

Jeffrey Heath

Ngandi grammar, texts,  
and dictionary



AUSTRALIAN INSTITUTE OF ABORIGINAL STUDIES  
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## ABBREVIATIONS

A	a noun-class	In	inclusive
Abl	ablative	Inch	inchoative
Abs	absolute	Inst	instrumental
Adj	adjective, adjectival	Interj	interjection
Adv	adverb, adverbial	Interrog	interrogative
All	allative	Intr	intransitive
Anaph	anaphoric	Irreg	irregular (verb class)
Aug	augment	k	kin
Aux	auxiliary	Loc	locative
Ben	benefactive	M, Ma	masculine
Caus	causative	MA	a noun-class
cf.	compare	Mult	multiple
Cogn	cognate(s)	N	noun
Com	comitative	NA	a noun-class
Con	continuous	Neg	negative
Cont	continuous	NI	a noun-class
Corr	correlated with (Synonym in another language)	NK	kin noun
cpd	compound	Nungg	Nunggubuyu language
Dat	dative	Obj	object
Der	derivative	Orig	originative (case)
Dim	diminutive	P	past
Dimin	diminutive	Part	particle
Dir	directional	Per	pergressive (case)
Du	dual	Pl	plural
Dur	durative	pl.n.	place name
Emph	emphatic	Pot	potential
Erg	ergative	Pr, Pres	present
Evit	evitative	Prf	prefix
Ex	exclusive	Pron	pronoun
ex	example	Pun	punctual
F, Fe	feminine	Rdp	reduplication
Fut	future	Recip	reciprocal
Gen	genitive	Refl	reflexive
GU	a noun-class	Rel	relative (case)
Imm	immediate (deictic)	Rith	Ritharngu language
		Sff	suffix

Sg	singular	Var	variant
Simil	similative ('like')	Warnd	Warndarang language
sp.	species	xxx	inaudible portion of text
spp.	species (plural)		
s.t.	something	1,2,3...	pronominal persons; verb-class number
Sub	subordinator		
Subj	subject	∅	zero; untranslatable morpheme in text
Syn	synonym		
Tr	transitive	:	phonemic vowel-length
V	verb	:::	stylistic lengthening

\* \* \* \* \*

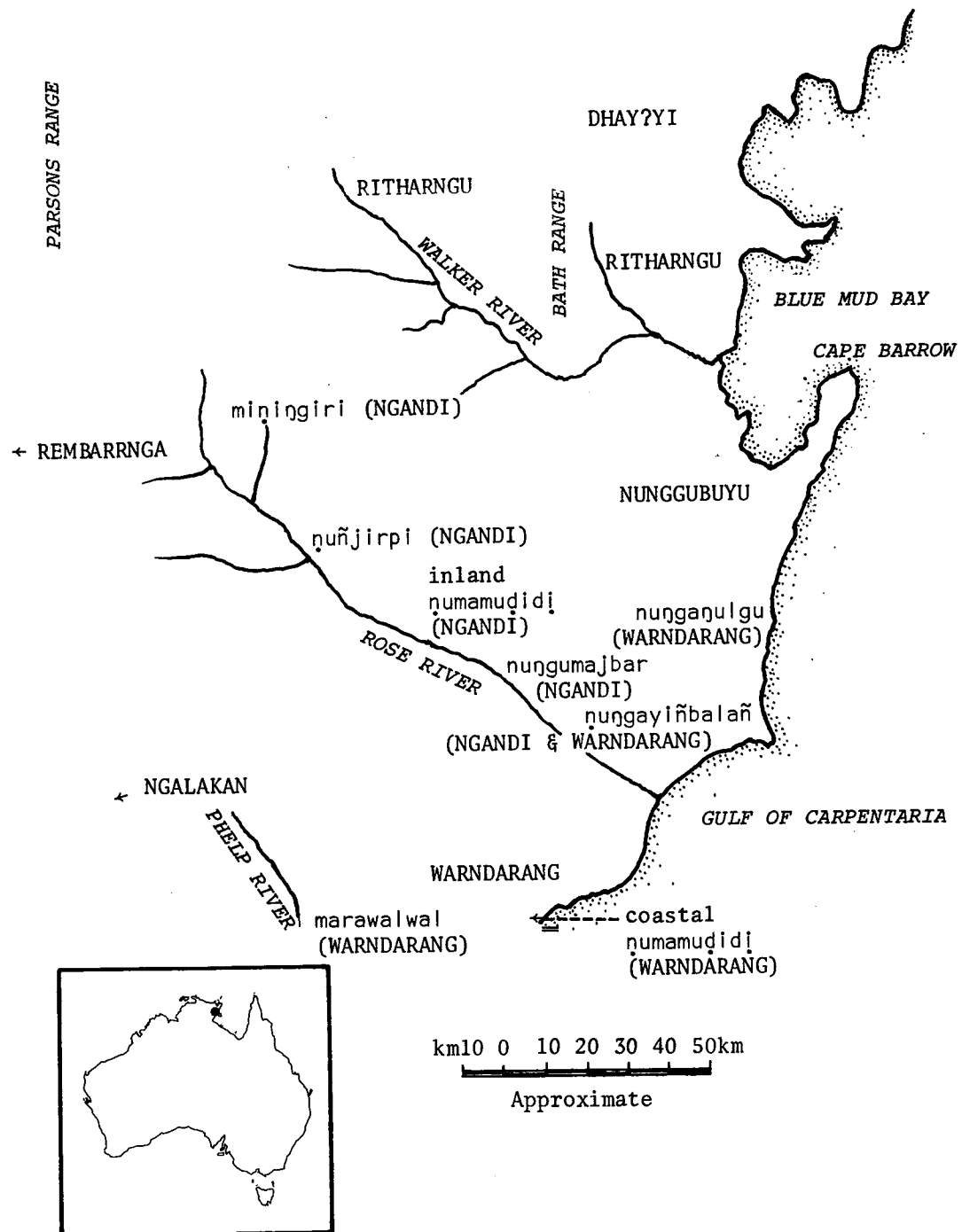
*NOTE:* Persons interested in listening to tapes of Ngandi material may do so at the A.I.A.S. building in Canberra, or may order copies of tapes at cost from A.I.A.S. The following tapes are relevant; they are cited both by the original J. Heath field tape number and by the A.I.A.S. archive tape number.

A.I.A.S. tape A3343 includes Heath tapes 18 and 20. All texts from the informant Sam are on Heath 18, which also ends with the beginning of the first long text by Sandy (Text 11 in this volume). Heath 20 contains the remainder of Text 11, and the bulk of the second long text by Sandy (Text 12). The remainder of this text was originally on Heath 11 (item 11F at the end of the field tape) and occurs at the beginning of A.I.A.S. tape A3344 (track A), which then continues with material in the Nunggubuyu language. The two very short texts (13, 14) by Sandy occur at the beginning of Heath 64 (= A.I.A.S. tape 4822), which also includes material in the Dhuwal and Nunggubuyu languages. Ngandi vocabulary and short utterances are in Heath 11 (= A.I.A.S. 3165, track A), but listeners should note that the glosses spoken into the tape are unreliable, and no systematic final transcription of that tape was made.

## PART ONE: GRAMMAR

Sg  
Si  
sp  
sp  
s.  
Su  
Su  
Sy  
Tr  
V

NO.  
do  
ta  
ar  
A.  
A.  
th  
of  
co  
te:  
on  
be  
ma  
14  
wh  
Ng  
31  
the  
ta



MAP 1 Ngandi-speaking clans and neighbouring groups.

## Chapter 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 THE LANGUAGE

There are probably about six persons who speak Ngandi well now. My principal informant, Sandy (maḍulpu), is probably in his forties, and so far as I know, persons younger than him do not speak the language well. Most people who speak Ngandi also speak one or more other Aboriginal languages such as Nunggubuyu, Ngalakan, Ritharngu, or Alawa, in addition to Pidgin English. Since the Ngandi speakers are scattered at several settlements (Ngukurr, Numbulwar, Roper Valley etc.), there is no likelihood that the language will survive much longer.

It is difficult to map language boundaries in this region, since territory is owned by clans rather than language groups, and clans may be linguistically composite ('mixed') and also may shift languages over time. My information is that the core Ngandi area was along the Rose River a fair distance from the coast and going north from there.

Sandy belongs to the numamuḍiḍi clan, or rather to a subclan which occupies an area north of the Rose River. This clan also includes a group whose country is along the coast south of the Rose River; this group formerly spoke Warndarang. According to Sandy, the northern, inland numamuḍiḍi are called ḡalawiñbiñ, while the southern, coastal numamuḍiḍi are called ṛinjin. The territorial centre of the northern group is amaḡibil, a billabong.

My other informant, Sam, belongs to the miningiri<sup>1</sup> clan, whose centre is a place called warpani. I have not pinned down its location as yet, but it appears to be somewhere in or near the Parsons Range

<sup>1</sup>It should be noted that the clan name miningiri can also be applied to a Ritharngu-speaking clan. It appears that the clans based at warpani (Ngandi), ma:ruru and ṛargaba (both Ritharngu) are closely related totemically and geographically, and are not rigorously distinguished as far as clan name is concerned. It would be more specific to refer to them as the warpani-based clan and so forth.

Si south of the upper Walker River. Other place names which I have  
Si recorded but not located for this clan are *ḍitenbuy* and *gaṇḍupurič*.

Si The *ṇuñjirpi* clan, which includes a man named Paul (*wu|kakiñ*),  
Si was also Ngandi-speaking according to my sources. This clan is said  
s. to have occupied the area just north of the upper Rose River (south)-  
St east of the *miṇṇigiri* area.

St The clan which occupied the mouth of the Rose River, called  
St *ṇungayinbalañ*, and whose oldest man is Brown (*ṇaṅgami|ñ*), is said (by  
St Sandy and Brown) to have originally spoken Warndarang and Ngandi. They  
St now speak mostly Nunggubuyu. This clan has close affinities with the  
St marawalwal clan (the 'Joshuas'), who spent most of their time around  
St the Phelp River (a tributary of the Roper River, flowing north toward  
St the Rose River), and with the *ṇungumajbar* and *ṇungauḷgu* (Nunggubuyu  
St pronunciation) clans to the north of the Rose River mouth. The  
St marawalwal and *ṇungauḷgu* originally spoke Warndarang, though the  
St latter would have known Nunggubuyu well as a second language. The  
V *ṇungumajbar* originally spoke mostly Ngandi.

St The approximate position of the major Ngandi-speaking clans is  
St shown in Map 1. The languages which were in contact with Ngandi were  
St Warndarang (now extinct), Nunggubuyu, Ritharngu, and probably also  
St Ngalakan and Rembarrnga. I am ill-informed about the location of the  
St latter two language groups.

St Genetically, I believe that Ngandi belongs to a large and diffuse  
St group which includes Nunggubuyu and Ngalkbon. The aspect of grammar  
St which I have found most immune to areal diffusion, and hence most  
St useful for determining genetic relationships, is the system of inflec-  
St tional verbal affixes. There are sufficient similarities between  
St details of verbal paradigms in these three languages to justify the  
St claim that they are genetically related. It is possible, however,  
St that this group will have to be expanded to accommodate other languages  
St (e.g. Ngalakan, Rembarrnga, Gunwinggu, Mangarai, Mara-Alawic, etc.) as  
St more information becomes available on them and as the general compara-  
St tive picture in the area becomes clearer.

St There is a sharp break between these languages and those of the  
St Yuulngu group in northeastern Arnhem Land, of which Ritharngu is the  
St most southerly representative. However, despite the genetic gulf  
St between Ritharngu and Ngandi, the two languages have obviously been in  
St very close contact for a long time, with the result that a considerable  
St amount of vocabulary and even some grammatical morphemes have been  
St diffused back and forth. Rembarrnga may also belong to this particular  
St *Sprachbund*.

## 1.2 THE FIELDWORK

The fieldwork for this volume was conducted in 1973-75 as part of a project involving several languages of eastern Arnhem Land and concentrating on Nunggubuyu. The amount of time spent on Ngandi was about six weeks in all, in two different periods. The analysis went along rapidly as Ngandi turned out to be relatively easy, and since it is similar in many respects to languages which I had worked on previously, notably Nunggubuyu and Ritharngu.

The principal informant was Sandy, who until late 1974 was working as a police tracker at Roper Bar (near Ngukurr). I had his services for about two weeks while he was on vacation at Numbulwar in 1973. In late 1974 he quit his police job and moved to Numbulwar, where I worked with him for about a month. In addition to lexical and paradigmatic elicitation, I obtained and analysed two long texts from Sandy.

Another informant, (Old) Sam Thompson, provided the other texts included in this work. Sam is an older man, born perhaps around 1915, and is generally considered the best living speaker of the language, at least at Ngukurr.

Certain of my papers in Dixon (1976) contain some data and commentary on Ngandi. I wish to state that at the time these papers were written my fieldwork and especially my analysis of Ngandi data had not been completed. The present work supersedes the comments in the papers in Dixon's volume. In particular, in one of those papers I incorrectly surmised that verbal root forms in Ngandi were an unproductive formation as in Nunggubuyu, whereas in fact they are just as productive as they are in Ritharngu.

My fieldwork and research were entirely supported by a grant from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. I am grateful not only for financial support but also for logistic support from members of all A.I.A.S. staff departments (technical, financial, executive, library, photography, publications, secretarial, etc.).

## 1.3 PREVIOUS RESEARCH

There is very little previous published material on the Ngandi language. Capell (1941-42), pp. 385-387, presents a bit of grammatical information in an article designed only to provide an introductory classification (largely typological rather than genetic) of Arnhem Land languages. There are a number of discrepancies between Capell's material and mine (aside from transcriptional differences); for example, Capell's third person pronouns are actually demonstrative pronouns, his interpretation of the semantics of verbal inflectional categories differs substantially from mine, he shows a negative preverb 'guṛag' for some tenses although I did not encounter it (unless this is my suffix -gura, cf. 9.23), and he presents some morphological combinations which I could not elicit.

Tindale (1928) presents extensive vocabulary lists in several languages, one of which is Ngandi, apparently obtained at Roper River (now Ngukurr settlement). Unfortunately, the transcriptions (which are not morphologically analysed) are difficult to decipher, and in many cases Tindale's items are either not in my own corpus or if they do occur are disguised beyond my recognition.

The present volume is based on my own material almost exclusively, for the simple reason that in the limited time available for fieldwork it did not seem profitable to spend a great deal of time trying to go through Tindale's material with my informants.



## Chapter 2

## SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

## 2.1 PHONEMES

The phonemes of Ngandi are displayed in Table 2-1.

There are six series of stops and nasals (vertical columns in the table). The p-series is bilabial. The t-series is interdental; the tip of the tongue protrudes between the upper and lower teeth, while the tongue's blade is pressed against a broad area of the upper teeth and the alveolar ridge. The t-series and t-series are apical, the former apicoalveolar and the other retroflexed (apicodomal). The č-series, like the t-series, is laminal, and is best described as laminoalveolar. The k-series is velar.

In word- or syllable-final position Ngandi consonants are not characterised by the aspirated or semi-affricated release which we find in English. In this position, then, such consonants as č differ from English consonants like ch not only in being pronounced a bit further forward in the mouth, but also in lacking a distinctive release. In some instances č is nearly inaudible to an English ear, e.g. in -rɪč-du-, which I initially transcribed as -rɪtɪu-.

Table 2-1 — Phonemes

Stops (fortis)	p	t̪	t	t̠	č	k
Stops (lenis)	b	d̪	d	d̠	j	g
Nasals	m	(n̪)	n	n̠	ɲ	ŋ
Laterals		(l̪)	l	l̠		
Rhotics			r	r̠		
Semivowels					y	w
Laryngeal						ʔ
Vowels (short)	u	o	a	e	i	
Vowels (long)	u:	o:	a:	i:		

Fortis and lenis stops are distinguished, in contrastive environments, by duration and/or by voicing, which are of roughly equal perceptual significance.

r is a flap or light trill; ɾ is a retroflexed vocoid like American English r. r and ɾ do not pattern like apicoalveolar/apicodomal contrasts in the stop, nasal, and lateral series.

Interdental l̪ and n̪ are not really part of the Ngandi phonemic system; they occur only in two or three flora-fauna terms like maŋa 'heron sp.' and ma|ka|a|l̪|r 'black duck', loanwords from Nunggubuyu.

The five vowel qualities are roughly as in Spanish, except that e and especially o are more open. o is very open and is not easily distinguishable from a. Since long vowels are rare, the absence of e: is best taken as an accidental gap instead of a significant fact about the phonemic system.

## 2.2 DISTRIBUTIONAL RESTRICTIONS: VOWELS

The following is a fairly complete list of stems and affixes which have long vowels: da: 'mouth', mo: 'knee', ma:k 'good', ŋa:n (6.7), ga: 'swag', ga:- (8.19), da:-bu- 'to test', mo:nič 'stealthily', giɖiba:pa 'lotusbird', and ba:guɾu 'headband'. In addition, ŋu- 'to sit' has a Past Continuous form ŋ-i:, and bu- 'to hit' has a Past Punctual bo:-m.

From these examples we can see that long vowels occur most often in morphemes of the shape CV: and CV:C. The two long stems, giɖiba:pa and ba:guɾu, are probably loans from Warndarang giɖibawaba and Nunggubuyu ba:guɾu.

With the exception of a, vowels do not occur word- or stem-initially. There are only a few words beginning in a, except for those with the prefix a-. On the surface o can occur word-initially, but here it represents underlying /a/ which has been rounded by phonological rule P-15.

There are no vowel clusters on the surface except in ma-aŋa 'mangrove'. It is possible to analyse some verbal constructions as having vowel clusters at underlying or intermediate levels, but these undergo contractions. For example, Reflexive -i- combines with ɖak-du- 'to cut' to give ɖak-d̪-i-.

## 2.3 DISTRIBUTIONAL RESTRICTIONS: FORTIS AND LENIS STOPS

Fortis and lenis stops contrast on the surface in the environments V\_\_V and VS\_\_V within words, where V is a vowel and S a nonnasal sonorant (liquid, semivowel, or rhotic). Examples of the latter contrast are rk and rg in birka?-du- 'to blame' and berge? 'green plum'.

We therefore have surface neutralisation of the two sets of stops in these environments: word-initial, syllable-final, and O\_\_ where O is a stop, ʔ, or a nasal. In these neutralising positions I transcribe stops with the fortis series (p, t, etc.) syllable-finally and with the lenis series (b, d, etc.) syllable-initially. Thus in birka?-du- and berge? the b is a neutralised stop; the same is true of g in maŋa? 'maybe', d̪ in ɖak-du- 'to cut', and t in bot 'fly'. This transcriptional convention corresponds to the phonetic reality in the main. However, syllable-initial neutralised stops are mid-way between lenis and fortis

Sg  
Si  
Sf  
Sf  
s.  
St  
St  
Sj  
Tj  
V

phonetically after stops and ?, while neutralised stops in syllable-final position are occasionally somewhat lenis.

In underlying representations, then, it is necessary to distinguish fortis, lenis, and neutralised stops. In contrastive positions V\_\_V and VS\_\_V within morphemes, stops must be specified as fortis or lenis. In noninitial neutralising positions within morphemes, syllable-finally and O\_\_, stops must be specified as neutralised.

This leaves us with morpheme-initial position to account for. Here we find that stems and prefixes are best taken as showing neutralised stops, or alternatively as showing underlying <sup>lenis</sup> stops. In the first alternative, which is preferable, we need a rule or convention to the effect that a neutralised (unmarked) stop in prefix- or stem-initial position is redundantly marked lenis. Thus *berge?* 'green plum' begins with a bilabial stop originally unspecified for tenseness (fortis/lenis), and this stop is then automatically marked as lenis b by virtue of being in stem-initial position. Adding noun-class prefix ma-, we get ma-berge? (not \*ma-perge?).

Suffixes, however, must be specified as beginning with underlying fortis or lenis stops. For example, we have Genitive-Dative /-ku/ and Locative /-gi/. The k/g opposition in suffix-initial position is neutralised in some environments by phonological rules, but is maintained in others: gu-ḡawal-ku and gu-ḡawal-gi with (gu-)ḡawal 'country'. We therefore have an underlying contrast which must be specified.

It is even possible to consider extending this underlying analysis to stem-initial (though not to prefix-initial) position and say that stems must also be specified as having underlying fortis or lenis stops. Although word-initially and after ordinary prefixes there is no fortis/lenis contrast in stem-initial position (we always get lenis stops in contrastive positions), the situation changes when we add compounding elements or a reduplicated segment before the stem. Some nominal and verbal stems (set A) unexpectedly show a stem-initial fortis stop in compounds, and some (set B) show an initial fortis stop in reduplications. Thus mar- 'hand' plus -buru- 'to smell' gives mar-puru- instead of expected \*mar-buru-, while buḡa- 'to rush along' reduplicates as buḡa-puḡa- instead of expected \*buḡa-buḡa-. Contrast the lenis stops in ḡa:-bar-ḡu- (a compound of ḡa:- and bar-ḡu-) 'to open one's mouth' and reduplicated -benḡi-benḡi-ri 'stepped on'.

Since there is no way to account for the difference between the initial stops of set A, set B, and 'regular' stems by general phonological rules, the thought suggests itself that we could take set A and set B stems as having underlying fortis stops, while other 'regular' stems have underlying lenis stops. We would then have a rule leniting the initial fortis stops except after the compounding elements and reduplicative segments.

This would be the optimal solution, except for the fact that sets A and B do not coincide. For example, ḡo- 'to chop down' is in set A, hence wali-ḡo- 'to chop down wood', but is not in set B, hence Past Continuous reduplication ḡoḡi-ḡo-ḡi (not \*ḡoḡi-ḡo-ḡi).

The solution in terms of underlying fortis vs. lenis stops would work nicely if there were only two types of stem as far as treatment

NC  
d:  
t:  
a:  
A  
A  
tl  
o:  
c:  
t:  
o:  
b:  
m:  
l:  
w:  
N  
3  
t:  
t

of initial stop is concerned. In this case setting up two underlying stop series in this position would be sufficient to account for the surface forms provided a lenition rule was formulated. However, instead of two underlying stop series we really need at least three - one always lenis, one fortis in compounds and lenis elsewhere, one fortis in compounds and reduplications and lenis elsewhere.

Because a solution in terms of underlying phonetic features seems to be of no real synchronic value (and would not be historically valid either), I will take all stem-initial stops (like prefix-initial stops) as neutralised, with a redundancy rule specifying them as lenis after prefixes and in word-initial position. I have set up two Hardening rules (P-3, P-4) triggered by lexical features, one applying in compounds and the other in reduplications, to account for the unexpected fortis stops in sets A and B. Stems not affected by these morphophonemic rules automatically show lenis stops in these as in other environments.

In summary, the underlying distribution of fortis, lenis, and neutralised stops is as follows: morpheme-noninitial stops in environments V\_\_V and VS\_\_V, and suffix-initial stops, must be specified as fortis or lenis; all other stops are neutralised.

Some linguists working on other languages in the area with similar phonemic systems have used geminated/simple rather than fortis/lenis analyses. In all of these languages, the gemination analysis has some advantages and some disadvantages in describing distributional patterns. The debate on this has been rather unedifying and inconclusive and I will omit a full discussion. My main concern is to present the facts; readers can reanalyse to their hearts' content.

#### 2.4 OTHER RESTRICTIONS ON CONSONANTS

Other than the restrictions on fortis and lenis stops noted in (2.3) there are only a few restrictions on the occurrence of consonants in initial and final position in words, stems, and other morphemes.

Interdentals cannot occur in syllable-final (including word-final) position.

The glottal stop ? is common at the end of words and all kinds of morphemes, but cannot occur in word-, prefix-, or stem-initial position. It is always syllable-final. It occurs initially in certain suffixes, but is always followed by another consonant (e.g. -?wič, the pronominal possessive suffixes, etc.). In such instances the ? has a junctural flavour and historically might best be taken as a prosodic element inserted at morpheme-boundaries. However, it is not possible to devise workable rules for inserting ? in these instances synchronically, so the ? must be put in the base form of the suffixes in question.

Flap r is rare in word- or morpheme-initial position. The only example I know of is rur?-ḡu- 'to go around', a stem which (like other verbs) can occur without prefixes or with Ø- pronominal prefix.

In prefix- and stem-initials, apicoalveolars d, n, l are in complementary distribution with retroflexed ḡ, ḡ, | in most morpheme classes. In underlying forms we have the following situations:

- (a) in nominal and verbal stems only retroflexed consonants occur

initially; (b) in demonstratives only apicoalveolars occur (-ni-?, -na-?); (c) in prefixes which always occur word-initially we cannot tell what the underlying point of articulation is because of phonological rule P-2; (d) in noninitial prefixes we get apicoalveolars except in the case of -|i- (which may pattern as a compounding stem historically). The underlying distribution of the two series is altered by P-2, which makes apicoalveolars retroflexed word-initially and after prefixes other than certain noun-class and pronominal prefixes.

In underlying forms, then, it is possible to think of an unmarked or neutralised apical series whose precise point of articulation is specified first by a redundancy rule depending on the form-class of the morpheme which it begins, and subsequently by P-2. In the dictionary and in citation forms, however, I will write the demonstratives as -ni-? and -na-?, nominal and verbal stems with initial ɖ, ŋ, |, and so forth.

## 2.5 CONSONANT CLUSTERS

There are no word-initial clusters. There are no stem-initial clusters except for ñj in the interrogative stem -ñja. Numerous suffixes, including possessives, begin in ? followed by another consonant as noted in (2.4). Some inflectional verbal suffixes, which are in general more tightly fused to stems than are most other kinds of suffixes, begin with clusters not found initially in other morphemes, e.g. Reciprocal -yɖi-.

In medial and final clusters, I was able to hear no phonetic difference between apicoalveolars d, t, l, n and retroflexed ɖ, ɗ, |, ŋ following other consonants except ?, y, and perhaps w. That is, I heard no contrasts such as rn/rŋ or ñd/ñɖ. Therefore we must again posit an unmarked apical type in underlying forms where the cluster is within one morpheme, and we also need a rule neutralising the contrasts when an apical at the beginning of one morpheme follows a consonant (other than ?, y, w) at the end of a preceding morpheme.

In transcriptions the following conventions will be used: (a) homorganic stop-nasal clusters are written nd and nɖ within morphemes; (b) in other intramorphemic clusters, neutralised apicals always happen to occur in frozen reduplications like |et|et, and since the initial apical is written as a retroflexed consonant by previously-noted conventions the medial postconsonantal apical which corresponds to the initial apical will also be written as retroflexed; (c) when the neutralised apical occurs initially in a morpheme which follows another morpheme ending in a consonant, the apical is written as apicoalveolar or retroflexed by analogy to its written form when its morpheme follows a vowel (hence ñar-ɖala-ɖa-ŋi, not \*ñar-dala-ɖa-ŋi, because of forms like ba-ɖala-ɖa-ŋi with different prefix).

Final clusters (in stems and words) are of the following types:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Glosses are omitted here to save space. They may be found in the Dictionary.

(a) sonorant plus ?. Examples: ñom? (root form of ñom?-ɖu-), wa|an?, buruŋburuŋ?, ɖiwiñ?, ɖamurkalaŋ?, ɖul?, gu|? (root form of gu|?-ɖu-), baŋar?, gawir?, bijay?, ɖaw?. Geminate \*?? is impossible here as elsewhere.

(b) nonnasal sonorant plus stop (usually k or č, once p). Examples: bereme|k, golč, ɖapo|k, wurk, ŋurč, ɖičbaŋk, woŋč, gowk, guyk, ɖerp (root form of ɖerp-ɖu-). The clusters \*|č, \*wč, and \*yč are not attested.

(c) lateral or rhotic plus ŋ. Examples: ɖamu|ŋ, murŋ, baŋŋ. No example of \*|ŋ is attested.

(d) rhotic plus ŋ plus ?. Examples: -garŋgarŋ?, ɖaɖabaŋŋ?

The set of clusters which can occur medially is substantially greater. In the following lists, if a cluster occurs within a morpheme a monomorphemic example is given. Therefore when an example is given showing the cluster split by a morpheme boundary, e.g. ñɖ in muñ-ɖu-, the reader may infer that such a cluster is not attested within any single morpheme. The attested medial cluster types are these:

(a) stop plus stop. Examples: jaraɖatbuwa, bi|biɖok, angačba, ɖakbarara? (kb occurs in several stems), japɖa- (fairly frozen but probably from \*jap-ɖa-), wut-ɖu- (phonetic wu|u-), bu|ɖu-, rič-ɖu-, mak-ɖi-, bot-juŋ (tj is indistinguishable from č), bi|juk, jerekjerek (frozen Rdp), ɖap-guba-, bu|et-buga-, guč-ga-. \*tɖ could probably have been found across a boundary if the right combination of morphemes were juxtaposed. Geminates like /pb/ can occur underlyingly but are contracted to fortis stops. Note the absence of clusters with d or ɖ as second member; possibly we could elicit such clusters in compounds across boundaries but they are clearly the least favoured stop-stop clusters.

(b) stop plus sonorant. Monomorphemic examples: ɖokmay?, |et|et, ŋakŋak, ŋutŋut, we|eknayı-. These are about the only stems attested with such clusters. Some are obviously frozen reduplications; ɖokmay? and we|eknayı- may contain morpheme boundaries after the stop historically, though I have no definite etymologies in mind. Across boundaries stop-sonorant clusters are common, since noun stems can end in p, t, ɗ, č, and k and suffixes (including possessives) can begin in w (-wala), y (-yurŋ), m (-may?), ŋ (-ŋayı), ñ (-ñirayı), ŋ (-ŋinaŋi), etc. (Some of the suffixes listed here have lost an initial ? by P-10.) Note, however, that the underlying clusters /ty/, /tɖ/, and /čy/ which occur across boundaries in such sequences show /y/ → j by P-5, and /čj/ is further contracted to č by P-14.

(c) nasal plus nasal. Examples: jinma, guŋmuk, guŋiñmiya?, ɖaŋmele, bamñar-ɖu-, benŋa-. Note that m is the favourite second consonant. Across boundaries we get other combinations, but not many since such suffixes as -?may? and the possessives retain their glottal stop following nasals. The cluster ŋŋ is common across boundaries: |oŋ-ŋutŋut, etc. However, it is optionally contracted to phonetic ŋ by P-14.

(d) nasal plus stop. Examples: wamba, manba, baŋbalŋu, biñbiñja|a, muŋbi-, ganam-ɖam?, gaŋandar?, biŋdarana?, muñ-ɖu-, ɖoŋɖoy, bandayama?, boŋɖok, ganji, baŋja, -ñja, gunga, maŋga?, wañ-gol, baŋanga. Homorganic

S clusters like mb and ng are common. \*mg is unattested but probably  
S occurs in the combination of yurum with case suffixes like -gi. The  
s most common nonhomorganic clusters are those with b as second element  
s and certain other combinations like ng. Clusters with d or ɖ as  
S second element, aside from nd and nɖ, are avoided.

S (e) nonnasal sonorant plus stop. Note that fortis and lenis stops  
S contrast in this position. Examples with initial lateral: balpaɾa,  
S balpu!ʔ, bulbaba, ɖolɖol, galɖa- (probably from \*gal-ɖa-), ja!-ɖu-  
T ɖulɖul (frozen Rdp), bulciʔ, jumba!ɖumba! (frozen Rdp), balja, balku,  
V bu!ku, ɖalgir, balgur. With initial rhotic: ɖarpič, burpaʔ, garka,  
maɾ-bačā-, ɖorɖi-, giɾɖa- (perhaps from \*giɾ-ɖa-), ɖurɖur (frozen Rdp),  
goɾgoʔ, barčaray, barčar, birkaʔ-ɖu-, barku, bergeʔ. Across boundaries,  
such clusters as rj, rg, and !t can be generated without any trouble,  
and perhaps others could be found. Again, clusters with t, ɖ, d, and  
ɖ as second element are avoided; only !ɖ is found and it occurs only  
once in the data. Semivowel-stop clusters are not exceptionally  
common; examples are gayku, gaypa!ʔ, geygey, gorowkorow, -yɖi- (Reciprocal  
suffix). At morpheme boundaries we find stem-final y and w, which  
can be followed by suffix-initial p, ɖ, ɖ, k, g, etc.

A (f) lateral or rhotic plus nasal. Examples: ɖalmaran, bilmir, gurma!uʔ,  
C joɾmoɾʔ (but \*ɾm has been unstable, cf. waɾama vs. Nunggubuyu waɾma,  
t baɾmurk or baɾamurk vs. Ritharngu baɾmurk); ɖalɳirneyʔ, bulɳin, warɳu,  
ε baɳbalɳu, bulɳuʔ, gurɳa, burɳur. The patterning is similar to that of  
A liquid-stop and nasal-stop clusters.

1 (g) lateral or rhotic plus lateral or rhotic. Examples: jalɾumbir  
C (originally \*jal-ɾum-bir), ɳar-ɾam-ɖa-yɖi-ni ('We speared each other',  
C with stem ɾam-ɖa-). In some cases /rɾ/ arising across boundaries is  
1 reduced by P-13.

C (h) sonorant plus semivowel. Examples: waɳwaɳ (frozen Rdp), !arwa,  
T ɖalwaɳ, baɾwič (\*baɾ-wič), wirya!, gaywal. An uncommon type intra-  
I morphemically; only rw is at all common. However, the type is common  
V across boundaries when suffixes like -yuɳ and -wala follow stems  
ending in sonorants.

1 (i) semivowel plus nasal or lateral. Examples: ɖuymanji, maymay (Rdp),  
moynɔʔ. These are my only examples. A rare intermorphemic example:  
buypuy-ɳa- with -ɳa- 'to burn'.

(j) ? plus consonant. This type is uncommon within morphemes, except  
at the beginning of suffixes like -?wič and so forth. goʔma- can be  
cited, but may reflect \*goʔ-ma-, while waraʔwara is a frozen reduplica-  
tion. Across boundaries the type is very common, since many noun  
stems and verb roots end in ? and these can be followed by suffixes  
beginning with a variety of consonants. Similarly, the prefixes -naʔ-  
and -?- can precede stems beginning in any consonant.

(k) most triple clusters which occur medially (noninitially and non-  
finally) within morphemes are rhotic plus homorganic nasal-stop  
cluster: arɳu (also !irɳiɳ, warɳu!), warmbaya, maɳga. This is a  
fairly complete list. Across boundaries we can get clusters of rhotic  
or lateral followed by nasal and another consonant; the morpheme  
boundary comes after the nasal. Examples: baɾɳ, ɖamu!ɳ, and murɳ plus  
suffixes like -gi, -wala, -yuɳ.

(l) The other triple cluster which occurs medially in a morpheme  
(other than a frozen reduplication or composite form) is of the type  
sonorant plus ? plus consonant. The only good examples are jaɳʔba,  
gaɾʔmaɳ, maɾʔma-ɖu-, and gurʔwar-ɖu-. There are many frozen reduplica-  
tions with such clusters: japuɖeɳʔɖeɳ, bilʔbil-ɖu-, gurʔgur. Examples  
like jaɳʔ-ɖa- and ɖaɳʔ-ɖa- consist of a CVCC root plus -ɖa-. Causative  
allomorph -nʔguba- is -guba- (another allomorph) plus an increment -nʔ-.  
Other examples across boundaries: biɖeyʔ-ɖu-, bilʔ-mak-ɖi-.

(m) sonorant plus stop (k, č, rarely p) plus consonant. All intra-  
morphemic examples are frozen reduplications: wowkwowk, wočwoč.  
Such examples show k or č, never p, and the sonorants are always non-  
nasal. Across boundaries the latter two restrictions are inoperative:  
ɖerp-ɖu-, ɖoɳk-ɖu- (the only examples with medial p or initial nasal).  
Other examples: burk-ɖa-, belk-bu-.

(n) The only quadruple clusters occur across boundaries, when stems  
ending in rɳʔ or rɳʔ are followed by suffixes. Examples: ɳoɳɳʔ-ɖu-,  
ɖaɖabaɳʔ-yuɳ, -gaɳgaɳʔ plus suffixes.

## Chapter 3

### PHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

#### 3.1 GENERAL REMARKS

In the following sections I will describe the various phonological rules which are necessary to convert underlying representations into the attested surface forms. I have divided the rules into the following groups: Reduplication (3.2), early redundancy rules (3.3), Hardening (3.4), Lenition (3.5), ?-Deletion (3.6), other consonant-cluster rules (3.7), and rules affecting vowels (3.8). In (3.9) I discuss ordering relations among these rules.

#### 3.2 REDUPLICATION

There are three basic initial reduplication patterns: CVCV- (Type A), CVCV?- (Type B), and root-reduplication (Type C). Type B is a minor modification of Type A, while Type C is quite different except in the case where it applies to a CVCV stem. Other types are variations on these three basic types. Medial C in these formulae may be a cluster.

Vowels in reduplicated segments must be short even when the stem itself has an underlying long vowel. Thus *ḍabu-ḍa-bu-* from *ḍa:-bu-*. Shortening of the stem-vowel in reduplications (in this example the noninitial *-ḍa-* from */-ḍa:-/*) is taken care of by rule P-17.

Reduplication of nominal stems and demonstratives (other than *-wolo*) is very uncommon, and is certainly less important than in Nunggubuyu or Warndarang. In these languages nominal reduplication is obligatory in the plural of some stems, and is optionally applied to certain other stems to form a multiple plural. In Ngandi the only noun consistently reduplicated in the plural is *ḍaku* in the sense of 'small; child' (not in the sense 'nephew; niece'): (ba-)ḍaku-ḍaku 'children'. Multiple plurals are formed by adding the prefix *-gara-* 'all' or by other morphological means.

Reduplication of verbal stems is quite common. Usually it indicates repetition, distribution, or continuity and in the Past tense

(positive) it normally occurs only with the Continuous aspect. Occasionally reduplicated Past Punctual forms occur with distributive sense: *ba-gara-wadi-wadi-ñ* (from *wati-*) 'They all died.'

The attested examples of reduplicated nominal stems are of Types A and B: *ḍaku-ḍaku* (cf. above), *jawu?-jawulpa* 'old men', *wiri?-wiriḍu* 'others'. Similarly, the demonstrative *-wolo* reduplicates as *-wolo-wolo* or as *-wolo?-wolo*. The adverb *ḍaḍabaru?* 'afternoon; yesterday' has a reduplication *ḍaḍa?-ḍaḍabaru?*, which in rapid speech may undergo a low-level contraction to *ḍa?-ḍaḍabaru?*.

Most verb stems can be reduplicated. In classes 1 and 2 the most common reduplication is Type C. Class 1 verbs include a root, often of the shape CVC- or CVCVC- and occasionally CVCV-, which may occur alone as a 'root form'. To inflect such a root it is necessary to add a thematic augment *-ḍu-* before the inflectional suffix. Reduplication applies to the root, but not the augment: *ḍak-ḍak-ḍu-*, *jaḍa-jaḍa-ḍu-*, *juḍu?-juḍu?-ḍu-*, *waḗal?-waḗal?-ḍu-*. For the relatively few class 1 stems with roots longer than two syllables we get Type A reduplication in *japa-ḥapaḍa?-ḍu-* (for */j/* → *ḥ*, cf. P-4). Note also *gur?wa-gur?war-ḍu-*.

Class 2 consists in part of a set of stems ending in *-ḍa-*. Most of these stems can occur in the root form without *-ḍa-*, though some cannot. In this type of class 2 stem we find Type C reduplication as in class 1: *jap-japḍa-*, *yowk-yowk-ḍa-*, *galiñ-galiñ-ḍa-*, *jar?-jar?-ḍa-*.

Class 2 also includes a number of stems which are not segmentable into a root and an augment (e.g. *baḥa-*), and some others ending in *ḥa* which may be related to *-ḍa-* but if so is quite frozen (e.g. *gorḥa-*, *warḥa-*). These show Type A reduplication with Lenition by P-7: *gorḍa-gorḍa-*.

Other verb classes predominantly show Type A reduplication with an occasional example of Type B. Examples: *wadi-wadi-* (class 3a, from *wati-*); *ḥimi-ḥimi-ḥi* (Past tense, class 4b, from *ḥima-*); *rukba-rukba-* (class 5).

In all cases reduplication begins with the initial consonant of the main stem of the word, and does not affect prefixes, initial elements in compounds, etc. Hence *ḥar-mili?-buyḍi-pu-yḍi-Ø* 'lest you (Pl) always fight', not \**ḥarmi-ḥar-mili?-bu-yḍi-Ø* or \**ḥar-mili-mili?-bu-yḍi-Ø*. If the stem is monosyllabic the first syllable of the suffix or suffix-cluster is included in the reduplicated segment: *ḥarma-maḥi-ma-ḥi* 'We (PlEx) used to get them.' In such instances the reduplicated segment will be written as a single unit (*-maḥi-*, not *-ma-ḥi-*). If the stem plus suffix-cluster form a single syllable, Type A reduplication is monosyllabic: *-ḥi-ḥi* from *-ḥi:* (Past Continuous of *-ḥu-* 'to sit').

Further details of idiosyncrasies of particular verb stems in reduplications will be given in Chapter 9.

#### 3.3 EARLY REDUNDANCY RULES

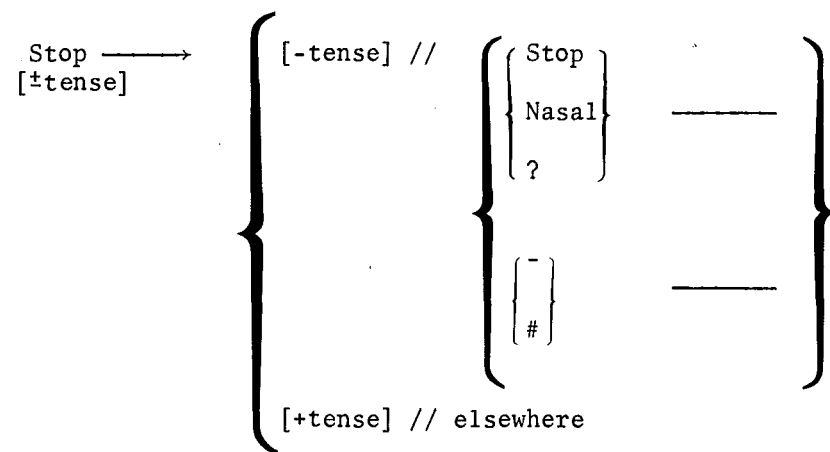
The system of underlying representations outlined in Chapter 2, though not reflected in my transcriptions or dictionary entries, allows for

underlying stops in some positions to be neutral for tenseness (fortis/lenis), and for some apical consonants except r to be neutral for retroflexion. In the present section I will describe rules which provide values for these features for underlying neutral consonants.

In contrastive underlying positions, stops have already been specified as fortis ([+tense]) or lenis ([-tense]). In noncontrastive positions they are specified as neutral, which I will symbolise as [±tense]. Noncontrastive positions are: syllable-finally; initially in stems and prefixes; and syllable-initially within morphemes following a stop, nasal, or ?.

The redundancy rule applicable to underlying neutral stops can now be formulated approximately as P-1.

#### P-1 Fortis-Lenis Assignment



Symbols: - is a word-internal morpheme boundary, # is a word boundary.

The environment involving preceding Stop, Nasal, or ? is really unnecessary at this point, since P-6 (below) could take care of these instances.

The environment with preceding - or # boundary takes care of initial stops in stems and prefixes; it does not apply to suffixes since when these begin with stops the stops must be marked either [+tense] or [-tense], not [±tense] (neutral) as specified in P-1.

'Elsewhere' in effect means syllable-final position.

Examples of the effect of the rule: BoD → bot; DanDa? → danda?; BiḐBiḑoG → biḑbiḑok; a-Jeñ → a-jeñ; a-ma:G-yuŋ → a-ma:k-yuŋ.

Another problem similar to that involving tenseness is the

assignment of retroflexion to underlying apical consonants not already specified for this feature. This applies to all morpheme-initial apicals (except r) in stems and prefixes, but not suffixes. We therefore need a rule assigning the feature [+retr] (retroflexed) or [-retr] (apicoalveolar) to these neutral apicals.

The facts are rather complicated. First, we observe that only [+retr] apicals can occur word-initially; this overrides all following comments. Secondly, we note that 'early' elements such as prefixes in the first two or three 'slots' show [-retr] apicals except when word-initial, while 'late' elements like prefixes in slots further to the right and all stems (except demonstratives) show invariable [+retr] apicals. There are also some 'middle-order' elements which have two forms depending on what precedes them.

The early morphemes are these: (a) morphemes in pronominal prefixes; (b) MDu -ni- (8.3); (c) -laŋ- (8.2). The prefixes -ni- and -laŋ- follow the pronominal prefixes, and the prefix -ja- 'now' (8.2), but are not preceded by any of the many other noninitial prefixes described in Chapter 8.

The middle-order morphemes are these: (a) the demonstrative stems -ni- and -na- (6.1); (b) the prefix -na?- 'still' (8.6). This prefix follows MDu -ni- (and presumably -laŋ- as well).

Aside from nominal and verbal stems, late morphemes include the following prefixes: -!i- (8.7), -ŋamulu- (8.15).

The middle-order morphemes show retroflexed forms following all noninitial prefixes (i.e. all prefixes which follow the pronominal prefixes) except Subordinator -ga-, and following certain pronominal prefixes. The apicoalveolar forms show up after the other pronominal prefixes and after -ga-. The term 'pronominal prefixes' here includes noun-class prefixes with nouns and demonstratives, since they are identical to intransitive pronominal prefixes.

The pronominal prefixes which require the [+retr] forms of following middle-order morphemes are all prefixes of more than one syllable ending in 3MSg/NI /-ni- ~ -nu-/, MDu -ri- (\*-r-ni- with M ending \*-ni- identical to the 3MSg/NI morpheme), 3FSG/NA /-na-/, Accusative 3Pl -bara- (-ba-r-a-), 2Sg /-nu-/, or 2Pl /-na-/.

The pronominal prefixes which require the [-retr] forms are all monosyllabic prefixes, plus nonmonosyllabic prefixes ending in the Nominative 3Pl form -ba-, or in a morpheme representing any of the three explicitly nonhuman noun-classes (A, GU, MA).

An example of retroflexion of a middle-order morpheme following a noninitial prefix: a-ja-ŋi-? 'this one now'. The retroflexion of the demonstrative stem is due to the noninitial prefix -ja- 'now'; without it we get a-ni-? since the noun-class prefix a- is monosyllabic.

Examples of retroflexion of middle-order morphemes following pronominal prefixes: bari-ŋa-ri 'those (MDu)'; ŋanu-ŋa?-ŋa-čini 'I still see him.' (the middle-order morpheme is -ŋa?- 'still'); ŋana-ŋa?-ŋa-čini 'I still see her.'; ŋabara-ŋa?-ŋa-čini 'I still see them.' The pronominal prefixes, though written here as single units, can be decomposed into smaller elements, and the ones shown here end in MDu

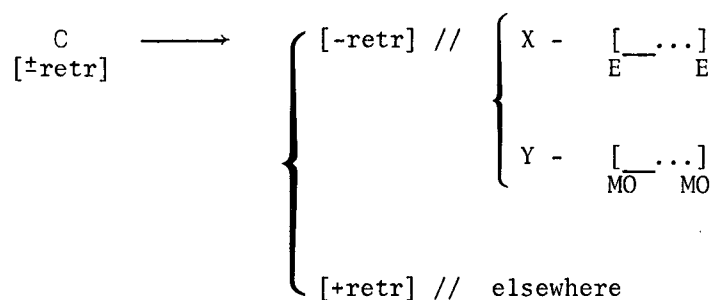
-ri-, 3MSg/NI -nu-, 3FSg/NA -na-, and 3Pl Accusative -bara-.

Examples of apicoalveolar forms of middle-order morphemes following other pronominal prefixes:  $\eta$ i-na-ri 'that (MSg)' (also  $\eta$ a-na-ri, ba-na-ri, a-na-ri, ma-na-ri, etc., with other noun-class prefixes and the same demonstrative stem); barba-na?- $\eta$ a- $\check{c}$ ini 'They still see them.'; barma-na?- $\eta$ a- $\check{c}$ ini 'They still see it (MA).';  $\eta$ ara-na?- $\eta$ a- $\check{c}$ ini 'I still see it (A).'; bargu-na?- $\eta$ a- $\check{c}$ ini 'They still see it (GU).';  $\eta$ i-na?- $\check{r}$ udu-ni 'He (3MSg) is still going.' An example of subordinator -ga- is gu-ga-na?- $\eta$ -i: 'It (GU) is still sitting.'

Examples of word-initial retroflexion of morphemes which otherwise would begin in apicoalveolars:  $\eta$ a- $\check{c}$ u-? 'that way' (containing the same demonstrative stem found in  $\eta$ i-na-ri 'that (MSg)', cf. above); 3MSg/NI  $\rightarrow$  3MSg/NI transitive pronominal prefix  $\eta$ ini-, consisting of two identical 3MSg/NI morphemes.

The rule may be formulated as follows, assuming that all neutral apicals are marked [ $\pm$ retr] to begin with:

#### P-2 Retroflex Assignment



Symbols: - is a morpheme boundary (including the type between two components of a pronominal prefix, not shown in my transcription), E is an early morpheme, MO is a middle-order morpheme, X is any nonzero morpheme, and Y is subordinator -ga- or a nonzero pronominal prefix which either is monosyllabic or ends in one of the following: 3Pl Nominative ba-, or any explicitly nonhuman morpheme (A, GU, MA).

Note that 'elsewhere' includes word-initial position.

### 3.4 HARDENING RULES

By Hardening I mean a process by which a lenis stop (or a neutral stop which would otherwise show up as lenis) becomes fortis, or by which a semivowel becomes a (lenis) stop. Hardening is the opposite of Lenition.

There are three rules of this type in Ngandi: Hardening I, II, and III. The first two are morphophonemic rules applying to initial stops in lexically-marked morphemes only. The third is an automatic, low-level rule by which a semivowel becomes a stop.

Hardening I applies to certain stems when they are preceded by compounding stems or certain derivational (noninitial) prefixes; these two types of elements are not sharply distinguished, and the latter can be considered specialised compounding stems in many cases.

The stems subject to Hardening I, which I label 'set A' (2.3), are the following: -buru- 'to smell', - $\dot{d}$ o- 'to chop', -ga $\check{r}$ u- 'to follow, to chase', -bu $\check{r}$ a- 'to rush along', -gal $\dot{d}$ a- (attested only in the compound shown below), and the kin terms -gew, -jabu $\check{r}$ , and -guru $\check{r}$  (4.4).

Verbal examples are banja-puru- 'to smell the arm of', wali- $\dot{t}$ o- 'to chop wood', bul-ka $\check{r}$ u- 'to follow smoke of (someone)', and  $\dot{d}$ ubur-kal $\dot{d}$ a- 'to connect'. An example with noninitial prefix - $\check{r}$ i- (8.11) is - $\check{r}$ i-pu $\check{r}$ a- 'to rush along with'. The examples with kin terms involve 2nd person possessive prefix -ma $\check{r}$ -, hence -ma $\check{r}$ -kew, etc.

Many verbs beginning with stops, as well as some kin terms beginning with stops, fail to undergo Hardening I in any environment.

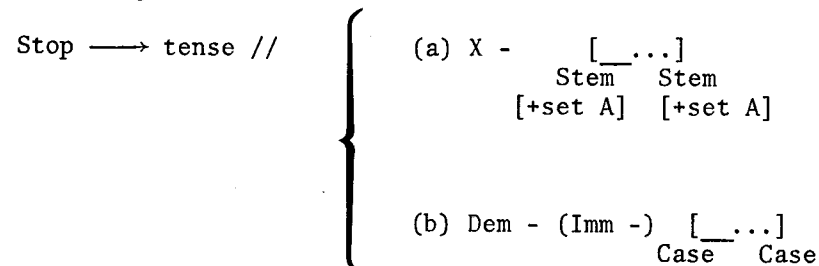
It should be noted that because of the lenition rules the effects of Hardening I are sometimes undone. Thus in - $\eta$ ara-ka-buru- 'to smell bones of' we can posit a hardened intermediate stage /- $\eta$ ara-ka-puru-/, with later lenition by Lenition III (P-8, below).

This set of noninitial prefixes (Chapter 8) which pattern like compounding stems in permitting Hardening I with following set A stems cannot be fully circumscribed with existing data. The early noninitial prefixes -ja-, -ni-, and -ga- (8.1-8.4) do not permit this hardening. As noted, - $\check{r}$ i- (8.11) and -ma $\check{r}$ - (4.4) do allow hardening. For many others (-ga-ya?-, -na?-, -bak-, -bi $\dot{d}$ i $\check{c}$ -, -ba $\check{t}$ a-, -? $\check{r}$ -, -wo $\check{c}$ -, -jal $\check{c}$ a-, -ga $\check{r}$ i?-, -man-, - $\dot{d}$ a $\check{r}$ ?-, - $\dot{d}$ irk-) there is no way to tell since lenition rules would wipe out any intermediate hardening of following stops. For - $\dot{t}$ i-, -gara-, - $\eta$ amulu-, and -bindi- I do not have relevant examples.

Having assigned the feature [+set A] to those stems which show this Hardening, we can formulate the rule as part (a) of P-3, below.

Part (b) is a minor process by which case suffixes like Allative -gi $\check{c}$  and Locative -gi which begin in underlying lenis stop harden this stop after demonstrative pronouns. Because of subsequent rules which re-lenite many stops hardened by part (b), the only clear instances are those involving -na-ri- (Nonproximate -na-, Intermediate -ri-), e.g. gu-na-ri-ki $\check{c}$  'to that one (GU)'.

#### P-3 Hardening I







P-7 Lenition II

Stop  $\longrightarrow$  [-tense] //  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} - [\text{CV(S)} \_\_\_ \text{V}] - \text{Verb} \\ \text{Rdp} \qquad \qquad \text{Rdp} \\ \\ \text{Rdp} - [\text{CV(S)} \_\_\_ \text{V} \dots] \\ \text{Verb} \qquad \qquad \text{Verb} \end{array} \right.$

Symbols: Rdp is a reduplicated segment of Type A (3.2), and S is a nonnasal sonorant.

The adverb *ra*k<sup>i</sup> 'in front' has a reduplicated variant *ra*ga-*ra*gi? which shows the effects of P-7. The ? is underlying; its deletion in *ra*k<sup>i</sup> is discussed in connection with P-11.

The third Lenition rule is also interesting. Suffixes, and stems in compounds after Hardening I, can begin in either fortis or lenis stops. The lenis stops never become fortis, but the fortis stops lenite to become lenis stops if the preceding two syllables contain a fortis stop, a stop-stop cluster, or a ?-stop cluster. In other words, we have a sort of alternating dissimilation, by which a fortis stop or a 'hard' cluster brings about the lenition of an initial fortis stop in a following morpheme.

For example, the nouns *mulmu* and *jolko* combine with suffix -pič to give *gu-mulmu-pič* and *gu-jolko-bič*. Lenition III applies to -pič in the latter example because of the k in *jolko*. Inchoative verbaliser -ti- is lenited to -di- in *de*?*de*-*di*- because ?d is a hard cluster. Ergative-Instrumental -tu is lenited in *a-garčambal-du*, *gu-bičiri-du*, *a-wurupul-du*, and *a-buru*?*ji*-*du* because the stems have a fortis stop or hard cluster in their final two syllables. Contrast *a-manangu*?*a*-*tu* and *a-dangu*-*tu*, with lenis stops in the stem and therefore no lenition of underlying fortis stop in the suffix, and also *na-načiwangu*-*tu* where there is a fortis stop in the stem but it is three (not one or two) syllables away from the suffix. In *bari-belk-bu-ni-pula* 'They both tied up spears.' (stem -*belk-bu*-), kb is a hard cluster but since it is divided by a syllabic break and since the k is therefore three syllables from the suffix -*pula*, the latter is not lenited.

The rule can be formulated as follows:

P-8 Lenition III

Stop  $\longrightarrow$  [-tense] // ... C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>V(C)-\_\_V

Symbols: C<sub>1</sub> is a fortis stop, and/or C<sub>2</sub> contains a fortis stop or a hard cluster.

This rule applies iteratively left to right. For example, in *a-wi*?*ni*-*pula*-*du* from /*a-wi*?*ni*-*pula*-*tu*/ P-8 fails to affect the /p/, but then moving to the right it lenites the /t/ because of the preceding /p/. In *gu-bičiri-bula-tu* from /*gu-bičiri-pula-tu*/, with the same ending /-*pula-tu*/, P-8 lenites /p/ because of the /č/, so that the /t/

escapes the effects of P-8 in the absence of a preceding fortis /p/. If the rule had worked from right to left, the /t/ would have been lenited to d in both combinations.

There are occasional exceptions to Lenition III in my data. In instances like *a-garčambal-du* where the fortis stop (here č) is two syllables away from the suffix, and where the syllable preceding the suffix is a 'soft' cluster, lenition occasionally fails to take place, so we get a by-form *a-garčambal-tu*.

However, the most interesting and consistent exception is *jara-di*- 'to become what's-it?' with Inchoative -ti- added to *jara*- 'what's-it?'. Note in this regard that *jara* takes a special form \*-čara in the frozen combination *bičara* (\**bi-čara*) 'what's-it? (place)'.

Some further exceptions are of a low-level nature. The suffix -pula was often heard as -pula even when lenited -bula would be expected. For example, *gu-bičiri-bula-tu* (cf. above) was sometimes heard as *gu-bičiri-pula-tu*. That this is a low-level exception is transparent from this very example, since despite the fluctuation of p/b on the surface the bilabial stop functions as lenis in the subsequent operation of P-8, so that the final suffix is -tu (not \*-du) regardless of the surface phonetics of the structurally lenis bilabial stop. That is, alternating p/b is treated as lenis in phonological rules affecting other segments, while true fortis p (not alternating with b) is treated as fortis in such rules.

3.6 ?-DELETION

There are three ?-Deletion rules. The first applies to certain roots of the form CVCVC?- belonging to verb classes 1 and 2 in reduplications. Compare simplex *bi*?*an*-*du*- with Rdp *bi*?*an*-*bi*?*an*-*du*- and simplex *ma*?*i*?*n*-*du*- with Rdp *ma*?*i*?*n*-*ma*?*i*?*n*-*du*-. The only other example noted is *bi*?*de*y-*pi*?*de*y-*da*- from *bi*?*de*y?-*da*- (/b/  $\rightarrow$  p by P-4), but here the variant *bi*?*de*y?-*bi*?*de*y?-*da*- is also attested. Other class 1 and 2 roots of this shape do not lose the ?: *wa*?*al*?-*wa*?*al*?-*du*-.

P-9 ?-Deletion I

?  $\longrightarrow$   $\emptyset$  //  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} [\text{CVCVC} \_\_\_] - \text{Stem} \\ \text{Rdp} \qquad \qquad \text{Rdp} \quad [+X] \\ \\ [\text{CVCVC}] \qquad \qquad - [\text{CVCVC} \_\_\_] - \\ \text{Rdp} \quad \text{Rdp} \quad \text{Stem} \qquad \text{Stem} \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad [+X] \qquad \qquad [+X] \end{array} \right.$

Symbol: [+X] is a lexical feature attached to those stems which lose ? in reduplication.

The second rule is a straightforward low-level process by which ? is deleted following stops. For example, possessive suffix -?ni<sup>ra</sup>y<sup>i</sup>-

(1P1Ex) combines with (ma-)ŋič 'food' to form ma-ŋič-ñirayi(-yung). The simplification of geminate /ʔʔ/ to ʔ, as in mo-bongoʔ-ñirayi(-yung) 'our blood' (stem bongoʔ) could be handled either by this rule or by Geminate-Contraction (P-14); I will take it as reflecting P-14.

P-10 ʔ-Deletion II

ʔ → ∅ // Stop \_\_\_\_\_

The third rule is needed to account for the disappearance of ʔ in these suffixes: subordinating -ʔguʔ, -ʔwañjiʔ 'like', and -ʔwala 'first'. In these cases we find initial ʔ followed by a consonant.

Some instances of ʔ-Deletion affecting these suffixes are taken care of by previously-mentioned rules. However, there are additional examples such as the following: ŋa-ɖaku-guʔ 'when I (was) small', vs. ŋa-wurʔwuruŋu-ʔguʔ 'when I (become) an old man'; a-waʃu-wañjiʔ 'like a dog', vs. a-manba-ʔwañjiʔ 'like an armband'; ŋaya-ɬu-wala 'I (did it) first.' vs. ma-wan-ɖu-ʔwala 'It (MA) (did it) first.'

The difference between the deleting and nondeleting environments in the above examples is that the former include a fortis stop in the preceding syllable, while the latter do not. In other words, this ʔ-Deletion rule is similar to Lenition III, which also involves fortis stops in the conditioning environment, and this ʔ-Deletion rule can therefore be regarded as an instance of dissimilatory lenition. However, it cannot be easily merged with Lenition III, since there are at least three differences in the environment. Recall that the environment for Lenition III is C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>V(C)-\_\_V.

To begin with, there is the trivial fact that an extra C must be inserted after the blank in this ʔ-Deletion rule. Secondly, the parenthesised (C) must be omitted in view of such examples as ŋi-ɖeremu-ɬi-ŋ-ʔguʔ 'when he becomes a (young) man', where it appears that the nasal consonant is what blocks ʔ-Deletion. Thirdly, the syllable C<sub>1</sub>V must be removed, since the form of C<sub>1</sub> has no effect on the ʔ. Examples where C<sub>1</sub> in the form of a fortis stop does not bring about ʔ-Deletion: ŋa-ɖeremu-ɬi-ni-ʔguʔ 'when I was a (young) man'; ba-ga-golča-ŋi-ʔguʔ 'when they were poisoning fish'.

P-11 ʔ-Deletion III

ʔ → ∅ // C<sub>1</sub>V-\_\_C

Symbol: C<sub>1</sub> is a fortis stop or hard cluster.

The inclusion of the phrase 'or hard cluster' is speculative, since I have no examples involving such clusters. Note that C<sub>1</sub> in P-11 corresponds to C<sub>2</sub> in the formalisation of P-8.

Two endings, Negative -ʔmayʔ and -ʔŋiriʔ 'also', are exceptions and do not undergo P-11: a-waʃu-ʔmayʔ 'not a/the dog', a-waʃu-ʔŋiriʔ 'also a/the dog'. These two are distributionally freer than -ʔguʔ,

-ʔwañji, and -ʔwala, and might be labelled enclitics.

The adverbs ɾaki and ɾaga-ɾagiʔ 'in front' have been mentioned in connection with P-7, which accounts for the k/g alternations. If we take the base form as /ɾakiʔ/, we can account for the deletion of /ʔ/ in ɾaki as a special instance of P-11. However, in general P-11 does not apply in this position; cf. ŋa-ki-ʔ 'there', (ma-)muʃiʃiʔ 'wattle sp.'.

3.7 OTHER CONSONANT-CLUSTER RULES

In most cases morpheme-initial yi loses its semivowel following a consonant. There are exceptions, apparently due to the following: (a) some recently-formed combinations seem to avoid Y-Deletion, while more tightly-knit or frozen combinations undergo it; (b) some preceding consonants tend more strongly than others to trigger the deletion.

Examples of deletion are: ñar-ič-ŋa-čini (derivational prefix -yič-) and malk-iri-wala (stem -yiri-). Examples of nondeletion are: (gu-)ɖubur-yiminʔ (compound involving noun stem -yiminʔ), ɖubur-yima- (compound with verb stem -yima-, related to -yiminʔ), ɖubur-yika- (compound with stem -yika-). The stems -yima- and -yika- illustrated in the last examples undergo Y-Deletion in ñar-ima-na-ʔ and ɾum-ika-, so their failure to show deletion in ɖubur-yima- and ɖubur-yika- is best attributed to the newness of the compounds as wholes (or possibly to an idiosyncrasy of ɖubur- as a compounding element).

Note that in malk-iri-wala the underlying /k/ remains fortis on the surface. However, in combinations where the /yi/ is preceded by Benefactive /-bak-/, the /k/ is lenited to g, hence -bag-ič-ɖambaʔ-ɖu- 'to get revenge on' with -yič-.

Another instance of underlying /y/ being deleted is exemplified by jaka-ɖ-i/jaka-ɖi-y/, Past Continuous of 'to stand' (9.20). I take the parallel form ŋ-i: 'stood' from /ŋi-y/ as likewise reflecting loss of /y/, with subsequent lengthening of /ŋi/ to ŋi: (ŋ-i:) by P-17.

A similar example is ɾari-woyɖi-, Reciprocal of ɾaru- 'to chase' (9.15). The suffix elsewhere shows an allomorph -ywoyɖi-, so I take the base here as /ɾari-ywoyɖi-/. In all these examples we have /y/ disappearing between /i/ and a consonant or word boundary.

P-12 Y-Deletion

y → ∅ //  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} C - \_ i \text{ (in some combinations; C is} \\ \text{lenited if it is the k of -bak-)} \\ i - \left\{ \begin{array}{l} C \\ \# \end{array} \right\} \end{array} \right.$

It should be noted that Y-Deletion is not necessary in instances like mañ-ika- from /mañ-yika-/, since contractions like /ñy/ → ñ are exceptionless, do not require that the following vowel be i (hence

a-jeñ-uŋ from /a-jeñ-yuŋ/), and are handled by P-14, below.

The initial consonant of the important verb stem -ɾuɖu- 'to go' is deleted following intransitive prefixes ending in flap r. Examples: ŋar-uɖu-ŋ 'We (PLIn) will go.' from /ŋar-ɾuɖu-ŋ/. This is a peculiarity of this stem rather than a general characteristic of ɾ. Note also reduplications like -ɾuɖu-ɖu- instead of expected \*-ɾuɖu-ɾuɖu- for this stem; these can be taken as intermediate /-ɾuɖu-uɖu-/, etc.

One other instance where /rɾ/ reduces to r is in combinations of A noun-class marker /-ra-/ with preceding elements ending in r within a pronominal prefix (7.2), hence /bar-ra-/ → bara- (3P1 → A) and so forth. Since /-ra-/ cannot be preceded by a reduplicative segment we can think of it as losing its /r/ under the same conditions as -ɾuɖu-, so we can formulate the rule like this:

#### P-13 R-Deletion

$$r \longrightarrow \emptyset // \left\{ \begin{array}{c} r \\ \text{Rdp} \end{array} \right\} - \left\{ \begin{array}{c} \text{--- a} \\ \text{--- uɖu} \end{array} \right\} -$$

where -ra- is the A morpheme and -ɾuɖu- is 'to go'.

Actually, of five reduplicated forms of -ɾuɖu- (for five different inflected forms), only three lose ɾ in the stem; for details see (9.21).

Geminate clusters of consonants do not occur within morphemes. When such a cluster arises across a morpheme boundary it is virtually always reduced in rapid speech, though in slow and careful speech the reduction may not take place. Geminate stops are more likely to be reduced than geminate nasals like ŋŋ.

Following the various Hardening and Lenition rules (particularly P-6), we have clusters such as pb and kg, and no clusters of the types \*pp or \*bb. We therefore define geminate stop-clusters as sequences of homorganic stops, without reference to the fortis/lenis feature. Furthermore, the geminate interdental stop cluster has the form tɖ at this stage, rather than \*tɖ, since interdentals cannot occur syllable-finally. By P-14 we get contractions such as pb → p, kg → k, and tɖ → t̥ (other geminate stops are unattested and presumably very rare), as well as ?? → ?, ŋŋ → ŋ, and so forth.

For convenience I will include here the simplification of /ñy/ to ñ, as in a-jeñ-uŋ 'fish' from /a-jeñ-yuŋ/.

#### P-14 Geminate-Contraction

$$(a) \begin{array}{ccc} C_1 & C_2 & \rightarrow & C_2 \\ [a \ F] & [a \ F] & & \left[ \begin{array}{c} a \ \bar{F} \\ X \end{array} \right] \end{array}$$

$$(b) y \longrightarrow \emptyset // \bar{n} \underline{\quad}$$

Symbols: F is the set of distinctive features except tenseness (fortis/lenis), and X is [+tense] if C<sub>1</sub> and C<sub>2</sub> are stops.

In addition to P-12, P-13, and P-14, there is one minor consonant-cluster rule which warrants brief mention here. The underlying cluster /rn/ is simplified to either ŋ, n or r in some pronominal forms. In the MDu ending -ŋi of independent pronouns reconstructed \*-r-ni has undergone a change \*rn → ŋ. In pronominal prefixes, on the other hand, /rn/ becomes either n or r, depending on the morphemes involved. An effort to partly explain the functional motivation for the distribution of the two outputs, n and r, is offered in (7.2). The alternative ŋ here is ruled out by the fact that retroflexed consonants do not occur in this morphological environment (cf. P-2).

In all the above /rn/ combinations, the nasal is specified only as apical (i.e. neither explicitly apicoalveolar nor retroflexed). In other /rn/ combinations there is no contraction, hence ñar-ŋa?-ɾuɖu-ni 'We (PLEx) are still going.', etc. In these forms it is possible to consider the n as retroflexed, since the two kinds of apicals do not contrast phonetically following r. However, using this to claim that /rn/ is contracted while /rŋ/ is unaffected seems to be a contrived and unrevealing solution to the problem of determining when the contractions occur. It seems more appropriate to say that /rn/ (with neutral apical) contracts in pronominals but not in other combinations.

#### 3.8 RULES APPLYING TO VOWELS

There are three processes which affect vowels and vowel-clusters: Vowel-Harmony, VV-Contraction, and Vowel-Shortening.

Vowel-Harmony is not a productive process. It applies chiefly to noun-class prefixes of the form (C)a- (ŋa-, ma-, ba-, a-), which become (C)o- before morphemes whose initial syllable contains an o. Examples: mo-wolo (with demonstrative -wolo), ŋo-wolo, o-wolo, bo-wolo, mo-gomol, o-woro!o!, etc. Vowel-Harmony applies much more consistently in the cases of ma- and ba- (both of which begin with bilabials) than with ŋa- and a-, so that we can get a-woro!o! alongside o-woro!o!.

Although intransitive pronominal prefixes include prefixes which are identical to the noun-class prefixes (ŋa-, ma-, ba-, a-), Vowel-Harmony does not apply to them consistently, though it does apply to them sporadically.

I have normalised my transcriptions to avoid inconsistencies. The transcriptions with o are used for harmonised nominal noun-class prefixes (hence o-woro!o! and never \*a-woro!o!), and those with a for the verbal pronominal prefixes (e.g. ba-bolk-g-i, never \*bo-bolk-g-i). As I have just indicated, this is a distortion or at least an oversimplification of the facts. In particular, the operation of Vowel-Harmony, or its failure to operate, is not a reliable diagnostic test for distinguishing nominal from verbal constructions.

Another instance of Vowel-Harmony is the paradigm of ɾuɖu- 'to go'. When the final /u/ becomes surface i by the VV-Contraction rule to be discussed below, the initial syllable's vowel assimilates, so that we get either ɾuɖu- or ɾiɖi- (not \*ɾuɖi-) in all forms of this verb. It would be possible to represent the base form as /r̥Vɖu-/ and say that in ɾuɖu- the initial V has assimilated to the following u

just as it does in řidi-. This is historically suggestive, since it means that the proto-form of the stem is \*řV- with unspecified vowel (if we take -du- as etymologically the class 1 augment, now frozen and specialised here), which can be directly compared to Warndarang -ra- 'to go' and to reflexes of \*-ra- in other languages.

#### P-15 Vowel-Harmony

- (a) a → o //  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} (C) \text{---} \\ \text{NC} \quad \text{NC} \end{array} \right] \text{---} \left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{Co} \dots \\ \text{Noun} \quad \text{Noun} \end{array} \right]$
- (b) V → V<sub>1</sub> //  $\left[ \begin{array}{c} \text{r} \text{---} \text{dV}_1 \\ \text{'to go'} \quad \text{'to go'} \end{array} \right] \text{---}$

Symbols: NC is a noun-class prefix.

There are isolated other instances of Vowel-Harmony not dealt with by P-15 as formulated. Cf. the discussion of ñunu- in (7.2), and perhaps some of the pronouns like ñowoñi and bowoñi (5.1). Similarly, řawiri-č 'eastward' (6.9) is apparently derived from řawara 'east' with the final /a/ becoming i before -č by fronting (cf. below), with subsequent leftward Vowel-Harmony (assimilation) affecting the penultimate vowel as well. The same explanation is available for forms like ři-ču-wili-ñ 'from here (Anaphoric)' (cf. 6.5), with the Ablative suffix which usually shows up as -wala.

There appear to be a number of instances where an underlying or reconstructed vowel other than i has been fronted to surface i in an environment including an adjacent 'palatal' consonant (y, j, č, ñ). For example, compare Ngandi yima- 'to do/think/say like that' with Nunggubuyu -yama-. In the other examples a syllable-final palatal consonant follows the shifted vowel: Pergressive -pič vs. Nunggubuyu -waj/-baj; Emphatic -?wič with pronouns vs. Nunggubuyu -waj. Many Ngandi verb stems synchronically shift the stem-final vowel to i before Negative -č- (cf. paradigms in Chapter 9), though class 5 stems (9.14) and some others retain the underlying quality. The Reciprocal form gaři-woyđi- from gařu- 'to chase' (9.15) must have the form /gaři-ywoyđi-/ at an early stage so that Y-Deletion (P-12) can apply, and we can therefore think of an earlier shift of /gařu-ywoyđi-/ to /gaři-ywoyđi-/. Some Past Punctual and Past Continuous verb forms ending in -i can perhaps be taken as showing a suffix /-y/, e.g. class 1 and 2 PPun -d-i from /-du-y/ and /-da-y/, PCon jaka-d-i 'stood' (9.20) from /jaka-du-y/. Compare PPun -y in ma-y 'got, picked up' (9.17) and PCon -y in yo-y 'slept' (9.20); these parallels are cogent since ma- shows other paradigmatic affinities to classes 1 and 2, and yu- 'to sleep' shows similar affinities to jaka-du-.

For some of these vowel-shifts a case could be made for setting up a synchronic phonological rule. However, for others (yima-, -pič, -?wič) the shifted form is the only one found in the language, and it is only comparison with Nunggubuyu which shows that a shift has taken place. Even in the forms showing synchronic alternations it is doubtful that a regular phonological rule ought to be set up, since there are some verbs which do not show any shift of stem-final vowel before

-č-, -ywoyđi-, or -y. Furthermore, there are many other stem-final vowel-alternations in verbal paradigms which cannot be accounted for by ordinary phonological rules, but rather require *ad hoc* morpho-phonemic or allomorphic rules. In this context it is not clear whether it is better to set up a phonological rule and consider cases of retention of underlying vowel quality as 'irregular' exceptions, or to take the shifts as irregularities and retention as regular.

There are a couple of isolated instances of the raising of o to u and of e to i. The noun stem meaning 'foot' has the form deŋ when acting as an independent stem, but as the first element of a compound we get diŋ-. The form -ŋo-ŋ, Past Punctual of -ŋu- 'to eat', becomes -ŋu-ŋ in the form with compounding initial bun- 'liquid' (bun-ŋu-ŋ 'drank'). Neither of these processes is phonologically regular. Note that in both cases the raising occurs only in compounds, and hence in words which are longer than usual.

The next problem is what happens when two underlying vowels come together. Surface hiatus is tolerated only in ma-aŋa 'mangrove', where the noun-class prefix is followed by a stem with initial vowel borrowed recently from Nunggubuyu.

In other instances, VV clusters are eliminated, so we need a VV-Contraction rule. One clear instance is found in reduplications of řudu- 'to go', where intervocalic /r/ is lost by P-13, e.g. /řudu-řudu-/ → /řudu-udu-/. The output řudu-du- requires a contraction of /uu/ to u. This contraction and others involving reduplications of this stem do not give us any indication as to whether the first or second vowel dominates.

Other examples involve suffixes added to verbs. Unfortunately, such combinations are rather fused and analytically intractable, as noted earlier, so it is not always possible to determine the correct base form of the suffix. For example, the fronting of stem-final vowel to i before Negative -č- can be explained either as an irregular morphophonemic change, as suggested above, or by setting up an allomorph /-ič-/ for the suffix and allowing VV-Contraction to apply, with /V-ič-/ → -ič-. There are several other ambiguous combinations of this sort.

However, it is clear that the base form of the Reflexive suffix is /-i-/ in most paradigms, and this absorbs the stem-final vowel, e.g. /dak-du-i-/ → dak-d-i- 'to cut oneself'. Because here the second vowel dominates, it is possible to formulate the rule as follows:

#### P-16 VV-Contraction

V → ø // \_\_\_V

Although Ngandi does not have many long vowels, there are some problems involving vowel length which are best handled by phonological rules.

For one thing, we observe that there are no noun stems, or verb forms (stem plus inflectional suffix), of the canonical shape CV, though there are a few of the shape CV:. This suggests that length

here is predictable, and is best provided by a redundancy rule rather than by underlying features. An example is the noun *da:* 'mouth'. The only verb form of CV: shape is *ŋ-i:*, PCon of *ŋu-* 'to sit'. A base form /*ŋi-y*/ is feasible, and as noted earlier we can account for the vowel length either by assuming a contraction /*iy*/ → *i:*, or by contracting /*iy*/ to short *i* and then lengthening this to *i:* by an essentially prosodic rule applicable to /CV/ noun stems and verb forms. I prefer this prosodic analysis.

One reason for this preference is that the reduplication of *ŋ-i:* is *ŋi-ŋ-i*, not \**ŋi:-ŋi:* or \**ŋi-ŋ-i:*. Furthermore, the closely related stem *-du-*, which nearly always occurs in the compound *jaka-du-*, has PCon *jaka-d-i* from /*jaka-di-y*/. Although it is technically possible to save the /*iy*/ → *i:* analysis, and account for the short vowels in *ŋi-ŋ-i* and *jaka-d-i* by a secondary shortening rule, it seems more appropriate to explain all of these lengthening phenomena as fundamentally prosodic. The preferred derivation for *ŋ-i:* is therefore base form /*ŋi-y*/ becoming /*ŋ-i*/ by P-12, then *ŋ-i:* by prosodic lengthening applicable to /CV/ noun stems and verb forms not preceded by reduplicative segments or compounding elements. The derivation of reduplicated *ŋi-ŋ-i* is /*ŋi-y*/ → /*ŋiy-ŋi-y*/ by Reduplication, then /*ŋi-ŋ-i*/ by double application of P-12.

Another vowel-length alternation is seen in the PPun form of 'to hit', which is *bo:m* as independent verb and *bo-m* as auxiliary as in *bit-bo-m* 'climbed'. In view of CVC verb forms like *ŋo-ŋ* 'ate' and *ŋa-n* 'will see', it is not possible to assume that *bo:m* reflects regular lengthening of underlying /*bo-m*/. Rather, it seems that /*bo:-m*/ should be the base form, and that *bit-bo-m* shows secondary shortening.

The remaining vowel-length alternations involve *ma:k* 'good', which shows up in various kinds of compounds and derivatives. With Inchoative Verbaliser *-ŋi-* we get *mak-d-i-* with short vowel. The rather unusual derivative *maki-* 'to tell the truth', best dissociated from *ma:k* synchronically, also shows shortening. In modifier-nucleus compounds (12.3), where the preceding stem modifies 'good', we find a short vowel again, as in *mere?-mak* 'good-bladed'. On the other hand, in nucleus-modifier compounds where 'good' describes a quality of the preceding nuclear noun stem, we get a long vowel: (*gu-*)*jolko-ma:k* 'good ground', (12.5).

I should add that transcribing vowel length in Aboriginal languages in this area is a linguist's nightmare, and even after many hours devoted to this problem I am still not entirely confident that my transcriptions are correct. The most difficult forms in this respect were *ma:k* and its derivatives; I occasionally heard *mak-d-i-* as *ma:k-d-i-*, and compounds like *mere?-mak* and (*gu-*)*jolko-ma:k* also gave me some trouble. I am not certain that there is a consistent difference between nucleus-modifier and modifier-nucleus compounds with regard to the length of *ma:k*. With these reservations, we may combine the vowel-length rules as follows:

P-17 Vowel Length

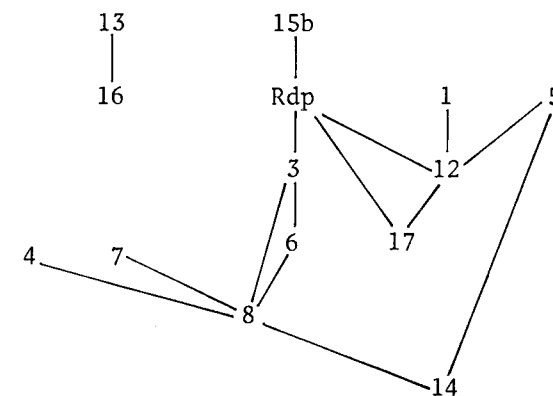
$$V \longrightarrow \begin{cases} [+long] // & \begin{bmatrix} C \_ \\ X \_ X \end{bmatrix} \\ [-long] // & \begin{bmatrix} Y - C \_ \\ \_ C - Z \end{bmatrix} \end{cases}$$

Symbols: X is an uncompounded and unreduplicated noun stem or verb form, Y is a reduplicative or compounding stem other than a nuclear noun stem, and Z is a verbalising suffix.

The only other alternations of vowels worth mentioning are idiolectal variations, chiefly involving *i* and *e*. For example, one informant gave the PCon form of the Causative suffix as *-gubi-ŋi*, while another informant gave it as *-gube-ŋe*. A handful of stems show this variation as well, (*ma-*)*birgi?* and (*ma-*)*berge?* 'green plum'. However, my two informants agreed on the vowel quality of most words.

3.9 ORDERING OF PHONOLOGICAL RULES

The following are the ordering relations applicable to the rules described in this chapter:



P-13 precedes P-16 in the derivation /*ru-du-ru-du-*/ (Rdp of 'to go') → /*ru-du-u-du-*/ (P-13) → *ru-du-du-* (P-16). If P-16 preceded P-13 we would have gotten \**ru-du-u-du-* with two vowels in hiatus.

It is convenient to have P-15b precede Rdp so that when /*ru-du-*/ 'to go' ends up as /*ri-di-*/ by P-15b we get reduplicated /*ri-di-ri-di-*/ by Rdp and ultimately *ri-di-di-* after other rules apply. This seems more convenient than accounting for *ri-di-di-* by first reduplicating /*ru-du-*/ to /*ru-du-ru-du-*/ and then applying P-15b repeatedly from right to left when the final vowel becomes /*i*/. This would be the only example in the language of such recursive vowel-harmony, and it is preferable to avoid this problem by the reasonable presumption that P-15b precedes Rdp.

Rdp and P-12 precede P-17 in the derivation /*ŋi-y*/ 'sat' → /*ŋi-ŋi-y*/ (Rdp) → /*ŋi-ŋ-i*/ (P-12) → *ŋi-ŋ-i* (P-17). If P-17 preceded Rdp we would have gotten \**ŋi-ŋ-i:*, unless we also assumed that P-17 preceded P-12. However, P-17 follows P-12 in the unreduplicated derivation /*ŋi-y*/ → /*ŋ-i*/ (P-12) → *ŋ-i:* (P-17), since P-17 applies to /CV/ but normally not to /CVC/ inputs. Hence P-17 follows both P-12 and Rdp.

Rdp precedes P-12, or at least a portion thereof (not the portion which necessarily precedes P-17), because of the derivation /*nar-yimi-*

-ri-?/ 'we did that' → /ñar-yimi-yimi-ri-?/ (Rdp) → ñar-imi-yimi-ri-? (P-12). The reverse order would have produced \*ñar-imi-imi-ri-? or a contracted version of this.

P-5 also precedes P-12 because /ñi-bot-yiñuŋ/ 'honey bee' → /ñi-bot-jiñuŋ/ (P-5) → /ñi-bot-jiñuŋ/ (P-12). In the reverse order P-12 would not have applied vacuously, but would have deleted the /y/, so that P-5 would have been inapplicable and the surface form would have been \*ñi-bot-iñuŋ.

Rule P-1 precedes P-12 at least in the example /malG-yiri-wala/ 'later' → /malk-yiri-wala/ (P-1) → malk-iri-wala (P-12). Had P-1 followed P-12 the underlying stop /G/, unspecified for tenseness, would have become lenis g instead of fortis k. The fact that Benefactive /-baG-/ and prefix /-yič-/ combine as -bag-ič- rather than \*-bak-ič- is, however, a problem for this analysis. I have taken care of it by incorporating a minor lenition process into P-12, but we could also account for -bag-ič- by allowing P-12 to precede P-1 in this particular instance.

The order Rdp > P-3 > P-8 is established by the following two derivations: /maṛ-buru-/ 'to smell the hand of' → /maṛ-buru-buru-/ (Rdp) → /maṛ-puru-buru-/ (P-3) → maṛ-puru-buru- (P-8); /ṇaṛaka-buru-/ 'to smell the bone(s) of' → /ṇaṛaka-buru-buru-/ (Rdp) → /ṇaṛaka-puru-buru-/ (P-3) → ṇaṛaka-buru-buru- (P-8). The order with Rdp following P-3 and P-8 would incorrectly generate \*maṛ-puru-puru-. If Rdp followed P-3 but preceded P-8, we would incorrectly generate \*ṇaṛaka-buru-puru as P-8 has been formulated (i.e. working left-to-right). If we reformulate P-8 so that it works right-to-left we correctly generate maṛ-puru-buru- and ṇaṛaka-buru-puru- but we run into other problems. The examples a-wiṇi-pula-ḍu and gu-bičiri-bula-tu with /-pula-tu/, discussed in connection with P-8 in (3.5), suffice to show that P-8 applies left-to-right.

P-3 precedes P-6, as in /yaṇ-gaṛu-/ 'to follow the voice of' → /yaṇ-kaṛu-/ (P-3) → yaṇ-gaṛu- (P-6). The only way out of this would be to include a restriction on P-3 blocking hardening after a stop, nasal, or ?, but this would be tantamount to building a copy of P-6 into the statement of P-3.

P-4 precedes P-8 in bari-mili?-buyḍi-pu-yḍi-ḍ-bula 'lest the two of them always fight', where -pu- has been hardened from /-bu-/ by P-4 and the p in -pu- has caused the lenition of /-pula/ to -bula. A similar example reaffirming the precedence of P-3 over P-8, already noted above, is bari-wali-tō-ṇi-bula 'The two of them chopped wood.' where -tō-, hardened by P-3 from /-ḍo-/, has caused lenition of /-pula/ to -bula. Another rule which precedes P-8 is P-7, as in banu-ṇaji-ṇa-jini-pula 'The two of them saw him.', where the j's reflect /č/'s, and this lenition has enabled /-pula/ to avoid lenition to -bula by P-8. Contrast unreduplicated banu-ṇa-čini-bula. Yet another rule preceding P-8 is P-6, as in ba-wan-bula-tu 'and they (Erg)' from /ba-wan-pula-tu/; in the reverse order we would have gotten \*ba-wan-bula-ḍu.

Rule P-5 precedes P-14 in the notation I use, as in /ma-ṇič-yuŋ/ 'food' → /ma-ṇič-juŋ/ (P-5) → ma-ṇič-uŋ (P-14). The opposite order would give \*ma-ṇič-juŋ. However, surface č and čj are not distinguishable (to my knowledge), since intervocalic č is fortis and hence of

rather long phonetic duration, so the transcription \*ma-ṇič-juŋ could also be considered here.

P-8 precedes P-14 in the example baki-č-uŋ 'south' from /baki-č-yuŋ/; the point here is that /č/ is not lenited to j by P-8 because at that stage it is not intervocalic but rather is in a cluster with /y/, whether or not /y/ has become /j/ by P-5. The alternative analysis is to suggest that P-8 cannot apply to a fortis stop just before a morpheme boundary; this solution is rather artificial but I can produce no counterexamples.

## Chapter 4

### NOMINAL MORPHOLOGY

#### 4.1 NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES

In some languages, such as Nunggubuyu, there is a fairly clear division between adjectival and nonadjectival nouns — the former can occur in predicate nominal constructions with intransitive pronominal prefix, and in verbalised (Inchoative) derivatives, while the latter cannot.

In Ngandi, this bifurcation is not sharp. Translation equivalents of most Nunggubuyu nonadjectival (as well as adjectival) nouns appear in Ngandi as adjectival nouns, in the sense that they can (at least in principle) occur in the constructions mentioned above as criterial.

As in Nunggubuyu, Ngandi adjectival nouns include translation equivalents of most English adjectives, and also of human nouns ('man', 'woman', 'child', 'Ngandi', 'boss', etc.) indicating sex, age-grade, status, and the like. An example is *deremu* 'man' in predicate nominal *ḡa-deremu* 'I am a man.' and Inchoative *-deremu-ti-* 'to become a man'. In Nunggubuyu, such elements as personal (proper) names, demonstrative pronouns, and flora-fauna terms are nonadjectival, while in Ngandi they can occur in adjectival constructions (in some cases, as with demonstrative pronouns, they can occur in predicate-nominal but not Inchoative constructions): *ḡa-ni-?* 'I am here.' (literally 'I am this'), *ḡa-maḡulpu* 'I am maḡulpu (man's name)', *ḡa-mananguḷa* 'I am Python', *a-ja-wurpaḡ-dī-ñ* 'It became (Inchoative) Emu (wurpaḡ).' For flora-fauna terms in particular, as well as terms for artifacts and other inanimate objects, such examples are extremely uncommon (e.g. none occur in my textual corpus), though informants will produce them, or at least accept them as fairly grammatical, in appropriate mythological contexts. For many nouns, it is just impossible to devise an appropriate context for a predicate-nominal or Inchoative construction, and in these cases it is a moot question whether the noun is (in principle) adjectival or not.

Perhaps a more serious case is that of kin terms, which do not occur in adjectival constructions. Instead of the usual predicate-nominal type (with intransitive pronominal prefix), a verbalised (thematized) construction is used which does not include Inchoative

*-ti-* but rather involves thematic *-ḡu-* (9.4). The construction means basically 'to call (someone) X', where X is the kin-term stem: *ḡaḡuni-gaykay-?-ḡu-ni* 'He calls me "uncle"; I am his uncle.'

Since the adjectival/nonadjectival bifurcation is (at best) rather hazy, and if valid can be predicted for particular stems on semantic grounds, it need not be specified in dictionary entries.

#### 4.2 NOUN-CLASS PREFIXES

Nouns characteristically occur with noun-class prefixes, even in citation forms. These prefixes can, however, be omitted — fairly often in isolated citation forms (in vocabulary elicitation, for example), less often in discourse.

Human nouns are given a noun-class on the basis of actual sex and number (except for occasional forms with 'nonhuman' class A, cf. below). Nonhuman nouns are assigned to one of five noun classes on the basis of lexical features; it is possible to make some generalisations using semantic criteria, but in many cases a choice has to be made between two equally plausible noun classes for a given noun, and so the class must be given in dictionary entries. Two of the nonhuman classes are formally identical to two of the human classes (MSg and FSg), but the nonhuman classes do not change their prefix when semantically non-singular. The prefixes are:

Human:	<i>ḡi-</i>	MSg
	<i>ḡa-</i>	FSg
	<i>bari-</i>	MDu
	<i>ba-</i>	P1 (including FDu and mixed M/F Du)
	<i>(a-)</i>	(cf. below)
Nonhuman:	<i>ḡi-</i>	NI class
	<i>ḡa-</i>	NA class
	<i>a-</i>	A class
	<i>ḡu-</i>	GU class
	<i>ma-</i>	MA class

In most familiar languages (French, Spanish, Arabic, etc.), a dual form referring to one male and one female is treated as MDu, if this is formally distinguishable from FDu, in agreement rules and pronominalisation patterns. Thus Spanish *ellos* 'they' can refer to any collection of two or more referents at least one of which is grammatically masculine. Feminine *ellas* is normally used only when all subsumed referents are grammatically feminine.

In Ngandi, however, mixed Du (one MSg plus one FSg) is treated as FDu rather than MDu — or, more accurately, it is treated as part of the 'P1' category (covering all human nonsingulars except MDu, where the latter consists of two MSg referents). Thus, using the noun *ḡaku* 'child' we get MDu *bari-ḡaku* 'two boys' and P1 *ba-ḡaku* 'two girls; one boy and one girl; three or more children of any sex'. Du can be distinguished from (3+) P1 by adding *-pula* (10.1), hence *bari-ḡaku-bula* 'two boys' (here *-pula*, in the form *-bula*, is redundant), *ba-ḡaku-bula* 'two girls; one boy and one girl', and *ba-ḡaku* 'two or

more (often three or more) children'. Note, however, that ba-gaku-bula is still ambiguous.

This merger of mixed M/F Du into the P1 category is typical of Ngandi — it affects pronominal agreement, noun-class prefixes, and the like. There is no way to overtly distinguish the two senses of ba-gaku-bula except by adding sex-specific terms like diŋ? 'woman, female' (ba-diŋ?-bula can only mean 'two women, two females').

This is important for dyadic Du forms with kin terms (4.4) with suffix -ko?. A form like ñara-ko? 'father and child' can form bari-ñara-ko? 'father and son' (since both must be male to allow MDu bari-) and ba-ñara-ko? 'father and daughter' (one must be female, and of course 'father' cannot be; the reading 'father and children' is also possible but this is usually expressed by adding Multiple -gara-, hence ba-gara-ñara-ko? 'father and children').

The reason why mixed M/F Du is not treated as MDu does not, I think, have anything to do with profound cultural differences between the Ngandi and the Spanish (indeed, nearby languages like Nunggubuyu have the 'Spanish' preference for lumping mixed nonsingulars into the masculine). Instead, I attribute it to the markedness relationship between the two nonsingular categories, MDu and P1. If the Du were set off from the P1 and if MDu and FDu were distinguished, I feel that Ngandi would put mixed duals in the MDu category like most other languages. The curious fact about Ngandi is that there is no special FDu category (which would be 'marked' with respect to MDu), so that semantic FDu is lumped into the (otherwise 3+) P1 category. Thus MDu is not opposed to the marked FDu, but rather to the entire P1 category containing semantic FDu as well as all 3+ forms. In this opposition MDu is clearly the marked member of the opposition. On the principle that neutral or mixed semantic types are normally put in the less marked category, it is not surprising that semantic mixed M/F duals go into the P1 category rather than into MDu. See, however, Walsh (1976), p.150, discussing Murinybata.

Semantically human nouns are occasionally found in texts in the (normally nonhuman) A class, though this is less common than the corresponding process in Warndarang. It is chiefly used with nouns designating foreigners, such as munaga 'White' and the term *Chinaman* (the latter occurs in the textual corpus with a- prefix, cf. Text 12.64). However, the A class is not routinely used for such terms; it can only be used to designate referentially indefinite persons, usually in narratives about distant past events, and emphasises the quality of belonging to the particular group (e.g. of Chinese) rather than specifying a particular individual. It would not be used, for example, in referring to a particular White man living at the settlement.

When the A class is used in this sense, number is neutralised. In Text 12.64, the reference is apparently to a single Chinese, but in various examples with a-munaga (a-monaga) 'White' (e.g. in the context 'When the Whites first came here, ...') the reference is to a collectivity. In agreement rules such nouns are treated as Sg nouns of the A class, so there is no simple syntactic test distinguishing this use of the A class from its normal nonhuman use.

Ngandi, to a much greater extent than Nunggubuyu, permits fairly

detailed generalisations about the distribution of nonhuman noun classes over semantic classes of nouns. For example, all terms relating to honey (names of several spp. of *Trigona*, the corresponding generic term, words for 'honey', 'wax', and so forth) are all in the NI class, whereas in Nunggubuyu they are scattered rather capriciously among several classes. Most terrestrial mammals are in the A class. Fish and birds are mostly A class, as are all goannas. Plants are mostly GU or MA (paperbark trees are GU, while most water lilies, wattles, and edible roots are MA, etc.). Abstract nouns and most body-part terms are GU. Some idea of the extent of these generalisations (along with a number of counterexamples) can be seen in Lexical Domains lists in the dictionary.

The form bari- for MDu is etymologically \*bar-ni-, with P1 (non-singular) \*bar- and M \*-ni-. This cannot be seen clearly by examination of the noun-class prefixes themselves, but emerges from comparison with the very similar pronominal prefixes used with verbs (Chapter 7). Here we find a P1 form bar- quite often, and examples of reduction of /rn/ to r (or n) can be observed (cf. 3.7). The morpheme -ni- occurs as an early noninitial prefix (8.3) indicating masculine gender for Du subject and/or object in the preceding pronominal prefix. It cannot be added to such already MDu prefixes as 3MDu intransitive bari-, which however can be interpreted historically as \*bar-ni- and thus does contain \*-ni- in disguise.

Because Ngandi noun-class prefixes (with nouns and other substantives) and intransitive pronominal prefixes (with verbs) are identical and have thus almost certainly influenced each other historically, we cannot be sure that \*bar-ni- is archaic in its role as MDu noun-class prefix; this combination may have originated as a (verbal) pronominal prefix and then have been analogically introduced into nominal morphology.

As a further indication of the similarities between nominal and verbal prefixation, it may be noted that first and second person prefixes (normally used as intransitive prefixes with verbs) can be added, instead of a noun-class prefix, to nouns: ŋar-diŋ?-yug 'you women!' This is quite aside from the use of intransitive pronominal prefixes with predicative nouns (ŋar-diŋ? 'You are women', without Absolute suffix -yug).

#### 4.3 NONINITIAL PREFIXES

Between the noun-class prefix and the noun stem it is possible to insert one or, rarely, more than one other prefix.

In Ngandi, nominal and verbal prefixal morphology have much in common, and this is particularly true of the noninitial prefixes. As it turns out, most such prefixes which can be used before noun stems also occur before verb stems, and sometimes before still others such as demonstratives. For this reason it is undesirable to discuss nominal and verbal prefixation separately with all the repetition which that would entail, and I will discuss noninitial prefixes in Chapter 8.

For the most part, the set of noninitial prefixes which are attested with nouns is a subset of those which can occur with verbs.



Those attested with both are -ja-, -na?-, -gara-, and -woč-. Of these, -gara- is of greatest significance since it expresses multiple or collective plurality (hence 'all' and similar glosses). Noninitial prefixes found only with nouns are -ḡaḡ?- (8.17), -ḡirk- (8.17), and perhaps -man- (8.16).

#### 4.4 KIN TERMS

In this section I will attempt to describe the morphology associated with kin terms; I will also outline the semantics of the system of kin terms. The glosses ('father', 'mother's brother', and so forth) are labels rather than accurate representations of the semantic range of the terms.

Taking the term ḡurač 'older sister' as our model stem, we have the following basic forms:

ḡa-ḡurač	<i>my/our</i>
ḡa-maḡ-ḡurač	<i>your</i>
ḡo-ḡoḡ-ḡurač	<i>his/her/their</i>

The prefix ḡa- (becoming ḡo- in the last form by P-15) is the usual FSg noun-class prefix, and is determined by the gender and number of the referent(s) of the kin term. We can also have such forms as ba-ḡurač 'my/our older sisters', ba-maḡ-ḡurač, etc.

The other prefixes are 2nd person possessive prefix -maḡ- and 3rd person possessive prefix -ḡoḡ-. This leaves the simple form ḡa-ḡurač restricted to 1st person possessor (except as noted below). Note that this 1st person category subsumes 1st Exclusive and 1st Inclusive, which are elsewhere usually distinguished in Ngandi.

The three-way division shown in the forms just described is not rigorously maintained. It is possible to omit -maḡ- or -ḡoḡ-, especially when one of the regular pronominal possessive suffixes is present: ḡi-ḡamuḡi-ḡḡuku(y)-yḡ 'your (Sg) father's father' (MSg-FaFa-your(Sg)-Absolute) in free variation with ḡi-maḡ-ḡamuḡi-yḡ and ḡi-maḡ-ḡamuḡi-ḡḡuku(y)-yḡ. By adding one of these possessive suffixes, whether or not -maḡ- or -ḡoḡ- is retained, it is possible to distinguish the pronominal category of the 'possessor' (i.e. the EGO of reference) more precisely. Instead of just distinguishing 1st, 2nd, and 3rd person possessors (without specifying plurality, or exclusive/inclusive in the 1st person), by adding a suffix we can specify the possessor as 1DuIn, 3MDu, or the like.

The paradigm of ḡurač may be considered regular. However, some kin terms show nonzero affixes for 1st person possessor, and some show stem-suppletion depending on the person of the possessor. In all instances of suppletion one form is used in the 1st person, and another in the 2nd and 3rd persons. We can therefore summarise the paradigm for any given kin term by listing (a) the complete stem except for noun-class prefix used as the 1st person form and (b) the stem minus noun-class prefix and minus possessive prefix (-maḡ-, -ḡoḡ-) used in 2nd and 3rd person forms:

FaFa, SoSo: (a) -muḡi-ḡ?, -muḡi-ḡi, or -ḡamuḡi, (b) -muḡi or -ḡamuḡi.

Fa: (a) -ḡāra-ḡ, (b) -ḡāra.

FaSi: (a) -ḡawuy, (b) -ḡawuy.

elder Br: (a) -wawa?, (b) -yawuyu.

elder Si: (a) -ḡurač, (b) -ḡurač.

younger Br/Si: (a) -ḡayak-ḡi, (b) -ḡayak.

So/Da: (a) -ḡew-ḡi, (b) -ḡew (-kew).

MoFa: (a) -ḡabijaja or -bijaja, (b) -ḡabijaja or -bijaja.

MoBr, MoBrSoSo: (a) -ḡaykay or -ḡambara, (b) -ḡaykay or -ḡambara.

Mo, MoBrSoDa: (a) -ḡāna-ḡ, (b) -ḡele.

MoBrSo: (a) -jakuḡaḡ, (b) -jakuḡaḡ.

DaSo: (a) -yalḡuya or -yalḡuḡja-ḡi, (b) -yalḡuḡja.

MoMo: (a) -ḡokok, (b) -ḡokok.

MoMoBrSo, WiMoBr: (a) -jabuḡ, (b) -jabuḡ (-čabuḡ).

MoMoBrDa, WiMo: (a) -ḡuruḡ, (b) -ḡuruḡ (-kuruḡ).

MoMoBrSoSo, SiDaSo: (a) -ḡangura-ḡi, (b) -ḡangura.

FaMo: (a) -memem or -jam?jam, (b) -memem or -jam?jam.

WiFa: (a) -ḡoḡdoy-ḡi, (b) -ḡoḡdoy.

Wi, Hu: (a) -ḡaḡak-ḡi, (b) -ḡaḡak.

SiSo: (a) -ḡaku-ḡi, (b) -ḡaku.

SiSoSo: (a) -ḡabuḡi, (b) -ḡabuḡi.

From these terms we can construct the kinship chart shown in Table 4-1. Synonyms have been omitted from the table.

Table 4-1 - Ngandi kin terms

	Line 1	Line 2	Line 3	Line 4
2A	-muḡi-ḡi	-bijaja	-ḡokok	-memem
1A	{ -ḡāra-ḡ (m) -ḡawuy (f)	{ -ḡaykay (m) -ḡāna-ḡ (f)	{ -jabuḡ (m) -ḡuruḡ (f)	-ḡoḡdoy-ḡi
0	{ -wawa? (em) -ḡurač (ef) -ḡayak-ḡi (y)	-jakuḡaḡ	-ḡangura-ḡi	-ḡaḡak-ḡi
1D	-ḡew-ḡi	{ -ḡaykay (m) -ḡāna-ḡ (f)	{ -jabuḡ (m) -ḡuruḡ (f)	-ḡaku-ḡi
2D	-muḡi-ḡi	-yalḡuya	-ḡangura-ḡi	-ḡabuḡi

Symbols: A (ascending generation), D (descending generation), 2A (second ascending generation), etc., m (male), f (female), e (elder), y (younger).

The four lines are patrilineal. Line 1 is EGO's. Line 3 is the other line in EGO's moiety, and includes his avoidance relatives -jabuḡ and -ḡuruḡ. Line 4 is the one from which EGO (as well as his father's father and son's son) is supposed to obtain his wife. Line 2 is EGO's mother's patriline.

The term ḡambara was given as an uncommon synonym for ḡaykay (mother's brother, etc.) at one point, but at another was given as son-in-law (husband of male EGO's daughter). This term is common in

creole (Pidgin) English in the area, usually in the sense 'father-in-law' (wife's father) or the reciprocal of this (daughter's husband), and I now suspect that the term has recently been adopted by Ngandi speakers from the creole (this term has also recently spread into several other local Aboriginal languages, as a full or partial synonym of a pre-existing term).

The term -*ṅamuṛi* for 'father's father', etc., is another candidate for a recent borrowing from creole. In this case *ṅamuṛi* appears to have originated in Warndarang (*ṅa-muṛi* 'my/our father's father'), passed into creole and thence into Ngandi (and other languages). The 1st person variant -*muḍi-ṅ?* of -*muḍi*, the older stem for 'father's father', may be a borrowing from Ritharngu *mu:ḍi-ṅ?* (where -*ṅ?* is the regular 1st person ending), so -*muḍi-ṅi* is probably the original Ngandi form.

In certain cases, individuals in the position in the table occupied by -*jabuṛ* and -*guruṅ* (avoidance relatives in the 1A and 1D generations) are actually called by different terms. Relatives whose genealogical position is traced as 'mother's mother's brother's children' are called -*guruṅ* and -*jabuṛ* and are avoided (respected), but some more distant kin in the same position in the table (e.g. 'father's sister's daughter's children') can be called *gaḷuṅ?gaḷuṅ?* (a kind of distant 'daughter' or 'son'; the term is related to Ritharngu *ga:ḷu-ṅ?* 'my son, daughter'). The reciprocal of *gaḷuṅ?gaḷuṅ?* is 'father' (-*ṅara-ṅ*) or, for females, 'father's sister' (-*ṅawuy*). I regret that I do not have sufficient data to clarify the distinction between -*guruṅ* and -*jabuṛ* on the one hand and *gaḷuṅ?gaḷuṅ?*, -*ṅara-ṅ*, and -*ṅawuy* on the other.

(\*) Fortis/lenis alternations such as -*gew* vs. -*kew* in the list of 1st and 2nd person forms above are due to hardening by P-*β*.3

First person -*ṅi* is occasionally dropped even in those forms which show it in the list. The -*ṅi* seems to be retained more systematically in vocative than in other (referential) uses. Moreover, when a regular possessive suffix like -*ṅiṅanaṅi* 'my' is added (5.3), the -*ṅi* is dropped: *ṅa-gaḍak-ṅi* but *ṅa-gaḍak-ṅiṅanaṅi* 'my wife', and from this we can infer that -*ṅi* is probably a special contraction of -*ṅiṅanaṅi* and thus of recent origin etymologically. The forms -*ṅ* and -*ṅ?* (with Fa, Mo, FaFa) may belong to an earlier etymological stratum, and are never deleted (cf. Ritharngu -*ṅ?* in the same constructions).

When noninitial prefixes like Multiple Plural -*gara-* are added to forms containing -*maṛ-* or -*ṛoṅ-*, the former precede: *ba-gara-maṛ-ṅara* 'all your fathers' (i.e. 'your Fa and his brothers').

Dyadic duals are formed by adding -*ko?* to one of the kin terms. Hence *ṅara-ko?* means 'father and child', *ṅele-ko?* means 'mother and child', etc. Note that in such forms the speaker is forced to choose between two possible kin terms. To translate 'father and son', for example, he theoretically has the choice between -*ṅara-ko?* (with -*ṅara-* 'father') and \*-*gew-ko?* (with -*gew-* 'son'). In this instance the former choice is made, and in the other attested examples where there is a generational difference, the term referring to the senior individual is adopted. To say 'brother and brother' we get -*yawuy-ko?*, while 'sister and sister' shows up as -*guṛač-go?*. These forms are

consistent with the principle of seniority, and the fact that 'brother and sister' is -*guṛač-go?* (like 'sister and sister') rather than -*yawuy-ko?* appears to indicate that a female term is used in such constructions instead of a male term, other things being equal.

Multiple -*gara-* can be added to a form with -*ko?* to indicate that more than two individuals are involved: *ba-gara-ṅara-ko?* 'father(s) and children'.

Another special feature of kin terms is their ability to add an increment -*?*- and thereafter function as transitive class 1 verb stems meaning 'to call K' where K is the kin term: *ṅaṅuni-yaḷṅuṅja-ṅ-du-ni* 'He calls me yaḷṅuṅja; I am his yaḷṅuṅja.' (formally 'he' is the subject, 'me' the object).

#### 4.5 'HAVING' DERIVATIVES

Derived adjectives meaning 'having X' (X is a noun) are formed in several ways. The most common construction involves the suffix -*wič*, and Comitative prefix *baṛa-* is usually (but not always) also present. The sense of 'having' in such forms is not ownership, but rather temporary possession, accompaniment, or association. These constructions can be inflected nominally (with noun-class prefixes, case suffixes, etc.), like other adjectival nouns, but often occur without them and function syntactically like adverbs. An example of a nominally inflected derivative: *ṅi-baṛa-motorcar-wič-uṅ* (*ṅi-* MSg, -(y)uṅ Abs) 'one who has a motorcar'. The adverbial use is illustrated in this example:

*baṛa-waṭu-wič ṅi-ču-? ṅa-ṛuḍu-ṅ.*  
having a dog this way I will go

'I will go this way with (my) dog.'

Examples of *baṛa-X-wič* can be found in Texts 6.7, 10.1, 10.4, 12.28, 12.30, 12.31, 12.42, 12.49, 12.52, 12.90, and 12.97. The variant type *X-wič* without *baṛa-* occurs in Text 12.55 (*yaraman-wič* 'having a horse'), cf. Text 12.52 (*baṛa-yaraman-wič*, same gloss).

For other 'having' expressions cf. (12.4). The closest thing to a Privative construction ('lacking X') is the derivative with -*ḷi* (13.1).

#### 4.6 CASE SUFFIXES

The case suffixes of Ngandi are:

- <i>∅</i>	Nominative
- <i>ḷu</i>	Ergative, Instrumental
- <i>ḷi</i>	Locative
- <i>ḷič</i>	Allative
- <i>ku</i>	Genitive, Dative (and Purposive)
- <i>kuṅuṅ</i>	Originative
- <i>wala</i>	Ablative
- <i>pič</i>	Pgressive

These suffixes are used with nouns, pronouns, and demonstratives. There is no 'split' system as found in Ritharngu, where pronouns have a case system different from that used with nouns.

Nominative is the case of intransitive subject, and most instances of transitive object. The use of the Allative suffix with transitive objects is described below.

Some verbs like *wo-* 'to give' and *go?ma-* 'to show' require two objects. The object which is marked in the pronominal prefix added to the verb is the object which we would call 'indirect', though there is no Benefactive prefix in the verb or other explicit indication of indirectness. Independent NP's corresponding to these overtly-marked objects are put in the Allative, while independent NP's representing the direct object (not marked in the verb) are Nominative:

naguni-go?ma-na      gu-yaŋ-Ø-yuŋ.  
he teaches me      GU-language-Nom-Abs

'He teaches me the language.'

ŋanu-wo-ni      ma-ŋiĉ-Ø-uŋ      ŋi-ñara-ŋ-giĉ.  
I gave him      MA-food-Nom-Abs      MSg-father-my-All

'I gave the food to my father.'

The Nominative is also used in citation forms, for example names of objects elicited by asking 'What is that?'.  
Further examples of the Nominative:

a-wop-d-i      a-wurpaŋ-Ø-yuŋ.  
it jumped      A-emu-Nom-Abs

'The emu jumped.' (intransitive subject)

ñara-ga-n-di      a-wurpaŋ-Ø-yuŋ.  
we carried it      A-emu-Nom-Abs

'We carried the emu.' (transitive object)

Ergative is used for transitive subject. The criterion for deciding whether a given instance of *-tu* is Ergative or Instrumental is whether the noun is cross-referenced by a pronominal subject-marker in the transitive pronominal prefix to the verb (Chapter 7). The Ergative requires such agreement, the Instrumental cannot have it:

ŋigu-ma-y      ŋi-yul-tu-yuŋ      gu-jundu-Ø-yuŋ.  
he got it      MSg-man-Erg-Abs      GU-stone-Nom-Abs

'The man got the stone.'

ŋi-guŋ-Ø-yuŋ      ñaru-ga-go-ni      a-ja-mumba?-du.  
NI-honey-Nom-Abs      we chop it      A-now-axe-Inst

'We chop down honey (i.e. bee hive) with axes now.'

Although Ergative NP's are usually animate, there is no explicit restriction on the lexical features of Ergative NP's:

ŋagu-gulk-d-i      gu-jundu-tu-yuŋ.  
it cut me      GU-stone-Erg-Abs      'The stone cut me.'

The suffix *-ku* will generally be referred to in this grammar by the term 'Genitive-Dative'. However, it is possible to distinguish several uses of this suffix, though the boundaries may be hazy in some cases.

The basic distinction to be made here is between Genitive, Dative and Purposive senses. These distinctions can be defined fairly clearly on syntactic grounds, except when the noun (or pronoun) with *-ku* is the predicate of a clause, as in this example:

ma-na-ri-yuŋ      ŋayi-ku  
that (MA, Nom)      me-Gen

'That (MA class) is mine.'

This can also be taken as semantically Dative ('That is for me'), and I will use either 'Gen' or 'Dat' in interlinear analyses of such instances of *-ku*, depending on the sense. The distinction between the two, in this construction, is hazy and if there were another suitable term for predicative Genitive-Dative I would have used it.

In nonpredicative function, the three-way division between Genitive, Dative and Purposive is made basically as follows: a Genitive NP cannot be cross-referenced in the verb, but is optionally cross-referenced by a possessive pronominal suffix (5.3) in the modified noun; a Dative NP is not cross-referenced by such a suffix on another noun, but is cross-referenced in the verb by an object-marker in conjunction with Benefactive *-bak-* (8.8); a Purposive NP is not cross-referenced anywhere else in the clause.

An example of a NP with a Genitive noun:

ma-waŋgura?-gu      gu-ŋer-?ŋuŋayi-Ø  
MA-bandicoot-Gen      GU-camp-its-Nom

'the bandicoot's camp'

Here the attributive (nonpredicative) Genitive NP *ma-waŋgura?-gu* 'of the bandicoot' is cross-referenced by the possessive suffix *-?ŋuŋayi-* in the noun *gu-ŋer-?ŋuŋayi-Ø* 'its camp'. It is possible, however, to omit this possessive suffix (hence *ma-waŋgura?-gu gu-ŋer-Ø*), although inclusion of the suffix is very common. In cases where the possessive suffix is omitted, there may be no clear syntactic test for distinguishing Genitive from Purposive, but in most cases there is no doubt as to the sense intended in particular contexts. Genitive, then, is an instance of *-ku* which is potentially cross-referenced by such a pronominal suffix in the modified noun.

The Genitive is not 'declined' to agree with the case of the modified noun. In the following example the modified noun is Ergative, but the independent Genitive noun has no Ergative marking:

a-waŋu-?ŋayi-tu      ŋi-jawulpa-gu      ŋagura-ga-ba-ŋ.  
A-dog-his-Erg      MSg-old man-Gen      it bit me

'His dog bit me.'

In some cases, however, where we would expect (in English) a Genitive noun we get a noun without Genitive suffix, but instead marked for the case of the modified noun. That is, formally we get surface

apposition of two nouns in the same case, though (in translation at least) one noun is functioning as the possessor. The examples all involve 'local' cases (Allative, Ablative, Locative, perhaps Pergressive):

ḡa-ṛuḡu-ḡi	ḡu-ṛer-?ḡayi-ḡič	ḡi-jawulpa-ḡič.
<i>I went</i>	<i>to his house</i>	<i>to the old man</i>

*'I went to the old man's house.'*

What may be really going on here, though, is that this apposition operates only where semantically feasible; in the example just given it is semantically possible (in most contexts) to say that the motion was toward the old man (as well as his house), as long as the old man was near the house (or assumed to be). It is thus not at all clear that there is an agreement 'transformation' here; we may simply have different tendencies in the structuring of base forms.

An example of the Dative:

ḡanu-bak-ma-y	ḡi-na-ri-ku	ḡi-jawulpa-gu.
<i>I got for him</i>	<i>MSg-that-Imm-Dat</i>	<i>MSg-old man-Dat</i>

*'I got (it) for that old man.'*

Here Benefactive -bak- has been prefixed to the verb, indicating that the object-marker in the pronominal prefix ḡanu- (1Sg → 3MSg) is semantically Dative rather than Accusative. The 3MSg object-marker thus cross-references the NP ḡi-na-ri-ku ḡi-jawulpa-gu 'for that old man'. The Dative is thus distinguished from the Genitive both by failing to be cross-referenced in a modified noun (there is no such noun in the example just given) and by being cross-referenced in the verb.

There is no sharp semantic difference between the Dative and Purposive (and in texts I will label both instances of -ku as 'Dat'). Basically, the Dative is used for human referents and the Purposive for nonhuman ones, with nonhuman animates occupying an intermediate status and thus fluctuating between the two. Textual examples of the Purposive include a-jeñ-gu-yuḡ 'for fish' (Text 1.7), ma-ḡambul-ku 'for the eye' (Text 3.4), ḡi-ḡuḡ-gu-yuḡ 'for honey' (Text 1.11), and gu-ḡiw-ku 'for the liver' (Text 6.14). Note that body-part terms pattern as inanimate. Examples of the Dative (with -bak-) are referred to in (8.8).

An example of the Purposive with human referent:

bari-bu-yḡi-ni	ḡa-ḡiḡ?-gu.
<i>they hit each other (fought)</i>	<i>FSg-woman-Purp</i>

*'They fought for a woman.'*

Here it appears that the Purposive rather than Dative construction was used because the Benefactive prefix cannot be added in the sense intended to a Reciprocal verb. The combination Benefactive-Reciprocal is grammatical, but is semantically the Reciprocal of the Benefactive (e.g. 'They cut (it) for each other.') rather than the Benefactive of the Reciprocal, which is what we would want in this example. Since it is impossible to use -bak- here, and hence there can be no cross-reference in the verb for ḡa-ḡiḡ?-gu, we end up with the Purposive construction.

It is possible that the Dative/Purposive distinction is not based entirely on lexical hierarchy, and that semantic features may be involved (e.g. indirect objects of a semantically peripheral nature may show up as Purposive even with human referent). For example, ba-ḡaḡar-ku-yuḡ 'for dangerous (people)' is Purposive, not Dative, in Text 12.35, perhaps because it is too peripheral to the semantics of the verb to be cross-referenced in it (we may also note that it is separated from the verb by several pauses and intervening constituents). However, the bulk of the textual examples show considerable asymmetry between human and inanimate referents in this respect.

The usual (static) Locative suffix is -ḡi, which we may translate 'at, in, on'. Of the other case categories, the one which is closest semantically is Pergressive -pič, translatable as 'through, along, among', referring to the medium within which a moving object is passing. Examples:

gu-jolko-ḡi	ḡi-ga-ḡu-da.
<i>GU-ground-Loc</i>	<i>MSg-Sub-sit-Pr</i>

*'He is sitting on the ground.'*

mo-mo o-pič	gu-ga-ḡu-ḡa	gu-ḡanda?-yuḡ.
<i>MA-road-Per</i>	<i>GU-Sub-stand-Pr</i>	<i>GU-tree-Abs</i>

*'The trees are standing along the road.'*

gu-mulmu-pič	a-ga-ṛuḡu-ni.
<i>GU-grass-Per</i>	<i>A-Sub-go-Pr</i>

*'It is going through the grass.'*

Pergressive examples in the texts printed here include forms in Texts 12.35 and 12.87.

The Ablative suffix indicates that the noun in question is the point of departure for some kind of motion or transit: gu-ḡanda?-wala 'from the tree'. It can also be used with names of languages in constructions like this:

ḡar-ḡawk-ḡu-ḡ	gu-ḡandi-wala.
<i>we will speak</i>	<i>GU-Ngandi-Abl</i>

*'We will speak in Ngandi.'*

This construction is also found in Ritharngu and Nunggubuyu, though in the latter it is also possible to use the Instrumental case.

The Originative suffix -kuḡuḡ is more semantically restricted than the Ablative. It indicates that the noun to which it is attached is the source or provider of something, especially a commodity such as food or money. One example of -kuḡuḡ is in Text 1.6; another follows:

ḡarma-ḡu-čini	ma-ḡič-Ø-uḡ	a-munaga-kuḡuḡ.
<i>we eat it</i>	<i>MA-food-Nom-Abs</i>	<i>A-White-Orig.</i>

*'We eat food from (provided by) Whites.'*

The most difficult of the case suffixes to describe is Allative -ḡič. To begin with, it has a true Allative sense in such examples as these:

gu-danda?-gič-un    ɲa-ga-riɖ-i.  
 GU-tree-All-Abs    1Sg-Sub-go-PPun

'I went to the tree.'

However, -gič is also used fairly often in situations where we would expect the Nominative (for transitive object) or the Dative; I will speak of such forms with -gič as Pseudo-Accusative and Pseudo-Dative constructions.

For the most part, the choice between using -gič and using the Nominative or Dative depends on semantics rather than on the form of the clause. If there is some kind of motion or action which can be thought of as proceeding toward the direct or indirect object, it is possible to use -gič. Where no such directionality can be found, -gič is normally not used. In many contexts there is a free choice between using -gič and using the other suffixes.

Another factor which affects the distribution of -gič is the fact that human nouns, and to a lesser extent names of animals, have a significantly greater tendency to show up with -gič in Pseudo-Accusative and Pseudo-Dative forms than do inanimate nouns. Thus, while there is no rigid, institutionalised split between human and nonhuman nouns in the assignment of major syntactic cases, as is found in Ritharnngu, there is a tendency toward differentiation along these lines. Examples of Pseudo-Accusative sentences:

ɲanu-yowk-da-ɲi    ɲi-yul-gič-un.  
 I speared him    MSg-man-All-Abs

'I speared the man.'

ɲini-juj?-ɖ-i    ɲi-go!okonɖo-gič-un.  
 he sent him    MSg-Roy-All-Abs

'He sent Roy.'

In the first example, the notion of action directed toward the object 'man' is clear. The second example is one of the few attested where this directional feature is not clear; note that the translation is not 'He sent him to Roy.', which would be homophonous but which was clearly not the meaning intended by the speaker (Text 12.28).

In the example

ɲi-ñara-ɲ-gič    ɲanu-ɲa-ni.  
 MSg-father-my-All    I saw him

'I saw my father.'

-gič is used because the concept of seeing can be thought of as an action directed toward the perceived entity.

Examples of Pseudo-Dative sentences:

ɲanu-bag-ič-ga-ɲi    ɲi-ñara-ɲ-gič.  
 1Sg/3MSg-Ben-Ø-tell-PCon    MSg-father-my-All

'I told (the story) to my father.'

ɲanu-ba-ka-n-di    ɲi-ñara-ɲ-gič.  
 1Sg/3MSg-Ben-take-Aug-PCon  
 'I took (it) to my father.'

Textual examples of the Pseudo-Accusative: Texts 1.4, 7.6, 10.3, 12.28, 12.80, 12.94, 12.95. A textual example of the Pseudo-Dative: Text 12.108.

Both Pseudo-Accusatives and Pseudo-Datives are less common than the alternative constructions with Nominative and Dative suffixes. Many transitive verbs, like ɲu- 'to eat', never take objects with -gič, and most of those which can occur in Pseudo-Accusative forms can also occur in the regular constructions. Similarly, when an indirect object is not specifically indicated to be the terminus or goal of some entity in transit (e.g. a gift, information, etc.), the Pseudo-Dative is not used. In the example ɲanu-bak-ma-y ɲi-na-ri-ku ɲi-jawulpa-gu 'I got (it) for that old man.', cited earlier, there is no concrete indication of transit toward the old man, whose semantic role function is merely that of the (ultimate) beneficiary of the concrete physical event described. Therefore Dative -ku (-gu by Lenition) is used here instead of Allative -gič.

The difference between a Pseudo-Accusative construction like ɲi-ñara-ɲ-gič ɲanu-ɲa-ni 'I saw my father.' and an intransitive with accompanying Allative NP, e.g. ɲi-ñara-ɲ-gič ɲa-ɖudu-ɲi 'I went to my father.' is merely that the Pseudo-Accusative treats the Allative NP as the direct object for purposes of choosing subject-object pronominal prefixes in the verb, while in the intransitive construction there is no object marked in the verb.

At the level of universal semantics there are role functions describable as Purposive, and others describable as Allative, but in many contexts a NP may be both simultaneously. In English such ambivalent role functions are assigned to the Purposive case (for     ), but in Ngandi (as in most languages in the area) they are assigned to the Allative. An example:

ɲar-uɖu-ɲ    ma-burpa?-gič.  
 go! (Pl)    MA-water lily root-All

'Go for water lily roots!'

Because of this, the Purposive use of -ku is restricted to those contexts where the Allative is not appropriate. The example barɪ-bu-yɖi-ni ɲa-ɖiɲ?-gu 'They were fighting for a woman.', cited above, illustrates this type.

#### 4.7 OVERVIEW OF THE CASE SYSTEM

In languages like Ngandi it is impossible to understand how case relations are expressed without taking verbal morphology as well as nominal morphology into account. At a minimum, we can distinguish the following combinations of case suffixes added to independent nouns with the presence or absence of cross-referencing pronominals in the verb indicating status as intransitive subject (IS), transitive subject (TS), and transitive object (TO):

1. -Ø, IS. Intransitive Nominative.
2. -Ø, TO. Transitive Nominative.
3. -ɖu, TS. Ergative.

4. -iu, nil. Instrumental.
5. -ku, TO (with -bak-). Dative.
6. -ku, nil. Purposive.
7. -ku (modifying a noun), nil. Genitive.
8. -gi, nil. Locative.
9. -gič, nil. Allative.
10. -gič, TO. Pseudo-Accusative.
11. -gič, TO (with -bak-). Pseudo-Dative.
12. -pič, nil. Pergressive.
13. -wala, nil. Ablative.
14. -kuñuŋ, nil. Originative.

The information from verbal morphology which was used in distinguishing these categories is based on the pronominal prefix and the presence or absence of Benefactive -bak-. However, still finer distinctions can be made by considering other derivational affixes added to verbs. In addition to Reflexive -i-, Reciprocal -ydi-, and Causative -guba-, all of which tell something about the semantic roles of the major NP's in their clauses, we have the following additional affixes: Directional -guta-, a suffix which forms surface transitives from underlying intransitives, with the surface TO cross-referencing an Allative NP; -ri-, a prefix forming surface transitives from intransitives, with the surface TO semantically Comitative, and cross-referencing a NP in Nominative case; and bata-, a Comitative which does not affect the cross-referencing pronominals.

#### 4.8 RELATIVE -yiñuŋ-

A suffix -yiñuŋ- is found occasionally in a sort of relational genitive sense which I will label Relative. It is much less common than Nunggubuyu -yiñuŋ, which is used in all kinds of genitives and can be added to verbs to form relative clauses. Ngandi -yiñuŋ- can follow case suffixes such as Genitive -ku :

a-mumba?-yuŋ	ñara-ga-maka-na	a-ja-ŋi-?
A-metal axe-Abs	we call it	A-now-this-Ø

o-monaŋa-ku-yiñuŋ.  
A-White-Gen-Rel

'We call this White man (metal) axe "mumba?".'

This is not an ordinary possessive construction, since the point is not that a particular axe is owned by a particular White, but rather that the type of axe called mumba? was introduced by Whites rather than being a traditional Aboriginal implement.

The notion 'type of' is also present in uses of -yiñuŋ- in demonstratives such as (gu-)na-ji-ñ-iñuŋ 'that kind of thing' (6.8).

The sense 'about, concerning' (common with Nunggubuyu -yiñuŋ) appears to occur in Text 12.73 (with -yimin?-). See also Texts 2.9/14, 12.32/55/73/74/92.

#### 4.9 ABSOLUTE -yuŋ

Ngandi has an Absolute suffix -yuŋ which has cognates in Nunggubuyu

and Warndarang as well. This is added to substantives (nouns, demonstratives, pronouns) and to many adverbs. It is not usually found in completely isolated constituents, such as nominal vocabulary obtained in elicitation sessions without sentential contextualisation. Similarly, it is avoided in vocative and other interjection-like forms.

Essentially, -yuŋ indicates that the constituent to which it is attached occurs in a sentential context as an argument (not as predicate), but retains its formal autonomy - in particular, it is not incorporated into the verb as a compounding initial. Thus (a-)dangu 'meat' often turns up as a-dangu-yuŋ when functioning as an unincorporated direct object or the like, but its citation form (answering 'What is that?' for instance) is a-dangu or just dangu and when it is incorporated into a compound it is just dangu- (dangu-ma- 'to get meat').

Examples of Absolute -yuŋ occur on nearly every page of the texts (e.g. there are about thirty examples in the rather brief Text 1). It can occur with all case forms: Nominative a-dangu-yuŋ, Genitive-Dative a-dangu-ku-yuŋ, Ablative a-dangu-wala-yuŋ, etc. However, the texts also show that in many instances where Absolute -yuŋ could occur it is omitted, and there is no clear way to predict when this will occur; for example, in a list of fish names (Text 1.6) we find a-lepal, a-bingarana?, a-miriči, a-waŋma, o-jombo!ok-yuŋ, a-murka?-yuŋ, a-weŋeč-uŋ (with -yuŋ suddenly appearing about half-way through the list).

When a noun-phrase consists of more than one constituent (say, a demonstrative pronoun followed by a noun), it is possible to add Absolute -yuŋ to each constituent. However, as with case suffixes, this pleonastic repetition is typical only when the constituents are separated by an intervening element, or by a slight pause: o-wolo-yuŋ, a-dangu-yuŋ 'that meat'. When the two are pronounced more or less as a unit (and if the nuclear element, normally a noun stem, follows the modifying element) the initial element (the modifier) often loses its Absolute -yuŋ (and perhaps also its case-marking: o-wolo a-dangu-yuŋ 'that meat'; Allative o-wolo-gič a-dangu-gič-uŋ (or o-wolo a-dangu-gič-uŋ) 'to that meat').

There is one specialised function of -yuŋ, found only with independent pronouns, whereby -yuŋ indicates or emphasises a change in the reference of a NP (often the subject) from one clause to another (5.2). The simple Absolute function is also possible for these pronouns, so here we have two possible interpretations (see 5.2 for details).

In Warndarang and Nunggubuyu the Absolute has special functions with kin terms, marking 3rd (as opposed to 2nd) person 'possessor'. There is no such special function in Ngandi; Absolute -yuŋ can be used with kin terms but in that event has its regular Absolute function.

Absolute -yuŋ is not used in the predicate-nominal construction (equational-clause) construction with intransitive pronominal prefix; contrast ŋar-diŋ? 'You are women.' (predicative) with ŋar-diŋ?-yuŋ 'you women' (argument in a proposition), cf. (4.2), end.

#### 4.10 -?wañji? 'like'

The suffix -?wañji? (Semblative), can be added to a noun or adverb X

to mean 'like (similar to) X'. An example is gu-ḍila-?wañji? 'like a (paperbark) cooliman'. An adverbial example is ḍawa?-wañji? 'like today'.

#### 4.11 ORDER OF AFFIXES

Taking the (nuclear) noun stem as basic, we have three basic 'slots' for prefixes and compounding initials. The first is occupied by noun-class prefixes (4.2). The second contains noninitial prefixes, which are described in Chapter 8. It is possible for more than one noninitial prefix to occur with a noun, so this second prefixal slot could be broken up into three or four subslots, but usually there is at most one such prefix. The third slot contains -maṛ- or -ṛoṅ- (4.4) with kin terms, -baṛa- (4.5) in 'having' derivatives, and various compounding initials.

If there is a nonnuclear adjectival compounding final, this directly follows the stem. The suffix allomorphs -ṅ, -ṅ?, and -ṅi (4.4) likewise directly follow stems; they do not co-occur with compounding finals. The suffix -wič in 'having' constructions (4.5) directly follows the stem or stem plus adjectival compounding final, as in baṛa-motorcar-gaṇa?-wič 'having a small (-gaṇa?-) motorcar'. There are no examples where -wič co-occurs with -ṅ, -ṅ?, or -ṅi.

Regular pronominal possessive suffixes (5.3) may be separated from the stem only by -ṅ and its allomorphs (ṅi-ṅara-ṅ-ṅinaṅi 'my father') or by a compounding final (ma-gami-gaṇa?-ṅinaṅi 'my small spear'). It does not co-occur with -wič in my data.

The postpositions (or suffixes) -gapul 'several' and -pula 'and; two' come directly after the possessive suffixes, and are followed by case suffixes: ma-gami-ṅinaṅi-pula-ḍu 'and by means of my spear; by means of my two spears', here with Instrumental -ḍu. Relative -yiñuṅ follows the case-suffix.<sup>1</sup> Absolute -yuṅ (4.9) follows case suffixes and -yiñuṅ. The postpositions (or suffixes) -bugi? 'only', -ṅiri? 'also', and Negative -?may? (10.2-10.3) follow all other suffixes. The only pair of these three which seems to occur is -bugi?-may?, as in a-waṭu-bugi?-may? 'not only the dog'.

For the remaining nominal suffixes I have only partial information as to their ordering. The suffix -?wala, which occurs only with

<sup>1</sup>Relative -yiñuṅ follows case suffixes as in o-monaṅa-ku-yiñuṅ '(of the sort) belonging to Whites', here with Genitive -ku-. However, it is possible that forms with -yiñuṅ can occasionally be regarded as derivative noun stems, so that -yiñuṅ could conceivably be followed by case or other suffixes on a second layer of derivation, as it were. This is the case with Nunggubuyu -yiñuṅ, but Ngandi -yiñuṅ is much less common and I have no clear examples of -yiñuṅ plus case suffix.

pronouns (5.2), must follow the Ergative case suffix. The suffix -?wañji? 'like' follows possessive suffixes, as in a-ḍangu-ṅinaṅi-?wañji? 'like my meat', and precedes Absolute -yuṅ. I have no worthwhile data on the ordering position of Negative -ḍi (13.1).

This information can be summarised by the following schema, with - signalling distance (in terms of slots) leftward from the (nuclear) stem and + signalling distance rightward:

- |    |   |                                      |              |
|----|---|--------------------------------------|--------------|
| -3 | noun-class prefix   |                                      |              |
| -2 | noninitial prefixes   |                                      |              |
| -1 | maṛ-, ṛoṅ- (4.4), baṛa- (4.5), compounding initials (12.3) (nuclear stem) |                                      |              |
| +1 | adjectival compounding final (12.5)                                       |                                      |              |
| +2 | -wič (4.5),   | -ṅi (and allomorphs, 4.4)            |              |
| +3 |   | possessive pronominal suffixes (5.3) |              |
| +4 | -gapul, -pula (10.1),   | -?wañji? 'like'                      |              |
| +5 | case suffix (4.6)   |                                      |              |
| +6 | Relative -yiñuṅ (4.8)   |                                      | -?wala (5.2) |
| +7 | Absolute -yuṅ   |                                      |              |
| +8 | -bugi? (10.2),  | -?ṅiri? (10.2)                       |              |
| +9 | Negative -?may? (10.3)  |                                      |              |

#### 4.12 PROPER NOUNS

Names of places and of individual persons do not have any characteristics drastically different from those of other nouns. However, there are slight differences.

Place names omit the noun-class prefix (nearly always gu-) fairly often. One can say gu-ma:ruru-gič or ma:ruru-gič 'to ma:ruru'. With ordinary nouns the omission of the prefix in such a construction would be unusual. Absolute -yuṅ is also less common with place names than with ordinary nouns.

Locative -gi is usually omitted with place names as well: warpani ṅi-ga-ṅu-ḍa 'He is sitting (staying) at warpani.' Allative -gič and Ablative -wala are not omitted.

Certain interrogative forms also differentiate place names from other nouns. 'What?'-interrogatives are based on a stem -ñja. 'What place?' takes a special prefix bi- instead of one of the usual noun-class prefixes. This form bi-ñja is distinct from wo:-gi 'where?' ('at which?'). The prefix bi- shows up in only one other form, the frozen bičara 'what's-its-name?, what's-it? (place)'. Cf. -jara 'what's it?'. Since the demonstrative system also clearly differentiates demonstratives of place ('adverbs') from other demonstratives ('demonstrative pronouns'), these data taken as a whole suggest that place names are a definable subtype of substantives.

Place names are the only nouns which can form derivatives with *daŋʔ-* and *dirk-* (8.17).

Personal names are not easily distinguishable from ordinary nouns in their morphosyntactic behaviour. They do, however, form special derivatives with *man-* (8.16) and special compounds with *-ŋayaŋ* (12.6).

#### 4.13 VOCATIVES

Vocative nouns are formed by omitting noun-class prefixes and the Absolute suffix *-yuŋ*. Vocatives are usually kin terms with 1st person possessor, e.g. *ŋana-ŋ* 'mother!', or human adjectival nouns, e.g. *jawulpa* 'old man!'

#### 4.14 NOUN-PHRASES

Noun-phrases (NP's) which have more than one constituent are typically formed by apposition. There is normally a single nuclear constituent, the main stem, to which is juxtaposed a Genitive noun, a noun functioning as adjectival modifier, a demonstrative pronoun, or an independent personal pronoun (or more than one of these elements). By using the term 'apposition' I am trying to indicate that the various constituents are often formally independent of each other; they often each have a complete set of affixes (noun-class prefix, case suffix, Absolute suffix, etc.), and may be separated from each other by pauses and even by other constituents such as a verb.

Independent personal pronouns are juxtaposed to nouns within a NP chiefly in instances where the pronoun has morphological possibilities not available to the noun itself (so that the real importance of the pronoun is not the information contained in the pronominal stem - which is redundant - but rather the information contained in its affixes). The pronominal formations described in (5.2), such as the form with Absolute *-yuŋ* in its reference-switching function, are commonly found in NP's containing a pronoun as well as a noun: *ŋi-wan-yuŋ ŋi-deremu-yuŋ* 'as for him, the man' (i.e. 'as for the man').

Demonstrative pronouns are, of course, often found with accompanying nouns and thus function as 'adjectives' (in English terms). Example: *ŋi-na-ri-ŋi-yuŋ ŋi-deremu-ŋi-yuŋ* 'that man (Ergative)' (with *deremu* 'man'). A personal pronoun can be used as well: *ŋi-wan-yuŋ ŋi-na-ri-ŋi-yuŋ ŋi-deremu-ŋi-yuŋ* 'as for that man' (here Ergative *-ŋi* occurs with the noun and demonstrative pronoun, but is not used with the reference-switching personal pronoun, cf. 5.2).

Nouns functioning as adjectives can be juxtaposed to a noun: *ŋi-wiriŋpu-yuŋ ŋi-deremu-yuŋ* 'the other man'. This can be expanded by adding a personal and/or demonstrative pronoun.

Genitive nouns have essentially the same kind of syntactic status as such 'adjectives', in terms of word-order possibilities relative to the modified noun. Example: *ŋi-deremu-ku-yuŋ a-ŋangu-yuŋ* 'the man's meat'. However, Genitive nouns are very often cross-referenced by pronominal possessive suffixes added to the modified noun: *ŋi-deremu-*

*ku-yuŋ a-ŋangu-ŋayiyuŋ* 'the man's meat' (lit. 'of the man, his meat' with 3Sg possessive *-ŋayiyuŋ*). Moreover, Genitive nouns are not declined to agree with the case marking of the modified noun, while adjectives are: *ŋi-wiriŋpu-ŋi-yuŋ ŋi-deremu-ŋi-yuŋ* 'the other man' (Ergative, with case suffix *-ŋi* in both nouns), but *ŋi-deremu-ku-yuŋ a-ŋangu-ŋi-yuŋ* 'the man's meat' (Ergative, with *-ŋi* on the modified noun but not on the Genitive noun).

So we have a maximal schema consisting of a personal pronoun, a demonstrative, a Genitive noun, and one or more adjectival nouns. If these elements are directly juxtaposed (i.e. not separated by other constituents), the most common order is for the personal pronoun to come first, the demonstrative second, and then the other elements (the true nouns) in any order.

When a string of constituents within a NP occurs as a unit, not broken by other constituents or by pauses, we often find that affixation such as case marking and Absolute *-yuŋ* (in its true Absolute sense) is suspended in initial, nonnominal constituents. An example is given in (4.9). In such instances we can speak with some justification of a surface NP superconstituent functioning as a single unit. However, as noted above we are just as likely to find a rather broken-up surface structure with the elements in the NP separated by pauses or by other constituents, in which case each element normally has its maximal affixation possibilities realised. An example: *ŋanu-ŋa-ni ŋi-na-ri-gič-uŋ ŋi-deremu-gič-uŋ* 'I-saw-him that one, the man' (with both the demonstrative and the noun taking Allative *-gič*, here in Pseudo-Accusative function). This can also turn up as *ŋi-na-ri-gič-uŋ ŋanu-ŋa-ni, ŋi-deremu-gič-uŋ*. Such examples show the 'afterthought' construction so common to language in this area, where a core nuclear clause is pronounced and then one or more constituents giving more precise specification of arguments in the clause are added after a pause.

Textual examples of the omission of Absolute and/or case suffixes with a demonstrative followed by a noun are *ŋi-wolo ŋi-yul-yuŋ* 'that man' (Texts 12.42, 12.59), *ŋi-wolo ŋi-yul-gič-uŋ* 'to that man' (Text 12.43), and *ŋi-na-ri ŋi-policeman-du-yuŋ* 'that policeman (Ergative)' (Text 12.18).



## Chapter 5

### PRONOUNS

#### 5.1 INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

The Nominative independent pronouns are these:

1Sg	ɲaya	1DuExM	ñowoŋi	1PlEx	ñer
1DuIn	ñaka	1TrInM	ɲorkoŋi	1PlIn	ɲorkor
2Sg	ɲugan	2MDu	ɲukaŋi	2Pl	ɲukar
3MSg	ɲi-wan	3MDu	bowoŋi	3Pl	ba-wan
3FSg	ɲa-wan				

Nonhuman: ɲi-wan, ɲa-wan, a-wan, gu-wan, ma-wan

The pronouns which are most transparent structurally are those consisting of stem -wan preceded by the usual noun-class prefix. It is also easy to identify -ɲi as the Masculine Dual ending in all forms. This ending does not occur elsewhere in the language, but matches Nunggubuyu -ɲi, MDu ending in pronouns and demonstratives. In Nunggubuyu it is fairly clear that -ɲi reflects \*-r-ni with Nonsingular \*-r- and Masculine \*-ni-, and such an etymological analysis will also work for Ngandi. Note that the 'MDu' form in the 1st person inclusive is really a Trial form semantically.

Mixed male-female gender is treated as feminine (4.2).

All 1st inclusive and 2nd person forms except ɲugan are based on a stem -ka-/-ko-, which is preceded by pronominal elements related to the corresponding intransitive pronominal prefixes, and which may be followed by MDu -ɲi- and Pl -r-. Cf. Nunggubuyu -ga-/-gu- in the same forms. Ngandi 2Sg ɲugan is irregular, but the 2nd person initial ɲu- can be isolated. The variant ɲuwan is common in rapid speech, and if this form is taken as basic we can correlate ɲu-wan with 3rd person forms like ɲi-wan.

By looking at the paradigm presented above it is possible to note the distribution of the initial nasals ɲ, ñ, and ŋ in the 1st and 2nd person forms, as shown in Table 5-1. The number values shown in the

table (Sg, Du, Pl) need to be increased by one for the 1In series.

Table 5-1 — Initial nasals

	Sg	Du	Pl
1Ex	ɲ	ñ	ñ
1In	ñ	ɲ	ɲ
2	ŋ	ŋ	ŋ

With zero suffix the pronominal forms shown above function as Nominative pronouns. Other cases are formed by adding the regular case suffixes described in (4.6). The only irregularity noted is that the 1Sg Genitive-Dative is ɲayi-ku, not \*ɲaya-ku. The surface forms of case suffixes beginning in underlying fortis stops depend on whether Lenition rules operate (hence ɲaya-ɬu, ñar-ɬu, but ñaka-du, ɲorkor-du, ɲi-wan-du, with Ergative -ɬu).

#### 5.2 DERIVATIVES OF INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

In addition to the simple independent pronouns described in (5.1), there are several important derivative formations.

Absolute -yɲ can be added to pronouns in any case category in the same function it has with nouns and other substantives (4.9). Thus Ergative ɲi-wan-ɬu-yɲ 'he', Nominative ɲi-wan-Ø-yɲ, etc.

However, in the Nominative (or, I prefer to say, in a form with no case suffix) there is also another function for the Absolute form of the pronouns. In this event it indicates or emphasises some kind of referential switch or transition from one clause to another, usually but not always involving the subjects of the two clauses (i.e. the Nominative NP's of intransitives and the Ergative of transitives). The translation 'as for X' or 'X, in turn, ...' give some idea of the sense here, but the Ngandi construction is more common than these rather specialised forms in English.

Examples of how -yɲ operates in this reference-switching function occur in the following passage (other examples are ñer-yɲ 'as for us' in Texts 2.30 — twice — and 11.35, ɲugan-yɲ 'as for you' in Text 7.6, ɲi-wan-yɲ 'as for him' in Text 7.8, and ba-wan-yɲ 'as for them' in Texts 11.14 and 11.22, among many others):

'...', ñowoŋi	ñari-yimi-ñ-?,	also 7.15
we (DuExM)	we said	
ɲi-jara-pula-yɲ	ɲi-ɲa:-pula-yɲ,	
with who's-it?	with Charley	
ɲi-wan-yɲ	ɲi-Ted Ervin-du-yɲ, ...,	
as for him	Ted Ervin	
ɲi-wan-yɲ	jambarpuyɲu-wala ɲini-ja-bak-ñawk-ɬ-i,	
as for him	in Djambarrpuyngu he spoke to him	
ɲi-wan-yɲ	ɲi-yul-yɲ ɲi-yimi-ñ-?, '...'	
as for him	Aboriginal he said	

The background to this is that the narrator, one other man, and a man named Charley have brought an Aboriginal before Ted Ervin, a government official. The translation is this: "...", he and I said, along with who's-it?, along with Charley. As for him, Ted Ervin, [digression explaining who Ted Ervin is], as for him he spoke to him (the Aboriginal) in the Djambarrpuyngu. As for the Aboriginal, he said "...".

There are three instances of *ni-wan-yuŋ* here, although the second merely repeats the first following a digression. The first *ni-wan-yuŋ* emphasises the shift from 'we' to 'Ted Ervin'; the third emphasises the shift from 'Ted Ervin' to 'the Aboriginal'.

It is notable that in *ni-wan-yuŋ ni-Ted Ervin-du-yuŋ* the pronoun *ni-wan-yuŋ*, itself unmarked for case, is clearly in apposition to the Ergative NP *ni-Ted Ervin-du-yuŋ*. This shows that the reference-switching use of *-yuŋ* requires a pronoun without case suffixes, but may be appositive to a NP in a nonzero case.

It is possible to think of forms like *ni-wan-yuŋ* here being in the Nominative case, marked by suffix *-Ø*. However, I prefer to think of *ni-wan-yuŋ* as lacking case suffixes altogether. In fact, it may be that there is a way to overtly distinguish reference-switching pronouns with *-yuŋ* from ordinary Nominative pronouns with *-yuŋ* in its Absolute function. For the 1Sg pronoun we find two forms with *-yuŋ*, namely irregular *ni:-yuŋ* and regular *ŋaya-yuŋ* (cf. ordinary 1Sg pronoun *ŋaya*). It appears that *ni:-yuŋ* is the reference-switching form, while *ŋaya-yuŋ* is Nominative *ŋaya-Ø* plus Absolute *-yuŋ*. For all other pronouns, the two formations are unfortunately indistinguishable.

The unsuffixed (Nominative?) personal pronoun can sometimes be used instead of the *-yuŋ* form in roughly the same reference-switching function — e.g. *ŋowoŋi 'we' ('as for us')* in Text 12.6.

A particle *wan-yuŋ* or *an-yuŋ* occurs from time to time in Ngandi texts as a clause-initial reference-switching element translatable 'as for' when followed by an adverb or other constituent which it modifies, and translatable 'on the other hand' when it does not modify any constituent in particular. This seems to be, in effect, the neutralisation of the pronominal type in reference-switching *-yuŋ*, since it is not specified for any particular pronominal category. Examples: Texts 11.7, 11.18, 11.20, and 11.31 (among others).

There is another pronominal form with suffix *-kalu* instead of *-yuŋ* (*-kalu* is not found in any function with nouns). With 1P1Ex *ŋer 'we'* a minor morphophonemic irregularity occurs: *ŋir-kalu 'as for us; we others'*. As suggested by this gloss, the *-kalu* form is not sharply distinguishable from the reference-switching *-yuŋ* form, but seems to put a little more emphasis than *-yuŋ* on the notion of 'otherness'. It differs from *-yuŋ* in that it can occur with nonzero case suffixes, as in Ergative *bowoŋi-kalu-du 'as for them (Du)'*. Nevertheless, it usually shows up without such case suffixes, hence in Text 12.80 we find *ni-wan-galu 'as for him'* (lacking Ergative *-lu*) although this clearly cross-references an Ergative noun. Other textual examples of *-kalu* are *ŋir-kalu 'as for us'* (Text 2.6), *ni-wan-galu 'as for him'* (Texts 7.4 and 8.5), *ba-wan-galu 'as for them'* (Texts 11.11, 11.13, and 11.18), and *gu-wan-galu 'as for it'* (Text 12.61). These are all the examples I found in scanning through the texts.

An Emphatic suffix *-?wič*, phonologically distinct from 'having' suffix *-wič* (4.5), like *-kalu*, is attested only with independent pronouns. The sense of *-?wič* is similar to the emphatic sense of English 'reflexive' pronouns like 'himself' in 'He did it himself' (not in 'He killed himself'). Whereas *-yuŋ* and *-kalu* contrast one referent with another referent which has been previously referred to in the discourse, *-?wič* simply emphasises the one referent and excludes other referents. Textual examples include *ŋowoŋi-?wič 'we'* (Text 12.8), *ni-wan-?wič 'he'* (Texts 12.74, 12.76), and *ba-wan-?wič 'they'* (Text 12.73). Forms with *-?wič* cannot take nonzero case suffixes.

An interesting derivative in *-?wala*, distinct from Ablative *-wala*, is found only with pronouns in the Ergative case. When Erg *-lu-* is lenited to *-du-* we get *-du-?wala*, but when *-lu-* is not lenited we get *-lu-wala* with *?-Deletion* by P-11 (3.6). The semantic contribution of *-?wala* is translatable as 'first' as in 'He saw me first' (i.e. 'He saw me before I saw him'). The two attested examples are these:

*ŋara-ŋa-y ŋaya-lu-wala.*  
*I saw it(A) 1SgPron-Erg-first*

*'I saw it first.'*

*ŋama-ŋa-y ma-wan-du-?wala.*  
*it(MA) saw me MA-Pron-Erg-first*

*'It saw me first.'*

### 5.3 POSSESSIVE SUFFIXES

In possessive NP's the possessor is normally indicated by means of a suffix added to the possessed noun. The possessor may be further specified by an independent noun or (rarely) pronoun in the Genitive case juxtaposed to the possessed noun. In this event the possessive suffix is usually retained (as a redundant element), but is occasionally dropped.

The possessive suffixes are these:

1Sg	-?ŋinaŋi	1DuExM/1P1Ex	-?ŋirayi
1DuIn	-?ŋakuy	1TrInM/1P1In	-?ŋurkurayi
2Sg	-?ŋukuy	2MDu/2P1	-?ŋukurayi
3MSg/NI	-?ŋayi	3MDu/3P1	-?burayi
3FSg/NA and remaining nonhuman classes			-?ŋuɽayi

It is notable that the MDu and P1 forms are all collapsed into general Nonsingular categories, and that 3FSg and the Nonhuman categories are also collapsed.

It seems fairly clear that the Genitive element here is the final *-y(i)*. The preceding stems are not always easy to analyse, especially in the cases of the 1Sg and the 3FSg/Nonhuman forms. In *-?ŋakuy*, *-?ŋurkurayi*, *-?ŋirayi*, and *-?ŋukurayi* the stem is the same as that found in independent pronouns, but with some changes in vowel-quality and with final *-r* being extended to *-ra-* before *-y(i)*. Perhaps,

however, the situation is more complex historically, and the -ku- in -?ñakuy and -?ñukuy at least may possibly reflect Genitive-Dative \*-ku-. 3MDu/3Pl -?burayi shows a somewhat different stem than independent 3MDu bowoŋi and 3Pl ba-wan, but all contain ba-/bo. 3MSg -?ñayi shows a stem -ña- instead of -ñi- (cf. noun-class prefix ñi-), which might be explained in either of two ways: (a) a morphophonemic change of vowel quality before the ending -yi (note stem-final a before -y(i) in the Nonsingular forms); or (b) as a vestige of an older form of the MSg prefix, \*ña- or \*na- (cf. Warndarang ña-, Nunggu-buyu na-, Ngalkbon na-). The 1Sg form ?ñinaŋi is anomalous.

## Chapter 6

### DEMONSTRATIVES

#### 6.1 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Demonstratives are of two well-defined types which I will call pronouns and adverbs, respectively. Demonstrative adverbs refer to places, or occasionally to points in time. Demonstrative pronouns refer to any kind of object.

We may also divide demonstrative forms (pronouns and adverbs) into Nonanaphoric (or deictic) and Anaphoric types, although this bifurcation is only partial. The following are the attested demonstrative pronouns:

	Nonanaphoric	Anaphoric	
Proximate	-ni-?		'this'
Immediate	-na-ri		'that'
Nonimmediate	-na-?	-ni-ñ	'that'

The stems are Proximate -ni- and Nonproximate -na-. The latter may be further specified by adding Immediate -ri or Anaphoric -ñ, but not both. If -ri and -ñ are missing, a meaningless morpheme -? is added. Finally, a noun-class prefix must be added, hence ñi-ni-? 'this (MSg)', ma-na-ri 'that (MA class)', etc.

The basic tripartite division in the Nonanaphoric forms is straightforward semantically. The Immediate refers to a region just slightly away from the speaker, usually not more than ten metres distant and often much closer. The Nonimmediate category covers everything outside this Immediate region. The exact boundary between the two varies with context. If the addressee is some distance away, Immediate forms may be used to cover the region near the addressee. However, it is by no means necessary that Immediate forms refer to a region closer to the addressee than to the speaker.

Nonanaphoric forms are chiefly deictic; they indicate an object. Anaphoric forms, on the other hand, refer to an object which is well known, has been previously mentioned, or is otherwise contextually definite. Anaphoric demonstrative pronouns are of low text frequency

(whereas Anaphoric adverbs are common), and are often replaced by forms in -wolo (6.2) unless the Anaphoric sense is emphasised.

It is possible that Anaphoric -ni-ñ can occasionally reflect a base-form /-ni-ñ/ with Proximate /-ni-/, as well as the more common base-form /-na-ñ/ with Nonproximate /-na-/. This pattern, though not clearly indicated in my data, where all forms in -ni-ñ appear to be Nonproximate, is suggested by the fact that in demonstrative adverbs it is possible to overtly distinguish Proximate Anaphoric from Nonproximate Anaphoric forms (e.g. ñi-ki-ñ, ña-ki-ñ in (6.3)). Explicitly Anaphoric forms are uncommon in the Proximate, since the Proximate region is by definition contextually definite. Anaphoric 'that (same) one' is usefully distinguished from Nonanaphoric 'that one (over there)', and by keeping these distinct ambiguity of reference can often be avoided. However, the distinction between Anaphoric 'this (same) one' and Nonanaphoric 'this one (here)' is less likely to be necessary in resolving ambiguity; one can always use Nonanaphoric 'this one (here)' to refer unambiguously to any Proximate object (with an appropriate gesture, if necessary).

The semantic oppositions in the Ngandi demonstrative system are similar to those found in Nunggubuyu and Warndarang. However, in these languages there are no Anaphoric Proximate forms. In Nunggubuyu, Anaphoric demonstrative pronouns and adverbs are very common; in Warndarang Anaphoric adverbs are common but Anaphoric demonstrative pronouns are rare. Anaphoric demonstrative pronouns in Ngandi are somewhat more common than in Warndarang, but much less common than in Nunggubuyu.

In scanning through the texts I notice the following examples of Anaphoric pronouns with -ni-ñ : MSg ñi-ñ(-uŋ) in Texts 12.52, 12.56; FSg ña-ñ(-uŋ) in Text 12.27; Pl ba-ñ(-uŋ) in Texts 11.20, 11.30, 12.110; A class a-ñ(-uŋ) in Text 12.110. The GU class form, gu-ñ(-uŋ) (without Absolute suffix -yuŋ) is common but usually has a special sense, emphasising a kind of 'paragraph' break in discourse, and usually found at the end of the first segment (e.g. Texts 12.4, 12.17).

Case forms of demonstrative pronouns can be formed by adding the regular case suffixes. Thus from gu-ñ-? 'this (GU)' we get Ergative gu-ñ-?-du, Progressive gu-na-ri-pič, etc. Part (b) of phonological rule P-3 (Hardening I) is applicable, however. Its overt effect is seen only with combinations of -na-ri- with following Locative -gi or Allative -gič, which produce -na-ri-ki, -na-ri-kič.

Demonstrative pronouns can be used, in predicate function, with first or second person intransitive prefixes instead of noun-class prefixes. An example is ña-ñ-? 'I am here' (Literally, 'I am this'). Such expressions are used, for example, in answering the question ñu-wo: 'Where are you?' (literally, 'You are which?'), cf. (11.3).

More generally, demonstrative pronouns are typically used (in preference to constructions with a stance verb like 'to sit', in localising sense, plus a Locative demonstrative adverb like 'here') to translate English predicative 'to be (here, there)' in present positive contexts: ñi-na-ri ñi-deremu-yuŋ 'The man (deremu) is there' (literally, '... is that'). Even when a verb is added (so that it might appear that the demonstrative is nonpredicative), this preference for demonstrative pronouns may manifest itself: ñi-na-ri ñi-ñu-ða ñi-deremu-yuŋ

'The man sits there'. In other words, what in English is a single clause with one predication ('sits') tends to look like a double predication in Ngandi ('He is there, he sits'). However, in this instance the Locative adverb is also possible: ña-ki-ri ñi-ñu-ða ñi-deremu-yuŋ 'The man sits there'.

Demonstrative pronouns cannot be used in predicative function in negative sentences: ñi-ñi-ñič-may? ña-ki-ri 'He does not sit (i.e. is not) there' (with Locative adverb ña-ki-ri rather than demonstrative pronoun ñi-na-ri), and to my knowledge cannot be used when the locational predication (and in most cases therefore the verbal predication as well) is nonpresent positive: ñi-ñ-i: ña-ki-ri 'He sat there' (again with ña-ki-ri, not ñi-na-ri). The form ñi-ñ-i: ñi-ñ-ri 'That one sat' is grammatical but has a different sense — note that in this instance 'that' designates an entity in the Immediate region with respect to the 'here-and-now' of the speech act (not with respect to the past tense of the sitting event predicated). That is, if 'that' is predicative at all in this last example, it is a present positive predication (in contrast to the nonpresent tense of the main predication), thus preserving our generalisation.

## 6.2 FORMS IN -wolo

By adding noun-class prefixes to the stem -wolo, we get forms which might be described variously as (3rd person) pronouns, articles or a sort of demonstrative pronoun. Like demonstrative pronouns, these forms can be used as complete NP's or as modifiers of nouns. However, taken as demonstratives they must be regarded as semantically neutral, since they tell nothing about the location of the object referred to, nor are they explicitly Anaphoric (or explicitly Nonanaphoric).

Ordinary 3rd person pronouns in -wan are not common except in derivatives with -yuŋ, -kalu, -?wala, and -?wič. Therefore in contexts where none of these suffixes is appropriate, forms in -wolo are often used instead of 'true' pronouns.

Furthermore, Anaphoric demonstrative pronouns in -ni-ñ are not exceptionally common, and are certainly less so than Anaphoric demonstrative pronouns in Nunggubuyu. Therefore when the Anaphoric reference is weak or not emphasised, we are likely to find -wolo used in Ngandi where Anaphoric demonstratives would be used in Nunggubuyu.

Just to take one textual passage out of many which exemplify -wolo, consider Text 12.39-40. Here we find (in 12.39) ñi-wolo ñi-yul-yuŋ 'that man' (first occurrence) and gu-wolo-yuŋ 'that thing (opal)' with Anaphoric (or rather a kind of emphatically definite) sense, though they designate referents not previously mentioned in the narrative. The 'anaphor' is thus not directed back to earlier parts of the discourse, rather to something which is well-known (to speaker and hearer, or sometimes just to the speaker — the latter especially when the speaker is chiding himself for forgetting a name or term). The force is somewhat like that of English (noninterrogative) 'you know' in 'I went to see him — you know, that dentist'. In the same textual passage, we find a second occurrence of ñi-wolo ñi-yul-yuŋ 'that man' which can be taken as referring back to the first occurrence

(or to the more explicit personal name given just after the first occurrence). Similarly, there is a second occurrence of *gu-wolo-yuŋ* 'that thing (opal)' (beginning of Text 12.40) referring back to the first. This complex of anaphoric reference (either to something earlier in the discourse or to something contextually definite on grounds of being well-known) is typical of anaphoric demonstrative forms in other languages such as Nunggubuyu and Warndarang.

When *-wolo* is used as a modifier of an immediately following noun, thus forming a fairly tightly-knit noun phrase, it is possible to omit Absolute *-yuŋ* and sometimes even the case suffix which would normally follow *-wolo*, hence *ŋi-wolo ŋi-yul-gič-uŋ* 'to that man' (simplification of *ŋi-wolo-gič-uŋ ŋi-yul-gič-uŋ*, which is also grammatical). This example is from Text 12.43.

The GU class form *gu-wolo-yuŋ* (usually with Absolute *-yuŋ*, and always in the Nominative) can be used as a kind of introduction to a text or a portion thereof, referring vaguely to the subject matter in it. It is best left untranslated (or translated as something like 'Well, ...') in this context. For an example see Text 13. The corresponding demonstrative in Nunggubuyu, *an-uba-ni-yuŋ* 'that one (Anaphoric)', has similar uses.

In texts, *-wolo* is glossed simply as 'that', but readers should note that this stem is formally somewhat apart from the regular demonstrative system and certainly is not a deictic.

A special compound *ŋul-wolo* 'that sort (of thing)' occurs occasionally, cf. Text 2.7. Note also *mala?-ič-wolo* 'at that time' (cf. 12.7).

### 6.3 LOCATIVE ADVERBS

Locative adverbs are formed from the two basic demonstrative roots, Proximate *-na-* and Nonproximate *-ni-*, followed by a morpheme *-ki-* and the endings *-ri*, *-ñ*, and *-?*. There is no noun-class prefix. The attested forms are:

	Nonanaphoric	Anaphoric	
Proximate	<i>ŋi-ki-?</i>	<i>ŋi-ki-ñ</i>	'here'
Immediate	<i>ŋa-ki-ri</i>		'there'
Nonimmediate	<i>ŋa-ki-?</i>	<i>ŋa-ki-ñ</i>	'there'

Because *-ñ* does not directly follow *ŋi-* and *ŋa-*, the distinction between these two stems can be maintained in Anaphoric forms. Anaphoric *ŋi-ki-ñ* 'here (this same place we have been talking about)' is less common than *ŋi-ki-?*, but *ŋa-ki-ñ* is common.

*/ni-/* and */na-/* undergo retroflexion word-initially by P-2.

Locative adverbs can be used as semantically weak modifiers of more concrete adverbs:

*ŋa-ki-?*    *ŋuri*        *ŋi-ga-ŋu-ða.*  
*there*      *in the north*    *he stays*  
*'He is staying (there), in the north.'*

The morpheme *-ki-* is probably identical to the regular Locative case suffix *-gi*, which also becomes *-ki* after demonstrative pronouns by phonological rule P-3.

Locative adverbs are formally distinct from true Locative forms of ordinary demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *gu-ni-?-gi* 'in this one (GU class)'. Locative adverbs, for example, do not take noun-class prefixes.

Textual examples of *ŋa-ki-ñ*, giving some idea of the use of the Anaphoric category with these adverbs, include (among many others) the following passages: Texts 11.21, 11.26, 11.39, 11.42 (twice), 12.2, 12.5, and 12.47.

### 6.4 ALLATIVE ADVERBS

Allative (directional) adverbs are formed with a morpheme *-ču-*, which combines with *-ñ* to form *-či-ñ* and with *-ri* to form *-či-ri* by an irregular instance of Vowel-Harmony. The forms are:

	Nonanaphoric	Anaphoric
Proximate	<i>ŋi-ču-?</i>	'to here'
Immediate	<i>ŋa-či-ri</i>	'to there'
Nonimmediate	<i>ŋa-ču-?</i>	<i>ŋa-či-ñ</i> 'to there'

The expected Anaphoric Proximate form *\*ŋi-či-ñ* was rejected by my informant.

These forms are commonly used as adjuncts to specific directional adverbs: *ŋa-ču-?* *ŋuri-č* '(that way,) to the north'.

It is conceivable that *-ču-* has something to do with the final *-č* in the Allative case suffix *-gič* (cf. Locative *-gi*).

Allative adverbs are distinct from Allative case forms of demonstrative pronouns, e.g. *-ni-?-gič* 'to this one'.

In addition to translations of the sort 'to here', 'to there', Allative adverbs can be translated 'this way' and 'that way'. As in English, 'this way' does not necessarily mean 'to here'. For example, 'He must have gone this way' may refer to a transit beginning at the 'here' of the speech act and moving away from it.

The form *ŋi-ču-?* is used in the sense 'this way' as just described. The direction of motion may be centripetal or centrifugal with respect to the 'here' of the speech act. There is also a special Allative adverb *guŋupu?* which explicitly means 'to here', and is more common in this sense than *ŋi-ču-?*.

A good example of *ŋa-či-ñ*, illustrating the Anaphoric sense, is in Text 11.11.

### 6.5 ABLATIVE ADVERBS

Ablative adverbs are formed by adding the regular Ablative suffix *-wala-* to Allative adverbs. The suffixes *-?* and *-ñ* follow *-wala-*, but *-ri-*

precedes it. The Anaphoric Proximate form occurs. The forms are these:

	Nonanaphoric	Anaphoric	
Proximate	ŋi-ču-wala-?	ŋi-ču-wili-ñ	'from here'
Immediate	ŋa-či-ri-wala		'from there'
Nonimmediate	ŋa-ču-wala-?	ŋa-ču-wili-ñ	'from there'

The suffix -wala- combines with -ñ to give, not \*-wali-ñ as expected, but -wili-ñ with an additional irregular instance of Vowel-Harmony.

There is also an adverb ŋačuweleñ (e.g. Text 12.61) which is clearly a variant of ŋa-ču-wili-ñ, but frozen and semantically specialised as a temporal adverb 'after that, since then'. The equation 'from there' = 'after that' is common in languages in this area (and in local creole English), but in Ngandi the two have been distinguished by phonological specialisation.

A textual example of ŋa-ču-wili-ñ is Text 12.32.

## 6.6 CENTRIPETAL ABLATIVES

In the Nunggubuyu language, demonstrative stems have a form which I call 'Centripetal Ablative'. A suffix identical or similar to the nominal Ablative suffix is added to a demonstrative form, hence something like 'that-Abl' or 'there-Abl'. The basic meaning of this demonstrative construction, however, is based on an axis linking the designated entity ('that') or region ('there') with the 'here' of the speech act. In the case of 'there-Abl', the sense is really 'from there toward here', and indeed this is the usual way to translate directional '(to) here' as in 'He came here'. With 'that-Abl', the sense is not 'from that one', but rather simply 'that one' with the further implication that the distance between 'that' and at least one participant in the speech act (speaker or addressee) is being reduced or will soon be reduced. In other words, 'that-Abl' is used in the sense 'There he comes' (the third person is approaching the participants in the speech act) or else 'There he is' (in this case it is presumed that the speaker and/or addressee are heading toward him or plan to do so promptly).

For further details see my grammar of Nunggubuyu (currently in preparation). This construction is extremely important in Nunggubuyu, but occasional parallels turn up in Warndarang and Ngandi, perhaps reflecting recent typological diffusion from Nunggubuyu.

In Ngandi the Ablative demonstrative adverbs ('from there') are sometimes used in contexts where English would put the emphasis on the destination ('to here'). However, there are no strict rules favouring Ablative over Allative adverbs, whether the axis of motion is semantically centripetal or noncentripetal, and such explicitly Allative adverbs as gujuṗu? 'to here' are fairly common.

With demonstrative pronouns, Ngandi does use Ablative -wala with centripetal sense every now and then. The best example I have is in

Text 8.5: ŋi-na-ri-wala 'Here he comes' (not 'from that one'). This is built on ŋi-na-ri 'that (MSg, Immediate)'.

Elicitation sessions suggested that the Centripetal Ablative construction with demonstrative pronouns has about the same semantic range as in Nunggubuyu, but is much less common. As in Nunggubuyu, it appears to be restricted to present tense contexts (i.e. to situations where the demonstrative pronoun can be predicative in function). Some elicited examples:

ŋi-gurŋa-yuŋ	ŋanu-ŋa-čini	ŋi-na-ri-wala.
moon	I see it	NI-that-Imm-Abl

'I see the moon there (coming this way).'

gu-na-?-wala	gu-jaka-gu-ḍa.
GU-that-Ø-Abl	it stands

'It stands there (we are heading toward it).'

Here ŋi-na-ri-wala and gu-na-?-wala are at least partly predicative, although in translation we get a nonpredicative adjunct 'there' (i.e. in Ngandi such present-tense constructions can be thought of as having two predications, hence 'I see it, it is that' (i.e. '..., it is there)).

## 6.7 THE PARTICLE ŋa:n

A particle (or postposition) ŋa:n can be added to Nonanaphoric demonstratives: gu-ni-? ŋa:n 'this one'; gu-na-ri ŋa:n 'that one'; gu-na-? ŋa:n 'that one'; ŋa-ki-?-burkayi ŋa:n 'there'.

ŋa:n is uncommon with the Proximate, and the example gu-ni-? ŋa:n was suggested by me and merely approved by the informant, whereas the others occurred spontaneously.

ŋa:n is clearly emphatic, and in particular seems to emphasise the concreteness of the entity referred to. It is therefore more common in conversations than in narratives about events distant in time and space. It is roughly comparable to Nunggubuyu /-u/ and Warndarang a-, affixes used to indicate concreteness or the like with demonstratives.

## 6.8 OTHER DEMONSTRATIVES

Like most languages in the area, Ngandi has a special demonstrative formation translatable 'this/that sort of thing, something like this/that'. The forms attested are:

Proximate	gu-ni-?-iñuŋ	'this kind'
Immediate	gu-na-ji-ri-yuŋ	'that kind'
Anaphoric	{ gu-na-ji-ñ-iñuŋ gu-na-ji-ñ-uŋ	'that kind'

The final suffixes are Relative -yiñuŋ and Absolute -yuŋ, in specialised functions here. In the Anaphoric, gu-na-ji-ñ-iñuŋ is the

more common form. Note that the Immediate and Anaphoric forms involve a suffix -ji-, which (on phonological grounds) may be related to Allative -či-, surface allomorph of -ču- (6.4), as in ɳa-či-ri and ɳa-či-ñ 'to there'. The Proximate form, however, is simply a GU class demonstrative pronoun gu-ni-? to which Relative -yiñuŋ in this special sense has been added.

Textual examples: Text 12.22 (gu-na-ji-ñ-iñuŋ), Text 12.24 (gu-na-ji-ri-yuŋ).

A stem ɳajugi? meaning roughly 'somewhere else' is found occasionally in the texts (Texts 12.70, 12.78). This looks like it might be a frozen demonstrative, perhaps \*ɳa-ju-gi-? with Nonproximate \*ɳa-, \*-ju- related to Allative -ču- (6.4), \*-gi- related to Locative -ki- (6.3), and meaningless -? (cf. preceding sections), though this combination looks rather monstrous. This also occurs in Ablative form: ɳajugi?-wala 'from somewhere else' (Text 12.78).

## 6.9 CARDINAL DIRECTIONS

As is usual in languages in this area, cardinal direction stems and other related forms show morphological specialisation:

	Locative	Allative	Ablative
north	ɳuri	ɳuri-č	ɳuri-yala
south	bakay	baki-č	baka-yala
east	ɳawara	ɳawiri-č	ɳara-la
west	ɳaŋi	ɳaŋi-č	ɳaŋi-yala
above	garkala-w	garkala-č	garkala-yala
below	gaɳakaɳi?	gaɳakaɳi-č	gaɳakaɳi?-yala
upriver	wala-w	wala-č	wala-wala
downriver	gaɳi	gaɳi-čbič	gaɳi-yala

In most forms the Locative is morphologically simple. The usual Allative ending is -č, which may be related to Allative -gič used with nouns and other substantives, and to -ču- used in Allative demonstrative adverbs. In gaɳi-čbič we have a frozen combination of \*-č with Progressive \*-pič.

In the Ablative forms the usual suffix is -yala instead of -wala, except for wala-wala. Note that several of the stems end in *i* or *i?*, which suggests that \*-wala may have assimilated to -yala here and then generalised to other forms. However, this process probably occurred quite some time ago in view of Nunggubuyu parallels. The form ɳara-la is severely contracted from \*ɳawara-wala. Numerous other morphophonemic changes can be seen in the paradigms, particularly the shift /a/ → *i* triggered by the lamino-alveolar -č in some of the Allative forms.

## Chapter 7

### PRONOMINAL PREFIXES

#### 7.1 PARADIGMS

Each complete verb begins with a pronominal prefix, marking the pronominal category of subject for all verbs and also of object for transitives. The intransitive prefixes are displayed in Table 7-1, while transitive prefixes are shown in Tables 7-2 through 7-5.

In addition to the forms shown in the tables, all combinations ending in -gu- show contracted variants when the immediately following morpheme is the subordinating prefix -ga-. When the -gu- is preceded by *r*, as in ɳargu-, the *g* disappears without a trace, leaving ɳaru-. Note that ɳaru- from ɳargu- can be confused with ɳaru- (1DuExM/1P1Ex → 3MSg/NI), but only before -ga- since in other environments ɳargu- is not contracted. When the -gu- is preceded by a vowel, as in agu-, the contracted form appears as -wu-, or sometimes as -yu- with weak, spirantised /g/ which is not quite lenited all the way to *w*.

In careful speech in elicitation sessions, my informants tended to avoid these contractions. However, in texts postconsonantal -gu- was invariably lenited to -u- (i.e. ɳaru- from /ɳargu-/) before -ga-, and postvocalic -gu- was often lenited.

In examples and text transcriptions I have normalised as follows: the alternation of -gu- with -u- after *r* is recognised (hence ɳargu- and ɳaru-ga-), while this alternation after vowels is not recognised (agu- and agu-ga-).

Mixed male-female nonsingulars are treated as feminine (4.2).

Table 7-1 - Intransitive prefixes

1Sg	ɳa-	1DuExM	ɳari-	1P1Ex.	ɳar-
1DuIn	ɳa-	1TrInM	ɳari-	1P1In	ɳar-
2Sg	ɳu-	2MDu	ɳari-	2P1	ɳar-
3MSg	ɳi-	3MDu	bari-	3P1	ba-
3FSg	ɳa-				
Nonhuman: ɳi-, ɳa-, a-, gu-, ma-					

Table 7-2 — Transitive prefixes with 1st person object

Subject	Object			
	1Sg	1DuExM/1P1Ex	1DuIn	1TrInM/1P1In
2Sg	ñunu-	ñana-		
2MDu/2P1	ñana-	ñana-		
3MSg/NI	ñaguni-	ñarguni-	ñaguni-	ñarguni-
3FSg/NA	ñaguna-	ñarguna-	ñaguna-	ñarguna-
3MDu/3p1	ñaba-	ñarba-	ñaba-	ñarba-
A	ñaguṛa-	ñarguṛa-	ñaguṛa-	ñarguṛa-
GU	ñagu-	ñargu-	ñagu-	ñargu-
MA	ñama-	ñarma-	ñama-	ñarma-

Table 7-3 — Transitive prefixes with 2nd person object

Subject	Object	
	2Sg	2MDu/2P1
1Sg	gana-	gura-
1DuExM/1P1Ex	gura-	gura-
3MSg/NI	guguni-	garguni-
3FSg/NA	guguna-	garguna-
3MDu/3P1	guba-	garba-
A	guguṛa-	garguṛa-
GU	gugu-	gargu-
MA	guma-	garma-

Table 7-4 — Transitive prefixes with 3rd person human object

Subject	Object		
	3MSg/NI	3FSg/NA	3MDu/3P1
1Sg	ganu-	gana-	gabara-
1DuExM/1P1Ex	ñaru-	ñana-	ñarbara-
1DuIn	ñanu-	ñana-	ñabara-
1TrInM/1P1In	garu-	gana-	garbara-

Table 7-4 continued

2Sg	gunu-	guna-	gubara-
2MDu/2P1	garu-	gana-	garbara-
3MSg/NI	gini-	{ ∅- gina- <sup>1</sup>	{ barguni- gibara- <sup>2</sup>
3FSg/NA	∅-	∅-	barguna-
3MDu/3P1	baru-	bana-	barba-
A	giguṛa-	giguṛa-	barguṛa-
GU	gigu-	gigu-	bargu-
MA	giguṛa-	giguṛa-	barma-

Table 7-5 — Transitive prefixes with nonhuman object

Subject	Object		
	A	GU	MA
1Sg	gara-	gagu-	gama-
1DuExM/1P1Ex	ñara-	ñargu-	ñarma-
1DuIn	ñara-	ñagu-	ñama-
1TrInM/1P1In	gara-	gargu-	garma-
2Sg	gura-	gugu-	guma-
2MDu/2P1	gara-	gargu-	garma-
3MSg/NI	giya-	gigu-	gima-
3FSg/NA	gara-	gagu-	gama-
3MDu/3P1	bara-	bargu-	barma-
A	aguṛa-	agu-	ama-
GU	agu-	agu-	agu-
MA	aguṛa-	agu-	ama-

<sup>1</sup>The usual form is ∅. The variant gina- is attested once in text 12.44.

<sup>2</sup>The usual form is barguni-, but gibara- is also fairly common in texts. In elicitation sessions Sandy indicated that barguni- was 'correct' and suggested that instances of gibara- in the texts should be emended to barguni-. The form barguni- is structurally regular, while gibara- is quite anomalous.



## 7.2 SOME MORPHOPHONEMIC PROBLEMS

Before proceeding to a detailed structural analysis of the pronominal prefixes, it is necessary to discuss certain morphophonemic problems which are not taken care of by regular rules.

The 3MSg/NI → A form *niya-* can be taken as /ni-*ra-*/, parallel to such forms as 3MSg/NI → MA *nima-* from /ni-*ma-*/. (The A morpheme would be expected to take the form *-ra-* here.) This requires a special rule /r/ → γ // i\_\_a, applicable only to this combination. Although this is an irregular process, it is certainly connected with the instability of r suggested by rule P-13. This latter rule operates, incidentally, in the forms *ñara-*, *ɲara-*, *ɳara-*, and *bara-* (all with A object), from base forms /*ñar-ra-*/, etc.

The only apical consonants (excluding r) which occur in the prefixes are n and ŋ. In accordance with P-2 these represent a single underlying apical nasal which becomes retroflexed word-initially and apicoalveolar noninitially. Hence such alternations as *ni-* ~ *-ni-* (3MSg/NI).

There is one clear case of irregular Vowel-Harmony. The 2Sg → 1Sg form *ñunu-* reflects /*ñar-nu-*/ via /*ña-nu-*/. Note that this does not affect 1DuIn → 3MSg/NI *ñanu-* /*ña-nu-*/, nor 1DuExM/1P1Ex → 3MSg/NI *ñaru-* /*ñar-nu-*/. The difference can be attributed to the fact that the /-*nu-*/ in the 2Sg → 1Sg form is the 2Sg morpheme, while the /-*nu-*/ in the last-mentioned forms is the 3MSg/NI morpheme.

The most difficult morphophonemic problem affecting the pronominal prefixes is the treatment of /rn/ clusters. As suggested in (5.1), in independent pronouns there is some evidence for a shift of /rn/ → ŋ. In the context of the pronominal prefixes, however, this particular shift is not attested. Possibly the reason for this is that /rn/ → ŋ in the prefixes would lead to contrasts of the type \**ñanu-* /*ñar-nu-*/ vs. *ñanu-* /*ña-nu-*/. This would go against the pattern just mentioned, and discussed more thoroughly in connection with rule P-2, by which apicoalveolars and retroflexed apicals are in complementary distribution in this morphological context.

At any rate, in the pronominal prefixes there are two surface reflexes of /rn/, namely r and n. The choice depends on the particular combination involved. When the /n/ is that of 3MSg/NI /-*nu-*/ we get /rn/ → r, as in 3MDu/3P1 → 3MSg/NI *baru-* from /*bar-nu-*/. However, in the case of the 3FSg/MA morpheme /-*na-*/ we find /rn/ → n, as in 3MDu/3P1 → 3FSg/NA *bana-* from /*bar-na-*/. Finally, in the case of 2MDu/2P1 /-*na-*/ we get different results in the relevant combinations: 1 → 2 (except 1Sg → 2Sg) *gura-* from /*gur-na-*/, but 2 → 1 (except 2Sg → 1Sg) *ñana-* from /*ñar-na-*/ and 2Sg → 1Sg *ñunu-* from /*ñar-nu-*/.

Given that r and n (and not ŋ) are the only possible outputs for /rn/ in this context, it is possible to explain why some combinations choose r and others choose n in functional terms. Apparently the shift of /rn/ → r is the regular one, while that of /rn/ → n occurs when there is a reason to avoid /rn/ → r. The relevant forms with 3MSg/NI /-*nu-*/ and 3FSg/NA /-*na-*/ have the following base forms (the formulae on the left indicate the pronominal category of the subject, while /-*nu-*/ and /-*na-*/ refer to the object):

1DuExM/1P1Ex	/ñar-nu-/, /ñar-na-/
1TrInM/1P1In	/ɲar-nu-/, /ɲar-na-/
2MDu/2P1	/nar-nu-/, /nar-na-/
3MDu/3P1	/bar-nu-/, /bar-na-/

Taking the forms in /-*nu-*/ first, let us see what the effects of adopting /rn/ → n and /rn/ → r would be. In the former case, the forms /*ñar-nu-*/ and /*ɲar-nu-*/ would be indistinguishable from other forms, namely 1DuIn → 3MSg/NI /*ña-nu-*/ and 1Sg → 3MSg/NI /*ɲa-nu-*/. If /rn/ → r is adopted, however, none of the forms with /-*nu-*/ is systematically ambiguous. It is true, however, that before the prefix *-ga-* there can be low-level ambiguity between the forms /*ñar-nu-*/, etc., and corresponding forms like 1DuExM/1P1Ex → GU /*ñar-gu-*/, which lose their /g/ in this position (7.1). All in all, then, the shifts /rn/ → n and /rn/ → r would both entail a limited degree of ambiguity here. Since there is no strong case for preferring /rn/ → n, the normal shift to r is adopted.

In the case of 3FSg/NA /-*na-*/, however, the adoption of /rn/ → r would lead to systematic ambiguity in all four of the forms listed above, since they would be indistinguishable from the corresponding forms with the A morpheme /-*ra-*/ (becoming *-a-* after r) as object. By adopting /rn/ → n, only /*ñar-na-*/ and /*ɲar-na-*/ become ambiguous (with /*ña-na-*/ and /*ɲa-na-*/), while /*nar-na-*/ and /*bar-na-*/ are unambiguous, for a substantial saving in ambiguity.

As for 1 → 2 /*gur-na-*/, no ambiguity is possible either way, so the normal shift of /rn/ → r is adopted. The only problematic forms are the 2 → 1 forms /*ñar-nu-*/ and /*ñar-na-*/. The first of these is under no threat of ambiguity because of its irregular Vowel-Harmony to /*ñu(r)-nu-*/ (no other combination begins with *ñu-*). The second will be ambiguous no matter which shift is adopted, cf. 1DuExM/1P1Ex → 3FSg/NA (and 1DuIn → 3FSg/NA) *ñana-* and 1DuExM/1P1Ex → A *ñara-*. The adoption of /rn/ → n rather than /rn/ → r in the 2 → 1 forms is therefore an exception to the generalisation that /rn/ → r is the normal shift.

## 7.3 ANALYSIS OF THE INTRANSITIVE PREFIXES

The intransitive prefixes are relatively straightforward. All the 3rd person forms are identical to the corresponding noun-class prefixes used with independent nouns. All are morphologically simple except 3MDu *bari-*, which appears to have a MDu ending *-ri-*. Comparison with the 1st and 2nd person MDu and P1 forms shows that *-ri-* is itself composite, containing Nonsingular *-r-* and a mysterious MDu element *-i-*.

In view of the comments about /rn/ in (7.2), I consider this *-i-* to be related to Masculine *ni-*, particularly in its function as a MDu element in the system of noninitial prefixes which follow the regular pronominal prefixes (8.3). This is attested only with transitive pronominal prefixes. The main formal difference between the frozen /-*ni-*/ in *bari-* and the noninitial prefix *-ni-* is that the latter follows the noninitial prefix *-ja-* (8.2) while the former precedes it:

bargu-ja-ni-ma-ni 'They (MDu) are getting it now', but bari-ja-ɽuɽu-ni 'They (MDu) are going now'. Also, the /-ni-/ in bari- is obligatory, while noninitial -ni- is optional. Therefore, while /-ni-/ in bari- and noninitial -ni- are etymologically identical, they are no longer clearly connected synchronically. Also, the fact that the 3Pl prefix is ba- instead of expected \*bar- with Nonsingular -r- reduces the desirability of analysing 3MDu bari- as underlying /ba-r-ni-/.

The 1st and 2nd person forms are structurally simple, consisting of an initial CV- pronominal element, with Nonsingular -r- and Dual /-ni-/ added in the appropriate forms.

#### 7.4 ANALYSIS OF THE TRANSITIVE PREFIXES

Although the transitive prefixes are in some cases apparently difficult, they form a highly cohesive system which is amenable to structural analysis. What I will try to do here is actually generate all the attested combinations. I will start by taking an unordered pair of pronominals  $X_{\text{subj}}$  and  $Y_{\text{obj}}$ , where X and Y are pronominal categories like 1PlEx or 3FSg, and are marked as referring either to the subject or the object as indicated by subscripts. Underlying phonological representations for the prefixes are obtained by applying the rules to be described here; the surface forms are obtained by additionally applying the regular phonological rules and the special rules described in (7.2).

The first combinatory rule (CR) which we need is one which neutralises the MTr with the Pl in the 1st person inclusive, and the MDu with the Pl in the other persons.

##### CR-1 Number-Neutralisation

$$\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{MDu} \\ \text{MTr} \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow \text{Pl}$$

As a result of this rule, in each person category there is one morphologically Sg (or minimal) category and one morphologically Nonsingular category, hereafter labelled Pl. The forms that such Pl categories take are characteristic of Pl rather than MDu(MTr) forms in the intransitive prefixes.

It should be noted, however, that the MDu (MTr) categories can be optionally distinguished from Pl categories by using the noninitial prefix -ni- (8.3), so that bargu-ja-ma-ni 'They (Pl) are getting it now' can be distinguished from bargu-ja-ni-ma-ni 'They (MDu) are getting it now'. However, this -ni- is uncommon or impossible in some environments, is optional in most others, and in any event does not belong morphologically with the pronominal prefixes at issue in this chapter, but rather with other noninitial prefixes (Chapter 8).

The second CR which we need accounts for the surface ordering of the pronominal elements. The rule is based on a partition of the pronominal categories into equivalence sets, as follows:

- $X_1$ : 1st person
- $X_2$ : 2nd person
- $X_3$ : 3Pl
- $X_4$ : 3MSg/NI, 3FSg/NA
- $X_5$ : A, MA
- $X_6$ : GU

The basic ordering rule is this:

##### CR-2 Ordering

If the subject and object are in distinct X-sets, then the one in the X-set with the lower numerical subscript is put on the left, the other on the right.

Therefore 1st person elements precede 2nd person elements in both  $1 \rightarrow 2$  and  $2 \rightarrow 1$  forms; similarly, 2nd person elements precede 3Pl, which precedes 3MSg, which precedes A, which precedes GU. In other words, the order is determined by a hierarchy of lexical categories rather than by surface case relations.

There is one marginal exception to CR-2. In the  $3Pl \rightarrow 3MSg/NI$  form, we usually get barguni- /bar-gu-ni-/ with 3Pl bar- and 3MSg/NI -ni-. This is in accordance with CR-2. However, there is a variant  $\eta$ ibara- / $\eta$ i-bara-/ with the 3MSg/NI morpheme first. This variant is less common than barguni-, and my informant specifically remarked that barguni- was more correct, but both forms occur in the texts.

CR-2 does not account for combinations where both subject and object are in the same set.  $X_1 \rightarrow X_1$  and  $X_2 \rightarrow X_2$  combinations cannot occur on the surface because of Reflexivisation. In  $3Pl \rightarrow 3Pl$  (i.e.  $X_3 \rightarrow X_3$ ) we get one 3Pl element followed by another, and it is difficult to determine which one refers to the subject and which to the object. However,  $3Pl \rightarrow 3Pl$  barba- is best analysed as 3Pl object-marker bar- followed by 3Pl subject-marker -ba-, since if the order were subject-object we would expect \*barbara- by analogy with  $\eta$ arbara- and other forms where the final element is a 3Pl object-marker. Contrast  $\eta$ arba- and other forms ending in 3Pl subject-marker -ba-.

The  $X_4 \rightarrow X_4$  forms usually show up as an unanalysable portmanteau  $\emptyset$ -, except for 3MSg/NI  $\rightarrow$  3MSg/NI  $\eta$ ini- and the optional 3MSg/NI  $\rightarrow$  3FSg/NA variant  $\eta$ ina-. The former is best taken as an object-subject sequence /ni-ni-/, since if it were subject-object we would expect \* $\eta$ inu- with object allomorph -nu- as in 1Sg  $\rightarrow$  3MSg/NI  $\eta$ anu- / $\eta$ a-nu-/, etc. 3MSg/NI subject-marker allomorph -ni- in comparable position is seen in 3MSg/NI  $\rightarrow$  3Pl barguni- /ba-r-gu-ni-/, etc. However, the form  $\eta$ ina- must be taken as subject-object since -na- is clearly the 3FSg/NA morpheme.

In  $X_5 \rightarrow X_5$  combinations it appears as though the subject-object order is adopted. A  $\rightarrow$  MA ama- is clearly /a-ma-/, and MA  $\rightarrow$  A aɽa- is derivable despite appearances from /MA-A-/ by GU<sub>3</sub>-Insertion and Non-human-Neutralisation rules to be described below; it is not derivable from /A-MA-/.

In the  $X_6 \rightarrow X_6$  form *agu-* we have a base /GU-GU-/ so we cannot determine whether the first morpheme is the subject- or object-marker.

Taking these facts into consideration, we must formulate an addendum Cr-2' to be attached to CR-2, taking care of ordering in equipollent combinations:

#### Cr-2' Supplementary Ordering Rule

In  $X_3 \rightarrow X_3$  combinations, and in one  $X_4 \rightarrow X_4$  combination (3MSg/NI  $\rightarrow$  3MSg/NI) the object precedes the subject; in  $X_5 \rightarrow X_5$  combinations and in one optional  $X_4 \rightarrow X_4$  combination (3MSg/NI  $\rightarrow$  3FSg/NA) the subject precedes the object; in other  $X_n \rightarrow X_n$  combinations either order is possible since either will yield the correct surface form.

It should be noted that following Cr-2 and Cr-2' the pronominals are still marked as either subject or object, and these features are taken into consideration in later rules which insert case-specified allomorphs, permitting some A  $\rightarrow$  B combinations to be distinguished overtly from opposite B  $\rightarrow$  A combinations.

At this point we introduce two special rules which account for the surface forms of the 1  $\rightarrow$  2 and 2  $\rightarrow$  1 forms:

#### CR-3 Plural-Transfer

In a 1  $\rightarrow$  2 or 2  $\rightarrow$  1 combination, if the object-marker is P1 the subject-marker becomes P1 as well (even if it refers to a semantically Sg subject).

#### CR-4 Object-Number Neutralisation

In a 1  $\rightarrow$  2 or 2  $\rightarrow$  1 combination, the object-marker becomes P1 (even if it refers to a semantically Sg object).

To enable readers to understand the discussion of these rules I will anticipate a later Allomorph-Assignment rule and list the morphemes which occur in 1  $\rightarrow$  2 and 2  $\rightarrow$  1 forms: 1Sg  $\eta a-$ ; 1PlEx *gur-* (subject) and / $\tilde{n}ar-$ / (object); 2Sg / $\nu-$ /; 2Pl / $na-$ /.

Because of CR-4, the object-markers always show up as morphologically P1 forms. Thus in the 1  $\rightarrow$  2 forms the second morpheme is always 2Pl / $na-$ / (note that *gura-* reflects /*gur-na-*/), while in the 2  $\rightarrow$  1 forms the first element is always 1PlEx / $\tilde{n}ar-$ / (/ $\tilde{n}ar-na-$ /  $\rightarrow$   $\tilde{n}ana-$ , / $\tilde{n}ar-\nu-$ /  $\rightarrow$   $\tilde{n}unu-$ ).

If we had CR-4 but no rule CR-3, we would expect that the 2Sg  $\rightarrow$  1PlEx form would be \* $\tilde{n}unu-$  from \*/ $\tilde{n}ar-\nu-$ /. Instead, we get  $\tilde{n}ana-$  from / $\tilde{n}ar-na-$ /, with what is morphologically (though not semantically) a 2Pl subject-marker / $na-$ /. To account for this we need CR-3, which brings about the change from 2Sg / $\nu-$ / to 2Pl / $na-$ / as subject-marker when the 1st person object-marker is P1. Similarly, to account for the fact that 1Sg  $\rightarrow$  2Pl shows up as *gura-* from /*gur-na-*/, with what is morphologically a 1PlEx morpheme /*gur-*/ instead of expected 1Sg / $\eta a-$ /, we must permit CR-3 to apply here as well. Note that CR-3 must precede CR-4; if the reverse order were adopted all 1  $\rightarrow$  2 forms would be *gura-* and all 2  $\rightarrow$  1 forms would be  $\tilde{n}ana-$ .

The 1  $\rightarrow$  2 and 2  $\rightarrow$  1 forms are now complete except for the Allomorph-

Assignment rule which we will formally introduce later. We now turn to the other transitive combinations.

The key to understanding the transitive combinations generally is an appreciation of the function(s) of the element *-gu-*. There are, in fact, three quite distinct elements of this form found in transitive prefixes: *gu<sub>1-</sub>*, which with Nonsingular *-r-* forms 1PlEx allomorph *gur-* mentioned above; *-gu<sub>2-</sub>*, a pronominal element associated with the GU noun class; and *-gu<sub>3-</sub>*, a special 'inverse' morpheme.

The rule which accounts for the insertion of *-gu<sub>3-</sub>* is based on a partition of pronominal categories similar to that noted earlier for Ordering. Leaving aside some difficulties involving the A/GU/MA  $\rightarrow$  A/GU/MA combinations for the moment, we can formulate the following minimal partition:

Y<sub>1</sub>: 1st person, 2nd person, 3P1

Y<sub>2</sub>: 3MSg/NI, 3FSg/NA

Y<sub>3</sub>: A, GU, MA

By using this hierarchical partition, we can define three types of transitive prefix combinations: 'direct' combinations, where the subject is in a Y-set with a lower numerical subscript than the object; 'inverse' combinations, where the reverse is the case; and 'equipollent' combinations where both subject and object are in the same Y-set. The terms 'direct' and 'inverse' are stolen from Algonquian grammar; for some theory behind all of this see Silverstein (1976) and Heath (1976), and for Nunggubuyu parallels see my forthcoming grammar.

The basic idea of GU<sub>3</sub>-Insertion is that *-gu<sub>3-</sub>* is put between the two pronominal elements in inverse combinations but is absent from direct and equipollent ones. Unfortunately, there are several complications which must be mentioned before the rule is officially introduced.

The main problem is that *-gu<sub>3-</sub>* does not show up in all forms where we would expect it by the preceding remarks. The reason for this is that *-gu<sub>3-</sub>* is incompatible with certain following pronominal elements, particularly *-gu<sub>2-</sub>* and *-ma-*. This can be accounted for either by building restrictions into GU<sub>3</sub>-Deletion, or by having an unconstrained GU<sub>3</sub>-Deletion rule followed by a rule deleting *-gu<sub>3-</sub>* before the morphemes in question.

In addition to complicating the formulation of the rules, this problem makes it difficult to determine whether certain combinations are direct, inverse, or equipollent. For example, of the A/GU/MA  $\rightarrow$  A/GU/MA combinations, only those with A as second element could possibly distinguish inverse status from the others. The relevant combinations are A  $\rightarrow$  A and MA  $\rightarrow$  A. Both are treated as inverse combinations, and after a later Nonhuman-Neutralisation rule both show up as *agu $\tilde{r}a-$*  /*a-gu<sub>3-</sub> $\tilde{r}a-$* /. In the A  $\rightarrow$  MA combination, and all of those involving GU as either subject or object, it is impossible to tell whether we have an inverse combination. The simplest thing to do is to take all A/GU/MA  $\rightarrow$  A/GU/MA combinations as inverse, by analogy from the two forms which are clearly inverse.

Another morpheme which does not permit a preceding *-gu<sub>3-</sub>* is the 3P1 element. The evidence for this is the 3MSg/NI  $\rightarrow$  3P1 form. The

usual form is barguni- /bar-gu<sub>3</sub>-ni-/ with 3P1 bar-, inverse -gu<sub>3</sub>-, and 3MSg/NI -ni- (subject allomorph). The ordering of elements and the insertion of -gu<sub>3</sub>- here are regular in the light of the preceding paragraphs. However, a variant  $\eta$ ibara- of lesser grammaticality is attested in texts as a variant of barguni-. This is analysable as /ni-bara-/ with 3MSg/NI /ni-/ and 3P1 /-bara-/ (object allomorph). Note that -gu<sub>3</sub>- is missing. There are two ways to account for this: (a) -gu<sub>3</sub>- is incompatible with a following 3P1 element; (b) -gu<sub>3</sub>- is inserted only in inverse combinations where the subject-marker follows the object-marker (as in most cases, but not in the case of  $\eta$ ibara-). Solution (b) is unacceptable, however, since the A  $\rightarrow$  A and MA  $\rightarrow$  A combinations (both agu $\eta$ a- /a-gu<sub>3</sub>- $\eta$ a-/) must reflect /A<sub>subj</sub>-A<sub>obj</sub> and /MA<sub>subj</sub>-A<sub>obj</sub>/, respectively, in order for Nonhuman-Neutralisation to function in a reasonably coherent fashion – yet both show -gu<sub>3</sub>-. Only solution (a) is possible, by elimination (and also because it is merely an extension of an independently-motivated restriction on the occurrence of -gu<sub>3</sub>-, rather than a new, *ad hoc* restriction).

Having established that -gu<sub>3</sub>- cannot occur on the surface before the 3P1 morpheme, it becomes possible to envisage an elaboration of the system of Y-sets listed earlier, bringing the Y-partition closer to the X-partition used in conjunction with the Ordering rule. In particular, we could subdivide Y<sub>1</sub> into three Y-sets corresponding to X<sub>1</sub>, X<sub>2</sub>, and X<sub>3</sub>, respectively. We could then say that X<sub>2</sub>  $\rightarrow$  X<sub>1</sub> and X<sub>3</sub>  $\rightarrow$  X<sub>2</sub> combinations are inverse, and that -gu<sub>3</sub>- would be added to them were it not incompatible with the 3P1 morpheme (as we have already established) and with 2nd person morphemes. The only aspect of the Y-partition and X-partition which prevents us from equating them totally are their slightly different treatment of some of the A/GU/MA  $\rightarrow$  A/GU/MA combinations. In particular, A and MA are in the same X-set, so we would expect A  $\rightarrow$  A and MA  $\rightarrow$  A to be equipollent combinations, yet they are in fact inverse.

Despite the possibility of assimilating the Y-partition to the X-partition, I will formulate GU<sub>3</sub>-Insertion in terms of the conservative Y-partition shown above (Y<sub>1</sub>, Y<sub>2</sub>, Y<sub>3</sub>).

#### CR-5 GU<sub>3</sub>-Insertion

Subject to the restriction that -gu<sub>3</sub>- cannot be added directly before GU, MA, or 3P1 morphemes, -gu<sub>3</sub>- is inserted between the subject- and object-markers of the following combinations: (a) combinations of the type Y<sub>n+m</sub>  $\rightarrow$  Y<sub>n</sub> (m and n nonzero positive integers); (b) the combinations A  $\rightarrow$  A and MA  $\rightarrow$  A, and perhaps more generally all Y<sub>3</sub>  $\rightarrow$  Y<sub>3</sub> combinations.<sup>1</sup>

The formula Y<sub>n+m</sub>  $\rightarrow$  Y<sub>n</sub> covers Y<sub>3</sub>  $\rightarrow$  Y<sub>1</sub>, Y<sub>3</sub>  $\rightarrow$  Y<sub>2</sub>, and Y<sub>2</sub>  $\rightarrow$  Y<sub>1</sub>.

There are two separate situations in which A, MA, and GU or just A and MA are neutralised into a single category taking the morphology characteristic of the A category.

<sup>1</sup>The apparent irregularity of having the lowest-ranking equipollent combination, here Y<sub>3</sub>  $\rightarrow$  Y<sub>3</sub>, treated as morphologically inverse, turns out to have a parallel in Algonquian, where the lowest-ranking type (inanimate  $\rightarrow$  inanimate) likewise contains the Inverse morpheme.

To begin with, MA  $\rightarrow$  3MSg/NI shows up as  $\eta$ igu $\eta$ a-, like A  $\rightarrow$  3MSg/NI, instead of expected \* $\eta$ ima-. The form  $\eta$ ima- shows up elsewhere as the 3MSg/NI  $\rightarrow$  MA form. We can account for MA  $\rightarrow$  3MSg/NI -agu $\eta$ a- by assimilating it to A  $\rightarrow$  3MSg/NI, that is by assimilating the subject-marker MA to A. This assimilation must precede CR-5, since otherwise -gu<sub>3</sub>- would not be inserted and we would get MA  $\rightarrow$  3MSg/NI \*/ni- $\eta$ a-/ (becoming \* $\eta$ i $\eta$ a-).

The second and more important instance of neutralisation occurs in the Y<sub>3</sub>  $\rightarrow$  Y<sub>3</sub> combinations, where the initial element shows up as a- in all instances. For example, in all forms with MA as subject (MA  $\rightarrow$  A, MA  $\rightarrow$  GU, MA  $\rightarrow$  MA) the initial a- represents an underlying MA morpheme which has been assimilated to the corresponding A morpheme. In the one form where underlying GU comes initially, namely GU  $\rightarrow$  GU, we similarly get agu- /a-gu-/ for expected \*gugu-. This neutralisation of the initial morpheme in Y<sub>3</sub>  $\rightarrow$  Y<sub>3</sub> combinations does not have to be ordered with respect to CR-5 since either order results in the same outputs.

The two neutralisations can be formulated as follows:

#### CR-6 Nonhuman-Neutralisation I (precedes CR-5)

$$MA_{subj} \rightarrow A_{subj} // \left\{ \begin{array}{l} 3MSg/NI_{obj} \\ 3FSg/NA_{obj} \end{array} \right\} \text{ ———}$$

#### CR-7 Nonhuman Neutralisation II

$$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} GU \\ MA \end{array} \right\} \rightarrow A // \text{ — } (-gu_3-) \left\{ \begin{array}{l} A \\ GU \\ MA \end{array} \right\}$$

We also need a rule accounting for the use of the portmanteau morpheme  $\emptyset$ - in all Y<sub>2</sub>  $\rightarrow$  Y<sub>2</sub> combinations except 3MSg/NI  $\rightarrow$  3MSg/NI  $\eta$ ini-. The rule can be stated like this:

#### CR-8 Zero-Morpheme Rule

In Y<sub>2</sub>  $\rightarrow$  Y<sub>2</sub> combinations where either the subject or object is 3FSg/NA (or both are), the combinations take the form of a portmanteau prefix  $\emptyset$ -.

This applied to the regular 3MSg/NI  $\rightarrow$  3FSg/NA form  $\emptyset$ -, but the variant  $\eta$ ina- is an exception to CR-8 since both the subject- and object-marking elements remain on the surface.

Finally, we need a rule accounting for the surface allomorphs of the various pronominal elements. The allomorphs are:

1Sg	$\eta$ a-	3MSg/NI	/-ni-/ ~ /-nu-/
1P1Ex	/gu <sub>1</sub> -r-/ ~ / $\eta$ a-r-/	3FSg/NA	/-na-/
1DuIn	$\eta$ a-	3P1	ba-r- ~ -ba- ~ -ba-r-a-
1P1In	/ $\eta$ a-r-/	A	a- ~ /- $\eta$ a-/
2Sg	/-nu-/	GU	-gu <sub>2</sub> -
2P1	/na-r-/ ~ /-na-/	MA	-ma-

All instances of -r- are to be taken as the Nonsingular morpheme; note, however, that some Pl categories have allomorphs without -r-. In the case of -ba-r-a- the final element is best taken as an irregular Accusative element.

For those morphemes with more than one allomorph, the distribution is as follows: (a) 1PlEx is /gu<sub>1</sub>-r-/ only as subject-marker in 1 → 2 combinations, /ña-r-/ elsewhere; (b) 2Pl is /na-r-/ initially in combinations, /-na-/ noninitially; (c) 3MSg/NI is /-nu-/ as noninitial object-marker, /-ni-/ as subject-marker and/or initially; (d) 3Pl is ba-r- nonfinally in combinations, -ba- finally as subject-marker, -ba-r-a- finally as object-marker; (e) A is a- initially, /-ra-/ non-initially.

To extend this Allomorph-Assignment rule to intransitive prefixes, all that is necessary is to require the addition of MDu /-ni-/ to the relevant Nonsingular forms listed above when they refer to MDu entities.

#### CR-9 Allomorph-Assignment

Pronominal labels like 1PlEx and GU are replaced by the appropriate allomorphs as described above.

The preceding rules generate all combinations given in the paradigms.

The question arises whether Ngandi shows accusative or ergative patterning, or neither, in its pronominal prefixes. The only evidence on this point which seems worth mentioning is the allomorphy of 3MSg/NI and 3Pl morphemes in noninitial position in combinations. The allomorphs /-ni-/ and -ba- in this position are used for transitive and intransitive subject, while /-nu-/ and -ba-r-a- are used for transitive object. At least for these human categories, then, we have accusative patterning.

## Chapter 8

### NONINITIAL PREFIXES

#### 8.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will deal with those prefixes which come between the noun-class prefix (with nouns) or the pronominal prefix (with verbs) and the stem. I will not deal with compounding elements here, though it should be mentioned that in some cases it is difficult to decide whether a particular element is a prefix or a specialised compounding element.

The prefixes treated here occur chiefly with verbs. A few are also attested with nouns and other form-classes.

#### 8.2 -ja-, -ja-laŋ-

The very common prefix -ja- occurs with stems of all form-classes, though it is most common with verbs. It can be translated '(just) then' or '(just) now', and emphasises the immediacy of the event (or object) referred to by the stem to a reference point. The reference point is often the 'here and now' of the speech act, so that Future ŋa-ja-ɾuɗu-ŋ means 'I will go now' and Past Punctual ŋi-ja-ɾiɗ-i means 'He just went'. The best way to translate the English Present Perfect tense formation is to use the Past tense and -ja-, so ŋi-ja-ɾiɗ-i can be translated 'He has gone' as well.

With nouns and other nonverbal stems the translation 'now' seems to fit most attested examples, though the nuances are not always clear: a-ja-mumba?-ɗu 'by means of axes now'; a-ja-ŋi-? 'this one now' (with demonstrative stem -ni-). Cf. gu-ja-ga!aŋ-gu 'for eggs now' (Text 5.15).

The form -jalaŋ-, which I take as -ja- plus a morpheme -laŋ-, is fairly common. It appears to mean 'just then', 'right after that', and sometimes 'as a result; consequently': ŋi-ja-laŋ-wati-ñ '(As a result,) he died then'. -laŋ- does not occur without -ja-, and in some respects it might be better to consider -jalaŋ- a unit. Examples of -ja-laŋ-: Texts 12.16, 12.41, 12.61, 12.84, 12.88, etc.

### 8.3 -ni-

This prefix belongs in this chapter from the formal point of view; in particular, it follows -ja-. However, semantically it belongs with the pronominal prefixes described in Chapter 7. It is a MDu element used with certain transitive prefixes to further specify the pronominal category of the subject or object. (With reference to the 1st person inclusive, -ni- is MTr; not MDu.) It will be recalled that MDu (and MTr) subject- and object-markers are not distinguished from Pl forms (except, of course, for lDuIn), so the addition of -ni- is never redundant.

It is important to distinguish -ni- following a transitive prefix from other transitive prefixes like 3MSg/Ni → 3Pl barguni- which happen to end in -ni-. The test for distinguishing the two types is the position of -ja- when it is added: 3MSg/Ni → 3Pl barguni-ja-, but 3MDu → GU bargu-ja-ni-.

The addition of -ni- seems never to be absolutely obligatory, although in some situations it is normally added when appropriate (i.e. when the subject or object is MDu). There are some situations where -ni- cannot be added. The most important of these is where the transitive prefix ends in -ni- or -na-, whether or not this is followed by -ja-. Therefore -ni- cannot be added to 3MSg/Ni → 3Pl barguni-, even when the 3Pl marker is semantically 3MDu. Similarly, -ni- is rarely or never added to 1 → 2 or 2 → 1 combinations.

The situation where -ni- is used most consistently is when the pronominal element other than the MDu one is in one of the Nonhuman categories A, GU, or MA. Examples: bara-ni-ma-ni 'They (MDu) get it (A)'; bargu-~~ra~~-ni-~~na~~-ni 'It (A) sees them (MDu)'. When both pronominals are human, the addition of -ni- is less rigorous though still fairly common. In this situation it is more usual to add -ni- to mark MDu object than to mark MDu subject.

-ni- is never added to intransitive prefixes. However, it was noted in (7.2) that MDu (and lTrInM) prefixes contain a frozen \*-ni-. Even if we set this up as /-ni-/ in base-forms, however, it is difficult to support a synchronic identification of this with the noninitial prefix -ni-, for the simple reason that -ja- follows intransitive prefixes but precedes noninitial -ni-.

Among textual examples of -ni- we may mention Text 7.8 (bara-ni-bi~~de~~::y?) and Text 12.29 (barma-ni-~~no~~:::-~~n~~).

### 8.4 -ga-, -ga-ya?-

The prefix -ga- is very common with verbs, but does not occur with other stems. It is essentially a de-focusing element which indicates that the verb is not the main focus of the clause, and therefore that some other constituent (usually a NP or adverb which has been placed at the beginning of the clause) has the main focus. Examples: a-jeñ-u~~n~~ ~~na~~-ga-~~nu~~-ni 'It is fish that I ate'. For more details, including a description of -ga- as a subordinator, cf. (13.2) and (13.4). Every text has many examples.

The combination -ga-ya?- forms the protasis ('if'-clause) of conditionals; cf. (13.3). -ya?- does not occur without -ga-, and as with -ja-la~~n~~- a case could be made for considering -gaya?- to be a unit.

### 8.5 -mili?-

This prefix is obligatory with the Evitative verb form (9.26). The combination of -mili?- with the Evitative results in a verb construction indicating an undesirable potential event or situation. Example: ~~na~~-mili?-buy~~gi~~-pu-y~~gi~~-~~ø~~ 'lest you (Pl) fight all the time' ('2Pl -mili? Rdp - hit - Recip - Evit'). For other examples cf. (9.26) and references there.

### 8.6 -na?-

The prefix -na?- is found with stems of all major word-classes. The sense is usually 'still', as in ~~ni~~-na?-~~ru~~du-ni 'He is still going'. The prefix is most common with verbs, but can be used with nouns and adverbs: gu-na?-jundu '(still) a stone', ~~na~~?-warpani-gi~~č~~ '(still) to the place warpani' (Text 11.6), ~~na~~?-~~na~~-~~ci~~-~~n~~ 'still that way' (Text 11.12). For the allomorph -~~na~~?- cf. phonological rule P-2.

### 8.7 -|i-

The prefix -|i- has two senses, 'might as well' and 'side'. In the latter sense it is best taken as a specialised compounding element. An example of the former meaning: ~~ni~~-|i-yu-~~da~~ 'He might as well sleep; Let him sleep'. The other meaning is found in -|i-~~ra~~m-~~da~~- 'to spear in side'.

This prefix is unattested with nonverbal stems and is uncommon with verbs.

### 8.8 -bak-

Benefactive -bak- is one of the most important verbal affixes, since it affects the syntax of the entire clause. It creates a transitive verb, requiring a transitive pronominal prefix specifying pronominal category of two referents (for exceptions with -~~du~~bur- 'business', see below). The object-marker in the pronominal prefix marks the indirect object, which (if it also occurs as an independent substantive) is in the Dative case (or occasionally the Allative, in its Pseudo-Dative function, cf. 4.6). Thus from an intransitive base we get a transitive: ~~na~~-wa~~n~~?-~~du~~-~~ni~~ 'I was looking around' but ~~na~~nu-bak-wa~~n~~?-~~du~~-~~ni~~ 'I was looking around for him' (the latter can be expanded by adding Dative ~~ni~~-yul-ku 'for the man' or the like). From a transitive base we get a new derived transitive, where the object-marker in the pronominal prefix refers to the indirect rather than direct object: ~~na~~ma-ma-~~ni~~ 'I got it (MA)' (with lSg → MA prefix), but ~~na~~nu-bak-ma-~~ni~~ 'I got (it,

any noun class) for *him*' (with 1Sg → 3MSg prefix). The direct object can be attached as an independent noun: *ḡanu-bak-ma-ḡi ma-ḡiĉ-uḡ* 'I got the food for him'.

Benefactive covers a broad range of indirect object types, though virtually all examples involve human or at least animate Dative objects (nonhuman Dative nouns are normally not cross-referenced in the verb, so -bak- is not used with them — I call such Datives without cross-referencing pronominals 'Purposive' nouns, cf. 4.6). The range of meanings includes beneficiary (including person adversely affected), 'object' (reference point) for mental verbs like 'to fear' or 'to be jealous of', and (infrequently) goal of motion. An example with a mental verb: *baru-ba-kuḡjiki-na* 'They are afraid of him' (from /...-bak-ḡuḡjiki-.../), cf. *ba-ḡuḡjiki-na* 'They are scared'.

There is some competition between -bak- and Directional derivational suffix -ḡuḡa- (9.7), which transitivises underlying intransitives by promoting an underlying Allative NP to direct object. However, -ḡuḡa- is not very common, and the only clear example of competition between the two is *bak-buruburu?-ḡi-* 'to be/become close to' (from Inchoative *buruburu?-ḡi-*) vs. *buruburu?-ḡuḡa-* 'to move close to, to approach'.

In several textual examples we find bak- in a surface intransitive with a single pronominal category (subject) specified. The examples I have noted (three in all) all involve compounds with the abstract noun *ḡubur* 'matter, business': *a-ga-bak-ḡubur-yu-ḡa* 'It (the business) is like that' (literally 'It lies down'); *ḡi-ja-bak-ḡubur-mak-ḡi-ḡun* 'He should have acted properly'; *bari-ja-bak-ḡubur-ḡuḡju-ti-ḡi-ḡi* 'They (Du) both had the same situation' (Texts 11.42, 12.77, 12.103). In conjunction with the first example we also find *a-bak-yima-na-?* 'It is like that' and *a-ga-bak-yu-ḡa* 'It lies down' (i.e. 'It is like that') without -ḡubur- in the verb itself, but the subject of the verb is *ḡubur* (expressed here as independent *ḡu-ḡubur-yuḡ*, Text 12.103). A possible explanation is that these forms have undergone Indefinite-Object Deletion (13.8), but since the verb stems themselves are intransitive ('to lie down', etc.) one wonders why Benefactive bak- (implying a Dative NP) was used at all.

Some textual examples of bak- are in Texts 4.9, 5.13, 8.7, 9.2, 11.4 (two examples), 12.3, 12.7, 12.13, 12.33, 12.45, 12.51, and 12.59.

also 2.21 6.3 9.4 10.5 11.5/6/7/42 12.12/40/44/49/53/57  
12.69/74/77/82/103/107

### 8.9 -biḡiĉ-

The prefix -biḡiĉ- means 'nearly, almost, just about to'. An example:

<i>ḡanu-biḡiĉ-ḡam-ḡ-i,</i>	<i>yimiĉ</i>	<i>ḡi-buḡa-ḡ.</i>
<i>I was about to spear him</i>	<i>but</i>	<i>he rushed away</i>

The same morpheme also occurs in certain complex verb stems. -biḡiĉ-ma- is attested in the sense 'to do improperly, to miss'. With Causative -ḡuba- we get -biḡiĉ-ḡuba- 'to miss (an object at which something is thrown)'.

It is necessary to distinguish the true prefix -biḡiĉ- from the use of -biḡiĉ- in these complex stems, since certain other noninitial suffixes follow the prefix -biḡiĉ- but precede -biḡiĉ-ma- and -biḡiĉ-ḡuba-.

### 8.10 -gara-, -gara-kara-

The prefix -gara- emphasises multiplicity or distributivity, whether of subject, object, or event. It will be glossed as 'Multiple' (Mult), and can often be translated as 'all' or 'all over': *ba-gara-wadi-wadi-ḡi* 'They all died' (note Rdp); *ba-gara-buḡa-ḡ* 'All of them rushed away'; *ḡama-gara-ma-ḡi* 'I got them all (MA)'.

-gara- is also attested with nonverbal stems: *ba-gara-ḡiḡ?* 'all the women'.

A reduplicated form -gara-kara- is attested: *ḡu-ḡa-gara-kara-ḡu-ḡa* 'They all stand'. It appears that this form -gara-kara- is best treated as a unit, functioning as a slightly emphatic variant of -gara-, rather than as a true reduplication produced by the regular Reduplication rule. Note that the example 'They all died', cited above, is *ba-gara-wadi-wadi-ḡi* with Reduplication applying directly to the stem /-wadi-/ , and is not \**ba-gara-kara-wadi-ḡi*.

### 8.11 -ḡi- and -baḡa-

Both -ḡi- and -baḡa- can be described as Comitative prefixes.

The addition of -ḡi- to an intransitive verb creates a transitive where the object-marker in the pronominal prefix refers to the accompanying entity. Examples: *ḡi-ḡi-bolk-ḡ-i* 'He (the policeman) came out with him (the apprehended culprit)'; *ḡaḡuni-bak-ḡi-buḡa-n-di* 'He rushed with (it) to me'. In the second example the transitive with -ḡi- has been further restructured by adding Benefactive -bak-, so the object-marker in the verb refers to the indirect object.

The prefix -baḡa- differs in that it does not alter the surface transitivity or choice of pronominal prefixes of the verb. Thus *ḡi-ḡ-i*: 'he sat' can be expanded as 'he sat with (it, her, them, etc.)' where the Comitative entity is not pronominally identified. An example with underlying transitive verb is *barguni-baḡa-waḡu-na* 'he leaves them with (it)' from *barguni-waḡu-na* 'he leaves them'. The combination -baḡa-ma-with -ma- 'to get, to pick up' is specialised inasmuch as the object marked in the pronominal prefix is not the object gotten but rather the person from whom it is taken, hence *ḡanu-baḡa-ma-y* 'I took (it) from him'.

Textual examples of -baḡa- with verbs: Text 12.85-86. For its use in denominative 'having' compounds cf. (4.5).

### 8.12 -?-

A prefix -?- occurs several times in the data, emphasising continuity of the event or state described. Examples: *ḡar-ga-?-wor-ḡu-ḡi* 'We (PLEx) always used to swim'; *bari-ga-?-yimi-ḡi-?* 'They (MDu) always used to do like that'; *ba-?-ḡubur-warjaka-na* 'They always do bad things'; *ḡigu-?-waḡi-j-iĉ* 'He never left it'.

This prefix will be glossed as 'Durative' (Dur). It can be used with any verbal tense-aspect-mood form except the Past Punctual (the only explicitly Punctual verb form). It tends to be emphatic and is

not used in all semantically durative or 'gnomic' situations.

For phonological reasons -?- cannot appear following morphemes ending in stops or in ?.

### 8.13 -woč- and -jalča-

The two prefixes -woč- and -jalča- are both translatable as 'together' or 'both together', and are primarily though not exclusively Dual. They are occasionally added to verbal and nonverbal stems, and are far from being obligatory in Dual contexts. In my corpus I have about five examples of -woč- and two of -jalča-; these include one combination of the two. Examples: bari-woč-riđ-i 'They (MDu) went together'; ba-gara-woč-riđ-i 'They all went together' (only clearly Non-dual example); bari-woč-ŋa-ri 'those two (MDu)'; ŋari-wo-čalja-ruđu-ŋ 'You two (MDu) will go together'; bari-woč-đirimu-pula 'and two men'; barba-jalča-ga-n-jini 'They (MDu) bring them (MDu) together'. I am unable to find any semantic distinction between -woč- and -jalča-.

### 8.14 -gari?-

The prefix -gari?- indicates that the activity described by the verb was either performed in vain or was unsuccessfully attempted. Appropriate translations in English include the expressions 'too late', 'in vain', and 'to try'. Examples: ŋu-gari?-riđ-i 'You (Sg) came too late'; ŋi-gari?-jo|k-đu-ŋan 'He (MSg) tried to slip away'; ŋi-gari?-jo|k-đ-i (same meaning). In the latter two examples it can be seen that either the ordinary Past forms (here PPun -i) or the Potential form (here -ŋan) can be used when -gari?- indicates an unsuccessful attempt in a Past context.

### 8.15 -ŋamulu- and -bindi-

-ŋamulu- is a fairly common prefix meaning 'well, correctly, properly' or the like. -bindi- is rare (one example in my corpus), and means 'really, indeed'. Since -ŋamulu- is rather emphatic, it is not always sharply distinguishable semantically from -bindi-. Examples: gu-ja-ŋamulu-bi|?-mak-đi-na 'It is good and sharp'; ŋigu-ŋamulu-ma|?-bo-m 'He learned it well'; bargu-ŋamulu-?-maŋiñ?-đu-ŋi 'They used to do it well'; ŋi-ga-bindi-wur?wuruŋu-mak-i-na 'He calls himself a really old man'.

The use of -bindi- is circumscribed not only by the productivity of -ŋamulu- in emphatic senses similar to its own, but also by the frequent use of the suffix -burkayi 'very, indeed'.

### 8.16 -man-

This prefix is attested, with a following noun (a personal name) and with a denominalised verb: -man-maŋða:la|?- 'Old Alec's bunch' (cf. -maŋða:la|?- 'Old Alec'); a-ja-man-bi|?-i-na 'They (fish in trap) are abundant'. The basic meaning of -man- is 'group'.

### 8.17 -daŋ?- and -đirk-

The prefix -daŋ?- occurs twice in the texts, in the same passage (Text 11.13). The form daŋ?-X means 'place near X', where X itself is a place name or a syntactically equivalent element: daŋ?-bičara 'place near what's-it?' (with bičara 'what's-it', cf. 11.5), daŋ?-bulmun 'place near Bulmun'.

The prefix -đirk- is also added to place names, but the resulting complex designates people associated with the place indicated: ba-đirk-đuŋanda 'people of đuŋanda' (Text 11.13). In other words, -đirk- is a Gentilic prefix.

### 8.18 -mar-

The attested examples of this prefix are these: ba-ja-mar-gulk-đ-i 'They (Pl) have ceased (performing ceremonies)'; ŋi-mar-wur?wuruŋu 'the older (of two persons)'; -mar-ga|i- 'adult' (from -ga|i- 'big'). At least in the latter two examples, -mar- seems to be a sort of comparative ('more') or slightly emphatic ('very') element. The combination -mar-gulk-đu- does not seem to have such a nuance, cf. -gulk-đu- 'to sever', but this combination seems to be rather specialised and idiomatic.

### 8.19 OTHER NONINITIAL PREFIXES (-bini?-, -woloŋ-, -ga:-, -yuŋ-)

The prefix -bini?- occurs in the following passage (Text 9.4):

ŋi-ja-gor-đu-ni,	ŋi-ga-gor-đu-ni
he is sick now	he is sick
ŋi-ja-bini?-go:::ř	ŋi-ja-wati-na ...
	he dies now

The reference is to a person who becomes sick and dies due to black magic. It is possible to take ŋi-ja-bini?-go:::ř here as meaning 'He is very sick now', with -bini?- contributing the emphatic 'very', or as 'He is dying' with -bini?- specifically referring to the onset of death (hence translatable 'mortally' or 'terminally'). The verb -go:::ř (with artificial lengthening for emphasis) is the same as -gor(-đu-) 'to be sick' in the preceding words.

-woloŋ- occurs in this example: (Text 12.61): bargu-ja-woloŋ-jo|?-gubu-ŋ 'They have shifted it (the police station, to the middle of the street)'. In this example it appears that -woloŋ- indicates 'middle', but this is a tentative interpretation.

A prefix -ga:-, distinct from -ga- (8.4), is attested in the following combinations: ga:-ka|?- 'to go around looking (for something)', cf. -ga|?-ka|?- 'to chase'; ga:-ŋima- 'to grope along (e.g. of a blind person)', cf. -ŋima- 'to hold'. In the example ga:-ŋima- the context involves a man holding a walking-stick. In both examples the addition of ga:- intransitivises an underlying transitive verb, and also adds the notion of moving with difficulty through a medium. The example ga:-ka|?- occurred in a context where people were hunting for emus and



had not yet found them or their tracks (Text 6.1).

An uncommon prefix -yuj- shows up in -yuj-joḍow?-du- 'to do until daybreak' from -joḍow?-du- 'to become morning'. The simple form -joḍow?-du- has invariable GU-class subject parallel to English *it* in *it dawned*, but the derivative -yuj-joḍow?-du- is an intransitive form with variable subject (he, you, they, etc.).

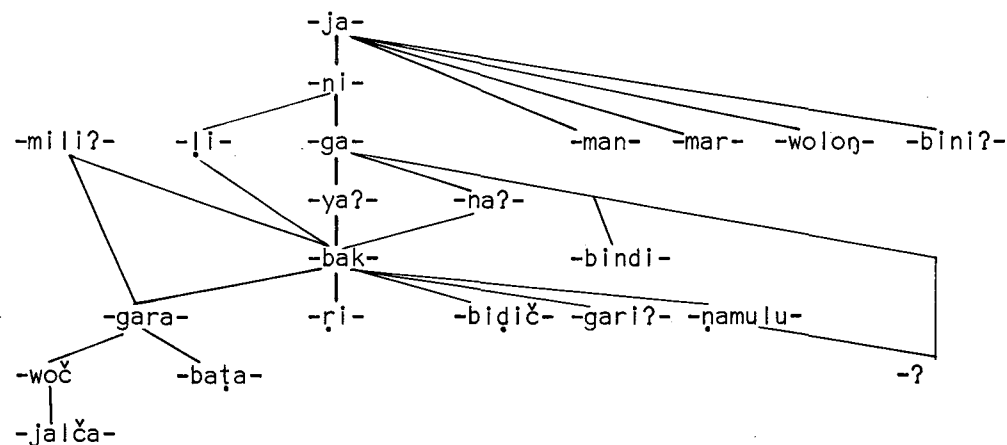
## 8.20 ORDERING OF THE NONINITIAL PREFIXES

In order to provide a rigorous description of the relative order of the prefixes described here it would be necessary to have an example of each possible pair of prefixes. The data do not provide all such examples for several reasons: (a) some prefixes occur only with nouns, others only with verbs, so they cannot co-occur; (b) the prefix -?- cannot be distinguished from the absence of a prefix following prefixes ending in ? or a stop, because of ?-Deletion rules; (c) some pairs of prefixes are probably ungrammatical for stylistic, semantic, and other reasons; (d) some pairs which might be acceptable are not recorded in my data. As for (d), I did make some attempt in elicitation sessions to obtain additional combinations, by suggesting two possible forms involving prefixes X and Y (one with X-Y order, the other with Y-X order) to the informant and asking whether one of them sounded good. This resulted in some acceptable combinations being recorded, but in several instances the informant rejected both variants.

In verbal forms the following combinations were recorded in texts or elicitation sessions: -ja-ni-, -ja-laŋ-, -ja-ga-, -ja-gara-, -ja-|i-, -ni-ga-, -ni-|i-, -ga-ya?-, -ga-ya?-bak-, -ga-na?-, -ga-bak-, -ga-biḍič-, -ga-?- , -ga-gara-, -mili?-gara-, -mili?-bak-, -na?-bak-, -|i-bak-, -bak-biḍič-, -ba-kara- (/ -bak-gara- /), -bak-ri-, -bak-ŋamulu-, -ba-kari?- (/ -bak-gari?- /), -gara-woč, -gara-baḥa-, -ŋamulu?- , -ga-bindi-, -wočalja- (/ -woč-jalča- /), -ja-man-, -ja-mar-, -ja-woloŋ-, -ja-bini?.

All of these prefixes follow the pronominal prefixes of Chapter 7, and precede compounding stems if they co-occur with the latter.

From the above information we can construct the following partial ordering of noninitial prefixes:



## Chapter 9

### VERBAL SUFFIXES

#### 9.1 TYPES OF VERB STEMS

Verb stems can be divided into several types. The most important types are these: (a) denominatives, formed by adding Inchoative Verbaliser -|i- to a noun stem; (b) compound verb stems where the second element is one of a small set of auxiliary verbs and where the first element may not be clearly categorisable; (c) verbs capable of occurring in an uninflected and unanalysable 'root form' (9.5), or in inflected forms with a thematising augment -du- or -ḍa-; (d) simple verb stems.

These basic stem types can in most cases be further elaborated by adding derivational suffixes -i- (Reflexive-Mediopassive), -yḍi- (Reciprocal), -guba- (Causative), -guḥa- (Directional), or certain combinations of these.

The inflectional suffixes added to verbs indicate tense, mood, negation, and aspect. The forms of the suffixes depend on what verb class the stem belongs to. If there are derivational suffixes (e.g. the Reciprocal), the last such suffix determines the verb class of the entire verb for purposes of determining suffix-allomorphs.

#### 9.2 DENOMINATIVE VERBS WITH -|i-

Noun stems of adjectival type can be fairly freely verbalised by adding the Inchoative Verbaliser -|i- 'to be/become'. Examples: biḥ-|i- 'to be/become numerous'; yaku-ḍi- 'to be/become absent or extinct'; ḍaku-ḍi- 'to be/become small'. Note the application of lenition rules.

Forms with -|i- are attested, rarely, with bases other than simple noun stems. In the example baki-č-ḍi- 'to be situated to the south' the base is the adverb baki-č 'to the south' with Allative ending -č (6.9). In the example baḥa-jič-i-wič-ḍi- 'to be covered with sores' the base is a derived 'having' adjectival noun baḥa-jič-i-wič 'having sores' (4.5).

Forms with -|i- are always intransitive, except when secondarily

transitivised by adding Causative -n?guba-, Benefactive prefix -bak-, or the like. Verbal forms ending in -i- are treated as class 3 stems in verbal inflection.

A cognate -i- occurs in Ritharngu and other Yuulngu languages, and Ngandi borrowed the formation from Yuulngu.

### 9.3 AUXILIARY CONSTRUCTIONS

Like most languages in the area, Ngandi has constructions involving an uninflected main verb bound to a following inflected auxiliary. The latter can occur as a main verb elsewhere, but in auxiliary constructions its independent meaning is lost or at least watered down. It serves mainly as a prop for suffixes.

The stems attested as auxiliaries are -bu- 'to hit; to kill' (about twelve combinations attested), -du- 'to stand' (six), -ga- 'to carry' (five), -ma- 'to pick up; to get' (two), -yu- 'to sleep' (two), and -na- 'to burn' (one). The numbers given are based on inspection of a working draft of my dictionary. In a few instances it has not been easy to decide whether a given combination is an auxiliary construction or a simple compound with an initial nominal or adverbial stem followed by a main verb. However, in most cases auxiliary constructions can be distinguished from ordinary compounds in that the initial element does not occur elsewhere, and/or the independent meaning of the inflected verb is not discernible in the meaning of the combination. Furthermore, in the case of -bu- we have a simple test distinguishing auxiliary constructions from compounds, since in the latter the suppletive stem -bača- replaces -bu-.

It must be emphasised that the stem -du- 'to stand' is entirely unrelated to the common class 1 morpheme -du- (9.10). Their paradigms, for example, are totally dissimilar.

Examples with -bu-: belk-bu- 'to tie spearhead to spear shaft'; bit-bu- 'to climb a slope'; da:-bu- 'to try out, to test'; dam?-bu- 'to block, to close off'; dery?-bu- 'to scratch deeply'; gu|a?-bu- 'to skin, to peel'; gurgur-bu- 'to pull out (guts)'; jo|k-bu- 'to surpass'; |ak-bu- 'to rip (flesh, from shell)'; |er?|er-bu- 'to clap boomerangs'; mar-bu- 'to pity'; ñil?-bu- 'to enclose, to lock up'. The concept of 'hitting', or at least of forcible manipulation of the object, appears in a few of these. All are transitive except the first two. Ritharngu and Nunggubuyu have similar auxiliary compounds with \*-bu-. Some exact cognates in Ritharngu are |ak-bu- and mar-bu- (same meanings as in Ngandi). In a few cases the initial element shows up elsewhere in Ngandi: compare the examples above with gu|a? 'skin'; dam?-du- 'to be covered'; jo|k-du- 'to go past' (the latter two show class 1 -du-, not -du- 'to stand').

Examples with -du- 'to stand': galiñ-du- 'to be hanging, suspended, or aloft'; goṭ-du- 'to be confined'; ji?-du- '(fish) to hang still in water'; norbon-du- 'to hide behind something'; yirgi-du- 'to continue'. All are intransitive. The only initial stem which occurs elsewhere is galiñ-, which has a transitive form galiñ-da- 'to hang or suspend'. Here -da- is a class 2 morpheme.

Examples with -ga-: guč-ga- 'to go hunting with dogs'; mal-ga- 'to father, to beget'; mol?-ga- 'to blow the didjeridu'; |iw-ga- 'to hunt (kangaroos) with bush fires'; wi|-ga- 'to take away (object associated with victim, to be used in black magic)'. Cf. mol? 'didjeridu', wi|-guba- (with Causative suffix, same meaning as wi|-ga-). guč-ga- is found also in Ritharngu, Warndarang (wuj-ga-), and Nunggubuyu (-ijga-); Ritharngu also has a cognate of mal-ga-. Compare wi|-ga- with Warndarang wi| 'object used in black magic', and |iw-ga- with Ritharngu |iw-(w)u- 'to set (fire)' with -(w)u- corresponding to Ngandi class 1 morpheme -du-.

Examples with -ma-: biḍič-ma- 'to miss'; gačal-ma- 'to play; to have fun'.

Examples with -yu-: ɱer?-yu- and ɱamar-yu- 'to be fond (of)'. ɱer? is a noun meaning 'heart' and ɱamar a noun-like compounding element referring to fondness; cf. Nunggubuyu /-ɱamar-/ in a-ɱamar-ɱu-bura- /aD-ɱamar-ɱu-bura-/ 'to be fond of' ('Ben - fondness - Epenthetic morpheme - sit').

The example with -na- is buypuy-na- 'to scorch the surface of (an animal, before roasting it)', which could possibly be taken as an ordinary compound. Cf. Ritharngu buypi-baṭa- (same meaning), with baṭa- 'to burn'.

As the preceding discussion suggests, this type of auxiliary construction is moderately but not extremely productive in Ngandi, as is also the case in Ritharngu. Nunggubuyu has a fair number of such combinations, but they tend to be more frozen and less easily segmentable, and the process is probably not productive. On the other hand, in the Mara-Alawic family to the south (including Warndarang), auxiliary constructions are extremely productive and only a few verbs can be directly inflected.

### 9.4 AUGMENTS -du- AND -da-

All class 1 stems consist of a root, often CVC-, plus a Thematising Augment -du- which is obligatorily added before all inflectional and some derivational suffixes. Since class 1 includes more than half of the verbs in Ngandi, the suffix -du- is very common. It must be distinguished from -du- 'to stand' in the latter's auxiliary functions (9.3).

A great many class 1 roots end in ? (glottal stop), although not all do and the ? cannot be supplied by phonological rules. Synchronically, therefore, the ? is simply part of the root. However, historically it is likely that in many instances the ? is secondary, and can be regarded as a partially segmentable morpheme creating class 1 roots. In such cases we really have two different thematising morphemes, first -?- creating class 1 roots, then -du- creating inflectable stems.

In a few instances this initial thematisation with -?- can still be seen in Ngandi, because we find a root without -?- somewhere in the language corresponding to a class 1 root with -?-. One rather unusual example of this is the paradigm of -yima- 'to do/think/say like that' (9.22). However, the most productive thematisation with -?- involves kin terms. Any kin term K can be converted into a transitive verb

meaning 'to call K'. An example: ṅaguni-yaṅuñja-? (or, with full inflection, ṅaguni-yaṅuñja-?-ḍu-ni) 'He calls me yaṅuñja'.

So far as I know, in all class 1 stems the -ḍu- is clearly a segmentable suffix. The evidence for this segmentability is the following: (a) the -ḍu- is missing from the uninflected 'root form' (9.5); (b) the -ḍu- is missing from certain combinations with derivational suffixes like Reciprocal -yḍi- (allomorph -woyḍi- with this class); (c) in reduplications only the root without -ḍu- is repeated (3.2).

In class 2 the situation is a little more difficult. There is a Thematising Augment -ḍa- which is similar to class 1 -ḍu- in some respects. However, some class 2 stems appear not to contain -ḍa-, or if they do they show it in a frozen and unrecognisable form. For example, class 2 includes a handful of denominatives like goḷča- 'to poison fish' from goḷč 'tree sp.'. It is conceivable that the stem is a reflex of \*goḷč-ḍa- etymologically, but synchronically such a base-form cannot be justified. Furthermore, there are other similar stems like -bača- 'to hit' which are not related to any nonverbal stems. In the case of class 2 stems ending in ṭa, e.g. warṭa- 'to make a fire', an etymology such as \*wart-ḍa- is conceivable, but there is no solid reason for a synchronic morpheme boundary in the middle of the stem.

In the class 2 types just mentioned, the \*-ḍa- (if present etymologically) is no longer segmentable because: (a) no root form without \*-ḍa- occurs; (b) no forms exist lacking \*-ḍa- when derivational suffixes are added; and (c) the \*-ḍa- is included in reduplications.

However, in several class 2 stems it is possible to segment an ending -ḍa- on the basis of criteria (a) and (c). For some stems, such as ṛam-ḍa- 'to spear' and ḍar?-ḍa- 'to spear', the reduplication (ṛam?-ṛam-ḍa-, ḍar?-ḍar?-ḍa-) is the only evidence for this segmentation, since root forms do not occur. For others, such as geyk-ḍa- 'to throw', not only do we get a reduplication without -ḍa- (geyk-geyk-ḍa-) but we also get a root form (geyk). In the types ṛam-ḍa- and geyk-ḍa-, I will show the morpheme break in transcriptions, while for the type goḷča- described above no segmentation will be shown in transcriptions.

The semantics of \*-ḍa- and -ḍu- in Ngandi are not easy to pin down, but some observations can be made. Class 2 stems are mostly transitives describing physical manipulation of an object, and even the few class 2 intransitives conform to this pattern (e.g. warṭa- 'to build a fire'). Class 1 stems, which are much more numerous, are more diverse semantically.

### 9.5 ROOT FORMS

All class 1 stems, and some class 2 stems in -ḍa-, have an uninflected 'root form' without the Thematising Augment -ḍu- or -ḍa- or any other suffixes.

The root form is not explicitly connected with any particular tense or aspect, although it appears that it cannot be used in semantically Negative contexts. The root form is therefore a neutralised verb, used when tense and aspect are unimportant or predictable from context.

Root forms are common in discourse sections where the tense is held constant, so that not every verb needs to be explicitly marked for tense. Many examples of this can be found in the texts, e.g. gu-gaḷak for gu-gaḷak-ḍu-ni in Text 2.12, bargu-wiri? for bargu-wiri?-ḍu-ni in Text 3.1, and ṅara-geyk for ṅara-geyk-ḍa-ni in Text 4.2.

Sometimes even a Causative suffix is dropped in forming a root form, as in baru-ga-ḍul? in Text 1.9, which can only be an abbreviation of baru-ga-ḍul?-gube-re 'They lit it' with Causative -guba- (9.6) because of the transitive pronominal prefix.

By definition, root forms in Ngandi are suffixless. On occasion they also drop what would otherwise be a nonzero pronominal prefix. Usually this is avoided, because it can lead to confusion with the true Ø- pronominal prefix (e.g. 3FSg/NA → 3FSg/NA). Nevertheless, examples of root forms such as geyk 'throw' occur in my texts where a nonzero prefix is expected.

The omission of prefixes is particularly uncommon when the inflectional suffixes are used, but examples like geyk-ḍa-ni 'throws' where a nonzero pronominal prefix was expected occurred two or three times in my textual corpus. Omission of suffixes was far more common than omission of pronominal prefixes.

There are two or three suppletive root forms for important verb stems in classes which do not permit the usual root form. Examples are baṭ, related to -ma- 'to get, to pick up', and bap, related to -yu- 'to put in'. These are the only two suppletive root forms known to me; both occur also in Ritharngu. They seem to be always used in totally uninflected state; no pronominal prefixes can be added.

### 9.6 CAUSATIVE -guba-

The Causative suffix is -guba- after consonants, and -n?guba- after vowels. The element -n?- in the extended allomorph may be related in an obscure way to a similar nominalising suffix (13.6). An example: ṅanu-waki-n?guba-ṛaṅ 'I will make him go back'.

Causative forms are, of course, transitive, and the surface object is the underlying intransitive or transitive subject of the embedded clause. Very few examples with underlying transitive embedded clauses are attested, but we can quote ṅanu-ṅu-ṭin?gubu-ṅ 'I made him eat (it)'. (The -ṭi- in -ṭin?gubu- is an increment characteristic of this verb stem.)

The Causative of yima- 'to do/think/say like that' is yimi-n?guba-. The usual meaning of this is not 'to cause to do/think/say like that', but rather 'to do/say like that to (someone)'. Semantically, this is not a Causative at all; instead of a superimposed causal agent the additional NP here is an object, and the subject of the Causative verb is the subject of the 'embedded' clause (which is really not embedded at all here). Example: ṅanu-yimi-n?gubu-ṅ 'I told him; I did it to him'.

Verbs ending in the Causative suffix are treated as class 4b stems (9.13) for purposes of inflection.

It is possible to form a Reflexive or Reciprocal from a Causative, but not vice versa. The Reflexive form is -gub-i-, the Reciprocal is -guba-yđi-.

#### 9.7 DIRECTIONAL -guṭa-

The only other transitivity suffix is -guṭa-. There are only two examples in the data: buruburu?-guṭa- 'to become close to' (Text 6.5) and bu|?bu|-guṭa- 'to sneak up camouflaged to' (Text 6.5). The addition of -guṭa- converts an underlying intransitive of motion or position into a transitive with the object referring to a semantically Allative entity. The intransitive forms for these two examples are buruburu?-đi- (with Inchoative Verbaliser -ṭi-) and bu|?bu|-đu (class 1).

-guṭa- forms verbs of class 2; for its inflectional suffixes cf. (9.11).

From -guṭa- we can form Reflexive -guṭ-i- and Reciprocal -guṭa-yđi- or -guṭa-ywoyđi-. It is not possible to form a Directional derivative from a Reflexive or Reciprocal base.

#### 9.8 REFLEXIVE -i-, -yi-

The suffix which I call the Reflexive usually takes the form -i-, absorbing the stem-final vowel, but has an allomorph -yi- after all CV- stems with which it is attested. It may be added to Causative -(n?)guba-, producing -(n?)gub-i- as in yiliwoṅ-gub-i- 'to cause oneself to open up'. No reverse combinations, with the Causative suffix following the Reflexive, are attested. My efforts to elicit such a combination led to the following paraphrase:

naya-ṭu	ṅanu-yimi-n?gubu-ṅ	ṅi-ja-laṅ-ḍak-đ-i-ñ.
I-Erg	I did it to him	he consequently cut himself

'I made him cut himself.'

In addition to the true Reflexive sense, where an underlying transitive verb has the same NP as subject and object, this suffix also has mediopassive uses indicating that the underlying subject is indefinite or contextually unimportant. Therefore ḍak-đ-i- can mean 'to cut oneself', but also 'to become cut'.

In one or two instances, Reflexive -i- is not semantically reflexive at all. Rather than indicating coreferentiality of subject and object, it indicates indefinite or unspecified object. The only clear example is ḍa:-b-i- 'to try, to make an effort' from ḍa:-bu- 'to test, to taste, to try out'. This unspecified-object sense of the Reflexive suffix is similar to antipassivisation rules in some languages, e.g. the 'false' reflexive in Dyirbal (Dixon 1972).

Reflexive -i- or -yi- is followed by inflectional suffixes of class 3a.

As noted in preceding sections, it is possible to form a Reflexive derivative from a Causative or Directional base, but one cannot build

a Causative or Directional derivative from a Reflexive base (e.g. one can say 'I caused myself to fall' but not 'He caused me to kill myself' with a single verb form). In addition, in combinations of Reflexive -i- with Benefactive prefix -bak- (8.8), this is interpreted as the Reflexive of a Benefactive (not the Benefactive of a Reflexive): ṅa-bak-ḍak-đ-i-ñ 'I cut (it) for myself' is possible, while \*ṅanu-bak-ḍak-đ-i-ñ 'I cut myself for him' is ungrammatical. In other words, the Reflexive can be applied to derived as well as underlying transitives of any sort, but a Reflexive form cannot itself be transitivised.

#### 9.9 RECIPROCAL -yđi-, ETC.

The Reciprocal suffix has a simple form -yđi-, and extended allomorphs -wayđi- and -ywoyđi- (see paradigms below). -wayđi- is the post-consonantal allomorph, but the distribution of -yđi- and -ywoyđi- is not entirely predictable and *ad hoc* features for each class or even each stem must be used to decide between them. Verbs ending in this suffix have class 3a inflectional endings.

No examples of the Reciprocal added to a Causative verb could be obtained.

A Reciprocal example: ba-bu-yđi-ni 'They hit each other; They fought'.

As with the Reflexive (9.8), the Reciprocal can be used to intransitivise any underlying or derived transitive (e.g. Causative, Directional, Benefactive), but cannot itself be transitivised. The Benefactive-Reciprocal combination can only be interpreted as the Reciprocal of the Benefactive (not vice versa), hence ba-bak-ḍak-wayđi-ñ 'They cut (it) for each other'.

#### 9.10 CLASS 1

In this and the following sections paradigmatic information will be presented for each identifiable verb class and each irregular verb. In many verb forms it is rather difficult to decide where the morpheme boundary occurs, what the exact underlying form of the suffix is, and so forth. Therefore I have normalised transcriptions to some extent, so that if the verb stem is CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>2</sub>- I have put the hyphen after the second vowel even when it has undergone a change in quality (i.e. to CV<sub>1</sub>CV<sub>3</sub>-). The only exception is that I hyphenate forms like CV<sub>1</sub>C-V<sub>3</sub> when the suffix consists solely of -V<sub>3</sub> (this applies to PPun -i). Thus for 'to hit' I write bača-ni, bači-č-, etc., but bač-i.

Class 1 verbs have a Thematizing Augment -đu- which is used in all inflected and some derivational forms, as shown in Table 9-1.

Reduplication is Type C in nearly all cases (3.2). Example: ḍak-ḍak-đu-.

For the special negative form in -gura cf. (9.23).

This is by far the largest verb class in the language.

TABLE 9-1 — Class 1 (ɖak-ɖu- 'to cut',  
wa|k-ɖu- 'to enter')

ɖak-ɖ-i	PPun (Past Punctual)
ɖak-ɖu-ŋi	PCon (Past Continuous)
ɖak-ɖu-ni	Pr (Present)
ɖak-ɖu-ŋ	Fut (Future)
ɖak-ɖu-ŋan	Pot (Potential)
ɖak-ɖu-∅	Evit (Evitative)
ɖak-ɖi-č	Neg (Negative)
ɖak-wayɖi-	Recip (Reciprocal)
ɖak-ɖ-i-	Refl (Reflexive)
wa -kuba-	Caus (Causative)

9.11 CLASS 2

Class 2 consists of about eighteen stems, and also forms of the Directional suffix -guɖa- (9.7). The stems can be divided into two main groups, one where a Thematising Augment -ɖa- is either clearly segmentable or at most semi-frozen, and another where no such element can be segmented though it may be present etymologically in frozen form. The two types show different reduplication patterns — the first shows Type C and the second Type A (3.2). Examples of reduplication: yowk-yowk-ɖa- 'to paint, to rub on' (Type C), golja-golja- (from golča-, cf. 3.5) 'to poison fish' (Type A). Two of the latter type are denominatives: golča- 'to poison fish' from golč 'tree sp.'; worča- 'to urinate' from worč 'urine'. Irregular Type C reduplication is shown by ɖam-ɖa- 'to spear': Rdp ɖam?-ɖam-ɖa-.

The paradigm of class 2 is shown in Table 9-2. Note that there are two possible Recip forms.

Table 9-2 — Class 2 (ɖam-ɖa- 'to spear',  
balaɖa- 'to put on the side')

ɖam-ɖ-i	PPun
ɖam-ɖa-ŋi	PCon
ɖam-ɖa-ni	Pr
ɖam-ɖa-ŋ	Fut
ɖam-ɖa-ŋan	Pot
ɖam-ɖa-∅	Evit
ɖam-ɖi-č-	Neg
ɖam-ɖa-yɖi-	Recip
ɖam-ɖa-ywoyɖi-	
ɖam-ɖ-i-	Refl
balaɖi-n?guba-	Caus

9.12 CLASS 3

Class 3a includes all stems which end in i in the transcription I use. Some other classes, such as 4, consist of stems which show variable final vowel on the surface, and could be taken as showing underlying final /i/, but I write them with other final vowels in dictionary entries. Most 3a stems are complex verbs which end in Reciprocal -yɖi-, Reflexive -i-, or Inchoative Verbaliser -ɖi-. There are also a few simple stems in class 3a: waki- 'to return' (Nunggubuyu -a:gi-); wati- 'to die'; munbi- 'to do for good'; maki- 'to tell the truth' (perhaps an irregular denominative from ma:k 'good'); waɖi- 'to take back'; guñjiki- 'to be afraid'; ŋaki- 'to be burning'. Both ŋaki- and its Nunggubuyu cognate, -nagi-, are irregular Reflexives from \*-na- 'to burn (trans.)' (Ngandi -ŋa-, Nunggubuyu -na-).

Class 3b contains one stem, guɖe- 'to go hunting'. Its paradigm is similar to that of 3a, except that the Future form has suffix -n instead of -ŋ. guɖe- also appears to lack a PPun form; an attempt was made to elicit such a form, but this failed, probably because 'to go hunting' is a basically durative activity and thus not amenable to taking the Punctual aspect.

Table 9-3 — Class 3 (3a waki- 'to return',  
3b guɖe- 'to go hunting')

waki-ñ	?	PPun
waki-ni	guɖe-ni	PCon
waki-na	guɖe-na	Pr
waki-ŋ	guɖe-n	Fut
waki-ŋun	guɖe-ŋun	Pot
waki-∅	guɖe-∅	Evit
waki-č-	guɖe-č-	Neg
waki-n?guba-	?	Caus

No Reciprocal or Reflexive forms are attested for either 3a or 3b; in nearly all instances such forms would be impossible for semantic reasons. Reduplications of simple class 3 stems are normally of Type A (3.2), e.g. wadi-wadi- (from wati-). Derived class 3 verbs take the reduplicative pattern appropriate to the verb (or noun) class of the underived stem.

9.13 CLASS 4

This is a relatively small class of about eight simple stems, plus forms ending in Causative -guba-. The final vowel is variable: -gubi-ɖi (or -gube-ɖe), -gubu-ŋ, -guba-na, etc. It would be possible to account for this by setting up suffix base forms like /-iɖi/, /-uŋ/, and /-ana/, but this is not very satisfactory since some of the suffixes in question are attested elsewhere with base forms lacking the initial vowel: /-ɖi/, /-na/, etc. It seems better to take the

vowel changes as due to irregular Vowel-Harmony and various other irregular morphophonemic processes. In dictionary entries and citation forms I will write the stem-final vowel as a rather than i or u, hence -guba-, etc. This is as good as any other transcription, and is probably correct historically in view of Nunggubuyu data.

There are two subclasses, 4a with PPun -(i)ñ and 4b with PPun -(u)ŋ. 4a includes the verbs warjaka- 'to make a mistake' (irregular denominative from warjak 'bad'); maka- 'to call' (Nunggubuyu -maga- 'to tell'); qorka- 'to break off'; yeleka- 'to make a hole' (irregular denominative from yele 'hole'); benqa- 'to step on' (Nunggubuyu -wanqa-). In addition to Causative -guba-, 4b includes gopa- 'to keep'; nima- 'to hold' (Nunggubuyu -nima-); and go?ma- 'to show (up)' (possibly containing go? 'eye', cf. Ritharngu mi:l-gurupu- 'eye-give', i.e. 'to show to').

Table 9-4 - Class 4 (4a benqa- 'to step on',  
4b nima- 'to hold')

benqi-ñ	ñimu-ŋ	PPun
benqi-ri	ñimi-ri	PCon <sup>1</sup>
benqa-na	ñima-na	Pr
benqa-rŋ	ñima-rŋ	Fut
benqi-ni	ñimi-ni	Pot
benqi-∅	ñimi-∅	Evit
benqi-č-	ñimi-č-	Neg
benqa-ywoygi-	ñima-ygi-	Recip
benqi-i-	ñim-i-	Ref1

The paradigms are shown in Table 9-4. No Causative derivatives of simple 4a or 4b stems are attested. The Evit forms could also be written benqi-i and ñim-i, depending on whether we take the suffix as -∅ (as in most other classes, with an *ad hoc* morphophonemic rule changing the stem-final vowel to i) or as -i.

Reduplication is of Type A (3.2): ñimi-ñimi-ri (PCon), etc.

#### 9.14 CLASS 5

This class consists of a few stems ending in a : rukba- 'to fall'; buqa- 'to rush along'; yika- 'to apply oneself to'; galka- 'to sneak up to'; and ga- 'to carry'. The last of these occurs both as a main verb and in a few auxiliary constructions (9.3).

The paradigm appears in Table 9-5. There is an obligatory and rather frozen augment -n- in the PCon, Pr, and Pot, and one could perhaps think of an underlying augment /-n-/ which is deleted by phonological rules before PPun -ŋ, Fut -n, and possibly Caus -n?guba-.

<sup>1</sup>For Causative -guba- the PCon form is either -gubi-ri or -gube-re. The former was preferred by Sandy, the latter by Sam.

The inflectional suffixes are similar to those used with the CV- stems described in (9.16), which however lack the augment -n-.

Reduplication is usually of Type A (3.2): rukba-rukba-, yiga-yiga- from yika-, etc. However, the CV- stem -ga- shows irregularities: PCon -gan?-ga-n-di, Fut -gan?-ga-n, Neg -gač-ga-č-.

Table 9-5 - Class 5 (buqa- 'to rush along',  
galka- 'to sneak up to')

buqa-ŋ	PPun
buqa-n-di	PCon
buqa-n-jini	Pr
buqa-n	Fut
buqa-n-jan	Pot
buqa-yi	Evit
buqa-č-	Neg
galka-ywoygi-	Recip
buqa-n?guba-	Caus

#### 9.15 CLASS 6

Aside from class 1 stems with -du-, there are only a few verbs which clearly have stem-final u. There are five such verbs of more than one syllable, and one of these (ruqu- 'to go', cf. 9.21) contains a frozen \*-du- and therefore belongs historically with class 1. The other four non-monosyllabic stems in u form class 6. Class 6a consists of jarpaqu- 'to poke'; garu- 'to chase'; and buru- 'to smell'. The fourth stem, waqu- 'to abandon' shows some special forms and is assigned to class 6b.

The paradigms are shown in Table 9-6. No Causatives are attested. Reduplication is Type A (3.2): buru-buru-; waqu-waqu- (from waqu-).

Table 9-6 - Class 6 (6a buru- 'to smell',  
6a garu- 'to chase', 6b waqu-  
'to abandon')

bur-i	waqi-ñ	PPun
buru-ŋi	waqu-ŋi, waqu-ri	Pcon
buru-ni	waqu-ni	Pr
buru-ŋ	waqu-rŋ	Fut
buru-ŋan	waqu-ŋan	Pot
buru-∅	waqu-∅	Evit
bur-i-č-	waqi-č-	Neg
garu-woygi-	?	Recip
bur-i-	?	Ref1

9.16 IRREGULAR VERBS ɲa-, ɲa- ('to see'), ɲu-, wo-

In this and the following sections are paradigms of the irregular verbs — those which do not fit into any of the previously mentioned classes — found in Ngandi. Usually the irregular verbs show some paradigmatic affinities to one or another of the productive classes, or to other irregular verbs. It should also be mentioned that all monosyllabic stems with the single exception of ga- 'to carry' (class 5) are irregular, and even ga- departs from the normal class 5 pattern of reduplications (9.14).

In this section we will deal with ɲa- 'to hear', ɲa- 'to see' (distinct from ɲa- 'to burn'), ɲu- 'to eat', and wo- 'to give'. The basic inflectional forms are shown in Table 9-7.

Attested reduplications are these: (a) for 'to hear' Fut ɲana-ɲa-n; for 'to see' PCon ɲani-ɲa-ni, Pr ɲaji-ɲa-jini, Fut ɲana-ɲa-n, PNeg ɲaji-ɲa-j-ič (from ɲa-č-ič), FutNeg ɲaji-ɲa-j-i, PrNeg ɲač-ɲa-č-may?; for 'to eat' PCon ɲuni-ɲu-ni, Pr ɲuji-ɲu-jini, PNeg ɲudi-ɲu-dič-ič; for 'to give' Pr woji-wo-jini, PNeg woji-wo-j-ič, PrNeg woč-wo-č-may?. The unreduplicated Neg forms based on the Neg stem in -č- will be described below (9.23). In general, reduplications of these verbs belong to Type A (3.2) with a few twists.

Table 9-7 — ɲa-, ɲa- ('to see'), ɲu-, wo-

'hear'	'see'	'eat'	'give'	
ɲa-ɲ	ɲa-y	ɲo-ɲ	wo-y	PPun
ɲa-ni	ɲa-ni	ɲu-ni	wo-ni	PCon
ɲa-čini	ɲa-čini	ɲu-čini	wo-čini	Pr
ɲa-n	ɲa-n	ɲu-nuɲ	wo-nuɲ	Fut
ɲa-čan	ɲa-čan	ɲu-čan	wo-čan	Pot
ɲa-yi	ɲa-yi	ɲu-yi	wo-yi	Evit
ɲa-č-	ɲa-č-	ɲu-tič-	wo-č-	Neg
ɲa-ydi-	ɲa-ydi-	ɲu-ti-	wo-ydi-	Recip
ɲa-yi-	ɲa-yi-	?	?	Refl
?	?	ɲu-tin?guba-	?	Caus

The PPun form -ɲo-ɲ for 'to eat' was heard as -ɲu-ɲ in the compound -bun-ɲu- (PPun -bun-ɲu-ɲ) 'to drink'.

9.17 IRREGULAR VERBS ma-, do-

The paradigms of ma- 'to pick up, to get' and do- 'to chop, to cut down' are shown in Table 9-8. Attested reduplications are: for 'to pick up' PCon maɲi-ma-ɲi, Pr mani-ma-ni, Fut miya-mi-yaɲ, PNeg mač-ma-j-ič; for 'to chop' PCon doɲi-do-ɲi, Fut do-do-ɲ. For the most part these are similar to reduplications of the verbs described in (9.16).

Table 9-8 — ma-, do-

'pick up'	'chop'	
ma-y	do-ɲ	PPun
ma-ɲi	do-ɲi	PCon
ma-ni	do-ni	Pr
mi-yaɲ	do-ɲ	Fut
ma-ɲan	do-ɲan	Pot
ma-yi	do-yi	Evit
ma-č-	do-č-	Neg
ma-ydi-	?	Recip
?	?	Refl
?	?	Caus

9.18 yu- ('to put on'), ba-, ɲa- ('to burn')

The stems ba- 'to bite' and ɲa- 'to burn' appear to have identical paradigms. The paradigm of yu- 'to put on' (distinct from yu- 'to sleep', cf. 9.20) has the same inflectional suffixes, but shows an alternation of yu- and yo- in the stem. The paradigms of ba- and yu- are shown in Table 9-9.

Attested reduplications are: for 'to bite' PCon baɲi-ba-ɲi, Recip baɲa-ba-ɲaydi-; for 'to put on' PCon yuɲi?-yu-ɲi. No reduplications of ɲa- are attested. Note that ba- shows Type A reduplication while yu- shows Type B (3.2).

Table 9-9 — yu- ('to put on'), ba-

'put on'	'bite'	
yu-ɲ	ba-ɲ	PPun
yu-ɲi	ba-ɲi	PCon
yo-ɲana	ba-ɲana	Pr
yi-yaɲ	bi-yaɲ	Fut
yo-ɲini	ba-ɲini	Pot
yo-ɲi	ba-ɲi	Evit
yo-ɲič-	ba-ɲič-	Neg
?	ba-ɲaydi-	Recip
?	ba-ɲi-	Refl
?	?	Caus

9.19 bu-

The important stem bu- 'to hit, to kill' has the paradigm shown in Table 9-10. The Refl form is missing, since bu- is supplanted by the

synonymous stem bača- (class 2) before Refl -i- (but not Recip -yǰi-).

bu- is used not only as a main verb but also as an auxiliary with various initial elements (9.3). In such constructions the PPun form is -bo-m- with short vowel rather than \*-bo:-m (3.8). In compounds (not including auxiliary constructions) bu- is supplented by bača-, as in maṛ-bača- 'to hit on the hand'.

Table 9-10 - bu-

'hit'	
bo:-m	PPun
bu-ni	PCon
bu-mana	Pr
bu-nuṅ	Fut
bo-mini	Pot
bu-yi	Evit
bu-yǰi-	Recip
?	Caus

9.20 yu- ('to sleep'), ṅu-, ǰu- ('to stand')

The three verbs yu- 'to sleep', ṅu- 'to sit', and ǰu- 'to stand' have similar paradigms. There appear to be no real differences between the paradigms of ṅu- and ǰu-. However, yu- shows a different Pot allomorph, and also shows a different stem vowel in some forms. Because of the variable final stem-final vowels in all three stems, the choice of u in citation forms is arbitrary. It would be possible, for example, to set up the base forms as /yo-/, /ṅi-/, and /ǰi-/.

As an independent verb, ǰu- is usually attested in the combination jaka-ǰu- (cf. Ritharngu jaka 'long, tall'). Occasionally the simplex is found, but more often it is restricted to auxiliary constructions (9.3).

The paradigms are shown in Table 9-11. The base forms for the first two PCon forms are probably best taken as /jaka-ǰi-y/ and /ṅi-y/, parallel to yo-y.

9.21 ruḍu-

The verb ruḍu- 'to go' is probably a frozen combination of a stem \*rV-, whose vowel assimilates to that of the following syllable (cf. P-15 in 3.8), and Thematising Augment \*-ǰu- found in class 1 stems. Synchronically, such an analysis is indefensible, since there is no root form without the \*-ǰu- and since reduplication is not of Type C (3.2) as is usual with class 1 stems.

The paradigm is shown in Table 9-12. The most common reduplicated forms are Type A (3.2), with loss of the medial /r/. However, the less common reduplicated forms do not show this R-Deletion. The attested

forms are: PCon ruḍu-ǰu-ṅi, Pr ruḍu-ǰu-ni, Pot ruḍu-ruḍu-ṅan, Evit ruḍu-ǰu-∅, and Neg riḍi-riḍi-č-.

In the adjacent languages the clearest cognate is Warndarang -ra- 'to go'.

Table 9-11 - jaka-ǰu- ('to stand'), ṅu-, yu- ('to sleep')

'stand'	'sit'	'sleep'	
jaka-ǰi-ṅiñ	ṅi-ṅiñ	yo-ṅiñ	PPun
jaka-ǰ-i	ṅ-i:	yo-y	PCon
jaka-ǰu-ǰa	ṅu-ǰa	yu-ǰa	Pr
jaka-ǰi-ñan	ṅi-ñan	yi-ñan	Fut
jaka-ǰo-ṛow	ṅo-ṛow	yo-ṅini	Pot
jaka-ǰi-ṅi	ṅi-ṅi	yo-ṅi	Evit
jaka-ǰi-ṅič-	ṅi-ṅič-	yo-ṅič-	Neg
?	?	?	Recip
?	?	?	Refl
jaka-ǰi-n?guba-	?	?	Caus

Table 9-12 - ruḍu-

'go'	
riḍ-i	PPun
ruḍu-ṅi	PCon
ruḍu-ni	Pr
ruḍu-ṅ	Fut
ruḍu-ṅan	Pot
ruḍu-∅	Evit
riḍi-č-	Neg
?	Recip
?	Refl
?	Caus

9.22 yima-

The stem yima- 'to do/think/say like that' is one of the most unusual in the language. In effect, its paradigm is that of a regular stem of class 4a which is then converted into a class 1 verb except in the Neg forms. This conversion is accomplished by adding -?- to form a class 1 root, and if additional (pleonastic) inflectional suffixes are added the Thematising Augment -ǰu- of class 1 must be present.

For example, the PPun form is yimi-ñ-?(ǰ-i). This contains



yimi-ñ-, the regular PPun of class 4a, plus obligatory -? indicating that the stem yimi-ñ-? is a class 1 root (9.4). The regular class 1 PPun ending -d-i (Thematising Augment -du-, PPun -i) is then optionally added. The simpler form yimi-ñ-? is formally a class 1 root form (9.5). The PCon form is yimi-ri-?(-du-ŋi), the Pr yima-na-?(-du-ni), and so forth. The Neg form, however, is yimi-č- without any overlay of class 1 morphemes.

Reduplication is of Type B (3.2): PCon yimi?-yimi-ri-?(-du-ŋi), etc.

### 9.23 NEGATIVE FORMS

The form labelled Neg in the various paradigms presented above is a Negative stem which is always followed by a suffix. In this section I will deal with the regular inflectional Neg forms. In the following section (9.24) I will discuss a special 'go and do' derivative formation which is also based on the Neg stem.

The most common inflectional forms are these:

Neg plus -ič	PNeg
Neg plus -may?	PrNeg
Neg plus -i	FutNeg

Examples: ŋa-riđi-č-ič 'I did not go'; ŋa-riđi-č-may? 'I am not going'; ŋa-riđi-č-i 'I will not go'. There is no aspectual opposition Pun/Con in the Past Negative (PNeg).

In class 1 forms it is possible to omit the sequence -đi-č- in the PrNeg form only: Pneg ŋaŋa-đak-đi-j-ič 'I did not cut it', FutNeg ŋaŋa-đak-đi-j-i, but PrNeg ŋaŋa-đak-đi-č-may? or ŋaŋa-đak-may?. Note the lenition of /-č-/ to -j- in these PNeg and FutNeg forms by P-8 (3.5).

The PrNeg morpheme has a base form /-?may?/ which can be seen more clearly when it is added to nouns (10.3). The initial /?/ is subject to ?-Deletion rules (3.6).

Neg forms of the Pot did not occur in the texts. With some difficulty a PotNeg form was obtained by elicitation: ŋima-ŋu-đij-i-ŋo-ŋow 'He was not going to eat it'. This unusual form contains the ordinary FutNeg verb ŋima-ŋu-đij-i 'He will not eat it', to which is attached the Pot form of the verb ŋu- 'to sit'. Evidently -ŋu- is here functioning as a specialised auxiliary and does not retain its lexical meaning.

The FutNeg form is also used as the negative of the Evit. However, the EvitNeg can be distinguished from the FutNeg by the occurrence of the noninitial prefix -mili?- with the former: ŋa-mili?-riđi-č-i 'lest I not go', cf. ŋa-riđi-č-i 'I will not go'.

A very few examples are attested of a special negative form -gura. The examples are with class 1 stems, with -gura being added directly to the root, as in bargu-maŋiñ?-gura 'They cannot make it' in Text 11.15. It appears that -gura is semantically identical to the regular FutNeg form in (-đi)-č-i (bargu-maŋiñ?-đi-j-i).

For an interesting (apparent) 'exception' to the rules for forming negative verbs see Text 12.100 and the accompanying footnote.

### 9.24 'GO AND DO' FORMS

By adding the suffix -bi- to the Neg stem, a derivative verb of class 3a meaning 'to go and do' is created. An example: ŋanu-ŋa-č-bi-ŋ 'I will go and see him' (cf. ŋanu-ŋa-n 'I will see him'). Such forms are rare — there are no examples at all in my texts (totalling over two hours), and only one spontaneously-given example in elicited sentence-translations. Additional paradigmatic forms verifying that this type is in class 3a were obtained in controlled elicitation sessions.

### 9.25 ANALYSIS OF THE PARADIGMS

Many inflectional and derivational suffixes appear in a short form and one or more extended forms. In such instances it is possible to isolate basic invariable suffixal elements running through several or all paradigms, and one or more meaningless initial increments. By comparing Pot allomorphs -ni, -mini, and -ŋini, for example, we can isolate the basic Pot element as -ni and take -mV- and -ŋV- as increments.

These increments are associated simultaneously with particular paradigms and with particular suffixes. However, some are associated primarily with a suffix, and occur in two or more paradigms with that suffix but not with other suffixes. Others are associated primarily with one or more paradigms, and occur before several suffixes in these but not in other paradigms.

The best examples of the first type of increment are these: -n?- in the postvocalic allomorph -n?guba- of the Caus suffix (postconsonantly -guba-); -ywo- and -wa- before Recip -yđi- in several paradigms.

The best examples of the second type are these: -mV- with -bu- (9.10) in bu-mana (bu-ma-na) and bu-mini (bu-mi-ni); -ŋV- with yu- 'to put on' and others (9.18) in yo-ŋana (yo-ŋa-na), yo-ŋini (yo-ŋi-ni), etc.; a different -ŋV- with (jaka)-du- and others (9.20) in -đi-ŋiñ (-đi-ŋi-ñ), -đi-ŋi (/ -đi-ŋV-i/), etc.; -rV- with class 4 (9.13) in Fut -raŋ (-ra-ŋ) and possibly PCon -ri (/ -ri-y/), cf. also -ri with yu- 'to put on' and so forth (9.18); -đV- with ŋu- (9.16) in ŋu-đi-č- (ŋu-đi-č-) and ŋu-đin?guba- (ŋu-đi-n?guba-).

Some class 5 forms seem to have two increments, a stem-augment -n- and a preinflectional increment -jV-, as in Pr -n-jini (-n-ji-ni) and Pot -n-jan (-n-ja-n). This -jV- matches -čV- in corresponding forms of ŋa- and other monosyllabic stems (9.16), e.g. Pr -čini (-či-ni). Underlying /č/ becomes j after nasals by P-6.

Certain Fut allomorphs consist of the usual Fut suffix -ŋ preceded by otherwise unattested increments: -nuŋ with ŋu-, wo-, and bu- (9.16, 9.19); -yaŋ with ma-, yu- 'to put on', etc. (9.17, 9.18); -ñŋ with yu- 'to sleep' and others (9.20). It is possible that -ñŋ (-ñŋ-ŋ) is related to -ŋV-, also attested with yu- 'to sleep' and the

others, by an irregular 'palatalisation' rule; note that the preceding stem takes a form with final *i* before -ñaŋ, and that the environment *i*\_\_a is the classic one for palatalisation of velars.

The status of -yaŋ (-ya-ŋ) is somewhat less clear. On the one hand, we could correlate -ya- here with the increment -rV- noted above, occurring with *yu-* 'to put on' (but not with *ma-*). Since *yu-* and *ma-* take stem-forms *yi-* and *mi-* before -ya-ŋ, the phonological rule needed to connect -rV- with -ya- is /iŋa/ → *iya*. For a parallel cf. pronominal prefix *ŋiya-* from /ni-ŋa-/ (7.2).

On the other hand, we might correlate -ya- in -yaŋ with an increment -yV- which can be isolated in Evit allomorph -yi (/yV-i/) and Refl -yi- (/yV-i-/) found with class 5, ŋa- and others (9.16), ma- and *go-* (9.17), and *bu-* (9.19). This combination is parallel to Evit -ŋi (/ŋV-i/) and Refl -ŋi- (/ŋV-i-/) with various irregular verbs (9.18, 9.20). These examples of -yV- are not preceded by stem-final *i*, so a correlation with -rV- is phonologically problematic and could only be justified by assuming various analogical developments. In sum, we have an increment -rV- and another increment -yV- which appear difficult to correlate with each other, along with -ya- in Fut -ya-ŋ which could plausibly be correlated with either of these.

The common Pot allomorphs, -ŋan and -ŋun, are also possible candidates for segmentation as -ŋa-n and -ŋu-n. There seems to be no good distributional reason for connecting -ŋa- and -ŋu- here with the increment(s) of the form -ŋV- noted above. It is possible that -ŋa- and -ŋu- have some connection instead with Fut -ŋ, and/or that -n in -ŋa-n and -ŋu-n is connected with Fut allomorph -n.

It is obvious that the system of increments in Ngandi is synchronically messy, and many of the combinations of increment plus suffix are best taken synchronically as frozen or semi-frozen units.

By omitting obvious increments, the set of Ngandi suffix allomorphs is reduced. The following list of inflectional suffix allomorphs includes some which are possibly, but not definitely, composite:

PPun	-i, -ñ, -y, -ŋ, -m
PCon	-ŋi, -ni, -ri (/ri-y/?), -ndi, -y
Pr	-ni, -na, -da
Fut	-ŋ, -n
Pot	-ŋan, (/ŋa-n/?), -ŋun (/ŋu-n/?), -row, -ni, -n
Evit	-∅, -yi, -i
Neg	-ç-

#### 9.26 THE MEANING OF THE SUFFIX CATEGORIES

The tense-mood distinctions in the negative are essentially a subset of those in the positive (PPun, PCon, Pr, Fut, Pot, Evit), so a description of the usage of the latter categories will suffice.

The PPun and PCon describe past events and situations. Since both are quite common, it is difficult to decide which of the two is aspectually unmarked, and in any event the difference in relative markedness is slight. In many languages, the PCon form alone can be used in the negative, giving it some claim to being unmarked, but

because the negative forms are unrelated to the positive ones in Ngandi this does not help us.

Several of the early texts in particular deal with formerly habitual activities (rather than specific events) and thus show many examples of the PCon. On the other hand, in Text 10 (a mythological narrative dealing with specified 'events'), we find a more revealing balance between PPun and PCon. We begin with PCon *ŋi-ruḍu-ŋi* 'He was going along', which is explicitly durative here (note the elongation of the following noun *ŋi-yul-yu::ŋ* 'the man' — this device signals prolongation). The first important event is the man's eating an egg; this is put in the PPun (*ŋiya-ja-ŋo-ŋ*, etc.). The serpent then smells (PPun) the man; offended, it comes out (PPun) and kills people (PPun). It goes north (PPun) and continues killing people (PCon twice, then PPun twice) as well as making lightning (PCon). It eats a man (PPun) after appearing (PPun) in front of him. It vomits him out (PPun) and puts him on the ground (PPun). He dies (PPun). The snake comes out (PPun) and goes along (PCon). A man goes along (PCon) and gets (PPun) a pandanus tree. He goes along (PCon, then PPun). The serpent keeps flashing lightning (PCon) and throwing fire (PCon). He hits it (PPun). It throws him away (PPun). (This is a truncated paraphrase of the myth and is offered here only to elucidate aspectual variation, not for its literary brilliance.)

Clearly, PPun is typical for isolable events, PCon for prolonged activities or states. The crux of the markedness problem, however, is how intermediate types are treated. In assessing aspectual markedness I tend to examine the treatment of the verbs meaning 'to go' and 'to eat' (both of which, fortunately, occur in this text), since 'He went' and 'He ate it' in ordinary contexts describe events which are inherently somewhat durative (as opposed to, say, 'to fall down' or 'to hit') but which can be treated as individual events. Languages with punctual/continuous oppositions differ considerably in how 'He went' and 'He ate it' are treated aspectually in ordinary contexts. In Spanish we usually get the punctual (*Se fué, Lo comió*). In Nunggubuyu, the continuous is usual (*ni-ya-ŋgi, niwu-ŋu-ni*). In Ngandi, the PPun is usual for -ŋu- 'to eat' and is on the whole more common than the PCon in unspecialised contexts for -ruḍu- 'to go', although there are several examples of PCon -ruḍu- in the text just cited. Indeed, forms like *ŋi-riḍ-i::* 'He went' (PPun, but with stylistic lengthening of the vowel to indicate prolongation) are frequent in the texts. Cf. Text 12.29 (*barma-ni-ŋo::-ŋ, bari-ga-riḍ-i::*). On the whole, then, I take the PPun as slightly less marked than the PCon (in contrast to the Nunggubuyu situation).

The Pr is used for present tense, and (as in English) can sometimes be extended to prospective events in the immediate future: *ŋa-ja-ruḍu-ni* 'I am going (now, or in a little while)'. The English present perfect is often translated by a past tense form with non-initial prefix -ja- indicating temporal immediacy: *ŋi-ja-riḍ-i* 'He just went; He has gone'.

The Fut is the usual form for future events and situations other than those just described using the Pr form. The Fut can express expected but also potential events: *manga? ŋi-ja-wati-ŋ* 'Maybe (manga?) he will die now; He might die now'. Moreover, the Fut is also the

usual imperative form: ɲu-ja-ɲi-ɲaŋ 'Sit!' (also 'You will sit now').<sup>1</sup> The FutNeg is the corresponding negative form for all these senses, including negative imperative (prohibitive) sentences as in ɲu-ɲi-ɲiɕ-i 'Don't sit!'.

The Pot is used in various past potential senses ('was going to', 'was just about to', 'would have', 'should have'), and occasionally in present potential sense ('should'). As the translations suggest it often involves the notion of duty or obligation (rather than mere capacity). Examples involving the conditional construction are given in (13.3). For textual examples cf. Texts 12.76, 12.77, and 12.89.

The Evit is not easy to define in simple terms. Basically, it indicates a possible situation or event which is unpleasant but can be avoided if appropriate action is taken. It is thus normally found in discourse in connection with another clause (usually preceding the Evit clause) specifying what can be done (or should not be done) to avoid the unpleasant circumstance. The Evit clause is usually translatable as a 'lest' clause in English:

a-ɔ̄angu-yuŋ ɲaɾa-waɲi-j-i, a-waɲu-du aɲa-mili?-ɲu-yi.  
meat I will not leave it dog(Erg) lest it eat it

'I will not leave the meat (here), lest the dog eat it.'

ɲunu-wo-nuŋ, ɲana-mili?-bu-yi.  
give to me lest I hit you

'Give it to me, or else I'll hit you.'

Textual examples of the Evit: Texts 2.27, 8.4, 12.11, 12.45, 12.70 (two examples), 12.71, and 12.72.

The Evit form requires the noninitial prefix -mili?-, so that even in the suffixless root form the Evit nuance can be expressed.

<sup>1</sup>For 'to come' we find a special form -wa used only in imperatives: ɲu-wa 'Come! (Sg)'. There is no stem meaning 'to come' in other inflectional forms, though -ɾuɟu- 'to go' can be translated 'to come' in appropriate contexts (i.e. when an adverb like guɲuɲu? 'to here' is juxtaposed).

## Chapter 10

### OTHER SUFFIXES AND POSTPOSED ELEMENTS

#### 10.1 -pula AND -gapul

In this chapter I will deal with certain suffixes and enclitics which can be added to words of various form-classes. Two of the most important are -pula and -gapul.

It is possible to distinguish two basic functions of -pula. One is to indicate or to emphasise duality. An example where -pula in this sense is redundant, and therefore emphatic, is ɲowoŋi-pula 'we (MDu)'. The unsuffixed pronoun ɲowoŋi is already explicitly MDu. On the other hand, consider ɲer-pula 'we (FDu)', where the pronoun is specified as P1 (including all nonsingular numbers except MDu, hence covering FDu and all 3+ P1). Here the addition of -pula specifies duality, and since the form of the pronoun is P1 rather than MDu it is possible to deduce that the combination as a whole is FDu.

In other contexts as well -pula is partly redundant, partly significant. When added to a MDu noun like bari-yul 'the two men', -pula is redundant and emphatic. However, in an expression like ba-ɔ̄iŋ?-bula 'the two women' -pula again specifies duality while the preceding noun is marked merely as P1. Similarly, with nonhuman nouns -pula is the only way to specify duality: a-ɔ̄irk-bula 'the two rock wallabies'. The simple form a-ɔ̄irk can refer to any number.

-pula can be added to demonstratives: ba-ni?-bula 'these two (FDu)'. It is also sometimes found at the end of verbs. It will be recalled that MDu forms are distinguishable from P1 forms of pronominal prefixes only in intransitive prefixes (reliably) and certain transitive prefixes (unreliably, by adding noninitial prefix -ni-, cf. (8.3)), and of course no explicitly FDu or nonhuman Dual forms occur. The addition of -pula to the verb is therefore often useful as an explicit indication that one of the major nominal constituents of the clause (and of the verb complex) is Dual. Examples: ba-ɾuɟu-ni-pula 'They (FDu) are going'; barguni-ɲa-ni-pula 'He saw them (Du)'; baru-ɲa-ni-pula 'They (Du) saw him'.

As noted earlier (4.6), there are two obligatory objects for some

verbs (e.g. 'to give'), only one of which is specified by the object-marker in the pronominal prefix. There are also many instances when a direct object is not marked in the prefix because Benefactive -bak- has been added, so that the verb's object-marker is reserved for the Benefactive object. In such instances, Dual -pula added to a verb can refer to (a) the subject, (b) the object marked in the pronominal prefix, or (c) the object not marked in the pronominal prefix. An example of the last possibility is this: ɲana-bak-ɾam-da-ŋ-bula 'I speared them both for you (Sg)'. The prefix is ɲana- (1Sg + 2Sg), so neither the subject nor the marked object could possibly be Dual.

In its Dual sense, -pula appears to be always optional even when the pronominal elements in the prefix are semantically Dual.

With pronouns of the 1st person exclusive, -pula can be used either as a Du or Tr element: ɲaka or ɲaka-bula 'we (DuIn)'; ɲorkoŋi or ɲorkoŋi-bula 'we (TrInM)'; ɲorkor 'we (PLIn, including TrInF)' or ɲorkor-bula 'we (TrInF)'.

The other principal use of -pula is as a conjunctive element translatable 'and, along with' - cf. (13.7).

An uncommon Pl or Paucal element -gapul resembles Dual -pula in its use. Examples: ɲer-gapul 'we (PLEx) few'; baru-bu-ni-gapul 'They few hit him'.

#### 10.2 -?ŋiri?, -bugi?

The two suffixes (or postpositions) -?ŋiri? 'also' and -bugi? 'still, only' can be added to a rather broad range of word classes. Example:

barba-gara-gar?-d-i,      ɲi-biŋgu?-bugi?,      ɲi-na-ri      ɲi-wangiŋ?,  
they finished them off      only Biŋgu      that      one

ɲi-ga-ŋu-ɖa,      ɲi-miŋa|awuy-?ŋiri?,      ...      bari-ga-ŋu-ɖa.  
he sits      also Miŋa|awuy      they sit

'They finished (most of) them off. Only that (man) Biŋgu (still) sits (there) - also Miŋa|awuy, ... the two of them sit (there).'

#### 10.3 -?may?

The negative ending -?may? has already been described in its PrNeg function with verbs (9.23). It can also be used as a general Neg element with words of other form-classes. Examples: gu-dawal-?may? 'not a place'; gu-ŋeŋ-ɖu-?may? 'not by means of a stone spear'. In texts, one of my informants frequently corrected himself after letting an English word slip in. An example:

ɲar-ja-juy?-d-i      early fellow-yuŋ,      early fellow-?may?  
we sent (him)

guŋukuwič-uŋ ...  
morning

In Roper Pidgin English *early fellow* means '(early) morning'. In this passage the informant allowed this Pidgin word to slip in, then

indicated that that was the wrong word and gave the correct Ngandi equivalent.

For an interesting example where a fully inflected verb form is negated as a unit by adding -?may? (rather than by changing the verb into its negative stem and then adding -?may?) examine Text 12.100 (and observe the accompanying footnote).

#### 10.4 -?gu?, -kuyuŋ?

These two suffixes are subordinators which are added to predicative elements - usually verbs, but sometimes predicative nouns and the like. The syntax of these suffixes is discussed in (13.5); here I will discuss the forms the suffixes take.

The suffix -?gu? is subject to various ?-Deletion rules (3.6), and therefore has a fairly common surface allomorph -gu?. In those positions where -?gu? can occur on the surface, we occasionally find an alternative form -ku?. Examples: ɲa-na?-ɖaku-gu? 'when I (was) a child' (predicative noun, ?-Deletion by P-11); ɲi-na?-walɲa-?gu? 'when he was still alive' (predicative noun); ba-ŋere-yo-y-ku? 'while they were sleeping'; ɲi-ɾuɖu-ɖu-ɲi-?gu? 'when he used to go'. It appears, therefore, that -?gu? and the uncommon form -ku? are in free variation and both together are in surface complementary distribution to -gu?. Although the alternation ?g/k is unique in the language, it should be noted (a) that following ? there is no surface contrast of g and k, so that the allomorph -?gu? could be assigned a base form like /-?ku?/, and (b) that fortis stops like k and 'hard' clusters like ?g behave similarly (and differ from simple lenis g) in the conditioning environment for the important lenition rule P-8 (3.5).

The form -kuyuŋ? is attested only once, in the combination barba-ga-ma-ni-kuyuŋ?-yuŋ 'when they get them'. Since there is no clear indication of any semantic difference between -?gu? and -kuyuŋ?, I tentatively consider the latter to be merely an extended form of the former. It is possible that both contain a basic element -?gu-/-ku- and an ending -? with the optional extension -yuŋ- going between the two.

#### 10.5 -burkayi

The ending -burkayi 'very, really' is rather common with noun stems: a-ma:k-burkayi 'very good'. Sandy indicated in an elicitation session that a variant -burkaji was also possible, but this never occurred in texts or other spontaneous utterances although -burkayi was very common.

#### 10.6 ORDERING

The elements -pula and -gapul (10.1) occur rather early in suffix complexes, and may precede certain nominal suffixes such as case suffixes, as indicated in (4.11). When added to verbs they follow all inflectional suffixes.

The elements -bugi?, -?ŋiri?, -?may?, and -?gu? occur near or at the end of words. As indicated in (4.11), -?may? may follow -bugi?, but combinations of -?ŋiri? with -bugi? or with -?may? are unattested. The subordinator -?gu? generally follows all other endings, and the combination -?may?-gu? is attested.

## Chapter 11

### INTERROGATION

#### 11.1 miri?

Yes/no questions, if they have an explicit interrogative morpheme at all, have a particle miri?. Thus we can have explicitly interrogative miri? ŋu-ɾudu-ŋ ŋa-ču-? 'Are you going that way?', or else formally declarative (but frequently pragmatically interrogative) ŋu-ɾudu-ŋ ŋa-ču-? 'You are going that way?'.  
There is no interrogative verb in Ngandi, but the equivalent of this can be formed by using -yima- 'to do/think/say like that' with miri?, hence miri? ŋu-yima-na-? 'What are you doing?'.

The particle miri? is regularly positioned at the beginning of the clause in yes/no questions. It cannot be used as a tag-question particle added to the end of the clause. I attempted to elicit a tag-question element, and finally got ŋi? in this function. However, since this occurs in Ritharngu and in local English creole, and since the Ngandi informant showed considerable hesitation here, I am not convinced that this is a genuine Ngandi particle.

On occasion miri? is used along with another interrogative word ('who?' or the like), in which case miri? merely emphasises the interrogative quality of the utterance (which thus cannot be misinterpreted as an indefinite utterance with 'someone' instead of 'who?' in the translation, cf. 11.6). In this event miri? and the other interrogative element are usually the first two elements in the clause, but the order between the two is variable (see 11.6 for examples).

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#### 11.2 -ñja(?)

Probably the most common interrogative stem is -ñja(?). The form -ñja? is usual before pauses, while -ñja is found elsewhere.

The stem means basically 'what?' or 'who?', and covers both human and nonhuman entities. It occurs with the full range of noun-class prefixes: ŋi-ñja(?) 'who?(MSg)'; ŋa-ñja(?) 'who(FSg)'; bari-ñja(?) 'who?(MDu)'; ma-ñja(?) 'what?(MA)'. In the case of a human interrogative where the gender and number are uncertain, the P1 form ba-ñja(?)

is normally used, and agreement in the verb (if any) works accordingly: ba-ñja ba-ga-ṛuḍu-ŋi 'Who went?'. Nonhuman interrogatives where the noun-class is not known take the A form a-ñja(?), as in a-ñja a-ni-?-yuḅ 'What is this?'.  
With Dative -ku, and optionally with preceding aru 'because', we get the expression (aru) a-ñja-ku 'why?; what for?'.  
Repeated -ñja(?) means 'how many?': a-ñja a-ñja? 'how many?(A)' (Text 7.6).  
With ṇa-ki-? 'there' we get an idiomatic expression a-ñja ṇa-ki-? 'all sorts of things' (e.g. Texts 1.6, 2.28).  
In addition to forms with the regular noun-class prefixes, there is a special form with prefix bi-. The combination bi-ñja(?) means 'what?(place)'. Note, however, that English 'where?' is usually translated by wo:-gi (11.3). The prefix bi- is only found in one other combination, bičara (\*bi-čara), with stem related to -jara (11.5).

#### 11.3 wo:

The stem wo: means basically 'which?', with particular reference to places. In this sense it may take noun-class prefixes, and if it modifies a term referring to a type of terrain it agrees with this term in noun-class: gu-wo: gu-balpa-yuḅ 'which billabong?'.  
With Locative -gi and without noun-class prefixes we get wo:-gi 'where?'. This can be used as an ordinary interrogative adverb or as a predicative interrogative: a-ḍangu-yuḅ wo:-gi ṇara-ga-mi-yaḅ 'Where will we get meat?' (adverb); wo:-gi ṇi-ni-ñ-uḅ 'Where is that (man)?' (predicate).

When the referent is 2nd person, -wo: is used as a sort of adjective, with the appropriate 2nd person intransitive prefix: ṇu-wo: 'Where are you? (Sg)'. This construction is used only in the Present tense, and only when the interrogative word is the predicate; we get different constructions for 'Where were you?' (wo:-gi ṇu-ṇ-i:, literally 'Where did you sit?') and 'Where do you sleep?' (wo:-gi ṇu-yu-ḍa)

'When?' is mala?-ič-wo with mala?- and -(y)ič- in a rather frozen compound. Cf. mala?-ič-wolo 'at that time' (6.2).

#### 11.4 wala-

The interrogative adverbs meaning 'to where?; which way?' are wala? and walagun. Examples: wala? ṇi-ga-ṛiḍ-i, walagun ṇi-ga-ṛiḍ-i 'Where did he go?; Which way did he go?'. There appears to be no semantic difference between the two forms. An example of wala? is in Text 7.1.

It is probable that both of these forms contain a stem \*wala-. However, the combinations are so frozen that they are perhaps best written as units.

#### 11.5 -jara

The stem -jara is very common in texts. It is really an interrogative which the speaker directs at himself, rather than an external addressee, when he is racking his brain trying to remember a word or a name. I will translate it as 'what's-it?'.  
In its simple form -jara is formally a noun and takes noun-class prefixes and nominal suffixes accordingly. Frequently even when the addressee cannot remember a word or name he does know what noun class it belongs to. Therefore such sequences as ma-jara-yuḅ (pause) ma-miṇiyar? 'what's-it?, ironwood tree' are common. Note that ma-jara-yuḅ is marked as a MA-class noun agreeing with ma-miṇiyar?, showing that the speaker has anticipated the noun class correctly before remembering the noun itself. Fairly often, however, the speaker guesses the noun class incorrectly:

ñaru-ja-gorṭa-ni gamakun?, a-jara-gič-uḅ, gu-ḍila-gič ...  
we put it inside properly into what's-it? into coolamon(s)  
'We put it inside what's-it, coolamons.'

Here the speaker guessed that the noun he was looking for was in the A class, so he used the form a-jara-gič-uḅ ('A - what's it - Allative - Absolute'). However, the noun turned out to be (gu-)ḍila (GU class). Cf. Texts 2.12, 4.2, 9.2.

A special form bičara is used instead of -jara when the reference is to a place name: ṇi-ṛiḍ-i bičara-gič, warpani-gič 'He went to what's-it?, to Warpani'. This is from Text 11.1. Etymologically, bičara consists of \*-čara related to -jara, plus a prefix bi-. The latter functions like a specialised noun-class prefix, and is attested also in the combination bi-ñja(?) 'what?(place)' (11.2).

Two different interrogative verbs can be derived from -jara. The stem jara-ḍu-, with class 1 -ḍu-, means 'to do what's-it?'. It is used when the speaker is having difficulty remembering a verb: ma-ja-jara-ḍu-ṇi ma-biṭin-ḍi-ni 'It did what's-it?, it got soft'. When the speaker knows that the verb in question is a denominative with Inchoative Verbaliser -ṭi-, he may use the form jara-ḍi- 'to be/become what's-it?'. Example: ... ṇi-ga-jara-ḍi-na, ṇi-ga-borama-ṭi-na 'He is what's-it?, he is boss'. Note that the form is jara-ḍi- instead of expected \*jara-ṭi- with unlenited suffix-initial stop; cf. (3.5), end.

Forms in -jara are much more common than English expressions like 'what's-it?' or 'whatchamacallit?'. The Ngandi forms express only very mild self-reproach. When an informant really got angry with himself for forgetting a simple word or name the form with -jara was reinforced by an emphatic particle ṇuni. Often the informant would first utter the mild form, e.g. gu-jara, then if the word did not come to him he would mutter gu-jara ṇuni or just ṇuni, indicating strong displeasure with himself. Examples of ṇuni can be found in Texts 3.1, 11.24, etc.

## 11.6 PLEONASTIC INTERROGATIVES; INDEFINITE INTERROGATIVES

Quite often, an interrogative sentence containing an interrogative word like those just described in (11.2) through (11.4) will also turn up with another element, either *miri?* (11.1) or *maŋga?* 'maybe'. The former element makes it clear that the sentence is a true interrogative (i.e. an answer is expected from the addressee). With *maŋga?*, it is not so clear that an answer is expected:

*miri?*    *wo:-gi*        *ni-ga-riḡ-i.*  
          *to where?*      *he went*

'Where did he go?'

*maŋga?* *wo:-gi* *ni-ga-riḡ-i.*  
*maybe*

'He went somewhere.' 'I don't know where he went.'

In other words, what I have called 'interrogative' words (except for *miri?*) also have indefinite interpretations, and the distinction can only be explicitly made by adding *miri?* or *maŋga?*. However, in contexts where the distinction is unimportant, or where only one interpretation is contextually plausible, these particles can be omitted.

In such examples *miri?* can precede or follow the other interrogative word; the two are normally at the beginning of the clause (*wo:-gi miri? ni-ga-riḡ-i* is the other possible form of the first example above). The particle *maŋga?* can occur anywhere in the clause.

## Chapter 12

### COMPOUNDING

#### 12.1 GENERAL REMARKS

Compounding is a relatively productive process in Ngandi. It is, however, sometimes difficult to formally distinguish compounding from other derivational processes. Some of the prefixes and suffixes described in Chapters 4 and 8, for example, could well be taken as specialised compounding elements. Furthermore, the auxiliary constructions described in (9.3) have many characteristics of compounds and in some cases it was difficult to decide whether a given combination was an auxiliary construction or a compound.

In the present chapter I will deal with compounding processes of a productive or semi-productive nature. In general, the compounds dealt with here consist of two (rarely three) stems, each of which retains an identifiable lexical meaning. With the doubtful exception of certain 'having' compounds (12.4), in these combinations one of the stems functions as the nucleus and the other (usually but not always the initial element) functions as modifier. The word-class of the compound is that of the nucleus. It is possible to divide all compounds into a modifier-nucleus type and a nucleus-modifier type, depending on whether the nucleus or the modifying element comes first. Other terminological distinctions can be made on the basis of the word-class of the nucleus, and to a lesser extent of the modifier (the latter is usually nominal).

#### 12.2 SUPPLETIVE AND SPECIALISED STEMS

In general, both elements of a compound can occur independently as simple stems (nouns, verbs, etc.). In some instances, however, a stem occurs only in compounds, or takes a suppletive form in compounds.

The important verb *bu-* 'to hit; to kill' is a case in point. In auxiliary constructions (9.3) it takes the same form, *-bu-*. However, in compounds (and in the Refl form) it is suppleted by a synonymous stem *-bača-*, and in *-maḡ-bača-* 'to hit on the hand'. The stem *-bača-* is attested as a simple stem, but only once in the data, and functions

primarily as the suppletive form of bu- in these derivatives. Note that the distribution of -bača- enables us to formally distinguish auxiliary constructions from compounds, at least for 'to hit; to kill'.

The independent stem meaning 'water' is (gu-)jaṛk. In compounds it takes the form -bun-, as in (gu-)bun-baṛṇ 'saltwater' ('bad-tasting water') and bun-ṇu- 'to drink' (from ṇu- 'to eat').

The stem ṇič means '(vegetable) food' as an independent noun (ma-)ṇič. As a compounding element, however, ṇič- means 'name', as in ṇič-u- /ṇič-yu-/ 'to put down the name of'. No independent noun meaning 'name' could be elicited, and no stem meaning 'food' was recorded in compounds.

Among the stems which are attested as initial elements in compounds, but not as independent stems, are these:

buč-	'smell'
ḡulu-	'ceremonial performance'
mañ-	'taste'
ṛum-	'behaviour'
yič-	'thought; truth'
wič-	'?' (only in wič-mak 'good')

These elements are considered compounding elements rather than derivational prefixes primarily because their semantic contribution is of a lexical rather than a grammatical nature.

### 12.3 MODIFIER-NUCLEUS COMPOUNDS

The majority of compounds are of this type, with the nuclear stem coming last and the modifying stem first. The modifier is always a nominal stem, or at least a stem capable of being interpreted as nominal. The nucleus is most often a verb (transitive or intransitive), but is sometimes a nonverbal stem.

Examples with transitive verbs: maṛ-bi|aṇ?-ḡu- 'to lick the hand (maṛ-) of'; ṇaṛaka-buru- 'to smell the bone(s) of'; yele-maṇiñ?-ḡu- 'to make a hole (yele-)'; ḡangu-ma- 'to get meat'; wali-ṇa- 'to see a tree'; ḡo?-ṇa- 'to look in the eye(s) of'.

As these examples suggest, the semantic role of the modifier is heterogeneous. In cases like yele-maṇiñ?-ḡu-, the modifier is simply an incorporated direct object, and the preceding transitive pronominal prefix will include an object-marker agreeing with it: ṇaḡu-yele-maṇiñ?-ḡ-i 'I made a hole'. On the other hand, in cases like maṛ-bi|aṇ?-ḡu- the modifier is a body-part term which does not function as direct object, but merely specifies the part of the object which acts as the locus of the activity. The object-marker in the pronominal prefix refers to the entire entity, as in ṇanu-maṛ-bi|aṇ?-ḡ-i 'I licked his hand' ('I hand-licked him').

A slightly different type of transitive compound shows initial modifying element ḡiku- 'raw, unripe' or bu|ku- 'cooked, ripe'. In such constructions ḡiku- can acquire the broader meaning of 'fallen, unconscious, dead'. Example: baru-ḡiku-ḡa-n-di 'They carried him (a dead man)'. Here ḡiku- and bu|ku- are semantically adjectives

modifying the direct object. The addition of ḡiku- or bu|ku- is very common in the appropriate contexts, even when they are redundant and when English translation equivalents would have no such adjectival elements.

Modifier-nucleus compounds with intransitive verbs as nuclei are also fairly common. Examples: ḡubur-yima- 'Law (ḡubur-) to be like that'; ṇaṇju|a-rukba- 'seed(s) (ṇaṇju|a-) to fall'; maṇa-jič-i?-ḡi- 'to be afflicted with sores on the neck (maṇa-)'; ḡanam-ḡam?-ḡu- 'to be covered at the ears (ḡanam-), to have one's ears covered up' (i.e. 'to be deaf'); |oṇ-ḡutḡut-ḡu- 'to be thick at the head (|oṇ-)' (i.e. 'to have a headache'); ḡiku-rukba- 'to fall down unconscious, to collapse or faint'; wurk-wa|k-ḡu- 'to go through a bush fire (wurk-)'.

As the examples suggest, most of the intransitive compounds are structurally parallel to the transitive types. Corresponding to the yele-maṇiñ?-ḡu- ('to make a hole') type with incorporated object we have the ḡubur-yima- intransitive type with incorporated subject. Corresponding to the maṛ-bi|aṇ?-ḡu- ('to lick the hand of') type with body-part stem specifying the locus of an activity we have the intransitive type maṇa-jič-i?-ḡi-. The type ḡiku-rukba- corresponds to the transitive type ḡiku-ḡa- ('to carry a dead person'), with ḡiku- (and bu|ku-) here functioning as adjectives referring to the intransitive subject.

The type wurk-wa|k-ḡu- 'to go through a bush fire' is a little unusual. The stem wa|k-ḡu- 'to go in or through' is intransitive, with optional Allative or Locative NP indicating the region. The incorporated stem wurk- in wurk-wa|k-ḡu- is semantically just such a Locative NP which has been incorporated.

When a modifying element is added to an underlying intransitive verb, the compound as a whole is also intransitive. When such an element is added to an underlying transitive, the compound is typically transitive, but there are some cases where the compound is formally intransitive. For example, the transitive stem ṇu- 'to eat' forms intransitive compound bun-ṇu- 'to drink' with bun- 'water' (hence generally 'liquid'), cf. (12.2). Other examples: intr. ṇa|-ḡeyk-ḡa- 'to throw saliva (ṇa|-), to spit', contrast tr. ḡeyk-ḡa- 'to throw' and tr. compound jundu-ḡeyk-ḡa- 'to throw a stone'; intr. bun-ḡeyk-ḡa- 'water to rush through' from bun- 'water' and the same stem ḡeyk-ḡa-; intr. ḡa:-ḡulk-ḡu- 'to stop doing, to do for the last time', a semantically specialised compound with ḡa:- 'mouth' and tr. ḡulk-ḡu- 'to cut', contrast tr. maṇa-ḡulk-ḡu- 'to cut at the neck (maṇa-)' (i.e. 'to execute by hanging'); intr. ḡel-kaṛu- /ḡelk-kaṛu-/ 'to go along a river bank (ḡelk-)', contrast tr. ḡaru- 'to follow' and tr. yaṇ-ḡaṛu- 'to follow the sound of'; intr. yič-ṇa- (cf. 12.2) 'to think' from tr. ṇa- 'to hear', contrast tr. yaṇ-ṇa- 'to hear the sound of'; intr. ḡubur-yika- 'to behave well', cf. tr. yika- 'to behave' and tr. mañ-ika- 'to taste'. The evidence that these compounds are intransitive is that the pronominal prefixes used with them are consistently intransitive — not merely occasionally intransitive, which would lead us to analyse them as compound stems subject to optional Indefinite-Object Deletion (13.8).

— In the majority of intransitivised compounds of this type, what



has happened is that a semantic direct object has been incorporated, and the pronominal prefix omits a redundant object-marker. In the resulting intransitive verb the intransitive subject is the underlying transitive subject. If this NP occurs as an independent noun or pronoun, it takes Nominative rather than Ergative case, as befits its surface syntactic function:  $\eta\text{i-yul-}\emptyset\text{-yun}$  (\* $\eta\text{i-yul-}\text{t}\text{u-yun}$ )  $\eta\text{i-bun-nu-ni}$  'The man (Nom) drank (it)'.

In the example  $\text{bun-geyk-da-}$  'water to rush through' this analysis does not work. If we take the base form as meaning something like 'X throws or propels the water', we can see that the surface subject ('water') is the underlying object, not the underlying transitive subject.

It should be emphasised that not all transitive stems with preceding noun stem, even when the latter is an incorporated direct object, are intransitivised. In cases like  $\text{jundu-geyk-da-}$  'to throw a stone' and  $\text{yele-ma}\eta\text{i}\eta\text{-du-}$  'to make a hole' the pronominal prefix includes an object-marker referring to the direct object ( $\text{jundu-}$ ,  $\text{yele-}$ ). If the subject is represented by an independent NP or pronoun it is Ergative:  $\eta\text{igu-yele-ma}\eta\text{i}\eta\text{-d-i}$   $\eta\text{i-yul-}\text{t}\text{u-yun}$  'The man (Erg) made a hole'.

Modifier-nucleus compounds where the nucleus is not a verb are uncommon. Some compound adjectival nouns are of this type:  $\text{jamba}\check{\text{c}}\text{-wel}$  'owner (of a killed animal)' from  $\text{jamba}\check{\text{c}}\text{-}$  '(successful) hunter' and  $\text{wel}$  'owner'; similarly  $\text{dawal-wel}$  'owner of a country' with  $\text{dawal-}$  'country'. Some other possible examples are described in (12.4). Most noun-noun compounds are of the nucleus-modifier type (12.5).

It is not the case that in modifier-nucleus compounds any noun stem can function as modifier and any stem (or any verb stem) can function as nucleus. Some noun stems occur frequently in compounds, others infrequently, and others not at all. Some verbs are common as nuclear elements in compounds, others less common, others impossible in such constructions.

Basically, the nouns which are common as modifying elements are these: (a) body-part terms; (b)  $\text{diku-}$  'raw' and  $\text{bu}\text{!}ku\text{-}$  'cooked'; (c) frequently-occurring general names of physical substances and the like ('stone', 'country', 'fire', 'grass', 'hole', 'river', 'meat', 'water', etc.); (d) a very few abstractives including  $\text{gubur-}$  'matter, thing, law, etc.' and  $\text{yic-}$  'thought, truth'.

Similarly, the verbs which are most likely to form compounds are semantically general stems of high text-frequency, e.g. 'to throw', 'to get', 'to make'. Special mention must be made of (a) verbs of perception ('to see', 'to hear', 'to smell', 'to taste'), and (b) verbs describing actions characteristically performed on, or states often associated with, parts of the body of an entity ('to hit', 'to cut', 'to lick', 'to rub', 'to be sore', etc.).

In general, the modifying noun stem can also be represented by an independent noun in the clause:  $\text{ngagu-jundu-geyk-d-i}$   $\text{gu-jundu-yun}$  'I threw a stone' (-jundu- 'stone' repeated as independent noun). Although exhaustive data are not available on this matter, I would offer the following as probably valid generalisations: (a) the

repetition of the noun outside the verb complex is less common than in Nunggubuyu; (b) repetition is impossible in the case of compounding stems like  $\text{ma}\eta\text{-}$  and  $\text{yic-}$  (12.2) which have no independent forms; (c) body-part terms used as modifiers in compounds are generally not repeated; (d) nouns in intransitivised compounds from transitive bases are usually not repeated.

#### 12.4 'HAVING' COMPOUNDS

One fairly important compound type can be exemplified by  $\text{ganam-warjak}$  'deaf'.  $\text{ganam}$  is a noun meaning 'ear', while  $\text{warjak}$  is an adjectival noun meaning 'bad'.

There are two possible structural analyses of such compounds, suggested by two distinct paraphrases: 'bad in the ears' and 'having bad ears'. In the first analysis, 'bad' is an adjective describing the person directly, while 'ear(s)' is a modifying element specifying more precisely the region in which the person is bad. In this analysis we take 'bad' as the nucleus and 'ear' as a modifier of 'bad' which could be dispensed with without disrupting the structure of the adjectival expression.

In the second analysis, 'bad' is a modifier of 'ear(s)', not directly of the person referred to. The combination 'ear(s)-bad' as a whole functions as a derived adjectival noun modifying the person, and takes noun-class prefixes agreeing with the person. English analogies are the uncommon type represented by the name 'Bluebeard' (i.e. 'one who has a beard which is blue'), and the type in '-ed' represented by 'long-eared'.

Although for most such compounds the two paraphrases are semantically equivalent (that is, have the same truth value and are consistent with the pragmatic force of the utterance), I am inclined to favour 'having bad ears' as the analytically appropriate paraphrase for the type  $\text{ganam-warjak}$ . Some other examples:  $\text{mere-mak}$  'sharp, having a good blade';  $\text{gun-ga}\text{!i}$  'having lots of fat'. Here the elements are  $\text{-mak}$  ( $\text{ma:k}$ ) 'good',  $\text{mere-}$  'blade',  $\text{-ga}\text{!i}$  'much', and  $\text{gun-}$  'fat'.

As noted in connection with phonological rule P-17 (3.8), there appears to be a morphophonemic difference between this type of compound and the nucleus-modifier type discussed in (12.5). The noun  $\text{ma:k}$  'good', attested as final element in both types, apparently undergoes P-17 (Vowel-Shortening) in the present type, but not in the nucleus-modifier type exemplified by  $\text{(gu-)jolko-ma:k}$  'good ground'. However, the reliability of this distinction is only tentatively established by my data.

Other 'having' expressions (e.g. 'having a motorcar') are dealt with in (4.5). Corresponding to these — which normally imply that the object possessed is Sg, or at least not explicitly Pl — we can form compounds with a quantifier as final element:  $\text{d}\eta\eta\text{-yapan-bula}$  '(man) with two wives' ( $\text{d}\eta\eta$  'woman',  $\text{yapan-bula}$  'two'),  $\text{d}\eta\eta\text{-jark}$  '(man) with many wives' ( $\text{jark}$  'many'). The sense is not 'two (many) women' here, as is shown by the M<sub>S</sub>g noun-class prefix in  $\eta\text{i-d}\eta\eta\text{-jark}$  '(man) with two wives'.

## 12.5 NUCLEUS-MODIFIER COMPOUNDS

Compounds with nucleus-modifier order consist of an initial nuclear noun stem and a following noun or demonstrative stem which functions semantically as a modifier of the nuclear stem. The compound behaves grammatically and syntactically as the nuclear noun would without the modifier. Thus the choice of noun-class prefix is determined by the nuclear noun. Examples: (gu-)jolko-ma:k 'good ground'; (gu-)dubur-warjak 'bad business'; (gu-)danda?-dunupa 'straight tree'; (ni-)gurŋa-wangiñ? 'one month'; (gu-)dawal-wiriŋpu 'different country'; (gu-)bottle-ga|i 'big bottle'; (ma-)ŋuk-ŋele 'mother guts' (i.e. 'stomach lining'); (gu-)dawal-yapan? 'two countries, both countries'. The only example of a demonstrative modifier in my data is (gu-)dawal-ŋi-? 'this country'.

An alternative analysis of such compounds would be to take them as underlying simple nouns and demonstratives without the nuclear element (i.e. as simple ma:k 'good', etc.), functioning as modifiers of underlying external nouns like (gu-)jolko 'ground'. By regular agreement rules the noun-class prefix assigned to the modifying nouns and demonstratives would be identical to those characteristic of the external nouns. There is then a copying transformation by which a copy of the external noun stem is grafted onto the modifying stem, with subsequent deletion of the independent nuclear noun. Thus we have a derivation like this: (a) underlying (gu-)jolko 'ground' plus separate ma:k 'good'; (b) (gu-)jolko (gu-)ma:k after agreement; (gu-)jolko (gu-)jolko-ma:k after Copying; (gu-)jolko-ma:k after deleting the redundant independent nuclear noun.

In most instances this type of analysis would work well. However, I would hesitate to apply it to frozen combinations as in the example (ma-)ŋuk-ŋele 'mother guts', since an underlying juxtaposition of ŋele 'mother' as a modifier of (ma-)ŋuk would seem to be an ill-formed configuration. At any rate, no surface structures of this type occur.

## 12.6 DIMINUTIVES AND AUGMENTATIVES; NECRONYMS

The Diminutive and Augmentative nominal derivatives can be conveniently described under the rubric of nucleus-modifier compounds such as those described in (12.5). Alternatively, the Diminutive and Augmentative morphemes could be regarded as ordinary derivational suffixes, in which case this section should be transferred to Chapter 4.

The independent adjectival nouns meaning 'small' and 'big' are these: daku 'small', darpal 'big', waŋar 'big, huge', and ga|i 'big' (also 'much, many'). Diminutive compounds are formed by adding -gaña? or the less common -girikiriñ to a preceding noun stem: (gu-)wali-gaña? 'little stick'; (a-)!amba-kirikiriñ / (a-)!ambak-girikiriñ / 'little can'. This example is the only one attested with -girikiriñ, while -gaña? occurs several times in the data. Augmentatives are formed with either -ga|i (cf. independent noun ga|i 'big', mentioned above) or -garŋarŋ?, as in (gu-)bottle-ga|i 'big bottle' and synonymous expression (gu-)bottle-garŋarŋ?.

Taking these as compounds, it is necessary to posit a suppletive

relationship between the independent and compounding forms of 'small' and 'big', except that ga|i can occur in either position.

Compound nouns of the type 'the late X', where X is a personal name, are formed by adding -ŋayaŋ to a preceding personal name: ŋi-banmuk-ŋayaŋ 'the late Banmuk, the dead man whose name was Banmuk' (Text 11.32). The stem ŋayaŋ as an independent noun means 'ghost, animated corpse'. This compound may be taken as an example of the nucleus-modifier type.

Another variety of necronym (way of referring to a dead person) is the use of a compounding final -ŋayi following the name of the place where the person died. The one example I have of this is Borroloola-ŋayi-yuŋ (with Absolute suffix -yuŋ and an Anglicised place name) 'the one who died at Borroloola' (Text 12.56).

## 12.7 bala-, malk-, mala?-

Various kinds of adverbs are formed by attaching these three elements to following stems, usually nouns.

Examples with bala- 'side': bala-ŋi-? 'this side' (demonstrative /-ni-?/); bala-ŋa-? 'that side'; bala-warjak 'bad side, left-hand side'. In the unusual combination bala-gu-ŋaŋi 'west side', bala- is preposed to the noun -ŋaŋi 'west' which is furnished with its usual noun-class prefix gu-.

Examples of malk- 'time(s)': malk-wangiñ? 'once'; malk-yapan? 'twice'; malk-bir 'many times'. A construction with malk- can be verbalised by adding class 1 Thematising Augment -du-, and this can be transitivised by preposing Benefactive -bak-: intr. malk-wangiñ?-du- 'to do (something) once'; tr. bak-malk-wangiñ?-du- 'to do (something) once to'. The common expression malkalič(-uŋ) 'sometimes, at some other times' can be analysed as /malk-galič(-yuŋ)/. The simplex galič is attested in the same sense but is very rare (one attestation vs. many examples of malkalič). As an adjectival noun -galič shows up in the form mala-galič 'some, some others' with an unusual initial element related to a more common initial compounding element and independent noun mala 'group' in Ritharngu. This mala- is unrelated to Ngandi mala?-, to which we now turn.

Examples with mala?- 'season, time': mala?-ñalk 'in the rainy season' (ñalk 'rain'); mala?-wa|iŋ 'in the hot season' (wa|iŋ 'sun'); mala?-ič-wo 'when?' (11.3); mala?-ič-wolo 'at that time' (6.1). In the latter two examples -ič- appears to represent the compounding element yič- mentioned in (12.2); Y-Deletion here is by P-12 (3.7). I am unable to discern what the semantic contribution of -ič- is here, and I take both of these examples as rather frozen and semantically specialised compounds.

Compounds containing bala-, malk-, and mala?- can be regarded as a variety of nucleus-modifier compounds with somewhat specialised nuclear elements.

## Chapter 13

### SYNTAX

#### 13.1 NEGATION

Some negative constructions have already been described and exemplified. Entire clauses are normally negated by putting the verb in one of the Neg forms (9.23). Isolated constituents can be negated by means of the suffix *-?may?* (10.3).

An important negative adjectival noun is *-yaku*, which always appears with a noun-class prefix. It may be used to indicate or emphasise the absence of an entity:

na-waŋ?-d-i,    ŋi-yaku    ŋa-ki-ñ-uŋ    ŋi-ŋi-ŋič-ič.  
I looked    he absent    there    he did not sit

'I looked (for him, but) he was not there.'

The form with noun-class prefix *gu-* can also function as a general emphatic negative, translatable 'not at all', or in context 'never', 'nothing', etc. Example: *ñar-ñawk-đi-j-i gu-yaku* 'we (DuIn) will not talk to each other at all'.

With Inchoative Verbaliser *-đi-* we get *yaku-đi-* 'to be/become absent, to disappear': *ba-ja-yaku-đi-na* 'They have become absent'.

A special Neg suffix *-đi*, unrelated to Inchoative Verbaliser *-đi-*, can be added to a noun stem to create expressions of nonexistence: *ma-ŋič-đi* '(There is) no food'; *a-đangu-đi gu-yaku* '(There is) no meat at all'.

#### 13.2 FOCUS AND SUBORDINATION

The noninitial verbal prefix *-ga-* (8.4) is of great syntactic and stylistic significance in Ngandi. Basically, it is a subordinating and de-focusing element, indicating that the verb (or the entire clause) is (weakly) subordinated to either another clause or to one focused constituent in the clause.

The usual way to focus a constituent (e.g. a NP or adverb) is to put it at the beginning of the clause, followed by a subordinated verb

*-ga-*. There appear to be no significant restrictions on the type of constituent which may be focused in this way, and examples are attested of NP's in virtually all surface cases (except perhaps the Genitive) and of various kinds of adverbs occurring in focused position. Ngandi focus constructions may be literally translated with English topicalised or cleft sentences, but it should be emphasised that the Ngandi constructions are much more common than these English types. Examples:

ŋi-Conklin,    ŋaya,    ŋi-jambu|aŋa,    ñar-ga-ŋid-i.  
Conklin    I    Wallace    1PLEx-Sub-go-PPun

'Conklin, I, and Wallace were the ones who went.'

a-jeñ-uŋ    bara-ga-yaw-đu-ŋi.  
fish    3PL/A-Sub-spear-Aug-PCon

'It was fish that they speared.'

gu-wulčum-đu    ba-ga-bu-yđi-ni.  
by means of spears    3PL-Sub-hit-Recip-PCon

'Spears are what they fought with.'

gu-đawal-gič-uŋ    ba-ga-ruđu-ŋi.  
to the country    3PL-Sub-go-PCon

'It was to the country that they went.'

ŋi-guŋ-gu-yuŋ    ba-ga-ruđu-ŋi.  
for honey    3PL-Sub-go-PCon

'Honey is what they went for.'

jipa?    guŋukuwič    ñar-ga-ñawk-đu-ŋ.  
later    tomorrow    1PLEx-Sub-speak-Aug-Fut

'Tomorrow is when we will talk.'

'Content' interrogatives ('who?', 'what?', etc., but not the yes/no type) are normally structured as focused constructions with the interrogative word acting as focused constituent:

ba-ñja    ba-ga-ruđu-ŋi.  
who?    3PL-Sub-go-PCon

'Who went?; 'Who was it that went?'

In other instances, *-ga-* does not indicate that one constituent of the clause is singled out for focus, but rather that the clause as a whole is subordinated to another clause. In general, the subordinated clause is semantically of a gerundial nature. It often precedes the main clause, and describes an event or situation which precedes or somehow sets the stage for the event or situation described by the main clause. Example:

... baru-ga-ḍul? ba-ga-bu?-ḍu-ŋi,  
 3PL/GU-Sub-light 3PL-Sub-blow-Aug-PCon

gu-ja-ḍul?-ḍu-ŋi gu-ja-ḍanjilč-mañiñ?-ḍ-i-ni.  
*it caught fire then it was a good fire*

'When they lit it and blew (on it), it caught fire and became a good fire.'

Sometimes the subordinated clause follows the main clause:

mal-kalič-uŋ baru-yaw, ŋi-guŋ-gi ŋi-ga-ḍo-ni,  
 sometimes they spear him at honey 3MSg-Sub-chop-Pr

mal-kalič-uŋ baru-yaw, ŋi-ga-ŋere-yu-ḍa.  
 3MSg-Sub-rest-sleep-Pr

'Sometimes they spear him when he is cutting down bee hives, sometimes they spear him while he is sleeping.'

Although fairly common, -ga- is a rather weak subordinator, and especially in its clause-subordinating (as opposed to intra-clausal focusing) function is generally optional. It is somewhat more frequent than English gerundial constructions, but it is by no means the case that all or even most clause sequences in narratives or other types of discourse are organised into 'topic chains' of the Dyirbal type.

It should be mentioned that the article gu-wolo (with GU class prefix in abstract function) turns up from time to time in Ngandi as a semantically weak clause-initial particle. See (6.2).

### 13.3 CONDITIONALS

It is necessary to distinguish possible conditionals from contrary-to-fact conditionals. The usual way of forming a possible conditional is to add the noninitial-prefix sequence -ga-ya?- (8.4) to the protasis ('if'-clause):

ŋara-ga-ya?-ŋa-n ŋara-ram-ḍa-ŋ.  
*if I see it I will spear it*

Sometimes the -ya?- is omitted, so the protasis is formally a simple subordinated clause with -ga-:

ŋu-ga-riḍi-č-i guḷupu?-yuŋ ŋana-ga-ru-ŋ.  
 2Sg-Sub-go-Neg-Fut to there I will chase you

'If you don't come here, I will chase you.'

In the following example there are three conjoined protases, two with -ga-ya?- and one with -ga-:

ŋi-ga-ya?-ŋarŋar-ḍu-ŋ ŋi-ga-yarara?-ḍu-ŋ  
*if he resists (arrest) if he hooks up spears*

ŋuguni-ga-ya?-ram-ḍa-ŋ, ŋugan-yuŋ ŋuma-yuryur-ḍu-ŋ.  
*if he throws spears at you as for you you will dodge them*

In the preceding examples, the verbs in both protasis ('if...') and apodosis ('then...') are in the Fut form. In the contrary-to-fact type, on the other hand, the verbs of both clauses are in the Pot form.

The protasis generally contains -ga-, but occasionally shows -ga-ya?-. Examples:

ŋu-ga-ruḍu-ŋan ŋuma-ja-ma-ŋan.  
*if you had gone you would have gotten it (MA).*

ŋi-ga-ya?-ŋo-ŋow ŋa-ki-ñ-uŋ gamuñju?-yuŋ  
*if he had sat (i.e. been) there at that very time*

ŋanu-ram-ḍa-ŋan.  
*I would have speared him*

In neither type is there a requirement that the two clauses in the construction have a shared NP:

ŋi-ga-ya?-ruḍu-ŋ guḷupu?-yuŋ, ŋa-ruḍu-ŋ ŋa-ču-?.  
*if he goes (comes) to here I will go to there*

### 13.4 RELATIVE CLAUSES

Finding a well-defined relative-clause construction in the texts is not easy. Most often, where we would get a relative clause in English we find that Ngandi simply uses a subordinated clause in -ga- (13.2), so that there is no distinction between relative and other subordinated clauses. The -ga- type does not require that the subordinated clause have any NP's coreferential to NP's in the matrix clause, so we are tempted to think that there is no construction in Ngandi which clearly matches our notion of relative clause.

However, very infrequently the suffix I have labelled 'Relative' (-yiñuŋ), and which is also found with nouns as a kind of case suffix (4.8), is added to a fully-inflected verb form to create what is semantically a relative clause. There is only one such example in the entire textual corpus to my knowledge: ŋiguḷa-ga-ŋo-ŋ-yiñuŋ-yuŋ '(the snake) who had eaten him'. This contains ŋiguḷa-ga-ŋo-ŋ 'It ate him' (with subordinator -ga-) plus Relative -yiñuŋ- and then Absolute -yuŋ, showing that the relative clause with -yiñuŋ is formally a derived noun. In this example (Text 10.6), 'snake' in the matrix clause ('The snake appeared') is Nominative, so there is no way to tell whether the relativised verb agrees with the head noun in case (Nominative is -∅, hence we cannot distinguish Nominative from the lack of any case suffix).

There is one other relevant textual example (Text 12.73), where the principal formal mark of relativisation is the addition to the verb of a case suffix (Locative -gi-) agreeing with the case of the head noun. The relative clause is ba-ga-bun-ŋu-čini-gi-yuŋ '(liquid) which they drink', from ba-ga-bun-ŋu-čini 'They drink it' (again with subordinator -ga-). The head noun is gu-jaḷk 'water' (here meaning 'liquid' and referring to beer), which really should be in the Locative form gu-jaḷ-ki and indeed is preceded by coreferential modifiers gu-yimin?-gi-yiñuŋ-yuŋ 'in the thing' (disregard -yiñuŋ-yuŋ here) and gu-jara-gi 'in what's-it?', both of which show Locative -gi-. It seems that gu-jaḷk just omits the already twice-pronounced Locative suffix;

at any rate, it is clear that gu-jaṛk is semantically (and syntactically) Locative here.

Thus in this example the relative clause is formed by simply adding a case suffix to the inflected verb to agree with the case of the head noun in its clause; Absolute -yūṅ happens also to be added, since the use of a case suffix makes the relative clause a surface noun. Note that in ba-ga-bun-ṅu-čini-gi-yūṅ there is no trace of Relative -yiñuṅ.

Since these are the only two examples of relative clauses in the entire textual corpus, it is clear that these formations are quite rare. Formally, they are just elaborations on the simple -ga- subordinated form. In the second example, the clause is explicitly linked to a particular NP in the matrix clause by case-agreement. In the first example, since the head noun is Nominative and thus has zero case suffix, this 'agreement' would be phonologically null (hence it could not be perceived), so a special Relative suffix -yiñuṅ is called on to clarify the logical status of the relative clause.

The relative-clause type with case-agreement involving nonzero case suffixes like Locative -gi is possible with the local cases (Locative, Allative, Ablative, perhaps Pergressive). I was unable to elicit any examples involving a Dative or Genitive head noun (note that a relative clause with Dative -ku might easily be confused with the special subordinated clause types described in 10.4). Informants also failed to produce, and rejected as ungrammatical, relative clauses with -ṭu in either Ergative or Instrumental sense — all I could elicit were simple -ga- clauses:

ṅama-ma-y	ma-gami-yūṅ	ñunu-ga-woy.
I got it (MA)	spear (MA)	you gave me

'I got the spear which you gave me.'

This is not explicitly a relative clause; it can also mean '(After) you gave the spear to me, I got it' and so forth.

In the two good examples of relative clauses mentioned above, the coreferential NP in the relative clause is, in one case, the transitive subject of its clause ('snake had eaten him' becomes 'who had eaten him'). In the other case, the verb ('to drink') is formally intransitive but can take a Nominative 'object' in the form of an independent NP like 'water' (this is not cross-referenced in the verb, however). As it happens, in our relative clause it is this 'object' which functions as the head noun, not the (intransitive) subject designating the drinkers. Elicitation with my informant (who showed some hesitation in grammaticality judgements on this point) suggested to me that the NP coreferential to the head noun could be, in principle, any nonperipheral noun in the relative clause (subject, object, perhaps Dative). Since the whole relative-clause construction is rare and unproductive, no fine analysis of possible coreferential NP-pairs across the clause boundary was practicable.

### 13.5 -?gu?, -kuyūṅ?

The phonological form of these subordinators has been described in (10.4), cf. also the end of (3.6).

These suffixes create time adverbials translatable as 'while'-clauses. Examples: ṅi-daku-biṛ-ṭi-ñ-?gu? 'while he had many sons'; gu-na?-ga|ṭi-?gu? 'when they (houses) were numerous'. The common suffix -?gu? can be used with predicative nouns or with verbs of any tense. For other examples cf. (10.4). A longer example showing the syntactic context somewhat better is this one:

baru-ṭi-ṛam-d-i	ma-road-gi	ṅi-ruḡu-ḡu-ṅi-?gu?
they speared him on the side	on the road	as he was going

'They speared him on the side of the road as he was going (along).'

In general, forms with -?gu? tend to be durative in nature. Although the example ṅi-daku-biṛ-ṭi-ñ-?gu? (quoted above) shows the PPun ending -ñ, it is used here in a perfective sense and therefore describes a situation as well as the event(s) which led to it.

The semantic distinction between -?gu? and -ga- in the latter's clause-subordinating functions is not clear to me in all instances. However, -?gu? is more clearly temporal than -ga-, which may be weakly causal or the like. Furthermore, -ga- is not restricted to durative senses like -?gu? tends to be. In a gerundial clause describing an event or situation which preceded or was otherwise temporally separated from the event or situation in the main clause, we are likely to find -ga- rather than -?gu? since the translation 'while' (in the temporal sense) would not be appropriate.

Examples of -?gu? (and its allomorphs) can be found in Texts 11.5, 11.11, 11.32, and 11.44.

The only example of -kuyūṅ? is this (Text 12.31):

ba-prisoner	bo-wolo-yūṅ	barba-ga-maka-na,
prisoners	those	they call them

barba-ga-ma-ni-kuyūṅ?-yūṅ,	barba-ga-ṅ	gu-nari
3PL/3PL-Sub-get-Pr-Sub-Abs	they took them	that

police station-gi.  
to the police station

I have tentatively analysed -kuyūṅ?- here as an extended variant of -?gu? (10.4). Clearly the expression containing -kuyūṅ?- belongs with the preceding rather than following phrase, since it is in the Pr tense. I would therefore translate the first part of the quoted passage as follows: 'They call them "prisoners" when they get (i.e. arrest) them'. However, other interpretations could be given — for example, -kuyūṅ?- could be taken as a relative-clause marker, in which case we would translate 'They call the ones they arrest "prisoners".'

### 13.6 NOMINALISATION

Nominalisation of underlying verbs, aside from relative clauses, is not a productive process in Ngandi. The only clear example is (gu)-yimin? 'thing, matter' etc., which is clearly related to yima- 'to do/think/say like that'. The ending -(i)n? suggests the augment -n?- in -n?guba-, the postvocalic allomorph of the Causative suffix (post-consonantly -guba-).

Another possible example is dawal-mayin 'calling names of countries', containing (gu-)dawal 'country'. The stem -mayin may be a nominalisation; although no related verb stem is attested in Ngandi, Nungubuyu has -maya- 'to call (name of)'.

### 13.7 CONJUNCTION

The usual way of indicating the conjunction of two NP's X and Y is to add -pula (10.1) to the second. An example:

ma-wuḡdan? balaka ḡarma-ga-ma-ḡi, ma-berge?-bula.  
black plum first we got it also green plum

'We got black plums first, and then green plums as well.'

It is important to distinguish the Dual sense of -pula described in (10.1) from the conjunctive sense. In a different context ma-berge?-bula could mean 'two green plums', but here it does not.

It is possible to add -pula to both conjoined elements, though this is not common:

ḡi-goyow-pula a-jinma-pula ba-bu-yḡi-ni.  
and the crocodile and the shark they fought

'The crocodile and the shark fought.'

Very often the initial conjoined element is deleted, so that it is indicated only in the pronominal prefix of the verb:

ḡi-ḡara-ḡ-bula ḡari-ḡuḡu-ḡ  
and my father we (DuExcM) will go

'My father and I will go.'

When two human nouns or pronouns are conjoined, the resulting conjoined NP is assigned the appropriate number and gender features of the sum of the two elements, for purposes of choosing cross-referencing pronominal prefixes and so forth. Thus the conjunction X Y-pula, where X and Y are both MSg nouns, is treated as a MDu NP, so that if X Y-pula is the subject of an intransitive verb the latter must have MDu prefix bari-.

However, if the conjoined element is thrown in as an afterthought after the clause has been partially uttered, we may get apparent examples where a verb form for example agrees in number with only one of the two elements which constitute the conjunction. The suffix or postposition -ḡḡiri? 'also' is commonly used in such afterthought additions. In the example in (10.2), the speaker begins one clause with the singular noun biḡḡu? (a man's name) as the subject, and consequently cross-referencing modifiers and the pronominal prefix in the verb are marked as MSg. Then the speaker adds ḡi-miḡaḡawuy-ḡḡiri? 'also Miḡaḡawuy' (another man's name) as an afterthought NP intended to be conjoined to biḡḡu?. (The speaker then repeats the verb with MDu prefix.)

### 13.8 NP-DELETION RULES

Often when an independent NP or pronoun is deleted, there is still a

pronominal element marking it in the verb. Such deletions are the Ngandi equivalent of ordinary Pronominalisation in languages like English. However, there are a number of real deletion rules whereby a NP is deleted without a trace.

Reflexive clauses, with -i- added to the verb (9.8), can be viewed as underlying transitive clauses whose subject has been deleted. When this happens, the clause is restructured as a surface intransitive, with the underlying object becoming the surface subject. As explained in (9.8), Reflexivisation can take place when the underlying subject is either coreferential to the object, or when the underlying subject is indefinite or otherwise unimportant.

There are also many instances in Ngandi of what is best called Indefinite-Object Deletion. When this transformation applies, the underlying direct object (including the object-marker in the transitive pronominal prefix added to the verb) is omitted. No special intransitivising derivational affixes comparable to Reflexive -i- are added, but the pronominal prefix is formally intransitive.

It appears that this deletion rule can apply fairly freely to transitive verbs. At least a dozen verbs are attested both in ordinary transitive forms and in forms with deleted object. Examples of Indefinite-Object Deletion:

ḡar-ja-juy?-ḡ-i.  
we (PLEx) sent

'We sent (him).'

ḡar-ja-ḡa-ḡini.  
we (PLEx) see

'We see (it).'

ba-ga-ḡo-ḡi.  
they chopped

'They chopped (it).'

These constructions are roughly similar to the English type 'We are eating', 'He is cooking', etc. However, the deletion process appears to be freer in Ngandi, and is not restricted to a small set of verbs as in English.

It might also be observed that Ngandi Indefinite-Object Deletion is formally identifiable with 'Antipassivisation' in languages like Dyirbal, which also involves the deletion (or demotion) of an object with the consequent change of the transitive subject to a surface intransitive subject.

If the clause includes a NP specifying the agent, this NP is Nominative, not Ergative:

ba-yul-yuḡ (\*ba-yul-ḡu-yuḡ) ba-ḡo-ḡi.  
men(Nom) they chopped

'The men chopped (it).'

## PART TWO: DICTIONARY AND SUPPLEMENTS

### INTRODUCTION

This dictionary is divided into three parts. The principal section is a Ngandi-English dictionary of approximately 1500 entries. It emphasises verbal, nominal, and adverbial stems, rather than bound morphemes treated in the grammar, though some of these are listed with brief glosses.

Each entry begins with a Ngandi stem followed by a label specifying its word-class, thus *gulk-du-* (VIntr1) intransitive verb of verb-class 1. In the case of nouns the noun-class prefix is given in parentheses: *(gu-)jolko* (N) *ground*. No noun-class prefix is shown for human or other nouns whose prefixes are determined by actual human sex and number or by agreement with the noun-class of the (overt or covert) modified noun.

Derivatives are normally listed as part of the entry for the simple stem. However, some complex stems are listed (and alphabetised) as such, especially in cases such as tightly-knit auxiliary compounds like *bit-bu-* 'to climb'. This is alphabetised as though it were *bitbu-*, not as though it were *bit-*. Note also that class 1 verbs are listed and alphabetised with their augment *-du-*, so that *muñ-du-* is alphabetised as *muñdu-*, not *muñ-*, even though it may occur occasionally in the 'root form' *muñ*.

Where appropriate, synonyms are mentioned at the end of entries. Cognates in nearby languages such as Nunggubuyu, Ritharngu, and Warndarang are also listed. If the cognate in the other language is not shown, it can be assumed that its form is identical to its form in Ngandi. The term 'cognate' is used here in a wide sense, including areal vocabulary which has spread by diffusion rather than being retained independently by each language from a common ancestor. Almost all of the many items shared by Ngandi and Ritharngu are diffused items of this sort. 'Cognates' between Ngandi and Nunggubuyu, or Ngandi and Warndarang, have a better chance of being shared retentions, but even in these language-pairs many of the shared items are the product of diffusion.

An effort was made to re-check the transcriptions and glosses for as many entries as possible. However, in view of the limited duration of the fieldwork, and the fact that aside from some texts obtained from Sam, I had only one, middle-aged Ngandi informant, it is likely that some errors have crept in. In other cases the glosses are not as detailed and specific as might have been desired. However, the fairly substantial body of texts provides some check on such deficiencies.

Although I am not a trained field botanist or zoologist, I am confident that the scientific identifications given (other than those qualified by 'probably' or 'perhaps') are ninety per cent accurate according to taxonomic practice in early 1975. Readers should be aware, however, that taxonomic revisions in flora and fauna of this area are being constantly made and are likely to continue being made for some time. Thus as the decades roll on the identifications given here will require updating.

The second part of the dictionary consists of lists of Ngandi flora-fauna and (human) body-part terms grouped into domains. These domains are organised to enable readers to find the items quickly. The domain labels such as 'birds' do not necessarily correspond to native Ngandi lexical domains, and certainly do not always or even usually correspond to a particular Ngandi generic name. Thus Ngandi has no general term for 'bird', 'mammal', or 'body-part', though it does have terms meaning 'snake' and 'fish'. Under each heading, or subheading, are listed a number of Ngandi nouns, showing the noun-class prefix. Short glosses are given in parentheses for certain items only. No gloss is given for items which lack common English names, or which are already rather closely specified by a highly specific subheading label like 'water lily' or 'wasp'. Thus these domain lists are merely indices, and in order to get a gloss or a fuller description or scientific name it is necessary to dig up the relevant entry in the Ngandi-English dictionary.

One respect in which these lists may be helpful is in giving readers an indication as to how the various noun classes are distributed among the flora-fauna and body-part domains.

The third part of the dictionary is a supplementary, alphabetical English-Ngandi index. It omits items listed in the domains listings, including body-part terms. The English labels in the supplementary index are very brief and often inadequate; again, readers should check the relevant Ngandi-English entries for correction or amplification of the English glosses.

## NGANDI-ENGLISH DICTIONARY

Alphabetical order: a (and a:), b, č, d, ɖ, ɗ, e, g, i (and i:), j, k, l, ɭ, m, n, ŋ, ñ, ŋ, o (and o:), p, r, ɾ, t, ʈ, ʉ, u (and u:), w, y.

### A

- a- (Prf) a noun-class prefix, usually nonhuman, rarely indefinite human  
 alanga? (Part) *then, later on.*  
 Cogn: Rith walanga?  
 angač, angačba, angačbagu (Part)  
*although, whereas*  
 (ma-)aŋa (N) *mangroves with buttressed roots, (Rhizophora spp.).* Cogn: Nungg  
 ańba (N) occurs in the once-attested combination ańba ŋa-ki-ń *other.* Cogn: probably Nungg ańbaj *other*  
 a-ńja, a-ńja? see -ńja  
 arŋgu (Part) *all the way to (a place), to the point of.*  
 arŋgu ŋi-jawulpa-ʈi-na *until he becomes old.* Cogn: Warnd warŋgu  
 aru (Part) *because.* Syn: yamba.  
 Cogn: Warnd
- B
- ba- (VTrIrreg) *to bite; (insect) to sting.* Cogn: Nungg -wa-  
 (gu-)baba? (N) *bloodwood 'apple' (insect gall).* Found on ɖumuɭu?
- bača- (VTr2) *to hit.* Forms many cpds with body-part terms indicating the place of contact: ɖiŋ-bača- *to hit on the foot,* also attested with ŋin-, gibaŋ-, mo:-, mamburu-, maɾ-. Attested but rare without cpding element, cf. -bu-. Cogn: Nungg -wadja-  
 (a-)baču|ere|ere? (N) *masked plover*  
 (a-)baɖačara (N) *wasp*  
 -bag- (Prf) see -bak-  
 (ma-)ba:guɾu (N) *string headband.*  
 Cf. waɾambala. Cogn: Nungg, Rith  
 -bak- (Prf) Benefactive. Cf. gram-mar (8.8)  
 (a-)bakara (N) *long-necked tortoise, (Chelodina rugosa).* Syn: ɖalmaran, gaywal, way?way. Cogn: Rith  
 bakay (Adv) *in the south.* baki-č *southward.* baka-ya|a *from the south.* Cogn: Nungg wagi-, Rith ba:gay, Warnd wagi  
 (gu-)bal (N) *firewood.* Cogn: Rith ba:l, perhaps Nungg -w<sub>2</sub>al  
 bala- (Prf) *side* (in cpds). Cf. grammar (12.7). Cogn: Rith  
 balaka (1) (Adv) *before, previously.*  
 (2) (NAdj) *first*  
 balaɭa- (VTr2) *to put next to.* Rdp: bala-balaga-, balaɭi-n?guba-



(VTrCaus) to attach to the side. Obj. is thing attached. Cf. bala-

(a-)balkič (N) male agile (sandy) wallaby. Cf. borongol. Cogn: Rith.

(ma-)balku (N) rope, string. Syn: ɲaɟugu. Cogn: Rith.

(gu-)balpa (N) river. Cogn: Warnd balba

balpara (N) mate, companion. Cogn: Rith; Nungg balbara

(ma-)baɟara? (N) a wattle common on dunes at Numbulwar, (*Acacia torulosa*). Corr: Rith baɟara?, Nungg miɲar. Cogn: Nungg and Warnd baɟara, (*Acacia difficilis*)

baɟ-du- (VIntr1) to hide in tall grass. bak-baɟ-du- (VTrBen1) to catch or reach (s.t.) in tall grass

(ma-)baɟur (N) a kurrajong tree, (*Brachyhiton paradoxum*). Cogn: Rith; also Nungg aɟur rope fibre (obtained from kurrajong)

baɟja (N) male. Cogn: Nungg and Warnd waɟya

(gu-)baɟpuɟ? (N) strychnine tree, (*Strychnos lucida*). Cogn: Nungg wumbaɟbuɟ

bamɲar-du- (VIntr1) to be shy or ashamed

(a-)bandayama? (N) gecko lizard. Cogn: Rith

(a-)bangawuɟu (N) adult water goanna. Young: jarka?. Cogn: perhaps Rith wanɟgabu

(a-)baɲami (N) broilga. Cogn: Rith

(a-)baɲanga (N) a bird sp. which feeds on the ground and is well camouflaged, perhaps the owl-nightjar. Corr: Nungg baɲangarg

(ma-)baɲar? (N) 'marble tree', (*Owenia vermicosa*). Syn: jengiɾič. Cogn: Rith; Warnd and Nungg baɲar

(a-)baɲbalɲu (N) death adder. Cogn: Rith

baɲdaɲ (N) dried out (place); well-behaved, not violent.

(gu-)baɲdaɲ (N) desert. Cogn: Rith. Cf. gapurk

baɲdari (N) circumcised. Syn: gurmul

(gu-)baɲja (N) arm. Cogn: Nungg waɲja

(gu-)baɲabana (N) returning boomerang

baɲdi (N) a subsection name

bap (V) uninflected root form of yu- to put in, to put on

(a-)bara (N) north or northwest wind. Cogn: Warnd; Nungg ba:ra; Rith ba:ra?

(ma-)barakaɟ? (N) a tree sp. found in black soil country. Cogn: in various forms in many nearby languages, meaning spear or referring to tree spp. used for spear shafts

(a-)barani? (N) possum-like animal (*phascogale?*). Cogn: Rith

(ma-)barawu (N) boat. Cogn: Nungg, etc. (from Macassarese)

(gu-)barɟaray (N) a paperbark tree, (*Melaleuca* sp.). Found often on edges of billabongs. Cogn: Rith; Nungg warɟara

bar-du- (VIntr1) In cpd: ɟa:-bar-du- to open one's mouth. Cogn: Rith ɟa:-bar-yu-

(a-)bariɾ?bariɾ (N) rainbow bird. Cogn: Rith

(a-)bark (N) black wallaroo, (*Macropus bernardus*)

(gu-)baramurk (N) wild cucumber, (*Cucumis melo*). Var: barɲmurk. Cogn: Rith baramurk, Nungg warɲmurn

(a-)barɟar (N) a freshwater eel-tailed catfish, (*Neosilurus* sp.). Distinct from jomboɟok. Cogn: Rith. Corr: Nungg aɟaɟij

barɟbarɟ-bu- (VTR) (with bu-) to clap (boomerangs). ɲigu-barɟbarɟ-bu-ni He clapped boomerangs. Syn: ɟer?ɟer-bu-

(gu-)barɟku (N) taipan snake. Cf. ɟoɟoɟ. Cogn: Rith gubarɟku (with variants), Nungg wuwarɟu

(gu-)barɲmurk (N) see baramurk

barɲ (N) bitter, sour, bad-tasting. barɲ-di- (VIntrInch) to be/become bitter, etc.

(gu-)bun-barɲ (N) saltwater.

(ma-)burpa?-barɲ (N) a type of water lily, (*Nymphaea* sp.), found in rivers. Corr: Nungg arana. Distinct from burpa?.

barwič (N) white, light-coloured. Probably \*bar-wič (cf. ɟirwič) but rather frozen. Cogn: Rith barik, barič (N); cf. Rith bar-u- to be white

(a-)batu? (N) a very small freshwater fish, a perchlet or penny fish

baɟ (VTr) uninflected root form of ma- 'to get, to grab'. baɲja-baɟ to grab by the arm

baɟa- (Prf Comitative) barguni- ga-baɟa-waɟu-na He leaves them with (it). ɲi-baɟa-ɲ-i: He sat with (him). ɲi-ja-baɟa-bolk-ɟ-i He came out with (it). Cf. also -wič, ma-. Cogn: Rith. Cf. grammar (8.11).

(a-)baɟi? (N) march fly (several spp.)

(ɲi-)bayarak (N) honey bee, (*Trigona* sp.)

(a-)bayir female euro (hill kangaroo). Cf. ɟirk. Cogn: Rith, Nungg.

belk-bu- (VIntr) (with bu- as Aux) to tie spearhead onto spear shaft

benna- (VTr4a) to step on. Cogn: Nungg -wanna-. Past Rdp: benni-benni-ɾi

(gu-)bere (N) chest (of body), undershell (plastron) of turtle or tortoise, etc.

(ma-)berge? (N) green plum, (*Buchanania obovata*). Var: birgi?. Cogn: Rith birgi?

(gu-)beremelk (N) shoulder blade. Syn: miɟipi?. Cogn: Nungg birimil

bi- (V) see ba-

-bič (Sff) see -pič

bi:č (Part) Well, ... (in-frequent clause-introducer)

bičara (N) what's it? (place). From \*bi-čara, cf. bi-ɲja (under -ɲja) and jara

(gu-)bičiri (N) file snake. Cogn: Rith, Ngalkbon

biɟey?-ɟa- (VTr2) to carry (on shoulders). Rdp: biɟey?-biɟey?-ɟa- or biɟey-biɟey-ɟa-. ɟangu-biɟey?-ɟa- to carry meat

(a-)biɟi (N) wax

biɟič- (1) (Prf) nearly, almost. ɲarguni-ga-biɟič-yaw He nearly spears you (Pl). (2) biɟič-ma- (VTr) (with ma- as Aux) to miss, to do inaccurately or fail to do. bargu-mili?-ɟulu-biɟič-ma-yi lest they fail to perform ceremonial singing correctly. (3) biɟič-guba- (VTrCaus) to miss (an object at which something is thrown)

biɟiɲal (N) name of a clan. Rith-arngu-speaking clan group

(gu-)biɟipiɟi (N) a paperbark tree with large leaves, in flat open *Melaleuca viridiflora*. Cf. ɟakala?. Corr: Mara jamanbara Mara jamanbara

bijaja (NK) variant of ɲabijaja

(a-)bijay? (N) small goanna, perhaps juvenile wačunɟu. Cogn: Rith

(ɲi-)bijuɟu (N) whirlwind, twister. Cogn: Rith

(ma-)biličbilič (N) red-winged parrot. Cogn: Rith

bilili-ɟu- (VIntr1) in bun-bilili-ɟu- (water) to rise

(gu-)biliɲjiri (N) grass sp. used in corroborees. Syn: ruwur. Cogn: Warnd bilinjiri

(a-)biɟ? (N) sharp point, wire spike (in wire spear). gu-ja-ɲamulu-biɟ?-mak-ɟi-na It has a very sharp blade

(gu-)biɟa? (N) track, trail (e.g. of snake). (gu-)ɟiɲ-biɟa? (N) footprints, foot tracks

(ma-)biɟal (N) water lily leaf. Cogn: Warnd mbiɟal

biɟaɲ?-ɟu- (VTr1) to lick. Rdp: biɟaɲ-biɟaɲ-ɟu-. Cpd: mar-biɟaɲ-ɟ-i- (VIntrRef1) to lick one's hand. Cogn: Rith biɟaɲ?-gu-

biɟ?biɟ-ɟu- (VIntr1) to sing (with tapstick accompaniment). Cogn: Rith biɟ?biɟ tapstick. Cf. ɟiɲ-ɟu-

bi|iñ?-du- (VIntr) to turn off.  
 bi|iñ?-guba- (VTrCaus) to separate  
 (ma-)bi|mir (N) tapstick. Cogn: Rith bi|mir tree sp.  
 -bindi- (Prf) indeed, really. Cogn: Nungg -windi:yun (\*-bindi-yun), Warnd -bindi  
 -bini?- (Prf) see grammar (8.19)  
 (gu-)biñday (N) river cane grass, (*Chionachne cyathopoda*) (and other spp.). Cogn: Warnd, Rith; Nungg wubiñday  
 (a-)biñdaraña? (N) dark grunter (fish) sp., possibly *Hephaestus* sp. Distinct from |epal  
 (ma-)biñgulku? (N) shrub sp., perhaps a *Ludwigia*. Corr: Nungg wiñgulgul  
 (gu-)biñiñ (N) fingernail; toenail. Cogn: Rith  
 (a-)biñbiñja|a (N) small bat sp. which nests in trees. Syn: malapiñbiñ. Cogn: Warnd biñbinja|a  
 bi-ñja, bi-ñja? (Interr) see -ñja  
 (ma-)birgi? (N) see berge?  
 (ma-)biripiri? (N) nulla nulla  
 birka?-du- (VTr) to blame. Cogn: Rith birka?-yu-  
 (ñi-)birkuda (N) honey bee, (*Trigona* sp.). Corr: Rith birkuda, Nungg ñabi  
 bir?may? (Adv) truthfully. bir?may? ñi-ga-yima-na-? He tells the truth.  
 bir (N) much, many. Syn: ga|i. bir-ti- (VIntrInch) to be/become much, many. Cf. jalpiř, jalrumbiř  
 (ma-)biřay? (N) a shrub with fleshy reddish fruits, (*Pouteria sericea*). Cogn: Rith  
 bir?-du- (VIntr) in dowo-biř?-du- to tell a story  
 birkar?-du- (VIntr) to chant (in ceremony). Rdp birkar?-birkar?-du-. Cogn: Rith birkar?-yu-  
 bit-bu- (VIntr) (with bu- as Aux) to go up (slope), to climb  
 (a-)biřbidok (N) a very small, yellowish bird. Corr: Nungg budjuđug

biř-guba- (VTrCaus) to throw (spear)  
 biřin (N) soft. biřin-đi- (VIntrInch) to be/become soft  
 (a-)biřjuk (N) a small bird, perhaps white-breasted whistler  
 biyir?-du- (VTr) to twist  
 bo- (V) see bu-  
 bođop-du- (VIntr) to go across. Cpd with Caus: gič-bođop-guba- to cross in front of. Cogn: Rith buđap-u-  
 (o-)bogočbogoč (N) bar-shouldered dove. Cogn: Rith bugučbuguč  
 (gu-)boko? (N) type of spear, shaft from jono| tree. Cf. wiñgil. Cogn: Rith baka?  
 (mo-)bol (N) a tree with gum on the bark, (*Terminalia canescens*)  
 bolk-du- (VIntr) to come out (to a camp), to appear; to be born.  
 bak-bolk-du- (VTrBen) to come out to, to appear to. bol-kuba- (VTrCaus) to cause to come out  
 (mo-)bolkol (N) rough water lily root, sometimes found floating on surface, from *Nymphaea* sp. Corr: Nungg mangawuja. Cogn: Rith baka|  
 (gu-)bololo (N) tree sp. Cogn: Rith, Ngalkbon  
 (o-)bombořkbombořk (N) an ant, black with silvery patches, (*Polyrachis* sp.). Cogn: Rith bambarkbambark, Nungg bambarbambar  
 (o-)boñdok (N) flat woomera. Cogn: Nungg wañdag, Rith bañdak  
 (mo-)boñgo? (N) blood  
 boñ (Adv) that is all, it is finished. ja-boñ that is all now  
 (o-)boñga (N) a large rock goanna, (*Varanus glebopalma*)  
 (gu-)boñdo (N) creek. Cf. balpa  
 bop-du- (VIntr) to have an odour. Attested only in the following combinations: (1) buč-bop-du- (VIntr) to have an odour. (2) ñur-bo-pop-du- (VIntr) (from /-bop-bop-/) to smell bad, to

have body odour. (3) ña:-bo-pop-du (VIntr) to have a bad-smelling mouth. The form -bo(-)pop- is rather frozen in the latter two and may be considered a unit -bopop-  
 bopop see bop-du-  
 borama (N) boss. borama-đi- (VIntrInch) to be/become boss. Cf. wel, dubur  
 (mo-)borolk (N) a wattle, (*Acacia* sp.) with fairly broad leaves, long flower spike, and sweet-tasting gum on the bark  
 (o-)borongol (N) agile (sandy) wallaby, (*Macropus agilis*). Male: balkič. Female: jaruřu. Cogn: Rith barangal  
 (mo-)bořogor? (N) river whistling tree, (*Casuarina cunninghamiana*). Cogn: Rith baragar? or burugur?  
 (mo-)bořok (N) small swamp plant with edible tubers like those of ñarmuđa?. Possibly a variant of *Triglochin procera*, or a plant in family Liliaceae  
 bot (N) (1) (o-)bot (N) bush fly; flies, bees, and wasps generally. (2) (ñi-)bot (N) honey bee ('sugarbag fly'), any sp. Cogn: Rith buwat  
 bow?-du- (VIntr) to break open, to crack  
 bu- (VTrIrreg) to hit (hard); to kill. bu-yđi- (VIntrRecip) to fight. Recip Rdp buyđi-pu-yđi-. For bu- functioning as 'auxiliary', e.g. bit-bu-, belk-bu-, see listing under first element. In cpds and in Refl suppleted by bača-. Cogn: most Australian languages.  
 buč- (Prf) a compounding element referring to smells. Cf. bop-du-, warjak  
 (gu-/ma-)buđuga (N) a tree used for medicine and firesticks, (*Clerodendrum floribundum*). Cogn: Nungg, Warnd; Rith buđuga?  
 bu?-du- (VIntr) to blow (e.g. to produce flame from sparks). Cogn: Rith bu:ř-yu-  
 bugan? (Part) There!, See! (used when something which the speaker

has been claiming is verified or is manifested)  
 -bugi? (Sff) only, still, nothing but. Cf. -?ñiri?. Cogn: Nungg -wugij, Warnd bugi, Rith buki?  
 (ñi-)bugulbugul (N) honey bee, (*Trigona* sp.)  
 buju?-du- (VTr) to twist together, to make (string). Cogn: Rith buju?-yu-  
 buk- (Prf) habitual. Cf. yara, ñařar  
 (ma-)bukur (N) grass fish net  
 (gu-)bul (N) smoke. For cpd cf. gařu-  
 -bula see -pula  
 (a-)bulbaba (N) moth  
 (a-)bulči? (N) lawbag  
 bulk- (Prf) ñama-bulk-mañiñ?-đ-i I dodged it (spear). ñama-bulk-warjaki-ñ I dodged it (spear).  
 (gu-)bulka? (N) body hair; fur. Cogn: Rith  
 bulkuy (Part) indeed, to be sure. Cogn: Warnd wulguy  
 (ma-)bulu? (N) stick with bits of grass attached to end (poked into bee hive to obtain honey). Cogn: Rith; Nungg wulug  
 (a-)bulugi (N) bullock (loanword)  
 buluki? (Adv) again, more, furthermore  
 bu|?bu|-du- (VIntr) to sneak up (covered by ñul? camouflage), as in hunting emus. bu|?bu|-guřa- (VTrDir) to sneak up on or to (emu, etc.). Cf. galka-. Cogn: Rith bu|?bu|-u-  
 bu|et-du- (VIntr) to turn over, to flip over. bu|et-guba- (VTrCaus) to put upside down, to flip (something) over  
 bu|ku (N) cooked, ripe, ready to eat. bu|ku-đi- (VIntrInch) to be/become cooked, etc. Common as compounding element when reference is made to a cooked or ripe object, cf. wiri?-du-, yowk-đa-  
 (a-)bu|ñin (N) long genital cover, made from possum skin.

Cf. warṃir. Cogn: Warnd wu|ñin  
 (gu-)bu|ṃu? (N) ashes. Cogn: Rith, Warnd bu|ṃu  
 (gu-)bu|ṃuruka? (N) a shrub with soft, edible white fruits, (*Securinea virosa*). Cogn: Rith  
 bun- (Prf) a common compounding element referring to water or liquids. Cf. ṃu-, wir?, ḍoro?-ḍu-, bilili-ḍu-, buṃurk, warakayaw?, goč, buṃa-, geyk-ḍa-  
 (ma-)bunbačala (N) grass or grass-like plant used for making fish traps  
 (a-)bundul (N) black (fork-tailed) kite, perhaps also little eagle. Cogn: Rith  
 (a-)bungalalakalala (N) mangrove bittern (bird)  
 (a-)buṃba (N) butterfly. Cf. bulbaba. Cogn: Rith  
 (ma-)buṃjuṃu? (N) wild orange tree, (*Capparis umbonata*). Cogn: Rith. Corr: Nungg yiliwiṃ  
 buṃurk (N) dirty (water). (gu-)bun-buṃurk (N) dirty water. Cogn: Rith buṃulk  
 buṃa- (VIntr5) to rush along, to go rapidly, to drive along (in a car). Cpd: bun-buṃa- (water) to rush along. Rdp: buṃa- puṃa-. Cf. ṃi-  
 (a-)bungul (N) song, singing (with tapsticks). Cogn: Rith  
 (a-)burčumu|u? (N) mud-nest wasp with large body  
 burguburgu-ḍi- (VIntr3a) to die off. ba-burguburgu-ḍi-ñ They have died off.  
 burkayi (Sff) really, truly, very. Cf. yul  
 burk-ḍa- (VTr2) to bury, to cover with dirt or sand. burk-ḍi- (VIntrRefl) to be/become covered or hidden. Rdp: burk-burk-ḍa-. Cogn: Nungg -wurḍa-  
 buru- (VTr6a) to smell. Rdp: buru-buru-. Takes the form -puru- in cpds: maṃ-puru- to smell the hand of; baṃja-puru- to smell the arm of; naṃaka-buru- (with secondary lenition of /p/ to b) to smell the bones of. Cogn: possibly Nungg -yara-  
 buruburu? (1) (Adv) nearby. (2) (N) nearby. (3) buruburu?-ḍi- (VIntrInch) to be/become nearby. bak-buruburu?-ḍi- (VTr-InchBen) to be/become close to. buruburu?-gu|a- (VTrDir) to move close to, to approach. Cf. ḍawal  
 (a-)burugulu (N) a brownish python sp. with yellowish belly and short head, often found living in trees. Cf. manangu|a  
 buru|u| (N) soft, not firm (used of ground)  
 burumburuṃa (N) (1) (ma-)burumburuṃa (N) Milky Way. Syn: jama|ara. (2) (a-)burumburuṃa (N) ground snail. Syn: gaka?  
 (ma-)burunburuṃ? (N) a reddish vine whose berries are eaten by emus, (*Cassytha filiformis*). Cogn: Rith; also Nungg wuruṃ-buruṃ  
 (ma-)buruṃandi? (N) a smelly tortoise sp. said to have a medium-long neck. Cogn: Rith; Warnd buruṃandiñ  
 (a-)buruṃji (N) water python, (*Liasis fuscus*). Corr: Nungg a|ja, Rith buruṃji  
 (ma-)buṃur (N) scrotum. Cf. warṃ. Cogn: Rith buṃurur  
 (ma-)buṃpa? (N) root of water lily, (*Nymphaea ?violacea*). Found in shallow water in billabongs, not rivers. Cf. baṃ. Cogn: Rith.  
 (a-)buṃutbuṃut (N) mouse. Cogn: Rith  
 (gu-)buṃ (N) ant mound  
 buṃ-ḍu- (VIntr1) to fly, to fly away. Cogn: Rith  
 (ma-)buṃalak (N) yellow clay and paint made from it. Syn: goloṃor?. Cogn: Rith; Nungg wuḍalag  
 (ma-)buṃi? (N) a fish sp., probably mouth almighty  
 buyḍi- (VIntrRecip) see bu-  
 buypuy-ṃa (VTr) (contains -ṃa- to burn) to scorch the surface of (an animal's body, to seal it before it is cooked in an oven). Cogn: Rith buypi-baṃa-

(ma-)buyu? (N) a shrub with berries, possibly *Grewia orientalis*. Cogn: Rith; Nungg mabuyu

## č

-či-ñ (Dem) ṃa-či-ñ to there, that way  
 -či-ri (Dem) ṃa-či-ri to there, that way. ṃa-či-ri-wala from there  
 -ču, -ču-? (Dem) ṃi-ču-? to here, this way. ṃi-ču-wala-?, ṃi-ču-wili-ñ from here. ṃa-ču-? to there, that way. ṃa-ču-wala-?, ṃa-ču-wili-ñ from there

## ḍ

ḍa:-bu- (VTr) (contains bu- as Aux) to test, to try out. ḍa:-b-i- (VIntrRefl) to make an effort. (Note that this is not really reflexive semantically.) Cpd: mañ-ḍa-bu- (VTr) to taste. Syn of this cpd: yika- (mañ-ika-)  
 ḍaḍač-ga- (VIntr) (contains ga- 'to carry' as Aux) to set out grass-based fish trap across a creek  
 (gu-)ḍakawa? (N) large crayfish sp. Cf. ja|a. Cogn: Rith; Nungg ḍagawa  
 ḍak-ḍu- (VTr1) to cut, to cut off, to sever, to circumcise. Cogn: Rith ḍak-u-  
 (ma-)ḍalaḍala (N) box; wooden coffin. Cogn: Nungg maḍalaḍala  
 ḍalaḍa- (VIntr2) to construct dam (in making fish trap). Rdp: ḍala-ḍalaḍa-  
 (ma-)ḍalgir (N) probably a ground orchid sp. Cogn: Rith ḍalgir 'orchid sp.'. Cf. jalkurk, ḍuṃḍa?  
 (a-)ḍalmarṃ (N) long-necked tortoise, (*Chelodina ?rugosa*). Syn: bakara, gaywal, way?way. Cogn: Nungg ḍalma:raṃ  
 (ṃa-)ḍamala (N) wedge-tailed eagle (eaglehawk). Cogn: Rith  
 (gu-)ḍamurkalaṃ? (N) herb in swamp with yellow flowers, edible tubers, (*Cartonema parviflorum*). Cf. ḍiwa|ungur. Cogn: Rith ḍimarkalaṃ?  
 (gu-)ḍanbar? (N) bark of stringy-bark tree (ḍaḍayka?), (*Eucalyptus tetradonta*)  
 ḍap-ḍu- (VIntr1) attested only in ḍa:-ḍap-gub-i- (VIntrCausRefl) to close one's mouth; to sit silently. Cogn: Rith ḍap-u- to be joined or closed; ḍa:-ḍap-u- to have one's mouth closed  
 (a-)ḍapururu? (N) short-horned grasshopper. Cogn: Rith; also Nungg ḍabururug, Warnd ḍabururu  
 (a-)ḍarabiya? (N) red-tailed black cockatoo. Cogn: Rith  
 (a-)ḍarara (N) probably the spotted tree goanna, (*Varanus tristis orientalis*). Corr: Nungg gabayayag. Cf. gu|eč|eč  
 (gu-)ḍarawk (N) ghost gum, 'white-bark' tree, (*Eucalyptus papuana*). Cogn: Rith. Cf. maṃarawk  
 (gu-)ḍarin (N) (coastal jungle) cane grass, (*Phragmites karka*). Cogn: Warnd  
 (ma-)ḍarpa? (N) string  
 (ma-)ḍaw? (N) a crawling vine with yam, similar to ḍawalala?, perhaps an *Ipomoea* sp.  
 (ma-)ḍawalala? (N) a yam, (*Ipomoea gracilis*) or a very closely related *Ipomoea* sp. Cogn: Rith; Nungg |awalala  
 (gu-)ḍene (N) side (of object). Cf. bala-. Cogn: Rith ḍini  
 ḍeremu (N) man. Var: ḍirimu. Cogn: Rith ḍaramu  
 (ma-)ḍerene? (N) wild apple tree, (*Syzygium suborbiculare* = *Eugenia suborbicularis*)  
 ḍerp-ḍu- (VTr1) to tie up (person or object), to tie (spearhead, onto spear shaft). Cpd: ganda-ḍerp-ḍu- to tie up legs of; maṃa-ḍerp-ḍu- to tie up neck of; etc.  
 ḍer?ḍer (N) strong. ḍer?ḍer-ḍi- (VIntrInch) to be/become strong

det-du- (VTr1) to slice (e.g. jalma yam) into slices or chips  
(a-)dew?dew (N) dollarbird. Cogn: Rith diw?diw  
dey?-du- (VTr1) to scratch (lightly). Cf. derey?-bu-. Cogn: Rith di:~yu- to pinch, to tickle  
(gu-)dičbark (N) 'bush lily' with large white flower and large white bulb, (Criminum asiaticum). Cogn: Rith. Corr: Nungg lajbag  
(a-)diđičur? (N) whistling eagle diku (N) (1) raw, uncooked, potentially edible but not yet ready to eat. (2) (especially as first part of cpds) fallen, fainted, collapsed, unconscious, dead. For cpds cf. nuñju(-ji-), ga-. Cogn: Rith; Nungg digu  
(gu-)dila (N) (1) coolamon (paper-bark dish). (2) a paperbark tree, (Melaleuca sp.), with fairly hard bark suitable for coolamons. Corr: Nungg labara (both senses). Cogn: Rith dila  
(gu-)dil?dil (N) milkwood tree, (Alstonia actinophylla)  
(a-)di|kdi|k (N) mudlark ('pee-wee')  
(a-)diñdir (N) burdekin duck. Cogn: Nungg diñdir, Rith dirñdir  
dirimu (N) see deremu  
(a-)diwač (N) green pygmy-goose. Cogn: Rith, Nungg, Warnd  
(ma-)diwajungur (N) a swamp plant with yellow flowers, edible tubers, (Cartonema spicatum). Cf. damurkalan?  
(gu-)diwiñ? (N) eucalypt sp. on hills, bark dark at base  
dođo?-du- (VIntr1) to go down  
doikdoik-du- (VIntr1) to line up, to form a line or queue  
(mo-)dolo (N) stomach. Refers to the internal organ only. For cpd cf. gorja-. Cf. also woypoy?  
(gu-)doliol (N) a snake said to be poisonous, similar to taipan (barku)  
(gu-)domoťomo? (N) tree sp. (wattle) whose wood is used for digging sticks (jaka?). Cogn: Rith đamaťama?  
đopol?-du- (VIntr1) to lie down  
đorka- (VTr4a) to break off. Past Rdp: đorgi-đorgi-ri  
đoro?-du- (VIntr1) (floodwaters) to dry up. Cpd: bun-đoro?-du- (VIntr1) (water) to dry up  
đoror?-du- (VTr1) to pull  
đorji- (VIntr3) (grass) to burn  
đow (Interj) Bang! (sound of shots being fired)  
đow?-du- (VTr1) to strip (bark) off. Cogn: Rith đaw?-wu-  
(a-)đu? (N) brush-tailed possum. Syn: miťiwiri?  
(ma-)đubal (N) large tree with edible fruits, probably leichhardt tree, (Nauclea coadunata). Corr: Warnd đubal, Rith đu:bal, Nungg yimimi  
(ma-)đuđuduđu? (N) mangrove with dangerous milky sap, (Excaecaria agollacha). Cogn: Nungg đuđuduđu  
(a-)đuđugula? (N) ring-tailed possum. Cf. đu?, gañburk  
đuk-du- (VIntr1) to be tied up  
(gu-)đu|? (N) branches used as camouflage (in stalking emus). Cogn: Rith đu:|?, Nungg đu:l  
đu|?-du- (VIntr1) to catch fire, to become lit. đu|?-guba- (VTrCaus) to light, to set fire to. Cogn: Rith đu|?-yu-  
(gu-)đu|ťul (N) tree sp. found in rainforest  
đum?-bu- (VTr) (contains bu- as Aux) to open up. Cogn: Rith  
(ma-)đumbuyumbu? (N) sandalwood, (Santalum lanceolatum). Var: đumbuduđu?. Cogn: Rith đumbuduđu?, Nungg đumbuřumbu, Warnd đumbuyumbu  
đumur?-du- (VTr1) to break off  
(gu-)đunuru (N) ankle. Cogn: Rith  
(gu-)đupun (N) hollow log. Cogn: Rith  
đur?-du- (VIntr1) to sit down, to stop (and sit down). đur?-guba- (VTrCaus) to cause to sit down  
(a-)đurič (N) mistletoe bird  
đuwa|kđuwa|k (N) clean-surfaced, free of feathers or hair. Cpd: |oñ-đuwa|kđuwa|k (N) bald

(a-)đuwaw? (N) koel. Cogn: Rith đu:waw?  
(gu-)đuymanji (N) wild potato. Corr: Warnd đuymanji, Nungg wuduñmanji  
(ma-)đuypun (N) sleepy cod 'mudfish', (Oxyeleotris lineolatus). Cogn: Rith

## D

-đa- (Sff) thematising augment for most class 2 verbs  
(gu-)đa: (N) mouth. For cpds cf. đap-, gulk-du-, etc. Cogn: Rith đa:, Nungg cpding prefix -|a-, etc.  
đa:- (Prf) see gulk-du-, yirgi-du-  
đađabarñ? (Adv) (1) afternoon. (2) yesterday; the preceding day. Rdp: đađa?-đađabarñ?, sometimes reduced to đa?-đađabarñ? in rapid speech. đađabarñ? wangiñ? day before yesterday  
đagu (Part) (sense unclear). See Texts 5.5, 9.4.  
(gu-)đakal (N) jaw. Cogn: Rith; also Warnd jawal. May contain đa- from đa:.  
(a-)đakbarara? (N) green tree frog. Cogn: Nungg đabararag  
đakidič (1) (gu-)đakidič (N) vegetable food (as change of diet after eating meat). (2) đakidič-du- (VIntr1) to eat vegetables (as change of diet). Cogn: Rith đakađač, Nungg đa:gađaj  
đaku (N) small, young. As N: child. Rdp: đaku-đaku. Dimin: đaku-gaña?, đaku-đi- (VIntr-Inch) to be/become small  
đaku (Nk) (1) (ñi-)đaku nephew (sister's son). (2) (ña-)đaku niece (sister's daughter)  
(gu-)đaku|a (N) lip. Cogn: Nungg |agu|ag. Both composed of \*đa- 'mouth' and a stem related to the word for 'skin' (Ngandi gu|a?)  
(ñi-)đala (N) dreaming, totem.

Cogn: Rith đa:la  
(ma-)đalawuťbuť (N) brownish stinging ant sp. Corr: Nungg |alawunbuñ  
(ma-)đalkurk (N) mangrove with pointed leaves, small green fruits, (Avicennia marina). Cogn: Rith; Nungg |algur(g)  
đa|ñirney?-du- (VIntr1) (fish) to stir up water, make bubbles  
(gu-)đa|pi? (N) a palm, (Livistona humilis). Cogn: Rith; Nungg |albij  
(ma-)đa|pur? (N) two-lined dragon (common among sand dunes). Cf. ñañjarma|i?, |ok|ok. Cogn: Rith  
(gu-)đa|wan (N) cave  
(a-)đa|ara (N) king brown snake. Syn: đaramayal. Cogn: Rith; Nungg |a|ara  
đa|?-du- (VTr1) to roast (in oven). Cogn: perhaps Rith guđa|?-yu-  
(ma-)đa|iñ (N) wild grape, (Cissus or Ampelocissus sp.)  
(ma-)đa|ungu (N) hook spear. Cogn: Rith; Nungg |a|ungu; Warnd maya|ungu  
đam?- (1) đam?-du- (VIntr1) to be covered. Cpd: ganam-đam?-du- to have one's ears covered, to be deaf. (2) đam?-bu- (VTr) (contains bu- as Aux) to close up, to block off (passage). Cogn: Rith đam?-bu- (matches Ngandi đam?-du-, not Ngandi đam?-bu-)  
đamba?-du- (V1) attested only in bag-ič-đamba?-du- (VTrBen) to get revenge on. (Contains bak-, -yič-.)  
(gu-)đambaku (N) tobacco (loanword)  
(a-)đambul (N) feathered sticks. Cogn: Nungg đa:mbu|g  
(gu-)đambur (N) sand, sandhill. Cogn: Rith  
(gu-)đamulñ (N) fodder. Cogn: perhaps Rith đamulñ?-gu- 'to grow'  
đanbow-du- (VIntr1) to be open, to be in the open, to stretch out in the open  
(gu-)đanda? (N) tree. For cpds cf. |u|?|u|, đunupa etc. Cf. wali

(gu-)ḡangapa? (N) *a tree, (Per-soonia falcata)*. Cogn: Rith; Dhay?yi and Dhuwal ḡangapa  
(a-)ḡaḡḡiya? (N) *mat*  
ḡaḡ?- (Prf) a rare compounding element meaning 'place near ...'. ḡaḡ?-bičara *place near what's it?* ḡaḡ?-bulmun *place near Bulmun*  
(ma-)ḡaḡgi? (N) *billygoat plum, (Planchonia careya)*. Cogn: Rith; Nung ḡaḡgi  
(a-)ḡaḡgu (N) *meat, flesh*. Cpd: cf. ma-. Cogn: Rith ḡa:ḡgu, Nung ḡaḡgu  
(gu-)ḡaḡič (N) *fire (except wurk)*. Cogn: perhaps Rith ḡa:ḡa? and Nung ḡa:ḡaḡ 'torch, burning stick'  
(a-)ḡapalañ (N) *caterpillar*. Cogn: Rith  
(ḡa-)ḡapo|k (N) (1) *star*. (2) *ant lion larva*. Cogn: Rith ḡapa|k  
ḡarakay (N) *last-born*. Cogn: Rith  
(a-)ḡaramaya (N) *king brown snake*. Syn: ḡa|ara  
(ma-)ḡarawañ? (N) *eucalypt sp. in hilly country, said to resemble woollybutt (ruḡuru?) but with thinner leaves*. Possibly *Eucalyptus phoenicea*. Cogn: Rith  
ḡar?-ḡa- (VTr2) *to spear*. Rdp: ḡar?-ḡar?-ḡa-. Cf. ḡam-ḡa-, yaw-ḡu-. Cogn: perhaps Rith ḡark-u-  
ḡarḡaḡa? (Adv) *other side*  
ḡarḡaḡa?-yala ḡi-ḡu-ḡa *He sits on the other side*.  
ḡarkḡark (N) *rough*. Cogn: Rith; Nung ḡarḡarḡ  
ḡarpal (N) *big*. More common than waḡar. Cf. also -ḡarḡarḡa?. Cogn: Rith  
(gu-)ḡarpič (N) *thigh, upper leg*. For cpd cf. ḡoḡk-ḡu-. Cogn: Nung ḡarbi|j  
ḡark-ḡu- (VIntr1) *to go back and forth*. Cpd: mo|o-ḡark-ḡu- (same meaning)  
(ma-)ḡatam (N) *black fruit from deep-water water lily, (Nymphaea ?gigantea)*. Cogn: Rith. Corr: Nung ayag  
ḡawa? (Adv) *now, today, these days*. Rdp: ḡawa-ḡawa?. Cpd: malk-ḡawa-ḡawa? *in recent times*.  
(gu-)ḡawal (N) *country, place*. Cpd: gu-ḡawal-buruburu? *nearby country*; gu-ḡawal-wiri|pu *different country*; gu-ḡawal-yapan? *both countries*; etc. Cf. also wel, waḡaka?-ḡu-, and maka- for more cpds. Cogn: Rith; Nung ḡa:l  
(gu-)ḡawarak (N) *beard, whiskers*. Cogn: Rith; Nung ḡa:rag  
(gu-)ḡe|ḡ (N) *tongue*. Cogn: Rith ḡi:lḡ, Warnd -ñjiyilḡ  
(gu-)ḡeḡ (N) *foot*. Cpd: cf. bi|a?, bača-, ḡal?-ḡu-, ḡaliñ-ḡu-. Takes the form ḡiḡ- in cpds.  
ḡerey?-bu- (VTr) (contains bu- as Aux) *to scratch deeply*. Cf. ḡey?-ḡu-  
(gu-)ḡeren (N) *billabong, lagoon*  
ḡi- (V) see ḡu- ('to stand')  
-ḡi- (Sff) (1) see -ḡi-. (2) (-ḡ-i-) Refl of -ḡu- or -ḡa-. (3) (-ḡ-i-) Past Punctual of -ḡu- or -ḡa-  
ḡiḡ- (Prf) compounding form of ḡeḡ  
ḡiḡ? (N) (1) *woman*. (2) *wife*. Cogn: Rith  
ḡiḡ?ḡiḡ?-ḡu- (VTr1) *to suck (milk)*. agu-ḡiḡ?ḡiḡ?-ḡu-ni *It (baby) is sucking at (its mother's) breast*  
ḡiri?-ḡu- (VTr1) *to touch*  
(a-)ḡirk (N) *euro (hill kangaroo), (Macropus robustus)*. Male: murpungu|a. Female: bayir. Corr: Mara girimbu  
ḡirk- (Prf) forms derivatives meaning 'people of (an area)'. ba-ḡirk-bičara *people from what's it?* ba-ḡirk-ḡuḡanda *people of ḡuḡanda (a place name)*  
(a-)ḡirkḡirk (N) *spiny-tailed goanna, (Varanus acanthurus)*. Cogn: Rith  
(ma-)ḡiriw? (N) *a tree, (Alphitonia sp.)*. Cogn: Rith; also Nung ḡiriwig  
(gu-)ḡiw (N) *liver*  
(gu-)ḡiwir? (N) *wild cassava, (Cochlospermum sp.)*. Cogn: Nung ḡi:rj  
ḡo- (1) (VTrIrreg) *to chop down, to cut down (a tree)*. Becomes

-ḡo- in cpds: wali-ḡo- (VTrIrreg) *to chop down wood*. (2) (VIntrIrreg) *to do some chopping (object not expressed)*. Cogn: Rith ḡu:-, Nung -ḡa-  
ḡo- (V) (In ḡo-ḡow) see ḡu- ('to stand')  
ḡokmay? (N) *long*  
ḡologo?-ḡu- (VTr1) *to copulate with*  
ḡo|?ḡo|-ḡu- (VIntr1) (*cloud*) *to float along*  
ḡoḡ-ḡu- (VIntr1) *to break a bone*. Cpd: ḡarpič-ḡoḡk-ḡu- (VIntr1) *to break one's upper leg*. ḡoḡ-kuba- (VTrCaus) *to break (someone else's bone)*  
(mo-)ḡorow? (N) *emu bush, quinine bush, (Petalostigma pubescens)*. Cogn: Rith ḡaraw?, Nung ḡarag  
(gu-)ḡowo (N) *story*. Cpd: cf. biḡ?-ḡu-. Cogn: Rith ḡa:wu, Nung ḡa:wu  
ḡu- (VIntrIrreg) *to be standing*. Usually found in the combination jaka-ḡu- *to be standing*. Cogn: Nung -ḡa-, Warnd -juḡa (-ju-ḡa), etc.  
-ḡu (Sff) (with nouns) see -ḡu  
-ḡu- (Sff) (with verbs) thematising augment for class 1 verbs  
ḡubuḡu? (N) *short*. Syn: ḡumbuḡ. Cogn: Rith  
(gu-)ḡubur (N) *thing, matter, business (abstract noun)*. May refer generally to tribal 'law' and traditions. gu-ja-ḡubur-warjak *It (is/was) a bad thing*. (gu-)ḡubur-ḡarḡarḡa? (N) *a big (important) matter*. (gu-)ḡubur-borama (N) *very good thing*. Other cpds: cf. ḡuñju-ḡi-, ḡalḡa-, warjaka-, yima-, yimin?, yika-, ḡawk-ḡu-, maḡiñ?-ḡu-  
ḡuḡu?-ḡu- (VIntr1) *to be incapable (of doing something), to be unable to do anything*  
(ma-)ḡuḡu? (N) *a yam which is cooked before being eaten, probably Boerhavia diffusa*  
(gu-)ḡuku? (N) *a paperbark tree with thick, crooked trunk and loose bark, (Melaleuca leucadendron) (form found in savannah on coastal dunes)*. Corr: Nung

miḡi. Cogn: Rith ḡu:ku?  
(ma-)ḡukul (N) *'soap tree', (Acacia holosericea)*. Cf. ḡara|a|an. Cogn: Rith; also Nung wuḡuḡul, Warnd juḡul  
(gu-)ḡul (N) *dust*  
(gu-)ḡulḡu (N) *a paperbark tree resembling ḡuku? in appearance, (Melaleuca leucadendron) (form found on river banks)*. Corr: Rith ḡulḡu, Nung ḡuluwu  
(ma-)ḡuliñ? (N) *a climbing vine, (Tinospora smilacina)*  
ḡulma (NAdj) *soft*. Cogn: Rith ḡulmaḡulma  
ḡulu- (Prf) a compounding element referring to ceremonial or corroboree performance. Cpd: cf. biḡič-ma-, maḡiñ?-ḡu-, wara?wara  
ḡumbal?-ḡu- (VIntr1) *to be inactive, to not participate actively (e.g. in ceremony)*  
(gu-)ḡumbi (N) *freshwater long-tom fish*  
(ma-)ḡumbuḡumbu? (N) see ḡumbu-yumbu?  
ḡumbuḡu (N) *short*. Dimin: ḡumbuḡ-ḡaḡa? *quite short*. Syn: ḡubuḡu?. Cogn: Rith  
(gu-)ḡumu (N) *waist*. Cpd: cf. ḡulk-ḡu-. Cogn: Nung ḡumu  
(gu-)ḡumu|u? (N) *bloodwood, (Eucalyptus polycarpa)*. Cogn: Rith; also Nung ḡumu|ug. Cf. baba?  
(gu-)ḡumundu? (N) *tree stump*. Cogn: perhaps Rith ḡumunumun  
ḡunupa (N) *straight*. (gu-)ḡanda?-ḡunupa (N) *straight tree or stick*. Cogn: Rith  
(ma-)ḡuḡa? (N) probably *bloodroot, (Haemodorum sp.)*. Terms for bloodroot and orchids (ḡalḡir, jalkurk), all of which are used for reddish dyes, may be unchanged. Cogn: Rith ḡu:ḡa?, Nung ḡu:ḡa  
(ma-)ḡuḡa? (N) *young bandicoot (waḡura?)*. Cogn: Rith  
(ma-)ḡurči (N) *a wattle said to be common in swamps, similar to ḡaypa|?, perhaps like Acacia aulacocarpa*. Cogn: Rith ḡurči?  
ḡurḡur (N) *fat, corpulent*

(gu-)durkul (N) *humpy*  
 duṭ (V) attested in nabara-duṭ-  
 may? I do not trust them  
 duwa (N) of the Dhuwa moiety.  
 Cogn: Rith du:wa, Nungg  
 manda:yun (\*man-duwa-yun)

G

-ga- (Prf) a weak subordinating  
 or defocusing element (see  
 grammar, 8.4)

ga- (VTrIrreg) to carry (in the  
 hands). Cpd: ḍiku-ga- (VTr) to  
 carry (corpse or carcass).  
 ba-ka- (VTrBen) to carry (s.t.)  
 to. Cogn: Rith ga:-, etc.

ga:- (Prf) a compounding element  
 indicating progression of  
 motion: 'around, along'. Cf.  
 gaṛu-, nima-

gačal-ma- (VIntr) (contains ma-  
 to get as auxiliary) to play

gačar?- (N) attested in baru-  
 birka?-du-ni gačar?-gič They  
 blame him wrongly

gađa (Interj) Oh! Hey! Cogn:  
 Rith, Nungg

gađak (Nk) spouse (husband, wife)

gađaku (N) uncircumcised. Cogn:  
 Rith; Nungg aragu

(a-)gađargađar (N) immature emu;  
 adult: wurpaṅ. Cogn: Rith

(gu-)gađayka? (N) stringybark  
 tree, (*Eucalyptus tetradonta*).  
 Cf. ḍanbar?, gowk. Cogn: Rith

gađi (Adv) (at) downriver. gađi-  
 č-bič (Adv) (to) downriver.  
 gađi-yala (Adv) from downriver

(a-)gaka? (N) land snail. Syn:  
 burumburuṅa. Cogn: Nungg  
 ga:gag

(a-)gajaguru (N) bird sp. similar  
 to jarađatbuwa, but smaller.  
 Eats lizards, etc. Inhabits  
 freshwater rivers

(a-)gajit (N) knife, blade. Cogn:  
 Rith

(gu-)gala (N) hill

(ma-)galañan? (N) cement obtained  
 from roots of ironwood  
 (miṅiyar?) or from trunk of  
 cypress (gaḷiñ?). Cogn: Rith

galañin?, Nungg alañan

(gu-)galaṅaṅa? (N) a kind of  
 wild onion. Corr: Nungg  
 wugalaṅaṅa, Warnd galaṅaṅa

(gu-)galar (N) a chenopod plant  
 found in saltpans and sand  
 dunes, (*Tecticornia austral-*  
*asica*)

galḍa- (VTr2) attested only in:  
 ḍubur-kaḍa- (VTr2) to join,  
 to connect

galič (Adv) some (other). mal-  
 kalič (Adv) sometimes, some  
 other times. This form is much  
 more common than galič.  
 mala-galič (N) some, some  
 other

gali-ma- (VTr) (contains ma- 'to  
 get' as auxiliary) to summon;  
 to muster, to round up

galiñ- (1) galiñ-ḍa- (VTr2) to  
 hang up, to suspend. Rdp:  
 galiñ-galiñ-ḍa-. (2) galiñ-ḍu-  
 (VIntr) (contains ḍu- to  
 stand as auxiliary) to be  
 hanging or suspended, to be  
 aloft (e.g. in a tree). Cpd:  
 ḍiṅ-galiñ-ḍu- (VIntr1) to  
 have or put one's foot on top

galka- (VTr5) to sneak up to.  
 Rdp: galga-galga-. Cf.  
 buḷ?buḷ?-ḍu-

-galu (Sff) see -kalu

galak-ḍu- (VIntr1) to grow

(a-)gala|gala| (N) greyish lizard  
 sp. Cogn: Warnd

(gu-)galaṅ (N) egg. Cogn: Nungg  
 gaga|aṅ (\*ga-ga|aṅ), Nungg  
 cpding form -galaN-

galawan? (N) of the Nunggubuyu  
 language group. Cogn: Rith

gali (N) big; many. Cpd: gun-gali  
 (N) having a lot of fat;  
 mar-gali (N) adult; gu-bottle-  
 gali-yiñuṅ-yun (the kind)  
 having a big bottle; etc.  
 gali-ti- (VIntrInch) to be/  
 become big, to be/become many.  
 Cf. ḍarpal, waṅar, -garṅarṅ?

(gu-)gali|gali? (N) ordinary  
 boomerang (showing slight  
 curvature). Cogn: Rith

gamakun? (Adv) properly, well

(a-)gamambu|a (N) a hawk, probably

red-backed kite

gamaran (N) a sub-section

(ma-)gami (N) (any) spear; spear-  
 shaft. Cogn: Rith

(gu-)gamunungu? (N) white clay  
 and paint made from it. Cogn:  
 Rith

gamuñju? (Adv) these days

(ma-)ganam (N) ear. In cpds:  
 cf. warjak, ḍam?-bu-, ṅa- ('to  
 see'). Cogn: Warnd wanam

(ma-)ganbukbuk (N) clover-like  
 wildflowers, (*Gomphrena* spp.).  
 Cogn: Rith; Nungg yambubug

(gu-)ganda (N) leg. In cpds: cf.  
 ṅor-ḍu-, ḍerp-ḍu-, walpurungu?

(ma-)ganguri? (N) a long yam,  
 (*Dioscorea* sp.). Cogn: Rith

(ṅi-)ganji (N) jabiru. Cogn:  
 Rith; Nungg anji; Warnd garinji

(a-)gaṅandar? (N) large egrets.  
 Larger than gararañji

(a-/gu-)gaṅaṅaṅja? (N) large  
 feathers on emu. Cpd: cf.  
 wur?-ḍu-. Cogn: Rith

(a-)gaṅburk (N) small possum,  
 perhaps young ḍugula?. Cogn:  
 Rith

(a-)gaṅḍalpuru (N) female antelop-  
 ine kangaroo. Male: garčambal.  
 Cogn: Rith; Nungg aṅḍa:lburu;  
 Warnd gaṅḍalburu

(a-)gaṅḍawul? (N) rock wallaby,  
 (*Petrogale* sp.). Cf. jundubuḷ?-  
 jundubuḷ?, ḷarpuniñ. Cogn: Rith;  
 Nungg gaṅḍawul

(a-)gaṅṅal (N) large freshwater  
 eel-tailed catfish, (*Neosilurus*  
*ater*). Cogn: Rith; Nungg  
 aṅṅalbiya

-gaña? (Sff) the diminutive suffix.  
 gu-wali-gaña? (N) a small stick.  
 Also attested with ḍumbuṅ, ḍaku  
 ('small'). Cogn: Warnd -gaña,  
 Rith -gañaṅ?/-ñaṅṅ?

(gu-)gañjari (N) hairback herring

gañju? (Part) apparently a weak  
 emphatic particle

gangura (Nk) mother-in-law's  
 brother's child, sister's  
 daughter's child. ṅi-gangura-ṅi  
 my ... , ṅi-mar-gangura your ...  
 Cogn: Nungg ni-ga:ṅgura

(gu-)gapaṅḍa? (N) off-white or

dirty-white clay and paint  
 made from it

-gapul (Sff) several, a few

gapu|a?-ḍi- (VIntrInch) to be  
 blind

gapurk (N) dry. Cf. baṅḍañ

(a-)gar? (N) spider web. Cf. wači.  
 Cogn: Rith ga:r? spider

-gara- (Prf) a multiple prefix:  
 all, all over, many. Rdp:  
 -gara-kara-. Cogn: Nungg  
 -(w)ara-

(ma-)garačimarčmarč (N) a shrub  
 sp. Cogn: Rith

(ma-)garakararak (N) darter, 'diver  
 duck'. Cogn: Rith. Cf. jinaḍar,  
 gunduṅuruku

(gu-)garala (N) spoonbill (bird).  
 Cogn: Rith; Nungg gara:lag  
 ibis

(ma-)gara|a|aṅ (N) a tree sp.  
 similar to ḍukul (*Acacia*  
*holosericea*), but with lighter  
 wood (in weight). Possibly a  
 variant of the same sp. Corr:  
 Nungg wugara|a|a, Warnd  
 gara|a|a

(a-)gararañji (N) small egrets,  
 perhaps also white phase of  
 reef heron. Cf. gaṅandar?.  
 Corr: Nungg mara|ag

(ma-)garawar (N) little black  
 cormorant. Cogn: Rith; Nungg  
 arawuwarg

(a-)garčambal (N) antelope  
 kangaroo, especially male,  
 (*Macropus antelopimus*).  
 Female: gaṅḍalpuru. Corr:  
 Rith garčambal, Nungg arjambal,  
 Mara ba|ingama

-gari?- (Prf) in vain. Forms com-  
 pound verbs indicating un-  
 successful attempts. ṅi-gari?-  
 ju|k-ḍ-i He tried to slip away.  
 ṅu-gari?-riḍ-i You came in  
 vain

(gu-)gark (N) back (of body)

garka (Part) like, just like

garkala- (Adv) garakala-w (Adv)  
 on top, above, away from the  
 coast. garkala-č (Adv) to the  
 top, upwards. garkala-yala  
 (Adv) from above. Rdp: garka?-  
 garkala-w etc. Cogn: Rith

garwar, Nunggarwar  
(ma-/a-)garkaň? (N) *brown falcon*.  
Cogn: Rith; Nunggarwar,  
Warnd gargaň  
garkarbar (1) garkarbar-du-  
(VIntr1) *to become morning,*  
*to get light out.* (2)  
(gu-)mal-karkarbar (N/Adv)  
*(in the) early morning.* (3)  
mal-karkarbar-du- (VIntr1)  
(same meaning as garkarbar-du-).  
Probably related to garpar-di-.  
Cf. jođow?-du-  
garkeyk-di- (VIntr3a) *to lie down.*  
Possibly includes a reflexive  
form of geyk-da-  
-garngarň? (Sff) forms augmen-  
tative nouns: *gu-bottle-garň-*  
*garň? the big bottle.* Cf.  
gubur  
garpar-di- (VIntrInch) *to be*  
*twilight, to become dusky at*  
*twilight.* Cf. garkarbar-  
(ma-)gar (N) *dampener made from*  
*cycad nuts.* Cogn: Rith ga:r,  
Nungg a:r  
garakadi? (Adv) *below, inside,*  
*at the bottom.* garakadi-č  
(Adv) *downward, to inside.*  
garakadi?-yala (Adv) *from*  
*below, from inside*  
(gu-)garamak (N) *mortuary cere-*  
*mony.* Cogn: Rith garmak  
gar?-du- (VTr1) *to use up, to*  
*finish, to exhaust*  
(gu-)gar (N) *a eucalypt sp.,*  
*similar to wajan? but with*  
*smaller nuts and shorter*  
*leaves, on hills*  
(a-)garkuňja? (N) *nankeen night-*  
*heron.* Cogn: Rith; Warnd  
garjunja  
(a-)gar?man (N) *large frog sp.*  
*in hollow trees.* Cogn: Rith  
garu- (VTr6a) *to follow, to try*  
*to reach or obtain.* Becomes  
-karu- in cpds except when  
secondarily lenited to -garu-:  
mungu-karu- (VTr) *to follow;*  
bul-karu- (VTr) *to follow the*  
*smoke of;* walga-karu- (VTr) *to*  
*chase after;* yan-garu- (VTr)  
*to follow the voice or sound*  
*of;* gel-karu- (VIntr) *to go*

*along a river bank;* ga:-karu-  
(VIntr) *to go around searching.*  
bag-ič-garu- (VTrBen) (with  
bak-, -yič-) *to tell (s.t.) to.*  
Cogn: Nungg -ragu- (with meta-  
thesis)  
(ma-)gatara (N) *coconut palm.*  
Cogn: Rith; Nungg gada:ra  
gađ-du- (VIntr1) *to become stuck*  
*or bogged.* Cogn: Rith; Nungg  
-wadđa-  
(ma-)gađiň? (N) *cypress pine,*  
*(Callitris intratropica)*  
(a-)gađirgađirk (N) *pie'd oyster-*  
*catcher (bird).* Cogn: Nungg  
gađirgađirg  
gađun?gađun? (Nk) *a kin term*  
gaw?-du- (VIntr1) *to call out, to*  
*shout.* ba-kaw?-du- (VTrBen) *to*  
*call out to.* Cogn: Nungg *gaw*  
*Hey!*  
gawer?-du- (VIntr1) *to open (some-*  
*thing) up or out.* na-gawer?-d-i  
*I opened it up*  
(a-)gawgaw (N) *a goanna, perhaps*  
*young mađuđu*  
(a-)gawir? (N) *dingo*  
gayak (Nk) *younger brother (ni-),*  
*younger sister (na-)*  
gaykay (Nk) *mother's brother.* Cf.  
lambara. Cogn: Rith  
gayku (Adv) *last year*  
gaykubur? (Adv) *in the daytime,*  
*all day*  
(ma-)gaypa! (N) *a wattle with*  
*long leaves, flower spikes.*  
Cogn: Rith  
(a-)gaywal (N) *long-necked*  
*tortoise, (Chelodina rugosa).*  
Syn: bakara, đalmaran, way?way  
(gu-)geje? (N) *bark of paperbark*  
*trees.* Cogn: Rith gaja?  
(gu-)gelk (N) *side (of river or*  
*road).* Cpd: cf. garu-. Cf. đene  
(gu-)gerper (N) *beach*  
gew (Nk) *son (ni-), daughter (na-).*  
Cf. gađun?gađun?  
(a-)geygey (N) *square-tailed kite*  
*or a similar hawk sp.*  
geyk-da- (VTr2) *to throw.* Refl  
geyk-d-i- *to lie down (for a*  
*while).* Cpds: jundu-geyk-da-  
(VTr) *to throw stones;* nađ-  
geyk-da- (VIntr) *to spit ('to*

*throw saliva');* bun-geyk-da-  
(VIntr) (water) *to rush*  
*through.* Rdp: geyk-geyk-da-  
-gi (Sff) *Locative: at, in, on*  
(gu-)gibal (N) *tooth*  
(gu-)gibaň (N) *nose.* Cpd: cf.  
bača-  
-gič (Sff) *Allative: to, toward.*  
Can also be used as a sort of  
Accusative or Dative (grammar,  
4.6)  
(a-)giđiba:pa (N) *lotusbird.* Cogn:  
Warnd giđibawaba  
(a-)giđigiđi (N) *a mid-sized*  
*fresh-water eel-tailed catfish,*  
*(Neosilurus sp.).* Cogn: Nungg  
giđiw?-du- (VTr1) *to reprimand,*  
*to shout angrily at.* giđiw?-  
wayđi- (VIntrRecip) *to quarrel,*  
*to exchange angry words*  
gin (Part) *or rather.* Used when  
correcting one's speech.  
ni-ja-riđ-i nuri-č gin baki-č *He*  
*went north - or rather south*  
(ma-)gin (N) *vulva*  
giňgo!o? (N/Adv) *short-cut.*  
giňgo!o? ni-ga-riđ-i *He took*  
*a short-cut.* Cogn: Nungg  
iňga!ag, Rith giňga!a?  
(ma-)giri? (N) *reddish black*  
*fruit of water lily, (Nymphaea*  
*sp.).* Similar to đatam but  
distinguished by reddish  
tinge. Corr: Rith giri?, Nungg  
đaga!irig  
-girikiriň (Sff) *small.* a-lamba-  
kiriđiriň *small can (lam-bak)*  
(gu-)giriđiba (N) *wild passion-*  
*fruit, (Passiflora foetida)*  
*(an introduced sp.).* An early  
loanword from English  
'creeper', found also in  
neighbouring languages  
(a-)giriđigiriđi (N) *glossy ibis*  
*(bird)*  
giriđa- (VTr2) *to head for.* Rdp:  
giriđa-giriđa-  
giyan (Part) *I think that ...;*  
*thinking that ...* giyan gu-  
wolo baru-ga-gar?-d-i *I think*  
*they have used it up.* bargu-  
đawal-maki-j-i, gu-yaku, giyan  
bargu-mili?-đulu-biđič-ma-yi,  
ba-ga-yima-na-? *They do not*

*chant (in ceremony); they*  
*think they might mess it up*  
(gu-)go? (N) *eye.* Cpd: cf. na-  
*to see*  
-go? (Sff) *see -ko?*  
goč (1) (gu-)goč (N) *soup.*  
(gu-)bun-goč (N) *freshwater.*  
Syn: jařk. (2) goč-di- (VIntr-  
Inch) *to be sweet, good-tasting*  
(gu-)gođolbor (N) *tall grasses,*  
*(Sorghum spp.).* Cogn: Rith  
gađalbar, perhaps Warnd gađambar  
gokok (Nk) *mother's mother.* Cogn:  
Nungg ga:gu, Warnd gaga, Mara  
gugu  
(gu-)gol (N) *nest*  
(mo-)golč (N) *a tree used for fish*  
*poison, (Barringtonia acut-*  
*angula).* Cf. golča-  
golča- (VIntr2) *to poison fish (by*  
*throwing or dragging branches*  
*of certain trees in small billa-*  
*bongs).* Rdp: golja-golja-. Cf.  
golč  
golkol (N) *new.* Cogn: perhaps  
Nungg walga! *other*  
(gu-)golnořknořk (N) *brain*  
(mo-)golonor? (N) *yellow body*  
*paint.* Cf. buđalak. Cogn: Rith  
galanar?  
(mo-)goljoro? (N) *gudgeon sp.*  
*(fish).* Cogn: Rith galjara?  
(mo-)golko!mi (N) *west wind*  
(mo-)golno (N) *mud, especially*  
*wet mud.* Cf. loňjo. Cogn: Rith  
galna, Nungg alna  
(ni-)gologo!k (N) *pelican.* Cogn:  
Rith galagalk  
(o-)golotok (N) *peaceful dove.*  
Cogn: Rith gulutuk  
go?ma- (VTr4b) *to show, to teach.*  
naguni-go?ma-na gu-yan-yun *He*  
*is teaching me the language.*  
May contain go?  
(mo-)gomo! (N) *fish spear.* Corr:  
Nungg wingli  
(o-)gomo!o (N) *white-necked heron.*  
Cogn: Rith gumuđu  
(gu-)goňdo (N) *branch (of tree)*  
goňdokoňdo *see nuk*  
gopa- (VTr4b) *to keep, to retain,*  
*to hold on to.* Past Rdp: gobi-  
gobi-ri. Cogn: Nungg -waba-  
*wrap up*

gori? (N) *alone*  
 (o-)gorowkorow (N) *blue-winged kookaburra*  
 (o-)gorpow? (N) *winking or boobook owl*. Cogn: Rith garpaw?, Nungg garbaw  
 (gu-)gorđo? (N) *a eucalypt sp.*  
 Syn: gurčal?  
 gor-du- (VIntr1) *to be sick*.  
 Cogn: Rith gur-u-  
 gorokogor-du- (VIntr1) *to be tired*  
 gorča- (VTr2) (1) *to put in or inside, to cause to go in*.  
 Cpd: dolo-gorča- (VTr) *to put inside the stomach*. (2) *(country) to belong to through one's mother's side*. bargu-gorča-ni gu-dawal-ju-yuŋ *The country belongs to them*. Rdp: gorđa-gorđa-  
 goŋ-du- (VIntr) (contains du- *to stand as auxiliary*) *to be locked up or confined*  
 (gu-)gowk (N) *bark of stringybark tree* (gađayka?). Cf. đanbar?  
 (ŋi-)goyow (N) *freshwater crocodile*. Cf. ŋanguru  
 gu- (Prf) *one of the nonhuman noun-class prefixes*  
 -gu- (Sff) *see -ku*  
 -guba- (Sff) *Causative suffix*. See grammar (9.6)  
 guč-ga- (VIntr) (contains ga- *to carry as auxiliary*) *to go hunting with dogs*. Cogn: Nungg -ijga-, Warnd guj-ga-, Rith gučga-  
 (ŋi-)guđan (N) *a honey bee*, (*Trigona sp.*). Corr: Nungg ŋa:nig  
 (gu-)guđiji (N) *a kurrajong tree*, (*Brachychiton diversifolium*)  
 (gu-)guđu (N) *dry bush, desert*. Cogn: Rith gu:đu  
 (a-)gulbarpaŋ (N) *brown tree snake*, (*Boiga sp.*)  
 (a-)guliguli? (N) *galah (bird)*  
 gulk-du- (1) (VTr1) *to cut, to cut through*. Cpd: dumu-gulk-du- (VTr) *to cut (in half) at the waist*. maŋa-gulk-du- (VTr) *to hang (a criminal)*. (2) (VIntr1) *to cease, to stop (doing s.t.)*. a-gara-gulk-d-i a-ŋalk-yuŋ *The*

*rain has stopped*. Cpd:  
 da:-gulk-du- (VIntr) *to cease doing that, to have done that for the last time*; mar-gulk-du- (VIntr) *to abandon* (e.g. *a ceremony*). Cf. đak-du-. Cogn: Rith gulk-u-, Nungg -wulđa- (\*-gulk-đa-) and -wulgulđa- (\*-gulk-gulk-đa-)  
 (gu-)gulparuŋ? (N) *a yam*, (*Vigna vexillata*). Syn: yonđo. Cogn: Rith  
 (ma-)gulpu? (N) *a shrub*, (*Tristania lactiflua*). Cogn: Rith; Nungg wulbu  
 (ma-)gulukulun? (N) *a paperbark tree with very small leaves*, (*Melaleuca acacioides*). Cogn: Rith  
 (a-)guluykuluy (N) *tawny frog-mouth (owl)*. Cogn: Rith  
 (gu-/ma-)gula? (N) *skin, bark of tree*. Cogn: Rith; Nungg magu|ag and warigu|ag  
 gu|a?-bu- (VTr) (contains bu-) *to peel off the skin of, to skin*. Cogn: Rith. Related to gu|a?  
 (a-)gu|aŋaŋaŋ? (N) *grey-crowned babbler (bird)*. Cogn: Rith; Nungg gu|aŋaŋaŋ  
 gu|?-du- (VTr1) *to knock hard, to knock off a piece of, to pound (with stones)*  
 (a-)gu|e|eč (N) *a tree-dwelling goanna*, perhaps a form of *Varanus timorensis*. Cf. đarara  
 gu|pur? (N) *few, not many*  
 (ma-)gu|unba|kara (N) *little pied cormorant*. Cogn: Rith; Nungg gulumba|gara. In all three languages this is a compound of 'belly' (gu|un, gulmuŋ) with a second element -ba|kara/-ba|gara  
 gu|upu? (Adv) *to here, this way*  
 (a-)gu|uwičbič (N) *beach stone curlew*. Cogn: Rith; Nungg gu|a:bi|bi|j  
 (a-)gumgum (N) *a thorny vine*, (*Asparagus racemosus*)  
 (ma-)gun (N) *fat (grease)*. Cpd: cf. ga|i  
 (a-)gunanga|a (N) *fish sp.*,

possibly the Norman River grunter, (*Scortum ogilbyi*).  
 Cogn: Nungg  
 (gu-)gunapipi (N) *Gunabibi ceremony*. Cogn: Nungg gunabibi, etc.  
 (ma-)gunduŋuruku (N) *male darter (diver duck)*. Cf. jinađar  
 (ma-)gunga (N) *river pandanus*, (*Pandanus ?aquaticus*). Syn: gunjak. Cogn: Rith  
 gu-ni-ŋ (Dem/Adv) *see grammar* (6.1)  
 (ma-)gunjak (N) *river pandanus*, (*Pandanus ?aquaticus*). Syn: gunga. Cogn: Rith  
 (a-)gunuŋu (N) *black-headed rock python*. Cogn: Rith.  
 Corr: Nungg bubuŋara  
 (a-)guŋiŋmiya? (N) *green tree snake*. Cogn: Rith; perhaps Nungg wu|ŋiŋmiri  
 guŋmuk (Adv) *at night*. guŋmu-kunmuk (Adv) *time just before daybreak*. guŋmu-kaya| (Adv) *all night*  
 guŋmukubič (Adv) *in the morning, tomorrow*. Cf. guŋukuwič  
 guŋukuwič (Adv) *in the morning, tomorrow*. This form is much more common than guŋmukubič, which is probably an older form. The variant guŋukubič is also attested. All these forms are related to guŋmuk  
 (gu-)guŋuŋ (N) *cloud*. Cogn: Rith  
 guŋjiki- (VIntr3a) *to be afraid*. May take Dative NP as object.  
 ba-kuŋjiki- (VTrBen) *to be afraid of*. Rdp: guŋji-guŋjiki-. Cogn: Rith guŋja?-đi-  
 (a-)guŋju|u? (N) *a tree goanna*, perhaps *Varanus timorensis similis*. Cogn: Rith  
 -guŋuŋ (Sff) *see -kuŋuŋ*  
 (ni-)guŋ (N) *honey, honey bees, bee hive*. The specific word for 'honey' as a substance is ŋaŋa  
 (ma-)guraŋguraŋ? (N) *a small, prostrate swamp plant*. Cogn: Rith guraŋguraŋ?; Nungg wuranguraŋ *cat-tail*  
 (ma-)gurčada? (N) *a eucalypt with a rust-like substance on the*

*leaves*, (*Eucalyptus ferruginea*).  
 Cogn: Nungg and Warnd gurjađa  
 (a-)gur?gur (N) *probably the barn and masked owls*. Syn: wur?wur.  
 Cogn: Nungg wurwur  
 gurgur-bu- (VTr) (contains bu- *as auxiliary*) *to gut (animal), to pull out (guts)*. Refers to part of the process of preparing animals for cooking.  
 (ma-)gurkur (N) *sinew, vein*.  
 (gu-)maŋa-gurkur (N) *throat*. Cogn: Rith  
 gurmul (N) *circumcised*. Syn: baŋdari. Cogn: Rith; Nungg wulmur  
 (a-)gumu|u? (N) *blue-tongued lizard*. Cogn: Rith  
 gurŋa (N) (1) (ŋi-)gurŋa (N) *moon, month*. (2) (a-)gurŋa (N) *month*  
 guruku (Adv) *later*. Rdp: guru?-guruku. Cogn: Rith; Nungg wurugu  
 (a-)gurundula (N) *swamp pheasant*  
 guruŋ (Nk) *wife's mother (avoidance relationship)*, etc. Cf. jabuŋ. Cogn: Rith; Warnd wuruŋ; Nungg raŋ-guruŋ  
 (a-)gurupi| (N) *a short-necked tortoise*, probably *Emydura australis*. Has yellow stripes on head. Cogn: Rith; Nungg gurubi|  
 (a-)gurupu? (N) *freshwater mussel*. Syn: mamba|?  
 (ma-)gurur (N) *shallow-water water lily*, (*Nymphaea ?violacea*)  
 gurur?-du- (VTr1) *to stay away from, to avoid* (e.g. *mother-in-law*)  
 (a-)guruwuđuk (N) *pied butcherbird*. Cogn: Rith; Nungg guruđuđ  
 (gu-)guruwul (N) *paperbark tree sp. found on edges of billabongs and in brackish swamps* (*Melaleuca cajaputi*). Cogn: Rith  
 gur?war-du- (VTr1) *to shoot*. Rdp: gur?wa-gur?war-du-. Cogn: Rith  
 gurač (Nk) *older sister*  
 (gu-/ma-)gurčal? (N) *eucalypt sp. with smooth white bark, found in various habitats*. Syn: gorđo?. Cogn: Rith; Nungg gurija|



gure- (VIntr3b) to go hunting  
 (a-)gutabi? (N) a bird, perhaps  
 the pardalote  
 (gu-)gutu? (N) a tree with kidney-  
 shaped nuts, (*Terminalia*  
*grandiflora*). Cogn: Rith; Nungg  
 wudu  
 gu?i (N) short. Cf. dubu?u?,  
 gumbun  
 -gu?a- (Sff) forms Directional  
 transitive class 2 verbs from  
 intransitive bases. The object  
 indicates the Directional  
 object. See grammar (9.7)  
 (a-)guwa?u?u (N) southern stone  
 curlew. Cogn: Rith; Nungg  
 wuwa?u?u  
 (ma-)guyk (N) water plant with  
 edible portions, (*Aponogeton*  
*elongatus*)

I

-ič- see yič-  
 -idi- (V) see ru?u-  
 -iñun (Sff) see -yiñun  
 -iri- see yiri-

J

ja- (Prf) now, just then. Indi-  
 cates temporal immediacy;  
 see grammar (8.2)  
 (a-)ja? (N) meat ant, (*Iridio-*  
*myrmex* spp.). Cogn: Nungg  
 ya:g  
 jabur (Nk) wife's mother's  
 brother, etc. (male avoidance  
 relation). mar-čabur your  
 wife's mother's brother. Cf.  
 gurun. Cogn: Rith ja:bur  
 (ma-)ja?ača? (N) certain water  
 plants such as *Caldesia*  
*oligococca*  
 ja?a-du- (VIntr1) to rub fire-  
 sticks (to produce spark).  
 Rdp: ja?a-ja?a-du-. Cogn:  
 Rith ja?a-yu-  
 (gu-)jajak (N) a fan-palm,  
 probably *Livistona lori-*  
*phylla*. Cogn: Rith ja:jak.  
 Corr: Nungg wuli?a  
 jaka- (Prf) see du- (jaka-du-) to

stand. Cogn: Rith jaka long,  
 tall  
 (ma-)jaka? (N) yamstick  
 jaku?an mother's brother's child  
 jal (Prf) mental state, attitude  
 (in compounds). Cpd: cf.  
 warjak-di-, jalpi?, jalrumbi?.  
 jal-ti- (VIntrInch) to want,  
 to like. ni-jal-ti-na ma?ga?  
 na-ču-? ni-ru?u-n He wants to  
 go there. Cf. ma:k, warjak.  
 Cogn: Rith ja:l  
 (ma-)jala?i? (N) a woody climbing  
 vine with edible roots. Cogn:  
 Rith; Nungg jala?i, Warnd  
 majala?i.  
 jalča- (Prf) together. ?ari-wo-  
 čalja-ru?u-n You two will go  
 together. barba-jalča-ga-njini  
 (They (Du) bring them (Du) to-  
 gether.  
 jali? (N) wet. jali?-di- (VIntr-  
 Inch) to be/become wet. Cogn:  
 Rith  
 (ma-)jalkurk (N) tree orchids,  
 e.g. *Dendrobium*. Cf. ?algir,  
 gu?a??. Cogn: Rith; Nungg  
 yalgurg  
 (ma-)jalma (N) (1) round yam,  
 (*Dioscorea ?sativa* var. *rotunda*).  
 (2) grasshopper sp. which makes  
 noises at night. Cogn: Rith  
 (both senses), Warnd (yam only)  
 (ma-)jaln (N) a small type of  
 spinifex grass, (*Triodia* sp.).  
 Cogn: Rith ja:lñ, Nungg ya:lñ  
 jalpi? (N) wild, trouble-making;  
 unsettled, always moving around.  
 Syn: jalrumbi?. jalpi?-ti-  
 (VIntrInch) to be/become wild,  
 etc. Perhaps from \*jal-pi? with  
 a form of bi?  
 jalrumbi? (N) trouble-making;  
 unsettled. Syn: jalpi?. Probably  
 from \*jal-?um-bi?  
 (gu-)jaja (N) small crayfish sp.  
 Cf. ?akawa?  
 jal-du- (VIntr1) to hunt kangaroos  
 (ma-)jama?ara (N) Milky Way. Syn:  
 burumburu?a  
 (ma-)jamba (N) burial platform  
 jambač (N) good or successful  
 hunter. Cpd: cf. wel. jambač-  
 warjak bad hunter. Cogn: Rith

(a-)jambaka? (N) billycan. Cogn:  
 Rith  
 (ma-)jamba? (N) native oven. Syn:  
 jet. Cogn: Rith  
 jam?jam (Nk) father's mother. Syn:  
 memem  
 (ma-)jan?ba (N) banyan tree, (*Ficus*  
*virens*). Cogn: Rith  
 (a-)jangur (N) frilled lizard.  
 Cogn: Rith  
 japa?a? (1) (gu-)japa?a? (N) same  
 place. (2) japa?a?-du- (VTr1)  
 to go to the same place. Object  
 is the place name. Rdp: japa-  
 čapa?a?-du-  
 (a-)japata? (N) tortoise sp., per-  
 haps an *Emydura* sp. Cf. gurupi?  
 jap-?a- (VTr2) to erect, to cause  
 to stand. Rdp: jap-jap-?a-.  
 Cogn: Rith  
 (a-)japudeñ?deñ (N) grasshopper sp.  
 with moderately long horns. Cf.  
 ?apururu?, ma?iñji  
 jara (1) (N) what's-it?, what's-its-  
 name? Used when the speaker is  
 trying to remember a word or name.  
 For place names the form used is  
 bičara (\*bi-čara). (2) jara-du-  
 (VIntr1) to do what's-it? Used  
 when the speaker has forgotten a  
 verb. (3) jara-di- (VIntrInch)  
 to be/become what's-it?  
 (a-)jara?atbuwa (N) chestnut rail  
 (bird). Cogn: Rith; Nungg and  
 Warnd jara?adbuwa  
 (a-)jaramumu (N) ground beetles,  
 especially reddish ones like  
*Scaraphites laticollis* (Carabi-  
 dae, Coleoptera). Cogn: Nungg  
 yaramumu  
 (a-)jara?iri (N) western brown snake  
 jar?-?a- (VTr2) to move through  
 (trees). Rdp: jar?-jar?-?a-.  
 bak-nurgu?-jar?-?a- (VTrBen) to  
 move toward (something, going  
 through trees)  
 (a-)jarka? (N) young water goanna.  
 Adult: bangawu?u. Cogn: Rith  
 (ni-)jarka?i (N) immature barra-  
 mudi (miriči)  
 jarpa?u- (VTr6a) to poke (stick,  
 into bee hive to get honey)  
 (a-)jaru?u (N) female agile (sandy)  
 wallaby. Cf. borongol. Cogn:

Rith; Nungg yaru?u  
 (gu-)jark (N) water, especially  
 fresh water; beer, liquor.  
 Cogn: Rith gujark (rare word)  
 (a-)ja?am (N) scorpion. Cogn:  
 Rith ja?am centipede  
 jawa?iwa?i (N/Adv) attested in  
 jawa?iwa?i ni-ru?u-ni He walks  
 crookedly, staggers  
 jawa??-du- (VIntr1) to fly around.  
 Cogn: Rith jawa??-yu-  
 (gu-)jaw?jaw (N) water lily stem.  
 Cogn: Warnd jawjaw  
 jawulpa (N) old (person). jawulpa-  
 ti-, jawulpa-di- (VIntrInch)  
 to be/become old. Rdp: jawu?-  
 jawulpa. Cogn: Rith, Warnd  
 (ma-)jekbe? (N) nightjar (owl)  
 sp. Cogn: Rith jikbi?  
 (a-)jeler (N) stone axe. Cf.  
 mumba?  
 (a-)je?eje? (N) a bird, perhaps  
 a woodswallow. Cogn: Rith  
 jilijilii?  
 (ma-)jengi?ič (N) 'marble tree',  
 (*Owenia vermicosa*). Var:  
 jingi?ič. Syn: ba?ar?. Cogn:  
 Rith jingi?ič  
 (a-)jeñ (N) fish (generic term)  
 (a-)jerekjerek (N) insect sp.,  
 perhaps mole cricket. Lives in  
 mud, flies around at night.  
 (ma-)jerey? (N) wild onion. Corr:  
 Nungg gagil. Distinct from  
 gala?a?a??. Cogn: Rith jaray?  
 (ma-)jet (N) native oven. Syn:  
 jamba?  
 (gu-/a-)jiba? (N) end, tip. Cogn:  
 perhaps Warnd ñji?iba nose,  
 tip  
 jibuk-du- (VIntr1) to fish (with  
 hook and line), to catch fish.  
 Cogn: Rith jibuk-u-  
 (gu-)jičan (N) dreaming, totem,  
 totemic site. Cogn: Mara  
 njijan  
 (gu-)jiči? (N) sore, wound.  
 jiči?-di- (VIntrInch) to have  
 a sore or injury. ma?a-jiči?-  
 di- (VIntrInch) to have a sore  
 throat. ba?a-jiči?-wič-di-  
 (VIntrInch) to be covered with  
 sores. Cogn: Nungg ji:ji, Rith  
 ji:či?

(a-)jičuk (N) *spectacled hare-wallaby*, (*Lagorchestes conspicillatus*)  
 ji?-du- (VIntr) (contains du- to stand) (fish) to hang still in water  
 (a-)jijibiliñ (N) *wasp sp.* Large, roundish body, nest in tree  
 (a-)jikay? (N) *small bird sp.*, possibly a cuckoo (lives in swamps and jungles); *small birds generally*. Cogn: Rith  
 (ma-)jilakjilak (N) *a small water plant*. Cogn: Warnd jilagjilag, Rith ja|akja|ak  
 (ma-)jilara? (N) *gutta percha tree*, (*Excaecaria parvifolia*). Cogn: Rith  
 (a-)jilili (N) *whistle-duck*. Cf. ñalwañ, jiribiyuk. Cogn: Rith; Nungg yililij  
 (a-)jimi? (N) *leech*. Cogn: Rith  
 (a-)jimiñdi? (N) 'nail' spike of dugong harpoon. Cogn: Rith wire spear; Nungg and Warnd jimiñdi  
 (ma-)jimit (N) *tree with apple-like fruits*, (*Planchonella pohlmanniana* var. *vestita*). Possibly also *P. arnhemica*. Cogn: Rith; Nungg yi:mid  
 (gu-)jinambur (N) *a paperbark tree with relatively tough bark, along rivers*  
 (ma-)jingirič (N) see jengirič  
 (a-)jinma (N) *whaler shark*. Cogn: Rith, Warnd; Nungg wujinma  
 (ma-)jindi|indi? (N) *a shrub*, (*Thespesia populnea*). Cogn: Warnd and Nungg jindi|indi  
 -jiñuñ (Sff) see -yiñuñ  
 (ma-)jinadar (N) *female darter* (garakarak). Cogn: Rith jinadar  
 jin-du- (VIntr) to sing, (loanword). Cf. bi|?bi|?-du-  
 jipa? (Part) *later*. Usually juxtaposed to another adverb: guñukuwič jipa? *tomorrow*; jipa? dawa? *these days* (in contrast to previous times). Cf. guruku  
 (gu-)jirbili (N) *bony bream*, (*Fluvialosa erebi*). Cogn: Rith  
 jir-ga- (VIntr) (contains ga-) to roll grass (fish trap)  
 (a-)jiribiyuk (N) *whistle-duck*. Cf. ñalwañ, jilili. Cogn: Rith; Warnd jirbiyug  
 (a-)jiridiđi (N) *kingfisher*. Cogn: Rith, Nungg  
 jirikay? (N) *an important performer in the mađayin ritual*. Cogn: Nungg jirigay  
 (ma-)jirikilil? (N) *immature water lily root* (burpa?). Cogn: Warnd and Nungg jirigilil  
 (a-)jirimijirimi (N) *willy wag-tail (bird)*. Cogn: Nungg; Rith jirimičirimi  
 (ma-)jir? (N) *hair, especially on head*. Cpd: ñañju|a-jir?-wič (N) *having hair on the eyes* (i.e. *having eyebrows*). Cf. bulka?. Cogn: Nungg -jir  
 (gu-)jir?jir (N) *shrub sp.* Cogn: Rith; Nungg jirijirig. The Nungg term applies to *Drypetes lasiogyna*, but the Ngandi term may refer to a different shrub  
 (a-)jirkič (N) *quail*. Cogn: Nungg jirgij, Rith jirkič  
 (gu-)jiwulunbulun (N) *white ibis*  
 (ñi-)jodok (N) *honey bee*, (*Trigona* sp.). Corr: Nungg ñalyurwa  
 Rith jađak  
 jođow?-du- (VIntr) to become day-light. Subject is -gu. yuñ-jođow?-du- (VIntr) to do until daylight. Cogn: Rith jađaw?-wu-  
 (gu-)jolko (N) *ground, dirt*. In cpds: cf. mi|imi|, ma:k. Cogn: Rith julka  
 jo|k-bu- (VTr) (contains bu-) to surpass, to outdo, to do better than. Probably related to jo|k-du-  
 jo|k-du- (VIntr) to go past, to slip away, to move (from one point, to another). Cf. jo|k-bu-. Cogn: Rith ju|k-u-, Nungg -ya|da- (and root form ja|g), Warnd ya|  
 (o-)jombo|ok (N) *large freshwater eel-tailed catfish*, (*Neosilurus* sp.). Cf. bařčar. Cogn: Rith jamba|ak  
 o- jombopo? (N) *water snail*. Cogn: Rith jambapa?  
 jom?jomda- (VTr2) to pile up (wood)

(mo-)jono! (N) *a palm sp.*, said to be common to the south  
 jor?-du- (VIntr) to defecate  
 jor?-du- (VIntr) to shift one's position. woloñ-jor?-guba- (VTrCaus) to shift, to displace  
 (gu-)jormor? (N) *rib area, side of body around ribs*.  
 juđu?-du- (VIntr) to squat, to catch fish by crouching in a small stream and blocking their passage. Cogn: Rith juđu?-yu-  
 jululu?-du- (VIntr) to pour, to drink quickly, to guzzle down. Cpd: bun-jululu?-du- (VIntr) to pour water. Cogn: Rith jululu?-yu- to pour (liquid)  
 (ma-)ju|u? (N) *lancewood*, (*Acacia shirleyi*). Cogn: Rith  
 (gu-)ju|ubu (N) *straw-necked ibis*. Cogn: Rith; Nungg ju|uwu  
 (ma-)ju|pun (N) *backbone, spine*  
 (gu-)jumba|čumba| (N) *walking stick*  
 (gu-)jundu (N) *stone*. Cpd: (gu-)jundu-wañar (N) *huge stone (hill)*  
 (a-)jundubu|?jundubu|? (N) *a very small rock wallaby, smaller than gañdawul?*  
 -juñ (Sff) see -yuñ  
 jungayi (N) *custodian (for mother's clan)*. Cogn: Rith, Nungg  
 (gu-)jupañdiri? (N) *shrub sp.*, like jupi? but also with reddish fruits  
 (gu-)jupi? (N) *shrub with fruits*, (*Antidesma ghaesembilla*). Corr: Rith jupi?, Nungg wuñaragaga  
 jupur (N) *narrow*. Cpd: (mo-)mo|o-jupur (N) *narrow road*. Cogn: Rith  
 jur-du- (VTr) to pour (liquid). Cogn: Rith jur-yu-  
 jur?-du- (VIntr) to plunge in (to water). Cogn: Rith jur?- in jur?-mara- to soak  
 (a-)jurgubatu (N) *Spencer's goanna*, (*Varanus spenceri*) *a goanna found to the south*. Cogn: Djingili jurgubadu, etc.  
 (gu-)juruy (N) *ceremonial shade*  
 juřam (N) (Pl only) *warriors, war party*. Cogn: Rith juřamu  
 (a-)juřer? (N) *great bowerbird*. Cogn: Rith juřir?, perhaps Warnd juřir  
 (a-)jutu? (N) *a freshwater eel-tailed catfish, probably Anodontiglanis dahli*  
 (gu-)ju| (N) *genital cover*  
 juy?-du- (VTr) to send, to send away. Cogn: Rith juy?-yu-  
 K  
 kalda- (V) see galda-  
 -kalu (Sff) *other*. Cf. grammar (5.2)  
 kara- (Prf) see gara- (gara-kara-) and grammar (8.10)  
 -kew (Nk) see gew  
 -ki-? (Dem) ñi-ki-? here. See grammar (6.3)  
 -ki-ñ (Dem) see grammar (6.3)  
 -ki-ri (Dem) see grammar (6.3)  
 -ko? (Sff) forms dyadic duals with kin terms. See grammar (4.4)  
 -koñdokoñdo (N) see nuk  
 -ku (Sff) Genitive-Dative. See grammar (4.6)  
 -kuñuñ (Sff) Originative. See grammar (4.6)  
 L  
 -lañ- (Prf) see grammar (8.2)  
 L  
 |ak-bu- (VTr) (contains bu-) to pull flesh from shell (of turtle or tortoise). Cogn: Rith  
 (gu-)|ambak (N) (tin) can  
 |ambara (Nk) *mother's brother*. Syn: gaykay (more common term). Cogn: occurs in creole English as well as some Aboriginal languages to the south  
 (a-)|anguña (N) *pied (magpie) goose*. Cogn: Warnd, Rith, etc.

(gu-)|aŋur (N) *corroboree*. Cf. nungu|aŋur. Cogn: Warnd  
 (a-)|apar (N) *forest bronze-wing pigeon*. Cogn: Rith |a:par, Nungg |abarg  
 |ark-bu- (VTr) (with bu-) *to cut up*. Cogn: Rith  
 |ar?|ar-du- (VTr1) *to cut up*. Cogn: Rith |ar?|ar-yu-, Warnd |ar  
 |arŋ (N) *short (not tall, not long)*. Syn: dumbuŋ, etc.  
 (a-)|arpuŋiŋ (N) *a mid-sized rock wallaby sp.*, larger than gaŋdawul?  
 (gu-)|arwa (N) *(smoking) pipe*. Syn: wubin. Cogn: Rith; Nungg |aruwa  
 |a?-wa:n (N) attested in ŋi-|a?-wa:n *He's the one (the culprit)!; just like him*  
 (ma-)|awar (N) *string*. Cf. |ayar, ɔarpa, balku, ŋaŋugu  
 (gu-)|ay (N) *cheekbone*  
 (ma-)|ayar (N) *bark fibre*. Cf. |awar  
 (a-)|eč|eč (N) *a small skink sp. living on trees*. Distinct from (a-)gu|e|eč  
 (a-)|epal (N) *a spotted perch sp. in freshwater*. Cf. biŋɔaraŋa?. Cogn: Rith |ipal  
 (gu-)|ere|ere? (N) *shrub with jagged leaves, (Bossiae bossiaeoidea)*. Cogn: Rith |iri|iri? and gu|iri|iri?, Warnd |iri|iri, Nungg wu|iri|iri  
 |er?|er-bu- (VTr) (contains bu-) *to clap (boomerangs)*. ŋigu-|er?|er-bu-ni *He clapped boomerangs*. Syn: barkbark-bu-  
 (ma-)|et|et (N) *red-collared lorikeet (parrot)*  
 ||- (Prf) (1) *side*. (2) *might as well*. See grammar (8.7)  
 -|||?|||?-du- (VIntr1) occurs in |oŋ-|||?|||?-du- (VIntr) *to have a headache*. Syn: cf. ŋutŋut-du-  
 (ma-)|irgi (N) *corroboree*  
 |irič (N) *culprit, criminal, trouble-maker*  
 (a-)|irŋiŋiŋ (N) *perchlet (small*

*freshwater fish)*. Corr: Nungg munał. Cogn: Warnd |irŋiŋiŋ  
 |irwič (N) *red*. Probably from \*|ir-wič, cf. barwič  
 |iw-ga- (VTr) (contains -ga to carry) *to hunt (kangaroos) with fire*  
 (o-)|ok|ok (N) *dragon lizard sp. found in scrubland*. Cf. ɔalpur?, ŋaŋjarma|i?. Cogn: Rith |ak|ak  
 (mo-)|oŋjo (N) *mud, especially dry or drying mud*. Cf. go|ŋo  
 (gu-)|oŋ (N) *head*. In cpds: cf. -|||?|||?-du-, ŋutŋut-du-, duwa|kduwa|k  
 -|oŋ?|oŋ?-du- (VTr1) in cpd: bi|mir-|oŋ?|oŋ?-du- *to clap tapsticks*  
 |orbow?-du- (VIntr1) *to be/become poured or spilled*. |orbow?-guba- (VTrCaus) *to spill*. |orbow?-gub-i- (VIntrCausRef1) *to be/become spilled*. Cogn: Rith |arbaw?-wu-  
 |u|-du- (VIntr1) *to wade (in water)*  
 |u|?|u| (N) *crooked*. (gu-)ɔanda?-|u|?|u| (N) *crooked tree*. Cogn: Rith  
 |urunga? (Adv) *in the middle*. Rdp: |uru-|urunga?. As (N): (ŋi-)|uru-|urunga? *middle son (not first- or last-born)*  
 |utun? (N) *deep (water)*. (gu-) |utun?, (gu-)bun-|utun? *deep water (e.g. permanent billabong)*

#### M

ma- (Prf) one of the nonhuman noun-class prefixes  
 ma- (VTrIrreg) *to get, to grab, to pick up*. Root form: baŋ.  
 bak-ma- (VTrBen) *to get for*.  
 baŋa-ma- (VTrCom) *to take from*.  
 Cpds: ɔangu-ma- (VTr) *to hold meat*; ŋuk-ma- (VTr) *to get guts of*. bara-ŋuk-ma-ni *They get guts of it*. (Object is a-wurpaŋ emu). Cpds where ma- acts as auxiliary are listed under the first element. Cogn: many Australian languages

(ma-)mačarbaŋk (N) *string necklace worn during mourning*. Cogn: Rith mačarwark  
 (a-)mačur (N) *black flying fox, (Pteropus gouldii)*. Cogn: Warnd madjur  
 maɔak-du- (VIntr1) *to sing in maɔayin ceremony with tapsticks*. Cogn: Rith maɔak-u-  
 maɔarpa (N) *a Ritharngu-speaking clan*  
 (a-)maɔawk (N) *friarbird*. Cogn: Rith ma:ɔawk  
 (gu-)maɔayin (N) *an important secret ritual*. Cogn: Nungg, Rith  
 ma:k (N) *good*. Cpds: bala-ma:k (Adv) *right side*; (gu-)joko-ma:k (N) *good ground*; (gu-)ɔubur-ma:k *good thing, good idea, truth*; gu-na?-ɔubur-ma:k *It is true; mere?-mak (N) sharp-bladed; wič-mak good thing, good idea; mak-ɔi- (VIntrInch); jal-mak-ɔi- (VIntr) to feel good; ŋoŋ?-mak-ɔi- (VIntr) to be happy*. (Vowel-length in cpds. and derivatives not always clear). Cf. maki-  
 maka- (VTr4a) *to call (by name)*. Cpd: ɔawal-maka- (VIntr) *to call (names of) countries*. Refl in cpd: ŋi-ga-biŋɔi-wur?wuruŋu-mak-i-na *He is a real old man ('He calls himself an old man')*. Past Rdp: magi-magi-ri. Cogn: Nungg -maga- *to tell*  
 maki- (VIntr3a) *to tell the truth*. Cf. ma:k. Rdp: magi-magi-. Cf. ma:k  
 (ma-)mala (N) *buttocks*  
 mala- see galič  
 mala?- (Prf) In cpds, *time, season*. mala?-ŋalk (Adv) *in the rainy season*. mala?-wa|ir *in the hot season*. mala?-ič-wo (Interrog) *when?* mala?-ič-wolo (Adv) *at that time*. Cf. yič-. Cogn: Warnd mala- in mala-wunga *when?*. Typologically parallel to Nungg aga|al-malabarčaray (N) *a subclan of*

*the maɔarpa clan*  
 mala?-ič-wo, mala?-ič-wolo see mala?-  
 malaŋukanuka (N) *subclan of the wa:gilak clan*  
 (a-)malapiŋbiŋ (N) *a small bat sp. which nests in trees*. Syn: biŋbiŋja|a  
 mal-ga- (VTr) (contains ga- to carry) (father) *to beget, to sire (children)*. Cogn: Rith malga-  
 malk- (Prf) In adverbial cpds: *time(s)*. malk-waŋiŋiŋ? (Adv) *once*. malk-bir (Adv) *many times*. malk-yapan? (Adv) *twice*. malk-waŋiŋiŋ?-du- (VIntr1) *to do once*. bak-malk-waŋiŋiŋ?-du- (VTrBen1) *to do once to*. Cf. galič. Cogn: Rith; Nungg ma|D- (D an unspecified stop)  
 mal-kalič see galič  
 (gu-)malpurum (N) *wrist*. Syn: mamburu  
 (a-)malwiɔiwiɔi (N) *brown goshawk and collared sparrowhawk*. Cogn: Warnd, Nungg; Rith malwiɔiwiɔi  
 (a-)malwork (N) (1) *green tree ant*; (2) *wasp sp. with thick body*  
 (a-)ma|a (N) *centipede*. Cogn: Nungg ma|a *centipede, scorpion*. Rith ma|a *scorpion*  
 (gu-)ma|akambura (N) *headdress worn in Gunabibi ceremony*. Corr: Nungg wuguɔari  
 ma|amar (N) *first-born*. Cogn: Rith; Nungg ma|amar(ij)  
 (a-)ma|iŋji (N) *long-horned grasshopper*  
 (a-)ma|ka|a|ir (N) *black duck*. Syn: wa|maŋ. Cf. ŋu|iri. Cogn: Nungg ma|ga|a|ir  
 ma|oworo-ɔi- (VIntrInch) *to become cold, to become winter*. Subject is gu-. Var: ma|uru-ɔi-  
 ma|uru-ɔi- see ma|oworo-ɔi-  
 (a-)mambal? (N) *freshwater mussel*. Syn: gurupu?. Cogn: Rith; Nungg ma:mbal; Warnd wambal  
 (gu-)mamburu (N) *wrist*. Syn: malpurum. In cpd: mamburu-bača- (VTr2) *to hit on the wrist*. Cogn: Rith ma:mbur  
 man- (Prf) In nominal cpds:

bunch associated with. man-  
 maṅḍa:laṅi-yuṅ (N) *Old Alec's  
 bunch, the Old Alec mob.*  
 (maṅḍa:laṅi *Old Alec*)  
 (a-)mananguḷa (N) *python sp.  
 resembling burugulu, with long  
 squared head, living often in  
 caves.* Corr: Nungg majbarwar  
 (a-)manapuṅ (N) *porcupine, echidna*  
 (a-)manba (N) *armband.* Syn:  
 ṛilkara. Cogn: Nungg, Warnd  
 (gu-)manda? (N) *scale (of fish,  
 snake, etc.).* Cpd: cf. wowkwowk  
 (a-)mandiranṅ (N) *young kangaroo or  
 wallaby.* Cogn: Nungg, Rith  
 mindaranṅ  
 (gu-)mangapuruna (N) *hook boomer-  
 ang.* Syn: wariḍila. Cogn: Nungg  
 mangaburuna  
 (a-)manimani (N) *grass made into  
 necklaces, (Panicum sp.) (and  
 perhaps others)*  
 (gu-)manjar? (N) *leaf; branch with  
 leaves.* Cogn: Rith; Nungg  
 manjar  
 (a-)maga (N) *white-faced heron;  
 grey phase of reef heron.*  
 Probably a loan word from Nungg  
 ma:na  
 (ma-)maṅḍiwala (N) *circumcision  
 corroboree.* Cogn: Nungg; Warnd  
 maṅḍiwa  
 maṅḍuwuruma (N) *clan name.*  
 Territorial centre: garaṅam  
 maṅga? (Adv) *maybe*  
 maṅiñ?-ḍu- (VTr1) *to make, to make  
 properly, to make (something)  
 good, to do (something)  
 properly.* Cpds: yele-maṅiñ?-ḍu-  
 (VTr) *to make a hole; dubur-  
 maṅiñ?-ḍu- (VTr) to do the  
 thing properly. ṅigu-ḍulu-maṅiñ?-  
 ḍu-ṅi He performed the corroboree  
 well.* Cogn: perhaps Nungg -maṅḍa-  
 maṅuṅ (N) *female.* Cogn: Nungg  
 mañ- (Prf) In cpds: *taste.* Cf.  
 warjak, yika-, ḍa:-bu-. Cogn:  
 Rith mañ- in mañ-guyak, etc.  
 mañmak (N/Adv) *good, alright,  
 satisfactory.* Cogn: Rith, etc.  
 (gu-)maṅa (N) *neck.* Cpds: cf.  
 gurkur, ḍerp-ḍu-  
 mar- (Prf) Comparative prefix.  
 (ṅi-)mar-wur?wurunu (N) *older*

(brother). Cf. also gulk-ḍu-,  
 gaḷi  
 mara (N) of the Mara language  
 group  
 (gu-)mara? (N) *witchetty grub,  
 larva of longhorn beetle.* Cf.  
 moṛk  
 (ma-)maralpiṅḍi? (N) (1) *bull-  
 roarer.* (2) *tree sp.*  
 (ṅi-)maramba? (N) *man who steals  
 someone's wife, man who runs  
 off with a woman.* Cogn: Rith  
 mar-bu- (VTr) (contains bu-) *to  
 pity, to feel sorry for.*  
 ṅanu-mar-bu-mana *I pity him.*  
 Cogn: Rith  
 mariyaku (N) *few*  
 mar?ma-ḍu- (VIntr1) *to shake, to  
 tremble.* Rdp: mar?ma-mar?ma-ḍu-  
 (gu-)maṛ (N) *hand.* Cogn: Nungg  
 maṛaṅ, etc.  
 maṛ- (Prf) 2nd person possessor,  
 with kin terms. ṅi-maṛ-gayak  
*your younger brother*  
 (gu-)maṛaṅga (N) *lower leg*  
 (a-)maṛarač (N) *mantis.* Cogn:  
 Nungg ṛaraj  
 (ma-)maṛpuy (N) *a sedge, (Eleo-  
 charis sphacelata).* Cogn:  
 Rith; Nungg maṛbuy  
 (a-)maṛ (N) *handle*  
 (gu-)maṛarawk (N) *a eucalypt with  
 smooth white bark, in hilly  
 country.* Cf. ḍarawk  
 maṛ-bu- (VTr) (contains bu-) *to  
 learn well, to master, to get  
 (s.t.) right.* Cogn: Rith  
 maṛbu- *to know*  
 (ma-)maṛun (N) *cold weather;  
 winter.* mala?-maṛun (Adv) *cold  
 season (e.g. April-May, when  
 the cold southeast wind pre-  
 vails).* Cogn: Rith  
 (a-)maṛuḷu (N) *'sand-ridge goanna'.*  
 Corr: Rith guḷungur. Cf.  
 gawgaw  
 (ma-)mawuṛari (N) *a rainforest  
 shrub, (Ganophyllum falcatum).*  
 Cogn: Rith  
 (ma-)mawuya (N) *magical poison  
 (used by sorcerers)*  
 may? (1) (Part) untranslatable  
 clause-introducer. (2) -?may?  
 (Sff) Negative. See

grammar (9.23, 13.1)  
 (gu-)mayamaya (N) *open plain.*  
 Cogn: Warnd; Nungg wumayamaya  
 may?-ḍu- (VIntr1) *to make light-  
 ning flash*  
 mayin (N) attested in (gu-)ḍawal-  
 mayin (N) *naming (verbal noun)  
 the countries (ḍawal)*  
 (a-)maymay (N) *a small light-  
 coloured freshwater eel-tailed  
 catfish sp., probably a sp. of  
 Neosilurus*  
 (gu-)meḷepe? (N) *shoulder blade.*  
 Var: miḷipi?. Syn: beremelk.  
 Cogn: Rith miḷipi?, Nungg  
 miḷibi  
 memem (Nk) *father's mother.* Syn:  
 jam?jam. Cogn: Rith and Nungg  
 mi:mi  
 (ṅi-)memiṅiringi (N) *owner of  
 (ceremony)*  
 (a-)mendek (N) *tortoise's burrow  
 in mud*  
 (gu-)mere? (N) *blade, sharp edge,  
 thorn, sharp hook, sharp point.*  
 Cpds: cf. ma:k, warjak  
 (ma-)merne? (N) *a small shrub  
 with edible berries, (Grewia  
 retusifolia).* Syn: murña?  
 (a-)merer (N) *eggs of lice (mič,  
 muṅdik)*  
 (a-)mič (N) *human head louse.*  
 Cogn: Nungg mi:j  
 (ma-)miḍimiḍi (N) *rib.* Cogn: Rith  
 miḍam?-ḍu- (VIntr1) *to be pleased  
 (e.g. by success in hunting)*  
 miḷi?- (Prf) *lest.* Evitative pre-  
 fix. See grammar (8.5)  
 (gu-)milipa? (N) *a shrub, perhaps  
 Cansjera and/or Opilia.* Cogn:  
 Rith; Nungg miliba  
 (a-)milkilk (N) *small mosquitoes.*  
 Cf. muḷa. Cogn: Rith  
 (a-)milpuṅ? (N) *firefly.* Cogn: Rith;  
 Nungg milbuṅ  
 (a-)milwiṅ (N) *sand fly.* Cogn: Nungg  
 miḷimiḷi (N) attested in gu-jolko-  
 miḷimiḷi (N) *exposed ground  
 (after floodwaters recede)*  
 (gu-)miḷipi? (N) *shoulder blade.*  
 Var: meḷepe?. Syn: beremelk.  
 Cogn: Rith miḷipi?, Nungg  
 miḷibi  
 (a-)minji? (N) *very small fresh-*

*water fish sp., perhaps  
 rainbowfish.* Corr: Nungg buyal.  
 Cogn: Rith  
 miṅiča (N) (1) (ma-)miṅiča (N) *a  
 riverside tree with large  
 thorns, (Cathormion umbellatum).*  
 (2) (gu-)miṅiča (N) *jungle,  
 thick scrub.* Cogn: Rith, Warnd  
 and Nungg miṅija  
 miṅim?-ḍu- (VIntr1) *(lightning) to  
 flash*  
 miṅiṅiri (N) *clan name*  
 (ma-)miṅiyar? (N) *ironwood,  
 (Erythroleum chlorostachyum).*  
 Cogn: Rith  
 miri? (Interrog) An interrogative  
 particle used in yes/no  
 questions, and occasionally in  
 other kinds of questions.  
 miri? ṅu-yima-na-? *What are you  
 doing?*  
 (ṅi-)miriči (N) *barramundi fish,  
 (Lates calcarifer).* Cogn: Rith;  
 Warnd miriji. Cf. jarkaḷi  
 (ma-)mir? (N) *jail.* Cpd: cf.  
 ṅiḷi?-bu-. Cogn: Rith mir? *cave*  
 miṛit-ḍu- (VIntr) (contains ḍu-  
 to stand). bak-miṛit-ḍu- (VTr-  
 Ben) *to be jealous or resent-  
 ful of*  
 (gu-)miṛiṅḍi? (N) *upper back*  
 (a-)miṛiwiri? (N) *brush-tailed  
 possum.* Syn: ḍu?. Cogn: Rith;  
 Nungg miḍiwiri  
 (a-)miṛuruṅ (N) *a small fork-  
 tailed catfish.* Cogn: Rith;  
 Nungg miḍuruṅ; Warnd mijuruṅ  
 (ma-)miyamaṅḍar (N) *a tree with  
 very hard wood found on beaches  
 and cliffs, (Pemphis acidula).*  
 Cogn: Nungg  
 miyan-ga- (VIntr) (with ga-)  
 attested in ba-na?-miya-miyan-  
 ga-n-jini *They get more*  
 (gu-)mo: (N) *knee*  
 (mo-)moč (N) *nut of coastal  
 pandanus (rok).* Cf. ṅalk  
 (o-)mol? (N) *didjeridu.* Cf. mol?-  
 ga-  
 molḍa- (VTr2) *to give time to.*  
 Rdp: molḍa-molḍa-  
 mol?-ga- (VIntr) (contains ga-)  
 to play the didjeridu. Cf.  
 mol?

(mo-)mo|o (N) *road*. Cpd: cf. *gar̄k-du-*. Cogn: Rith ma|a  
 monaŋa (N) *White, European*. Var:  
 monaŋa. Cogn: Pidgin English  
 and adjacent Aboriginal  
 languages  
 mo:nič (Adv) *secretly, in stealth*.  
 ba-yul-yuŋ ba-ga-ram̄da-ydi-na  
 mo:nič *Aborigines have spear  
 fights secretly (so the police  
 will not arrest them)*  
 (gu-)moŋk (N) *witchetty grub  
 (cossid moth larva)*. Cf. mara?  
 (gu-)moŋol? (N) *beetle larva  
 (curl grub)*, found in ant  
 mounds  
 (o-)moyno? (N) *red ochre*. Cogn:  
 Mara mayŋu  
 (mo-)moyon (N) *a kind of cycad  
 palm, (Cycas sp.)*. Smaller  
 than ŋa|u  
 (a-)muč (N) (1) *rainbow*. (2)  
*rainbow serpent*. Cogn: Rith  
 mu:č  
 (gu-)muču (N) *river coolibah,  
 (Eucalyptus microtheca)*. Cf.  
 wa|an?. Cogn: Rith; Warnd  
 mudju, Nungg wumudju  
 muđi (Nk) *father's father*.  
 Cogn: Warnd muři, Nungg mu:ri.  
 muđi-ŋ? (N) see muđi  
 muka (Part) *indeed*. Cogn: Rith;  
 Nungg muga  
 muk-du- (VIntr1) *to become dark,  
 to become night*. Subject is  
 gu-. Cogn: Rith muk-u-, Nungg  
 -muda-  
 (ma-)mulalu (N) *a sedge with  
 tubers, perhaps Eleocharis  
 dulcis*. Very similar to  
 mulkmulk, which is said to be  
 a somewhat taller plant. Cogn:  
 Warnd, Rith  
 (ma-)mulkmulk (N) see mulalu. It  
 is not clear whether the two  
 both refer to varieties of  
*Eleocharis dulcis*, or whether  
 one is a different sp. Cogn:  
 Rith  
 (gu-)mulmu (N) *grass (general  
 term)*. Cogn: Rith  
 mul?mul (N) *black, dark*. Cogn:  
 Rith  
 (gu-)mulukan (N) *fin*

(ma-)mululuk (N) *conkerberry  
 (shrub with edible berries),  
 (Carissa lanceolata)*  
 (a-)mu|? (N) *black whip snake*.  
 Cogn: Rith mu:|?  
 (a-)mu|a (N) *large mosquitoes*. Cf.  
 milkmik. Cogn: Nungg, Warnd  
 (a-)mumba? (N) *metal axe*. Cf.  
 jeler  
 (gu-)mun (N) *heel*. Cogn: Nungg  
 mu:n *foot*  
 munana (N) see monana  
 mungu-du- (VTr1) *to follow*. Cpd:  
 cf. garu-. Cogn: Rith mungu-yu-  
 (ma-)munmun? (N) *a grass with soft  
 roots which can be dipped into  
 honey and chewed, (Alloteropsis  
 semialata)*. Corr: Rith munmun?,  
 Nungg aŋigaŋi  
 munun? (N) *dark (at night)*. As  
 predicate: gu-na?-munun?-may?  
*It is not dark yet*.  
 (a-)muŋdik (N) *flea or louse on  
 dog*. Cf. mič  
 muñ-du- (VIntr1) *to be angry*  
 muŋgubay-gi- (VIntr3a) *to become  
 sick*. Cf. goŋ-du-  
 muŋur (N) *in fine bits, powder-  
 like; smooth*. Cogn: Rith, Nungg  
 muŋbi- (VIntr3a) *to do (something)  
 for good, permanently*  
 muŋuy? (Adv) *constantly*. wuluŋ-  
 muŋuy (Adv) (same meaning).  
 Cogn: Rith  
 (gu-)murapu? (N) *certain crabs,  
 including the freshwater crab*.  
 Cogn: Rith murapu?, Nungg and  
 Warnd murabu  
 (a-)murka? (N) *spangled perch,  
 (Madigania unicolor)*. Cogn:  
 Rith  
 (ma-)murña? *a shrub with edible  
 berries, (Grewia retusifolia)*.  
 Syn: merŋe?. Cogn: Rith murña?  
 and murñi?; Nungg murŋaŋ  
 (ma-)murŋ (N) *backbone*. Cogn:  
 Nungg mu:ŋ *shell*  
 (a-)murŋiñ (N) *shovel spear*. Cogn:  
 Rith  
 (ma-)murpun? (N) *a tree, (Termin-  
 alia sp.)*. Cogn: Rith  
 (a-)muruŋu|a (N) *male euro  
 (dĩrk)*. Cogn: Rith; Nungg  
 murbungu|a

(a-)murugulu? (N) *termite*  
 (gu-)mururunguŋa (N) *eastern  
 swamp-hen*. Cogn: Nungg; Rith  
 mururunguŋa?  
 (ma-)muŋiŋi? (N) *scrub wattles,  
 probably including Acacia  
 conspersa*. Cogn: Rith muŋiŋi?,  
 Nungg muđiđi, Warnd muđiđi  
 (ma-)muŋe? (N) *sanđpaper fig,  
 (Ficus opposita)*. Cogn: Rith  
 muŋi?

N

na?- (Prf) *still*. ŋi-na?-ruđu-ni  
*He is still going*  
 -na-? (Dem) *that*  
 (gu-)na-ji-ñ-iñuŋ (N) *that kind  
 of thing*. See grammar (6.8)  
 (gu-)na-ji-ri-yuŋ (N) *that kind  
 of thing*. See grammar (6.8)  
 -na-ri (Dem) *that*  
 -ni-? (Dem) *this*  
 -ni-ñ (Dem) *that*. gu-ni-ñ *that  
 was that*. (Indicates the end  
 of a train of thought by the  
 speaker.)

N

ŋa- (Prf) a noun-class prefix  
 (FSg or nonhuman)  
 ŋa- (Dem) cf. -ki-ri-, -ču-?, etc.  
 ŋa- (VTrIrreg) *to see*. Rarely  
 (VIntr) *to look*. ŋar-ja-ŋa-  
 čini *We look*. ŋanu-ŋa-ni *I saw  
 him*. Cpd: diku-ŋa- (VTr) *to  
 see (corpse)*; wali-ŋa- (VTr)  
*to see (tree)*; go?-ŋa- (VTr)  
*to see the eyes of; to look in  
 the eyes of; ganam-ŋa- (VTr)  
 (doctor) to examine the ears  
 of*. Cogn: Nungg -na-, Rith  
 ŋa:-, Mara -na-, etc.  
 ŋa- (VTrIrreg) *to burn, to cook  
 on open fire*. In cpd as  
 auxiliary: cf. buypuy-ŋa-.  
 Cogn: Nungg -na- *to burn*;  
 Warnd -naŋi- *to be on fire*  
 -ŋa?- (Prf) see na?-  
 -ŋa-? (Dem) see -na-?  
 ŋačuweleñ (Adv) *then, after  
 that; from there*

ŋajugi? (Adv) *from/around somewhere  
 else*. ŋajugi?-wala (Adv) *from/  
 around somewhere else*  
 ŋaki- (VIntr3a) *to burn, to be on  
 fire*. Patterns as an irregular  
 Refl form of ŋa- *to burn*. Rdp:  
 ŋagi-ŋagi-. Cogn: Nungg -ŋagi-  
 ŋambič (Part) Attested in a-ñja-ku  
 ŋambič *supposedly, possibly*  
 (indicates lack of proof). See  
 Text 12.70  
 ŋa:n (Part) added to demonstrative  
 forms, apparently giving an Em-  
 phatic Visible sense: gu-na-ri  
 ŋa:n gu-đanda?-yuŋ *There is the  
 tree*  
 (ma-)ŋaŋaŋ (N) *creeping vine with  
 spiny fruits, (Tribulus cist-  
 oides)*  
 (ŋi-)ŋanguru (N) *saltwater croco-  
 dile*. Cf. goyow. Cogn: Warnd  
 -?ŋayi, -ŋayi (Sff) *his*  
 ŋi- (Prf) a noun-class prefix, MSg  
 or nonhuman  
 ŋi- (V) see ŋu-  
 ŋi- (Dem) see -ki-?, -ču-?, etc.  
 -ŋi-? (Dem) see -ni-?  
 (a-)ŋilaŋila (N) *large cicada*. Cf.  
 ŋiriŋiri. Cogn: Nungg, Rith  
 (ma-)ŋim (N) *anus; buttocks*  
 ŋima- (VTr4b) *to hold, to grasp*.  
 Cpd: ga:-ŋima- (VIntr1) *to grope  
 along (with walking stick)*. Past  
 Rdp: ŋimi-ŋimi-ŋi. Cogn: Nungg  
 -nima-  
 (a-)ŋin? (N) *finch sp. (bird)*. Cogn:  
 Warnd ŋinin, Rith ñin?  
 (ma-)ŋiñiŋiñi (N) *a chenopod plant,  
 (Salsola kali) ('roly-poly',  
 'buckbush')*  
 (a-)ŋiriŋiri (N) *a small cicada sp.*  
 Cf. ŋilaŋila. Cogn: Rith:ŋiriŋiri?  
 ŋo- (V) see ŋu-  
 (o-)ŋono (N) *a small mud-nest wasp*.  
 Cf. burčuŋu|u?  
 ŋoŋ?-du- (VIntr1) *to snore*. Cogn:  
 Rith ŋaŋŋ?-gu-  
 (gu-)ŋo|o? (N) *grass*. Syn: mulmu  
 ŋu- (VIntrIrreg) *to be sitting*.  
 Cogn: Warnd na-/nu-  
 ŋugan (Pron) *you (Sg)*  
 -?ŋukuy, -ŋukuy (Sff) *your (Sg)*  
 (gu-)ŋuŋga|a|ur (N) *a spreading  
 tree with soft white fruits*,

(*Mallotus nesophilus*). Cogn: Rith; Nungg ɭungala:ɭur nungayi (Part) *merely*. Cogn: Warnd nunguɭanur (N) *groups living around the Roper River, the 'fish hunters'*. Cogn: Warnd nunguɭanur (Gentilic nuN- plus wu-ɭanur *corroboree*) (gu-)nungur (N) *elbow*. Cogn: Rith nurbopop see bop-du- (ma-)nurč (N) *pond algae and certain other water plants such as Utricularia aurea*. Cogn: Rith nu:rč nu-wa see -wa

Ñ

ñaka (Pron) *we* (DuIn) (a-)ñalk (N) *rain*. Cpd: cf. malk. Cogn: Rith (a-)ñalwan (N) *duck sp., perhaps a whistle-duck*. Cf. jilili, jiribiyuk ñara (Nk) *father*. (ñi-)ñara-ŋ (N) *my/our father*. Cogn: Nungg ni-ñara ñara-ŋ (Nk) see ñara ñawk-du- (1) (VIntr1) *to speak, to talk*. bak-ñawk-du- (VTrBen) *to speak to*. dubur-ñawk-du- (Law) *to speak, to be the law*. (Subject is dubur-). (2) (VTr1) *to speak to* ñer (Pron) *we* (PlEx) ñil?-bu- (VTr) (contains bu- as auxiliary) *to look up, to confine*. Cpd: mir?-ñil?-bu- (VTr) *to look up in jail* ñir-kalu (Pron) see ñer, -kalu -?ñirayi, -ñirayi (Sff) *our* (PlEx) (gu-)ñirgul (N) *tall, dense grass*. gu-ñirgul-gaɭi (N) (place with) *lots of tall grass*. Cogn: Rith ñirgul savannah (ma-)ñiriñiri? (N) *a tree with large, inedible nuts, (Hakea arborescens)*. Cogn: Rith -ñja, -ñja? (Interrog) *what? who? which?* Takes noun-class prefixes, also bi- for place names. a-ñja *what?*. ñi-ñja *who?* (MSg). bi-ñja *what (place)?, where?*

a-ñja-ku, aru a-ñja-ku *what for?*. a-ñja a-ñja? *how many (kangaroos: dirk)?* a-ñja ña-ki-? *all kinds*. The form -ñja? is usually found before a pause, -ñja elsewhere. See grammar (11.2). ñom?-du- (VIntr1) *to sneak away; to flee* (a-)ñuɭuk (N) *native cat*. Cogn: probably Nungg ña:ɭig (a-)ñuñuñu? (N) *sand wasp, (Bembix sp.)*. Cogn: Rith

N

-ŋ, -ŋ? (Sff) 1st person possessor, with a few kin terms ña- (VTrIrreg) *to hear*. Cpd: yaŋ-ŋa- (VTr) *to hear the voice or sound of*. yič-ŋa- (VIntr) *to think*. Cogn: Rith ña:-, Nungg -yana- (\*-yaŋ-ŋa-), etc. (ñi-)ñabijaja (N) *mother's father*. (ñi-)mar-ñabijaja (N) *your mother's father*. Var: bijaja. Cogn: Warnd -bijaja *mother's father, ña-bijaja my/our mother's father*; Nungg bijaja nabuji (Nk) *a kin term, including sister's son's child* (gu-)ñaçal (N) *spring (of water)*. Cogn: Rith; Nungg and Warnd ñajal ñačiwangu (N) *old (woman)*. Cogn: Rith; Nungg ñajiwangu (cf. Nungg yiwangu *old man*) (gu-)ñađirin? (N) *hairbelt* (gu-)ñaqbanna (N) *a palm, (Ptychosperma elegans)*. Cogn: Rith; Nungg ñabanna (ñi-)ñaqnak (N) *white-breasted sea eagle*. Cogn: Nungg ñaganaga, etc. ñalakan (N) *of the Ngalakan language group* (a-)ñalalak (N) *little corella (bird)*. Cogn: Rith (gu-)ñalaja (N) *cat-tail, (Typha sp.)*. Cogn: Mara ñalađa ñal?-du- (VIntr1) *to go up (vertically, or on slope)*. Cpd: ñiŋ-ñal?-du- (VIntr) *to go up*

*on one's foot, to step up onto something*. Cf. bit-bu-. Cogn: Rith ñal?-yu- (gu-)ñalk (N) *nut of coastal pandanus (rok)*. Cf. moč. Cogn: Nungg ñalgi (gu-)ñaɭ (N) *saliva*. Cpd: cf. geyk-đa-. Cogn: Rith ña:ɭ (gu-)ñaɭan (N) *shell (e.g. of tortoise)*. Cogn: Rith ñaɭañji (N) *girl*. Cogn: Nungg (gu-)ñaɭik (N) *gooseberry, probably Solanum sp.* Cogn: Nungg ña:ɭig, Rith ña:ɭik (a-)ñaɭika (N) *curved woomera*. Cf. boŋdok ñam (N) (1) (gu-)ñam (N) *milk*. (2) (a-)ñam (N) *snake-lizard ('milk snake')*. Cogn: perhaps Rith ñamini (gu-)ñambin?ñambin (N) *a sp. of wild potato, distinct from duymanji*. Cogn: Rith; Warnd ñambidñambid; Nungg wuñambin-ñambin (ma-)ñambul (N) *eye*. Syn: ñañjuɭa ñamuri (Nk) *father's father*. Cf. muđi ñana-ŋ (Nk) *my/our mother*. Cf. ñele ñandi (1) (N) *of the Ngandi language group*. (2) (gu-)ñandi (N) *the Ngandi language* (ñi-)ñana (N) *honey*. Cf. guŋ. Cogn: Rith ñaŋar (N) *bad-tempered, violent, dangerous, 'cheeky'*. ñaŋar-burkayi (N) *very dangerous*. buk-ñarar (N) *habitually violent*. Cogn: Rith ñaŋar salt-water crocodile (gu-)ñaŋdalŋ (N) *chin, gills of fish* (gu-)ñaŋdark (N) *ant sp. which makes small ant mounds in jungles* (a-)ñaŋgel (N) *a greyish duck sp., smaller than waɭmañ* (gu-)ñaŋi (N/Adv) *(in the) west*. Usually without gu-. ñaŋi-č (Adv) *westward*. ñaŋi-yala (Adv) *from the west*. Cpd: bala-gu-ñaŋi(-yung) (Adv) *in the west side*. Rarely found as (N) in

predicate function: ma-na?-ñaŋi *It (sun) is in the west*. Cogn: Rith (gu-)ñaŋiñaŋiñji? (N) *scrub myrtle, (Calytrix exstipulata)*. Cogn: Rith ñaŋaŋiñaŋaŋi?; Nungg ñaŋaŋiñji (rare) (a-/ma-)ñaŋjarmaɭi? (N) *lizard sp.* Probably a dragon lizard, said to be larger than ñalpur?. Prefix usually ma-. Cf. ɭokɭok (ma-)ñaŋjuɭa (N) *eye, seed, fruit containing seeds*. Cpd: cf. ɭukba-, jir?. Cf. ñambul (a-)ñaŋga (N) *dragonfly*. Cogn: Nungg (a-)ñaŋač (N) *snake (generic term)*. Cogn: Rith ñaŋarač (gu-)ñaŋaŋdalk (N) *grass sp., fodder for cattle* (ñi-)ñaŋayaɭ (N) *Saratoga fish, (Scleropages jardini)*. Cogn: Rith, Warnd ñarič (N) *a subsection* (gu-)ñaŋarkan (N) *charcoal*. Cogn: Rith; Nungg ñargan (ma-)ñaŋamuđa? (N) *a plant with edible tubers, a form of Triglochin procera*. Cogn: Rith; Nungg ñarmuđa (rare) ñarŋar-du- (VIntr1) *to be wild and unrestrainable; to be difficult to handle; to resist arrest* (gu-)ñaŋaka (N) *bone*. Cogn: Rith; Nungg ñagara (gu-)ñaŋban? (N) *archer fish ('rifle fish')*. Cogn: Rith ñat-du- (VIntr1) *(fire, oven) to become red-hot* (ma-)ñaŋugu (N) *rope*. Syn: baluku. Cogn: Nungg and Warnd ñađugu, Rith ñađuku (ma-)ñaŋu (N) *a cycad palm (Cycas sp.)*. Larger than moyon. Cogn: Rith; Nungg ñađu; Warnd maŋaju ñawuy (Nk) *father's sister, 'auntie'*. Cogn: Nungg ñaya (Pron) *I* (a-)ñaŋay (N) *devil (animated corpse)*. As suffix, 'the late': ñi-banmuk-ñaŋay *the late Banmuk* ñele (N) *mother*. The form with 1st person possessor is ñana-ŋ. Cpd: cf. nuk ñem?-du- (VIntr1) *to be full (of*

food), to be sated  
 (gu-)neñ (N) stone spear. Syn: wariman, warjambal  
 (ma-)nere (N) sleep, rest. Cpds: cf. woyo?-du-, yu- to sleep  
 nere? (N) orphan  
 (a-)nerknerk (N) sulphur-crested cockatoo. Cogn: Rith nirknirk  
 (gu-)ner? (N) heart. Cpd: cf. ma:k. Cf. also ner?-yu-. Cogn: Warnd niri  
 ner?-yu- (VIntr) (contains yu- to sleep). Attested in bak-ner?-yu- (VTrBen) to be fond of. Syn: ramar-yu-. Cogn: perhaps Rith niri?-yu- to breathe. Cf. ner?  
 ney?-du- (VIntr) to get up, to arise; to arise and set off; to leave a camp  
 -ni (Sff) 1st person possessor, with some kin terms  
 (ma-)nič (N) (vegetable) food. Contrast nič-  
 nič- (Prf) In cpds: name. Cf. yu- to put on  
 (gu-)nin (N) nape  
 -?ninani, -ninani (Sff) my  
 -?niri? (Sff) also, as well  
 no- (V) see nu-  
 (mo-)nolŋ (N) clitoris  
 (gu-)nolongo? (N) river red gum, (*Eucalyptus camaldulensis*). Cogn: Rith nalanga?, Nungg and Mara nalanga  
 (o-)no|omoro (N) nail-tailed wallaby, (*Onychogalea fraenata*). Cogn: Rith nalamara, Warnd nulumuru  
 (mo-)nondo (N) wind. Cogn: Rith nanda  
 norbon-du- (VIntr) (contains du- to stand) to hide (behind an object). ni-norbon-du-da gu-danda?-gi He is hiding behind a tree. Var: nurbon-du-. Cf. nurbor?-du-  
 nor-du- (VTr) Attested in ganda-nor-du- (VTr) to break leg of (at the joint)  
 (mo-)noro (N) flower  
 nor?- (Prf) see ma:k  
 nu- (VTrIrreg) to eat. Rdp: nuni-nu-ni (Past Cont), nuji-nu-jini

(Pres). Cpd: bun-nu- (VIntr) to drink. Cogn: Nungg -nu-, Warnd -na-, etc.  
 (ma-)nuk (N) guts, bowels, excrement. Cpds: ma-nuk-nele (N) 'big guts' (stomach lining); ma-nu-konđokonđo (N) Cf. also ma- to get. Cogn: Nungg nu-dan guts  
 (ma-)nuli (N) penis. Cogn: Nungg nulu pubic region; Warnd nulwaya- (\*nuli-waya-) to copulate with; etc.  
 (gu-)nulumurun (N) pubic hair; armpit hair. Cogn: Warnd nulumurun. Cf. nuli  
 (gu-)nuliiri (N) duck sp., perhaps grey teal. Cogn: Warnd nuliiri (misheard for nuliiri?)  
 nuni (Part) This is a rather emphatic particle used by a speaker who is annoyed at his inability to remember a word or name. See grammar (11.5)  
 (gu-)nuni? (N) firestick  
 nuñju (N) similar, equivalent. diku-nuñju-ti- (VIntrInch) to die together, to die at the same time. bak-dubur-nuñju-ti- (VTrBenInch) to do the same thing to. Cogn: Nungg; Warnd nuñju-nuñju  
 nurbon-du- (VIntr) (with du- to stand) see norbon-du-  
 nurbor?-du- (VIntr) to hide behind trees. Cf. norbon-du-  
 nur?-du- (VIntr) to dig (a hole or well). Cogn: Warnd nur, Rith nur?-yu-  
 nurgu?- (Prf) see jar?-da-  
 (gu-)nuri (N/Adv) (in the) north. nuri-č northward. nuri-yala (Adv) from the north. Cogn: Rith nururuy  
 (ni-)nuru (N) large freshwater fork-tailed catfish, (*Hexanematichthys* sp.). Distinct from warama, miŋurunu. Cogn: Nungg nanuru; Dhuwal and Mara nuru; Warnd na-nuru  
 (gu-)nuru? (N) navel. Cogn: Rith nurum?-du- (VTr) to dig (a well). Syn: nur?-du-  
 (ma-)nurutu (N) a eucalypt

(gu-)nuruŋin? (N) wild banana, (*Leichhardtia australis*). Cogn: Rith; Nungg wunuruŋin; Warnd nuriŋin  
 nutnut (1) (N) thick. (2) nutnut-du- (VIntr) Cpd: |oŋ-nutnut-du- (VIntr) to have a headache. Syn: -|i|?|i|?-du-  
 nutu (Adv) far away. Cogn: Rith nutu; perhaps Nungg anudu  
 -?nutayai, -nutayai (Sff) (1) her, hers. (2) its  
 (ma-)nuyar (N) large spinifex grass on sand dunes, (*Triodia microstachya*)

## P

-pič (Sff) Progressive: through, along  
 -piđey-da- see biđey?-da-  
 -piŋ see jalpiŋ  
 -pula (Sff) (1) Dual. ñer-pula (Pron) we (FDu); contrast ñer we (FDu, Pl). (2) and, with (Conjunctive)  
 -pu-ydi- see bu-  
 -puna- see buna-

## R

rur?-du- (VTr) to go around, to bypass

## R

raga-ragi? (Adv) see raki  
 (gu-)rakala? (N) a paperbark with large, thick leaves, (*Melaleuca viridiflora*). Cogn: Rith; Nungg ragala  
 (ma-)rakay (N) a sedge, probably *Eleocharis dulcis*. Larger than mulkmulk. Cogn: Rith ra:kay  
 raki (Adv) in front, ahead. raga-ragi? (Adv) (far) in front. Cogn: Nungg ragij  
 ralgopi- (VIntr3a) to take a rest. Etymology: perhaps \*ral-gopa-plus Refl -i-; for \*ral- cf. Rith ralwur-yu- (\*ral-wur-yu-)

to be weary or lazy  
 ramar-yu- (VIntr) (contains yu- to sleep as auxiliary)  
 bak-ramar-yu- (VTrBen) to be fond of. Syn: ner?-yu-. Cogn: Nungg -ramar- in -a-damar-nu-bura- to be fond of  
 ram-da- (VTr2) to spear, to throw spears at. Rarely (VIntr2) to engage in spearing. Rdp: ram?-ramda-. |i-ramda- (VTr) to spear on the side. Cf. wut-du-, yaw-du. Cogn: possibly Nungg -ra-  
 (a-)ranggu (N) eel. Cogn: Nungg, Rith  
 (gu-)ranmele (N) hip  
 (ma-)rapara (N) tail (except fish tail). Cogn: Nungg and Warnd rabara  
 rarala see rawara  
 rar?-du- (VTr) to throw many spears at  
 (gu-)rajar (N) dugong harpoon. Cogn: Rith; Nungg and Warnd rajar  
 (gu-)rawara (N/Adv) (in the) east. rawiri-č (Adv) eastward.  
 rara-la (Adv) from the east. Cogn: Rith rawaran  
 rawiri-č see rawara  
 (gu-)rer (N) camp; country. Usually means 'camp'. Cf. dawal  
 ri- (Prf) Prefix creating transitives of transportation; see grammar (8.11). nini-ri-bolk-d-i He came out with him.  
 raguni-bak-ri-puna-n-di raya-gič He rushed with (it) to me  
 rič-du- (VTr) to go around looking for. Cpd: wanda-rič-du- (VTr) to go looking for tracks of  
 ridi- see řudu-  
 (a-)rilkara (N) armband; also vine from which it is made, *Flagellaria indica*. Syn: manba. Cogn: Warnd rilgara  
 (a-)riñjilir (N) martin (bird)  
 (ma-)piran (N) over-mature water lily root (burpa?). Cogn: Rith ri:ran  
 (a-)ri?ri (N) blue-faced honey-eater

rijarngu (N) of the Ritharngu language group  
 (mo-)rok (N) coastal pandanus, (*Pandanus spiralis*). Cf. nalk, moč  
 (gu-)rololk (N) tree bark  
 roŋ- (Prf) 3rd person possessor, in kin terms. ni-roŋ-gayak (N) his/her/their younger brother  
 roŋdoy (N) wife's father.  
 ni-roŋ-roŋdoy (N) his/their wife's father  
 roŋo? (N) lightweight, buoyant.  
 (mo-)roŋo? (N) floater (piece of wood used in hunting dugong with harpoons)  
 ruđu- (VIntrIrreg) to go. Rdp: ruđu-đu-ni (Past), etc.  
 rukba- (VIntr5) to fall down. Cpds: diku-rukba- (VIntr) to collapse, to faint, to fall unconscious; ɳaŋju|a-rukba- (VIntr) (seed) to fall. Subject in last example is 'seed'. Rdp: rukba-rukba-  
 ru| (Prf) Attested only in (a-)ru|wolo (N) that kind of thing  
 (gu-)rulu (N) fish trap  
 rum- (Prf) In cpds: behaviour. rum-wangiŋ? one way of behaviour, proper behaviour. Cpds: cf. warjak, waraka?-đu-, yika-. Cf. also jalrumbiɾ. Cogn: Nungg ruŋ-  
 rumbirka- (VTr4a) (insects) to buzz or swarm around. narguɾa-rumbirka-na. They are swarming around me  
 rum?-đu- (VIntr1) to go to sleep. Cf. yu- to sleep  
 (a-)rumu? (N) Torres Strait (nutmeg) pigeon. Cogn: Nungg rumurumuwa  
 (ma-)ruŋuru? (N) woollybutt, (*Eucalyptus miniata*). Corr: Mara jirŋujga. Cogn: Nungg wuŋurug, Rith guŋuru?  
 (gu-)ruwur (N) grass used in corroborees. Syn: biliŋjiri

T

-|i- (Sff) Inchoative denominative verbaliser; see grammar (9.2)

-io- (V) see go-  
 -|u (Sff) Ergative; Instrumental. See grammar (4.6)

U

-u- (V) see yu-  
 -uđu- see ruđu-  
 -uŋ (Sff) see -yũŋ

W

-wa (VIntrIrreg) ɳu-wa Come! (Sg addressee). No other forms of this stem occur  
 (ma-)wači (N) spider  
 (a-)wačuŋđu (N) a form of the sand goanna, (*Varanus gouldii*). Cf. bijay?. Cogn: Rith. Corr: Nungg wuguj  
 wadi-wadi- see wati-  
 (ma-)wadawađa (N) a tree with large leaves, (*Macaranga tanarius*). Cogn: Rith, Nungg, Warnd. The Warnd term refers to a different species  
 waki- (VIntr3a) to return.  
 bak-waki- (VTrBen) to go back to. Rdp: wagi-wagi-. Cogn: Nungg -a:gi-  
 (a-)waku|waku| (N) a small fresh-water eel-tailed catfish, perhaps *Porochilus obbesi*  
 wala- (Adv), wala-w (Adv) upriver; in the high country. wala-č (Adv) (to) upriver; to the high country. wala-wala (Adv) from upriver; from the high country. Cogn: Rith walama-la  
 -wala (Sff) Ablative: from  
 wala? (Interrog) to where? wala? ni-ga-riđ-i Where did he go? Which way did he go? Syn: walagun  
 wala-č see wala-  
 walagun (Interrog) to where? walagun ni-ga-riđ-i Where did he go? Which way did he go? Syn: wala?. Perhaps from \*wala-gun  
 walagara? (N) first  
 wala-w, wala-wala see wala-

(gu-)wali (N) stick, log, wood. Dim: (gu-)wali-gaŋa?. Cpds: cf. go-, ɳa- to see  
 (gu-)walŋa (N) body. Cpd: cf. gaɾu-. Cogn: Warnd walŋi; Rith walŋa-|i- to become healthy  
 (a-/ma-)walpurungu? (N) plains turkey, bustard. Cpd: (ma-)ganda-walpurungu? (N) a tree, (*Clerodendrum ?cunning-hami*). Cogn: Rith; Nungg alburungu  
 (gu-)walulu (N) storm, high winds, cyclone. Cogn: Warnd walulu wind; Nungg walulu storm; Rith walulu storm  
 wa|akur (N) wide  
 wa|aman? (N) all, every; everyone. ŋar-wa|aman? (N) all of us. Cogn: Rith  
 (gu-)wa|an? (N) a eucalypt similar to coolibah (muču), but found on higher and drier ground, (*Eucalyptus tectifera*). Cogn: Rith; Nungg and Warnd wa|an  
 wa|at-bu- (VTr) (contains bu-) to cook in ashes. Cogn: Rith  
 (a-)wa|gawa|ga (N) a mid-sized bat sp. which nests in caves  
 (ma-)wa|ir (N) sun. mala?-wa|ir (Adv) in the hot season (around November and December). wa|ir-|i- (VIntrInch) to become hot weather. Subject in last example is gu-. Cogn: Rith; Nungg a|ir  
 (gu-)wa|kara (N) ox-eye herring. Cogn: Rith; Nungg wa|gara  
 wa|k-đu- (VIntr1) to enter, to go in or through. gaɾakađi-č ni-wa|k-d-i He went inside. Cpd: wurk-wa|k-đu- (VIntr) to go into or through a bush fire  
 (a-)wa|maŋ (N) black duck. Cf. ma|kala|ir. Cogn: Rith, Warnd  
 (gu-)wa|mur (N) feather; wing  
 (gu-)wa|umbu (N) probably the bull-waddy tree, (*Macropteranthes kekwickii*). Cogn: Djingili, etc.  
 (ma-)wamba (N) a wattle with edible gum on the bark, perhaps *Acacia difficilis*  
 -wan (Sff) A pronominal stem. See grammar (5.1).  
 (a-)wanar (N) small cave-dwelling

wallaby sp., perhaps *Petrogale* sp.  
 (gu-)waŋđa (N) track, trail. Cpd: cf. rič-đu-, yu- to sleep  
 (gu-)waŋđal? (N) root. Cogn: Rith  
 waŋdaraŋ (N) of the Warndarang language group  
 waŋ?-đu- (VIntr1) to look, to look around, to watch. bak-waŋ?-đu- (VTrBen) to look for. Cogn: Rith  
 (ma-)waŋgura? (N) bandicoot. Cf. ɳungga?. Cogn: Rith; Nungg and Warnd waŋgurag  
 (a-)waŋmir (N) short genital cover made from possum skin. Cf. bu|ŋin  
 (ma-)waŋwaŋ (N) a fig with large, reddish figs, (*Ficus racemosa*)  
 (gu-)waŋ (N) armpit, pectoral fin. Syn: waŋgol  
 (gu-)waŋgol (N) armpit, pectoral fin. Syn: waŋ  
 -?waŋji?, -waŋji? (Sff) like, similar to. Cogn: Rith  
 waŋar (N) huge, immense. Cpd: cf. jundu. Cogn: some Yuulngu languages  
 waŋgiŋ? (N) one. (gu-)bala-waŋgiŋ? (on) one side. Cpd: (ni-)gurŋa-waŋgiŋ? (N) one month. Cogn: Warnd waŋgiŋ, Dhuwal wagaŋ?  
 (a-)wara? (N) game (animal), source of meat. Cogn: perhaps Rith wara?-yu- to enjoy  
 warakayaw? (N) clean, clear. (gu-)bun-warakayaw? (N) clean water. Cogn: Rith  
 (gu-)warapa| (N) flat country. Syn: wayala. Cogn: Nungg araɳal  
 (gu-)warara (N) clearing, cleared open space. Cogn: Rith; perhaps Nungg arara daytime  
 wara?wara (N) easy, not difficult. Cpd: (gu-)đulu-wara?wara (N) easy ceremonial singing  
 waray (Part) indeed, to be sure. See Text 11.36. Cogn: Rith  
 war?-đu- (VIntr1) to rain. a-war?-đ-i It rained.  
 (gu-)waridila (N) hook boomerang. Syn: mangapuraŋa. Cogn: Warnd wariku (Adv) now  
 (gu-)wariman (N) stone spear. Syn:



warjambal, ñeñ. Cogn: Rith;  
(rare in Nungg)  
warja?-du- (VIntrl) to go hunting  
or searching; to go walkabout.  
Cogn: Rith warja?-yu-  
warjak (N) bad. Rdp: warja-warjak.  
Cpds: mañ-warjak (N) bad-  
tasting; maña-warjak (N) having  
bad throat (hence unable to  
sing well); ganam-warjak (N)  
deaf; buč-warjak (N) bad-  
smelling; mere?-warjak (N)  
blunt, not having a good blade.  
Cf. also dubur, bala-. warjak-  
đi- (VIntrInch) to be/become  
bad. Rdp: warja-warjak-đi-.  
Cpd: jal-warjak-đi- to be (come)  
tired; rum-warjak-đi- to be sad.  
Cf. warjaka-  
warjaka- (VIntr4a) to make a mis-  
take, to do something wrong.  
Less often (VTr) to be bad with  
regard to, to do wrong. ñima-  
ga-warjaka-na ñini-ja-yaw If he  
does badly with (spears: ma-gami;  
i.e. if he is unable to dodge  
them successfully), he (the other  
man) will spear him. Cpds:  
dubur-warjaka- (VIntr) to behave  
badly (as (VTr) to do badly);  
yič-warjaka- (VIntr) to tell a  
lie. Cf. warjak  
(a-)warkwark (N) ants (all species  
except those which have specific  
names). Cogn: Rith  
warmbaya (Part) anyway; neverthe-  
less. ba-ja-lañ-ñu-čini warmbaya  
(They are told not to drink, but)  
they drink anyway. Cogn: Rith  
(a-)warñu (N) red flying fox,  
(Pteropus scapulatus). Cogn: Rith  
warña  
(a-)warngu| (N) bone-point spear.  
Cogn: perhaps Nungg warngu|  
stingray spike  
(gu-)warja (N) fish tail  
warja- (VIntr2) to build a camp-  
fire. Rdp: warđa-warđa-  
(gu-)warjambal (N) stone spear.  
Syn: ñeñ, wariman. Cogn: Rith  
waraka?-du- (VTr1) to forget; to  
leave behind, to lose. Cpds: rum-  
waraka?-du- (VTr) to be ignorant  
about; dawal-waraka?-du- (VTr) to

forget (name of) country. In  
the last example the object is  
'country'  
(gu-)waral (N) image; soul  
waral?-du- (VTr1) to ask a  
question of, to inquire of.  
Cogn: Rith waral?-yu-  
(ñi-)warama (N) a freshwater  
fork-tailed catfish, (Hexane-  
matichthys sp.). Snout longer  
than that of ñuru. Cf. also  
miñuru. Cogn: Rith and Nungg  
warma  
(gu-)warambala (N) headband worn  
in Gunabibi  
war-bu- (VTr) (contains bu- as  
auxiliary) to sing curse at,  
to curse by singing. Cogn:  
Rith  
war-i- (VTr3a) to take back. Rdp:  
war-i-war-i-  
(ma-)warñ (N) testicles  
(a-)warpur? (N) sugar glider  
('flying squirrel'). Cogn:  
Rith; Warnd warmur  
(ma-)warurku (N) nulla nulla  
(gu-)watbar (N) a tree with  
large red flowers, (Grevillea  
pteridifolia). Cogn: Rith;  
Nungg (w)adbar; Warnd wadbar  
wati- (VIntr3a) to die. Rdp:  
wadi-wadi-  
(a-)wañu (N) dog. Cogn: Rith  
wañu- (VTr6b) to leave, to leave  
behind, to abandon. Cogn:  
Nungg -a:ru-  
(a-)wa?wa (N) crow  
wawa? (Nk) older brother. Used  
with first person possessor;  
cf. yawuyu. Cogn: Rith wa:wa-  
(gu-)wayala (N) flat country.  
Syn: warapa|. Cogn: Rith  
way?-du- (VIntrl) (fire) to  
spread, to become larger  
(a-)way?way (N) long-necked  
tortoise, (Chelodina ?rugosa).  
Syn: bakara, etc.  
wel (N) boss, owner. jambač-wel  
(N) successful hunter, owner  
(of a particular killed animal)  
đawal-wel (N) owner of country  
we|eknayi- (VIntr3a) Attested in  
mungu-we|eknayi- (VIntr) to  
look back

(ma-)wereywerey (N) varied lori-  
keet. Cogn: Nungg waraywaray.  
Syn: wiriwiri  
wer?-du- (VIntrl) to vomit.  
bak-wer?-du- (VTrBen) to expel  
by vomiting  
(a-)wereč (N) rainbow fish sp.,  
probably Nematocentrus maculata.  
Cogn: Rith wirič  
wič- (Prf) word, matter. Cpd: cf.  
ma:k. Cogn: Nungg ij-  
-wič (Sff) having. Often with  
baña-. yaraman-wič (N) having  
a horse, on horseback.  
baña-motorcar-wič (N) having a  
motorcar. Cf. barwič, |irwič  
-?wič (Sff) Emphatic, with pro-  
nouns. ñi-wan-?wič (Pron) he  
himself. Cogn: Nungg -waj  
(a-)widijirwidijir (N) wrens.  
Cogn: Rith widijir?widijir  
-wili-ñ see -ču-, -ču-?  
wi|- (1) wi|-ga- (VTr) (contains  
ga- to carry) to take away  
(object associated with  
victim, to be used in black  
magic). (2) wi|-guba- (VTrCaus)  
(same meaning). Cogn: Warnd wi|  
(a-)wi|mur (N) wire spear. Cogn:  
Rith, Warnd  
(gu-)wiñgil (N) type of spear.  
Wooden, two-pronged, with barbs  
on the inside of both prongs.  
Cf. boko?. Cogn: Nungg  
(a-)wiñi (N) short-necked tortoise  
sp. Syn: gurupi|. Cf. yalbuyalbu,  
japata?  
(gu-)wiñir (N) limestone  
(a-)wiñwiñ (N) a bird, the white-  
rumped (yellow-throated) miner  
wiñgura (N) name of language and  
tribe on Grootte Eylandt  
wir?-du- (VIntrl) Attested in  
bun-wir?-du- (VIntr) (water)  
to splash. bun-wir?-guba- (VTr-  
Caus) to make water splash.  
Object is 'water'.  
wiri?-du- (VTr1) to dig out of  
stone oven, to remove from oven  
or fire; to open out (e.g. a  
folded blanket). Cpd: bu|ku-  
wiri?-du- (VTr) to dig out  
(cooked meat or food) from oven  
or fire

(a-)wiriji? (N) dreaming, totem.  
Cf. jičan. Cogn: Rith wirji?  
(ma-)wiriwiri (N) a parrot, the  
varied lorikeet. Syn:  
wereywerey. Cogn: Nungg  
wiriwiri, Rith wiričwirič  
(ma-)wirya| (N) seaweed. (2) a  
seaweed-like plant with yellow  
flowers, growing in two or  
three inches of freshwater,  
(Utricularia aurea). Cf. ñurč  
wir?-du- (VIntrl) to whistle,  
(whistle or siren) to blow.  
Cogn: Rith wir?-yu-  
wiripu (N) other; different.  
wiripu-?may? (N) not different;  
the same. bala-wiripu (Adv)  
(on the) other side, (on a)  
different side. malk-wiripu  
(Adv) a different time; once  
again. Cf. dawal. Cogn: Rith  
(a-)wirir (N) fish hook  
wo- (VTrIrreg) to give. Object is  
recipient. Cogn: Nungg -yi-/-u-  
(\*wu-), Warnd -wa-, etc.  
wo: (Interrog) which? where?  
gu-wo: which one (GU class)?  
wo:-gi where? ñu-wo: Where are  
you?  
woč- (Prf) together; both. Not  
common. bari-woč-đirimu-pula  
(N) and two men. Note that here  
-woč- is redundant, since bari-  
is MDU. Cf. also jalča-  
(gu-)wočo (N) hunt in (fresh)  
water (for tortoises, file  
snakes, etc.) gu-wočo ñargu-ja-  
yika-n-di We used to engage in  
hunts in the water. gu-wočo ñar-  
ga-wu|up-đu-ñi We used to go  
into the water (for) hunting.  
Cogn: Nungg -wadji- in -wadji-  
|arma- go hunting for water game  
wo:-gi see wo:  
(gu-)wolmo (N) face  
-wolo (Dem) that. Rdp: -wolo?-  
wolo, rarely -wolo-wolo. Cf.  
gul-, mala?-  
wolon- (Prf) see joř?-du-  
(mo-)woñdimuluñu (N) women's dance  
in Gunabibi ceremony  
(gu-)woño (N) (clear) sky. Cogn:  
perhaps Nungg -aña-muda- to  
become dark (at dusk), cf.

-muda- to become dark  
wop-du- (VIntr1) to jump, to jump up or away. Cf. worok-du-.  
Cogn: Rith wap-u-, Nungg -abi- (mo-)wor? (N) belly  
wor-du- (VIntr) to swim  
worok-du- (VIntr1) to jump. Cf. wop-du-. Cogn: Rith warawk-u-, possibly Nungg -garaja- (o-)woro|o| (N) blowfly. Cogn: Rith wuru|u|  
worpom?-du- (VTr1) to kill plenty; to obtain many (e.g. fish, kangaroos). Caus. worpom?-guba- (same gloss). Cogn: perhaps Rith warpam? all, every  
(gu-)worč (N) urine. Cf. worča-. Cogn: Warnd warj  
worča- (VIntr2) to urinate. Cf. worč  
(o-)worčworč (N) a large, dark cockroach sp. ('piss beetle') found in fallen timber. Cogn: Rith warčwarč  
work (N)? Attested only in gu-ga-work It is outside  
wowkwowk (N) light (in weight). Cpd: manda?-wowkwowk (N) having light or thin scales  
woyk-du- (VIntr) to go fishing. Cf. jibuk-du-  
woyo?-du- (VIntr1) Attested in cpd: nere-woyo?-du- (VIntr) to be asleep  
-woypoy? (Sff) mixed with, together with. ba-din?-woypoy? together with women. mo-dolo-woypoy? mixed with the stomach  
(gu-)wubin (N) (smoking) pipe. Syn: |arwa  
(gu-)wubur? (N) sweat. Cogn: Rith  
(gu-)wukara (N) small toads. Cogn: Rith wu:kara  
(gu-)wulčum (N) 'bush wire spear', the precursor of the modern wire spear, with wooden instead of iron prongs  
wuluŋ- see muŋuy?  
wu|up-du- (VIntr1) to bathe; to be or become immersed in water  
(a-)wunbun (N) paper wasp. Cogn: Nungg  
(ma-)wuŋdan? (N) black plum tree, (Vitex glabrata). Cogn: Rith

wur?-du- (VTr1) to take away; to pluck. Cpd: ma?-wur?-du- (VTr) to take away from; to steal (the wife) of. Object is the loser. gaŋaŋaŋja?-wur?-du- (VTr) to pluck emu feathers. Cogn: Rith wur?-yu- to pull out  
(gu-)wurk (N) a small bush fire (set by people). Cf. danič (other fires, including camp fires). Cpd: cf. wak-du-. Cogn: Rith; Nungg wurg; Warnd wurgmalan  
(a-)wurpaŋ (N) emu. Cogn: Rith  
(gu-)wur|alk (N) stick, twig. Cf. wali  
(ma-)wuru (N) abdomen  
(ma-)wuru|u|u (N) great-billed heron. Cogn: Nungg wuru|u|ug  
(a-)wurupul (N) freshwater snake, probably Amphiesma mairii. Cogn: Rith; Nungg wurubul  
(ma-)wuruŋi (N) a type of sea-grass eaten by dugong, 'dugong grass'. Cogn: Nungg  
(a-)wur?wur (N) probably barn and masked owls. Also gur?gur. Cogn: Nungg wurwur  
wur?wuruŋu (N) old person. Cogn: Ngalkbon  
wurŋ-du- (VTr1) to swallow. Cogn: Rith wurŋ-gu- to suck  
wut-du- (VIntr1) to throw spears  
Y  
-ya?- (Prf) ga-ya?- if  
yakaŋa (Part) (exact sense unclear). Texts 12.25/40/105.  
yaku (N) missing, absent, not (at a place). ŋi-yaku He is missing, not (here/there). gu-yaku It is missing. gu-yaku is also used as an emphatic Negative: 'not at all; never; nothing'.  
yaku-ŋi- (VIntrInch) to disappear, to become extinct. Cogn: Warnd yagu, Rith yaka; possibly Nungg yagu but  
(ma-)yakuñ (N) a large sedge in coastal swamps, with edible rootstock, (Scirpus littoralis).

Cogn: Nungg ya:guñ, Warnd yaguñ  
(a-)yalbuyalbu (N) a short-necked tortoise sp., probably Elseya dentata. Said to occur in 'lime water' around Elsey Station. Cogn: Rith  
yalŋuñja (Nk) daughter's child. Cf. yalŋuya. Cogn Nungg yalŋuya  
yalŋuya (Nk) Optional variant of yalŋuñja with 1st person possessor  
yaluk-ŋi- (VIntrInch) to be hungry. Rdp: yalu-yaluk-ŋi- Cogn: Rith  
(ma-)ya| (N) a small tree with large, drooping yellow flowers, (Hibiscus tiliaceus). Cogn: Nungg and Rith ya:|  
ya|ar-du- (VIntr1) to scatter, to split up  
yamba (Part) because. guŋukuwič-uŋ ŋa-ruŋu-ŋ yamba ŋar-ja-ñawk-ŋi-j-i Because I am going tomorrow, you and I will not talk. Syn: aru. Cogn: Nungg and Rith  
yanači (Adv) long ago; all along, all the while. malk-yanači-burkayi (Adv) a very long time ago. Texts 12.25/48/55, 11.1/2/13/15.  
(a-)yanuk (N) a grunter sp. (fish), probably the black-striped grunter Ammiatibia percoides. Cogn: Nungg ya:nug  
(gu-)yaŋ (N) speech, word(s), sound, language. Cogn: Nungg ya:ŋ  
yapan? (N) two. As independent word usually in the form yapan?-bula. Cpd: ma?-yapan? (N) ten (two hands). Cf. also dawal (gu-)yapuŋurwa (N) Yabudurruwa ceremony. Cogn: Warnd yabuduruwa  
yara (N) thief. buk-yara (N) habitual thief. yara-ma- (VTr) (contains ma- to get as auxiliary) to steal. Cogn: Rith ya:ra  
(a-)yaraman (N) horse. Cogn: Warnd  
yarara?-du- (VIntr1) to attach spear to woomera, to hook up spear. Cogn: Rith yarara?-yu-yaw! (Interj) Hey!  
yaw-du- (VTr1) to spear. Cf. řamđa-. Cogn: Rith yaw-u- to

spear through and through  
yawuyu (Nk) older brother. Form used with 2nd and 3rd person possessor. Cf. wawa?  
(gu-)yele (N) hole, jail. Cf. miŋ? yeleka- (VTr4a) to make a hole. Cf. yele. ŋigu-yeleki-ŋi He made a hole  
yi- see yu-  
yič- (Prf) thinking, truth, etc. (in compounds). Cpd: cf. gaŋu-, đamba?-du-, ŋa-, warjaka-. Cogn: Nungg ij-  
(a-)yigarga (N) hawk sp. Cogn: Nungg nigarga  
yika- (VTr5) to apply oneself to. Cpd: mañ-ika- (VTr) to taste. Syn: mañ-đa-bu- (cf. đa:-bu-). đubur-yika- (VIntr) to behave well, to know (all along). rum-ika- (VTr) to know something about. dawal-yika- (VTr) to head for (place). Rdp: yiga-yiga-  
yiliwoŋ-du- (VIntr1) to be open  
yima- (VIntrIrreg) to do/say/think like that. Often accompanied by a quotation or gesture. yimi-n?guba- (VTrCaus) to force to do; to tell to, to do like that to. Cpd: đubur-yima- (VIntr) (Law, traditions) to be like that. Subject is 'Law' (đubur). Past Rdp: yimi?-yimi-ŋi-?. Cogn: Nungg -yama- (both perhaps from \*-yaŋ-ma-)  
yimič (Part) but, however  
(gu-)yimin? (N) thing, matter, concept, activity. Cpd: (gu-)đubur-yimin? (N) business, matter. With variable noun-class: thing, entity. (ŋi-)-yimin? (N) person. Cf. yima- (a-)yimiŋari (N) milkfish, (Chanos chanos). Cogn: Nungg yimiđa:ri -yiñuŋ (Sff) Relative suffix. See grammar (4.8, 13.4)  
yiŋđa- (VTr2) to conceal. Refl yiŋđi- to hide, to hide truth  
yirgi-du- (VIntr) (contains du- to stand) to continue. Cpd: đa:-yirgi-du- (VIntr) to keep doing that; đubur-yirgi-du- (VIntr) to keep doing that thing

yiri- (1) yiri-ŋu (Adv) *behind, in back, afterwards.* (2) yiri-wala, yiri-wala? (Adv) *afterwards.* (ŋi-)yiri-wala?-iñuŋ (N) *the last-born (son).* Cpd: malk-iri-wala (Adv) *later, afterwards* (a-)yirku? (N) *water rat* yirja- (VTr2) *to put in (water)* yir?-du- (VIntr1) *(sun) to set.* Cogn: Rith yir?-yu- (a-)yitjiŋ (N) *osprey.* Cogn: Nungg yidjiŋ yiw?-du- (VTr1) *to scrape* yo- see yu- *to put on* (gu-)yolbor (N) *side.* Cogn: Nungg yalbar yolkyolk-du- (VTr1) *to count* (gu-)yoŋdo (N) *a yam, (Vigna vexillata).* Syn: gulparuŋ? (gu-)yorom (N) *(water) well.* Cogn: Rith yurum (o-)yor?yor (N) *a bird, perhaps cuckoo-shrike or a robin.* Variant yoryor? yowk-da- (VTr2) *to paint, to rub (s.t.) onto.* Object is the thing rubbed or painted. Rdp: yowk-yowk-da-. ŋiya-ja-ŋiku-yowk-da-ni gu-gapaŋda?-du *He rubs the dead (emu) with off-white clay paint.* Cpd: gibaŋ-yowk-da- *to rub on the nose of* yu- (VIntrIrreg) *to sleep; to lie down.* Cps: ŋi-waŋda-yu-da

*His track lies (here);* ŋere-yu- (VIntr) *to be asleep or resting;* ŋiku-yu- (VIntr) *(corpse) to be lying down.* For Aux compounds see listing under first element. Cf. ŋum?-du-. Cogn: Nungg -yi- yu- (VTrIrreg) *to put on, to put in; to put down.* Root form: bap. Object is thing put. Rdp: yur?i?-yu-ŋi (Past Continuous), etc. bak-yu- (VTrBen) *to put on, to attach to.* Object is thing to which something is attached. Cpd: ŋi-ču- (VTr) *to put down (i.e. write down) the name of* yuŋdu?-du- (VIntr1) *to tell a lie.* Cf. warjaka-. Cogn: Rith yuŋdu?-yu- (ŋi-)yuŋdupal (N) *honey bee, (Trigona sp.).* Corr: Nungg miŋiguya. Cogn: Rith yul (N) *human; Aborigine; man.* Cpd: (ŋi-)yul-mak-burkayi (N) *really good man.* Cogn: Rith yu:l (ma-)yumu!un (N) *a shrub with edible fruits, (Diospyros sp.)* yuŋ- see joŋow?-du- -yuŋ (Sff) *Absolute suffix; see grammar (4.9)* yuryur-du- (VTr1) *to dodge (e.g. spears)*

## LEXICAL DOMAINS LISTS

FLORA (gu-ŋanda?, gu-mulmu, gu-ŋoŋo?, etc.)

- (a) *water lilies and their parts:* mo-bolkol, ma-burpa?, ma-burpa?-baŋŋ, ma-bilal, ma-ŋatam, ma-giri?, ma-guruŋ, ma-guyk, gu-jaw?jaw, ma-jirikilil?, ma-ŋiraŋ.
- (b) *other aquatic plants:* a-jaŋačaŋa?, ma-jilakjilak, ma-ŋurč, ma-wiryal, ma-wuruŋi.
- (c) *edible roots and yams:* mo-boŋok, gu-ŋamurkalaŋ?, ma-ŋaw?, ma-ŋawalala?, ma-ŋiwaluŋgur, gu-ŋuymanji, gu-ŋiwir?, ma-ŋudu?, gu-galaŋaŋda?, ma-ganguŋi?, gu-gulparuŋ, ma-jaŋaŋi?, ma-jaŋma, ma-jerey?, ma-maŋpuy, ma-mulalu, ma-mulmulk, gu-ŋambiŋ?ŋambiŋ, ma-ŋarmuŋa?, ma-ŋakay, ma-yakuŋ, gu-yoŋdo.
- (d) *grasses and similar herbs:* gu-biliŋjiri, gu-biŋday, ma-bunbačala, gu-ŋarin, gu-galar, gu-goŋolbor, ma-jaŋŋ, a-manimani, ma-munmun?, ma-ŋiŋiŋiŋi, gu-ŋirgul, gu-ŋaraŋdaŋk, ma-ŋuyar, gu-ŋuwur.
- (e) *vines and other small plants:* gu-baŋmurk (*wild cucumber*), ma-buruŋburuŋ?, ma-ŋalgiŋ (*orchid*), gu-ŋičbaŋk (*lily*), ma-ŋaliŋ (*grape*), ma-ŋuliŋ?, ma-ŋuŋda? (*bloodroot*), ma-ganbukbuk (*clover*), a-giŋiba (*passionfruit*), a-gumgum, a-guraŋguraŋ?, ma-jaŋkurk (*orchid*), ma-murŋa?, ma-ŋaŋaŋ, gu-ŋalaŋa (*cat-tail*), gu-ŋalik (*gooseberry*), gu-ŋuruŋin? (*wild banana*), a-ŋilkara.
- (f) *paperbark trees:* gu-barčaŋay, gu-biŋipiŋi, gu-ŋila, gu-ŋuku?, gu-ŋulgu, ma-gulukulun?, gu-guruwul, gu-jinambur, gu-ŋakala?
- (g) *wattles:* ma-baŋara?, mo-borolk, gu-ŋomoŋomo?, ma-ŋukul, ma-ŋurči, ma-gaypa!?, ma-ju!u? (*lancewood*), ma-muŋitiŋi?, ma-wamba.
- (h) *eucalypts:* gu-ŋarawk (*ghost gum*), gu-ŋiwiŋ?, ma-ŋarawaŋ?, gu-ŋumu!u? (*bloodwood*), gu-ŋaŋayka? (*stringybark*), gu-ŋaŋi, gu-ŋoŋdo?, ma-gurčaŋa?, gu-/ma-gurčaŋa?, gu-maŋarawk, gu-muču (*coolibah*), gu-ŋoloŋgo? (*river red gum*), ma-ŋurutu, ma-ŋuruŋu?, gu-waŋan?
- (i) *palms, cycads, pandanus:* gu-ŋalpi? (*fan-palm*), ma-gatara (*coco-nut*), ma-gunga and ma-gunjak (*pandanus*), gu-jaŋjak (*fan-palm*), mo-joŋo! (*palm*), mo-moyon (*cycad*), gu-ŋakbanŋa (*palm*), ma-ŋaŋu (*cycad*), mo-ŋok (*pandanus*).

- (j) *other trees and shrubs*: ma-aṅa (*mangrove*), ma-ba|gur (*kurrajong*), gu-ba|pu|? (*strychnine tree*), ma-baṅar? (*marble tree*), ma-baraka|?, ma-berge? (*green plum*), ma-biṅgulkul?, ma-biṅay?, mo-bol, gu-bololo, mo-borogor? (*whistling tree*), gu-/ma-buḍuga, gu-bu|uruka?, ma-buṅjuṅu? (*wild orange*), ma-buyu?, ma-ḍerene? (*wild apple*), gu-ḍil?ḍil (*milkwood*), ma-ḍubal (*leichhardt tree*), gu-ḍulṭul, ma-ḍumbuyumbu? (*sandalwood*), ma-ḍalkurk (*mangrove*), gu-ḍangapa?, ma-ḍangi? (*billygoat plum*), ma-ḍiriw?, gu-ḍiwir? (*wild cassava, wild cotton*), mo-ḍorow? (*quinine bush*), ma-ḍumbudumbu? (*sandalwood*), ma-garačimarčmarč, ma-gara|ajan, ma-ga|iñ? (*cypress*), mo-golč (*freshwater mangrove*), gu-guḍiji (*kurrajong*), ma-gulpu?, gu-gutu?, ma-jaṅ?ba (*fig*), ma-jengiṛič (*marble tree*), ma-jilara? (*gutta percha*), ma-jimit, ma-jinḍijinḍi?, gu-jir?jir, gu-jupi?, gu-jupaṅdiri?, gu-|ere|ere?, ma-mawuṭari, ma-merṅe?, gu-milipa?, ma-miṅiča, ma-miṅiyar? (*ironwood*), ma-miyamaṅdar, ma-mululuk (*conker-berry*), ma-murpun?, ma-muṭe? (*fig*), gu-nuṅga|a|ur, ma-ñiriñiri? (*hakea*), gu-ṅaṅiṅaṅiñji? (*myrtle*), ma-waḍawaḍa, ma-ganda-wal-purungu?, gu-wa|umbu (*bullwaddy*), ma-waṅwaṅ (*fig*), gu-watbaṅ (*grevillea*), ma-wuṅḍan? (*black plum*), ma-yumu|un.

#### BIRDS

- (a) *owls*: a-baṅaṅga, o-gorpow?, a-guluykuluy, a-gur?gur, ma-jekbe?, a-wur?wur.
- (b) *hawks*: a-bundul, ṅa-ḍamala, a-ḍiḍičur?, a-gamambu|a, ma-/a-garkaṅ?, a-geygey, a-malwiḍiwiḍi, ṅi-ṅakṅak, a-yigarga, a-yiṭjiṭ.
- (c) *ducks*: a-ḍinḍirṅ, a-ḍiwač, a-jilili, a-jiribiyuk, a-|aṅuṅa (*goose*), a-ma|ka|a|ir, a-ṅalwaṅ, a-ṅaṅgel, gu-ṅu|iiri, a-wa|maṅ.
- (d) *pigeons and doves*: o-bogočbogoč, o-go|otok, a-|apar, a-ṅumu?.
- (e) *other birds*: a-baču|ere|ere? (*plover*), a-baṅami (*brolga*), a-bariṅ?bariṅ (*rainbowbird*), ma-biličbilič (*parrot*), a-bitbiḍok, a-bitjuk, a-bungalalakalala (*bittern*), a-ḍarabiya? (*cockatoo*), a-ḍew?ḍew (*dollarbird*), a-ḍi|kḍi|k (*peewee*), a-ḍurič, a-ḍuwaw? (*koel*), a-gajaguru, ṅi-ganji (*jabiru*), a-gaṅaṅdar? (*egret*), ma-garakarak (*darter*), gu-garala (*spoonbill*), a-gararaṅji (*egret*), ma-garawar (*cormorant*), a-garḱuṅja? (*night-heron*), a-ga|iṅga|iṅk (*oyster-catcher*), a-giḍiba:pa (*lotusbird*), a-giṅijigiṅji (*ibis*), ṅi-go|ogo|k (*pelican*), o-gomo|o (*heron*), o-gorowkorow (*kookaburra*), a-guliguli? (*galah*), a-gu|aṅaṅaṅ? (*babbler*), ma-gu|unba|kara (*cormorant*), a-gu|uwičbič (*curlew*), ma-gunduṅuruku (*darter*), a-gurundula (*pheasant*), a-guruwuḍuk (*butcherbird*), a-gutabi|? (*pardalote*), a-guwa|u|u (*curlew*), a-jaraḍatbuwa (*chestnut rail*), a-je|e|e|? (*woodswallow*), a-jikay?, ma-jinaḍar (*darter*), a-jiriḍiḍi (*kingfisher*), a-jirimiḍiri (*wagtail*), a-jirkič (*quail*), gu-jiwulunbulun (*ibis*), gu-ju|ubu (*ibis*), a-juṅer? (*bowerbird*), ma-|et|et (*lorikeet*), a-maḍawk (*friarbird*), a-maṅa (*heron*), a-mururuṅ-guṅa (*swamp hen*), a-ṅalalak (*corella*), a-ṅiṅjilir (*martin*), a-ṅi?ṅi (*honeyeater*), a-/ma-walpurungu? (*turkey*), a-wa?wa (*crow*), ma-wereywerey (*lorikeet*), a-wiḍijirwiḍijir (*wren*), a-wiṅwiṅ (*miner*), ma-wiriwiri (*lorikeet*), a-wurpaṅ (*emu*), ma-wuru|u|u (*heron*), o-yoryor? or o-yor?yor.

#### MAMMALS

- (a) *bats and flying foxes (fruit-bats)*: a-biṅbiṅja|a, a-mačur (*black flying fox*), a-malapiṅbiṅ, a-wa|gawa|ga, a-warṅu (*red flying fox*).
- (b) *kangaroos and wallabies*: o-borogol, a-bark, a-ḍirk, a-gaṅḍawul?, a-garčambal, a-jičuk, a-jundubu|?jundubu|?, a-|arpuṅiṅ, o-ṅo|omoro, a-wanar. (Special male and female terms omitted.)
- (c) *other mammals*: a-baranji? (*possum*), a-bulugi (*bullock*), a-buṅut-buṅut (*mouse*), a-ḍu? (*possum*), a-ḍugula? (*possum*), ma-ḍunga? (*bandicoot*), a-gaṅburk (*possum*), a-gawir? (*dingo*), a-manapuṅ (*echidna*), a-miṭiwiri? (*possum*), a-ṅu|uk (*native cat*), ma-waṅgura? (*bandicoot*), a-warpur? (*sugar glider*), a-waṭu (*dog*), a-yaraman (*horse*), a-yirku? (*water rat*).

#### FISH (a-jeñ)

- (a) *eel-tailed catfish*: a-baṅar, a-gaṅgal, a-giḍigiḍi, o-jombo|ok, a-jutu?, a-maymay, a-waku|waku|.
- (b) *fork-tailed catfish*: a-miṭuruṅu, ṅi-ṅuru, ṅi-waṅama.
- (c) *other fish*: a-batu?, a-biṅḍaraṅa?, ma-buṭi?, ma-ḍuypuṅun (*sleepy cod*), gu-ḍumbi (*long tom*), gu-gaṅjari, mo-go|joro?, a-guṅga|a, a-jinma (*shark*), gu-jirbili (*bony bream*), a-|epal, a-|irṅiṅi, a-minji?, ṅi-miriči (*barramundi*), a-murka?, ni-ṅaraya| (*Saratoga*), gu-ṅatban? (*archerfish*), a-ṅangu (*eel*), gu-wa|kara, a-wereč, a-yanuk, a-yimiṭari (*milkfish*).

#### INSECTS

- (a) *honey bees (ṅi-guṅ, ṅi-bot)*: ṅi-bayarak, ṅi-birkuḍa, ṅi-bugul-bugul, ṅi-guḍaṅ, ṅi-yuḍupal.
- (b) *wasps*: a-baḍačara, a-burčumulu?, a-jijibiliṅ, a-malwork, o-ṅono, a-ṅuṅuṅuṅu?, ma-wunbun.
- (c) *ants and termites*: o-bomboṅkbomboṅk, a-ḍalawuṭbuṭ, a-ja?, a-malwork, a-murugulu? (*termite*), gu-ṅaṅḍark, a-warkwark.
- (d) *grubs (larvae)*: gu-mara?, gu-moṅk, gu-moṭol?.
- (e) *flies*: a-baṭi? (*march fly*), o-bot (any fly, bee, etc.), a-milpuṅ (*firefly*), a-milwiṅ (*sandfly*), o-woro|o| (*blowfly*).
- (f) *grasshoppers*: a-ḍapururu?, ma-jalma, a-japuḍeṅ?ḍeṅ, a-ma|iṅji.
- (g) *other insects*: a-bulbaba (*moth*), a-buṅba (*butterfly*), a-ḍapalaṅ (*caterpillar*), ṅa-ḍapo|k ('star', ant lion larva), a-jaramumu (*beetle*), a-jerekjerek (*mole cricket*), a-maṅarač (*mantis*), a-mič (*louse*), a-milkmilk (*mosquito*), a-mu|a (*mosquito*), a-muḍik (*louse*), a-ṅilaṅila (*cicada*), a-ṅiriṅiri (*cicada*), a-ṅaṅga (*dragonfly*), o-worčworč (*cockroach*).

#### REPTILES

- (a) *tortoises*: a-bakara (synonyms: a-ḍalmaran, a-gaywal, a-way?way), ma-buruṅandi?, a-gurupi| (synonym: a-wiṅi), a-japata?, a-yalbu-yalbu.
- (b) *goannas*: a-bangawuḍu, a-bijay?, o-bonga, a-ḍarara, a-ḍirkḍirk, a-gawgaw, a-gu|e|e|č, a-guṅju|u?, a-jarka?, a-jurgubatu, a-maṭu|u, a-wačuṅḍu.

(c) *other lizards*: a-bandayama? (*gecko*), ma-ḡalpur? (*dragon*), a-ga|a|ga|a| (*skink*), a-gurmu|u? (*blue-tongued*), a-jaḡgur (*frilled*), a-|eč|eč (*skink*), o-|ok|ok (*dragon*), a-ḡam (*legless lizard*), a-/ma-ḡañjarma|! (*dragon*).

(d) *crocodiles*: ḡi-goyow (*freshwater*), ḡi-ḡaḡguru (*saltwater*).

(e) *snakes*: a-baḡbaḡu (*death adder*), gu-baḡku (*taipan*), gu-bučiri (*file snake*), a-burugulu (*python*), a-buruḡji (*python*), gu-ḡo|ḡol, a-ḡa|ara (*king brown*), a-ḡaramaya| (*king brown*), a-gulbaḡpaḡ, a-ḡunuḡu (*python*), a-ḡuḡiḡmiya? (*tree snake*), a-jaḡariri, a-manḡgula (*python*), a-muč (*rainbow serpent*), a-mu|? (*whip snake*), a-wurupul (*freshwater snake*).

(f) *frogs*: a-ḡakbarara?, a-ḡaḡmaḡ, gu-wuḡaḡa.

#### OTHER FAUNA

(a) *crustaceans*: gu-ḡakawa? (*crayfish*), gu-ja|a (*crayfish*), gu-muraḡapu? (*crab*).

(b) *shells*: a-burumburuḡa (*snail*), a-gaka? (*snail*), a-ḡurupu? (*mussel*), o-jombopo? (*snail*), a-mamba|? (*mussel*).

(c) *invertebrates*: a-jaḡam (*scorpion*), a-ma|a (*centipede*), a-jimi? (*leech*), ma-wači (*spider*).

#### BODY PARTS AND SECRETIONS

gu-baḡja (*arm*), gu-bere (*chest*), gu-beḡemelk (*shoulder blade*), gu-biḡiḡ (*nail*), mo-boḡgo? (*blood*), gu-bulka? (*body hair*), ma-buḡḡur (*scrotum*), mo-ḡolo (*stomach*), gu-ḡuḡuru (*ankle*), gu-ḡa: (*mouth*), gu-ḡakal (*jaw*), gu-ḡaku|a (*lip*), a-ḡaḡgu (*flesh*), gu-ḡarpič (*thigh*), gu-ḡawarak (*whisker*), gu-ḡe|ḡ (*tongue*), gu-ḡeḡ (*foot*), gu-ḡi|w (*liver*), gu-ḡumu (*waist*), ma-ḡanam (*ear*), gu-ḡanda (*leg*), gu-ḡaḡk (*back*), gu-ḡibal (*tooth*), gu-ḡibaḡ (*nose*), gu-ḡo? (*eye*), gu-ḡo|ḡoḡḡoḡḡ (*brain*), gu-/ma-gu|a? (*skin*), ma-ḡun (*fat*), ma-ḡurkur (*sinew, vein*), ma-ḡiḡ? (*head hair*), gu-ḡoḡmor? (*side at ribs*), ma-ḡu|pun (*backbone*), gu-|ay (*cheekbone*), gu-|oḡ (*head*), ma-mala (*buttock*), gu-malpurum (*wrist*), gu-mamburu (*wrist*), gu-maḡa (*neck*), gu-maḡ (*hand*), gu-maḡaḡa (*lower leg*), gu-me|epe? (*shoulder blade*), ma-miḡimiḡi (*rib*), gu-miḡiḡḡi? (*upper back*), gu-mo: (*knee*), gu-mun (*heel*), ma-murḡ (*backbone*), ma-ḡim (*anus*), gu-ḡuḡgur (*elbow*), gu-ḡa| (*saliva*), ma-ḡambul (*eye*), gu-ḡaḡḡalḡ (*chin*), ma-ḡañju|a (*eye*), gu-ḡaḡaka (*bone*), gu-ḡeḡ? (*heart*), gu-ḡin (*nape*), mo-ḡo|ḡ (*clitoris*), ma-ḡuk (*guts*), ma-ḡul (*penis*), gu-ḡulmurun (*pubic hair*), gu-ḡurul? (*navel*), gu-ḡaḡmele (*hip*), gu-wañ and gu-wañḡol (*armpit*), ma-waḡ (*testicle*), gu-wolmo (*face*), mo-wor? (*belly*), gu-worč (*urine*), gu-wubur? (*sweat*), ma-wuru (*abdomen*).

## ENGLISH-NGANDI SUPPLEMENTARY INDEX

### A

absent yaku (N)  
afraid ḡuḡjiki- (VIntr3a)  
afternoon ḡaḡbaḡḡ? (Adv)  
ahead ḡaki (Adv)  
almost biḡič- (Prf)  
alone ḡori? (N)  
always muḡuy? (Adv)  
angry muḡ-ḡu (VIntr1)  
antmound gu-buḡ (N)  
anyway warmbaya (Part)  
appear see go out  
armband a-manba (N), a-ḡi|kara (N)  
ashes gu-bu|ḡu? (N)  
ask waḡal?-ḡu- (VTr1)  
axe, tomahawk a-jeler (N), a-mumba? (N)

### B

bad warjak (N)  
bark (of tree) gu-ḡololk (N)  
bark fibre ma-|ayar (N)  
bathe see go into water  
beach gu-ḡeḡper (N)  
because aru (Part), yamba (Part)  
before balaka (Adv)  
beget mal-ga- (VTr)  
behaviour ḡum- (Prf)  
behind yiri-ḡu (Adv), yiri-wala (Adv) (see also later)  
big ḡarpal (N), ḡa| (N), -ḡarḡarḡ? (Sff), waḡar (N)  
billabong gu-ḡeḡen (N)  
billycan see can

bite ba- (VTrIrreg)  
bitter-tasting baḡḡ (N)  
black mu|mul (N)  
blade, knife a-ḡajit (N), gu-mere? (N)  
blame birka?-ḡu- (VTr1)  
block, obstruct ḡam?-bu- (VTr)  
blow bu?-ḡu- (VIntr1)  
boat ma-barawu (N)  
boomerang gu-baḡabaḡa (N), gu-ḡa|ḡa|ḡi? (N), gu-maḡa-puruḡa (N), gu-wariḡila (N)  
boss, owner borama (N), wel (N), memiḡiringi (N)  
box ma-ḡalaḡala (N)  
branch gu-ḡoḡḡo (N)  
break bow?-ḡu- (VIntr1), ḡoḡk-ḡu- (VIntr1), ḡor-ḡu- (VTr1)  
break off ḡorka- (VTr4a), ḡumur?-ḡu- (VTr1), ḡu|?-ḡu- (VTr1)  
bubble ḡalḡiḡeḡy?-ḡu- (VIntr1)  
bullroarer ma-maralpiḡi? (N)  
burn ḡoḡi- (VIntr3a), ḡa- (VTrIrreg), ḡaki- (VIntr3a)  
bury see cover  
bush, desert gu-ḡuḡu (N)  
business, matter gu-ḡubur (N), gu-yimin? (N)  
buzz ḡumbirka- (VTr4a)

### C

call (name) maka- (VTr4a)  
call out, shout ḡaw?-ḡu- (VIntr1)  
camouflage gu-ḡul? (N)

camp gu-*rer* (N)  
can (container) a-jambaka? (N),  
gu-jambak (N)  
carry bi*dey*?-*da*- (VTr2), ga- (VTr-  
Irreg)  
catch fish jibuk-*du*- (VIntr1),  
woyk-*du*- (VIntr1)  
cave gu-*dalwan* (N)  
cement see *wax*  
ceremony gu-*garamak* (N), gu-  
gunapipi (N), gu-*ma<sup>day</sup>in* (N),  
ma-*ma<sup>ndi</sup>wala* (N), gu-*yapu<sup>dur</sup>wa*  
(N)  
charcoal gu-*garkan* (N)  
chase see *follow*  
chop *do*- (VTrIrreg)  
circumcised ba<sup>ndari</sup> (N), gurm<sup>ul</sup>  
(N)  
clap boomerangs ba<sup>rk</sup>ba<sup>rk</sup>-*bu*- (VTr),  
|er?|er-*bu*- (VTr)  
clap tapsticks (bi|mir-)|o<sup>n</sup>?|o<sup>n</sup>?-  
*du*- (VTr1)  
clay ma-*bu<sup>tal</sup>alak* (N), gu-*gamunungu*?  
(N), gu-*gapa<sup>nda</sup>*? (N), mo-  
golo<sup>nor</sup>? (N)  
clean, clear *duwa*|*k<sup>duwa</sup>*|*k* (N),  
warakayaw? (N)  
clearing gu-*warara* (N)  
cloud gu-*gunu<sup>n</sup>* (N)  
cold ma|oworo-*ti*- or ma|uru-*ti*-  
(VIntrInch), ma-*ma<sup>tu</sup>n*? (N)  
come -*wa* (VIntrIrreg) (see also *go*)  
continue yirgi-*du*- (VIntr)  
cook *da*!?-*du*- (VTr1), *na*- (VTrIrreg)  
cooked, ripe bu|*ku* (N)  
copulate *gologo*?-*du*- (VTr1)  
corroboree *gulu*- (Prf), gu-|a<sup>nur</sup>  
(N), ma-|irgi (N)  
count yolkyolk-*du*- (VTr1)  
country gu-*dawal* (N)  
cover burk-*da*- (VTr2), *dam*?-*du*-  
(VIntr1)  
crooked |u|?|u| (N)  
culprit |iri<sup>č</sup> (N)  
curse wa<sup>r</sup>-*bu*- (VTr), wi|*ga*- (VTr)  
cut *da*k-*du*- (VTr1), gu|*k*-*du*- (VTr1),  
|ark-*bu*- (VTr), |ar?|ar-*du*- (VTr1)  
cyclone, storm gu-*walulu* (N)

#### D

damper (bread) ma-*gar* (N)  
dangerous, violent *na<sup>nar</sup>* (N)  
dark see *black, night*

dawn see *morning*  
day, daytime gaykubur? (Adv) (see  
also *morning*)  
dead see *die, raw*  
deep |utun? (N)  
defecate jor?-*du*- (VIntr1)  
desert see *bush*  
devil a-*na<sup>yan</sup>* (N)  
didjeridu o-*moi*? (N)  
die wati- (VIntr3a)  
dig *gur*?-*du*- (VIntr1), *gurum*?-  
*du*- (VTr1)  
dirty bu<sup>nurk</sup> (N)  
dive in see *go into water*  
do that, say that yima- (VIntr-  
Irreg)  
dodge bulk- (Prf), yuryur-*du*-  
(VTr1)  
down *ga<sup>di</sup>* (Adv), *ga<sup>ra</sup>ka<sup>di</sup>*? (Adv)  
dreaming (totem) *ni*-*gala* (N),  
gu-*ji<sup>čan</sup>* (N), a-*wiriji*? (N)  
drink (bun-)*nu*- (VIntr)  
dry ba<sup>nda</sup>ñ (N), *đoro*?-*du*-  
(VIntr1), *gapu<sup>rk</sup>* (N)  
dust gu-*dul* (N)

#### E

east *ra<sup>wara</sup>* (Adv)  
easy *wara*?*wara* (N)  
eat *nu*- (VTrIrreg)  
egg gu-*ga<sup>la</sup>n* (N)  
end, tip gu-/*a*-*jiba<sup>n</sup>* (N)  
enter wa|*k*-*du*- (VIntr1)  
erect *jap*-*da*- (VTr2)  
everyone wa|*aman*? (N)

#### F

fall *rukba*- (VIntr5)  
far away *nutu* (Adv)  
fat ma-*gun* (N), *du<sup>rdur</sup>* (N)  
feather a-/*gu*-*ga<sup>na</sup>na<sup>ñ</sup>ja*? (N),  
gu-*wal<sup>mur</sup>* (N)  
feathered stick a-*dambul* (N)  
female ma<sup>nun</sup> (N)  
few see *several*  
fin gu-*mulukan* (N)  
finish off *gar*?-*du*- (VTr1)  
fire gu-*da<sup>ni</sup>č* (N), gu-*wurk* (N)  
firestick gu-*nu<sup>ni</sup>*? (N),  
*ja<sup>da</sup>*-*du*- (VIntr1)

firewood gu-*bal* (N)  
first walangara? (N)  
first-born ma|amar (N)  
flat country see *plain*  
flee *ñom*?-*du*- (VIntr1)  
flip over see *turn over*  
flower mo-*no<sup>ro</sup>* (N)  
fly bu<sup>t</sup>-*du*- (VIntr1), *ja<sup>war</sup>*?-*du*-  
(VIntr1)  
fodder gu-*damu<sup>l</sup>n* (N)  
follow *garu*- (VTr6a), *mungu*-*du*-  
(VTr1)  
food see *meat, vegetable food*  
forget see *lose*  
full *nem*?-*du*- (VIntr1)  
fur gu-*bulka*? (N)

#### G

game animal a-*wara*? (N), gu-*wo<sup>čo</sup>*  
(N)  
genital cover a-*bu<sup>ñin</sup>* (N),  
gu-*ju<sup>t</sup>* (N), a-*wa<sup>n</sup>mir* (N)  
get, pick up ba<sup>t</sup> (VTr) (root form),  
ma- (VTrIrreg)  
get up see *go up*  
gill gu-*na<sup>da</sup>l<sup>n</sup>* ('*chin*') (N)  
girl *na<sup>la</sup>ñji* (N)  
give wo- (VTrIrreg)  
go, travel *jar*?-*da*- (VTr2), *ru<sup>du</sup>*-  
(VIntrIrreg)  
go across bo<sup>đop</sup>-*du*- (VIntr1)  
go back and forth *da<sup>rk</sup>*-*du*- (VIntr1)  
go down *do<sup>đo</sup>*?-*du*- (VIntr1)  
go into water, bathe *jur*?-*du*-  
(VIntr1), *wu<sup>up</sup>*-*du*- (VIntr1)  
go out bo|*k*-*du*- (VIntr1)  
go past, surpass jo|*k*-*bu*- (VTr),  
jo|*k*-*du*- (VIntr1), *ru<sup>r</sup>*?-*du*-  
(VTr1)  
go up, get up bit-*bu*- (VIntr),  
*na<sup>l</sup>*?-*du*- (VIntr1), *ney*?-*du*-  
(VIntr1)  
good ma:*k* (N)  
ground gu-*jolko* (N)  
grow *ga<sup>lak</sup>*-*du*- (VIntr1)  
gut, remove guts *gurgur*-*bu*- (VTr)

#### H

hairbelt gu-*na<sup>dirin</sup>*? (N)  
handle a-*ma<sup>t</sup>* (N)

hang galiñ-*da*- (VTr2), galiñ-*du*-  
(VIntr)  
happy (jal-)mak-*di*- (VIntrInch),  
(*no<sup>r</sup>*?-)mak-*di*- (VIntrInch),  
*mi<sup>dam</sup>*?-*du*- (VIntr1)  
harpoon gu-*ra<sup>tar</sup>* (N)  
head for gi<sup>r</sup>ta- (VTr2)  
headache (|o<sup>n</sup>-)|i|?|i|?|-*du*-  
(VIntr1)  
headband ma-*ba:gu<sup>ru</sup>* (N), gu-  
*wa<sup>ra</sup>mbala* (N)  
headdress gu-*ma<sup>lak</sup>ambura* (N)  
hear *na*- (VTrIrreg)  
hide ba|?-*du*- (VIntr1), *no<sup>r</sup>bon*-  
*du*- (VIntr), *yi<sup>n</sup>ga*- (VTr2)  
hill gu-*gala* (N)  
hit bu- (VTrIrreg), *ba<sup>ča</sup>*- (VTr2)  
hold, keep *gopa*- (VTr4b), *ni<sup>ma</sup>*-  
(VTr4b)  
hole gu-*yele* (N)  
hollow tree gu-*du<sup>pun</sup>*?  
honey *ni*-*gun* (N), *ni*-*na<sup>na</sup>* (N)  
hook a-*wi<sup>ri</sup>ir* (N)  
hook up spear *ya<sup>ra</sup>*?-*du*- (VIntr1)  
hot *na<sup>t</sup>*-*du*- (VIntr1), wa|*ir*-*ti*-  
(VIntrInch)  
humpy gu-*du<sup>rkul</sup>* (N)  
hungry *ya<sup>luk</sup>*-*di*- (VIntrInch)  
hunt *gu<sup>č</sup>*-*ga*- (VIntr), *gu<sup>re</sup>*- (V-  
Intr3b), *ja*|-*du*- (VIntr1),  
|*iw*-*ga*- (VTr)  
hunter *ja<sup>ma</sup>č* (N)

#### I

image see *picture*  
immerse see *go into water*  
inactive *du<sup>mbal</sup>*?-*du*- (VIntr1)

#### J

join *du<sup>bur</sup>*-*ka<sup>lda</sup>*- (VTr2) (listed  
under -*ga<sup>lda</sup>*-)  
jump *wop*-*du*- (VIntr1), *worok*-*du*-  
(VIntr1) (see also *dodge*)  
jungle gu-*mi<sup>ni</sup>ča* (N)

#### K

keep see *hold*  
kin terms see section 4.4 grammar

knife see blade

L

last-born *darakay* (N)  
later *guruku* (Adv), *jipa?* (Part)  
lawbag *a-bulči?* (N)  
leaf *gu-manjar?* (N), *ma-bi|al* (N)  
learn (well) *ma|bu-* (VTr)  
leave, abandon *wa|u-* (VTr6b)  
lick *bi|aŋ?-du-* (VTr1)  
lie (untruth) (*yič-*)*warjaka-*  
(VIntr4a), *yu|u?-du-* (VIntr1)  
lie down *qopol?-du-* (VIntr1),  
*garkeyk-di-* (VIntr3a), *yu-*  
(VIntrIrreg)  
light (a fire) *gul?-du-* (VIntr1)  
lightning *miŋim?-du-* (VIntr1)  
lightweight *ro|o?* (N), *wowkwok*  
(N)  
like (enjoy) (*bak-*)*ner?-yu-* (VTr-  
Ben), (*bak-*)*ramar-yu-* (VTrBen)  
line see queue  
lock up *go|du-* (VIntr), *ñil?-bu-*  
(VTr)  
long *dokmay?* (N)  
long ago *ya|ači* (Adv)  
look *waŋ?-du-* (VIntr1)  
look back (*mungu-*)*we|eknayı-*  
(VIntr3a)  
look for *rič-du-* (VTr1), *warja?-du-*  
(VIntr1) (see also *hunt*, *head*  
*for*, *follow*)  
lose *wa|aka?-du-* (VTr1)

M

make *ma|niñ?-du-* (VTr1)  
make string *bu|ju?-du-* (VTr1)  
male *ba|ja* (N)  
man *qeremu* (N)  
manager *juŋgayi* (N)  
many see much  
mat *a-daŋ|iya?* (N)  
mate *balpa|a* (N)  
maybe *maŋga?* (Adv)  
meat *a-daŋgu* (N)  
middle *ju|ruŋga?* (Adv)  
milk *gu-ŋam* (N)  
Milky Way *ma-burumburuŋa* (N),  
*ma-jama|ara* (N)  
moon, month *ŋi-gurŋa* (N),

*a-gurŋa* (N)  
more *buluki?* (Adv)  
morning, dawn *garkarba|du-*  
(VIntr1), *guŋukuwič* (Adv),  
*jo|ow?-du-* (VIntr1)  
much, many *bi|* (N), *ga|i* (N)  
mud *mo-go|no* (N), *mo-|oñjo* (N)  
muster, round up *gali-ma-* (VTr)

N

name *ŋič-* (Prf)  
narrow *jupu|* (N)  
nearby *buruburu?* (N)  
necklace *ma-mačarba|k* (N)  
nest *gu-gol* (N)  
net *ma-buku|* (N)  
new *golko|* (N)  
night *guŋmuk* (Adv), *muk-du-*  
(VIntr1), *munun?* (N)  
north *ŋuri* (Adv)  
now *da|wa?* (Adv), *-ja-* (Prf),  
*wariku* (Adv)  
nulla nulla (*club*) *ma-biripiri?*  
(N), *ma-wa|urku* (N)

O

ochre *o-moyŋo?* (N)  
old man *jawulpa* (N)  
old person, elder *wur?wuruŋu* (N)  
old woman *ŋači|wangu* (N)  
one *wangiñ?* (N)  
only *-bugi?* (Sff), *ŋuŋgayi* (Part)  
open *qum?-bu-* (VTr), *danbow-du-*  
(VIntr1), *gawer?-du-* (VIntr1),  
*yili|woŋ-du-* (VIntr1)  
orphan *ŋere?* (N)  
other *-kalu* (Suff), *wi|ripu* (N),  
(*mala-*)*galič* (N)  
other side *da|ruŋa?* (Adv)  
outside *wo|k* (N)  
oven *ma-jamba|* (N), *ma-jet* (N)  
owner see boss

P

paint see rub on, clay, ochre  
paperbark *gu-ge|e?* (N)  
pass see go past  
path *mo-mo|o* (N)

person *yul* (N)  
pick up see get  
picture *gu-wa|al* (N)  
pile *jom?jom|a-* (VTr2)  
pipe *gu-|arwa* (N), *gu-wubin* (N)  
pity *mar-bu-* (VTr)  
place see country  
plain, flat country *gu-mayamaya*  
(N), *gu-wa|apa|* (N), *gu-*  
*wayala* (N)  
platform *ma-jamba* (N)  
play *gačal-ma-* (VIntr)  
pluck *wur?-du-* (VTr1)  
point, spike *a-bi|?* (N),  
*a-jimiŋ|di?* (N), *gu-mere?* (N)  
poison *golča-* (VIntr2),  
*ma-mawuya* (N)  
poke *jarpa|u-* (VTr6a)  
pound *gu|?-du-* (VTr1)  
pour, spill *ju|ulu?-du-* (VIntr1),  
*jur-du-* (VTr1), *lo|row?-du-*  
(VIntr1)  
powder-like, fine *mu|ur* (N)  
proper(ly) *gamakun?* (Adv),  
*-ŋamulu-* (Prf)  
pull *qoror?-du-* (VTr1)  
put in, put on *bap* (VTr) (root  
form), *go|ta-* (VTr2), *yir|ta-*  
(VTr2), *yu-* (VTrIrreg)

Q

queue *qolkqolk-du-* (VIntr1)

R

rain *a-ñalk* (N), *war?-du-* (VIntr1)  
rainbow *a-muč* (N)  
raw, unripe, dead *qiku* (N)  
red *li|wič* (N)  
rest see sleep  
return *waki-* (VIntr3a)  
revenge (*bag-ič-*)*qamba?-du-* (VTr-  
Ben1)  
ripe see cooked  
river *gu-balpa* (N)  
road see path  
roast see cook  
root *gu-waŋ|al?* (N)  
rope see string  
rough *darkdark* (N)  
rub on, apply *yowk-da-* (VTr2)

run *bu|a-* (VIntr5)  
rush along see run

S

sand *gu-da|bur* (N)  
say that see do that  
scale *gu-manda?* (N)  
scatter *ya|ar-du-* (VIntr1)  
scorch *buypuy-ŋa-* (VTr)  
scrape *yiw?-du-* (VTr1)  
scratch *qey?-du-* (VTr1), *qerey?-bu-*  
(VTr)  
season *mala?-* (Prf)  
see *ŋa-* (VTrIrreg)  
seed *ma-ŋa|ju|a* (N) ('eye')  
send *juy?-du-* (VTr1)  
set (sun) *yir?-du-* (VIntr1)  
several, few *-gapul* (Sff), *gu|pur?*  
(N), *mariyaku* (N)  
shade (*ceremonial*) *gu-juruy* (N)  
shake *mar?ma-du-* (VIntr1)  
shell *gu-bere* (N) ('chest'),  
*gu-ŋa|an* (N)  
shift (*in seat*) *jo|?-du-* (VIntr1)  
shoot *gur?war-du-* (VTr1)  
short *dubu|u?* (N), *qumbuŋ* (N),  
*gu|i* (N), *la|aŋ* (N)  
shortcut *gi|ŋo|o?* (Adv)  
show *go?ma-* (VTr4b)  
shy *bam|ar-du-* (VIntr1)  
sick *go|du-* (VIntr1), *muŋgubay-*  
*di-* (VIntr3a)  
side *bala-* (Prf), *gu-qene* (N),  
*gu-ge|k* (N), *gu-yo|bor* (N)  
sing *bi|bi|du-* (VIntr1), *jiŋ-du-*  
(VIntr1) (loanword), *ma|ak-du-*  
(VIntr1)  
sit *qur?-du-* (VIntr1), *ŋu-* (VIntr-  
Irreg)  
skin (verb) *gu|a?-bu-* (VTr)  
sky *gu-wo|o* (N)  
sleep, rest *ma-ŋere* (N), *ra|gopi-*  
(VIntr3a), *rum?-du-* (VIntr1),  
*woyo?-du-* (VIntr1), *yu-* (VIntr-  
Irreg)  
slice (*yams*) *qet-du-* (VTr1)  
small *qaku* (N), *-giri|kiriñ* (Sff)  
smell *bop-du-* (VIntr1), *buč-* (Prf),  
*buru-* (VTr6a)  
smoke *gu-bul* (N)  
sneak away see flee  
sneak up *bu|bu|du-* (VIntr1),

galka- (VTr5)  
*snore* ñorñ?-du- (VIntr1)  
*soft* biñin (N), buru!u! (N),  
 gulma (N), (see also *powder-like*)  
*sore, wound* gu-jiči? (N)  
*soup* gu-goč (N)  
*south* bakay (Adv)  
*speak* ñawk-du- (VIntr1/VTr1)  
*spear* (noun) gu-boko? (N), ma-  
 ðalungu (N), ma-gami (N), mo-  
 gomo! (N), a-murñiñ (N), gu-  
 ñeñ (N), gu-wariman (N), gu-  
 warĩambal (N), a-wi!mur (N),  
 gu-wiñgil (N), gu-wulčum (N)  
*spear* (verb) ðar?-ða- (VTr2),  
 řam-ða- (VTr2), řar?-du-  
 (VTr1), wut-du- (VIntr1), yaw-  
 du- (VTr1)  
*spill* see *pour*  
*splash* wir?-du- (VIntr1)  
*spring* (of water) gu-ñačal (N)  
*squat* (to catch fish in creek)  
 juđu?-du- (VIntr1)  
*stand* (jaka-)du- (VIntr)  
*star* ña-ðapo!k (N)  
*steal* yara-ma- (VTr)  
*step on* benña- (VTr4a)  
*sting* see *bite*  
*stone* gu-jundu (N), gu-wiñir (N)  
*storm* see *cyclone*  
*story* gu-ðowo (N)  
*straight* ðunupa (N)  
*string* ma-balku (N), ma-ðarpa?  
 (N), ma-!awar (N), ma-ñařuğu  
 (N)  
*stringybark* gu-ðanbar? (N),  
 gu-gowk (N)  
*strip off* (bark) ðow?-du- (VTr1)  
*strong* ðer?ðer (N)  
*stuck, bogged* gař-du- (VIntr1)  
*stump* gu-ðumundu? (N)  
*suck* ðiñ?ðiñ?-du- (VTr1)  
*sun* ma-wa!ir (N)  
*swallow* wurñ-du- (VTr1)  
*sweet* goč (N)  
*swim* wor-du- (VIntr1)

T

*tail* ma-řapara (N), gu-warĩa (N)  
*take away* (mař-)wur?-du- (VTr1)  
*take back* waři- (VTr3a)

*take out* wiri?-du- (VTr1)  
*talk* see *speak*  
*tall* see *long*  
*tapstick* ma-bi!mir (N)  
*taste* mañ- (Prf) (see also *test*)  
*tell* bir?-du- (VIntr1)  
*termite mound* see *ant mound*  
*test* ða:-bu- (VTr), (mañ-)yika-  
 (VTr5)  
*thick* ñutñut (N)  
*thief* yara (N)  
*thing* see *business*  
*think* giyañ (Part), (yañ-)ña- (VIntr)  
*throw* geyk-ða- (VTr2) (see also  
*spear*)  
*tie* ðerp-du- (VTr1), ðuk-du- (VIntr1)  
*time(s)* ma!k- (Prf)  
*tired* gořkogor-du- (VIntr1)  
*tobacco* gu-ðambaku (N)  
*today* see *now*  
*together* jalča (Prf)  
*tomahawk* see *axe*  
*touch* ðiri?-du- (VTr1)  
*track* see *trail*  
*trail* gu-bi!a? (N), gu-wañða (N)  
*trap* (for fish) gu-řulu (N)  
*tree, wood* gu-ðanda? (N), gu-wali  
 (N)  
*true* maki- (VIntr3a)  
*try* see *test*  
*turn over* bu!et-du- (VIntr1)  
*twilight* garpař-đi- (VIntrInch)  
*twist* biyir?-du- (VTr1)  
*twister* see *whirlwind*  
*two* yapan? (N)

U

*uncircumcised* gađaku (N)  
*up* garkala- (Adv), wala- (Adv)  
*urinate* worča- (VIntr2)

V

*vainly* -gari?- (Prf)  
*vegetable food* gu-ðakiđič (N),  
 ma-ñič (N)  
*vomit* weř?-du- (VIntr1)

W

*walking stick* gu-jumba!čumba! (N)

*want* jal-!i- (VIntrInch) (see also  
*like*)  
*warrior, war party* juram (N)  
*water* bun- (Prf), gu-jařk (N)  
*wax, cement* a-biđi (N), ma-galañan?  
 (N)  
*well* (water) gu-yorom (N)  
*west* ñaņi (Adv)  
*wet* jali? (N)  
*what's-it?* bičara (Adv), jara (N)  
*whirlwind, twister* ñi-biđuđu (N)  
*whistle* wir?-du- (VIntr1)  
*white* bařwič (N)  
*White* (European) munaña (N),  
 monaña (N)  
*wide* wa!akur (N)  
*wild* jalpiř (N), jalřumbiř (N),  
 ñarñar-du- (VIntr1)

*wind* a-bara (N), mo-ñondo (N),  
 mo-go!ko!mi (N)  
*winter* see *cold*  
*woman* ðiñ? (N)  
*wood* see *tree*  
*woomera* o-boñdok (N), a-ña!ika  
 (N)  
*word, voice* gu-yañ (N) (see also  
*story*)

Y

*yamstick* ma-jaka? (N)  
*yesterday* see *afternoon*  
*young* see *small*



## PART THREE: TEXTS

## INTRODUCTION

This collection contains nearly all of the texts obtained during my fieldwork on Ngandi. It is presented here with virtually no emendations or omissions other than those indicated in footnotes.

Texts 1 through 10 were obtained from mulugaṛaṛa (Sam Thompson), an elderly man at Roper River (Ngukurr) in a single recording session with no one present other than myself. The first two texts were volunteered; the remaining eight texts were responses to particular requests such as 'Tell me how you used to hunt kangaroo'.

Texts 1 through 9 are ethnographic texts, describing hunting and gathering techniques, spear-fighting, punishing wrongdoers by magical and other means, and so forth. Text 10 is a Dreamtime story about the Rainbow Serpent, and is associated with the secret Gunabibi ritual. The story itself is not secret.

Texts 11 and 12, which taken together are far longer than texts 1 through 10 combined in terms of recording time and number of pages, were obtained from maḍulpu (Sandy), a younger man probably in his forties, at Numbulwar, in a single session at which only I was present. Text 11 is primarily a survey of various Aboriginal clans, indicating the extent to which they have maintained their competence in ritual. Sandy rates performers on the basis of their ability in two aspects of ritual: singing with tapstick (but not didjeridu) accompaniment, and chanting the names of countries. The maḍayin ritual, which is the most important ritual in the Ngandi, Nunggubuyu, and Ritharngu areas, is taken as the basis for these comments. The text is interesting also in that the inventory of clans described indicates the network of social and ceremonial relationships which involved the Ngandi, and in fact the text begins with a discussion of where the major ceremonial gatherings were in the old days and which clans attended them. It is particularly notable that whereas the Ritharngu-speaking clans are constantly referred to, the Nunggubuyu and Warndarang are almost totally ignored. This is despite the fact that Sandy personally is well acquainted with the Nunggubuyu, speaks their language, and has participated in their rituals. Therefore it is clear that in pre-

contact days the Ngandi and Ritharngu groups were particularly closely associated, and in this light we can make some sense of the considerable diffusion which has occurred between the two languages.

The final text, 12, is a long account of several episodes in Sandy's life, along with some second-hand accounts, related to his career as a police tracker for many years both at Roper Bar (near Ngukurr) and at Alice Springs to the south. In their dealings with Aboriginal criminals, drunkards, and trouble-makers, the police force typically uses teams consisting of a white policeman and one or two Aboriginal 'trackers' or 'policeboys'.

In 12.1 through 12.8 we are told of the apprehension of an Aboriginal named wač̣inbuy and the difficulties he had in his court appearance due to his hard hearing in one ear. This is followed, in 12.9 through 12.26, by a general description of the procedures followed by a policeman and his 'policeboys' in arresting culprits, jailing them, seeing that they are brought to court, and so forth. Sandy indicates that a major preoccupation is with handling drunken Aborigines and Whites, who are frequently locked up overnight if they become unruly.

In 12.27 through 12.34 we have the story of how two White men and an Indian woman who had stolen an automobile were arrested. It describes the standard procedure for apprehending particularly dangerous criminals, by locating them, keeping out of sight during daylight, and then moving in just before dawn.

In 12.35 through 12.38 Sandy remarks on the use of concealed weapons by policemen and 'policeboys' in case the culprits resist arrest. Then, in 12.39 through 12.48, we hear a story about an incident in the Alice Springs area, where (as noted above) Sandy worked for a few years. An Aboriginal trying to steal opals was brutally shot to death by the Aboriginal owner of the property, who then took refuge in the hills and had to be tracked down by a tracker named Johnny.

12.49 through 12.59 tells of an Aboriginal who killed a White policeman who had run off with an Aboriginal woman. The killer is apprehended but then released after denying his guilt. However, due to the persistence of another Aboriginal, apparently a police tracker, he is re-arrested, tried, convicted, and hanged. See Berndt and Berndt (1954), Chapter 14.

After a brief comment on the growth of Darwin and Alice Springs in recent years (12.60 through 12.61) and a remark about cattle thieves (12.62-12.63), Sandy relates in 12.64 through 12.66 the story of an Aboriginal who had killed a Chinaman and was hanged. The emphasis here is on the execution itself, and the corroboree which was held just before it and after it as a final *rite de passage* for the executed man. Sandy then observes in 12.67 that hanging is no longer practised in the area, and attributes this to the fact that the British monarch is now a queen instead of a king, hence is presumably more compassionate. Nowadays culprits are merely jailed (12.68).

When culprits are arrested they are likely to have a story about them in the newspaper (12.69). Because open violence has been largely

suppressed by the police, Aborigines who have grudges against others attack them secretly (12.70-12.72). This leads to a discourse on the evils of alcohol, describing an incident where an Aboriginal died from drinking too much, and the observation that drunken men who fall asleep on the road near Ngukurr are likely to be attacked by other Aborigines (12.73-12.91).

More comments follow on policemen's daily routine and their policy in arresting drunks or leaving them alone (12.92-12.103). The text ends with a description of how police operate in cases involving cattle thieves (12.104-12.110).

The final two texts, 13 and 14, are very brief comments on the relationship between a man and his mother-in-law.

The texts are presented in segments, each containing a few clauses. The breaks between segments correlate to some extent with thematic or discourse-structure divisions, but in many instances my breaks are arbitrary. The main purpose of the breaks is to enable free translations to be placed as close as possible to the corresponding portion of the text.

The transcription indicates morpheme boundaries, except that pronominal prefixes attached to verbs are written as single units, although some of them can be broken up in an abstract analysis as indicated in the grammar. Under the transcription there is an interlinear analysis. The hyphens in the interlinear correspond to the hyphens in the word above them. Transitive pronominal prefixes are represented in the interlinear by notation such as *3FeSg/1PlIn*, which means third feminine singular subject and first plural inclusive object. An example:

baru-ga-maka-na  
*3Pl/3MaSg-Sub-call-Pr*

Here baru- is glossed by *3Pl/3MaSg*, -ga- by *Sub*, -maka- by *call*, and -na by *Pr*. Note that the interlinear is not aligned so that each item in it is directly under the corresponding element in the transcription.

Although interlinears have been liberally supplied, they have been omitted in the second or subsequent instance of the same word within a text segment. In some instances where two words in the same segment differ only in one morpheme, only the changed (or added) morpheme is labelled in the interlinear of the second word. Thus if baru-ga-maka-na is followed by baru-ja-maka-na, the latter might be represented as follows:

baru-ja-maka-na  
*-now-*

In such representations, alignment becomes critical, since the item in the interlinear corresponds to the element in the transcription whose first letter is directly above the item's first letter. Thus in this example *now* glosses -ja-, because the *n* and *j* are aligned in a vertical column. If we wanted to gloss baru- instead of -ja-, we would get this:

baru-ja-maka-na  
*3Pl/3MaSg-*

By means of these conventions the reader can determine which morpheme corresponds to which gloss in the interlinear. However, there is one further twist. Sometimes it is desirable to gloss two or more morphemes with a single item in the interlinear. This is done as follows:

mala?-ič-wolo  
at that time

Since there are no hyphens in the interlinear, the reader should not connect *at* with mala?-, *that* with -ič-, and *time* with -wolo. Instead, *at that time* should be taken as the gloss for the entire word. The question then arises, how do we distinguish this manner of glossing from the type shown in the previous example, where only the first morpheme (baru-) was glossed? The answer is in the use of hyphens following the item in the interlinear. Because baru- is directly followed by a hyphen, we match that hyphen (being the first hyphen in the interlinear) with the first hyphen in the transcription, the one after baru. In the example mala?-ič-wolo, there is no hyphen after *at that time*, so this gloss is assumed to cover not only mala?-, but the entire expression mala?-ič-wolo.

There is an occasional instance of a more complicated type, as in this example:

na-ki-?-bugi?  
there -only

Here the notation is intended to show that *there* is the gloss for na-ki-?-, whereas *-only* glosses -bugi?. If we had wanted *there* to gloss only na-, we would have put a hyphen directly after *there*:

na-ki-?-bugi?  
there- -only

In this instance -ki- and -?- would be unglossed.

If we had wanted *there* to gloss only na-, and *only* to gloss the sequence -ki-?-bugi?, we would have used this representation:

na-ki-?-bugi?  
there-only

Working from left to right, we match the first hyphen in the interlinear with the first hyphen in the transcription. Therefore *only* glosses -ki-, but since there is no hyphen following *only* its scope is unbounded to the right and therefore includes -?- and -bugi? as well. If we had intended that *only* gloss only -ki-, we would have written *there-only-*.

Although my general practice has been to identify and label each morpheme, in the case of demonstrative adverbs I have generally not done so. Thus na-ki-ri has been glossed *there* rather than more precisely as *Nonproximate-Locative adverb-Immediate* (or an abbreviated version thereof). Readers wishing to catch nuances such as *Immediate* vs. *Non-immediate* can obtain more precise information about these adverbs by checking with the grammar.

It must be emphasised that hyphens, rather than spaces between words, are what indicate correlations between the transcription and

the interlinear. Thus in the example

baru-yo-ŋana  
3PL/3MaSg-put in-Pr

the element -yo- is glossed by *put in*. The reader should not connect *put* with -yo- and *in* with -ŋana.

In some instances the dummy label  $\emptyset$  has been used in the interlinear where a more precise gloss is difficult or irrelevant. Thus the morpheme -? found in some demonstrative forms, and which cannot be assigned a simple, grammatically significant label, is usually glossed as  $\emptyset$ .

The interlinear generally uses abbreviations for affixes, and simple English nouns and verbs or the like for Ngandi nominal and verbal stems. An effort has been made to maintain reasonable consistency in the use of such glosses in the interlinear; thus (gu-)jark is glossed as *water* even in contexts where it means *beer*, *liquor*, or simply *liquid*. In other words, a basic meaning (Grundbedeutung) or principal meaning (Hauptbedeutung) has been preferred in the interlinear. More elaborate contextual definitions can often be found in the dictionary.

The free translation at the end of each text segment is a compromise between a literal translation and an idiomatic English recasting. Repetitions in the transcriptions are often reproduced in the free translation, but are sometimes omitted. When the transcription reveals the narrator's fumbling for a word or corrections of his own grammatical mistakes (e.g. 'He singed a song - Oops! I meant to say "He sang a song."'), this is sometimes omitted from the free translation and instead commented on in footnotes. Some of the more common errors of this type involve the use of incorrect noun-class prefixes, necessitating self-correction.

TEXT 1 (Sam)

Life in the Old Days

1.1

a-wi|mur, gu-wulčum balaka ŋaru-ga?-yaw-đu-ŋi,  
A-wire spear GU-wood spear before 1PLEx/3MaSg-Sub-Dur-spear-Aug-PCon

a-jeñ-uŋ bara-ga-yaw-đu-ŋi, gu-wulčum-đu  
A-fish-Abs 3PL/A- GU-wood spear-Inst

We used to spear (a person) before (with) a wire spear, or rather a wulčum spear (prototype of the wire spear, made with wooden point). They used to spear fish with wulčum spears.

1.2

gu-wulčum-đu ba-ga-bu-yđi-ni ba-yul-yuŋ,  
3PL-Sub-hit-Recip-PCon PL-person-Abs

gu-wariman-du, gu-ŋeñ ñaru-ga-maka-na gu-ŋeñ,  
GU-stone spear-Inst GU-stone spear 1PlEx/GU-Sub-call-Pr

gu-jundu, baru-ga-gu!?-du-ŋi, ma-gami-gič  
GU-stone 3Pl/GU-Sub-knock off-Aug-PCon MA-spear-All

bargu-yu-ri, a-bidi bara-maŋiñ?-du-ŋi ma-gami-gič,  
3Pl/GU-put on-PCon A-wax 3Pl/A-make-Aug-PCon MA-spear-All

bara-yu-ri,  
3Pl/A-put on-PCon

Aborigines used to fight with wulčum spears, (and) with stone spears. We call (stone spears) 'gu-ŋeñ'. They used to knock off a piece of stone and put it on the spear (shaft). They made wax and put it on the spear (shaft).

### 1.3

ñačuweleñ-uŋ ba-yul-yuŋ ba-ja-bu-ydi-ni, gu-wolo-tu,  
then-Abs Pl-person-Abs 3Pl-now-hit-Recip-PCon GU-that-Inst

muŋuy?, a-jeñ-uŋ, ma-jara, ma-miŋiyar? barma-ma-ŋi,  
always A-fish-Abs MA-what's-it? MA-ironwood 3Pl/MA-get-PCon

ma-ju!u? mal-kalič-uŋ, gu-wolo ba-ga-belk-bu-ni garka  
MA-lancewood times-some-Abs GU-that 3Pl-Sub-tie up-Aux-PCon like

a-wi!mur,  
A-wire spear

Then the Aborigines would fight with (spears) all the time. (For) fish they would get what's-it?, ironwood (*Erythroleum chlorostachyum*), or sometimes lancewood (*Acacia shirleyi*). They put (the spears) together like wire spears.

### 1.4

ñačuweleñ-uŋ, bara-ja-đar?-da-ŋi, ba-yul-yuŋ buluki?  
then-Abs 3Pl/A-now-spear-Aug-PCon Pl-person-Abs as well

barba-ram-đa-ŋi ba-yul-gič-uŋ, gu-wulčum-du,  
3Pl/3Pl-spear-Aug-PCon Pl-person-All-Abs GU-wood spear-Inst

a-wi!mur-yuŋ a-yaku, a-jara-yuŋ a-yin-yuŋ a-yaku,  
A-wire spear-Abs A-absent A-what's it?-Abs A-iron-Abs

Then the people speared (fish). They also speared (other) people, with wulčum spears. There were no wire spears, there was no iron.

### 1.5

gu-ŋeñ-du, a-đirk-yuŋ bara-ga-đak-du-ŋi, a-đirk-yuŋ  
GU-stone spear-Inst A-euro-Abs 3Pl/A-Sub-cut up-Aug-PCon A-euro-Abs

bara-ga-ram-đa-ŋi, gu-ŋeñ-du bara-ga-đak-du-ŋi,  
3Pl/A-Sub-spear-Aug-PCon

They used to cut up euros (hill kangaroos, *Macropus robustus*) with (blades) of stone spears. They speared euros with stone spears and cut them up.

### 1.6

ñačuweleñ-uŋ, ba-ga-golča-ŋi buluki?-yuŋ, ma-jengiřič  
then-Abs 3Pl-Sub-poison fish-PCon as well-Abs MA-marble tree

bargu-ma-ŋi,<sup>1</sup> ba-golča-ŋi, a-jeñ-uŋ a-ja-wati-ni, a-ñja  
3Pl/GU-get-PCon A-fish-Abs A-now-die-PCon A-what?

ŋa-ki-? a-!epal, a-biŋđaraŋa?, a-miriči, a-warŋa,  
there A-perch sp. A-perch sp. A-barramundi A-catfish sp.

a-jombo!ok-yuŋ, a-murka?-yuŋ, a-wereč-uŋ, a-wati-ni,  
A-catfish sp.-Abs A-bream-Abs A-rainbowfish-Abs A-die-PCon

ma-jengiřič-guñuŋ,  
MA-marble tree-Orig

Also they poisoned fish. They got (branches of) marble tree (*Owenia vernicosa*) and poisoned the fish (by throwing the branches into a pond). The fish died, all kinds (a-ñja ŋa-ki-?) of them — perch, catfish, barramundi, bream (spangled perch), rainbowfish. They died because of the marble tree.

### 1.7

ba-ga-ruđu-ŋi gu-đawal-gič-uŋ, gu-jařk-yuŋ  
3Pl-Sub-go-PCon GU-country-All-Abs GU-water-Abs

ba-ga-bun-ŋu-ni, gu-đawal-gič-uŋ ba-ga-ruđu-ŋi,  
3Pl-Sub-water-eat-PCon GU-country-All-Abs

bara-řič-đi-j-ič, ma-jengiřič-bugi? boñ  
3Pl/A-look for-Aug-Neg-P MA-marble tree-only that's all

barma-ga-ma-ŋi, ma-jara buluki?-yuŋ,  
3Pl/MA-Sub-get-PCon MA-what's it? as well-Abs

mo-golč, barma-ga-ma-ŋi, a-jeñ-gu-yuŋ,  
MA-freshwater mangrove 3Pl/MA-Sub-get-PCon A-fish-Dat-Abs

They went to (their) country. They went to (their) country and drank water. They did not look all over (for other kinds of trees), they just got marble trees, that's all. Also they got what's-it?, fresh-water mangroves (*Barringtonia acutangula*), for fish.

### 1.8

ŋuri-č-uŋ ba-ga-ruđu-ŋi, baki-č-uŋ ba-ga-ruđu-ŋi,  
north-All-Abs 3Pl-Sub-go-PCon south-All-Abs

<sup>1</sup>Should be barma-ma-ŋi with MA object.

ma-wiriipu-?may? baru-ga-ma-ŋi, ma-jengiŋič-bugi?,  
MA-other-Neg 3PL/GU-Sub-get-PCon MA-marble tree-only

ba-ga-golča-ŋi.  
3PL-Sub-poison fish-PCon

They went north and south. They got only marble trees (and freshwater mangroves), nothing else. (That is what) they poisoned fish (with).

1.9

buluki?-yung, gu-danič-uŋ, gu-matches-uŋ gu-yaku, gu-wali  
as well-Abs GU-fire-Abs GU- -Abs GU-absent GU-stick

bargu-ma-ŋi, ba-jađa-du-ŋi, gu-molmo-gič  
3PL/GU-get-PCon 3PL-use firestick-Aug-PCon GU-grass-All

bargu-yu-ri, baru-ga-đuł?,<sup>1</sup> ba-ga-bu?-du-ŋi,  
3PL/GU-put on-PCon 3PL/GU-Sub-light 3PL-Sub-blow-Aug-PCon

gu-ja-đuł?-du-ŋi gu-ja-danič-maŋiñ?-d-i-ni,  
GU-now-light-Aug-PCon GU-now-fire-make good-Aug-Refl-PCon

gu-bal-yung bargu-ja-ma-ŋi, ba-ja-warija-ŋi.  
GU-firewood-Abs 3PL/GU-now-get-PCon 3PL/now-make fire-PCon

(I will talk about) fire as well. There were no matches. They got sticks, they made sparks with firesticks, and put (the firesticks) over some grass. They set fire to it. They blew on it (so that) it caught fire and was burning well. They got some firewood and built up a fire.

1.10

gu-wolo gu-ŋuŋi?, ñaru-ga-maka-na, ba-ga-đuł?-gube-ře,  
GU-that GU-firestick 1PLEx/GU-Sub-call-Pr 3PL-Sub-light-Caus-PCon

gu-ŋuŋi?-bugi?, ba-ga-jađa-du-ŋi  
GU-firestick-only 3PL-Sub-use firestick-Aug-PCon

bargu-ja-đuł?-gube-ře gu-ja-đorŋi-ni.  
3PL/GU-now- GU-now-(grass) burn-PCon

We call firesticks 'ŋuŋi?'. (We had) only firesticks for lighting fires, that is what they used for making sparks. They set fire (to the grass) then, (and) the grass burned.

1.11

a-mumba?-yung, ŋi-guŋ-gu-yung ba-ga-ruđu-ŋi, a-jeler  
A-metal axe-Abs NI-honey-Dat-Abs 3PL-Sub-go-PCon A-stone axe

<sup>1</sup>Root form from causative baru-ga-đuł?-gube-ře.

bara-ma-ŋi, ba-jawu?-jawulpa-đu-yung, olden (times),  
3PL/A-get-PCon Pl-Rdp-old man-Erg-Abs

ba-jara-yung ba-yul-yung, a-mumba?-yung a-yaku  
Pl-what's it?-Abs Pl-Aboriginal-Abs A-absent

bara-ma-č-ič, a-mumba?-yung, yiriŋu-?ŋiri? a-ga-bolk-đu-i,  
3PL/A-get-Neg-P after-only A-Sub-appear-Aug-PPun

gu-jundu balaka gu-jundu,  
GU-stone before

They used to go looking for honey (with) metal axes, (or rather) the old people used to get stone axes in those days. There were no metal axes, they did not get those. Metal axes did not appear until later. Before (there was just) stone.

1.12

gu-wolo-itu ba-ga-đu-ŋi, ba-ga-đu-ŋi, a-jara  
GU-that-Inst 3PL-Sub-chop-PCon A-what's it?

ma-bulu?-gu ŋungayi, ba-jarpaŋu-ŋi-bugi?, ŋi-ŋaŋa-yung  
MA-honey stick-Dat merely 3PL-poke-PCon-only NI-honey-Abs

baru-ma-č-ič.  
3PL/NI-get-Neg-P

They used to chop (trees) down with that. What's-it?, just for honey sticks. They just poked (the stick into the hive), they did not get the honey (with their hands).

TEXT 2 (Sam)

Collecting Food

2.1

ma-miŋiyar?, mo-golč gu-đuŋda?-yung  
MA-ironwood MA-freshwater mangrove GU-tree-Abs

ñaru-ga-maka-na ma-ni-?-yung ma-wamba, ma-ŋič-uŋ  
1PLEx/GU-Sub-call-Pr MA-this-Ø-Abs MA-gum tree MA-food-Abs

barma-ŋu-čini ma-wamba-wala, buluki?-yung gu-jundu-yung  
3PL/MA-eat-Pr MA-gum tree-Ab1 as well-Abs GU-stone-Abs

ñaru-ga-ma-ŋi, a-ja-đir-ku, ñara-ga-đuł?-đu-ŋi,  
1PLEx/GU-Sub-get-PCon A-now-euro-Dat 1PLEx/A-sub-roast-Aug-PCon

Ironwood and freshwater mangrove, we call them 'đuŋda?' (trees). We eat food from gum trees (apparently a wattle, *Acacia* sp.). As well, we used to get stones for euros and we roasted them (in stone ovens).

2.2

ñargu-rič-di-j-ič, buluki? gu-jara, gu-but  
1PLEx/GU-look for-Aug-Neg-P also GU-what's it? GU-ant mound

ñargu-ma-ŋi, gu-jolko-yuŋ gu-but, o-wolo-tu buluki?,  
 1Plex/GU-get-PCon GU-ground-Abs A-that-Inst also  
 ñara-ga-ga!ʔ-du-ŋi, gu-wiɾipu-ʔmay? ñaru-ga-ma-ŋi,  
 GU-other-Neg 1Plex/GU-get-PCon

ñaru-ga-rič-di-j-ič,  
 1Plex/GU-Sub-look for-Aug-Neg-P

We did not look all over (for stones), we got (chunks of) antmounds on the ground. We roasted (kangaroos and wallabies) with those (when stones were unavailable). We got that, nothing else. We did not go all over looking (for stones).

2.3

gu-wolo ñaru-ga-ma-ŋi ñar-ga-warja-ŋi,  
 GU-that 1Plex/GU-Sub-get-PCon 1Plex-Sub-make fire-PCon

gu-but-juŋ ñaru-ga-yu-ri gu-bal-yuŋ  
 GU-antmound-Abs 1Plex/GU-Sub-put on-PCon GU-firewood-Abs

ñaru-ga-yu-ri, gu-but-juŋ garkala-yala, gu-jundu-yuŋ buluki?  
 above-Abl GU-stone-Abs as well

garkala-yala,

We got that (antmound) and made fires. We put the antmound (chunks) on (the oven). We put the firewood in, and the antmound (chunks) or the stones on top.

2.4

ñara-ga-ga!ʔ-du-ŋi a-dirk-yuŋ, a-murpungu!a-yuŋ,  
 1Plex/A-Sub-roast-Aug-PCon A-euro-Abs A-male euro-Abs

a-garčambal, a-bayir-yuŋ,  
 A-male antelope kangaroo A-female euro-Abs

a-gaŋdalpuru-yuŋ, ñara-ga-ŋu-ni, o-wolo  
 A-female antelope kangaroo-Abs 1Plex/A-Sub-eat-PCon A-that

ñara-ga-ŋu-ni,

We roasted euros and antelope kangaroos (*Macropus antelopinus*), male and female. We ate them, we ate those.

2.5

ma-gatam-yuŋ, barma-ga-ma-ŋi ba-diŋ?-du-yuŋ,  
 MA-water lily fruit-Abs 3Pl/MA-Sub-get-PCon Pl-woman-Erg-Abs

mo-wolo-yuŋ ma-ŋič-uŋ ñarma-ga-ŋu-ni,  
 MA-that-Abs MA-food-Abs 1Plex/MA-Sub-eat-PCon

ñar-ga-gakiđič-du-ŋi, ma-burpa-ʔ-yuŋ,  
 1Plex-Sub-eat vegetables-Aug-PCon MA-water lily root-Abs

ba-ga-wu!up-du-ŋi ba-diŋ?-yuŋ, mo-wolo ñarma-ŋu-ni,  
 3Pl-Sub-bathe-Aug-PCon Pl-woman-Abs MA-that 1Plex/MA-eat-PCon

ñar-yul-yuŋ,  
 1Plex-man-Abs

The women used to get water lily fruits (seed pods). We ate that food, we ate vegetable food (instead of meat, to get some variety). The women went into the water for water lily root corms. We men ate them.

2.6

ñir-kalu ñara-ga-rič-du-ŋi a-dirk, a-jara,  
 we(Plex)-other 1Plex/A-Sub-look for-Aug-PCon A-euro A-what's it?

a-wurpaŋ, a-jara buluki?-yuŋ, a-bakara-yuŋ,  
 A-emu A-what's it? also-Abs A-tortoise sp.-Abs

a-jara-yuŋ ñara-ga-maka-na a-bakara-yuŋ, buluki?-yuŋ  
 A-what's it?-Abs 1Plex/A-Sub-call-Pr

a-jara a-wiŋi, ma-mulupiŋda-ʔ-yuŋ ñarma-na-ʔ-ŋu-ni,  
 A-tortoise sp. MA-tortoise sp.-Abs 1Plex/MA-still-eat-PCon

We (men) went hunting after euros, and what's-it?, emus, and also what's-it, long-necked tortoises (*Chelodina rugosa*). We call them what's-it?, 'bakara'. Also short-necked tortoises (probably *Emydura* sp.), and smelly tortoises. We used to eat them.

2.7

buluki?-yuŋ a-jara-yuŋ a-bičiri-yuŋ  
 also-Abs A-what's it?-Abs A-file snake-Abs

ñara-na-ʔ-bu-ni, ñar-wu!up-du-ŋi ñara-ma-ŋi,  
 1Plex/A-still-kill-PCon 1Plex-bathe-Aug-PCon 1Plex/A-get-PCon

buluki?-yuŋ ñar-ga-wu!up-du-ŋi ñara-ga-ma-ŋi, a-ru!-wolo  
 also-Abs 1Plex-Sub-bathe-Aug-PCon -Sub- A-kind-that

ñara-ga-ŋuni-ŋu-ni, gu-buŋ-gi-yuŋ ñar-ga-ŋi-ŋ-i,  
 1Plex/A-Sub-Rdp-eat-PCon GU-bush-Loc-Abs 1Plex-Sub-Rdp-sit-PCon

gu-gawal-gi-yuŋ ñar-ga-ŋi-ŋ-i  
 GU-country-Loc-Abs

We also killed what's-it?, file snakes (*Acrochordus javanicus*, a water-dwelling snake). We went into the water and got them. Also, having gone into the water and having caught them, we used to eat that sort of thing (file snakes, tortoises, etc.). We stayed in the bush (not in settlements), we stayed in (our) country.

2.8

ñačuweleñ-uŋ ñar-ga-ney?-du-ŋi, gu-wočo  
 then-Abs 1Plex-Sub-rise-Aug-PCon GU-water game

ñargu-ja-yika-n-di, a-ṅanguru ñara-bu-ni,  
1Plex/GU-now-apply selves to-Aug-PCon A-crocodile 1Plex/A-kill-PCon

a-mambal? buluki? ñara-ga-ṅu-ni, ñara-ga!?-ḡu-ṅi  
A-mussel also 1Plex/A-Sub-eat-PCon 1Plex/A-roast-Aug-PCon

o-wolo-yuṅ a-mambal?-yuṅ, buluki?-yuṅ a-jara-yuṅ  
A-that-Abs -Abs also-Abs A-what's it?-Abs

a-wiṅi-yuṅ, a-jara-yuṅ a-bakara  
A-tortoise sp.-Abs A-what's it?-Abs A-tortoise sp.

ñara-ga-bu-ni, ñara-ga-ma-ṅi,  
1Plex/A-Sub-kill-PCon 1Plex/A-Sub-get-PCon

Then we got up (and left that country). We applied ourselves to water game. We killed saltwater crocodiles. We also ate freshwater mussels. We roasted the mussels (in a stone oven). We also killed and collected what's-it?, short-necked tortoises and what's-it?, long-necked tortoises.

2.9

ñar-ga-wu!up-ḡu-ṅi, gu-wočo ñar-ga-wu!up-ḡu-ṅi,  
1Plex-Sub-bathe-Aug-PCon GU-water game

ñara-ṅa-ṅi, ñara-!ak-bu-ni, buluki?-yuṅ  
1Plex/A-burn-PCon 1Plex/rip off flesh-Aux-PCon also-Abs

a-jara a-mendek-iñuṅ ñara-ga-ma-ṅi buluki?-yuṅ,  
A-what's it? A-tortoise hole-Rel 1Pl/A-Sub-get-PCon also-Abs

gu-ga-ma!oworo-ṅi-ni, gu-ga-ma!oworo-ṅi-ni  
GU-Sub-cold weather-Inch-PCon

ñargu-ja-yika-n-di ...<sup>1</sup>  
1Plex/GU-now-apply self to-Aug-PCon

It was for water game that we bathed. We cooked them (tortoises) on an open fire ('we burned them'), we ripped the flesh from their shells. Also we got what's-it?, (tortoises) from their holes (in the mud). We got long-necked tortoises. When the weather got cold (i.e. in the middle of the dry season, around July), we applied ourselves to ...

2.10

ma-berge? ma-ja-ṅukba-n-di, ma-berge? ma-ga-ṅukba-n-di,  
MA-green plum MA-now-fall-Aug-PCon -Sub-

ñar-ja-ṅuḡu-ṅi ñarma-ja-ma-ṅi, ñar-ga-ṅuḡu-ṅi  
1Plex-now-go-PCon 1Plex/MA-now-get-PCon 1Plex-Sub-go-PCon

ma-wuṅḡan buluki?-yuṅ ma-wuṅḡan balaka  
MA-black plum also-Abs before

<sup>1</sup>At this point there was a two-minute interruption as a vehicle approached. When Sam resumed the narrative he changed the subject.

ñarma-ga-ma-ṅi, ma-berge?-bula,  
1Plex/MA-Sub-get-PCon MA-green plum-and

Green plums (Buchanania obovata) fell (to the ground), then we went and picked them up. We also went (to get) black plums (Vitex glabrata), we got them first, (then) also green plums.

2.11

ñar-ga-waki-ni ñarma-ga-ṅu-ni, ma-mala-galič-uṅ  
1Plex-Sub-return-PCon 1Plex/MA-Sub-eat-PCon MA-group-other-Abs

ñarma-ṅu-ni, ma-mala-galič-uṅ ñarma-gu!?-ḡu-ṅi  
1Plex/MA-pound-Aug-PCon

gu-jundu-gi, ma-jara ma-ja-jara-ḡu-ṅi  
GU-stone-Loc MA-what's it? MA-now-do what's it?-Aug-PCon

ma-biṅin-ḡi-ni, mo-wolo-yuṅ ma-berge?-yuṅ buluki?-yuṅ,  
MA-soft-Inch-PCon MA-that-Abs MA-green plum-Abs also-Abs

ñarma-gu!?-ḡu-ṅi ma-biṅin-ḡi-ni, garka ma-ṅič  
like MA-food

ma-ja-ḡarpal-ḡi-ni, ba-wa!aman?-ḡu barma-ja-ṅu-ni  
MA-now-big-Inch-PCon Pl-all-Erg 3Pl/MA-now-eat-PCon

barba-ja-wo-ni ba-yul-gič-uṅ,  
3Pl/3Pl-now-give-PCon Pl-person-All-Abs

We came back and ate them. Some we ate (as they were), others we pounded on a stone so that they became what's-it?, they became soft. Green plums also, we pounded them so that they got soft and the food swelled up. They ate them, they gave them to the (other) people.

2.12

ṅačuweleñ-uṅ ñar-ja-ṅuḡu-ṅi, ñara-ṅu-ni, ñarma-ṅu-ni,<sup>1</sup>  
then-Abs 1Plex-now-go-PCon 1Plex/A-eat-PCon 1Plex/MA-eat-PCon

gu-baṅamurk-yuṅ buluki? ñargu-ṅu-ni, gu-na-ji-ñ-iñuṅ  
GU-wild cucumber-Abs as well 1Plex/GU-eat-PCon GU-that-kind-Ø-Rel

gu-baṅamurk, gu-balpa-gi gu-ga-ṅuḡa-ṅu-ḡa-yiñuṅ gu-ga!ak,  
GU-river-Loc GU-Sub-Rdp-sit-Pr-Rel GU-grow

gu-wolo ñaru-ga-ṅu-ni, gu-baṅamurk,  
GU-that 1Plex/GU-Sub-eat-PCon

Then we went and ate them, we also ate wild cucumbers (Cucumis melo). That kind of thing, wild cucumbers. They grow along rivers. We used to eat those wild cucumbers.

<sup>1</sup>Note that the narrator, who has not yet remembered the word for 'wild cucumber', first guesses that it is in the A class (ñara-ṅu-ni), then that it is in the MA class (ñarma-ṅu-ni). Both guesses are wrong, since it is in the GU class.

2.13

buluki?-yuy, gu-yoŋɔ ɲaru-ga-ŋu-ni, gu-yoŋɔ  
 as well-Abs GU-yam sp. 1PlEx/GU-Sub-eat-PCon

gu-jolko-gi-yuy gu-ga-yu-ɖa, garka ma-jalaɖi?-waŋji?,  
 GU-ground-Loc-Abs GU-Sub-lie-Pr like MA-yam-like

ma-ga-ŋu-ɖa, mo-wolo-yuy ɲarma-ŋu-ni,  
 MA-Sub-sit-Pr MA-that-Abs 1PlEx/MA-eat-PCon

We also ate yoŋɔ yams (*Vigna vexillata*). They lie on the ground, like jaladi? yams (unidentified woody climber with edible root swellings). (The latter) sit (on the ground), we eat those.

2.14

gu-bush-gi-yuy ɲar-ga-ŋ-i:, gu-jara-gi-yuy ɲa-ki-?  
 GU-bush-Loc-Abs 1PlEx-Sub-sit-PCon GU-what's it?-Loc-Abs there

ɲar-ga-ŋ-i:, o-monaŋa-yuy a-ga-bolk-ɖ-i, o-monaŋa-yuy  
 A-White-Abs A-Sub-appear-Aug-PPun

a-ga-bolk-ɖ-i, a-mumba?, mumba? ɲara-maka-na, a-mumba?-yuy  
 A-metal axe 1PlEx/A-call-Pr -Abs

buluki? ɲara-maka-na gu-na?-jundu, a-mumba?-yuy ɲara-ga-maka-na  
 also GU-still-stone -Sub-

a-ja-ŋi-? o-monaŋa-ku-yiŋuŋ,  
 A-now-this-∅ A-White-Gen-Rel

We stayed in the bush. We stayed there in what's-it? (the bush). White men appeared (for the first time). White men appeared, (and there were) metal axes. We call them 'mumba?'. We also call them 'mumba?' when they are stone (i.e. stone tomahawks).<sup>1</sup> We call this thing belonging to the Whites 'mumba?'.

2.15

a-wi|mur-yuy ɲara-ga-maka-na, a-wi|mur-yuy a-ni-?-yuy,  
 A-wire spear-Abs 1PlEx/A-Sub-call-Pr A-this-∅-Abs

a-na?-monaŋa-ku, gu-ŋeŋ-uŋ ɲargu-waɥi-ŋ  
 A-still-White-Gen GU-stone spear-Abs 1PlEx/GU-abandon-PPun

yanaɖi, gu-wulɕum-yuy ɲargu-waɥi-ŋ,  
 long ago GU-wooden spear-Abs 1PlEx/GU-abandon-PPun

a-wi|mur-yuy, ɲara-ja-gopa-na, wuluy-muŋuy? ɲara-ja-gopa-na  
 A-wire spear-Abs 1PlEx/A-now-keep-Pr constantly

o-wolo-yuy a-wi|mur-yuy,  
 A-that-Abs

<sup>1</sup>Actually, stone tomahawks are properly called 'jeler', but this term and mumba? can be interchanged.

We call this wire spear 'wi|mur', belonging to Whites (i.e. made with iron prongs). We have abandoned stone spears and old-fashioned wooden-bladed spears, long ago. We still have wire spears, we always keep (using) those wire spears.

2.16

buluki? a-murŋiŋ ɲara-ga-maŋiŋ?, a-murŋiŋ-uŋ  
 also A-shovel spear 1PlEx/A-Sub-make A-shovel spear-Abs

ma-gami-giɕ ɲara-yo-ŋana, buluki? a-wi|mur-yuy  
 MA-spear shaft-All 1PlEx/A-put on-Pr also A-wire spear-Abs

ɲara-yo-ŋana ma-gami-giɕ, a-bidi ɲara-ja-maŋiŋ?,  
 1PlEx/A-put on-Pr MA-spear shaft-All A-wax 1PlEx/A-now-make

ɲara-ga-ɖerp, ma-wolo ma-ɖarpa?-ɖu-yuy ɲara-ja-ɖerp,  
 1PlEx/A-Sub-attach MA-that MA-string-Inst-Abs 1PlEx/A-now-attach

We also make shovel spears. We put the shovel spearhead onto the spear shaft. We also put the wire spear prongs onto their spear shaft. We prepare some wax, we attach (the spearhead to the shaft) with string (and wax).

2.17

ɲar-ga-ɖuɖu-ŋi a-jeŋ-uŋ ɲara-ja-yaw gamakun?,  
 1PlEx-Sub-go-PCon A-fish-Abs 1PlEx/A-now-spear properly

a-wi|mur-ɥu-yuy, buluki?-yuy a-ɖirk-yuy ɲara-ja-yaw,  
 A-wire spear-Inst-Abs also-Abs A-euro-Abs 1PlEx/A-now-spear

gamakun?, gu-ŋeŋ-uŋ yanaɖi ɲargu-waɥi-ŋ,  
 properly GU-stone spear-Abs long ago 1PlEx/GU-abandon-PPun

gu-wulɕum-yuy ɲargu-waɥi-ŋ, ma-ɖa|ungu?-ɖu,  
 GU-wooden spear-Abs MA-hook spear-Inst

gu-wulɕum-yuy ma-ɖa|ungu?-yuy ɲarma-na?-gopa-na  
 -Abs 1PlEx/MA-still-keep-Pr

ma-ɖa|ungu?-yuy barma-na?-maŋiŋ?  
 MA-hook spear-Abs 3Pl/MA-still-make

We went along and really speared fish properly with wire spears. We also speared euros properly. We have abandoned stone spears long ago, we have abandoned old wooden spears. With hook spears (we still hunt). Old wooden spears (have been abandoned). We still have hook spears, they still make hook spears.

2.18

gu-wolo ba-ga-bu-yɖi-na mo-wolo-ɥu, ba-yul-yuy,  
 GU-that 3Pl-Sub-hit-Recip-Pr MA-that-Inst Pl-Aboriginal-Abs



ñar-ga-ṛudu-ni o-boṇḍok ñara-ga-maṇiñ?, gu-wali-yuṇ  
 1Plex-Sub-go-Pr A-woomera 1Plex/A-Sub-make GU-wood-Abs

ñargu-maṇiñ?, gu-wali ñargu-do-ni, ñargu-ja-maṇiñ?,  
 1Plex/GU-make GU-wood 1Plex/GU-chop-Pr 1Plex/GU-now-make

o-boṇḍok-yuṇ ñara-ja-maṇiñ?,<sup>1</sup>  
 A-woomera-Abs 1Plex/A-now-make

They fight with those (hook spears), the Aborigines do. We go along, we make woomeras. We prepare the wood. We chop down a tree, then we make it, we make the woomera.

2.19

o-boṇḍok bulkuy ñara-waṭi-č-may?, ñara-na?-gopa-na  
 A-woomera alright 1Plex/A-abandon-Neg-Pr 1Plex/A-still-keep-Pr

ñar-waṭaman?-du ñara-gopa-na, ba-yul-tu,  
 PLEX-everyone-Erg PL-Aboriginal-Erg

We have not abandoned woomeras, all of us, the Aborigines, certainly keep (using) them.

2.20

gu-ni-?-yuṇ ṅandi-yuṇ, ñargu-ja-waṭi-ñ,  
 GU-this-Ø-Abs Ngandi-Abs 1Plex/GU-now-abandon-PPun

gu-wariman-yuṇ gu-ṅeñ-uṇ ñargu-ja-waṭi-ñ,  
 GU-stone spear-Abs GU-stone spear-Abs 1Plex/GU-now-abandon-PPun

a-wiṷmur-bugi? ñara-ga-maka-na, ñara-ga-gopa-na,  
 A-wire spear-only 1Plex/A-Sub-call-Pr 1Plex/A-Sub-keep-Pr

a-ma:k-yuṇ ñara-ga-ḍa:-bo-m a-ja-ma:k a-jeñ-gu-yuṇ,  
 A-good-Abs 1Plex/A-Sub-try out-Aux-PPun A-now-good A-fish-Dat-Abs

This Ngandi (country), we have abandoned them, we have abandoned stone spears. Only what we call 'wiṷmur' (wire spear) do we keep. They are good, we tried them out and they were good for fish.

2.21

buluki?-yuṇ ñar-ga-woyk, ñar-ja-woyk-du-ni  
 also-Abs 1Plex-Sub-fish(verb) 1Plex-now-fish-Aug-Pr

a-jara-tu, o-monaṅa-ku-yiñuṇ ñar-ja-bak-woyk,  
 A-what's it?-Inst A-White-Gen-Rel 1Plex-now-Ben-fish

ñar-ga-woyk-du-ni ñara-ga-ma-ni a-jeñ-uṇ,  
 1Plex-Sub-fish-Aug-Pr 1Plex/A-Sub-get-Pr A-fish-Abs

<sup>1</sup>The narrator first used the wrong noun-class of the object (ñargu-ja-maṇiñ?), then corrected himself.

ñargu-ja-waṭi-ñ yanači,  
 1Plex/GU-now-abandon-PPun long ago

We also go fishing (with line and hook). We go fishing with what's-it?, the thing belonging to Whites, we go fishing then. We go fishing and catch fish. We abandoned them (stone spears) long ago.

2.22

ñačuweleñ-uṇ a-wurpaṅ, a-wurpaṅ a-ḍirk, ñara-ja-yaw,  
 then-Abs A-emu A-euro 1Plex/A-now-spear

mo-wolo ma-ṅič-ñirayi-yuṇ ñara-ga-ṅuni-ṅu-ni,  
 MA-that MA-food-our(1Plex)-Abs 1Plex/A-Sub-Rdp-eat-PCon

buluki?-yuṇ, ṅi-ḡuṅ-yuṇ ñaru-ga-ḡo-ṅi, ñaru-ga-ḡo-ṅi,  
 also-Abs NI-honey-Abs 1Plex/NI-Sub-chop-PCon

ṅi-ḡuṅ-yuṇ ñaru-ga-ḡo-ni,<sup>1</sup> a-ja-mumba?-ḡu-burkayi,  
 -Pr A-now-metal axe-Inst-really

Then we spear(ed) emus and euros. That food of ours we used to eat all the time. We also used to chop down honey (i.e. trees containing hives). We chop down honey, nowadays with a real metal axe.

2.23

ṅi-ḡaṅa<sup>2</sup> ñaru-ja-ma-ni gamakun?, ñaru-ja-ma-ni,  
 NI-honey 1Plex/NI-now-get-Pr properly

ñar-ga-ḡo-ni, ma-bulu?-yuṇ little bit,  
 1Plex-Sub-chop-Pr MA-honey implement-Abs

ñargu-ja-waṭu-na, ñargu-waṭi-ñ yanači,  
 1Plex/GU-now-abandon-Pr 1Plex/GU-abandon-PPun long ago

Then we get the honey properly, we get it. We chop it down. (We use) an implement for eating honey (here: a stick with some grass attached to the end, to soak up honey) a little bit. We abandon those (stone spears), we abandoned them long ago.

2.24

ma-bulu?-yuṇ, ṅi-ḡaṅa-yuṇ ñaru-ja-boi-kuba-na  
 MA-honey implement-Abs NI-honey-Abs 1Plex/NI-now-go out-Caus-Pr

gamakun?, ñaru-ja-ḡoṭa-ni gamakun?, a-jara-ḡič-uṇ,  
 properly 1Plex/NI-now-put in-Pr properly A-what's-it?-All-Abs

<sup>1</sup>At this point the narrator switches to present tense.

<sup>2</sup>The term ḡaṅa refers to honey as a substance. The term ḡuṅ (cf. Text 2.22) is a general word for honey, honey bees, wax, bee hives, and so forth.

gu-đila-gič balaka ĩaru-ga-yuři?-yu-ři  
GU-cooliman-All before 1PLEx/NI-Sub-Rđp-put in-PCon

ĩaru-gorĳa-ŋi ĩi-guŋ-yuŋ,  
1PLEx/NI-put in-PCon NI-honey-Abs

Honey-eating implements. We take out the honey entirely. We then put it entirely into the what's-it?, the cooliman. Before we always used to put it in. We used to put the honey in.

2.25

ĩi-guŋ-yuŋ a-ńja ŋa-ki-?-yuŋ a-jara ŋuni,  
NI-honey-Abs A-what? there A-what's it? damn!  
ma-datam-yuŋ, ma-burpa?-yuŋ, gu-đila-gič  
MA-water lily fruit-Abs MA-water lily root-Abs GU-cooliman-All  
ĩaru-ga-yuři?-yu-ři<sup>1</sup> ĩargu-ja-waĳi-ń yanači  
1PLEx/GU-Sub-Rđp-put in-PCon 1PLEx/GU-now-abandon-PPun long ago

gu-wolo-yuŋ, gu-đila bargu-maĳiń?-may?,  
GU-that-Abs GU-cooliman 1PLEx/GU-make-Neg

Honey and all sorts of things (a-ńja ŋa-ki-?-yuŋ), what's-it?, water lily fruits and root corms, they used to put them into coolimans. We no longer use those, they do not make coolimans any more.

2.26

gu-ŋuŋi? ĩargu-waĳi-ń, gu-đanič-uŋ o-monana-kuńuŋ  
GU-firestick 1PLEx/GU-abandon-PPun GU-fire-Abs A-White-Orig

yanači gu-đanič-uŋ ĩargu-ja-gopa-na, ĩar-ga-warja?,  
long ago 1PLEx/GU-now-keep-Pr 1PLEx-Sub-hunt

gu-ńi-?-yuŋ gu-rifle-yuŋ yanači ĩargu-ja-ma-y,  
GU-this-đ-Abs GU-Abs 1PLEx/GU-now-get-PPun

ma-gami-yuŋ ĩarma-ja-waĳi-ń, gu-wariman  
MA-spear-Abs 1PLEx/MA-now-abandon-PPun GU-stone spear

ĩargu-waĳi-ń,  
1PLEx/GU-abandon-PPun

We no longer use firesticks. We keep (using) fire obtained from Whites (i.e. fire made with matches). When we go hunting, we get this rifle (from the Whites) long ago, we abandoned spears, we abandoned stone spears.

<sup>1</sup>It is possible that the GU class object refers collectively to honey, water lily portions, etc. If so, this suggests that GU is the unmarked nonhuman noun-class, so that conjunctions of nonhuman nouns in various classes can be treated as constituting a GU class collectivity. However, it is possible that the narrator merely got his objects crossed up and incorrectly treated gu-đila-gič as the object of -yuři?-yu-ři (it is the object of ĩargu-ja-waĳi-ń).

2.27

o-monana-tu, 'ĩar-mili?-buyđi-pu-yđi-đ' ĩi-yimi-ń-?-đ-i,  
A-White-Erg 2PL-lest-Rđp-hit-Recip-Evit 3MaSg-say-PPun-đ-Aug-PPun

'ĩargu-waĳu-ruŋ, ĩargu-waĳu-ruŋ yanači, gu-rifle-bugi?  
2PL/GU-abandon-Fut behind GU-only

ĩargu-ja-gopa-raŋ', ĩi-yimi-ń-?-đ-i ĩi-monana-yuŋ,  
2PL/GU-now-keep-Fut 3MaSg-say-PPun-đ-Aug-PPun MaSg-White-Abs

The White man (told us). 'You should not fight', he said. 'You will leave (spears) behind, you will keep (using) only rifles,' the White man said.

2.28

gu-rifle-bugi? ĩargu-ja-gopa-na, ĩar-ga-warja? gu-rifle-đu  
GU-only 1PLEx/GU-now-keep-Pr 1PLEx-Sub-hunt GU-Inst

ĩara-ja-bu-mana a-đirk-yuŋ, a-baŋami-yuŋ, a-walpurungu?-yuŋ,  
1PLEx/A-now-Pr A-euro-Abs A-brolga-Abs A-turkey-Abs

a-wurpaŋ-yuŋ, a-ńja ŋa-ki-?-yuŋ ĩara-ga-ŋaĳi-ŋa-jini,  
A-emu-Abs A-what? there 1PLIn-Sub-Rđp-hear-Pr

gu-ja-rifle-đu-bugi? ĩara-ja-bu-mana,  
GU-now-Inst-only

We keep only rifles. We go hunting, we kill euros, brolgas, plains turkeys, and emus with rifles. We can hear all kinds of things (a-ńja ŋa-ki-?-yuŋ), we kill them with rifles only (after locating them by hearing them).

2.29

ĩargu-ja-waĳi-ń yanači, ma-gami-yuŋ  
1PLEx/GU-now-abandon-PPun long ago MA-spear-Abs

ĩarma-waĳi-ń, gu-rer ĩi-ki-ń-uŋ, ĩi-ki-ń,  
1PLEx/GU-abandon-PPun GU-camp here

gu-đawal-ńi-?-gi, gu-đawal-?ńirayi-gi-yuŋ ma-gami-bugi?  
GU-country-this-đ-Loc GU-country-our(PLEx)-Loc-Abs MA-spear-only

ĩar-ga-jaĳ-đu-ŋi, gu-ńi-?-yuŋ gu-đawal-yuŋ  
1PLEx-Sub-hunt kangaroos-Aug-PCon GU-this-đ-Abs GU-country-Abs

ba-wan-gu,  
PL-Pron-Gen

We have left them (stone spears) behind. We have abandoned spears. Here (in) this camp, in our country we used to hunt kangaroos with spears only. This country belongs to someone else.

ñer-yuŋ we (PlEx)-Abs	gu-na-? GU-that-Ø	ɲuri, north	warpani pl.n.	gu-wolo GU-that	gu-dawal-yuŋ, GU-country-Abs
gu-ŋandi-yuŋ GU-Ngandi-Abs	ɲa-ki-ñ, there	ɲawiri-č-uŋ east-All-Abs	ɲungayi merely	gu-na-ri GU-that-Imm	
ba-wan-gu, Pl-Pron-Gen	ɲaŋi-č-uŋ west-All-Abs	ba-wan-gu, east-All-Abs	baki-č-uŋ south-All-Abs		
ɲi-ču-?-yuŋ this way	ba-wan-gu, west-All-Abs	ɲa-ču-?-yuŋ that way	ɲuri-č-uŋ north-All-Abs	ba-wan-gu, west-All-Abs	
ñer-yuŋ we (PlEx)-Abs	ɲurunga?, middle	gu-ŋandi GU-Ngandi	ñar-ga-ñawk, 1PlEx-Sub-speak		

As for us, (we lived) there to the north. That country, warpani, Ngandi (country) there. That (country) to the east belongs to someone else. To the west (likewise) to someone else. Here to the south (likewise) to someone else. This way (a long way) to the north (likewise) to someone else. We (lived) in the middle (i.e. a short distance to the north), we who speak Ngandi.

## TEXT 3 (Sam)

## Bush Medicine

## 3.1

gu-buɖuga, GU-tree sp.	bargu-ma-ni, 3Pl/GU-get-Pr	gu-wali, GU-wood	gu-wali-?may? GU-wood-Neg	ɲuni dam!
gu-jara-yiñuŋ, GU-what's it?-Rel	gu-manjar?, GU-leaf	gu-wolo GU-that	gu-manjar?-yuŋ -Rel Abs	
bargu-boil 'em?, 3Pl/GU-boil	bargu-yo-ɲana 3Pl/GU-put in-Pr	gu-ɖaŋi-č-gič GU-fire-Abs	bargu-boil 'em?, 3Pl/GU-boil	
gu-ɲaki-na GU-burn-Pr	bargu-wiri?, 3Pl/GU-remove from fire	ba-bun-ɲu-čini, 3Pl-water-eat-Pr		
ba-bun-ɲu-čini, GU-what's it?-Abs	gu-jara-yuŋ, GU-what's it?-Abs	gu-ni-?-yuŋ GU-this-Ø-Abs		
ñar-ga-ɲoŋ-ɲutɲut, 1PlEx-Sub-head-thick	gu-ja-yaku-ɖi-na, GU-now-absent-Inch-Pr			

They get the wood of buɖuga tree (*Clerodendrum floribundum*) - not the wood, I meant to say the leaves (i.e. branches with leaves). They boil the leaves, they put them on a fire and boil them (in water). (The leaves) burn, then they take them out of the fire. They drink (the liquid). They drink it, and this kind of headache ('thick head') which we have disappears.

ma-jengiřič MA-marble tree	buluki?-yuŋ also-Abs	ñarma-ma-ni, 1PlEx/MA-get-Pr	ma-jengiřič-uŋ -Abs
ñarma-ma-ni, GU-that-Abs	gu-wolo-yuŋ GU-that-Abs	ma-gu a?-yuŋ, MA-skin-Abs	ñarma-geyk-ɖa-ni, 1PlEx/MA-throw-Aug-Pr
gu-jaŋ-kič GU-water-All	ñargu-yo-ɲana 1PlEx/GU-put in-Pr	gu-wali-yiñuŋ-yuŋ, GU-wood-Rel-Abs	
ñargu-ja-yiw?, 1PlEx/GU-now-scrape	ñarma-ja-yiw? 1PlEx/MA-now-scrape	mo-wolo MA-that	
ma-jengiřič-uŋ, MA-marble tree-Abs			

We also get marble trees (*Owenia vernicosa*). We throw (scrapings from) the bark (and) of the wood into water. We scrape (wood of) marble trees.

## 3.3

ñarma-ja-boil 'em?, 1PlEx/MA-now-boil	ma-muñur, MA-fine	ñarma-ga-boil 'em?, -Sub-	
ma-ga-bu ku-ɖi-na, MA-Sub-ripe-Inch-Pr	ñargu-ja-wiri?, 1PlEx/GU-now-remove from fire	ma-ɲambul-gič-uŋ MA-eye-All-Abs	
ñargu-ja-yo-ɲana, 1PlEx/GU-now-put on-Pr	ma-ɲambul-ku MA-eye-Dat	mo-wolo-yuŋ, MA-that-Abs	

Then we boil (the scrapings). They are fine (i.e. in powderlike form), we boil them. When it is ready we take it out of the fire and pour (the liquid) over our eyes. It is for the eyes.

## 3.4

buluki?-yuŋ, also-Abs	gu-jara-yuŋ GU-what's it?-Abs	ma-ɖumbuyumbu?-yuŋ MA-sandalwood-Abs	barma-ma-ni, 3Pl/MA-get-Pr
barma-ma-ni, GU-water-All	barma-boil 'em?, GU-water-All	gu-jaŋ-kič 3Pl/GU-put in-Pr	bargu-yo-ɲana, <sup>1</sup> 3Pl/GU-put in-Pr
gu-ɖaŋi-č-gič GU-fire-All	barma-ja-yo-ɲana, 3Pl/MA-now-put on-Pr		

They also get what's-it?, sandalwood (*Santalum lanceolatum*). They get it and boil (scrapings from) it, they put it in water, they put it (with the water) on a fire.

<sup>1</sup>Here bargu- should be barma-; note the correction following. Once again the narrator confused Allative gu-jaŋ-kič with the direct object; cf. footnote on page 200).

ma-ga-bu ku-gi-na, MA-Sub-ripe-Inch-Pr	buluki?-yuŋ also-Abs	ñar-ja-wu up, 1Plex-now-bathe	
ba-ga-wu up-gu-ni 3Pl-Sub-bathe-Aug-Pr	gu-gu a?-du, GU-skin-Inst	buluki?-yuŋ also-Abs	
gu-mala-galič-uŋ GU-group-other-Abs	ba-bun-ŋu-čini 3Pl-water-eat-Pr	gu-walŋa-ku GU-body-Dat	ba-ga-bun-ŋu-čini,
boñ that's all	gu-ja-wolo-bugi?, GU-now-that-only	gu-bush medicine-yuŋ, GU-now-absent	gu-ja-yaku GU-now-absent
buluki?-yuŋ also-Abs	gu-yaku. GU-absent		

When it is ready we bathe, we bathe with (liquid) (made from) the bark. Some we drink from (sickness of) the body. That is all the bush medicine (we used). There is none any longer.

## TEXT 4 (Sam)

## Fishing Techniques

## 4.1

ñar-ga-yu-đa, 1Plex-Sub-sleep-Pr	ñar-ŋey?, 1Plex-rise	ñar-ič-ŋa-čini 1Plex-mind-hear-Pr	'gu-wo: GU-which?
gu-balpa-yuŋ, GU-river-Abs	a-jeñ-gu-yuŋ, A-fish-Dat-Abs	a-đangu-yuŋ A-meat-Abs	wo:-gi where?
ŋara-ga-mi-yaŋ, 1Plex-Sub-get-Fut	ŋar-udu-ni 1Plex-go-Pr	gu-wolo-gič', GU-that-All	

We sleep, then get up. We think, 'Which billabong, for fish? Where will we get meat? We are going to that (billabong).'

## 4.2

ñar-udu-ni::: 1Plex-go-Pr	gu-balpa GU-river	ñar-gu-ja-ŋa-čini, 1Plex/GU-now-see-Pr	gu-đaku-gaŋa?, GU-small-Dim
ma-jara-yuŋ, MA-what's it?-Abs	gu-balpa GU-river	ñar-gu-ŋa-čini 1Plex/GU-see-Pr	ñar-juđu?, 1Plex-crouch
mal-kalič-uŋ times-some-Abs	ñar-juđu?,	ňara-mani-ma-ni 1Plex/A-Rdp-get-Pr	ňara-geyk, 1Plex/A-throw
ňara-ge:::yk	gu-ni-ñ, that's all		

We go and see the river, a small one. We see the river and catch fish by crouching in it (and grabbing the fish). We get (fish), we throw them (onto the bank), and that is that.

mal-kalič-uŋ times-some-Abs	gu-jundu GU-stone	ňargu-yo-ŋana, 1Plex/GU-put in-Pr	gu-jundu
ňargu-yo-ŋana	ňar-đalada-ni, 1Pl Ex-make dam-Pr	ŋačuweleñ then	ňar-ga-đalada-ni, 1Plex-Sub-make dam-Pr
gu-wolo GU-that	gu-balpa-yuŋ GU-river-Abs	gu-wolo GU-river-Abs	ňargu-shut 'em up, 1Plex/GU-block
ňargu-đam?-bu-mana, 1Plex/GU-block-Aux-Pr	gu-balpa-yuŋ,		

Sometimes we put stones in (the water). We put stones in and make a dam. We make a dam and we block the river.

## 4.4

gu-jundu GU-stone	ňargu-yo-ŋana 1Plex/GU-put in-Pr	ŋa-ki-? there	đarguŋa? other side	ňargu-yo-ŋana:::
ŋi-ki-?, here	đarguŋa?, middle-Abs	urungu?-yuŋ, -now-	ňargu-ja-yo-ŋana, -now-	gu-jara, GU-what's it?
gu-jundu, GU-stone	gu-jundu GU-stone	garkala-w above	gu-ja-ŋu-đa GU-now-sit-Pr	gu-jařk-yuŋ GU-water-Abs
ŋi-ki-? here	garakađi?, below			

We put stones on both sides (of the river) and in the middle. We put in the what's-it?, the stones. The stones are above and below the water line.

## 4.5

ŋačuweleñ-uŋ, then-Abs	gu-đanbar? GU-stringybark	ňargu-ma-ni 1Plex/GU-get-Pr	gu-đanbar?
ňargu-yo-ŋana, 1Plex/GU-put on-Pr	ŋa-ču-wala-? from there	buluki?-yuŋ also-Abs	ňargu-yo-ŋana,
balaka first	gu-ŋoŋo:::?, GU-grass	gu-jara, GU-what's it?	gu-ŋoŋo:::? GU-paperbark
ňargu-yo-ŋana,	gu-geje?-yuŋ, -Abs	gu-wolo-gi-yuŋ GU-that-Loc-Abs	gu-jundu-gi-yuŋ GU-stone-Loc-Abs
gu-ga-ŋu-da, GU-Sub-sit-Pr	ňaru-ga-yo-ŋana, 1Plex/GU-Sub-put on-Pr		

After that we get some bark from the stringybark tree (*Eucalyptus tetradonta*) and put it on, (along) from there. First we put on grass and what's-it?, paperbark (from any of several *Melaleuca* spp.). We put paperbark on top of the stones where they sit (above the water level).

## 4.6

načuweleñ-uŋ <i>then-Abs</i>	ňargu-ja-ɖum?-bu-mana, <i>1PlEx/GU-now-open-Aux-Pr</i>	gu-yele <i>GU-hole</i>	bargu-mañiň? <i>3Pl/GU-make</i>
načuweleñ-uŋ <i>then-Abs</i>	ňargu-ja-yo-ŋana <i>1PlEx/GU-now-put on-Pr</i>	gu-dokmay? <i>GU-long</i>	
gu-ɖanbar?-yung, <i>GU-stringybark-Abs</i>	garka <i>like</i>	o-mol?-wanji? <i>A-didjeridu-like</i>	buluki?-yung <i>also-Abs</i>
ni-ču-wala?-yung, <i>from here -Abs</i>	ňaru-ga-yo-ŋana, <i>Sub</i>	gu-ja-ɖarpal, <i>GU-now-big</i>	gu-ɖila?-wañji? <i>GU-cooliman-like</i>
ňargu-ja-yo-ŋana	ňargu-ja-balaŋi-n?guba-na, <i>1PlEx/GU-now-be on side-Caus-Pr</i>		

Then we open it up, they make a hole (in the middle of the dam). Then we put a long section of stringybark, like a didjeridu (i.e. in tube-like form). We put it along from here. It is big now. It is like a cooliman (a paperbark dish). We put it on, we attach it to the side (of the dam).

## 4.7

načuweleñ-uŋ, <i>then-Abs</i>	gu-jaɖk-yung <i>GU-water-Abs</i>	gu-ja-walk, <i>GU-now-go through</i>	gu-walk-ɖu-ni <i>GU-go through-Aug-Pr</i>
gu-ja-bun-geyk-ɖa-ni <i>GU-now-water-throw-Aug-Pr</i>	ni-ču-? <i>this way</i>	gu-balpa-gič <i>GU-river-All</i>	gu-jara-gič, <i>GU-what's it?-All</i>
gu-ɖila-gič, <i>GU-cooliman-All</i>	načuweleñ-uŋ <i>then-Abs</i>	a-jeñ-uŋ <i>A-fish-Abs</i>	a-ga-ɖu-ni, <i>A-Sub-go-Pr</i>
a-ga-ɖu-ni	a-ja-walk <i>A-now-go through</i>	na-či-ñ <i>that way</i>	gu-jaɖ-kíč <i>GU-water-All</i>
agu-ja-girɖa-ni, <i>A/GU-now-head for-Pr</i>	agu-ga-girɖa-ni	načuweleñ-uŋ, <i>then-Abs</i>	a-ja-ɖu-ni <i>A-now-go-Pr</i>
na-či-ñ <i>that way</i>	gu-wolo-gič <i>GU-that-All</i>	gu-jaɖk <i>GU-water</i>	agu-ga-gaɖu-ni <i>A/GU-Sub-see-Pr</i>
			agu-buru-ni, <i>A/GU-smell-Pr</i>

Then water passes through (the dam), it rushes this way into the river, into the what's-it?, the cooliman. Then the fish go through (the tube) that way, heading for the water (on the other side of the dam). They head for it and they go that way toward it, trying to get to it, sensing ('smelling') it.

## 4.8

načuweleñ-uŋ <i>then-Abs</i>	gu-ja-geyk-ɖa-ni <i>GU-now-throw-Aug-Pr</i>	gu-jaɖk-yung <i>GU-water-Abs</i>	ni-ču-? <i>this way</i>	garkala-č, <i>above-All</i>
agu-ga-geyk-ɖa-ni, <i>GU/A-Sub-throw-Aug-Pr</i>	na-či-ñ-uŋ <i>that way</i>	a-ja-ɖukba-n-jini <i>A-now-fall-Aug-Pr</i>	a-jeñ-uŋ, <i>A-fish-Abs</i>	

a-jeñ-uŋ a-ga-ɖu-ni, a-ja-ɖukba-n-jini na-či-ñ, gu-jaɖk-ɖu,  
*A-Sub-go-Pr that way GU-water-Inst*

gu-wolo-tu, geyk-ɖa-ni ni-ču-? a-ja-ɖukba-n-jini  
*GU-that-Inst throw-Aug-Pr this way*

gu-jara-gič, gu-jolko-gič ni-ču-?,  
*GU-what's it?-All GU-ground-All this way*

Then the water rushes through on top. It throws the fish, who then fall down that way. The fish go and fall down that way, because of that water. It throws them this way, so that they fall onto what's-it?, onto the ground this way.

## 4.9

ni-ki-? bargu-bak-mañiň? gu-jara, gu-ŋoŋo?, bargu-bak-mañiň?  
*here 3Pl/GU-Ben-make GU-what's it? GU-grass 3Pl/GU-Ben-make*

gu-ma:k, buluki? na-ki-? bargu-bak-mañiň? gu-ma:k, gu-yapan?,  
*GU-good also there GU-what's it? GU-two*

gu-wangiň?, bargu-yo-ŋana, ni-ki-?, na-ki-? gu-ɖawara,  
*GU-one 3Pl/GU-put on-Pr here there GU-east*

ni-ki-? ɖurunga?, na-ki-? ŋaŋi, gu-wolo-pula-yung, ba-ɖu-ni  
*here middle there west GU-that-and-Abs 3Pl-go-Pr*

bargu-yo-ŋana,

Here they make (a trap of) what's-it?, of grass, it is good. Also they make one there (on the other side), it is good. Three of them — one they put here, there on the east side; another here in the middle; another there on the west side, that also. They go and put them (there).

## 4.10

gunmuk-bugi? ba-ga-ŋey?, gu-mal-karkarbaɖ ba-ga-ŋey?,  
*night-still 3Pl-Sub-rise GU-time-daybreak 3Pl-Sub-rise*

ba-ɖu-ni ba-waŋ?-ɖu-ni, a-jeñ-uŋ yanači ni-ki-?  
*3Pl-go-Pr 3Pl-look-Aug-Pr A-fish-Abs long time here*

garkala-w, a-jeñ-uŋ, a-ja-gaŋi, bara-geyk-ɖa-ni a-balaka-yung  
*above A-now-many 3Pl/A-throw-Aug-Pr A-first-Abs*

o-wolo-yung bara-geyk-ɖa-ni, ba-ɖu-ni bara-yo-ŋana,  
*A-that-Abs 3Pl-go-Pr 3Pl/A-put in-Pr*

They get up just before dawn. They get up, go (to the river), and look. There are many fish (who have become heaped up) to the top long since. They throw them (onto the bank) first, they go and put them in (coolimans or other containers).

## 4.11

malk-wiripu-yung ba-ga-buŋa-n-jini ba-ga-waŋ?-ɖu-ni,  
*times-other-Abs 3Pl-Sub-rush-Aug-Pr 3Pl-Sub-look-Aug-Pr*

a-ja-bir-ti-na      a-ja-man-bir-ti-na      agu-ga-geyk-da-ni,  
*A-now-many-Inch-Pr*      *-group-*      *GU/A-Sub-throw-Aug-Pr*

gu-jark-du-yuṅ      gu-wolo-tu-yuṅ,      gu-wolo-yuṅ,      gu-wolo-yuṅ  
*GU-water-Erg-Abs*      *GU-that-Erg-Abs*      *GU-that-Abs*

ñara-bu-č-may?,

*Other times they go running along, looking. There are many (fish) which that water has thrown. We do not kill that kind of thing.*

4.12

gu-jark      gu-wolo      gu-ga-work,      gu-ga-buṅa-n-jini,  
*GU-water*      *GU-that*      *GU-Sub-be outside*      *GU-Sub-rush-Aug-Pr*

gu-wolo-tu      gu-ja-bun-geyk-da-ni      a-jeñ-uṅ      ni-ču-?,  
*GU-that-Erg*      *GU-now-water-throw-Aug-Pr*      *A-fish-Abs*      *this way*

garakaḍi-č,      ñaru-ga-balaṅa-ni      gu-wolo-yuṅ      gu-jara,  
*down-All*      *1Plex/GU-Sub-attach-Pr*      *GU-that-Abs*      *GU-what's it?*

gu-mulmu-yuṅ      ña-či-ñ      a-ga-rukba-n-jini,      a-jeñ-uṅ,      gu-wolo-yuṅ  
*GU-grass-Abs*      *that way*      *A-Sub-fall-Aug-Pr*      *A-fish-Abs*      *GU-that-Abs*

ñara-ja-mani-ma-ni      ña-ki-ñ      gu-wolo-gi.  
*1Plex/A-now-Rdp-get-Pr*      *there*      *GU-that-Loc*

*That water rushes along outside. That (water) throws the fish this way, downward. We attach that what's-it?, the grass, there where the fish are falling. Then we pick them up, there in that (grass).*

TEXT 5 (Sam)

Travelling and Collecting Vegetables, Honey and Eggs

5.1

ñačuweleñ-uṅ      ba-ja-jor?,      gu-wiriṅpu-gič,      ba-ruḍu-ni:::,  
*then-Abs*      *3Pl-now-shift*      *GU-other-All*      *3Pl-Rdp-go-Pr*

maṅga?      gu-jark      bargu-ña-čini,      gu-jark      bargu-ña-čini,  
*maybe*      *GU-water*      *3Pl/GU-see-Pr*

ba-waṅ?-du-ni      gu-jark      gu-waṅar,      gu-ni-?      gu-bun-buṅa-n-jini  
*3Pl-look-Aug-Pr*      *GU-huge*      *GU-this-Ø*      *GU-water-rush-Aug-Pr*

gu-garpal,      'gu-ḍer?ḍer      ñar-ima-ṅaṅ-?',<sup>1</sup>  
*GU-big*      *GU-strong*      *1PlexIn-do that-Fut-Ø*

*Then they shift camps, they go to another place. Maybe they see a body of water, they see the water. They look, (they see) a huge body of water. This big water (i.e. river) is rushing along. (They say,) 'It is strong, what will we do?'*

<sup>1</sup>A fuller form here would be 'gu-ḍer?ḍer, miri? ñar-ima-ṅaṅ-?'. The interrogative particle miri? is usually found with the verb -(y)ima- in the 'to do what?' construction.

5.2

gu-wali      ḍumur?,      gu-wali-yuṅ      baṅ      gu-waṅar,      ba-ja-wor-du-ni  
*GU-wood*      *break off*      *-Abs*      *get*      *GU-huge*      *3Pl-now-swim-Aug-Pr*

gu-wolo-tu,      ba-ga-wo:::r      ḍarguṅa?,      geyk,      ba-bir      maṅga?  
*GU-that-Inst*      *3Pl-Sub-swim*      *other side*      *throw*      *Pl-many*      *maybe*

ba-ga-wor-du-ni,      gu-wolo      ba-na?-waki-na      gu-wali-tu-yuṅ,  
*-Sub-*      *GU-that*      *3Pl-still-return-Pr*      *GU-wood-Inst-Abs*

*(They) break off a tree, they get a large tree trunk. Then they swim across with that. They swim to the other side. (They) throw (the tree into the river). Maybe many people swim across. Then they go back with the tree trunk (to get the others).*

5.3

ma-canoë-yuṅ      ma-yaku,      gu-wali-tu      gu-wolo-yuṅ  
*MA-*      *-Abs*      *MA-absent*      *GU-wood-Inst*      *GU-that-Abs*

ñar-ga?-wor-du-ṅi,      gu-wali-tu,      gu-jark-yuṅ      maṅga?,  
*1Plex-Sub-Dur-swim-Aug-PCon*      *GU-wood-Inst*      *GU-water-Abs*      *maybe*

gu-waṅar,      ñar-uḍu-ni:::      ñar-waṅ?,      mo-!oñjo-gi-yuṅ,  
*GU-huge*      *1Plex-go-Pr*      *1Plex-look*      *MA-mud-Loc-Abs*

ñargu-ruṅ?,      gu-wolo-yuṅ<sup>1</sup>      mo-!oñjo-yuṅ      ma-waṅar-yuṅ,  
*1Plex/GU-bypass*      *GU-that-Abs*      *MA-mud-Abs*      *MA-huge-Abs*

*There were no canoes. We used to swim across with tree trunks. Maybe the body of water is immense. We go along, we look around in the mud. We go around it, that huge area of mud.*

5.4

maṅga?      ña-ki-ñ      ñar-ga-yu-ḍa,      ñar-yu-ḍa,      ñar-yu-ḍa  
*maybe*      *there*      *1Plex-Sub-sleep-Pr*

ñar-yu-ḍa,      gu-wolo      gu-jolko-yuṅ      gu-ga-ḍer?ḍer-ḍi-na  
*GU-that*      *GU-ground-Abs*      *GU-Sub-firm-Inch-Pr*

ñar-uḍu-ni,      gu-ma:k,      gu-jolko-ma:k,      gu-wolo-yuṅ      bulkuy  
*1Plex-go-Pr*      *GU-good*      *GU-ground-good*      *GU-that-Abs*      *alright*

ñar-uḍu-ni,      ñar-ga-ruḍu-ni      ñar-waṅ?-du-ni      gu-ḍalwaṅ-gi-yuṅ,  
*1Plex-go-Pr*      *1Plex-Sub-go-Pr*      *1Plex-look-Aug-Pr*      *GU-cave-Loc-Abs*

*Maybe we sleep there, we sleep, we sleep, we sleep (i.e. we spend four nights there). When the ground becomes firmer we move on. It is good, the ground is good. Alright we go along then. We look around in caves as we go.*

<sup>1</sup>In this and the preceding word the GU class was incorrectly used for the MA class.

## 5.5

ñar-waŋ? dagu a-jeñ-uŋ, mal-kalič-uŋ ñar-woyk,  
 1PLEx-look (?) A-fish-Abs times-some-Abs 1PLEx-fish(verb)  
 ñar-ga-woyk, mal-kalič-uŋ ñara-ǵar?-ǵa-ni, ñara-ŋu-čini,  
 -Sub- 1PLEx/A-spear-Aug-Pr 1PLEx/A-eat-Pr  
 gu-ǵaŋič ñargu-ma-ni, ñar-warǵa-ni ñara-ŋu-čini  
 GU-fire 1PLEx/GU-get-Pr 1PLEx-make fire-Pr 1PLEx/A-eat-Pr  
 a-bu|ku,  
 A-cooked

We look around (for) fish. Sometimes we go fishing (with hook and line). Sometimes we spear them. We eat them, we get fire(wood), we build up a fire and eat them cooked.

## 5.6

ǵačuweleñ ñar-ga-ŋey?, gu-wolo-yuŋ gu-ǵakiǵič-gu yanači  
 then 1PLEx-Sub-rise GU-that-Abs GU-vegetable-Dat  
 ñar-ja-ruǵu-ni, ma-ja-burpa?-gu, ma-ǵatam-gu,  
 1PLEx-now-go-Pr MA-now-water lily roots-Dat MA-water lily fruit-Dat  
 gu-jaw?jaw-gu, ñaru-ga-ŋu-čini, ba-ǵiŋ? yanači  
 GU-water lily stem-Dat 1PLEx/GU-Sub-eat-Pr Pl-woman  
 ba-ja-wu|up, ba-ja-ǵiŋ?-gu, maŋga? ma-guyk  
 3Pl-now-bathe Pl-now-woman-Dat maybe MA-water lily sp.  
 barma-ma-ni, ma-guyk, mo-wolo ñarma-ŋu-čini, maŋga?  
 3Pl/MA-get-Pr MA-that 1PLEx/MA-eat-Pr maybe  
 ma-ǵatam, ma-burpa? ñarma-ŋu-čini,

Then we get up and leave. We are going now (looking) for vegetable food instead of meat, for water lily root corms, fruits, and stems — we eat that. The women go into the water, (that work) is for women. Maybe they get guyk (*Aponogeton elongatus*), we eat that. Maybe water lily fruits and root corms (of the principal water lily spp.), we eat that.

## 5.7

buluki? ma-jalma barma-ma-ni, ma-jalma-yuŋ, barma-ǵa|?,  
 also MA-yam sp. 3Pl/MA-get-Pr 3Pl/MA-roast  
 barma-yo-ŋana, barma-ga-ma-ni, mo-wolo-yuŋ ma-jara-yuŋ,  
 3Pl/MA-put in-Pr 3Pl/MA-Sub-get-Pr MA-that-Abs MA-what's it?-Abs  
 barma-ǵaw?-ǵu-ni::: gu-ni-ñ, barma-ga-ǵa|?,  
 3Pl/MA-skin-Aug-Pr that's all 3Pl/MA-Sub-roast  
 ma-ja-bolk-ǵu-ni, ma-gu|a?-ŋuǵayi-yuŋ, barma-geyk, barma-geyk  
 MA-now-appear-Aug-Pr MA-skin-its-Abs 3Pl/MA-throw

ma-gu|a?-yuŋ gu-ni-ñ, barma-ja-ǵet-ǵu-ni,  
 MA-skin-Abs that's all 3Pl/MA-now-slice-Aug-Pr

They get round yams (*Dioscorea ?sativa var. rotunda*) and roast them. They put those what's-it? (round yams) into (containers) when they get them. They skin them, they roast them. Their skin comes off. They throw the skin away, and that is that. They slice them up.

## 5.8

a-ǵirk-yuŋ, ñara-ga-yaw, a-murpungu|a-yuŋ ñara-ga-yaw,  
 A-euro-Abs 1PLEx/A-Sub-spear A-male euro-Abs  
 o-wolo-|u-yuŋ gu-beŋemelk-yuŋ, bargu-ja-ma-ni,  
 A-that-Inst-Abs GU-shoulder blade-Abs 3Pl/GU-now-get-Pr  
 bargu-yiw?, gu-ja-ŋamulu-bi|?-mak-ǵi-na,  
 3Pl/GU-scrape GU-now-indeed-sharp point-good-Inch-Pr  
 a-bi|?-yuŋ, mo-wolo-|u, barma-ga-ǵet, ma-jalma-yuŋ,  
 A-sharp point-Abs MA-that-Inst 3Pl/MA-Sub-slice MA-round yam-Abs  
 We spear a euro, a male euro. With that (we slice the round yams). We get the shoulder blade, we scrape it, (so that) it is good and sharp now. With that we slice up the round yams.

## 5.9

a-ǵaŋǵiya?-gi, barma-ja-yo-ŋana, barma-ga-yo-ŋana mo-wolo  
 A-mat-Loc 3Pl/MA-now-put in-Pr -Sub- MA-that  
 ma-ŋič-uŋ, barma-ja-yo-ŋana gu-ja-ŋ-kič, ǵarakaǵi?,  
 MA-food-Abs 3Pl/MA-now-put in-Pr GU-water-All below  
 gu-ja-ŋk-wala-yuŋ ñar-yu-ǵa,  
 GU-water-Abl-Abs 1PLEx-sleep-Pr  
 We put that food on mats. We put it in the water, under (the water's surface). (We go away) from the water and sleep.

## 5.10

maŋga? ǵuŋmuk, ba-ga-ŋey?, barma-ma-ni::: gu-ni-ñ  
 maybe night 3Pl-Sub-rise 3Pl/MA-get-Pr that's all  
 gu-ǵila-gič barma-ja-yo-ŋana, gu-wolo-yuŋ  
 GU-cooliman-All 3Pl/MA-now-put in-Pr GU-that-Abs  
 ma-ja-goč-ǵi-na, ma-baŋǵi-ǵi-na, balaka  
 MA-now-sweet-Inch-Pr MA-bitter-Inch-Pr before  
 ñarma-ga-yo-ŋana, ma-ja-goč-ǵi-na, early fellow-yuŋ,  
 1PLEx/MA-Sub-put in-Pr MA-now-sweet-Inch-Pr early morning-Abs  
 ñar-ga-ŋey?, ma-ja-goč-ǵi-na, ñarma-ja-ŋu-čini  
 1PLEx-Sub-rise MA-now-sweet-Inch-Pr 1PLEx/MA-now-eat-Pr

ma-ja-ma:k, ma-baŋŋ-?may? ma-yaku,  
 MA-now-good MA-bitter-Neg MA-absent

Maybe at night they get up and get (the round yams). They put them in coolimans. They are good and sweet now. Before, when they put them in (the water) they were bad-tasting, but they are good-tasting now (after soaking in the water). Early in the morning we get up. They (the round yams) are good-tasting. We eat them, they are good. They are not at all bad-tasting.

5.11

ŋačuweleñ-uŋ ñar-ga-ŋey?, buluki?-yung ñar-ga-ŋey?,  
 then-Abs 1Plex-Sub-rise again-Abs  
 gu-wolo-yung ñar-ja-ŋudu-ni ŋi-guŋ-gu, mal-kalič-uŋ  
 GU-that-Abs 1Plex-now-go-Pr NI-honey-Dat times-other-Abs  
 gu-jolko-gič ñaru-ŋa-čini ŋi-guŋ-yung,  
 GU-ground-All 1Plex/NI-see-Pr NI-honey-Abs

Then we get up (and set off) again. We go (looking) for honey. Some-times we see honey (bees) in the ground.

5.12

ñar-ga-ŋur? ŋi-guđan-yung, ŋi-guđan gu-wolo-yung, ŋi-wolo-yung,  
 1Plex-Sub-dig NI-bee sp.-Abs GU-that-Abs NI-that-Abs  
 gu-jara-yung,<sup>1</sup> ñaru-ga-maka-na ŋi-guđan, gu-jolko-gič  
 GU-what's it?-Abs 1Plex/NI-Sub-call-Pr GU-ground-All  
 ŋi-ga-walk, gu-ni-ñ ñaru-ma-ni, ñaru-ma-ni,  
 NI-Sub-go in that's all 1Plex/NI-get-Pr

We dig (for honey of) guđan bees. That is guđan, we call it what's-it?, 'guđan'. It goes into the ground (whereas most other bees live in hollow trees). We get it.

5.13

ñar-waŋ?-du-ni gu-bot,<sup>2</sup> ŋi-bot-gu ñaru-bak-waŋ?,  
 1Plex-look-Aug-Pr GU-bee NI-bee-Dat 1Plex/NI-Ben-look  
 buluki?-yung ŋi-bot-juŋ ŋi-ga-yaku-đi-na, ñaru-bak-waŋ?,  
 also-Abs -Abs NI-Sub-absent-Inch-Pr  
 ŋi-jara-ku ŋi-biđi-ku ñar-waŋ?-du-ni ŋi-ŋu-đa,  
 NI-what's it?-Dat NI-wax-Dat 1Plex-look-Aug-Pr NI-sit-Pr

<sup>1</sup>GU class forms are used here twice incorrectly for NI class forms (gu-wolo-yung, gu-jara-yung).

<sup>2</sup>Should be ŋi-bot, and the narrator corrects his mistake in the next word.

'ŋi-guŋ-?ñirayi' ñar-ima-na-?, ñar-ja-ŋur?, ñar-ga-ŋur?,  
 NI-honey-our(PLEx) 1Plex-say-Pr-∅ 1Plex-now-dig -Sub-

ŋi-guŋ ñaru-ja-ŋa-čini, ñar-ga-gawer?, gu-jolko-wala-yung,  
 NI-honey 1Plex/NI-now-see-Pr 1Plex-Sub-open up GU-ground-Abl-Abs

We watch the bees. We look for bees. Then we look for bees disappearing (into their hives). We look for what's-it?, for beeswax, sitting (at the entrance to the hive). We say, '(It is) our honey'. We dig then, and see the honey (inside). We open it up from the ground.

5.14

buluki?-yung garkala-w ñaru-ga-ŋa-čini ñar-ja-đo-ni,  
 also-Abs above 1Plex/NI-Sub-see-Pr 1Plex-now-chop-Pr  
 a-mumba?-du, ñar-ga-ŋudu-ni, ñar-ja-ŋudu-ni, ñar-ga-ŋudu-ni,  
 A-metal axe-Inst 1Plex-Sub-go-Pr 1Plex-now-go-Pr

We also see some (honey) above (in the trees). We chop it down with a metal axe. We go then, we go.

5.15

ŋačuweleñ gu-ga-wa|ir-|i-na, ñaru-ga-ŋa-čini  
 then GU-Sub-sun-Inch-Pr 1Plex/GU-Sub-see-Pr  
 gu-ga-wa|ir-|i-na, gu-ja-ga|aŋ-gu, yanači ñar-ja-ŋudu-ni  
 GU-now-egg-Dat long time 1Plex-now-go-Pr  
 gu-ga|aŋ-gu,  
 GU-egg-Dat

Then when the weather gets hot, when we see that it is getting hot, we go for a long time looking for eggs.

5.16

gu-jolko-bič ñar-ga-waŋ?, ñar-ga-waŋ?-du-ni  
 GU-ground-Per 1Plex-Sub-look 1Plex-Sub-look-Aug-Pr  
 ñar-ja-ŋa-čini, gu-wolo-yung a-bakara-yung<sup>1</sup> a-ga-ŋal?,  
 1Plex-now-see-Pr GU-that-Abs A-tortoise-Abs A-Sub-go up  
 ñara-mani-ma-ni::: ñara-ja-ŋa-ŋana, mal-kalič-uŋ  
 1Plex/A-Rđp-get-Pr 1Plex/A-now-burn-Pr times-other-Abs  
 ñargu-wa|at-bu-mana, gu-ga|aŋ-yung, gu-wolo  
 1Plex/GU-cook in ashes-Aux-Pr GU-egg-Abs GU-that

<sup>1</sup>Here a-bakara-yung has been put in as an emendation at the narrator's request. The tape has something like gu-ga|aŋ-yung 'egg'.



ñargu-ŋu-čini buluki?-yuŋ.  
1Plex/GU-eat-Pr also-Abs

We look around the ground. We look, we see (something). Long-necked tortoises (*Chelodina rugosa*) have gone up (onto the river bank). We get them and cook them on an open fire. Sometimes we cook them in ashes. We also eat (their) eggs.

TEXT 6 (Sam)

Hunting and Cooking Emus

6.1

maŋga? ñar-yu-đa ñar-yu-đa, ñar-yu-đa, ñar-ŋey?,  
maybe 1Plex-sleep-Pr 1Plex-rise

guŋukubič ñar-ja-ŋey?, guŋmu-kuŋmuk ñar-ja-ŋey?,  
early morning -now- at daybreak

ñar-ič-ŋa-čini 'a-wurpaŋ-gič ŋa-ruđu-ŋ',  
1Plex-mind-hear-Pr A-emu-All 1Sg-go-Fut

ñara-ja-waŋđa-rič ñar-uđu-ni, gu-|ere|ere?  
1Plex/A-now-track-look for 1Plex-go-Pr GU-shrub sp.

ñargu-ŋa-čini, ma-buruŋburuŋ? ñar-ga:-kaŋu-ni  
1Plex/GU-see-Pr MA-vine sp. 1Plex-around-see-Pr

ma-buruŋburuŋ?-bič,  
-Per

We might sleep for three nights (at one camp). Then we get up early in the morning, right at dawn. We think, 'I am going (hunting) for emus.' We go looking for tracks. We see |ere|ere? bush (*Bossia bossiaoides*), we go looking around buruŋburuŋ? vine (*Cassytha filiformis*). (Emus eat the fruits of these plants.)

6.2

ñar-uđu-ni, ñar-ič-ŋa-čini a-ja-ñawk,  
1Plex-go-Pr 1Plex-mind-hear-Pr A-now-speak

ñara-ja-yaŋ-gaŋu-ni ŋa-či-ñ-uŋ, ñara-ga-yaŋ-gaŋu-ni:::,  
1Plex/A-now-voice-chase-Pr that way -Sub-

'mala?-ič-wo ŋara-ga-ŋa-n', ñar-ima-na-?, 'mala?-ič-wo',  
when? 1Sg/A-Sub-see-Fut 1Plex-think-Pr-Ø

We go along, we think we hear them talking. We follow the sound of their voices that way. We think, 'When will I see them?'

6.3

a-ja-buruburu? yanači a-ga-ñawk,  
A-now-nearby long time A-Sub-spear

ñara-ja-bak-buruburu?-đi-ni (emended), gu-yaŋ-yuŋ  
1Plex/A-now-Ben-nearby-Inch-Pr GU-voice-Abs

ñaru-ga-gaŋu-ni, ñar-uđu-ni:::, gu-đu|?-yuŋ đumur?,  
1Plex/GU-Sub-chase-Pr 1Plex-go-Pr GU-branches-Abs break off

buruburu? yanači, gu-đu|?-yuŋ đumur?, garkala-č garakađi-č  
nearby long time above-All below-All

gu-đu|?-yuŋ ñaru-ga-yo-ŋana gu-maŋ-gi-yuŋ,  
1Plex/GU-Sub-put in-Pr GU-hand-Loc-Abs

They are gradually getting closer, they are making noises. We get closer to them. We follow the sound of their voices. We go along, we break off some branches to be used for camouflage. They are getting closer. We break off branches, (holding them) high and low (in front of our bodies), putting them in our hands.

6.4

ma-gami-yuŋ ma-wangiñ?, mo-boŋđok, bugan? ñara-ja-ŋa-čini,  
MA-spear-Abs MA-one MA-woomera there! 1Plex/A-now-see-Pr

ñara-ga-ŋa-čini, ñar-ja-bu|?bu|, gu-đu|?-yuŋ bap,  
1Plex/A-Sub-see-Pr 1Plex-now-sneak up GU-branches-Abs put on

rađi ñargu-ja-yo-ŋana, gu-wolmo-gi, gu-mo:-ku<sup>1</sup>  
in front 1Plex/GU-now-put-on Pr GU-face-Loc GU-knee-Dat

ñaru-ga-yo-ŋana gu-wolo gu-đu|?-yuŋ,  
1Plex/GU-Sub-put on-Pr GU-that

One spear (and) a woomera. We see (emus), there! Having seen them, we sneak up now, putting branches (as camouflage) in front (of our bodies), over our faces. We put those branches over our knees.

6.5

ñara-ja-bu|?bu|?gu|a-ni, ñar-ga-bu|?bu|?đu-ni:::  
1Plex/A-now-sneak up-Dir-Pr 1Plex-Sub-sneak up-Aug-Pr

buruburu?-burkayi gu-go? yanači ñara-go?-ŋa-čini,  
nearby-really GU-eye long time 1Plex/A-eye-see-Pr

gu-go?-bugi? ñara-ga-go?-ŋa-čini, gu-go? ñara-go?-ŋa-čini  
GU-eye-only -Sub-

yanači buruburu?,

We sneak up on them now, we sneak up. We are very close, we see their eyes. We look only at their eyes. We are close.

<sup>1</sup>The tape has gu-mo:-gu, but Sandy (with whom this text was transcribed and analysed) insisted that gu-mo:-ku was correct. I could not recheck with Sam on this point, but I feel that Sandy is right.

gamakun?-burkayi ħara-ga-yaw, gu-wiṛipu?-may? ħara-ga-yaw,  
 properly-really 1Plex/A-Sub-spear GU-other-Neg  
 gu-ḡarpič-gi-burkayi ħara-ga-yaw, ħar-ga-wut,  
 GU-upper leg-Loc-really 1Plex-Sub-throw spear  
 ħar-ja-ṛam-ḡa-ni gu-ḡarpič-gi bugan? a-ḡarpič-ḡonk  
 1Plex-now-spear-Aug-Pr there! A-upper leg-break  
 a-ga-wop-ḡu-ni, a-ja-ṛukba-n-jini,  
 A-Sub-jump-Aug-Pr A-now-fall-Aug-Pr

Then we really spear them properly, we spear them right in the upper leg. We throw spears and spear them in the upper leg. Their upper legs break, they jump and fall down.

'a-wara?-ḡinani ḡaṛa-ga-ḡu-nun', ħar-ima-na-?,  
 A-game-my 1Sg/A-Sub-eat-Fut 1Plex-think-Pr-∅  
 ħar-ja-miḡam?, ħara-ga-ganda-ḡerp ħara-ga-maḡa-ḡerp,  
 1Plex-now-pleased 1Plex/A-Sub-leg-tie up -neck-  
 ħara-ja-biḡey?, baṭa-gaḡaḡaḡja?-wič ħar-uḡu-ni:::,  
 1Plex/A-now-carry Com-feather-having 1Plex-go-Pr

We think, '(It is) my game. I will eat it.' We are pleased. We tie up their legs and necks, and carry them (on our shoulders) with their feathers still on their bodies.

'ḡi-ki-? maḡa? ḡaṛa-ga-ḡa!?-ḡu-ḡ, ḡi-ki-?  
 here maybe 1Sg/A-Sub-roast-Aug-Fut  
 ḡaṛa-ga-ḡa!?-ḡu-ḡ', ħar-ima-na-?, ħar-ja-yima-na-?,  
 1Plex-think-Pr-∅ 1Plex-now-think-Pr-∅  
 gu-bal geyk, gu-bal-yuḡ ħargu-ja-ma-ni, gu-bal  
 GU-firewood throw -Abs 1Plex/GU-now-get-Pr  
 ħargu-ma-ni gu-ni-ñ, ħar-ja-jaḡa, ħar-ga-jaḡa,  
 that's all 1Plex-now-use firestick  
 ħargu-ja-ḡul?-ḡuba-na gu-ḡoṭo?-yuḡ baṭ,  
 1Plex/GU-now-light-Caus-Pr GU-grass-Abs get  
 gu-ḡoṭo?-gi bap, ħar-ga-bu?, gu-wolo gu-ḡaḡič-uḡ  
 -Loc put on 1Plex-Sub-blow GU-that GU-fire-Abs  
 ħargu-ja-yo-ḡana, gu-ḡaḡič-uḡ, gu-ja-way?, gu-wolo  
 1Plex/GU-now-put on-Pr GU-now-spread  
 gu-ḡaḡič yanači gu-ḡaki-na gu-bal-yuḡ, gu-bal-yuḡ  
 long time GU-burn-Pr

We think, 'Maybe I will roast it here, I will roast it here.' We throw firewood, we get firewood now. We get firewoose, then we rub firesticks. When we rub the firesticks we set fire to the grass. We get grass, we put (the flame) on the grass and blow it. We put the flames in (the fire), the fire spreads, the firewood burns for a long time, the firewood burns now.

yanači ma-jet-gič ħar-ja-ṛuḡu-ni, gu-buṭ  
 long time MA-oven-All 1Plex-now-go-Pr GU-ant mound  
 ħaru-ga-ma-ni, gu-jundu?-may?, gu-buṭ, ħargu-ma-ni  
 1Plex/GU-Sub-get-Pr GU-stone-Neg 1Plex/GU-get-Pr  
 gu-ni-ñ, ħar-ga-waki-na, ħargu-ja-yo-ḡana  
 that's all 1Plex-Sub-return-Pr 1Plex/GU-now-put in-Pr  
 gu-bal-gi garkala-w, gu-ja-ḡaki-na gu-wolo-yuḡ  
 GU-firewood-Loc above GU-now-burn-Pr GU-that-Abs  
 gu-buṭ-juḡ,  
 GU-ant mound-Abs

We go away for a while to (find materials for) a native oven. We get (chunks from) antmounds - not stones, antmounds. (Stones are preferred, but are often difficult to obtain.) We get them, then we go back and put them on top of the (burning) firewood. The antmounds burn.

ħara-ja-wur?, gaḡaḡaḡja?-wur?, ħara-gaḡaḡja?-wu:::r?,  
 1Plex/A-now-pluck feather-pluck 1Plex/A-feather-pluck  
 gu-ni-ñ, ħar-uḡu-ni gu-balpa-gi baṭ, mo-!oḡjo-yuḡ,  
 that's all 1Plex-go-Pr GU-river-Loc get MA-dry mud-Abs  
 mo-!oḡjo-yuḡ baṭ ħarma-ma-ni, ħara-ja-ḡiku-yowk-ḡa-ni  
 1Plex/MA-get-Pr 1Plex/A-now-raw-rub-Aug-Pr  
 ħara-ga-ḡiku-yo:::wk<sup>1</sup> gu-ni-ñ, ħara-ja-buypuy-ḡa-ḡana,  
 1Plex/A-Sub-raw-rub 1Plex/A-now-scorch-Aux-Pr  
 o-wolo-yuḡ a-wurpaḡ-yuḡ, ħara-ga-buypuy-ḡa-ḡana::: gu-ni-ñ,  
 A-that-Abs A-emu-Abs -Sub-  
 a-ja-clean fellow yanači a-ja-ḡuwa|kḡuwa|k yanači a-ga-bolk,  
 A-now- A-now-smooth A-Sub-appear

<sup>1</sup>This and the preceding word have been emended. The narrator incorrectly used -bu|ku- 'cooked, ripe' instead of -ḡiku- 'raw, unripe; dead'.



gumu-guik,

Then we remove the cooked body, we remove it (from its oven). We cut it in half at the waist. We cut through the fat. We cut (the fat), we cut it in half at the waist.

6.17

ñara-ga-n-jini, wiřipu yanači ñara-ja-yo-ñana, a-dangu  
1Plex/A-carry-Aug-Pr other 1Plex/A-now-put in-Pr A-meat

ñara-ga-đak gu-ni-ñ, gu-jař-ki-yuŋ, ñara-ga-đa:::k  
1Plex/A-Sub-cut that's all GU-water-Loc-Abs

gu-ni-ñ, ñara-ga-n-jini gu-rer-gi-yuŋ  
that's all 1Plex/A-carry-Aug-Pr GU-camp-Loc-Abs

ba-yul-gi-yuŋ, ba-đarpal-gi-yuŋ ñarbara-ja-wo-čini,  
Pl-person-Loc-Abs Pl-big-Loc-Abs 1Plex/3Pl-now-give-Pr

ñarbara-ga-wo-čini::: gu-ni-ñ, ja-boñ.  
-Sub- now-finish

We carry it. We put another (emu) in (the oven). We cut up the meat, and that is that. We cut it up, (we wash it) in water. We carry it into the camp, among the people, among the big people. We give it to them. Having given it to them, that is all, finished now.

TEXT 7 (Sam)

Hunting Kangaroos with Fire

7.1

ñar-ga-ŋu-đa ñar-ga-ney?, ñar-ič-ŋa-čini 'gu-wurk  
1Plex-Sub-sit-Pr 1Plex-Sub-rise 1Plex-mind-hear-Pr GU-bush fire

yanači nargu-ja-ŋi-yaŋ, gu-jara gu-ŋoŋo?  
1PlexIn/GU-now-burn-Fut GU-what's it? GU-grass

nargu-ga-ŋi-yaŋ, wala? nar-ga-řuđu-ŋ ŋi-ču-? ŋuri-č,  
-Sub- to where? 1PlexIn-Sub-go-Fut this way north-All

gu-jundu-waŋar-gič, ŋi-waŋgiñ?-yuŋ ŋi-ču-? gu-řawara,  
GU-stone-huge-All MaSg-one-Abs this way GU-east

ŋi-waŋgiñ?-yuŋ gu-ŋaŋi, ŋa-řuđu-ni, ŋi-yuŋ ŋi-ki-ñ  
-Abs GU-west 1Sg-go-Pr I-Abs here

ŋa-ga-ŋi-ñañ', ŋi-yima-na-?, ŋi-wolo-yuŋ ŋi-yul-yuŋ,  
1Sg-Sub-sit-Fut 3MaSg-say-Pr-∅ MaSg-that-Abs MaSg-man-Abs

We sit (in the camp), then we get up. We think, 'We will make bush fires. We will burn what's-it?, grass. Where will we go? (We will go) this way, north, toward the big stone (hill), one (boy) in the east, another in the west. I am going - or rather I will stay here,' says that man.

7.2

bari-yapan? maŋga?, bari-ga-ŋu-đa, bari-yapan?-bula-yuŋ,  
MaDu-two maybe 3MaDu-Sub-sit-Pr MaDu-two-Du-Abs

yanači gu-wurk-yuŋ bargu-ja-ŋa-ñana, bargu-ŋa-ñana:::  
GU-bush fire-Abs 3Pl/GU-now-burn-Pr

đap, bari-ja-wurk-walk, bari-ga-wurk-walk bari-waŋ?  
join 3MaDu-now-bush fire-go through -Sub- 3MaDu-look

bari-řuđu-ni,  
3MaDu-go-Pr

Maybe two (boys) are sitting there, two of them. They make bush fires. They burn them and join them (making a ring of small fires). They walk through the bush fires. They go looking around, going through the bush fires.

7.3

ŋi-řuđu-ni::: ŋi-wolo ŋi-yul-yuŋ, ŋiya-ŋa-čini maŋga?,  
3MaSg-go-Pr MaSg-that MaSg-man-Abs 3MaSg/A-see-Pr maybe

a-na-?-wala a-buŋa-n-jini, maŋga? a-ŋuđu-ŋu-đa  
A-that-∅-Abł A-rush-Aug-Pr A-Rđp-sit-Pr

a-bi|aŋ-bi|aŋ-đ-i-na ŋiya-ja-galka-n-jini,  
A-Rđp-lick-Aug-Refl-Pr 3MaSg/A-now-sneak up to-Aug-Pr

ŋiya-ga-galka-n-jini:::, gamakun? ŋiya-ga-yaw, ŋiya-galiñ,  
-Sub- properly 3MaSg/A-Sub-spear 3MaSg/A-hang

ŋiya-galiñ-đa-ni,  
3MaSg/A-hang-Aug-Pr

That man goes along. Maybe he sees (a euro) rushing along toward him. Maybe it is stopped ('sitting'), licking itself. He sneaks up to it. Having sneaked up to it, he really spears it good. He hangs it up.

7.4

buluki?-yuŋ a-waŋgiñ?-yuŋ buluki?-yuŋ ŋiya-na?-rič,  
also-Abs A-one-Abs 3MaSg-still-look for /A \*

ŋiya-ŋa-čini, a-ni-? a-waŋgiñ?-yuŋ, ŋiya-řam-đa-ni,  
3MaSg/A-see-Pr A-this A-one-Abs 3MaSg/A-spear-Aug-Pr

ŋi-na?-yima-na-? ŋi-wan-galu ŋi-waŋgiñ?-yuŋ,  
3MaSg-still-do that-Pr-∅ 3MaSg-Pron-other MaSg-one-Abs

ŋiya-na?-řam-đa-ni, ŋiya-galiñ-đa-ni, buluki?-yuŋ  
3MaSg/A-still-spear-Aug-Pr 3MaSg/A-hang-Aug-Pr also-Abs

ŋi-waŋgiñ?-yuŋ ŋiya-na?-řam-đa-ni ŋiya-galiñ, maŋga?  
MaSg-one-Abs maybe

a-yapan? maŋga? a-waŋgiñ?, a-mar-yapan? maŋga?, a-biř,  
A-two A-one A-hand-two A-many

He then goes looking for another one. He sees it, he spears this one. The other (boy) does that (also). He spears (euros) and hangs them up. The (other) one (i.e. the first boy) also spears them and hangs them up - maybe two (euros), maybe one, maybe ten ('two hands'), many of them.

7.5

bari-ja-waki-na,      bari-waki-na      a-yapan?-bula      balaka  
3MaDu-now-return-Pr      A-two-Du      first

bara-ga-n-jini      na-ki-?,      gu-jara-gi,      gu-jara-gi,  
3Pl/A-carry-Aug-Pr      there      GU-what's it?-Loc

gu-řer-gi,      gu-řer-?may?      muka      gu-jara,      gu-jara-gi  
GU-camp-Loc      GU-camp-Neg      indeed

bara-ga-da|?,      bara-geyk-da-ni,  
3Pl/A-Sub-roast      3Pl/A-throw-Aug-Pr

They both go back now. First they carry the two (euros) there, at what's-it?, at the camp - not the camp, the what's-it? (presumably a stopping-place). They roast them, they throw them down.

7.6

buluki?      bari-waki-na,      bara-ni-ma-ni,      bari-na?-řudu-ni  
also      3MaDu-return-Pr      3Pl/A-MaDu-get-Pr      3MaDu-still-go-Pr

\* bara-geyk,      'a-ñja      a-ñja?      nuřa-ga-řamda-ni'      nuřan-yuņ,  
3Pl/A-throw      A-what?      A-what?      2Sg/A-Sub-spear-PCon      you(Sg)-Abs

ñini-ja-yimi-n?guba-na      ni-wangiñ?-gič-uņ,      'may?,      a-wangiñ?  
3MaSg/3MaSg-now-say-Caus-Pr      3MaSg-one-All-Abs      Well,      A-one

\* buluki?      na-ki-?      nařa-řamd-i,      ñakuy      ña-řudu-ni',  
more      there      1Sg/A-spear-PCon      we(DuIn)      1DuIn-go-Pr

They go back again and get (other euros which they have hung up). They go and throw them (into the oven). 'How many (a-ñja a-ñja?) did you spear?', (one of them) asks the other. 'Well, I speared one more over there. Let's go.'

7.7

bari-ja-řudu-ni,      bari-řudu-ni      a-wangiñ?      bara-ja-ni-ma-ni,  
3MaDu-now-go-Pr      A-one      3Pl/A-now-MaDu-get-Pr

'a-wařar      a-ni-?-yuņ,      ñařa-ja-biđey?-da-ņ  
A-huge      A-this-∅-Abs      1DuIn/A-carry-Aug-Fut

ñunu-ja-help 'em?-du-ņ,      ñařa-biđey?-da-ņ',      ni-yima-na-?,  
2Sg/1Sg-now-help-Aug-Fut      1DuIn/A-carry-Aug-Fut      3MaSg-say-Pr-∅

They go then, they go and then they get that one (euro). 'This one is huge, let's carry it on our shoulders. You will help me, we will carry it on our shoulders', (one of them) says.

7.8

bara-ni-biđe::y?      geyk,      ni-wan-yuņ      buluki?-yuņ  
3Pl/A-MaDu-carry      throw      3MaSg-Pron-Abs      also-Abs

ni-wangiñ?-yuņ      bař,      niya-biđe::y?      ni-wangiñ?-du-yuņ  
MaSg-one-Abs      get      3MaSg/A-carry      MaSg-one-Erg-Abs

gu-ja-řer-gi,  
GU-now-camp-Atl

They carry it over their shoulders and throw it down. The other (boy) also gets (a euro) and carries it on his shoulders to the camp.

7.9

bara-ja-da|?,      bargu-ña-ñana      gu-daņič-uņ      gu-ni-ñ,  
3Pl/A-now-roast      3Pl/GU-burn-Pr      GU-fire-Abs      that's all

gu-bal-yuņ      baru-ga-ma-ni,      ma-jamba|yuņ      bargu-yo-ñana,  
GU-firewood-Abs      3Pl/GU-Sub-get-Pr      MA-oven-Abs      3Pl/GU-put in-Pr

buluki?      o-wolo-yuņ      a-dirk-yuņ      bara-ja-ni-ma-ni,  
also      A-that-Abs      A-euro-Abs      3Pl/A-now-MaDu-get-Pr

bara-ja-ganda-ņor,      bara-đerp-du-ni,      ma-jara-tu,  
3Pl/A-now-leg-break      3Pl/A-tie up-Aug-Pr      MA-what's it?-Inst

ma-jara      ma-|awar-tu      bara-ga-đerp,      bara-đe::rp      gu-ni-ñ,  
MA-string-Inst      3Pl/A-Sub-tie up

They roast them now. They make a campfire. They get firewood and put it in an oven. Then they get the euros and break their legs. They tie them up with what's-it?, with string. They tie them up, and that is that.

7.10

bara-ņuk-ma-ni,      a-gun-ga|i-yuņ      bara-đolo-gorřa-ni,  
3Pl/A-guts-get-Pr      A-fat-much-Abs      3Pl/A-stomach-put inside-Pr

a-gara-gun-ga|i-yuņ,      bara-ja-đolo-gorřa-ni,  
A-all-fat-much-Abs      -now-

bara-ja-worpom?-guba-na,      worpom?      bara-ja-đolo-gorřa-ni,  
3Pl/A-now-get plenty-Caus-Pr      get plenty      -now-

o-wolo-yuņ      a-ma:k-yuņ,      gu-wolo-yuņ<sup>1</sup>      bara-ga-da|?,  
A-that-Abs      A-good-Abs      GU-that-Abs      3Pl/A-Sub-roast

mo-đolo-woypoy?,      ma-řapara,      bara-ga-da|?,<sup>2</sup>  
MA-stomach-mixed with      MA-tail

They collect the guts. They put lots of fat inside the stomach. They put a lot of fat inside the stomach. That is good. They roast it together with the stomach. They roast its tail.

<sup>1</sup>Error for o-wolo-yuņ (A class, not GU class).

<sup>2</sup>Error for barma-ga-da|? (object is MA class, not A class).

7.11

ba-ja-ηu-qa,     ba-ηu-qa:::   bara-ja-wiri?,    bara-ga-wiri?,  
3Pl-now-sit-Pr       3Pl/A-now-remove       -Sub-

bara-ja-dak-du-ni,    gu-garpič-un       gu-yolbor   one side,  
3Pl/A-now-cut-Aug-Pr   GU-upper leg-Abs   GU-side

bara-ja-yo-ηana     gu-bala-wangiñ?   one side,   bargu-ja-yo-ηana,  
3Pl/A-now-put in-Pr   GU-side-one       3Pl/GU-

gu-bala-wangiñ?    buluki?-yung     bara-ga-dak,  
                  also-Abs       3Pl/A-Sub-cut

They wait for a while, then they remove (the carcass) from the oven. They cut it up. They put it down on one leg, on one side, then they put it on the other side and cut it up some more.

7.12

ηi-wolo-yung       ηi-jambač-wel-yung,   ma-jara-bugi?,  
MaSg-that-Abs    MaSg-hunter-owner-Abs   MA-what's it?-only

ma-ju|pun-bugi?,   ηima-ga-ma-ni,       ma-ju|pun   gu-jormor?  
MA-backbone-only   3MaSg/MA-Sub-get-Pr       GU-side at ribs

gu-|on,   baru-ga-ma-ni,       ηibara-wo-čini,       ηibara-ja-gař?,  
GU-head   3Pl/GU-Sub-get-Pr   3MaSg/3Pl-give-Pr       -now-use up

The man who hunted the euro takes only the backbone area. They (other people) take the rib section and the head. He gives it to them, he gives it to all of them.

7.13

gu-wolo-yung,   bara-ja-ηu-čini,   ba-walaman?-du   bara-ja-ηu-čini,  
GU-that-Abs    3Pl/A-now-eat-Pr   Pl-all-Erg

bara-ga-ηu-čini:::,   bara-ga-ηu-čini:::   gu-ga-na?-muk-du-ni  
                  -Sub-                    GU-Sub-still-get dark-Aug-Pr

ba-ja-yu-qa.  
3Pl-now-sleep-Pr

Then they eat it, all of them. They eat it. When it gets dark they sleep.

TEXT 8 (Sam)

Punishing a Wife-Stealer

8.1

ba-ja-ηu-qa,       ba-ηu-qa   o-wolo   a-dirk-yung   bara-ga-ηu-ni,  
3Pl-now-sit-Pr       A-that   A-euro-Abs   A-euro-Abs   3Pl/A-Sub-eat-PCon

ba-ja-ηu-qa,    añba   -ηa-ki-ñ   ηi-maramba?-yung  
                  other   -there       MaSg-wife stealer-Abs

ηi-ja-ηu-qa,       'ηi-na-ri       ηanu-mař-wur?-du-η',  
3MaSg-now-sit-Pr   MaSg-that-Imm   1Sg/3MaSg-hand-pluck-Aug-Fut

ηi-yima-na-?,    ηi-yima-na-?,   'ηar-diq?-yung    ηar-udu-η  
3MaSg-think-Pr-ø       2Pl-woman-Abs   2Pl-go-Fut

ma-burpa?-gič                    ma-datam-gič                    ηarma-mi-yaη',  
MA-water-lily root-All   MA-water lily fruit-All   2Pl/MA-get-Fut

ηi-wan-yung       yanači       ηa-ki-ñ   yanači   barguni-ja-ηa-čini,  
3MaSg-Pron-Abs   long time   there       3MaSg/3Pl-now-see-Pr

mař-wur?,  
hand-pluck

They ate sitting, they are sitting, they have eaten a euro. They are sitting. The other one, the wife-stealer, is sitting now. He thinks to himself, 'I will steal (the wife of) that man.' Someone says, 'You women go and get some water lily root corms and fruits!' As for him (the wife-stealer), he watches them for a while, then grabs (the man's wife).

8.2

'ηa-ni-?-yung       ηana-ga-n,                    ηayi-ku',   ba-diq?-yung  
FeSg-this-ø-Abs   1Sg/3FeSg-carry-Fut   mine       Pl-woman-Abs

barguni-yimi-n?guba-na,   ba-ja-waki-na       barba-ja-yimi-n?guba-na,  
3MaSg/3Pl-say-Caus-Pr   3Pl-now-return-Pr   3Pl/3Pl-now-say-Caus-Pr

'yanači   ηi-ni-?       ηi-rid-i,       ηi-wolo   yanači  
                  MaSg-this-ø     3MaSg-go-PPun   MaSg-that

barguni-ma-y,       ba-diq?-gič',  
3MaSg/3Pl-get-PPun   Pl-woman-All

He tells the women, 'I will carry this woman away, she is mine.' They go back (to the camp) and tell (the men), 'This man went and took some women.' (Actually he took only one woman.)

8.3

'ηi-na-ri       ηaru-bul-kařu-η,                    ηaru-yaw-du-η',  
MaSg-that-Imm   1PlIn/3MaSg-smoke-chase-Fut   1PlIn/3MaSg-spear-Aug-Fut

'may?   ηi-wangiñ?-du-yung   ηini-bul-kařu-η',  
No       MaSg-one-Inot-Abs   3MaSg/3MaSg-smoke-chase-Fut

ηini-ja-bul-kařu-ni,   ηini-ηa?-bul-kařu-ni   ηi-waη?-du-ni  
                  -now-                    -Pr                    -still-                    3MaSg-look-Aug-Pr

gu-gaηič-un    gu-bul,       ηini-bak-bolk,  
GU-fire-Abs   GU-smoke     3MaSg/3MaSg-Ben-appear

(One of the men says,) 'Let's chase him by following the smoke (from the fires he makes) and then spear him!' (Another man says,) 'No, one man will follow his smoke.' He follows his smoke now, looking at the fire and smoke. He comes out to confront him.

## 8.4

'nukar, nar-waki-ŋ, nar-ñawk-waydi-ŋ gamakun?,  
you(Du) 1PLIn-return-Fut 2PL-speak-Recip-Fut properly

nar-mili?-buydi-pu-ydi-Ø, nar-bu-ydi-ŋ one time,  
2PL-lest-Rdp-hit-Recip-Evit 2PL-hit-Recip-Fut

malk-wangiñ? nar-ga-bu-ydi-ŋ', ni-yima-na-?,  
time-one 2PL-Sub-hit-Recip-Fut 3MaSg-say-Pr-Ø

(He says to the wife-stealer and the woman,) 'You two! We will go back. You (and they) will discuss this thoroughly. Instead of fighting repeatedly, you all will have just one fight,' he says.

## 8.5

'yo:::, ña-waki-ŋ', ni-yima-na-?, ni-wan-galu,  
Yes 1DuIn-return-Fut 3MaSg-say-Pr-Ø 3MaSg-Pron-other

ba-ja-waki-na, ba-waŋ?-du-ni ni-na-ri-wala, ni-wolo-yuŋ,  
3PL-now-return-Pr 3PL-look-Aug-Pr MaSg-that-Imm-Abl MaSg-that-Abs

ni-ni-ga-mar-wur?-d-i-yiñuŋ-yuŋ,  
3MaSg/3MaSg-Sub-hand-pluck-Aug-PPun-Rel-Abs

The other man says, 'Yes, you and I will go back.' They all go back. They (the people in the camp) watch that one coming, the one who stole his (the proper husband's) wife.

## 8.6

yanači ni-ja-ŋey?, ni-ga-ŋey?-du-ni  
long time 3MaSg-now-rise 3MaSg-Sub-rise-Aug-Pr

ni-ni-ja-waŋa-kaŋu-ni, ni-ni-yaw-du-ni, ni-wop-du-ni,  
3MaSg/3MaSg-now-body-chase-Pr -spear-Aug-Pr 3MaSg-jump-Aug-Pr

ni-ni-yaw-d-i, ni-wop, ni-ni-yaw ni-wop, ni-ni-yaw ni-wop,  
-Aug-PPun

ni-ma-ga-warjaka-na ni-ni-ja-yaw, ni-ni-ga-yaw-du-ni,  
3MaSg/MA-Sub-be bad-Pr 3MaSg/3MaSg-now-spear -Sub-

gamakun? ni-ni-ga-yaw-du-ni ni-ja-wati-na ni-wolo  
properly 3MaSg-now-die-Pr MaSg-that

ni-yul-yuŋ, ni-wolo ni-|irič-uŋ, ñaru-ga-maka-na  
MaSg-man-Abs MaSg-that MaSg-culprit-Abs 1PLEx/3MaSg-Sub-call-Pr

ni-|irič, ni-wolo-tu-yuŋ ni-ni-ja-yaw ñamulu-yaw,  
MaSg-that-Erg-Abs indeed-spear

ni-ja-wati-na, ni-wolo-yuŋ ni-ja-wati-na,  
3MaSg-now-die-Pr MaSg-that-Abs 3MaSg-now-die-Pr

After a while (e.g. the next day) he (the proper husband) gets up and chases him (the wife-stealer). He throws spears at him, but he jumps away. He throws a spear, he jumps away. He throws a spear, he jumps

away. If he is bad at (dodging) them (the spears), he (the husband) will spear him good and he will die, the culprit. We call him '|irič' (culprit). That one (the husband) spears him good, and he dies now, that one dies now.

## 8.7

ni-ruđu-ni na-ki-?, barguni-bak-waki-na, |irgi-yuŋ  
3MaSg-go-Pr there 3MaSg/3PL-Ben-return-Pr corroborate-Abs

ba-ga-ŋu-ða mala?-ič-wolo ni-ga-waki-na,  
3PL-Sub-sit-Pr at that time 3MaSg-Sub-return-Pr

ba-ga-gačal-ma-ni, ni-ja-waki-na mala?-ič-wolo, 'ŋaya-tu  
3PL-Sub-dance-Aux-Pr -now- I-Erg

ŋanu-ga-yaw-d-i' ni-yima-na-?, ba-yul-tu  
1Sg/3MaSg-Sub-spear-Aug-PPun 3MaSg-say-Pr-Ø PL-person-Erg

ba-juŋam-du baru-ja-ŋar?-du-ni  
PL-war party-Erg 3PL/3MaSg-now-throw spears at-Aug-Pr

baru-ja-ŋam-đa-ni, 'may? ñana-ŋam-đi-č-i  
3PL/3MaSg-now-spear-Aug-Pr No 2PL/1Sg-spear-Aug-Neg-Fut

aru ŋaguni-mar-wur?-d-i' ni-yima-na-?,  
because 3MaSg/1Sg-hand-pluck-Aug-PPun 3MaSg-say-Pr-Ø

barguni-ja-yimi-n?guba-na.  
3MaSg/3PL-now-say-Caus-Pr

He (the husband) then goes back there to them (the people in the camp), who are having a corroborate at the time when he returns. When he gets back they are dancing and having fun. He says, 'I have speared him.' Many of the people (e.g. relatives of the dead man) begin to throw spears at him, they are (trying to) spear him. But he says, 'You should not spear me, because he ran off with my wife.' (Because the killing had clearly been justified the dead man's relatives had no right to retaliate.)

## TEXT 9 (Sam)

## Sorcery

## 9.1

ni-ni-ŋa-čini, ni-ni-ŋa-čini ni-waŋ?-du-ni,  
3MaSg/3MaSg-see-Pr 3MaSg-look-Aug-Pr

ni-na-ri-tu ŋarguni-ga-bidič-yaw, ŋarguni-ŋam-đa-ni  
MaSg-that-Imm-Erg 3MaSg/2PL-Sub-nearly-spear -spear-Aug-Pr

manga? barguni-ŋam-đi  
maybe 3MaSg/3PL-spear-Aug-PPun

He sees him (someone he dislikes), he looks. That one almost spears you, he throws spears at you. Maybe he spears someone.

## 9.2

malk-iri-wala baru-ja-bak-ñawk, ba-ñawk-waydi-na,  
*time-after-Abl 3Pl/3MaSg-now-Ben-talk 3Pl-talk-Recip-Pr*

'ŋaru-yimi-n?guba-ɾaŋ, a-jara ma-jara  
*1PlIn/3MaSg-do-Caus-Fut A-what's it? MA-what's it?*

ŋaru-bak-mi-yaŋ, gu-juɬ maŋga? gu-jara  
*1PlIn/3MaSg-Ben-get-Fut GU-genital cover maybe GU-what's it?*

ma-jet maŋga?, ŋaru-bak-mi-yaŋ', 'yo::: ŋaru-bak-mi-yaŋ',  
*MA-oven Yes*

Later they talk about him (the man who did the spearing), they have a discussion. 'We will do it (sorcery) to him, we will get his what's-it?, his genital cover maybe, or maybe we will get (a part of) his oven.' (The others reply,) 'Yes, we will get it.'

## 9.3

baɬ barma-ma-ni, ba-ɾudu-ni::: gu-wali-gi, gu-wali  
*get 3Pl/MA-get-Pr 3Pl-go-Pr GU-tree-Loc GU-tree*

bargu-ŋa-ŋana, bargu-yeleka-na gu-ni-ñ  
*3Pl/GU-burn-Pr 3Pl/GU-make hole in-Pr that's all*

bargu-ja-yo-ŋana, mo-wolo-yuŋ barma-ja-yo-ŋana ŋa-çi-ñ,  
*3Pl/GU-now-put in-Pr MA-that-Abs 3Pl/MA- that way*

gu-wali-giɕ,  
*GU-tree-All*

They get it, they go to a tree. (The preferred tree for this type of sorcery is ironwood, (*Erythroleum chlorostachyum*.) They burn the tree. They make a hole in it and put (the object) in. They put that in the tree.

## 9.4

ba-ŋuɖa-ŋu-ɖa ba-waŋ?-du-ni ba-yiɕ-ŋa-çini ɖagu,  
*3Pl-Rdp-sit-Pr 3Pl-look-Aug-Pr 3Pl-mind-hear-Pr (?)*

ŋi-ja-gor-ɖu-ni, ŋi-ga-gor-ɖu-ni  
*3MaSg-now-be sick-Aug-Pr 3MaSg-Sub-be sick-Aug-Pr*

ŋi-ja-bini?-go:::ɾ ŋi-ja-wati-na ŋi-wolo ŋi-yul-yuŋ,  
*3MaSg-now-very(?) -be sick 3MaSg-now-die-Pr MaSg-that MaSg-man-Pr*

baru-ga-bak-ŋer?-yo-ŋiɕ-may?, ŋi-ja-wati-na ŋi-wolo-yuŋ,  
*3Pl/3MaSg-Sub-Ben-heart-lie-Neg-Pr*

ŋi-yul-yuŋ, ŋi-!iriɕ-un ŋi-wolo-yuŋ, ba-yima-na-?,  
*MaSg-culprit-Abs 3Pl-do that-Pr-∅*

They wait, they look, they think. He (the victim) becomes sick now. He gets sick, he gets very sick, then that man dies. They do not like him, that man, that culprit, he dies. They do that.

## 9.5

mal-kaliɕ baru-yaw, baru-yaw guŋmuk, mal-kaliɕ-un  
*times-some 3Pl/3MaSg-spear night*

baru-yaw, ŋi-guŋ-gi ŋi-ga-do-ni, mal-kaliɕ-un baru-yaw,  
*NI-honey-Loc 3MaSg-chop-Pr*

ŋi-ga-ŋere-yu-ɖa, mal-kaliɕ-un ŋi-ga-do-ni baru-ga-yaw,  
*3MaSg-Sub-rest-sleep-Pr*

mal-kaliɕ-un ŋi-wuɭup, gu-wočo-gi, baru-ga-yaw, maŋga?,  
*3MaSg-bathe GU-water game-Loc maybe*

Sometimes they spear him (instead of killing him by sorcery). They spear him at night. Sometimes they spear him while he is chopping down (trees), (for) honey. Sometimes they spear him while he is lying down asleep. Sometimes they spear him while he is chopping (trees). Sometimes they might spear him while he is hunting for water game (tortoises, file snakes, etc.).

## 9.6

gu-ga-ɖubur-yima-na-? gu-ga-ɖubur-ñawk, gu-na-ri  
*GU-Sub-law-be thus-Pr-∅ GU-Sub-law-speak GU-that-Imm*

gu-yaŋ-yuŋ, ŋa-ga-ñawk gu-ni-? gu-yaŋ-yuŋ,  
*GU-voice-Abs 1Sg-Sub-speak GU-this-∅ GU-voice-Abs*

gu-yima-na-? gu-ga-ñawk,  
*GU-be thus-Pr-∅*

The law is like that. The law speaks those words. I speak these words (to you now), it speaks like that.

## 9.7

maŋga? ŋi-yu-ɖa, maŋga? ŋi-wuɭup-ɖu-ni, maŋga?  
*maybe 3MaSg-sleep-Pr -bathe-Aug-Pr*

ŋi-ɾudu-ni guŋmuk, maŋga? maŋga? ŋi-ɾudu-ni ŋa-çu-?,  
*3MaSg-go-Pr night that way*

ŋuri-ɕ, gu-yima-na-? gu-na-ri gu-ga-ñawk.  
*north-All GU-be thus-Pr-∅ GU-that-Imm GU-Sub-speak*

Maybe he (the victim) is sleeping, maybe he is in the water, maybe he is going around at night, maybe he is going that way, north. That (the law) speaks like that.

## TEXT 10 (Sam)

## The Rainbow Serpent

## 10.1

waɭkundu-yuŋ ŋa-ki-? waɭkundu baru-ga-maka-na, ŋa-ki-ñ  
*pl.n.-Abs there 3Pl/GU-Sub-call-Pr there*



ni-ɾudu-ŋi      ni-yul-yu::ŋ      niya-ja-ŋo-ŋ,      a-jara,  
3MaSg-go-PCon      MaSg-man-Abs      3MaSg/A-now-eat-PPun      A-what's it?

a-baɬa-galaŋ-wič      niya-ga-ŋo-ŋ,      a-baɬa-galaŋ-wič      niya-ga-ŋo-ŋ,  
A-Com-egg-having

There at waɬkundu (a place south of the Roper River), they call that place waɬkundu, a man was going along there. He ate what's-it?, a pregnant (snake).

10.2

a-muč-ɟu-yuŋ      muka      niɟura-ja-jara  
A-rainbow serpent-Erg-Abs      indeed      A/3MaSg-now-do what's it?

niɟura-bur-i,      a-muč-ɟu-yuŋ      niɟura-bur-i,      ɲa-ki-ñ  
A/3MaSg-smell-PPun      there

niɟura-ga-ŋo-ŋ,      niɟura-ŋo-ŋ,  
A/3MaSg-Sub-eat-PPun

The rainbow serpent did what's-it?, it smelled him. The rainbow serpent ate him, it ate him there. (It is not clear whether the rainbow serpent is associated with a particular snake sp.)

10.3

a-ja-bolk-ɟ-i      a-ɟarpal      a-jara      a-ñalk,  
A-now-appear-Aug-PPun      A-big      A-what's it?      A-rain

waɬkundu-yuŋ      bargura-bo:-m,      ni-ki-?-yuŋ      biɕara-yuŋ,  
pl.n.-Abs      A/3Pl-kill-PPun      here      -Abs      what's it place?-Abs

gu-jara-yuŋ      gaɕuɬu-yuŋ      buluki?      bargura-bo:-m,  
GU-what's it?-Abs      pl.n.-Abs      also

ba-yul-gič-uŋ,  
Pl-person-All-Abs

A big rain appeared then. It killed (people) at waɬkundu. It also killed people here at what's-it?, at gaɕuɬu.

10.4

o-wolo-yuŋ,      a-ga-ɾid-i      ni-ču-?      nuri-č,      o-wolo-yuŋ,  
A-that-Abs      A-Sub-go-PPun      this way      north-All      A-that-Abs

a-ɲarač-uŋ,      a-ɲarač      bara-ga-maka-na,      a-baɬa-ɟaŋič-wič,  
A-snake-Abs      3Pl/A-Sub-call-Pr      A-Com-fire-having

gu-ɟaŋič-ɟu,      bargura-ga-bu-ni,      ɲa-ki-?      a-ga-miŋim?-ɟu-ŋi  
GU-fire-Inst      A/3Pl-Sub-kill-PCon      there      A-Sub-flash-Aug-PCon

ɲa-ki-?-yuŋ,      bargura-ja-bu-ni,      ɲa-ču-?,      bargura-bo:-m,  
there -Abs      -now-      that way      A/3Pl-kill-PPun

two sides      bargura-ga-bo:-m,      ba-yapan?,      ba-yul-yuŋ,  
-Sub-      Pl-two      Pl-person-Abs

ni-ki-?      waɬkundu,      ni-ki-?      gaɕuɬu,  
there      pl.n.      here      pl.n.

That went north, that snake — they call it 'ɲarač' (snake) — one having (i.e. breathing) fire. It killed them with fire, it flashed (as lightning) there. It killed them there, on both sides, the people at waɬkundu and those at gaɕuɬu.

10.5

ni-wangiñ?-yuŋ      ni-ki-?,      gu-balpa-gi,      niɟura-ŋo-ŋ  
MaSg-one-Abs      here      GU-river-Loc      A/3MaSg-eat-PPun

ɲa-ki-ñ-uŋ      ni-yul-yuŋ,      niɟura-bak-bolk-ɟ-i,      ɲa-ki-ri  
there      MaSg-man-Abs      A/3MaSg-Ben-appear-Aug-PPun      there

maɬarawuɬarñele      niɟura-bak-bolk-ɟ-i,      ɲa-ki-ñ-uŋ  
pl.n.      there -Abs

niɟura-bak-wer?,      a-ga-wer?-ɟ-i,      ɲa-ki-ñ  
A/3MaSg-Ben-vomit      A-Sub-vomit-Aug-PPun      there

niɟura-ga-yu-ŋ,      ɲa-ki-ñ      ni-ga-wati-ñ,      ni-wangiñ?-yuŋ,  
A/3MaSg-Sub-put on-PPun      there      3MaSg-Sub-die-PPun      MaSg-one-Abs

ɲa-ki-ñ,  
there

It ate one man here, around the river. It came out to confront him there at maɬarawuɬarñele. It (ate him and) vomited him out. It vomited there and put him on (the ground). He died there, one man.

10.6

'ŋu-wa      ni-ki-?      ɲara-ga-bu-nuŋ',      o-wolo-yuŋ      a-ɲarač-uŋ  
2Sg-come!      here      1PlIn/A-Sub-kill-Fut      A-that-Abs      A-snake-Abs

niɟura-ga-ŋo-ŋ-yiñuŋ-yuŋ,      ɲa-ki-ñ      a-ja-bolk-ɟ-i,  
A/3MaSg-Sub-eat-PPun-Rel-Abs      there      A-now-appear-Aug-PPun

yalačala,      ɲačuweleñ      a-ga-ɾudu-ŋi,  
pl.n.      then      A-Sub-go-PCon

(One man said to another man,) 'Come here! We will kill it.' That snake, which had eaten him (the dead man) appeared there, at yalačala, then it went along.

10.7

ni-wangiñ?-yuŋ      ni-yul-yuŋ,      ni-ja-ɾudu-ŋi,      niɟura-wo-y  
MaSg-one-Abs      MaSg-man-Abs      3MaSg-now-go-PCon      A/3MaSg-give-PPun

mo-ɾok-yuŋ      baɬ      ɲima-ma-y,      ma-gunjak  
MA-large pandanus-Abs      get      3MaSg/MA-get-PPun      MA-river pandanus

ɲima-ga-ma-y mo-ɾok, mo-ɾok, ɲima-ga-ma-y mo-ɾok,  
-Sub-

ɲaɕuweleñ-uŋ ɲi-ja-ɾuɖu-ɲi, ɲi-ɾiɖ-i:::,  
then-Abs 3MaSg-now-go-PCon 3MaSg-go-PPun

One man went. It (the serpent) gave him — or rather, he got a large pandanus tree (*Pandanus ?spiralis*), or rather a river pandanus (*Pandanus ?aquaticus*) — (no, it was) a large pandanus, a large pandanus, that is what he got. Then he went.

10.8

ɲaɕuweleñ-uŋ a-ga-miɲim?-ɖuɲi, gu-jara-yuŋ gu-wolo  
then-Abs A-Sub-flash-Aug-PCon GU-what's it?-Abs GU-that

gu-ɖaɲiɕ-uŋ agu-ga-geyk-ɖa-ɲi, ɲi-wan-yuŋ gaɾakaɖi?  
GU-fire-Abs A/GU-Sub-throw-Aug-PCon 3MaSg-Pron-Abs below

yanaɕi, jipa? ɲiya-gibaŋ-baɕ-i, ɲaɕuweleñ-uŋ  
later 3MaSg/A-nose-hit-PPun then-Abs

ɲiguɾa-ga-geyk-ɖ-i, yarŋgala ɲi-ga-ɲu-ɖa, ɲi-wolo  
A/3MaSg-Sub-throw-Aug-PPun pl.n. 3MaSg-Sub-sit-Pr MaSg-that

ɲi-yul-yuŋ, ɲi-yul-yuŋ, ɲi-ɖala-tu muka  
MaSg-person-Abs MaSg-dreaming-Erg indeed

ɲini-ga-geyk-ɖ-i, ɲi-wolo-yuŋ.  
3MaSg/3MaSg-Sub-throw-Aug-PPun MaSg-that-Abs

Then it flashed (as lightning). It threw fire. He was down below for a while, then hit it on the snout (with the trunk of the pandanus). Then it threw (and killed) him. That man stands at yarŋgala swamp (as a totemic object). The dreaming (the serpent) threw him, that man.

TEXT 11 (Sandy)

The State of Aboriginal Ceremonies

11.1

ba-ɾuɖu-ɲi, ɲa-ɕu-?, ɲuri-ɕ, biɕara-giɕ,  
3Pl-go-PCon that way north-All what's it place?-All

warpani-giɕ, ɲa-ki-ñ ba-ga-ɖuɾ?-ɖ-i, gu-maɖayin  
pl.n.-All there 3Pl-Sub-sit-Aug-PPun GU-name of ceremony

ba-ja-ɲ-i:, ba-yul-yuŋ, ba-na?-biɾ-ti-ni, yanaɕi,  
3Pl-now-sit-PCon Pl-person-Abs 3Pl-still-many-Inch-PCon long ago

ba-wur?wuruŋu, ba-ga-ɲi-ɲ-i,  
Pl-elder 3Pl-Sub-Rdp-sit-PCon

They used to go north to what's-it?, to warpani. They stopped (for) a maɖayin ceremony. Long ago, when the people were numerous. The elders would stay (there).

11.2

ɖawa?-yuŋ ba-ja-yaku-ɖi-ñ, ba-miɲingiri-yuŋ ɲa-ki-?  
now-Abs 3Pl-now-absent-Inch-PPun Pl-name of clan-Abs there

yanaɕi Roper, bo-wolo-yuŋ, ba-malanukaŋuka,  
long ago Roper River settlement Pl-that-Abs Pl-name of clan

barba-ga-maka-na, ɲa-ki-ñ-uŋ ba-ga-ɲ-i:, gu-maɖayin-yuŋ,  
3Pl/3Pl-Sub-call-Pr there 3Pl-Sub-sit-PCon GU-ceremony-Abs

ba-ga-ɲi-ɲ-i muɲuy?, ɲa-ki-ñ,  
3Pl-Sub-Rdp-sit-PCon constantly there

Now they have all disappeared — the miɲingiri clan, the (people) around Roper River, the malanukaŋuka (a subgroup of the Ritharngu-speaking wa:gilak group), that's what they call them. They stayed there for a maɖayin ceremony, they stayed there very often.

11.3

ɲa-ɕu-?-yuŋ ma:ruru-giɕ-uŋ, a-bulɕi? bara-juj?-ɖu-ɲi,  
that way pl.n.-All-Abs A-lawbag 3Pl/A-send-Aug-PCon

ba-yul-?may? ɲa-ɕu-wala-? ba-ja-ɲey?-ɖu-ɲi, ba-biɾ,  
many people from there 3Pl-now-rise-Aug-PCon Pl-many

bara-ga-ga-n-di o-wolo-yuŋ,  
3Pl/A-Sub-carry-Aug-PCon A-that-Abs

They sent lawbags to ma:ruru (place name). (This was to announce that a ceremony was being planned.) Many people got up and shifted camps from there (to ma:ruru). They carried (lawbags).

11.4

ɲaɕuweleñ-uŋ, ba-bolk-ɖu-ɲi, ba-ɖawal-maki-ɾi,  
then 3Pl-appear-Aug-PCon 3Pl-country-call-PCon

warpani-yuŋ, barba-bak-bolk-ɖu-ɲi, buluki?-yuŋ, ɲaɲi-ɕ,  
pl.n.-Abs 3Pl/3Pl-Ben-appear-Aug-PCon as well-Abs west-All

barba-ga-bak-juj?-ɖu-ɲi, ba-maɲɖuwuruma-ku,  
3Pl/3Pl-Sub-Ben-send-Aug-PCon Pl-name of clan-Dat

Then they came out, calling out the name of the country, warpani. They came out to them. Also they sent (lawbags) to the west, to the maɲɖuwuruma clan.

11.5

ɲaɕuweleñ-uŋ, ɲaɲi-yala-yuŋ ba-na?-ɾuɖu-ɲi,  
then-Abs west-Abl-Abs 3Pl-now-go-PCon

baru-bak-bolk-ɖu-ɲi ɲa-ki-ñ-uŋ, warpani-yuŋ, ɲa-ki-ñ  
3Pl/GU-Ben-appear-Aug-PCon there pl.n.-Abs there

ba-ga-ŋ-i:      ba-na?-biŋ-?gu?,      gawa?-yung  
3Pl-Sub-sit-PCon      3Pl-now-many-while      now-Abs

ba-ja-yaku-di-ñ,  
3Pl-now-absent-Inch-PPun

They also appeared from the west, there at warpani. They stayed there, when there were many of them - now they have (mostly) died.

11.6

buluki?-yung,      ba-miŋingiri-ku      barba-ga-bak-juy?-du-ŋi,  
as well-Abs      3Pl-name of clan-Dat      3Pl/3Pl-Sub-Ben-send-Aug-PCon

ba-wan-yung,      ba-malabarčaray-ung      ŋuri-yala,      ba-ga-ruḍu-ŋi,  
Pl-Pron-Abs      Pl-name of clan-Abs      north-Abl      3Pl-Sub-go-PCon

burawanji-wala,      gu-wolo-gič      ŋa?-warpani-gič,      ba-ga-ŋ-i:  
pl.n.-Abl      GU-that-All      still-pl.n.-All      3Pl-Sub-sit-PCon

ŋa-ki-ñ      gu-juruy-ung,  
there      GU-shade-Abs

They also sent (lawbags) to the miŋingiri clan. As for the malabarčaray clan (a Ritharnngu-speaking group), they came from the north, from burawanji, to warpani. They stayed there (at) the ceremonial shade.

11.7

buluki?,      wan-yung      garaŋam-wala      ba-ga-ruḍu-ŋi,  
as well      as for-Abs      pl.n.-Abl      3Pl-Sub-go-PCon

ŋa?      -ŋa-či-ñ      -bugi?      barba-ga-bak-juy?-du-ŋi,  
still -that way -only      3Pl/3Pl-Sub-Ben-send-Aug-PCon

ŋaŋi-č-burkeyi      gu-na?-ŋutu,      gaŋ?-bičara,  
west-All-really      GU-still-far      place near-what's it place?

gaŋ?-bulmun,      ŋa-ki-ñ      ŋačuweleñ      ba-ga-ŋey?-du-ŋi,  
place near-pl.n.      there      then      3Pl-Sub-shift camp-Aug-PCon

bulmun-wala,      warpani-gič-ung,  
pl.n.-Abl      pl.n.-All-Abs

They also came from garaŋam. They sent (lawbags) that same way to them, far to the west, to around what's-it?, around Bulmun Gorge. Then they shifted from Bulmun to warpani.

11.8

ba-wan-yung      buluki?-yung      ba-jara-yung,      ba-biḍiŋal-yung  
Pl-Pron-Abs      as well-Abs      Pl-what's it?-Abs      Pl-name of clan-Abs

ba-ga-ŋey?-du-ŋi,      duŋanda-wala,      ŋa?      -ŋa-či-ñ      -bugi?  
3Pl-Sub-shift camp-Aug-PCon      pl.n.-Abl      still -that way -only

warpani-gič,      ŋa-ki-ñ      ba-ga-ŋ-i:,  
pl.n.-All      there      3Pl-Sub-sit-PCon

Then there were the what's-it?, the biḍiŋal clan. They shifted from duŋanda to that same place, to warpani. They stayed there.

11.9

gu-wolo      baru-ga-gar?-du-ŋi,      ba-ga-jur?-du-ŋi,  
GU-that      3Pl/GU-Sub-finish-Aug-PCon      3Pl-Sub-dive in-Aug-PCon

ba-ja-yalar-du-ŋi,      ba-mala-galič-ung      ŋaŋi-č      ba-ruḍu-ŋi,  
3Pl-now-scatter-Aug-PCon      Pl-group-some-Abs      west-All      3Pl-go-PCon

ba-mala-galič-ung      ŋuri-č,      ba-mala-galič-ung      baki-č,  
north-All      south-All

ba-mala-galič-ung      rawiri-č      ba-ga-ruḍu-ŋi,  
east-All      3Pl-Sub-go-PCon

Then they finished it (the ceremony). They plunged into the water. (This is done at the end of the ceremony.) They scattered, some going west, others north, others south, others east.

11.10

gu-wolo-yung,      bargu-ja-gar?-du-ŋi,      ba-wan-yung,  
GU-that-Abs      3Pl/GU-now-finish-Aug-PCon      Pl-Pron-Abs

ba-miŋingiri-yung      ba-ja-waki-ni      Roper-gič,  
Pl-name of clan-Abs      3Pl-now-return-PCon      Roper River-All

buluki?-yung,      ŋa-ki-?      ba-ga-ya?-ŋ-i:      bičara-yung,  
as well-Abs      there      3Pl-Sub-if-sit-PCon      what's it place?-Abs

They finished (the ceremony). The miŋingiri clan returned to Roper River. They stayed there again, (at) what's-it? place (Roper River?).

11.11

ba-wan-galu      ba-duwa-yung      ŋuruḍupal-yung,      ba-wan-galu  
Pl-Pron-other      Pl-Dhuwa-Abs      pl.n.-Abs      Pl-Pron-other

baka-yala-yung      barba-na?-garu-ŋi      ŋa-či-ñ,      ba-wur?wurungu  
south-Abl-Abs      3Pl/3Pl-still-follow-PCon      that way      Pl-elder

ba-ga-biŋ-ti-ni-?gu?,      gawa?-yung      ba-ja-yaku,  
3Pl-Sub-many-Inch-PCon-while      now-Abs      Pl-now-absent

ba-ja-gar?-d-i-ñ,      muŋuy?      ŋa-ki-ñ      ba-ga-ŋi-ŋ-i,  
3Pl-now-finish-Inch-Refl-PPun      always      there      3Pl-Sub-Rdp-sit-PCon

gu-wolo      gu-dawal-yapan?-gi-yung,  
GU-that      GU-country-two-Loc-Abs

As for the people of the Dhuwa moiety, (they were back at) ŋuruḍupal. As for the others, they followed them (the Dhuwa) from the south

to there (nuruṛupal), then when there were many of them. Now there are none, they have died off. Before they always used to stay there. in those two countries (warpani and nuruṛupal).

11.12

mal-kalič-uṅ, ɾargaba ba-ga?-ŋ-i:, ba-wur?wuruṅu-yuṅ,  
times-some-Abs pl.n. 3Pl-Sub-Dur-sit-PCon 3Pl-old people-Abs

ŋi-ču-wili-ñ barba-ga-girṭa-ŋi, ɾara-la, ɾuri-yala,  
from here 3Pl/3Pl-Sub-head for-PCon east-Abl north-Abl

ŋaŋi-yala, baka-yala, ŋa? -ŋa-či-ñ gu-wolo-gič,  
west-Abl south-Abl still -that way GU-that-All

bargu-japaḍa?-du-ŋi gu-wolo-yuṅ,  
3Pl/GU-go to same place-Aug-PCon GU-that-Abs

Sometimes they stayed at ɾargaba, the old men. They would head for them (the people at ɾargaba) from here, from the east, from the north, from the west, and from the south, all going to that same place.

11.13

yimič ba-ja-laṅ-gar?-d-i-ñ, ba-yaku yanači  
but 3Pl-now-Ø-finish-Aug-Refl-PPun Pl-absent

ba-miṅingiri-yuṅ, ba-gu|pur?, ba-wan-galu buluki?  
Pl-name of clan-Abs Pl-few Pl-Pron-other also

ba-malabarčaray-uṅ ba-ja-gar?-d-i-ñ,  
Pl-name of clan-Abs

ba-dirk-bičara-yuṅ, ba-dirk-bičara-yuṅ ŋuni,  
Pl-people from-what's it place?-Abs damn!

ba-dirk-ḍuṅanda-yuṅ, ba-na?-ga|i,  
-pl.n.- 3Pl-still-many

But they have died off. There are no miṅingiri people left, just a few. As for the malabarčaray, they also have died off. As for the people from what's-it-place?, what the hell is the name - the people from ḍuṅanda, there are still many of them.

11.14

ba-wan-yuṅ buluki? ba-maṅḍuwuruma-yuṅ gararam-gu-yuṅ  
3Pl-Pron-Abs also Pl-name of clan-Abs pl.n.-Gen-Abs

ba-ja-gar?-d-i-ñ, ba-yaku ba-ja-gaku-gaku-bugi?,  
3Pl-now-finish-Aug-Refl-PPun Pl-absent 3Pl-now-Rdp-child-only

ba-na-? ŋaŋi ba-ga-ŋu-ḍa, ŋabara-ga-ŋa-ni,  
Pl-that-Ø west 3Pl-Sub-sit-Pr 1Sg/3Pl-Sub-see-PCon

gayku-yuṅ, ŋabara-ga-yimi-n?gubi-ri ŋaya-iu-yuṅ,  
last year-Abs 1Sg/3Pl-Sub-say-Caus-PCon I-Erg-Abs

As for the maṅḍuwuruma clan, from gararam, they also have died off. There are none left, there are only children now, they are staying there in the west. I saw them, I told them myself last year (to perform a ceremony).

11.15

ḍawa?-yuṅ, bargu-ja-maṅiñ?-gura gu-yimin?-yuṅ,  
now-Abs 3Pl/GU-now-make properly-Neg GU-thing-Abs

gu-jara-yuṅ, gu-maḍayin bargu-maṅiñ?-gura,  
GU-what's it?-Abs GU-name of ceremony

ba-maḍak-ḍi-j-i ba-biṛkar?-ḍi-j-i  
3Pl-sing maḍayin-Aug-Neg-Fut 3Pl-call-names of countries-Aug-Neg-Fut

gu-yaku, bo-wolo-yuṅ ba-wur?wuruṅu yamba  
not at all Pl-that-Abs Pl-old person because

ba-gar?-d-i-ñ, bargu-ja-ḍubur-maṅiñ?-gura,  
3Pl-finish-Aug-Refl-PPun 3Pl-GU-now-thing-Rdp-make properly-Neg

yanači-yuṅ, bargu-ŋamulu-maṅiñ?-du-ŋi, gu-yimin?-yuṅ,  
long ago-Abs 3Pl/GU-well-make properly-Aug-PCon GU-thing-Abs

Now they are unable to properly perform the thing, the what's-it?, the maḍayin ceremony. They cannot do it properly; they can neither sing the maḍayin (with tapstick accompaniment) nor call out the names of the countries, not at all. Because the old men have died off. They cannot do it properly. Long ago they used to perform it really well.

11.16

may? buluki? ŋa-ki-? ba-ga-ŋ-i: bičara,  
Well, also there 3Pl-Sub-sit-PCon what's it place?

Roper ba-na?-ŋ-i:, wala-w gañju? Top Crossing-gi,  
Roper River 3Pl-still-sit-PCon above pl.n.-Loc

wala-w-burkayi, ŋa-ki-ñ ba-ga-ŋ-i:, gu-wolo ba-ja -mar-gulk  
above-Ø-really there GU-that 3Pl-now -abandon

-ḍ-i, mala?-ič-wolo, giyaṅ gu-wolo  
-Aug-PPun at that time I think GU-that

baru-ga-gar?-d-i ŋa-ki-ñ-uṅ,  
3Pl/GU-Sub-finish-Aug-PPun there

They (another group of people) used to stay at what's-it?, at Roper River (Ngukurr). They stayed at Top Crossing, well away from the coast. They lost interest (in ceremonies) at that time. I think they finished it (the ceremony) there.

ba-ja-gara-wadi-wadi-ñ, wa|aman?, ba-ja-gara-yaku-gi-ñ,  
 3Pl-now-all-Rdp-die-PPun every one 3Pl-now-all-absent-Inch-PPun

ba-na-ri-yuŋ, ba-ja-gara-daku-daku-bugi?, ba-ga-ŋu-ða,  
 3Pl-that-Imm-Abs 3Pl-now-all-Rdp-child-only 3Pl-Sub-sit-Pr

bargu-maŋiñ?-gi-j-i,  
 3Pl/GU-make properly-Aug-Neg-Fut

They have all disappeared, all of them. There are only children left, they stay (there), they cannot perform properly.

an-yuŋ bari-yapan?-bula, gu-na-ri-ku-yuŋ  
 as for MaDu-two-Du GU-that-Imm-Gen-Abs

bičara-gu-yuŋ, galparimun-gu-yuŋ, ŋi-yirirama  
 what's it place?-Gen-Abs pl.n.-Gen-Abs MaSg-man's name

ŋi-ja|garara?, ja-boñ bari-ja-ga-ŋa-ri-bugi?,  
 MaSg-man's name now-finish MaDu-now-Sub-that-Imm-only

ba-wan-galu buluki? gu-ni-?-yuŋ bičara-gu-yuŋ,  
 Pl-Pron-other also GU-this

ba:ču-gu-yuŋ, ba-ja-gara-warja-warjak-gi-ñ,  
 pl.n.-Gen-Abs 3Pl-now-all-Rdp-bad-Inch-PPun

Then there are two men from what's-it?, from galparimun, (named) yirirama and ja|garara?. That is all, just those two. As for the people from this what's-it?, from ba:ču, they have all become bad (at performing ceremonies).

ba-na?-mađak, bargu-dawal-maki-j-i, gu-yaku,  
 3Pl-still-sing mađayin 3Pl/GU-country-call-Neg-Fut GU-absent

giyaŋ bargu-mili?-dulu-biđiç-ma-yi,  
 thinking 3Pl/GU-lest-corroboree-miss-Aux-Evit

ba-ga-?-yima-na-?, angačba gu-ni-?-yuŋ,  
 3Pl-Sub-Dur-think-Pr-∅ whereas GU-this-∅-Abs

gu-dulu-wara?wara gu-ga-yu-ða, gu-yimin?-yuŋ,  
 GU-corroboree-easy GU-Sub-lie-Pr GU-thing-Abs

dawal-mayin-gu-yuŋ,  
 country-calling-Gen-Abs

They (the old men from ba:ču) still sing the mađayin songs (with tapsticks<sup>1</sup> but they cannot call out the names of the countries, not at all, since they are afraid of making mistakes. Actually, the business of calling out the countries is easy.

ŋi-jara-?ŋiri? ba-wan-galu miŋingiri-ku-yuŋ,  
 MaSg-what's it?-also Pl-Pron-other name of clan-Gen-Abs

ŋi-mulugaŋaŋa, boñ, ŋi-ja-ga-ŋa-ri-bugi? ŋi-waŋgiñ?,  
 MaSg-man's name finish MaSg-now-Sub-that-Imm-only MaSg-one

buluki?-yuŋ ba-ni-ñ ba-mala-galiç-uŋ gu-yaku, an-yuŋ  
 also-Abs ~ Pl-that-∅ Pl-group-some-Abs absent as for

ŋi-jara-tu ŋini-ga-beat 'em?-du-ŋi,  
 MaSg-what's it?-Erg 3MaSg/3MaSg-Sub-be better than-Aug-PCon

ŋini-ga-jo|k-bu-ni, ŋi-muluwiriñji-tu, ŋi-wan-giç-uŋ,  
 -surpass-Aux-PCon MaSg-man's name-Erg MaSg-Pron-All-Abs

ŋi-ni-?-yuŋ ŋi-mulugaŋaŋa-yuŋ ŋi-mar-wur?wuruŋu,  
 MaSg-this-∅-Abs MaSg-man's name-Abs MaSg-more-old

ŋi-wan-yuŋ yiri-wala ŋini-mungu-kaŋ-i,  
 MaSg-Pron-Abs later 3MaSg/3MaSg-follow-chase-PPun

Also what's-his-name - as for them, of the miŋingiri clan, only the man named mulugaŋaŋa (English name: Sam; the narrator of several texts in this volume). Only that one, others are nonexistent. As for what's-his-name (muluwiriñji, deceased), he was better than him (mulugaŋaŋa). This mulugaŋaŋa was older, while muluwiriñji came later (in age).

ŋi-wan-du barguni-ga-ma-y, ba-wur?wuruŋu-giç-uŋ,  
 MaSg-Pron-Erg 3MaSg/3Pl-Sub-get-PPun Pl-elder-All-Abs

ŋigu-ŋamulu-maŋ-bo-m, ŋi-wan-yuŋ  
 3MaSg/GU-properly-learn-Aux-PPun MaSg-Pron-Abs

dawa-dawa? bičara ŋi-ða:-b-i-ni, yurupanji  
 Rdp-now what's it place? 3MaSg-try-Aux-Refl-PCon pl.n.

ŋi-ga-biçkar?-d-i, ŋa-ki-ñ, ŋi-çuŋa-tu  
 3MaSg-Sub-call countries-Aug-PPun there MaSg-man's name-Erg

ŋini-ga-learn 'em?-d-i, ŋi-wan-giç-uŋ<sup>1</sup>  
 3MaSg-3MaSg-Sub-teach-Aug-PPun MaSg-Pron-All-Abs

ŋi-mulugaŋaŋa-giç-uŋ, ŋi-ja-laŋ-biçkar?-d-i,  
 MaSg-man's name-All-Abs 3MaSg-now-∅-call countries-Aug-PPun

ŋaya-tu-yuŋ ŋanu-ja-yaŋ-ŋa-ŋ, ba-ni-?-yuŋ  
 I-Erg-Abs 1Sg/3MaSg-now-voice-hear-PPun Pl-this-∅-Abs

buluki? ba-mala-galiç-uŋ gu-yaku,  
 also Pl-group-some-Abs GU-absent

<sup>1</sup>Emended from ŋi-wan-giç-iñuŋ-yuŋ with inexplicable Relative -(y)iñuŋ-.

He (muluwiriñji) got the old men (to teach him to perform ceremonies), he learned it well. On the other hand, he (mulugararņa) only recently attempted (to perform) at what's-it?. He called out the countries at yurupanji (a cattle station near Roper River). There ruņa (an old Ritharnngu-speaking man) taught mulugararņa, so that he called out the countries. I heard him myself. There are no others (in the clan who can perform).

11.22

ba-wan-yuņ buluki?-yuņ malabarčaray-gu-yuņ, bari-ja-ga-yapan?,  
Pl-Pron-Abs also-Abs name of clan-Gen-Abs MaDu-now-Sub-two

ņi-munuma ñi-manbalņu, boñ bari-woč-ņa-ri,  
MaSg-man's name MaSg-man's name finish MaDu-Du-that-Imm

bari-ga-biřkar?, bargu-ja-gawal-maka-na,  
3MaDu-Sub-call countries 3Pl/GU-now-country-call-Pr

There are also these men of the malabarčaray clan. Two of them, munuma (English name: Willy) and manbalņu (English name: Goliath), just those two, they call out the names of countries.

11.23

bargu-ni-mař-bo-m boñ, yimič bari-ņa?-maņa-warjak,  
3Pl/GU-MaDu-learn-Aux-PPun finish but 3MaDu-still-neck-bad

bargu-ni-maņiņ?, bargu-ni-ga-gawal-maka-na,  
3Pl/GU-MaDu-make properly 3Pl/GU-MaDu-Sub-country-call-Pr

ba-mala-galič-uņ gu-ja-yaku, ba-gara-gar?-d-i-ñ,  
Pl-group-some-Abs GU-now-absent 3Pl-all-finish-Aug-Refl-PPun

ba-yul-yuņ, ba-wur?wuruņ-yuņ,  
3Pl-person-Abs Pl-elder-Abs

They learned it well, but they have weak voices ('bad necks'). They call out the countries properly. There are no others, they all died off, the old people.

11.24

buluki? bičara ba-ga-ņ-i:, bičara ñuni,  
also what's it place? 3Pl-Sub-sit-PCon damn!

ņangapara, ña-ki-ñ ba-ga -mar-gulk -d-i, yamba  
pl.n. there 3Pl-Sub -abandon -Aug-PPun because

ba-muņgubay-di-ni, gu-wolo-gi, gu-ganda?, gu-jičan  
3Pl-sick-Inch-PCon GU-that-Loc GU-tree GU-dreaming

baru-ga-go-ņi, gu-wolo-gi, gu-wolo-wolo  
3Pl/GU-Sub-chop-PCon GU-that-Loc GU-Rđp-that

barba-ga-buni-bu-ni, ba-ja-laņ-gar?-d-i-ñ, dawa?-yuņ  
3Pl/3Pl-Sub-Rđp-kill-PCon 3Pl-now-ø-finish-Aug-Refl-PPun now-Abs

ba-ja-yaku gu-gawal-bugi?,  
Pl-now-absent GU-country-only

Also people stayed at what's-it? - at ñangapara. There they have lost (the knowledge of ceremonies), because (the old men) got sick. Some people chopped down trees there, dreamings, killing them (the old people at ñangapara, since damaging dreamings results in the owners' destruction). They were finished off. Now there are no (people), just the country.

11.25

ņawurbalan-gu, ñi-č-u-? garkala-w, ba-malaņukanuķa, gu-yaku,  
pl.n.-Gen that way above Pl-name of clan GU-absent

ba-ja-gara-gar?-d-i-ñ, ja-boñ bari-ņa-ri-bugi?,  
3Pl-now-all-finish-Aug-Refl-PPun now-finish MaDu-that-Imm-only

ņi-!iyadarpa, ñi-đanga!ka!, bowoņi-yuņ,  
MaSg-man's name MaSg-man's name they (MaDu)-Abs

bičara-gu-yuņ ñuruřupal-gu-yuņ,  
what's it place?-Gen-Abs pl.n.-Gen-Abs

Away from the coast, (people) of ñawurbalan. The malaņukanuķa clan, there is nothing now, they all died off. There are only two now, (named) !iyadarpa and đanga!ka!, those two, from what's-it?, from ñuruřupal.

11.26

ba-mala-galič-uņ ba-gara-gar?-d-i-ñ Roper, ña-ki-ñ  
Pl-group-some-Abs 3Pl-all-finish-Aug-Refl-PPun there

ba-ga-wati-ni, barba-ja-poison 'em?-du-ņi marga?,  
3Pl-Sub-die-PCon 3Pl/3Pl-now-poison-Aug-PCon maybe

ma-mawuya-tu, barba-gar?-d-i ña-ki-ñ,  
MA-(magical) poison-Inst 3Pl/3Pl-finish-Aug-PPun there

The others all died at Roper River. Maybe someone poisoned them, with magical poison. They finished them off there.

11.27

ba-wan-galu bala-gu-ņaņi-yuņ, gu-na-ri-ku-yuņ  
Pl-Pron-other side-GU-west-Abs GU-that-Imm-Gen-Abs

bičara-gu-yuņ muđuwur-ku-yuņ, barba-gara-gar?-d-i,  
what's it place?-Gen-Abs pl.n.-Gen-Abs 3Pl/3Pl-all-finish-Aug-PPun

ņi-biņgu?-bugi? ñi-na-ri ñi-wangiñ, ñi-ga-ņu-đa,  
MaSg-man's name-only MaSg-that-Imm MaSg-one 3MaSg-Sub-sit-Pr

ni-miña|awuy-?ñiri?,    ba-gara-wolo    ba-ga-ñu-ða,    bari-ga-ñu-ða<sup>1</sup>  
 MaSg-man's name-also    Pl-all-that    3Pl-Sub-sit-Pr    3MaDu-Sub-sit-Pr

bari-yapan?,  
 MaDu-two

As for those others to the west from what's-it?, from muḡuwur, they have all died off. Only that one man, biḡu?, lives there - also miña|awuy. They all stay (there), or rather they (two) stay there, two of them.

11.28

buluki?    ba-mala-galič    ba-wur?wurunḡu-yun  
 also    Pl-group-some    Pl-elder-Abs

ba-ja-gara-gar?-d-i-ñ,    ba-poison 'em?-d-i-ni    yamba,  
 3Pl-now-all-finish-Aug-Refl-PPun    3Pl-poison-Aug-Refl-PCon    because

munḡy?    ba-ga-yimi-ri-?,    gu-na-ri    gu-ja-dawal-bugi?,  
 always    3Pl-Sub-do that-PCon-∅    GU-that-Imm    GU-now-country-only

ḡa-ki-?    wala-w-yun,    ba-wan-yun    ba-ja-daku-daku-bugi?  
 there    above    Pl-Pron-Abs    Pl-now-Rdp-child-only

ba-ga-ñu-ða,  
 3Pl-Sub-sit-Pr

Other old men have also died off, perhaps because they were poisoned. They always used to do that. (Now) there is only that country, up there. There are only children staying there now.

11.29

ba-ja-gara-daku-daku-bugi?    ba-ga-ñu-ða,    gu-wolo-yun,    gu-ni-?  
 3Pl-now-all-Rdp-child-only    3Pl-Sub-sit-Pr    GU-that-Abs    GU-this-∅

buluki?    bičara-gu-yun,    ga:bulum-gu-yun,  
 also    what's it place?-Gen-Abs    pl.n.-Gen-Abs

gu-ja-dawal-bugi?,    ni-na-ri-bugi?    ni-wangiñ?,    ni-jara  
 GU-now-country-only    MaSg-that-Imm-only    MaSg-one    MaSg-what's it?

ni-wu|kakiñ,    boñ,    buluki?    ni-yaypuḡala    bari-wolo-pula,  
 MaSg-man's name    finish    also    MaSg-man's name    MaDu-that-Du

ñara-ko?,  
 father and son

Only children stay (there). Also (the people of) ga:bulum (have mostly died off), only the country (is left). Only that one man, what's-his-name?, wu|kakiñ (Paul), that's all. Also yaypuḡala (Dankin), those two, father and son.

<sup>1</sup>The narrator is correcting himself here, using MaDu forms where he had just previously used incorrect Pl forms.

11.30

ba-ni-ñ-?ñiri?    bakay    ba-ga-ñu-ða    Hodgson Downs,  
 Pl-that-∅-also    south    3Pl-Sub-sit-Pr    pl.n.

bo-wolo?-wolo,    ba-gara-warja-warjak,    ba-ja-dumbal?,  
 Pl-Rdp-that    Pl-all-Rdp-bad    3Pl-now-be inactive

gu-dubur-yimin?-gu-yun,    ba-wur?wurunḡu-yun    buluki?-yun  
 GU-thing-thing-Dat-Abs    Pl-elder-Abs    also-Abs

ba-na?-dumbal?-du-ñi,  
 3Pl-now-be inactive-Aug-PCon

(Also) only those men who live to the south, at Hodgson Downs. They are all bad (at performing ceremonies), they are inactive now for the business (ceremonies). The old men as well were inactive.

11.31

an-yun    ni-jara    ni-ḡaḡdaḡdun,    ni-daraguti,  
 as for-Abs    MaSg-what's it?    MaSg-man's name    MaSg-man's name

bari-wolo-pula    bargu-ni-ga-dubur-maḡiñ?-du-ñi,  
 MaDu-that-Du    3Pl/GU-MaDu-Sub-business-do well-Aug-PCon

gu-yimin?-yun,    bari-yapan?-bugi?,    ni-jara-?ñiri?  
 GU-thing-Abs    MaDu-two-only    MaSg-what's it?-also

ni-banmuk-ḡayan,  
 MaSg-man's name-the late

As for what's-his-name?, ḡaḡdaḡdun, and daraguti, those two used to perform the business properly, just those two, along with what's-his-name?, the late banmuk.

11.32

yimič    ni-dabiḡiḡi-tu    ni-ni-ram-d-i,    ḡa-ki-?,  
 but    MaSg-man's name-Erg    3MaSg/spear-Aug-PPun    there

yamba    ni-wan    balaka,    ni-yun    ḡa-na?-daku-gu?  
 because    MaSg-Pron    first    I-Abs    1Sg-still-child-while

mala?-ič-wolo-yun,    ni-wolo-tu    niḡu-ga-maḡiñ?-du-ñi,  
 at that time    MaSg-that-Erg    3MaSg/GU-Sub-do properly-Aug-PCon

a-wiriḡi?-yun,  
 A-dreaming-Abs

But dabiḡiḡi speared him (banmuk), because he (banmuk) had (killed someone) before. (This all happened) at that time, while I was still a child. He (banmuk) used to perform the (ceremonies related to) dreamings properly.

11.33

bičara            ba-ga-ŋ-i:,            ba-wan-galu  
*what's it place?*    3Pl-Sub-sit-PCon    Pl-Pron-other

ba-dir-ka:bulum-yuŋ,    ŋagu-dawal-waŋaka?-d-i            gu-wolo-yuŋ  
*Pl-people of-pl.n.-Abs*    1Sg/GU-country-miss-Aug-PPun    GU-that-Abs

maŋga?    bi-ñja,    ŋi-ki-?    wala-w,    gu-marawa-yuŋ    ŋaŋi-č  
*maybe*    *place-what?*    *here*    *above*    *GU-pl.n.-Abs*    *west-All*

ja-rawara,  
*now-east*

The people of ga:bulum used to stay at what's-it?. I have forgotten the name of the place, what was it now? (Near) here, further inland, east of marawa.<sup>1</sup>

11.34

ŋa-ki-ñ    gañju?    ba-ga-ŋi-ŋ-i,            muŋuy?,  
*there*                            3Pl-Sub-Rdp-sit-PCon    *always*

ŋi-deŋgu!?-ŋayan            ŋi-na?-waiŋa?-gu?,            ŋi-wan-yuŋ  
*MaSg-man's name-the late*    *MaSg-still-alive-while*    *MaSg-Pron-Abs*

ŋi-wu|kakiñ-uŋ            ŋi-na?-daku-gu?,            jipa?    dawa?,  
*MaSg-man's name-Abs*    *MaSg-still-child-while*    *later*    *now*

ŋi-na-ri            ŋi-ga-bindi-wur?wuruŋu-mak-i-na  
*MaSg-that-Imm*    3MaSg-Sub-really-elder-call-Refl-Pr

ŋi-daku-biŋ-ti-ñ-ŋ-gu?,            gu-na-ri            muŋuy?  
*3MaSg-child-many-Inch-PPun-while*    *GU-that-Imm*    *always*

ba-ga-ŋi-ŋ-i,            gu-wolo-yuŋ    ba-ga-gar?-d-i-ñ,  
*3Pl-Sub-Rdp-sit-PCon*    *GU-that-Abs*    *3Pl-Sub-finish-Aug-Refl-PPun*

They used to stay there (at ganimiñiŋoy) often, when the late deŋgu! was still alive, when wu|kakiñ (Paul) was still a child. Now, that man (wu|kakiñ) is ('calls himself') a very old man, now that he has many children. They used to stay at that (place), there they have died off.

11.35

ñer-yuŋ,            baki-č-ŋiri?            ñar-ja-laŋ-waki-ñ,            buluki?-yuŋ  
*we(PlEx)-Abs*    *south-All-also*    1PlEx-now-Ø-return-PPun    *also-Abs*

ñar-ja-muŋbi-ñ            ñar-ja-waki-j-i-č            ŋuri-č-uŋ,  
*1PlEx-now-do for good-PPun*    *1PlEx-now-return-Neg-P*    *north-All-Abs*

yamba            gu-ja-dawal-bugi?,            gu-dawal-yuŋ,            ba-ga-ŋi-ŋ-i,  
*because*    *GU-now-country-only*    *GU-country-Abs*    *3Pl-Sub-Rdp-sit-PCon*

<sup>1</sup>Later Sandy told me that ganimiñiŋoy is the name of the place he was trying to remember here.

gu-dawal-bugi?,    ŋi-ču-?            ba-ga-ŋu-ŋi,            ba-wan-yuŋ,  
*GU-country-only*    *that way*    3Pl-Sub-go-PCon    3Pl-Pron-Abs

man-maŋda:laŋi-yuŋ,    ma:ruru-gič,    ma:ruru,  
*group-man's name-Abs*    *pl.n.-All*

As for us, we went back south then. We (went) for good, we did not ever go back north, because now there was only the country (without people). They used to stay at that country, (but now there was) only the country. They, maŋda:laŋi's (Old Alec's) group went that way, to ma:ruru.

11.36

gu-wolo-yuŋ    ŋa?-ñer-ku            waray    gu-wolo    gu-dawal-yuŋ,  
*GU-that-Abs*    *still-we(PlEx)-Gen*    *indeed*    *GU-that*    *GU-country-Abs*

ñargu-gorŋ-i            ñer-gič,            ñar-uŋu-ŋi            ŋa-ki-ñ,  
*GU/1PlEx-put in-PPun*    *we(PlEx)-All*    *1PlEx-go-PCon*    *there*

ŋačuweleñ    ñar-ŋa?-waki-ŋi,            gu-na?-japaŋa?-gič  
*then*            1PlEx-still-return-PCon    *GU-still-same place-All*

bičara-gic,            warpani-gič,  
*what's it place?-All*    *pl.n.-All*

That place belongs to us, to be sure; we part-own it through the mother's line ('it puts us in'). We went there, then we returned to the same place, to what's-it?, to warpani.

11.37

ŋa-ki-ñ    ŋi-ga-ŋ-i:,            ŋi-jawulpa-yuŋ            ŋi-jara-yuŋ,  
*there*            3MaSg-Sub-sit-PCon    *MaSg-old man-Abs*    *MaSg-what's it?-Abs*

ŋi-maŋarpa-yuŋ,            ŋigu?-waŋi-j-i-č            gu-wolo  
*MaSg-name of clan-Abs*    3MaSg/GU-Dur-abandon-Neg-P    *GU-that*

gu-dawal-yuŋ,    ŋa-ki-ñ    ŋi-ga-ŋ-i:,            bowoŋi-pula-yuŋ,  
*GU-country-Abs*    *there*    3MaSg-Sub-sit-PCon    *they(MaDu)-Du-Abs*

ŋi-jara-pula-yuŋ,            ŋi-ñja            miri?    ŋa-ki-ri  
*MaSg-what's it?-and-Abs*    *MaSg-who?*            *there*

ŋi-jawulpa-yuŋ,            ŋi-dumuŋiŋdi?-bula-yuŋ,  
*MaSg-old man-Abs*    *MaSg-man's name-and-Abs*

He stayed there, the old man what's-his-name?, the old man of the maŋarpa clan. He did not leave that country, he stayed there. The two of them, (he) and what's-his-name?, who is he? He and that old man there, dumuŋiŋdi?.



11.38

bari-ga-?-?-i:, munuy?, ni-ni-?-yuy  
 3MaDu-Sub-Dur-sit-PCon always MaSg-this-?-Abs  
 ni-dumujimiŋdi?-yuy bičara-gu, ɖuŋanda-ku, yimič  
 MaSg-man's name-Abs what's it place?-Gen pl.n.-Gen but  
 ba-wur?wuruŋu-yuy, wangiñ?-gi ba-ga-ŋal?-du-ŋi, well  
 Pl-elder-Abs one-Loc 3Pl-Sub-go up-Aug-PCon  
 nini-ja-waŋi-j-ič ni-jara-gič-uŋ,  
 3MaSg/3MaSg-now-abandon-Neg-P MaSg-what's it?-All-Abs  
 ni-maɖarpa-gič-uŋ, ni-ɖarakay-uŋ ni-na?-ɖaku-gu?,  
 MaSg-name of clan-All-Abs MaSg-lastborn-Abs MaSg-still-child-while  
 ni-na?-ɖaku-di-ni,  
 MaSg-still-child-Inch-PCon

The two of them stayed there constantly. This man dumujimiŋdi? was from what's-it?, from ɖuŋanda. But the old men went up (and stayed) in one place, so he (dumujimiŋdi?) did not leave what's-his-name, the maɖarpa man, while the lastborn son (manbalŋu) of the latter was still a child.

11.39

an-yuy ni-ŋalambira::: ni-munuma::: bari-wolo-pula  
 as for MaSg-man's name MaSg-man's name MaDu-that-Du

bari-mar-gaŋi-yuy, bari-ga-gaŋi-ti-ni,  
 MaDu-more-big-Abs 3MaDu-Sub-big-Inch-PCon  
 ba-ga-gara-gar?-ɖ-i-ñ, ni-maɖarpa-yuy  
 3Pl-Sub-all-finish-Aug-Refl-PPun MaSg-name of clan-Abs  
 ni-ja-ɖiɖ-i nuri-č gin baki-č, arŋgu  
 3MaSg-now-go-PPun north-All I mean south-All all the way to  
 ŋa-ki-ñ baru-ga-bu-ni, ni-ja-laŋ-wati-ñ,  
 there 3Pl/3MaSg-Sub-kill-PCon 3MaSg-now-?-die-PPun  
 bičara Roper,  
 what's it place? pl.n.

As for ŋalambira and munuma (both sons of the old maɖarpa man and brothers of manbalŋu), those two were bigger (than manbalŋu). They were bigger. They (the old maɖarpa people) all died off. The maɖarpa man went north - I mean south, to there where they killed him. He died at what's-it?, at Roper River.

11.40

ni-yuy baki-č ŋa-ɖudu-ŋi-?gu?, ŋa-ga-waki-ñ  
 I-Abs south-All 1Sg-go-PCon-while 1Sg-Sub-return-PPun

gu-ja-dubur-warjak, ñar-ja-ɖuɖu?-ɖ-i,  
 GU-now-business-bad 1PLEx-now-be helpless-Aug-PPun

ba-ga-yimi-ñ-?-ɖ-i buluki? baru-ja-bo:-m  
 3Pl-Sub-do that-PPun-?-Aug-PPun also 3Pl/3MaSg-now-kill-PPun

ni-jara-gič-uŋ, baru-ja-ɖamɖ-i,  
 MaSg-what's it?-All-Abs 3Pl/3MaSg-now-spear-PPun

ni-marŋa-gič-uŋ, bičara-yuy, gugubara-yuy,  
 MaSg-man's name-All-Abs what's it place?-Abs pl.n.-Abs

ŋa-ki-ñ baru-ga-bu-ni,  
 there 3Pl/3MaSg-Sub-kill-PCon

(As this happened) I was going south. I went back (to Roper River), there was a bad business (because of the killing). We could not do anything about it. They did that (i.e. they killed him). They also killed what's-his-name?, marŋa, they speared him, at what's-it?, at gugubara, they killed him there.

11.41

ŋačuweleñ-uŋ ni-ga-bolk-ɖ-i bičara-yuy,  
 then-Abs 3MaSg-Sub-appear-Aug-PPun what's it place?-Abs

Roper-yuy, Roper Bar-yuy ŋa-ki-ñ ni-ja-wati-ñ,  
 pl.n.-Abs pl.n.-Abs there 3MaSg-now-die-PPun

ni-ɖiku-?ŋiri? ni-yaypuŋala-tu nini-ga-ɖiku-ga-ŋ,  
 MaSg-dead-still MaSg-man's name-Erg 3MaSg/3MaSg-Sub-dead-carry-PPun

gu-na-ri-kič-uŋ, settlement-gič-uŋ, ŋa-ki-ñ,  
 GU-that-Imm-All-Abs -All-Abs there

baru-ja-burk-ɖ-i,  
 3Pl/3MaSg-now-bury-Aug-PPun

(After being speared,) he (marŋa) came out of the bush at what's-it?, Roper River - or rather at Roper Bar (a police station near Roper River), he died there. The man yaypuŋala carried his dead body to that settlement (Roper River) and they buried him there.

11.42

bari-ɖiku-ŋuñju-ti-ñ ni-maŋɖa:laŋi-yuy, ni-jara-yuy,  
 3MaDu-dead-same-Inch-PPun MaSg-man's name-Abs MaSg-what's it?-Abs

ni-marŋa-yuy, ni-wan-yuy, guŋukuwič ni-ga-wati-ñ  
 MaSg-man's name-Abs MaSg-Pron-Abs morning 3MaSg-Sub-die-PPun

ŋa-ki-?, settlement-yuy, ni-wan-yuy ɖa?-ɖagabaŋ? ŋa-ki-?-yuy  
 there -Abs MaSg-Pron-Abs Rdp-afternoon there

wala-w-yuy ni-ga-wati-ñ, bari-ja-bak-dubur-ŋuñju-ti-ñ,  
 above 3MaSg-Sub-die-PPun 3MaDu-now-Ben-business-same-Inch-PPun

The two of them, maŋda:laŋi and what's-his-name?, marŋa, died together (i.e. within a day of each other). One died in the morning there at the settlement (Roper River), the other died further away from the coast (at gugubara), they both had the same situation.

11.43

ŋi-darakay-gič baru-ja-gar-i giyaŋ  
 MaSg-lastborn-All 3Pl/3MaSg-now-chase-PPun thinking  
 ŋi-|a?-wan, angačba gu-yaku, ba-ja-yuđu?-yuđu?-du-ŋi  
 3MaSg-(?)-Pron whereas GU-absent 3Pl-now-Rdp-tell lie-Aug-PCon  
 gu-wolo-yuŋ gu-gubur-yuŋ,  
 GU-that-Abs GU-business-Abs

They chased the lastborn son (manbalŋu), thinking 'He's the one (who did the killing)'. However, this was not correct, they made incorrect statements (in) that business.

11.44

angačba barba-wi|-gubu-ŋ,<sup>1</sup> baru-wi|-gubu-ŋ  
 however 3Pl/3Pl-(bones) burn-Caus-PPun 3Pl/3MaSg-  
 ŋi-waŋgiñ?-gič-uŋ, ŋi-maŋda:laŋi-gič-iñuŋ-yuŋ, ŋi-wan-yuŋ  
 MaSg-one-All-Abs MaSg-man's name-All-Rel-Abs MaSg-Pron-Abs  
 ŋi-jara-yuŋ baru-wi|-gubi-č-ič,  
 MaSg-what's it?-Abs 3Pl/3MaSg-(bones) burn-Caus-Neg-P  
 \* ŋi-marŋa-yuŋ, baru-|i-ramd-i ma-road-gi  
 MaSg-man's name-Abs 3Pl/3MaSg-side-spear-PPun MA-road-Loc  
 ŋi-ruđu-du-ŋi-?gu?, gugubara.  
 3MaSg-Rdp-go-PCon-while pl.n.

However, they (later) burned their bones — or rather they burned the bones of one of them, those of maŋda:laŋi. As for the other, marŋa, they did not burn his bones. Someone had speared him in the side, as he was walking on the road, at gugubara.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup>Should be baru- instead of barba-, and in the next word Sandy corrects himself.

<sup>2</sup>When a person is believed to have been murdered (either by magic or by direct means), Aborigines in the Roper River area may burn the deceased's bones. This is thought to harm the murderer. In the instance referred to this procedure was thought to have been effective, since another man died some time later and it was decided that he had been the murderer.

TEXT 12 (Sandy)

Reminiscences of a Police Tracker

12.1

gu-wolo-yuŋ, malk-waŋgiñ?, ñar-ig-i::: ŋa-ki-?, gu-wolo  
 GU-that-Abs time-one 1PlEx-go-PPun there GU-that  
 yanači-yiñuŋ, ŋi-jara ŋi-wolo ŋi-policeman-yuŋ  
 long ago-Rel MaSg-what's it? MaSg-that MaSg -Abs  
 baru-maka-na, ŋi-ja-major-gi-ñ, ŋi-Conklin,  
 3Pl/3MaSg-call-Pr 3MaSg-now-major-Inch-PPun MaSg-policeman's name  
 ŋaya, ŋi-jambu|aŋa, ñar-ga-riđ-i,  
 I MaSg-man's name 1PlEx-Sub-go-PPun

One time we went there. What's-his-name?, from a long time ago, that policeman — that is what they call him (in English) — Conklin [spelling approximate], I, and jambu|aŋa (Wallace) all went.

12.2

ñar-ŋa?-buŋa:::-ŋ, ŋa-ki-ñ, ŋi-yul  
 1PlEx-still-rush along-PPun there MaSg-Aboriginal  
 baru-maka-na maŋga? ŋi-ñja ŋi-wolo-yuŋ,  
 3Pl/3MaSg-call-Pr maybe MaSg-who? MaSg-that-Abs  
 ŋi-wačibuy maŋga?, jipa? baru-walŋa-kaŋ-i-pula  
 MaSg-man's name maybe later 3Pl/3MaSg-body-chase-PPun-Du  
 ŋaŋi-č, baru-walŋa-kaŋ-i ŋa-ki-? ŋaŋi, ŋaŋi-yala-yuŋ  
 west-All there west west-Abl-Abs  
 baru-waŋi-ñ-bula, ŋaya-gič ŋi-gari?-jo|k-d-i  
 3Pl/3MaSg-take back-PPun-Du I-All 3MaSg-vainly-go past-Aug-PPun  
 baŋja-baŋ,  
 arm-grab

We drove along. An Aboriginal man was there, they call him maybe —, who was that man? Maybe it was wačibuy. Then they (Conklin and Wallace) pursued him westward, they followed him in the west (while the narrator remained in the east). Then they drove him back from the west. He tried to slip past me, but I grabbed him by the arm.

12.3

a-jara-yuŋ bara-ga-yo-ŋana, a-manba-?wañji?,  
 A-what's it?-Abs 3Pl/A-Sub-put on-Pr A-armband-like  
 bara-maka-na a-jara, handcuff, ñaru-bak-yu-ŋ,  
 3Pl/A-call-Pr A-what's it? 1PlEx/3MaSg-Ben-put on-PPun  
 ñaru-waŋi-ñ, ñaru-waŋi-ñ,  
 1PlEx/3MaSg-take back-PPun

ñaru-mir?-ñil?-bo-m, gu-house-gaña?-gi, gu-jailhouse  
1PLEx/3MaSg-jail-confine-Aux-PPun GU- -Dimin-Loc GU-

gu-wolo baru-ga-maka-na, ba-munana-tu-yuŋ,  
GU-that 3PL/GU-Sub-call-Pr PL-white man-Erg-Abs

They put on the what's-it?, like an armband. They call it what's-it?, 'handcuff'. We put it on him, and brought him back. We brought him back and locked him up in the little house - the Whites call it 'jailhouse'.

12.4

ñačuweleñ-uŋ, ñar-ja-juy?-d-i, early fellow-yuŋ,  
then-Abs 1PLEx-now-send-Aug-PPun morning-Abs

early fellow-?may? guŋukuwič-uŋ,<sup>1</sup> ñi-ga-ñawk-ñawk-d-i  
-Neg morning-Abs 3MaSg-Sub-Rdp-speak-Aug-PPun

gu-ni-ñ, mala?-ič-wolo-yuŋ, ñaru-ja-juy?-d-i,  
that's all at that time 1PLEx/3MaSg-now-send-Aug-PPun

ñi-ja-ñ-i: gu-rer-gi ña-ki-?, ba-wur?wurunu-gi,  
3MaSg-now-sit-PCon GU-camp-Loc there Pl-elder-Loc

Then we sent (him) in the morning. He spoke (in court). At that time we sent him away, he stayed in the camp among the old people.

12.5

ñi-wan-yuŋ buluki? ñi-Conklin-yuŋ  
MaSg-Pron-Abs also MaSg-policeman's name-Abs

ñi-ga-yič-ña-ŋ, 'may?, ñaru-ga-n ña-ču-?  
3MaSg-Sub-mind-hear-PPun Well, 1PLEx/3MaSg-carry-Fut that way

Bagot-gič' ñi-yimi-ñ-?, Bagot-gič ñaru-ja-ga-ŋ,  
pl.n.-All 3MaSg-say-PPun-Ø 1PLEx/3MaSg-now-carry-PPun

ñaru-ga-ŋ ña-ki-? ñaŋi, ñaru-waŋi-ñ ñaru-ga-ŋ,  
there west 1PLEx/3MaSg-abandon-PPun

government office-gi, ña-ki-ñ ñar-ja-laŋ-ŋ-i:,  
-Loc there 1PLEx-now-Ø-sit-PCon

As for Conklin, he was thinking. 'We'll take him to Bagot (Reserve, near Darwin),' he said. We took him to Bagot. We took him westward and left him, we took him to the government office and waited (sitting).

12.6

ñi-Ted Ervin-yuŋ ñi-yimi-ñ-? 'ñi-ñja miri?  
MaSg-man's name-Abs 3MaSg-say-PPun-Ø MaSg-who?

<sup>1</sup>Sandy first used the Pidgin English term *early fellow* (morning), then corrected himself and produced the Ngandi term *guŋukuwič-uŋ*.

ñi-ni-?-yuŋ', 'ñi-wačibuy ñi-na-ri-yuŋ', 'miri?  
MaSg-this-Ø-Abs MaSg-man's name MaSg-that-Imm-Abs Interrog

ñi-yimi-ñ-?-d-i', may? giyaŋ  
3MaSg-do thus-PPun-Ø-Aux PPun Well, I think

ñi-ga-yimi-ñ-?-d-i 'ñi-ganam-warjak,  
3MaSg-Sub-say-PPun-Ø-Aug-PPun MaSg-ear-bad

ŋarguni-ña-č-may? bala-wangiñ?-yuŋ', ñowoŋi  
3MaSg/1PLIn-hear-Neg-Pr side-one-Abs we (DuEx)

ñari-yimi-ñ-?, ñi-jara-pula-yuŋ ñi-ña:-pula-yuŋ,  
1DuEx-say-PPun-Ø MaSg-what's it?-and-Abs MaSg-man's name-and-Abs

Ted Ervin (a high-ranking government official) said, 'Who is this?' 'That is wačibuy,' (said Conklin). 'What did he do?,' I think he (Ervin) said. 'He is deaf, he cannot hear us on one side,' the two of us said, me and what's-his-name?, ña: (Charley).

12.7

ñi-wan-yuŋ ñi-Ted Ervin-du-yuŋ, xxx, ñi-welfare  
MaSg-Pron-Abs MaSg-man's name-Erg-Abs MaSg-welfare officer

baru-ga-maka-na, ñi-ga-jara-di-na,  
3PL/3MaSg-Sub-call-Pr 3MaSg-Sub-what's it?-Inch-Pr

ñi-ga-borama-ti-na ba-yul-ku-yuŋ, ñi-wan-yuŋ  
3MaSg-Sub-boss-Inch-Pr Pl-Aboriginal-Dat-Abs MaSg-Pron-Abs

jambarpuyŋu-wala ñini-ja-bak-ñawk-d-i, ñi-wan-yuŋ  
language name-Abl 3MaSg/3MaSg-now-Ben-speak-Aug-PPun MaSg-Pron-Abs

ñi-yul-yuŋ ñi-yimi-ñ-?, 'may? bala-ma:k,  
MaSg-Aboriginal-Abs 3MaSg-say-PPun-Ø Well, side-good

bala-wangiñ?, ñabara-ga-ña-čini ba-ga-ñawk-du-ni,  
side-one 1Sg/3PL-Sub-hear-Pr 3PL-Sub-speak-Aug-Pr

buluki? bala-wiripu-wala-yuŋ ña-ganam-gam?',  
also side-other-Abl-Abs 1Sg-ear-be closed up

As for Ted Ervin - they call him 'welfare (officer)', he is what's-it?, he is the boss for Aborigines - he spoke to him (wačibuy) in the jambarpuyŋu language (of northeast Arnhem Land). As for the Aboriginal (wačibuy), he said 'Well, I can hear them speaking on one side (i.e. with one of my ears), the good side, but on the other side my ear is closed up.'

12.8

'nugan-yuŋ ñi-ki-? nu-ja-ñi-ñañ, a-jara-tu  
you(Sg)-Abs here 2Sg-now-sit-Fut A-what's it?-Abs

a-doctor-du ñugura-ja-ganam-ña-n', ñaru-yimi-n?gubu-ŋ  
A- -Erg A/2Sg-now-ear-see-Fut 1PLEx/3MaSg-say-Caus-PPun

ñowon-i-wič ñar-ja-waki-ñ,  
we (MaDuEx)-Emph 1PlEx-now-return-PPun

'You stay here. A doctor will examine your ear,' we told him, the two of us. We went back (to the Roper River area).

12.9

gu-yimin?-gi-yun gu-wolo-yun nu-ga-ya?-work-gu-η  
GU-business-Loc-Abs GU-that-Abs 2Sg-Sub-if-work-Aug-Fut  
a-jara-gi-yun, a-policeman-gi-yun nu-yo-ñič-i,  
A-what's it?-Loc-Abs A- -Loc-Abs 2Sg-sleep-Neg-Fut  
gu-na?-dubur-ma:k, ma-ηere-yun numa-ηu-tij-i  
GU-still-business-good MA-rest-Abs 2Sg/MA-consume-Neg-Fut

nu-yo-ñič-i,

If you work in that business, among police (as a tracker), you will not get any sleep. That is true, you will not get much rest, you will not sleep.

12.10

nu-buηa-puηa-n baηa-motorcar-wič-un muηuy?  
2Sg-Rdp-rush along-Fut Com- -having-Abs always  
nubara-miya-mi-yaη ba-yul-yun gu-na-ri gu-jaηk  
2Sg/3Pl-Rdp-get-Fut Pl-person-Abs GU-that-Imm GU-water  
ba-ga-bun-ηu-čini gu-na-ji-ri gu-mañ-warjak,  
3Pl-Sub-water-eat-Pr GU-that-kind-Imm GU-taste-bad  
gu-mañ-warjak-may? gu-na?-mañ-mak, ba-ga-yu-ηa-yiñun  
GU-taste-bad-Neg GU-still-taste-good 3Pl-Sub-sleep-Pr-Rel  
ma-road-bič, gu-wolo nubara-ga-mi-yaη,  
MA- -Per GU-that 2Sg/3Pl-Sub-get-Fut

You will drive along in a motorcar. You will always be arresting people who drink that liquid, that bad-tasting kind - not bad-tasting, good-tasting (i.e. beer) -, as they sleep along the road. You will arrest them.

12.11

buluki? ba-mala-galič-un, ba-ηaηar-burkayi-yun,  
also Pl-group-some-Abs Pl-dangerous-really-Abs  
\* nubara-ga-girič-a-η, nuba-mili?-ramda-∅, ma-jara  
2Sg/3Pl-Sub-head for-Fut 3Pl/2Sg-lest-spear-Evit MA-what's it?  
buluki? nugu-ga-ga-n, gu-jara ηuni, gu-jara  
also 2Sg/GU-Sub-carry-Fut GU-what's it? damn!

baru-maka-na, gu-revolver baru-ga-maka-na ñi-ču-?  
3Pl/GU-call-Pr GU- -Sub- this way  
gu-pocket-gič nugu-ga-yi-yaη, gañju? bargu-ηa-č-i  
GU- -All 2Sg/GU-Sub-put in-Fut 3Pl/GU-see-Neg-Fut

ba-yul-tu-yun,  
Pl-person-Erg-Abs

Then there are some others who are quite dangerous. You will go after them. So that they cannot spear you, you carry a what's-it?, what is it now? They call it 'revolver', that is what they call it. You will put it inside here, in the pocket. That way the people (Aboriginals) cannot see it.

12.12

ñi-wolo ña-ču-wala-? ñi-ηaηar-yun, nu-ga-ruđu-η,  
MaSg-that from there MaSg-dangerous-Abs 2Sg-Sub-go-Fut  
nunu-bak-bolk-du-η, ñi-jara-tu, 'ña-ču-?  
2Sg/3MaSg-Ben-appear-Aug-Fut MaSg-what's it?-Erg that way  
ñā-ja-ruđu-η ñi-policeman-gič', nu-yima-raη-?,  
1DuIn-now-go-Fut MaSg- -All 2Sg-say-Fut-∅  
an-yun gu-wolo ñi-ga-ya?-ηaηar-du-η  
as for GU-that 3MaSg-Sub-if-be unrestrainable-Aug-Fut  
ñi-ga-yarara?-du-η nuguni-ga-ya?-ram-da-η,  
3MaSg-Sub-hook up spear-Aug-Fut 3MaSg/2Sg-Sub-if-spear-Aug-Fut  
nugan-yun numa-yuryur-du-η, mala?-ič-wolo-yun dow  
you(Sg)-Abs 2Sg/MA-dodge-Aug-Fut at that time Pow!  
nunu-gur?war-du-η xxx nuguni-ga-ramdi-č-i,  
2Sg/3MaSg-shoot-Aug-Fut 3MaSg/2Sg-Sub-spear-Neg-Fut

After that you will go after the dangerous man and appear to him. What's-his-name -. 'You and I are going that way, to the policeman,' you will say. If he becomes wild, hooks his spear (onto his woomera), and (tries to) spear you, you will dodge (the spear), then Pow!, you will shoot him. That way he will not spear you.

12.13

gu-wolo-yun, ñari-wo-čalja-ruđu-η, ñi-yul-mak-burkayi-yun,  
GU-that-Abs 2MaDu-both-together-go-Fut MaSg-person-good-really-Abs  
gu-wolo-yun, nunu-ja-ga-n, nunu-ga-n ña-ki-?,  
2Sg/3MaSg-now-carry-Fut there  
'a-ñja-ku nubara-ga-ram-d-i ba-yul-yun', may?  
why? 2Sg/3Pl-Sub-spear-Aug-PPun Pl-person-Abs Well,  
bawan-du balaka ña-ču-wala-?, ba-ga-start 'em-d-i  
they-Erg first from there 3Pl-Sub- -Aug-PPun

ba-ga-dubur-jara-di-ñ                      ba-ga-dubur-warjaki-ñ  
3PL-Sub-business-what's it?-Inch-PPun    3PL-Sub-business-be wrong-PPun

ḡaya-gič,    ḡaya-yuḡ    buluki?  
I-All            I-Abs            also

ḡabara-ja-bag-ič-gamba?-g-i,                      gu-wolo-gi  
1Sg/3PL-now-Ben-Ø-get revenge on-Aug-PPun    GU-that-Loc

ḡabara-ga-ḡam-g-i',  
1Sg/3PL-Sub-spear-Aug-PPun

Then the two of you go together, (you and the man, who is now) a well-behaved person. You will take him there. (The policeman says,) 'Why did you spear those people?' (The man says,) 'Well, they started it first. They were what's-it?, they did some bad things to me. I then got revenge on them, that's why I speared them.'

12.14

'gaḡa    ḡu-ja-ḡi-ḡič-i                      ḡugan-yuḡ,    muḡuy?-yuḡ  
Oh!            2Sg-now-sit-Neg-Fut            you(Sg)-Abs    always-Abs

gu-jara-gi-yuḡ,                      gu-jailhouse-gi-yuḡ,    maḡa?, gu-Christmas  
GU-what's it?-Loc-Abs    GU-                      -Loc-Abs            maybe    GU-

gu-waḡiñ?    mala?-ič-wolo    ḡu-ga-waki-ḡ',                      mal-kalič-uḡ,  
GU-one            at that time            2Sg-Sub-return-Fut            times-some-Abs

'ḡi-gurḡa    ḡi-yapan?,    mala?-ič-wolo    ḡu-ga-waki-ḡ',  
NI-month            NI-two

'Oh! Then you cannot stay (in your settlement). (You will stay) in the what's-it?, in the jailhouse. Maybe after one year ('Christmas'), then you will go back.' Sometimes (the policeman says), 'Two months, then you will go back.'

12.15

mal-kalič-uḡ,                      ḡini-ga-yimi-nḡguba-na,                      'ḡi-yapan?    ḡi-waḡiñ?  
times-some-Abs                      3MaSg/3MaSg-Sub-say-Caus-Pr                      NI-two            NI-one

ḡi-gurḡa-yuḡ,                      mala?-ič-wolo    ḡu-ja-waki-ḡ,                      buluki?-yuḡ  
NI-month-Abs            at that time            2Sg-now-return-Fut            also-Abs

ḡubara-ja-ḡam-gi-č-i                      gu-wolo-yuḡ,    ḡuḡgayi  
2Sg/3PL-now-spear-Aug-Neg-Fut                      GU-that-Abs            merely

ḡu-ja-ḡi-ñḡaḡ                      ma-gami-yuḡ                      yanači                      ḡuma-waḡu-ḡuḡ',  
2Sg-now-sit-Fut            MA-spear-Abs                      long ago            2Sg/MA-abandon-Fut

ḡini-yimi-nḡguba-na                      ḡa-ču-wala-?                      ḡi-jara-tu,  
3MaSg/3MaSg-say-Caus-Pr                      from there                      MaSg-what's it?-Erg

ḡi-policeman-du,  
MaSg-                      -Erg

Sometimes he tells him, 'Three months, then you will go back. You will not spear anyone more. You will just sit (quietly). You will leave spears behind.' The what's-it?, the policeman, tells him that.

12.16

gu-wolo-yuḡ,    ḡi-ja-dubur-yika-n-jini,  
GU-that-Abs            3MaSg-now-business-behave-Aug-Pr

ḡi-ja-dubur-warjaki-č-may?                      muḡuy?-yuḡ,    gamakun?  
3MaSg-now-business-be wrong-Neg-Pr                      always-Abs            properly

ḡi-ja-ḡu-ḡa,                      ḡi-yul-yuḡ                      ḡi-wolo-yuḡ,    muḡuy?  
3MaSg-now-sit-Pr                      MaSg-man-Abs                      MaSg-that-Abs

ḡi-ja-ḡu-ḡa                      gamakun?,    an-yuḡ    ba-mala-galič-uḡ  
3MaSg-now-sit-Pr                      properly            as for    Pl-group-some-Abs

ba-ja-laḡ-ḡuḡu-ni                      ḡa-ču-?-yuḡ,    ba-yul-yuḡ,                      barba-ga-ma-ni,  
3PL-now-Ø-go-Pr                      that way                      3PL-person-Abs                      3PL/3PL-Sub-get-Pr

mal-kalič-uḡ,                      gu-ni-?                      buluki?-yuḡ,                      Roper-yuḡ                      gu-ni-?-yuḡ  
times-some-Abs                      GU-this-Ø                      also-Abs                      pl.n.-Abs                      GU-this-Ø-Abs

ba-ga-?-bun-ḡu-čini,                      barguni-ga-ma-ni,  
3PL-Sub-Dur-water-eat-Pr                      3MaSg/3PL-Sub-get-Pr

After that he behaves well, he does not behave badly, for good. He stays (quietly) as he should. That man stays (quietly) as he should. On the other hand, some people go there (to a pub), they (policemen) arrest them (after they get drunk). Sometimes at this place, Roper River, he (the policeman) arrests the ones who are always drinking.

12.17

barguni-ñil?-bu-mana-bugi?                      gu-wolo-gi-yuḡ,    ḡuḡukuwič-uḡ  
3MaSg/3PL-confine-Aux-Pr-only                      GU-that-Loc-Abs                      morning-Abs

barguni-juj?,                      gu-wolo-yuḡ,                      jipa?    ḡa-ču-wala-?,    ḡaḡi-yala  
3MaSg/3PL-send                      GU-that-Abs                      later            from there                      west-Abl

gu-Darwin-wala,                      gu-paper                      baru-ga-juj?                      mala?-ič-wolo  
GU-                      -Abl                      GU-                      3PL/GU-Sub-send                      at that time

ḡi-buḡa-n-jini,                      gu-money                      barguni-maḡ-wur?                      bo-wolo-gič-uḡ  
3MaSg-rush-Aug-Pr                      GU-                      3MaSg/3PL-hand-pluck                      Pl-that-All-Abs

gu-ni-ñ,                      ja-boñ,  
that's all                      now-finish

He locks them up in that (jailhouse). In the morning he sends them away. Later from there, from the west, from Darwin they send a paper (i.e. a warrant). He drives then. He takes the money (about \$10 to pay for the warrant) from them, and that is that.

12.18

an-yuŋ gu-money-tu-yuŋ ŋa-ču-? ŋaŋi-č Katherine-gič  
 as for GU- -Inst-Abs that way west-All pl.n.-All

barguni-ga-n-jini, ŋi-na-ri ŋi-policeman-du-yuŋ, muŋuy?  
 3MaSg/3Pl-Sub-Aug-Pr MaSg-that-Imm MaSg- -Erg-Abs always

ŋi-ga-yima-ŋaŋ-?, ŋi-na-ri-yuŋ, ŋi-ni-?-yuŋ  
 3MaSg-Sub-do thus-Fut-Ø -Abs MaSg-this-Ø-Abs

ŋi-ja-waki-ŋ muka, ŋi-ja-ruđu-ŋ, ŋi-ni-?  
 3MaSg-now-return-Fut indeed 3MaSg-now-go-Fut NI-this-Ø

ŋi-gurŋa ŋi-ga-wati-ñ ŋi-gurŋa-waŋgiñ?-gu ŋi-ja-ruđu-ŋ  
 NI-month NI-Sub-die-PPun NI-month-one-Dat 3MaSg-now-go-Fut

ŋaŋi-č ŋa-ču-?, Darwin-gič,  
 west-All that way pl.n.-All

With the money, that policeman always takes them west, to Katherine (a city south of Darwin). He will always do that. Then he will come back. The month ended. For one month he will go west to Darwin.

12.19

manga? ŋi-ñja ŋi-na-ri ŋi-policeman-yuŋ ŋa-ki-?  
 maybe MaSg-who? MaSg-that-Imm MaSg- -Abs there

ŋi-ga-ŋi-ñŋaŋ Roper Bar-yuŋ, ŋi-ni-?  
 3MaSg-Sub-sit-Fut pl.n.-Abs MaSg-this-Ø

ŋi-Grahame-yuŋ ŋi-ja-ruđu-ŋ ŋa-ču-? ŋaŋi-č,  
 MaSg-policeman's name-Abs 3MaSg-now-go-Fut that way west-All

ŋaguni-ga-yimi-n?gubu-ŋ, ŋi-wan-yuŋ ŋi-go!okonɔdo-yuŋ  
 3MaSg/1Sg-Sub-say-Caus-PPun MaSg-Pron-Abs MaSg-man's name-Abs

ŋi-ja-waki-ŋ bičara-gič, gu-na-ri-kič  
 3MaSg-now-return-Fut what's it place?-All GU-that-Imm-All

settlement-gič, ŋi-ja-work-di-j-i Saturday-uŋ,  
 -All 3MaSg-now-work-Aug-Neg-Fut -Abs

Maybe what's-his-name?, that policeman will stay there at Roper Bar (the police station). This man Grahame (the policeman) will go west. He told me. As for go!okonɔdo (Roy, another police tracker), he will go back to what's-it?, there to the settlement (Roper River), he will not work, (because) it is Saturday.

12.20

manga? ba-yul ba-waŋgiñ? barguni-ga-yi-yaŋ,  
 maybe Pl-person Pl-one 3MaSg/3Pl-Sub-put in-Fut

bowoŋi-yuŋ manga? ŋi-ja-ŋa-pula-yuŋ  
 they (MaDu)-Abs maybe MaSg-what's it?-and-Abs

ŋi-mulugaŋaŋa-pula bari-ja-waki-ŋ, bari-yul bari-yapan?  
 MaSg-man's name-and MaDu-now-return-Fut MaDu-person MaDu-two

barba-ga-yi-yaŋ, garka bari-ga-?-yimi-ri-?,  
 3Pl/3Pl-Sub-put in-Fut like 3MaDu-Sub-Dur-do that-PCon-Ø

yamba gu-jara-ku, gu-na-ri gu-maɣayin-gu,  
 because GU-what's it?-Dat GU-that-Imm GU-name of ceremony-Dat

ba-ga-ŋi-ñŋaŋ, manga? ba-ŋi-ŋič-i yimič ŋabara-ŋa-č-ič,  
 3Pl-Sub-sit-Fut 3Pl-sit-Neg-Fut but 1Sg/3Pl-see-Neg-P

ba-ga-?-yimi-ri-? giyaŋ ba-ga-ŋi-ñŋaŋ ŋučalayi,  
 3Pl- thinking pl.n.

Maybe he (the policeman) will put someone (in the tracker's job, as a replacement). Maybe those two, (go!okonɔdo) and mulugaŋaŋa (Sam, who also worked as a tracker) will go back (to Roper River). They will put two (other) men (in their job). They (go!okonɔdo and mulugaŋaŋa) used to do that a lot, because (they thought), 'They (the men of the Roper River area) will stay (at the ceremonial area) for what's-it?, for a maɣayin ceremony. Maybe not, I did not (actually) see them,' they used to think. They thought, 'They will stay at ŋučalayi (a billabong near Roper River).'

12.21

ŋaya-ɬu ŋabara-ga-yimi-n?gubu-ŋ, ŋanu-ga-yimi-n?gubu-ŋ,  
 I-Erg 1Sg/3Pl-Sub-say-Caus-PPun 1Sg/3MaSg-

ŋi-jara-gič-uŋ ŋi-jambu!aŋa-gič-uŋ, muŋuy?  
 MaSg-what's it?-All-Abs MaSg-man's name-All-Abs always

ŋi-na-ri ŋi-ga-yima-na-? ŋi-buŋa-n-jini  
 MaSg-that-Imm 3MaSg-Sub-do that-Pr-Ø 3MaSg-rush-Aug-Pr

bičara, Porter Barracks ŋa-ki-ñ barguni-ga-ŋa-čini,  
 what's it place? pl.n. there 3MaSg/3Pl-Sub-see-Pr

ba-wan-yuŋ ba-ni-?-yuŋ ba-jara-ɬu-yuŋ, gu-jaŋk  
 Pl-Pron-Abs Pl-this-Ø-Abs Pl-what's it?-Erg-Abs GU-water

ba-ga-?-bun-ŋu-čini, muŋuy?-yuŋ, muŋuy?  
 3Pl-Sub-Dur-water-eat-Pr always-Abs

barguni-ga-mar-wur?,  
 3MaSg/3Pl-Sub-hand-pluck

I told them - I told him, what's-his-name?,ambu!aŋa (Wallace, another tracker). That man always does that, he drives to what's-it?, to Porter Barracks. He sees them there, these men are - they often drink grog ('water'). He always takes it away from them.

12.22

gu-na-ji-ñ-iñuŋ gu-bottle-garŋarŋ?-yuŋ, gu-na-ji-ñ-iñuŋ  
 GU-that-kind-Ø-Rel GU- -big-Abs

gu-baṭa-lambak-wič-un    ba-bun-ṅu-čini,    gu-baṭa-lambak-wič-un  
GU-Com-can-having-Abs    3Pl-water-eat-Pr

gu-beer    gu-wolo-yuṅ    baru-ga-maka-na,    ba-ga-bu-yḡi-na-ku  
GU-    GU-that-Abs    3Pl/GU-Sub-call-Pr    3Pl-Sub-hit-Recip-Pr-while

gu-danda?    baru-ga-ma-ni    ba-ga-ləŋ-bač-i-na  
GU-stick    3Pl/GU-Sub-get-Pr    3Pl-Sub-head-hit-Refl-Pr

gu-yimin?-dubur-warjak,    gu-wolo-ku    barguni-ga-ṅa-čini,  
GU-business-business-bad    GU-that-Dat    3MaSg/3Pl-Sub-see-Pr

*They drink that kind, (in) the big bottle (i.e. hard liquor), (and) that kind in the can. They call the kind in the can 'beer'. They get sticks when they fight, they hit each other on the top of the head. He (jambuṅa) sees them because of that, it is a bad business.*

12.23

buluki?    gu-wolo-yuṅ    barguni-ma-č-i,    ṅungayi  
also    GU-that-Abs    3MaSg/3Pl-get-Neg-Fut    merely

ba-ga-bun-ṅu-nuṅ    ba-ga-ṛum?-du-ṅ    barguni-ma-č-i  
3Pl-Sub-water-eat-Fut    3Pl-Sub-go to sleep-Aug-Fut

gu-yaku,    ba-wan-yuṅ    buluki?    yimič    ba-?-dubur-warjaka-na,  
GU-absent    Pl-Pron-Abs    also    bus    3Pl-Dur-business-be bad-Pr

ba-jara-?may?,    bargu-mañ-ika-č-may?    gu-yimin?-yuṅ  
Pl-what's it?-Neg    3Pl/GU-taste-apply self to-Neg-Pr    GU-thing-Abs

bargu-mañ-ika-n-jini    waray,  
3Pl/GU-taste-apply self to-Aug-Pr    indeed

*He will not arrest the ones who just drink and go to sleep (on the ground), he will not arrest them. But they are acting badly. They do not taste the thing (liquor), or rather they do taste it.*

12.24

maik-gawa?-gawa?    bargu-mañ-ḡa-bo-m    gu-na-ji-ri-yuṅ,  
time-Rdp-now    3Pl/GU-taste-try-Aux-PPun    GU-that-kind-Imm-Abs

gu-mañ-warjak-yuṅ,    ba-mala-galič-uṅ    ba-ma:k,    ba-mala-galič-uṅ  
GU-taste-bad-Abs    Pl-group-some-Abs    Pl-good

ba-warja-warjak,    ba-na-ri-gapul-yuṅ,    ba-ga-bun-ṅu-čini  
Pl-Rdp-bad    Pl-that-Imm-several-Abs    3Pl-Sub-water-eat-Pr

ba-na?-ṅaṅar-ku,  
Pl-still-dangerous-while

*Now they have tasted that kind of thing, the bad-tasting (liquor and beer). Some people are good, others are bad, a few of those, when they drink and become dangerous.*

12.25

ṅi-wan-yuṅ    yakaḡa    ṅi-policeman-yuṅ    ṅa-ki-ñ-bugi?,    yanači  
MaSg-Pron-Abs       MaSg-    -Abs    there    -still

baṭ    barguni-ma-ni    barguni-ga-n-jini    barguni-lock 'em up,  
get    3MaSg/3Pl-get-Pr    3MaSg/3Pl-carry-Aug-Pr

barguni-lock 'em up-may?    barguni-ñil?-bu-mana<sup>1</sup>    gu-yele-gič,  
-Neg    3MaSg/3Pl-confine-Aux-Pr    GU-hole-All

early fellow,    early fellow-?may?    guṅukuwič<sup>1</sup>    barguni-ja-juy?,  
morning    -Neg    morning    3MaSg/3Pl-now-send

gu-ga-joḡow?-gu?,  
GU-Sub-be daylight-while

*The policeman arrests them there. He takes them and locks them up in the hole (jail). In the morning he sends them away, when it becomes light out.*

12.26

ma-ṅič    barma-ṅu-čini    alanga?    juy?    barguni-ga-n-jini,  
MA-food    3Pl/MA-eat-Pr    then    send    3MaSg/3Pl-carry-Aug-Pr

munuy?    ṅi-ga-yima-na-?,    ṅa-ki-?,    ba-yul-yuṅ,  
always    3MaSg-Sub-do that-Pr-∅    there    Pl-Aboriginal-Abs

ba-munaga-gič    ba-yul-gič    ṅi-ga-yima-na-?,  
Pl-White-All    -All

*They eat food (for breakfast) and then he sends them away. He always does that there. He does it to Aborigines and Whites (equally).*

12.27

ṅi-ṛiḡ-i:::    ṅi-waṅiñ?    buluki?    ṅi-munaga,    bari-yapan?,  
3MaSg-go-PPun    MaSg-one    also    MaSg-White    MaDu-two

ṅa-ni-ñ-uṅ    ṅa-jara-yuṅ    ṅa-ḡiṅ?-yuṅ    ṅa-Indian,  
FeSg-that-∅-Abs    FeSg-what's it?-Abs    FeSg-woman-Abs

ṅi-goḡokoṅḡo-bula    bari-ga-ṛiḡ-i,    bičara-gič,  
MaSg-man's name-and    3MaDu-Sub-go-PPun    what's it place?-All

Red Lily-yuṅ    ṅa-ču-?,    gu-na-?-burkayi    ṅaṅi,    ja-guḡupu?  
pl.n.-Abs    that way    GU-that-∅-really    west    now-this way

bičara,    bululan    bargu-maka-na,  
what's it place?    pl.n.    3Pl/GU-call-Pr

<sup>1</sup>Sandy first used a Pidgin English verb with Ngandi prefix, then corrected this to a completely Ngandi word.

One White man went, (or rather) two of them, (along with) that what's-it?, an Indian woman. (Meanwhile,) go|okoŋdo (Roy, an Aboriginal police tracker) and one other man went toward Red Lily (a place). It is far to the west; on this side (of Red Lily) is what's-it?, they call it bululan (another place).

12.28

ŋa-ki-ñ ba-ga-ŋ-i:, baṭa-motorcar-wič,  
there 3Pl-Sub-sit-PCon Com- -having

barma-yara-ma-y, ŋini-juj?-d-i  
3Pl/MA-thief-take-PPun 3MaSg/3MaSg-send-Aug-PPun

ŋi-go|okoŋdo-gič-uŋ ŋi-ri-d-i::: ŋa-ki-? barguni-ŋa-y,  
MaSg-man's name-All-Abs 3MaSg-go-PPun there 3MaSg/3Pl-see-PPun

'ba-na-ri yaw baṭa-motorcar-wič' ŋi-yimi-ñ-?,  
Pl-that-Imm there! 3MaSg-say-PPun-∅

'ñabara-waṭu-ruŋ', jipa? guŋukuwič bari-ruŋ?-d-i,  
1DuIn/3Pl-leave-Fut later morning 3MaDu-go to sleep-Aug-PPun

They (the two White men and the Indian) stopped there (at bululan), having a motorcar. They had stolen it. He (the policeman) sent go|okoŋdo. He went and saw them there. (The policeman accompanied him.) He said (to the policeman), 'There they are over there with the motorcar. We will leave them alone (for the time being).' The two of them went to sleep until the morning.

12.29

bari-yo-ŋi:::ñ gu-ja-mal-karkarbaṛ-d-i japaṭa?,  
3MaDu-sleep-PPun GU-now-time-be morning-Aug-PPun same place

ma-ŋič-uŋ barma-ni-ŋo:::-ŋ, a-jikay?-yūŋ  
MA-food-Abs 3Pl/MA-MaDu-eat-PPun A-bird-Abs

a-na?-ñawk-di-j-ič gu-na?-yaku, bari-ga-ri-d-i::: ŋa-ki-ñ,  
A-still-speak-Aug-Neg-P GU-still-absent 3MaDu-Sub-go-PPun there

barba-bak-bolk-d-i ba-na-? ba-na?-ŋere-yo-y,  
3Pl/3Pl-Ben-appear-Aug-PPun Pl-that-∅ 3Pl-still-rest-sleep-PCon

The two of them slept, then it was morning in that same place. They ate some food. Birds were still not making noises (it was too early). The two of them went there, they came out to these men as they were still asleep.

12.30

gu-jara bargu-ni-ma-y gu-rifle bargu-ni-ma-y,  
GU-what's it? 3Pl/GU-MaDu-get-PPun GU-

bargu-ni-gara-ma-y, boñ, gu-ja-joḍow?  
-all- finish GU-now-be daylight

barba-yimi-n?gubu-ŋ, ba-gari?-ŋeyk-d-i ba-ja-ŋeyk-d-i  
3Pl/3Pl-do that-Caus-PPun 3Pl-vainly-rise-Aug-PPun -now-

baṭa-chain-wič, ma-balku-?wañji? mo-wolo-yūŋ, ba-wan-yūŋ  
Com- -having MA-string-like MA-that-Abs Pl-Pron-Abs

ba-munaŋa-yūŋ a-chain bara-maka-na, handcuff, o-wolo-yūŋ  
Pl-White-Abs A- 3Pl/A-call-Pr A-that-Abs

a-manba-?wañji?-yūŋ,  
A-arnband-like-Abs

The two of them took the what's-it?, the rifle. They took all of them (rifles). It was getting lighter out, they did that to them. They (the Whites and the Indian) got up now, they got up too late ('vainly'). They had chains (handcuffs) on, that thing like string the Whites call 'chain', 'handcuff', like that armband (we use).

12.31

gu-wolo-yūŋ barba-ja-ga-ŋ, ŋa? -ŋi-ču-?  
GU-that-Abs 3Pl/3Pl-now-carry-PPun still -this way

Roper Bar-gič, mo-motorcar-yūŋ mo-wolo-yūŋ, ŋi-go|okoŋdo-gu  
pl.n.-All MA- -Abs MA-that-Abs MaSg-man's name-Erg

ŋima-ja-steer 'em?-du-ŋi ŋi-wan-yūŋ ŋi-policeman-yūŋ  
3MaSg/MA-now-drive-Aug-PCon MaSg-Pron-Abs MaSg- -Abs

ra-ga-ra-gi? baṭa-prisoner-wič, ba-prisoner bo-wolo-yūŋ  
Rdp-in front Com- -having Pl- Pl-that-Abs

barba-ga-maka-na, barba-ga-ma-ni-kuyūŋ?-yūŋ, barba-ga-ŋ,  
3Pl/3Pl-Sub-call-Pr 3Pl/3Pl-Sub-get-Pr-while-Abs 3Pl/3Pl-carry-PPun

gu-na-ri police station-gi,  
GU-that-Imm -Loc

They brought them back this way, to Roper Bar (site of the police station). The man go|okoŋdo drove the motorcar, while the policeman (was) up ahead with the prisoners - they (Whites) call them 'prisoners' when they arrest them. They took them to that police station.

12.32

barba-court 'em?-d-i gu-ni-ñ, ŋi-wan-du-yiñuŋ  
3Pl/3Pl-try-Aug-PPun that's all MaSg-Pron-Erg-Rel

ŋi-jara-tu barguni-ga-court 'em?-d-i,  
MaSg-what's it?-Erg 3MaSg/3Pl-Sub-try-Aug-PPun

ŋi-Mr Holloroy-tu-yūŋ, ŋa-ču-wili-ñ ŋi-ga-yimi-ñ-?  
MaSg- -Erg-Abs from there 3MaSg-Sub-do that-PPun-∅

barguni-ja-ga-ŋ Katherine-gič, muŋuy?,  
3MaSg/3Pl-now-carry-PPun pl.n.-All always

Christmas gu-yapan? gu-wolo-yūŋ ba-ga-ŋ-i:,  
GU-two GU-that-Abs 3Pl-Sub-sit-PCon



barba-ga-mir?-ñil?-bo-m,  
3Pl/3Pl-Sub-jail-confine-Aux-PPun

They tried them in court, and that was that. What's-his-name? tried them, Mr Holloroy (presumably a magistrate). He did it, he took them from there to Katherine (a city). They stayed there for a long time, for two years ('two Christmases'), they locked them up in jail.

12.33

ba-yapan? ba-wangiñ? ña-din? bari-woč-dirimu-pula,  
Pl-two Pl-one FeSg-woman MaDu-both-man-and

ba-ga-mo|o-dark-du-ñi, jipa? guru?-guruku  
3Pl-Sub-road-pace-Aug-PCon later Rdp-later

ba-ga-bolk-d-i bo-wolo-gapul-yuñ, ñi-yuñ ña-ki-?  
3Pl-Sub-appear-Aug-PPun Pl-that-several-Abs I-Abs there

bakay, ña-ja-ñ-i:, mala?-ič-wolo-yuñ, ñabara-ja-bak-ña-ni,  
south 1Sg-now-sit-PCon at that time 1Sg/3Pl-now-Ben-Hear-PCon

gu-dowo-yuñ, gu-wolo ba-ga-ñawk-du-ñi, ba-ñawk-di-j-ič  
GU-story-Abs GU-that 3Pl-Sub-speak-Aug-PCon 3Pl-speak-Aug-Neg-P

ba-ga-dowo-bir?-d-i,<sup>1</sup>  
3Pl-Sub-story-tell-Aug-PPun

Three of them, one woman and two men. They paced back and forth (in their jail cells). Quite a while later they came out (from the jail), the several of them. As for me, I was staying to the south (around Alice Springs) at that time. I heard about them. They told the story.

12.34

ñi-yuñ buluki? gu-dawal-wiřipu-gi ña-ga-ñ-i:  
I-Abs also GU-country-other-Loc 1Sg-Sub-sit-PCon

ña?-ñutu-?may? waray gu-dawal-buruburu?, gu-wolo-yuñ  
still-far-Neg indeed GU-country-near GU-that-Abs

gu-dawal-yuñ,  
GU-country-Abs

I was staying in a different country, though not too far away, a nearby country, that country.

12.35

gu-wolo-yuñ ba-ñañar-ku-yuñ, ñi-wolo-yuñ ñi-jara-yuñ,  
GU-that-Abs Pl-dangerous-Dat-Abs MaSg-that-Abs MaSg-what's it?-Abs

ñi-wan-yuñ ñi-policeman-yuñ, ñi-wan-yuñ gu-revolver  
MaSg-Pron-Abs MaSg- -Abs GU-

<sup>1</sup>Sandy has decided that -dowo-bir?-du- is a more appropriate verb here than -ñawk-du-.

ñigu-yo-ñana, ñi-ču-? gu-jorřmor?-bič garakađi?  
3MaSg/GU-put in-Pr this way GU-side of ribs-Per below

ma-shirt-gi,  
MA- -Loc

That what's-his-name?, the policeman, puts a revolver under his shirt along the side of his body around the ribs, for dangerous people.

12.36

ñi-wan-galu buluki? ñi-yul-yuñ  
MaSg-Pron-other also MaSg-Aboriginal-Abs

ñi-na?-yima-na-?, buluki? a-jara-?wañji?,  
3MaSg-still-do that-Pr-Ø also A-what's it?-like

ma-biripiri?-wañji? mąnga?, a-jara ma-wan-yuñ  
MA-nulla nulla-like maybe A-what's it? MA-Pron-Abs

mo-dokmay? ma-na-ri-yuñ, a-dumbuñ-gaña?, a-jara  
MA-long MA-that-Imm-Abs A-short-Dim

bara-maka-na, baton, ñi-ču-? ñiya-na?-yo-ñana  
3Pl/A-call-Pr this way 3MaSg/A-still-put in-Pr

gu-wolo ñi-yul-yuñ ñini-ga-ya?-bu-nuñ,  
GU-that MaSg-Aboriginal-Abs 3MaSg/3MaSg-Sub-if-hit-Fut

ñi-yul-tu-yuñ ña-ču-? ñi-policeman-gič-uñ, ñi-wolo  
MaSg-Aboriginal-Erg-Abs that way MaSg- -All-Abs MaSg-that

ñi-wan-yuñ baru-ga-maka-na, ñi-yul-yuñ  
MaSg-Pron-Abs 3Pl/3MaSg-Sub-call-Pr MaSg-Aboriginal-Abs

ñi-police tracker baru-ga-maka-na you know, ñi-wan-yuñ  
MaSg-

ña-ču-wala-? ñi-ga-wop-du-ñ ñini-ja-ga-|oñ-bača-ñ,  
from there 3MaSg-Sub-jump-Aug-Fut 3MaSg/3MaSg-now-Sub-head-hit-Fut

As for the Aboriginal (i.e. the police tracker), he does that also. Also (he has) a thing like what's-it?, like a nulla nulla (club) perhaps. That (nulla nulla) is a long one, (but the kind the policeman and police tracker have is) a short one. They call it what's-it?, a 'baton' (i.e. a billy-club). He puts it inside (his coat). If an Aboriginal (culprit) attacks the policeman, (or rather) that one whom they call - that Aboriginal whom they call the 'police tracker', he (the tracker) will jump (to dodge a spear) and will hit him (the culprit) on the head (with the club).

12.37

ñini-mamburu-bača-ni mal-kalič-uñ, handcuff  
3MaSg/3MaSg-wrist-hit-Pr times-some-Abs

bara-ja-ni-yo-ñana, ñačuweleñ baru-ja-juy? ñaņi-č,  
3Pl/A-now-MaDu-put on-Pr then 3Pl/3MaSg-now-send west-All

ni-wolo ni-yul-yuŋ ni-ja-warjak-di-na, gu-wolo  
MaSg-that MaSg-Aboriginal-Abs 3MaSg-now-bad-Inch-Pr GU-that

baru-ga-juy? wuluŋ-muŋuy? gu-dawal-wiŋipu-gi-yuŋ,  
3PL/3MaSg-Sub-send for good GU-country-other-Loc-Abs

arŋgu ni-jawulpa-ti-na ni-ja-laŋ-waki-na mala?-ič-wolo,  
until 3MaSg-old man-Inch-Pr 3MaSg-now-Ø-return-Pr at that time

ni-ga-ŋu-ða, ŋa-ki-ñ-uŋ, ni-waŋgiñ?-may? ba-ga-yima-na-?,  
3MaSg-Sub-sit-Pr there MaSg-one-Neg 3PL-Sub-do that-Pr-Ø

ba-biŋ-gič ba-ga-yima-na-?, ba-biŋ-gič ba-ga-yima-na-?  
PL-many-All 3PL-Sub-do that-Pr-Ø

barba-ga-gorŋa-ni gu-wolo-gič-uŋ barba-ga-miŋ?-ñil?-bu-mana,  
3PL/3PL-Sub-put in-Pr GU-that-All-Abs 3PL/3PL-Sub-jail-confine-Aux-Pr

Sometimes he hits him on the wrist, he puts the handcuffs on. Then they send him (the culprit) west. That Aboriginal is doing bad things, so they send him away for a long time to a different country (to be jailed) until he is an old man. Then he comes back. He stays there (in jail) — not just one, they do that to many people. They do that to many people, they put them into that (jail), they lock them up.

12.38

buluki?-yuŋ, ŋa-ki-? ni-yuŋ bičara ŋa-ŋ-i:,  
also-Abs there I-Abs what's it place? 1Sg-sit-PCon

Alice Springs, races ba-ja-ŋ-i: bičara, bičara ŋuni,  
3PL-now-sit-PCon dam!

Hot Rains bargu-maka-na, gu-wan-yuŋ gu-baki-č-di-na  
3PL/GU-call-Pr GU-Pron-Abs GU-south-All-Inch-Pr

bičara-yuŋ Alice Springs-yuŋ, gu-wan-yuŋ Hot Rains  
what's it place?-Abs -Abs

baru-ga-maka-na gu-ŋuri-č-di-na,<sup>1</sup> ŋa-ki-ñ gañju?,  
3PL/GU-Sub-call-Pr GU-north-All-Inch-Pr there

As for me, I was staying there (near) Alice Springs. They were (at) the races at what's-it?, what the hell is its name? — 'Hot Rains' they call it. What's-it?, Alice Springs is to the south, whereas (the place) they call 'Hot Rains' is to the north, right there. (That is, Hot Rains is north of Alice Springs.)

12.39

ni-waŋgiñ? ni-wolo ni-yul-yuŋ ni-jara,  
MaSg-one MaSg-that MaSg-Aboriginal-Abs MaSg-what's it?

Harry Neil, Harry Neil, ni-wolo ni-yul-yuŋ, ni-baŋiđi  
MaSg-subsection name

<sup>1</sup>This word is preceded on the tape by what sounds like guŋupu?-yala ('this way-Ablative'), but during the transcription Sandy asked that this be deleted.

gañju?, ni-riđ-i ŋa-ki-?, gu-jara ni-gu-ma-y,  
3MaSg-go-PPun there GU-what's it? 3MaSg/GU-get-PPun

gu-ñja maŋga?, bargu-maka-na, gu-wolo-yuŋ, ŋorkor-du-yuŋ  
GU-what? maybe 3PL/GU-call-Pr GU-that-Abs we(plIn)-Erg-Abs

ŋargu-maka-na gu-jundu, ba-wan-yuŋ bargu-maka-na opal,  
1PL/c/GU-call-Pr GU-stone PL-Pron-Abs 3PL/GU-call-Pr

gu-wolo-yuŋ,  
GU-that-Abs

That one Aboriginal man, what's-his-name?, Harry Neil, that man was in the baŋiđi subsection. He went there, he took (i.e. stole) that what-do-they-call-it? We call it 'jundu' (stone), while they (the Whites) call that 'opal(s)'.

12.40

gu-wolo-yuŋ ni-gu-ja-yara-ma-y ni-wan yakaða  
GU-that-Abs 3MaSg/GU-now-thief-take-PPun MaSg-Pron

ni-yul-yuŋ ni-dawal-wel-yuŋ nini-ŋa-ni,  
MaSg-Aboriginal-Abs MaSg-country-boss-Abs 3MaSg/3MaSg-see-PCon

ni-wan-yuŋ gu-jara ni-gu-gopi-ri, gu-rifle,  
MaSg-Pron-Abs GU-what's it? 3MaSg/GU-hold-PCon GU-

jipa? nini-bak-bolk-d-i, nini-ja-gur?war-du-ŋi  
later 3MaSg/3MaSg-Ben-appear-Aug-PPun 3MaSg/3MaSg-now-shoot-Aug-PCon

ŋa-ki-?-yuŋ ni-ga-ruđu-du-ŋi-?gu? nini-gur?war-d-i,  
there 3MaSg-Sub-Rđp-go-PCon-while 3MaSg/3MaSg-shoot-Aug-PCon

gu-jara-tu gañju?, gu-twenty two-du,  
GU-what's it?-Inst GU -Inst

He stole that. As for the (other) Aboriginal, the owner of the property, he saw him (Harry Neil). He (the owner) was holding a what's-it?, a rifle. He (the owner) then confronted him, he (the owner) shot him as he was walking along there. He shot him with a what's-it?, with a twenty-two.

12.41

buluki? ni-ga-riđ-i ni-gu-ga-benŋi-ñ  
also 3MaSg-Sub-go-PPun 3MaSg/GU-Sub-step on-PPun

guŋupu?-yuŋ nini-ŋa?-gur?war-d-i, maŋk-yapan?,  
this way-Abs 3MaSg/3MaSg-still-shoot-Aug-PPun times-two

ŋačuweleñ-uŋ buluki?-yuŋ ni-ga-buruburu?-di-ñ-burkayi  
then-Abs also-Abs 3MaSg-Sub-nearby-Inch-PPun-really

nini-ŋa?-gur?war-d-i, maŋk-yapan? waŋgiñ? ni-ja-laŋ-wati-ñ,  
times-two one 3MaSg-now-Ø-die-PPun

ni-wolo-yuŋ, ni-jara-yuŋ ni-Harry Neil-yuŋ,  
MaSg-that-Abs MaSg-what's it?-Abs MaSg -Abs

He (Harry Neil) went on, stepping on (the ground), in this direction. He (the owner) shot him again, a second time. Then he went up very close and shot him again, a third time. He died now, that what's-his-name?, Harry Neil.

12.42

načuweleñ-un    ni-ga-rič-i,    ni-wolo    ni-yul-yuŋ,  
then-Abs    3MaSg-Sub-go-PPun    MaSg-that    MaSg-Aboriginal-Abs

baṭa-rifle-wič-un,    ni-ja-ŋal?-d-i    gu-jundu-gič,  
Com-    -having-Abs    3MaSg-now-go up-Aug-PPun    GU-stone-All

ba-wan-yuŋ    ba-policeman-yuŋ    ba-waki::: -ñ,    ni-wangiñ?  
Pl-Pron-Abs    Pl-    -Abs    3Pl-return-PPun    MaSg-one

ni-yul    baru-maka-na    ni-jara,    ni-Johnny,  
MaSg-Aboriginal    3Pl/3MaSg-call-Pr    MaSg-what's it?    MaSg-

ni-gamaran    ni-wolo-yuŋ    baṭ    baru-ma-y,  
MaSg-subsection name    MaSg-that-Abs    get    3Pl/3MaSg-get-PPun

'nugan-du    nunu-ga-rič-du-ŋ',  
you(Sg)-Erg    2Sg/3MaSg-Sub-look for-Aug-Fut

Then he went away, that Aboriginal man (the owner), with his rifle. He went up into the hills ('stones'). The policemen (after investigating the site of the killing) went back. They got one Aboriginal man whom they call what's-his-name?, Johnny, of the gamaran subsection. (They told him,) 'You will go looking for him.'

12.43

baru-ga-ŋ    baru-waṭi-ñ    na-ki-ñ    bičara,  
3Pl/3MaSg-carry-PPun    3Pl/3MaSg-leave-PPun    there    what's it place?

Hot Rains,    ni-ki-?    ni-wolo    ni-yul-yuŋ  
here    MaSg-that    MaSg-Aboriginal-Abs

ni-ga-bo:-m,    ni-ga-waṅṅa-ka-ri  
3MaSg/3MaSg-Sub-kill-PPun    3MaSg/3MaSg-now-track-chase-PPun

ni-wolo    ni-yul-gič-un,    ma-ŋere-yuŋ    ma-yapan?  
MaSg-that    MaSg-Aboriginal-All-Abs    MA-sleep-Abs    MA-two

ma-wangiñ?    ni-ga-ruŋ?-d-i,    ni-wolo-yuŋ  
MA-one    3MaSg-Sub-go to sleep-Aug-PPun    MaSg-that-Abs

ni-jara-yuŋ    ni-yul-yuŋ    ni-Johnny-yuŋ,  
MaSg-what's it?-Abs    MaSg-Aboriginal-Abs    MaSg-    -Abs

They took him and left him there at what's-it?, Hot Rains, here where he (the owner) had killed him. He followed the tracks of that man (the owner). That what's-his-name, that man Johnny, slept three nights (i.e. three days passed).

12.44

načuweleñ    ni-ga-waŋ?-d-i,    ni-bara-ŋa-y  
then    3MaSg-Sub-look-Aug-PPun    3MaSg/3Pl-see-PPun

ni-na-ŋa-y    na-diŋ?-gič    na-wangiñ?-gič,  
3MaSg/3FeSg-see-PPun    Fe-Sg-woman-All    Fe-Sg-one-All

na-na-ri    no-wolo-tu    Ø-ga-ba-ka-n-di  
FeSg-that-Imm    FeSg-that-Erg    3FeSg/3MaSg-Sub-Ben-carry-Aug-PCon

ma-ŋič-un    ni-wolo-ku-yuŋ    ni-yul-ku-yuŋ,    giyaŋ  
MA-food-Abs    MaSg-that-Dat-Abs    MaSg-man-Dat-Abs    thinking

ni-ma-ga-ŋuni-ŋu-ni    ni-wolo-yuŋ    ni-yul-yuŋ,  
3MaSg/MA-Sub-Rdp-eat-PCon    MaSg-that-Abs    MaSg-man-Abs

Then he looked around and he saw them (the owner and a woman he had taken with him). He saw her, one woman. That woman was taking food to that man. Johnny figured that the man was eating it (the food).

12.45

ni-wan-yuŋ    ni-Johnny-tu-yuŋ  
MaSg-Pron-Abs    MaSg-    -Erg-Abs

Ø-bak-ŋurgu?-jar?-d-i,    na-ki-ñ-bugi?  
3MaSg/3FeSg-Ben-Ø-approach through trees-Aug-PPun    there -still

ni-ga-bak-bolk-d-i,    'nu-mili?-buŋa-yi    gu-ni-?  
3MaSg/3MaSg-Sub-Ben-appear-Aug-PPun    2Sg-lest-rush-Evit    GU-this-Ø

na-mili?-gur?war',    ni-ga-yimi-n?gubu-ŋ,    'yamba    ni-ki-?  
1Sg/2Sg-lest-shoot    3MaSg/3MaSg-say-Caus-PPun    because    here

gu-gark-ŋukuy-gi    na-jaka-du-ḡa',    'yo:::',    'juy?  
GU-back-your(Sg)-Loc    1Sg-Ø-stand-Pr    yes!    go!

na-ja-waki-ŋ    bičara-gič,    Alice Springs-gič'  
1DuIn-now-return-Fut    what's it place?-All    -All

ni-ga-yimi-n?gubu-ŋ,

Johnny sneaked up on her through the trees. He confronted him (the owner) right there. He told him, 'You better not try to get away, unless you want me to shoot you, since I am right here behind your back.' (The owner said,) 'Alright.' He (Johnny) told him, 'Let's go! We will go back to what's-it?, to Alice Springs.'

12.46

ni-ga-ja-ga-ŋ,    ni-wolo-yuŋ  
3MaSg/3MaSg-now-carry-PPun    MaSg-that-Abs

ni-ga-ri-bolk-d-i,    ba-wan-yuŋ    buluki?  
3MaSg/3MaSg-with-appear-Aug-PPun    Pl-Pron-Abs    also

baru-ja-rič-du-ŋi,                    ŋa-ču-wala-?-yun,  
3Pl/3MaSg-now-look for-Aug-PCon    from there

ba-policeman-du-yun,    ba-waŋ?-d-i                    'ŋi-ni-?,  
Pl-                    -Erg-Abs    3Pl-look-Aug-PPun    MaSg-this-Ø

ŋini-ga-n-jini',                    baru-ja-ga-ŋ,                    miŋ?-ñiŋ?,  
3MaSg/3MaSg-carry-Aug-Pr    3Pl/3MaSg-now-carry-PPun    jail-confine

He took that man, he came out with him (to the policemen). They, the policemen, had been looking for him from there. They looked (and said to each other,) 'Here he (Johnny) is, he is bringing him (the owner).' They took him (the owner) and locked him up.

12.47

ma-ŋič-un                    ŋa-ki-ñ-bugi?    ma-miŋ?-gi                    ŋima-ga-ŋu-čini  
MA-food-Abs    there -still    MA-jail-Loc    3MaSg/MA-Sub-eat-Pr

muŋuy?,                    guŋukuwič-un                    da?-dadabaŋ?-yun,                    dinnertime-yun,  
always    morning-Abs    Rdp-afternoon-Abs    noon-Abs

ŋi-bolk-bolk-may?,                    yamba                    ŋi-wolo                    ŋi-yul-yun,  
3MaSg-Rdp-come out-(Neg)Pr    because    MaSg-that    MaSg-man-Abs

ŋi-warjak,                    ŋa-ki-?,                    gu-jara-gi                    ŋi-ga-ŋu-đa,  
MaSg-bad    there    GU-what's it?-Loc    3MaSg-Sub-sit-Pr

bargu-maka-na                    gu-wolo-yun                    Greenbush,                    ŋa-ki-?-yun  
3Pl/GU-call-Pr    GU-that-Abs    pl.n.                    there

Alice Springs-yun,                    ŋa-ki-ñ                    ŋi-ga-?-goŋ-du-đa,  
-Abs    there    3MaSg-Sub-Dur-be locked up-Aux-Pr

ma-waŋir-yun                    ŋima-ŋa-č-may?,                    gu-yaku,                    ŋa-ki-ñ-bugi?  
MA-sun-Abs    3MaSg/MA-see-Neg-Pr    GU-absent    there -still

ŋi-ga-wuŋup,                    muŋuy?,  
3MaSg-Sub-bathe    always

He always eats food right there in the jail, in the morning, the late afternoon, and the middle of the day. He never comes out, because that man is a bad man. He stays at that what's-it?, they call it 'Greenbush', there near Alice Springs. He is locked up there. He never sees the sun. He takes showers right there all the time.

12.48

garka                    ŋi-ni-?,                    ŋi-ki-?                    buluki?                    ŋuri,                    maŋga?                    bi-ñja  
like    MaSg-this-Ø    here    also    north    maybe    where?

gu-wolo-yun                    ŋagu-dawal-waŋaka?-d-i                    ŋa-na?-daku-gu?,  
GU-that-Abs    1Sg/GU-country-miss-Aug-PPun    1Sg-still-child-while

malk-yanači-burkayi,                    man-jara                    ba-ga-ruđu-ŋi,                    yimič  
time-long ago-really    group-what's it?    3Pl-Sub-go-PCon    but

ŋabara-ŋič-waŋaka?-d-i ...<sup>1</sup>  
1Sg/3Pl-name-miss-Aug-PPun

Like this man, here in the north, where was it? I forgot the name of the country. It was while I was still young, very long ago. What's-his-name's bunch came this way, but I forget their names...

12.49

ŋa-ki-ñ                    ŋi-waŋiñ?                    ŋi-ču-?                    baru-ga-ŋam-d-i,  
there    MaSg-one    this way    3Pl/3MaSg-Sub-spear-Aug-PPun

ŋi-jara-yun                    ŋi-wolo-yun,                    ŋi-policeman-yun,                    ŋi-Mr McColl  
MaSg-what's it?-Abs    MaSg-that-Abs    MaSg-                    -Abs    MaSg-

baru-ga-maki-ri,                    gañju?,                    ŋi-gaykay-du  
3Pl/3MaSg-Sub-call-PCon                    MaSg-uncle-Erg

ŋini-ja-bak-work-du-ŋi,                    yamba                    baŋa-điŋ?-wič  
3MaSg/3MaSg-now-Ben-work-Aug-PCon    because    Com-woman-having

buluki?                    ŋi-ni-?                    ŋi-ga-ñom?-d-i                    ŋi-wolo-yun,  
also    MaSg-this-Ø    3MaSg-Sub-run away-Aug-PPun    3MaSg-that-Abs

ŋi-Mr McColl-yun,                    ŋi-wan-yun                    ŋi-dakiyar-tu-yun  
MaSg-                    -Abs    MaSg-Pron-Abs    MaSg-man's name-Erg-Abs

ŋini-ja-bak-baŋ?-d-i                    gu-ñirgul-gi,  
3MaSg/3MaSg-now-Ben-overtake-Aug-PPun    GU-tall grass-Loc

giyaŋ                    ŋi-ga-joŋk-d-i                    ŋini-ja-ŋam-d-i  
thinking    3MaSg-Sub-go past-Aug-PPun    3MaSg/3MaSg-now-spear-Aug-PPun

muka,  
indeed

Someone speared one man there - what's-his-name?, a policeman, 'Mr McColl' they called him. His (classificatory) mother's brother was working for him. (Mr McColl was speared) because he, Mr McColl, ran away with a woman. As for dakiyar (an Aboriginal), he caught up to him in the tall grass. I think he went ahead of him, (then waited in ambush and) he speared him.

12.50

ŋi-gori?                    ŋi-ruđu-ŋi,                    ba-yul-yun                    barguni-ga-č-ič,  
MaSg-alone    3MaSg-go-PCon    Pl-Aboriginal-Abs    3MaSg/3Pl-carry-Neg-P

'baru-ja-laŋ-bo-m,                    baru-ja-ŋam-d-i'                    ba-wan-yun  
3Pl/3MaSg-now-Ø-kill-PPun                    -spear-Aug-PPun    Pl-Pron-Abs

ba-ja-yič-ŋa:::-ŋ                    gu-jođow?-d-i,  
3Pl-now-mind-hear-PPun    GU-be daylight-Aug-PPun

<sup>1</sup>At this point there was a delay as the tape was changed.

ba-yimi-ñ-?-d-i 'naru-rič-du-ŋ',  
3Pl-say-PPun-Ø-Aug-PPun 1PlIn/3MaSg-look for-Aug-Fut

baru-ga-rič-d-i baru-ja-ŋa-y  
3Pl/3MaSg-Sub-look for-Aug-PPun 3Pl/3MaSg-now-see-PPun

ŋi-ja-diku-yo-y, man-Queensland Johnson-du-yun,  
3MaSg-now-dead-lie down-PCon group-man's name-Erg-Abs

Borroloola-ŋayi-?ŋiri?,  
pl.n.-died at-still

He (Mr McColl) had gone alone, he had not taken any Aborigines with him. (Back at the camp, when Mr McColl did not return,) they thought '(Maybe) someone has speared him.' When day broke they said, 'We will go looking for him'. They went looking for him, they saw him lying dead. Queensland Johnson (an Aborigine), who died (later) at Borroloola, and his bunch (found Mr McColl).

12.51

ŋačuweleñ-uŋ, ma-đalađala baru-bak-maŋiñ-?-d-i,  
then-Abs MA-box 3Pl/3MaSg-Ben-make-Aug-PPun

baru-bu|ku-gorč-i,<sup>1</sup> baru-ja-diku-ga-n-di,  
3Pl/3MaSg-cooked-put in-PPun 3Pl/3MaSg-now-raw-carry-Aug-PCon

baru-bu|ku-gorč-i baru-diku-gorč-i, gu-ni-?  
3Pl/3MaSg-cooked-put in-PPun 3Pl/3MaSg-raw-put in-PPun GU-this-Ø

ba-yul-yun ba-na?-jara-ku? ba-warja-ku?  
Pl-Aboriginal-Abs 3Pl-still-what's it?-while 3Pl-bad-while

ba-ŋaŋar-?gu? ba-ga-?-dar?-da-ydi-ni-?gu?  
3Pl-dangerous-while 3Pl-Sub-Dur-spear-Aug-Recip-PCon-while

mala?-ič-wolo gañju?,  
at that time

Then they made a box (coffin) for him. They put the dead body in, then they carried the dead body. They put the dead body in. This (was) when the Aborigines were bad and violent, at that time when they used to spear each other.

12.52

bača-yaraman-wič ba-ga-ruđu-ŋi, ŋačuweleñ-uŋ  
Com-horse-having 3Pl-Sub-go-PCon then-Abs

ba-yič-ŋa-ŋ 'may? ŋar-imi-č-i, ma-barawu  
3Pl-mind-hear-PPun Well, 1PlIn-do it-Neg-Fut MA-boat

ŋarma-mi-yaŋ, mala?-ič-wolo ŋi-ni-ñ-uŋ ŋi-yul-yun  
1PlIn/MA-get-Fut at that time MaSg-that-Ø-Abs MaSg-man-Abs

<sup>1</sup>The two instances of -bu|ku- 'cooked, ripe' in this segment should be emended to -diku- 'raw, unripe; dead'. See footnote, p.217.

ŋaru-ga-mi-yaŋ, ŋi-ni-?-yuŋ  
1PlIn/3MaSg-Sub-get-Fut MaSg-this-Ø-Abs

ŋaru-ja-diku-ga-n', baru-ja-ga-ŋ,  
1PlIn/3MaSg-now-dead-carry-Fut 3Pl/3MaSg-now-carry-PPun

police station ŋa-ki-ñ baru-ga-diku-wa|kubu-ŋ,  
there 3Pl/3MaSg-Sub-dead-enter-Caus-PPun

ŋi-wolo-yun ŋi-policeman-yun ŋi-Mr McColl-yun, ŋa-ki-ñ,  
MaSg-that-Abs MaSg- -Abs MaSg- -Abs there

They went along with horses. Then they thought, 'Well, we will not do it (this way), we will get a boat. Then we will get that dead man and take him (back).' They took him then, they took him into the police station. That policeman Mr McColl (was there).

12.53

ba-ja-laŋ-waki-ñ, ba-ga-waki-ñ ŋi-ki-? ŋuri,  
3Pl-now-Ø-return-PPun 2Pl-Sub-return-PPun here north

'ŋu-wa ŋu-wa ŋu-wa' baru-yimi-n?gubu-ŋ ŋi-wolo-gič-uŋ  
2Sg-come! 3Pl/3MaSg-say-Caus-PPun MaSg-that-All-Abs

ŋi-dakiyar-gič-uŋ, 'ŋar-ja-work-du-ŋ ŋi-ni-?  
MaSg-man's name-All-Abs 1PlIn-now-work-Aug-Fut MaSg-this-Ø

ŋi-missionary-gi' ba-yimi-ñ-?, ŋi-gari?-wa|k-d-i,  
MaSg- -Loc 3Pl-say-PPun-Ø 3MaSg-in vain-enter-Aug-PPun

ŋi-gari?-wa|k-d-i, handcuff baru-ja-bak-yu-ŋ,  
3Pl/3MaSg-now-Ben-put on-PPun

ŋi-ja-duk-d-i mala?-ič-wolo-yun,  
3MaSg-now-be tied up-Aug-PPun at that time

Then they came back here north. They told that (Aborigine) man dakiyar, 'Come here! We are going to do some work at the missionary (i.e. at the settlement).' He tried to get into (the boat), but they put handcuffs on him. He was tied up at that time.

12.54

baru-ja-ga-ŋ, ba-ni-? ba-na?-walŋa-?gu?,  
3Pl/3MaSg-now-carry-PPun Pl-this-Ø Pl-still-alive-while

man-jara-yun man-wungu?-yuŋ ba-na?-walŋa-?gu?,  
group-what's it?-Abs group-man's name-Abs

walaman? ba-wur?wuruŋu ba-ni-? ba-ga-ŋ-i:, ŋi-ki-?  
all Pl-elder Pl-this-Ø 3Pl-Sub-sit-PCon here

ŋuri, baru-ga-ŋ ŋa-ki-? bičara,  
north 3Pl/3MaSg-carry-PPun there what's it place?

gu-na-ri Roper Bar,  
GU-that-Imm pl.n.

They took him - these men, when they were still alive, what's-his-name's bunch, wungu's (an Aboriginal elder) bunch, when they were still alive. All of these elders stayed here in the north. They took him there to what's-it?, to that place Roper Bar.

12.55

na-ki-n̄ baru-court 'em?-di-j-ič, baru-ja-ga-ŋ  
there 3PL/3MaSg-try-Aug-Neg-P 3PL/3MaSg-now-carry-PPun

ŋaŋi-č, baru-ga-ŋ gu-na-ri-yuŋ, Darwin-yuŋ  
west-All 3PL/3MaSg-carry-PPun GU-that-Imm-Abs pl.n.-Abs

baru-ŋi-bolk-g-i, gu-na?-jara-?gu? muka  
3PL/3MaSg-with-appear-Aug-PPun GU-still-what's it?-while indeed

yaraman-wič ba-na-? ba-ga-ruđu-ŋi::, baŋa-jara-wič,  
horse-having Pl-that-∅ 3PL-Sub-go-PCon Com-what's it?-having

bullock wagon bara-maka-na a-bulugi-tu agu-ga-đoror?-du-ŋi,  
3PL/A-call-Pr A-bullock-Erg A/GU-Sub-pull-Aug-PCon

ama-ga-đoror?-du-ŋi ma-wagon-yuŋ, yanači-yiñuŋ gu-ni-?-yuŋ,  
A-MA-Sub-pull-Aug-PCon MA- -Abs long ago-Rel GU-this-∅-Abs

\* They <sup>tried</sup> tried him in court there. They took him west. They took him (to) that place, they came out with him in Darwin. (This was) when there still were what's-it?, (wagons) with horses, those men went along, with what's-it?, 'bullock wagons', they call them. The bullocks were pulling it, they were pulling the wagon, this kind from long ago.

12.56

baru-ga-ŋ na-ki-n̄, na-ki-n̄ baru-ga-court 'em?-d-i,  
3PL/3MaSg-carry-PPun there 3PL/3MaSg-Sub-try-Aug-PPun

baru-ga-ñawk-g-i:: 'may? ŋi-yuŋ gu-yaku',  
3PL/3MaSg-Sub-speak-Aug-PPun Well, I-Abs GU-absent

\* ŋi-yimi-ñ-?, juy? baru-ga-ŋ, ŋi-wan-yuŋ  
3MaSg-day-PPun-∅ go 3PL/3MaSg-send-PPun MaSg-Pron-Abs

buluki?-yuŋ Borroloola-ŋayi-yuŋ, barguni-waŋal?-d-i  
also-Abs pl.n.-died at-Abs 3MaSg/3PL-ask-Aug-PPun

\* 'walagun ŋi-ni-ñ-uŋ ŋi-riđ-i', 'na-či-ri', 'may?  
to where? MaSg-that-∅-Abs 3MaSg-go-PPun that way Well,

ŋi-na-ri ŋaru-maŋa-gulk-du-ŋ' ŋi-yimi-ñ-?,  
MaSg-that-Imm 1PLIn/3MaSg-neck-cut-Aug-Fut 3MaSg-say-PPun-∅

They took him there. They tried him in court, they spoke to him. (He said,) 'Well, it was not me', he said. They released him. However, the man who (later) died at Borroloola asked, 'Where did that man (đakiyar) go?' (They told him,) 'That way.' He said, 'Well, we will (get him and) hang him by the neck.'

12.57

garka ŋini-mungu-g-i ŋini-mungu-g-i::: na-ki-?,  
like 3MaSg/3MaSg-follow-Aug-PPun there

Jim-Jim-yuŋ gu-yima-na-? ŋi-ču-?, ŋaŋi-č ja-rawara  
pl.n.-Abs GU-do that-Pr-∅ that way west-All now-east \*

na-ki-n̄ ŋini-ga-bak-bolk-g-i, handcuff  
there 3MaSg/3MaSg-Sub-Ben-appear-Aug-PPun

ŋini-bak-yu-ŋ, ŋačuweleñ-uŋ ŋini-ga-ŋ,  
3MaSg/3MaSg-Ben-put on-PPun then-Abs 3MaSg/3MaSg-send-PPun

na?-Darwin, na-ki-ñ-uŋ baru-ja-maŋa-gulk-g-i,  
still-pl.n. there 3PL/3MaSg-now-neck-cut-Aug-PPun

So they went after him there. Jim-Jim (a place) is to the west, it (where they found him) is there to the east. (That is they found him at a place east of Jim-Jim.) They confronted him, they put handcuffs on him, then they took him back to Darwin. They hanged him there.

12.58

ba-munaŋa-yuŋ ba-yima-na-? 'hang 'em?', baru-hang 'em?-d-i  
Pl-White-Abs 3PL-say-Pr-∅ 3PL/3MaSg-Aug-PPun

na-ki-n̄, angačbagu baru-maŋa-gulk-g-i, gu-wolo  
there however 3PL/3MaSg-neck-cut-Aug-PPun GU that

ba-yul-yuŋ ba-na?-jara-?gu?, ba-na?-wild fellow-?gu?,  
Pl-Aboriginal-Abs Pl-still-what's it?-while Pl-still -while

bargu-maka-na wild fellow, ba-warjak-gi-ni angač,  
3PL/GU-call-Pr 3PL-bad-Inch-PCon however

The Whites say 'hang'. They hanged (narrator uses English term) him there, but (we say) they hanged him (Ngandi term). That was when Aboriginals were still what's-it?, they were still wild. They (Whites) call that 'wild fellow', whereas (we say) 'They were bad'.

12.59

mala?-ič-wolo gañju?, ba-na?-jara-gi-č-ič,  
at that time 3PL-still-what's it?-Inch-Neg-P

bara-bak-ŋum-mak-gi-j-ič a-jara-ku-yuŋ,  
3PL/A-Ben-behaviour-good-Inch-Neg-P A-what's it?-Dat-Abs

a-yimin?-gu-yuŋ a-munaŋa-ku-yuŋ, đawa?-yuŋ  
A-thing-Dat-Abs A-White-Dat-Abs now-Abs

bara-ja-bak-ŋum-mak-gi-na, yamba a-ma:k,  
3PL/A-Ben-behaviour-good-Inch-Pr because A-good

ba-yul-tu-yuŋ ŋi-wolo-yuŋ, yamba ŋi-yul-yuŋ  
Pl-Aboriginal-Erg-Abs MaSg-that-Abs because MaSg-Aboriginal-Abs

\* *ni-|irič-burkayi, ni-|irič barguni?-raṃda-ṃi*  
*MaSg-culprit-really 3MaSg/3Pl-Dur-spear-PCon*

*ba-yul-yuṃ baru-bak-malk-waṅiñ?-ḡ-i gañju?*  
*Pl-Aboriginal-Abs 3Pl/3MaSg-Ben-time-do once-Aug-PPun*

*baru-ga-maṅa-gulk-ḡ-i, ni-wolo ni-yul-yuṃ,*  
*3Pl/3MaSg-Sub-neck-cut-Aug-PPun MaSg-that MaSg-Aboriginal-Abs*

*At that time they were still doing what's-it?, they did not like what's-it?, Whites. Nowadays they, the Aborigines, like them, because they (the Whites) are good. That Aboriginal (ḡakiyar) was a real culprit, so he used to spear Aborigines. They did it once to him, they hanged that Aboriginal.*

12.60

*ṅa-ki-?-yuṃ Darwin-yuṃ, gu-na?-ga|i-i-?gu?, gu-ga|i-ti-j-ič*  
*there pl.n.-Abs GU-still-many-while GU-many-Inch-Neg-P*

*gu-wolo gu-Darwin-yuṃ, gu-na?-yaku-ḡi-ni, ḡawa?-yuṃ*  
*GU-that GU-pl.n.-Abs GU-still-absent-Inch-PCon now-Abs*

*gu-ja-ga|i-ti-i-ñ bargu-maṅiñ?-ḡ-i, gu-jara-yuṃ,*  
*GU-now-many-Inch-PPun 3Pl/GU-make-Aug-PPun GU-what's it?-Abs*

*gu-house-uṃ, gu-ga-ḡu-ḡa, gu-ga-gara-kara-ḡu-ḡa,*  
*GU-Abs GU-Sub-stand-Pr GU-Sub-Rdp-all-stand-Pr*

*gu-ja-biṛ-ti-i-ñ, gu-biṛ-ti-j-ič mala?-ič-wolo*  
*GU-now-many-Inch-PPun GU-many-Inch-Neg-P at that time*

*gu-yaku-ḡi-ni,*  
*GU-absent-Inch-PCon*

*There in Darwin, while there were many (houses) - or rather there were not many there in Darwin. They were still not there. Nowadays there are many, they have built what's-it?, houses. They stand there, they all stand there, there are many of them. At that time there were not many, they were not there.*

12.61

*gu-wan-galu ṅa-ki-? bakay-uṃ gu-na?-yimi-ṛi-?,*  
*GU-Pron-other there south-Abs GU-still-do that-PCon-∅*

*bičara-yuṃ, Alice Springs-uṃ, gu-house-uṃ*  
*what's it place?-Abs pl.n.-Abs GU-Abs*

*gu-na?-waṅiñ?-ḡi-ni gu-ga-jaka-ḡ-i gu-gel-ki*  
*GU-still-one-Inch-PCon GU-Sub-∅-stand-PCon GU-side-Loc*

*gu-jundu-gi gu-na?-wolo ṅagu-ṅa-ni, ṅačuwelen*  
*GU-stone-Loc GU-still-that 1Sg/GU-see-PCon then*

*ba-ga-yimi-i-ñ-? bargu-ja-wolon-joṛ?-gubu-ṅ*  
*3Pl-Sub-do that-PPun-∅ 3Pl/GU-now-∅-shift-Caus-PPun*

*bargu-ja-maṅiñ?-ḡ-i gu-ga|i, gu-biṛ, ṅa-ki-ñ-uṃ,*  
*3Pl/GU-now-make-Aug-PPun GU-many GU-many there*

*ṅi-ki-? buluki? wala-w-yuṃ, wala-w-yuṃ ṅi-ki-? buluki?*  
*here also upward*

*ṅaṅi-yuṃ, Darwin-yuṃ, bargu-ja-laṅ-maṅiñ?-ḡ-i gu-ni-?*  
*west-Abs pl.n.-Abs 3Pl/GU-now-∅-make-Aug-PPun GU-this-∅*

*mo-road-bič,*  
*MA- -Per*

*As for that other place there to the south, what's-it?, Alice Springs, it was like that also. There was still only one house which stood on the side of a stone (hill). I saw that. Then they did that, they shifted it over. (This refers to the old police station.) They made many (houses) then, many of them, there. Up this way, in Darwin, to the west, they made them also, along the road (the Stuart Highway, linking Alice Springs and Darwin).*

12.62

*gu-wolo a-bulugi-yuṃ bara-ga-yara-ma-ni, a-jara-yuṃ*  
*GU-that A-bullock-Abs 3Pl/A-Sub-thief-take-Pr A-what's it?-Abs*

*bara-ga-yara-ma-ni, bo-wolo-yuṃ, ni-jara-ṅayi-yuṃ,<sup>1</sup>*  
*Pl-that-Abs MaSg-what's it?-his-Abs*

*ṅi-policeman-gu, ni-wolo-tu bargu-ja-ma-ni,*  
*MaSg- -Gen MaSt-that-Erg 3MaSg/3Pl-Sub-get-Pr*

*ṅi-policeman-ḡu, ni-policemboy-bula-tu, barba-ga-ma-ni,*  
*MaSg- -Erg MaSg- -and-Erg 3Pl/3Pl-Sub-get-Pr*

*They steal bullocks, they steal what's-it?, those men do, belonging to the policeman(?). He arrests them, the policeman and the (Aboriginal) policeboy arrest them.*

12.63

*ba-mala-galič-uṃ ba-warjak ba-mala-galič-uṃ ba-ma:k,*  
*Pl-group-some-Abs Pl-bad Pl-good*

*ba-maki-na, ba-mala-galič-uṃ ba-yiṅ-i-na,*  
*3Pl-tell truth-Pr 3Pl-hide-Refl-Pr*

*gu-ḡubur-warjak, gu-yimin?-yuṃ, ba-yič-warjaka-na,*  
*GU-business-bad GU-business-Abs 3Pl-mind-be bad-Pr*

*gamakun?-may?,*  
*properly-Neg*

*Some are bad, others are good and tell the truth. Others conceal themselves (i.e. they do not give information), it is a bad thing. They tell bad things, (they do) not (give information) properly.*

<sup>1</sup>Probably should be dative *ni-jara-ku-yuṃ*.

ni-ki-? buluki? bičara, bičara nuni, gu-ni-?  
 here also what's it place? damn! GU-this-Ø

wala-w, nuḍuṭmiñi, na-ki-ñ buluki? ni-wangiñ?  
 above pl.n. there also MaSg-one

baru-ga-maṅa-gulk-d-i ni-yul-yuṅ, ni-wan  
 3Pl/3MaSg-Sub-neck-cut-Aug-PPun MaSg-Aboriginal-Abs MaSg-Pron

balaka a-Chinaman niya-bo:-m bičara, bičara  
 first A- 3MaSg/A-kill-PPun what's it place?

nuni gu-ni-? Roper Bar, na-ki-ñ niya-ga-bo:-m,  
 GU-this-Ø there 3MaSg/A-Sub-kill-PPun

načuwelēñ-uṅ baru-ja-ga-ṅ na-ču-?, nuḍuṭmiñi-gič,  
 then-Abs 3Pl/3MaSg-now-carry-PPun that way pl.n.-All

ni-policeman-du-yuṅ  
 MaSg- -Erg-Abs

Also here at what's-it?, what the hell is its name?, that place up near here, nuḍuṭmiñi (Grassy Lagoon, west of Roper Valley station). There also they hanged one Aboriginal. He had killed a Chinaman at what's-it?, what the hell is its name?, this place Roper Bar. There was where he killed him. Then they took him that way to nuḍuṭmiñi, the policeman (took him).

policeman ni-policeboy maṅga? ni-ñja ni-wolo-yuṅ,  
 MaSg maybe MaSg-who? MaSg-that-Abs

ba-yul-?may? na-ki-ñ na-ču-wala-?  
 Pl-Aboriginal-Neg there from there

barba-ja-gali-ma-y ba-ga-ṅi-ṅ-i, ba-yul-yuṅ  
 3Pl/3Pl-now-round up-Aux-PPun 3Pl-Sub-Rdp-sit-PCon Pl-Aboriginal-Abs

gu-ni-ñ gu-balpa-yuṅ bičara-yuṅ nuḍuṭmiñi-yuṅ  
 GU-that-Ø GU-river-Abs what's it place?-Abs pl.n.-Abs

gu-dam?-d-i, gu-ḷaṅur a-ñja na-ki-? maṅga?  
 GU-be covered-Aug-PPun GU-corroboree A-what? there maybe

gu-bungul a-bungul nuni bara-ga-maka-na,<sup>1</sup> na-ki-ñ,  
 GU-dancing A-dancing damn! 3Pl/A-Sub-call-Pr there

ba-ga-ṅ-i:,  
 3Pl-Sub-sit-PCon

<sup>1</sup>Sandy first uses the GU class prefix with bungul, then corrects it to A class. He reverts to GU class prefixes in the next segment, 12.66. During the analysis he insisted that A class is correct for this word.

A policeman, maybe an Aboriginal policeboy, I do not know who. From there they rounded up lots of people (ba-yul-?may?), they stayed near that river, what's-it?. The place nuḍuṭmiñi was covered (with people). There was a corroboree, all kinds of things (a-ñja na-ki-?), maybe bungul (singing and dancing). They were staying there. (The people were holding a corroboree to say goodbye to the man who was about to be hanged by the police.)

ba-ga-ṅi-ṅiñ ba-ga-yimi-ñ-?-d-i:::,  
 3Pl-Sub-sit-PPun 3Pl-Sub-do that-PPun-Ø-Aug-PPun

bargu-gar?-d-i gu-bungul-yuṅ mala?-ič-wolo  
 3Pl/GU-finish-Aug-PPun GU-dancing-Abs at that time

baru-ja-maṅa-gulk-d-i ni-wolo-yuṅ,  
 3Pl/3MaSg-now-neck-cut-Aug-PPun MaSg-that-Abs

ni-ṅarič ni-wolo-yuṅ gañju?,  
 MaSg-name of subsection MaSg-that-Abs

baru-ga-maṅa-gulk-d-i baru-burk-d-i na-ki-ñ-bugi?,  
 -Sub- 3Pl/3MaSg-bury-Aug-PPun there -still

ni-wolo ni-ṅaṅ-ñara-gič-uṅ na-ṅaṅ-ṅele-gič-uṅ,  
 MaSg-that MaSg-his-father-All-Abs FeSg-his-mother-All-Abs

ma-ṅič barba-ga-wō-y-pula ma-ṅič, gu-dambaku, boñ,  
 MA-food 3Pl/3Pl-Sub-give-PPun-Du GU-tobacco finish

They stopped, they did that, they finished the singing and dancing. At that time they hanged that man, that man of the ṅarič subsection. They hanged him and buried him right there. They gave food and tobacco to his father and mother, and it was over.

gu-wolo-yuṅ, gu-wolo ba-ja-da:-gulk-d-i,  
 GU-that-Abs 3Pl-now-Ø-do for last time-Aug-PPun

ba-ja-yimi-č-may? muṅuy?-yuṅ, gu-yaku, yamba  
 3Pl-now-do that-Neg-Pr always-Abs GU-absent because

mala?-ič-wolo ni-jara ni-ga-boss-di-ni ni-king  
 at that time MaSg-what's it? 3MaSg-Sub-boss-Inch-F MaSg-king

yamba, malk-dawa?-yuṅ na-queen na-ga-boss-di-na,  
 because time-now-Abs FeSg- 3FeSg-Sub-boss-Inch-Pr

barba-ja-maṅa-gulk-may? gu-yaku, ba-ja-dubur-waṭi-ñ  
 3Pl/3Pl-now-neck-cut-Neg GU-absent 3Pl-now-business-abandon-PPun

ṅungayi barba-ma-ni barba-ga-n-jini,  
 merely 3Pl/3Pl-get-Pr 3Pl/3Pl-carry-Aug-Pr

They did that (i.e. they hanged a man) for the last time. They never do that at all now. Because at that time what's-his-name, the King



(of England) was boss, but nowadays the Queen (i.e. Queen Elizabeth) is the boss. They do not hang people, they stopped that business. They just arrest them (the culprits) and take them away (to jail). (Hanging is no longer practised because the Queen, being a woman, is more compassionate than the King was.)

12.68

ba-nu-da, gurna-yapan?, mal-kalič-u a-yapan? a-wangiñ?  
 3PL-sit-Pr month-two times-some-Abs A-two A-one

ba-ga-nu-da, na-ki-? ba-ga-go<sup>1</sup>-du-da gu-wolo  
 3PL-Sub-sit-Pr there 3PL-Sub-be enclosed-Aux-Pr GU-that

gu-yele-gi-yuŋ, mala?-ič-wolo-yuŋ barguni-ja-juy?,  
 GU-jail-Loc-Abs at that time 3MaSg/3PL-now-send

mal-kalič-u gu-Christmas gu-yapan? wangiñ, gu-yapan?  
 times-some-Abs GU- GU-two one

gu-wangiñ?,<sup>1</sup> mala?-ič-wolo barguni-ga-juy?, ni-policeman-du-yuŋ,  
 GU- at that time -Sub- MaSg- -Erg-Abs

barguni-ja-juy?,  
 3MaSg/3PL-now-send

They (the culprits) stay for two months. Sometimes they stay for three months. They are confined there in the jail. Then he sends them away. Sometimes three years, then the policeman sends them away.

12.69

na-ki-?-yuŋ ni-wangiñ? ni-ga-nu-da, ni-ga-boss-di-na  
 there MaSg-one 3MaSg-Sub-sit-Pr 3MaSg-Sub-boss-Inch-Pr

na-ki-ri, bargu-yo-nana, gu-jara-gič gu-paper-gič,  
 there 3PL/GU-put in-Pr GU-what's it?-All GU-newspaper-All

mala?-ič-wolo ni-ga-waki-ŋ, gu-wolo-yuŋ, ni-wolo-yuŋ  
 at that time 3MaSg-Sub-return-Fut GU-that-Abs MaSg-that-Abs

ni-yul-yuŋ, ni-yul, ba-mala-galič ba-na?-munna  
 MaSg-Aboriginal-Abs Pl-group-some Pl-still-White

ba-ga-yima-na-?, munuy?, ba-bak-dubur-yirgi-du-da,  
 3PL-Sub-do that-Pr- $\emptyset$  always 3PL-Ben-business-continue-Aux-Pr

One man sits there, the one who is the boss there. He puts it (the story) into the what's-it?, the newspaper. At that time that Aboriginal (culprit), he will come back (from jail). Others, Whites, do the same. They always continue to do that.

<sup>1</sup>In such complex numerals as 'three' ('two, one') Sandy considered it more correct to add the noun-class prefix to both elements. Therefore, gu-yapan? gu-wangiñ? is given here as a correction for gu-yapan? wangiñ?. However, the latter type occurs several times in the texts and must be regarded as typical in casual style.

12.70

an-yuŋ a-jara-ku namibič, gu-yimin?-gu gu-jara-ku,  
 as for A-what's it?-Dat (?) GU-thing-Dat GU-what's it?-Dat

ba-ja-ram-da-ydi-č-may?, najugi?-bugi? ba-yul-yuŋ  
 3PL-Sub-spear-Aug-Recip-Neg-Pr somewhere else-only Pl-Aboriginal-Abs

ba-ga-ram-da-ydi-na, mo:nič, nabarara-na-č-may?,  
 3PL-Sub-spear-Recip-Pr secretly 1PlIn/3PL-see-Neg-Pr

ba-yul-tu-yuŋ ba-biŋ-tu-yuŋ buluki? barba-na-č-may?,  
 Pl-Aboriginal-Erg-Abs Pl-many-Erg-Abs also 3PL/3PL-see-Neg-Pr

gu-yaku, yamba barguni-mili?-jara-di- $\emptyset$   
 GU-absent because 3MaSg/3PL-lest-what's it?-Inch-Evit

barguni-mili?-miŋ?-nii?-bu- $\emptyset$  ni-policeman-du,  
 3MaSg/Pl-lest-jail-confine-Aux-Evit MaSg- -Erg

For what's-it?, for that thing, what's-it?. They do not spear each other (openly). Aboriginals spear each other somewhere else, secretly. We do not see them. Most Aboriginals do not see them at all. (They fight secretly) in order that the policeman not do what's-it?, not put them in jail.

12.71

ba-ja-guñjiki-na gu-wolo-ku, ba-ja-namulu-yiŋ-i-na  
 3PL-now-be afraid-Pr GU-that-Dat 3PL-now-properly-hide-Refl-Pr

ba-burk-g-i-na, buluki? gu-na-ji-ri-ki-yuŋ,  
 3PL-cover-Aug-Refl-Pr also GU-that-kind-Imm-Loc-Abs

gu-dubur-garŋgarŋ?-gi-yuŋ, ba-ga-yiŋ-i-na,  
 GU-business-big-Loc-Abs 3PL-Sub-hide-Refl-Pr

ba-ja-maki-č-may?, gu-wolo-yuŋ, yamba ba-guñjiki-na  
 3PL-now-tell truth-Neg-Pr GU-that-Abs because 3PL-be afraid-Pr

barba-mili?-ram-da- $\emptyset$ , ba-yul-tu-yuŋ,  
 3PL/3PL-lest-spear-Aug-Evit Pl-Aboriginal-Erg-Abs

They are afraid of that. They hide, they keep themselves hidden, in that kind of important business. (That is, they do not let anyone know about their fighting.) They do not tell the truth, because they are afraid that some Aboriginals will spear them.

12.72

buluki?-yuŋ barguni-mili?-miŋ?-nii?-bu- $\emptyset$  yamba  
 also-Abs 3MaSg/3PL-lest-jail-confine-Aux-Evit because

ni-policeman-du, baru-ja-ba-kuñjiki-na, angačba  
 MaSg- -Erg 3PL/3MaSg-now-Ben-be afraid-Pr however

ni-ni-? ni-ma:k, ni-yimin?-yuŋ ni-policeman-yuŋ,  
 MaSg-this- $\emptyset$  MaSg-good MaSg-thing-Abs MaSg- -Abs

rum-wangiñ?-yung ba-ga-ruḡu-ḡ *alright, alright-may?*  
behaviour-one-Abs 3Pl-Sub-go-Fut -Neg

ḡuni bulkuy,<sup>1</sup>  
damn! *alright*

They are also afraid that the policeman will lock them up in jail, although actually the policeman is good, as long as they go along behaving alright, (behaving) in one way (i.e. well).

12.73

gu-wolo-yung, yamba ba-?-ḡubur-warjaka-na, ba-wan-?wič,  
GU-that-Abs because 3Pl-Dur-business-be bad-Pr Pl-Pron-Emph

ba-jalpiḡ-ti-na, ba-yič-ḡa-č-may?, gu-yimin?-ḡi-yiñuḡ-yung  
3Pl-wild-Inch-Pr 3Pl-mind-hear-Neg-Pr GU-thing-Loc-Rel-Abs

gu-jara-ḡi gu-jaḡk gu-na-ḡi-ri  
GU-what's it?-Loc GU-water GU-that-kind-Imm

ba-ga-bun-ḡu-čini-ḡi-yung, ḡi-wangiñ? arḡḡu ḡi-yul  
3Pl-Sub-water-eat-Pr-Loc-Abs MaSg-one until MaSg-Aboriginal

ḡi-wati-ñ, gu-yimin?-ḡu-yung, gu-jaḡk-ḡu-yung  
3MaSg-die-PPun GU-thing-Inst-Abs GU-water-Inst-Abs

Because they always do bad things and they are wild, they do not think (properly) about that thing, what's-it?, that kind of liquid which they drink (i.e. beer and liquor), until one man died because of the thing, because of the liquid.

12.74

ḡa-ki-? bakay bičara, Alice Springs gu-wolo-yung,  
there south what's it place? pl.n. GU-that-Abs

gu-ḡawal-yung, ḡi-bun-ḡu-ni, ḡi-wan-?wič  
GU-country-Abs 3MaSg-water-eat-PCon MaSg-Pron-Emph

ḡi-bun-ḡu-ni gu-yimin?-yung gu-bottle-ḡaḡi-yiñuḡ-yung,  
GU-thing-Abs GU-bottle-big-Rel-Abs

gu-ḡambak-wič-uḡ ḡi-bun-ḡu-tij-ič, gu-wolo  
GU-can-having-Abs 3MaSg-water-eat-Neg-P GU-that

ḡi-ḡa-bun-ḡu-ḡ ḡiḡu-ḡa-ḡar?-ḡ-i  
3MaSg-Sub-water-eat-PPun 3MaSg/GU-Sub-finish-Aug-PPun

ḡi-ḡa-ḡiḡ-i ḡi-ḡa-ḡum?-ḡ-i  
3MaSg-Sub-go-PPun 3MaSg-Sub-go to sleep-Aug-PPun

ḡi-ḡa-ḡa-wati-ñ,  
3MaSg-now-Sub-die-PPun

<sup>1</sup>Sandy has corrected himself, replacing the English term *alright* with the Nḡandi equivalent *bulkuy*.

There, in the south, at what's-it?, at Alice Springs, that place. He (an Aboriginal) was drinking, he was drinking that stuff in the big bottle (i.e. hard liquor), he was not drinking the stuff in the can (i.e. beer). He drank that, he finished it up, he went along and went to sleep, then he died (or, he became unconscious).

12.75

buluki? ḡi-ḡey?-ḡi-ḡ-i-č, wuluḡ-munuy? ḡi-ḡa-wati-ñ,  
also 3MaSg-rise-Aug-Neg-P always 3MaSg-now-die-PPun

baru-ḡa-ḡiku-ḡa-y baru-ḡa-ḡ, ḡi-ḡa-ḡi-č  
3Pl/3MaSg-Sub-dead-see-PPun 3Pl/3MaSg-carry-PPun MaSg-what's it?-All

ḡi-doctor-ḡi-č, ḡi-doctor-yung<sup>1</sup> ḡi-ḡa-ḡak-ḡ-i  
MaSg-doctor-All -Abs 3MaSg/3MaSg-Sub-cut-Aug-PPun

ḡi-ḡa-ḡa-y 'may? gu-ḡa yamba  
3MaSg/3MaSg-Sub-see-PPun Well, GU-what's it? because

ḡi-bun-ḡu-ni, gu-na-ḡi-ri gu-bottle-ḡarḡarḡ?,  
3MaSg-water-eat-PCon GU-that-kind-Imm GU-bottle-big

ḡi-yimi-ñ-? 'gu-wolo-wolo ḡi-ḡa-wati-ñ  
3MaSg-say-PPun-∅ GU-Rdp-that 3MaSg-Sub-die-PPun

ba-yul-tu-yung baru-bu-č-i-č' ḡi-yimi-ñ-?,  
Pl-Aboriginal-Erg-Abs 3Pl/3MaSg-kill-Neg-P 3MaSg-say-PPun-∅

Then he did not get up again, he died for good. They carried his body, they carried him to what's-his-name?, to the doctor. The doctor operated on him ('cut him up'), he looked at him. 'Well, it was because he drank what's-it?, the stuff in the big bottle', he said. 'That is why he died, he was not killed by Aborigines', he said.

12.76

gu-yaku, ḡi-mak-ḡi-ḡ-i-č, ḡin, ḡi-mak-ḡi-ḡ-i-č  
GU-absent 3MaSg-good-Inch-Neg-P I mean 3MaSg-good-Inch-Neg-P

ḡi-ḡa-ḡi-ni, ḡi-wan-?wič ḡi-ḡubur-warjaki-ñ,  
3MaSg-what's it?-Inch-PCon MaSg-Pron-Emph 3MaSg-business-be bad-PPun

ḡi-yul-tu, ḡiḡu-ḡa-waḡu-ḡan gu-wolo  
MaSg-Aboriginal-Erg 3MaSg/GU-Sub-abandon-Pot GU-that

ḡi-ḡa-bak-ḡubur-mak-ḡi-ḡun,  
3MaSg-now-Ben-business-good-Inch-Pot

No, he did not get well. I mean, he did not get well. (Narrator thought he had made a mistake, then repeated what he had said before.) He was what's-it?, he acted badly. The Aboriginal should have left that (liquor) alone. He should have acted properly.

<sup>1</sup>Should be Ergative *ḡi-doctor-ḡu-yung*. Sandy probably did not correctly anticipate the case role of this noun in the following clause.

12.77

munuy? yamba ni-da:-yirgi-yirgi-g-i  
 always because 3MaSg-Ø-Rdp-continue-Aux-PCon

ni-ga-bun-ŋu-ni gu-wolo gu-jark-yuŋ, gu-wolo-yuŋ,  
 3MaSg-Sub-water-eat-PCon GU-that GU-water-Abs GU-that-Abs

ni-gu-ga-waŋu-ŋan ni-ja-bak-dubur-mak-di-ŋun,  
 3MaSg/GU-Sub-abandon-Pot 3MaSg-now-Ben-business-good-Inch-Pot

ba-ni-? ba-ja-yima-ŋaŋ-?,  
 Pl-this-Ø 3Pl-now-do that-Fut-Ø

(He died) because he constantly continued to drink that liquid. He should have left that alone, he should have acted properly. These (Aboriginals) will do that.

12.78

buluki? bičara-yuŋ Roper Bar-yuŋ, ŋajugi?-wala  
 also what's it place?-Abs -Abs somewhere else-Abl

ba-yul-yuŋ ba-ga-ŋu-ŋ ŋaŋi-yala-yuŋ  
 Pl-Aboriginal-Abs 3Pl-Sub-go-Fut west-Abl-Abs

barba-ja-bu-nuŋ, barba-ŋam-ŋa-ŋ, maŋga? gu-yaku  
 3Pl/3Pl-now-hit-Fut 3Pl/3Pl-spear-Aug-Fut maybe GU-absent

barba-ŋin-bača-ŋ-bugi? barba-ŋam-di-č-i,  
 3Pl/3Pl-nape-hit-Fut-only 3Pl/3Pl-spear-Aug-Neg-Fut

ba-ga-ya?-bun-ŋu-nuŋ ba-ga-yi-ŋaŋ, ma-jara-gi-yuŋ  
 3Pl-Sub-if-water-eat-Fut 3Pl-Sub-sleep-Fut MA-what's it?-Loc-Abs

mo-mo|o-gi-yuŋ, mo-mo|o-gi-yuŋ, mo-mo|o mo-wolo  
 MA-road-Loc-Abs MA-that

barma-ga-maka-na ma-road,  
 3Pl/MA-Sub-call-Pr MA-

Also at what's-it?, at Roper Bar, Aboriginals will come from somewhere else, from the west. They will attack them (other Aboriginals), they will spear them. Maybe they will just hit them on the back of the neck, they will not spear them. (They attack them) if they (the victims) drink and then go to sleep along the what's-it?, the road. We call the road 'mo|o'.

12.79

ba-ga-ya?-yi-ŋaŋ ŋa-ki-ŋ-ŋuŋ, barba-ja-ŋin-bača-ŋ,  
 3Pl-Sub-if-sleep-Fut there 3Pl/3Pl-now-nape-hit-Fut

ba-ga-ŋamulu-warjak-di-ŋ, mala?-ič-wolo barba-bu-nuŋ,  
 3Pl-Sub-properly-bad-Inch-Fut at that time 3Pl/3Pl-hit-Fut

gu-ŋanda?-du-bugi?, mal-kalič-ŋuŋ gu-jundu-tu,  
 GU-stick-Inst-only sometimes GU-stone-Inst

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barba-ga-bu-nuŋ, munuy? garka ba-ga?-yima-na-?,  
 3Pl/3Pl-Sub-hit-Fut always like 3Pl-Sub-Dur-do that-Pr-Ø

(If) they will go to sleep there, they will hit them on the back of the neck. They will be really bad. At that time they will hit them, just with a stick, or sometimes they will hit them with a stone. They always do like that.

12.80

ni-yuŋ ŋabara-ŋum-waŋaka?, ŋabara-ŋum-ika-n-jini,  
 I-Abs 1Sg/3Pl-behaviour-lose 1Sg/3Pl-behaviour-know-Aug-Pr

ŋabara-duŋ-may? bo-wolo-gič-ŋuŋ, ba-yul-gič-ŋuŋ, munuy?  
 1Sg/3Pl-trust-Neg Pl-that-All-Abs Pl-Aboriginal-All-Abs always

ba-ga-yima-na-?, ni-wan-galu buluki?  
 3Pl-Sub-do that-Pr-Ø MaSg-Pron-other also

ni-jara-tu-yuŋ, ni-policeman-du-yuŋ,  
 MaSg-what's it?-Erg-Abs MaSg- -Erg-Abs

ni-na?-yima-na-? munuy?, barguni-ga-ma-ni.  
 3MaSg-still-do that-Pr-Ø always 3MaSg/3Pl-Sub-get-Pr

barguni-ŋa?-juj?, ŋa-ču-?-yuŋ ŋaŋi-č-ŋuŋ, ba-na-ri-kič-ŋuŋ,  
 3MaSg/3Pl-still-send that way west-All-Abs Pl-that-Imm-All-Abs

I do not know anything about how they behave, I know a little about their behaviour. I do not trust those Aboriginals. They always do that. Also what's-his-name?, the policeman, always does that (i.e. he distrusts them). He arrests those men and sends them west.

12.81

ba-ja-warjak-di-na ba-ga-ŋa:-bopop, gu-wolo-bugi?,  
 3Pl-now-bad-Inch-Pr 3Pl-Sub-mouth-stink GU-that-only

gu-jark-bugi?, bo-wolo-yuŋ, ba-yul-yuŋ, a-ŋir-kič-ŋuŋ,  
 GU-water-only Pl-that-Abs Pl-Aboriginal-Abs A-euro-All-Abs

bara-bu-č-may? a-ŋir-kič-ŋuŋ ma-ŋi-č-ŋuŋ barma-ga-č-may?,  
 3Pl/A-kill-Neg-Pr MA-food-Abs 3Pl/MA-get-Neg-Pr

barma-ŋu-ti-č-may?, gu-wolo-bugi? gu-jark ba-ga-bun-ŋu-čini,  
 3Pl/MA-eat-Neg-Pr GU-that-only GU-water 3Pl-Sub-water-eat-Pr

munuy?,  
 always

They are bad. Their mouths stink. Those Aboriginals only (consume) liquor ('water'). They do not kill euros, they do not collect vegetable food, they do not eat it (vegetable food). They only drink that liquor, always.

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12.82

an-yuŋ gu-wolo baru-ga-wau-ŋ gu-jaŋk-yuŋ  
 as for GU-that 3PL/GU-Sub-abandon-Fut GU-water-Abs

ba-ja-bak-gubur-mak-gi-ŋ, ba-ni-? yalu-yaluk  
 3PL-now-Ben-business-good-Inch-Fut PL-this-Ø Rdp-hungry

ba-ga-bun-ŋu-čini, gu-wolo-yuŋ ba-wati-na, yimič  
 3PL-Sub-water-eat-Pr GU-that-Abs 3PL-die-Pr but

ŋarbara-ŋa-č-may?, ŋa-ču-?-yuŋ, gu-wolo-yuŋ, yamba  
 1PLIn/3PL-hear-Neg-Pr that way GU-that-Abs because

giyaŋ, ba-yimi-ñ-?-g-i barba-yimi-n?gubu-ŋ,  
 thinking 3PL-say-PPun-Ø-Aug-PPun 3PL/3PL-say-Caus-PPun

ba-ni-?-g-yuŋ gu-ni-? settlement ba-ga-ŋu-ga,  
 PL-this-Ø-Erg-Abs GU-this-Ø 3PL-Sub-sit-Pr

On the other hand, if they leave that liquor alone they will be behaving well. These men go hungry and drink that, so they die. But we do not hear (about) them. I think they (the Aboriginal village councilors) said that, they told that to them. These men (did that), the ones staying at this settlement (i.e. Roper River).

12.83

ba-jara-tu ba-councilor-tu-yuŋ, barba-yimi-n?gubu-ŋ,  
 PL-what's it?-Erg PL- -Erg-Abs 3PL/3PL-say-Caus-PPun

'gu-jaŋk-yuŋ ŋargu-ga-č-i gulupu?-yuŋ, ŋa-ki-?-bugi?  
 GU-water-Abs 2PL/GU-carry-Neg-Fut to here-Abs there -only

ŋar-ga-bun-ŋu-nuŋ bičara, Porter Barrack,  
 2PL-Sub-water-eat-Fut what's it place? pl.n.

ŋargu-waŋi-č-i ŋi-ču-?-yuŋ', barba-yimi-n?gubu-ŋ,  
 2PL/GU-bring-Neg-Fut this way 3PL/3PL-say-Caus-PPun

The what's-it?, the councilors told them, 'You cannot bring that liquor here. You can only drink it there, at what's-it?, at Porter Barrack. Do not bring it back this way.' They told them.

12.84

ba-wan-yuŋ ba-yič-ŋa-j-ič bargu-na?-ga-n-jini,  
 PL-Pron-Abs 3PL-mind-hear-Neg-P 3PL/GU-still-carry-Aug-Pr

ŋa-ču-? gu-house-gič-uŋ, ŋa-ki-ñ ba-ja-laŋ-bun-ŋu-čini  
 that way GU-house-All-Abs there 3PL-now-Ø-water-eat-Pr

warbaya, ba-ja-bu-ygi-na, gu-wolo  
 anyway 3PL-now-hit-Recip-Pr GU-that

ba-ja-gubur-warjaki-ñ,  
 3PL-now-business-be bad-PPun

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But they did not pay attention, they still bring it there, to the houses (at Roper River). There they drink it anyway. They fight. They behave badly.

12.85

ŋi-wan-yuŋ buluki? ŋi-policeman-yuŋ ŋi-na?-mungu,  
 MaSg-Pron-Abs also MaSg- -Abs 3MaSg-still-follow

ŋa-či-ñ-uŋ, barguni-baŋa-mungu, barguni-baŋa-ŋa-čini,  
 that way 3MaSg/3PL-Com-follow 3MaSg/3PL-Com-see-Pr

gu-bottle-garngarŋ?-yuŋ barguni-maŋ-wur?,  
 GU-bottle-big-Abs 3MaSg/3PL-hand-pluck

The policeman goes after (them), that way. He follows them with it, he sees them with it (the liquor), the big bottle (hard liquor), he takes it away (-maŋ-wur?-) from them.

12.86

gu-wan-yuŋ gu-jara-yuŋ, gu-beer-yuŋ, gu-wolo  
 GU-Pron-Abs GU-what's it?-Abs GU- -Abs GU-that

barguni-ga-baŋa-wau-na, gu-beer bargu-maka-na, ŋorkor-yuŋ  
 3MaSg/3PL-Sub-Com-abandon-Pr GU- 3PL/GU-call-Pr we(1PLIn)-Abs

gu-jaŋk ŋargu-maka-na gu-wolo-yuŋ, gu-baŋa-jambaka?-wič,  
 GU-water 1PLIn/GU-call-Pr GU-that-Abs GU-Com-can-having

gu-wolo ba-ga-bun-ŋu-čini, ŋigu-ga-wau-na,  
 GU-that 3PL-Sub-water-eat-Pr 3MaSg/GU-Sub-abandon-Pr

ŋi-ga-waui-č-may? ŋibara-ga-baŋa-wau-na,  
 3MaSg-Sub-abandon-Neg-Pr 3MaSg/3PL-Sub-Com-abandon-Pr

As for what's-it?, beer, (if he sees them with it) he leaves them with it. They call it 'beer'. We (Aboriginals) call it 'jaŋk' (water), the kind in the can. That is what they drink. He leaves that alone, or rather he leaves them alone with it.

12.87

gu-wolo-bugi? ba-ga-bun-ŋu-čini, gu-wolo-yuŋ  
 GU-that-only 3PL-Sub-water-eat-Pr GU-that-Abs

baru-ga-ya?-gaŋ?-g-u-ŋ, boŋ, baru-ga-gaŋ?-g-u-ni buluki?  
 3PL/GU-Sub-if-finish-Aug-Fut finish -Pr also

ba-na?-miya-miyan-ga-n-jini, ba-na?-gug-ni ŋa-ču-?  
 3PL-still-Rdp-get more-Aux-Aug-Pr 3PL-still-go-Pr that way

wala-č, ba-mala-galič-uŋ gu-mulmu-pič ba-ja-yu-ga,  
 up-All 3PL-group-some-Abs GU-grass-Per 3PL-now-lie down-Pr

They drink just that (beer), they finish it off. When they finish it off they get some more, they go upriver (to Roper Bar). Some of them lie down (and sleep) in the grass.

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12.88

arngu ni-wu|kakiñ baru-ja-laŋ-ma-y, baŋa-go|no-wič  
 until MaSg-man's name 3PL/3MaSg-now-Ø-get-PPun Com-mud-having

mo-go|no-gi ni-ga-yo-y, mala?-ñalk gu-wolo-yuŋ,  
 MA-mud-Loc 3MaSg-Sub-lie down-PCon season-rain GU-that-Abs

ni-ga-bun-ŋu-ni, ni-jawulpa-mak-i-č-may?  
 3MaSg-Sub-water-eat-PCon 3MaSg-old man-call-Refl-Neg-Pr

ni-jawulpa-?may? ŋuni ni-na?-jara waray  
 MaSg-old man-Neg damn! MaSg-still-what's it? indeed

ni-na?-deremu, ni-na?-deremu ni-wolo-yuŋ ni-wu|kakiñ-uŋ,  
 MaSg-still-man MaSg-that-Abs MaSg-man's name-Abs

Even wu|kakiñ (Paul), they arrested him now as he was lying in the mud. That was in the wet season. He was drinking. He does not call himself an old man. He is not an old man (jawulpa), he is still what's-it?, what-the-hell-is-the-word?, he is still a (young) man (deremu). That wu|kakiñ is still a man.

12.89

yimič ni-ga-bun-ŋu-čini guŋmu-kayal  
 but 3MaSg-Sub-water-eat-Pr all night

ni-yuŋ-joŋow?-du-ni ni-na-ri-yuŋ  
 3MaSg-do until-be daylight-Aug-Pr MaSg-that-Imm-Abs

ni-wu|kakiñ-uŋ, muka ni-warjak ni-mar?ma-mar?ma-du-ni,  
 MaSg-man's name-Abs indeed MaSg-bad 3MaSg-Rdp-shake-Aug-Pr

giyaŋ ni-gu-ja-waŋu-ŋan, buluki?-yuŋ  
 thinking 3MaSg/GU-now-abandon-Pot also-Abs

ni-mili?-warjak-di-Ø, maŋga? ni-warjak-di-ŋ, ni-wu|kakiñ-uŋ,  
 3MaSg-lest-bad-Inch-Evit maybe 3MaSg-bad-Inch-Fut

mala?-i-č-wolo gañju?,  
 at that time

But he drinks all night, that wu|kakiñ does that until daybreak. He gets bad, his body shakes. I think he should leave that (beer) alone, otherwise he might get very bad (i.e. sick). That wu|kakiñ might get bad at that time.

12.90

mala?-i-č-wolo, ni-ga-bun-ŋu-ni, ni-wan-?wič,  
 at that time 3MaSg-Sub-water-eat-PCon MaSg-Pron-Emph

gu-jara-tu, gu-jara ni-ga-bun-ŋu-čini  
 GU-what's it?-Inst 3MaSg-Sub-water-eat-Pr

ni-yuŋ-joŋow?, gu-na-ji-ri gu-baŋa-jambaka?-wič-uŋ  
 3MaSg-do until-be daylight GU-that-kind-Imm GU-Com-can-having-Abs

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gu-jark-yuŋ, gu-na-ji-ñ-uŋ gu-bottle-garngarŋ?-yuŋ  
 GU-water-Abs GU-that-kind-Ø-Abs GU-bottle-big-Abs

ni-bun-ŋu-čini, ni-ga-bun-ŋu-čini  
 3MaSg-water-eat-Pr -Sub-

ni-ja-ga-jara-di-na ni-ja-ŋere-woyo?, gu-wolo-yuŋ  
 3MaSg-now-Sub-what's it?-Inch-Pr 3MaSg-now-rest-sleep GU-that-Abs

ni-ja-yu-ða, ni-ŋum?-du-ni,  
 3MaSg-now-lie down-Pr 3MaSg-go to sleep-Aug-Pr

He was drinking then. He drinks with what's-it? (beer), he does that until daybreak. He drinks that kind of liquid in the can (i.e. beer), and that kind (in) the big bottle (i.e. hard liquor). When he drinks it he becomes what's-it?, he becomes sleepy. Then he lies down and goes to sleep.

12.91

gu-wolo ŋa-ču-wala-? ni-policeman ni-ga-buŋa-n-jini  
 GU-that from there MaSg- 3MaSg-Sub-rush-Aug-Pr

ni-ni-ŋa-čini, 'gaða ni-ni-? ni-!i-yu-ða  
 3MaSg/3MaSg-see-Pr Oh! MaSg-this-Ø 3MaSg-might as well-sleep-Pr

gamakun?, ŋanu-waŋu-na' ni-yima-na-?,  
 properly 1Sg/3MaSg-abandon-Pr 3MaSg-say-Pr-Ø

ni-ni-waŋu-na, 'ni-na?-wati-č-may? ni-na?-walŋa',  
 3MaSg/3MaSg-abandon-Pr 3MaSg-still-die-Neg-Pr MaSg-still-alive

ni-yima-na-?, ni-ni-ja-laŋ-waŋu-na, mala?-i-č-wolo-yuŋ,  
 3MaSg-say-Pr-Ø 3MaSg/3MaSg-now-Ø-abandon-Pr at that time

Then the policeman, who is driving along, sees him. 'Oh! This man might as well sleep in peace, I will leave him alone', he says. 'He is not dead, he is still alive', he says. Then he leaves him alone.

12.92

ŋuŋgayi-bugi? ba-mala-galič barguni-ga-ŋa-čini,  
 merely-only Pl-group-some 3MaSg/3Pl-Sub-see-Pr

barguni-ga-ga-n-jini, ŋa-ču-?, bo-wolo ba-buk-ŋaŋar-iñuŋ,  
 -carry-Aug-Pr that way Pl-that Pl-always-dangerous-Rel

bo-wolo-yiñuŋ, ba-ga-?-ŋaŋar-?may? barguni-waŋu-na  
 Pl-that-Rel Pl-Sub-Dur-dangerous-Neg 3MaSg/3Pl-abandon-Pr

bo-wolo-yuŋ, ba-ŋum-mak yamba ba-yul-yuŋ,  
 Pl-that-Abs Pl-behaviour-good because Pl-Aboriginal-Abs

bo-wolo-yuŋ,  
 Pl-that-Abs

There are only certain (Aboriginals) whom he takes that way (to jail) when he sees them (drunk). Those are the ones who are constantly violent. The ones that are not violent, he leaves those alone, because those Aboriginals are well-behaved.

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12.93

ba-ṛum-warjak-yuṅ    gu-wolo    barguni-ga-n-jini,    muṅuy?  
*Pl-behaviour-bad-Abs    GU-that    3MaSg/3Pl-carry-Aug-Pr    always*

ṅi-ga-yima-na-?    ṅi-na-ri-bugi?-may?,    ṅi-wangiñ?-may?,  
*3MaSg-Sub-do that-Pr-∅    MaSg-that-Imm-only-Neg    MaSg-one-Neg*

ba-biṛ    ba-policeman-yuṅ    ba-ga-ṅu-ḍa,    ṅi-wangiñ?-yuṅ  
*Pl-many    Pl-    -Abs    3Pl-Sub-sit-Pr    MaSg-one-Abs*

Larrimah    ṅi-ga-ṅu-ḍa,    ṅi-wangiñ?-yuṅ    Mataranka,  
*pl.n.    3MaSg-Sub-sit-Pr    MaSg-one-Abs    pl.n.*

bo-ḍolkḍolk    ba-ga-ṅu-ḍa,  
*3Pl-form a line    3Pl-Sub-sit-Pr*

*He takes away the ones who behave badly. He always does that. Not just that one, many policemen stay (in the area). One stays at Larrimah, one at Mataranka (places on the Stuart Highway south of Katherine). They form a line.*

12.94

ba-biṛ    ṅa-ki-ri-yuṅ    bičara-yuṅ,    bi-ñja    maṅga?  
*Pl-many    there    what's it place?-Abs    where?    maybe*

gu-ni-ñ-uṅ,    Katherine-yuṅ,    ba-mala-galič    ba-work    gaykubur?,  
*GU-that-∅-Abs    pl.n.-Abs    Pl-group-some    3Pl-work    daytime*

ba-mala-galič    ba-work,    may?    ṅu-yimi-č-i,<sup>1</sup>    ba-mala-galič  
*no,    2Sg-say-Neg-Fut*

ba-ga-buṅa-n-jini,    barba-ga-ṅa-čini    ba-yul-gič-uṅ  
*3Pl-Sub-rush-Aug-Pr    3Pl/3Pl-Sub-see-Pr    Pl-Aboriginal-All-Abs*

guṅmuk,    barba-ga-ma-ni    gu-wolo-yuṅ    gu-jaṛk-yuṅ  
*night    3Pl/3Pl-Sub-get-Pr    GU-that-Abs    GU-water-Abs*

ba-ga-bun-ṅu-čini,  
*3Pl-Sub-water-eat-Pr*

*Many (policemen) are there at what's-it?, what-do-they-call-that-place?, Katherine. Some work in the daytime, others work - no, do not say that - others drive around watching Aboriginals at night, they arrest them when they (the Aboriginals) drink the liquid (i.e. liquor).*

12.95

ba-mala-galič-uṅ    gaykubur?,    barba-molḍa-ni  
*Pl-group-some-Abs    daytime    3Pl/3Pl-give time to-Pr*

<sup>1</sup>Sandy is here talking to himself, angry at himself for using the English word *work*. What follows is a paraphrase for *to work* (driving around, watching Aboriginals, etc.).

balaka,    ba-ḍiṅ?-woypoy    barba-ga-miṛ?-ñil?-bu-mana  
*first    Pl-woman-together with    3Pl/3Pl-Sub-jail-confine-Aux-Pr*

ṅa-ki-ñ-uṅ,    bo-wolo-gič-uṅ    ba-yul-gič-uṅ,    ṅa-ki-ñ-uṅ,  
*there    Pl-that-All-Abs    Pl-Aboriginal-All-Abs*

ṅi-ki-?-yuṅ,    ba-mariyaku,    ba-ḍiṅ?    ba-ja-ga-biṛ    waray  
*here    Pl-few    Pl-woman    3Pl-now-Sub-many    indeed*

ba-ga-na?-bun-ṅu-čini    buluki?    barba-ma-č-may?    gu-yaku,  
*3Pl-Sub-still-water-eat-Pr    also    3Pl/3Pl-get-Neg-Pr    GU-absent*

barguni-ma-č-may?,    ṅi-jara-tu-yuṅ    ṅi-policeman-ḍu-yuṅ,  
*3MaSg/3Pl-get-Neg-Pr    MaSg-what's it?-Erg-Abs    MaSg-    -Erg-Abs*

*Some (policemen work) in the daytime. They give them time at first. They lock them up in jail there, those Aboriginals. Here (i.e. at Roper Bar) there are only a few, though indeed there are quite a few women who drink, but they do not arrest them - what's-his-name?, the policeman, does not arrest them.*

12.96

an-yuṅ    ṅa-ki-?-yuṅ    ṅaṅi,    ṅa-ki-ri    buluki?  
*as for    there    west    west    also*

bičara    Mataranka,    ṅa-ki-ri    barguni-ga-ma-ni,  
*what's it place?    pl.n.    there    3MaSg/3Pl-Sub-get-Pr*

ṅi-ga-yima-na-?    muṅuy?,    ṅi-wangiñ?-yuṅ    Maranboi  
*3MaSg-Sub-do that-Pr-∅    always    MaSg-one-Abs    pl.n.*

ṅi-ga-ṅu-da,    ṅa-ču-?    ṅi-ga-buṅa-n-jini  
*3MaSg-Sub-sit-Pr    that way    3MaSg-Sub-rush-Aug-Pr*

bičara-gič,    Bamyili-gič,    ṅa-ki-ñ    barguni-ga-ṅa-čini  
*what's it place?-All    pl.n.-All    there    3MaSg/3Pl-Sub-see-Pr*

ṅa-ču-wili-ñ    ṅi-wan-yuṅ    ṅi-wolo-yuṅ    barguni-ga-ma-ni,  
*from there    MaSg-Pron-Abs    MaSg-that-Abs    3MaSg/3Pl-Sub-get-Pr*

ṅi-wolo    ṅi-policeman-ḍu-yuṅ,  
*MaSg-    -Erg-Abs*

*As for there in the west, and also there at what's-it?, at Mataranka, he (the policeman) arrests them (Aboriginals). He always does that. One of them stays at Maranboi, he drives to what's-it?, to Bamyili. There he watches them, he takes them away from there, that policeman does.*

12.97

ṅa-ču-?    barguni-ja-laṅ-ga-n-jini,    barguni-miṛ?-ñil?-bu-mana,  
*there    3MaSg/3Pl-now-∅-carry-Aug-Pr    3MaSg/3Pl-jail-confine-Aux-Pr*

gu-ga-joḍow?    barguni-ja-ga-n-jini    bičara-gič,  
*GU-Sub-be daylight    what's it place?-All*

bičara maŋga? Katherine-gič, gu-wolo ŋi-baŋa-money-wič-uŋ,  
maybe pl.n.-All GU-that MaSg-Com-money-having-Abs

ŋi-bail 'em out-d-i-na, ŋini-wo-čini ŋi-wolo-yuŋ,  
3MaSg-bail out-Aug-Refl-Pr 3MaSg/3MaSg-give-Pr MaSg-that-Abs

gu-money-yuŋ, gu-wolo gu-money-tu-yuŋ,<sup>1</sup>  
GU-Abs GU-that GU-Inst-Abs

He takes them there and locks them up in jail. When it becomes day-light the next morning he takes them to what's-it?, to Katherine. The man with the money (is there). He (the culprit) gets bailed out. He (the man with the money) gives him the money.

12.98

ŋa-ču-? ŋini-ja-juj?, Fannie Bay-gič ŋaŋi-č, ŋa-ki-ñ  
that way 3MaSg/3MaSg-now-send pl.n.-All west-All there

ŋi-ja-ŋu-đa, ŋi-ŋu-đa maŋga? a-gurŋa-yuŋ a-yapan?  
3MaSg-now-sit-Pr 3MaSg-sit-Pr maybe A-month-Abs A-two

a-waŋgiñ?, ŋa-ki-ñ-uŋ, ŋačuweleñ-uŋ ŋi-ja-waki-na,  
A-one there then-Abs 3MaSg-now-return-Pr

gu-na?-japađa?-gič bičara-gič, Bamyili-gič,  
GU-still-same place-All what's it place?-All pl.n.-All

He sends him now that way, to Fannie Bay jail (in Darwin), to the west. There he (the culprit) stays. Maybe he stays there for three months. Then he goes back to the same place, to what's-it?, to Bamyili.

12.99

ba-wan-yuŋ buluki? bo-policeman-du-yuŋ, a-jara-tu  
Pl-Pron-Abs also Pl-Erg-Abs A-what's it?-Inst

baru-ga-ma-ni a-camera-tu, gu-paper-gič  
3Pl/3MaSg-Sub-get-Pr A-Inst GU-All

baru-ja-yo-ŋana gu-wolo gu-dowo-yuŋ gu-ja-ruđu-ni,  
3Pl/3MaSg-now-put in-Pr GU-that GU-story-Abs GU-now-go-Pr

ŋajugi?, baru-ja-ŋi-čo-ŋana<sup>2</sup> gu-jara-gič-uŋ,  
somewhere else 3Pl/3MaSg-now-name-put in-Pr GU-what's it?-All-Abs

gu-paper-gič-uŋ,  
GU-All-Abs

As for the (other) policemen, they take him (i.e. they take his picture) with a what's-it?, with a camera. They put him in the newspaper. The

<sup>1</sup>Sandy first put money, the (direct) object of 'to give', in the Nominative, then decides to use the Instrumental. Since the recipient is the grammatical object in Ngandi so far as choice of pronominal prefix in the verb is concerned, it is possible to treat the gift as an Instrumental. Cf. English I furnished him with a car.

<sup>2</sup>Here the root is -yu- (allomorph -yo-).

story goes around to other places. They put his name into the what's-it, the paper.

12.100

mal-kalič-uŋ bargu-juj?-may?, bargu-ja-yo-ŋana,  
times-some-Abs 3Pl/GU-send-Neg 3Pl/GU-now-put in-Pr

bargu-ja-yo-ŋana, bargu-yo-ŋana-?may?<sup>1</sup> ŋuni,  
3Pl/GU-put in-Pr-Neg damn!

bargu-ja-waŋu-na ŋa-ki-ñ, gu-ja-yu-đa, gu-wolo  
3Pl/GU-now-abandon-Pr there GU-now-lie down-Pr GU-that

buluki?-yuŋ ŋi-ga-ya?-waki-ŋ baru-ga-ya?-mi-yaŋ  
also-Abs 3MaSg-Sub-if-return-Fut 3Pl/3MaSg-Sub-if-get-Fut

ŋi-waŋgiñ?-yuŋ maŋga? ŋajugi? ŋini-ga-mi-yaŋ,  
MaSg-one-Abs maybe somewhere else 3MaSg/3MaSg-Sub-get-Fut

ŋi-policeman-du-yuŋ, gu-wolo-gič, gu-wolo-gič baru-ga-ŋa-n,  
MaSg-Erg-Abs GU-that-All GU-that-All 3Pl/3MaSg-Sub-see-Fut

Sometimes they do not send it away, they put it in - not 'They put it in' (narrator chides himself for using the wrong expression), they leave it there. It stays (lies) there. Then if he returns (to jail), they will arrest him, that one. Maybe the policeman will arrest him somewhere else. They will see him in that (newspaper).

12.101

'gađa ŋugan ŋu-jara, xxx maik-yapan?  
Oh! you(Sg) 2Sg-what's it? times-two

ŋu-ja-waki-ñ', 'yo:', 'miri? ŋu-yimi-ñ-?-d-i',  
2Sg-now-return-PPun yes! yes or no? 2Sg-do that-PPun-Ø-Aug-PPun

'may?' maŋga? ŋi-yima-na-? 'yamba ŋanu-ramd-i  
Well, maybe 3MaSg-say-Pr-Ø because 1Sg/3MaSg-spear-PPun

ŋi-yul' maŋga? ŋi-yima-na-?, mal-kalič-uŋ 'may?,  
MaSg-Aboriginal maybe 3MaSg-say-Pr-Ø times-some-Abs Well,

yamba ñari-bu-ydi-ni ŋi-yul-pula' ŋi-yima-na-?,  
because 1DuEx-hit-Recip-PCon MaSg-Aboriginal-and 3MaSg-say-Pr-Ø

(A policeman tells the culprit,) 'Oh! You are what's-his-name?, ...

<sup>1</sup>This form is very interesting since it shows (Present) Negative -?may? added directly to a fully-inflected positive verb form. It normally is added to the Negative stem, in this instance (bargu)-yo-ŋi-č-. The reason for this departure is that Sandy is not negating the proposition 'They put it in', rather rejecting the word bargu-yo-ŋana ('They put it in') which he has just used, just as in Text 12.4 he rejects the intrusive English word *early fellow* (cf. fn. 1, page 250). In the present example Sandy goes on to use -waŋu-, a more appropriate verb than -yu-/-yo-. See Text 12.109 and footnote 1, page 295.

You have come back a second time.' 'Yes' (says the culprit). 'What did you do?' 'Well,' he might say, 'it was because I speared an Aboriginal man.' Sometimes he might say, 'It was because I and a man were fighting,' he says.

12.102

'ni-wan-du, ni-wan-du, ni-ga-dubur-warjaki-ñ', 'gaða',  
 MaSg-Pron-Erg 3MaSg-Sub-business-be bad-PPun Oh!  
 'naya-gič-bugi? naba-ga-juj?-g-i naba-ga-ga-n-di  
 I-All-only 3Pl/1Sg-Sub-send-Aug-PPun 3Pl/1Sg-Sub-carry-Aug-PCon  
 guļupu?-yuj' ni-yima-na-?, galič-uñ barba-jaiča-ga-n-jini,  
 this way-Abs 3MaSg-say-Pr-Ø some-Abs 3Pl/3Pl-both-carry-Aug-Pr  
 barba-ga-n-jini-pula, bari-ga-ñawk bargu-ni-ga-maṇiñ?  
 3Pl/3Pl-carry-Aug-Pr-Du 3MaDu-Sub-speak 3Pl/GU-MaDu-Sub-make  
 gu-wolo-yuj, gu-wič-mak,  
 GU-that-Abs GU-Ø-good

'It was him (the other man) who did a bad thing' (the culprit says).  
 'Oh!' (the policeman says). 'They only sent me away, they brought me here,' he says. Sometimes they take both (fighters), they take the two of them. They both speak, they make it (the story?) good.

12.103

barba-na?-juj?, barba-juj?-bula, gu-wolo  
 3Pl/3Pl-still-send 3Pl/3Pl-send-Du GU-that  
 bargu-ni-ga-dubur-warjaka-ṛaṇ, barba-ja-juj?-di-j-i-pula,  
 3Pl/GU-MaDu-Sub-business-do bad-Fut 3Pl/3Pl-now-send-Aug-Neg-Fut-Du  
 barba-ja-ga-n-bula, barba-juj?-g-i ni-ču-? ṇaṇi-č,  
 3Pl/3Pl-now-carry-Fut-Du 3Pl/3Pl-send-Aug-PPun this way west-All  
 bičara-gič, Fannie Bay-gič, a-bak-yima-na-? an-yuj  
 what's it place?-All pl.n.-All A-Ben-do that-Pr-Ø as for  
 gu-dubur-yuj a-ga-bak-yu-ḍa, a-jara-ku  
 GU-business-Abs A-Sub-Ben-lie down-Pr A-what's it?-Dat  
 a-policeman-gu-yuj, gu-wolo a-ga-bak-dubur-yu-ḍa,  
 A-Dat-Abs GU-that A-Sub-Ben-business-lie down-Pr

They send them away (back home). They send the two of them away. If they will do something very bad, they will not send them away, they will take them and send them this way, west, to what's-it?, to Fannie Bay jail. That is the way the business operates for what's-it?, for a policeman. That is the way it is.

12.104

mal-kalič-uñ a-bulugi bara-yara-ma-ni, ba-wan-yuj  
 times-some-Abs A-bullock 3Pl/A-thief-take-Pr Pl-Pron-Abs

barba-ga-maka-na, bo-stockboy-gič-uñ, 'ringer'  
 3Pl/3Pl-Sub-call-Pr Pl-stockboy-All-Abs

barba-ga-maka-na bara-ga-?-yara-ma-ni a-bulugi-yuj,  
 3Pl/A-Sub-Dur-thief-get-Pr A-bullock-Abs

ba-wan-yuj<sup>1</sup> ni-policeboy-uñ, ni-policeman-yuj bari-ṛuḍu-ni,  
 MaSg-Abs 3MaDu-go-Pr

bari-ṇu-ḍa bari-waṇ?-ḍu-ni ṇa-ču-? a-bulugi  
 3MaDu-sit-Pr 3MaDu-look-Aug-Pr that way A-bullock

a-gara-kara-ḍu-ḍa,  
 A-Rdp-all-stand-Pr

Sometimes someone steals bullocks. They call those stockboys 'ringers', they call them that when they steal bullocks. As for them, the (Aboriginal) policeboy and the policeman go along, then they stop and look around; lots of bullocks are standing over there.

12.105

gu-wolo ḍa?-ḍaḍabaṛṇ?-yuj gu-ga-yima-na-?, gu-yard-gič-uñ  
 GU-that Rdp-afternoon-Abs GU-Sub-do that-Pr-Ø GU-All-Abs

bara-ga-yo-ṇana, bo-stockboy-ḍu-yuj, ni-wan yakaḍa  
 3Pl/A-Sub-put in-Pr Pl-Erg-Abs MaSg-Pron

ṇa-ki-ñ-bugi? ni-jara-yuj, ni-policeboy-uñ, giyaṇ  
 there -only MaSg-what's it?-Abs MaSg-Abs thinking

gu-na?-munun?-may? gu-garpar-di-na-?gu?, mala?-ič-wolo  
 GU-still-be dark-Neg GU-twilight-Inch-Pr-while at that time

ni-ga-ṛuḍu-ni a-jara niya-ṇa-čini a-brand, a-earmark  
 3MaSg-Sub-go-Pr A-what's it? 3MaSg/A-see-Pr A-A-

buluki?-yuj bara-ga-ganam-ḍak,  
 also-Abs 3Pl/A-Sub-ear-cut

That afternoon it happens like that. They put them (the bullocks) into the yard, the stockboys do. As for what's-his-name?, the policeboy, he is still there. He thinks, 'It is not dark yet, (it is) at twilight.' At that time he goes and sees what's-it?, the brands, and also the earmarks where they (the owners) cut them on the ears.

12.106

'gaða, yaw! bir?may? gu-ḍawal-wiṛipu-gu, ba-ni-?-bugi?'  
 Oh! hey! true GU-country-other-Gen Pl-this-Ø-only

ni-yima-na-? ni-waki-na ni-ḍur?, ni-yu-ḍa  
 3MaSg-say-Pr-Ø 3MaSg-return-Pr 3MaSg-make camp 3MaSg-sleep-Pr

gu-ja-joḍow?, ni-yu-ḍa gu-na?-joḍow?-may?-gu?,  
 GU-now-be daylight 3MaSg-sleep-Pr GU-still-be daylight-Neg-while

<sup>1</sup>Should be MaDu bo-woṇi-yuj rather than Pl ba-wan-yuj here.



dawa-dawa?    ɲa-jara-yuŋ    ɲa-ɟapolk-yuŋ    ɲa-bit-bu-mana,  
 Rdp-now    NA-what's it?-Abs    NA-star-Abs    NA-climb-Aux-Pr

'Hey! There they are, (those bullocks) belonging to the other place. These alone (are the thieves),' he says. He goes back and makes a camp for the night. He sleeps, it becomes daylight. He sleeps while it is still not yet daylight. Now the what's-it?, the (morning) star, climbs up.

12.107

mala?-ič-wolo    bari-ga-ɾudu-ni,    ɲi-wan-yuŋ    maŋga?  
 at that time    3MaDu-Sub-go-Pr    MaSg-Pron-Abs    maybe

ɲi-munana-yuŋ    ɲa-ki-ñ,    ɲi-stockman    baru-ga-maka-na,  
 MaSg-White-Abs    there    MaSg-    3Pl/3MaSg-Sub-call-Pr

ɲi-ja-ɲoŋɲ?,    ɲi-ɾudu-ni    ɲa-ki-?,    ɲi-wolo    ɲi-policeman-yuŋ,  
 3MaSg-now-snore    3MaSg-go-Pr    there    MaSg-that    MaSg-    -Abs

ɲi-warja-warja?    gu-revolver-yuŋ    baɬ,    ɲigu-ma-ni ...<sup>i</sup>  
 3MaSg-Rdp-search    GU-    -Abs    get    3MaSg/GU-get-Pr

At that time the two of them (the policeman and policeboy) go along. The stockman for his part is over there, they call him 'stockman'. He is snoring now. The policeman goes along there, searching for the (stockman's) revolver. He grabs it ...

12.108

ɲačuweleñ-uŋ,    a-jara    ɲini-ja-bak-yo-ɲana,    handcuff  
 then-Abs    A-what's it?    3MaSg/3MaSg-now-Ben-put on-Pr

ɲini-ja-bak-yo-ɲana,    ɲi-wolo-gič-uŋ,    ɲi-munana-gič-uŋ  
 MaSg-that-All-Abs    MaSg-White-All-Abs

ɲačuweleñ-uŋ    ɲini-ja-ga-n-jini,    waɭaman?  
 then-Abs    3MaSg/3MaSg-now-carry-Aug-Pr    everyone

barba-ja-ga-n-jini,    ɲa-ču-?,    police station-gič,  
 3Pl/3Pl-now-carry-Aug-Pr    that way    -All

ba-ga-ɾudu-ni:::    ɲa-ki-ñ,    barguni-mir?-ñil?-bu-mana,  
 3Pl-Sub-go-Pr    there    3MaSg/3Pl-jail-confine-Aux-Pr

Then he puts the what's-it?, the handcuffs, on him. He puts it on that White man. Then he takes him - they take all of them there to the police station. They go along, (they arrive) there. He (a policeman) locks them up in jail.

<sup>1</sup>Another interruption as a new tape was put onto the recorder.

12.109

ba-yu-ɟa,    ɲačuweleñ-uŋ,    early fellow-yuŋ,  
 3Pl-sleep-Pr    then-Abs    morning-Abs

barguni-ja-ñawk-ɟu-ni    barguni-ja-court 'em?,  
 3MaSg/3Pl-now-speak to-Aug-Pr    3MaSg/3Pl-now-try

ba-ga-ñawk-wayɟi-na:::,    gu-ni-ñ,    ɲi-ni-ñ-gič-uŋ,  
 3Pl-Sub-speak to-Recip-Pr    that's all    MaSg-that-Ø-All-Abs

ɲi-stockman-gič-uŋ,    baru-ja-yo-ɲana,    baru-yo-ɲič-may?  
 MaSg-    -All-Abs    3Pl/3MaSg-now-put in-Pr    3Pl/3MaSg-put in-Neg-Pr

baru-ja-mir?-ñil?-bu-mana,<sup>1</sup>    gu-wolo-yuŋ,  
 3Pl/3MaSg-now-jail-confine-Aux-Pr    GU-that-Abs

They sleep, then in the morning they speak to them, they try them in court. They speak to each other, that is all, to that same stockman. They put him in - rather, they do not put him in, they lock him up.

12.110

wuluŋ-muŋuy?    ɲi-ja-ɾudu-ni,    ɲaŋi-č,    ba-wan-yuŋ  
 for good    3MaSg-now-go-Pr    west-All    Pl-Pron-Abs

ba-ni-ñ-uŋ    ba-yul-yuŋ,    ba-ja-waki-na,    ɲa-ču-?  
 Pl-that-Ø-Abs    Pl-Aboriginal-Abs    3Pl-now-return-Pr    that way

maybe    gu-jara-gič,    maŋga?    gu-jara-gič,  
 GU-what's it?-All    maybe    GU-what's it?-All

gu-station-gič,    a-ni-ñ-uŋ    buluki?    a-jara-yuŋ,  
 GU-    -All    A-that-Ø-Abs    also    A-what's it?-Abs

a-bulugi-yuŋ    a-ja-prisoner-ɬi-na,    bara-ja-ga-n-jini,  
 A-bullock-Abs    A-now-prisoner-Inch-Pr    3Pl/A-now-carry-Aug-Pr

bara-ja-gopa-na,    bara-tail 'em?-ɟu-ni,    ja-boñ.  
 3Pl/A-now-keep-Pr    3Pl/A-tail(verb)-Aug-Pr    now-finish

He (the convicted stockman) goes west for good (to jail). As for those Aborigines, they go back there to what's-it?, to what's-it?, to the (cattle) station. The what's-it?, the bullocks, are kept captive (by the policemen). They (the stockboys) take them now, they take charge of them, they tail them (i.e. they take them out to graze). End of the story.

<sup>1</sup>Sandy has decided to use the verb -ñil?-bu- instead of -yo-. In this example he says baru-yo-ɲič-may? with -?may? added to the Negative stem, although he could have said baru-(ja-)yo-ɲana-?may?, i.e. 'not baru-(ja-)yo-ɲana'; cf. footnote 1, page 291.

TEXT 13 (Sandy)

Mother-in-Law Bestowal

13.1

gu-wolo-yuŋ,    ɲa-ɾaŋ-guruŋ-gič-un  
 GU-that-Abs    FeSg-his-mother in law-All-Abs

Ø-gibaŋ-yowk-da-ni                    a-jara-tu,                    a-jara-tu    ɲuni,  
 3MaSg/3FeSg-nose-apply-Aug-Pr    A-what's it?-Inst                    damn!

o-moyŋo?-du,                    gu-wolo-yuŋ    bi:č,                    a-gaku-?ɲuɲayi-yuŋ,  
 A-red ochre-Inst    GU-that-Abs    well,...    A-child-her-Abs

ɲa-ɾa-ga-ya?-bol-kuba-ɾaŋ,                    Ø-ja-wo-nuŋ  
 3FeSg/A-Sub-if-appear-Caus-Fut    3FeSg/3MaSg-now-give-Fut

ɲi-ɾaŋ-guruŋ-gič.  
 MSg-her-son in law-All

(The boy) rubs what's-it?, red ochre, onto the nose of his (prospective) mother-in-law. Then, if she bears (causes to appear) a child, she will give it to her (prospective) son-in-law (the boy).

TEXT 14 (Sandy)

Mother-in-Law Avoidance

14.1

gu-wolo-yuŋ,    Ø-ja-guruŋ?-du-ni  
 GU-that-Abs    3MaSg/3FeSg-now-stay away-Aug-Pr

ɲa-ɾaŋ-guruŋ-gič-un,                    buluki?    gu-wolo    Ø-ɲa-č-may?,  
 FeSg-his-mother in law-All-Abs    again    GU-that    3MaSg/3FeSg-see-Neg-Pr

gu-wolo-yuŋ,    gu-jara,                    ɲigu-mili?-dubur-warjaki-Ø.  
 GU-that-Abs    GU-what's it?    3MaSg/GU-lest-business-do badly-Evit

(The son-in-law) then avoids his mother-in-law. Furthermore, he cannot look (directly) at her, lest (by doing so) he violate the traditional law.

*Handwritten notes:*  
 barba-ɲa-ɲa-may?    bu-guruŋ?  
 barba-ɲa-ɲa-may?    bu-guruŋ?  
 barba-ɲa-ɲa-may?    bu-guruŋ?  
 barba-ɲa-ɲa-may?    bu-guruŋ?

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