ñaja jalu danariŋaja I am baby-sitting, gajurbangu danariŋala jalu the woman was nursing (her) child. - cf. dana-, danaji- (Wir).

danandji (danani) V N REL? standing, growing (Gan KW, CA): danani (can you see the cattle) standing? (Gan KW), diwur danani rosewood growing (Gan KW). - cf. dana-.

dandari- (danduri-, danguri-) V ITR IPF dandariŋa, danguriŋa; ACC dandariŋbalanja stand (Bir RD): dandariŋala, danguriŋanda he is, you are standing, danguriŋa gunagu he is standing over there, gunami dandariľbaŋa where or when that one is standing. - cf. dana-.

danduri-, v. dandari-.

dangu (daŋu) REL back, this way (Wir): jina dangu (daŋu) wurba you come here, mari dangu wurbana a man is coming here or this way, dangu wurbaba came (or has come) back, dangu wurbari bring or fetch it back, dangu wurba come back.
danga- V TR IMP danga; IPP dangan; PF dangaba, dangalba send (Gan (B), Wir): danga waju send (him) away (Gan KW), jinda nuñuna danga you send him (Wir), ñaja nuñuna dangana I will send him (Wir), nula dangaba waju he sent him away (Gan KW), daungu nuñuna dangalba (I) sent him to town (Wir), nuñuna dangana ñaja baña I want to send him (Wir).

dangari- V ASS PF dangarîlbâ send with (Wir): ñaja nuñuna letter dangarîlbâ I sent him with a letter. – cf. danga.-

dara N leg, thigh (Gan (B), Wir, Bir, Nga): dara balban skinny legs (Bir VA).

darba N poor, poorly, thin (Gan KW; more or less = the Wakka-Wakka ganan ganan; see Part I, 12): darba we-ra getting thin.

dariğa (daruga) N trousers, pants (Gan, Nga).

darîn (drîn) N self, alone (Wir): ñaja darîn I myself (= ñaja warba), ñaja drîn bindana jinibadi I am alone when he goes.

darînà darînal N self, alone (Wir): ñaja darînà bin’â I am living alone, darînal bin’â sitting by myself.

daruğa, v. dariga.

dawa N ALL dawagu cold (Gan TA): jinda bindara dawagu you are sitting in the cold, wulangu dawagu in the cold night.

-dì N DER SFX (16.5; 19.6; 22.5).

dia- V ITR IMP dia; IPP diara, dianja; PF diaba, dial-; INT diana; ACC diala, dialba-, dialbança dance, sing, perform, play (Gan (B), Bir): jinda dia you dance and sing (Bir RD), ñani nula diara what is he playing at? (Gan KW), bama diara, diaba the people play, gamble, have played (Gan TA), gubun dianja we all are dancing (Bir RD), diânganda you are dancing now (Bir RD), dianja dana they were dancing (Bir RD), gubun dialdana they (have) danced (Bir RD), gajurba dianja dana the women were dancing (Bir RD), dialbana when we danced ('were to dance'; Bir RD), gubun dialbana while they were performing (Bir RD). –cf. dira- (Wir, Bir).

diali- V REFL ITR IMP diali; IPP dialir(a); PF dialiba; INT dialinu play (on a leaf, the piano, etc.; Gan TA): maru ñaja dialia I am playing on a leaf, dialinu we-ra wants to play. –cf. dia-.

diamba- V CAUS TR IPP diambara play (= dia; Gan KW): ñani nula diambara what is he playing at? –cf. dia-.

diba N liver (Gan KW, CA).

dibila N ALL dibilagu bird (Bir VA). –cf. diguru (Gan B).

didän N native bear, koala (Gan MM).

diga- V TR IMP diga; IPP digara; PF digaba, digalba rouse, attack, wake up (Gan, Wir): gaña nuñuna diga don't wake him up (Wir), gañu jinda nuñuna burañgi diga don't frighten him (Gan KW), bangañigara digara the dog attacks (Gan KW), burañgi digaba frightened (him; Gan KW), nuñuna ñaja digalba I woke him up (Wir).

diga diga, v. digar digar.

digar digar (diga diga) N ERG digar digaranqu wagtail (Wir, Bir): digar digaranquu ninguém jugana the wagtail eats flies (Wir).

diguru N ERG digurugu; ALL digurugu bird (Gan B): diguru wananu (I) want to look for birds (Gan TA), digurugu mala bird's wings (Gan CA). –cf. dibila (Bir).
dingal N cough, coughing (Gan CA): din(al) we'ra coughing. —cf. dingal.

dilap N firstborn (Wir): dilap ḋagu gadana majiba my elder or eldest brother died.

dilangan N eldest daughter (Wir). —cf. dilan.

dilli N ERG dilingu; ALL dilingu eye, eyes, face (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): dili wargu or mugabari bad or blind eyes (Gan NO, Wir), dili webe one-eyed (Gan TA), dili guja weak, poor eyesight (Bir RD), munda dilingu naga watch out for the snake (Wir; literally 'look (for it) with your eyes'); the same word in Gudjal.

dimbal N foot (Gan MT). —cf. dina.

dina N foot, footprint, track (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): dina nagana tracking (Wir), dina ḋaga nunu nagalba I (have) tracked him (Wir); the same word in Gudjal.

dina dagalingi N shoes (Gan TA). —cf. dinadaliŋ.

dinadaliŋ N shoes (Gan TA).

dinara N ALL dinaragu dinner (Gan TA; from English).

dinbara N white paint (Wir).

dingila N Chinchilla (Gan NO).

dinga- V TR IPP (IMM) dingana-; INT diganagu find, catch (Bir RD): jara dinganali, digananana over there we (two, all) shall find (possum), wina diganagu to catch fish.

dingal N cough (Gan TA): din(al) we'ra coughing. —cf. dingal.

dingalbari N having a cough (Gan TA): nula dingalbari he has a cough.

dinjal N cough, cold (Gan A, Wir): dinjal wudagu a cold in (your) nose, din al bana coughing. —cf. dinjal.

dinjalbari N having a cold (Gan (A), Wir): ḋaga, nula dinjalbari I have, he has a cold (Gan NO).

dira N tooth, teeth (Gan (A), Bir): bangar dira toothache (Gan NO).

dira- V ITR IPP diraŋa, dirana play, dance, gamble (Wir, Bir): nula, gandunbara dirana he is, the children are playing (Wir), dirana gubun they dance and play a corroboree (Wir), gandu diraŋa (dana) the kids (they) are playing (Bir VA), card dirana dana they are all playing cards (Bir VA). —cf. dia- (Gan (B), Bir).

dirala (probably = di· dala 'tea leaves') N tea (Bir VA).

-diri N DER SFX (19.6; 25.2).

-dirin N DER SFX (19.6).

diruan N cockatoo (Bir VA).

diwa N horned eagle owl (Bir VA).

diwur N rosewood (Gan KW): diwur danan(g)i (or danana?) rosewood (standing), a supposed native name of Duaringa.

dubaga N tobacco (Gan MM).

duda N urine (Gan TA).

duga N smoke, fog, tobacco (Gan, Wir): duga buɾi mundu smoke from the fire (Gan NO), duga jabara smoking (Gan KW, TA), duga jamara (fire) making smoke (Gan KW), jidaba duga (has) left off tobacco or smoking (Gan TA), duga wurbana it is foggy (Wir), duga jagana smoking (Wir).

dugabari N tobacco (Gan KW).

dugabura N mist (Wir).

duge- V ITR IMP duge jump down (Gan KW): ganu jinda duge don't you jump down. —cf. dugura- (Wir).
dugurā- V ITR dugurā; dugurāna;
duguraba go down (Wir): (jinda) bara dugurā (you) go down, ɳaña
dugurana I am going down,
duguraba bara nanigu went down
to the earth or ground. - cf.
duge- (Gan B).
dula N ERG dulaŋu; ALL dulagu
stick, wood, log, tree, plant
(Gan (A), Bir): dulagu ɳaña
bindaŋa I am sitting on a tree
(Bir VA), waburu dula jagaŋala
the little plant (tree) is
coming up (Bir RD). - cf. dulan.
dulba- V TR IMP dulba blow out
(Wir): buɾi dulba blow out the
fire.
dulbi N wet (Gan TA): nani dulbi
wet earth.
dural.
dulur N straight (Gan CA). - cf.
gada.
dumbi- V TR IMP dumbi; IPF
dumbira light (a fire; Gan TA):
buɾi dumbi, dumbira light(ing)
a fire. - cf. dunbī-.
dumbir N REL still (Wir): maɾi
dumbir gara majiba the man is
still alive ('has not yet died').
- cf. dunbī.
dumu N leg, shin (Gan, Wir, Bir):
dumu webe one leg, one-legged
(Gan TA).
dunbi N REL alive (Wir): dunbi
jina alive, walking about.
- cf. dumbir.
dunbi- V TR dumbi; dubinā;
dunbilba; ACC dunbilbadi light
(Wir): jinda baiba dunbi you
light (your) pipe, nula baiba
dunbilba he has lit (his) pipe.
- cf. dumbi-.
dunbula N dust (Gan KW): dunbula
diligu dust in (your) eye.
- cf. dunburwa.
dunburwa N dust (Wir). - cf.
dunbula.
dundan N tail (Gan TA): ɳargu
dundan kangaroo's tail.
dune- V ASS dune; dunera; duneba;
say to, tell (Gan KW): jinda ɳana
dune you tell me, ɳani dunera
what are you saying (to me)?
nula ɳana dunera, duneba he
will tell, (has) told me.
- cf. duni-.
duni- V TR IMP duni; IPF dunira;
PF duniba; ACC dunila say,
tell (Gan B): ɳani dunira what
were (you) saying? (Gan KW),
nula ɳaŋuna duniba he told or
said to me (Gan TA; mixed up
with dune-, q.v.). - cf. dune-.
duni duni N night owl (Gan KW).
dungaliŋa N the Aboriginal name
of Wir AM (Wir AM).
dunup N grey owl (Bir VA).
dura N path, way, road (Gan KW,
CA): dura baɾal across the road
(Gan CA), dura gulgandara a
long way (Gan CA).
durba- V TR IMP durba; IPF
durbana put out (Wir): buɾi
durba, durbana put(ting) out
the fire. - cf. durga-.
durbal N the name of a creek
('Davy's Creek') at Wooroonah.
- cf. dulgal.
durga- V TR IMP durga; PF
durgalba put out (Bir VA):
buɾi durga put out the fire.
- cf. durba-.
duru N arm (Gan (A), Bir).
durū N sun (Nga).
งำงa N talk (Gan NO).
งำงama- V ASS IPF งำงามana
talk (Gan NO): งำงุ jinda
งำงามana don't you talk
(imperative sense; perhaps
'don't you be talking').
- cf. งำงa.
-gal N DER SFX (16.5).
-kan N shirt (Gan KW; from English).
-daga N DER SFX (22.5).
dariga N trousers (Gan NO).
-gu PERS PRON (22.16).
dugi dugi N fowl, chicken (Gan TA; from English).
-gumbaga N tobacco (Gan TA; = duga, q.v.).
gumbega (gumbe) N tobacco (Gan KW, CA): gumbe wa·ra want tobacco (Gan KW).
gungi N ghost (Bir VA). - cf. jui ngi.
G
-ga CONNECTIVE (22.38).
-ga· N car (Wir): ga· jana that car.
gaba N 1. (any) honey bee;
2. honey (Gan (A), Wir).
gabina V N hungry (Gan MT):
gabina jurigu hungry for meat. - cf. gabinu, gabira.
gabinu N LOC gabinunga hungry (Wir, Bir): jurigu jugana gabinu hungry (to eat meat; Wir), gandu gabinu mandagu the child is hungry (Wir), gabinu baña gandu the child is getting hungry (Wir), gabinunga gandu barina when hungry the child cries (Wir), jurigu naja gabinu I am hungry for meat (Bir VA), jurigu gabinu want meat (Bir VA). - cf. gabina, gabira.
gabira V N hungry (Gan (B), Nga):
gabira jinagu hungry for fish (Gan KW, naju (naja?) gabira I am hungry (Nga). - cf. gabina, gabinu.
gabul N ERG gabulu carpetsnake (Gan NO, Wir, Bir VA).
gabura N smell (Wir): gabura jumbana smelling ('feeling a smell').
-gaburu N billy(can), ash can (Bir VA).
gada N ALL gadagu 1. head;
2. hair of the head (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): gada dulur straight up ('straight hair' ? Gan CA), gada waña waña or gada war gu silly (Wir), gada guja silly (Bir AL); the same word in Gudjal.
-gada N brother (Wir): gada Ṽṣu my brother.
gadadalin N hat (Gan TA):
gadadalin ganju, gadadalin(j)unda having no hat. - cf. gada
-gada dagalingi N hat (Gan TA).
- cf. gadadalin.
gadadiri, gadadiri N hat (Wir).
- cf. gada.
gadanu N one's elder brother
(Gan (A), Wir): gadana bulu two brothers (Wir), gadana gudan brothers and sisters (Wir).
- cf. gada.
gadi V ITR IPF gadin; PF gadiba lie, tell lies, steal (Wir): jinda gaɾa gadina you do not tell a lie, Ṽaja gaɾa gadiba I never stole; gadina also used as a noun: nula gadina jamana he is telling a lie.
gadili- V ITR IMP gadili; IPF gadilina, gadina lie, tell lies (Wir): gar a jinda gadili, bul a gaɾa gadili don't you (two) tell lies, nula gadilina he is telling lies. - cf. gadi-.
gadiɾma- V ASS IMP gadιɾma; IPF gadιɾmana tell a lie (Gan NO): gaɾa jinda gadιɾma don't you tell a lie. - cf. gadi-.
-gaga N bad (Nga).
gaga N grass (Bir RD).
gaga N moon (Gan A), Wir, Bir, Nga; gaga 'star' (Bir WS) is probably wrong. —cf. gege (Gan B), burgari (Bir).

gagini N LOC gagininga; ALL gaginigu the Kirkness or Woodtown area (Bir RD's home and also Aboriginal name): gagini damu from Kirkness.

gagubara N kookaburra, laughing jackass (Wir).

gagur N wallaroo (Gan KW).

ganjai (?) gaŋe) N uncle (Wir).

gangali- V ITR PF gangalili call out (Bir RD): gangalili (an old woman) used to call out (at the funeral).

ganu REL no, not, none, don't (Gan): ganu ŋaja jainina I am not going (Gan NO), ganu ŋaja bangara I am not sick (Gan NO), ganu wubara will not come back (Gan KW), ġumbega ganu baim juna no smoke (= tobacco) in the pipe (Gan KW), gadadaliŋ ganu having no hat (Gan TA).

ganubari N REL no (Gan NO): ganubari buri no fire here, bangu ganubari no money (= gaŋabarili). —cf. ganu.

ganulu N the name of a language and tribe, Gangulu (within the Springsure and Clermont area, according to Gan MM, NO, Wir AM), in which 'no' is ganu, q.v. (Gan, Wir): ganulu marĩ a Gangulu (Gan MM).

ganuru N probably the name of a section (Bir RD; his mother's father was ganuru, according to a patrilineal system).

gaingara N big (Gan): ŋura gaingara a big dog (cf. Gunpgari gaingbaraŋ, gaingbaŋan, idem).

gaju N ERG gajungu; ALL gajugua woman, girl (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): bagari gaju (little) girl (Gan MM), gandu gaju a daughter (Wir), ŋagu gajungu my woman (wife; Bir RD).

gajubari N having a woman or wife, married (Gan TA). —cf. gaju.

gajjunda N having no woman or wife, single (Gan TA). —cf. gaju.

gajumulu N widower (Gan TA). —cf. gaju.

gajurba N ERG gajurbagu woman or wife (= gaju, q.v.; Bir RD). —cf. gaju.

gala REL not, never (Gan MM): ŋaja gala nagala I cannot see, ŋaja gala jimbala I have never heard (correct? cf. gaŋa).

galali1 N gully (Gan CA). —cf. galari.

galali2 N the name of a language, Kalali (south-western Queensland or about Quilpie; Bir JH).

galari N gully (Gan KW): galari dulgal waqar(ini) Davy's Creek (between Coomooboolaroo and Duaringa). —cf. galali1, dulgal, wagaringi.

galarigani N hawk (? Gan KW).

galbra N river, creek (Bir AL).

galbiru N wallaby (Bir VA). —cf. galbur.

galbul N sand (Wir).

galbur (galbul) N ERG galburu white wallaroo (Bir VA): galburu juggaliba the wallaroo ate it. —cf. galbiru.

galga- V ITR IMP galga; IPF (DUR) galgaŋa; (IMM) galgana-; PF galgalal- run, drip, flow (Bir RD): gamu galgalan raining. —cf. guna galga-.

galgali- V ITR IMP galgali; IPF galgalia; PF galgaliba drip, spill (Gan TA, KW): ganju jinda gamu galgali don't you spill water (Gan TA; a compound, 'water-spill', cf. 16.2),
gamu galgalia it is raining (Gan TA), wuda galgalia bleeding from the nose (Gan TA), (naja, nula) jirgun galgalia, galgaliba (I am, he is) bleeding, (I, he) bled (Gan TA). -cf. galga-.

galgamba- V CAUS IPF galgambaŋa empty (Bir RD). -cf. galga-.

galgulu N yam(s) (Bir VA).

galia N ERG galiangu axe (Gan MT). -cf. galira.

galira N tomahawk, small kind of axe (Gan NO). -cf. galia.

galmara N urine (Bir RD): galmarja am urinating, galmarja galga(nanda) (said to a child). -cf. galga-, guna galga-.

gamba- V TR IMP gamba; PF gambalba put, dress (Wir): buŋi gamba put out (?) the fire (probably 'put on'; cf. Gunngari gamba-, 13), gandu, gawun naja gambalba I have dressed the child, put on a dress.

gambilal N ERG gambalungu; LOC gambalunga girl, young girl Wir, Bir VA): naja gambalungu naja ɲuŋalba nununa I (when) a girl used to know him (Wir), naja gambalunga when I was a young girl (Wir).

gambalgara N girl, little girl (Bir VA). -cf. gambal.

gambali-V REFL (19.36) put on one's (clothes), dress (Wir): naja gambalilla gawun I have put on my dress. -cf. gamba-.

gambi1 N clothes, blanket (Gan (B), Wir, Bir): gambi ɲara wunalagu I had no clothes (Bir RD).

gambi2 N woman (Gan NO, Bir WS; the usual sense of gambi in Gunngari and Bidjara).

gambi- V TR PF gambiba take (Bir VA).

gambimu N having no clothes, without clothes (Bir RD). -cf. gambi1.

gambia- V TR IMP gambira; IPF gambiraŋa; PF gambiraba; INT gambirala turn round (Bir VA): naja gambiraba I turned round.

gambirama- V CAUS IMP gambirama turn (something) round (Bir VA). -cf. gambira-.

gambula N gum tree (Bir AL).

gamburu N bucket (Bir VA).

gami N grandmother or grand-daughter (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga).

gamibari N having grandchildren (Gan MT). -cf. gami.

gamina N one's grandmother or grand-daughter (Bir RD). -cf. gami.

gamu N LOC gamunga; ALL gamugu water, rain, creek, a drink, strong drink, wet (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): gamu gudɭ thirsty (Gan KW), gamu galgalia it is raining (Gan TA), gamu wana rain is falling, it is raining (Wir), wagura gamu bana the grass is wet (Wir), gamu wurbanana rain is coming, it is raining (Wir), gamu ɲara juga don't drink (strong drink; Wir), gamun(ɡ)a in the water (Gan KW, CA), ɲaja bangar bana gamu(ɲ)ga I get sick when it rains (Wir), ɲara binda gamu or gamugu don't sit in the rain (Wir), gamugu bandina getting wet (Wir), gamugu ɲaŋa jiniba I went into the water (for a swim; Wir), jara gamugu (went) to the creek (Bir RD); the same word in Gudjal.

gamu bularu N the name of a place, Coomooboolaroo ('the two waters'; Gan KW).

gamudi N drunk (Gan (A), Wir): gamudi marĩ, gaju a drunk man, woman (Gan NO). -cf. gamu.

gamu gamu N 1. rain (= gamu; Wir); 2. drink, grog (Bir JH, WS).
- cf. gamu.

-gan N DER SFX (16.5; 19.5; 22.5; 25.2).

ganda N ERG gandangu spear,
digging stick, yam stick (Gan (B), Wir, Bir, Nga): ganda jabana throwing a spear (Wir).

ganda-1 V ITR IPF gandana,
gandaña; PF gandaba; ACC gandalbaña burn (Wir, Bir): buři gandana (gan’a), gandaba the fire is burning, burned (Wir), buři gandanña fire is burning (Bir RD), buři gandalbaña while the fire burned (Bir RD).


gande- V ASS gande; gandera;
gandeba take, bring (Gan TA): gundu gande take it away, gugu gande or gande gugu bring it here, nula gandeba he took it.
- cf. gandi-1.

gandi-1 V ITR IMP gandi; IPF gandina come, go (Gan (B), Wir): jinda gugu gandi you come here (Gan TA), bangubari gandina carrying money ('going with money'; Wir).

gandi-2 V ASS IMP gandi; IPF gandina, gandira; PF gandiba, gandilba; INT gandinu; ACC gandi(l)badé take (away), bring, hold, carry, wear (a hat), have (Gan, Wir): jinda gandi you take (it) away (Gan MT), ĩani waju gandira what is (he) taking away? (Gan KW), gara naja gandina I am not wearing a hat (Wir), gandu naja gandilba I took my girl away (Wir), bängu gandilba carried money (Wir), nula gandiba, wabe gandiba he took it, got (killed) one (wallaby; Gan TA), nula gandu gara gandiba had no children (Wir), nula gandiba he wore a hat (Wir; the use of the

form gandiba for an expected transitive gandilba in certain senses as well as that of an accidental gandilba (if correct—is to be considered). - cf. gandi-1, gande-.

gandu N ERG gandungu; LOC gandunga; ALL gandugu child,
kid, baby, son, daughter, children (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga):
gandu gara childless (Wir),
gandu Ṽagu my son or daughter (Wir),
gandu mări mări boy (Nga),
ŋaja ganduŋ(g)a when I was a child, girl (Gan NO, Wir), jina gandunga bindana living with this child (Wir), gandunga bārangalba (I) worked (or helped) at my daughter's (house; Wir),
gandugu wulur the child's clothes (Gan NO); (ART) gandunu (some) children (Bir VA).

ganduŋ DEM PRON (19.23-24).

gandumulu N having no children (Gan MT). - cf. gandu.


gangal N ERG ganganu arm(s),
wing(s), flying (Wir): winjaŋu gangal the bird flew away,
gangalbāri or wingaŋu gangal bird's wings.

 gangali- V ITR IMP gangali; IPF (IMM) gangalina; ACC gangalibaña be proud, show pride (Bir RD):
 gărā gangali don't be proud,
gărā gangalinanda you must not be proud, gangalibaña with pride or being 'flash'. - cf. gangari-

gangari N ERG gangaringu knife (Gan A). - cf. gangarin (Wir).

gangari- V ITR IMP gangari sing out (Wir): jinda gangari you sing out. - cf. gangali-.

gangaribari N having a knife or (going away) with the knife (Gan NO). - cf. gangari.
gangarin N knife (Wir). — cf.
gangari (Gan A).
gangun N heel (Gan CA).
gani REL almost (Bir RD): gani ņaja wulalilaja I almost died, gani bângali he almost fell.
gani- V TR IMP gani; IPF ganina put away (Wir; cf. Gunggari gani-1 hide). — cf. ganili-.
ganili- V REFL IMP ganili; IPF ganilina; PF ganiliba hide (oneself; Wir): jinda ganili you hide, nula ganiliba he hid (himself). — cf. gani-.
ganimbali- V CAUS REFL ganimbali; ganimbalira; ganimaliba hide oneself (Gan KW): ganu jinda ganimbali don't you hide yourself, nula ganimaliba he hid himself. — cf. gani-; ganili-.
ganir N sun (Bir VA). — cf.
ganmira.
ganu N egg (Gan (A), Wir): wiŋårù ganu nuŋu bird's egg (Wir).

ganmira (ganmari, ganmidi, gaimidi) N ERG gaimidingu; ALL gaimidigu sun (Bir RD, AL, CC). — cf. ganir.
gara REL perhaps, I think, I do not know, I wonder (Wir): gara gudiriba daŋu I do not know whether I shall come back again, nula gabinu gara barina I think he is crying because he is hungry, gamu gara wurbana I do not know if it will rain, ŋandulu gara I wonder who he is (Wir MS), ŋani gara nula nagalba he saw something, I do not know what. — cf. ŋala.
garbai N? buŋari garbai be cold (Wir).
gari N LOC garinga; ALL garigu sun, day, (in the) daytime, bright, summer (Gan, Wir, Bir): gari wadria the other day (Gan CA), gari wurbana the sun is shining (Wir), jijaga gari wurbaba came yesterday in the daytime (Wir), ņaja janina garig(a) I am going in the summer (Gan NO), garigu in the daytime or sunshine (Gan TA, Wir), garigu (ņaja) bindana (I am) sitting in the sun (Gan NO), jinda bindara garigu you are sitting in the sun (Gan TA), garigu in the daytime (Gan TA = garinga), garigu bindana sitting in the sun (Wir = garinga).

- gari1 N DER SFX (16.5).
- gari2 POST (19.17).
gariman N summer (Wir): gariman wurbana summer(time) is coming. — cf. gari, garimal.
garimal (garinmal) N ALL garimalgu summer (Wir): garimalgu wurbana summer is coming. — cf. gariman.
garinmal, v. garimal.

gara REL no, not, without, don't (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): garà bari don't cry (Wir), jinda gara gundu or gunda gara don't you hit or fight (Wir), garà gara no, no (Wir), gundu, gamu gara no kids, without water (Wir), manta gara no bread, garà mara don't take it (Bir VA), garà jadi don't laugh (Bir VA). — cf. ganu (Gan).

garabari N REL no, nothing, nobody, none, scarce, without, never (Gan (A), Wir, Bir, Nga): bângu garabari or garabari bângu no money (Gan NO), marî, gaju garabari without a man, woman, people (Gan NO, Wir), jamba garabari bama place where there are no people (Gan NO), nula bari garabari he is without money (Wir), wina garabari fish is scarce (Wir), manta, gada, gawun garabari without food, hair, clothes (Nga), biaga garabari (I) have got no tobacco (Nga), garabari ņaja gutter gutter nagaña I have never seen a ghost (Nga).
garanga REL POST without, before
(Wir): gamu garanga ŋaja jinina
I will go before it rains ('with no rain'). —cf. garə.

garamaři N small (Wir): gandu,
baŋu garamaři a small child,
stone.

gargaru N screaming, noise (Wir):
bularu gundana gargaru baŋa
they are fighting and screaming
or making a noise.

garanbal N the name of a language
('between Blackwater and Comet',
Gan CA), but probably any
language of Gunggari type in
which 'no' is garə (that is in
contradistinction to Gangulu,
in which 'no' is gaŋu).

gaun, v. gawun.

gawari REL far away, afar, a long
way (Wir): jamba gawari the camp
(place) is (too) far away or a
far-away camp, nula gawari wunana
(wun’a) he lives far away,
gawari mundu (comes) from afar.

gawun (gaun) N dress, clothes
(Gan (A), Bir, Nga; from English
'gown').

gege N moon (Gan B). —cf. gagaɾə
(Gan (A), Wir, Bir, Nga).

gilan N dugong (Bir RD).

gilar N glass, pieces of glass,
mirror (Gan TA, Bir RD).

gilibinbi N a native name of
Townsville (Bir RD).

guba- V TR ITR IPF gubara; ACC
 gubala burn (Gan CA): bujɨ
gubara fire burning, bujɨŋu
gubala burned by fire ('as fire
burned it').

gubabu N magpie (Gan CA).

gubal gubal N pretty (Bir VA):
bumbu gubal gubal the feathers
were pretty

guban N song (Gan NO). —cf. gubun.
gubaɾa N rope (Gan NO).

gubil N whistle (Gan TA): nula
gubil ŋagunda he is whistling
at me, ŋaŋu jinda ŋaguna gubil
don't you whistle at me, nula
ŋuragu gubil waiba he whistled
at the dog.

gubingiri N windy (Nga). —cf.
gubɨŋ.

gubĩn N (23.3) wind (Nga).

gubun N song, corroboree (song)
(Wir, Bir).

guda¹ N bee, honey, sweet (Gan TA).

guda² N sister (Bir RD). —cf.
gudaŋ, gudana.

gudana N one's elder sister (Wir).
—cf. gudaŋ, guda.

gudaŋ N ERG gudanŋu elder sister
(Wir; = gudana), any sister (Gan
TA): gudaŋ ŋagu my elder sister,
gudanŋu maralba (my) sister
took it (Wir). —cf. guda,
gudana.

gudi N gamu gudi thirsty (Gan KW).

gudiri- V ITR gudiri; gudirina;
gudiriba return, come back (Wir)
(Wir): jinda gudiri, danũ gudiri
(you) come back, nula birgagu
gudirina he will come back
tomorrow, jiniba gudiriba jinangu
went (and) came back here,
gudiriba daŋu (I do not know if)
I shall come back (notice use of
perfective form).

gudirimba- V CAUS PF gudirimbalba
make come back (Wir). —cf.
gudiri-.

-gudu CAR SFX (19.4).

gudunu N sister (Gan MM; correct?).
—cf. gudana.

gu đa N rubbing (Wir): magaɾaŋnu
nula gu đa baŋa he is painting
himself ('doing rubbing').
—cf. gu đa.

gu đa- V TR IMP gu đa IPF gudana
rub, paint (Wir). —cf. gu đa.
gugal N the name of a language, Gudjal (about Charters Towers; Bir RD).
gugali- V REFL IMP gugali; IPP gugalina paint oneself (Wir): gaṅa jinda gugali don’t you paint yourself, ṇaja gugalina bimbaṅangu I am painting myself with white clay. –cf. guga.
guğara N ALL guğaragu 1. salt; 2. sea, the coast; 3. island (? Bir AL) (Wir, Bir): guğaragu jin’a going to the coast (Wir).
guga N ALL gugagu 1. (stringy) bark; 2. house, inside (Gan, Wir, Bir): guga juna inside (the house; Gan NO), guga ṇaṅgu my house (Wir), gugagu janira, bindara going home, sitting at home (Gan KW), bara bindara gugagu sitting down inside (Gan KW; = mulungu), jin’a gugagu bindana going (coming) in to sit in the house, inside (Wir), daŋgu wurba gugagu please come inside (Wir).
gugadamu REL from here (Bir VA): gugadamu jinda janĩņa you go from here. –cf. gugu, guga (?)
guganda N LOC gugandaŋga; ALL gugandagu house (Bir RD; ‘the house over there’, = guga gunami). –cf. guga.
guge N flying fox (Gan KW).
gugu REL here, hither (Gan KW, TA): gugu wubala came here, gugu gande bring here, gugu janiba went (came) here.
gugubĩn N ERG gugubĩngu scrub turkey, chicken (Gan (B), Wir).
guşala N jewfish (Bir VA).
guşa N ALL gungagu bird’s nest (Wir).
guşal N husband (Wir, Nga): guşal maralba married (of a woman; Wir), wadira guşal maralba took another husband (Wir), ṇaja guşal nnu I am her husband (Wir). –cf. guşanara.
guşanara N one’s husband (Nga): guşanara ṇaṅgu my husband. –cf. guşal.
guşan N frog (Gan KW).
guşgari N the name of a language, Gunggari (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): according to Gan MM, belonging to Barcaldine and according to Wir AM, the same as Wirri (cf. 4.1): waŋa jinda gungari wiri baṅa you speak Gunggari and Wirri (Wir).
guşmari N shield, coolamon (Gan NO). –cf. gunmari.
guingan N spirit, devil (Bir JH, RD; = juṅdí). –cf. gungan.
guja N no good, bad, weak, poor, mad (Bir VA, RD, AL): dili guja weak, poor eyesight (Bir RD), guja waṅaṅaṅa I am upset (‘feel bad’; Bir RD), guja waṅaṅaṇa I am sorry for you (Bir RD).
guşala N sweetheart (Gan MM): ṇaṅgu guşala my sweetheart.
guju N fish (Bir JH), eel (Gan KW, CA).
guşŋara N black snake, rock python (Gan KW), eel (Gan TA). –cf. guju.
gula N native bear, koala (Gan NO, KW).
gula- V TR IPP (IMM) gulana- kill (Bir RD): daŋulu gulanali we two will kill the possum.
gulaju (-di) N possum (Gan (A), Bir). –cf. daŋul, daŋuru.
gulbari N emu (Gan NO).
gulbîn, gulbran N whistle (Wir).
gulbu N butcherbird, magpie (Wir).
gulgandara N long (Gan CA): dura
gulgandara a long way or road.
gulgaça N billycan (Nga).
gulgunburo N short (Gan CA): dura
gulgunburo a short way.
guli N angry, wild, quarrelsome,
a row (Wir, Bir): ġara guli wurba
don't get angry (Wir), bularu
guli bula baña the two are
quarreling (Wir), guli
warâmbalbula if you two had a
row (Bir RD). - cf. wuli.
gulima- V CAUS IPF gulimana
quarrel (Gan NO): bularu gulimana
the two are quarrelling. - cf.
guli.
gulma- V TR IMP gulma; IPF (IMM)
gulmana-; PF gulmalâ; INT
gulmanagu cut (Bir RD): ġara
(jinda) gulma or g<ulima>ndâ
don't you cut it, nula gulmanala he
will cut it, naja gulmalâja I
did cut it, waɾanâja gulmalana
jînami I want to cut this.
- cf. gunma- (Gan, Wir), ġurma-
(Wir).
gulmali- V REFL IMP gulmali;
IPF (IMM) gulmalîna-; PF
gulmalîla; INT gulmalînu
cut oneself (Bir RD): ġara
(jinda) gulmalî(nda) don't cut
yourself, nula gulmalîna he
will cut himself, naja gulmalîlâja
I did cut myself, ġara waɾanâja
gulmalînu (I) do not want to
cut myself. - cf. gulma-.
guluri (gururi) N ERG gulurîngu,
gururîngu bad, poisonous (of
snakes), poison snake (Bir RD).
guma¹ N blood (Gan, Wir, Bir):
guma wurbana (Wir AM), waɾanâa,
wurbana (Wir MS) bleeding.
- cf. jirgün (Gan (B)).
guma² POST (19.16).
gumbininu N wild dog, dingo (Wir).
gumi N a root or tuber growing in
water (Wir).
gumu N crowd, big mob (Wir): naja
nagalba gumu gundaraba I saw a
big mob fighting.
guna N ALL gunagu excrement
(Gan (B), Bir): naja gunagu janîna
('going to the toilet'; Bir RD,
= guma galganaja, q.v.).
guna galga- V ITR IPF (DUR) guna
galga-, (IMM) guma galgana-;
PF guma galgala- cacare (Bir RD):
guma galganaja cacabo. - cf. guna.
gunagu REL there (Bir RD).
gunanâa, v. gunanâa.
gunami DEM PRON (22.21).
gunamigu REL there (Bir CC):
gunamigu janîlaja I went there
(but rather 'to that one').
- cf. gunami.
gunbun N lame, limping (Wir):
ula gunbun or dîna gunbun he
is limping, nula gunbun baɾaba
he got lame.
gunda N fight (Gan MM): dalgaju
gunda a big fight. - cf. gunda-¹.
gunda-¹ (bunda-¹) V TR ITR IMP
gunda (bunda); IPF gundana
(bundana), gundara, gundâna; PF
gundaba, gundâla; INT gundanu
hit, kill, put out (fire), fight,
beat, hunt (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga):
(ganu) gunda (don't) kill (Gan
TA, Nga), buji gunda put out
the fire (Gan TA), naja gundana
jîndauna I will give you a
hiding (Gan NO), bularu gundana
the two are fighting (Gan MM),
bula (bularu) gundana the two
are hitting (Wir), naja jîndauna
gundana I will hit you (Wir),
bangangu gundâna hitting with a
stick (Nga), mirungu ñana gundaba
hit me with the nulla-nulla (Gan
KW), gundalba dana waja they
hunted wallabî (Wir), naja
gunda(1)ba gandangu I killed
(him) with the yam stick (Bir VA),
nula ŋaŋuna gundalba he hit me (Nga), janiba waja gundanu went
to kill or hunt wallabu (Gan TA),
ŋaju gandaŋu gundaŋu I will
hit (you) with the yam stick
(Nga).
gunda- V TR IMP gunda; IPP
gundana, gundanu; PF gundaba
steal (Gan, Wir): gara gunda
don't steal (Wir), bularu gundanu
two stealing (Gan MM), gundaba
(Gan KW), gundalba (Wir) (the
dog) stole or has taken (it),
nula bari jenu gundaba he stole
your money (Gan KW).
gunda-3 V TR ITR PF gundaba
finish (Gan KW): jinda gundaba
jamuba you (have) finished
(eating), guru manta gundaba
(you) have finished eating.
—cf. jamu-.
gundagu REL away (Gan NO): gundagu
janila has gone away. —cf. gundu.
gundaŋa (gundaŋa) REL self, also (?) Wir): jina gundaŋa (I) am
going also ('going myself'?),
ŋaju gunaŋa my own.
gundali- V REFL PF gundaliba
hit, hurt oneself (Gan CA).
—cf. gunda-1.
gundaŋ V N stealing, thief (Wir):
nula gundaŋ he always steals or
(is) a thief, ŋaja, jinda gara
gundaŋ bana I, you do not steal,
ŋaja gundaŋ gara (bari) I do
not steal (money; 'am not a
thief'), gara jinda gundaŋ
baramba, bula gundaŋ bana gara
don't you (two) steal. —cf.
gunda-2.
gundaŋama- V CAUS IMP gundaŋama
steal (Gan NO): gara gundaŋama
don't steal. —cf. gundan.
gundara- V REC IMP gundara; IPP
gundarara, gundarana, gundaŋa,
gundaraŋa; PF gundaraba; ACC
gundarabadi fight (Gan (B), Wir,
Bir): (gara) bula, jubala, jura
(gara) gundara (don't) you
(two) fight (Wir, Bir), bula
gundarara two are fighting (Gan
CA), wundana (?) gundaŋa they
are fighting (Wir), gundarana
ŋaja nagalba I saw a fight (Wir),
gundarana dana they are fighting
(Gan VA), ŋaja nagelba bul-
(bularu) gundaraba I saw (that)
two were fighting (Wir),
angelu dana gundara (?) why are
they fighting? (Bir VA). —cf.
gunda-1.
gundi N house (Gan MT, Nga).
gundi- V ITR PF gundiba break,
hurt (Wir): ŋaja bangça gundiba
I hurt myself. —cf. gunti-.
gundu REL POST over there, on
the other side, away (Gan (B),
Wir): nula danara gundu he is
standing over there (Gan KW),
gamu gundu on the other side of
the water (Gan KW), gundu gande
take it away (Gan TA), nula gundu
jini he went away (ir).
gundunu DEM PRON (19.21).
gundul N a cold (Nga): nula
gundulbari he has got a cold.
gundulunu N ERG gundulungu; ALL
gundulungu emu (Gan, Wir, Bir,
Nga): gundulungu burumu jugana
the emu eats blackberries (Wir);
in Gudjal gundulu means the
'Clermont people'.
gunduru REL across (Gan KW):
gamus gunduru across the water.
—cf. gundu.
gunma- V TR IMP gunma; IPP
gunmana, gunmara; PF gunmala
gunmaba, gunmalba cut, break
(Gan, Wir): ganu bangâ gunma
don't break or cut the stick
(Gan NO), gara gunma gada don't
cut (its) head (Gan NO), dulâŋ
gunma cut the tree (Gan KW),
buri gunmana breaking firewood
(Gan NO), gada gunmana cutting
the head (Gan NO), buri gunmalba
(he) cut firewood (Wir), mala
gunmalba cut the hand, wâŋal
gunmalba cut (also 'broke')
the boomerang (Wir), naja nujuna nagalba curi gummalba I saw him cutting wood (Wir), curi gummaba (gumna da ?) cut firewood (Gan MM). —cf. gulma- (Bir).

gummal- V REFL ITR IMP gummal; PF gummalila, gummaliba cut oneself, break (Gan (A), Wir): ga'ra jinda gummal don't cut yourself (with the knife; Gan NO), bangga gummalila the stick broke (Gan NO), wangaummaliba the boomerang broke (Wir). —cf. gunma-.

gunmani, v. wangan.

gunmari N shield, coolamon (Gan (B), Wir).

gunti- V TR IMP gunti; PF guntiba; INT guntinu break (Gan TA): gunu gunti don't break it, dumu guntiba broke (his) leg, nula guntinu he wants to break it. —cf. gundi-.

gunala N ALL gunalagu the name of a place, Goonyala (Bir RD).

gunalu, v. gunul.

gungan N ghost (Bir VA). —cf. guingan.

gunul N ERG gunalu ? rock or mountain wallaby (Bir AL).

gura1 N REL LOC guranga night, tonight (Gan CA): gura wunara sleep(ing) tonight, guranga nimu wajabu (wajiba ?) was sick last night, gurangga wunara will sleep tonight.

gura2 REL back, behind (Gan (B), Wir): gura wubara coming back (Gan KW), naja jindanuna gura jidalba, jidanagu I have left you, going to leave you behind (Wir). —cf. gura-.

gura- V ITR IMP gura; IPF guranag- go back, go home (Bir): jambagu gura naja I am going home (Bir VA), guranda ga go back (Bir RD), jambagu naja guranaja I am going home (Bir RD). —cf. gura2.

guraji- V ASS IPF (IMM) gurajina- bring home (Bir RD): jambagu gurajinali we (two) will or would bring it home. —cf. gura-.

guran N flying fox (Bir VA).

guranba- V TR IMP guranba; IPF (IMM) guranbana- roll, turn round (Bir RD): jinda dula gunama guranba you roll that log, jinami guranbanaja I will turn this round.

guranbari- V ITR IMP guranbari turn round (Bir RD). —cf. guranba-.

gurandanga N flying fox (Bir VA).

guranda- V ITR IMP guranda-; IPF (DUR) gurandana-; (IMM) gurandana- go, come back (home; Bir RD): ga'ra gurandanda don't you come back, jinda gurandanja (when) you come back, gurandanja I want to come back home. —cf. gura-.

gurando REL behind (Wir): nula wurbana gurandu he is coming behind, gurandu nujandanga, ngundanga behind him, me. —cf. gura2.

gurgan (gurban) N long, high (Wir): jalga gurgan a long way, janga gurgan long beard, gandu jana gada gurgan(bari) that child has long hair, bangga gurgan a high tree.

gurgandala N long, tall (Gan TA, Wir): jalga jina gurgandala this road is long, gurgandala ba'amba make it long. —cf. gurgan.

gurganila N long (as of a road; Gan KW). —cf. gurgandala.

guridala N eaglehawk (Gan (B), Wir).

guru REL guru manta gundaba finished eating (Gan KW; cf. Gunggari guru 'altogether').
guruman N LOC gurumanda; ALL
gurumangu shade, shadow, image
(Gan KW, CA): gurumanda dünar
standing in the shade, wani alira
gurumgamunga looking at your
image in the water.
gururi, v. guluři.
gur̃aba N plenty (Gan TA).
gur̃il N whistle (Gan NO).
gur̃ilmama- V CAUS IPP gur̃ilmur̃ama
whistle (Gan NO): wandu gur̃ilmama whistling at the dog.
- cf. gur̃il.
gur̃guru N short, small, low (Wir):
jalga gur̃guru a short way
bangã gur̃guru a small or low
tree.
guru guri N ghost (Nga): guru
guri någana seeing a ghost.
gur̃ili- V REFL IMP gur̃ili; IPP
gur̃ilina, gur̃iŋa; PF gur̃iliba
look for (Wir): jaraman jinda
gur̃ili you look for a horse
(for yourself), gaña jinda
nuñuna gur̃ili you must not look
for him, jaraman n̄aja gur̃ilina
I am looking for a horse (for
myself), nula n̄agaña gur̃ina he
is looking for me, nula nuñuna
gur̃iliba he (has) looked for him.
gur̃ma- V TR IMP gurma;
PF
gurmaba cut, break, fell (Wir,
Bir VA): bangã guurma cut
sandalwood (Wir), gaña jinda
gurma don't you break it (Bir
VA), wañal, dula gurmaba (did)
cut a boomerang, felled the tree
(Bir VA). - cf. gunma- (Gan,
Wir), gulma- (Bir RD).
gur̃mari N shield (Wir). - cf.
gunmari.

ŋaŋu PERS PRON (16.17-18; 19.19;
22.15-16; 25.6).
ŋaŋul N the name of a language
(Wir MS; possibly mistaken for
guŋal, q.v.?)
ŋaj̄a PERS PRON (16.17-18; 19.19;
22.15-16).
ŋaju PERS PRON (25.5-6).
ŋala1 N teeth (Gan MT, Bir VA).
ŋala2 N perhaps, I do not know,
I think, wonder (often used as
a question word 'I wonder?';
Wir); (jinda) ŋala binbi how
are you (feeling)? ŋani jinda
ŋala birgagu what will you do
tomorrow? jinda ŋala ŋudana
Townsville-gu do you know
(anyone) at Townsville? jinda
ŋala någalba did you see
(anyone)? jindaŋana ŋala någalba
did anyone see you? gaña ŋaja
ŋudana ŋala gudirina I do not
know whether I will come back,
ŋala gudirina is going back
perhaps, jinda ŋala wurwu baŋa
perhaps you are getting tired or
are you getting tired? nula ŋala
jiniba I think he has gone,
ŋandulu ŋala maralba who may
have taken it? jinda ŋaguna
ŋala ŋudana you remember me?
- cf. gara.
ŋalbara N ERG ŋalbarangu turtle
(Bir VA).
ŋalgya- V ITR IPP ŋalgana talk
(Gan NO): ŋali ŋalgana we two
are talking.
ŋalguy1 N stomach (Gan, Wir, Bir):
ŋaja ŋalguy jagalba I am full or
satisfied (Wir). - cf. bana (Bir).
ŋalguy2 N money (Bir JH).
ŋalgubari N full after eating
(Gan CA). - cf. ŋalguy1.
ŋali PERS PRON (16.17-18; 19.19;
22.15-16; 25.5-6).
ŋali jinda PERS PRON (16.19;
19.22; 22.18).
ŋalin PERS PRON (19.19).
I do not know how I came to Cherbourg (Wir), şanda jinda wäraba where were you born? (Wir), şanda nula where is he or she? (Wir, Bir VA), guga juraŋu şanda (Wir), şanda juna guga (Bir VA) where is your house? Şandalu where is he? (Bir RD).

Şandamu REL from where? whence? (Bir VA): Şandamu wubaba where did (or does) he come from?

Şanda REL whence? (Bir VA): Şanda jinda wubala where does he come from?

Şandagu REL where? whither? (Gan, Wir, Bir): Şandagu jinda jiniņa (Gan NO), Şandagu jiniņa (Gan CA), Şandagu jinda jiniņa (Bir VA) where are (you) going?

Şandalgu REL where? whither? (Gan (A), Wir): jinda Şandalgu jiniņa (Gan MT), jin’a (Wir) where are you going? —cf. şanda, şandagu.

Şandamba REL where? in what way or respect? how? (Bir RD): Şandamba jinda balaranga where did you go in the boat?

Şandami INTERR PRON (22.25).


Şandamua REL which way? (Wir): Şandamua jiniņa (I do not know) which way I am going to go.

Şandamundu REL from where? whence? (Gan (B), Wir): Şandamundu wubara (Gan KW), Şandamundu jinda würbaba (Wir) where do or have you come from? Şandamundu dana würbaba where did the people come from? (Wir).

Şandana INTERR PRON (19.28).

Şandaŋu (şandaigu) REL where? whither? (Gan KW): Şandaŋu jiniņa jubala, jinda jiniņa where are you (two) going? did you (two) go?
$\text{qandargu REL whither? (Wir)}$: gara ɳaja ɳugana ɳandargu jinina ɳaja I do not know whither I am going, ɳandargu jinda jin-ä where are you going?

$\text{qandaru REL when? (Gan CA)}$: ɳandaru jinda janira when are you going? ɳandaru nula wubaba when did he come? —cf. ɳandaru.

$\text{qandaru REL (22.26) where? over there (Bir RD)}$: ɳandaru jinda jinìna where is (he) going? ɳandaru jinda jininda where have you gone? ɳandaruulu where is he?

—cf. ɳandaru (Gan B).

$\text{qandulu INTERR PRON (16.22; 19.25-26; 22.23-24)}$.

$\text{qanduru INTERR PRON (16.22)}$.

$\text{qangánbila REL when? (Bir RD)}$.

$\text{qangara N a lot (Wir)}$: gandu ɳangara lots of children.

$\text{qanga N beard, whiskers (Gan (B), Wir, Bir)}$.

$\text{qangabari N having a moustache (Wir)}$. —cf. qanga.

$\text{qangan N young (person; Gan KW)}$: bama qangan a young man, gaju ɳangan a young woman. —cf. nanga.

$\text{qani INTERR PRON (16.22; 19.25-26; 22.23-24; 25.8)}$.


$\text{qaninga REL where? when? how long? (Wir)}$: nula qaninga waråba when was he born? qaninga majiba where (and 'when?') did he die? gara ɳaja ɳugana qaninga gudirina I do not know when I shall come back, qaninga nula gudiriba when did she come? bangar jinda qaninga wunaba how long have you been lying sick in bed? qaninga gara gudirina (I do not know) when I am going back.

$\text{qanìgəmunudu REL since when? (Wir)}$.

$\text{qanimburu N how many? (Wir)}$: gara ɳugana ɳanimburu bàrabà I do not know how many they were, gandu (jindaqù) ɳanimburu or ɳanimburu gandu how many children (have you got)?

$\text{qara N REL POST (19.16) up, above, (on) top (Gan, Wir, Bir)}$: nula bindara qara he is sitting above (Gan TA), ɳaja qara jagana I am going up (Wir), qara dana stand up (Wir), guga qara top of the house, above the house (Wir, Bir AL), mungu qara on top of the mountain (Wir), qara jinìna going up (Bir VA).

—qara N DER SFX (16.5).

$\text{qarambaru POST on top of (Wir)}$: guga, bangà qarambaru on top of the house, tree. —cf. qara.

$\text{qaramundu REL from above (Wir)}$. —cf. qara.

$\text{qarbi N fat (Wir)}$.

$\text{qargu N POSS ɳargunu kangaroo, wallaby (Gan, Wir, Nga): qargu numun kangaroo skin (Gan TA)}$.

$\text{qawun N the name of a language, Ngawun (Nga RF)}$.

—qga PERS PRON (16.20-21).

$\text{qìna DEM PRON (16.20-21)}$.

$\text{qùdì POST (19.16)}$.

$\text{qùdà- V TR IPF ɳudàna, ɳudàna; PF ɳudalba; ACC ɳudalbàŋka- know, understand, remember, learn (Wir, Bir): ɳaja wàŋa ɳudàna I understand or learn the language (Wir), gara ɳaja ɳudàna (Wir), gara ɳudàŋaja (Bir RD, AL) I do not know, ɳaja gara ɳudàna nambara I do not know the name (Wir), gandu jinda ɳudàna you remember your daughter (Wir), jinda ɳuduna ɳala ɳudàna do you remember me? (Wir), gara ɳudàŋanda you do not}$
know (Bir RD), ŋaja ŋudanajamu
I know you (Bir RD), ŋudanjaŋ he
knows (Bir AL), ɡara ɳụnụna
ŋudalba (I) did not know him
(Wir), ɡara ŋudalbanga jinda
jimbananda when you do not know
you (must) listen (Bir RD).

ŋudal N the name of a language
(Bir AL; possibly mistaken for
ŋuďal, q.v.). -cf. ŋaŋul.

ŋudali- V REFL ITR IMP ŋudali;
IPF ŋudali(r)a, ŋudaliŋa-
know, begin to know, learn
(Gan (B), Bir): jinda ŋudali
you should know (Gan KW), bama
nụdalaŋa that man might
know (Gan KW), ɡanu (ŋaja)
ŋudali(r)a (I) do not know
(Gan KW, CA), ŋudaliŋa jinami
gubun I am learning this song
(Bir RD). -cf. ŋaŋa-.

ŋudamba- V CAUS IMP ŋudambaŋa
teach (Bir RD). -cf. ŋuďa-.

ŋudul N crayfish (Gan KW). -cf.
ŋuŋur.

ŋuŋur N crayfish (Gan CA). -cf.
ŋuŋul.

ŋuga N ERG ŋugangul noise (Wir):
ŋuga jumba hear the noise(s).

ŋugan N LOC ŋuganda; ALL
ŋugangula 1. dark, night(-time);
2. cloud (Gan MT): ŋaŋa janina,
janila ńugana I will go tonight,
went last night (Gan NO), ńuganda
gamu bandiba it rained last
night (Wir), ŋuganda gamu baŋa
it will rain tonight (Wir),
ŋuganda last night (Bir VA),
ńugangulu ńudari it is cold at
night (Gan NO). -cf. ŋugun.

ŋugu N mopoke (Bir VA).

ŋugun N LOC ŋugunda (ŋuguna),
ŋugundanga; ALL ŋugungulu dark,
night (Gan, Wir): ńugun dagara
getting dark (Gan TA), ńugun
darkness (Wir; = gari wargab
'sundown'), ńugun bandiba it is
getting dark (Wir), ńugun waŋa
at nightfall (Wir), buďari ŋugana
it was cold last night (Gan NO),
ńugunda tonight (Gan NO, TA,
Wir), when it is getting dark,
last night (Wir), jiniba ŋugunda
went at night (Wir), ŋugundanga
night-time (Wir), ŋugungu
night (Gan TA). -cf. ŋuŋan.

ŋuŋurulajal N kidneys (Gan KW).

ŋuna DEM PRON (16.20-21; 22.20).

ŋunagu REL over there (Bir VA):
binda ŋunagu sit over there.

ŋunami DEM PRON (22.21).

ŋunana DEM PRON (22.20).

ŋura N ERG ŋurugu; POSS ŋurunu;
ALL ŋurugul dog (Gan (A), Wir,
Nga): ŋurunu buna a dog's tail
(Gan NO); the same word in Gudjal.

ŋurabari N having a dog (Gan KW).
- cf. ŋura.

ŋuram N dog (Bir LJ). -cf. ŋura.

J

ja PERS PRON (19.19).
-ja PERS PRON (22.16).

jaba DEM PRON (16.20-21).

jaba-1 V TR IMP jaba; IPF jaba,
jabar; PF jabalba, jabaraba; ACC
jabala put, throw, blow, breathe,
smoke (Gan (B), Wir): ɡanu jinda
jaba don't you throw (Gan KW),
miruju jaba throw (with) the
nulla-nulla (Gan KW), jiji bujigu
jaba put the meat on the fire
(Gan TA), gamu jaba put water
(on the fire; Gan TA), jinda
ganda jaba you throw that spear
(Wir), baim jabara nula he is
smoking a pipe (Gan KW), duga
jabara smoking (Gan KW), buli
jabara smoking more (Gan KW),
ganda jabana throwing or chuck-
ing a spear (Wir), bunal wargu
jabana panting (Wir), buďari
jabana a cold wind blowing (Wir),
jadi jabana is laughing ('throwing a laughter'; Wir),
ganda jababa threw a spear,
bumal jabalba blew (Wir),
jabara waragarara running quick
or fast (Gan KW). -cf. jaba-1.
jaba-2 V TR (22.37) give, make
(Bir): manda jaba nu'una give
him bread (Bir VA), ḥaḏu jinda
jaba you give me (Bir VA), ḥaḏa jabaņa I give (Bir VA), nani
jabalba (has) made the earth
(Bir VA), jabalba nu'una,
dananda gave to him, them (Bir
VA; notice use of the locative).
- cf. jaba-1.
jabu N ERG jabungu; LOC jabunda
(? Bir RD); ALL jabugu father
(Gan, Wir, Bir): jabu ḥaḏu (Wir), ḥaḏu jabu (Bir RD) my father.
jabuna N ERG jabunangu; ALL
jabunagu one's father (Gan A),
Bir): ḥaḏu jabuna or jabuna ḥaḏu
my father (Bir RD), đa'munu
jabuna Tommy King's father
(Bir RD). - cf. jabu.
jabura N ERG jaburangu wind
(Gan KW).
jadangu REL over there (Gan MM):
jinda jani'ugu jadangu you must
go over there.
jadi N laughter, bird song (Wir):
jadi jaba laugh, wingaru jadi
jabana the birds are singing,
jadi ba'na are laughing, singing.
- cf. jadi.
jad- V ITR IMP jadi; IPP
jadina, jadiņa; PF jadiba
laugh (Gan A), Wir, Bir): gara
(jinda) jadi don't (you) laugh
(Gan NO, Wir, Bir VA), ḥanigulu
jinda jadina ḥaḏuna why are you
laughing at me? (Gan NO). -cf.
jadi.
jadingu REL quick (Wir): jadingu
bura jana or jinda jadingu bura
hurry up.
jadu N father (Nga; correct ?).
- cf. jabu.
jaga-1 (jaba-) V ITR IMP jaga;
IPF jagana, jagara, jagaņa-;
PF jagaba; INT jaganu; ACC
jagala, jagananga, jagabanga,
jagal rise, climb, get up, go
(up), wake up (Gan B, Wir,
Bir): ganu jinda jaga don't you
climb (Gan KW), bangagu jaga
climb the tree (Gan TA), nula
banga jagara he is climbing a
tree (Gan TA), bangu ḥaŋa jagana
I climb the tree (Wir), gari
jagana the sun is rising (Wir),
jagaņa, jagaņanda, jagaŋal
I am, you are, he is climbing or
getting up (Bir AL), jagaba ḥaŋa
wumbar I woke up (Wir), gagaŋa
jagaba the moon is up, is
shining (Wir), jaganu we're
want to climb (Gan TA), bari,
banga jagana to climb a
mountain, tree (Gan TA), bugur
jagala bubbles (are) rising,
(water) bubbling, boiling
(Gan CA).
jaga-2 V TR IPP jagana; PF
jagalba raise, wake up, fill up
(Wir): buiriştu duga jagana the
fire makes ('raises') smoke,
ḥaḏa gaļu jagalba I am full or
satisfied ('have filled (my)
belly'), jagalba wumbar woke
(someone) up. - cf. jaga-1.
jagamba- V CAUS IMP jagamba;
IPF jagambara; PF jagambala-
raise, lift up, blow (bubbles)
(Gan B, Bir): bugur jagamba(ra)
blow(ing) bubbles (Gan CA), ḥaŋa
jagambalanga I lifted him up
(Bir RD). - cf. jagambi-.
jagambi- V CAUS IPP (IMM)
jagambina- hang up (Bir RD):
gunami jagambinanda you will
hang up that. - cf. jagamba-.
jagan V N sunrise, horizon (Wir):
gari jagan mundu (or jaganmundu)
before the sun rises or sunrise.
- cf. jaga-1.
jagira N Chinese (Bir RD): jagira
ŋaŋa, jinda jagira I am, you
are a Chinese.
jaguji N liver (Gan TA). — cf. jaguri (Bir).

jaguri N liver (Bir VA, AL). — cf. jaguri (Gan B).

jaŋa N ERG jaŋangu; ALL jaŋagu mother, aunt (Gan, Wir, Bir): nula ŋagu jaŋa she is my auntie (Gan MT), ŋagu ŋabu jaŋa my father and mother (Wir), jaŋa ɲudi from (his) mother (Wir), jani jaŋa come mother (Nga).

jagaŋa N ERG jaŋanangu one’s mother (Gan (A), Bir). — cf. jaŋa.

jai REL yes (Bir RD, AL).

jalara N brown snake (Gan KW), (white) water snake (Nga).

jalariŋ N child (Bir WS). — cf. jalu.

jalbaburu N black swan (Gan KW).

jalga N LOC jalgalga (jalgalga); ALL jalgalgu track, path, way, road (Gan (A), Wir): jalga gurgan a long way (Wir), jalga jina this road (Wir), jalgalga ŋaja janina I am walking along the road (Gan NO), jalgalga along the road (Wir).

jalu N child, baby (Bir RD, AL): ŋaja jalu danariŋaja I am sitting with a child (‘baby-sitting’; Bir RD); (ART) jalariŋ (some) children (Bir RD). — cf. jalariŋ.

jama-1 V TR IMP jama; IPF jamana, jamara, jamana, jamana; PF jamala, jamaba, jamalba; INT jamana do, make (Gan, Bir, Nga): buji jama make a fire (Gan KW), waŋal (jinda) jama (you) make a boomerang (Gan TA), nimu jama make sick (Gan TA), binbi jama make well, cure (Gan TA), ɲani (jinda) jamara (Gan MT, KW), ɲani jinda jamana (Bir VA), what are you doing? waŋa jamana talking (Bir VA; ‘making talk’), buji jamana (gathering sticks) to make a fire (Gan KW), nimu jamara making (me) sick (Gan TA), bula jamara, jamana is tending, to tend the cattle (Gan KW), buŋi jamana, jamalba making, made fire (Nga), manta jamana cooking (Nga).

jama-2 V TR IMP jama-; IPF jamana; PF jamala-, jamali tell (Wir, Bir): jinda jamanga you tell him (Bir RD), nula qadina jamana he is telling a lie (Wir), jamana ŋaguna (you) will tell me (Bir RD), nula jamali ŋanana or jamalana he told us (Bir RD), jamalina he told me (Bir RD), ɲandulungu jamalinu who told you? (Bir RD); jamana jamali (?) this is what she told or said (Bir RD). — cf. janba-.

jamba N LOC jambanga; ALL jambagu 1. bark; 2. windbreak, camp, home, (on the) ground, place, at home, time (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): jamba ŋagu my home (Wir), jamba nuŋu his place (Wir), ŋaja jamba wargu baraba I had a bad time (Wir; probably copying English), jamba damu (Bir VA), jamba mundu (Nga) from home, jamba binbi (‘nice camp’), the name of a place, ‘Davy's Creek' or 'Charlie's Creek' (Gan TA), ŋagu jambanga in my home (Bir RD), jambanga at the camp or at home (Bir RD, VA), jambagu wunana staying at home or at a camp (Gan NO), jambagu nula janina, janina, janiba he or she is going, went home (Gan MT, Nga), jambagu home or at home (Bir VA, Nga); the same word in Gudjal.

jamba- v. janba-.

jamu- V ITR PF jamuba finish (Gan KW): gamu, manta jamuba water, food is finished, jinda gundaba jamuba you have finished (eating). — cf. gunda-3.
jana DEM PRON (19.23-24).
  - cf. jara.

jana- V ITR IMP jana; INT janagu go (Gan (A), Wir): jadingu bura
  jana hurry up (Wir), jinda
  jana(gu) you (must) go (Gan MM).
  - cf. jara-.

jananga REL with that one or
  there (Wir).

janangu REL over there (Wir):
  wandi janangu wun’a the dog is
  over there, janangu wargangu
  waraba born there at Clermont,
  janangu gandungu ngaja help’im
  ba rambalba I helped at the
  place cf a daughter there.
  - cf. janangu.

janamundu REL from there (Wir):
  wurbana janamundu (he) is coming
  from over there, janamundu dungu
  wurbaba (he) has come back from
  there.

janba- (jamba-) V TR IMP janba;
IPF janbana; PF janbalba tell, say, talk about (Wir): nguna,
  nuguna janba tell me, him, jinda ngana janba you tell me,
  gasa jinda janba gadillima don’t
  you tell a lie, jinda janba baba
dunbi you tell (him to) light a
  pipe, jinda nuguna jamba dungu
  wurbana you tell him to come
  back, ngaja jindaunga janbana
  I am telling you, janbana nuguna
  (I) will tell him, gasa ngaja
  ngajana jubala nani janbana, gan
  janbana nula I do not know what
  you two are, he is talking about,
  ngaja janbalba (jambalba) nuguna
  or nuguna janbalba I told or
  said to him. - cf. jama-.

jandu REL over here (Bir RD, AL):
  jandu wangi bula you two come
  here (Bir RD), nula jandu
  jandu he is coming this way
  (Bir RD), jandu wandanda you
  come here (Bir AL).

janga N whiskers (Gan NO; correct?).
  - cf. nganga.

jani- V ITR (16.31; 22.32, 37) go,
  come, walk (Gan, Bir, Nga): jinda
  jani you go (Gan MM, NO, KW,
  Bir VA, AL), gasa jinda jani
  don’t you go (Gan NO), jinda
  gugu jani you come here (Gan TA),
  jinda janigu you come to me
  (Bir RD), jani wuna go (and)
  lie down (Nga), jani jaga come
  mother (Nga), ngaja, jinda janida
  I am, you are going (Jan MT),
  ngaja janira I am going (Gan MT,
  KW), dana janira they are walk-
  ing (from morning till night;
  Gan TA), wanga ranana janigana
  they are walking together (Gan,
  Bir), ngaja janinaja jindanunda
  I am going to your place (Bir
  RD), nula janiganu he is going
to you (Bir AL), nula janinaja
  he is going (Bir RD), ngana(na)
  janinana we will all go (Bir RD),
  jinda janindali or janilinda you
  went (Bir RD), dana janildana
  they all went (Bir RD), nganda
  janinda where have you been?
  (‘gone?; Bir CC), nula janilliku
  or janiligdi he came to me (Bir
  RD), janili Rockhampton damu
  he came from Rockhampton (Bir
  RD), nganana janilana we all went
  (Bir RD), ngali janili we two
  went (Bir RD), nula janiba he is
  gone (Nga), ngaja janina I
  must go (Nga), ngana janinga
  we must go (Bir RD), ngaja
  waranaja janinagu I want to go
  (Bir RD).

janini- V ASS IMP janini PF
  janinila go with (Gan NO): gasa
  jinda gangari janini don’t you
  go with the knife, nula gangari
  janinila he went with the knife
  -cf. janiri-.

janiri- V ASS PF janirilila-
  bring (Bir RD): janirilaja I
  brought it. - cf. janini-
  (Gan A).
janmira- V ITR IPP (IMM) janmirana-; INT janmiranugu laugh (Bir RD): garā janmirananda you must not laugh, garā janmiranugu in order not to laugh.

jara1 DEM PRON (16.21).

jara2 REL there, over there, away (Gan B, Wir): bula jara bindara they (two) are sitting over there (Gan TA), jara bin'a sitting waiting (there; Wir), birgu jindału jara dan'a your wife is (standing) there waiting (Wir), nāja jara dangałba I went (him) there (Wir), nāja jara jinina I am going away. -cf. jana2.

jara- V ITR IMP jara; IPP jaranana, jana; PF jaraba; INT jaranagu go (Wir; according to Wir AM, jara- means 'go' and jini-, q.v. means 'go over'): (garā) jinda jara (don't) you go, jinda jadīnu jara you go quickly, jaraman jinda jara gurlīna you go and look for a horse, nāja jaranana (janā) nūnuna naganā I am going to see him, garā nāja jaraba I did not go, nula jaranana he is gone (= jiniba), nāja jaranagu I must go. -cf. jana-, jini-.

jarangu DEM PRON (16.21).

jaraman N ERG jaramandu; LOC jaramanda; ALL jaramangu horse (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): jaraman nūnuna the horse's (Wir), jaraman mundu or jaramanuṇūd (coming) from the horse (Wir), jaramanuṇūd bindara (sitting) on horseback (Gan KW).

jaramanbari N on horseback (Gan B): nāndaru jaramanbari jinda wubaba when did you come on horseback? (Gan CA), jaramanbari bula jamara.tending cattle on horseback (Gan KW). -cf. jaraman.

jarambaru REL POST across, on the other side, around (Wir, Bir): guga jarambaru the house across or opposite (Wir), Paddy barba jarambaru wun'a Paddy lives across the creek (Wir), nula (jana) bin'a jarambaru he is on the other side (Wir), jarambaru jini go to the other side (Wir), guranbari jarambaru turn round (Bir RD).

jarangdiri (= jaran-diri) N bearded (Nga). -cf. jaranbari.

jaran N beard (Gan NO, Nga).

jaranbari N bearded, having a beard (Gan NO). -cf. jarangdiri.

jarangu REL over there (Wir). -cf. jarangu.

jarban N clever, quality of 'clever person' (Gan TA; cf. Gunggari jarban 'sacred').

jarbanbari N ERG jarbanbaringu clever, (like a) witchdoctor (Gan TA). -cf. jarban.

jarga N ALL jargagu wind, cold wind (Gan A, Wir): jarga wurbana (Gan NO, Wir), burbana (Gan NO) wind (is) coming or blowing, jargagu bindana sitting in the (cold) wind (Wir).

jarangu REL over there (Wir): jarangu bindana sitting over there.

je- V ITR IMP je'; IPP je'ra; PF je'ba become (Gan KW); more or less the same as we'-, q.v. -cf. Wakka-Wakka ja'-, je'-, Part I, 12): burandji je'ra become frightened, nula burandji je'ba he was frightened.

ji', v. jiji.

-ji- ASS SFX (16.8; 22.8).

jibala, v. jibala.

jida- V TR IMP jida; IPP jidara, jidana; PF jidaba, jidalba, jidal-; ACC jidalbal- leave, put, forgive (Gan B, Wir, Bir): jara jida leave (it) over there (Gan TA), munąngu jida leave
(it) there (Wir), jinda jidanda you leave or forgive it (Bir RD), nula jidaba gamu juganu he left off drinking (Gan TA), jindaquna jidalba left you (Wir), manda jidaldana they left food (Bir RD), gura jidanagu to leave behind (Wir), jidalbaldana they leaving, when they left (Bir RD).

jidira- V ITR PF jidiralala- take a fright (Bir RD): ŋaja jidiralala I took a fright.

jidiramba- V CAUS IMP jidiramba; IPF (IMM) jidirambanga- scare (Bir RD): jidirambanganda you scare him (imperative), ɡaŋa jidiramba Ꮥanaŋaŋa don't scare us, ɡaŋa jidirambananda you must not scare us. -cf. jidira-.

jijaga REL now, today, tonight, tomorrow, yesterday, some time ago (Gan (B), Wir): ŋaja jinina jijaga I am going now (Wir), ｗｕｂｕ ᵃｊⁱ ḏⁱ jijaga my younger brother died some time ago (Wir), gamu bandina jijaga or jijaga wu̢rbana gamu it is raining today, ŋaja jumbana jijaga ᵃجزاءruru bandana I can hear the birds singing now (Wir), jijaga ㌻guna ʨaŋa tonight at nightfall (Wir). -cf. jijala.

jijala REL now, today (Wir): jijala ŋaja bindana I am sitting up today. -cf. jijaga.

jiji (ji') N ALL jijigu, ji'gu meat (Gan KW, TA): jijigu muli want (more) meat (Gan KW), jijigu we'ra want meat (Gan KW, TA). -cf. juri (Gan (A), Wir, Bir, Nga).

jila REL around (Gan KW): ŋaja jila janira I am going round (the water). -cf. jila.

jila- V ITR IMP jila; IPF jilana, jilara turn round (Gan, Wir): jinda jila you turn round (Gan CA), ŋaja, nula jilana I am going round, he is turning round (Gan NO, Wir). -cf. jila.

jilagu DEM PRON (16.21).

jilana DEM PRON (16.21).

jilama- V CAUS IMP jilama turn (something) round (Gan NO): jinda jaba jilama you turn that round. -cf. jila-, jilamba-.

jilamba- V CAUS IMP jilamba turn (something) round (Gan (B), Wir): jinda jana jilamba you turn that round. -cf. jila-, jilama-.

jilanga- V REC ITR IPF jilangara turn round, spin (Gan CA). -cf. jila, jila-.

jilu REL here, on this side (Gan KW): wuba jinda jilu you come here, ᵃ⽣ ulli jilu bindara gamu we (two) are sitting on this side of the water.

jilungu DEM PRON (16.21).

jiluna DEM PRON (16.21).

jimba N mother (Nga): ᵃ⽣ u jimba my mother.

jimba-, v. jumba-.

jimbali-, v. jumbali-.

jimu N a fly, flies (Nga).

jina¹ N ALL jinagu fish (Gan KW, CA). -cf. wina.


jina³ REL here (Gan, Wir, Bir): jina gadana come in, brother (Gan MM), jina wurma jinda you come here (Gan MM), jinda binda jina you sit here (Gan NO). -cf. jina².

jina¹-1 V ITR IMP jina; IPF jinana; PF jinala 'lie down (Gan NO): ᵃ⽣ i jinala a man lying down, (nula) wumbara jinala he is lying down, sleeping. -cf. jina².

jina² V ITR IMP jina; IPF jinana sit down, live (Nga; = binda-, q.v.). -cf. jina¹.
jinadamu REL from here (Bir VA, RD): ɲänner janiñajaran jinadamu
I am going from here (Bir RD). - cf. jina²,³.

jinagu¹ DEM PRON (19.24).

jinagu² REL here, hither, just now (Bir): jinaguru wuba come here (Bir VA), binda jinagu or jinagu jinda binda (you) sit here (Bir VA), wunali jinagu he lived here (Bir RD), ɲaña wunança jinagu I live here (Bir RD), jinagu janili he came here (Bir RD), jinagu dananali we two are sitting here (Bir RD). - cf. jina²,³.

jinanga REL here (Wir): nula bindana jinanga he is sitting or lives here. - cf. jina².

jinangu REL here, this way (Wir): nula jinangu waraba he was born here, wurbaba jinangu gugagiu came to this house, jinangu majiba died here, jamba jinangu here, nula jinangu he is coming this way. - cf. jina².


jinamana- V CAUS IPF jinamana lay down (Gan NO). - cf. jina-¹.

jinambaru REL this side, this way (Wir, Bir RD): mungugu jinambaru this side of the mountain (Wir), gajurba jinambaru jinambaru the women (used to dance) on either side or on different sides.

jinami DEM PRON (22.21).

jinamundu REL from here (Wir, Bir): nula jinibya jinamundu he went from here (Wir). - cf. jina²,³.

jinana DEM PRON (22.20).

jinangu REL over here (Gan MM): jinangu jambagui come in. - cf. jina².

jinda PERS PRON (16.17-18; 19.19; 22.15-16; 25.5-6).

jinda- V ITR ACC jindalba- go down, set (of the sun; Bir RD): gàmpìra jindalbalì when the sun set.

jindañula PERS PRON (22.18).

jindagui REL where? (Nga; cf. Gunggari, Bidjara jingiagu, idem).

jini- V ITR (19.36) go (Wir, Bir WS): jinda (gundu) jini you go (away; Wir, Bir WS), ñalina jinina, nula jini-a we two are going, he is going (Wir), muli jinina going back (Wir), ɲaña jiniñajaran I am going (Bir WS), jinìñandara you are going (Bir WS), jinìñala he is going (Bir WS), gaà ɲaña jinibà I did not go over (Wir), ɲaña jiniñajaran I went (Bir WS), nula jinili or jinila he went (Bir WS), nula jinibalaga (for jinibanga ?) when he went (Wir). - cf. jani-, jara-.

jiniiri- V ASS IMP jiniiri go away with, take away (Wir): gundu jiniiri take (it) away, jana jinda jiniiri you go away with that. - cf. jini-.

jira N teeth (Gan, Wir, Nga): jira biini bi good teeth (Wir).

jiran N beard (Nga). - cf. jarañ.

jirgun (jirgun) N blood (Gan B): jirgun (jirgun) galgalia bleeding (Gan KW, TA), jirgun we-ra (idem; Gan TA). - cf. guma (Gan A), Wir, Bir).

ju- REL yes (Gan A), Wir).

jua- V TR IMP jua; PF juba chase (Gan KW): gânu jinda ñura jua don't you chase the dog.

juana DEM PRON (19.23-24).

juananugu DEM PRON (19.24).

jubala PERS PRON (16.17-18; 19.19; 22.15-16; 25.5-6).
juga-\(^1\) V TR (16.31; 19.36; 22.32) eat, drink, smoke (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): gamu gaša juga- don't drink (Wir), wina juga- eat fish (Nga), gamu juga- drink water (Nga), ŋaju juga let me eat (Nga), jugara wudun- eating grass (Gan KW), manda jugara- eating bread (Gan KW), manda jugana- eating (Wir), ŋali juganali we (two) will eat him (Bir RD), ŋaju nga- eat fish (Nga), gamu nga- drink water (Nga), Qaj a-(Qugu-) let me eat (Nga), ju gara- eating grass (Gan KW), manda ju gana- eating bread (Gan KW), manda julu- to eat (Bir RD), nula gamu ju gana- he drinks water (Nga), waju- julu- ate wallaby (Wir), bai ba ju ganagul- to smoke a pipe (Gan NO), manda ju ganu-(want) to eat (Gan TA), gamu ju ganala- (want) to drink (Gan TA), manta ju ganu- or ju gan ada to eat (Nga), manta julu- dinnertime (Gan CA; 'when you eat').

juga-\(^2\) DEM PRON (16.21).

jugulu DEM PRON (16.21).

jugalanda (jugandada ?) N the name of a place, (probably) Ukanunda station (in the Burdekin and Bowen River area; Bir CC).

jugambe N the name of a language (at Woodenbong; Gan NO).

jugan N cloud, cloudy (Gan B), Wir, Bir: gari jugan or jugan- banda řa bindana it is cloudy (Wir).

juŋa- DEM PRON (16.21).

juŋan(g)u DEM PRON (16.21).


juŋu N back (Gan CA).

juŋu- V TR IPF junguna wash (Wir).

junguli- V REFL IMP junguli-; IPF dunguna; PF junguliba wash oneself (Wir): wuda jinda or jura wuda junguli- wash your face, bularu junguli you two wash (yourselves), jinda wuda junguna- you are washing your face. - cf. juŋu-.

juŋur juŋur N a lot (Gan CA): gandu juŋur juŋur a lot of kids.

juŋi ni (juŋi) N ghost, spirit, little fellow (= Wakka-Wakka ǧaŋgari; Gan NO), devil (Gan, Bir VA, RD, AL).

julagu (julu?) REL DEM PRON (16.21).

julala REL belonging to here (Gan TA).

julgu\(^1\) N heart (Gan TA).

julgu\(^2\) N the third son (Wir).

julgunan N the third daughter (Wir). - cf. julgu\(^2\).

julu\(^1\) DEM PRON (16.21).

julu\(^2\) REL here (Gan TA): ŋali julu bindara we (two) are sitting here.

juluna DEM PRON (16.21).

jumba- (jimba-, jinba-) V TR IMP jumba (jimba); IPF jumbana (jimbanana), jumbara, jumba- jo, jumbara; PF jimbala (jimbanala), jumbaba, jumbalba; ACC jumbara- hear, listen (to), think, feel, smell (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): jinda ŋana jumba you listen to me (Gan KW), jubala walu jumba you two listen or hear (Wir), (jinda) ŋuga jumba- (you) hear the noise (Wir), ŋana (nuquina) jimbara I can hear (him; Gan MM, NO), ŋani (jinda) jumbara what are (you) listening to or what are you thinking of? (Gan KW), walu jimbara thinking (Gan CA), ŋana jumbara (jimbara) wadan I can hear a crow (Wir), ŋana jimbana- řa I can hear you (Gan RD), jimbaŋal he hears (Bir AL), jinda nuquina jumbara you heard him (Gan KW), ŋanu jumbara did not hear (Gan KW), gaŋa ŋana jumbara I have not heard (Wir), jimbalaja I heard (Bir RD).
jumbali- (jimbali-) V REFL ITR
IPF jumbalina, jimbalina; INT
jumbalinaagu listen, hear (Gan
(A), Wir): bularu (walu) jimbalina
the two are listening (Gan NO),
ŋuga jumbalina a noise is heard
(Wir), jinda jumbalinaagu you
will hear yourself (as in a tape-
recorder; Wir). −cf. jumba−.

jumbanga- V REC IPF jumbangara
listen to one another (Gan CA).
−cf. jumba−.

juna1 N ALL junagu hole, cave
(Gan Wir): manigu juna a hole
in the ground (Gan KW), junagu
waraba fell into the hole (Wir).

juna2 POST (16.16).

-junda CAR SFX (16.4).

jungan N young girl (Gan NO).

ju(ŋ)ngi, v. juingi.

jura1 PERS PRON (16.17-18; 19.19;
22.15-16; 25.5-6).

jura2 DEM PRON (25.7).

jura N elbow (Gan TA).

juri N ALL jurigu 1. flesh,
meat, cow, bull (beef);
2. animal, totem (Gan (A), Wir,
Bir, Nga): ŋagu juri dagang
to eat or totem is Sand Goanna
(Bir RD). −cf. jiji (Gan (B)).

maña N ear (Gan (A), Nga; =
walu, q.v., Gan NO).

maña bunda N the name of a place,
Mangaboonda (‘double peak’; a
formation in the mountains which
looks like two crossed, or jack
rabbit’s, ears, Gan TA). −cf.
maña, bunda.

manga- V TR IMP manga; IPF
mangana; PF mangala, mangalba;
INT mangana(gu) throw, hit,
hurt, hunt (Gan (A), Wir, Bir):
ganu jinda bari manga don't you
throw stones (Gan MT), gara
ŋaduna manga wanjalungu don't
you hit me with the boomerang
(Wir), manganali we (two) will
catch (‘knock’ birds; Bir RD),
manganalu he would hit you
(if you laughed; Bir RD),
wanjalungu jinda mangalba you
hit (me) with a boomerang (Wir;
= gundalba), waja mangana(gu)
to hunt wallaby (Wir).
mangali- V REFL IMP mangali; PF mangaliba hit or hurt oneself (Wir): gaña jinda mangali don't hurt yourself, naña waŋalungu mangaliba I hurt myself with the boomerang. -cf. maŋga-.

manjaginda N the name of a place, Mangabinda (the English pronunciation of maŋjaginda, see 13; Bir RD). -cf. maŋjabunda.

mangaŋ N young girl (12-13 years; Bir VA).

mangulan N sand goanna, any goanna (Gan, Nga).

maji N bread or any vegetal food (potatoes, sweet potatoes, etc.; Nga).

maji- V ITR IFF majina (maina); PF majila, majiba (maiba) die go out (of the fire; Gan (A), Wir, Bir): buji maina the fire is going out (Wir), (nula, dana, buji) majila, majiba (maiba) (he has, they all have) died, (the fire) has gone out, gaŋa majiba is alive (Wir). -cf. maju- (Gan B).

majimba- V CAUS IMP majimba put out (fire; Gan (B), Wir): buji, buji majimba put out the fire. -cf. maji-.

maju N dingo (Bir LJ). -cf. majur (Bir VA).

maju- (maji-) V ITR IFF majura; PF majuba (majba) die, go out (of the fire; Gan B): nga ra majuba the dog died (Gan KW), buji majiba the fire has gone out (Gan TA). -cf. maji- (Gan (A), Wir, Bir).

majuma- V CAUS IMP majuma put out (fire; Gan KW): buji majuma put out the fire. -cf. maju- , majimba- .

majur N dingo (Bir VA). -cf. maju.

mala N ERG malaŋgu; ALL malagu hand, (lower) arm, branch (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): mala webe one­armed (Gan TA), mala baŋar a sore hand (Wir), baŋa mala badina branches grow on the tree (Wir), malagu baŋbaralba made with (his) hands (Wir), malagu bin- a (a fly) sitting on the hand (Wir), malagu murgunbari having spots on (his) hands (Wir); the same word in Gudjal. -cf. maŋa.

malabari N having hands (Gan NO): nula gaŋa malabari he has got no hands. -cf. mala.

malagudu N having no hands (Wir): maŋ maŋagudu a man having no hands (= mala gaŋa(bari)). -cf. mala.

mala mala N wings (Gan CA): mala mala we-ra flying. -cf. mala.

malbara N koala (Bir RD).

malgaŋi N corroboree (Bir VA).

malgu N porcupine (Gan KW).

mama N mother (Gan KW; from English?).

mamba N sexual intercourse (Bir RD).

mambu1 N ABL mambudi nose (Bir): nga ga na maŋaŋu mambudi I am bleeding from my nose (Bir AL).

mambu2 N corroboree song (properly Bidjara?).

mamuru N kidney (Bir AL). -cf. mumira.

mana- V TR IMP mana; PF manala-, manali-; ACC manalbana- get, take, point (Bir): manalaja I took (it; Bir RD), balbandu manalina he pointed (at) me with the bone (Bir RD), manalbanali when or if we (two) got (Bir RD). -cf. mara-.

manangu REL quick, quickly (Bir RD).
manala N tree goanna (Gan KW).

manda¹ N ALL mandagu bread, food, fruit, tucker (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): manda jugalba (I) have eaten (Wir), mandagu (hungry) for food, (wants) food (Wir). –cf. manta.

manda² N head (Nga).

mangari- V ASS PF mangarila- walk away with (Bir RD): mangarilaja I walked away with it.

mang- V TR PF mangibä cook (Gan CA): bujingu mangibä cooked by fire.

manta (manda) N bread, food, fruit, tucker, dinner (Gan, Bir, Nga): manta jugara eating bread (Gan KW), manta juganu to eat dinner (Gan TA), manta jugala dinnertime (Gan CA), manda binbi good food, eating (e.g. of a banana; Gan TA), manta garabari without food (Nga), manta jamaña cooking ('making food'; Nga). –cf. manda².

mantadiri N having food (Nga).

manu N neck (Wir), throat (Nga).

mara- (mara-) V TR IMP mara; IPP marana, manana-, maraña; PF marala, maraba, maralba; INT marana, marana get (hold of), take, carry away, catch, gather, do, pinch, touch, point (a bone), buy, marry (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): garä (jinda) mara don't get it (Wir), don't touch (Bir VA), jinda garä mara don't you take it (Bir VA), jinda wäñal någu marana you will get me a boomerang (Gan NO), nåni jinda marana what are you doing? (Gan NO), nula wäñal (malangu) marana he is getting or taking a boomerang (with his hand; Gan NO), balbandu marana pointing (with) the bone (Wir), nåja jin'-a wina marana I am going to catch fish or to fish (Wir), manda marana maraña getting food (Bir VA), bulimandu maraña jinda the policeman will get you (Nga), nana jinda gañu maraba we caught no fish (Gan KW), ñandulu gara maralba who might have taken it? (Wir), malangu maralba pinched (Wir), gungal maralba married (of a woman, 'took a husband'; Wir), nåni jinda maraba what did you get? (Bir VA), nåja maralba I bought it (Bir VA), (janira) jina marana (Gan KW), winagu maranu (going) to catch fish or to fish (Gan TA).

maragan N ALL maragangu car (Nga; from English 'motor car'): maragangu bindaña sitting in the car. –cf. muraga.

margan N ALL margangu Murgon (Wir): margangu wun'a live(s) at Murgon.

margan N the name of a language, the 'Springsure language' (Wir; probably for margan, see 13).

maru N leaf, tea leaves, tea (Gan TA): maru banga mundu leaves of ('from') the tree.

mar-a N LOC mara hand (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga). –cf. me' (Gan (B)), mala.

mar N ERG maringu; LOC maringa; ALL marigu native or Aboriginal man, Aboriginal, man, people, someone, anyone (Gan (A), Wir, Bir, Nga): bigara marî a Bidjara (Gan MM; = bama, q.v., Gan NO), garä nguñana marî I do not know a man, anyone (Wir), marî jindañuna nagalba someone saw you (Wir), jamba marî garabari a place without people (Wir), marî gaju black woman (Bir RD), marî manta Aboriginal food (Bir RD), marî bama Aboriginal man (Bir RD), nåja jinibä maringa I went away with (also 'to visit') a blackfellow (Wir), marigaju wulur those are the man's clothes (Wir); the same word in Gudjal. –cf. bama.
marí marí N boy (Nga): gandu marí marí, idem.
marmíl N pigeon (Gan CA).
mawandal N dingo (Bir VA).
- mba- V DER SFX (16.7; 19.7; 22.7).
- mbi- V DER SFX (22.7).
- mbili- V DER SFX (22.9).
me- N LOC me-ŋ(g)a hand (Gan B).
- cf. maŋa, mala.
me- bari N REL with or in the hand (Gan KW): ŋani jinda me- bari gandira what are you holding in your hand?
- mi N DER SFX (22.5).
- mi- V DER SFX (16.10).
mibiri N chest (Gan CA). -cf. mibríl (Wir).
mída1 N black, dark, night (Gan, Wir, Bir): wandi mída a black dog (Wir; = mída mída, q.v.), mída bandina getting dark (Wir).
mída2 N black snake (Nga).
mída mída N black (Gan A, Wir, Nga): ŋura mída mída (Gan NO), wandi mída mída (Wir) a black dog, mída mída bandiba it turned black (Wir). -cf. mída1,2.
mídar N fog (Gan NO).
mídin N ERG mídingu nail, nails (Gan (B), Nga): mídingu bambu scratch (Gan CA).
mígu N white, white man (Gan, Wir, Bir): mígu gaju a white woman (Gan MM, Bir RD), ŋura mígu white dog (Gan NO), mígu wàɡa bàña speaking (in) English ('white talk'; Wir), mígu manta white (people's) food (Bir RD). -cf. widú.
míl N eye (Nga; = díli, q.v. - probably from the Wakka languages).
míŋarna, v. míŋara.
míngundáida N the name of an Aboriginal (Wir; cf. in 13).
mína N meat, animal food (e.g. bacon, kangaroo meat, etc.; Nga).
míŋara (miŋara) V N smash (Bir VA): garā jinda míŋara banba don't you smash it.
mírilí N nulla-nulla (Gan NO). -cf. míri.
míru N ERG mirungu, miruju
1. nulla-nulla; 2. singing stick (to mark rhythm; Gan (B), Wir, Bir): miru gundara beating the singing sticks; Gan TA), miruju jaba throw (with) the nulla-nulla (Gan KW). -cf. mírilí.
míribíl N chest (Wir). -cf. mibiri (Gan B).
mígu N blind (Gan KW, TA).
mígabári N bad (of the eyes; Gan NO): díli mígabári bad eyes. -cf. mígu.
mígúl N shadow (Wir): mígúl nagana seeing a shadow, mígúl dina nagana seeing the shadow of (your) foot.
míngar N LOC múngara, mungaranga; ALL mungargu bush, scrub, mountain, the name of a mountain at Springsure (Gan (A), Wir): nula wun'a mungargu he lives in the bush (Wir), marí mungargu people in the scrub (Wir).
mìngu N ALL mungugu mountain (Wir): mungugu bàraba was changed into a mountain.
míjum N clothes, 'swag' (Gan CA): mujamulu (mujanmulu ?) without clothes, mujam maraba or gandiba carried away (his) swag. -cf. mujan, mujun.
míjan N clothes (Gan MT, KW):
mujanjunda (Gan KW), mujanmulu (? Gan CA) without clothes. -cf. mujam, mujun.
míju N posterior (Nga). -cf. múla.
mujun N clothes (Gan MT).
mula N backside, posterior (Gan, Bir). –cf. muju.
mulga- V TR IMP mulga shut (Wir): dili mulga shut the eyes.
mulgun N REL ALL mulgunu inside (Gan KW): mulgunu bara bindara sitting inside, mulgunu inside.
muli REL want (more), more, still, again (Gan KW, Wir): ji·gu multi want meat (Gan KW), ji·gu mujula bar (?) more meat (Gan KW), ji·gu ganu mujula does not want meat (Gan KW), ɲanda mujula jinina whether I go back again (Wir), mujuli muri still another man (Wir), mujula ɲala jinda ɲaruma have you any more work to do? (Wir), mujula ɲala jinda baŋa do you want more? (Wir), waɗa ɲaja garaga multi baŋa I have finished talking, do not want to talk any more (Wir), multi ɲarumbalba did or made it again or once more (Wir). –cf. buli, mulila.
mulila REL more, again (= muli, q.v.; Wir): garaga mulila no more, garaga ɲaja ɲaruma mulila I cannot do any more or I shall not do it again. –cf. muli.
-ulu N DER SFX (16.4; 22.4).
mumira N kidney (Bir VA). –cf. mumu.
munaŋgu REL there (Wir): munanggu jida leave it there.
munda N any snake, black snake (Gan A), Wir, Bir, Nga).
mundaŋara N a snake living in the water, water serpent, spirit living in swamps (Bir JH), rainbow (Bir VA), 'something in the water' (Gan B), Wir, Bir, Nga): (mundaŋara) gamugu wun a the mundaŋara lives in the water (Wir).
mundu POST (16.16; 19.16; 25.4).
munga N tobacco (Gan B), Wir MS, Bir).
munu N lip(s), mouth (Gan, Wir, Nga).
munu muŋu N bat (Bir VA).
mura N dog (Bir JH). –cf. ɲura.
muraga (muraga-) N ALL murugagu car (Gan, Wir, Nga): bindanə murugagu sitting in the car (Nga).
murungal N moustache (Gan CA). –cf. munungal, murungal.
murungaŋalbari N jewfish (Gan CA). –cf. munungal, murungal.
murgun N spot (Wir): murgunbinari having a spot, spots.
muri REL before (Bir AL). –cf. muringa, muringu.
muringa, muringu REL long ago (Bir RD): ɲaŋa muringa not long ago. –cf. muri.
muriŋbal N calf of the leg (Gan CA).
muru N: ɲani muŋu how many? (Bir RD).

N

-na1 N DER SFX (16.6; 19.6; 22.5).
-na2 PERS PRON (22.16).
-na- V DER SFX (22.9).
naga- V TR (16.3; 19.36; 22.32, 37) see, look (at), look like, find, watch, mind (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): munda diilıŋu naga watch out for the snake (Wir), jinda naganga you look (at him; Bir RD), jinda naga you look (Nga), wandi ɲamu nagana looks like a dog (Gan NO), jinda nagara
you can see (Gan MT), birgagu nagana will see (him) tomorrow (Wir), gara nagana cannot see (Wir), njaja jinagu nagana
I am watching or minding (the cow); Bir RD), njaja nagana
I am looking (Bir VA), jinda naganandana ngauna you will
look at me (Bir RD), njaja mari nagana I can see a man (Nga),
jana ragana sees me (Nga), njaja nagala (nu) I saw, have
seen him (Bir RD), nula nagali
naganuna, naliwuna he saw us (two; Bir RD), jinda jinda
naganda whom did you see? (Bir RD), njanda jinda nagana
who do you want to see? (Gan MT),
nula janili jinagu naganana he
came here to see me (Bir RD),
nula wara nula nuna naganalan
he wants to look at him (Bir RD),
binda naganala sitting look-
ing (Bir VA). —cf. wana- (Gan B).

nagali- V REFL IMP nagali; IPF
nagalina, nagalin; PF nagaliba,
nagalila; INT nagalinagu; ACC
nagaliñan look at oneself, at
one another (Gan A), Wir, Bir):
jinda nagali (Gan NO, Wir),
jinda nagalinda (Bir RD), you
look at yourself, gara jinda
nagalinda don't you look at
yourself (Bir RD), njaja nagaleñaja
I am looking at myself (Bir AL),
jinda nagaleñanda you are look-
ing at yourself (Bir RD, AL),
nula nagaleñala (Bir RD),
nagaleñal (Bir AL) he is looking
at himself, mugul njaja nagalina
I can see my shadow (Wir),
gagar nagaliba njaja (sic) the
moon is up (Wir), jinda jini
nagalinagu you go and have a
look at yourself (Wir). —cf.
naga-.

nagamali- V REFL IMP nagamali
look at one another (Gan NO):
gara jibala nagamali don't you
two look at one another. —cf.
naga-, nagami-.

nagami- V REC IMP nagami; IPF
nagamina look at one another
(Gan NO): jubala nagami you two
look at one another, nalinda,
bularu, dana nagamina you and I,
they both, they look at each
other.

nagara- V REC IMP nagara; IPF
nagarana, nagana; PF nagaraba
look at one another (Wir): jubala
nagara you two look at each
other, bularu nagaran or nagana
the two are looking at each other
bularungu (sic) nagana the two
can see each other, bularu
nagaraba the two looked at each
other. —cf. naga-.

nala N tired (Gan CA): nala we're
tired from talking.
nalabin N the name of a place,
Nullalbin (Gan TA).
nalamu N the last son (Wir).
nalamugan N last-born daughter
(Wir). —cf. nalamu.
nambar (nambara) N name (Wir;
from English 'number'): njandulu
jinda (or jinda njandulu) nambar
what is your name? njandulu or
njani nambar what are the names?
nansa PERS PRON (22.16).
nangara N plenty, a lot (Wir):
mari, mungu nangara plenty or
a lot of people, mountains.
nanga N young man (Wir, Gan TA;
cf. Bidjara janga, idem) —cf.
нанган.
nangagan N young woman (Gan TA).
—cf. nanga.
nani N LOC nannya; ALL nangu
earth, ground, dirt, sand (Gan,
Wir, Bir, Nga): nani budi dry
earth (Gan TA), nani dulbi wet
earth (Gan TA), nani jabalba
(Bir VA), bararalba (Wir) (God)
made the earth, nani bara below
the earth (Wir), binda nannya
(Nga), bindara nannya (Gan MT)
sitting on the ground, nanigu danara standing on the ground (Gan KW), nanigu juna a hole in the ground (Gan KW), nanigu wuna asleep on the ground (Gan TA), bang’a wun’a nanigu a stick lying on the ground (Wir).

nanibari N dirty (Gan TA). – cf. nani.
nara REL always (Wir): nula nara marana he always takes (things), gundana nara always stealing.

-nara N DER SFX (25.2).
narbi N fat (Wir).
narga REL a long time (Wir): naja narga bindaba I stayed a long time.
nari N name (Gan (B), Bir):

-nda PERS PRON (22.16).

-nga- V DER SFX (16.10).

-ni- V DER SFX (16.8).
niba- V TR niba; nibana; nibalba show (Wir): jinda Ṉaŋuna wulur niba you show me clothes, naja jindaŋuna nibana I want to show you.
nibala N turtle (Gan KW).
nidi N hair of the head (Bir VA), short hair on arms, body hair or whiskers (Bir AL).
nigal N dark (Wir): nigal (?) bandina it is getting dark.
niman N ant, ants (Wir).
nimu N sore, sick, poorly, ill (Gan B): jinda nimu you are sick (Gan KW), nimu we’ra, we’ba nula he is, got sick, took ill (Gan KW, TA), me’ nimu sore hand (Gan KW), dumu nimu sick leg (Gan TA), bama nimu danara a sick man (Gan KW), nimu mibiri sore chest (Gan CA), nimu we’ra ńga I am sick today (Gan CA). – cf. nimu-.
nimu- V ITR PF nimuba be sick (Gan KW): nimuba sick. – CF. nimu.
nimubari N sick, having a sore (Gan TA). – CF. nimu.
nimun N fly, flies (Nga). – CF. nunun.
ninśa N fly, flies (Wir). – CF. nimun, nunun.
nirīmu or niramū N rosewood (Gan KW, CA).

-nu PERS PRON (22.16).
nubaji- V TR nubaji; nubajira; nubajiba show (Gan TA): jinda Ḉaŋuna nubaji you show me.
nuda N ńace (Gan MM).
nula PERS PRON (16.17-18; 19.19; 22.15-16; 25.5-6).
numan N skin (Gan TA): ńargu numan kangaroo skin.
numba N spit, saliva (Wir): numba bilgana spitting.
numba(ṛa) N name (Bir AL; from English 'number'). – CF. nambar.
nundur N nose (Bir VA).
nunun N fly (Gan KW): nunun walugu dagaba a fly got into (my) ear.
nuru N shoulder, upper arm (Gan CA, Wir).
nurui N cold in your nose, mucus (Wir).
nurgal N skin (Wir).
wadan N ERG wadandu (black)  
crow (Wir, Bir VA, AL): wadandu  
jugalba the crow ate it (Wir).

wadariñ (-rin) N old man (Gan MM).  
-cf. wadurañ, wağaran.

wadi N white woman (Gan MM).

wadimba- V CAUS IMP wadimba; IPF  
(IMM) wadimbanana- wash (Bir RD;  
from English 'wash') : jinda  
wadimbananda you will wash it.

wadimbali- V REFL IMP wadimbali  
wash oneself (Bir RD):  
ńaja wadimbali I will or let me wash 
myself (= wadimba ńaduna, sic).  
-cf. wadimba-.

wadira N ALL wadiragu another,  
every (Wir): jamba, guga, gaju  
wadira another camp, house,  
woman, wadira maři another man,  
wadira gungal maralba married  
('took') another husband, ńaja  
jiniba jamba wadiragu I went to  
another camp, have been every­  
where. -cf. wadria.

wadiwadiragu REL to all kinds of  
places (Wir). -cf. wadira.

wadria N other, another (Gan CA):  
bama wadria another fellow, gari  
wadria nimu we'ba (I) was sick  
the other day (probably copying  

wadugan N old woman (Gan TA).

wadun N LOC wadunda grass (Gan  
MM): binda wadunda sit on the  
grass.

waduranañ N old man (Gan TA).  
-cf. wadariñ, wağaran.

waqa N ALL wağagu word, talk  
(Bir): waqa jamana talking (Bir  
VA), biri waqa talking in Birri  
(Bir VA), wurançaga nula waqa  
warañambilini he is talking in his  
sleep (Bir VA), waqa wañañanda,  
ñali waqa wañañali you, we two  
are talking (Bir RD, AL), wağagu  
ńaja janba I have come to talk  
(Bir VA). -cf. waqa-, waqa.
wağa- V ITR IMP wağa talk
(Bir VA): gağu jinda wağa don't you talk. —cf. wağa.
wağambili V N talking a lot
(Bir VA). —cf. wağa, wağa-
wağaran N old man (Gan KW).
—cf. wadaren, wadaran.
wağu- V TR IMP wağu; IPP wağuna, wağuna-; PF wağulba, wağula-, wağul-, wağuli; INT wağunagü; ACC wağunanga, wağulbanganga cook, burn (Wir, Bir): jinda wağa wążu you cook the wallaby (Wir), nøja jurı wağuna I am cooking meat (Wir), nula manda wağunagü he is cooking (food; Bir AL), wağunaguna (the sun) is burning me (Bir AL), wina wağunali we two would cook the fish (Bir RD), nøndulu jurı wağulba who cooked the meat? (Wir), wağulba wążu cooked the wallaby (Wir), márıngu manda wağuladana the people cooked (for the funeral; Bir RD), mala wağulaja, wağunda, wağuli I, you, he (she) burned (my, etc.) hand (Bir RD), wağulana (the sun) burned me (Bir AL), manta wağunagü in order to cook (Bir RD), wağulbanganga after cooking (Wir).
wağa N word, talk, speech, language (Wir): wağa baňa talking, bular buwa bulu baňa two are talking to each other, nøja jumbalba núñuna birijiba wağa waqara I heard him speak in Birri (or 'Birrijiba'), nøja wiřu wağa baňa or wağa wiřu baňa I am speaking (in) or know Wirri, nøja wağa miqulu or miqulu wağa baňa I speak or am talking in English. wağa wału baňa listening, nula wağa waqara, wağa nula waqara he spoke, (gaṟa) jinda wağa waqara (don't) you talk, gaṟa wağa nula waqara he did not talk. —cf. wağa.
wağagan N crow (Gan KW). —cf. wadan.
wağugan N old woman (Gan KW).
—cf. wadugan.
waga1 N knee (Gan KW, CA).
waga2 N work (Wir; probably from English 'work'): nøja wağa waqara I have worked, wağa bińbi nice work.
waga- V ITR IPP wagaara, wagaña, wagaña; PF wagalala, wagalal run, get up, come up (Gan, Bir, Nga): jinda, nula wağa baňa you are, he is running (Gan MT, KW), gamu wagaara water is running (Gan TA), wašuru dula waşanala (one) little plant is coming up (Bir RD), nøja waşaña I am getting up (Nga).
—cf. wagara-
wapabandi- V ITR IPP wapabandina
run (Wir): nula wapabandina he is running. —cf. waga-
wapabandiři- V ASS IMP wapabandiri;
IPP wapabandiriṇa run away with (Wir). —cf. wapabandi-.
wagal N eel (Wir). —cf. waqari (Bir VA).
wagani, v. galari.
wagara- V ITR IMP wagara; IPP wagarara, wagarana; PF wagarala run, run away (Gan, Wir): jinda wagara you run (Gan MT, Wir), gaňu (jinda) wagarara or gaňu (waqari) wagarara jinda don't (you) run (Gan KW), gamu wagarara water (is) running (Gan TA), nula wagarana he is going to run (Wir), nøra, waja (waqari) wagarara the dog, wallaby ran (away; Gan KW), nula we-ra waja wagarara he wants to run away (Gan KW). —cf. waqara-
wagari- V ASS PF wagarali run away with (Bir RD). —cf. waga-
wagarini (wagarini V = wagarara, Gan KW) running, running away with (Gan B): nula wagarini he is running (Gan KW), money waju wagarini running away with the money (Gan KW). —cf. wagani, galari.
wagaN ERG waga'rugulu big frog (Wir): waga'rugulu ụoga barambahana the frog is making a noise.

wagaN (wi) N eel (Bir VA).

waga waga N crow (Nga).

waga wangaV ITR IMP waga wanga; PF waga wanga-li run, run away (Bir RD): jinda waga wanga you run, waga wanga ndali he ran away. -cf. waga-, wanga-.

wa'ugu N crow (Nga).

waga wangaV ITR IMP waga wanga; PF wa'uga- li run, run away (Bir RD): jinda wa'uga you run, wa'uga ndali he ran away. -cf. wa'uga-, wa'anga-.

waga'rugulu N the whole lot (Bir RD).

waga'rugulu REL altogether (Bir RD). -cf. wa'raga.

wa'ungu N long, a long time (Gan CA): da' wa'ungu a long talk.

wa'unguru N puppy (Bir VA).

wa'ugulu N mad (Gan KW).

wa'ugulu REL away (Gan B), wajaraba (Gan NO), going away (Gan CA), running away (Gan CA).

wa'ugulu mad (Gan B), Wir).

wa'ugulu REL no, not (Gan): wa'ugulu na'ja jani na I am not going.

wa'ugulu REL no, not (Gan): wa'ugulu na'ja jani na I am not going.

wa'ugulu mad (Gan B), Wir).

wa'ugulu REL no, not (Gan): wa'ugulu na'ja jani na I am not going.

wa'ugulu REL no, not (Gan): wa'ugulu na'ja jani na I am not going.

wa'ugulu mad (Gan B), Wir).

wa'ugulu REL no, not (Gan): wa'ugulu na'ja jani na I am not going.

wa'ugulu mad (Gan B), Wir).

wa'ugulu REL no, not (Gan): wa'ugulu na'ja jani na I am not going.
wamira N crow (Nga).

wana- V TR IPF wanara; PF wanaba; INT wanabanu see look (at), look (Gan B): gamu wanara looking at the water (Gan KW), naja bula wanaba I have seen the cows (Gan KW), gandulu (sic) jinda wanaba whom did you see? (Gan CA), diguru wanana (I) want to look for birds (Gan TA). - cf. naga-.

wanabara N big father kangaroo (Bir VA).

wanali- V REFL wanali; wanali(r)a; wanaliba look at oneself (Gan B): ganu wanali gilar don't look at yourself in the mirror (Gan TA). - cf. wana-.

wananga- (wananda-) V REC IPF wanangara, wanandara look at one another (Gan CA). - cf. wana-.

wanda- V TR wanda;wandana; wandalba; wandanagu leave, leave off (Wir): jandu wanda you two come over here (Bir RD), (jinda) jandu (or jinagu) wananda you come here (Bir RD, AL), wanga ana I am going (Bir AL), jibalana wanga nada (sic) you two calling over there (Bir RD), wanga al he is coming (Gan AL), wanga dana they left the place (Bir RD), wanga nda you ran (Bir RD), jamalina wanga ndana la he told him to go.

wanga- (wan-) V ITR IMP wanga; IPF (DUR) wangan; PF wanga-; wanga; INT wanga-n- go, come, run, call, go away, leave (Bir): jandu wanga bula you two come over here (Bir RD), (jinda) jandu (or jinagu) wananda you come here (Bir RD, AL), wanga ana I am going (Bir AL), jibalana wanga nada (sic) you two calling over there (Bir RD), wanga al he is coming (Gan AL), wanga dana they left the place (Bir RD), wanga nda you ran (Bir RD), jamalina wanga ndana la he told him to go.

wanda- V TR wanda;wandana; wandalba; wandanagu leave, leave off (Wir): jandu wanda you two come over here (Bir RD), (jinda) jandu (or jinagu) wananda you come here (Bir RD, AL), wanga ana I am going (Bir AL), jibalana wanga nada (sic) you two calling over there (Bir RD), wanga al he is coming (Gan AL), wanga dana they left the place (Bir RD), wanga nda you ran (Bir RD), jamalina wanga ndana la he told him to go.

wanga- (wan-) V ITR IMP wanga; IPF (DUR) wangan; PF wanga-; wanga; INT wanga-n- go, come, run, call, go away, leave (Bir): jandu wanga bula you two come over here (Bir RD), (jinda) jandu (or jinagu) wananda you come here (Bir RD, AL), wanga ana I am going (Bir AL), jibalana wanga nada (sic) you two calling over there (Bir RD), wanga al he is coming (Gan AL), wanga dana they left the place (Bir RD), wanga nda you ran (Bir RD), jamalina wanga ndana la he told him to go.

wanda- V TR wanda;wandana; wandalba; wandanagu leave, leave off (Wir): jandu wanda you two come over here (Bir RD), (jinda) jandu (or jinagu) wananda you come here (Bir RD, AL), wanga ana I am going (Bir AL), jibalana wanga nada (sic) you two calling over there (Bir RD), wanga al he is coming (Gan AL), wanga dana they left the place (Bir RD), wanga nda you ran (Bir RD), jamalina wanga ndana la he told him to go.

wanga- (wan-) V ITR IMP wanga; IPF (DUR) wangan; PF wanga-; wanga; INT wanga-n- go, come, run, call, go away, leave (Bir): jandu wanga bula you two come over here (Bir RD), (jinda) jandu (or jinagu) wananda you come here (Bir RD, AL), wanga ana I am going (Bir AL), jibalana wanga nada (sic) you two calling over there (Bir RD), wanga al he is coming (Gan AL), wanga dana they left the place (Bir RD), wanga nda you ran (Bir RD), jamalina wanga ndana la he told him to go.

wanda- V TR wanda;wandana; wandalba; wandanagu leave, leave off (Wir): jandu wanda you two come over here (Bir RD), (jinda) jandu (or jinagu) wananda you come here (Bir RD, AL), wanga ana I am going (Bir AL), jibalana wanga nada (sic) you two calling over there (Bir RD), wanga al he is coming (Gan AL), wanga dana they left the place (Bir RD), wanga nda you ran (Bir RD), jamalina wanga ndana la he told him to go.

wanga- (wan-) V ITR IMP wanga; IPF (DUR) wangan; PF wanga-; wanga; INT wanga-n- go, come, run, call, go away, leave (Bir): jandu wanga bula you two come over here (Bir RD), (jinda) jandu (or jinagu) wananda you come here (Bir RD, AL), wanga ana I am going (Bir AL), jibalana wanga nada (sic) you two calling over there (Bir RD), wanga al he is coming (Gan AL), wanga dana they left the place (Bir RD), wanga nda you ran (Bir RD), jamalina wanga ndana la he told him to go.

wanda- V TR wanda;wandana; wandalba; wandanagu leave, leave off (Wir): jandu wanda you two come over here (Bir RD), (jinda) jandu (or jinagu) wananda you come here (Bir RD, AL), wanga ana I am going (Bir AL), jibalana wanga nada (sic) you two calling over there (Bir RD), wanga al he is coming (Gan AL), wanga dana they left the place (Bir RD), wanga nda you ran (Bir RD), jamalina wanga ndana la he told him to go.

wanga- (wan-) V ITR IMP wanga; IPF (DUR) wangan; PF wanga-; wanga; INT wanga-n- go, come, run, call, go away, leave (Bir): jandu wanga bula you two come over here (Bir RD), (jinda) jandu (or jinagu) wananda you come here (Bir RD, AL), wanga ana I am going (Bir AL), jibalana wanga nada (sic) you two calling over there (Bir RD), wanga al he is coming (Gan AL), wanga dana they left the place (Bir RD), wanga nda you ran (Bir RD), jamalina wanga ndana la he told him to go.

wanda- V TR wanda;wandana; wandalba; wandanagu leave, leave off (Wir): jandu wanda you two come over here (Bir RD), (jinda) jandu (or jinagu) wananda you come here (Bir RD, AL), wanga ana I am going (Bir AL), jibalana wanga nada (sic) you two calling over there (Bir RD), wanga al he is coming (Gan AL), wanga dana they left the place (Bir RD), wanga nda you ran (Bir RD), jamalina wanga ndana la he told him to go.
wani REL outside (Gan KW): wani bindara sitting outside.

wanmal (warlmal) N ERG wamalulu, warmalamangu native bear, koala (Wir): wamalulu (warmalamangu) wilba jugana, jugalba the bear eats, has eaten (gum tree) leaves. —cf. walmal.

wanman N dingo (Bir VA).

wanturumundu REL from where? (Nga): wanturumundu jinda where are you from?

waŋanda- V ITR IPF (DUR) waŋanda-, (IMM) waŋandana; PF waŋanda-go (Bir RD): waŋandanaŋa I am going, waŋandanaŋa he is going, waŋandanaŋa I will go, waŋandanaŋa you have gone. —cf. waŋaŋa.

waŋbaringala REL in a hurry (Bir RD): waŋgarili waŋbaringala he ran away with it for his life.

waŋmari (-meri) N white woman (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): waŋmeri binbi nice (white) woman (Gan TA)

waŋmarigan (-merigan) N white woman (Gan (B), Wir, Bir, Nga).

wanu INTERR PRON (25.8).

wara- V ITR IPF waraña play (Nga).

warga N plains turkey (Gan KW).

waru (waru) N woman (Bir JH, VA).

waringban N black goanna (Gan MM).

warma N corroboree (Nga).

waraja-1 V ITR IPF waraña (wana); PF warala, waraba; ACC warananga, warabanga fall, go down (set), rain, be born (Gan (A), Wir): gamu waraña (waña) it is raining (Gan NO, Wir), gari waraŋa the sun is going down (Wir), junaguna naja warala I fell into the hole (Gan NO), gari wara (or waña) sunset, sundown (Wir; = ngunun), naja wangaŋu waraba I was born at Clermont (Wir),

gandu waraba (when) the child was born (Wir), jijaga gara waraba today it has not rained (Wir), gamu waranjaŋa when the rain falls (Wir).

waraja-2 V ITR (22.37) happen (run, flow), feel, want (Bir): jurigu waranja, waranjaŋa or naja waraña jurigu juganagu I, you want meat (to eat; Bir RD), bularu waranjaŋa naganaguni the two want to look (at one another; Bir RD), naja waranjaŋa janinagu I want to go (Bir RD), nula waranjaŋa juganagu he wants to eat (Bir RD), ganigu jinda waranjaŋa what do you want? (Bir RD), binbi waranjaŋa I am feeling well (Bir RD), jinda binbi waranjaŋa you feel well (Gan AL), guma waranjaŋu or waranjaŋa I am bleeding (Bir RD), jinda guma waranjaŋu or waranjaŋa you are bleeding (Bir RD, AL), nula guma waranjaŋa or waranjaŋa he is bleeding (Bir RD), binbi naja waralaja I (have) felt well (Bir RD), guma waralaju I had bled (Bir RD), jinda guma waralanu you had bled (Bir RD), nula guma waralila he had bled (Bir RD), nali danaŋali waŋa waralbana(1) we two are sitting talking (Bir RD). —cf. we· (Gan (B)).

warama- V CAUS IMP warama fell (Gan NO). —cf. wara-1.

waramba-1 V CAUS IMP waramba; PF warambilba drop, spill (Wir): gara waramba don't drop it, gamu waramba spill water. —cf. wara-1.

waramba-2 V CAUS (22.37) bring about, make, do (Bir): jinda waramba you make it (Bir RD), nanjaŋu warambaŋanu what is going wrong with you? ('aililing you?'; Bir RD), nanjaŋa waŋa warambaŋana we all are talking (Bir RD), gara warambaŋa I (will) never do it (Bir RD), naja waranjaŋa warambaŋa I want to do it (Bir RD),
buri wa rambanali we two will make fire (Bir RD), ńandulungu wa rambali who made it? (Bir RD), bamangu wa rambali the man made it (Bir RD), guli wa rambalbula you two had a row (Bir RD), ńana wa rambalana jamba we made the camp (Bir RD), buri dana(ńgu) wa rambaldana they (the people) made a fire (Bir RD), ńani wa rambalila (for -mbalila) what did he do? (Bir RD), bini wa rambali (he) cured (me; Bir RD). - cf. wa-ra-2.

wa rambali- (wa rambali-) V CAUS REFL IMP wa rambali; IPF wa rambaliņa, wa rambalini (for -na) make oneself, do to oneself, (Bir): gara wa ḡa wa rambali don't talk (Bir VA), wa ḡa wa rambalini talking, speaking (Bir VA), madiraṅgu wa rambaliņa dana they used to paint themselves (Bir RD). - cf. wa rambalal.

warba N one, alone (Gan, Wir, Bir): gandu warba one child (Gan CA), ńaja bindana warba I am sitting alone (Wir), warba jiniba (I) went alone (Wir), warba ńaja (Gan MM), ńaja warba (Wir; = ńaja darin) I am alone, warba gajurba one woman (Bir RD). - cf. warba-2.

warbara N young fellow (Wir).

warbu, v. wargu.

wargu (warbu) N bad (Gan(A), Wir): dili wargu bad eyes ('one-eyed', 'blind'; Gan MM), wargu wandi a bad dog (Wir), nula dalan wargu she uses bad language (Wir), nula gada wargu she is silly (Wir), guga wargu a no-good house (Wir), nula gaju, marri wargu he, she is a bad woman, man (Wir).

warmal, v. wanmal.

wārmiņ (warmin) N one, single (Gan MT, Wir): mala wārmiņ a single hand (Wir), mala wārminbari he has one hand (Wir), dili wārmin(barl) (having) one eye (Wir).

waru N a plain (Gan CA): waru baral along, over the plain, nula janira waru baral he is running on the plain.

wawur N dingo (Gan KW).

we'-. V ITR (16.31) happen, become, get, want, feel (Gan B): ganu nimu we' don't get sick (Gan KW), da' we'ra talking (Gan KW), gumbega, jina we'ra want tobacco, fish (Gan KW), nani(gu) (jinda) we'ra what do you want? (Gan KW), jinda jina jugana we'ra you want to eat fish (Gan KW), ńaja wunanu we'ra I want to lie down (Gan TA), wabi we'ra singing (Gan TA), (ńaja, jinda) bini we'ra (I, you) feeling well (Gan TA), nula nimu we'ba he got sick (Gan KW), gubil waiba whistled (Gan TA), jali da we'na in order that we (two) may talk (Gan KW), nula we'ra da we'na he wants to talk (Gan KW), da we'la talking (Gan KW), nala we'la tired of talking (Gan CA). - cf. wa-ra-2.

webe N one (= wabe, q.v.; Gan TA).

wial (wijal) N ALL wialgu great, a lot, plenty (Gan TA): buji wijal bright light, ńaja wialgu we'ra I want plenty.

wialbara N big, thick (Gan KW, TA). - cf. wial, wikanbara, wuranbara.

widi N sore (Bir VA): mala widi sore hand.

wididi N hat (Gan KW, CA): wididibari having a hat, wididijunda without a hat. - cf. wudidi.

widu N white man (Gan TA, Nga). - cf. migulu.

wiguna N ERG wigunaŋgu tree goanna (Bir AL).

wijal, v. wial.

wilba N leaf, leaves (Wir): bangagu wilba leaves of the tree. - cf. wilbara.
wilbara N leaf, leaves (Gan NO): bagagu wilbara leaves of the tree(s). -cf. wilba.

wilgarra N shoulder-blade (Bir VA). -cf. wilbara (?)

wina N ALL winagu fish (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): janiba winagu maranu went to fish ('to catch fish'; Gan TA). -cf. jina
(Gan (B)).

winba- V N ? winabu bi thi banbana blow the fire (Wir).

windaru (wi narz) N ERG windaruungu bird (Wir): windaru bandana the birds are singing.

wini N REL; imperative of wini-, q.v.) want (Nga): juri or jurigu jinda wini you want meat (cf. Gunggari gumbaja, 13). -cf. wini-.

wini- V TR wini, winija; winina; winiba; wininu give (Nga): biaga wini nana give me tobacco, juri nana wini give me meat, naja jinda winina I will give you, naja wininu (or winina) jina I want to (will) give you. -cf. wini.

wira (wira ?) N urine (Bir).

wiranbara N big (Gan CA). -cf. wuhanbara.

wiri N the name of a language, Wirri, the 'Clermont language' (Wir, Bir): wiri wa da the Wirri language (Wir), wiri nganja I know Wirri (Wir), jinda jina janba wiri bana you say this in Wirri (Wir MS), naja wiri wiri (?) wa da bana I am speaking in Wirri (Wir AM).

wubai- V ITR (16.31; 22.32) come (Gan, Bir): jinda wuba you come here (Gan MT, KW, Bir VA), jinda wuba jambagu you come home (Gan KW), wuba jinda jilu you come here (Gan KW), wuba bindanu come to sit (Nga), jamba mundu wubara coming from home (Gan MT), naja wubara jambagu I am coming home (Gan MT), ganu wubara will not come back (Gan KW), nandulu wubara who is coming? (Gan KW), gari wubara the sun is rising (Gan KW), gugu wubala coming here (Gan KW), gamu wubala raining. -cf. wurba- (Wir).

wubaji- (wubai-, wube-) V ASS IMP wubaji, wubai, wube; IPF wubajira; PF wubajiba, wubeba; INT wubajina bring (Gan): (jinda) naga wubai, wube you bring me (Gan MT, KW, CA), gamu wubaji bring water (Gan TA). -cf. wuba-.

wube-, v. wubaji-.

wuda N ALL wudagu nose, face (Gan, Wir, Bir): ganu wuda binbi a pretty or good-looking woman (Gan TA, CA), naja wuda galgalia I am bleeding from my nose (Gan TA), wuda junguna washing (his) nose or face (Wir).

wuda- V IPP wudanja clean (one's face; Nga). -cf. wuda- (?)

wudidid N hat (Gan KW). -cf. wudidi.

wudun N ALL wudungu grass (Gan (B)): wunjar wudungu sleeping on the grass (Gan TA).

wudja- V TR IPP wudhana rub (Wir): wudhana dana they are rubbing. -cf. wuda- (?)

wudjabari N big (Wir): gandu wudjabari a big child. -cf. wudanbara.

wudali- v. wurali-.

wúde- (wudaijai-) V ITR IMP wúde; IPP wudera, wudaira; PF wúdeba fall, go down, set (Gan KW): ganu jinda wúde don't you fall, gari wudera the sun is going down, wunjar wudera falling asleep, nula wudeba he fell. -cf. wure-, wura-1.
wuđemba- V CAUS PF wuđembaba fell, push over (Gan KW): nula jindana wuđemba he pushed you over. -cf. wuđe-.

wuŋa- V TR IMP wuŋa; IPP wuŋara, wuŋana; PF wuŋaba, wuŋalba chase (Gan (B), Wir): ŋura wuŋa chase the dog (Gan KW), ɡanu jinda wuŋa don't you chase him (Gan KW), nula ɡunjana wuŋana he is chasing him (Wir).

wuŋali- V REFL ITR wuŋali; wuŋalina; wuŋaliba run (‘chase oneself’; Wir): jinda wuŋali you run away, nula wuŋalina he is running. -cf. wuŋa-.

wuŋar N REL LOC wuŋaranga; ALL wuŋargu asleep (Gan (B), Bir): nula ɡunjana wunala, ɡuđera he is lying, falling asleep (Gan KW), wuŋar nula bindara he is sitting asleep (Gan KW), danara jaraman wuŋar the horse sleeps standing (Gan KW), ɡaja ɡanjana wuŋar I am asleep on the ground (Gan TA), jinda ɡandu wuŋar ɡama or wuŋamba (you) put the child to sleep (Gan KW), wuŋaranga (talk) in your sleep (Bir VA), ɡaja ɡunjana wuŋargu we'-ra I want to sleep (Gan TA).

wuŋara- V REC IPF wuŋarana, wuŋana; PF wuŋaraba chase each other (Wir): ɡari buluŋu wuŋana, wuŋaraba two men are chasing, chased one another. -cf. wuŋa-.

wuŋe- V ITR IMP wuŋe; IPP wuŋera; PF wuŋeba; INT wuŋena swim (Gan CA): jinda wuŋe you swim, balaŋara wuŋera swimming in the creek, jinda wuŋena you have to swim, ɡunjəŋi been swimming (sic).

wuŋalbara N big (Gan TA). -cf. wialbara.

wuŋanbara N big (Gan CA). -cf. wuŋanbara.

wuła- V ITR (22.32, 37) die (Bir): ɡari wulaŋaba when a man (had) died (Bir RD), ɡunami ɡari wulaŋalba when that man had died (Bir RD).

wułali- V ITR PF wułalila-, wułalili die (Bir RD): ɡani ɡaļa wułalilaja I almost died. -cf. wuła-.

wułan N ABL (?) wulanu; ALL wułangu night, dark (Gan TA): wulanu at night, jinda bindara wułangu you are sitting in the dark, wułangu dawagu in the cold night.


wułi N bad temper (Bir VA). -cf. guli.

wułibai N wild (Bir VA): nula wułaba wułibai he came wild (and looking for a fight). -cf. wułi.

wułmur N ALL wułmurgu leg (Wir): wułmurgu bin-a (a fly) is sitting on (your) leg.

wułunga REL inside, in the center (Bir RD): bama wułunga dijaŋa dana the men were dancing in the center.

wułur N clothes, belonging, things (Gan (A), Wir): jaba wułur that thing (Gan NO), wułur ɡaļu ganda ɡalba has taken my things (Wir), wułur jana the things over there (Wir), gajugu wułur woman's dress (Wir).

wułmar REL to sleep, asleep (Gan (A), Wir): wułmar jinała sleep-ing (Gan NO), jinda ɡandu wułmar baruŋamba you will put the child to sleep, ɡaja wułmar baŋa I am getting sleepy (Wir), nula wułmar wuńa he is lying asleep (Wir), ɡaja ɡagal wułmar I get up (from sleep; Wir), jagaba ɡaja wułmar I woke up (Wir). -cf. wułmarja.

wułmarja REL asleep (Wir, Bir AL): ɡaja, ɡandu wułmarja I, the boy is asleep (Wir). -cf. wułmar.

wułmarja- V ITR IMP wułmarja; IPP wułmarja sleep (Wir): jinda wułmarja wuña you lie down and sleep. -cf. wułmar, wułmarja.
wuna DEM PRON (22.20).

wuna- V ITR (16.31; 19.36; 22.32, 37) lie down, sleep, live, become, be (Gan, Wir, Bir, Nga): jinda wuna you lie down (Gan MM, Wir), guŋgu wunana (wun·a) is in the nest (Wir), balban wun·a there are (all) the bones lying ('a skeleton'; Wir), gamu gara wunanja there is no water (Bir RD), wunanäl wumbar he is lying asleep (Bir AL), jinda gunugu wunananda you will stay (Bir RD), ḥajja wunanja I am going to sleep (Nga), maɾi wunali became a man (Bir RD), wunali jinagu lived here (Bir RD), gara wunalaçu there was not ('nothing') for me (Bir RD), nula wunali king he was king (Bir RD; copying English), wumbar wunabanga (he heard something) when he was asleep (Wir), ḥajja waboru wunabalaja, jalu wunabal(la)ja when I was little, a child (Bir RD), dalgarı wunalbanagu if too much was (to be) left (Bir RD).

wunanana DEM PRON (22.20).

wunama- V CAUS PF wunamala put to bed (Gan NO). cf. wunana-.

wunamba- V CAUS IMP wunamba; IPF wunambana lay down (Wir, Bir): wunar wunamba put him to sleep (Gan KW). cf. wuna-.

wunari- V ASS IPF wunariña- lie with (Bir RD): nula wunariña nuwuna he is lying with him or her. cf. wunana-.

wundana ? PERS PRON (19.20).

wungu N section name (Bir RD): ḥajja (biri) wungu I am a Woongoo (in the Birri tribe); Bir RD's father, children and grandchildren are also wungu.

wuni- V TR IMP wuni; IPF wunira, wunina; PF wunila, wuniba, wunilba; ACC wunibanga give (Gan, Wir): bari wuni give me money (Gan MT), wuni ḥanja jugana give me to eat (Gan KW), gamu wuni give me a drink (Gan TA), ḥajja wunana give me (Wir), ḥajja jindana wunira I am giving you (Gan MT), ḥajja wunilba ganda I gave the child honey (Wir), wandi ḥajja wunilba gave me a dog (Wir), ḥandulu wuniba who gave it? (Wir).


wununga REL some time ago, a good while ago (Wir): wununga gamu waraba some time ago it rained. cf. wununjadi.

wura (wura) N kangaroo (Gan, Bir; ḥargu, q.v., Gan TA).

wura- V ITR PF wuraba fall, set (Gan CA, TA): gari wuraba sundown (Gan CA). cf. wuʤe- (Gan KW), wuʤe-.

wura- V TR IPF (IMM) wurana; PF wuraba, wurali take off, take out (Gan TA, Bir): bulgaŋ wuranalānu he (the medicine man) could ('would') take out your liver (Bir RD), numā ḥajja wuraba I skinned him, banbu wuraba took out the inside (of the bird).

wurali- (wuʤali-) V REFL IMP wurali; PF wuraliba, wuralili-, wurajila- (from wuralilīa-) pull off, take off (one's own; Gan KW, Bir): wurali widadi take off your hat, ḥajja wurajilaja I pulled off (my own; Bir RD), gunamīngu maɾi wuralilina (wuralilina) baʧuru that man took off with ('pulled off') my money (Bir RD).

wuramba- V CAUS PF wurambaba drop (Gan TA): ḥajja penciŋ wurambaba I dropped my pencil. cf. wura-1, wure-.

wure- V ITR wure; wufera; wureba; wurenu fall (Gan TA): gaŋu wure don't fall, gaŋu wurenu (I) do not want to fall. cf. wuʤe-, wura-1.
wurgana N ALL wurganagu the name of a place, Wooroonah (Gan KW):
nula janīra wurganagu he is going to Wooroonah. —cf. wūra, wuna.
wurwul N tired (Wir): ņaja (bindana) wurwul baña I am getting tired (sitting), ņaja bindananga wurwul baña when I am sitting I get tired.
wuɾạnbara N big (Gan CA). —cf. wujanbara, wialbara, wugabari.
wūra wuna (wura ?) N the name of a place, Wooroonah ('kangaroo lie down'; Gan TA). —cf. wurgana.
wurba- V ITR wurba; wurbana;
wurbaŋa come, become (Gan (A), Wir, Bir): jinda wurba (jina) you come (here; Gan MM, Wir), gaɾa guli wurba don't get angry (Wir), gaɾi wurbana the sun is shining ('coming'; Wir). —cf. wuba- (Gan, Bir).
wurbamba- V CAUS PF wurbambalba make come (Wir). —cf. wurba-.
wurbaɾi- V ASS wurbaɾi; wurbaɾina; wurbaɾilba come (back) with; bring, fetch (Wir): jinda jana dangu wurbaɾi you bring that back, dangu wurbaɾi ngaɾu wurur come back with my things, ngaɾu wurbaɾina I will fetch it, gaɾa nula wurbaɾilba he did not bring it back. —cf. wurba-.
wurɓil N whistle (Wir).
wuɾur N ERG wuɾurungu native companion, brolga (Wir):
wuɾurungujugana gumi the brolga eats roots.

NOTES TO PART II

1. By that name they did, however, not necessarily mean what we mean here by Gunggari, but rather any other language in the same group with which they happened to be acquainted.

2. As a matter of fact, the limits of the westward and northward extension of the group could not be ascertained. Some informants actually hailed from areas much farther inland and to the west and judging from the limits marked on the O'Grady, Wurm and Hale map, Aboriginal Languages of Australia (A preliminary Classification), the corresponding group would extend much farther north than the present writer would be ready to accept.

3. In the Aboriginal languages the term maɾi occurs, for instance, in New South Wales (Kamilroi), while the Queensland Gangulu and Birri prefer the northern term bama.

4. As the morphology of all these languages is well known and quite clear, we need, of course, not resort to a classification based on vocabulary, according to 'lexicostatistic' principles.

5. According to a Birri informant (Bir RD; see 20.2), Gudjal is 'a little bit different from Birri'.

6. For the method of describing the various phonemes, cf. the remarks made in Part I, 2.1, Note 10.
7. By using the principle of describing the values of the Aboriginal phonemes on the basis of a comparison with corresponding English phonemes (according to Note 6), the advantage is gained of having certain variants which are typical of the local (or Australian) pronunciation of English included as of the Aboriginal phoneme, as in the case of widu white man, which in the pronunciation of a bilingual informant may acquire the same diphthongal offglide in the final syllable as commonly the English word 'do', etc.

8. In most languages the problems of diphthongs has presented considerable difficulty. It is likely that in the Australian languages, as well as in English, the analysis of these kinds of sequences have many times been etymologically determined; cf. English 'Hawaii', pronounced in three syllables, due to its Polynesian etymology (Hawai'i) or 'greyish', which owes its dissyllabic pronunciation to the suffixal nature of the element '-ish'. Compare further the argumentation in Part I, 6.16, with the Note 55.

9. It should be noticed here that although both l and r in all Aboriginal languages studied by the author are different from any English 'l' or 'r', they are universally identified by the Aborigines with the English 'l' and 'r' phonemes, respectively (for instance in early loanwords; cf. Part I, Note 13). This also means that Aboriginals who are fluent in their language generally articulate English 'l' and 'r' like the corresponding Aboriginal sounds (l, r), while those who merely remember the Aboriginal language freely use the English sounds of 'l' and 'r' for Aboriginal l and r.

10. The actualisations of the basic phoneme d in the Gunggari languages hence becomes strikingly similar to those of the corresponding (voiced) phoneme d in Spanish (cf. T. Navarro Tomás, Manual de pronunciación española, 7th edition (Madrid, 1953), 99-100, with graphs 96 and 99, respectively). Also observe the remarks in Part I, 2.7.

11. This latter articulation, which is characteristic of bilingual speakers, is evidently connected with the fact that in English the sequence '-nth-' (as in 'month', 'tenth', etc.) is typically voiceless (while a sequence '-nth-' with 'th' as in 'father' is probably inexistent).

12. The sequence -ng- is quite similar to that in such English words as 'change', 'orange', etc. (as commonly pronounced in Queensland). One might compare the tendency in English to let original 'dy' pass into 'j' in such words as 'Indian' ('Injun'), as against 'hideous', 'idiot', etc.

13. Actually, there is a marked difference between the southern Gunggari and the northern Wirri. Our Gunggari informant Gun TC, for instance, had difficulty in understanding speakers of the northern languages (such as Birri).

14. It is likely that Mrs. Carbine would have heard this kind of speech while at her native place, Angledool (in New South Wales), which is not far east from the Culgoa river.

15. Notice that the Wakka-Wakka ja·le· tell a lie is adopted as jala a lie by a Gunggari speaker (Gan LM).

16. Hence English loanwords having the vowel sound 'a' (short), which is identified with the above Gunggari variant e', replace this sound by the basic i(j)a in Gunggari, as in the words biaga tobacco (from English 'baccas', 'baccy', etc.), giαɡal cattle (Gun TC), burgian cat (from English 'pussy cat').
17. According to this rule one might even explain the verb stem dumba- jump as from English.

18. In English loanwords a final '-t', for instance, is changed either into -n (e.g. burgian) or -r (e.g. budigar), both from English 'pussy cat', and so also in bulajar from English 'plate', mir mir from English 'mate(s)'.

19. The origin of this word is not known to the author; it sounds exactly the way an Aboriginal would pronounce the surname 'Munro', but the question whether any connection with this name is possible must be left unanswered.

20. The English interjection 'gee' is consequently pronounced very much like 'dee' (di'; Gun TB). Such a case as jindia (Gan LM) for jingia (where?) is exceptional and probably due to imperfect articulation.

21. Here English speech habits have played a part, too. The Gunggari dabunila (brother) is recorded in this form, but also as dabuñela (Gun TC; e being a common variant of i in the termination -ila in many parts of Queensland), which clearly reflects the difference between the English rendering of French compagnie (company) and vignette (vignette), the palatalised sound being more audible before the open e than before the narrow i (cf. Holmer 1971, 1.9). If e had been a phoneme of its own in Gunggari, we should have written the basic dabunila as dabuñela.

22. Unfortunately, the present author himself cannot disclaim misuse of the term in question, for instance as in assuming the occurrence of 'apophony' (or ablaut) in Australian languages (Holmer 1963, pp. 44-45), an assumption which entirely lacks foundation.

23. Even such a good informant as Gun TC does not always seem to distinguish well between r and ř.

24. This practice will be adopted for all the languages in the group, for although in most of them the stem is identical with the imperative form (which in Gunggari is usually in -(j)a; see 6.32), yet it is evident that the first component in this kind of compound has not this function (except possibly in the imperative of the compound verb).

25. cf. Bidjara wai ḡaja bindila (bindala ?) I am thinking.

26. An alternative construction is found in gamu gara (or gamugara) without water, where gara is the negative relation word no, not, nothing.

27. The English idea of 'a father' or 'a son' are consequently foreign to the Aboriginal mind. Regarding the Australian 'relative' terms, marked by a suffix which we might call dual-comitative, see in Holmer 1963, pp. 71-72; 1970, pp. 68, 69. In the Australian languages the dual character appears the more clearly as many of these words actually express the dual idea of 'grandfather and grandson', etc. (cf. Bidjara ḡadin(g)ila grandfather or grandson).

28. The possibility is perhaps not quite excluded that wadin is a kind of contraction of wadigan. Otherwise -n may be explained as analogous to the final -n in mařin (= maři man), of which a trace is further seen in *gandun- for gandu child in other Gunggari languages (cf. Wirri gandunbara children).

29. Possibly the suffix *-li- expresses complexity or plurality: compare manda-, waďa- walk and mandali-, waďali- walk about (Gun TC), binda- sit and dana bindalina you all are sitting (Gun TC), buraja fly (imperative) and buralija (idem, of a 'mob'), buralina flying (of many; Gun TC); cf. further Holmer 1966a, 10.6.
30. For reasons made clear in Part I, Note 28, we consider the formally identical element (gu) as a postposition in the Wakka languages.

31. Hence the ergative of mārī man is mārīṅgu, while of the equivalent mārī it is mārīndu.

32. In regarding the forms in -ŋu, -ŋa, etc. as basic, we follow the prevailing principle in the languages both of the Wakka and Gunggari groups. This, however, does not mean that the locative in -ŋa, for instance, may not be justified historically (cf. 6.31, Note 41).

33. The plural article is consequently not used in such phrases as 'to hunt wallaby', etc., as it is quite indefinite how many of the game would be killed; no one would say 'to hunt a mob of wallaby' (unless the animals were actually seen) and for the same reason no one would say 'the mob of all the dark people', etc. In another way, one might say that the plural article is rendered by 'some' in English, while the absence of the article corresponds to the use of 'any'.

34. The form hence becomes equal to the ergative (mārīndu the man, the people; cf. above). This recalls facts in the Wakka languages, in which the plural article in analogous cases seems based on the form of the ergative (see Part I, 7.15).

35. The forms bula and dana, which have nominal character, also mean respectively two (both) and all; these may actually be used in either the second or third person: bula wulala both are dead, dana you all. The third person singular nula (ŋula) occasionally serves as a noun (= person): jilāŋu nula this one here (Gun TC; cf. English 'a he', 'a she'.

36. To express a dative relation, either the objective or the possessive form is used: ŋaŋuna gumbaja give me (Gun LM).

37. The form ŋunda is not found as an independent word in Gunggari; it is evidently an alternative third person singular form (= nula). Incidentally ŋunda is the third person singular pronoun in Batjala and Kabi-Kabi (see Part I, 24.7), but it has not been found in any of the Gunggari languages studied.

38. Since 'here' in Gunggari is the same as 'this' (cf. above; 6.26), it is clear that special locative forms are superfluous.

39. The literal translation into English necessarily becomes clumsy; the Gunggari construction, however, is perfectly analogous to, for instance, abagarīn (or abagurīn) mārin (Gun TC) the man over there, that is 'that man'.

40. At least as far as it has been possible to ascertain from English renderings of the various expressions. The same may be said of the difference of meaning in the different demonstrative stems, which are more numerous than the scanty English 'this', 'that', 'yonder'.

41. One may compare the locative suffix -ŋa (= -ŋa; see 6.14) with the imperfective suffix -ŋa, as in: bagaŋa bindaŋa sitting (a-sitting) on a tree (Gam LM).

42. In Birri, for instance, the 'thematic element' -ŋ- is used in the durative imperfective mode, while -n- is used in the imminent imperfective (see 22.28). Among Gunggari informants, both Gun TC, TB and EA think nagana
means the same as nagaña (seeing), that wunana = wunaña (lying down),
danana = danaña (standing), bindana = bindaña (sitting) and that banbuna =
banbuña (falling). etc.

43. Cases are found in the Aboriginal languages in which a perfective form
seems to be used in the imperative sense (hence a kind of 'perfective
imperative'). In Gunggari such a form as jinda burala you get up (Gun TC)
would rather be the perfective of the stem bura- get up than an imperative
of the stem burali- fly; a change of the stem-final -i- into -a in the
imperative (as occasionally in some other languages) has not been recorded
in Gunggari.

44. The Gunggari forms in -lgara recall the Gangulu (B) form in -ngara, e.g.
   jilangara spinning (see 16.30).

45. Compare in Holmer 1966a, pp. 82, 84 (10.16); 1971, 8.5.

46. This instance is particularly instructive as the variant form gurbalinanga
   (where it comes out; Gun TC) contains a clear locative suffix -nga (see
   6.13). The accidental form is therefore without any doubt in its origin
   a locative of a verb noun.

47. The placement of this particle is enclitic also where it occurs in other
   Australian languages studied by the present author (see Holmer 1966a,
   8.5, and 1971, 10.3), though not necessarily in the same sense. In Wirri
   (see 19.37), the homophonous particle is rendered by English 'too' by our
   informant.

48. In some cases it may actually be a matter of simply using the English
   word 'too' in want of a corresponding equivalent in the Aboriginal
   language. It is evident that we move here within a semantic field in
   which the concepts do not by any means cover each other.

49. An etymological connection with Birri -gu (the enclitic possessive-dative
   personal pronoun 'me'; cf. 22.16) may barely be considered; the Birri
   enclitic is used rather freely in such cases as: jinda janigu jinagu
   you come over here, danagunda you have better sit over here (see 22.35).

50. In Gunggari 'father's mother' would be expressed by one word, as a term
   of relationship; further, the Gunggari termination -ila (for which see in
   6.6) is of the 'dual-comitative' type (see 6.43) and hence co-ordinating,
   which excludes subordination, as in 'father's mother'.

51. This construction is common in both south-east Asia and Australia

52. The analysis by means of a literal rendering in English becomes difficult
   and would be awkward. For the author's viewpoints, see the reference in
   Note 51.

53. Instances are, however, not altogether lacking: amu for gamu water (Bir JL);
   incidentally, a distinction between a form amu water and gamu rain, as
   suggested by Bid JL and even occasionally assumed by early linguists in
   the field has no foundation.

54. Final vowels may either be lengthened or, occasionally, unvoiced and
   suppressed: nagalin(a) appears (Bid RH).
55. If forms like the mentioned ones were to be standardised according to (impossible) 'phonemicising' principles, one would evidently be at a loss whether to write ƞunturuwina or ƞunturujina (avoiding a form ƞunturuina), unless it be known that ƞunturujina is the etymological one.

56. Bid OC's assertion that mundaŋara means snake and muraŋara rainbow sounds improbable.

57. The younger member may be expressed, for instance, by gandu burgaila (juraŋ) (your) daughter (Bid OC).

58. Unless gadima- properly means lie to; see 9.9.

59. The construction ƞaja ƞaguna gunila I have hurt myself is of course based on English and most certainly wrong (correctly: *ƞaja gunilila).

60. The apparent passive sense in nagali- appear (be seen), jimbali- be heard is doubtful and may depend on some misunderstanding.

61. If basically an auxiliary answering to the English 'to be', it may be related to morphological elements found in other Australian languages studied by the author: -ga-, -gi- (supposed to be auxiliaries); see Holmer 1966 a, 10.16, 17; 1971, 8.5).

62. This occurs in bandaraga widuŋa, a saying heard by Bid RH from her mother. Mrs. Holt said she did not understand its meaning, but it is rather evident that it means 'God speaks the white man's language'.

63. It may be noticed that the plosive element is not always articulated (cf. 8.6); buriŋu for buriŋgu with fire (Bid OC), gamuŋu for gamuŋgu with water (Bid OC).

64. One would perhaps have expected -rũ (cf. Darumbal, in Part III, 18.11 (3)); it is to be noticed that our Aboriginal informants some-times have difficulties with the Aboriginal r sounds (cf. 2.5).

65. Other similar forms (marĩŋu the man's, gajungi gungulgunul the woman's cup, jabungi gundi or ƞagů jabuilaŋu gundi (my) father's house, gambingu the woman's, wingaruru dungu the bird's head, all from Bid OC) make the impression of being incorrect (either for the above forms in -ŋu or for allatives in -gu; cf. 9.14). The account given by J.G. Breen agrees with the present writer's findings as far as the Bidjara expression of possessive relation goes (cf. Breen 1973, 4.7 (c), p. 65).

66. This form (for expected *jalganga) is probably one originally belonging to stems in -n (cf. Gunggari, 6.14, 17(2)), carried over to vowel-ending stems. Our account corresponds in the main to J.G. Breen's observations (Breen 1973, 4.5).


68. The same suffix (-rũ) is common in a number of relation words: jilaŋu tomorrow, gaŋaru soon, julundaru from here, guguru on the other side, guliŋu when? or long ago, mugaru tomorrow morning (Bir RD), gugaru gadi immediately after; the dual sense is, of course, indicated in the word bularu two (in which we may consider the suffix as derivative). For the alternative appearance of forms in -rũ and -ru, cf. Note 64. J.G. Breens deals (quite logically) with out 'dual-comitative' suffix (-rũ) among 'adverb formatives' (Breen 1973, 9.5).
381

69. That is, the plural article form marindu (some men) would be identical with the ergative marindu (by the man or men). A similar attraction of the pluralised form by the form of the (singular) ergative form is seen in Wakka-Wakka also (cf. Part I, 7.15).

70. Other ways of expressing before are: jugana garā before eating (in which garā no, not takes the place of a caritative suffix; cf. 6.4, with Note 26; 9.4), garā jugana (idem; literally not eating).

71. Probably the locative form of a stem gu- (here; cf. 9.14), in the sense of at or with, in (someone's) possession.

72. The latter form is used enclitically: dabila na (I) have sent him.

73. Similar expressions in Gunggari may be formed by a formal compound: ŋaja migaŋ as good as I (see 6.24).

74. It is uncertain whether the form ŋalina (as in: ŋalina ŋalgana we two are talking; Bid OC) is a phonetic variant of ŋalindã (cf. 8.6) or a morphological variant of ŋali (see 9.20); a form ŋalina has been heard also, of which a locative form occurs in ŋalinda with us two (Bid OC).

75. This informant seems to have certain Gunggari forms of speech. For Notes on the form itself, cf. 5.4.

76. They are, however, not seldom construed with a nominal word in the same way as the nominative (or stem form): junungu (allative) maríŋgu (= junu maríŋgu) that man (Bid AC); notice that the form junungu is not to be interpreted as an ergative (according to the nominal paradigm in 9.14), but the difference between both alternative constructions is rather on the same level as between that man and that there man in English.

77. A form nuŋu, in: jinda nuŋu wadi you take that away (Bid RH) may rather depend on a slip for ŋunu; otherwise it would be the possessive form of nula, hence = his (?). However, nuŋu has been heard from Bid OC also. Another seemingly incorrect form is Bid AC's ŋuna that.

78. If this is correct, the form jinagu would in any case not agree with the allative form wídugu (used in a possessive sense; cf. 9.14), but the analysis is far more probably this man's over here or this here man's.

79. The forms with medial -nt- are possibly primitive, since those with -nd- may always be explained according to 8.6. However, the possibility is not altogether excluded that both are equally justified, as the original stem of these pronouns is the monosyllabic *ŋan (which also occurs in the Wakka languages; cf. Part I, 7.26-27).

80. For the alternation jangu- - janjɪ-, cf. 8.5 and for the preference of -a in imperative forms, cf. Part I, 7.29; in the same way we find the double verb stem wanda- and wandi- leave (the only imperative noted being wanda). In Bidjara we further find: gambilra turn round (from gambilrɪ-), wundaŋa ask (from wundaŋɪ-; Bid OC), baji beside baji sing (Bir RD).

81. e.g. bindana sitting today or tomorrow, bindalá sat yesterday (Bid OC). According to J.G. Breen, the suffix -la expresses 'past tense' and -na 'present tense' (Breen 1973, p. 91).

82. It is perhaps not without interest to notice that Bid AC renders jugala by eating (intransitive), but jugana by eats them (transitive). According to this, jarun jugala (the dog is) eating a bone would be an intransitive compound (bone-eating; cf. 9.2).
83. That is, by perfect analogy with Sanskrit vedā, Greek ὑδα I know (English 'wot'; literally I have seen).

84. It is probably well known by now from experience that the tape recorder reproduces (among other inadequacies) the sound of a (that is English 'u' short, as pronounced in Australia) either as a or as u (or any other intermediate vowel sound).

85. It is possible that adjectival forms such as mugal deaf, blind (cf. dili muga blind), jagal cold also contain this element -l and are therefore to be considered as accidental verb forms.

86. It must be kept in mind that no Aboriginal verb stem rendered by 'be' here has the character of a copula (which is entirely missing); the sense is far more concrete: 'change or turn into', 'behave like', etc. (cf. Wakka-Wakka jia-, Part I, 12).

87. Strictly speaking, dana (stands) does not belong to 'leaves' but to 'tree', which latter concept is usually expressed by 'tree (or 'stick') standing' in the Aboriginal languages.

88. The Marganj language seems to come closest to what Edward M. Curr describes as the language spoken on the 'Upper Paroo river' (Curr 1887, pp. 280-281).

89. This form is somewhat doubtful, as it occurs in the construction: jinda ṇaŋgu biaga you (give) me tobacco, which seems analogous to ṇa jindaṇu I (give) you, where jindaṇu is doubtless a possessive form (cf. below; 12.8).

90. These forms (bulaŋu, bularaŋu) are properly nominal forms (two), which may also be used in the second and third persons dual (you two, they both).

91. An attempt to make them equivalent to causative forms (stand (something) up, lay down, etc.) is certainly mistaken.

92. cf. Part I, 1.3, Note 5. — The difference between the two dialects might be reflected in the information obtained from a (Gangulu) lady at Yeppoon, who maintained that one of her parents had used the words manda and munga for bread and tobacco, respectively, while the other had used the words manta and biaga respectively. While the forms manda and manta are used somewhat indifferently by the Aborigines, biaga, at least, is typically Gangulu (A) and munga Gangulu (B); cf. 26.

93. As for the western extension of Gangulu, one might consider Gan CA's opinion that another language (garaŋbal, i.e. one in which no is garã and not gaŋu, as in Gangulu) belongs to Comet and Blackwater and even further west, whence the mentioned places would mark the western boundary of Gangulu.

94. The list of garaŋbal words furnished by Gan CA: dili (eye), walu (ear), me· (hand), gamu (water) and buri (fire) is, however, not consistent, as of these the form me· is definitely Gangulu (B).

95. That e and e· are basic in Gangulu (B), but not in Gangulu (A), is further supported by the test word biaga tobacco (cf. 5.2, Note 16), which represents the normal rendering of English 'bacca' in Gangulu (A), while the same word is directly received in Gangulu (B) as -be·ga (gumbega). In the word waŋmeri white woman (from English 'white-Mary') the vowel e is consequently basic in Gangulu (B). A narrowed variant of e or e· may,
however, alternate with \( i \) in both dialects of Gangulu: gué·guru (Gan CA) for diguru bird, pebala (Gan KW) for nibala turtle; notice that \( n- \) occurs initially before \( i \) (and variants of \( i \)) only, as in Gunggari (cf. 5.7, Note 21). Analogously, \( o \) arises as a variant of \( u \); as in: no·na = nu·na him, her.

96. As a matter of fact, the last example may be interpreted in a double way: either is the vowel \( i \) due to the following semivowel \( j \) or the vowel \( u \) to the labialising initial \( w- \) (cf. 15.3), which may be suggested by an alternative form wiṣanbara, recorded from Gan CA; it is interesting to notice that Gan TA spells out wial- -wijal- - 'u-i-el'. The evolution of an original -uğa- (as in Wirri duguра- go down) is unambiguous: -uğa- > *-uja- > *-ija- > e- (as in Gungulu (B) duge- jump down).

97. cf. Wirri -di, -diri(ŋ), in 19.6, Birri -di, in 22.5; also Marginj gubuŋi (= gabugan) hat in relation to Kamilroi, etc. gaba white man.

98. The suffix -ji- has evidently arisen from *-ri- (which is found in Wirri in this function), according to the phonetic evolution explained in 15.5.

99. The phonetic evolution is not clear; it rather seems that dune-, gande- (from *dunajī-, *gandajī-) are derived from alternative stems *duna- say, *ganda- come (cf. Gunggari gani- and gana- come or go back home). The parallel associative gandi- take, bring, however seems regularly formed from gandi- come, representing a primitive *gandiji-. In wuŋe- swim, the termination is the same (originally *-a-ji- ?), but the primitive verb stem (wuŋe-) means to chase and, besides, the sense of wuŋe- cannot very well be said to be associative.

100. When the sense is explained as the two are listening, the function of -li- might alternatively be that of a dual (cf. 6.10, Note 29).

101. The allative often expresses a locative sense (as in all Gunggari languages): nanig jinda bindana you are sitting on the ground (Gan NO), nula waguragu bindana he is sitting on the grass (Gan NO).

102. This may be purely coincidental, since a locative is usually found of the personal pronouns in the Gunggari languages.

103. This form (if correct; one would expect *bularungu) is probably a nominal form, the ergative of the common noun bulaŋu two. The same, in a sense, holds for bula and dana also, the former indicating dual number and occurring in other persons than the third dual as well, while the latter may also render all, the people: dana majila all have died (Gan NO), bama dana all (the people), dana diara the people are gambling (Gan KW).

104. It might be supposed that a difference in direction or distance is connected with the different local case forms: julu binbi, for instance, properly means this or here is nice, while julungu binbi would be hither is nice. Such distinctions can of course not be reproduced in English and Gan TA correctly maintains that juluŋ(ugu) (hither) = julu (here, this).

105. In connection with this it may be mentioned that the word for hungry is gabina in Gangulu (A) and gabira in Gangulu (B), these being original imperfective forms of a verbal stem gabii-.

106. Since the perfective forms in -la in the Gunggari languages are analysed here as original locative forms of a stem enlarged by the 'nominalising' -i- (see Part I, 3.23; Note 35; Part II, 6.31), one may say that Gangulu (B) accidental -la is originally identical with Gunggari, Gangulu (A), etc.
perfective -la, the primary meaning of, for instance, jugala being in, at, on eating, which evolves into respectively upon eating (perfective), while eating (accidental).

107. It may be interesting to notice that the same use of a form in -na occurs in Gangulu (A): nula bindara jugana he is sitting eating (Gan MT; that is 'Northern Gangulu', cf. 14.2).

108. Incidentally, the same form (ŋinda jara ba you go then) is found in Nunagal (see Part III, 6.16).

109. This appears from the Wirri rendering of English tobacco as bi(j)aga (cf. Notes 16, 95) as well as from Mrs. Mack's pronunciation of Wakka-Wakka dai muninge (Laughing Rock or Cherbourg) as dai muningi. Wir AM's pronunciation bugabe'q (butcher bird) does consequently not represent a Wirri form, but the current English pronunciation among the Aborigines (cf. Part I, 17.4), as is also evidenced by the word-final -q. On the other hand, the vowel sounds e and o may arise as phonetic variants of respective ai and ua: -be for -bari (associative suffix), ŋandamo for ŋandamua which way? nalamon for nalamu(g) an the last-born daughter.

110. The Wirri form jini- go may have arisen in this way from *jani- (found in Gangulu and Birri); also cf. Ngawun ji'ran beside ji'ran beard.

111. In Wirri AM's pronunciation the letters 'GBD' are pronounced like 'DBD'.

112. cf. the pronunciation marli (Gun NM), mentioned in 5.10.

113. This kind of compound in Wirri would be the one in English to baby-sit (which is, however, usually supposed to be a secondary formation).

114. Since the negative garā occurs as an independent word (no, not, nothing) and, besides, may be placed before as well as after the word determined, we write it as a word apart.

115. The suffix -diri is the common and typical sociative suffix in Ngawun (see 25.2).

116. In one case the stem-final -1 has been found changed into -r- before the ergative suffix -u: gangarū with the arms or wings (from gangal arm, wing); the same change is found in Darumbal (see Part III, 18.11 (3)).

117. The use of nominative forms with imperfective verb forms is possibly connected with the fact that the typical transitive element -1- is used in perfective forms only (cf. 19.30).

118. The supplementing of an inflected personal pronoun for the sake of clarity may be found in other constructions as well: gandu gaju nu'na naganagu to see her, my daughter (as the noun has no objective form of its own in Wirri). Somewhat similarly: nula gandu majiba (he) the child died, maři dana 'them people'.

119. In Aboriginal idiom this is expressed by 'going with a girl' in English; incidentally, the interviewer was at first (before getting used to this expression) puzzled by Wir AM's assertion that she had 'gone alone to Townsville with a girl', when telling that she had gone alone to Townsville to visit her daughter. English 'to' (with personal nouns) are alternatively expressed by the intentional verb form nagana to see: nuŋuna nagana (I am going) to (see) him (cf. Holmer 1966a, 10.9).

120. This form may be interpreted as an accidental form of a verb stem gab- (be hungry); cf. 19.34.
121. For a relation between Wirri ŋudi from and the Birri ablative suffix -ŋundu, see in 22.14.

122. This example seems to indicate that ŋudi is felt to be a case suffix rather than a preposition; however, the -u- might have been intercalated before the postposition by analogy with case forms in -ungu, -unga (see 19.10). If *-ŋudi were an original ablative suffix, it would deviate considerably from the ablative suffixes currently found in the Gunggari languages studied here.

123. Hence jiniba nuŋundanja means (I) went to see him (and not went with him).

124. The latter two are hyphenated according to the principle that no independent word begins with the palatalised g (see 18.12); evidently these are shortened forms of respectively ŋagu and ŋaguna.

125. Notice that in maŋingu jinangu (this man) the first word only is in the ergative case.

126. The syllable -na is evidently not the sign of the objective case (as in ŋanduluna), but belongs to the stem; it might possibly be analogous to the identical suffix (-na) in nominative forms of the demonstrative pronouns (see 19.23).

127. The same transitive -J- appears in Goreng-Goreng (see Part I, 15.20) and Darumbal (see Part III, 18.21).

128. The imperfective (imminent) form without the allative -gu hence coincides with the imperfective mode form (see 19.30) and may actually be considered as an imperfective form in spite of constructions such as: ŋaja jinina gubun bandana I am going to sing a song, waja mangana(gu) to hunt wallaby, wandi baŋa jugana, the dog wants to drink (notice that to want is as a rule followed by an intentional form in the Australian languages studied here).

129. There are, however, instances of the use of the indirect reflexive in -liba (for -lila or *-lilba): nula nuŋuna guriliba he looked for him, jaraman ŋaja guriliba I looked for (my) horse, whether we should consider these forms correct or not; wuda jinguliba washed his face may be a compound (face-wash; cf. 19.2).


131. In some cases -lga has been heard and recorded instead of -ŋga: jinibalga (= jinibanga) going, gari jagalba when the sun has risen, which may depend on imperfect articulation; in any cases an analogous form has been recorded in the locative jalganga (for jalganga) along the road. In this connection other irregular forms may be mentioned: burabalba when he woke up, buŋ gunnalba (I saw him) cutting wood, which in some way support the above forms in -lga.

132. The analysis of these suffixes (-badi and -lbadi) is analogous to that of those referring to a nominative form, that is to say involving locative suffixes, in this case -ba- and -di; the former is the same in -(l)banga (although in another function, as it has nothing to do with perfectivity), while the latter is probably a (locative) postposition (-di), not unknown in other Queensland languages (e.g. Nunagal and Manandjali; see Part III, 6.11; 10.16).
133. For the supposed original locative function of the accidental suffix (-ŋga), cf. the equivalent gamuŋ(g)a when it is raining (see 19.12).

134. It is to be observed that the forms in -ŋga are used whenever they refer to a noun in the nominative in Wirri (and not necessarily to the subject of the verb in the main clause, as according to Trudinger 1943, p. 215). Such a construction as naja nuna jidana guli bananga I will leave or get away from him before (or when) he gets wild is exceptional (it suggests when I get wild); either the construction is incorrect or a nominative nulã is to be supplied or understood (guli nula bananga).

135. cf. the example in Note 134, in which the subject of the accidental form has to be supplied or understood.

136. In the example jinda nagauna jina wunibanga naja jindauna jana wunina if you give me this I will give you that, the form wunibanga must be corrected to wunibaŋa.

137. The construction naja d(a)rip bindana jinibadi I am alone when he goes or is gone is not clear as it stands; probably one has to understand something like thinking of him (going away), hence an abbreviated construction in line with the one in Note 134.

138. The constructions: naja jin·a (manda) jugalbadi I will go after having eaten, naja jin·a manda gara jugalbadi I will go before I have eaten seem to be wrong and must be left unexplained (one should expect jugalbanga in either case).

139. Of these two accidental forms, jugalbadi is used transitively (eating it) and jugalbadi intransitively (eating).

140. Of these forms, nagalgu would be used transitively and nagana(gu) intransitively (cf. Note 139).

141. Theoretically, this might be a perfective form used in the imperative sense (cf. Gunggari, in Note 43), but since a particle ba is common in similar phrases (cf. Gangulu jani ba go then; 16.32), it seems preferable to regard the Wirri particle ba as an analogous connective.

142. This construction rather suggests that Wirri, contrary to English, considers the verb forms barina and bariba as 'finite', while danana functions as 'accidental' (that is he cries or cried standing instead of the English he stands or stood crying). For a similar 'inverted' construction in an Australian language, cf. Holmer 1963, pp. 69-70).

143. The mentioning of birija as being the 'Burdekin language' by Bir CC cannot be taken for granted; at the same time Bir AL refers to biri as the 'Bowen language' (according to Wir AM, biri or birijaba would both be names of the 'Bowen language').

144. Bir RD says, for instance, that hand is mala in his (southern) Birri, but mara in the north; actually mala is recorded from most Birri informants, a form mara (i.e. as in Gunggari) being used alternatively by Bir VA.

145. The English word fellow ('fella h') consequently appears in Birri as bila, namely in: binbibila good fellow (Bir RD), English bottle becomes Birri budal and the common word for white woman ('white-Mary') appears as wanmarigan (Bir JH).
146. This is, of course, connected with the absence of a fixed word order in attributive or predicative construction in general in the Aboriginal languages (cf. Part I, 15.25).

147. cf. the use of a dual form in such Sanskrit constructions as father and mother (mātāpitarau; also cf. Holmer 1963, p. 72).

148. The ablative form in -ṇundu is evidently based on the possessive form (in -ṇu) and in the same way an alternative locative in -ṇunda (bamaṇunda with a man) occurs together with a regular form in -ṇga (bamaṅga, idem). The longer forms (-ṇundu and -ṇunda) are those occurring in the pronominal declension (see 22.16, 24). The suffix -di further occurs in the ablative sense in the relation word Ḇandadī whence? (Bir VA; hence = Ḇandada[mu or Ḇandamundu]).

149. For instance of stems ending in a consonant, of which no special possessive case forms are recorded, as in jaramangu to or for the horse or the horse’s (Bir RD).

150. cf. Ḇana me in some languages.

151. The different vocalisation is no doubt to be attributed to different kinds of assimilation (cf. 21.3; 22.33 sqq.).

152. In jinami Ḇamun nuṇunuṇu this milk is his (correct?).

153. The form Ḇaligu (in guga Ḇaligu our house, Bir VA) is probably wrong.

154. That is to say that no simple stem *guna is recorded; even though it might exist or have existed it would in any case most likely have been avoided owing to the homophony with the noun guna (faeces).

155. Locality seems implied exceptionally, as in: gunami danduriḷbaṇa he is standing up there (Bir RD), Ḇunamigu (go) to there (Bir CC) and gunami is once rendered by there.

156. Since these suffixes are identical with those used in the Gunggari imperfective mode, the suggested analysis in 6.31 will hold for the same suffixes in Birir as well. The semantic differentiation may be old in the Gunggari languages (cf. Note 42), but in any case depends on a secondary development of the verb morphology (cf. Part I, 3.22, Note 35).

157. The Birri accidental suffix -ḷbaṇa has consequently nothing to do semantically or functionally with the similar Wirri accidental suffix -ḷbaṅga (see 19.34), although etymologically they may be considered as having essentially the same formative elements: a 'nominalising' -l-, a local formative -ba- and an original locative suffix -g(а); in the Wirri form the -l- marks transitivity, the -ba- perfectivity, while -ṇga is subordinative and in the Birri form, -ṇa marks imperfective-durative action, the element -ba- being subordinative.

158. Hence Birri inflected verb forms, such as for instance janiṇajā, janiṇanda, janiṇala I, you, he or she go(es) are not quite analogous to the Latin amo, amas, amat or amabam, amabas, amabat, but rather to the French je dis, tu dis, il dit (cf. the alternative dis-je, je ne dis pas, etc). or even the English 'says-I', 'says-he', etc.

159. The use of the possessive-dative -ṇu in such a construction as danaṅgunda you have better sit over here (Bir RD) may suggest a connection with the Gunggari connective du (jinda binda du you sit, too); see 6.39, with the Note 49.
160. In nula wəŋulaŋ he asked him (Bir AL).

161. In nula guma waɾaŋaŋa or waɾaŋala he is bleeding, jinda guma waɾaŋanu waɾaŋanda you are bleeding.

162. The context, or situation, is also decisive in case any doubt would arise as to the meaning of dara balban (formally it could also mean leg bone, i.e. tibia or femur).

163. This form may be supposed to function as nominative as well as ergative (according to the common tendencies in the Gunggari languages and by analogy with the other persons; a form ŋaja (also as ergative) is however recorded, but may be wrong.

164. The form winija (in gamu ɲana winija give me water) may contain the Gunggari imperative suffix -ja (cf. 6.32).

165. It occurs in the Stradbroke Island language, Nunagal (see Part III, 6.14), but since this language is not immediately related to Ngawun (or the Gunggari languages at large) no direct connection is probable) between the terminations in question, especially as the formation is of a quite common type in all south-east Queensland languages.

166. The Ngawun -ɳ- may be identified with the formative -n in Gunggari, etc. (see 6.34), that is an original 'nominalising' suffix.

167. cf. Bidjara -lu for -lgu (see 9.29). Incidentally, an intentional form in -gu is recorded also: jani wunugu go (to) lie down (whether or not genuine in Ngawun).

168. The question is whether such a form is actually to be considered as Ngawun; our material derives from a single informant, who lives (or lived) at Woorabinda, where a number of Gunggari languages are heard. The imperative suffix -ja (see Note 164), for instance, is typical in Gunggari proper, the form ŋaja ɪ (see Note 163) is common in the Gunggari languages and the use of binda- sit (along with Ngawun jina-, idem) also points to a certain mixture of languages.
PART III

OTHER LANGUAGES OF SOUTH-EASTERN QUEENSLAND

1.1 In the present survey of the Aboriginal languages in south-eastern Queensland some languages will be dealt with which cannot be ranged among any of the larger groups comprised in Parts I and II and which therefore will be included in a separate Part III. Of these languages three belong to the very south-eastern corner of the state, near or on the border of New South Wales, two of them being actually Queensland branches or offshoots of important linguistic groups in the north-eastern part of the latter state, namely Bandjalang and Kamilro, respectively, whereas the third one forms a smaller independent group. As for the fourth language to be dealt with in this part of the survey and located around Rockhampton, it does not show any direct connection with any of the surrounding languages or linguistic groups.

1.2 The languages of which an account is given here are the following: Nunagal (the Stradbroke Island language), Manandjali (belonging to the Bandjalang group; cf. 1.1), Jualrai (a branch of Kamilro; cf. 1.1) and Darumbal (the Keppel Islands language). The material obtained from these four languages is rather scanty in comparison to what it has been possible to gather from those studied in Parts I and II and for one of them (Darumbal) data were furnished by a single informant. In spite of the limited information obtainable from these four languages, the same arrangement of the data and system of describing and analysing the latter will be followed in this Part as in Parts I and II.

PHONETIC NOTES AND LIST OF PHONETIC SYMBOLS USED IN PART III

(a) Vowel symbols

2.1 The following vowel symbols are used:

- a, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'cut';
- e, more or less as in English 'bed';
- i, more or less as in English 'sit';
- o, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'got';
- u, more or less as in English 'put'.

Regarding the actualisation of the phonemes i and u, the same remarks hold as in Part I, 2.2.
2.2 A raised period (·) indicates a lengthened sound of the primary vowel phoneme, insofar as it is considered basic or distinctive; hence:

- a·, more or less as in English 'father';
- e·, more or less as in English 'where';
- i·, more or less as in English 'be';
- o·, more or less as in (standard or Australian) English 'call';
- u·, more or less as in English 'do'.

Vowel length is not marked in non-initial syllables, as it is hardly found to be distinctive in this position, even though a word-final vowel is not seldom pronounced markedly long (alternating, however, with a short or normal-length—in odd cases even almost suppressed—vowel sound). As a matter of fact, this remark holds for all Aboriginal languages studied in this survey. For a distinction of concrete words and particles by marking a final vowel as respectively long or short, compare in Part II, 2.2.

(b) Consonant symbols

2.3 The following consonant symbols are used:

- b, a bilabial plosive or fricative (see Part I, 2.7);
- p, a bilabial voiceless and somewhat lengthened plosive, occurring in the intervocalic position only (cf. 17.8);
- d, a dental-alveolar or dental-interdental plosive or fricative (according to the languages), for which see in the corresponding places;
- t, (a) (in Juwalrai) a dental or interdental plosive or fricative, occurring after a homorganic nasal (see further in 13.5); (b) (in Darumbal) a dental-alveolar voiceless and somewhat lengthened plosive, occurring in the intervocalic position only (cf. 17.8);
- g, a palatalised dental plosive (cf. Part I, 2.7);
- D, a palatalised interdental plosive (see 17.6);
- T, a palatalised interdental voiceless and somewhat lengthened plosive, occurring in the intervocalic position only (cf. 17.8);
- d, a supradental or slightly retroflex plosive;
- g, a palatal or velar plosive (cf. Part I, 2.7);
- k, a palatal or velar voiceless and somewhat lengthened plosive, occurring in the intervocalic position only (cf. 17.8);
- (h), the aspirate (as in English);
- m, a bilabial nasal (like English 'm');
- n, a dental or alveolar nasal (cf. Part I, 2.7);
- ŋ, a palatalised nasal, like the Spanish ŋ (cf. Part I, 2.7);
- N, a palatalised interdental nasal (cf. 17.6);
- ŋ, a palatal or velar nasal, like English 'ng' in 'sing' or 'song';
- l, a voiced alveolar continuant or lateral;
- r, a soft alveolar trilled continuant, like the Italian r or the weak Spanish r (or ere); 3
- R, a compound trill or vibrant (see 17.10);
- ŋ, a retroflex sound, varying between an 'r', 'l' and 'd' sound (cf. Part II, 2.4-5, Note 9);
- j, a palatal semivowel, like 'y' in English 'yes';
- w, a bilabial semivowel, like 'w' in English 'water'.


2.4 Generally, the southern languages Nunagal and Manandjali agree phonetically with the languages in the western subgroup of the Wakka languages (Wakka-Wakka, Barunggam and Wuli-Wuli; see Part I, 1.1); the northern Darumbal deviates on many points and it has seemed advisable owing to this circumstance and in order not to create a confusion to employ certain special phonetic symbols for consonant phonemes which, as it appears, have to be taken into special account when describing this language (D, T, N, k, p, t—it is to be noticed that the last symbol (t) marks quite different sounds in Darumbal from in, for instance, Jualrai; cf. 2.3).

ABBREVIATIONS

(a) Languages

3.1 The following abbreviations of language names are used in Part III:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dar</th>
<th>Darumbal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jua</td>
<td>Jualrai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nun</td>
<td>Nunagal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Man</td>
<td>Manandjali</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Morphological terms

3.2 The following abbreviations of morphological terms are used in Part III:

| ABL | ablative       |
| ACC | accidental     |
| ALL | allative       |
| ART | article        |
| ASS | associative    |
| CAR | caritative     |
| CAUS| causative      |
| COM | comitative     |
| CONN| connective     |
| DAT | dative         |
| DEM | demonstrative  |
| DER | derivative     |
| ERG | ergative       |
| IMP | imperative     |
| INTERR| interrogative  |
| IPF | imperfective   |
| ITR | intransitive   |
| LOC | locative       |
| N   | noun or nominal|
| NOM | nominative     |
| OBJ | objective      |
| PERS| person or personal|
| PF  | perfective     |
| PL  | plural         |
| POSS| possessive     |
| POST| postposition   |
| PRET| preterit      |
| PRON| pronoun or pronominal|
| REC | reciprocal     |
| REFL| reflexive      |
| REL | relation word  |
| SG  | singular       |
| SOC | sociative      |
| TERM| terminative    |
| TR  | transitive     |
| V   | verb or verbal |

(c) Informants

3.3 Reference to informants is made by the abbreviations of language names (see 3.1), followed by the initials of the person who by knowing or remembering it is considered to represent that language, e.g. Nun CC, the Nunagal informant Mr. Colin F. Costelloe—for the names and data about the various informants, see under the respective languages in the subsequent phonological and morphological sketches (4.6; 8.3; 12.4; 16.3).—For further details, see in Part I, 4.3, with the Note 41.
NUNAGAL

Introductory remarks

4.1 The author began collecting data for the present Linguistic Survey of South-eastern Queensland at Dunwich on Stradbroke Island. Not one 'native speaker' was by then found to survive on the island and the persons contacted were of the opinion that the recording of the Aboriginal language on Stradbroke Island had started about thirty years too late. Even the supposed last survivor among the speakers of the native language, one Mrs. Jane Sunflower (who had died some years earlier and who might be called, along with a certain 'Granny Kindara', the last of the tribe) was said by many not to have been a native of the island; this, however, would probably not have mattered much, since even though her native language had been something else than Nunagal, she would most likely have been about as fluent in the island language as in her own. The surviving Aboriginals (or part Aboriginals), who remembered bits of the language of their parents or grandparents, were generally not able to furnish morphological details, their knowledge being almost entirely reduced to vocabulary.

4.2 The proper designation of the language to be described in the following sections (5.1, 7) involves a problem of its own. According to the Aboriginal informants consulted a number of tribes were known to have been living on Stradbroke Island, as well as on the neighbouring Moreton and Bribie Islands. As it is out of question at this stage to try to locate any of these or any particular dialectal variants met with, a general name has to be adopted which will comprise what is commonly understood by the natives to have been the Aboriginal language of the island. From a married couple, among the first to be interviewed about the old language (Nun CC and his wife), the name Nunagal was mentioned as the name of the people at Dunwich (according to others, however, at Amity Point and even Moreton Island) and the term is universally known and applied either to this or to other areas of the island, as a designation of an original tribe and language. As a matter of fact, it may be considered as the most commonly known name of the original inhabitants on the island and adhering to the principle that the most popular name is to be preferred even in linguistic classification we seem justified in adopting this term as a general name of the Stradbroke Island language, as remembered by a few natives today.

4.3 As indicated above (4.2), several other names were suggested by informants, as designations of tribes (or subtribes) or languages (or dialects), but these will remain nothing more than names. It was said, however, that one of the old residents on the island and one of our best informants (Nun MB) used to speak a variety of the common Stradbroke language at the same time as she was supposed originally to belong to Bribie Island (cf. 4.5). As an odd point of difference in pronunciation noticed with this informant may be mentioned the word dagai white man as against the common dege (idem) heard from others. Incidentally, the former (dagaï) was also stated (as by Nun MT) to represent the Mainland pronunciation of the word (whether this was meant to refer to a mainland dialect of our 'Nunagal' or to some other mainland language in the Brisbane area). Our informant Nun MB has further the personal pronouns ñáí I and ñíí you (for normal ña ga, respectively ñinda; cf. 6.12), which former are also found in Watson 1943-44 (pp.68, 71) and hence known in 'Yugarabul' (for this language, see in 4.4).
4.4 As a matter of fact, an assumed difference between a mainland and an island variety of the same language is of far more importance than one between several dialects on Stradbroke Island itself or on neighbouring islands. The language of which a vocabulary is given by F.J. Watson (Watson 1943-44, p. 66 sqq.) and referred to by the name 'Yugarabul' corresponds on most points with what is recorded here from Stradbroke Island and referred to as 'Nunagal'. Watson's Yugarabul is a mainland language (or in any case one which comprises neither Stradbroke nor Moreton Island; see op.cit., p.4). Strangely, but perhaps for this very reason, the term jagarabal (or jagarabul), that is Watson's 'Yugarabul', was not recognised on the island as a language name and the basic word from which the name is derived, jagara (no, nothing), was hardly known at all by our island informants. On the other hand, the term jagarabal (or jagarabul) is well known on the Mainland, by Manandjali speakers, who sometimes mentioned it as a 'very hard' language spoken further inland by a neighbouring tribe (according to Man FM, from the Tweed area, as far west as Warwick), while the word jagara or its meaning (as being a foreign word) was quite naturally not known at all.

4.5 It is significant that the Yugarabul word for white man (also, as usual, for ghost) is dagai, dhuggai, etc. (see op.cit., pp. 66, 77; also following the Rev. W. Ridley) and not dege (as heard on Stradbroke Island). As now Watson states (op.cit., pp. 4-5) that a group of the Yugarabul tribe occupied mainland territory as far as Caboolture and Toorbul Point, namely the Tararabal tribe (in Nunagal darabal or darabul, the name of Toorbul Point and of a tribe), the following conclusion might be drawn: a language known to Watson as 'Yugarabul' and to the present writer as 'Nunagal' forms a linguistic unit, extending from the neighbourhood of Beaudesert (that is the center of the Manandjali language; see 8.2) to Caboolture and Toorbul and comprising Bribie, Moreton and Stradbroke Islands; within this group dialectal differences may be established and we can in the first place speak of a mainland dialect (which we may call jagarabal or jagarabul), to which Bribie Island (closely opposite Toorbul Point and now joined to the Mainland by a bridge) also belonged, and further an island dialect (which we here call nunagal), comprising Stradbroke (and possibly also Moreton) Island. This would possibly explain the reason why our informant Nun MB (if from Bribie Island) had a slightly different way of talking (using dagai for dege, nai for naga, etc., as also Nun AM) and was acquainted with the word jagara in its proper sense (as also Nun AM, whose father was nicknamed jagara and whose mother was from Laidley, which is likely to have fallen within the original 'Yugarabul' area. It is evident, however, that all these dialects are closely related and that they may be said to represent an original (lower) 'Brisbane River' language (cf. Watson, op.cit., p. 4).

List of informants

4.6 Reference to informants for Nunagal is made by the following abbreviations, being the initials of the person in question preceded by the signature Nun (for Nunagal). In the case of more than one informant, the signature is not repeated (hence: Nun MB, AM, etc.). Compare for further particulars in Part I, 4.3 and Note 41.

Nun AM: Mr. Alfie Moreton (64), at One Mile (north of Dunwich; for his father, see 4.4 and Note 9); his mother was from Laidley (west of Ipswich).
Nun AT: Miss Anastasia Tripcony, at Dunwich, sister of Nun PT and VT.
Nun BD: Mrs. Bethel Delaney (65), at Dunwich.
Nun CC: Mr. Colin P. Costello, at One Mile, later at Dunwich (died in 1974); his mother was from Stradbroke Island (his father from Fraser Island, that is in the Batjala area).
Nun EM: Mr. Edward Moreton (73), Alfie's (Nun AM) brother, died at Fingal Pt. (N.S.W.).
Nun EO: Mrs. Eileen O'Laughlin (a white lady at Dunwich).
Nun GB: Mrs. Gladys Brown (died at Anglers' Paradise, Southport), Nun CC's sister; she had some notes taken from Jane Sunflower (see 4.1).
Nun JB: Mr. Jack Borey, a white man at Dunwich.
Nun JL: Mr. John Levinge (55), South Stradbroke Island.
Nun MB: Miss Mabel Brown (born in 1893), at Dunwich and later at Wynnum; she or her people were probably from Bribie Island.
Nun MT: Mrs. Myrtle Thompson, at Josephville (by Beaudesert), Nun CC's sister.
Nun PT: Mr. Paul Tripcony, at Lota, south of Wynnum, from Stradbroke Island; a learned representative of his tribe and recently dead.
Nun VP: Mrs. Vera Perry, a couple of miles north of Dunwich.
Nun VT: Mr. Vincent Tripcony, at Dunwich, Nun PT's brother.

Two ladies met at Ipswich had a few words which suggested a connection with our Nunagal, or perhaps rather Yugarabal (see 4.4), to whom we shall—in a neutral way—refer to by the signature Ips (= Ipswich), namely:

Ips CM: Miss Cedella McDonald, at North Ipswich, Ips MP's niece.
Ips MP: Mrs. Mona Parsons, from Amberley, east of Ipswich, which would reasonably be original Yugarabal country (cf. 4.4, Note 10).

Phonology

5.1 The phonological system of Nunagal is in general closely similar to that of the western subgroup of the Wakka languages (see Part I, 6.1). The phonemes found in Nunagal are consequently the same as in Wakka-Wakka. On an odd point Nunagal shows features of Kabi-Kabi phonology or of that of the coastal languages at large. It is worth mentioning that the phonetic part of the language appears better preserved than other aspects of its grammar, evidently owing to the fact that the Aboriginal pronunciation is partly reflected in their English as well.14

Evolution of the vowel system

5.2 The vowel phonemes recorded for Nunagal are: a, e, i, o and u (for the values, cf. 2.1),15 with the lengthened variants a', e', i', o' and u' (as usual, the vowel length is indicated in initial syllables only).16 For the probable origin of e' (and e), see in the following section (5.3); as for o' (and o) it may arise secondarily from wa: bāŋal (Nun MB, CC) beside bāŋwal (Nun AM) bread.
5.3 The case of a dialectal alternation of the forms dagai and dege white man (for which see in 4.3), which presents a close parallel to the alternation Goreng-Goreng (and eastern Wakka languages) wangai and the Wakka-Wakka (and western Wakka languages) wenge snake (see Part I, 12, 19, 25), suggests an identical explanation of the Nunagal form dege (compare in Part I, 6.2, 5). Accordingly, the supposed Yugarabul form dagai represents the older and more original form of the word, while the Nunagal dege owes its final vowel to an evolution -ai (or *-aj ?) > -e and its first vowel to a process of assimilation of the original -a- to the -e in the following syllable (that is exactly as in Wakka-Wakka wenge in relation to the more primitive wangai; see above and loc. cit.). Due to insufficient data regarding Yugarabul, no other instance has been found of an original -ai or *-aj turning into Nunagal -e; on the other hand several instances are found of an assimilation of a vowel (mostly a) in a preceding syllable to a final -e: bege young man (Nun MT), bege old man; the assimilation is, however, not universal and forms such as bage are also heard. There are also cases of the kind of 'vowel levelling' observed in Wakka-Wakka (see Part I, 6.7), that is the arising of an e or o in both syllables of a word originally having different vowels (a and i, respectively a and u), as in Nunagal megend’en Brisbane (tribe) (cf. Yugarabul miganchan, idem; Watson 1943-1944, p. 74), gelen moon (Nun PT; cf. gilan, idem, Nun CC); neither has this trend universal character: gilin beside gelen moon (Nun PT). The vowel i in closed (generally) word-final syllables may be broadened to e, as frequently in the Wakka languages (cf. Part I, 6.15), whereby the plural article -gin, for instance, is often heard as -gen (cf. megend’en, above); further giniger oyster (Nun MB; from *-gir ?), gengin redbreast (Nun MB). The common actualisation of final (or unstressed) -a as -i (probably due to imitation of English speech habits, as when 'tomahawk' becomes 'tom-i-hawk' or the tribe name 'Wakka-Wakka' is spelled out 'Waky-Waky'; cf. Part I, 23,3, and Holmer 1971, 1.5 with the Note 11) is reflected in: ganj for gana humpy (Nun MB), -wali for -wala (caritative suffix), etc. Otherwise the sound value of -a is often affected by surrounding sounds, so that it approaches the sound of o in contact with the bilabial w, on one hand, and on the other that of e, in contact with palatal or palatalised sounds: gelan for galan moon (Nun MT), etc.

Evolution of the consonant system

5.4 The consonant phonemes in Nunagal are the same as in Wakka-Wakka (cf. Part I, 6.18): (bilabial) b, m; (dental) d, n; (palatalised dental) g, ƞ; (palatal-velar) g, ƞ; further the lateral continuant l and the (slightly) trilled continuant r and, finally, the palatal, respectively bilabial, semi-vowels j and w. The occurrence according to position in the word is as in Wakka-Wakka (see Part I, loc. cit.).

5.5 An important particularity consists in the occurrence of 'pre-occlusive' l and n sounds (cf. Part I, 23.5), whereby a post-vocalic l appears as dl and a post-vocalic n as dn: midl for mil eye, gidl for gil urine, gidla for gila bee, honey, mudlu for mulu stone, rock, gudna for guna excrement. Some features of Nunagal phonology are either due to the influence of English or else paralleled by analogous trends in the local English, as when an intrusive -r may appear in walingar for walinga old woman or an intervocalic -r- may take the place of another consonant sound (usually an -n-), as in the verb stem jara- beside jana- go; incidentally, this is a very common feature in most parts investigated by the author (cf. Part I, 6.19, with references).
Morphology
(a) Structure of stems and derivation

6.1 Structure. The structure of concrete (nominal or verbal) word stems is strictly along the same lines as in Wakka-Wakka (cf. Part I, 7.1). Nominal stems are consequently either monosyllabic or longer, ending either in a vowel (ga· ground, bina ear) or consonant (mil eye, dabil water); of verbal stems it can only be said that they appear to be all vowel-ending (jana- or jara- go, na· see), as in the Wakka languages or, as a matter of fact, most of those studied here. Reduplication of noun stems is frequent: dege dege white man (= dege, idem), gigal gigal, name of a tree, gigil gigil, name of a creek, gim gim sexual intercourse (Nun JB), diman diman or dima dima, the name of a bush, mingal mingal chicken hawk, bun bun pheasant, wira wira lagoon, bege bege or bage bage old man (Nun GB, MT), duram duram storm (Nun MT), gum gum mopoke, bun bun head (Nun PT), goŋ goŋ egg, ngal ngal wild dog (Nun MB), nulbu nulbu evening (Nun PT), gawa gawa red (of the hair; Nun PT), gawan gawan blood (Nun PT) and probably gengin redbreast (Nun MB; for gin gin, cf. 5.3).

6.2 Compounds. Nominal compounds (to be analysed attributively or predicatively or as English compounds of the type 'seaman', 'housewife') are of the usual type in the Australian languages: gugi mulu, the name of an island in Moreton Bay, Coochiemudlo (red rock or red stone or else—if permitted by the context—the rock is red). Constructions of noun and verb stems of the type mil na· see must be understood as compounds (eye-see) and explained as in Part I, 15.2, Note 123.

6.3 Nominal derivation. A great number of derivative suffixes are recorded, many of which however do not give evidence of a clearly determined meaning or function. The most important one among nominal derivative suffixes is undoubtedly the locative -ba marking the place where and very common in names or designations of places, being usually added to noun stems denoting animal or plant names: dingalba Tingalpa (from dingal, a small shell, rather than from dingal fat, as alternatively suggested by Nun PT), gulumba Point Lookout, mingiriba (a name of Stradbroke Island, Nun PT), baŋanba (the name of a place, from baŋan mud), milwaba (the name of a place, Nun CC), gurijaba (the name of a place), mungalba (the name of a place, Myora), gabemba (the name of a hill, from gabem moss, mossy ground; Nun MT), guruŋ guruŋba (the name of a creek, from guruŋ guruŋ black; Nun MB), gadaraba (the name of a place, Catalba, from gadarra five-corner tree). A similar sense is probably conveyed by the suffix -gi, in garagí, the name of a place on South Stradbroke Island, from gara shell; alternatively this suffix may be taken as a locative case suffix (cf. Watson 1943-44, p. 77, who ranges -ti as an 'ablative' suffix).

6.4 Strangely, no sociative suffix has been recorded (answering to Wakka-Wakka -ṇa or Gunggari -bari; see Part I, 3.7). The termination -wala (in milwala blind, bina(w)ala deaf) may, however, be ranged as a caritative suffix (cf. Wakka-Wakka and Goreng-Goreng -gām; see Part I, 3.7; 15.3), unless it be considered as an independent word stem (= no good); however, it is recorded in the above constructions only.
6.5 The suffix -gan in the languages of south-eastern Queensland usually denotes females and is occasionally found in this sense in Nunagal also: mirigan old woman (Nun MT; cf. below), muragan white woman (Nun MT), paragan pregnant (Nun VT). In other cases no such sense is immediately perceivable: mirigan star(s) (cf. above), garigan (Nun MB), garigan (Nun PT) crane, bualgan land curlew, gugagan kookaburra, garagan magpie, ginilingan wagtail (Nun PT), girigan blackbutt (a tree), guşagan a lie, hoax (Nun CC; cf. guşal gammon); as is seen, it often occurs in animal names. This also holds for the suffix -man, which occurs first of all (as in most south-east Queensland languages) in the word for the horse: jaraman. As a matter of fact, its usage may have started in this almost universal term, spreading to names of other animals: giraman flying fox, galaman native black bee. The suffix -gali appears to indicate a diminutive in gingali little girl (cf. gin girl, Aboriginal woman), but the sense appears the opposite in digirgali big eater (= digir gurumba big belly, Nun GB—incidentally, similar meanings pertain to the Manandjali -galı, for which see 10.5).

6.6 In two terms of relationship we find a suffix -gal, namely duangal brother and maŋgangal sister (both from Nun MB). Although no shorter form of these terms is recorded, it might be suspected that the suffix -gal expresses the 'dual-comitative', frequent in some of these languages (see Part II, 6.6; 9.6, etc.) and that it would consequently answer to the Manandjali -galı (see 10.6). The suffix -bara, which occurs in the Wakkal languages in names of tribes or in terms denoting persons (cf. Part I, 15.3; 25.2) probably recurs in Nunagal jangabara hostel or place where one can stay (Nun PT; cf. Barunggam ğagunbara home); further in dudambara fly (Nun MB). The important suffix -bal or -bul is common in tribe or language names: jagarabul the Yugarabul tribe and language (cf. 4.5), darabal or darabul Toorbul (cf. 4.5), goenbal, a moiety of the Nunagal (Nun PT), gurabal, the name of a tribe.

6.7 Of the other suffixes, the meaning and function is less clear. The termination -bi in goenbi, the native name of Dunwich, is evidently a derivative suffix, since the stem goen (a shell) appears in another derivation, goenbal (see 6.6). The suffix -bin or -gin is common in local designations and may properly denote tree names: gambahbin, the name of the part of Stradbroke Island where the sea has broken through and separated the present North and South Stradbroke, herobin (for *ğerobin? Nun CC), the name of a place, mülginbin the name of Moreton Island (Nun CC), dalgarbin cotton tree, gınarbin silky oak, gurumbin or gurubin, a certain intestine of the dugong, gagargin wattle tree. Of the consonantal suffixes of indefinite meaning dealt with in Part I, 3.6, the following are recorded in Nunagal: -ŋ, -1, -m and -n. Instances of these are: binaŋ beside bina ear, ginaŋ beside gina foot, mil beside mi eye (the latter form—from Nun AM—which is exceptional in Nunagal is the normal one in Manandjali); further notice guşalgal a lie, from a stem guşal- (cf. 6.5), alternating with guşal (idem), baŋal (Nun VP) beside bana (Nun CC) pine tree, gilam (Nun CC) beside gila (Nun AM) bee, gawan beside gawa blood or red (Nun PT). An unusual alternation of final -r and -ŋ occurs in diar teeth (Nun) and diņą, idem (Ips MP).

6.8 Verbal derivation. The only verbal derivative suffix recorded is the (probably) reflexive-intransitive -li-, namely in bagali- fight (Nun AM; cf. Kabi-Kabi bagili-, idem) and jišili- sit down (Nun CC). A reflexive-causative derivation may occur by means of a suffix -mallı- (cf. Manandjali, 10.9) in
gunamalai (if for *gunamali- evacuate, cacare; Nun PT), from guna excrement; compare such Manandjali verb stems as gurgunnali- talk (from gurgun talk, talking; see 10.9).

6.9 Declension. Very little can be said at this stage about nominal inflection in Nunagal. No clear case suffix (apart from the common -gu, for which see below) is actually recorded and we must limit ourselves to a couple of mere suggestions. For the word for fire two forms were supplied: the common galu and a shorter form gal (Nun AM only); if the latter is correct the only explanation of this alternation would be that gal is the original nominative, while galu would be an ergative (ultimately generalised from such constructions as cook by fire, etc.). A similar double occurrence of forms is recorded in magul and magula head, which—if correct—would be explained so as to take magul as the nominative and magula as the locative; the suffixes would find a counterpart in Manandjali (or in the Bandjalang languages in general; cf. Holmer 1971, 13.25 (e)). An allative is found in ganigu (go) home (to the humpy, gaña, cf. 5.3); the termination -gu may, of course, with equal right be taken as a postposition (gu), as in Wakka-Wakka (cf. Part I, 12).

6.10 Article. The termination -gin (often pronounced -gen; cf. 5.3) recorded in a number of words is evidently the plural article common in Manandjali (see 10.14) and the Wakka languages (see Part I, 7.16; 11.5). It occurs in: degelgin (some) white men (dege), gundalgen (some) women (gundal), bugalgen bugilgen (some) boys (bugal, bugil). In addition to the common usage, according to which known or present plural number is expressed (of personal beings; cf. Part I, 3.18-19), the Nunagal -gin marks tribe names: megengen the Brisbane tribe (later Brisbane, as in English) and further in terms of relationship (where a 'dual-comitative' suffix would otherwise occur; cf. 6.6): gimbalgen one's mother (Nun CC).

6.11 Postpositions. The only postposition found is gibain, at, on), which appears a compound of two localising particles (or suffixes), namely -g1 and -ba (both mentioned in 6.3). They occur in the phrase bin wanja gibain or wanj gibain, used among the Aborigines in asseverations (true indeed, God's truth), but generally accepted as having been the beginning of the Lord's Prayer in the native language, hence equaling (our) Father (bin) (who art) in (giba) Heaven (wanj or wanj). For Yugarabul -ti as a locative suffix, compare in Watson 1943–44, p. 77. As usual, words expressing locality do not need a local postposition (or local case form) to denote 'in', 'at' or 'to' in most Aboriginal languages; hence we may accept megengen nga jaraña as a correct rendering of I am going to Brisbane (Nun AM).

6.12 Personal pronouns. The only personal pronouns which may be established with any amount of certainty are those for the first and second persons singular: nga I and ninda or niña you. These may be considered as normal Stradbroke Island forms. Corresponding to them, however, Nun MB and AM have respectively nai I and nin, nin you (which may be Mainland or Bribie Island forms; cf. 4.3). A second person plural jura is common in the south-eastern Queensland languages, but for Nunagal the form is recorded only in the sense of a greeting upon entering a house (according to Nun PT); if jura is a personal pronoun in Nunagal, the greeting might be explained as meaning you people! (?).
Inflected forms of the above pronouns are hardly found. The phrases ɲinda ɲiriwa milgari you are my sweetheart (Nun PT) and ɲari ɲubi explained as meaning give me a kiss (Nun PT, VT) might possibly be reconstructed into respectively ɲinda ɲarijuba milgari you (are) my sweetheart and ɲarijuba (give) me (literally my, the possessive being used in a dative sense, according to the common practice in the Aboriginal languages). From the above analysis we should obtain a possessive form ɲarijuba my, mine (cf. Wakka-Wakka ɲa'ri my, in Part I, 7.20), to which a possessive suffix -juba would have been added. An alternative form ɲarija might be found in: miɲangu ɲinda ɲarija what are you talking about? (Nun CC), for which compare in 6.13.26

6.13 Interrogative pronouns. The only interrogative pronouns recorded are the impersonal miɲaŋ and miɲalaŋ what?, also something; the latter word, miɲalaŋ, is given various other more concrete meanings (all based on that of something), which vary from good, tasty to something to remember (Nun GB) or a mere swear-word (Nun MT). An inflected form (an allative) of miɲaŋ is miɲangu what for? why?, you keep on talking (Nun GB), as in: miɲangu ɲinda ɲarija (= ɲarijuba ? see 6.12) what are you talking about? (Nun CC), but possibly rather for (or about) what you (talk) to me?; compare in 6.12.

6.14 Conjugation. Very little may be said with certainty regarding Nunagal conjugation and what may be considered reasonable to assume as to meaning of the recorded forms must be based on comparison with neighbouring or related languages, for which better data are obtainable. It appears in the first place that the structure of the four basic modal forms (cf. Part I, 3.22) is related to that of the Wakka languages or of Manandjali, that is that verb stems end in a vowel, to which a 'thematic element' (see Part I, 7.28) is added, with or without a following postpositional element or original case suffix. The imperative is, as usual, the stem of the verb: balgá get up (Nun CC; cf. Goreng-Goreng balba stand up), jara ba go (then) (from jara- or jana- go plus a connective, ba; cf. 6.16). The stem-final vowel is changed to -a- in jiɲila sit down (from jiɲili-). The imperative is based on a 'thematic element' -ŋ- (answering to the Wakka-Wakka -j-; see Part I, 7.28) or the Manandjali -l- (see 10.26); to this a locative (?) -a is added (cf. Manandjali, ibid.), so that an imperative form in -ŋa arises: 27 jaraŋa going (from jara- go; hence = Manandjali janala), ɲana going (from ɲa- go; Nun MB), bagaliŋa fighting (thus reconstructed from Nun AM's bagaŋili, from bagali- fight). For the 'thematic' -ŋ-, some verbs may have other corresponding enlargements, such as -ŋi in the case of the verb ɲa- see: gil ɲa-ŋa urinating (probably a euphemism seeing about ...; Nun PT), mil ɲa-ŋa seeing (probably for Nun VT's ɲa-ŋi; cf. Wakka-Wakka ɲa-ŋi saw, Part I, 7.30-31, and the perfective boŋ, in 6.15, below).

6.15 If the above analysis may be considered reasonable, it must be assumed that the perfective forms are formed by the corresponding 'thematic element', but without any additional vowel element. Such a form is Nunagal janĩŋ gone (in which, however, the stem-final vowel appears as -i-; cf. Batjala and Kabi-Kabi janin beside janan gone, from jana- go, see Part I, 25.14, with the Note 169). In accordance with this principle, the Nunagal perfective died (dead) is boŋ (Nun PT), from original *buaŋ (stem bua-, as in Wakka-Wakka, see Part I, 12), which hence differs from the corresponding Wakka-Wakka perfective (boŋi, from *buaŋi) in not having the vocalic addition to the 'thematic element'. Of intentional or other modal forms nothing is recorded for Nunagal.
6.16 Connective. A single connective is recorded in: ɲinda jara ba, which probably is to be understood as you go then (Nun MB; although explained as meaning you are going).

Nunagal vocabulary

7. The following vocabulary is arranged after the principles adopted in Part I (12, 19 and 26). Signatures of informants are generally not given for entries supplied by or deriving from several persons. The alphabetic order of the entries is according to this ranging of the phonetic symbols: a, b, d, ɟ, e, ɣ, (h), ɲ, i, j, l, m, n, ɲ, o, r, u, w.

B

ba CONN (6.16)
-ba N DER SFX (6.3).
babun N moon (Nun CC).
bagala N the name of a tribe and language, Batjala (Nun CC, PT).
bage, v. bagé.
bage N old man (Nun MB, MT).
- cf. bege.
bagali- V REC (6.14) fight (Nun AM): ɲuɓaŋ bagaliŋa a married couple fighting.
bagur N stick(s), tree (Nun MB).
baŋa, v. biga baŋa gímba.
baŋa N mud (Nun CC).
baŋamba N the name of a place (Nun CC). - cf. baŋan.
baŋel N grass (Nun CC).
baŋol, v. baŋwal.
baŋwal (baŋol) N 1. (grind) stone for crushing roots; 2. seeds or fern roots, etc. ground between stones to make bread.
-bal N DER SFX (6.6).
balan N black cockatoo (Nun MB).

balga- V ITR (6.14) get up (Nun CC).
balıŋ baliŋam N money (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower).
balın N narrow; the name of Amity Point, from spit going out into Moreton Bay (Nun PT).
bana N bloodwood (Nun MB).
banda N erect, erection (Nun AM).
- cf. duge.
bangli N brother, mate (Nun VT, JB).
bangamba N hand (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower).
bana N pine tree (Nun CC; cf. English 'bunya'). - cf. baŋal.
-barə N DER SFX (6.6).
baraŋgul N the name of Flinders Mountain (Peak; Ips MP).
baran N boomerang (Nun AM; perhaps from Wakka-Wakka).
bege (bage) N old man.
bege bege N old man. - cf. bege.
bege N young fellow (Nun NT).
-би N DER SFX (6.7).
biban ba·raŋ (ba·ran) N a saying or an exclamation (Nun CC).
bigara N creek or the name of a creek (Nun JB, EO).
biga baŋa ɗimba \( N \) the name of a sand heap or hill on Stradbroke Island (said to mean 'sandy mountain'; Nun MT).

bigi \( N \) sun: bigi ɗabu hurry up (sun is going? Nun BD).

bigil \( N \) the name of a place on Stradbroke Island (Nun MT).

bigun \( N \) jewfish (Nun MB).

biŋ \( N \) father: biŋ waŋ(än) ɗiغا (our) Father in Heaven, also used in the sense of 'God's truth' (Nun VT), biŋ waŋ 'God' (Nun MB; 'Father above').


bila \( N \) oak (Nun MB).

bilam \( N \) parrot (Nun MB).

-bin \( N \) DER SFX (6.7).

bina \( N \) ear: bina waŋaŋ deaf. — cf. bienaŋ.

binaŋ \( N \) ear: binaŋ waŋaŋ or binaŋ wali deaf (Nun CC, GB). — cf. bina.

binaŋwala \( N \) deaf (Nun MB). — cf. bina(ŋ).

binawaŋa \( N \) stubborn (Nun MB, VP). — cf. bina, waŋa.

binawali \( N \) 1. deaf; 2. listening, overhearing (Nun EO).

bina waŋaŋ, v. bina.

bingi \( N \) stomach (Nun MB; according to Nun GB, children's language). — cf. digir.

binge \( N \) head (Nun MT; in Manandjali it means 'hat').

bingiŋ \( N \) short-necked turtle.

bira \( N \) grog (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower).

biram \( N \) sky (Nun CC, MB).

bi-war \( N \) one of the Glasshouse Mountains, Beerwah (Nun CC; cf. bi-war or biawa eagle, in Part I, 26).

boŋ \( V \) ITR (6.15) dead (Nun PT): mil boŋ blind.

bualgan \( N \) land curlew (Nun MB). — cf. bujulgan.

buba \( N \) white (Nun PT): buba bundel white hair.

bubilam or bubulam \( N \) smoke pipe (Nun BD, PT; cf. Jualrai bubli tobacco).

budiŋ \( N \) prawn (Nun PT).

buɡaŋ \( N \) mother (Nun CC, MB).

buɡal, v. buɡir.

buɡiŋ \( N \) crepitus ventries (Nun JB).

buɡil, v. buɡir.

buɡir (buɡil, buɡal) \( N \) boy; (ART) buɡirgin, buɡilgin, buɡalgin (some) boys.

buɡiraŋ \( N \) ? buɡiraŋ ɡabur(a) don't be frightened, boy (Nun MT). — cf. ɡabur.

bugaŋ \( N \) sleep (Nun MB).

bujulgan (biulgan) \( N \) land curlew (Nun CC, MB). — cf. bualgan.

-bul \( N \) DER SFX (6.6).

bula\(^1\) \( N \) two (Nun AM, MB).

bula\(^2\) \( N \) cattle (Nun MT).

bularam \( N \) the name of the 'Blue Lake' on Stradbroke Island (Nun MT). — cf. gabura.

buliman \( N \) policeman (Nun GB).

bulu \( N \) penis (Nun AM). — cf. buru.

bumaraŋ \( N \) a nickname (Boomerang; Nun MT).

bumbal \( N \) the name of a fruit (used as chewing gum; Nun CC).

bum bum \( N \) head (Nun PT).

bumir (bumer) \( N \) the name of the 'Brown Lake' on Stradbroke Island.

bun \( N \) knee, knees (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower).

bunbi \( N \) bag, dillibag (Nun MB, BD, AM).
bun bun  N pheasant (Nun MB).
bundel  N hair (Nun PT). -cf. bubu.
burima  N ? an expression of
delight at intercourse (according
to Nun PT, this is both
'what he asks and what she
answers').
buroŋ  N whiting (fish; Nun PT).
buru  N penis (Nun MT). -cf.
bulu, gumi.

dabiŋbila  N policeman (Nun MT).
   -cf. damiŋbila.
dabil  N water (Nun PT). -cf.
gabiŋ, gun.
dabilnala  N box tree (Nun MB).
dagai  N white man (Nun MB).
   -cf. dege.
dagan  N flathead (fish; Nun MB).
dagun (da'gun ?)  N eel (Nun CC).
daŋaluma  N the name of a lagoon
on Moreton Island (Nun MT).
daŋal  N the name of a tree
(Banksia) similar to the bottle
brush, but with yellow flowers
(Nun PT), the red or black
honeysuckle and its fruit (the
bark of the red honeysuckle
being used in tanning; Nun CC).
   -cf. dāngil.
daŋgil  N honeysuckle (Nun MB).
   -cf. dāngal.
dal, v. gilgamari.
dalgarbin  N cotton tree, from which
shields were made (Nun MB, PT).
dalun (daḷaŋ)  N tongue (Ips MP, CM).
dambur (dambul)  N mouth (Nun MB, 
   MT). -cf. dumbar, dumburi.
damiŋbila (-bala)  N policeman
   (Nun MT, GB). -cf. dabiŋbila.
damuru  N mouth (Nun GB; from Jane
dandar  N chest (Nun GB).
dangilan  N bream (fish; Nun MB).
darabal (-bul)  N the name of a
tribe at Toorbul Point and on
Bribie Island and its language
(Nun AM, PT), also the name of
Toorbul (Nun PT).
dege  N 1. ghost or stranger;
   2. white man; (ART) degegin
   (some) white people. -cf. dagai.
dege dege  N white man (Nun GB).
   -cf. dege.
derangeri  N a name of Stradbroke
Island (Nun CC).
diŋ  N teeth (Ips MP). -cf. diar.
diar  N teeth.
digir  N stomach, belly: digir
gurumba big belly or big eater.
   -cf. digirgali.
digirgali  N big eater (Nun GB).
   -cf. digir.
diŋgal 1  N the name of a certain
small shell (Nun CC).
diŋgal 2  N fat (Nun PT).
diŋgalba  N the name of a place,
Tingalpa (between Brisbane and
Wynnum; Nun PT).
dimbiŋ  N star (Nun MT). -cf.
mirigan 1.
dinir  N firewood, sticks (Nun
AM).
duŋgal  N brother (Nun MB).
dudambara  N fly (Nun MB).
duge  N male organ, penis (Nun AM,
   PT): duge banda erection.
duluŋgili, duluŋgili  v. duruŋ gili.
dumbar  N mouth (Nun MB). -cf.
dambur, dumburi.
dumburi  N mouth (Nun PT). -cf.
dumbar, dumbur.
duram duram  N storm (Nun MT).
duribaŋ  N owl (Nun MB).

durun gili (dulungili, dulungili) N black rock, sandstone, the name of a creek on Stradbroke Island and also the name of South Stradbroke Island (Nun AM, MB, CC). —cf. durun.

g

gā N ground (Nun MB).

gabam N witchetty grub.

gabir N nulla-nulla (Nun AM).

gabu, v. bigi.

gabul, v. gabur.

gabur (gabul) N boy: buğirang
gabur don't be frightened, boy (Nun MT; perhaps 'be a boy or man'?). —cf. bugir.

ga'gam N baby (Nun MT).

gagari N younger sister (Nun CC). —cf. gagigi.


gagi N fire, jack-o'-lantern, mysterious light, tribal spirit (Nun AM, EM, BD). —cf. gangari.

ga'gun N devil (Nun VT, MB).

gal, v. galan.

galan1 N urinating (of women; Nun MT).

galan2, v. galan.


galaman N native black bee (Nun BD).

galu (gal) N (6.9) fire, firewood.

gam N meat, food (Nun AM, MB; from Wakka-Wakka?).

gambinbin (-banban) N water spout (? Nun CC), the name of a place where the original isthmus between North and South Stradbroke Island has been broken through by the sea.

gamgambal N the name of a language (Nun CC).

gan N any man (Nun AM, MB).

gandil N mangrove (Nun MB).

gandur N ironbark (Nun MB).

gang N cold.

gangari N a light (Nun CC; in the Wakka language a tribal spirit). —cf. gagi.

garagan N magpie (Nun MB).

gawai REL yes (Nun JB).

-gen, v. -gin.

-gi N DER SFX (6.3).

giba POST (6.11).

giban N the name of a tree, 'five-corner tree', having a tiny fruit on it, also the berry itself (Nun CC, MB, BD).

gibal N eaglehawk (Nun CC).

gimal N fish spear (Nun CC).

gigagara N coral eel (Nun PT).

gigal gigal N the name of a tree and also of a creek (Nun BD, JB).

gila N sand eel (Nun PT).

gima gima, v. gimman giman.

giman giman (gima gima) N the name of a tree or bush having little white sweet fruits like berries (Nun CC, PT, JB).

gimba, v. biga baña gimba.

gimbaldin (-gen) N mother (Nun CC).

gim gim N intercourse, to be intimate (Nun JB).

-gen (-gen) ART (6.10).

gina N foot (Nun PT). —cf. gina.

gina N foot. —cf. gina.

giŋi giŋi N the name of a language (Nun VP, MB).

giŋiŋiŋiŋi(r) N oyster (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower). —cf. giŋiŋiŋi.
ginilingan * N wagtail (Nun PT).
giran¹ * N teeth (Nun MB). – cf. diar.
giran² * N thigh (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower).
giram * N grog (Nun MT).
girigai * the name of the last 'king' (on Stradbroke Island? Nun EM).
gungai * N westerly wind or west (Nun MB, CC).
gugen * N tongue (Nun PT).
guğur * N knife (Nun AM).
gulin * N nautilus (a shell; Nun PT).
gum * N tobacco (Nun PT).
gundabara (-bāri) * the name of a Queensland tribe or language (Nun PT), the Maryborough and Fraser Island language (Nun AM).
gundal * N woman; (ART) gundalgin (some) women.
gundalğan * N young woman (? Nun MT; probably = gundalgin women).
gūran¹ * N fire (Nun MT).
guroğ * N vulva (Nun JB; cf. Wakka-Wakka ğunu, Goreng-Goreng ğunuğ, idem).
guru * N mullet (Nun MT).

G

gabal, v. gabul.
gabem * N moss or mossy ground (Nun MT). – cf. gabemba.
gabemba * the name of the big hill at Myora, Stradbroke Island, also the name of a tribe or language (dialect?).
gabi * N possum (Nun CC).
gabin * N hungry (Nun MT).
gabul (gabal) * N carpetsnake.
gabulğa (gabul ğa·) * N the name of a place, Caboolture (Nun MB). – cf. gabul, ğa·.
gabura * N dawn (Nun CC); also the name of the 'Blue Lake' on Stradbroke Island. – cf. bularam.
gadara * N a kind of tree ('five-corner tree'? Nun BD), having a fruit like a green berry (Nun GB, EM, JB).
gadaraba * N the name of a place, Catalaba.
gagi * N vulva (Nun MT).
gagargin * N wattletree (Nun MB).
-gal * N DER SFX (6.6).
galali * the name of a language in western Queensland (Quilpie?), Kalaloi (Nun CC).
galgulan * N leatherhead (a bird; Nun MB).
-gali * N DER SFX (6.5).
gamadan (ga·madan) * N policeman (Nun AM; cf. Wakka-Wakka gamadan boss).
gambalgari * N the name of a language (dialect?) at Amity Point (Stradbroke Island; Nun CC).
gambara * the name of the 'Brown Lake' on Stradbroke Island (Nun CC).
-gan * N DER SFX (6.5).
ganaba * N the name of a place (Nun BD).
ganaral * N rifle (Nun CC).
ganinaral * N fig tree (Nun MB).
ganin * N fig tree (Nun MB).
gana (ga·ni) * ALL ga·niğu humpy, Aboriginal palm-leaf hut or shelter, home: ga·niğu (go) home (Nun AM).
gara * N shell (Nun MT).
garağî * N the name of a place on South Stradbroke Island (Nun MB). – cf. gara.
garal  N curlew (Nun MB).
gari  N a common Aboriginal name
(especially on Fraser Island;
possibly the English 'Curry'?
Nun CC).
gariagan, v. garigan.
garigan (garigan, Nun PT)  N crane
(Nun MB).
gawa gawa  N red (Nun PT): magul
gawa gawa red hair.
gawan gawan  N blood (Nun PT).
  -cf. gawa gawa.
gelen  N moon (Nun PT). -cf. gilen.
gengin  N redbreast (Nun MB).
gibar  N young man (Nun CC, MB):
  ɲinda  ɲarijuba gibar you are my
young man (Nun PT).
gidibila  N a light (Nun MB).
  -cf. ɲangari.
gigigagari  N clams (Nun CC).
gigur  N shoulder (Nun PT).
gil  N urine.
gila  N 1. big, European bee;
  2. honey (Nun AM). -cf. gilam.
gilam  N English bee or its honey
gilan (gilen)  N moon. -cf. gelen.
gilen  N neck (Nun PT).
gilgamar  N dal gilgamar
Aboriginal marriage system or
permission to marry (Nun PT).
gilgar  N urine or micturiens
(Nun GB). -cf. gil.
gilin  N nails (Nun PT).
gimbì  N stinging tree (Nun PT).
gin  N woman, (young) girl.
  -gin  N DER SFX (6.7).
gindi  N joke (Nun CC).
gindigan  N joking or frolicking
around (Nun CC). -cf. gindi.
gingali  N little girl. -cf. gin.
ginjigir (-ger)  N oyster (Nun MB).
  -cf. ɲindirga(r).
gira¹  N north (Nun MB).
gira²  N a drink (Nun MT).
giraman  N flying fox.
girigan  N blackbutt (a tree; Nun
MB).
giwar  N blood (Nun MB, CC).
goenbal (guambal)  N a Stradbroke
Island language (Nun VT), a
subtype or 'moiety' of the
Nunagal (Nun PT). -cf. goenbi.
goenbi (guambi, gumbi)  N 1. pearl
oyster, shellfish, shell;
goŋ goŋ (goŋgoŋ)  N egg (Nun MB).
  -cf. ɲugi.
guambi, v. goenbi.
gubi  N wind (Nun AT).
gubon (gobaŋ)  N frog (Ips MP, CM;
cf. Wakka-Wakka gubon, idem).
guŋa¹  N gammon (a joke or a lie;
guŋa²  N honey or sugar (Ips MP).
gugal  N gammon (nonsense, lie;
Nun JB). -cf. guŋa¹.
guŋalgan  N a lie (Nun CC):
  ɲugalgan mariba (?) telling a
lie. -cf. guŋa¹, ɲugal.
guŋam  N fire (Nun MB). -cf.
guŋaŋ.
guŋi  N red, (red) clay.
guŋi mulu  N 1. red stone or rock;
  2. Coochiemudlo Island (in
Moreton Bay).
guŋun  N night (Nun PT). -cf.
gunu.
gugagan  N laughing jackass,
kookaburra (Nun MB). -cf.
gugan.
gugi  N egg (Nun PT). -cf. goŋ
goŋ.
guŋ N 1. water; 2. whisky (or alcoholic drink). —cf. dabil, gabiŋ.
gungal N shade (Nun PT).
guŋaŋ N flame, fire (Nun MB, CC). —cf. guŋam.
gu l N trevally (fish; Nun GB). —cf. gubul.
gula N koala (Nun MB).
gulbul N trevally (a fish without scales and with poisonous fins; Nun BD, EM). —cf. gu l.
gumbar N a native tree or its little green fruit (Nun MB, GB). —cf. gumbol.
gumbawala N penis (Nun MT).
gumbi, v. goenbi.
gumbol N the name of a tree (Nun BD). —cf. gumbar.
gum gum N owl, mopoke (Nun CC, AM).
gumi N penis (Nun MT). —cf. bulu, buru.
guna N 1. excrement; 2. black soil.
gunabari N cacaturiens (Nun GB). —cf. guna, gunamali-.
gunamali- V REFL CAUS IMP gunamali (?) ; cf. 6.8 evacuate, cacare (Nun PT). —cf. guna, gunabari.
gunburijan N one of the Glasshouse Mountains (the one nearest to the road at Glasshouse; Nun CC).
gundal (gundu, Nun PT) N crystal (or a magic stone used in divination; Nun CC, PT).
gundin (−den) N a small short shield (Nun AM, PT).
gundu1 N 1. bark; 2. boat, canoe (Nun MB).
gundu2, v. gundal.
gunuran N crooked neck (one of the Glasshouse Mountains; Nun CC).
gurabal N the name of a Stradbroke Island tribe (Nun CC).
guramban, v. gurunbin.
gurar, v. gurjar.
gurian, v. gurjar.
guridaba (−bu) N the name of a place (Nun CC, GB).
gurjar (gurar, guria, gurian) N fish (especially a kind of trevally).
guruŋ (guroŋ) N black (Nun PT): mugul (for magul) guroŋ black hair.
guruŋ guruŋba N the name of a creek ('black water'; Nun MB). —cf. guruŋ.
guruman N kangaroo (Nun AM).
gurumba N big.
gurunbin (guramban) N a certain appreciated intestine or part of the dugong (corresponding to 'breast of beef' or 'tender steak'; Nun MB).

ŋ
ŋa- V ITR (6.14) go (Nun MB): ŋai, ŋin ŋaŋa I am, you are going. —cf. jana-, jara-.
ŋaŋa PERS PRON (6.12).
ŋagam N dog (Nun AM; this is the common word in Manandjali). —cf. miri.
ŋai PERS PRON (6.12)
ŋal ŋal (ŋalŋal) N wild dog (Nun MB).
ŋarabin N silky oak (Nun MB).
ŋanai REL yes (Nun CC). —cf. jawa, juai.
ŋaŋaŋaŋarawai (−gai) N the name of a place ('wild heather or flower'; Nun MT, JB — according to Nun MB, 'big creek'). —cf. ŋaŋa ŋarawariba.
ŋaŋaŋarawariba N the name of a person, a 'given surname' (Nun CC; probably originally the name of a place). —cf. ŋaŋa ŋarawai.
nariba PERS PRON (6.12).

narjuba PERS PRON (6.12).

nerobin (her-) N the name of a place (Nun CC).

nin PERS PRON (6.12).

ninda PERS PRON (6.12).

nugur N tea tree (Nun MB).

nugi N the name of Moreton Island (or Bribie Island? Nun AM) and its Aboriginal inhabitants and language.

gulumba N 1. the name of a place, Point Lookout (Nun CC, PT, JB); 2. the name of the 'Sky Hero' or (vaguely) 'God' (Nun PT).

gumbi bon N the name of a deserted area at the Brisbane River estuary ('house dead'; Nun PT). -cf. bon.

gunu N night (Nun CC). -cf. guğun.

J

jagãŋ N bunyip (a spirit; Nun AM).

jagara REL 1. no (Nun MB, AM, EM; a Yugarabul word according to Man GF, ML); 2. an exclamation 'really funny' (Nun CC), 'bad (woman)', 'no good' (Nun MT); 3. the nickname of a person (cf. 4.4, Note 9).

jagarabul N the name of a language, Yugarabul (Nun EM). -cf. jagara.

jagaram V? going (Nun MT).

jaŋaŋ N dugong.

jangabara N hostel ('place where you may stay'; Nun PT).

jamarr N arm (Nun MB, GB).

jana- V ITR (6.14) go. -cf. jara-.

jara- V ITR (6.14) go: waŋa ninda (ninda) jaraŋa where are you going? -cf. jana-, nga-.

jaraman N horse.

jaran N beard (Nun MB).

jarun N ground (Nun MB).

jawa REL yes (Nun CC). -cf. ɲaŋaŋ.

jimiri (-gari?) N wagtail (Nun MB).

jindilgal N mullet (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower).

jingga REL where? whither? (Ips MP).

jiŋili- V ITR IMP jjila sit down (Nun CC).

juai REL yes (also 'goodbye'; Nun PT). -cf. jawa.

juan N reptile, goanna (Nun CC).

juangi N scrub ghost (Nun AM).

jugu REL over there (Nun GB): jugu damiŋbila, dege a policeman, a stranger is coming (over there).

jugun N grandfather, father's father (Nun MB, AM).

juguri N clam, mussel, shell, 'pippies' for baiting.

junu N cunnus (Nun AM).

jura REL PERS PRON? (6.12) hail! (a call or greeting on arrival at a place or house; Nun PT).

juraŋ N the name of a place, Urangan (Nun MB).

juri N bull (Nun CC; properly 'beef', cf. Manandjali juri 'meat').

L

-li- V DER SFX (6.8).

M

mabi1 N little black native bee and its honey (Nun AM).

mabi2 N anus, posterior.
madan N three (Nun MB).
magul\(^1\) (mugul, Nun PT) N LOC magula? head, hair (Nun, Ips CM): mugul buba bundel white hair (Nun PT), mugul gawa gawa red hair (Nun PT).
magul\(^2\) N razorback shell (Nun MT).
maluŋ N bream (fish; Nun MB).
malgara N gum tree (Nun MB). — cf. mangar.
—man N DER SFX (6.5).
manandjali N the name of a language, Manandjali (Nun EM).
mangar N 1. bark (Nun MB, VP); 2. blue gum tree (Nun CC). — cf. malgar.
mara N fingers (Nun PT).
maragin N swan (Nun MB).
maragun N old woman (Nun MT).
maran N sister (Nun AM). — cf. maŋŋangaŋal.
marangal N octopus (Nun AM, JB).
mari\(^1\) N Aboriginal man (Nun, AM, MB).
mari\(^2\) N kangaroo (Nun MB, PT).
mariba, v. gugalgan: degeđen ŋinda mariba (?) stealing (oysters) from the white people (Nun CC).
marumbana N good (Nun CC).
me? N fat (Nun MB).
mibaral N turtle (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower).
miŋam N the name of a wild bush with white sweet berries (Nun CC, GB, JB).
migungin N the native name of Brisbane (Nun PT): migungin ŋaŋa jaraŋa I am going to Brisbane. — cf. megendra.
mïŋgaŋal mïŋgaŋal N chicken-hawk (Nun MB).
mili N eye: mili ŋaŋa seeing something (Nun VP), mili boŋ blind (Nun PT). — cf. milwala.
milgari N sweetheart (Nun PT, VT): ŋinda ŋarirjuba milgari you are my sweetheart.
milwaba N the name of a place (Nun MB, CC).
milwala (-walĩ) N blind (Nun MB, CC).
mïŋgiriŋa N a native name of Stradbroke Island (Nun PT).
miŋan ÌNTERR PRON (6.13).
miŋangan ÌNTERR PRON (6.13).
mïŋaŋalaŋ (miŋulaŋ) N good, tasty, 'something to remember' (Nun GB), a 'swearword' (Nun MT), a question word (Nun AM), 'spear fish' (Nun CC). — cf. miŋaŋa.
mirigan N 1. star; 2. south-east wind (Nun JB); 3. old woman (Nun MT). — cf. dimbiŋ.
muburum N storm (Nun MT); also the nickname of Nun MB.
mündeŋ N long-necked turtle (Ips MP).
mugin N testes (Nun PT), penis (Nun JB).
mugan, v. mugin.
mugara N LOC ? mugara storm, thunder.
mugin (mugan) N Aboriginal name (or nickname ?) of Charlie Moreton (Nun AM's father; Nun PT, GB, MB).
mugul N thumb (Nun PT).
nunjg (nunjg, Nun CC) N straw for making dillibags, baskets or nets (Nun MB, CC).
mujim N tomahawk (Nun AM; probably Wakka-Wakka).
mulganbin N the name of a place (Nun CC).
mu1u N 1. stone, rock; 2. axe, grindstone.
mulula N sand (Nun MB).
mumbal N thunder (Nun CC).
mungalba N the Aboriginal name of the Mission at Myora.
muragan N white woman (Nun MT).
murang N meat (Nun AM).
murigan N native name of Myora (Nun MT). -cf. mungalba.
muru N nose.
murugilgi N swan (Nun PT; cf. muru gugi red nose or bill, in Watson 1943-44, pp. 70, 74).
nunjgulga N nose (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower).
nunjg, v. nunjg.

wagam N crow.
waŋ N heaven, above: biŋ waŋ God ('the Father above'; Nun MB).
- cf. waŋŋan.
waŋŋan N a no-good girl (Nun MT).
- cf. binawanga.
waŋŋan N sky, heaven, above: waŋŋan ţiba in heaven, above. - cf. waŋ.
waĩmba N the (family) name of Nun GB.
waira N hungry (Nun MB).
- wala, -wali CAR SPX (6.4).
wali N no good (Nun AM). - cf. -wala, -wali.
walingga N old woman.
wana, v. wanja.
wanamada N? an exclamation (Nun CC).
wanga (wanya, wana) REL where?: wana (g)a ni nga jara nga where are you going? (Nun PT), wanga nj ni jan jan where are you going? (Nun AM; rather 'where did you go?' or 'where have you gone?').

wana, v. wanga.

wanmiri N white woman (Nun MB).

waran N bad: bina waran deaf.

wargan N eel (Nun MB).

wa' wa' (wa'wa) N crow or the sound made by the crow (wa' wa', according to Nun MB).

wawan N fowl (Nun AM, MB).

winam^1 (wiñam) N crab, also the name of a place, Wynnum.

winam^2 N breadfruit or pandanus (according to some, the origin of the place name Wynnum).

—cf. winam.

wiñiba (winiba) N the dugong bird, also Mrs. Jane Sunflower's totem (Nun CC).

wira wira N lagoon, place where there is water (Nun MB).

wiruwara N sexually active man (Nun MT). —cf. wiruwira.

wiruwira N copulation (Nun GB; from Jane Sunflower). —cf. wiruwara.

MANANDJALI

Introductory remarks

8.1 The first contact with the Manandjali language was made rather coincidentally at Tweed Heads (New South Wales), while the author was looking for prospective informants for Nunagal. An old, but quite vital, lady (she was even at her age a good singer), was found who remembered bits of various languages, but especially one of which she was not able to tell the name, but which evidently belonged to the Bandjalang group of languages. Since at the moment Bandjalang was of no immediate interest,^28 a few notes only were taken down, at the same time as the old lady in question furnished stray words in her father's language, which was different (and generally not understood by our informant) and further never identified in spite of subsequent investigations around Blackbutt, from where this lady's family was supposed to hail. It was not until further news about her variety of Bandjalang was gathered, chiefly at Beaudesert, that the author began to make a more thorough collection of data from this language. At the latter place it was learned that the language in question was referred to by the informants as Manandjali;^29 it was further found that this language actually differed on some points from the Bandjalang with which the author was acquainted from New South Wales.

8.2 The Manandjali language and tribe, of which Beaudesert or the Beaudesert area (with Josephville) is evidently a center (the word manangali is commonly used in reference to 'Beaudesert' itself), are located (sometimes as a section within a larger tribe) either on the Logan river (mention was often made of manangali as the 'Logan river language', spoken up to the head of the Logan river; Man GC), or to the west of the Albert river (the latter marking the boundary between the manangali and balgabari sections, according to Man GC).^30 As for the language first met on the Tweed (see 8.1) and of which the proper name was never ascertained, it was gradually found to differ slightly from the Beaudesert variety (for instance, the common negation jugum no occurring for jugam at Beaudesert);^31 it is possible that the Tweed dialect of Manandjali is identifiable with that of the Minjangbal tribe, usually located in the south-eastern corner of Queensland and on the New South Wales border (cf. mian di what? in the Tweed area, where Beaudesert, Woodenbong and Lismore show an alternative form mian, idem).^32
List of informants

8.3 Reference to informants for Manandjali is made by the signature of the language Man (for Manandjali), followed by the initials of the informants used. For all other particulars, compare in Part I, 4.3, with the Note 41.

Man AJ: Mr. Albert Jackie (91 at his death at Upper Coomera, some years ago); from Beaudesert.

Man EL: Miss Edna Long, at Josephville; Man QL's daughter.

Man EW: Mrs. Eveline Weasel (or Weizel), nee Coolwell and Man NM's sister, from the Tweed area; died in Brisbane a couple of years ago.

Man FM: Mrs. Flory Monsell, at Kingaroy, from the Tweed area and sister of Man EW and NM; she said her father was one John Edwards and her mother Alice Coolwell.

Man GC: Mr. George Curry, at Beaudesert; originally from Boggabilla (New South Wales).

Man GF: Mr. Godfrey Fogarty, at Josephville (south of Beaudesert).

Man JF: Mr. Joe ('Ginger') Fogarty, at Josephville, Man GF's brother.

Man JP: Mrs. Janey ('Granny') Paulson, at Tweed Heads or at Taree (in New South Wales), born at Tweed Heads, spending parts of her life at Beaudesert; her father belonged to a family Curry about Blackbutt (there used to be Curries on Fraser Island as well), but her father's name was also given as Jimmy Joyce, while her mother was Ellen Williams, probably also from the Blackbutt area.

Man ML: Mrs. Mabel Logan, at Woodenbong, from Boonah (or Tweed Heads?).

Man NM: Mrs. Nita Munro, nee Coolwell, at Gin Gin, a fine singer; she had lived at Tamborine Mountain and had possibly connections with the Tweed area; cf. Man EW, above).

Man PT: Mr. Peter ('Tiny') Thompson, at Josephville; his mother was one Jessie Brown, from Beaudesert (while his father was an American).

Man QL: Mrs. Queenie Long, at Josephville, from St. George (Man QL is ranged also among Gunggari informants, as Gun QL; see Part II, 4.2).

Man RA: Mrs. Rita Almat, at Red Hill, Brisbane.

Man SC: Mrs. Sarah Cobbo (Cherbourg), from Woodenbong (her data do not with certainty represent Manandjali).

Phonology

9.1 The Manandjali language, which belongs to the Bandjalang group of languages, largely represented in north-eastern New South Wales (with Woodenbong as a tribal center), generally agrees in point of phonology with the latter languages (cf., for instance, Holmer 1971 and Cunningham 1969). The Manandjali phonetic system is also closely related to those of the Wakka languages (see Part I of this survey).
Evolution of the vowel system

9.2 The Manandjali vowel system consists of the following five vowel phonemes: a, e, i, o and u. A distinction of long and short (or normal) vowels exists in word-initial syllables (at any rate vowel length is not being marked in other cases, even though noticed in some words: mi'na-gu ~ mi'na-gu why?, wula' ~ wula give; cf. Part I, 2.4), whereby, for instance, the verbal stem jana-go is differentiated from ja'na-sit; similarly: jagala going and ja'ngala sitting, bangala falling and ba'ngala coming out. The vowel sounds e and o have probably arisen from contraction of two vowel sounds (cf. below, 9.4) and are therefore mostly long (e', o'), but due to assimilation or 'vowel levelling' a short (or normal-length) e or o also arises (see 9.5). Monosyllabic stems (especially vowel-terminating verb stems) often have a long vowel: ga'- eat (cf. the reflexive-intransitive gali-idem), na-- see, look (starting from the imperative na' look; cf. nabigi, beside na'bigi, to see, look); so also mi' eye (cf. mil, idem).

9.3 Modification of the vowel quality takes place due to environmental influence, a approaching e in palatal surroundings and o (or even u) in contact with labials: da'ju - deju stone (Man GC), waibar - we(i)bar fire (Man FM), wanda ~ wunda where? (Man GC), jau - jou yes. Due to the influence of a palatal sound, u may also pass into i: wunigi(gu) ~ wingi where? (cf. above; in this way we may also explain the form wîmerigani for wânerigani white woman), guiwa - gi'wa tree goanna, wujun - wijun clever (Man GF). A final -i is quite often broadened to -e:34 ja'jani - ja'jane bring, wana bumi'i - bumele don't fight (Man ML), -gali - -gale (nominal derivative suffix; i may become e in other positions also, as especially in the verbal termination -ila: ja'janila - ja'janela bringing. A final -a may also pass to -e and further to -i (cf. Holmer 1971, 1.5, with the Note 11): binga hat (probably for binga, as in Wakka-Wakka, etc.), jili beside jila where? (Man JP). In this connection other modifications of vowel sounds may be mentioned, more or less clearly connected with English speech habits in bilingual surroundings: barau or barou for baru head (Man JP), mij for mi' eye (Man GF), galij for gali wood (Man GF), mane for mani wallaby (Man GF), dugou for dugu river cod (Man GF), baugimandou for baugimandu the mailman (ergative, Man JP; from English 'postman'), etc.

9.4 Original diphthongal or analogous vowel groups involving a palatal (i or j) sound, on the one hand, and labial (u or w) sound, on the other, are frequently contracted to respectively e' and o', which in these cases may be considered to have phonematic and distinctive character: ge'1 away (probably originally *gial, cf. Jualrai gial, idem, in 13.2, Note 63), go'rín (~ gawarin) ran away (Man ML), go'gawa- break (reduplicated form), je'ni went (from *jajani? cf. 10.27, 30); accepting this evolution as having the character of a phonetic law (or at any rate tendency), certain other occurrences of e' must be given phoneme value, as in: ne'ni whom? (cf. na'n who?, na'na whose?), although the origin of the vowel e' is by no means clear). In wânerigani (or wâ merigani) white woman it represents the English vowel in 'Mary' (literally white-Mary).

9.5 In words containing a syllable having one of the vowels e or o (of whatever origin) an original a in another (usually preceding) syllable is assimilated to respectively e or o, according to the same tendency as in the Wakka languages (see Part I, 6.5); it should be noticed that it is not always apparent which of the syllables has the supposed primary e or o: jenebe they, jenebe jenab (Man CC; cf. jenab (= jenebi) they, possibly from *janabi, cf. 9.3), goroman kangaroo
(a variant of guruman, idem, not uncommon in some of the neighbouring languages), jogoi bandicoot, mogoi ghost; in some of these cases we may actually have instances of the particular kind of 'vowel levelling' described in Part I, 6.7, whereby the vowels represent a compromise between a and i or a and u (cf. the alternative form magui ghost, Man QL).

9.6 Stress is — as in all Australian languages studied by the present author — not distinctive. A tendency persists, however, especially in words or contexts of at least three syllables to slightly emphasise, or stress, the second initial syllable, as for instance in the word waŋ me·ri·gan (Man GC, ML; cf. Part I, 2.9); the writing of the latter form in two words brings out the lengthened pronunciation of the vowel (answering to English 'a' in 'white-Mary'; cf. 9.4) — otherwise we adopt the principle (mentioned in 9.2) of not marking non-initial vowels as long.

Evolution of the consonant system

9.7 Manandjali possesses the following consonantal phonemes: (bilabial) b, m; (dental) d, n; (palatalised dental) ɡ, ɲ; (palatal or velar) ɡ, ɲ; (lateral continuant) l; (trilled continuant) r; finally, also, the semivowels (palatal) j and (bilabial) w. The articulation of these closely corresponds to the author's description in Holmer 1971 (1.7); also the analogies with Wakka-Wakka are in most cases perceptible (cf. Part I, 6.18). It is to be noticed that the plosives b and ɡ, which are actualised as such in the word-initial position and after a (homorganic) nasal, become normally, or tend normally to become, corresponding fricatives in other medial positions (that is as in Spanish): mibiŋ ~ miviŋ Aboriginal man (Man CC), ɲa(·)bigi ~ ɲa(·)vigį to see (Man ML), burbi ~ buravi koala (Man JP, GF), gugar ~ guyar hole. A supradental plosive (d) has been noted in one word, namely waŋang (Man ML) ; it is however likely that this word represents the (pidgin) English 'want'em', whence this phoneme is not to be included in the native inventory of sounds.

9.8 Of the mentioned consonantal phonemes (9.7), the following are word or syllable-initial: b, d, ɡ, g, ɲ, m, n, ɲ (along with l and r, if preceded by a vowel) and further the semivowels j and w. The following are word or syllable-final: ɲ, m, n, ɲ, l and r. Consonant clusters (consisting of two phonemes) normally arise in the medial position only and by the sole combination of a consonant phoneme permitted in the syllable-final position and a following phoneme permitted as syllable-initial. Initial clusters are exceptional, appearing in foreign words only: blum (< ?) bread, bren bread (otherwise normally: buren or boren; from English bread).

9.9 Some cases of imperfect articulation or other irregularities in the pronunciation of the consonant phonemes are noted, some of which may be due to the influence of English. The semivowels j and w tend to vanish before respectively i and u, as in: jigar ~ igam (higam, with intrusive h-, as in Queensland English) meat (Man GF), jila ~ ila wa·lu (hila, cf. above) where (are) you (going)? (Man GF), wurga~ ~ hurga~ (cf. above) steal (Man GF). The common reduction of the consonant group -ŋ- to -ŋ- is found in: gijuna for gigunga old man and the passing of an intervocalic -ŋ- (generally less common than -ŋ- in English) into -ɡ- in: ga·ga· for ga·ŋa· take and duga- for duŋa- cry (both from Man ML). The passing of any intervocalic consonant sound
(but especially -n-) into -r- appears in: qa'n gari mibiŋ for qa'n gali mibiŋ who is that man? (Man GF), jugalbiŋari for jugalbingani the wife, (his) wife (objective; Man ML). Cases of dropped or intrusive -r in syllable-final position without any doubt depends on English speech habits: bawu for bawur head (Man GF), galger for galgai light (Man JF; cf. Part I, 10.8); further bugbu for burbi koaľa (Man GC). Whether an -a has been added to a final -r in order to facilitate the pronunciation in such words as mangara for mangar gum tree (Man JF, GF), mugara for mugar storm is problematic (gum tree is mangar in Wakka-Wakka and storm has been heard as either mugar or mugara in Nunagal; if the forms quoted originally ended in -a, they could only be explained as locatives—in Manandjali at least). A verbal termination heard as -leri (Man JF; cf. 10.27) can hardly be anything but an original -lir (cf. the phonetic evolution of such English words as 'here', 'cheer', etc.); the termination (-lir) must have been unfamiliar to a person accustomed to speaking English, as also mirrored in the pronunciation of gabir hungry as gabara by Man JF. The passing of an intervocalic consonant into -r- (cf. above) makes it doubtful whether the verb stem gari- (= gali- eat or drink) is a mere phonetic variant or derived from the primitive stem (ga-) by a different suffix (cf. 10.10).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

10.1 Structure. Concrete (nominal or verbal) stems have the same appearance in Manandjali as generally in the Wakka languages: noun stems may be of one or more syllables, ending either in a vowel or a consonant; underived verbal stems have mostly either one or two syllables and always end in a vowel (as mentioned in 9.2, monosyllabic verb stems end in a long vowel). Verbal forms may appear in a nominal function: galila is eating or a feed (Man QL).

10.2 Compounds. Nominal compounds are of the usual type: guŋ gubuŋ waterhole. Compounds of nominal and verbal stems are intransitive: garuningi- turn into stone (garu); in such words the verbal element may be taken as either a verbal derivative suffix or, rather, as an auxiliary verb (cf. 10.11). A compound of verbal stems appear in: jaŋanibili- fetch, bring (literally fetch-come), although the reason for such a compound is not quite clear.

10.3 Reduplication. Reduplicated nominal stems are common: bujur bujur or muli muli little hill (Man ML), galum galum any little fish (Man QL), ginaŋ ginaŋ footprints, nula nula telling lies, wuŋan wuŋan astray (Man ML); as is seen, the sense is often diminutive. A reduplicated verbal stem appears in: go·go- or go·gawa- break (cf. gawa-, idem).

10.4 Nominal derivation. A considerable number of nominal derivative suffixes are noted. Of a sociative -gur and a caritive -gam (cf. the Wakka languages) a couple of instances are found in the present material (from Man ML): gabugur with a boy (gabu; hence sociative) and gunjam without water (gun), bulangjam without meat (bulan). The locative suffix -ba (place of, etc.) is found in some names of places: nindawinhba (Man GC), gabuba (Man GF; cf. gabu little boy), birinhba (the name of a big rock; Man GC); this suffix is used in the sense of an English preposition (and may hence have postpositional character), as in: mibinba to the dark man (Man ML). The common feminine suffix -gan occurs in:
miragan white woman (Man PT), mirugan old woman (Man JP, ML), lady-gan lady (Man JP), bugaragan young woman (Man FM), dalgan (also galgan) woman, ñinuragan (also ñinaruan, ñinarun) she-dog (Man ML), ñu-galbìgàn wife (Man ML) and further in the pronominal form ñulagan she (cf. ñula he); strangely, -gan also occurs in balugan or balagan young man (Man FM; cf. Bandjalang balugan, in Holmer 1971, p. 37) and it further appears in: jalgan sun (Man ML; cf. Holmer 1971, 3.12, with the Note 30), gubagan blue-tongue lizard (Man QL).

10.5 Other nominal derivative suffixes seem to have a more indefinite meaning and function. The suffix -gali denotes persons, as in: gurbungali or gurgungali a talker (from gurgun talk, talking; Man ML), baigalgali fond of men (Man ML), duibagali fond of women (Man ML) and (probably) bigagnali small (Man ML), as far as it may be used of persons (for the various senses, cf. Nunagal -gali, in 6.5); a somewhat different function is found in gangalgali bull (cf. Goreng-Goreng, Batjala gangal penis, see Part I, 19; 26; however, -gali can hardly be said to be sociative in Manandjali). A shorter form -gal occurs in ñu-gangal husband (Man ML). The suffix -bari occurs in tribe and language names: balgabari, the name of a section, district and language (Man GF), miganbari, the name of a section and corresponding land (Man GF);35 this suffix may be shortened to -be (via *-bai, as in Gunggari) in the common language designations jugumbe and jugumbe (literally having jugum, respectively jugum, for no) and apparently also in the word bari inhe he-dog (Man CC, ML; cf. bari, idem). The same or a similar function has -bal or -bul, as in: jagarabal or jagarbul the Yugarabul language, miñarbal the Minjangbal tribe or language, galibal, galabal, language names (Man GF). Finally, the suffixes -gur, -bara and -bu appear to have derivational character, without showing a clear meaning or function: binginbur, the name of a place (Man CC), gaimbara small, bulabu two, gurubu all (cf. Gunggari guru all).

10.6 A 'dual-comitative' suffix seems to occur in -gal, used in terms of relationship: biangal one's father, mujumgal one's son (used in the construction bijangal mujumgal father and son; Man ML), duibagali (with) a woman (Man ML).

10.7 Of the consonantal suffixes mentioned in Part I, 3.6, of which the original function is lost, the following are recorded in Manandjali -ŋ, -l, -m and -ŋ; examples are the following ones: bulan beside bulu cow, meat (unless from English 'bullock', whose final '-ck' turns into -ŋ), giŋuŋ old (cf. giŋuŋ, giŋuŋ-, idem), ñamung breast (cf. ñamu, ñamun, in other languages), ġirang teeth (cf. Goreng-Goreng dira, idem), buŋuŋ penis (cf. Wakka-Wakka buru, idem); ġabul beside ġabu boy, wanaŋ bad boy (Man PT; cf. Nunagal wanaŋ no-good girl), mi- beside mi- eye (cf. 8.2); giŋuŋ old (cf. above); giŋuŋ- old (cf. above). The suffix -n in ġabun girl (cf. ġabu boy) may represent a shortened form of -gan (see 10.4; hence for *gabugan); one might compare the Manandjali ñinarun, ñinaruan beside ñinarugan she-dog (10.4) and further the Gunggari wadin beside wadigan white woman. The alternation of gabiŋ and gabir hungry depends on an alternation of modal suffixes, added to an original verbal stem gabi- be hungry.

10.8 Verbal derivation. Three basic types of verbal derivation (causative, associative and reflexive-reciprocal) are represented in Manandjali. The causative suffixes (used in a causative-transitive sense) are -ma- and -ba-, as in: damburma- fill up (e.g. with drink, Man GF; the simple form not recorded), gurgunma- talk (from gurgun talk, talking), buima- bother (literally make tired;
cf. Kattang and Thangatti bui bui tired, Holmer 1967, pp. 4, 30), wuṇangarimaturum (something) round (from wuṇangari- turn round), bugalma cure (literally make good or well, bugal), nariba- name (from par a name). The associative suffix is -ndi-: gwandi- go away with (from gawa- go away), go·rindi- run with (from gawari- run).

10.9 The reflexive-reciprocal suffix -li- has a reflexive-intransitive and also a reciprocal function: gali- eat (something), have a bite (intransitive; cf. ga-- eat (it) -- for the short vowel in the derivative, cf. 9.2), gialli- tell (something) (from gia- tell (it)), janbali- go (= janba-, idem), balilli- fall (of the rain) (cf. baji-, baja- come out), wulali- give (anything) (cf. wula- give (it)), bumili- fight (literally hit one another, from buma-, bumi- hit), wajali- fly (cf. Bandjalang waja-, idem; see Holmer 1971, p. 48), burbalili- hide (oneself) (for the simple verb, cf. Cunningham 1969, p. 104: gurba/wurba). A reflexive-causative suffix -malli- is found in: gurgummalli- or gurbunmalli- talk (cf. gurgun, gurbun talk, talking).

10.10 Of other verbal derivative suffixes we find -ri- used in an intransitive sense: gawari- run (cf. gawa- go away) as well as the suffixes -ba- and -ga- (generally in an intransitive sense), which are added to shortened (mostly intransitive) verb stems: janba- go (cf. jana-, idem), ja'nga- sit (cf. ja'na-, idem), ba'nga- come out (cf. ba'na-, idem), bunga- hit (cf. buma-, bumi-, idem); the difference in meaning is not to be determined (cf. Holmer 1966 a, 10.16; 1971, 8.5).

10.11 The following derivative elements may be said to have the character of original 'auxiliary' verbs: -gari-, -gini-, -gingi- (-gingi-), -giwa-, as in: wuṇangari- turn round (intransitive), garugingi- turn into stone (garu), galagiggi- turn this way, malagini- turn that way (cf. gala- this, here, mala- that, there), jangiwa- come back (cf. jana-, janba- go). The verb ja'nanibuli- (-buri-) come with, fetch is perhaps rather a verbal compound (cf. 10.2).

(b) Inflection

10.12 Declension. The following case forms are found in Manandjali: nominative, ergative, objective, possessive, ablative, locative and allative. The nominative (or the stem of the word) is used to express the subject of an intransitive verb if an inanimate noun (cf. below). The ergative (always ending in -i, but never preceded by a nasal) expresses the agent or subject of a transitive verb as well as the instrument. The objective (ending in -i or -ni) expresses the direct object of a transitive verb, if considered as animate (cf. above). The possessive (ending in -a or -na) expresses the owner and occasionally the indirect object of a verb. The ablative (ending in -u preceded by a nasal) expresses (usually of inanimate nouns) direction from, the locative (ending in -a) expresses rest at a place while the allative (always in -gu) expresses direction to.

10.13 Paradigms. The particular forms of the case suffixes mentioned in the preceding section (10.12) depend on the structure of the nominal stem, whether ending (1) in a vowel, (2) in a nasal or (3) in -l or -r (cf. Holmer 1971, 3.23-24). The principles determining the particular form of the case suffixes
are not strictly applied in the present material and may more easily be illustrated by the paradigms below. The type words are: (1) mani money; (2) gigun old man, gun water, banam brother, nagam dog, guruman kangaroo, balun river, mibin AboriginaL man, burgin wind, numbin house; (3) baigal man, bujul mountain, bugur alever man, waibar camp, fire, gugar hole.

(1) noun ending in a vowel: 19

| NOM | mani |
| ERG | maniu |

(2) nouns ending in a nasal:

| NOM | gigun, gun, banam, nagam, guruman, balun, mibin, burgin, numbin |
| ERG | gigungu, banambu, nagambu, gurumandu, mibingu, burgingu |
| OBJ | giguni, nagami, gurumani, mibini |
| POSS | nagama, mibinpa (Man ML) |
| ABL | burginu, numbinu |
| LOC | numbinpa (Man ML) |

(3) nouns ending in -l or -r:

| NOM | baigal, bujul, bugur, waibar, gugar |
| OBJ | baigalni, bugurni |
| ABL | bujulnu, waibarnu, gugaru |
| LOC | gugara |

The possessive of stems in -r would be in -na (although no form is recorded); it appears in the form of the plural article: mibingirna of the dark people (cf. 10.14-15).

10.14 Articles. Of the various 'articles' enumerated in Holmer 1971 (4.1-2) and assumed to occur in the Bandjalang spoken about Lismore, such as express definite (known or observable) plurality only are recorded for Manandjali. The following forms occur in the present material (no distinguishable difference in meaning or function): -gin, -gin, -gir, -man and -mir. Examples (mostly of animate nouns): dagai gin some or many white people (Man ML), jaram angin some horses (also jaramangin, jaramannan), gigungin some old people, mibingir some or many dark people (Man ML), gabuman lot85s of boys, gabunman lot85s of girls (also gabungin, Man ML), mirunmir some old women (Man ML; from mirungan old woman), dubairmir lot85s of women (Man ML), waibairmir camp (Man ML).

10.15 Nouns provided with a plural article are declinable according to the paradigms in 10.13 (2)-(3): (ergative) nagamginu the dogs or some dogs (nagamgin), (objective) mibingirni some Aborigines, (possessive) mibingirna of the Aborigines (mibigir). It may be noticed in this connection that although jaraman horse (as if animate) is capable of taking the plural article (cf. 10.14), it still does not take the objective case suffix in na·ni jaramangin saw some horses (whereby it is treated as inanimate; cf. 10.12).

10.16 Postpositions. The following postpositions are recorded: ban85 from, of, di to, at, in, gai to, for, gal after, war in: dulan nagam ban85 afraid of the dog (Man ML), balun di to the river, duani gagun di (they) buried (them) in the ground (Man ML), wanani numbingi left at home (Man ML; probably for *numbin di), na·n gai for whom? (Man ML), gulagan gai for her (Man ML), gai gai for us (Man ML), guan85 gai after the rain (Man ML), ja·nila dark war sitting in the dark (Man JF).
Personal pronouns. The following personal pronouns are recorded:
(singular) ḳai (ṇaju) I, wa·lu you, nula he,ṇulagan she; (dual) ḳali we,
bulagan you, they,ṇulaman they; (plural) ḳali we,"9 janabi they. Notice that
the third person singular has a special feminine form in -gan (cf. 10.4). In
the main, the same case forms are found as in the nominal inflection; in some
cases (the ablatival), forms with postpositions are used (which, however, we
write in one with the pronoun). As the personal pronouns are used of persons
(or personified words) only, the objective forms is always distinct from the
nominative form. Notice that the first person singular has a special dative
form (ṇaja, Man ML); compare Holmer 1971, 7.3-4. Occasionally (in the third
person) different forms are used in the ergative and in the first person
singular one of the forms recorded (ṇaju) may be an original ergative (the
nominative being ḳai);48 otherwise no distinction of nominative and ergative
forms is made in the personal pronouns (hence: muram ḳaju I am asleep, ḳaju
janbalila I am going; Man AJ). The locative is expressed by a suffix -ba
(evidently the same as mentioned in 10.4).49 The locative is (as commonly in
the languages studied) used to express (going) to (visit), (staying) with, etc.:
jangiwala ḳajaba coming to me (Man ML). Allative forms are not found.

Paradigms. The following paradigms show the inflected forms of the
personal pronouns, as found in the recorded material.

First person singular:
- NOM ḳai, ḳaju
- ERG ḳaju
- OBJ ḳani
- POSS ḳaṇa
- DAT ḳaja
- ABL ḳajabanī
- LOC ḳajaba

Second person singular:
- NOM wa·lu
- ERG wa·lu
- OBJ wa·ni
- POSS wa·ṇa
- ABL wujabanī
- LOC wujaba

Third person singular (masculine):
- NOM ṅula
- ERG ṅula
- OBJ ṅulani (ṇilani; cf. 9.3)
- POSS ṅulana
- ABL ṅulabanī
- LOC ṅulaba

Third person singular (feminine):
- NOM ṅulagan
- ERG ṅulagandu
- POSS ṅulagana
- ABL ṅulaganbanī
First person dual and plural:

- **NOM** ṇali
- **ERG** ṇali (?)
- **POSS** ṇaliṅa
- **ABL** ṇaliṅaṅi
- **LOC** ṇaliba

Second and third persons dual and second person plural (?):

- **NOM** bulaganan
- **POSS** bulaganaṅa
- **ABL** bulaganbaṅi

Third person dual:

- **NOM** ṇulama
- **ERG** ṇulamaṅgu
- **OBJ** ṇulamaṅi

Third person plural:

- **NOM** janabī (jenebe)
- **OBJ** jenebeṅi

10.19 The ablative forms are properly the nominative forms with the post­position baṅi from. Other postpositions are also added to the nominative form, such as gai for, to, which expresses a dative relation: ṇali gai for us (Man ML), ṇulagan gai to her. In some cases the objective form is used in a dative sense: ṇaṅi (told) me, gia ṇulaṅi tell him (Man GF). The third person dual form ṇulamaṅ (Man ML) incorporates the plural article (¬maṅ; cf. 10.14), which, incidentally, may indicate that ¬maṅ is originally a dual article (?).

10.20 Demonstrative pronouns. The demonstrative pronouns refer to either persons or things (animate or inanimate words or concepts) and also to place; gali consequently means not only this one or this, but also here (often used in a predicative sense: this is, here is, etc.). The stem form therefore functions either as nominative or locative (no special locative form is found). The following demonstrative stems are recorded here: gali this, here, ga·mu those, gila (gili) this or here, that or there, mali that, there (the precise distinctions of meaning are not ascertainable). The nominative (or plain stem form) often ends in either -a or -i, but the inflected stem forms normally end in -a: mali that, there, malagu there, thither. The unusual appearance of a form (ga·mu) which is plural (or rather dual) in sense is reflected in Lismore Bandjalang as well: gamu, gagamu they (see Holmer 1971, 7.9).

10.21 Paradigms. The demonstrative pronouns are inflected in the ablative and allative only (which are in respectively -ṇu and -gu and often function as relation words), the locative being equal to the nominative (cf. 10.20). There are no ergative, objective or possessive forms (which would contrast with the inherent sense of locality). The inflected forms are seen in the following paradigms:

- **gali this, here:**
  - **NOM** gali (galani ? Man GC)
gila (gili) this, that, here, there:

NOM gila, gili
ABL gilagu
ALL gilagu

mali that, there:

NOM mali
ALL malagu

Examples: ŋa’n gali dagai who is that white man? (Man JP), ŋa’n gali ginbam who is the woman? (Man JP), mĩnaŋ gali what is that? (Man GC, GF), ŋa’n gari (= gali) mibiŋ who is that (dark) man? (Man GF), gali ɲulaŋa that is his (Man ML), gali bugal mali ɣan this is good, that is bad (Man ML), ɣagun gali this land (Man ML), ɣamu dubai those(two) girls (Man ML), baigal gila jan a man coming (Man ML; notice that the noun is not necessarily definite as in English), wunba gila gugara there is a snake in the hole (Man ML), gilagu malagu here and there (Man ML), ŋa’n mali wa’lu who are you? (Man FM), bugal ɲula mali that fellow is good (Man GF),51 mali bugal that is good (Man ML).

10.22 Interrogative pronouns. The personal interrogative pronoun in Manandjali is ŋa’n who? and the impersonal interrogative is mĩnaŋ or ɲaŋ what?. They are also used in an indefinite sense (someone, anyone, something, anything). The personal ŋa’n is inflected in the nominative (the stem form), ergative, objective, possessive, ablative and locative. The impersonal mĩnaŋ, ɲaŋ (the latter form used by Man ML) is inflected in the nominative-objective (the stem form) and the allative only. Paradigms:

ŋa’n who?:

NOM ŋa’n
ERG ŋa’ndu
OBJ ŋe’ni
POSS ɲa’na
ABL ɲa’nu
LOC ɲa’nba

Examples: ŋa’n mali wa’lu who are you (there)? (Man FM), ŋa’n gali mibiŋ who is that (this) man? (Man ML); ɲa’ndu wa’ni bumani who hit you? (Man GF); ɲe’ni wa’lu ɲa’ni whom did you see? (Man ML); ɲa’nu wa’lu ɣa’ɣani from whom did you take it? (Man ML); ɲa’nba to whom (did you go)? (Man ML; cf. 10.17).

mĩnaŋ, ɲaŋ what?:

NOM mĩnaŋ, ɲaŋ
OBJ mĩnaŋ, ɲaŋ
ALL mĩnangu, mĩnagu, ɲagu, ɲagi

Examples: mĩnaŋ mĩnaŋ what, what? (Man GC), mĩnaŋ gali what is that? (Man GF), mĩnaŋ wa’lu what are you saying? (Man ML), mĩnaŋ gali what is this? (Man GC), ɲaŋ ga what is that? (Man ML), ɲagu (ɲa’gu) or ɲaŋ ɲula ɣinbalin what did he ask for? (Man ML), ɲa’gu wa’lu wadam what do you want it for? (Man ML), ɲagi (ɲa’gi) wa’lu what do you want? (Man ML).
10.23 The nominative form is used with a postposition: ɳa·n gai for whom? (Man ML). From the nominative (or stem form) is also derived a kind of causative verb (by means of the suffix -ba; see 10.8), which is construed with the objective form and used in the sense of something or anything (miŋan; cf. 10.22) happens to or is wrong with: miŋaŋbani ɳaŋa biŋaŋi has anything happened to my father (Man ML), miŋaŋbani ɳaŋa ŋagami is anything wrong with my dogs? (Man ML).

10.24 Conjugation. In order to conform with the previous morphological sketches in this survey, the terminology used by the author in describing the verbal system of the Lismore and Bungawalbin Bandjalang (Holmer 1971) will be slightly modified when dealing with the Manandjali conjugation. This especially applies to the sections on modal (or aspectual) forms of the verb. Thus while the term imperative is retained, in place of the Lismore Bandjalang 'terminative' we shall generally use perfective (cf. however 10.27) and in place of the Bandjalang 'progressive' we shall use imperfective; no modal form corresponding to the Bandjalang 'imminent' is with certainty found in our Manandjali material (cf. 10.26). For 'forms in -gu, -gi', etc., we shall use the term intentional form (cf. Holmer 1971, 8.11, 17) and for 'gerundial' or 'subordinate' forms (op.cit., 8.23-27) we use the term accidental. The modal forms thus designed are consequently used more or less as the corresponding ones in the morphological sketches of Wakka-Wakka (Part I, 7.29) or Gunggari (Part II, 6.32). In other respects, the Manandjali verbal system corresponds closely to that of the other languages in the Bandjalang group, as will appear from the analysis in the subsequent sections.

10.25 Verbal stems are either of one or more syllables (simple verb stems are usually dissyllabic) and end in one of the vowels: -a (-a·'), -e·', -i·', -o·' ( -0·'), -u (in monosyllabic stems the stem-final is usually long (-a·', -e·', -0·')). Interchange of stems in -a and stems in -i (cf. Holmer 1971, 18.15 (1) (b)) occasionally occurs: buma- and bumi- hit (e.g. in bumigi will hit, bumi-fight), ja·na- and ja·ni- (ja·nila sitting; Man JF), duga- and dugi- (for du·g-, du·gj·; cf. 9.9—dugala crying, dugi·gi to cry). If the vowel is long in a monosyllabic stem (ga· eat, na· see), which is required in the vowel-ending imperative (ga·', na·'), it often alternates with a short stem vowel in derived or inflected forms (gabigi to eat, nabigi to see).

10.26 The basic modal forms are: imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional. Apart from these a couple of accidental forms are recorded (cf. Holmer 1971, 8.23-27). The imperative is always the plain verbal stem: ga· eat, ja·na sit down; as usual, it also occurs in a hortative sense: jaga ɳaju bargan let me make a boomerang (Man ML). The imperfective form is (like the perfective form in Gunggari) an original locative in -a, added to the stem enlarged by a 'thematic element' -i- (cf. Part I, 3.22, with the Note 35, and 7.28), whereby the termination -la arises: na·la seeing, ja·nala sitting (from the stems na·- see, ja·na· eit). Notice that the form in -la, although expressing 'progressive' action in Lismore Bandjalang (cf. 10.24), is used in the same way as the imperative forms in general in this part of Queensland: ja·nala sitting, bajila is going to hit, will hit, ɳulugu ɳaju jangala I am going pretty soon (Man ML). The perfective mode ends in -ni, in which the -n- would be equivalent to a 'thematic element' and the final -i- to a case suffix (in Manandjali -i is the sign of the objective; cf. 10.12): 52 na·ni saw, bumani hit (stems na·'-, buma-'). The intentional ends in the allative suffix -gu (see 10.12), added to the verbal stem, or in an analogous (probably postpositional)
element -gi (also added to the verbal stem).\footnote{53} gijagu to tell, ga'negi to stand (stems: gi(j)a', ga'na-), as in: jagam na'ni gialigi does not (want to) tell me (Man ML); often the syllable -bi- is intercalated between a monosyllabic or shortened dissyllabic stem and the suffix -gi: gabigi to eat (stem: ga'-, ga-), na'bigi wants to see (stem: na'ni-), ja'bigi to go (stem: ja'na-), ja'bigi want(s) to lie down (stem jina-), ja'nsbigi want(s) to sit (stem: ja'na-); compare Holmer 1971, 8.17. The form ja'nanini (from ja'na- bring, fetch) was given once by Man ML (beside the regular ja'nanini).

10.27 In addition to the modal forms mentioned in the preceding section (10.26), certain others are found in our material. The imperative seems alternatively formed in -bi, added to a monosyllabic or shortened stem: ja'nbisit (stem: ja'na-); this suffix is possibly the same as the intercalated syllable -bi- in 10.26 (it also occurs in an imperative sense in the Lismore Bandjalang; cf. Holmer 1971, 8.18). A trace of the 'terminative' mode in -n (see Holmer 1971, 8.11) possibly remains in several forms in -n: baigal gila
jan a man is coming (Man ML; stem: ja-, as in the reduplicated *jaja-? cf. below), gina'ni a foot came off (Man ML; stem: be-- fail), gana'ni gigun the old man is no good (Man JF; stem: ge--; cf. Thangatti gin is, Holmer 1966a, 10.11), gumbin we'ni nula that was the end of him (Man ML; stem: we-- become, be-- cf. Lismore Bandjalang win is, was, Holmer 1971, p.49) and perhaps in guiban roasting (cf. below). A form in -r (cf. -lur beside -lu, in 10.28) may possibly be a dialectal variant of this -n, being used in a future sense in bumanir bajaran I will fight right away (Man JF). No single form of a (reflexive) verb stem in -li- (it holds for certain other derived stems as well) is recorded in the perfective mode (hence no verbal form is found to end in *-lini) and it appears that the terminative (in -lin) has taken its place. Other verbs, however, may have a terminative (in -n) as well as a perfective (in -ni):
guiban (TERM), guibani (PF) roast, wuňanđarin (TERM), wuňanđarini turn round. The perfective of certain verbs is formed from a modified stem, sometimes reduplicated: ja'jani sat (from a perfective stem ja'ja-, beside ja'na- in the other modes), je'ni went (from a perfective stem je--), perhaps from *jaja-, cf. 9.4).

10.28 By analogy with the Lismore Bandjalang, Manandjali has modal forms in -lu and -lur, which we shall call preterit forms and which seem appropriately used in mythological contexts;\footnote{54} these forms arise by the addition of one of the syllables -lu or -lur to the verbal stem: nari'balu they named (them) (from nari'ba- name), jinalur lay down (from jina- lie down), gangalur called out (from ganga- call out), na'lu saw (= na'ni, Man ML; from na-- see), guibalur roasted (from guiba- roast); all the instances are from Man ML.

10.29 Accidental forms are of two types, either ending in -na (cf. Holmer 1971, 8.25) or in -ja (cf. op.cit., 8.24). These forms correspond to English constructions with a subordinating conjunction if or when (or where) or a 'gerund' in -ing (from the scarcity of the examples recorded it is hardly possible to determine any distinction of meaning in the Manandjali forms, which are evidently both made up from a locative (or 'perrelative') -a (cf. 10.26 and Note 52), added to a verbal stem enlarged by a 'nominalising' -n- or -j-. Examples: wa'lu duna'na if you cry (Man ML), pulamangu duana when they buried (them) (Man ML); naju jangiwani wa'ni gurgunmaja I have come to talk to you (Man ML; as if talking to you). Whether the -n in na'ni ġagamgin guiban he saw the dogs roasting (Man ML) is to be explained as an accidental form
(in -n for -na ?) or as a 'terminative' form in -n (cf. 10.27) is of little consequence, since basic modal forms are often used instead of accidental forms in our material.

10.30 Paradigms. To illustrate the various flections of the Manandjali verb the following paradigms will suffice. The type verbs are: buma- hit, kill, jaga- make, ga'-na- stand, jana- go, come, ja'-na- sit, na'- see, bumili- (bumali-) fight, gawari- (go-ri-) run, jañani- bring, fetch:

buma- hit, kill:
- IMP buma
- IPF bumala
- PF bumani
- INT bumigi

jaga- make:
- IMP jaga
- IPF jagala
- PF jagani
- INT jagagi

gà-na- stand:
- IMP ga'-na
- IPF ga'-nala
- PF ga'-nani
- INT ga'-nagi

jana go, come:
- IMP ja'na
- IPF ja'nala
- TERM jan
- PF je'ni
- INT jañibi

ja'-na- sit:
- IMP ja'na, ja'nbi
- IPF ja'nala
- PF ja'jani
- INT ja'nbigi

na'- see:
- IMP na'
- IPF na'la
- PF na'ni
- PRET na'lur
- INT na'bigi, ñabigi, ñabigu

bumili- (bumali-) fight:
- IMP bumili
- IPF bumilila (bumalila)
- TERM bumilin (Man ML), bumilir (Man JF)
- INT bumiligi
gawari- (go·ri-) run:

IMP  gawari
IPF  gawarila
TERM gawarini (go·rin)\(^57\)
INT  gawarigi

jaŋani- bring, fetch:

IMP  jaŋani
IPF  jaŋanila
PF   jaŋanini
INT  jaŋanigi or jaŋaninigi (cf. 10.27).

10.31 Connective. The particle ga in ɲaŋ ga (ɲanga) what is that? (Man ML) is probably to be understood as a connective (then, and; hence what then?); compare the Lismore Bandjaling: ɲaŋgi ga wujla what do you want (then)? (Holmer 1971, p. 41). The connective in such cases hardly 'connects', but indicates that a continuation is expected. — A connective ga is found in Birri also (see Part II, 22.38).

(c) Construction

10.32 Although the word order in Australian languages generally is not significant, certain tendencies may be observed and occasionally the informants may be conscious of them. One such tendency is to place verbal forms after the direct object: regarding the sentence (or construction) gumu buŋa hit the backside one informant (Man PT) remarked that the English word order would not correspond to the Aboriginal way of talking.\(^58\)

10.33 Whereas the Aboriginal languages possess sentence-connecting particles (usually answering to English 'then' or 'and then' rather than to 'and' (cf. 10.31), the 'and' connecting nominal or verbal forms is absent. For this reason the English I and my wife or my wife and I is quite differently expressed in Manandjali, namely by the use of a dual personal pronoun (ŋali we two): ŋali jugalbingan jangiwani my wife and I have come back (literally we two, (my) wife). A 'dual-comitative' form (see 10.6) occurs in such constructions as biŋgal mujumgal father and son; the same form is used in, for instance, ɲula jaŋgala biŋgal he is living with his father or in: he left the dogs at home with his father (biŋgal). In place of an English 'and' connecting verb forms the Aboriginal language has recourse to accidental forms; otherwise co-ordination is used: ba·na ga·na come out and stand up, wajalin gajin burgiŋu flew and went through the air (Man ML).

Manandjali vocabulary

11. The following Manandjali vocabulary is arranged as the Nunagal vocabulary (7) and according to the principles laid down in Part I, 12. The ranging of the entries is alphabetical according to the following order of phonetic symbols: a, b, d, g, (q), e, g, ɲ, i, j, l, m, n, p, o, r, u, w.
-ba N DER SFX (10.4).

-ba- V DER SFX (10.8).

ba'ban N grandchild (Man GC): 
ŋana ba'ban my grandchild.

bangalu (banglu) N a palm tree 
(Man JP).

baigal N (10.13 (3)) man.

baigalgali N woman who is 'after'
a man or fond of men (Man ML).

baigam N meat (Man JP).

baili- V ITR IPF bailila fall 
(of the rain; Man ML): guaŋ 
bailila rain is falling. —cf. 
baji-.

baja-1 (bajı-) V ITR PF bajani 
bajini come out, up, forth, get 
out, away: guŋ gubuŋ bajani a 
waterhole came up (Man ML), 
gila or hula bajini he came out 
(Man ML, GF), ga'nu dubai bajini 
those (two) girls got out or 
away (Man ML).

baja-2 V TR PF bajani chase 
(Man ML): guru'mani bajani 
chased the kangaroo. —cf. 
garja-.

bajan REL today, right away 
(Man ML, JF).

bajı- V TR bajı; bajila; bajini; 
bajigi hit (Man ML): wana bajı 
ŋañi don't hit me, ŋaju wa'ni 
bajila I will hit you.

-bal N DER SFX (10.5).

balagan N young man (Man FM). 
—cf. balugan.

balam N the name of an Aboriginal, 
'Old Balam'; Man GC.

balgabari N the name of a tribe, 
language and place on the Albert 
River and of a rock in the same 
river (Man GC), a place or the 
land to the east of the Albert 
River (Man GF).

balugan N nice, young, good-looking, 
pretty (e.g. a girl; Man QL, GF), 
the name of a mythological Young 
Man, Balugan (Man ML). —cf. 
balagan.

balun N ALL balungu River, 
creek, the Balonne River.

-bam ART (Note 44).

bamgua- V ITR PF bamguani; PRET 
bamgualur turn (Man ML). —cf. 
damjur.

bana- V ITR IMP bana fall (Man 
ML): wana bana don't fall.

ba'na- V ITR IMP ba'na INT 
ba'nbigi come out: ba'na ga'na 
stand up, wa'lu ba'na you come 
out (Man ML), wa'lu ba'nbigi 
you want to come out (Man ML).

banam N brother (Man JF).

bandan N stone axe, tomahawk.

banga- V TR PF bangani cover 
(Man ML): bangani mungangu 
covered them with a net.

bangañ, v. gumu.

bangu N policeman (Man JF). —cf. 
bangur.

bangur (bangır) N 1. stomach; 
2. policeman (Man QL, PT).

banga- V ITR IMP banga; IPF 
bangala fall: wana banga 
(= bana) don't fall (Man ML). 
—cf. bana-.

ba'nga- V ITR IPF ba'ngala come 
out (Man ML): gugarnu ba'ngala 
coming out of the hole. —cf. 
bä'na-.

bani POST (10.16).

-bara N DER SFX (10.5).

baraja N REL LOC ? 1. in the 
sky; 2. God (Man GF).

baralan N big (? Man GC). —cf. 
mi·baralan.
bargan N boomerang.
barian N he-dog (Man ML). —cf. barjanbe.
barila, v. mi' barila.
barjanbe N the name of a (mythological) dog (Man GC, ML). —cf. barian.
baru N head, hair (Man JP, PT): baru dugun bushy hair. —cf. bawur.
barul N kangaroo rat (Man GF).
ba'rwu- V ITR IPF ba'rwula come out (Man ML).
baugiman N ERG baugimandu mailman (Man JP; from English 'postman').
bawur (baur) N OBJ bauri head, hair: baur gujin red hair, ginger (Man JF). —cf. baru.
-be N DER SFX (10.5).
be- V ITR TERM be'n fall, come off (Man ML): gina, mi' be'n a foot came off, an eye fell out, gila be'n wherever they fell off.
bi ана (bi ана) N OBJ bi ана father (Man GC): na'na bi ана my father.
bi анал N one's father (Man ML).
bi ана N little: de'н bi ана little mouth (Man FM), бi ана gabu little boy (Man QL).
bi аналa N small (Man GF). —cf. bi ана, bi анаlа.
bi анаlа N small (Man ML). —cf. bi ана.
bи ана, v. bi ана.
bina N ear, ears.
binagun N deaf (Man JP).
bina N hat (Man JP, PT, QL).
biningur (binginur) N the name of a place (Man GC).
bingu N 1. (freshwater or short-necked) turtle; 2. the name of a mountain.
bujul N ABL bujulnu mountain (Man ML): jangiwani bujulnu (a kangaroo) came from the mountain.

bujun N the name of a spirit, 'fairy man' (Man ML).

bujur bujur N little hill (perhaps the name of a place; Man ML). -cf. bujul.

-bul N DER SFX (10.5).

bula1 N two (Man ML): bula jabar three (Man JF).

bula2 N cow, cattle, meat (from English 'bullock'). -cf. bułan.

bulabu N two: bulabu bula two cattle (Man AJ), bulabu dubai the two girls or women (Man ML), bulabu ṅagam(i) the two dogs (Man ML). -cf. bularu, bula1.

bulagan PERS PRON (10.17-18).

bulaŋ N meat. -cf. bula2.

bulanqam N without meat (Man ML). -cf. bułan.

bulal N flour (Man PT).

bularu N two (Man ML): ṅagam bularu the two dogs, bularu dubai two women. -cf. bula1, bulabu.

-buli- V ITR or auxiliary (10.2).

buliwa V jila naï buliwa where I am going (Man JF). -cf. ni’m.

buma N posterior or cunnus (Man EW).

buma- V TR (10.30) hit, kill, destroy.

bumali-, v. bumili-.

bumga- V TR IPP bungala hit (Man ML): bungala hitting (= bajila; Man ML). -cf. buma-.

bumili- (bumali-) V REC (10.30) fight: wana bumili don’t fight (Man ML), bula bumili ila the two are fighting (Man ML). -cf. buma-.

bunbi N bag (Man JP).

bunip (bunin) N porcupine (Man JP, JF, QL).

burbal- V REFL TERM burbalin hide (oneself; Man ML): burbalin dirangir (?) (they, the girls) hid in a (hollow) log.

burbi N koala, native bear (= gula, Man JP).

buren N bread (Man AJ; from English 'bread'). -cf. boren, bren.

burgi N burgin.

burgin (burgi) N ABL burgino wind: gajin burginu (they) flew through the air (Man ML).

-buri-, v. -buli-.

burug N penis (Man GF).

dagai N white man; (ART) dagaiğin (some) white people.

danğan, v. danguan.

daju N 1. stone; 2. money (Man GC). -cf. dau.

dalabağari N the name of a place (Man AJ).

dambal N mouth (Man PT).

damburma- V CAUS IMP fill up (e.g. with beer; Man GF).

damnuğ N turning point (Man GC). -cf. bamburga-.

danar N ribs (Man ML). -cf. dandar.

dandar N chest (Man NM). -cf. danar.

dandrugam N the name of a place, Tandrookam (Man GC).

dangan (dangan) N hand. -cf. mala.

daruja N trousers (Man QL).
dau N stone (Man GF). - cf. dau.
d aun N ALL daungu town (Man JP).
di POST (10.16).
dibili N penis (Man EW). - cf. ģībalī.
diraņ N teeth. - cf. ģiraņ.
dirangir N ABL dirangirnu; LOC dirangiri, for *-gira ?) log (Man ML): gajin dirangirnu went into the log.
diraņ N black snake (Man GC).
dua- V TR PF duani; ACC duana bury (Man ML): duani ģagun di (they) buried (them) in the ground.
dubai N woman, girl; (ART) dubaimir (some) women, girls (Man ML).
dubaigal N one's woman or wife ('with a woman'; Man ML). - cf. dubai.
dubaigām N without a woman, one having no woman (Man ML). - cf. dubai.
dubaigali N fond of women (Man ML).
duga-, v. duņa-.
dugu N river cod (fish; Man GF).
duguņ N bushy, not combed (of the hair; Man JP).
dugunda N God (Man ML).
duņa- (duga-) V ITR IMP duga; IPF dugala; PF dugani; INT dugigi; ACC duņana cry: wana duņa don't cry (Man ML), wa'lu duņana if you cry (Man ML).
dulāņ N frightened, afraid (Man ML): ɲula dulāņ ņagam bāni he is afraid of the dog.
dulgal N dirty (Man GF).
dulgu N heart (Man ML).

ģ

gā- V TR IMP ģa'; INT ģabigi, ģagigu eat, drink (Man ML): guņ wa'lu ģa' you drink water, ģabigi ņaju I want to eat, guļbani ģagigu roasted to eat. - cf. ģalī-

ģabam N witchetty grub (Man PT).

ģabar, v. ģabir.

ģabi N blackfellow (Man PT).

ģabir (ģabam, Man PT, QL) N club, nulla-nulla, waddy: ģabir bira ('the waddy throw'), the name of a place (Man JP).

ģabirgalba (ģabir(li)gaba, ģabirgaliba) N the name of a place (Man AJ, GC). - cf. ģabir.

ģabu N child, boy: ņaņa, ɲulaņa ģabu my, his boy, son (Man GC, JP); (ART) ģabumaņ lot of boys (Man ML).

ģabuba N the name of a small lagoon or puddle ('little-boy place'; Man GF). - cf. ģabu.

ģabugur N having or bringing a boy, with a boy (Man ML).

ģabul N little boy (Man JP).

ģabun N girl (Man ML, GC); (ART) ģabunmiņ, ģabunmaņ lot of girls (Man ML).

ģa'gām N child, kid, baby: ɲulaņa ģa'gām his child (Man GC).

ģagun N land, ground, place (Man ML, GF): ģagun di in the ground.

ģaņ N OBJ ģaņi bad, no good (Man ML, GF): ģaņ waņal bad (child; Man ML), mibiņ ģaņi bad man (Man GF). - cf. ģaņan.


ģaņwāņ N something bad, pain (Man ML).
gal COM SFX (10.6).
galamai N petty, peevish (of a child; Man GF).
galang N 1. tongue (Man QL); 2. throat (Man FM).
galangan N woman (Man GF). —cf. dubai, galgan1.
galanganbunj N Mount Lindesay, Woodenbong (Man ML).
galangan2 N lightning (Man GF). —cf. galñai, gañan.
galñai N light, sun (Man GF, JF). —cf. galñan.
galgan N sun (Man GF). —cf. galñai.
gali N wood, stick, tree (Man QL, GF).
gali- V ITR IPF galila; TERM galin eat, drink: nula galila he is eating (Man ML), galila a feed (Man QL). —cf. ga, gari-.
galum (galam ? Man J P) N fish galum galum N any little fish (Man QL).
galum CAR SFX (10.4).
gamburin N the name of a place, Tamborine (Man GF, JP).
µa’na- V ITR (10.30) stand.
gangari N a spirit, 'little man' (Man QL).
garagumbiŋ N the name of a mountain (Man ML).
garaŋ N leg.
gari- V ITR IPF garila eat, drink (Man AJ): gira garila drinking (strong drink), garila wa’lu you are eating or drinking. —cf. gali-.
-gari- (auxiliary) V (10.11).

garungi- V ITR IPF garungingila; TERM garungingin turn into rock (Man ML; cf. Lismore Bandjalang garu stone, rock, Holmer 1971, p. 40): ngaamgin garungingila the (two) dogs turn into rock, bulabi (-bu ?) ngaam garungin both dogs turned into rock. —cf. daju, dau.
gawa REL yes (Man GF).
ge’ŋ N mouth (Man ML, GF, FM). —cf. ga’ŋ.
gidali N vulva, cunnus (Man GF; = gun). —cf. dibili.
giga N sister (Man FM).
gingun N the name or nickname of an Aboriginal woman (Man GC). —cf. gingun.
ginaŋ OBJ ginaŋi foot.
ginaŋ ginaŋ N footprints, tracks (Man ML): na’ni nula ginaŋ ginaŋ he saw the footprints.
ginangaba N boot (Man PT). —cf. ginaŋ.
gingun N the name or nickname of an Aboriginal (Man GC). —cf. gingun.
giraŋ N teeth (Man JP, FM).
girigai N the name of an old 'king' (Man JP).
giru N sun (Man QL; perhaps the Gunggari duru ?). —cf. galñai.
guan (guwan) N ERG guandu spear (Man GF, ML).
gubar N witchetty grub (Man NM).
gu’bi N catfish (Man FM; from English 'jewfish').
gugali N carpet snake (Man PT).
gugal N carpet snake (Man PT).
gugali- V REC ITR IPF gugalila copulate (Man GF).
gugul N dirt, earth (Man GF).
gulge N earthworm (Man GC, QL).
gum N 1. smoke; 2. tobacco.
gün $N$ cunnus (= gibali; Man JP).
gundal $N$ girl, young girl (Man JP, FM): ŋaną gundal my girl (Man JP).

günu (günö ?) $N$ vulva (Man EW).

-ğur $N$ DER SFX (10.5).

ğuruğ (ğurıŋ, Man JP) $N$ eel.

ğowan, v. ğuan.

g

gabiñ (gabin) $N$ hungry (Man PT, QL). — cf. gabir.

bagir $N$ hungry (Man PT, QL). — cf. gabir.

gabir $N$ hungry (Man RA). — cf. gabiñ.

 gabul $N$ carpet snake.

 gağin $N$ any little fish (Man EL).

 ga'ña- $V$ TR IMP ga'ña; $PF$ ga'ñani; $INT$ ga'ñigi take: wana ńajabani ga'ña don’t take it from me (Man ML), ńula ga'ñigi he wants to take it (Man ML).

ganga- $V$ TR $PF$ gangani; $PRET$ gangalur call (Man ML).

 ganggalgali $N$ bull (Man ML).

 ganggara $N$ head (Man JP; possibly her father's language?).

gai $POST$ (10.16).

gaimbara $N$ small (Man QL; probably from Gunggari).

 ga'ja- $V$ TR $PF$ ga'jani; $PRET$ ga'jalar chase (Man ML): ńulañi ga'jani chased him. — cf. baja-².

 gaji- $V$ ITR TERM gajin go in (Man ML): wajalin gajin burgiñu flew through the air. — cf. gaja-.

gal $POST$ (10.16).

 galabal $N$ the name of a language.

galagiñi- $V$ ITR IMP galagiñi; $TERM$ galagiñingi; $INT$ galagiñigigi turn round this way, look this way (Man ML).

galani $DEM$ PRON (10.21).

galawa- $V$ TR IMP galawa; $PF$ galawani cut (Man ML).

galbuli $N$ bed (Man ML).

gali $DEM$ PRON (10.20-21).

-gali $N$ DER SFX (10.5).

galibal $N$ the name of a language (Man GF).

 gamadai $N$ big (Man ML): gamadai gurumani big kangaroo, gamadai burgiñ a big wind. — cf. gamai.

 gamai $N$ big: je'ŋ gamai big mouth (Man FM), gamai dagai big white man (Man QL); also the name of an old 'king'. — cf. gamadai.


 gambuñ $N$ larrakin (Man ML):

gambuñ gawarin (he) ran away with a woman.

gamu $DEM$ PRON (10.20-21).

-gan $N$ DER SFX (10.4).

 ganañ $N$ stomach (Man NM).

 gandañ $N$ the name of a tribe and language about Nerang (south of Brisbane; Man FM).

 gangabal $N$ policeman (Man ML; from English 'constable').

 gangi, v. ganijin.

 gañja- $V$ TR $PF$ gañjani hear, feel (Man ML).

 gañjiniñ or ganji (for short) $N$ policeman (Man GC, QL). — cf. gangabal.

 gañula REL there, where (Man ML).

 gara $N$ grog (Man GF, PT). — cf. gira.
gari N an Aboriginal name, identified with the surname 'Curry' (Man JP).

garil N scrub wallaby (Man GF).
garul N grass tree (Man ML).
gawa V ITR IPF gawala go: jila wa'lu gawala where are you going? (Man GF).

gawa-1 (go'-) V TR PF gawani, go'ni break (Man ML): gawani munga broke the net.
gawa-2 (go·-) V TR PF gawani, go·ni break (Man ML): gawani munga broke the net.
gawa ogu REL away (Man ML): jena gawa ogu went away.
gawa n N laughing jackass (Man GF).
gawi· V ITR ASV gawi; INT gavi; TERM gavi, gawin; gavi run (Man ML): wana wa'lu ge·l gawin mani don't you go away with the money. –cf. gawa-1.
gawanda- (go·ndi-) V ASS IMP gawanda; IPF gawandila; TERM gawandin; INT gawandigi go away with (Man ML): wana wa'lu ge·l gawin mani don't you go away with the money. –cf. gawa-1.
gawari· V ITR ASS IMP gawari; IPF gawaria; TERM gawarin; INT gawarigi run (Man ML): wuna gawaria nambin running around the house, ge·l gawaria, gawarin running, ran away (with).
ge· V ITR TERM ge·n become, be (Man JF): gana ge·n gidu the old man is no good.
ge· REL ? away (with gawandi·, go·ro· run; Man ML): ge·l gawaria running away, nula ge·l gawaria (go·rin) he ran away.
gia· (gija-) V TR IMP gia; PF giani, gijani; INT giji, gijagu tell: gia pulaŋi tell him (Man GF), gijiGi, gijani baigalni told me, the man (Man ML), nula wa'ni giji he wants to tell you (Man ML).
giali· V ITR TR IPF gialila; INT gialigi tell (Man ML): jugambi gialila never tells, jugan gani gialigi he does not (want to) tell me (the transitive construction may be incorrect). –cf. gia·.
gidu· N (10.13 (2)) old man; (ART) gidungin (some) old people (Man ML). –cf. gidu·.
gidu· N ERG gidumbu old man (Man ML, QL, GC). –cf. gidu·.
gidunga· (gidu·na) N old man, old men (= gidungin; Man ML). –cf. gidu·, gidum.
gingi· V ITR IMP gingi: wana gingi shut up (Man QL, EL). –cf. -gingi·.
-gingi· (auxiliary) V (10.2, 11).
gilagù REL here (Man ML): gilagù malagù here and there.
gilagu REL from here (Man ML).
gilge N tongue (Man NM).
gin N young woman, girl (Man JF); (ART) gumbam some young girls or girl, woman (probably from Wakka-Wakka).
gindil (gini) N knee.
-gingi·, -gini· (auxiliary) V (10.2, 11).
ginuŋara N 1. oyster(s); 2. Coolangatta (Man JF).
-giya· V DER SFX, auxiliary V (10.11).
giwa, v. guiwa.
go· (gija·) V, gawa·2.
go·go· (go·gawa-) V TR IMP go·gawa; PF go·goni break (Man ML): wana go·gawa don't break (it), ngaamGu go·goni the dogs broke (the net). –cf. gawa·2.
go·ndi·, v. gawandi·.
go·ri·, v. gawari·.
go·rindi· V ASS TERM go·rindin run away with (Man ML).
goroman, v. guruman
guan N rain: guan gal after the rain (Man ML), guan bailila rain is falling (Man ML).
gubagan N blue-tongue lizard (Man QL).
gudarum N brother (Man FM).
gugin N red (Man JF): bawur gugin redhead, 'ginger'.
gugar N (10.13 (3)) hole (Man ML): bajani gugarnu came out of the hole, gugarnu ba-ngala coming out of the hole.
gun N (10.13 (2)) 1. water; 2. tea (Man GF).
gungam N without water (Man ML).
gungari N the name of a language, Gunggari (Man JF).
guiba- V ITR TR TERM guiban; PF guibani; PRET gubalar burn.
guiwa (gi·wa) N tree goanna (Man GF).
guja N possum (Man GF). -cf. guwan.
gula N native bear, koala (Man JP; in her father's language). -cf. burbi.
gumbin N V REL ? finished, done: ŋaju gumbin I am finished (active or passive sense; Man GC), gumbin we·n ŋula that was the end of him (Man ML).
gumu N 1. backside; 2. bad boy: gumu waŋal or wande bad boy, cheeky child (Man JF, PT; = waŋal, Man JF), gumu baŋan bad ('blocked-up') child (who does not heed when called; Man QL).
gunan N excrement (Man GF).
gundan N shield (Man PT).
gundir N clever man (Man JP; the same in Wakka-Wakka).
gur SOC SFX (10.4).
gurbun-, v. gurgun-.
gurga- V TR PF gurgani steal (Man ML).
gurgun N V talk, talking (Man ML): gurgun ŋaju waŋi I am talking to or with you.
gurgungali (gurbun-) N talker, talkative (Man ML). -cf. gurgun.
gurgun gurngal- (gurbun-) V REFL CAUS IMP gurgun gurngal- talk (Man ML). -cf. gurgun.
gurngarna- V CAUS IMP gurngarna; ACC gurngal- talk (Man ML): gurngarna ŋani talk to me. -cf. gurgun.
gurngaml- (gurbun-) V REFL CAUS IPF gurngal- talk (Man ML): gurngalm aŋi talk yesterday. -cf. gurgun.
gurubu REL all (Man ML): buman gurubu killed, destroyed all.
guruman (goroman) N (10.13 (2)) kangaroo: je·ni gurumangu went for kangaroo (kangaroo hunting; Man ML).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ŋagaŋ N} & \text{ old man (Man PT).} \\
\text{ŋagam N} (10.13 (2)) & \text{ dog: ŋagama baur dog's head (Man ML); (ART) ŋagamə (ERG -dɪnu; OBJ -ɗini) some dogs (Man ML).} \\
\text{ŋai PERS PRON} & (10.17-18). \\
\text{ŋaja PERS PRON} & (10.18). \\
\text{ŋaju PERS PRON} & (10.17-18). \\
\text{ŋali PERS PRON} & (10.17-18). \\
\text{ŋama1} N & \text{ goanna (Man FM).} \\
\text{ŋama2} N & \text{ woman's breast (Man QL, EL). -cf. ŋamuŋ.} \\
\text{ŋami ? N} & \text{ grandmother or granddaughter (Man QL).}
\end{align*}
\]
ŋamun N breast (Man FM). —cf. ŋamal.

ŋa·n INTERR PRON (10.22).

ŋanal N crow (? Man FM).

ŋanjar N a lie (Man QL).

ŋigam N moon (Man GF).

ŋinarugan (ŋinaruan, ŋinarun; jinarugan, Man GC) N she-dog; also the name of a (mythological) dog (Man ML).

ŋinba- V TR PF ŋinbani ask (Man ML).

ŋinbali- V ITR TERM ŋinbalin ask (Man ML): ŋa·gi (or ŋaŋ) ŋinbalin what did he ask for? —cf. ŋinba-.

ŋubu REL yesterday (Man ML), tomorrow (Man GF).

ŋububa REL tomorrow (Man GF). —cf. ŋubu.

ŋulungu REL pretty soon (Man ML): (Man ML): ŋulungu ŋaju jangala I am going pretty soon.

ŋumbiŋ (ŋumbuŋ, Man GF) N (10.13) 1. bark; 2. hut, house, home: ŋula bajini ŋumbiŋu he came out of the house (Man ML).

ŋu·n N hot (Man NM).

ŋuram N V REL sleepy, sleeping, asleep (Man GC, QL). —cf. muram.

ŋuru N ghost (Man NM).

J

jabar N one (Man JF).

jadal N sick (Man ML).

jaga- V TR (10.30) make (Man ML): wa·lu ŋani bargan jaga you make me a boomerang, ŋaju bargan jagala I can make a boomerang, jaga ŋaju bargan let me make a boomerang.

jagarabul N the name of a language, Yugarabul (Man FM).

jagarabul N the name of a tribe, section and language (Man ML). —cf. jagarabal.

jagarbul N the name of a language, Yugarabul (Man ML, GF). —cf. jagarabal.

jaŋani- V TR (10.30) bring, fetch (Man ML): wa·lu jaŋani ŋaja you bring to me, ŋaju ŋulaŋi jaŋanini I have brought (fetched) him, mugar ŋula jaŋanini he brought a storm.

jaŋanibilu· (-buri-) V TR IMP jaŋanibilu; IPP jaŋanibilulila (-burila); TERM jaŋanibilin; INT jaŋanibiligi bring, fetch (Man ML). —cf. jaŋani-.

janga-, v. janga-.

jangiwa-, v. jangiwa-.

jaŋma- V IPP jaŋmala swear (Man GF).

jalabai N urine (Man GF; so also Nun AM, 'in the Brisbane River language').

jalgan (jalga, Man QL) N sun (Man ML).

jamba N home (Man QL; properly Gunggari?): janbalila jamba going or coming home.

jana- V ITR (10.30) go, come: baıgal gila jan a man (is) coming (Man ML), ŋula je·ni he went (Man ML).

ja·na- V ITR (10.30) sit (down), stay, stop: ja·nala ŋumbiŋa sitting or staying at home (Man QL).

janabi PERS PRON (10.17-18).

janba- V ITR IMP janba go (Man GC): wa·lu janba you go. —cf. jana-, janbal-.

janbalili- V ITR IMP janbalili; IPP janbalilila go: wa·lu janbalili you go (Man GC), ŋaju janbalilila I am going (Man AJ, GC).
janga- (janga-) V ITR IPF jangala, jangala go: jilagu wa·lu jangala or jila jangala where are you going? (Man GC). -cf. jana-.

ja nga- V ITR IPF ja nga la sit, stay (Man ML): jila wa·lu jangala where are you staying? ñaju ja nga la ñumbina I am sitting at home. -cf. ja·na-.

jangiwa- (jangiwa-) V ITR IMP jangiwa; IPF jangiwala; PF. jangiwani come, come back (Man ML): jangiwala ñajaba coming to me, ñula ñubu jangiwani he came yesterday. -cf. jana-.

jannali- V ITR IPF jannalila go (Man GC): wanda wa·lu jannalila where are you going? (correct?). -cf. janbali-.

jaraman N horse; (ART) jaramangin, jaramangin, jaramanmanj some horses (Man ML).

jaraŋ N beard (Man QL).

jau REL 1. yes; 2. interjection to call dogs (Man GC): jau jau jau come back!

jawai REL yes (Man ML).

jigam N meat (Man QL).

jilagu REL where? to where?: jilagu wa·lu jinalila where are you going? (Man AJ), jila wa·lu (gawala), idem (Man GF).

jilbagan (-gaŋ) N the name of a place (Man GC).

jina- V ITR IPF jinala; PRET jinalur lie down (Man GC, QL).

jinarugan v. ñinarugan.

jindagan REL when? (Man ML): jindagan wa·lu jangala when are you going?

jindagu (jindigu) REL where? to where? (Man JP, ML, QL): jindagu (jindigu) wa·lu where are you going? (= jilagu wa·lu, Man QL).

jirilin N bird.

jogoi N bandicoot (Man GF).

jugam REL no, none, not (Man ML, GC, GF). -cf. jugum.


jugum REL no, not (Man GF, FM). -cf. jugam.

jugumbe N REL nothing, not, never (Man JP, EW, ML, GC): jugumbe wa·lu ña·ni janabi have you never seen them? (Man ML), jugumbe jugumbe no, no! (Man GC), jugumbe ba·jani never came out (Man ML).

juri N meat (Man AJ).

juri- N ART (10.14).

juro- V DER SFX (10.9).

juro- V DER SFX (10.9).

maŋ N hand (Man FM, EW).

malalingi- V ITR IMP malalingi look the other way (Man ML). -cf. malagini-.

malagini- V ITR TR IMP malagini; PF malaginini; INT malaginigi turn that way, turn or look away (Man ML): malagini chair turn that chair that way.
malagu REL there (Man ML): gilagu
malagu here and there.

malangali, v. manangali.

mali DEM PRON (10.20-21).

manangali, malangali, manalgali N
  1. the name of the Manandjali
     language, the 'Beaudesert
     language' or 'Logan River
     language' (Man GC); 2. Beaudesert
     (Man GF).

mangalam N sand goanna (Man PT).

mangar (mangara, Man GF, JP) N
  gum tree, 'koala gum tree' (Man
  GC); gamai mangar(a) a big gum
  tree (Man GF).

mani¹ N wallaby (Man GF).

mani² N (10.13 (1)) money (Man
  ML; from English): ŋana mani
  my money.

margan N boomerang (Man QL;
  correct ?). —cf. bargan.

marun N 1. sand goanna; 2. Mount
  Maroon (Man GC). —cf. murum.

mi. N eye, eyes. —cf. mil.

mi. baralana N snake with big eyes
  (Man GC).

mi. barilana N any snake (Man FM).

mibinja N (10.13 (2)) man (= baigal,
  Man GC, ML), dark man, black-
  fellow, dark people: gagun galj
  mibinja this land belongs to
  the dark people (Man ML), mibinja
  to the dark men (Man ML; cf.
  10.4); (ART) mibingga (OBJ
  -girni, POSS -girna) many black
  people (Man ML).

migina N REL ? a 'swearword'
  (Man QL).

migan N sharp peak (Man GF).

miganbari N a section and language
  name, the name of the land across
  the Albert River toward Boonah
  (Man GF), 'belonging to migani
  (q.v.)' (Man ML); probably part
  of the original Yugarabul country
  (cf. Nunagal megengin, migingin,

migan N the name of a mountain
  in the direction of Boonah
  (Man ML). —cf. miganbari.

migan N hole or hollow in a tree
  (Man GC).

mil N eye, eyes (Man NM, EW).
  —cf. mi.

milaga N cow's milk (Man QL; from
  English); cf. Jualrai milaga (15).

mingi- (mina-) V ITR IMP mingi;
  IPP mingila laugh (Man ML):
  wana minga don't laugh.

miŋagu INTERR PRON (10.22).

miŋaŋ INTERR PRON (10.22).

miŋaŋba- V CAUS PF miŋaŋbani
  cause something ('something
  happens to' or 'is wrong with';
  see 10.23).

miŋaŋbal N the name of a language
  probably at Tweed Heads and
  Fingal Point (in New South Wales;
  Man FM).

miŋaŋgu INTERR PRON (10.22).

miragan N white woman (Man PT).
  —cf. miragan.

mirangan N old lady (Man NM).
  —cf. mirungan.

mirungan N old woman (Man ML, JP);
  (ART) mirungan (some) old women
  (Man ML).

mirungan, v. mirungan.

mogoi (mogoi) N ghost (Man GF,
  QL). —cf. magui.

mobar N back (Man AJ).

mugara (mugara) N storm.

mugoi, v. mogoi.

muŋ N stomach (Man FM).

mujumgal N one's son (Man ML).

muli N little hill (Man ML).

muŋ N 1. stone (= dau); 2. money
  (Man GF; the same in Nunagal,
  possibly Yugarabul). —cf. dau.
mundaŋara N rainbow (Man QL; probably Gunggari).
mundi N backside (Man SC).
mundulgan N death adder (Man AJ); also the name of a place. —cf. mundurŋu.
mundurŋu N death adder (Man ML). —cf. mundulgan.
munŋaŋ N ERG munŋaŋu net (Man ML).
munmundai N the name of a mountain at Tamborine (Man FM).
munmuru N testes (Man EW).
muram N sleepy, sleeping, asleep (Man AJ, ML): muram ŋaju I am sleepy (Man AJ), ga·dam muram the baby is asleep (Man AJ).
muru N nose.
murum N the name of Mt. Maroon (Man ML). —cf. marun.

nanaŋ N sister (Man GF, JF).

-n-di- V DER SFX (10.8).

ni·m buliwa (= ? Man JF). —cf. buliwa.
nindawinpba N (ninduwimba, Man GF) N the name of a place (Man GC).
nuŋaŋ (nuŋip, Man PT) N bread and meat, food (Man QL).
numbali REL ? numbali wa·lu where are you going? (Man QL), you go or come home (Man GC, QL); probably 'are you coming?', 'are you going home?'

-na- V TR (10.30) see, look: wa·lu na- you see or look (Man ML), ŋaju na·la I can see (him; Man GC), ŋabigu (ŋabigi) wa·pi (I have come) to see you (Man ML).

ña·gi INTERR PRON (10.22).
ña·gu INTERR PRON (10.22).
ñaŋ INTERR PRON (10.22).
ñaŋa, v. ñaŋ.
ñoamul N baby (Man NM).
ñoaram N prickly lizard, a lizard that sleeps on river banks (Man GF, PT).
ñoariba- V CAUS PRET ńaribalu name (Man ML).
ñoila, v. ñula.
ñoimar N whiptail (Man ML).
ñoindumba N death adder (Man PT).
ño·galbingan N OBJ ńo·galbingani wife (Man ML).
ño·gangal N husband (Man ML).
ñoula PERS PRON (10.17-18).
ñoulagán PERS PRON (10.17-18).
ñoulamán PERS PRON (10.17-18).
ñoula ñula N telling lies (Man QL).
ñoun N nose (Man PT). —cf. muru.
ñoundil N an Aboriginal name (one Fogarty; Man JP).

-ri- V DER SFX (10.10).

waŋun N mother (Man GF, JF).
waŋum V REL want (Man ML; probably from pidgin English 'want'em'): ńa·gu wa·lu waŋum what do you want? ńaju waŋum guŋ I want water.
wagan N crow (Man GF).
wagan N catfish. —cf. waŋun.
wagoŋ N catfish or jewfish (Man GF). —cf. wagoŋ.
waŋal N bad (of boys and children who do not want to come home when called; = ghumu, q.v.), bad boy, cheeky child (Man ML, QL, PT): ɣan waŋal bad (of children; Man ML).

waŋa N pigeon (Man FM).

waibar N (10.13 (3)) fire, camp; (ART) waibarmir camp (fires or people? Man ML).

wajali- V ITR TERM wajalin fly (Man ML).

waɿu PERS PRON (10.17-18).

wana, v. wana-.

wana- V TR IMP wana; PF wanani; leave: wana don't ('leave it'), ɲula wanani he left (Man ML).

wande, v. ghumu.

waŋmari N white woman (Man QL).

waŋmerigan N white woman (Man ML, GC).

waɿribali- V TR TERM waɿribalin; PRET waɿribalur bring, carry (Man ML).

wariŋ N cold (Man QL).

warjam N eel or a monster (= mundaŋara; Man QL), bunyip (a spirit; 'sea monster', Man GC, 'hippopotamus', Man PT).

wawa REL look! (Man JF): wawa bangu look, a policeman!

we- V ITR TERM weɿn become, (Man ML): gumbin weɿn ɲula that was the end of him (cf. Lismore Bandjalang wi- get, become, be; see Holmer 1971, p.49).

widal N grass (Man ML).

wijuŋ, v. wujuŋ.

wingi REL where? (Man FM): wingi waɿlu where are you going? -cf. wunda.

wingemeri N white woman (Man JP). -cf. waŋmari, waŋmerigan.

wuŋan REL about, around (Man ML): wuŋan gawarila ɣumbin running round about the house.

wuŋangari- V ITR IMP wuŋangari; IPF wuŋangarila; TERM wuŋangarin; PF wuŋangarini; INT wuŋangarigi turn round (Man ML). -cf. wuŋan.

wuŋangarima- V CAUS IMP wuŋangarima; IPF wuŋangarimila; PF wuŋangarimani; INT wuŋangarimagi turn (something) round (Man ML). -cf. wuŋan.

wuŋangigĩ- V ITR IMP wuŋangigĩ turn round (Man ML). -cf. wuŋan.

wuŋan wuŋan REL round about, crooked ways, astray (Man ML): wuŋan wuŋan jangala going crooked ways or astray. -cf. wuŋan.

wuţuŋ (wijuŋ) N clever man (Man GF). -cf. wuţun.

wuţun N OBJ wuţuni clever (person), secret supernatural power (Man ML): ɲinbani wuţuni (the witch doctor) asked the 'Clever Thing' (inside him; i.e. he deliberated). -cf. wuţun.

wula- V TR IMP wula PF wulani give (Man ML): ɲeɿni waɿlu wulani whom did you give it to?

wulali- V ITR INT wulaligi give something or anything (Man ML): ɲula jugambe wulaligi he does not want to give anything. -cf. wula-.

wumara N spear thrower, woomera (Man GC). -cf. wumar wumar.


wunda REL where? (Man GC).


wunba N black snake (Man ML).

wuraŋ N fire (Man JP).

wurga- V TR IPF wurgala PF wurgani steal (Man GF).
12.1 The language referred to here as Jualrai was first heard from two different persons, who remembered isolated vocables, while it was not realised by the author until rather much later that they actually represented the same language. This conclusion was reached only when both persons were found to have the same somewhat unusual word guån for water and the existence in their vocabulary of the word birali child (along with the plural form biraligal) given by one of the mentioned persons made it further clear beyond doubt that we here had the language which Mathews 1902 (pp. 137 sqq.) calls Yualeai and of which Parker 1896 gives a specimen in her Australian Legendary Tales. Most of our informants, however, were ignorant of what the name was of their tribe or language, although some recognised the latter to be a kind of Kamilroi (that is one of the important languages or linguistic groups of north-eastern New South Wales). In the course of the investigation into this language representatives were met both of Kamilroi (as spoken across the border in New South Wales, at Boggabilla and the Toomelah settlement, as well as at Goondiwindi and Bowenville, in Queensland) and of the Queensland variety which we shall call Jualrai. The form jualrai was actually recognised by a very good informant for Gunggari (Gun TC; see Part II, 4.2), who was born at Angledool (in New South Wales) and remembered imperfectly some words of her father’s (he was from Lightning Ridge, also in New South Wales). Others recollected similar word forms: jo·ljal (-jai ? Kam AA), jilroi (Jua DM).

12.2 It is evident that our Jualrai represents a Queensland variety of the Kamilroi language (or group of dialects), much in the same way as Manandjali is a Queensland offshoot of the important New South Wales group of languages or dialects known as Bandjalang (cf. 8.1-2). From the places claimed to be the home of the various informants interviewed or of their parents or grandparents, it is possible to form an idea of the original extension of the Jualrai language. As a center may perhaps be considered the Balonne River and the towns of St. George, Surat and Dirranbandi, places on or near the same river, from where a number of representatives of the language hail; one informant (Gun TC; cf. above, 12.1) includes Goondiwindi. Across the New South Wales border another center would presumably be Lightning Ridge (with Angledool and Goodooga), while one informant (Jua JM) has some information of the language from a grandparent hailing from as far west as the Warrego River (whether on the Queensland or New South Wales side of the border). This would mean that Jualrai would have had a north-westerly extension in relation to Kamilroi proper, of which Moree would be considered a central point, taking in as well Collarenebri and Mungindi (to the west and north-west) and Boggabilla (to the north-east), near the Queensland border, as well as Goondiwindi across the same border. Owing to the scarcity of our material, no dialectal differences can of course be detected within Jualrai; of Kamilroi, however, there are most probably several dialects or varieties: a Kamilroi informant (Kam HM) from Collarenebri maintained that his language was a bit different from the one about eighty miles to the east (Moree or Boggabilla), while a person at Goondiwindi (Kam CoK) considered that the language at Mungindi was the same as that of Goondiwindi.

12.3 As for the proper name of the language here called Jualrai (jualrai), it is perhaps as well to start with the pronunciation of the name Kamilroi. From the persons interviewed regarding the language, the forms gamîro, gamîralai, etc. are heard as well as the forms gamîrî, gamaṟai and gamuṟai, of which the
latter two were said to represent the correct pronunciation by a rather good Kamilroi informant (Kam HD). However we may attempt to explain the occurrence of the unusual (at least from the Aboriginal point of view) consonant cluster (the form Kamilroi is met with also), there is every reason to think that one of the latter three forms quoted is more genuine than the former two, seeing that they would represent no difficulty of pronunciation to the Aborigines, but possibly, on the other hand, to many speakers of Australian English, who might have been inclined to render the unfamiliar retroflex sound (r) by -rl-, at least in writing. If this assumption is correct it is almost unavoidable to consider the forms jualrai, jilroi (see 12.1) as analogous hybrid forms of an original *juaɾai, although it is strange that forms with medial -lr- are met with among the native people themselves. Another support to the theory of an original medial -ɾ- would perhaps be the form 'Yualeai' given by Mathew (1902, loc. cit.) or 'Eualyai' (according to others), since the passing of an original retroflex r into a sound similar to j (or lj?) would be paralleled by such forms as yiai (Mathews, op.cit., p. 181) for jara sun (Kam HM), as heard by the present author.

12.4 Our material in the sections to follow on Jualrai presents a somewhat mixed character. It is, on the one hand, not always possible to sort out and separate what is properly Jualrai and what is New South Wales Kamilroi; on the other hand, it is difficult to determine whether forms which also appear in Gunggari are to be considered as borrowed into Jualrai or having an identical origin. Our best informant for Jualrai (Jua DM), whom the author first met at Toowoomba, was in the beginning thought to be Gunggari, since she gave a few items which evidently belonged to the latter language, whereas she was reticent about Kamilroi, her husband's language. When met a second time, at Dalby, she was more communicative and turned out to know parts of three different languages: Gunggari, which she had evidently picked up at St. George and other places (Gunggari seems at one time to have been a kind of lingua franca in the area; cf. Part II, 1.1), Jualrai, which was her father's language and to which she referred as 'the Queensland language' or 'her father's', and, finally, her husband's language, a Kamilroi dialect, which she called the 'New South Wales language'. She was consequently able to give three different words for many items, as for instance for water: gamu (Gunggari), guanj (Jualrai) and gal (Kamilroi), but in many cases she was not sure which was which. It is to be expected that any speaker of Jualrai would have been familiar with Kamilroi proper as well as Gunggari and that some words from the latter language may well have been the same or equally current in both languages. In the subsequent phonetic and morphological sketch (13.1-14.8) Jualrai and Kamilroi material is dealt with in conjunction.

List of informants

12.5 This is a list of Jualrai as well as Kamilroi informants. The persons from which information on these languages has been gathered are referred to in this sketch and in the subsequent vocabulary (15) by the language signatures Jua (for Jualrai) and Kam (for Kamilroi), followed by the informant's initials. In the case of one informant (Kam HM), the data are usually obtained indirectly through his wife (Jua DM). In all other respects, the principles adhere to are those mentioned in Part I, 4.3, with the Note 41.
Jua DM: Mrs. Dolly McPherson, at Toowoomba and Dalby, originally from Dirranbandi (Balonne River area); her father's language was Jualrai.

Jua EM: Mr. Edward ('Teddy') Mitchell (50), at Mt. Morgan (south of Rockhampton), Jua LM's son.

Jua JM: Mr. Jack Martin, at Toowoomba (his people from Cunnamulla and Bogarella); he knows some of his grandmother's language, who was from the Warrego river.

Jua LM: Mrs. Lucy Mitchell, at Bundaberg and Rockhampton; she and her mother from Surat (her father was a white man).

Jua LO: Mrs. Lena Orcher (née Mason), at the Toomelah settlement (south of Boggabilla, New South Wales).

Jua TH: Mr. Thomas Hall, at Toowoomba; his mother was from St. George.

Jua VT: Mrs. Vera Tyson, at Bundaberg, Jua LM's daughter.

Kam AA: Mr. Alan Arnold, at Cherbourg, from Goondiwindi; both father and mother were Kamirai.

Kam CaK: Mrs. Carry Knox, at Goondiwindi.

Kam CoK: Mr. Colin Knox, at Goondiwindi, originally from Mungindi; Kam CaK's son.

Kam HD: Mrs. Hannah Duncan, at Toomelah, Kam CaK's sister.

Kam HM: Mr. Herbert McPherson, at Toowoomba and Dalby, Jua DM's husband, from Collarenebri (New South Wales).

Kam LO: Mrs. Leilah Orcher, at Toomelah.

Kam RK: Mr. Ronny Knox, at Bowenville (south-east of Dalby), Kam CaK's son.

Kam RM: Mr. Ron McIntosh, at Boggabilla (New South Wales).

Phonology

13.1 It is evident that the phonology of both Jualrai and Kamirai proper is of the same type as that of Gunggari (or the Gunggari languages in general; see Part II). This regards both the vowel and consonant systems as well as the structure of the words. As a matter of fact, these languages appear to be structurally more related to Gunggari than to the neighbouring Bandjalang or to the Wakka languages.

Evolution of the vowel system

13.2 As in Gunggari the Jualrai and Kamirai vowel system is of the so-called 'triangular' type, that is consisting of the three basic vowel phonemes a, i, u (of normal length, long variants a', i', u' occasionally arising in special conditions). The usually long e and o may, however, arise through contraction of basic vowels, e.g. ai, ia, etc.: daígál - de·gal head (with intermediate forms), ge·l for gial afraid (cf. Note 63). In contact with j (or palatalised sounds) a may approach e and u may turn into i; hence gangil beside gangul child.
The appearance of dagal (Jua DM) for daigal (Jua LM, etc.) head (cf. above) does not involve a phonological problem; if correct, dagal represents a different word (cf. the Gunggari dagal mouth); it may, however, actually depend on a mistake, since our informant (Jua DM) is familiar with Gunggari as well and may have mixed both forms (Mathews 1902, p. 180, has daigal only). Compare further also in Part II, 5.9, regarding assonant words having a different origin.

13.3 Before or after u, in the intervocalic position, a w may or may not appear: manduwi or mandui shoes (Jua DM), bawul or baul fowl (Jua DM; from English); in baura kangaroo and gauga head diphthongal forms only are recorded. The same holds for an intervocalic -j- before or after i (cf. Part I, 6.15). The appearance of a sound like j after i in wij (Kam LO) for wi· fire, bubadij (Jua TH, DM) for bubadi grand father is probably a mere reflex of the diphthongised pronunciation of a long 'e' sound in Australian English (cf. 5.1, Note 14) and hence without consequence. 65

13.4 There are several cases in which a medial vowel (usually a) has been dropped in words of more than two syllables, whereby abnormal consonant clusters arise: bralg a native companion, brolga (Kam AA; perhaps directly from English), -brai sociative suffix (also -bara; cf. Gunggari -bāri, -bāl, idem), bubli tobacco (Jua DM), bib(a)la box tree (Kam RM), wib(i)li stick (Kam RM), ām(a)la look (Kam RM), ārula (padla, beside ārala, ārila) look, see (Jua DM; cf. Mathews 1902, p. 189: ngurrilla).

Evolution of the consonant system

13.5 Jualrai and Kamilroi have the following consonant phonemes: (bilabial) b, m; (dental-interdental) t; (dental-alveolar) d, n; (palatalised dental) ā, ŋ; (supradental or retroflex) j; (palatal-velar) g, ŋ; (lateral continuant) l; (alveolar trill) r; (retroflex trill or continuant) r; (palatal semivowel) j and (bilabial semivowel) w. The supradental (or slightly retroflex) plosive (d) is rare (mu<l or mu<l possum); it usually functions as a variant of r or ŋ or else in English words of a certain type: ŋa·d hard. Words do not seem properly to begin with ā or ŋ (except as variant sounds before i; compare Gunggari, Part II, 5.6). A difference between a dental-interdental plosive (t) and a dental-alveolar plosive (d) arises (as in Gunggari) after n only (which then may be supposed to be homorganic): manta bread, food, but mandawi shoes (Kam RK), wanti dingo, but wanda white man. It appears (also as in Gunggari) that the dental-alveolar and palatalised dental sounds (respectively d, n and ā, ŋ) are (unless preceded by n or l) indistinguishable before i: wadi ~ wa<1 white woman, gini ~ gi(1 is, etc.

13.6 Although some informant (Kam CoK) will deny that any difference exists between the medial trill in mara hand, marī Aboriginal man, on the one hand, and marabi death adder, margin gun, on the other, and that the only sound existing in Kamilroi is the trilled r, good reason may be found for a differentiation of an alveolar and a retroflex r-sound, although not always observed by the few remaining 'speakers' of the languages (chiefly due to the absence of a retroflex r-sound in Australian English). First of all, it is still possible to find the supposedly primitive articulation of r among some speakers in such words as mara hand, marī Aboriginal (which also corresponds to the Gunggari pronunciation of the same words), ja<1a sun, etc.; secondly,
cases are found in which a semivowel \( j \) appears in alternation with the original retroflex \( r \) (that is as in Gangulu (B), as against Gangulu (A), in which the sound of \( r \) remains),\(^{66}\) hence: Jualrai manduji (mandui) shoes (Jua DM, LM, TH) as against manduri (Jua JM), Jualrai digai parrot (Jua DM) as against Gunggari digari cockatoo; further, Mathews (1902) has several forms with a medial palatal semivowel (or similar sound) where an \( r \) has been recorded in this material: jara sun (Mathews, op.cit., p. 181: yadi), jira teeth (Mathews, op.cit., p.180: ia), bura bone (Mathews, op.cit., p. 181: buia), marama stone (Mathews, op.cit., p.182: maima). In doubtful cases, however, we prefer to write \( r \) (generally equivalent to English 'r') to writing \( j \).

13.7 An instance of a 'pre-occlusive' \( l \) (see Part I, 24.5) is found in the pronunciation midI for mil eye (Jua DM). Other particulars in the evolution of the consonant system concern more or less irregular modifications of the consonant sounds. As usually in bilingual areas the pronunciation of the \( r \) sound in certain positions (syllable and word-final) causes difficulty, the \( r \) sound may either be dropped or pass into a \( d, t \) or \( l \) sound: ədla for ənara (= ənarala, ənarila; see 13.4) look, see, maraid (Kam CoK) probably for maənir no, not (negation), madgan (Kam CoK), malgan (Jua DM) for marga (-gin) gun, budger (Kam CoK) for burgil (= burglan) puasy, cat (from English), ga·mali (Kam CoK) for garmali (Kam HM) taking, stealing; sometimes it is questionable which of two forms is the correct one: maŋa (Kam CoK), maŋar (Jua DM) bag. On the other hand, -r- appears for any intervocalic consonant (especially -n-) according to a well known tendency in the Aboriginal languages in this part of Australia (see Part I, 6.19 and Note 61): baragai for banagai go (Jua DM), dirawan for dinawan emu (Kam HM).

Morphology

(a) Structure of stems and derivation

14.1 Structure. As phonetically, Jualrai and Kamilroi approach the Gunggari languages structurally also. Concrete (nominal or verbal) stems tend to be dissyllabic; it may be noticed as typical that the word for water, gunəŋ, which is evidently related to the corresponding word, gunə, in Manandjali and the Wakka languages, appears in Jualrai with an additional syllable (-an) and similarly the English loanword milan milk shows an analogously extended form (much in the same way as the Gunggari word milgana cow's milk). The Kamilroi word for water, gali, is also (like the Gunggari gamu, idem) dissyllabic (incidentally, the same word appears in the same sense in Darumbal; cf. 19). Monosyllabic stems do, however, occur (some possibly due to contraction): wi· fire, mil eye (as in Manandjali and the Wakka languages), gau egg, gai gai catfish, ma· hand (cf. maŋa, idem), wa·l no, none.

14.2 Replication. Reduplicated nominal stems occur in: əgusi əgusi fowl (from English), dibil dibil ghost (from English), bura bura (Jua DM), buɾu buɾu (Kam RM) lean, skinny (cf. bura bone), mili mili mud, gamu gamu maggots, gai gai catfish (diminutives, animal names or adjectival words).

14.3 Compounds. Nominal compounds (or juxtaposition) are of the ordinary kind: wurula gau turkey egg (cf. English). Compounds (or construction) of a nominal and a verbal stem are found in: mil ənara look (literally eye-see), ga· (or gai) gualda· talk (literally mouth-talk; cf. Part I, 18.1). Finally a compound
of two verbal stems (or a relation word and verbal stem?) is seen in: dainacome (cf. na-go), dawana-give (cf. Mathews 1902, p. 189: wuna give).67

14.4 Nominal derivation. Among nominal derivational suffixes we notice the sociative -barai, -brai having, provided with (cf. Gunggari -bari) and the (probably) caritive -mur: milanbrai cow (having milk; cf. 14.1), daunbrai dirty (from daun earth, dirt), mandawibrai having shoes (from mandawi, mandu(j)i shoe(s)), binamur deaf (from bina ear(s)). Another apparently sociative suffix is -jal, in mu'ljal or mubaljal pregnant (from mubal stomach; cf. Wakka-Wakka mu'na pregnant and mu' stomach, while -na(l) having is the sociative suffix). The suffix -gan (as in Manandjali and the Wakka languages) denotes females: wadigan white woman (the same in Gunggari), mudigan cousin's wife, but is found in some other words also: dilgan moon (also -gaŋ), gabagan hat (cf. gaba white man),68 budigan cat (unless representing English cat in pussy cat; the latter is, however, more directly burgian or burgiar).

14.5 The meaning and function of the following suffixes is not evident. The termination -ba appears in two words: ɲandaba snake and wandaba white man (also wanda). The suffix -ga occurs in: dilaga father and bibarga pig. A suffix -barai (related to -barai, -brai, mentioned in 14.4?) is found in (Kamilroi) dulibari (dulubari) and galibari, both meaning rain (cf. gali water). Finally, a suffix -jul or -gul is found in the adjectival words gabajul glad (cf. gaba good) and gagilgul sad (cf. gagil bad).

14.6 The 'dual-comitative' suffix is probably -di, as in: bubadi one's grand-father; one will find the same suffix (spelled -dhi) in Mathews 1902 (p. 180) in the word for elder sister and (in the form -dyir) in the words for father and mother (ibid.: implying an alternation *r - *j, according to 13.6?) and further (spelled -dee) in Parker 1896, p.126: numbardee (i.e. ɲambadi) (cf. ɲamba, in 15). (For a similar suffix in the Gunggari languages, used in various ways, see Part II, 16.5, with the Note 97).

14.7 Of the consonantal 'nominalising' suffixes (see Part I, 3.6) the following are met in Juralrai and Kamilroi: ɲ, *-j (-i), -l and -n, as seen in such word pairs as: bina and binaŋ ear (cf. binanguŋ deaf), dina and dinan foot, guna and gunan excrement, faeces, jila dan jilai angry, wild, duluma and dulumai thunder, muŋa and muŋai possum, qa- and gai mouth,69 buru and burul testes (in Wakka-Wakka buru is penis), maŋi and maŋin Aboriginal man (Jua DM; unless from Gunggari, where the same terminal alternation occurs), wadi and wadin white woman (Jua DM; the same forms in Gunggari), ɲamu and ɲamun breast, milk; on the other hand, such alternative forms as duba - dubar smoke, ɲalu - ɲalur fish are doubtful, owing to the fluctuating character of the r sound in surviving Aboriginal languages (cf. 13.7).

14.8 Verbal derivation. The exact nature and function of the few verbal derivational suffixes recorded is not clear on all points. Of these two have a very common appearance, namely -ma-, which may reasonably be a causative or associative (or generally transitive) suffix, and -li-, which almost certainly is reflexive-reciprocal (or generally intransitive). The suffix -ma- is found in: gindama-laugh (Jua DM; possibly either laugh at, associative, or make laugh, causative, cf. Holmer 1967, pp. 12, 44), manama-steal; the suffix -li- occurs in bumali-fight (most certainly reciprocal, hit one another; cf. Manandjali buma-hit, Mathews 1902, p.189: bumulligu strike, beat), babili-sleep (Kam HD; intransitive).
14.9 The suffix -da- (-lda-) may be originally causative, as in (Parker 1896, pp. 126, 128: nurulldandi (i.e. naraldandi) showing off, from a causative stem narld- show (cf. nari(l)-, nari(l)-, *nara(l)- see, 15, and Holmer 1963, p.84), duldandigoo (i.e. daldandigu) to give to eat, from a causative stem dala feed (cf. da(l)- eat, 15), or associative, as in Parker, op.cit., 128: mulndunnerh (i.e. malda- find food for); in the present material it is found in: guald- talk (cf. Parker 1896, p. 126 etc.: gooway, i.e. guwai, said, Mathews 1902, p.189: gwaliugu, i.e. guwalugu, to talk) and further perhaps in dunda-, (in nominalised dundai a 'swearword' (Gun TC, heard from her father; possibly 'copulation', cf. dun penis). The suffix -ga- seems to have intransitive character (cf. Holmer 1966 a, 10.16-17 and p.82): gialbulaga- be frightened (Kam HO), banaga- go, run, wuniga- hear (Jua DM), jurunga- shoot (hunt ?); for -ga- we occasionally have -gi- (cf. Holmer, loc.cit.): balagi dead (Jua DM), nanuugi- suck (Jua DM), daumagi- cook, bundagi- fall. A suffix -wa- may occur in nawa- walk (cf. na- go). The suffix -nda- (having intransitive character) is combined with the above-mentioned -li- (14.8) in babilinda- be sleepy (cf. babili- sleep). Unfortunately, it is many times uncertain whether suffixes of the above type are derivational or modal (and hence pertaining to the conjugation of the verb; cf. 14.15-17).

(b) Inflection

14.10 Declension. Very little can be concluded regarding Jualrai and Kamilroi declension from the data found in our limited material. An ergative (in -u) is evidently present in: guriju (Jua DM) from guri man (incidentally, the same forms are found in Thangatti; cf. Holmer 1966 a, 6.13), jinaru (Jua DM) from jinar woman. An ablative (in -nu) may appear in the form juramugu (Kam RM) from jurama strong drink or beer. More certain is the locative (in -ga): dantiga on the ground (Jua DM; danti ground, however, may be Gunggari), milga in the eye (Jua DM) from mil eye (cf. Kattang garbaga, dabiga, bigalga; Holmer 1966 a, pp. 50-51). The allative ends in the almost universally Australian suffix -gu: walaigu (go) home from walaig camp, juramagugu (go) for a drink (Kam RM) from jurama drink (cf. Mathews 1902, p. 138, where however -gu is given the function of a possessive).

14.11 Article. The plural article (cf. 6.10; 10.14) in Jualrai is -gal: biraligal (some) children (Jua LM) from birali child, jinargal (some) women from jinar woman, gurigal (some) men (Jua DM) from guri man, mijalgal (some) girls from mijal girl.

14.12 Personal pronouns. The only personal pronouns recorded are: (first person singular) nai (naja) I (Jua DM, Kam RM), (second person singular) ninda (ninda; cf. 13.5) or ninda you (cf. Holmer 1966a, 8.2, with the Note 76) and (first person dual) nali we (Jua DM). The following elctions occur in the material:

First person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NOM</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>POSS</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nai, naja (Jua LM)</td>
<td>nana</td>
<td>naju</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Second person singular:

NOM ŋinda, ninda
OBJ ŋinari (*)71
POSS ŋindi

First person dual:

NOM ŋali
OBJ ŋalina
POSS ŋaliku

14.13 Interrogative pronouns. The personal interrogative pronoun is ŋa'na who? and the impersonal interrogative is miña what? (also something, anything). The following flections only are found:

ŋa'na who?:

NOM ŋa'na
ALL ŋa'ngu72

miña what?:

NOM miña
ALL miñagu

14.14 Beside these there is a third interrogative form, ending in -na: miñana who? (Kam HD): miñana marî who is that man?, miñana wanda who is that white fellow?73 The precise function of the latter does not appear.

14.15 Conjugation. The chief difficulty in analysing and reconstructing Jualrai and Kamilroi conjugation, on the basis of the present material (and even by comparison with Mathews 1902 and others), lies in a rational distinction of derivative and inflected forms (cf. 14.9). The first step to be taken will, as usual, be to identify 'thematic elements' (cf. Part I, 7.28), whereby also the (simple or derived) stem of the verb will appear; the next step will be to trace a distinction of imperfective and perfective suffixed elements.

14.16 As for the 'thematic element' or 'nominalising' formative, making secondary stem forms on which the modal forms are based, there can be little doubt about the semivowel *-j- playing an important part (cf. Wakka-Wakka; Part I, 7.28). This appears from the number of forms recorded ending in -i (from *-j) or -ja (incorporating an original case suffix; cf. Part I, 3.22); the same impression is obtained from a look at Mathews' (1902, pp. 188-90) material. Another analogous element may be the -n- in the form gini 1s (cf. Mathews, op.cit., p. 140) or -ŋ- in babîngu to sleep (cf. 14.18). As for the mode or aspect-determinating element, we may perhaps distinguish between a zero termination (in forms ending in -i, if from *-j, *-ij) and a vowel termination (especially in forms ending in -a).74 If this is correct, the problem remains to determine which of the alternative sets of forms would express the imperfective mode and which would the perfective mode. Owing to the fact, however, that the forms under discussion are inexact or at best approximately translated into English, no single rendering of any form can prove it to be either imperfective or perfective. Thus, for instance, banagai (that is a form originally ending in *-j) and naja (that is a form originally ending in *-ja) are both rendered by (I) am going, by the same informant. The same negative result
is reached from an examination of Mathews' (1902) material (op.cit., 188-90), in which everything is translated in terms of infinitives. The only exception would possibly be the verb form gini is (which evidently is from the same stem as the Kattang and Thangatti verb ga-, gi- be; see Holmer 1966 a, p. 82), in which the -i would express the imperfective mode, as in: ṇinda gaba gini you are all right (Jua DM), ṇai gini I am (Kam HD); this also fits to Mathews' (1902, p. 140) ginye I am; but since the theory finds no other support, the matter must rest unsettled on this point.75

14.17 Other modal forms do not seem to present much difficulty. The imperative (also used as hortative: dala let me eat; Kam HD) is expected to be the stem of the verb (dawana give, ga' gualda talk), occasionally with a stem-final -i changed into -a: (Jualrai) mil ŋar(a)la, (Kamilroi) mil ŋamula look (cf. respectively ŋar(i)li, ŋamuli looking, imperfective). The intentional is evidently in -gu, which is added to the 'thematic' */-j- or */-ŋ-, as in: babaigu or babingu to sleep (Jua DM; stems babai- and babi-).76

14.18 There are a certain number of undoubtedly transitive verb stems which are extended by an element */-l/. As it is not likely that this */-l/ is the reflexive-reciprocal element mentioned in 14.8, it is tempting to assume that this suffix is based on a transitive */-l/ formative (as in Goreng-Goreng, Part I, 15.20, or Darumbal, Part III, 18.21), to which a mode or aspect forming */-i/ is added (cf. Darumbal Dali ate, along with the imperative Dala eat—incidentally homophonous and possibly identical with the Jualrai dala eat). By analogy with Goreng-Goreng and Darumbal, we shall write such transitive verb stems with a terminating */-l/ in parentheses, thus: bama(l)-wash, buma(l)-hit (cf. reciprocal bumali- fight), dauma(l)-cook (cf. intransitive daumagi-, idem), garma(l)-take, gindama(l)-laugh, etc.

Jualrai and Kamilroi vocabulary

15. The following vocabulary comprises Jualrai, Kamilroi and (in odd cases) Gunggari entries; the latter may represent either 'borrowed' words or forms or such that are common to either language or, finally, such words as our main informant (Jua DM) has learned without being quite sure of the language to which they properly belong. In order to identify the corresponding language in each case, the signatures (Jua for Jualrai, Kam for Kamilroi) will be of some help, although it must be repeated that absolute surety on this point is hardly to be expected and further that a considerable mixture of languages has probably obtained for a length of time. The language signature is followed by the initials of the corresponding informant and in all other respects the principles laid down in Part I (12; 19; 25) and Part II (13; 26) are followed. The order of the entries is alphabetical, according to this ranging of phonetic symbols: a, b, d, g, ḍ, g, ṇ, i, j, l, m, n, ṇ, r, ŋ, u, w.
-ba N DER SFX (14.5)

baba- (babi-) V ITR IMP IPP (?)
babi; INT babagur, bagiŋgu
sleep (Jua, Kam; cf. Holmer 1966a, 10.2; 1971, 8.5).

babilinda- V ITR IMP (?) babilinda;
IPF babilindai sleep, be sleepy
(Kam HD, LO). —cf. baba-, babei-.

baŋu N frog (Jua VT; perhaps
Gunggari).

bagabilina N the name of a place,
Boggabilla (N.S.W.; Kam RM).

bangu N money (Jua DM, Kam HM;
from Gunggari ?).

banguin N head (Jua JM). —cf.
bangun, baŋu.

bangun N head (Jua:Gun TC; the
same in Gunggari and Marganj).
—cf. banguin, baŋu.

baŋu N head (Jua TH). —cf. bangun.

baŋbal N frog (Jua LM).

baja N woman's dress, clothes
(Jua LM, Kam). —cf. bajaga.

bajaga N clothes (Jua DM, Kam HM).
—cf. baja.

balagi- V ITR PF balagi die
(Jua DM): balagi dead, (somebody)
died. —cf. balu1.

balaminda N thistle (Jua DM).

balguŋ (baluŋ) N tomahawk (Jua

balu1 V N dead (Jua LM). —cf.
balagi-.

balu2 N moon (Jua DM). —cf.
dilgan.

balun N 1. river; 2. the Balonne
River (Jua DM, LM).

bama(l)- V TR IPP ? bamali wash
(Jua DM, Kam HM).

banaga- V ITR IPP banagai go,
run (Jua DM): ninda banagai
you go away (imp.?).

bandar N red kangaroo (Jua, Kam),
grey kangaroo (Kam AA).

bangur N belly (Jua VT).

baŋa N a lot (Jua DM; also
Gunggari).

bara N sandalwood (Jua DM).

barai N quick (Jua DM).

—barai SOC SFX (14.4).

barala N many (Jua DM).

barama(l)- V TR IPP baramali
tear, break (Jua DM).

baran N boomerang (Jua LM; also
Wakka-Wakka).

barbira N porcupine (Jua LM;
similar forms in the Gunggari
languages). —cf. bigibilina.

baringin N peewee (Jua DM).

barbbara N porcupine (Kam AA).
—cf. barbira.

barbula N porcupine (Jua JM).
—cf. barbira.

baura N big (grey) kangaroo
(Jua DM), red kangaroo (Kam AA).

bawul (ba ul) N fowl (Jua DM).

bawun N the name of the Balonne
River at Surat (Jua LM).

biaga N tobacco (Jua, Kam).

bibala (bibla) N box tree (Kam RM).

bibarga N pig (Kam HM). —cf.
bigur (Jua).

bigan N 1. animal (Jua LM);
2. meat, totem (Jua EM; cf.
Gunggari bigan the Native Rule
or Law).

bigibilina N porcupine (Jua DM).

bigur N pig (Jua DM). —cf.
bibarga (Kam).

bilari N a rather big parrot with
red wings (Jua DM).

bina N ear (Jua, Kam). —cf. binaŋ.

binaŋ N ear (Jua LM, VT). —cf.
bina.
binanguŋ N deaf (Jua DM).
binamur N deaf (Kam HM).
binda- V ITR IPF bindajja sit (Jua DM; probably Gunggari).
bindi(j)a N prickle (Jua LM).
bingi N stomach (Jua DM; considered as an (Australian) English word). —cf. mabul, gumbal.
bingu N elbow (Jua DM).
 birka, v. birka.
 birali N child, baby (Jua LM, DM); (ART) biraligal (some) children.
ibiru¹ N hole, rabbit burrow (Kam CaK, CoK).
ibiru² N chest (Kam HM).
ibiru (bira) N grub (Kam HM, RM).
ibraila V SOC SFX (14.4).
bralga N brolga, native companion ('bird laying a single egg'; Kam AA).
bubadi N grandfather (Jua DM, TH).
bubali-, v. bubili-.
bubalindai N smoke pipe (Kam RM). —cf. bubili-.
buban N small grey fast-running lizard (Jua DM).
bubili- (bubali-) V ITR IPF bubili, bubali smoke (Jua DM).
bubli N tobacco, smoke (Jua DM). —cf. bubili-.
bublin N smoke pipe (Kam RM). —cf. bubili-, bubalindai.
budi¹ N sugarbag (Jua VT).
budi² N hair (probably pubic or on the body; Kam HD).
budu N butterfly (Jua VT; perhaps from another language).
buga N girl (Jua DM). —cf. mijal.
buga N penis (Jua EM; possibly Gunggari). —cf. dun.
bular N two (Jua DM, Kam AA).
buli N wind, whirlwind (Jua DM, Kam HM).
bularu N two (Kam AA). —cf. bular.
bulawi N darkness, black, night (Jua DM).
bumaí N the name of a place, Boomi (Kam RM).
buma¹ V TR IPF ? bumali hit (Jua LM): wa·l bumali (sic) birali don't hit the child. —cf. bumali-.
bumali- V REC IPF bumali fight (Jua DM, Kam HD).
bunedgi- V ITR IPF bundagi fall (Jua DM, Kam HM).
bundara- N TR IMP bundara pick up (Jua:Gun TC).
bundi¹ N stick, club (Jua DM, Kam CoK).
bundi² N buttocks (Jua DM; Gunggari bunti, idem).
bural (burul) N big (Kam): burul mada boss (Kam CoK), bural wanna a big white man (Kam RM).
burgian v. burgiar.
burgiar (burgian) N cat (Jua, Kam; from English 'pussy cat'). —cf. budigan.
buru N testes (Kam RM), penis (Jua EM; the same in Wakka-Wakka). —cf. burul².
burul¹, v. bural.
burul² N testes (Kam RM). —cf. buru.
buruma N dog (Jua, Kam).
bura N 1. bone; 2. leg, shin (Jua DM, Kam RK).
bura bura (bura bura) N bony, lean, skinny (Jua DM, Kam RM): bu ra bura juri lean meat (Kam RM).
buri N fire (Jua, Kam; also Gunggari). —cf. wi.

bürü bürü, v. büra büra.

-D

-da- V DER SFX (14.9).
dagan N brother (Jua DM).
dagin N socks (Jua DM; from English 'socks').
daigal N head (Jua LM, Kam AA). —cf. dagal.
daimar N earth, dirt (Jua LM).
daina- V ITR IPF ? daina ina come (Jua DM).
dajin (dain) N man, men, people (Jua DM, LM).
da(l)- V TR IMP dala eat, drink (Kam HD): dala gali some water, dala duar give me bread (literally 'let me drink water, eat bread').
dala¹ N leg (Jua LM).
dala² N excretion from or dirt in the eye (Jua DM).
dalagal N blue-tongue lizard (Kam HD, RM).
dalam REL ? dalama janai where are you going? (Kam HD).
dalan N tongue (Jua LM).
dambul N 1. snake; 2. snake tribe (Jua JM).
danti N (14.10) ground, dirt (Jua DM; from Gunggari?): dantiga bindaja sit on the ground (Gunggari?).
dara N drunk (Kam RM; probably from English 'drunk').
daran N a grey or brown bird like a crow, seen on the river (Kam HM).
darawa, v. darawura.
da(ra)waru ? N trousers (Jua DM; from English 'drawers').
darawura (daruwura, darawa) N trousers (Kam). —cf. darawaru.
darun N heron (Jua DM).
da’ri N copulation, coitus (Kam RM): gaba da’ri (good), jama’i da’ri (let me).
daumagi- V ITR IPF daumagi cook (Jua DM). —cf. dauma(1)-.
dauma(1)- V TR IPF ? daumali cook (in ashes or on fire; Jua DM). —cf. daumagi-.
daun N earth, dirt (Kam).
daunbrai N dirty (Kam).
dawana- V TR IMP dawana give (Kam CoK): biaga dawana or dawana biaga give (me) a smoke.
dawar N bread (Jua DM; properly her mother's language). —cf. durar.
-di COM SFX (14.6).
dibil dibil N ghost (Jua DM; from English 'devil').
dibin N bird (Jua DM, LM).
digadi N cockatoo (Jua DM). —cf. digai.
digai N parrot (Jua DM). —cf. digadi.
dinbir N knee (Kam HM). —cf. dinbir.
dinga N meat (Kam HM, Jua:Gun TC).
dilaga N father (Kam HM).
dilgan (-gapi) N moon (Jua LM). —cf. balu².
dili N eye (Jua DM, LM, VT, Kam AA; also Gunggari).
dimba N sheep (Jua DM, Kam RM; probably from English 'sheep').
dina (dinaŋ) N foot, feet (Jua, Kam).
dinaŋ, v. dina.
dinawan (dirawan) N emu (Jua, Kam).
dirbir N knee (Jua DM). -cf. diŋbir.
duar N bread, food, tucker (Jua, Kam; = Gunggari manta, Jua DM).
duba N fog, foggy rain (Jua DM). -cf. dubar.
dubar N smoke (Jua DM). -cf. duba.
dudar N excrement (Jua DM).
duin N hair (Jua JM).
duju N snake (Jua DM). -cf. ɲandaba.
duli N sand goanna (Kam HD, AA).
dulubari (dulibari) N rain (Kam CoK). -cf. dulumai.
duluma N thunder, storm (Jua DM, Kam CoK). -cf. dulumai.
dulumai (dulumi) N thunder (Kam RM, CaK). -cf. duluma, dulubari.
dun N penis (Kam RM; similar forms in Bandjalgali and Thangatti, New South Wales).
dundai V N ? a 'swearword', i.e. a taboo word (Jua: Gun TC; possibly 'copulation'?). -cf. dun.
dungu N head (Jua LM; also in Gunggari).

G
gi (ga`) N mouth.
gai gai N catfish (Jua DM).
gai gualda- (ga` gualda-) V IMP gai gualda; IPP gai gualdai talk (Jua DM). -cf. gai.
gajali (ga`-, gaili) N boy or girl (Kam RM, LO).
-gal ART (14.11).
gali N 1. water; 2. (strong) drink (Kam). -cf. ga`inan (Jua).
galibari N rain (Kam RM).
gamarai (gamiɾai, gamurai) N the Kamilroi language (Kam, Jua EM). -cf. gamalrai.
gamalrai (-roi, gamalroi, etc.) N the Kamilroi language (Kam, Jua; properly an English form). -cf. gamarai.
gamu N water (Kam AA; probably Gunggari).
gamu gamu N maggots (Jua DM).
-gan N DER SFX (14.4).
gana N yam stick (digging stick; Jua DM).
gandi N the name of Goondiwindi (for gundi house? Kam RM; correct?) - cf. gundiwindi.
gangibul (-bal) N policeman (Jua, Kam; from English 'constable').
gangil N child, baby (Kam). - cf. gangul.
gandul N boy (Kam RK). - cf. gadiil.
 gaña N house, humpy (Kam RM).
 gaŋgal N little one (Kam HD).
 gaŋmara N small, little, baby (Kam). - cf. gaŋgal.
garaga N crane (Jua DM).
garil N cold (Jua, Kam; = Gunggari jagal, Jua DM): garil gali cold water (Kam LO).
garma(l)- (ga-- , ga·rima(l)-) V TR IPF? garmali take, steal (Kam).
gau N egg (Kam RM, HD).
gauga N head (Kam; = dagal, Jua DM). - cf. dagal, daigal.
gawili- V ITR IPF? gawili vomit (Jua DM).
gi- V ITR IPF gini become, be (Jua, Kam): ñinda gaba gini you are all right (Jua DM), julgan ñai gini I am hungry (Kam HD), mirair gini nothing at all (Kam CoK).
gial N REL afraid (Jua DM).
gialbula N V frightened, afraid (Kam): gialbula ñai (Kam RM), ñai gialbula (Kam CaK) I am frightened, gialbula wandaba afraid of a ghost (Kam HD).
gialbulaga- V ITR IPF gialbulagai be frightened or shy; gialbulagai he is not 'game' (Kam HD). - cf. gial, gialbula.
ŋa· REL yes (Jua DM).
ŋa·d N REL hard (Kam HD; from English): ŋa·d ŋamuli looking
hard, staring.
ŋai PERS PRON (14.12).
ŋaja PERS PRON (14.12).
ŋalgi- V TR IMP IPF? ŋalgi
drink (Jua DM).
ŋali PERS PRON (14.12).
ŋalur (ŋalu) N fish (Jua LM).
- cf. guja (Kam).
ŋamba N mother (Jua:Gun TC).
ŋamu N breast (Jua LM, Kam CoK).
- cf. ŋamun.
ŋamugi- V ITR IPF ŋamugi suck
(Jua DM). - cf. ŋamu.
ŋamul(l)- or ŋamuli- V TR ITR IMP
ŋamula, ŋamala; IPF ŋamuli
see, look (Kam): mil ŋamala
look (Kam RM), ŋamula nana
look, (he has got) shoes (Kam
HD). - cf. ŋari(l)-.
ŋamun N breast, milk (Jua LM).
- cf. ŋamu.
ŋana PERS PRON (14.12).
ŋa·na INTERR PRON (14.13).
ŋandaba N snake (Jua, Kam HM).
- cf. nurai (Kam).
ŋanga N beard (Jua LM).
ŋaraga N REL poor person, what
a pity! (Jua DM).
ŋari(l)- or ŋarili- (ŋarli-) V TR
ITR IMP ŋarila, ŋarala; IPF
ŋarili see, look (Jua): mil
ŋarla look (Jua DM), ŋinarl
(for *ginala) ŋarli looking at
you (Jua DM), guřiju ŋalina
ŋari(l)li a man is looking at us
(Jua DM). - cf. ŋamul(l)-.
ŋawi N V? smell (Jua DM).
ŋinda PERS PRON (14.12).
ŋulu¹ N eyes (= mil; Kam HD).
ŋulu² REL there ('you are there',
when playing cards; Jua DM).
ŋuran N dog (Jua DM, ML; also in
Gunggari).

jaba N carpet snake (Jua DM, Kam
AA).
jabu N father (Jua DM; probably
Gunggari).

jagai REL look! there! (Kam HD):
jagai nurai there is (something),
a snake (cf. the Batjala
exclamation jagai 'there now!';
see Part I, 25).

jagai N cold (Jua DM; properly

jagan N knife (Jua DM).

jaŋa- V ITR IMP IPF? jaŋa
stop (Jua DM).

jaŋgal N cunnus (Kam RM).

-jaŋ N DER SFX (14.4).

jalan V? going (Jua DM).

jama V REL let me, give (me),
hello! anyone at home? (Kam):
jama nai wungu(w)ali let me go,
I will go (Kam RM), jama duar
give me bread (Kam HD).

jamba N camp (Jua DM, LM; also
in Gunggari).

jana- V ITR IMP jana (?); IPF
janai go (Kam): Mum janai Mom,
we are going (Kam HD), dalama
janai where are you going?
(Kam HD).

jaraman N horse (Jua, Kam).

jaramu N whisky or any strong
drink (Jua DM). - cf. jurama.

jaran N gum tree (Jua DM).

jaŋa N sun (Jua DM, Kam HM).

jingau N lazy (Kam HD). - cf.
jingil.
jingil N tired (Jua DM). —cf. jingau.

jila, jilai N wild, angry (Jua DM): jilai jana (?) getting wild or angry (Kam HD).

jinar N (14.10) woman (Jua, Kam HD, CaK); (ART) jinargal (some) women (Jua DM).

jiggin N swag (bundle of personal belongings; Jua DM).

ji ra N teeth (Jua, Kam).

jualrai (jilroil) N the Jualrai language (Jua DM, Gun TC).

juga- V ITR IPF jugai cry, weep (Jua DM, Kam HM): birali jugai the child is crying (Jua DM).

-jul N DER SFX (14.5).

julgan N hungry (Kam HD): julgan na gini dala duar I am hungry, give me bread. —cf. jurgan, jurgan.

juna N hole (Jua DM; also in Gunggari).

jundu N tomahawk, axe (Jua, Kam). —cf. balgun.

jungan (jum-) N hungry (Kam RM). —cf. julgan.

jurama N (14.10) strong drink (Kam): jurama gali, idem (Kam RM), juramuru dara drunk (from beer, etc.; Kam RM). —cf. jaramu.


jurunga- V ITR IPF jurungai shoot, hunt (?).

jurun N ALL jurungu road (Jua DM; probably Gunggari).

jurundali (jurun-) N goanna (Kam HM, CaK, CoK, RM).

juru N meat (Jua, Kam; also in Gunggari).
mariguali- V ITR IPF mariguali quarrel (Kam HM).

marā N hand (Jua, Kam; also Gunggari). -cf. ma-.

marār N REL no, nothing, empty (Kam): marār bāŋgu no money (Kam HM), marār naŋana no shoes (Kam HD), marār gini nothing at all (Kam CoK), marār ńai I have got nothing (Kam RM). -cf. wa-.

marāma N stone (Jua LM).

marī N man, native (Aboriginal man; Kam HD).

marin N man (Jua DM; the same in Gunggari). -cf. marī.

midi N mistress, Mrs. (Jua DM).

mîjan N young boy or girl (Kam CoK).

mînga N 'ghost ground' (secret place in the bush), burial place, ghost (?) (Jua DM, Kam HM).

mijal N girl (Jua DM): (ART) mijalgal (some) girls.

mil N (14.10) eye, eyes (Jua, Kam).


milanbrai (-barai) N 1. cow (Jua DM, Kam RK); 2. woman's private parts (Jua JM; probably wrong for 'breast').

milguţ N blind (Jua DM).

mili mili N mud (Kam HM).

mingudai N the name of a song, 'dark or sad night' (Jua DM; cf. Gunggari mingundaidja, in Part II, 13).

mini N mouth (Jua JM); the same in Marganj.

mîna INTERR PRON (14.13).

mînagu INTERR PRON (14.13).

mînaji N how many? (Jua DM).

mînana INTERR PRON (14.13).

mînanda REL where? (Jua DM).

mubal (mubul, mabul) N stomach (Jua, Kam). -cf. gumbal.

mubaljal N pregnant (Jua DM). -cf. mubal.

mudigan N cousin's wife (Jua DM).

mûja N possum (Kam AA). -cf. mujai.

mûdai N possum (Jua DM). -cf. mujai.

mugâ N blind (Jua, Kam): mugâ mil, idem (Jua DM).

mujîn N mosquito (Jua DM).

muju N nose (Jua DM).

mula N pus in sore (Kam HM, RM).

mułjal N pregnant (Jua DM). -cf. mubaljal.

muni N louse, lice (in hair; Jua DM).

-mur CAR SFX (14.4).

muran N dog (Jua DM, JM). -cf. nuran.

muru N posterior, backside (Jua, Kam; = Gunggari bunti, Jua DM).

muɾalda N porcupine (Jua ML).

na- V ITR IMP IPF naja go (Jua DM): ñai naja I am going.

naŋana N shoes (Kam RK, HD).

naibu N knife (Jua, Kam, from English; = jagan, Jua DM).

namada- V ITR IPF namadai come (Kam).

nawâ- V ITR IMP IPF ? nawana walk (Jua DM).

ni- N anus (Kam; cf. Wakka-Wakka nim- cunnus, Goreng-Goreng nim anus, vulva; see Part I, 12; 19).

ninda PERS PRON (14.12).
nuai N snake (Kam HM), brown snake (Kam RM). - cf. ñandaba (Jua).

rouw N V stinking (Jua DM).

wadi N white woman (Jua DM).
- cf. wadin.

wadigan (wadiga, Jua LM) N white woman (Jua DM, LM; also in Gunggari). - cf. wadi.

wadin N white woman (Jua DM; also in Gunggari). - cf. wadi.

wagi N 'game' (laughing and playing; Jua DM).

waŋal N boomerang (Jua DM, Kam AA; also in Gunggari).

wajan N shilling (Jua DM).

wa党工委 N REL no, nothing, don't (Jua LM): wa党工委 money no money.

walai N ALL walaigu camp (Jua DM, Gun TC): walaigu (go) home (Jua: Gun TC).

wamba N deaf, silly (Jua, Kam).

wamu N fat (Jua DM).

wanagigga- (wani-) V ITR IMP wanigiga; IPP wanagigai stop (Jua DM): wanigiga take it away.

wanda N white man (Jua, Kam).
- cf. wandaba.

wandaba N ghost (Jua, Kam).
- cf. wanda.

wanti N dingo, wild dog (Jua LM, Gun TC).

waŋabari N pregnant (Jua JM; in another language?). - cf. mubaljal.

wa'ru N crow (Kam RM, HD).

warul N honey (Jua DM).

warja N dog (Jua LM). - cf. warai.

waraja V ITR IMP IPP? waraja get up, stand (Jua DM).

warai N dog (Jua LM). - cf. wara.

waţin N goanna (Jua DM).

wi N fire, (fire)wood (Jua, Kam).

wibili (wibli) N sick (Kam RM, LO).

wili N whistle (Jua DM). - cf. will-.

will- V IMP IPP? will; INT wilingu whistle (Jua DM).

wirigal N navel (Jua DM).

wunguwalı- V ITR IMP IPP wunguwalı, wunguwalija go, walk (Jua: Gun TC, Kam): jama ɲai wunguwalı let me go, I will go (Kam RM), wunguwalı ɲai I am going (Kam RM).

wuniga(l)- or wuniŋali- V TR ITR IMP IPP wuniŋali hear, listen (Jua DM).

wuriŋin N clever (man), doctor (Jua, Kam).

wuri (wuri) N dress (Jua DM).

wurla N scrub turkey (Kam HD): wurula gau turkey egg.

wurumau N a small kind of lizard (Kam HD).
DARUMBAL

Introductory remarks

16.1 The discovery of an informant for this language was altogether due to coincidence. While looking for persons who might be able to supply data regarding the Batjala language, of which very little was available at the time, a couple of Batjala informants at Urangan (on the mainland coast opposite Fraser Island) mentioned the name of a still better authority on the language, an elderly lady who, however, lived in Brisbane. On the next visit to that city and after inquiries among Aboriginal friends, the lady in question, one Mrs. Kanomie Richards, was eventually located at her home in Acacia Ridge. This lady, who had married a Fraser Islander, had lived for a length of time at Urangan and was certainly familiar with the Batjala language. However, it was soon found that at the same time as Mrs. Richards had a knowledge of Batjala (learned at Urangan) she was also a capable informant for the language of her native Great Keppel Island (off Yeppoon and Emu Park, in the Rockhampton area), a language she knew as Darumbal (daṟumbal), and since the author of this survey had in the meantime contacted other Batjala informants, the new language remembered by Mrs. Richards naturally became of paramount interest. As a matter of fact, our informant, although for years living in Brisbane, had a marvellous recollection of her native language, to some extent complemented by data supplied by her family (see 16.3), and also showed much interest in communicating her knowledge. However, the absence of other informants for the language has made it impossible to determine to what extent the data obtained may be considered as general features of the language or may in part be counted as dialectal or individual. The language, which was until then unknown and unheard of by the present author, shows great analogies with the one Edward M. Curr (Curr 1887, p.54-57) locates at Gracemere and Rockhampton.

16.2 The Darumbal language does not show any immediate relationship to any of the languages described in this Part, neither to any of those studied in this survey. There are certain phonological and morphological analogies with Goreng-Goreng (see Part I, 13.1 sqq.), the nearest neighbour to the south (cf. Part I, 1.4), but phonologically at least greater parallels are found with the New South Wales Thangatti (previously studied by the author, see Holmer 1966 a, especially 1.6 and 1.10). Morphological and lexical analogies are occasionally found with a collateral New South Wales language, namely Kamilroi (described here in conjunction with Jualrai; 12.1-15); one may notice, for instance, that the simple sentence drink water (in Darumbal gali Dala or Dala gali) is almost identically expressed in Kamilroy (dala gali; see 15). Compare further in the following sections on the phonology and morphology of the language (17.1-18.25).

List of informants

16.3 The following persons have furnished information regarding the Darumbal language; reference is made in the usual way by the language signature Dar (for Darumbal) and following initials of the informants. Otherwise the same principles hold as in Part I, 4.3 and Note 41.

Dar CR: Mr. Cyril Richards, at Acacia Ridge, Brisbane; Mrs Richard's (Dar KR) son.

Dar ER: Miss Ethel E. Richards, at Acacia Ridge; Mrs. Richard's daughter and interested in the history of the island and its people.
Dar KR: Mrs. Kanomie Richards (née Ross), from North Keppel Island, died in 1973 at Acacia Ridge, at an age of about 90; her father, one Mr. Ross, was of Scottish descent (from Rockhampton) and her husband a native of Fraser Island, while an uncle (on her mother's side) was 'king' on North Keppel Island (Mrs. Richard's given name is evidently the native name of North Keppel Island, ganumi in Darumbal; cf. the place name Canomie at Tanby, near Emu Park).

Phonology
17.1 As indicated in 16.2, Darumbal phonology, although of a rather unusual type in this part of Queensland, shows certain analogies with another Australian language studied by the author, hence the phonetic representation will have to be a compromise between various systems of phonetic writing, involving certain problems on some points. For these see in a following section (17.6).

Evolution of the vowel system
17.2 The Darumbal vowel system is quite simple, being of the common 'triangular' type; the basic vowel phonemes are a, i, u, which are usually short (or of normal length), while lengthening is occasionally found and marked by the inverted period (‘): nu·na him, her (a contraction of nuŋuna, idem). There is a certain interrelation between vowel length and the nature of surrounding sounds and it is not always clear whether the quantity of the vowel is in itself distinctive: in ŋana who?, for instance, the vowel is longer (ŋa·na) than in ŋana me, but at the same time the medial nasal is lengthened in the latter word (cf. 17.7). Similarly in ŋanaDuru all of us the second a appears lengthened (ŋa·ana·Duru), which is concomitant with a slight stress on the second initial syllable as well as perhaps also with the nature of the medial D sound (see 17.8).

17.3 Among phonetic variants of the basic vowel phonemes appears the occasional widening of i to e (or an intermediate sound) or u to o (or a similar sound), customary in the 'triangular' vowel system and mostly due to position or the influence of surrounding sounds; as in Gunggari, for instance (cf. Part II, 5.4), an u sound may be widened to o after a (vanished) g sound, as in: guTul back (pronounced oTo·I).

17.4 Although stress is not distinctive in Darumbal, the usual tendency toward stressing of the second initial syllable in long words or sequences prevails: ŋanaDuru (bagu) (to) all of us, ŋanaDuruŋa us all, bundálbargiŋi brought.

Evolution of the consonant system
17.5 The Darumbal consonant system, on the other hand, is rather complicated and further not quite clear on all points. It seems to comprise the following consonant phonemes: (bilabial) b, p, m; (interdental-palatalised) D, T, N;77 (alveolar-supradental) d, t, n; (palatal-velar) g, k, ŋ; (lateral continuant) I; (soft trilled continuant) r; (compound trill) R; (retroflex trill or continuant) r; (palatal semivowel) j and (bilabial semivowel) w. The aspirate (h) may appear word-initially (as in Queensland English), but has not phoneme value.
17.6 The phonetic system as shown in the above inventory of consonant sounds (17.5) involves certain problems on two distinct levels: (1) regarding the true nature of the interdental-palatalised series (D, T, N) and (2) as regards the distinction of the plosives p, T, t, k, on the one hand, and b, D, d, g, on the other. Regarding the phonemes represented by D, T, N, the same might be said as for those written respectively g and n in the eastern subgroup of the Wakka languages (see Part I, 14.10) and, as a matter of fact, they might perhaps with equal advantage have been expressed by the latter symbols. This writing, however, would have involved the use of one additional symbol (t) for our T, a symbol without a counterpart in the Wakka languages and not otherwise used in this survey of south-east Queensland languages. The sounds, therefore, which we write respectively by T, D, N are perhaps most often interdental (T, D being plosives rather than fricatives in all positions), the palatal variant appearing occasionally in any position. It is, however, to be noticed that N in the word- or syllable-final position (except in the group -ND-) is in all cases a palatalised sound (n): NuNuN his, hers (actualised as Nuŋūŋ or ɲʊŋūŋ), wuN will give (actualised as wun), gaŊbi1 star (actualised as gɑŋbi1), but NaND-stand (actualised as NaND-1-only); in other cases a basic and written T, D or N may alternate between an interdental and a palatalised sound: Dun (either Dun or gun) telling, jiNa (either iNa or iŋa) here, Nula (either Nula or ŋula) he, she, etc. (the fact that nɑTa I is recorded with T only and nɑTu my, mine mostly with palatalised sound (t), is probably quite inconsequential). The palatalised sounds consequently appear as variants only of the interdentals, as seen also in loanwords: Duki Duki chicken(s) (chooks; from English); notice that the Wakka-Wakka word ġugai (sugar) appears in Darumbal as Dukai (ultimately from English 'sugar').

17.7 Whenever the sounds of D, T and N are heard as interdental a certain difficulty arises in distinguishing them from the corresponding alveolar series (d, t, n). This is especially the case of N and n in the intervocalic position (n probably never occurs initially), perhaps often due to imperfect articulation. Usually, however, an intervocalic N (if not palatalised) is somewhat lengthened whereby a preceding vowel becomes shorter or less stressed: nana who? (more or less nɑ'na) and nɑNa me (with a shorter vowel sound), biNa ear (N lengthened and vowel sounds shorter) and bina father (n shorter and final vowel sound lengthened); it is rather probable that Dina foot is differentiated in this way from the English word 'dinner' (as pronounced by our informant: Dina; the alveolar or supradental sound of d hardly occurs initially among native speakers).

17.8 A second point to be considered is the collateral occurrence of a 'devoiced' (see Part I, 2.8) series of plosives (b, D, d, g), intervocally tending—except d—toward fricatives, and a series of voiceless somewhat lengthened plosives (p, T, t, k), occurring in the intervocalic position only. In this way, for instance, waga burn (it) is distinguished from waka knee and a pronunciation gaba for gapa ground is declared to be wrong by our informant (in the Wakka languages such a distinction would be either artificial or impossible, the language name Wakka-Wakka being pronounced indifferently waka waka or waga waga, even though the -k- may be lengthened in the one case and tending toward a fricative in the other; cf. Part I, 2.8). The only parallel found by the present author to this peculiar trait of Darumbal phonetics appears to occur in the New South Wales Thangatti (see Holmer 1966a, 1.10).
17.9 The alveolar (or supradental) plosive d, which is rare (d sometimes serving as a substitute for r) hardly occurs in the initial position with the above phonetic value (as in Goreng-Goreng, where it is more dental). Instead of this sound (for instance in words which in Goreng-Goreng begin with d-: danga mouth, lie, dira teeth, etc.) Darumbal presents a sound which is more like that of R (cf. 17.10), but which is hardly any kind of r sound historically (initial r sounds being abnormal in this part of Queensland). After n and l, the sound of d is as in English ('and', 'old', etc.); the Aboriginal pronunciation of English 'thunder' may hence be represented as sanda.

17.10 The sound of R is a kind of compound sound (suggesting 'rz' in English; for a more complete analysis, cf. Holmer 1966a, 1.4, p.14); by analogy with the symbols D, T, N we prefer R to the one used for Thangatti (r, for which see loc.cit.). This sound, which occurs (like all r sounds) in the intervocalic position only, is consequently a noticeably vibrant and somewhat lengthened sound, which is normally heard as distinct from the softer trill represented by r. As Darumbal further has a more or less clearly differentiated retroflex r sound (r), whence a triple system of r sounds arises (r, R, r), we again find a point of contact with Thangatti phonology (see Holmer 1966a, 1.4, 6).

17.11 As in Gunggari (see Part II, 5.7), the sound of g tends to vanish in many positions (even word- or syllable-initial); the words gali water, gatar man, galagan good are hence commonly pronounced ali, atar, ala(h)an, respectively, and while our informant (Dar KR) accepted gali as a correct alternative form of pronunciation, ali was the only one accepted by Dar ER. The fricative g, as in the intervocalic position, often tends to turn into other sounds (less foreign to English): Nala for Naga look (cf. Holmer 1971, 1.9); some confusion was caused by uncertainty as to whether mother is correctly njajagari or njajaDari, etc. In the same way it is uncertain whether such a form as gajaju to take is to be considered as a phonetic variant of or as having a morphologically different structure from a more regular formation in -gu (see 18.22) or whether the forms wagagu and wajagu (to cook) are phonetical or morphological variants.

17.12 Certain other forms may be ascribed to the influence of English: Duta for Dutar pushing (suppression of syllable-final -r), guningu for gunimgu to sleep (assimilation of unfamiliar consonant cluster in English), DalaN for DalaN (i.e. -ŋ) tongue (substitution of a common word-final -ŋ, that is '-ng', in English for an unfamiliar sound); sometimes uncertainty arises, as in the case of the forms burungai and burungai storm, thunder (the latter occurring more frequently). Here also belongs the appearance of an intrusive h-, as in hiŋa for jiNa this (j- being as usual weak or suppressed before i), hali for gali water (g- suppressed according to 17.11). The passing of intervocalic consonants or consonant groups into -r- is seen in: jiragu here, hither for *jiNaagu (cf. the demonstrative stem jiNa this, here), baragu there for *baNaagu (cf. the demonstrative stem baNa that, there), buraN for bundaN coming, walingar for walingalgu to spoil. Consonant groups are occasionally simplified: NaNi- for NaNDi- stand (this is common in all Aboriginal languages studied here).

17.13 Cases of 'pre-occlusive' l and n (see Part I, 20.7) are found (as often in the coastal languages) in: njidi for njili hand, baDNA for baNa that, there.
17.14 All words begin with a consonant or a semivowel and may end either in a vowel or a consonant. The following consonants (and semivowels) are allowed initially: b, d, D, g, ɳ, j, m, N, w; the following are permitted as final: ɳ, l, m, n, N, r (of ɹ no clear instance is found). All consonants are permitted intervocally (intervocalic d and t being, however, rare). Consonant clusters (always consisting of two consonantal phonemes) may arise medially by a sequence of any consonant sound permitted finally, followed by any consonant sound permitted initially.

Morphology
(a) Structure of stems and derivation

18.1 Structure. The structure of the concrete nominal stem is akin to the structure of such stems in the Gunggari languages, monosyllabic stems being rare: ga·l leg (which may possibly depend on some kind of contraction); the word gu·w water (known by Dar KR) is, of course, Batjala, while the native Darumbal word is the dissyllabic gali). Verbal stems, however, may be monosyllabic: Na- see, wa- burn, and furthermore end in a consonant: Dal· eat, jango (this, however, does not mean that we may find vowel-ending monosyllabic verb forms, the imperative of the stems Na- and wa- being respectively Naga and waga; of the consonant-ending stems, however, monosyllabic forms may appear—possibly due to analogy—: Dal eating, jango going, while the corresponding imperative forms are again dissyllabic: Dala, jana.

18.2 Reduplication. Reduplicated nominal stems are common: buli buli wild goose, gundal gundal bad shark, guru guru dark people (cf. guru dark, night), Duki Duki chickens, mara mara policeman, miNa miNa pussy, muga muga whale (Dar ER), wamba wamba crooked; as is seen, the reduplicated forms are often, as usually in the languages studied, animal names or adjectival words.

18.3 Compounds. Nominal compounds of the type 'housewife', etc. in English are normal in Darumbal: buli buli gulbur wild goose's egg, Dangui gulbur turtle egg. Compounds of a nominal and verbal stem occur in gulubunda- get angry (from gului angry and bunda- come), gului jigi- idem (cf. -jigi- become, get), guRa jigi- be sick (from guRa sick). A compound of two verbal stems is found in: niri bunga(ɹ)- make cry (from niri- cry and bunga(ɹ)- make).

18.4 Nominal derivation. No sociative formative is recorded; the caritive suffix is -rama not having, without: galiroma without water, diraroma without teeth, NupaDari ∼amina without a husband, giŋgiroma (probably correct for giŋgiroma, Dar KR, as r is not normally a word- or syllable-initial sound; cf. the current pronunciation gamirai for gamirai Kamilroi, 12.3).

18.5 The 'dual-comitative' suffix (cf. Part II, 6.6 with Note 27) is either -Dari or -gari: najaDari or najaŋgari (cf. 17.11) one's mother, Nupagari or NupaDari one's husband, binagari or binaDari one's father, gindari one's wife (possibly for *gingari, through assimilation; cf. Part I, 6.18); these forms are used in the common construction: (ŋaTu) binaDari najaDari (my) father and mother, (my) parents. As usually in the languages studied, the underived forms are used in the vocative: bina father!, naja mother!. A somewhat similar function may be seen in the suffix -bara: nikalibaɾa father and son or daughter but the analysis of this somewhat strange word is not apparent.
18.6 Among the consonantal suffixes which we have termed 'nominalising' (cf. Part I, 3.6) appear -ŋ and -m in our material: waliŋ bad (cf. wali- be bad or Nunagal wali no good), bapam moon (cf. bapa, idem).

18.7 Verbal derivation. The four basic types of verbal derivation (causative, associative, reflexive and reciprocal) are all represented in Darumbal. The causative suffixes are -ga- (-nga-, -nga-) and -NDa- (the latter possibly through assimilation of -ng- to -ND-?): wulaga- put out (fire) (cf. wula- go out (of the fire), die, in the Gunggari languages), NaN(D)iga- (or NaNinga-, NaN(D)iNDA-) stand (something) up (from Nan(D)i- stand), biraga- pour (water) (from bira- fall), wablinga- make laugh (from wabi- laugh), walinga- destroy (cf. waling bad), Danuga- lay down (from Danu- lie down), Diniga- or DiNaga- set down, make sit (from Di- Diŋ- sit down). The associative suffix is -li-: bundali- bring, come with (from bunda- come). The reflexive suffix is either -li- or -ŋi- (cf. Wakka-Wakka, Part I, 7.7): baTali- bite oneself (from baTa(l)-bite), bumiŋi- pass away (cf. buma- hit, kill), Naŋiŋi- look at oneself (from Na-, Naŋ- see, look); these also serve to express intransitive verbal action: gangali- sing out (cf. Goreng-Goreng ganga- call, transitive, and gangali- call out, intransitive), waniŋ- burn (intransitive; from wa- burn, transitive). Finally, the reciprocal suffix is either -ba- or -la-: baTiba- fight (probably hit each other, but the simple verb is not recorded), baTaba- bite each other (from baTa(l)-bite), wukaba- give to one another (from wu-, wuka- give), Najaba- or Najala- look at one another (from Na-, Naja- see, look), Dakaraba- kick each other (from Dakar- kick).

(b) Inflection

18.8 Declension. The following seven regular case forms are found in the declension of nominal words in Darumbal: nominative, ergative, objective, possessive, ablative, locative and allative. The nominative is, as usual, the stem of the word. The form of the ergative (which always ends in -u) is determined by the nature of the final sound of the word stem, so that stems ending in vowel take the ergative suffix -ru (in a couple of cases -ŋu), those ending in a nasal take the suffix -u preceded by a homorganic plosive (hence -bu if the stem ends in -m, -du if it ends in -n, -Du if it ends in -N, etc.), while stems ending in -l or -r usually take the suffix -u (with or without certain modifications of the stem-final sounds, for which see the Paradigms, 18.11). The objective (always in -a) is also regulated according to the stem-final sound, vowel-ending stems taking -ŋa, stems ending in a nasal, -a, while stems ending in -l or -r take -na. The objective is used of animate (personified) nouns only and possibly in a positive or definite sense; cf. gingil (nominative) Darum mani did not take a wife (for gingilna). The suffix of the possessive is either -ŋu or -ŋuN, the latter possibly from the personal pronouns (cf. 18.15). The ablative suffix is that of the objective (or locative; cf. below) with an added -m (hence -nam with stems ending in a vowel, -am with stems ending in a nasal, etc.). The locative (always ending in -a) shows various forms of the suffix according to the stem-final sound: -ŋa (with vowel-ending stems), -da (with stems ending in -n), -a or -da (with stems ending in -l; the former suffix with modification of -l- to -r-). The allative regularly ends in -gu (regardless of the nature of the stem-final sound).
18.9 As a matter of fact, much irregularity exists, no doubt in some measure due to the material being derived from a single informant (whereby checking of the forms is difficult). One will especially notice an alternation of forms having a retroflex -r- and such as have the group -ld-: giàgiırı or giingildu woman (ergative), jamara in the rain (jamal) beside mlıla in the eye (mil); this may depend on some phonetic tendency, connected with the difficulty of articulating the sound of r in a bilingual milieu; compare such forms as marda for marda hand, etc. (see in Part II, 18.9, with the Note 112), gamirai for gamirai Kamilroi (see in Part III, 12.3). The locative is in -ga of gila mirror (from English 'glass'); of the stem in -ai, bürgajila storm, it is bürgaja (in the storm), while the ablative is either regularly bürgajila or else bürgajam. The ablative of jamal rain is either jamalınjam or jamalam. Other irregular forms may depend on analogy: múldu for expected *milgu into the eye, etc.

18.10 An additional eighth case form, which we may consider as a 'perlative' (cf. Part I, 7.11) is that of the locative plus -l: waluŋal in or by a boat (walu), galiŋal in or through the water (gali). The suffix would formally be the same as the sociative derivative suffix in some of the Wakka languages (cf. Part I, 3.7; 11.1).

18.11 Paradigms. In order to give a survey of the regular case forms in the Darumbal declension, the following paradigms will serve, arranged according to the stem-final sound of the nominal stem. The latter may end (1) in a vowel, (2) in a nasal and (3) in either -l or -r (of stems ending in -r no instance is found in this material). The type words chosen are: (1) bina father, wuru child, miRı dog, guja fish, gali water, wi· fire, dula stick, gapa ground, Dura camp; (2) Dabun white man, jaraman horse, daDım porpoise, ganguN fish line, waliŋ bad; (3) gatar man, giingil woman, mil eye, jamal rain, waŋal boomerang.

| (1) Vowel-ending stems:                      |
| NOM  | bina, wuru, miRı, guja, gali, wi·, dula, gapa, Dura |
| ERG  | miRıru (miRınu), gi.jaru, galiŋu |
| OBJ  | wuruŋa |
| POSS | binaŋu, miRınu |
| ABL  | wi·nam, galiŋam, dulaŋam, Duranam |
| LOC  | wi·na, dulaŋa, gapaŋa, Durana |
| ALL  | gujagu, galiŋu, gapagу, Duragу |

| (2) Stems ending in a nasal:                  |
| NOM  | Dabun, jaraman, daDım, ganguN, waliŋ |
| ERG  | jaramandu, daDimbu, ganguNDu, walingu |
| OBJ  | Dabuna |
| ABL  | jaramanam |
| ALL  | ganguNu (for *ganguNgu). |

| (3) Stems ending in -l or -r:                  |
| NOM  | gatar, giingil, mil, jamal, waŋal |
| ERG  | gataru, giingiru (giingildu), miŋu, waŋaru |
| OBJ  | gataruna (gatara), giingilna |
| POSS | gatarunu (gatarunu) |
| ABL  | gataram, giingilgam (giingilam), jamalınjam (jamalam) |
| LOC  | jamara, milda (for *miŋa or *milga?) |
| ALL  | gataru (for *gatargu), giingilgu, mildu (for *milgu) |
18.12 The ergative is used either to express the agent of a transitive verb (chiefly of living beings: jaramandu Dali the horse has eaten it) or the instrument (chiefly objects: ganguNDu with or by a fish line). The objective is used of animate nouns (personified beings) only, either as direct or indirect object: gatarna NaJi I have seen a man, gatar(n)a NaJi I have given it to the man (but jaman NaJi I have seen a horse); the locative is chiefly used of inanimate nouns (cf. the paradigms; 18.11) — in this way it is usually quite clear whether a form in, for instance, -ŋa is objective (e.g. wuruŋa a child) or locative (e.g. wiŋa in or on the fire).

18.13 Postposition. As the system of declension is well developed in the Darumbal language, the use of postpositions seems limited. In this material the only one recorded is bara from, which, as usual, immediately follows the nominative (or stem) form: ganumbara from North Keppel Island (here used in place of an ablative).

18.14 Personal pronouns. The personal pronouns refer to animate (or personified) nouns only: in reference to inanimate nouns or words either no special pronominal form is used (as for English 'it') or use is made of a demonstrative pronoun (hence: Nula balgi he or she is good, DaNa balgi it or that — for instance, bananas — is good). Personal pronouns are recorded for the following persons in the singular, dual and plural: (singular) NaTa I, Ñinda you, Nula (ŋula) he, she; (dual ŋali, ŋalira we (inclusive and exclusive), bula you, bula(gul) they; (plural) ŋanaDuru we, DaNa you, DaNa(gul) they. These pronouns are declined according to the same patterns as nominal words (see 18.8). The nominative and ergative forms, however, are mostly identical; ablative, locative and allative forms are either missing or used in specialised senses.

18.15 Paradigms. The following paradigms will give a complete survey of forms recorded:

First person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>ṇaTa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ṇaTa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>ṇaNa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>ṇaTu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ṇaTunŋam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>ṇaTungu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Second person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Œinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>Œinda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>ŒiNa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>Œinin (ŒiNin ?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>Œininŋam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>Œiningu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Third person singular:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NOM</td>
<td>Nula (ŋula)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>Nula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OBJ</td>
<td>Nuŋuna (Nu-na, Œuna)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSS</td>
<td>NuŋuN (Nu-N)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>Nuŋungam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>Nuŋungu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
First person dual:

NOM ŋali, ŋalira
ERG ŋaliragu
OBJ ŋalina, ŋalirana
POSS ŋaliranguN
ABL ŋalinam
ALL ŋalingu, ŋalirabagu

Second person dual:

NOM bula
ERG bula
OBJ bulaguna
POSS bulanuN

Third person dual:

NOM bula, bulagul
POSS bulaganuN, bulanuN

First person plural:

NOM ŋanaDuru
ERG ŋanaDuruŋu
OBJ ŋanaDuruŋa, ŋanana
POSS ŋanaDuruŋuN
ALL ŋanaDurubagu

Second person plural:

NOM DaNa
OBJ DaNa
POSS DaNaŋuN

Third person plural:

NOM DaNa, DaNagul (-gur)
OBJ DaNaguna
POSS DaNaganuN, DaNaŋuN

18.16 Demonstrative pronouns. As usual, the demonstrative pronouns express at the same time a person or thing and a place, that is, the nominative form ('this, that') is also the locative form ('here, there'). No ergative, objective or possessive forms exist; on the other hand, local forms occur, frequently used as relation words ('hither', 'hence', 'thither', 'thence'). The demonstrative stems recorded are DiNa this, here, jiNa this, here and baNa that, there. The flectional forms may be seen from the paradigms below:

DiNa this, here:

NOM DiNa
LOC DiNaŋa (DiNa, cf. above)
ALL Diragu (for *DiNagu; cf. 17.12).

jiNa this, here:

NOM jiNa
ABL jiropaŋam (for *jiNaŋam; cf. 17.12)
ALL jiragu (for *jiNagu; cf. 17.12)
baNa that, there:

- NOM baNa
- ABL baNagam (baraNam; cf. 17.12)
- LOC baNagai
- ALL baragu (for *baNagu; cf. 17.12)

Examples: qaTa qiNa wuN DiNa or qaTa qiNa DiNa wuN I will give you this, jiNa gatar galagan this man is good, jiNa wuN (I) will give this, Darum baNa Dala don't eat that, Nula NaNiN jiNa he is standing here. Notice that the inflected forms may also be construed with a noun as attribute: gatar baNagam walin that man over there is bad (literally that man from over there). Otherwise, the local forms may be considered as relation words: Nula Di ragu you come here, qinda bunda Di ragu you come here, baNagam from over there, baNagai NaNiN standing over there.

18.17 Interrogative pronouns. The personal interrogative pronoun is qaNa who? and the impersonal interrogative is miNa what?. The flections of the former are as follows:

- qaNa who?:
  - NOM qaNa
  - ERG qaandu
  - OBJ qaanduna
  - POSS qaunuN
  - ABL qaunuŋam
  - ALL qaunungu

Examples: gatar qaNa who? (which or what man?), qaNa bundaNa who is coming?, qaNa Nula who is he?, qaandu bumi who hit (him)?, qaandu jagali who did or made (it)?, qaunuNa Naŋi whom did (you) see?, qaunuNa wuN whom will (you) give (it) to?, qaunuNa walu whose boat?, qaunuŋam qinda mani whom did you get (it) from?, qaunungu bundaŋiN whom do (you) bring it to?

18.18 The flections of the impersonal interrogative are as follows:

- miNa what?:
  - NOM miNa, miNaŋa
  - ABL miNaŋam
  - LOC miNaŋa (?) cf. below
  - ALL miNagu

Examples: miNa baNa what is that? (nominative), miNa Nula jagali what did he do?, miNa qinda qaNa wuN what will you give me? (objective), miNaŋa what is it? (this form looks like a locative, but is used as a nominative), miNaŋam what (are you afraid) of?

18.19 A third interrogative pronoun is wuta what?, which is used in: wuta Nu·N dalbur what is his name? (Dar KR); since who? (qaNa) is the normal interrogative used in connection with a person's name (however not accepted by Dar KR) and miNa (what?) would no doubt sound incorrect, there is every reason to suppose that the form wuta is simply an adaptation of the English what?.
Conjugation. The verbal stem in Darumbal has a varied appearance. Most simple verb stems (not however the most common ones) are dissyllabic (derived stems may be longer) and vowel-ending (in -a-, -i- or -u-): bunda-come, wabi-laugh, Danu-lie down). Some of the more commonly used verb stems are, however, monosyllabic, either ending in a vowel (Na-see, wu-give) or a consonant (jan-go, Dal-eat). As a matter of fact, among the latter, it is not altogether certain whether the final consonant is to be reckoned as part of the (original) stem or may have had some derivational function; in the verb stem Dal- (eat, drink), for instance, it is rather likely that the final consonant (-l-) is the characteristic formative of transitive verbs, appearing in certain modal forms (see below, 18.21), although in this particular case generalised to all forms of the verb. We may consider the dissyllabic (or longer) stems as pertaining to the regular conjugation and the others to various kinds of irregular conjugation.

18.20 In the regular conjugation it is necessary to distinguish between intransitive and transitive stems. In the former, the modal (or aspectual) formatives are added directly to the vowel-ending stem, while in the latter certain modal forms require an infixed transitive formative (-1-), evidently analogous to the identical transitive formative met with in Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng conjugation (see Part I, 15.20; 18.8); incidentally, it may be supposed to occur in certain verbal forms in Jualrai and Kamirroi as well, as suggested in Part III, 14.18). As originally in Goreng-Goreng (see Part I, 15.20-21 and Note 140), the transitive -1-, in the Darumbal regular conjugation, appears in all modes except the imperative (for the irregular conjugation, cf. in the corresponding paradigms, 18.25 (2)). By analogy with Goreng-Goreng and Goeng-Goeng, we shall represent such stems by placing the transitive -1- within parentheses: jaga(l)- do, make. 84

18.21 Darumbal has the four basic modal (or aspect) forms as we are accustomed to meet in most of the languages in south-eastern Queensland: the imperative, imperfective, perfective and intentional. The imperative (in the regular conjugation) is the vowel-ending stem of the verb: bunda come, Danu lie down (intransitive), jaga do, make (transitive); the imperative is also used as hortative: gali bafa jana let us go or come back. The imperfective of intransitive verb stems is expressed by a 'thematic element' (cf. Part I, 7.28), which in Darumbal is -N (that is -η; cf. 17.6) 85 and which is not followed by any vocalic element (expressing a case relation): bundaN come, coming; whether by coincidence or not, most intransitive verb stems derived by -li- (see 18.7) make the imperfective with the formative -η- (see below) instead of -N-: gangali calling out (from gangali- call out), baTalị biting oneself (from baTali- bite oneself). Of transitive verb stems the imperfective is likewise a form without a case-expressing vowel and so identical with the verb stem extended by the transitive element -1-: jagal doing, making. Notice that the imperfective is used of an action in the past as well as in the present: dulaŋam wuru biraN the child fell from the log or tree (cf. the Kattang and Thangatti 'terminative'; see Holmer 1966a, 10.5). The perfective of intransitive stems is characterised by a different (perfective?) 'thematic element' -η, 86 to which a case-indicating (originally locative ?) element -i is added: bundaŋi came, has or had come. Of transitive stems the same modal form is expressed by the same element -i, added directly to the extended transitive stem in -1-: jagar did (had or had) made. Finally, the intentional mode is expressed by the (originally) allative or postpositional -gu (occasionally, as in Goreng-Goreng, reduced to -u;
cf. Part I, 15.21), which is added directly to the verbal stem of intransitive verbs and to the extended transitive stem (in -l-) of transitive verbs: biragu to fall (from bira- fall), jagalgu or jagalu to do, to make; for irregular forms in -Taju, see 18.25 (2).

18.23 An irregular conjugation is mostly found of a few commonly used monosyllabic stems, especially such as may be considered as basically vowel-ending. A significant feature of the irregular conjugation is that transitive verb stems are not extended by the transitive -l- (cf. 18.21) and that there is consequently no formal distinction between an intransitive and transitive conjugation; an exception is the transitive verb Dal- eat or drink, in which however the original transitive -l- may actually be considered as stem-final, as it occurs in the imperative as well: Dala eat or drink (it). On the other hand, a perfective -η- (cf. above, 18.22) may appear in the perfective mode: Naŋi has, had seen (from Na- see), wuŋi has, had given (from wu- give). The imperative is always disyllabic, being formed usually by addition of -a to the verbal stem, if ending in a consonant (jana go, Dala eat, drink, from the stems jan-, Dal-, respectively), and by addition of -ga or -ka, if the stem ends in a vowel (Naga see, look, wuka give, from the stems Na-, wu-, respectively). For further details, compare in the corresponding paradigms (18.25 (2)).

18.24 Along with the four basic modal forms mentioned in 18.22-23, Darumbal further has a modal form in -un, which we may (by analogy with Manandjali; see 10.28) term a preterit, as it (like the corresponding Manandjali form) seems to refer to the past, being explained as of something happened 'yesterday' or 'some time ago'. Of most verb stems this form is regularly made by change of the perfective suffix -i into -un: janun went (yesterday) (cf. jani went, from the stem jan- go), jagalun made (some time ago) (cf. jagali made, from the stem jaga(l)-). There are, however, irregularities in the formation: gajun took (some time ago) (cf. ganj took, from the stem ga- take), guRa Danunjun was sick (some time ago) (cf. Danunj lay, from the stem Danu- lie down). Other irregularities may be learned from the subsequent paradigms (18.25) or from the vocabulary to follow (19).

18.25 Paradigms. The paradigms below give a survey of the recorded forms of some typical and important Darumbal verb stems, arranged according to (1) regular conjugation and (2) irregular conjugation; it is to be noticed, however, that even in the former (the 'regular' conjugation) certain irregularities are apt to appear (cf. Goreng-Goreng, Part I, 15.24). The type verbs chosen for the paradigms below are the following: (1) bira- fall, bunda- come, Danu- lie down, jaga(l)- do, make, gangali- call out; (2) bu- (bun-) hit, kill, Dal (Da-) eat, drink, Di- sit (down), Dun- tell, ga- take, jan- go, walk, man- get, Na- see, look, wa- burn, cook, wu- give. For the conjugation of other verbs, see the Darumbal vocabulary (19).

(1) Regular conjugation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bira- fall:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMP bira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IPF biraN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PF biranji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INT biragu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
bunda- come:
  IMP bunda (buna)
  IPF bundaN (buraN)
  PF bundaći
  PRET bundajan

Danu- lie down:
  IMP Danu
  IPF DanuN
  PF Danući
  PRET Danunjun
  INT Danugu, Danuju

jaga(l)- do, make:
  IMP jaga
  IPF jagal
  PF jagali
  PRET jagalun (jagalgun)
  INT jagalgug, jagalu

gangali- call out:
  IMP gangali
  IPF gangalić
  PF gangalići

(2) Irregular conjugation:

bu- (bum-) hit, kill:
  IMP buma
  IPF buN
  PF bumi
  INT bungu, bungu, buTaju

Dal- (Da-) eat, drink:
  IMP Dala, Daga (Daka, probably wrong)
  IPF Dal
  PF Dali
  INT Dalugu, DaTaju

Di- (Diŋ-) sit (down):
  IMP Dika
  IPF DiN, Diŋ
  PF Diŋi
  INT DiTaju

Dun- tell:
  IMP Duna (DuNa ?)
  IPF Dun
  PF Duni (DuNi ?)
  INT Dungu
Darumbal vocabulary

19. The following vocabulary comprises the material gathered from the Darumbal language and at the same time serves as an index to forms dealt with in the sections on Morphology. Since most data are supplied by a single person (Dar KR), reference to informants is given only exceptionally. Otherwise the vocabulary is arranged as for the other languages in this Part, the entries being ranged alphabetically according to the following order of phonetic symbols: a, b, d, D, ḍ, g, ŋ, i, j, k, l, m, n, N, p, r, R, r̥, t, T, u, w,
B

-ba- V DER SFX (18.7)

banga N gap between teeth.

bakul N ABL bakul(g)am leg, legs.

balgi N 1. good, pretty, sweet; 2. fat: njiDur balgi good bread, Dugur balgi good meat, balgi wuRu pretty face, gali balgi sweet water, banana balgi bananas are good (i.e. I like bananas).

balgun N big: gingil balgun big woman, Dura balgun big house.

banda(l)- V TR IMP banda; IPF bandal; PF bandali; INT bandalgu leave, throw, drop: Darum banda don't throw, njinda (Daṟum) barI galigu banda (= dabi) you (don't) throw or drop the stone into the water, njat wuRu balgi pretty face, gali balgi sweet water, banana balgi bananas are good (i.e. I like bananas).

bapam N moon. —cf. bapam.

bapadu N ERG bapaduru; POSS bapadunu God: bapaduru gapa jagalii God has made the earth.

bapam N moon. —cf. bapam.

bara POST (18.13).

baragu REL over there: baragu jana go over there.

baraNam REL from over there. —cf. baNamag.

bari N 1. stone; 2. money: barI gura jaRa a mere or quite little stone.

-baru N DER SFX (18.5).

baTa REL back: jali baTa jana let us go back

bataba- V REC IMP baTaba; IPF baTabaN bite one another: bula Darum baTaba don't you two bite one another. —cf. baTa(l)-.

baTa(l)- V TR baTa; baTal; baTal bite: Darum njinda njNa baTa don't you bite me.

batali- V REFL IMP baTali; IPF baTali; PF baTali he bit himself. —cf. baTa(l)-.

batiba- V REC baTiba; baTibaN; baTibaŋi fight: bulagul baTibaN the two are fighting.

bigar N bread (= njiDur, q.v.).

bina N (18.11 (1)) father: bina father (vocative), njatu bina bundaŋi my father has come.

binaDari(-gari) N POSS binaDariŋu one's father. —cf. bina.

binagari v. binaDari.

biNa N ERG biNaru; LOC biNaga ear.

biNa Daŋgul N deaf. —cf. biNa.

biNa gulum N deaf. —cf. biNa.

bira- V ITR (18.25 (1)) fall: Darum bira don't fall, guburu wuRu biraŋi the egg, child fell, Nula biragu he is going to fall.

biraga(l)- V CAUS biraga; biragalu; biragali; biragalgu pour, spill, empty (make fall): gali biraga empty the water, Nula gali biragalu she is always spilling water.

bu- (bum-) V TR (18.25 (2)) hit, kill, put out (fire): gunDur buma kill the death adder, njataniNa buN I will hit you, njata Nuŋuna bumi I hit him, Nula wi· bumi he put out the fire.

buguni ? N parrot.

bunga(l)- V TR bunga; bungal; bungali make: Darum njNa gulu bunga don't tease me (make me
angry), Nula gului bungal Nuŋuna
he is teasing him, guRa bungal
making (him) sick, jamal bungal
it is raining.
bula¹ N PERS PRON (18.14-15) two:
bula jan two of them are going.
bula² N cow, cattle.
bulagul N PERS PRON (18.14-15)
two: miri bulagul two dogs.
bulari N two: bulari gatar two
men. —cf. bulara¹.
buli buli N POSS buli buliŋuN
wild goose. —cf. bulun.
bulu N stomach: bulu guRa stomach
ache.
bulun N wild goose.
bum-, v. bu.
bumbir N clothes (the same in
Goreng-Goreng).
bumi- V ITR PF bumiŋi die. —cf.
bumiŋi-.
bumiŋali- V REFL IPF bumiŋaliŋ
put on clothes: bumbir bumiŋaliŋ
putting on clothes.
bumiŋi- V ITR IPF bumiŋiN pass
away. —cf. bumi-.
bunda- (buna-, bura) V ITR (18.25
(1)) come, become: ŋinda waluŋam
bunda you come out of the boat,
ŋinda buna ŋanTuŋ you come to
me, ŋaTa bundaŋ ŋiningu I am
coming to you, jamal bundaŋ it
is raining, ŋaTa bundaŋ I have
come back, Nula gului bundajun
he was mad (angry).
bunda(l)baŋi- V ASS IMP
bunda(l)baŋi; IPF bunda(l)baŋi;
PF bunda(l)baŋiŋ bring: gali
ŋaTu bundaŋaŋ bring me water,
ŋinda Nuŋuna bundaŋaŋ you
bring her, guja ŋaTa bundaŋaŋ
I am bringing the fish, gali
ŋaTa ŋiningu bundaŋaŋ I will
bring you water (notice that the
final element in the compound is
usually pronounced like English
'bring'). —cf. bunda-.
bundali- V ASS bundali; bundaliN;
bundaliŋi bring. —cf. bunda-.
burungai (burungai, burungai)
N ABL burungaiŋam, burungajam;
LOC burungajä storm, thunder:
burungai buraŋ a storm is coming.
bural N plenty: Dugur buRAL
plenty of meat.
dabiga l- V TR dabiga l; dabila;
dabilaŋi throw: dabila galigu
threw into the water, bundaŋ
baruRi dabilaŋi comes to throw
rocks.
dabim N (18.11 (2)) porpoise:
dabimu guja Dal the porpoise
eats fish.
dangā N mouth.
dalbur N name: Nula Nuŋuna dalbur
wuŋi he named him.
dalgor N swallow (Dar KR, CR).
didun N the name of a green fruit.
dilu N bone.
dira N teeth.
diraraŋa N toothless. —cf. dira.
dula N (18.11 (1)) stick, tree,
log: dulaŋam wuŋi biraŋ the
child fell from the log, dulaŋam
bunda come down from the log,
dulaŋa Diŋa sit on the log.
dulujigi- V ITR IPF dulujigiN
be frightened, afraid: ŋaTa
dulujigiN burungaiŋam I am
afraid of the storm, jamalám
dulujigiN afraid of the rain,
imNaŋam dulujigiN what are
(you) afraid of? Nula Daŋum
dulujigiN he is not afraid.

D
Dabun N white man.
Dangui N POSS DaŋguiŋuN turtle:
DaŋguiŋuN gulbur turtle's egg.
Dangul, v. biNa Dangul.

Dakar- V TR IMP Dakara; IPP Dakar; PF Dakari; INT Dakaru kick: DiNaɾu Daɾum Dakara don't kick with the foot, Dakaru jiguN want(s) to kick.

Dakaraba- V REC IPP DakarabaN kick one another. —cf. Dakar-.

DaLa- V TR (18.25 (2)) eat, drink: Daɾum (njinda) Dala or Daga don't (you) eat or drink (it), Daga njinda eat you, gataru Dal the man is eating, ɲaTa Daɾum Dal I do not eat (it; I do not like it), njDur Dal eating bread, gali ɲaTa Dali I have drunk water, gali Daɾum Dal (I) have not drunk water (I am thirsty), gali DaTaju want(s) to drink water.

DaLaN N tongue.

Damban N the name of a fruit like a white strawberry.

Dana- V ITR IPP DanaN wet (probably 'the bed'; considered as a taboo word).

Danu- V ITR (18.25 (1)) lie down: njinda Danu you lie down, Danuju jiguN want(s) to lie down.

Danuga(l)- V CAUS IMP Danuga; IPP Danugal; PF Danugali; INT Danugalu, Danugalu, Danugagu lay down: njinda Danuga you lay (him) down to sleep, ɲaTa wuru Danugal, Danugal I am laying, have laid the child down to sleep. —cf. Danu-.

DaNa PERS PRON (18.14-15).

DaNaɡul (-gur) PERS PRON (16.14-15).

DaRaJi N trousers.

-DaRi COM SFX (18.5).

DaRa N leg.

DaɾiDi N white; gингil DaɾiDi white woman.

Daɾum REL no, nothing, not, don't: Nula Daɾum Dun he will not tell, gali Daɾum there is no water, without water.

Daɾumbal N the Darumbal language.

Di- V ITR (18.25 (2)) sit (down), sit (down), stay: njinda DiKa you sit down, ɲalira DiN (Diŋ) we two are sitting down, jambaŋa DIN staying at home, DiTaju jiguN want(s) to sit.

Diŋiga(l)- V CAUS IPP Diŋigal set down, put down: wuru Diŋigal putting a child (on a chair). —cf. Di-, Diŋaga(l)-.

Dina N dinner.

DiNa1 N ERG DiNaɾu; LOC DiNaɾa foot.

DiNa2 DEM PRON (18.16).

DiNaɡa(l)- V CAUS DiNaɡa; DiNaɡal; DiNaɡali; DiNaɡaju make (one) sit, set: njinda Nuna Na DiNaɡa you set him down, DiNaɡaju jiguN want(s) to make (him) sit. —cf. Di-, Diŋiga(l)-.

DIRagu REL here, hither: njinda bunda DiRagu you come here, Nula DiRagu bundanji he has come here.

Dugur N meat

Duka N smoke.

Dukai N sugar (cf. Wakka-Wakka Ɋuŋga; from English).

Duki Dukí N chicken (from English 'chook').

Dukiri N carpet snake.

Dula N eel, conger eel.

Dun- V TR (18.25 (2)) tell: ɲaNa Duna tell me, (njinda) Daɾum ɲalal Duna or Duna ɲalal don't tell a lie, Nula ɲalal Dun he tells lies, ɲaTa ɲina, Nuna Na Dun I will tell you, him, Nula bundan NaNa Dungu he comes to tell me.
Dura N (18.11 (1)) house, camp: Duru Duraŋa staying at the camp. —cf. jamba.

Durundu N the name of a cattle station near Woodford.

Dutar- V TR IMP Dutarg; IPF Dutar; PF Dutari; INT Dutaru push (over): Darum Dutarga don't push (him) over, ɲaTa Nu(ɲ)una Dutar I am going to push him, Nula Nuɲuna Dutari he pushed him.

G

gā- (gaŋ-) V TR (18.25 (2)) take: ɲinda gā$a you take it away, Darum gā$a don't take it, Nula gā$jī ɲaTu baRī he took my money, Nula bundaN, bundaği gajaļu, ga'ju he comes, has come to take it.

-ga- V DER SFX (18.7).

gāŋa N beard.

gaŋali- V ITR (18.25 (1)) shout, sing out: Darum gaŋali don't shout.

gāŋguN N (18.11 (2)) fish line: gāŋguŅDu man catching with a fish line.

gal N leg.

galagăn N good, all right, well, living: Nula galagăn he is good or well (also 'I like him'), Darum galagăn no good, ɲinda galagăn are you all right?

galagăn- or galan- V TR PF galagani, galanål; PRET galanålun cure: gudajĩņu DaNa galagani (galanål, galanålun) the doctor cured them (the people).

galaŋa REL can: ɲaTa galaŋa NaN I can see (it). —cf. galagan.

galaŋa(l)-, v. galagan-.

gali N (18.11 (1)) 1. water; 2. rain; 3. grog: wulaga galiŋu put out (the fire) with water, galiŋam bundaN coming from the water, ɲinda baRī galiŋu banda you drop a stone into the water, ɲaTa galiŋal jan I am walking in or through the water.

galirama N without water.

ganam N wind.

ganum N LOC ganumĩa; ALL ganumĩugu the native name of North Keppel Island: ganumĩ bara from North Keppel Island, ganumĩa DIN staying on North Keppel Island, ɲaTa ganumĩu jan I am going to North Keppel Island.

gaNbil N star.

gapa N (18.11 (1)) ground, earth.

-gari COM SFX (18.5).

garī N LOC gaRīŋa sun.

garā N grass.

gatar N (18.11 (3)) man: gataru Dali the man has eaten (it), gatarña wuŋi gave it to the man, gataram bundaN comes from the man.

gawun N blood. —cf. gumal.

gingil N (18.11 (3)) woman.

gingirama N without a woman or wife: Nula gingirama he has no wife (= Darum gingil).

gila N LOC gilaga glass, mirror (from English 'glass').

gindari N wife.

gipa N liver.

gudaji N ERG gudajĩŋu clever man, doctor: gudajĩŋu ɲaNa galaŋali the doctor has cured me.

gudiju, v. guruju.

guiN N ghost.
guja N (18.11(1)) fish: bundaN

¢i(gu) jagu coming for fish ('to

fish').

guka N bark.

gulbur N egg.

gului N angry, wild: Nula gului

bundaN he is getting angry,

Darum (¢inda) gului bunda don't

(you) get angry.

gulu(i)jigi- V ITR IMP gului(i)jigi;

IPF gului(i)jigiiN get angry:

Darum ¢inda gului(i)jigi don't

you get angry, Nula gului(i)jigiiN

he is getting angry. -cf. gului,

-jigii-.

gumal N blood: gumal bundaN

bakul(g)am blood comes from

(my) leg. -cf. gawun.

gunda gunda N hat.

gundal gundal N ERG gundal

gundar¢u bad shark.

gunim N REL ALL gunimu sleep

asleep: Nula, wuru gunim DanuN

he, the child is lying asleep,

gunimu (I) want to sleep, am

going to sleep.

guNa N excrement.

guNDur N death adder.

gura N small, little: gatar gura

a small man, gingil gura a

little woman.

guran N LOC guranda; ALL gurangu

long, tall: bakul guran long

legs, gatar guran a tall man.

guriji v. guruju.

guru (gudu) N ABL gurunam; LOC

gurun¢a dark, night: gingil guru

dark woman.

guru guru N dark people.

guruju (guruji, guriji, gudiju) REL
	tomorrow or yesterday: Nula jani

guruju (gudiju) he went yester-

day. -cf. guruju.

gururu (guru guru ?) N black.

-cf. guru, guru guru.

guRa1 N sick, sore, pain, ache:

Nula guRa DanuN he is lying

sick, ¢aTa guRa Danujun I was

sick (some time ago), jaraman

guRa bundaN the horse is sick,

guRa bungal making sick, bulu

guRa stomach ache, wumbu ¢aTa

guRa I have a sore throat.

guRa2 N salt: gali guRa salt

water or the water is salt

(perhaps 'bitter' and cf. guRa1).

guRajigi- V ITR IPF guRajigiiN; PP

guRajigii be sick. -cf. guRa1.

gurangaba N the name of a cattle

station.

guru N fly (not, however, used on

Keppel Island).

gutul (guTul) ? N back.

guTibaN N fish hawk.

ø)

¢aburu N any sister.

¢aja N mother.

¢ajaDari (-gari) N ERG ¢ajaDari¢u

one's mother: ¢ajaDari buraN

(my) mother is coming. -cf. ¢aja.

¢ajagari, v. ¢ajaDari.

¢ajal N a lie.

¢ali PERS PRON (18.14-15)


¢amun N breast.

¢ana INTERR PRON (18.17).

¢anaDuru PERS PRON (18.14-15).

¢aNa PERS PRON (18.15).

¢aRi N head.

¢aTa PERS PRON (18.14-15).

-¢i- V DER SFX (18.17).

¢iDur N ALL ¢iDurgu bread:

¢iDurgu jigiN want(s) bread.

¢ikali¢a N father and son or

doughter.

¢ili N hand, hands.
ŋinda PERS PRON (18.14-15).

ŋiri- V ITR ŋiri; ŋiriN; ŋiriŋi;
ŋirigu cry: Darum ŋiri don't cry, wuŋu ŋiriN the child is crying, Nula ŋirigu he is about to cry.

ŋiribungal(1)- V TR CAUS ŋiribunga;
ŋiribungal; ŋiribungali make (one) cry: Darum ŋaNa ŋiribunga don't make me cry. - cf. ŋiri-.


ja- REL yes.

jaga(l)- V TR (18.25 (1)) make, do: waŋal jaga make a boomerang, Darum ŋinda jaga don't you do (it), miNa ŋinda jagal what are you making or doing? 人格 jagalgun who made it (long ago)? gataru, giriŋu jagal or jagalgun the man, woman made it, Nula bundaN DiNा jagalgu he comes to do this.

jangari- V ITR jangari; jangariN; (-riŋ); jangariŋi; jangarigu run: Darum jangari don't run, Nula jigliN jangariN or jangarigu he wants to run.

jal N (18.11 (3)) rain: jalal bundaN rain is coming, jamaŋa DiN sitting in the rain.

jamba N ABL jambanam; LOC
jamban; ALL jambagu 1. fireplace; 2. camp, home: ŋaTa jambanam bundaN I am coming from the camp, ŋaTa jambagu jan I am going home. - cf. Dura.

jan- V ITR (18.25 (2)) go, walk: Nula jani he is gone, jandaju jigliN want(s) to go.

jara (jira) ? N a person of mixed (white and Aboriginal) origin.

jaraman N (18.11 (2)) horse:
jaramanam ŋaTa birangi I fell off the horse.

jara REL very: gura jara very little, guran jara very long, balgun jara very big, balgi jara very good.

jigi- V ITR IPF jigiN; PRET
jigijun want: galigu, ŋiDurgu, Durgu jigIN want(s) water, bread, meat (it may properly mean 'to be for (something)'; cf. -jigi-.

-jigi- (auxiliary) V ITR (18.3).

jigiN, v. jigi-.

jiNa DEM PRON (18.16) this, here: ŋinda jiNa NaNi you stand here.

jira, v. jara.

jiragu REL here, hither: ŋaTa jan jiragu I am going to him here, bundaN jiragu is coming here. - cf. jiNa.

jirangan REL from here: Nula jirangan bundaN he is coming from here. - cf. jiNa.

M

mangi N sheep.

mam N 1. breast; 2. milk: mam Dal drinking milk.

man- V TR (18.25 (2)) take, touch, get: ŋangun mana get a fish line, wiŋam mana take it off the fire, Nula man wiŋam he takes it off the fire, ḡiŋil Darum mani did not take or get a wife ('did not marry'), ŋinda bunda mangu DiNa you come to take this, gali mangu to get water.

manam N hair (of the head).

mara mara N policeman.
maTi N matches (from English).
migaN N brother: ṣaTu migaN my brother.
mil N (18.11 (3)) eye: miṛu Naŋi saw with (my) eyes.
milguli N rainbow.
miŋ N blind. —cf. mil, waliŋ.
miNa INTERR PRON (18.18).
miNa miNa N pussy.
miNagu INTERR PRON REL (18.18) why?
miNaŋa INTERR PRON (18.18).
miri N (18.11 (1)) dog: miŋuŋu Dali the dog has eaten it, miŋuŋuŋaRaŋi dog's head.
muga muga N whale (the tribal totem of the Keppel Islanders; Dar ER).
munu (muna)? N lip, lips

-nga V DER SFX (18.7).

N

Na- (Naŋ-) V TR (18.25 (2)) see, look: ɲinda Naga or Naŋa you see or look, ɲinda ɲaNa Naŋa you look at me, galaŋa Naŋ can see (it), Nula Naŋ ɲalina he can see us two, ɲaTa Nuŋuna Naŋ I will see him, ɲaTa ɲa ɲaNa Naŋ I have seen him, jani ɲaliraŋa Naju (Nagu, Najaju) went to see us two.

Naŋiŋi- V REFL IMP Naŋiŋi; IPF Naŋiŋiŋ look at oneself. —cf. Na- (Naŋ-).

Najaba- V REC PRET Najabujun look at one another. —cf. Na-, Najala-.

Najala- V REC IMP Najala; IPF Najalaŋ look at one another: ɲalira Najalaŋ we two are looking at one another. —cf. Naŋ-, Najaba-.

NaNdI- (NaNi-) V ITR IMP NaN(D)i; IPF NaN(D)iN, NaNiN; INT NaNiJu stand: ina NaNi you stand, Nula NaN(D)iN he is standing, NaNiJu jigiN want(s) to stand.

NaNdIga(l)- (NaNigs(l)-) V CAUS IMP NaNga; IPF NaNgal stand (something) up: ɲaTa Nuŋuna NaN(D)igal I am standing him up. —cf. NaN(D)i-.

NaNdINDa(l)- (NaNi-) V CAUS IMP NaNdIŋa; IPF NaNdIŋal; PF NaN(D)INDa; INT NaN(D)INGalgu stand (something) up: ɲinda Nuŋuna NaN(D)INDa you stand him up, ɲaTa wuru NaNdIŋal I am standing the child up. —cf. NaN(D)i-.

NaNิงa(l)- (NaNิงa(l)-) V CAUS NaNía; NaNíŋal; Naninja; NaNíŋają stand (something) up: NaNíŋają jigiN want(s) to stand (him) up. —cf. NaN(D)i-.

Nariŋ N possum (however not used on Keppel Island).

-NDa- V DER SFX (18.7).

Ninda- V ITR IPF Nindaŋ; PF Nindaŋi set, go down (of the sun): ɡaRi Nindaŋ the sun is going down (cf. Wakka-Wakka ninda-, idem).

Nugul N belonging(s): Nugul ɲinin that is yours.


Nulaguda N mackerel.

Numan N skin.

Nupada (gari) N husband:

Nupadaŋrama N having no husband

Nula Nupadaŋrama she is without a husband.

walinga(l)- V CAUS walinga; walingal; walingalı; PRET walingalun; INT walingalı

destroy, spoil: Darum ğinda Dugur walinga don't you destroy or burn the meat. —cf. wali-, waliŋ.

wolu N ABL walunam 1. boat, rowboat; 2. shark: nTama walunaj an I am going by or in a boat.

wambal N arm: wambal guran ('long arm'), the name of South Keppel Island, wambal guranda Din stays on South Keppel Island, wambal gurangu (going) to South Keppel Island.

wamba wamba N crooked.

wambın N crab.

wanan N wind.

wapabara N the name of an island.

warba N one.

waTu N dead: waTu Danun is lying dead.

wi- N (18.11 (1)) fire, (fire)- wood: wi-ğan mana take it off the fire, gulbur wi-ğan wana cook the egg on the fire, wi-ğan Dika sit by the fire.

wu- (wuŋ-) V TR (18.25 (2)) give: gali, ğidur ğana wuka give me water, bread, baRi wuka ğana give me money, ğinda wuru wuka you feed the child, ğana ğana wun I will give you, Nula wuTajun jıgiN he wants to give.

wukaba- V REC IPP wukabın give to one another. —cf. wu(ŋ)-.

wulaga(r)- V CAUS wulaga; wulagar; wulagarı put out (fire): Nula wi-şulagarı he put out the fire.

wumbu N throat.

wundaga REL where? —cf. wundali.

wundali REL where?: wundali ğinda jan where are you going?
NOTES TO PART III

1. For the method of describing the various sounds, see the general remarks made in Part I, 2.1, Note 10.

2. cf. the arguments in Part II, Note 7.

3. For the exact articulation and analysis of the Aboriginal l and r sounds, cf. in Part II, Note 9.

4. It is worth mentioning that even F.J. Watson (see the Bibliography) hardly gives more than the vocabulary of 'Yugarabul' (the Mainland variety of the Stradbroke Island language; see 4.4) in his account of about thirty years earlier (see Watson 1943-44, pp. 66-77).

5. cf. Kath Walker's 'My father was Noonuccal man' (Ballad of the Totems) in My People (Jacaranda Press Pty Ltd, 1970). One of our Nunagal informants, Mr. Paul Tripcoly (Nun PT), who may be considered as an authority, identifies nunagal with Stradbroke Island.

6. In this connection may be mentioned that no clear differentiation is made among the Aborigines today in this part of Queensland between language, tribe and section names, so that all the names connected with Stradbroke Island may be understood as either (e.g. the home of a social section may rather be meant than that of a tribe or the territory corresponding to a language).

7. Nun MT holds dagai to be the 'Mainland' pronunciation and dege the 'Saltwater' (i.e. the island) pronunciation.

8. cf. the names Wakka-Wakka, Goreng-Goreng, etc., which are all derived from the word for no or not (waga, goreŋ, etc.) in the corresponding languages dealt with in Part I of this survey.

9. Usually it was said to be an expression, or an interjection, used by one of the informant's father (one Charlie Moreton), to whom it had consequently stuck as a nickname (see the List of Informants, 4.6). Unfortunately, it was not found out at the time whether this person had any Mainland connection, but the same informant's mother was from Laidley (west of Ipswich), which is reasonably within Yugarabul territory.

10. According to a person met at Woodenbong (New South Wales), jagarbul is the 'Boonah language' (west of Beaudesert), in which the word no is jagar.

11. According to Watson (op.cit., p.69), the word yugara (= jagara) means no, not and this is also recognised by our island informants Nun MB and AM (cf. above, 4.3, Note 9).
12. In Manandjali also the word for white man is dagai (evidently the original form of the word; cf. 5.3).

13. According to Nun AM, the word darabal is the name of the 'Bribie Island language'.

14. It need not be said that features of Queensland pronunciation of English frequently reappear in Aboriginal words, as in galou for galu fire, gurou for guru (?), mullet, etc.

15. It is possible that the vowel system has a different structure in Yugarabul; Nun MB (who may show traces of the Mainland dialect in her speech; cf. 4.5) pronounces the common word wañmeri white woman (from English 'white-Mary') as wañmiri, which is typical of languages having the triple vowel system (a, i, u).

16. In the word gundal woman the vowel of the last syllable is fairly often long or lengthened (hence gundal); yet adhering to the principle in Part I, 2.4, we shall prefer the above form gundal. On the other hand ga·gam baby.

17. Also cf. Manandjali migani, the name of a mountain in the direction of Boonah.

18. Hence such words as mug mug (beside gum gum) policeman (Nun VT) or welp sea curlew (Nun CC) cannot have an Aboriginal origin.

19. As the word jaraman horse could hardly be a native Australian word (at least not in its present-day sense), one might suggest that the suffix is from English ('-man'), in analogous compounds ('seaman', 'horseman', 'workman', 'policeman'—the latter, incidentally, adapted by the Aborigines in the form buliman, which is everywhere understood and popular—as a word at least—in a number of different languages).

20. Unfortunately, our informant (Nun PT) sometimes tended to English certain words or word forms (hence -malai for -mali, etc.), some of which may further have been fetched out of books.

21. F.J. Watson, however, quotes (from the Rev. W. Ridley) a Yugarabul paradigm which has a quite different appearance (see Watson 1943-44, p. 77).

22. cf. Watson 1943-44, p. 77 ('dhuggaitin', after W. Ridley). In Manandjali the analogous form is dagaiğun (some) white people.

23. As this termination is often pronounced as -den or even -dan, it is not quite certain in every special case whether any connection may exist with dan man.

24. In Manandjali di is a postposition (balun di in the river; cf. 10.16). If the termination -ba were to be taken as the connective ba (see 6.16), the Nunagal postposition would be gi and so agree with Manandjali and Yugarabul (cf. 6.11).

25. The latter (in its two variants) is the same as in the New South Wales Thangatti (see Holmer 1966 a, p. 62, Note 76).

26. cf. the Manandjali (locative) wujaba to you, etc. The possessive in Yugarabul is in -nubbu according to Watson 1943-44, p. 77.

27. Incidentally, imperfective forms in -na are found in Ngawun (one of the Gunggari languages; see Part II, 25.9).

29. This (manangali) seems the most common form of pronunciation of the name of this language; others are malangali and manalgali (probably depending on various kinds of 'dissimilation'); the opinion of one person (a Bandjalang at Woodenbong), according to which such variant forms actually referred to different languages, is not to be taken seriously.

30. Further to the west, from the Albert River toward Boonah, another tribe (or section) meets, the miganbari, which may possibly be Yugarabul (cf. 4.4, Note 10).

31. Notice that the same form (jugum) is used about Lismore (New South Wales) for the Woodenbong jugam; cf. Holmer 1971, p.46, and Cunningham 1969, p. 107. Other forms found on the Tweed are: mil (Tweed) and mi· (Beaudesert) eye, ga·ŋ (Tweed) and ge·ŋ (Beaudesert) mouth, baru (Tweed) and bawur (Beaudesert) head and perhaps mala (Tweed) and dâŋan (Beaudesert) hand, gîran (Tweed) and diraŋ (Beaudesert) teeth.

32. Otherwise, mention is further made of a gandâ tribe, about Nerang (on the coast, south of Brisbane).

33. In the Bandjalang dialect described in Cunningham 1969 (p. 76) o is, however, not accepted as a phoneme.

34. cf. Cunningham 1969, p. 76.

35. cf. the name of 'Brisbane (river)' in Nunagal (see 5.3).

36. For this reason we may find dînaŋi, bauri the foot, the head for normal dînaŋ, bawur, when used of features in the terrain, being tracks left by a mythological dog (and probably identified with the corresponding parts of the dog's body).

37. The ablative (if correct) is used for the allative in gugarnu into the hole (Man ML); this usage is the rule in Wakka-Wakka (see Part I, 7.11, 13, Note 70).

38. In the Bandjalang dialect studied earlier by the author (Holmer 1971, 23-24) a difference is made between nouns ending in -a (or perhaps any other vowel except -i) and such as end in -i. As the only vowel-ending noun stem found in the present material is a loanword ending in -i, a different declension depending on different stem-final vowels cannot be accepted for Manandjali. It is further interesting to notice that the majority of nouns recorded end in one of the so-called 'nominalising' consonantal elements mentioned in Part I (3.6, with references), which may in a way justify the term 'nominalising' (although the precise function of these elements escapes us). It is possible that stems in -i (especially such as dagai white man, dubai woman) originally ended in *-j and thus fall in the same category.

39. cf. note 38. The only instance is, unfortunately, not illustrative: it is not a native word (cf. English 'money') and further ends in -i, which constitutes a special type of declension in Bandjalang (cf. Note 40).

40. In the Bandjalang of New South Wales such an ergative form (if analysed as maniju) would be correct of nouns ending in any vowel.

41. For expected *mibîna; the reason for the addition of an -l is not clear.

42. Probably for nûmbînga (as in Lismore Bandjalang; cf. Holmer 1971, 3.25(b)).

43. cf. Nunagal degegin (-gên) some white people (6.10).
44. The suffixes -gin and -gin are both found in Wakka-Wakka (see Part I, 7.16); it is interesting that the termination -gin in gigungin seems to have the same relation to the ergative suffix (in gigungu) as noticed for certain forms of the plural article in Wakka-Wakka (see loc.cit., 7.15). A form -bam (also common in the Wakka languages) probably occurs in Manandjali also; in our only recorded example, however, it is used (by Man JP) in the sense of a singular: "ŋa'n gali ginbam who is the woman?"

45. The fact that the plural article is added to the simple stem *miruŋ (and not to the derived mirungan, see 10.4) in some way supports the author's assumption (in Holmer 1971, 4.2 (b)) that -gan may function as a (singular) feminine 'article', which then would not be likely to take an additional plural article.

46. In the sentence je'ni waibarmir he came to the camp; the plural article would either indicate 'many fires' or perhaps rather—since the article is more typical with animate nouns—'the number of people at the camp'.

47. The first person plural is identical with the corresponding dual form, that is as in the Lismore Bandjalang (see Holmer 1971, 7.4, with the Note 71); this probably holds for the second person dual and plural (bulagan) as well (cf. ibid.). The form bulabu the two (Man ML) may be considered as nominal.

48. cf. Holmer 1971, 4.7 (a). A corresponding difference between a nominative (wuja) and ergative form (wa'lu), that is as in the Lismore Bandjalang (see Holmer 1971, 7.4 (b)), is likely, since the form wuja- occurs with the postposition bani (wujabani) as an ablative form.

49. cf. the same termination in Nunagal ŋariba, ŋarijuba mine, my (see 6.12). The termination -ba in all these forms may originally at least be that of a locative (at, with), that is the same -ba as mentioned in 10.4.

50. cf. Holmer 1971 (1.5, with the Note 11), where it is assumed that the final -i is to be explained as due to a phonetic tendency (cf. 9.3); the forms in -i, however, seem too frequent to be explained as mere phonetic variants and it should be noticed further that the tribe and language names galabal and galibal, that is languages in which this, here is respectively gala and gali, seem to indicate a basic difference in form between gala and gali.

51. The use of a personal and demonstrative pronoun together may seem strange, but can be justified in two ways: (1) either is nula (as often the third person pronouns in these languages) used in the sense of a noun (a he) or (2) the demonstrative mali may be rendered by there (hence he there); to the Aboriginal mind these distinctions do of course not exist.

52. In the Wakka languages -i is the sign of the locative (while -a functions as 'perlative'; cf. Part I, 7.12). The Manandjali perfectives would then be in line with the Wakka-Wakka perfectives jani went, na'ni saw (stems: ja-, na'-, with different 'thematic elements', -n-, -η-) or Batjala, Kabi-Kabi dingami threw (stem: ɡinga-, with 'thematic element' -m-). In Manandjali this element is always -n-.

53. In the New South Wales Kattang an analogous suffix (-gi) is used in a future sense (see Holmer 1966 a, 10.11, p. 80). In Gunggari gi is a postposition, but its meaning is rather the opposite of -gu (from, off; see Part II, 6.19).
They may actually rather refer to the 'dreamtime' than to past time in general (a distinction to which the Aborigines are usually not susceptible), as the forms in question occur in mythological contexts; in Holmer 1971 (8.19) these forms were referred to as 'past habitual forms', but in Manandjali at least the habitual element is not present.

The imperative is formed from a parallel stem janba-.  

55. The imperative is formed from a parallel stem janba-.  
56. Probably used for a perfective form also (cf. 10.27).  
57. Used in the sense of a perfective ('ran').  
58. He even went as far as to compare the pretended oddity of Aboriginal syntax with the difference in word order between Italian and English, by quoting the old tango solo mio as against English Oh, my Sun.

59. Parker 1896, pp. 126-128 (Folklore of the Noongahburrahs told to the Piccaninnies); also cf. Holmer 1963, pp. 84-86 (The Emu and the Bustard).

60. Our Jualrai comes closest to Edward M. Curr's 'Balonne, Nerran, etc. rivers' (Curr 1887, pp. 260-261).

61. cf. Part II, 8.9, Note 112.

62. Also cf. the supposed passing of ř into j in Gangulu (B), stated in Part II, 15.5.

63. The test word is, as usual, the word for tobacco, which is biaga in both Jualrai and Kamilroi, owing to the fact that the sound of English 'a' short (in 'baccy', 'bacca') is considered as a variant of the diphthong ia, just as Jualrai ge'1 is of gial afraid (cf. Mathews 1902, p. 188: giel afraid). For special reasons, the same word in Manandjali (ge'1 away), although possibly also arisen from *gial, is considered to have a basic e' (cf. 9.4).

64. The vowel length in Jualrai ma'la (for mala) big (Jua DM) is doubtless artificial and due to the fact that mala in Kamilroi means fork, genitals, from which it is thought fit to be differentiated; cf. Jualrai bundi (= Gunggari bunti) buttocks and Kamilroi bundi stick and, further, in Part I, 2.9, Note 14 (regarding a different accent in the word bala, as according to meaning).

65. An assumption that the final -j element in buladij (see 13.5) would reflect the alternation -r- ~ -j- (see 12.3) is hardly likely (although Mathews 1902, p. 180) has forms in both -dhí and -dyír; see further 14.6).

66. cf. Part II, 15.5.

67. Compounds with relation words (as in Latin redire, beside ire, reddere, beside dare, etc.) are hardly found in the Australian languages. In this case the exact meaning of da'-, da- is not ascertainable; it occurs in the verb bring, which is thereby differentiated from take (see Mathews 1902, p. 189), admitting an analysis either as return-take or hither-take.

68. The association of these words is as in Gangulu (B) wididi hat and widu white man (the hat not being an Aboriginal head covering).

69. A Jualrai form gana yam stick hence occurs in alternation with the Kattang (New South Wales) ganai digging stick; cf. Holmer 1967, p. 10. In bubalindai smoke pipe the -i seems clearly nominalising; cf. bubalinda- to smoke (= bubali-; 14.9) and Holmer 1966 a, 5.8; 1971, 3.18.

70. This, however, is most likely Gunggari; cf. Mathews 1902, p. 139: ngai-i.
In 𝜔𝑖𝑛اري 𝜔𝑎ʤ𝑙𝑖 (sic) *looking at you* (Jua DM); possibly for *𝜔𝑖𝑛𝑎𝑛𝑎 𝜔𝑎ʤ(𝑖)𝑙a (cf. 13.7); Mathews 1902 (p.139) gives nginnunna.

Or possessive (*whose?; Jua DM); this form evidently corresponds to Mathews 1902, p. 140: *whom belonging to*, ngangu?

cf. analogous forms in -na in Bidjara (ŋu-na) and Wirri (ŋandana) (see Part II, 9.26; 19.28).

cf. Wakka-Wakka, where forms in -e· (-e), from *-aj (imperfective) alternate with forms in -ai, from *-aji (perfective); see Part I, 7.28-29.

Forms ending in -li or -gi (which also occur in Mathews; loc.cit.) may be considered as originally ending in *-j (that is *-lij becomes -li and *-gij becomes -gi). In Gugu-Bujun, for instance, imperfective verbal forms are found ending in -ij, e.g. wanarij *rolling* (stem wanari-). In Jualrai and Kamilroi such forms would be justified if from a reflexive-reciprocal stem in -li- (see 14.8) or an intransitive stem in -ga-, -gi- (see 15.9).

This also appears in Mathews 1902, pp. 188-90: bunnagaigu, (= banagaigu) (to) run, etc.

cf. Goreng-Goreng and Kabi-Kabi, in Part I, 14.10; 20.6; these sounds have been represented by respectively ŧ and ť in the latter languages.

They might alternatively have been represented by d, t, n, respectively, as in Holmer 1966a and, besides, frequently in descriptions of Australian languages, especially if one takes into account the not unusual alternation of (interdental) sounds thus represented with palatalised sounds (cf. Holmer 1966a, 1.14, p.20).

These might consequently be written Nuŋŋŋ, wuŋ, etc., but since in other cases N alternates with ť such a writing would seem incongruous.

cf. the difference between Scottish Gaelic anam /aNa’m/ (interdental N) in me and anam /aNan/ (alveolar n) soul; also compare Holmer 1966a, 1.12.

This variant of an alveolar (or supradental) initial 'd' does not occur in English words, as pronounced by our informant, who instead uses dental variants (probably the Darumbal D). In the intervocalic position the usual confusion of -r- and -d- prevails (mostly due to the difficulty among English-speaking Aborigines in articulating the native sound of r, which is different from English 'r' (cf. Part II, Note 9).

cf. the difference between Scottish Gaelic carach /kaRax/ wily and carrach /kaRaX/ itchy; the acoustic similarity of the respective Aboriginal and Gaelic sounds would no doubt have been striking even though our informant's father had not been of Scottish descent.

The close analogy with Goreng-Goreng is seen in comparing the paradigm for Goreng-Goreng janga- *make* with that of Darumbal jaga-, idem: janga = jaga (imperative), jangalim = jagal (imperfective), janganmin (from *-lmin) = jagali (perfective), jagalu = jagalu (intentional).

One causative verb stem, wulaga- (put out (fire)) is found to be augmented by -r- instead of -l-; hence: wulaga(r)-.

cf. the same 'thematic element' in Nunagal and Ngawun imperfective forms (see Part II, 25.9 and Note 165; Part III, 6.14).
86. cf. the perfective -ŋ- in Wakka-Wakka naŋi saw, seen, boŋi died, dead (Part I, 7.30-31; 12) or Nunagal boŋ dead (Part III, 6.15).

87. In reality, it may have denoted (like the Sanskrit perfect, in the older, or Vedic, language) a verbal action sufficiently remote or referred to the past so as to make it 'not witnessed' (cf. William Dwight Whitney, A Sanskrit Grammar, 821. Leipzig, 1924), 'mythical' or — as far as Australia is concerned — related to the 'dreamtime'.

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