Jeffrey Heath

Ngandi grammar, texts, and dictionary

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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 Dhuwali 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.
Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE LANGUAGE

There are probably about six persons who speak Ngandi well now. My principal informant, Sandy (maŋulp), 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, Ritharrngu, 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 numamudiŋi 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 Warndarrang. According to Sandy, the northern, inland numamudiŋi are called ngalawinbiŋ, while the southern, coastal numamudiŋi are called ḍjqirin. The territorial centre of the northern group is amaŋbil, a billabong.

My other informant, Sam, belongs to the mingiriri1 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.

It should be noted that the clan name mingiriri can also be applied to a Ritharrngu-speaking clan. It appears that the clans based at warpani (Ngandi), maruru and ɾaribe (both Ritharrngu) are closely related etymically 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.
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 Ritharrngu.

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 'gurâ' 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.

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 Ritharrngu.
SEGMENTAL PHONOLOGY

2.1 PHONEMES

The phonemes of Ngandid 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 l-series are apical, the former alveolar and the other retroflexed (apicalodental). The č-series, like the t-series, is laminal, and is best described as laminalvelar. The k-series is velar.

In word- or syllable-final position Ngandid 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 -čč-gu-, which I initially transcribed as -cč-gu-.

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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; Ĝ is a retroflexed vocoid like American English r. r and Ĝ do not pattern like alveolar/apico-
dental contrasts in the stop, nasal, and lateral series.

Interdental l and n are not really part of the Ngandid phonemic system; they occur only in two or three flora-fauna terms like kanga ‘heron sp.’ and ma[kaja]lir ‘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 o is best taken as an accidental gap instead of a significant fact about the phonemic system.

2.2 DISTRIBUTIONAL RESTRICTIONS: VOWELS


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, gi[gi]ba:pa and be:ɡuru, are probably loans from Warnadarg gi[gi]ba:ba and Nunggubuyu be:ɡuru.

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 phonologic-

al rule P-15.

There are no vowel clusters on the surface except in ma-ŋa ‘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 -t- combines with ɡak-gu- ‘to cut’ to give ɡak-ɔ-ːl-.

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 r̩ and r̩ in birka?-gu- ‘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 0 where 0 is a stop, ?, or a nasal. In these neutralising positions ʔ transcribe stops with the fortis series (p, t, etc.) syllable-finally and with the lenis series (b, d, etc.) syllable-initially. Thus in birka?-gu- and berge- the b is a neutralised stop; the 0 is true of g in maŋa? ‘maybe’, 4 in ɡak-gu- ‘to cut’, and t in bo? ‘fly’. This transcriptional convention corresponds to the phonetic reality in the main. However, syllable-initial neutralised stops are midway between lenis and fortis
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 noncontrastive neutralising positions within morphemes, syllable-finally and Q positions, 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 fortis stops. In the first alternative, which is preferable, we need a rule or convention to effect that a neutralised (unmarked) stop in prefix- or stem-initial position is redundantly marked lenis. Thus berge/‘green plant’ 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 realised in some environments by phonological rules, but is maintained in others: gu-gawai-ku and gu-gawai-gi with (gu-)gawai ‘country’. We therefore require an underlying contrast which must be specified.

It is even possible to consider extending this underlying analysis to stems where the contrast (not to prefix-initial) position and say that stems also must 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 compounds 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 -baru- ‘to small’ gives mar-puru- instead of expected *mar-buru-, while buku- ‘to much along’ reduplicates as buku-buku- instead of expected *buku-buka-. Contrast the lenis stops in ge-bar-gu- (a compound of ge- and bar-gu-) ‘to open one’s mouth’ and reduplicated -bengu-bengu- ‘stepped on’.

Since there is no way to account for the difference between the initial initials of set A, set B, and ‘regular’ stems by general phonological rules, the thought suggests itself that fortis or 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, go-'to chop down’ is in set A, hence wai-jo- ‘to chop down wood’, but not in set B, hence Past Continuous reduplication goŋ1-gə-qi (not *goŋ1-jo-qi).

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 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 sound 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. -m?i, 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 ru?i-gu- ‘to go around’, a stem which (like other verbs) can occur without prefixes or with *It-pronominal prefix.

In prefix- and stem-initials, apicoalveolars d, n, l are in complementary distribution with retroflexed z, 1, 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 (-n=t-, -n=ʔ-); (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 -t|- (which may pattern as a compounding stem historically). The underlying distribution of the two series is altered by P-2, which makes apicoalveolars reflexed 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 -niʔ- and -naʔ-, nominal and verbal stems with initial ʔ, ŋ, ŋ, and so forth.

2.5 CONSONANT CLUSTERS

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

In medial and final clusters, I was able to hear no phonetic difference between apicoalveolars ʔ, t, l, n and reflexed ʔ, t, ʔ, n following other consonants except ʔ, y, and perhaps w. That is, I heard no contrasts such as r/ʁ or n/ŋ. 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 ʔ, 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 nd within morphemes; (b) in other inanimomorphic clusters, neutralised apicals always happen to occur in frozen reduplications like *le|t* and, since the initial apical is written as reflexed consonant by analogy, the neutralised conventions the medial postconsonantal apical which corresponds to the initial apical will also be written as reflexed; (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 reflexed by analogy to its written form when its morpheme follows a vowel (hence ʔ, t, l, n, not *t, l, n, because of forms like ba-ʔala-ge-ŋ with different prefix).

Final clusters (in stems and words) are of the following types:  

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1. Glosses are omitted here to save space. They may be found in the Dictionary.
clusters like mb and ng are common. *ng is unattested but probably occurs in the combination of yurum with case suffixes like -gi. The most common nonhomorganic clusters are those with b as second element and certain other combinations like ng. Clusters with d or g as second element, aside from nd and gd, are avoided.

(e) nonnasal sonorant plus stop. Note that foris and lenis stops contrast in this position. Examples with initial lateral: balpa, bapu?, bubaba, goriol, gule, (probably from *gal-ga-), jai-gu-, quitul (frozen Rdp), buči?, jumbajumbaj (frozen Rdp), balja, balku, buku, galgi, balgi. With initial rhotic: garpič, burpa?, garka, mar-baca, gorič, glica (perhaps from *glic-ja-), gurgu (frozen Rdp), goryo, barcaš, barčar, birko-gu-, barču, berže. 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, d, and g as second element are avoided; only l is found and it occurs only once in the data. Semivowel-stop clusters are not exceptionally common; examples are gakyu, gapyatl, geygey, gorowkorow, -ygl- (Reciprocal suffix). At morpheme boundaries we find stem-final y and w, which can be followed by suffix-initial p, t, d, k, g, etc.

(f) lateral or rhotic plus nasal. Examples: galmaran, bijmir, gurmulu?, jorpou? (but *rm has been unstable, cf. warana vs. Nunggubuyu waŋma, barmurk or baramurk vs. Ritharngu barmurk), galirmir, bujfin, warfu, barbaŋu, buŋu?, gurna, gurgur. The patterning is similar to that of liquid-stop and nasal-stop clusters.

(g) lateral or rhotic plus lateral or rhotic. Examples: jairumbir (originally *jal-um-bic), nar-ram-ga-ygl-ni (*We speared each other*, with stem ram-ga-). In some cases /rg/ arising across boundaries is reduced by P-13.

(h) sonorant plus semivowel. Examples: warwag (frozen Rdp), larwa, galwa, barwilc (*bar-wilc), wiraŋ, geywal. An uncommon type intramorphemically; only rw is at all common. However, the type is common across boundaries when suffixes like -yuo and -wal follow stems ending in sonorants.

(i) semivowel plus nasal or lateral. Examples: guryarjji, maymay (Rdp), moyo? These are my only examples. A rare intermorphemic example: buvyuy-ga- with -ga- 'to burn'.

(j) t plus consonant. This type is uncommon within morphemes, except at the beginning of suffixes like -wilc and so forth. gotma- can be cited, but may reflect *goʔ-ma-, while warwara is a frozen reduplication. Across boundaries the type is very common, since many noun stems and verb roots end in t and these can be followed by suffixes beginning with a variety of consonants. Similarly, the prefixes -na- and -ʔ- can precede stems beginning in any consonant.

(k) most triple clusters which occur medially (noninitially and nonfinally) within morphemes are rhotic plus homorganic nasal-stop cluster: argu (also [r̩gi, warqun]), warmbeve, marngu. 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: barq, ganulo, and murg plus suffixes like -gi, -walo, -yuo.
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: Replication (3.2), early redundancy rules (3.3), Hardening (3.4), Lenition (3.5), ʔ-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 replication patterns: CVCV- (Type A), CVCV?- (Type B), and root-replication (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 replicated segments must be short even when the stem itself has an underlying long vowel. Thus ʔɑb-ʔɑ-bu- from ʔɑː-bu-. Shortening of the stem-vowel in replications (in this example the noninitial -ɑ- from /-qɛ-/) is taken care of by rule P-17.

Reduplication of nominal stems and demonstratives (other than -wolɔ) is very uncommon, and is certainly less important than in Nunggubuyu or Warndarang. In these languages nominal replication 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 gaku in the sense of 'small; child' (not in the sense 'nephele; niece'): (ba-)gaku-gaku '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-ʔ (from wati- 'They all died.' The attested examples of reduplicated nominal stems are of Types A and B: ʔa-gaku-gaku (cf. above), jawu?-jawuʔa 'old men', wiririʔ-wiririʔu 'other'. Similarly, the demonstrative -wolɔ reduplicates as -wolɔ-wolɔ or as -wolɔʔ-wolɔ. The adverb ʔagabaʔarg?i 'afternoon; yesterday' has a reduplication ʔagabagaʔarg?, which in rapid speech may undergo a low-level contraction to ʔaʔ-agabaʔarg?i.

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 CVCCV- and occasionally CVCCV-, which may occur alone as a 'root form'. To inflect such a root it is necessary to add a thematic augment -gu- before the inflectional suffix. Reduplication applies to the root, but not the augment: ʔag-ʔag-gu-, ʔajga-ʔajga-gu-, ʔjdjuʔ-ʔjdjuʔ-ʔgdu-ʔ, waʔชำʔ-waʔชำʔʔ-ʔgdu-. For the relatively few class 1 stems with roots longer than two syllables we get Type A reduplication in ʔajga-ʔajgaʔaʔ-ʔgdu- (for /j/ → ʔ, cf. P-4). Note also gurʔa-gurʔaʔwar-gu-.

Class 2 consists in part of a set of stems ending in -ʔa-. Most of these stems can occur in the root form without -ʔa-, though some cannot. In this type of class 2 stem we find Type C reduplication as in class 1: ṣap-ṣəpag-, ʔowkoʔ-ʔowkoʔ-ʔa, ṣalagaʔ-ṣalagaʔ-ʔa, ṣaʔ-ʔaʔ-ʔaʔe. Class 2 also includes a number of stems which are not segmentable into a root and an augment (e.g. baʔe-), and some others ending in ʔa which may be related to -ʔa- but if so is quite frozen (e.g. goʔaʔa-, warjaʔa-). These show Type A reduplication with Lenition by P-7: goʔaʔ-ʔaʔ-ʔaʔ-ʔaʔe.

Other verb classes predominantly show Type A reduplication with an occasional example of Type B. Examples: wad-ʔadi-ʔa (class 3a, from wati-); ʔiniʔiniʔiʔi (Past tense, class 4b, from ʔiniʔ)- ʔukbaʔukbaʔ (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 gar-mlʔiʔ-ʔuʔiʔuʔ-ʔiʔ-ʔiʔ- 'let you (Pi) always fight', not *gariʔ-ʔarmlʔiʔ-ʔuʔiʔuʔ-ʔiʔ-ʔiʔ- bliʔiʔ- 'let go (Pi) always be', nor *gariʔ-ʔarmlʔiʔ-ʔuʔiʔuʔ-ʔiʔ-ʔiʔ- bliʔiʔ- 'let go (Pi) always be'. If the stem is monosyllabic the first syllable of the suffix or suffix-cluster is included in the reduplicated segment: nirmakaʔiʔ-ʔa�-ʔeʔiʔ- 'PiFLEX used to get them.' In such instances the reduplicated segment will be written as a single unit (-maʔiʔ-, not -maʔ-). If the stem plus suffix-cluster form a single syllable, Type A reduplication is monosyllabic: -ʔniʔ-ʔeʔiʔ from -ʔeʔiʔ- (Past Continuous of -ʔuʔ- 'to eat').

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

Stop ——> [tense] //
  Stop Nazal ?
  [ ]
  [n] #
[tense] // elsewhere

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: BòD > bot; QêDa? > ganda?; BìQbìQoG > bìQbìQok; a-jëñ > a-jëñ; a-na:G-yun > a-næk-yun.

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- (8.5); (c) -l̃- (8.2). The prefixes -ni- and -l̃- 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 -naj- 'still' (8.6). This prefix follows MDu -ni- (and presumably -l̃- as well).

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

The middle-order morphemes show retroflexed forms following all noninitial prefixes (i.e. all prefixes which follow the pronominal prefixes) except Subordinators -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 3Ms/n/1 /-n/- /-nul/, MDu -r̃-/ (from M ending -ni- identical to the 3Ms/n/1 morpheme), 3Fs/nA /-na/, Accusative 3Pl -barna /-barna/, 2Sg /-nu/, or 2Pl /-na/.

The pronominal prefixes which require the [-retr] forms are all monosyllabic prefixes, plus monosyllabic 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-jañi- 'this one now'. The retroflexion of the demonstrative stem is due to the noninitial prefix -ja- 'now'; without it we get a-ñi- since the noun-class prefix a- is monosyllabic.

Examples of retroflexion of middle-order morphemes following pronominal prefixes: bari-qa-ri 'those (MDu)'; qanu-qa-qa-čini 'I still see him.' (middle-order morpheme is -qa- 'still'); qanu-qa-qa-čini 'I still see her.'; qahara-qa-qa-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.
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', -go- 'to chop', -ga- 'to follow, to chase', -buna- 'to touch along', -gelge- (attested only in the compound shown below), and the kin terms -gew, -jabur, and -guruq (4.4).

Verbal examples are banja-puru- 'to smell the arm of', wali-to- 'to chop wood', bul-karu- 'to follow smoke of (someone)', and gubur-kalga- 'to come near'. An example with noninitial prefix -rI- (8.11) is -rI-puru- 'to touch along with'. The examples with kin terms involve 2nd person possessive prefix -ma-, hence -ma-rI-kow, etc.

Many verbs begin 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 -naRaka-buru- 'to smell bone of' we can posit a hardened intermediate stage /-naRaka-puru-/ with later lenition by Lenition III (P-8, below).

The 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, -rI- (8.11) and -maR- (4.4) do allow hardening. For many others (-ga-y?-, -na?, -bukh, -bIgi?-, -baR-, -7?, -woR-, -jaRca-, -gaR?, -maR-, -gaR?, -diR-) there is no way to tell since lenition rules would wipe out any intermediate hardening of following stops. For -rI-, -gaR-, -nomulu-, 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? 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 -naR- (Nonproximate -na-, Intermediate -rI-), e.g. gu-naR-ki? 'to that one (GU')

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.
Symbols: X is a compounding stem or one of a certain set of derivational prefixes like ma-.2; Dem is a demonstrative pronominal stem; lmm is the Immediate suffix.

In view of (b) one could take -ki- in demonstrative adverbs as historically identical to Locative -gi.

This type of Hardening must be distinguished from that shown in mal-kali 'sometimes', for example. Here the base form is /mal-k-gali\#/ and the surface k is not due to Hardening I but rather to Geminant-Contraction (P-14) by which /kg/ → k. This kind of explanation is not possible for banja-puru-, wall-jor-, or bul-karu- (cf. above), since the initial elements are well-attested elsewhere both as compounding elements and independent nouns in the forms banja (not *ba-jep), wall (not *wa-lit), and bul (not *bu-lit).

In this connection we may also mention the word jasipir 'old; unsettled', which may consist of ja- plus a hardened form of -bi. This etymology would be questionable on semantic grounds, though not totally implausible (ja indicates wanting, bi means 'many'), but is clearly confirmed by a synonym jai-rumbir (*ja-rumbi\#). This suggests that bi can have, or at least had, a hardened form *bi (secondarily lenited in jai-rumbir).

Similarly, note that bica-ra 'what's-it?' (referring to places) consists of bi- (found elsewhere only in bi-raj 'what place?') and a hardened jaka- of jara 'what's-it?'. However, bica-ra is sufficiently frozen synchronically so that we need not treat it by means of P-3; the same holds for jaspir.

Hardening II applies in reduplications. The set of stems affected is that labelled 'set B' in (2.3). The attested examples are: buna-puru- from buna; bidje-pidey-ga- from bidje-ga- (the variant bidje-ga- is also attested); ?-Deletion in the first alternative is by P-9); japa-zaaga?-gu- from japa?-gu-; and buydi-pu-gyi- from bu-gyi-; the Reciprocal of bu-. Other forms of bu- do not show Hardening: Present bu-ba-bam-

Sets A and B intersect only to a very limited extent. The only stem in both sets is bu-puru-. The stem bidje-ga- is in B but not A, cf. *gangu-bidje-ga- (not *gangu-pidey-ga-). The stem bu-, though partially in set B, is not in set A, hence compounds like ga-bu- (not *ga-:pu-). Cf. discussion in (2.3).

Having labelled the appropriate stems with the lexical feature [set B], we formulate the second Hardening rule as follows:

P-4 Hardening II
Stop → [+tense] // Rd - [\ldots] Stem Stem [set B] [set B]

The third Hardening rule hardens y to j following coronal stops (t, l, z). Examples with Absolute -yuŋ: ni-bot-jun, gu-buŋ-jun, ma-niŋ-ung (from /ma-niŋ-ung/).

P-5 Hardening III
y → j // Stop [+coronal]

5.5 LENITION

Lenition is a process by which an underlying fortis stop becomes lenis, or by which a lenis stop becomes a semivowel. The latter process is rare in Ngandi (though very common in Nunggubuyu and Warndarrang, and occasional in Rithargnu). The only examples of stop-semivowel alternations where the stop may be synchronically (and historically) basic are nu-gan - nu-wen 'you (sg)' and -guba - -guwe - -wuu (Causative suffix). Here the forms with stops are preferred in slow speech. Since such Lenition is clearly unproductive there is no point in setting up a general rule for it, and we may treat the alternations as of an allophonic character.

On the other hand, there are three important rules which change underlying fortis stops into lenis ones. The clear applications of Lenition I are to morpheme-initial fortis stops in suffixes and in stems affected by P-3 (Hardening I) — though lenition can also be thought of as applying morpheme-medially (cf. discussion of P-1) — and it can be stated as follows:

P-6 Lenition I
Stop → [-tense] // Stop Nasal ?

Examples with Ergative-Instrumental -tu (as in gu-wali-ju 'with the stick') are: mo-rok-ga, o-jen-ga, ma-burpa-ga-gu. The compound yan-garu- from yan-karu/- after Hardening I was mentioned earlier.

Lenition II is an interesting process applying to bisyllabic reduplications of stems beginning in -CV(S)CV,

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

There are occasional exceptions to Lenition III in my data. In instances like a-garčambal-ğu 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-tı.

However, the most interesting and consistent exception is jara-ġal- to become what'a-ta'? with Inchoative -ta'? added to jara- what'a-ta'? Note in this regard that jara takes a special form *-čara in the frozen combination bčara (*b-čara) 'what'a-ta'? (place).

Some further exceptions are of a low-level nature. The suffix -pula was often heard as -pula even when limited -bula would be expected. For example, gu-bičiri-bula-ğu (cf. above) was sometimes heard as gu-bičiri-pula-ğu. That is this is a low-level exception 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 CVOCV- belonging to verb classes 1 and 2 in reduplications. Compare simplex bļan-gu with Rdp maļan-maļan-ğu. The only other example noted is bļey-piqey-nga from bļey-7-nga (ß/ → p by P-4), but here the variant bļey-7-bļey7-nga is also attested. Other class 1 and 2 roots of this shape do not lose the ?- wara?-wara?-gu-.

P-9 -Deletion I

? → Ø // {CVCVC} - Stem
Rdp Rdp [+X]

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 -nīray-
(IP1Ex) combines with (ma-)ŋįč 'food' to form ma-ŋįč-ñhřayl(=yuŋ). The simplification of genitive /-?/ to /-/, as in mo-bongo-ñhřay(=yuŋ) 'our blood' (stem bongo?) could be handled either by this rule or by Genitive-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 -ʔgų, -ʔwąñįį? '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 in the following: na-ŋąku-ŋu, 'when I (was) small', vs. na-wurůwurů-ʔgų 'when I (became) an old man'; a-wətu-wañįį? 'like a dog', vs. a-manta-wañįį? 'like an armadillo'; naya-ju-ʔwala 'I (did it) first', vs. ma-wna-ŋu-wala 'it (NA) (did it) first'.

The difference between the deleting and nondeleting environments in the above examples is that the former includes 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 disyllabic 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 C1VC2V(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 ni-ŋeremu-ʔi-ni-ʔgų 'when he becomes a (young) man', where it appears that the nasal consonant is what blocks ʔ-Deletion. Thirdly, the syllable ʔCV must be removed, since the form of ʔC1 has no effect on the ʔ. Examples where ʔC1 in the form of a fortis stop does not bring about ʔ-Deletion: na-ŋeremu-ʔi-ni-ʔgų 'when I was a (young) man'; ba-ŋa-go-ča-ʔni-ʔgų 'when they were poisoning fish'.

P-11 ʔ-Deletion III

? → ʔ // C1V-___-C

Symbol: C1 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 C1 in P-11 corresponds to C2 in the formalisation of P-8.

Two endings, Negative -ʔmay and -ʔŋiri? 'also', are exceptions and do not undergo P-11: a-wətu-ʔmay? 'not a/the dog', a-wətu-ʔŋiri? 'also a/the dog'. These two are distributionally freer than -ʔgų.

-ʔwañįί, and -ʔwala, and might be labelled encitics.

The adverbs ʔraki and ʔŋa-ʔŋagį? 'in front' have been mentioned in connection with P-7, which accounts for the k/g alternations. If we take the base form as ʔraki, we can account for the deletion of ʔ/ in ʔraki as a special instance of P-11. However, in general P-11 does not apply in this position; cf. ʔa-kl-ʔ 'there', (ma-)muŋįί? 'wattle ap'.

3.7 OTHER CONSONANT-CLUSTER RULES

In most cases morpheme-initial ʔ/ loses its semivowel following a consonant. There are exceptions, apparently due to the following: (a) some recently-formed combinations seem to avoid ʔ-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: ʔar-ʔič-ʔna-ʔčų (derivational prefix -ʔčų-) and ʔmałk-ʔiri-ʔwala (stem -ʔyřų-). Examples of nondeletion are: (gu-) ġubu-ʔyım? (compound involving noun stem -ʔyım?), ġubu-ʔyima (compound with verb stem -ʔyima, related to -ʔyım?), ġubu-ʔyimka (compound with stem -ʔyika-). The stems -ʔyima- and -ʔyika- illustrated in the last examples undergo ʔ-Deletion in ʔar-imə-naʔ and -ʔumka-, so their failure to show deletion in ġubu-ʔyima- and ġubu-ʔyimka- is best attributed to the newness of the compounds as wholes (or possibly to an idiosyncrasy of ġubu- as a constituent or word boundary).

Note that in ʔmałk-ʔiri-ʔwala the underlying /k/ remains fortis on the surface. However, in combinations where the /ʔ/ is preceded by Benefactive -ʔbak-, the /k/ is lenited to g, hence -bą-ʔgambaʔ-ʔgúʔ- 'to get revenge on' with -ʔyč-.

Another instance of underlying /ʔ/ being deleted is exemplified by jaka-ʔl-ʔjakor-ʔl-ʔy, Past Continuous of 'to stand' (9.20). I take the parallel form ʔl-ʔ- 'stood' from /ʔl-/ as likewise reflecting loss of /ʔ/, with subsequent lengthening of /ʔl/ to ʔl (ʔ-ʔ): by P-17.

A similar example is ġar-ʔwųyįί-, Reciprocal of ġaru- 'to okaš' (9.15). The suffix elsewhere shows an allowance for ʔwųyįί-, so I take the base here as ġar-ʔwųyįί-/. In all these examples we have /ʔ/ disappearing between /l/ and a consonant or word boundary.

P-12 Y-Deletion

y → ʔ // C -_ i (in some combinations; C is lenited if it is the k of -ʔbak-)

\[ \begin{array}{c|c} \text{C} & \text{I} \\ \hline \text{I} & \text{C} \\ \hline \text{ʔ} \\ \end{array} \]

It should be noted that Y-Deletion is not necessary in instances like maņ-ʔka- from /maņ-ʔyka/-, since contractions like /ʔy/ + ʔ are exceptionless, do not require that the following vowel be i (hence
a-jeŋ-ʊŋ from /a-jeŋ-yʊŋ/), and are handled by P-14, below.

The initial consonant of the important verb stem -ru-gu- 'to go' is deleted following intrusive prefixes ending in flap r. Examples: gar-ru-gu- 'We (PLE) will go', from /gar-rugu-ʊŋ/. This is a peculiarity of this stem rather than a general characteristic of r. Note also reduplications like -ru-gu-gu- instead of expected *-ru-gu-ru-gu- for this stem; these can be taken as intermediate */-ru-gu-ru-gu-/, etc.

One other instance where /rg/ 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/- → bar-a- (3P1- A) and so forth. Since */-ra/- cannot be preceded by a reduplicative segment we can think of it as losing its /rg/ under the same conditions as -ru-gu-, so we can formulate the rule like this:

P-13 R-Deletion

\[ \begin{array}{c}
r \rightarrow \emptyset
\end{array} \]

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

Actually, of five reduplicated forms of -ru-gu- (for five different inflected forms), only three lose r 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 ʊʊ.

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 td at this stage, rather than *td, since interdental cannot occur syllable-finally. By P-14 we get contractions such as pb = p, kg = k, and td = t (other geminate stops are unattested and presumably very rare), as well as ?? = ? ʊʊ = ʊʊ, and so forth.

For convenience I will include here the simplification of /r؟/ to ʊʊ, as in a-jeŋ-ʊŋ 'fieh' from /a-jeŋ-yʊŋ/.

P-14 Geminate-Contraction

(a) C₁ C₂ + C₂

\[ [a] [F] [a] [F] \]

(b) ʊʊ → \( \emptyset \) // ʊʊ

Symbols: F is the set of distinctive features except tenseness (fortis/lenis), and X is [+tense] if C₁ and C₂ are stops.

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)n- (pə-, mə-, bə-, a-), which become (C)n- before morphemes whose initial syllable contains an o. Examples: mo-wolo (with demonstrative -woło), po-wolo, o-wolo, bo-wolo, mo-gomo, o-woro[o], etc. Vowel-Harmony applies much more consistently in the cases of pə- and mə- (both of which begin with bilabials) than with bə- and a-, so that we can get a-woro[o] alongside o-woro[o].

Although intrusive pronominal prefixes include prefixes which are identical to the noun-class prefixes (pə-, mə-, bə-, 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-gi, *bo-bolk-gi). As I have just indicated, this is a distortion or at least an over-simplification 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 ru-gu- '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 ru-gu- or ri-gu- (not *ru-gü- in all forms of this verb. It would be possible to represent the base form as /rygu-/ and say that in ru-gu- the initial V has assimilated to the following u
just as it does in ṛḍī-. This is historically suggestive, since it means that the proto-form of the stem is ṛVy- with unspecified vowel (if we take -gu- as etymologically the class 1 augment, now frozen and specialised here), which can be directly compared to Wnardarang -ṛa- 'to go' and to reflexes of -ṛa- in other languages.

P-15 Vowel-Harmony

(a) e → o // (C) NC NC [Co ...]  
(b) v → v₁ // (v) NC Noun Noun  

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 ḫunu- in (7.2), and perhaps some of the pronouns like ṛwong! and bowong! (5.1). Similarly, ḍawirli- is 'eastward' (6.9) is apparently derived from ḍawara- 'east' with the final /a/ becoming ọ before -ẹ with fronting (cf. below), with subsequent leftward Vowel-Harmony (assimilation) affecting the penultimate vowel as well. The same explanation is available for forms like qj-ćwul-', this 'from here' (anaphorically) (cf. 6.5), with the Abitive suffix which usually shows up as -wala.

There are to be a number of instances where an underlying or recorded vowel other than i has been fronted to surface i in an environment including an adjacent palatal consonant (v, j, ẹ, ọ). For example, compare Ngandi yima- 'to do/think/say like that' with Nunggubuyu -yma-. In the other examples a syllable-final palatal consonant follows the shifted vowel: Pgressive -pći vs. Nunggubuyu -wa]/-baj; Emphatic -wći with pronouns vs. Nunggubuyu -wa]. Many Ngiandi elided vowel other than i before Negative -ćv- (cf. paradigms in Chapter 9), though class 5 stems (9.14) and some others retain the underlying quality. The Reciprocal form gar-[wɔyu]- from garu- 'to chase' (9.15) must have the form /gar-[wɔyu]- at an early stage so that Y-Deletion (P-12) can apply, and we can therefore think of an earlier shift of /garu-wɔyu/- to /gar-[wɔyu]/. Some Past Puncual and Past Continuous verb forms ending in -i can perhaps be taken as showing a suffix -ĩ/-, e.g. class 1 and 2 P Pun -g-i from /-g-i/- and /-gəɪ,-, PCon jaka-qi 'stood' (9.20) from /jaka-çu/- P Con -g-i in ma-ɣ 'got', ọkedak up (9.17) and PCon -y in yo-ɣ '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-çu.

For some of these vowel-shifts a case could be made for setting up a synchronic phonological rule. However, for others (yima-, -pći -wći) 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 -ě, -wɔyu]-, 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 morphophonemic or allomorph 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 o to i. The noun stem meaning 'foot' has the form ọọ when acting as an independent stem, but as the first element of a compound we get gĩọ-. The form -ọọ, Past Puncual of -nụ- 'to eat', becomes -nụ- in the form with compounding initial bun- 'liquid' (bun-nụ- 'cream'). 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-ŋaŋ '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 ṛgù- 'to go', where intervocalic /r/ is lost by P-13, e.g. /ṛgù-ṛgù-/ > /ṛgù-guy-//. The output ṛgù-guy- requires a contraction of /uyu/ to u. This means that adstractive 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 -ćv- can be explained either as an irregular morphophonemic change, as suggested above, or by setting up an allomorph /-i/- for the suffix and allowing VV-Contraction to apply, with /v-i/- > -i-. 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. /ŋak-ğu-i/- > ŋak-ğu- 'to cut oneself'. Because here the second vowel dominates, it is possible to formulate the rule as follows:

P-16 VV-Contraction

V → φ // \v

Although Ngandi does not have any 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 CVi. 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 ga: 'mouth'. The only verb form of CV: shape is q-i: l, PCOn of ụ- 'to eat'. A base form /ŋi/-i/ is feasible, and as noted earlier we can account for the vowel length either by assuming a contraction /i/ → ɪi, or by contracting /i/ to short i and then lengthening this to iː 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 q-iː is ọ-ŋiː-1, not ọ-ŋiː or ọ-ŋi-qː-1. Furthermore, the closely related stem ẹ-ụ-wealth], which nearly always occurs in the compound jaka-ụ-wealth, has PCOn jaka- qː-1 from jaka-ŋi-1. Although it is technically possible to have the short vowel /i/ → ɪi in /i/ → iː analysis, and account for the short vowels in ọ-ŋiː-1 and jaka-ŋiː-1 by a secondary shortening rule, it seems more appropriate to explain all of these lengthening phenomena as fundamentally prosodic. The preferred derivation for q-iː is therefore base form /ŋi/-i/ becoming /ŋi/-i/ → /ŋi/-iː-1 by P-12, then q-iː by prosodic lengthening applicable to /CV/ noun stems and verb forms not preceded by reduplicative segments or compounding elements. The derivation of reduplicated ọ-ŋiː-1 is ọ-ŋiː-1/ → ọ-ŋiː-1 by Reduplication, then /ŋi-1/ by double application of P-12.

Another vowel-length alternation is seen in the PPum form of 'to hit', which is boː-m as independent verb and bo- m as auxiliary as in biː-bo- m 'alimbad'. In view of CVC verb forms like ña-ŋ 'ate' and ña- m 'will see', it is not possible to assume that boː reflects regular lengthening of underlying /bo- m/. Rather, it seems that /bo- m/ should be the base form, and that biː-bo- m shows secondary shortening.

The remaining vowel-length alternations involve mak: 'good', which shows up in various kinds of compounds and derivatives. With Inchoative Verbaliser -iː- we get mak- ʊː- with short vowel. The unusual derivative mak- 'to tell the truth', best dissociated from mak- 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- m- mak 'good-blinded'. On the other hand, in nucleus-modifier compounds where 'good' describes a quality of the preceding nuclear noun stem, we get a long vowel: (guru) joko- mak: '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 mak- and its derivatives; I occasionally heard mak- ĝː as mak: ʊː- and compounds like mere- m- mak and (guru) joko- mak: 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 mak. With these reservations, we may combine the vowel-length rules as follows:

P-17 Vowel Length

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[-long] //</th>
<th>[-long] //</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| [+long] //  | [C-] \_
| [C-] X X | X X |
| Y - C C Z | Z Z |

Symbols: X is an uncompounded and unrepeated 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 -gub-iri, while another informant gave it as -guba-gwe. A handful of stems show this variation as well, (ma)-ighi and (ma)-borge '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:

```
16 17 15
  12
  5

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

It is convenient to have P-15b precede Rdp so that when /guru- / 'to go' ends up as /guru- / by P-15b we get reduplicated /guru- / by Rdp and ultimately /guru- / after other rules apply. This seems more convenient than accounting for /guru- / first reduplicating /guru- / to /guru- / 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 /qi-γi- / 'eat' → /qi-γi- / (Rdp) → /qi-γi- / (P-12) → /qi-γi- / (P-17). If P-17 preceded Rdp we would have gotten *qi-γi-; unless we also assumed that P-17 preceded P-12. However, P-17 follows P-12 in the reduplicated derivation /qi-γi- / → /qi-γi- / (P-12) → /qi-γi- / (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 /Far-ymi-
Rather long phonetic duration, so the transcription *ma-ŋič-juŋ could also be considered here.

P-8 precedes P-14 in the example bakl-č-uŋ 'sowth' from /baki-č-yun/; the point here is that /E/ 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 morphone boundary; this solution is rather artificial but I can produce no counterexamples.

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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’, ‘Ngandit’, ‘boas’, etc.) indicating sex, age-grade, status, and the like. An example is ‘geremu’ ‘man’ in predicate nominal ‘ŋa-geremu I am a man.’ and Inchoative ‘-geremu-ŋi- ‘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: ‘ŋa-ŋi? I am here.’ (literally ‘I am this’), ‘ŋa-naŋulu I am naŋulu (man’s name),’ ‘ŋa-naŋulu I am Python’, ‘ŋa-naŋulu-ŋi- ‘It became (Inchoative) I made (warpan).’ 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 (thematised) construction is used which does not include Inchoative -ŋi- but rather involves thematic -ŋu- (9.4). The construction means basically ‘to call (someone) X’, where X is the kin-term stem: ʊquni-gaygay?-ŋu-ŋi ‘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 (M3g and F3g), but the nonhuman classes do not change their prefix when semantically non-singular. The prefixes are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Human:</td>
<td>ŋi-</td>
<td>MSG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŋa-</td>
<td>F3g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>barl-</td>
<td>MDU</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ba-</td>
<td>P1 (including FDU and mixed M/F DU)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(a-)</td>
<td>(cf. below)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonhuman:</td>
<td>ŋi-</td>
<td>NI class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ŋa-</td>
<td>NA class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ə-</td>
<td>A class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>gu-</td>
<td>GU class</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>MA class</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 pronounisation patterns. Thus Spanish ellos ‘they’ can refer to any collection of two or more referents at least one of which is grammatically masculine. Feminine ellos is normally used only when all subsumed referents are grammatically feminine.

In Ngandi, however, mixed Du (one MSG plus one F3g) is treated as FDU rather than MDU — or, more accurately, it is treated as part of the ‘P1’ category (covering all human nonsinguals except MDU, where the latter consists of two MSG references). Thus, using the noun gagu ‘child’ we get MDU barl-gagu ‘two boys’ and P1 ba-gagu ‘two gírû; one boy and one girl; three or more children of any sex’. Du can be distinguished from (3+) P1 by adding lower (10.1), hence barl-gagu-bula ‘two boys’ (here -pula, in the form -bula, is redundant), ba-gagu-bula ‘two gírû; one boy and one girl’, and ba-gagu ‘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 PI category is typical of Ngandí – it affects pronominal agreement, noun-prefixes, and the like. There is no way to overtly distinguish the two classes of ba-gaku-bula except by adding six-specific terms like gin? 'woman', female' (ba-gLa?gLa?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 faara-ko? 'father and child' can form bari-faara-ko? 'father and son' (since both must be male to allow MDu bari-), and ba-faara-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-faara-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 Ngandí and the Spanish (indeed, nearby languages like Nunggubuyu have the 'Spanish' preference for lumping mixed nonsingu lar into the masculine). Instead, I attribute it to the markedness relationship between the two nonsingular categories, M Du and PI. If the Du were set off from the PI and if M Du and F Du were distinguished, I feel that Ngandí would put mixed duals in the M Du category like most other languages. The curious fact about Ngandí is that there is no special F Du category (which would be 'marked' with respect to M Du), so that semantic F Du is lumped into the (otherwise 3+) PI category. Thus M Du is not opposed to the marked F Du, but rather to the entire PI category containing semantic F Du as well as all 3+ forms. In this opposition M Du 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 PI category rather than into M Du. 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 Warndarrang. It is chiefly used with nouns designating foreigners, such as monana 'White' and the term Chirnman (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 inde finite 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-monana (a-monana) '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.

Ngandí, 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 (e.g. references to "bees", "honey", "wax", and so forth) are all in the N1 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 bar-j for M Du is etymologically *bar-nil-, with PI (singular) *bar- and M *nil-. 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 PI form bar- quite often, and examples of reduction of /nil/ to r (or n) can be observed (cf. 3.7). The morpheme -nil- occurs as an early nonintransitive prefix (8.3) indicating masculine gender for Du subject and/or object in the preceding nonpronominal prefix. It cannot be added to such already M Du prefixes as 3M Du intransitive bari-, which however can be interpreted historically as *bar-nil- and thus does contain *-nil- in disguise.

Because Ngandí 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 are sure that *bar-nil- is archaic bari-nil-. In its role as class prefix, this combination may have originated as a (verbal) pro-

nominal 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 pre-

fixes (normally used as intransitive prefixes with verbs) can be added, instead of a noun-class prefix, to nouns: par-gin?yung? 'you woman'. This is quite aside from the use of intransitive nominal prefixes with predicative nouns (par-gin? 'you are woman', without Absolute suffix -yung).

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 Ngandí, 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 -go?-(8.17), -g1rk-(8.17), and perhaps -mən-(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 gurąč 'older sister' as our model stem, we have the following basic forms:

\[ \text{gə-gurąč} \quad \text{my/our} \]
\[ \text{gə-mər-gurąč} \quad \text{your} \]
\[ \text{gə-çon-gurąč} \quad \text{his/her/their} \]

The prefix gə- (becoming go- 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 bo-gurąč 'my/our older sister(s)', bo-mer-gurąč, etc.

The other prefixes are 2nd person possessive prefix -mər- and 3rd person possessive prefix -rən-. This leaves the simple form gə-gurąč 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 Ngandí.

The three-way division shown in the forms just described is not rigorously maintained. It is possible to omit -mər- or -rən-, especially when one of the regular pronominal possessive suffixes is present: gi-namur-?iyukyiyu 'you (sg) father's father' (Msg-FaFa-your(Sg)-Absolute) in free variation with gi-mər-namur-?iyukyiyu and gi-mər-namur-?iyukyiyu. By adding one of these possessive suffixes, whether or not -mər- or -rən- 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, 2DuHu, or the like.

The paradigm of gurąč 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 summarize 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 (-mər-, -rən-) used in 2nd and 3rd person forms.
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 -ŋaŋuŋ for 'father's father', etc., is another candidate for a recent borrowing from creole. In this case -ŋaŋuŋ appears to have originated in Warndarang (ŋa-ŋaŋuŋ 'my/our father's father'), passed into creole and thence into Ngandi (and other languages). The 1st person variant -ŋaŋuŋ-ŋ for -ŋaŋuŋ, the older stem for 'father's father', may be a borrowing from Ritharngu ŋaŋuŋ-ŋ (where -ŋ for the regular 1st person ending), so -ŋaŋuŋ-ŋ is probably the original Ngandi form.

In certain cases, individuals in the position in the table occupied by -ŋaŋuŋ and -gurun (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 -gurun and -gurun 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 ŋaŋuŋ-ŋaŋuŋ (a kind of distant 'daughter' or 'son'; the term is related to Ritharngu ge:luŋ-ŋ 'my son, daughter'). The reciprocal of ŋaŋuŋ-ŋaŋuŋ is 'father' (ŋara-ŋ) or, for females, 'father's sister' (ŋara-ŋarwa). I regret that I do not have sufficient data to clarify the distinction between -gurun and -gurun on the one hand and ŋaŋuŋ-ŋaŋuŋ, ŋara-ŋ, and ŋarwa on the other.

Fortis/lenis alternations such as -ug vs. -kew in the list of 1st and 2nd person forms above are due to hardening by F-§.3.

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

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

Dyadic duals are formed by adding -ko for one to one of the kin terms. Hence ŋara-ko means 'father and child', ŋale-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 ŋara-ko (with ŋara- 'father') and *-gara-ko (with *gara- '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 -yayu-yu-ko, while 'sister and sister' shows up as -ueur-ko. These forms are consistent with the principle of seniority, and the fact that 'brother and sister' is -ueur-ko (like 'sister and sister') rather than -yayu-yu-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-ŋara-ko 'father(s) and children'.

Another special feature of kin terms is their ability to add an increment -ŋ for and thereafter function as transitive class 1 verb stems meaning 'to call K' where K is the kin term ŋaŋuŋ-yaŋuŋa? ŋaŋuŋ 'I call him/you girl', 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 -wi, and Comitative prefix baŋa- 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: ŋaŋa-ŋara-motoro-wi ŋaŋuŋ (ŋaŋ- Mbg. -y) ŋarwa 'one who has a motorcar'. The adverbial use is illustrated in this example:

baŋa-ŋara- ŋaŋuŋ 'you have a dog' ŋaŋuŋ 'the way I will go'
'I will go this way with (my) dog.'


For other 'having' expressions cf. (12.4). The closest thing to a Privative construction ('lacking X') is the derivative with -ŋ (15.1).

4.6 CASE SUFFIXES

The case suffixes of Ngandi are:

-ŋ Nominal
-ŋu Ergative, Instrumental
-ŋa Locative
-ŋiže Allative
-ŋu- Genitive, Dative (and Purposive)
-ŋa Ablative
-ŋižë Persergessive
These suffixes are used with nouns, pronouns, and demonstratives. There is no 'split' system as found in Rithargu, where pronouns have a case system different from that used with nouns.

Nominative is the case of intransitive subject, and most instances of transitive objects. 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:

p?gumi=go?ma=na gu=yan=O=yu=ng.
he teaches me GU-language-Nom-Abc
'he teaches me the language.'

ganu-wi=ni ma=gi=ng=O=yu=ng pl=nara=n-gi=ng.
I gave him MA-food-Nom-Abc MSe=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=di a wurpan=O=yu=ng.
it jumped A=emu-Nom-Abc
'The emu jumped.' (intransitive subject)

nara=ga-n-di a wurpan=O=yu=ng.
we carried it A=emu-Nom-Abc
'We carried the emu.' (transitive object)

Ergative is used for transitive subject. The criterion for deciding whether a given instance of -ju 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:

gil=ma=y n?i=yl=ju=yu=ng gu=jundu=O=yu=ng.
he got it MSe=man-Erg-Abc GU-stone-Nom-Abc
'The man got the stone.'

gil=gu=ng=O=yu=ng nara=ga-go=ni a ja=muma?=yu=ng.
Hl=honey-Nom-Abc we chop it A=noun-azae-Inet
'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:

p?agu=gul=di gu=jundu=ju=yu=ng.
it cut me GU-stone-Erg-Abc '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=yu=ng ga=ji=ku
that (MA, Nom) MSe=Gen
'One (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 (5.5) 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 -bas- (8.8); a Purposive NP is not cross-referenced anywhere else in the clause.

An example of a NP with a Genitive noun:

ma=wagura=gu gu=rar=gu=nayi=O=MSe=bandoocot=Gen GU-camp-Its-Nom
'the bandicoot's camp'

Here the attributive (nonpredicative) Genitive NP ma=wagura=gu 'of the bandicoot' is cross-referenced by the possessive suffix -nayi=O in the noun gu=rar=gu=nayi=O 'its camp'. It is possible, however, to omit this possessive suffix (hence ma=wagura=gu gu=rar=O), 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=wag=ju=ngi=n=yu=ng pl=ji=wulupa=gu p?agu=ga=ba=ng.
A=dog=his-Erg MSe=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 Per-
gressive):

\[ n-a-rug\-gu-n \quad g-u-r-\text{er}-\text{a}\-ny\-l-gi\-\text{t} \quad q-i-jawul\-pa-gi\-\text{t}. \]

\[ 'I \text{ went to his house to the old man.} ' \]

\[ 'I \text{ went to the old man's house.' } \]

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 object was toward the old man (as well as his house), as long as the old man was near the house (or presumed 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:

\[ n-a-nu-bak-ma\-y \quad q-i-na\-ri\-ku \quad q-i-jawul\-pa-gu. \]

\[ 'I got it for him. ' N\-\text{sg}-\text{that-Im}-\text{Dat} \quad N\-\text{sg}-\text{old man-Dat} \]

\[ 'I got it for that old man.' \]

Here Benefactive -bak- has been prefixed to the verb, indicating that the object-marker in the pronominal prefix n\-a\-n\-u\-m\-a\-y (N\-\text{sg}\ + \ H\-\text{sg}) is semantically Dative rather than Accusative. The H\-\text{sg} object-marker thus cross-references the NP q-i-na\-ri\-ku q-i-jawul\-pa-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 -\text{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. Textural examples of the Purposive include a-jel-gu-yu\-n 'for fish' (Text 1.7), ma-pambul\-ku 'for the eye' (Text 3.4), qi-gun-gu-yu\-n 'for honey' (Text 1.11), and gu-gl\-w\-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:

\[ b-a\-ri\-bu-ygl-ni \quad q-a-gi\-n\-g\-\text{t}. \]

\[ 'They hit each other (fought). ' E\-\text{sg}-\text{woman-Purp} \]

\[ 'They fought for a woman.' \]

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 Reciprocal 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 q-a-gi\-n\-g\-\text{t}, we end up with the Purposive con-
struction.

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 referents). For example, ba-ngar\-pa\-ku-yu\-n 'for danger [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 -\text{gi}, which we may translate 'at, in, on'. Of the other case categories, the one which is closest semantically is Purposive -\text{pi\-l}, translatable as 'through, along, among', referring to the medium within which a moving object is pass-
ing. Examples:

\[ g-u-jol\-ko-gi \quad g-i-ga-gu\-d-a. \]

\[ G\-\text{v-ground-Loc} \quad N\-\text{sg-Sub-\text{at}-Pr} \]

\[ 'He is sitting on the ground.' \]

\[ m-o-mo\-jo\-p\-l \quad g-u-ga-gu\-d-a \quad g-u-ga\-d-a-yu\-n. \]

\[ M\-\text{a-road-Per} \quad G\-\text{u-stand-\text{d}-Pr} \quad G\-\text{u-tree-Abs} \]

\[ 'The trees are standing along the road.' \]

\[ g-u-mul\-mu-pi\-l \quad a-ga-rug\-u-ni. \]

\[ G\-\text{v-grasps-\text{e}-Per} \quad A\-\text{sub-go-Pr} \]

\[ 'It is going through the grass.' \]

Purposive 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-ga\-d\-a\-y\-\text{a-wa\-l} 'from the tree'. It can also be used with names of languages in constructions like this:

\[ n-a-r\-h\-ak-gu-gu\-\text{ni} \quad g-u-ga\-d-a\-y\-\text{a-wa\-l}. \]

\[ 'We will speak G\-\text{u-ngand\-d\-a-\text{b}-\text{ni}.} \]

\[ 'We will speak in Ngandi.' \]

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

The Originative suffix -\text{k\-u\-n} 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 -\text{k\-u\-n} is in Text 1.6; another follows:

\[ n-a-r\-m\-a\-n\-\text{na\-d\-a\-\text{ni}} \quad m-a\-n\-\text{\-i\-l-gu-yu\-n} \quad a\-m\-u\-n\-\text{a\-ku\-n}. \]

\[ 'We eat it. ' M\-\text{a-food-Nom-\text{a}-Abs} \quad A\-\text{White-\text{a}-\text{b}} \]

\[ 'We eat food (provided by) Whitea.' \]

The most difficult of the case suffixes to describe is Allative -\text{gi}. To begin with, it has a true Allative sense in such examples as these:
'I went to the trees.'

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 Rithaugu, there is a tendency toward differentiation along these lines. Examples of Pseudo-Accusative sentences:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ganu-yowk:ga-ŋi} & \quad \text{gi-ya: gič-\text{-un}}. \\
\text{I saw him} & \quad \text{MSG-man-\text{-All}}. \\
\text{'I saw the man.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gi-ŋi-juy-\text{-q}i} & \quad \text{gi-go:oko:go-gič-\text{-un}}. \\
\text{he sent him} & \quad \text{MSG-Roy-\text{-All}}. \\
\text{'He sent Roy.'}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gi-ŋara-ŋi\text{-gič}} & \quad \text{ganu-qa-\text{-ni}}. \\
\text{MSG-father-my\text{-All}} & \quad \text{I saw him}.
\end{align*}
\]

'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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ganu-ba:ga:nq} & \quad \text{gi-ŋara-ŋi\text{-gič}.} \\
\text{MSG-Ben-\text{-All}} & \quad \text{MSG-father-my\text{-All}}. \\
\text{'I told (the story) to my father.'}
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ganu-\text{-ba:nq}a:nq} & \quad \text{gi-ŋara-ŋi\text{-gič}.} \\
\text{MSG-Ben-take-Aug-\text{-PCon}}
\text{'I took (it) to my father.'}
\end{align*}
\]

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 -gič (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 ganu-bek:ma-y gi-na:r-ku gi-jawupa: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 gi-ŋara-ŋi\text{-gič} ganu-qa-ni 'I saw my father.' and an intransitive with accompanying Allative NP, e.g. gi-ŋara-ŋi\text{-gič} na-\text{-rgu}-\text{-n}i '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 nominal 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qa:-\text{-rgu}-} & \quad \text{ma:-\text{-burpa}-gič.} \\
\text{go!} & \quad \text{MA-water lilly root-\text{-All}}
\end{align*}
\]

'Go for water lilly roots!'

Because of this, the Purposive use of -ku is restricted to those contexts where the Allative is not appropriate. The example beri-bu-gi\text{-n}i qa-gi\text{-rgu}-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 pronouns in the verb indicating status as intransitive subject (IS), transitive subject (TS), and transitive object (TO):

1. -8, IS. Intransitive Nominative.
2. -7, TO. Transitive Nominative.
3. -4, TS. Ergative.
4. -ju, nil. Instrumental.
5. -ku, TO (with -bak-), Dative.
6. -ku, nil. Purpose.
7. -ku (modifying a noun), nil. Genitive.
8. -gi, nil. Locative.
10. -gič, TO. Pseudo-Accusative.
11. -gič, TO (with -bak-). Pseudo-Dative.

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 -l-, Reciprocals -ygi-, 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 -gute-, a suffix which forms surface transitive from underlying intransitives, with the surface TO cross-referencing an Allative NP; -r-, a prefix forming surface transitives from intransitives, with the surface TO semantically Comitative, and cross-referencing a NP in Nominative case; and bafa-, a Comitative which does not affect the cross-referencing pronominals.

4.8 RELATIVE *yifun-

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

- mumba? -yuŋ ngara-ga-maka-na a-ja-gi?  
  A-metal axe-abs we call it A-now-this-Ø
  o-monaga-ku-yifun,  
  A-White-Gen-Nom

'Ve 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 *yifun- in demonstratives such as (gu-)na-ji-ni-yifun 'that kind of thing' (6.8).

The sense 'about, concerning' (common with Nunggubuyu *yifun) 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 initial vocabulary obtained in elicitation sessions without sentential contextualisation. Similarly, it is avoided in vocative and other interaction-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-gangu 'meat' often turns up as a-gangu-yuŋ when functioning as an unincorporated direct object or the like, but its citation form (answering 'What is that?' for instance) is a-gangu or just gangu and when it is incorporated into a compound it is just gangu- (gangu-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-gangu-yuŋ, Genitive-Dative a-gangu-ku-yuŋ, Ablative a-gangu-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-japal, a-bingarangaŋ, a-miriŋi, a-warma, o-jembojak-yaŋ, a-murka'-yaŋ, a-woreŋuŋ 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-yaŋ, a-gangu-yaŋ '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-gangu-yaŋ 'that meat'; Allative o-wolo-giŋ a-gangu-giŋ-yaŋ (or o-wolo a-gangu-giŋ-yaŋ) '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 'possession'. 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 gar-gniŋ? 'You are women.' (predicative) with gar-gniŋ?-yaŋ 'you women' (argument in a proposition), cf. (4.2), end.

4.10 *waŋji? 'like'

The suffix *waŋji? (Semblative), can be added to a noun or adverb X
to mean 'like (similar to) X'. An example is gu-gila-?wañi? 'like a (paper bark) cool; ian'. An adverbial example is gääw-?wañi? '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 -mar- or -mor- (4.4) with kin terms, -bañ- (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 -n-, -ŋi, and -ŋi (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 baña-mor;ar-gañ-?wič 'having a small I-gañ-1 motor-boat'. There are no examples where -wič co-occurs with -ŋi, -ŋi, or -ŋi. Regular pronominal possessive suffixes (5.3) may be separated from the stem only by -ŋ and its allomorphs (ŋ-ñ-a-ŋ-ñi? 'my father') or by a compounding final (ma-gañi-gañ-?ñi? 'my small spear'). It does not occur 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-gañi-?ñi? pula-gu 'and by means of my spear; by means of my two spears', here with Instrumental -gu. Relative -yíñuŋ follows the case-suffix. Absolute -yug (4.8) follows case suffixes and -yíñuŋ. The postpositions (or suffixes) -bugi? 'only'; -?ñi?l? 'also', and Negative -?mai? (10.2-10.3) follow all other suffixes. The only pair of these three which seems to occur is -bugi?=?mai?, as in a-watú-bugi?=?mai? 'not only the dog'.

For the remaining nominal suffixes I have only partial information as to their ordering. The suffix -?wañi, which occurs only with pronouns (5.2), must follow the Ergative case suffix. The suffix -?wañi? 'like' follows possessive suffixes, as in a-gañu-?ñi?n-?wañi? 'like my meat', and precedes Absolute -yug. I have no worthwhile data on the ordering position of Negative -ŋ (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 mar-, ɣoŋ- (4.4), baña- (4.5), compounding initials (12.3) (nuclear stem)
+1 adjectival compounding final (12.5)
+2 -wič (4.5), -ŋi (and allomorphs, 4.4)
+3 possessive pronominal suffixes (5.3)
+4 -gapul, -pula (10.1), -?wañi? 'like'
+5 case suffix (4.6)
+6 Relative -yíñuŋ (4.8)
+7 Absolute -yug
+8 -bugi? (10.2), -?ñi?l? (10.2)
+9 Negative -?mai? (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-maruru-gið or maruru-gið 'to maruru'. With ordinary nouns the omission of the prefix in such a construction would be unusual. Absolute -yug is also less common with place names than with ordinary nouns.

Locative -qi is usually omitted with place names as well: warpani gí-ga-guku 'he is sitting (staying) at warpani'. Allative -gið and ablative -wañi are not omitted.

Certain interrogative forms also differentiate place names from other nouns. 'What'-interrogatives are based on a stem -rija. 'What place?' takes a special prefix bi- instead of one of the usual noun-class prefixes. This form bi-rija is distinct from wo-qi 'where?' ('at which?'). The prefix bi- shows up in only one other form, the frozen bi-cara 'what’s-its-name', what’s-its- (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.

---

1 Relative -yíñuŋ follows case suffixes as in o-monena-ku-yíñuŋ 'of the sort) belonging to Whetea', here with Genitive -ku-. However, it is possible that forms with -yíñuŋ can occasionally be regarded as derivative noun stems, so that -yíñuŋ could conceivably be followed by case or other suffixes on a second layer of derivation, as it were. This is the case with Nuanggubuyu -yíñuŋ, but Nangdi -yíñuŋ is much less common and I have no clear examples of -yíñuŋ plus case suffix.
Place names are the only nouns which can form derivatives with *gan~* and *girk~* (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 *-navan* (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. *gana-ŋ* 'mother!', or human adjectival nouns, e.g. *jawulpa* 'old man!'

4.14 NOUN-PHRASING

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 pronoun 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: *gî-wixipu-uyng gî-geremu-yuŋ 'as for Tom, 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: *gî-na-ra-li-uyng gî-geremu-ju-uyng 'that man (Ergative)' (with geremu 'man'). A personal pronoun can be used as well: *gî-wixipu-uyng gî-na-ra-li-uyng gî-geremu-ju-uyng 'as for that man' (here Ergative *-tu 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: *gî-wixipu-uyng gî-geremu-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: *gî-geremu-ku-uyng a-gangu-uyng 'the man's meat'. However, Genitive nouns are very often cross-referenced by pronominal possessive suffixes added to the modified noun: *gî-geremu-
Chapter 5

PRONOUNS

5.1 INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

The Nominative independent pronouns are these:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Du</th>
<th>Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nya</td>
<td>yourselves</td>
<td>us</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DuIn</td>
<td>1TuIn</td>
<td>1PlIn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nko</td>
<td>nko</td>
<td>nko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Su</td>
<td>2Mdu</td>
<td>2Pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gugan</td>
<td>gugan</td>
<td>gugan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3SuSg</td>
<td>3Mdu</td>
<td>3Pl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gi-wan</td>
<td>bowo</td>
<td>ba-wan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSG</td>
<td>ga-wan</td>
<td>a-wan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonhuman: gi-wan, ga-wan, a-wan, gu-wan, me-wan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 -gi as the Masculine Dual ending in all forms. This ending does not occur elsewhere in the language, but matches Nungubuyu -gi, MDu ending in pronouns and demonstratives. In Nungubuyu it is clearly clear that -gi reflects -r- with Nonsingular -r- and Masculine -n-. And such an etymological analysis will also work for Ngandai. 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 gugan are based on a stem -ka-/ko-, which is preceded by pronominal elements related to the corresponding intransitive nominal prefixes, and which may be followed by MDu -gi- and Pl-1-. Cf. Nungubuyu -ga-/gu- in the same forms. Ngandai 2sg gugan is irregular, but the 2nd person initial -g- can be isolated. The variant gugan is common in rapid speech, and if this form is taken as basic we can correlate gū-wan with 3rd person forms like gi-wan.

By looking at the paradigm presented above it is possible to note the distribution of the initial nasals ə, ñ, and q 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sg</th>
<th>Du</th>
<th>Pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Ex</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1In</td>
<td>ñ</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
<td>ə</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 nayi-ku, not *nyaya-ku. The surface forms of case suffixes beginning in underlying fortis stops depend on whether Lenition rules operate (hence nyaya-ku, nfr-ku, but naka-ku, nko-ku, gl-ku, gi-wan-ku, with Ergative -ku).

5.2 DERIVATIVES OF INDEPENDENT PRONOUNS

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

Absolute -uyun can be added to pronouns in any case category in the same function as it has with nouns and other substantives (4.9). Thus Ergative gi-wan-guyun 'he', Nominative gi-wan-guyun, 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 emphasizes 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, inturn, ...' give some idea of the sense here, but the Ngandai construction is more common than these rather specialised forms in English.

Examples of how -uyun operates in this reference-switching function occur in the following passage (other examples are fer-uyun 'as for me' in Texts 2.30 — twice — and 11.35, dugan-uyun 'as for you' in Text 7.6, gi-wan-uyun 'as for him' in Text 7.8, and ba-wan-uyun 'as for them' in Texts 11.14 and 11.22, among many others): [LA 7.15]

'...', bowo   
we (Du & Pl) we said

gi-jara-puluyun | gi-ga-puluyun, 
with who's-its? with Charley

qi-wan-uyun | gi-Ted Ervin-guyun, ...,

as for him Ted Ervin

qi-wan-uyun | jamburu-puluyun-wa, gi-ja-bak-Raw-k-1,
as for him in @jamburu-puluyun he spoke to him

qi-wan-uyun | gi-yul-uyun | gi-ymiyi-1? '...'.

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, [diction explanation who Ted Ervin is], as for him he spoke to him (the Aboriginal) in the Djambarrpuynu. As for the Aboriginal, he said "..."

There are three instances of ni-wan-yan here, although the second merely repeats the first following a digression. The first ni-wan-yan 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-yan ni-Ted Ervin-gu-yan the pronoun ni-wan-yan, itself unmarked for case, is clearly in apposition to the Ergative NP ni-Ted Ervin-gu-yan. This shows that the reference-switching use of -yan requires a pronoun without case suffixes, but may be appositive to a NP in a non-zero case.

It is possible to think of forms like ni-wan-yan here being in the Nominative case, marked by suffix -y. However, I prefer to think of ni-wan-yan as lacking case suffixes altogether. In fact, it may be that there is a way to overtly distinguish reference-switching pronouns with -yan from ordinary Nominative pronouns with -yan in its Absolute function. For the 15g pronoun we find two forms with -yan, namely irregular ni-yan and regular gaa-yan (cf. ordinary 15g pronoun gaa). It appears that ni-yan is the reference-switching form, while gaa-yan is Nominative gaa-al plus Absolute -yan. For all other pronouns, the two formations are unfortunately indistinguishable.

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

A particle wan-yan or an-yan 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 neutralization of the pronominal type in reference-switching -yan, since it is not specified for any particular manner of reference. Examples: Texts 11.7, 11.18, 11.20, and 11.31 (among others).

There is another pronominal form with suffix -kalu instead of -yan (Kalu is not found in any function with nouns). With G1EPlex NER 'we' a minor morphophonemic irregularity occurs: ni'r-kalu 'as for we; we others'. As suggested by this gloss, the -kalu form is not sharply distinguishable from the reference-switching -yan form, but seems to put a little more emphasis on the notion of 'otherness'. It differs in case in that it can occur with noun phrases, as in Ergative bowol-kalu-gu '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 -gu) although this clearly cross-references an Ergative noun. Other textual examples of -kalu are ni-r-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 instances I found in searching through the texts.

An Emphatic suffix -twi, phonologically distinct from 'having' suffix -i(-) like -kalu is attested only with independent pronouns. The sense of -twi is similar to the emphatic sense of English 'reflexive' pronouns like 'himself' in 'He did it himself' (not in 'He killed himself'). Whereas -yan and -kalu contrast one referent with another referent which has been previously referred to in the discourse, -twi simply emphasises the one referent and excludes other referents. Textual examples include Bowol- -twi 'we' (Text 12.8), ni-wan-twii 'he' (Texts 12.74, 12.76), and ba-wan-twii 'they' (Text 12.75). Forms with -twii cannot take non-zero case suffixes.

An interesting derivative in -wala, distinct from Ablative -wala, is found only with pronouns in the Ergative case. When Erg -ju is lenited to -ju we get -ju-wala, but when -ju is not lenited we get -ju-wala with -Deletion by P-11 (5.6). 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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qaga-ga-y} & \quad \text{gaya-ju-wala}.
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{I saw it} & \quad \text{is Pron-Erg-first.}
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{qama-ga-y} & \quad \text{ma-wan-gu-wala}.
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{It} & \quad \text{Saw me} \quad \text{M pron - Erg-first.}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{15g} & \quad -?ginaji \quad 1DuExM/1PEx \quad -?hirayl
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{1DuIn} & \quad -?makuy \quad 1TrInM/1PIn \quad -?gurkurayl
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{2} & \quad -?gukuy \quad 2MDu/2P1 \quad -?gurkurayl
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{3MS} & \quad -?gayl \quad 3MDu/3P1 \quad -?burayl
\end{align*}
\]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{3PS} & \quad \text{No remaining nonhuman classes} \quad -?juyl
\end{align*}
\]

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

It seems fairly clear that the Genitive element here is the final -i(l). The preceding stems are not always easy to analyse, especially in the cases of the 15g and the 3PSg/Nonhuman forms. In -?makuy, -?gurkurayl, -?hirayl, and -?gurkurayl 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(l). Perhaps,
however, the situation is more complex historically, and the -ku- in -ʔakuy and -ʔgukuy at least may possibly reflect Genitive-Dative *
-ku-. 3MDU/3PL -ʔburayi shows a somewhat different stem than inde-
pendent 3MDU bowoŋi! and 3PL ba-wan, but all contain ba-/bo. 3SMg
-ʔmayi shows a stem -ŋa- instead of -ŋi- (cf. noun-class prefix ŋi-),
which might be explained in either of two ways: (a) a morphophonemic
change of vowel quality before the ending -ŋi (note stem-final a
before -ŋi) in the Nonsingular forms; or (b) as a vestige of an
older form of the MSg prefix, *ŋa- or *nə- (cf. Warndarang ŋa-, Nunggu-
buyu nə-, Ngalkbon na-). The 1SG form ?ŋinaŋi is anomalous.

Chapter 6

DEMONSTRATIVES

6.1 DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

Demonstratives are of two well-defined types which I will call pro-
nouns 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 bi-
furcation is only partial. The following are the attested demonstrative
pronouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Nonanaphoric</th>
<th>Anaphoric</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximate</td>
<td>-ni-?</td>
<td>'this'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate</td>
<td>-na-r1</td>
<td>'that'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonimmediate</td>
<td>-na-?</td>
<td>-n1-ŋ</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The stems are Proximate -ni- and Nonproximate -na-. The latter
may be further specified by adding Immediate -r1 or Anaphoric -ŋ, but
not both. If -r1 and -ŋ are missing, a meaningless morpheme -? is
added. Finally, a noun-class prefix must be added, hence ŋi-ni-? 'this
(NSg)', ma-na-r1 'that (MA dlass)', etc.

The basic tripartite division in the Nonanaphoric forms is straight-
forward 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
It is possible that Anaphoric -nî-ñ can occasionally reflect a base-form /-nî-nî/ with Proximate /-nî-/ as well as the more common base-form /-na-nî/ with Nonproximate /-na-/ (see 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 ambiguities of reference can often be avoided. However, the distinction between Anaphoric 'that (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 Warmdarang. However, in these languages there are no Anaphoric Proximate forms. In Nunggubuyu, Anaphoric demonstrative pronouns and adverbs are used in Warmdarang Anaphoric adverbs are common but Anaphoric demonstrative pronouns are rare. Anaphoric demonstrative pronouns in Ngandi are somewhat more common than in Warmdarang, but much less common than in Nunggubuyu.

In scanning through the texts I notice the following examples of Anaphoric pronouns with -nî-ñ: MŠg gi-nâ-nî-ñ(uq) in Texts 12.52, 12.56; FŠg 9a-nâ-nî-ñ(uq) in Text 12.27; P1 9a-nâ-nî-ñ(uq) in Texts 11.20, 11.30, 12.10; A class 9a-nâ-nî-ñ(uq) in Text 12.110. The GU class form, gu-nî-ñ (without Absolute suffix -uq) 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-nî-ñ 'this (GU)' we get Ergative gu-nî-ñ-gu, Persergessive gu-na-ri-pî'ẽ, 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 -gi, which produce -na-ri-ki, -na-ri-ki.ç.

Demonstrative pronouns can be used, in predicate function, with first or second person intransitive prefixes of noun-class prefixes. An example is qa-nî-ñ? 'I am here' (Literally, 'I am this'). Such expressions are used, for example, in answering the question gu-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 predicate 'to be (here, there)' in present positive contexts: gi-na-ri gi-jeremu-yuŋ 'The man (Jerem) te 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: gi-na-ri gi-pu-qa gi-jeremu-yuŋ 'The man sit 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: qa-ki-ri gi-pu-qa gi-jeremu-yuŋ 'The man sit there'.

Demonstrative pronouns cannot be used in predicative function in negative sentences: qa-ki-ri-9a-may gi-ka-ri 9i he does not sit (i.e. is not there) (with Locative adverb 'there' rather than demonstrative pronoun gi-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: qa-ki-ri 'He eat there' (again with gi-ka-ri, not gi-na-ri). The form qa-ri gi-pu-qa 'That one eat' 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 -wo/lo

By adding noun-class prefixes to the stem -wo/lo, 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 NPs 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 -wo/lo are not common except in derivatives with -uŋu, -kalu, -7wala, and -7wil. Therefore in contexts where none of these suffixes is appropriate, forms in -wo/lo are often used instead of 'true' pronouns.

Furthermore, Anaphoric demonstrative pronouns in -nî-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 -wo/lo used in Ngandi where Anaphoric demonstratives would be used in Nunggubuyu.

Just to take one textual passage out of many which exemplify -wo/lo, consider Text 12.39-40. Here we find (in 12.39) gi-wo/lo gi-yul-yuŋ 'that man' (first occurrence) and gu-wo/lo-yuŋ 'that thing (opis)' 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 want to see him — you know, that dentist'. In the same textual passage, we find a second occurrence of gi-wo/lo gi-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-wol-yn ("that thing (gapal)") (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 Warnyarang.

When -wol is used as a modifier of an immediately following noun, thus forming a fairly tightly-knit noun phrase, it is possible to omit Absolute -yn and sometimes even the case suffix which would normally follow -wol, hence qi-wol-yn qi-uyi-qle-un 'to that man' (simplification of qi-wol-yn qi-uyi-qle-un, which is also grammatical). This example is from Text 12.43.

The GU class form gu-wol-yn (usually with Absolute -yn, 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 15. The corresponding demonstrative in Nunggubuyu, an-una-ni-yn 'that one (Anaphoric)', has similar uses.

In texts, -wol 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 gu-wol-yn 'that sort of thing' occurs occasionally, cf. Text 2.7. Note also ma? -i-wol-yn '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-, -ri, and -?. There is no noun-class prefix. The attested forms are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nonanaphoric</th>
<th>Anaphoric</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximate qi-ki-n</td>
<td>qi-ki-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate qa-ki-ri</td>
<td>qa-ki-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonimmediate qa-ki-n</td>
<td>qa-ki-ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Because -ni does not directly follow qi- and qa-, the distinction between these two stems can be maintained in Anaphoric forms. Anaphoric qi-ki-ni 'here (this same place we have been talking about)' is less common than qi-ki-n, but qa-ki-ni 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:

qa-ki-ni | guri | gi-ga-gu-ga.

there | in the north | he stays

'He is staying (there), in the north.'

6.4 ALLATIVE ADVERBS

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nonanaphoric</th>
<th>Anaphoric</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Proximate qi-cu-ni</td>
<td>qi-cu-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Immediate qa-cu-ri</td>
<td>qa-cu-ri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nonimmediate qa-cu-ni</td>
<td>qa-cu-ni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The expected Anaphoric Proximate form *qi-cu-ni was rejected by my informant.

These forms are commonly used as adjuncts to specific directional adverbs: qa-cu-ni guri-cu 'that way, to the north'.

It is conceivable that -cu- has something to do with the final -c in the Allative case suffix -gic (cf. Locative -qi-).

Allative adverbs are distinct from Allative case forms of demonstrative pronouns, e.g. -ni-?-gici '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 qi-cu-ni 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 gju-lupu which explicitly means 'to here', and is more common in this sense than qi-cu-ni.

A good example of qa-cu-ni, illustrating the Anaphoric sense, is in Text 11.22.

6.5 ABLATIVE ADVERBS

Ablative adverbs are formed by adding the regular Ablative suffix -wa-la-to Allative adverbs. The suffixes -? and -ni follow -wa-la-, but -ri-
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-Ab1' or 'there-Ab1'. 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-Ab1', 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-Ab1', 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-Ab1' 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 gu-jupu? '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: ni-na-ri-wala 'Here he comes' (not 'from that one'). This is built on ni-na-ri 'that (NEg, 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:

ni-gurna-yuŋu, na-yuŋu-ni ni-na-ri-wala.
moon I see it
NI-that-Imm-Ab1

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

gu-na-?-wala gu-jaka-gu-da.
GU-that-Ab1 it stands

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

Here ni-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 ?a-n?

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

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

?a-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 /-ji/ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>gu-ni-?-i-fuŋu</th>
<th>'this kind'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Immediate</td>
<td>gu-na-ji-ri-i-fuŋu</td>
<td>'that kind'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anaphoric</td>
<td>gu-na-ji-ŋu-ŋu</td>
<td>'that kind'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The final suffixes are Relative -yifuŋu and Absolute -yuŋu, in specialised functions here. In the Anaphoric, gu-na-ji-ŋu-ŋu is the
more common form. Note that the Immediate and Anaphoric forms involve a suffix -jì-, which (on phonological grounds) may be related to Allative -tì-, surface allomorph of -ču- (6.4), as in qà-čl-ri and qà-čl-ri 'to there'. The Proximate form, however, is simply a GU class demonstrative pronoun gu-nil-? to which Relative -yìřun in this special sense has been added.


A stem pàjugù 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 *gu-ju-gi-? with Nonproximate *gu-, *-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: pàjugù-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locative</th>
<th>Allative</th>
<th>Ablative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>north</td>
<td>qùrì</td>
<td>qùrì-čè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>south</td>
<td>bakay</td>
<td>baki-čè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>east</td>
<td>ćawara</td>
<td>ćawiri-čè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>west</td>
<td>qàgi</td>
<td>qàgi-čè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>above</td>
<td>garkala-çu</td>
<td>garkala-čè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>below</td>
<td>qařagù-çu</td>
<td>qařagù-čè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>upriver</td>
<td>wala-çu</td>
<td>wala-čè</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>downriver</td>
<td>qaři-čbičè</td>
<td>qaři-čè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In most forms the Locative is morphologically simple. The usual Allative ending is -čè, which may be related to Allative -gìč used with nouns and other substantives, and to -ču- used in Allative demonstrative adverbs. In qaři-čbičè we have a frozen combination of *-čè with Progressive *-pičè.

In the Ablative forms the usual suffix is -yala instead of -wala, except for wala-wala. Note that several of the stems end in -ì or -ù, 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 ćara-la is severely contracted from *ćawara-wala. Numerous other minor morphophonemic changes can be seen in the paradigms, particularly the shift /a/ → i triggered by the lamino-alveolar -čè 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 transitics. 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 ñaru-, the g disappears without a trace, leaving ñaru-.

Note that ñaru- from ñaru- can be confused with ñaru- (1DuExM/1PiEx → 3MsG/NI), but only before -ga- since in other environments ñaru- 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. ñaru- from /ñaru-/ 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 ñaru- and ñaru-ga-), while this alternation after vowels is not recognised (agu- and agu-ga-).

Mixed male-female non-singulars are treated as feminine (4.2).
### Table 7-2 — Transitive prefixes with 1st person object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>1Sg</th>
<th>1DuExM/1P1Ex</th>
<th>1DuIn</th>
<th>1TrInM/1P1In</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>ḡunu-</td>
<td>ḡana-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2MDu/2P1</td>
<td>ḡana-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG/NI</td>
<td>ṇaguni-</td>
<td>ḡarguni-</td>
<td>ṇaguni-</td>
<td>ṇarguni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSg/NA</td>
<td>ḡarguna-</td>
<td>ḡuna-</td>
<td>ḡuna-</td>
<td>ṇarguna-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MDu/3P1</td>
<td>ḡaba-</td>
<td>ḡara-</td>
<td>ḡara-</td>
<td>ṇarba-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>ḡagaruṣa-</td>
<td>ḡarguṣa-</td>
<td>ḡgaruṣa-</td>
<td>ḡarguṣa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GU</td>
<td>ḡagu-</td>
<td>ḡargu-</td>
<td>ḡagu-</td>
<td>ṇargu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>ḡama-</td>
<td>ḡara-</td>
<td>ḡama-</td>
<td>ṇarma-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>2Sg</th>
<th>2MDu/2P1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>ḡana-</td>
<td>gura-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DuExM/1P1Ex</td>
<td>gura-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG/NI</td>
<td>ḡuguni-</td>
<td>ḡarguni-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSg/NA</td>
<td>ḡuguna-</td>
<td>ḡarba-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MDu/3P1</td>
<td>ḡuba-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>ḡgurṣa-</td>
<td>ḡarguṣa-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GU</td>
<td>ḡgu-</td>
<td>ḡargu-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>ḡuma-</td>
<td>ḡarma-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>3MSG/NI</th>
<th>3FSg/NA</th>
<th>3MDu/3P1</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>ḡunu-</td>
<td>ḡana-</td>
<td>ḡabar-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DuExM/1P1Ex</td>
<td>ḡaru-</td>
<td>ḡana-</td>
<td>ḡabar-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DuIn</td>
<td>ḡunu-</td>
<td>ḡana-</td>
<td>ḡabar-a-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1TrInM/1P1In</td>
<td>ḡaru-</td>
<td>ḡana-</td>
<td>ḡabar-a-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 7-5 — Transitive prefixes with nonhuman object

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>GU</th>
<th>MA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1Sg</td>
<td>ṣaṛa-</td>
<td>ṣagur-</td>
<td>ṣarma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DuExM/1P1Ex</td>
<td>ṭara-</td>
<td>ṭargur-</td>
<td>ṭarma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1DuIn</td>
<td>ṭara-</td>
<td>ṭagur-</td>
<td>ṭama-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1TrInM/1P1In</td>
<td>ṭara-</td>
<td>ṭargur-</td>
<td>ṭarma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2Sg</td>
<td>ṭar-</td>
<td>ṭagur-</td>
<td>ṭama-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2MDu/2P1</td>
<td>ṭara-</td>
<td>ṭargur-</td>
<td>ṭarma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSG/NI</td>
<td>ṭi-a</td>
<td>ṭi-gur-</td>
<td>ṭama-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3FSg/NA</td>
<td>ṭa-</td>
<td>ṭagur-</td>
<td>ṭama-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MDu/3P1</td>
<td>ṭa-</td>
<td>ṭagur-</td>
<td>ṭama-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>ṭagur-</td>
<td>ṭagur-</td>
<td>ṭarma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GU</td>
<td>ṭagur-</td>
<td>ṭagur-</td>
<td>ṭarma-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>ṭagur-</td>
<td>ṭagur-</td>
<td>ṭarma-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The usual form is 0. The variant ṭina- is attested once in text 12.44.
2 The usual form is barguni-, but ṭi-bara- is also fairly common in texts. In elicitation sessions Sandy indicated that barguni- was 'correct' and suggested that instances of ṭi-bara- in the texts should be emended to bargun-. The form bargun- is structurally regular, while ṭi-bara- 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 giya- can be taken as /ni-rə-/ in parallel to such forms as 3MSG/NI → MA pi̬ma- from /ni-na-/. (The A morpheme would be expected to take the form -ra- here.) This requires a special rule to render /ni-rə-/ for /ni-rə-/ in a rule for the A pronominal prefixes. In contrast, the 1SG + 3MSG/NI /ga-na-/ would be indistinguishable from other forms, namely 1DUN + 3MSG/NI /ga-na-/ and 1SG + 3MSG/NI /ga-na-/. If /rə-/ is adopted, however, none of the forms with /-nu-/ is systematically ambiguous. It is true, however, that before the prefix -ga- there is low-level ambiguity between the forms /ar-na-/ /ar-nə-/ /ar-na-/, etc., and corresponding forms like 1DUExM/1PIEx + GU /ar-gu-,/ which lose their /g/ in this position (7.1). All in all, then, the shifts /rə-/ → /nə-/ and /ar-na-/ /ar-nə-/ /ar-na-/, while /ar-na-/, /ar-na-/, and /bar-na-/, are unambiguous, for a substantial saving in ambiguity.

As for /gur-/ → /nu-/, no ambiguity is possible either way, so the normal shift of /nu-/ → /rə-/ is adopted. The only problematic forms are the 2 + 1 forms /ar-na-/, /ar-na-/, and /ar-na-/. The first of these is under no threat of ambiguity because of its regular Vowel-Harmony to /ru(r)nu-/ (no other combination begins with /nu-/). The second will be ambiguous no matter which shift is adopted, cf. 1DUExM/1PIEx + 3FSg/NA and 1DUN + 3FSg/NA /fara- and 1DUExM/1PIEx + 3FSg/NA /fara-/ and 1DUExM/1PIEx + A /fara-. The adoption of /nu-/ → /rə-/ in the 2 + 1 forms is therefore an exception to the generalisation that /nu-/ → /rə-/ 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 -ria-. Comparison with the 1st and 2nd person MDUs and PI forms shows that /r-ia-/ is itself composite, containing a singular and a second singular MDU element -ia-.

In view of the comments about /nu-/ in (7.2), I consider this -ia- to be related to Masculine n-ia- particular in distribution as a MDU element in the system of nonintransitive 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 nonintransitive prefix /ni-/ is that the latter follows the nonintransitive prefix -ja- (8.2) while the former precedes it.
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 pronouns X_{subj} and y_{obj}, where X and Y are pronominal categories like 1PLex or 3SGs, 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 combinatorial 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**

\[ \text{MDu} \rightarrow \text{Pl} \]
\[ \text{MTr} \rightarrow \text{Pl} \]

As a result of this rule, in each person category there is one morphologically 5sg (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-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:

**X1**: 1st person  
**X2**: 2nd person  
**X3**: 3Pl  
**X4**: 3MSG/NI, 3FSg/NA  
**X5**: A, MA  
**X6**: 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 1-2 and 2-1 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 bargun\=-/bar-gu-ni/-/ with 3Pl bar- and 3MSG/NI \(-ni/-\). This is in accordance with CR-2. However, there is a variant bargun\=-/pi-bar-/ with the 3MSG/NI morpheme first. This variant is less common than bargun\=-, and my informant specifically remarked that bargun\=- 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. X1 \( \rightarrow \) X2 and X2 \( \rightarrow \) X2 combinations cannot occur on the surface because of reflexivisation. In 3Pl \( \rightarrow \) 3Pl (i.e. X3 \( \rightarrow \) X4) 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 barba- followed by 3Pl subject-marker \(-ba/-\), since if the order were subject-object we would expect *barba- by analogy with \( \bar{\text{a}} \)barba- and other forms where the final element is a 3Pl subject-marker. Contrast barba- and other forms ending in 3Pl subject-marker \(-ba/-\).

The X4 \( \rightarrow \) X4 forms usually show up as an unanalysable partmenta such as bargun\=-, except for 3MSG/NI \( \rightarrow \) 3MSG/NI gini/- and the optional 3MSG/NI \( \rightarrow \) 3FSg/NA variant gini-. The former is best taken as an object-subject sequence /ni/-/ni/-, since if it were subject-object we would expect *gini/- with object allomorph \(-nu/-\) in 1SG \( \rightarrow \) 3MSG/NI ganiu- \(/\text{na-}/-\), etc. 3MSG/NI subject-marker allomorph \(-ni/-\) in comparable position is seen in 3MSG/NI \( \rightarrow \) 3Pl bargun\=-/ba-r-gu-ni/-, etc. However, the form gini- must be taken as subject-object since \(-na/-\) is clearly the 3FSg/NA morpheme.

In X5 \( \rightarrow \) X5 combinations it appears as though the subject-object order is adopted. A \( \rightarrow \) MA ama- is clearly /a-ama/-, and MA \( \rightarrow \) A agura- is derivable despite appearances from /A-\( \bar{\text{a}} \)-/ by GU-insertion and Non-human-Neutralisation rules to be described below; it is not derivable from /A-MA/-.
In the $x_n \to x_0$ 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 $x_n \to x_0$ combinations, and in one $x_n \to x_0$ combination (3MSG/NI $\to$ 3MSG/NI) the object precedes the subject; in $x_0 \to x_n$ combinations and in one optional $x_n \to x_0$ combination (3MSG/NI $\to$ 3MSG/NA) the subject precedes the object; in another $x_n \to x_0$ 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 $A \to B$ combinations to be distinguished overtly from opposite $B \to A$ combinations.

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

**Cr-3 Plural-Transfer**

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

**Cr-4 Object-Number Neutralisation**

In a $1 \to 2$ or $2 \to 1$ combination, the object-marker becomes PI (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 $1 \to 2$ and $2 \to 1$ forms: 1SG na-; 1PIEX gur- (subject) and /'aR-/ (object); 2SG -/nu-/; 2PI -/na-/. Because of Cr-4, the object-markers always show up as morphologically PI forms. Thus in the $1 \to 2$ forms the second morpheme is always 2PI -/na-/ (note that gur- reflects /gur-na-/), while in the $2 \to 1$ forms the first element is always 1PIEX /'aR-/ /'aR-na-/ /'aR-na-/ /'aR-nu-/ /'aR-nu-/.

If we had Cr-4 but no rule Cr-3, we would expect that the 2SG + 1PIEX form would be *'aR-nu- from *'aR-na-. Instead, we get na- from /'aR-na-/ with what is morphologically (though not semantically) a 2PI subject-marker -/na-. To account for this we need Cr-3, which brings about the change from 2SG -/nu-/ to 2PI -/na-/ as subject-marker when the 1st person object-marker is PI. Similarly, to account for the fact that 1SG -/PIEX shows up as gur- from /gur-na-/, with what is morphologically a 1PIEX morpheme /gur-/ instead of expected 1SG /na-, 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 $1 \to 2$ forms would be gur- and all $2 \to 1$ forms would be na-.

The $1 \to 2$ and $2 \to 1$ 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-, which with Nonsingular -/r-/ forms PIEX allomorphs mentioned above; -gu-, a pronominal element associated with the GU noun class; and -gu-, a special 'inverse' morpheme.

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

\[
Y_1: \text{1st person, 2nd person, 3PI} \\
Y_2: \text{3MSG/NI, 3PSG/NA} \\
Y_3: \text{A, GU, MA}
\]

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 Aigonuan 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 GU3 Insertion is that -gu- 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- does not show up in all forms where we would expect it by the preceding remarks. The reason for this is that -gu- is incompatible with certain following pronominal elements, particularly -gu- and -na-. This can be accounted for either by building restrictions into GU3 Deletion, or by having an unconstrained GU3 Deletion rule followed by a rule deleting -gu- 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 A/GU/MA combinations, only those with A as second element could possibly distinguish inverse status from the others. The relevant combinations are A $\to$ A and MA $\to$ A. Both are treated as inverse combinations, and after a later Nonhuman-Neutralisation rule both show up as agu-/'a-0-3-0-RA-/. In the A $\to$ 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 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- is the 3PI element. The evidence for this is the 3MSG/NI $\to$ 3PI form.
usual form is barangui- /bar-gug-ni-/ with 3Pl bar-, inverse -gug-, and 3Msg/NI -ni- (subject allomorph). The ordering of elements and the insertion of -gug- here are regular in the light of the preceding paragraphs. However, a variant gbara- of lesser grammaticality is attested in texts as a variant of bargarui-. This is analysable as /ni-bar-/ with 3Msg/NI /ni-/ and 3Pl /-bar-/ (object allomorph).

Note that -gug- is missing. There are two ways to account for this: (a) -gug- is incompatibility with a following 3Pl element; (b) -gug- is inserted only in inverse combinations where the subject-marker follows the object-marker (as in most cases, but not in the case of gbara-). Solution (b) is unacceptable, however, since the A + A and MA + A combinations (both agura- /-a-gur-ra-/ must reflect /Asubj-Aobj and /MAsubj-Aobj/, respectively, in order for Nonhuman-Neutralisation to function in a reasonably congruent fashion — yet both show -gug-. Only solution (a) is possible, by elimination (and also because it is merely an extension of an independently-motivated restriction on the occurrence of -gug-, rather than a new, ad hoc restriction).

Having established that -gug- cannot occur on the surface before the 3Pl1 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 Y1 into three Y-sets corresponding to X1, X2, and X3, respectively. We could then say that X2 + X1 and X2 + X2 combinations are inverse, and that -gug- would be added to them when it is not incompatible with the 3Pl morpheme (a we have already established) and 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 → A/GU/MA combinations. In particular, A and MA are in the same X-set, so we would expect A → A and MA → 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 GU3-Insertion in terms of the conservative Y-partition shown above (Y1, Y2, Y3).

CR-5 GU3-Insertion

Subject to the restriction that -gug- cannot be added directly before GU, MA, or 3Pl1 morphemes, -gug- is inserted between the subject- and object-markers of the following combinations: (a) combinations of the type Yn+1 + Yn (m and n nonzero positive integers); (b) the combinations A → A and MA → A, and perhaps more generally all Y3 + Y3 combinations.1

The formula Yn+1 + Yn covers Y3 → Y1, Y3 → Y2, and Y2 → Y1.

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.

1The apparent irregularity of having the lowest-ranking equipollent combination, here Y3 + Y3, treated as morphologically inverse, turns out to have a parallel in Algonquian, where the lowest-ranking type (inanimate + inanimate) likewise contains the Inverse morpheme.
All instances of -r- are to be taken as the Nonsingular morpheme; note, however, that some PI 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) 1PIEx is /gu:-r-/ only as subject-marker in 1-2 combinations, /Ra:-r-/ elsewhere; (b) 2PI is /na-r-/ initially in combinations, /-na-/ noninitially; (c) 3MSg/NI is /-nu-/ as noninitial object-marker, /-n1-/ as subject-marker and/or initially; (d) 3PI is ba-r-a- nonfinally in combinations, ba- finally as subject-marker, -ba-r-a- finally as object-marker; (e) A is a- initially, /-a-/ noninitially.

To extend this Allomorph-Assignment rule to intransitive prefixes, all that is necessary is to require the addition of MDu /-n1-/ to the relevant Nonsingular forms listed above when they refer to MDu entities.

CR-9 Allomorph-Assignment

Pronominal labels like 1PIEx 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 3PI morphemes in noninitial position in combinations. The allomorphs /-n1-/ 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-la-

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 na-ja-γuŋ-ŋu means 'I will go now' and Past Punctual qj-ja-γi- is means 'He just went'. The best way to translate the English Present Perfect tense formation is to use the Past tense and -ja-, so qj-ja-γi- 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-nubaa-gu 'by means of axes now'; a-ja-ŋa- 'this one now' (with demonstrative stem -n1-). Cf. gu-ja-goj-a-gu 'for eggs now' (Text 5.15).

The form -ja-la-, which I take as -ja- plus a morpheme -la-, is fairly common. It appears to mean 'just then', 'right after that', and sometimes 'as a result; consequently': gi-ja-la-watili-ŋi '(as a result,) he died then'. -la- does not occur without -ja-, and in some respects it might be better to consider -ja-la- a unit. Examples of -ja-la-:

Texts 12.16, 12.41, 12.61, 12.84, 12.88, etc.
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 1DuIn), so the addition of -ni- is never redundant.

It is important to distinguish -ni- following a transitive prefix from other transitive prefixes like 3Ms/NI = 3PI bargain- which happen to end in -ni-. The test for distinguishing the two types is the position of -ja- when it is added: 3Ms/NI = 3PI bargain-ja-, but 3MDu = GU bargain-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 3Ms/NI = 3PI bargain-, 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-ni-qa-ni 'It (A) see 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 ITrInM) prefixes occur in 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:qa::yi?) and Text 12.29 (bara-ni-op:zi:-g).

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) is the main focus. Examples: a-ja-qa-ga-qa-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.
any noun class) for him' (with 1Sg + 3MSg prefix). The direct object can be attached as an independent noun: ṇanu-bak-ma-ŋ1 ma-ŋ1-č-ŋ1 '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 pronouns 'Benefactive' 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-bak-kuříkja-ni ʽThey are afraid of himʼ (from /-bako-γ1/γ1/γ1/-). Cf. ba-γ1-ussions-ni ʽThey are scared'.

There is some competition between -bak- and Directional derivational suffix -γ1a (0.7), which transitivises underlying intransitives by promoting an underlying Allative NP to direct object. However, -γ1a- is not very common, and the only clear example of competition between the two is bak-bururu-γ1- ʽto be/become close toʼ (from Inchoative bururu-γ1-) vs. bururu-γ1a-γ1- ʽto move close to, to approachʼ.

In several textual examples we find bak- in a sentence intransitive with a single pronominal category (subject) specified. The examples I have noted (three in all) all involve compounds with the abstract noun gubur-γ1a-:  • ga-bak-gubur-γ1a-ya- ʽIt (the business) is like thatʼ (literally 'It is down');  • pl-ju-bak-gubur-mak-γ1a-γ1un ʽHe should have acted properly;  • bar-1-ju-bak-gubur-γ1a-γ1-i-γ1i-γ1n ʽThey (Dative) both had the same situation’ (Texts 11.42, 12.77, 12.103). In conjunction with the first example we find a bak-yima-na- ʽIt is like thatʼ and a ga-bak-yu-γ1a ʽIt lies down’ (i.e. ‘It is like that’) with -γ1a-γ1-γ1-γ1 in the verb itself, but the subject of the verb is gubur (expressed here as independent gu-gubur-γ1a, 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.


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

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ŋanu-biçi-ram-ŋ1}, & \quad \text{ŋ1-ŋ1-ŋ1} \\
\text{I was about to speak him} & \quad \text{but he rushed away}
\end{align*}\]

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

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

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-γ1 ʽThey all died’ (note RFp); ba-gara-buŋa-na ʽAll of them rushed away’; ṇa-gara-γ1-γ1-γ1 ʽI got them all’ (MAs).

-gara- is also attested with nonverbal stems: ba-gara-γ1-γ1- γ1-γ1-γ1 ʽall the women’.

A reduplicated form -gara-kara- is attested: gu-γ1-gara-kara-γ1-γ1-γ1-γ1 ʽThey all stand’.

Both -ri- and -bařa- can be described as Comitative prefixes.

The addition of -ri- to an intransitive verb creates a transitive where the object-marker in the pronominal prefix refers to the accompanying entity. Examples:  • pl-ri-ri-γ1-γ1-γ1 ʽHe (the police) came out with him (the apprehended culprit);  • ṇanu-bařa-γ1-γ1 ʽHe rushed with it to me’. In the second example the transitive with -ri- has been further restructured by adding Benefactive -bak-, so the object-marker in the verb refers to the indirect object.

The prefix -bařa- differs in that it does not alter the surface transitivity or choice of pronominal prefixes of the verb. Thus  • -γ1-γ1-γ1-γ1-γ1 ʽhe 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-bařa-waŋa-na ʽHe leaves them with it from barguni-waŋa-na ʽHe leaves them’. The combination -bařa-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 ṇanu-bařa-ma-γ1-γ1-γ1 ʽI took (it) from him’.

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

8.12 -ʔ-

A prefix -ʔ- occurs several times in the data, emphasising continuity of the event or state described. Examples:  • pl-γ1-γ1-γ1-γ1-γ1 ʽHe (Piea) always used to swim’;  • bar-γ1-γ1-γ1-γ1 ʽThey (Nbal) always used to do like that’;  • ba-γ1-bařa-waŋa-na ʽThey always do bad things’;  • nγ1-γ1-γ1-γ1-γ1-γ1 ʽHe 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: barl-woč-rig-1 'They all went together' (only clearly Non-Dual example); barl-woč-pa-ri 'those two (MDu)'; parl-wa-šalja-rugnu- 'You two (MDu) will go together'; barl-woč-šalja-pula 'and two men'; barba-jalča-ša-na-p 'They (MDu) bring them (MDu) together'. I am unable to find any semantic distinction between -woč- and -jalča-.

8.14 -garl?- The prefix -garl?- 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: gu-garl?-rig-1 'You (Sg) came too late'; pi-garl?-jo[k]-gu-pan 'He (MSg) tried to slip away'; pi-garl?-jo[k]-gi (same meaning). In the latter two examples it can be seen that either the ordinary Past forms (here PPun -) or the Potential form (here -pan) can be used when -garl?- indicates an unsuccessful attempt in a Past context.

8.15 -šamulu- and -bindi-

-šamulu- 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 -šamulu- is rather emphatic, it is not always sharply distinguishable from -bindi-. Examples: gu-ja-šamulu-b[i]1-mak-qi-na 'It is good and sharp'; nišu-šamulu-mat-bo-m 'He learned it well'; bargu-šamulu-7-ša[n]-gu-1 'They used to do it well'; pi-ja-šamulu-wa[r]uwa[r]u[1]-kam-1-na 'He calls himself a really old man'.

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

8.16 -man-

This prefix is attested, with a following noun (a personal name) and with a denominised verb: -man-ma[ŋa]:la[n]- 'Old Alea's bunch' (cf. -ma[ŋa]:la[n]- 'Old Alea'); a-ja-man-š[i]-la[n]-na 'They (fish in trap) are abundant'. The basic meaning of -man- is 'group'.

8.17 -gaŋ?- and -gilk-

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

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

8.18 -mar-

The attested examples of this prefix are these: ba-ja-mar-gulk-qi 'They (PI) have ceased (performing ceremony)'; pi-mar-wa[r]ururuu 'the older (of two people)'; -mar-ga[ŋ]- 'adult' (from -ga[ŋ]- '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-gu- does not seem to have such a nuance, cf. -gulk-gu- 'to never', but this combination seems to be rather specialised and idiomatic.

8.19 OTHER NONINITIAL PREFIXES (-bini?-, -wołon-, -ga-, -yu-) The prefix -bini?- occurs in the following passage (Text 9.4):

pi-ja-ga–gu-ni

he is sick now

pi-ja-ga–gu-ni

he is sick

pi-ja-bini?-go:ri

pi-ja-kati-na ...

he dies now

The reference is to a person who becomes sick and dies due to black magic. It is possible to take pi-ja-bini?-go:ri 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:ri- (with artificial lengthening for emphasis) is the same as -go::- (with artificial lengthening for emphasis) is the same as -go::- (with artificial lengthening for emphasis) is the same as -go:-

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

A prefix -ga-, distinct from -ga- (8.4), is attested in the following combinations: ga–karu- 'to go around looking (for something)', cf. -gaaru–/karu- 'to chase'; ga–pioma- 'to grope along (e.g. of a blind person)', cf. -pioma- 'to hold'. In the example ga–pioma- the context involves a man holding a walking-stick. In both examples the addition of ga- intrasitivises an underlying transitive verb, and also adds the notion of moving with difficulty through a medium. The example ga–karu- 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 -yun- shows up in -yun-joydow7-gu- 'to do until daybreak' from -joydow7-gu- 'to become morning'. The simple form -joydow7-gu- has invariable GU-class subject parallel to English it in it dawned, but the derivative -yun-joydow7-gu- 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.


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 -ji- 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 -gu- or -ga-; (d) simple verb stems.

These basic stem types can in most cases be further elaborated by adding derivational suffixes -i- (Reflexive-Mediopassive), -gi- (Reciprocal), -gaba- (Causative), -gaba- (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 -ji-

Noun stems of adjectival type can be fairly freely verbalised by adding the Inchoative Verbaliser -ji- 'to become'. Examples: bi7-ji- 'to be/become numerous'; yaku-gi- 'to be/become absent or extinct'; gaku-gi- 'to be/become small'. Note the application of lenition rules.

Forms with -ji- are attested, rarely, with bases other than simple noun stems. In the example bakidi- to the south with Allative ending -di (6.9). In the example baذا-jiذca? wiذc-gi- 'to be covered with snows' the base is a derived 'having' adjectival noun baذا-jiذca? wiذc 'having snows' (4.5).

Forms with -ji- are always intransitive, except when secondarily
transitivised by adding Causative -nguba-, Benefactive prefix -bak-, or the like. Verbal forms ending in -l- are treated as class 3 stems in verbal inflection.

A cognate -l- occurs in Rithargnu and other Yuungu languages, and Ngandi borrowed the formation from Yuungu.

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), -gu- ‘to stand’ (six), -ga- ‘to carry’ (five), -me- ‘to pick up; to get’ (two), -yu- ‘to sleep’ (two), and -ga- ‘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 independent 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 inflection distinguishing auxiliary constructions from compounds, since in the latter the suppletive stem -baa- replaces -bu-.

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


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. Rithargnu and Nunggubuyu have similar auxiliary compounds with *-bu-. Some exact cognates in Rithargnu are jak-bu- and mar-bu- (same meanings in Ngandi). In a few cases the initial element shows up elsewhere in Ngandi: compare the examples above with gua- ‘stick’, gam-gu- ‘to be covered’; jok-gu- ‘to go past’ (the latter two show class 1 -gu-, not *gu- ‘to stand’).

Examples with -gu- ‘to stand’: gallin-gu- ‘to be hanging, suspended, or aloft’; got-gu- ‘to be confined’; jil-gu- ‘(fish) to hang still in water’; gorbun-gu- ‘to hide behind something’; yirli-gu- ‘to continue’. All are intransitive. The only initial stem which occurs elsewhere is gallin-, which has a transitive form gallin-ga ‘to hang or suspend’.

Here -ga- is a class 2 morpheme.

Examples with -ga-: guk-ga ‘to go hunting with dogs’; mal-ga- ‘to father, to beget’; mol-ga- ‘to blow the didjeridu’; jil-ga- ‘to hunt (kanangaroo) with bush fires’; wil-ga- ‘to take away (object associated with victim, to be used in black magic).’ Cf. mol ‘didjeridu’, wil-ga- ‘with Causative suffix as wil-ga-’. guk-ga is found also in Rithargnu, Warnararang (wui-ga-), and Nunggubuyu (L-ga-); Rithargnu also has a cognate of mal-ga-. Compare wil-ga- with Warnararang wil ‘object used in black magic’, and jil-ga- with Rithargnu jil-wu- ‘to set (fire) with -(w)- corresponding to Ngandi class 1 morpheme -ga-.

Examples with -me-: bigle-me- ‘to miss’; gaiil-me- ‘to play; to have fun’.

Examples with -yu-: ngi-yu- and garam-yu- ‘to be fond of (of)’. ngi? is a noun meaning ‘heart’ and garam a noun-like compounding element referring to fondness, cf. Nunggubuyu /garam-/ in a-garam-nu-bura-/a0-garam-nu-bura/ ‘to be fond of’ (?Ben - fondness - Euphentic morpheme - sit’).

The example with -ga- is buuypu-ga ‘to soak the surface of (an animal, before roasting it)’, which could possibly be taken as an ordinary compound. Cf. Rithargnu buyi-baja- (same meaning), with baja- ‘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 Rithargnu. Nunggubuyu has a fair number of such combinations, but they tend to be more frozen and less easily segmentable, and the process of acquiring suffixes from compounds is probably less productive. On the other hand, in the Mara-Alawic family to the south (including Warnararang), auxiliary constructions are extremely productive and only a few verbs can be directly inflected.

9.4 AUGMENTS -gu- AND -ga-

All class 1 stems consist of a root, often CVC-, plus a Thematising Augment -gu- 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 -gu- is very common. It must be distinguished from -gu- ‘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 -gu- 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/see 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: naguni-yalµnµja-?i (or, with full inflection, naguni-yalµnµja-?i-gun-ni) 'He calls me yalµnµja'.

So far as I know, in all class 1 stems the -gµ- is clearly a segmentable suffix. The evidence for this segmentability is the following: (a) the -gµ- is missing from the uninflected root form' (9.3); (b) the -gµ- is missing from certain combinations with derivational suffixes like Reciprocal -yg(-allomorph -woyg- with this class); (c) in reduplications only the root without -gµ- is repeated (3.2).

In class 2 the situation is a little more difficult. There is a Thematising Augment -gµ- which is similar to class 1 -gµ- in some respects. However, some class 2 stems appear not to contain -gµ-, or if do they show it in a frozen and unrecognisable form. For example, class 2 includes a handful of denominatives like goli-gaa- 'to poison fish' from goli- 'tree sp.'. It is conceivable that the stem is a reflex of *goli-gaa- etymologically, but synchronically such a baseform cannot be justified. Furthermore, there are other similar stems like -baa-ga- 'to hit' which are not related to any nonverbal stems. In the case of class 2 stems ending in ga, e.g. wara-aa- 'to make a fire', an etymology such as *war-t-ga- 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 -*gµ- (if present etymologically) is never longer segmentable because: (a) no root form without -*gµ- occurs; (b) no forms exist lacking -*gµ- when derivational suffixes are added; and (c) the -*gµ- is included in reduplications.

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

The semantics of -ga- and -gµ- in Ngunji are not easy to pin down, but some observations can be made. Class 2 stems are mostly transitive verbs describing physical manipulation of an object, and even the few class 2 intransitives conform to this pattern (e.g. wara-ga- '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 -ga-, have an uninflected root form without the Thematising Augment -gµ- or -gµ- 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 semantic Negativity 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. gù-ga-jak for gu-gajak-gu-ni in Text 2.12, baru-wir?i for baru-wir?-gu-ni in Text 3.1, and hara-ga-yek for ara-ga-yek-gu-ni in Text 4.2.

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

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

The omission of prefixes is particularly uncommon when the inflectional suffixes are used, but examples like geyk-ga-ni 'throwa' where a non-zero 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 ba-, 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 Rithangmu. 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 (15.6). An example: gana-wak-?-guba-kan '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 gana-ka-in?guba-? 'I made him eat it'. (The -i- in -in?guba- is an increment characteristic of this verb stem.)

The Causative of yma- 'to do/think/say like that' is yim-?-guba-. The usual meaning of this is not 'to make 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: gana-yim-?-guba-? '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-/-, the Reciprocal is -guba-yl-. 

9.7 DIRECTIONAL -guja-

The only other transitiveising derivational suffix is -guja-. There are only two examples in the data: buruburu?gya- 'to become close to' (Text 6.5) and bu?buju-guja- 'to sneeze up anddown' (Text 6.5). The addition of -guja- 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?-i/- (with Inchoative Verbaliser -i/-) and bu?buju-ju (class 1).

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

From -guja- we can form Reflexive -guj-i- and Reciprocal -guja-yl-i- or -guja-ylwi-i-. 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 -i-guba-, producing -i-gub-/- as in yljilw-ylw?ub-/- '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:

qaya-ju nanu-yymi-n?gubu-ŋ ni-ja-ian-jak-gi-i-n.
I-Erg I did it to him he consequently out himself

'I made him out 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 jak-gi-i- can mean 'to out oneself', but also 'to become out'.

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 jak-bi-i- 'to try, to make an effort' from ja?-ju- '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 (Bixon 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- (9.8), this is interpreted as the Reflexive of a Benefactive (not the Benefactive of a Reflexive): nga-bak-jaq-gi-i-n 'I out (it) for myself' is possible, while nanu-bak-jak-gi-i-n 'I out 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 transitisised.

9.9 RECIPROCAL -yl-, ETC.

The Reciprocal suffix has a simple form -yl-, and extended allomorphs -wayi- and -wyoyi- (see paradigms below). -wayi- is the post-consonantal allomorph, but the distribution of -yl- and -wyoyi- 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-ylw-n1 'They hit each other; They fought'.

As with the Reflexive (9.8), the Reciprocal can be used to transittivise any underlying or derived transitive (e.g. Causative, Directional, Benefactive), but cannot itself be transitisised. The Benefactive-Reciprocal combination can only be interpreted as the Reciprocal of the Benefactive (not vice versa), hence ba-bak-jak-wayi-n 'They out (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 CV1CV2- I have put the hyphen after the second vowel even when it has undergone a change in quality (i.e. to CV1CV3-). The only exception is that I hyphenate forms like CV1CV2CV3 when the suffix consists solely of -yl- (this applies to PPun -i-). Thus for 'to hit' I write baCa-n1, baCi-z, etc., but baCi-.

Class 1 verbs have a Thematising Augment -gu- 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: jak-jak-gu-.

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 (gak-gu- ‘to out’, waj-ku- ‘to enter’)

| gak-gu-1 | PPun (Past Punctual) |
| gak-gu-qi | PCon (Past Continuous) |
| gak-gu-ni | Pr (Present) |
| gak-gu-ŋ | Put (Future) |
| gak-gu-ŋən | Pot (Potential) |
| gak-gu-ŋə | Evit (Evitative) |
| gak-gi-ə | Neg (Negative) |
| gak-wayqi- | Recip (Reciprocal) |
| gak-gi-1 | Refl (Reflexive) |
| waj-kuba- | Caus (Causative) |

9.11 CLASS 2

Class 2 consists of about eighteen stems, and also forms of the Directional suffix -guta- (9.7). The stems can be divided into two main groups, one where a Thematising Augment -gə- 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-gə- ‘to paint, to rub on’ (Type C), gojda-gojda- [from gojčə-, cf. 3.5] ‘to poison fish’ (Type A). Two of the latter type are denominatives: gojčə- ‘to poison fish’ from gołč ‘tree sp.’; wortčə- ‘to urinate’ from wort ‘urine’. Irregular Type C reduplication is shown by ɾam-ɾam- ‘to spear’: ɾamp ɾam-ɾam- ɾam-ɾam-

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

Table 9-2 — Class 2 (ɾam-ga- ‘to spear’, balajə- ‘to put on the side’)

| ɾam-gə-1 | PPun |
| ɾam-ga-qi | PCon |
| ɾam-ga-ni | Pr |
| ɾam-ŋə | Put |
| ɾam-ɡən | Pot |
| ɾam-ŋə | Evit |
| ɾam-ɡə-ə | Neg |
| ɾam-ga-yqi- | Recip |
| ɾam-ga-ywqə- | Refl |
| balajə- | 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 -yqi-, Reflexive -i-, or Inchoative Verbaliser -i-. There are also a few simple stems in class 3a: waki- ‘to return’ (Nunggubuyu -agə-); waf- ‘to die’; nujap- ‘to do for good’; maŋə- ‘to tell the truth’ (perhaps an irregular denominative from maŋ ‘good’); waŋə- ‘to take book’; guŋjə- ‘to be afraid’; gəkə- ‘to be burning’. Both gəkə- and its Nunggubuyu cognate, -negə-, are irregular Reflexives from *ŋə- to burn (trvəna)’ (Ngandi -ənə-, Nunggubuyu -ənə-).

Class 3b contains one stem, gure- ‘to go hunting’. Its paradigm is similar to that of 3a, except that the Future form has suffix -n instead of -ə. gure- 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 (5a waki- ‘to return’, 3b gure- ‘to go hunting’)

| waki-n | ? |
| waki-qi | gure-qi |
| waki-na | gure-na |
| waki-ŋə | gure-ŋə |
| waki-nun | gure-nun |
| waki-ŋə | gure-ŋə |
| waki-ŋə | gure-ŋə |
| waki-ŋə | gure-ŋə |

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 wakii-). Derived class 3 verbs take the reduplicative pattern appropriate to the verb (or noun) class of the underyed 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: -gubə- (or -guba-re), -gubə-,-guba-na, etc. It should be possible to account for this by setting up suffix base forms like /-ɾə/, /-un/, 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: /-ɾə/, /-ana/, 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 -gabe-, 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)ŋ and 4b with PPun -(u)ŋ. 4a includes the verbs warjaka- 'to make a mistake' (irregular derivative from warjaj 'bad'); maka- 'to call' (Nunggubuyu -maa- 'to tell'); gorka- 'to break off'; yeleka- 'to make a hole' (irregular derivative from yele 'hole'); benja- 'to step on' (Nunggubuyu -wanja-). In addition to Causative -guba-, 4b includes gopa- 'to keep'; ǧima- 'to hold' (Nunggubuyu -nima-); and goim- 'to show off' (possibly containing go? 'eye', cf. Ritharrngu mili-guru- 'eye-thing', i.e. 'to show to').

Table 9.4 — Class 4 (4a benja- 'to step on', 4b ǧima- 'to hold')

| benja-ŋ | ĝimu-ŋ | PPun |
|——|——|——|
| benja-ŋ | ĝimi-ŋ | PCon |
| benja-na | ĝima-na | Pr |
| benja-raŋ | ĝima-raŋ | Fut |
| benja-ni | ĝimi-ni | Pot |
| benja-ŋ | ĝimi-ŋ | Evit |
| benja-ᶽ | ĝimi-ᶽ | Neg |
| benja-ywogyi- | ĝima-ygili- | Recip |
| benja-ŋ | ĝim-i- | Refl |

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 benja- and ĝima-, depending on whether we take the suffix as -ᶽ (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): ĝimi-ĝimi- (PCon), etc.

9.14 CLASS 5

This class consists of a few stems ending in a: rukba- 'to fall'; buna- 'to rush along'; yiga- 'to apply oneself to'; gaikya- '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 -ŋguba-.

1For Causative -guba- the PCon form is either -gabi- or -gabe-. The former was preferred by Sandy, the latter by Sam.
9.16 IRREGULAR VERBS ŋa-, ŋa- ('to see'), nu-, 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 ŋa- 'to carry' (class 5) are irregular, and even ŋa- departs from the normal class 5 pattern of reduplications (9.14).

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

Attested reduplications are these: (a) for 'to hear' Put ŋana-ŋa-n; for 'to see' PCon ŋani-ŋa-ni, Pr ŋaŋi-ŋa-ŋi1, Put ŋana-ŋa-n, PNeg ŋaŋi-ŋa-j-ĩ (from ŋa-ŋa-Jĩ), PutNeg ŋaŋi-ŋa-j-ĩ, PrNeg ŋa’-ŋa-ŋa-j-may; for 'to eat' PCon ⁰nuni-nu-ni, Pr ⁰niŋi-nu-ŋi1, PNeg ⁰niŋi-niŋi-ŋ-ĩ; for 'to give' Pr wojl-wov-ji, PNeg wojl-wojl-ĩ, PrNeg wo’-wo’-w-ĩ-may. The unreduplicated Neg forms based on the Neg stem in -ĩ will be described below (9.23). In general, reduplications of these verbs belong to Type A (3.2) with a few twists.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>'hear'</th>
<th>'see'</th>
<th>'eat'</th>
<th>'give'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ŋa-ŋ</td>
<td>ŋa-ŋ1</td>
<td>nu-ŋ1</td>
<td>wo-ŋ1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ŋa-⁰n</td>
<td>⁰nuni</td>
<td>nu-ŋi1</td>
<td>wo-ŋi1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⁰niŋi</td>
<td>⁰niŋi1</td>
<td>wo-ŋi1</td>
<td>Pr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⁰niŋi</td>
<td>⁰niŋi1</td>
<td>wo-ŋi1</td>
<td>Pr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⁰niŋi1</td>
<td>⁰niŋi1</td>
<td>wo-ŋi1</td>
<td>Evit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⁰niŋi1</td>
<td>⁰niŋi1</td>
<td>wo-ŋi1</td>
<td>Neg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⁰niŋi1</td>
<td>⁰niŋi1</td>
<td>wo-ŋi1</td>
<td>Recip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>⁰niŋi1</td>
<td>⁰niŋi1</td>
<td>wo-ŋi1</td>
<td>Refl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The PPun form -ŋo-ŋ for 'to eat' was heard as -ñu-ŋ in the compound -bu’-nu- (PPun -bu’-nu-ŋ) 'to drink'.

9.17 IRREGULAR VERBS ma-, go-

The paradigms of ma- 'to pick up, to get' and go- 'to chop, to put down' are shown in Table 9-8. Attested reduplications are: for 'to pick up' PCon ⁰nani-ma-ni, Pr ma-ni-ma-ni, Put mla-mi-yaŋ, PNeg ma-[ma]-j-ĩ; for 'to chop' PCon ⁰gol-gol-ŋi, Put go-ŋi. For the most part these are similar to reduplications of the verbs described in (9.16).

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

The stems ba- 'to bite' and ŋa- '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 bar-[ba]-ŋi1, Recip baŋa-baŋaŋ; for 'to put on' PCon yu-[i]-yu-ŋ1. No reduplications of ŋa- are attested. Note that ba- shows Type A reduplication while yu- shows Type B (3.2).

9.19 bu-

The important stem bu- 'to hit, to kill' has the paradigm shown in Table 10-10. The Refl form is missing, since bu- is supplanted by the
synonymous stem bača- (class 2) before Refl 1- (but not Recip -ydi-).

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 supplanted by bača-, as in maq-bača- 'to hit on the hand'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>bu-</th>
<th>'hit'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bo-:m</td>
<td>PPun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu-:ni</td>
<td>PCon</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu-:mana</td>
<td>Pr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu-:nuŋ</td>
<td>Fut</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bo-:mini</td>
<td>Pot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu-:yi</td>
<td>Evit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bu-:ydi-</td>
<td>Recip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>Caus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.20 yu- ('to sleep'), ȵu-, ȵu- ('to stand')

The three verbs yu- 'to sleep', ȵu- 'to sit', and ȵu- 'to stand' have similar paradigms. There appear to be no real differences between the paradigms of ȵu- and ȵu-. 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-/, /ŋi-/, and /ŋi-/. As an independent verb, ŋu- is usually attested in the combination jaka-ŋu- (cf. Ritharrngu 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-ŋi-/y/ and /ŋi-/y/, parallel to yo-y.

9.21 ŋuŋu-

The verb ŋuŋu- 'to go' is probably a frozen combination of a stem *rŋ-, whose vowel assimilates to that of the following syllable (cf. P-15 in 3.8), and Thematising Augment *-ŋu- found in class 1 stems. Synchronically, such an analysis is indefensible, since there is no root form without the *-ŋu- 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 ŋuŋu-ŋu-ŋi, Pr ŋuŋu-ŋu-ni, Pot ŋuŋu-ŋu-ŋan, Evit ŋuŋu-ŋu-ŋ, and Neg ŋiŋiŋiŋi-ŋi-ŋi-.

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

| Table 9-11 – jaka-ŋu- ('to stand'), ȵu-, ȵu- ('to sleep') |
|------------|-------|------|
| 'stand'    | 'sit'  | 'sleep' |
| jaka-ŋi-ŋi | ŋi-ŋi | yo-ŋi |
| jaka-ŋi | ŋi | yo-y |
| jaka-ŋu-ŋa | ŋu-ŋa | yu-ŋa |
| jaka-ŋi-ŋa | ŋi-ŋa | yi-ŋa |
| jaka-ŋu-ŋa | ŋu-ŋa | yu-ŋa |
| jaka-ŋu-ŋa | ŋi-ŋa | yo-ŋa |
| jaka-ŋi-ŋi-ŋi-ŋa | ŋi-ŋi-ŋa | yo-ŋi-ŋi |
| ? | ? | ? |
| ? | ? | ? Recip |
| ? | ? | ? Refl |
| jaka-ŋi-ŋi-ŋa | ŋi-ŋi-ŋa | yo-ŋi-ŋi |

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 -r- to form a class 1 root, and if additional (pleonastic) inflectional suffixes are added the Thematising Augment -ŋu- of class 1 must be present.

For example, the PPun form is yim-ŋi-ŋa(-r-). This contains
yimi-ř-, the regular PPun of class 4a, plus obligatory -ʔ indicating that the stem yim[1-ř-] is a class I root (9.4). The regular class I PPun ending -q-1 (Thematising Augment -q-, PPun -1) is then optionally added. The simpler form yimi-ř- is formally a class I root form (8.8). The PCon form is yimi-ř-ʔ-(-qαι), the Pr yima-na-ʔ-(-qαι), and so forth. The Neg form, however, is yimi-ז- without any overlay of class 1 morphemes.

Reduplication is of Type B (3.2): PCon yimiʔ-yimi-ř-ʔ-(-qαι), 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 -ץ PNeg
Neg plus -may? PrNeg
Neg plus -י FutNeg

Examples: nq|-ři-ץ 'I did not go'; nq|-ři-ץ-may? 'I am not going'; nq|-ři-ץ 'I will not go'. There is no aspecral opposition PUn/Con in the Past Negative (PNEG).

In class I forms it is possible to omit the sequence -q|-ץ- in the PrNeg form only: PNeg nq|ara-qak-gl|j|-ץ 'I did not go', FutNeg nq|ara-qak-gl|j|-ץ, but PrNeg nq|ara-qak-gl|ץ-may? or nq|ara-qak-may?. Note the omission of /-ץ-/-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 /j/ is subject to Deletion rules (5.6).

Neg forms of the Pot did not occur in the texts. With some difficulty a PotNeg form was obtained by elicitation: qjma-nu/-j-แก-ง-ง 'He was not going to eat it'. This unusual form contains the ordinary FutNeg verb qjma-nu/-j- 'He will not eat it', to which is attached the Pot form of the verb qjma- 'to eat'. Evidently qjma- 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 -m[1] with the former: qjma-mi/ʔ-ץ 'I eat I not go', cf. qjma-ץ 'I will not go'.

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

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: gauq-ną-č-ębi-ą 'I will go and see him' (cf. gauq-ną-ną '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 -n, -nį, and -nįn, for example, we can isolate the basic Pot element as -n and take -m- and -n- 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 -nqgaba- of the Caus suffix (postconsonantally -gaba-); -ywo- and -wa- before Recip -yq- in several paradigms.

The best examples of the second type are these: -m- with bu-(9.10) in bu-mana (bu-mana) and bu-mi (bu-mi); -y- with yu- 'to put on' and others (9.18) in yo-yana (yo-yana), yo-qin (yo-qin), etc.; a different -q- with (jaka)-q- and others (9.20) in -qin in (qin)-(qin); -q- with /-q/- (q-/-q/-), etc.; -v- with class 4 (9.15) in Fut -q- (q-) and possibly PCon -c (/-c/-), cf. also -v- with yu- 'to put on' and so forth (9.18); -v- with -u- (9.16) in -u-q (u-q) and -u-qin-gaba- (u-qin-n-q-gaba-).

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

Certain Pot allomorphs consist of the usual Fut suffix -q- preceded by otherwise unattested increments: -nq with -nq-, wo- and bu- (9.16, 9.19); -yq with -yq-, yu- 'to put on', etc. (9.17, 9.18); -nq with -yq- 'to sleep' and others (9.20). It is possible that -nq (n-na-) is related to -q-, also attested with yu- 'to sleep' and the
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 qi-ru-ru-ŋi 'he was going along which is explicit'; I will take the elaboration of the following noun qi-ru-ru-ŋi:: 'the man' – this device signals prolongation) The important first event is the man's eating an egg; this is put in the PPun (giya-ja-no-ngi, 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) on the way) by making lightning (PPun). 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 aspecral 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 aspectral 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' are in ordinary contexts describe events which are inherently somewhat durative (as opposed to, say, 'to throw', 'to hit') but which can be treated as individual events. Languages with punctual/continuous opposition differ considerably in how 'he went' and 'he ate it' are treated as such a contexts. In Spanish we usually get the punctual (Se fue, Lo comió). In Nunggubuyu, the continuous is usual (mi-ŋi-ŋi, niwu-ngi). In Ngandi, the PPun is usual for -wu- 'to eat' and is on the whole more common than the PCon in un特殊ised contexts for -ru- 'to go', although there are several examples of PCon -ru- in the text just cited. Indeed, forms like qi- frac{1}{2} g i-:: 'He went' (PPun), but with stylistic lengthening of the vowel to indicate prolongation) are frequent in the texts. Cf. Text 12.29 (barn-i-ŋi-ŋi::, bar-i-ge- frac{1}{2} q 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: ga-ja-ru-ŋi '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: qi-ja-frac{1}{2} g 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: maga? qi-ja-frac{1}{2} q i-nds '?Maybe (manga) he will die now; he might die now'. Moreover, the Fut is also the
usual imperative form: ɣu-ja-qi-ɨːt ‘Sit!’ (also ‘You will sit now’).

The PutNeg is the corresponding negative form for all these senses, including negative imperative (prohibitive) sentences as in ɣu-qi-ɨːɨt ‘Don’t sit!’.

The Put 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-danggu-uyu ɣara-waːt-ɨːj, a-waːt-uyu agura-miːɬʔ-ɬu-ɨːj.

meat I will not leave it dog(Erg.) lest it eat it

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

Hunu-waːn, ɣana-ɬu-ːɬiʔ-ɬu-ɬu.
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 -miːɬʔ--, so that even in the suffixless root form the Evit nuance can be expressed.

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 rowun-qi-ɬu-ːɬiʔ ‘we (MDu)’. The unsuffixed pronoun rowun is already explicitly MDu. On the other hand, consider ham-ɬu-ːɬiʔ ‘we (FDu)’, where the pronoun is specified as PI (including all nonsingular numbers except MDu, hence covering FDu and all 3+ PI). Here the addition of -pula specifies duality, and since the form of the pronoun is PI 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 barl-ɬu-ːɬiʔ ‘the two men’, -pula is redundant and emphatic. However, in an expression like ba-giːɬʔ-ːɬiʔ ‘the two women’ -pula again specifies duality while the preceding noun is marked merely as PI. Similarly, with nonhuman nouns -pula is the only way to specify duality: a-ɬiʔ-ɬu-ːɬiʔ ‘the two rook wallabies’. The simple form a-ɬiʔ can refer to any number.

-pula can be added to demonstratives: ba-ɬu-ːɬiʔ ‘these two (FDu)’. It is also sometimes found at the end of verbs. It will be recalled that MDu forms are distinguishable from PI forms of pronominal prefixes only in intransitive prefixes (reliably) and certain transitive prefixes (unreliably, by adding nonsennial 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-ɬu-ːɬiʔ-ɬu-ːɬiʔ ‘They (FDu) are going’; baru-ːɬu-ːɬiʔ-ɬu-ːɬiʔ ‘He saw them (Du)’; baru-ːɬu-ːɬiʔ-ɬu-ːɬiʔ ‘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: nana-bak-ran-ga-n-bula 'I spared them both for you (sgr). The prefix is nana- (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: naka or naka-bula 'we (DuIn)'; norkok or norkok-bula 'we (TrDu)'; norkor 'we (PIn, including TrIn)' or norkor-bula 'we (2InP)'.

The other principal use of -pula is as a conjunctive element translatable 'and, along with' - cf. (13.7).

An uncommon PI or Pauca1 element -gapul resembles Dual -pula in its use. Examples: fener-gapul 'we (PIn) few'; baru-bu-nil-gapul 'They few his him'.

10.2 -?giri?, -bugi?
The two suffixes (or postpositions) -?giri? 'also' and -bugi? 'still, only' can be added to a rather broad range of word classes. Example:

Barba-gara-gar-ga, ?g-bingu?-bugi?, ?la-na-r ?la-wang?r, they finished them off only Binggu that one
he sits also Mina-guawu they sit
'They finished (most of) them off. Only that (man) Binggu (still) sits (there) - also Mina-guawu, 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-gwa?-?may? 'not a place'; gu-pa-ga-?may? 'not by means of a stone spears'. In texts, one of my informants frequently corrected himself after letting an English word slip in. An example:

Fer-jaj-hu?i-?i early fellow-yu, early fellow-?may?
we sent (him)
gu-gu-tri?-un ... 
morning

In Proper 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?, -kuyun?
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 (15.5); 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: ngu-na? ?gaku-gu? 'when I was a child' (predicative noun, ?-Deletion by P-11); ni-na?-wolga-?gau? 'when he was still alive' (predicative noun); be-nere-yo-y-ku? 'while they were sleeping'; ri-?gugu-?gau-?gau? '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 for these 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 -kuyun? is attested only once, in the combination barba-ga-na?i-kuyun?-yung 'when they get them'. Since there is no clear indication of any semantic difference between -?gu? and -kuyun?, 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 -yung going between the two.

10.5 -burkai!
The ending -burkai! 'very, really' is rather common with noun stems: a-mek-burkai! 'very good'. Sandy indicated in an elicitation session that a variant -burkai! was also possible, but this never occurred in texts or other spontaneous utterances although -burkai! 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.

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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? ny-ru-ya-ŋa-ku-? 'Are you going that way?', or else formally declarative (but frequently pragmatically interrogative) ny-ru-ya-ŋa-ku-? '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? ny-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 Rithargu 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).

11.2 -ŋja(?)

Probably the most common interrogative stem is -ŋja(?). The form -ŋja? is usual before pauses, while -ŋja 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: gi-ŋja(?) 'who?(NSg)'; ga-ŋja(?) 'who(ESg)'; ber-ŋja(?) 'who?(MOb)'; mu-ŋja(?) 'what?(MOb)'. In the case of a human interrogative where the gender and number are uncertain, the P1 form bə-ŋja(?).
is normally used, and agreement in the verb (if any) works accordingly: ba-ŋja ba-ga-ŋgum-ŋi 'Who went?'. Nonhuman interrogatives where the noun-class is not known take the A form a-ŋja(?), as in a-ŋja a-ni-ŋy 'What is this?'.

With Dative -ku, and optionally with preceding aru 'because', we get the expression (aru) a-ŋja-ku 'why?; what for?'.

Repeated -ŋja(?) means 'how many?': a-ŋja a-ŋja? 'How many?(A)'

(Text 7.6).

With ga-ki? there is an idiomatic expression a-ŋja ga-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-ŋja(?) 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, bi-čara (bi-čara), with stem related to -jara (11.5).

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-ŋuŋ '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-gangu-ŋuŋ wo:gi ŋara-ŋa-mi-ŋuŋ 'Where will we get meat?' (adverb); wo:gi ni-ni-ŋuŋ '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: ńu: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 ńu-ŋ-1:-, literally 'Where did you go?') and 'Where do you sleep?' (wo:-gi ńu-ŋu-ńa)

'Where?' is mala2-1zc-wo: with mala2- and -(y)1zc- in a rather frozen compound. Cf. mala2-1zc-wolo 'at that time' (6.2).

The interrogative adverbs meaning 'to where?; which way?' are wala: and walanun. Examples: wala: ń1-ga- migli, walanun ń1-ga- migli '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.

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-ynun (pause) ma-miŋiyr? 'what's-it?; ironwood tree' are common. Note that ma-jara-ynun is marked as a MA-class noun agreeing with ma-miŋiyr?, 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:

İRu-ja-got-ti ni gamakun?, a-jara-ɡi-ynun, gu-ɡi-ła-ɡi-če ... we put it inside properly into what's-it? into wooloomun(s)

'we put it inside what's-it, wooloomun.'

Here the speaker guessed that the noun he was looking for was in the A class, so he used the form a-jara-ɡi-ynun ('A - what's it - Allative - Absolute'). However, the noun turned out to be (gu-)gi-la (GU class). Cf. Texts 2.12, 4.2, 9.2.

A special form bi-čara is used instead of -jara when the reference is to a place name: ń1-gi-čari bi-čara-ɡi-če, wagpani-ɡi-če 'He went to what's-it, to Warpani'. This is from Text 11.1. Etymologically, bi-čara consists of ń1-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-ŋja(?) 'what?(place)' (11.2).

Two different interrogative verbs can be derived from -jara. The stem ḟara-ţi, with class 1-ţi, means 'so do what's-it?'. It is used when the speaker is having difficulty remembering a verb: ma-ja-jara-ţi ni ma-biţiŋ-ţi 'It did what's-it, it got soft'. When the speaker knows that the question is in a determinative with Inchoative Verbaliser -ti-, he may use the form jara-ɡi- 'to be/become what's-it?'. Example: ... ń1-ga-jara-ţi-na, ń1-ga-bora-ja-ţi-na 'He is what's-it, he is boss'. Note that the form is jara-ɡi- instead of expected *jara-ţi- with unlimited suffix-initial stop; cf. (3.5), end.

Forms in -jara are much more common than English expressions like 'what's-it?' or whatamI called?. 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 ńuni. 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-ja-ńuni or just ńuni, indicating strong displeasure with himself. Examples of ńuni 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 miri7? (11.1) or mănga? 'maybe'. The former element makes it clear that the sentence is a true interrogative (i.e. an answer is expected from the addressee). With mănga?, it is not so clear that an answer is expected:

miɾi? wo:-gι nι-ga-ɾiɡ-ɾi.

to where? he went

'mWhere did he go?'

mănga? wo:-gι nι-ga-ɾiɡ-ɾi.

maybe

'mHe went somewhere.' 'I don't know where he went.'

In other words, what I have called 'interrogative' words (except for miɾi7?) also have indefinite interpretations, and the distinction can only be explicitly made by adding miɾi7? or mănga?. However, in contexts where the distinction is unimportant, or where only one interpretation is contextually plausible, these particles can be omitted.

In such examples miɾi7 can precede or follow the other interrogative word; the two are normally at the beginning of the clause (wo:-gι miɾi7 nι-ga-ɾiɡ-ɾi is the other possible form of the first example above). The particle mănga? can occur anywhere in the clause.

Chapter 12

COMPOUNDING

12.1 GENERAL REMARKS

Compounding is a relatively productive process in Ngendi. 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 (or 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 supplanted by a synonymous stem -baʃə-, and in -maɾ-ɓaʃə- 'to hit on the hand'. The stem -baʃə- 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-`)jark. In compounds
it takes the form -bun-, as in (gu-)bun-baρn 'saltwater' ('bad-tasting
water') and bun-γu- 'to drink' (from nu- 'to eat').

The stem γič means '(vegetable) food' as an independent noun
(me-na)č. As a compounding element, however, γič- means 'name', as in
γič-γu-/gič-γu- '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 com-
ounds, but not as independent stems, are these:

buγ- 'smell'
gulu- 'ceremonial performance'
maγ- 'taste'
rum- 'behaviour'
γiž- 'thought; truth'
wiž- '? (only in wiž-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: mar-bižanγ-u- 'to lick the hand
(me-γ) of'; paγaka-buru- 'to smell the bone(s) of'; yele-manγiš-γu-
'to make a hole (yale-); gangu-ma- 'to get meat'; waii-qa- 'to see a
tree'; goγ-qa- 'to look in the eye(s) of'.

As these examples suggest, the semantic role of the modifier is
heterogeneous. In cases like yele-manγiš-γu-, the modifier is simply
an incorporated direct object, and the preceding transitive pronominal
prefix will include an object-marker agreeing with it: naγu-yele-
manγiš-γi- 'I made a hole'. On the other hand, in cases like mar-
bižanγ-u- 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 pronom-
inal prefix refers to the entire entity, as in naγu-mar-bižanγ-γi-
'I licked his hand' ('I hand-licked him').

A slightly different type of transitive compound shows initial
modifying element ękuli- 'raw, unripe' or bukuli- 'cooked, ripe'. In
such constructions ġkuli- can acquire the broader meaning of 'fallen,
unnaelected, dead'. Example: baru-ękuli-γu- 'a falling man'. Here ękuli- and bukuli- are semantically adjectives

modifying the direct object. The addition of ękuli- or bukuli- 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: gubur-ýima- 'law (gubur-) to be
like that'; paŋu-γaγka- 'weel(s) (paŋu-) to fall'; mana-jičiš-γi- 'to
be afflicted with sores on the neck (mana-); ganam-γaγ- 'to be
covered at the ears (ganam-); to have one's ears covered up' (i.e.
'to be deaf'); koŋ-nuyu-γu- 'to be thick at the head (koŋ-)' (i.e.
'to have a headache'); ġkuli-γu- 'to fall down unnoticeable, to
collapse or faint'; wark-wak-γu- 'to go through a bush fire (wark-)'.

As the examples suggest, most of the intransitive compounds are
structurally parallel to the transitive types. Correspondence to the
yele-manγiš-γu- ('to make a hole!') type with incorporated object we
have the gubur-ýima- intransitive type with incorporated subject.
Correspondence to the mar-bižanγ-γu- ('to lick the hand of') type
with body-part stem specifying the locus of an activity we have the
intransitive type mana-jičiš-γi-. The type ękuli-γu- corresponds to
the transitive type ękuli-γu- ('to carry a dead person'), with ękuli-
and (bukuli-) here functioning as adjectives referring to the intransi-
tive subject.

The type wark-wak-γu- 'to go through a bush fire' is a little
unusual. The stem wak-wak-γu- 'to go in or through' is intransitive,
with optional Allative or Locative NP indicating the region. The
incorporated stem wark- in wark-wak-γu- 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
intransitive, but there are some cases where the compound is formally
intransitive. For example, the transitive stem nu- 'to eat' forms
intransitive compound bun-γu- 'to drink' with bun- 'water' (hence
generally 'liquid'), cf. (12.2). Other examples: intr. qa-γey-γa- 'to
throw saliva (qa-), to spit!', contrast tr. γey-γa- 'to throw
and tr. compound jandu-γey-γa- 'to throw a stone'; intr. bun-γey-
'water to drink through' from bun- 'water' and the same stem γey-γa;
intr. qa-γulk-γu- 'to stop doing, to do for the last time', a semanti-
cially specialised compound with qa- 'mouth' and tr. γulk-γu- 'to out',
contrast tr. mana-γulk-γu- 'to out at the neck (mana-)' (i.e. 'to
escape by hanging'); intr. γi-γaru- /γelk-γaru- 'to go along a
river bank (γelk-)', contrast tr. γaru- 'to follow' and tr. yam-yam-
'follow the sound of'; intr. tič-qa- (cf. (12.2) 'to think from
the qa- 'to hear', contrast tr. yam-qa- 'to hear the sound of'; intr.
gubur-yika- 'to behave well', cf. tr. yika- 'to behave' and tr. maŋ-
ka- '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 object, not the intransitive subject. If this NP occurs as an independent noun or pronominal subject, it takes Nomitive rather than Ergative case, as befits its surface syntactic function: gi-yul-ya-yun (*gi-yul-i-yu-yun) gi-bun-ju-ni 'The man (Nom) drank (it)'.

In the example bun-gyeq-qa- 'water to go through' this analysis does not work. If we take the base form as meaning something like 'I throw or propel 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 intransitive used. In cases like jundu-gyeq-ga- 'to throw a stone' and yeale-ma-ni?-gu- 'to make a hole' the pronominal prefix includes an object-marker referring to the direct object (jundu-, yeale-). If the subject is represented by an independent NP or pronoun it is Ergative: gi-gu-yeale-ma-ni?-qi- gi-yul-ju-yun 'The man (Erg) made a hole'.

Modifer-nucleus compounds where the nucleus is not a verb are uncommon. Some compound adjectival nouns are of this type: jambau-wel 'owner of a killed animal' from jambau- 'cruel', and wel 'owner'; similarly gawal-wel 'owner of a country' with gawal- '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 those: (a) body-part terms; (b) giку- 'head' and buku- 'hooked'; (c) frequently-occurring general names of physical substances and the like ('stone', 'country', 'fire', 'grase', 'hole', 'river', 'meat', 'water', etc.); (d) a very few abstractions including gubur- 'matter', thing, Law, etc.', and yel- '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 'to see', 'to hear', 'to smell', 'to taste', and (b) verbs perception ('to see', 'to hear', 'to smell', 'to taste'), and (c) 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: nagu-jundu-gyeq-ga-d i-ga-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 man- and yel- (12.2) which have no independent forms; (c) body-part terms used as modifiers in compounds are generally not repeated; (d) nouns in intransitive compounds from transitive bases are usually not repeated.

12.4 'HAVING' COMPOUNDS

One fairly important compound type can be exemplified by ganam-war-jak 'deaf'. ganam is a noun meaning 'ear', while 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 adjective modifying the person, and takes noun-class prefixes agreeing with the noun. 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 ganam-war-jak. Some other examples: mere- mak 'sharp, having a good blade', gun-ga- 'harming lots of fat'. Here the elements are 'mak (mak) 'good', mere- 'blade', -gaj 'much', and 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 '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 (gu-)jolkoma-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: giq-yowan-bula 'man with two wives' (giq- 'woman', yowan-bula 'two'), giq-jark 'man with many wives' (jark 'many'). The sense is not 'two (many) women' here, as is shown by the MSg noun-class prefix in giq-goiq-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 and syntactically as the nuclear stem without the grammatical and syntactic role of the modifier. Thus the choice of noun-class prefix is determined by the modifier, not by the nuclear noun. Examples: (gu)-jolko-mak 'good ground'; (gu)-gubawar-jak 'bad business'; (gu)-ganda-skunupa 'in the right tree'; (qi)-gungawanggi 'a month'; (gu)-gawal-wirijpu 'different country'; (gu)-bottle-gajil 'big bottle'; (ma)-nyuk-nei 'mother guts' (i.e. 'stomach pain'); (gu)-gawal-wayan 'season countries, both countries'. The only example of a demonstrative modifier in my data is (gu)-gawal-nil '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 mak 'good', etc.), functioning as modifiers of an underlying external noun like (gu)-jolko 'ground'. By regular agreement rules the noun-class prefix assigned to the modifying noun 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 mak 'good'; (b) (gu)-jolko (gu)-mak after agreement; (gu)-jolko (gu)-mak: after Copying; (gu)-jolko 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)-nyuk-nei 'mother guts', since an underlying juxtaposition of nei 'mother' as a modifier of (ma)-nyuk would seem to be an ill-formed configuration. At any rate, no surface structures of this type occur.

12.6 DIMINUTIVES AND AUGMENTATIVES; NECRONYMNS

The Diminutive and Augmentative nominal derivatives can be conveniently described under the rubric of nucleus-modifier compounds 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: gakji 'small', garpai 'big', wanger 'big', huqa 'big' (also 'much, many'). Diminutive compounds are formed by adding -gaññ (or the less common -giriiñ̄) to a preceding noun stem: (gu)-wali-gaññ 'little head'; (ma)-jambak-giriiñ̄ '(a-)jambak-little head'. This is the only one attested with -giriiñ̄, while -gaññ occurs several times in the data. Augmentatives are formed with either -gajii (cf. independent noun gajil 'big', mentioned above) or -gargaññ (as in (gu)-bottle-gajil 'big bottle' and synonymous expression (gu)-bottle-gargaññ).

Taking these as compounds, it is necessary to posit a suppletive relationship between the independent and compounding forms of 'small' and 'big', except that gajii can occur in either position.

Compound nouns of the type 'the late X', where X is a personal name, are formed by adding -ñay to a preceding personal name: pi-barruñi-ñay 'the late Barruk, the dead man whose name was Barruk' (Text 11.32). The stem ñay 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 -ñay following the name of the place where the person died. The one example I have of this is Borroolooloojanawayi-ñay (with Absolute suffix -ñay and an Anglicised place name) 'the one who died at Borroolooloja' (Text 12.56).

12.7 bala-, mal-, mala?-

Various kinds of adverbs are formed by attaching these three elements to following stems, usually nouns.

Examples with bala- 'side': bala-qi 'this side' (demonstrative /-ni-?/); bala-qi 'that side'; bala-warjak 'bad side, left-hand side'. In the unusual combination bala-gu-qi 'wet side', bala- is prepended to the noun ñay 'wet' which is furnished with its usual noun-class prefix gu-.

Examples of mal- 'time(a)l': mal-kwargi 'once'; mal-kwan 'twice'; mal-kiri 'many times'. A construction with mal- can be verbalised by adding class 1 Theme週ing Augment -gu-, and this can be transitivised by preposing Benefactive -bak-: intr. mal-kwargi-gu- 'to do (something) once'; tr. bak-mal-kwargi-gu- 'to do (something) once to'. The common expression mal-gaññ ('sometimes, at other times') can be analysed as /mal-gaññ/. The simplex ganiç is attested in the same sense but is very rare (one attestation vs. many examples of mal-gaññ). As an adjectival noun ña-ganiç shows up in the form ña-ganiç 'some, some other' with an unusual initial element related to a more common initial compounding element and independent noun ña 'group' in Ritharru. This ña- is unrelated to Ngandi malay, to which we now turn.

Examples with malay? 'season, time': malay-ñay in the rainy season' (ñay 'rain'); malay-ñay 'in the hot season' (ñay 'sun'); malay-ñi-wo 'whent?' (11.3); malay-ñi-wo 'at that time' (6.1). In the latter two examples -ñi- appears to represent the compounding element ñi- mentioned in (12.2); Y-Deletion here is by P-12 (3.7). I am unable to discern what the semantic contribution of -ñi- is here, and I take both of these examples as rather frozen and semantically specialised compounds.

Compounds containing bala-, mal-, and malay? 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:

\[ \text{ga-yaku} \quad \text{?i-yaku} \quad \text{ga-klu-?u} \quad \text{?i-?i-?i-?i} \]

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-hawk-gi-ji gu-yaku 'we (DuIn) will not talk to each other at all'.

With Inchoative Verbaliser -?i- we get yaku-gi- 'to be/become absent, to disappear': ba-ja-yaku-gi-na 'They have become absent'.

A special Neg suffix -?i-, unrelated to Inchoative Verbaliser -?i-, can be added to a noun stem to create expressions of nonexistence: ma-?i-?i- 'There is no food'; a-?angu-?i 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:

\[ \text{?i-Conklin, } \text{?i-yaya, } \text{?i-jambu?anga, } \text{?a-ga-?i-d}\-i.} \]

Conklin I Wallace IPlEs-Sub-go-PPun

'Conklin, I, and Wallace were the ones who went.'

\[ \text{a-je?u-?u } \text{bar-a-yaw-gu-?i.} \]

fish 3Pl/A-Sub-spear-Aug-PCon

'It was fish that they speared.'

\[ \text{gu-wul?um-?u } \text{ba-ga-bu-?i-ni.} \]

by means of spears 3Pl-Sub-hit-Recip-PCon

'Spears are what they fought with.'

\[ \text{gu-gawal-?i-?u } \text{ba-ga-?u-gu-?i.} \]

to the country 3Pl-Sub-go-PCon

'It was to the country that they went.'

\[ \text{?i-gu-gu-?u } \text{ba-ga-?u-gu-?i.} \]

for honey 3Pl-Sub-go-PCon

'Honey is what they went for.'

\[ \text{jipa? } \text{gu-gu-kul?i} \quad \text{?ar-ga-hawk-?u.} \]

later tomorrow IPlEs-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:

\[ \text{ba-?i?ja } \text{ba-ga-?u-gu-?i.} \]

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:
The protasis generally contains -ga-, but occasionally shows -ga-ya-.

Examples:

\[ \text{gú-ga-ryú-ga-nan} \quad \text{gú-ma-sa-ma-nan}. \]

\[ \text{if you had gone} \quad \text{you would have gotten it (MA).} \]

\[ \text{gí-ga-ya?-gò-ì-I} \quad \text{gá-ki-kí-ù} \quad \text{gù-mùù-nù-yúng} \]

\[ \text{if he had eat (i.e. been) there} \quad \text{at that very time} \]

\[ \text{gá-nù-rùm-gà-ná.} \]

\[ \text{I would have speared him} \]

In neither type is there a requirement that the two clauses in the construction have a shared NP:

\[ \text{gí-ga-ya?-gú-gù-gù-gù-yúng, gá-rù-gù-gù-gù-ù.} \]

\[ \text{If he goes (comes) to here} \quad \text{I will go to there} \]

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’ (-yùng), 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: gí-gù-ga-ga-ù-gù-yùng-yúng ‘(the snake) who had eaten him’. This contains gí-gù-ga-ga-ù-gù ‘it ate him’ (with subordinator -ga-) plus Relative -yùng- and then Absolute -yùng-; showing that the relative clause with -yùng 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 -ù, 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-ngù-chí-ní-gi-yùng ‘(the liquid) which they drink’, from ba-ga-bun-ngù-chí ‘They drink it’ (again with subordinator -ga-). The head noun is gu-car ‘water’ (here meaning ‘liquid’ and referring to beer), which really should be in the Locative form gu-car-ì (and indeed is preceded by the extra modifier gu-yùmin ‘in the thing’ (disregard -yùng-yùng here) and gu-yù-gù-gù ‘in what’s-it?’ both of which show Locative -gi. It seems that gu-car-ì just omits the already twice-pronounced Locative suffix;
at any rate, it is clear that gu-jäark 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 -yug 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-nu-čini-gl-yuŋ there is no trace of Relative -yulin.

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 -yulin 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 -gl is possible with the local cases (Locative, Allative, Abative, perhaps Pregressive). 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 -ju in either Ergative or Instrumental sense — all I could elicit were simple -ga-clauses:

qama-ma-y ma-gani-yuŋ hunu-ga-woy.
I got it (NA) spear (NA) 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 ('make 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 judgments 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 -79uŋ, -kuyun?
The phonological form of these subordinators has been described in (10.4), cf. also the end of (3.6).

There are two of the most common subordinating time adverbials translates as 'while'-clauses. Examples: n1-gaku-bir-či-ŋ-dollar? 'while he had many sones'; gu-ma-ga-l-ŋ-dollar? 'when they (house) were numerous'. The common suffix -79uŋ? is used with predicative nouns or with verbs of any tense. For other examples cf. (10.4). A longer example showing the syntax-context somewhat better is this one:

baru-či-ran-či ma-road-gl n1-ruryu-gl-ŋ-dollar?
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 -79uŋ? tend to be durative in nature. Although the example n1-gaku-bir-či-ŋ-dollar? (quoted above) shows the PPun ending -n, 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 -79uŋ? and -ga? in the latter's clause-subordinating functions is not clear to me in all instances. However, -79uŋ? is more clearly temporal than -ga?, which may be weakly causal or the like. Furthermore, -ga? is not restricted to durative senses like -79uŋ? 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 -79uŋ? since the translation 'while' (in the temporal sense) would not be appropriate.

Examples of -79uŋ? (and its allomorphs) can be found in Texts 11.5, 11.11, 11.32, and 11.44.

The only example of -kuyun? is this (Text 12.31):

b-šew stock ba-priencer bo-wolowun barba-ga-maka-na, prisoners those they call them
barba-ga-ma-ni-kuyun-yung, barba-ga-ŋ gu-nar! SPL/SPL-Sub-get-Pr-Sub-abe they took them that
police station-g1. to the police station

I have tentatively analysed -kuyun? here as an extended variant of -79uŋ? (10.4). Clearly the expression containing -kuyun? 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, -kuyun? 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-)yim? 'thing, matter' etc., which is clearly related to yima- 'to do/shink/say like that'. The ending -n? suggests the augment -n? in -n?guba-, the postvocalic allomorph of the Causative suffix (postconsonantally -guba-).
Another possible example is goxel-mayin 'calling names of
countries', containing (gu)-goxel 'country'. The stem -mayin may be
a nominalisation; although no related verb stem is attested in Ngandi,
Nunggubuyu 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-wugjan? balaka a-mayin ma-ma-ni, ma-berge-bula.
blak plum first we got it also green plum

'We got black plum first, and then green plum 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 conjointed elements, though
this is not common:

qi-goyew-pula a-jimma-pula ba-bu-yq1-ni.
and the crocodile and the shark they fought

'The crocodile and the shark fought.'

Very often the initial conjointed element is deleted, so that it
is indicated only in the pronominal prefix of the verb:

qi-mara-g-bula mara-yugu-ŋ
and my father we (DuESM) will go

'My father and I will go.'

When two human nouns or pronouns are conjointed, 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 Mbg nouns, is treated as a MdNp NP,
so that if X Y-pula is the subject of an intransitive verb the latter
must have MdNp prefix bar1-.

However, if the conjointed 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 2qir1? 'also' is commonly used in such afterthought
additions. In the example in (10.2), the speaker begins one clause
and the singular noun bingw? (a man's name) as the subject, and
consequently cross-referencing modifiers and the pronominal prefix in
the verb are marked as Mbg. Then the speaker adds qi-miNga-wu-yu-qir1?
'also MdNga-wu' (another man's name) as an afterthought whose NP intended
to be conjointed to bingw?. (The speaker then repeats the verb with
MdNp 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 undergoing transitive clauses whose subject has been deleted.
When this happens, the clause is restructured as a surface intransi-
tive, with the underlying object becoming the surface intransi-
tive. 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 transi-
tive pronominal prefix added to the verb) is omitted. No special
intrinsitising 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:

har-ja-nuy-g-1,
we (FM) sent

'We sent (him).'

har-ja-pa-ni,
we (FM) see

'We see (it).'

ba-ga-go-ni,
they chopped

'They chopped (it).'

These constructions are roughly similar to the English type 'We
are eating', 'We 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-yu-1-yu (%)ba-yu-1-ju-yu) ba-go-ni,
men(Xm) they chopped

'The men chopped (it).'
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 guik-gu- (Vintrl) intransitive verb of verb-class 1. In the case of nouns the noun-class prefix is given in parentheses: (gu-) joiko (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 oizmb’. 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 -gu-, so that mwi-gu- is alphabetised as mwngu-, not wng-, even though it may occur occasionally in the 'root form' mwng.

Where appropriate, synonyms are mentioned at the end of entries. Cognates in nearby languages such as Nunggubuyu, Ritharrngu, and Warn-darang 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 Ritharrngu 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 ever 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, e, d, q, g, e, g, i (and i:), j, k, l, m, n, o, n, o, o (and o:), p, r, i, i, i, u (and u:), w, y.

A

a- (Prf) a noun-class prefix, usually nonhuman, rarely indefinite human animal? (Part) then, later on. Cogn: Rith wala?ga? anga? Cogn: Rith wala?ga?
anga? Cogn: Rith wala?ga?
anga? (Part) although, whereas
(ma)-apa (N) mangrove with buttressed roots, (Rhizophora spp.). Cogn: Nungg anaba
anba (N) a combination a?ba
g?na-l-l he other. Cogn: probably Nungg anba
anba other
a?ba, a?ba? see -?ba
angq (Part) all the way to (a place), to the point of.
angwa
angu (Part) because. Syn: yamba.
Cogn: Warnd

B

ba- (VTr1reg) to bite; (insect) to sting. Cogn: Nungg wa-
a?b?b? (N) bloodwood 'apple' (insect gall). Found on
gunu?u

ba?a- (VTr2) to hit. Forms many
cpds with body-part terms
indicating the place of contact:
big-baba- to hit on the foot,
also attested with ni-, giba?-,
mo?-, mamuru?, mar-. Attested
but rare without cpdg element,
cf. -bu-. Cogn: Nungg wadja-
(a)-ba?j?erejere? (N) masked plover
(a)-ba?j?erejere (N) weep
-bag- (Prf) see -bag-
(ma)-ba?j?erejere (N) string headband.
 Cf. warnda. Cogn: Nungg, Rith
-bak- (Prf) Benefactive. Cf. gram-
mar (8.8)
(a)-bakara (N) long-necked tortoise,
(Chelodina longicollis). Syn:
gaimara, gaywa, wayway. Cogn: Rith
bakay (Adv) in the south. baki-? southward.
baka-yala from the
south. Cogn: Nungg wagi-, Rith
bargay, Warnd wagi
(gu)-bala (N) firewood. Cogn: Rith
bala?, perhaps Nungg wa-al
bala- (Prf) aside (in cpds). Cf.
grammar (12.7). Cogn: Rith
balka (1) (Adv) before, previously,
(2) (NAdj) first
bala? (VTr2) to put next to. Rdp:
bala-balaga-, bala?i-n?guba-
(VTrCaus) to attach to the side. Obj. is thing attached. Cf. bala-
(gu)-baipa (N) river. Cogn: Warnd baipa
baipa̱ (N) mate, companion. Cogn: Rith; Nungg baipa
(ma)-ba.jar (N) a wattle common on dunes at Bimalgamarra (Aosaca
tomuloraes). Corr: Rith ba.jar?; Nungg mirrak. Cogn: Nungg and
Warnd ba.jar (Aosaca difficilis).
ba?[-gu - (Vintril) to hide in tall
grass, bak-ba?[-gu - (VTrBen) to catch or reach (n.t.) in
tall grass
(ma)-baigur (N) a kurrajong tree, (Brachychiton paradoxa). Cogn:
Rith; also Nungg ajur
rope fibre (obtained from kurrajong)
ba[a (N) waru. Cogn. Nungg and
Warnd wa[yu
(gu)-ba[pU[-gu - (N) styraxamine tree, (Styraxoma lucida). Cogn:
Nungg wumbej[ba
bambīr[-gu - (Vintril) to be shy or
ashamed
(a)-banda.yama? (N) gecko lizard.
Cogn: Rith.
(ba)jangaw̱ (N) adult water
(a-baumani (N) eviga. Cogn: Rith
(b)-banga (N) a bird sp. which feeds on the ground and is
ewell camouflaged, perhaps the
outlet-nightjar. Corr: Nungg baangarg
(ma)-bapa? (N) `marble tree', (Oenulia vernicosce). Syn: jengi1č. Cogn: Rith; Warnd and
Nungg bapa
(a-baŋaŋu (N) death adder. Cogn: Rith
baŋaŋu (N) dried out (place);
well-behaved, not violent.
(gu)-banjaŋ (N) desert. Cogn: Rith. Cf. gapurk
banjar (N) crystallised. Syn: gurn✿
(gu)-banja (N) arm. Cogn: Nungg waŋa
(gu)-banjaŋa (N) returning boomer-
ang
banjig (N) a subsection name
bap [-] uninfected root form of
yu - to put in, to put on
(a)-bara (N) north or northeast
wind. Cogn: Warnd; Nungg bar[a;
Bar [jara:
(ma)-barker [N) a tree sp. found
in black soil country. Cogn: in
various forms in many nearby
languages, meaning spear or
referring to tree sp. used for
spear shafts
(a)-bara[n] (N) poseum-like ani-
mal (phasoroptes). Cogn. Rith
(gu)-barkar (N) boat. Cogn: Nungg, etc. (from Macassarese)
(gu)-barcay (N) a paperbark tree,
(Melaleuca ep). Found often on
ing edges of billabongs. Cogn:
Rith; Nungg waru[
bar-gu - (Vintril) in cpd: gu-bar-gu
to open one's mouth. Cogn: Rith
gu-bar-ya-
(a)-bar[barā (N) rainbow bird.
Cogn: Rith
(ba)ark (N) black wallaroow, (Mariopea bernardinae)
(gu)-barcakur (N) wild awamumber, (Cucuma melo). Var: barcakur.
Cogn: Rith barcakur, Nungg barcakur
(a)-barčār (N) a freshwater est-
alted oysterfish, (Nestorius ep.).
Distinct from jombojok. Cogn:
Rith. Corr: Nungg a[a][j
barbarka,-bu - (VTR) (with bu-) to
plag (boomerang), barbarka,-bu-ni to alap
boomerangs. Syn: [j?er-bu-
(gu)-barku (N) tarpam snake. Cf.
doljol. Cogn. Rith gubarku
(with variants), Nungg wawargu
(gu)-barcakur (N) see barcakur
barŋ (N) bitter, sour, bad-tasting,
barŋ-ð (Vintril) to be/
become bitter, etc.
(gu)-bun-barŋ (N) saltwater.
(ma)-burpaŋ-barŋ (N) a type of
water lily, (Nymphaea sp.). Found:
Rith. Corr: Nungg araŋa
Distinct from bupcba.
barŋi (N) white, light-oiled. 
Probably *bar-wi (cf. jiriwi) but rather frozen. Cogn: Rith
barřik, beriŋ (N); cf. Rith
bar-ŋu - to be white
(b)-baju? (N) a very small fresh-
water fish, a ploekh or penny fish,
(baj (VTR) uninfected root form of
mä to get, to grab
banja-baj to grab by the arm
bata - (Prf Comitative) barguri-
nga-bata-waŋu-na he leaves them
with (it). gi-bata-ni he
eat with (him). gi-ja-bata-
bok-gi he came out with (it).
Cf. also -wiŋ, -ma, Cogn:
Rith. Cf. grammar (8.11).
(b)-bajï (N) marsh fly (several
sp.)
(qi)-bayerak (N) honey bee,
(Dipoga sp.)
(by)-bayer female euro (hill
kangaroo). Cf. ĝirŋ. Cogn:
Rith, Nungg
beik-bu - (Vintril) (with bu- as
Aux) to face the spearhead onto
spear shaft
benga - (VTR4a) to step on. Cogn:
Nungg -waŋara. Past Rdp: bengi-
benni-r
(gu)-barg (N) chest (of body),
underarm (plastron) of turtle or tortoise, etc.
(ma)-bargi? (N) green plum,
(Buchanania obovata). Var:
birgi?. Cogn. Rith birgi? (gu)-barama (N) shoulder blade
Syn: birič-?i?. Cogn. Nungg
biriči-
bi- (V) see ba-
bi- (Sff) see -pič
bič (Part) Well, ... (in
frequent clause-introducer)
bir [-] what's this (place). From
*Bir-ša, cf. bi-
Rith (under -Rja) and jara
(gu)-birči (N) ften snake. Cogn:
Rith, Ngalkon
bigejy?-ga (VTR2) to carry (on
shoulder). Rdp: biigejy?-bigejy-
gae - or biigejy-bigejy-ge - gangu-
ha (N) carry meat
(a)-bija (N) wak
bijči (1) (Prf) nearly, almost,
garguni-ga-bijči-yaw he barely
speared you (FL). (2) bijči-ma -
(VTR) (with ma- as Aux) to miss,
to do inanternally, to fall to,
do, bargmi? -gu(bijči-ma-)
yi let them fail to perform
ceremonial singing correctly. 
(3) bijči-gua - (VTrCaus) to
miss (an object at which
someone is thrown)
bijgala (N) name of a clan, Rith-
angap-speaking clan group
(gu)-bijdiḻg (N) a paperbark tree
with large leaves, in flat open
Melaleuca viridiflora. Cf.
ngakäa?; Corr: Mara jambara
Mara jambara
bijaja (NK) variant of njabija
(a)-bijay (N) small goanna, 
perhaps juvenille wacuyu. Cogn:
Rith
(qi)bijyu (N) whirlwind, twister. 
Cogn. Rith
(mi)-blijil (N) red-winged
parrot. Cogn: Rith
bililiḻi (Vintril) in bun-bili-
lu (wabara) to rise or fall to
(gu)-biliḻi (N) grass sp. used
in corroborees. Syn: ywuwar. Cogn:
Warnd bliliḻi
(a)-bi (N) sharp point, wire
spike (in wire spear),
gu-jan-stalaguš (m,) -biŋal-ni it has a
very sharp blade
(gu)-bi (N) track, trail (e.g.
of snake). (gu)-gin-bi (N)
footprints, foot tracks
(mi)-bi (N) water ily leaf.
Cogn. Warnd mbi̱jal
bingi (a)-gu - (VTRil) to touch. Rdp:
bijay-bijay-gu-. Cpd: mar-
bingi-gi- (Vintril) to touch
one's hand. Cogn: Rith *bign-
ja (N) touch
bi-[j]-gu - (Vintril) to sing (with
tapetiqc aacacompaniment). Cogn:
Rith b[i]-tapetiq. Cf.
jiŋ-gu-
Cf. wagmir. Cogn: Warn duwajin
(gu)-bujuni? (N) a shrub with
soft, edible white fruits.
(SSerineg) vireo). Cogn: Rith
bun- (Pt) a common compounding
element referring to water or
liquids. Cf. gu- wr6, go6-r6-gu-,
bilii-gu, bugurk, warakaywi,
g6, bu6a-, geyk-g6a-
(ba)-buncaala (N) grass or grass-
like plant used for making fish
trap. Cogn: Rith
(a)-bundui (N) black (fork-tailed)
ktie, perhaps also little eagle.
Cogn: Rith
(a)-bungalakala (N) mangrove
bittern (bird)
(ba)-buna (N) butterfly. Cf. bulbaba.
Cogn: Rith
(ba)-bujiuniu? (N) wild orange tree,
(Capparis wmbonata). Cogn: Rith.
Cogn: Rith: Nungg yiliwip
bugurk (N) dirty (water). (gu)-bun-
bugurk (N) dirty (water). Cogn: Rith
(a)-buji (N) summer, spring.
Cogn: Rith
(ba)-burlumani? (N) sedentary, waap
with large body
burguburgu-g1 (Vitrins) to die
off. ba-burguburgu-g1 (N) They
have died off.
burkayi! (Sff) really, truly, very.
Cf. yu
burk-ga- (VTr2) to bury, to cover
with dirt or sand. burk-g1-
(VitrinRef1) to be/become covered
or hidden. Rdp: burk-burk-ga-
Cogn: Nungg -wurqa-
buri- (VTr6a) to small. Rdp: buru-
buru-. Takes the form -puru- in
cpds: mar-puru- to small the
hand of; bagja-puru- to small the
arm of; gaqaka-buru- (with
secondary lection of /p/ to b)
to small the bones of. Cogn: possibly Nungg -yara-
bruburu? (1) (Avy) nearby. (2)
(N) nearby. (3) buruburu?-g1-
(Vitrin) to be/become near-
by. bak-buruburu?-g1 (VTr-
InChen) to be/become close
to. buruburu?-gro6a- (VTrDir)
to move close to, to approach.
Cf. gawa-
(a)-burugulu (N) a brownish pink
plant, with yellowish leaves and
short (leaf), often found living
in trees. Cogn: maganuja
burugulu (N) soft, not firm (used
of ground)
bruburungu (N) (1) (ma)-burum-
brurungu (N) Milky Way. Syn:
jamalara. (2) (a)-buruburungu
(N) ground small. Syn: gaka-
ma-buruburungu? (N) a reddish
wine whose berries are eaten
by manu. (Gorgon californica). Cogn: Rith; also Nungg wurug-
burungu
(ba)-burungand? (N) a small
butterfly. ap. said to have a
medium-long neck. Cogn: Rith;
Warnd burungand.
(a)-burujji (N) water python,
(Liasis fuscus). Cogn: Rith
(a)-burujjuru? (N) water python,
(Liasis fuscus). Cogn: Rith
(a)-burujjuru? (N) water python,
(Liasis fuscus). Cogn: Rith
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(Liasis fuscus). Cogn: Rith
(a)-burujjuru? (N) water python,
(Liasis fuscus). Cogn: Rith
(a)-burujjuru? (N) water python,
(a) ?? (VTR) to slice (e.g., jalka yam) into slices or chips
(a) ?? (N) dollarbird. Cogn: Rith ??
?? ?? (VTR) to knock (lightly). Cf. ??-bu.
Cogn: Rith ??-yu to pinch, to tickle
(gu-) ?? (N) hush 'ily with large white flower and large white bulb, (Crimain asiaticum). Cogn: Rith. Cogn: Rith: Nung ??
(a) ?? ?? (N) quilling eagle
(sku) (N) (1) raw, uncooked, potentially edible but not hot ready to eat. (2) (especially as first part of cpds) fallen, fainted, collapsed, unconscious, dead. For cpds cf. ??-yu. (1-1),
(yu) Cogn: Rith: Nung ??
(gu-) ?? (N) coconut (paper-bark dish). (2) a paper-bark tree, (Melaleuca sp.), with fairly hard bark suitable for cooamans. Cogn: Rith ??
(gu-) ?? (N) good tree, (Alstonia abolus). Cogn: Rith: Nung ??
(a) ?? ?? (N) mudbank ('pee-woo')
(a) ?? ?? (N) bundlekin duck.
Cogn: Nung ??
(gu-) ?? (N) see ??
(a) ?? ?? (N) green python-goose
Cogn: Rith, Nung, Warmd
?? ?? (N) a small plant with yellow yellow, edible tubers, (Samosostum opistiaum). Cogn: warmarka
(??) ?? ?? (N) euclaypt sp. on hill, hard bark at base
?? ?? (VTR) to go down
?? ?? (VTR) to line up, to form a line, or queue
?? ?? (N) stomach. Refers to the internal organ only. For cpd cf. ??-ku. Cf. also woypan.
?? ?? (N) a snake said to be poisonous which is similar to tasman (barku)
?? ?? (N) tree, (wattle) whose wood is used for digging sticks (jaka?). Cogn: Rith gamaama?
?? ?? (VTR) to tie down
gomk ?? (VTR) to uke off. Past
Rdp: gomk-gomk-ri
?? ?? (VTR) to dry up. Cpd: bun-??-yu (VTR) (water) to dry up
?? ?? (VTR) to pull
?? ?? (VTR) (grow). To become
?? (Interj) Bang! (sound of shots being fired)
?? ?? (VTR) to strip (bark) off. Cogn: Rith ??-yu. (a) ?? (N) brush-tailed possum. Syn: ??
?? ?? (N) large tree with edible fruits, probably leichhardt tree, (Nacolea coadunata). Cogn: Nung ??
?? ?? (N) mangrove with dangerous milky sap, (Excoecaria agollachia). Cogn: Nung ??
(a) ?? ?? (N) ring-tailed possum. Cf. ??, gapu
?? ?? (VTR) to be tuned up
?? ?? (N) branches used as camouflage in stalking emu. Cogn: Rith ???
?? ?? (VTR) to catch fire, to become lit. ??-guba- (VTRcausa) to catch fire, to set fire to. Cogn: Rith ??-yu.
?? ?? ?? (N) tree. Cogn: Nung gumbubumbu
?? ?? (VTR) to break off (contains bu- as Aux) to open up. Cogn: Rith ??-ubuyu (N) ankle, (Santalmum lanoelatum). Var: gumbubumbu. Cogn: Rith
??-yu (N) small, young. As N: ??-yu. Rdp: ??-gak
?? ?? ?? (N) a small plant with yellow yellow, edible tubers, (Samosostum opistiaum). Cogn: warmarka
??-yu (VTR) to uke off
?? ?? ?? (N) hollow log. Cogn: Rith
?? ?? ?? (VTR) to sit down, to stop (and sit down). ??-guba- (VTRcausa) to cause to sit down
?? ?? (N) clean-surfaced, free of feathers or hair. Cpd: ??-gakwuka (N) bald
?? ?? (N) koel. Cogn: Rith ??-yu-
?? ?? (N) wild potato. Cogn: Rith: Warmd ??-yu
?? ?? ?? (VTR) to sit up water, make bubbles
?? ?? (N) small, young. As N: ??-yu. Rdp: ??-gak
?? ?? (N) possum. Both composed of ??-yu (a) ??-yu and a stem related to the word for 'skin' (Ngandi ?u?)
?? ?? (N) dreaming, totem.
Cogn: Rith ??-yu
?? ?? (N) brownish smallwing ant sp. Cogn: Nung ??-yu
?? ?? (N) mangrove with pointed leaves, small green fruits, (Avicennia marina). Cogn: Rith: Nung ??-yu (N) small
?? ?? (N) roost (in oven). Cogn: perhaps Rith ??-yu
?? ?? (N) wild grapes, (Cissus or Amelanchia sp.)
?? ?? (N) hook spear. Cogn: Rith, Nung ??
?? ?? ?? (N) to be covered. Cpd: ganeam-??-yu to have one's ears covered, to be deaf. (2) ??-yu- (VTR) (contains bu- as Aux) to close up, to block off (passage). Cogn: Rith ??-yu- (matches Ngandi ??-yu, not Ngandi ??-yu-)
?? ?? (VI) attested only in bag-??-gambu- ?? (VTRto) to get revenge on. (Contains bak-,
?? ?? (N) tobacco (loamword)
?? ?? (N) feathered stokie.
Cogn: Nung ??
?? ?? (N) sand, sandhill.
Cogn: Rith ??-yu
?? ?? (N) fodder. Cogn: perhaps Rith ??-yu to grow
?? ?? (VTR) to be open, to be in the open, to stretch out
?? ?? ?? (N) tree. For cpds cf. ??-yu, gumpa etc. Cogn: wha
(gu)-jangapa? (N) a tree, (Persoonia falcata). Cogn: Rith; Dha'yyi and Dhuali gangapa (a)-indsay? (N) mats gaŋ? (Prf) a rare compounding element meaning 'place near ...'. gaŋ-bišar place near what is? gaŋ-bulmun place near Bulmu.


(a)-galaŋ (N) caterpillar. Cogn: Rith.


(a)-garaath (N) eucaLYpt sp. in hilly country, sold to resemble woollybutt (gururu) but with thinner leaves. Possibly Eucalyptus phoenoea. Cogn: Rith.


garuga (Adv) other side. garuga-ga-ga-ya (Adv) the side on the other side.

garka (N) rough. Cogn: Rith; Nungg lardgari.


(gaŋ)-garpi (N) thigh, upper leg. For cdp cf. goŋ-giŋ-gu-. Cogn: Nungg lardjil.

garku- (V1ntr1) to go back and forth. Cdp: moŋ-garku- (same meaning).

ga- (Prf) a weak subordinating or defocussing element (see grammar, 8.4)

(gu-)gurukul (N) humpy

gut (V) attested in gbara-gut-

may? I do not trust them

G

guwa (N) of Dawa moieties.

Cogn: Ruth guwa, Nungg

manja:yun (=man-guwa-yun)

(gu-)galahin?, Nungg ala

(gu-)galanganda? (N) a kind of

wild onion. Corr: Nungg

wugulaga (N) of Dawa moieties.

(gu-)gilar (N) a chenopod plant

found in saltbush and sand

dunes, (Teosiptera austral-

alis)

gala (Vtr2) attested only in:

-gubur-kai-ga- (VTR2) to join, to

connect

galë (Adv) some (other).

mah-ka- (VTR2) some, some

other times. This form is much

more common than galë.

mah-gali (N) some, some

other

gali-ma- (VTR) (contains ma-

to get as auxiliary) to summon;

to muster, to round up

galë- (1) galë-ga- (VTR2) to

hang up, to suspend. Rdp:

galë-galë-ga-, (2) galë-gu-

(Vintr) (contains gu- to

stand as auxiliary) to be

hanging or suspended, to

be aloft (e.g. in a tree). Cpd:

gi-galë (Intervj) to have

or put one's foot on top

galæ (VTRs) to sneak up to.

Rdp: galæ-galæ-ga-. Cogn:

bu-bu?gu-?galæ (SFF) see -kalu

(gu-)galajikà (N) stringybark

tree, (Eucalyptus tetradonta).

Cf. gari.ban, gowk. Cogn: Ruth

galë (Adv) (at) downstream, galë-

ë-bë (Adv) (to) downstream.

zal-galë (Adv) from downstream

(galë)kà? (N) land mammal.

Syn: burumburunga. Cogn: Nungg

galë

galë-gajeguru (N) bird ep. similar

to jara-galëtubwa, but smaller.

Exts lizards, lizards. Inhabit

freshwater rivers

(galë)jilt (N) knife, blade. Cogn: Ruth

(gu-)galë (N) hill

(ma-)galan Athena? (N) cement

obtained from roots of iromwood

(mi)ijan? or from trunk of

aggas (galë)? Cogn: Ruth

red-backed kite

gamanen (N) a sub-section

(ma-)gamami (N) (any) spear, spea-

rshaft. Cogn: Ruth

(gu-)gamunungu? (N) white oyl

and paint made from it. Cogn: Ruth

gamufus? (Adv) these days

(ma-)gamam (N) egc. in cpds:

cf. warjek, jam-bu- ga- (to see).

Cogn: Warnd wanam

(ma-)gambukbuk (N) oliver-like

wildflowers. (Gomphrena app.).

Cogn: Ruth; Nungg yambubug

(gu-)gandinga (N) leg. In cpds:

cf. nor-gae-, nor-ga-,

waplurungu?

(ma-)gangeri? (N) a long yam

(Dioscorea app.). Cogn: Ruth

(q-)ganeji? (N) jabiru. Cogn:

Ruth; Nungg enji; Warnd garinji

(gu-)ganger? (N) large agreta.

Larger than gararaij

(gu-)ganganjaka? (N) large

agretas. Larger than agaraij

(gu-)ganganja? (N) large

feathers on emu. Cpd: cf.

wur-gu-. Cogn: Ruth

(gu-)ganguk (N) small possum.

Perhaps young gujula. Cogn:

Ruth

gangaluro (N) female antelope.

White kangaroo. Female: garambal.

Cogn: Ruth; Nungg agar-iburu;

Warnd gangaluro

(gu-)ganguw? (N) rock wallaby.

(Peromyscus app.). Cf. jundubu;

Jundubu?, Jarpungi. Cogn: Ruth;

Nungg ganguw?

(gu-)gangi? (N) large freshwater

eel-tailed catfish. (Neotilapia atcer). Cogn: Ruth; Nungg

appibiya

-gaño? (SFF) the diminutive suffix.

gu-walla-gaño? (N) a small stick.

Also attested with gumbu, gaku

('smalls'). Cogn: Warnd -gaño;

Ruth -gaño?

(gu-)ganjari? (N) kalbarra heering

gaño? (Part) apparently a weak

emphatic particle

ganganu (NK) mother-in-law's

brother's child, sister's son's

child. ganganu- (N) female

(gu-)ganganu (N) female antelope

Cogn: Nungg ni-ganganu

(gu-)ganganu? (N) off-white or

dirty-white oyl and paint

made from it

-gapul (SFF) several, a few

gapul- (Vintrich) to be

blind

gapi (N) dry. Cfg. bang à-

(ga-)gar? (N) spider web. Cfg. wá-

Cogn: Ruth gar?; spider

-gàr? (Prf) a multiple prefix:

cf. all, over, many. Rdp:

gara-gara-. Cogn: Nungg

-gàr? (Warra-

(ma-)garağmarğmar (N) a shrub

sp. Cogn: Ruth

(ma-)garakar (N) darter, 'dìver

ducks'. Cogn: Ruth. Cf. jinàgar,

gundunyuku

(gu-)gara (N) apoobill (bird).

Cogn: Ruth; Nungg gara: leg

tite

(ma-)garağaj (N) a tree ep. similar
to guku (Acacia holosericea),

but with lighter wood (in weight).

Possibly a variant of the same sp.

Cogn: Nunggu garajà, Warnd

garajà

(ma-)garajà (N) small agreta,

perhaps also white phase of

reef heron. Cf. gapor?.

Cogn: Ruth; Nungg marajà

(ma-)garawar (N) little black

cozamrant. Cogn: Ruth; Nungg

awawar

(ma-)garambal (N) antelope

kangaroo, especially male,

(Macropus antelopinum).

Female: gajaluro. Cogn: Ruth;

Garambal, Nungg arjimalab,

Mara banga

-gar? (Prf) on vain, Forms com-

pound verbs indicating un-

successful attempts. pà-gar?-

jok-dël he tried to alit away,

gu-gar?-çig-dël You came in

vain

-gur (N) bank (of body)

garka (Part) like, just like
garka (Adv) garka-la- (Adv)

on top, above, away from the

aocart. garka-la- (Adv) to the

top, away. garka-la-la- (Adv)

from above. Rdp: garka-

garka-la- et Cogn: Ruth
gor? (N) alone
(0-)gorowikrow (N) blue-winged
tagmook (V) to swim in
(0-)gorowen (N) wanting or
boobook owl. Cogn. Rith
garjaw, Nungg garbaw
(gu-gorga) (N) a eucalypt sp.
Syn: gurkail
(gor-gu) (VTR 1) to be sick.
Cogn. Rith gu-ur-
gorkogor-gu (Vitr 1) to be tired
gorta- (VTR 2) (1) to put in or
inside, to cause to go in.
Cpd: gole-gorta- (VTR) to put
inside the stomach. (2)
country) to belong to through
one's mother's side. bargu-
gorja-ni gu-gawa-lu-yun The
country belongs to them. Rdp:
gorja-gorga-
gol-gu (Vitr 1) (contains gu-
to stand as auxiliary) to be
looked up or confined
(gu-gowk (N) bark of stringybark
tree (gejeyk). Cfg. gubari
(qi-gowk) (E) freshwater crocod-
il. Cfg. guarguru
gu- (Prf) one of the nonhuman
noun-class prefixes
-gu- (Sff) see -ku
-guba- (Sff) Causative suffix. See
grammar 9.6
guca-ga (Vitr 1) (contains ga-
to carry as auxiliary) to go
hunting with dogs. Cogn: Nungg
-liga-, Warnd gu-ga-, Rith
gogga-
(qi-gun (N) a honey bee,
(Trigona sp.). Corr: Nungg
ganlig
(gu-gulji) (N) a kurrajong tree,
(Brachyhinton diversifolium)
(gu-gulji) (N) dry bush, desert.
Cogn: Rith gudji
(a-gulbarpa) (N) brown tree
snake, (Botiga sp.)
(a-gulbarpa) (N) gillach (bird)
gul-gu- (1) (VTR 1) to cut, to
cut through. Cpd: gumugul-gu-
(VTR) to cut (in half) at the
waist. ma-gul-gu- (VTR) to
hang (a criminal). (2) (Vitr 1)
to cease, to stop (doing e.t.)
-gara-gul-gu-1 a-falk-yun The
rain has stopped. Cpd:
gu-gul-gu- (Vitr) to cease
doing that. to have done that
for the last time; mar-gul-gu-
(Vitr) to abandon (e.g. a
ceremony). Cfg. gak-gu-. Cogn:
Rith gulak-u-, Nungg -wula-
(ki-gu-ga-) and -wugulu-
(=kii-gu-kii-) (VTR 2)
(gu-gulaunj) (N) a yam, (Vigna
(ma-gulaunj) (N) a shrub, (Tri-
annia laurifolia). Cogn: Rith;
Nungg wulu
(ma-gulakulun) (N) a paperbark
tree with very small leaves,
(Melaleuca acuminatae). Cogn:
Rith (a-gulakulyu) (N) a frog-mouth
(mall. Cogn: Rith
(gu/-ma-gulaunj) (N) skin, bark of
tree. Cogn: Rith; Nungg
ma-gulau and warlgi
guja-bu- (VTR) (contains bu-
to pull out the skin of
skin. Cogn: Rith. Related to
gula
(a-gujançaunj) (N) grey-ovomed
babbler (bird). Cogn: Rith;
Nungg gujançaunj
guja-bu- (VTR 1) to knock hard,
to knock off a piece of,
with (stones)
(a-guje) (N) a tree-dwelling
goanna, perhaps a form of
Varanus timorenensis. Cfg. garara
guja? (N) few, not many
(ma-gujenbajera) (N) little pied
oio-oio. Cogn: Rith; Nungg
gujambajera. In all three
languages this is a compound
of 'pied' (guja, gujuna) with a second element -bajera/-
bajera
gujepu? (Adv) to here, this way
(a-gujepi) (N) beach stone
bajera. Cogn: Rith; Nungg
ma-gujenbajera
(ma-gumgum) (N) a thorny vine,
(Asparagus ramosus)
(ma-gumgum) (N) fat (grease).
Cpd:
(ma-gumgala) (N) flesh sp.,
possibly the Norman River
grunter, (Coelomis agilis). Cogn:
Nungg
(gu-gumpi) (N) Gubarii aere-
mony. Cogn: Nungg gunabini,
etc.
(ma-gundujuykun) (N) male
darter (diomys guka)
(ji-ganu-
(ma-guna) (N) river pandanus,
(Pandanus taitensis). Syn:
guljak. Cogn: Rith
(ma-gulu) (N) a Denv (Adm) see grammar
(guljak) (N) river pandanus,
(Pandanus taitensis). Syn:
guljak. Cogn: Rith
(a-guunu) (N) black-headed
rock python. Cogn: Rith.
Corr: Nungg gubunara
(a-gunjima) (N) green tree
snake. Cogn: Rith; perhaps
Nungg wulmmir
juwok (Adv) at night, guuja-
kuwok (Adv) time just before
dawn, gujum-kayal (Adv)
all night, gujumkubil (Adv)
in the morning, tomorrow.
Cf. gujukuwibi
juwokuwibi (Adv) in the morning,
tomorrow. This form is much
more common than gujumkubil,
which is probably an older
form. The variant gujumkubil
is also attested. All these
forms are related to gujumk
(gu/-gjun (N) cloud. Cogn: Rith
jujiki- (Vitrak) to be afraid.
May take Dative NP as object.
ba-kukjik - (VRTBen) to be
afraid of. Rdp: gujiki-
gjuk. Cogn: Rith
(a-gujjai) (N) a tree goanna,
perhaps Varanus timorenensis
sulimit. Cogn: Rith
Rith -gujuna (Sff) see -ku
(ni-gun) (N) honey, honey bee, bee
hive. The specific word for
'honey' as a substance is naga
(ma-gura) (N) a small,
prostrate swamp plant. Cogn:
Rith guruguraj?; Nungg
wuruguraj oot-tal
(ma-gurajaja) (N) a eucalypt with
a rust-like substance on the
leaves, (Eucalyptus ferruginea).
Cogn. Nungg and Warnd
gurajja
(a-gurajja) (N) probably the barn
Cogn. Nungg wururwur
wurugur- (VTR) (contains bu-
as auxiliary) to gut (animal),
to pull out (gut). Refers to
parts of the process of pre-
paring animals for cooking.
(ma-gurajja) (N) stew, venin.
(a-gura) (E) Gura-kurajja (N)
throat. Cogn: Rith
gurajja (N) circulated. Syn:
bangirri. Cogn: Rith; Nungg
wulum
(a-gurajja) (N) blue-tongued
lizard. Cogn: Rith
(gurajja) (N) (1) (qi-)gurajja (N)
moon, month.
(;a-?) (a-gurajja) (N) month
gurak (Adv) later. Rdp: gurul-
gurak. Cogn: Rith; Nungg
wurugur
(a-gurandula) (N) swamp pheasant
gurak (Nk) wife's mother (avoid-
able relationship), etc. Cfg.
bapar. Cogn: Rith; Warnd wurun;
Nungg ngurajja
(a-gurupi) (N) a short-necked
tortoise, probably Bradys
australis. Has yellow stripes
on h.d. Cogn. Rith; Nungg
gurajja
(a-gurupi?) (N) freshwater mussel.
Syn: mambai
(ma-gurajja) (N) shallow-water
water lily, (Nympheoa pilocolea)
gurajja (VTR) to stay away
from, to avoid (e.g. mother-in-
law)
(a-gurajja) (N) held back, held in
(a-gurajja) (N) paperbark tree sp.
found on edges of billabongs
and in brackish water (Mela-
lea exsulata). Cogn. Rith
warurwar (VTR) to shoot. Rdp:
gurajja warur (VTR) gurajja
(a-gurajja) (N) older sister
(ga-ma-gurajja) (N) eucalypt sp.
with smooth white bark, found
in various habitats. Syn:
gurajja. Cogn: Rith; Nungg
gurajja
gure- (VIntr3b) to go hunting
(a-)gubabi? (N) a bird, perhaps the pardalote
gu- (g-put?) (N) a tree with kidney-shaped nuts, \(\text{Terminalia grandiflora}\). Cogn.: Rith; Nungg wudu
gu (N) short. Cf. guguw?, gumbi
-gu- (Sef) forms Directional transitive class 2 verbs from intransitive bases. The object indicates the Directional object. See grammar (9.7)
(a-)guwajuju (N) southern stone overhang. Cogn.: Rith; Nungg wuju
(ma-)iguys (N) water plant with edible portions, \(\text{Aponogeton elongatus}\)

-ič- see yič-
ič- (V) see gič-
ič- (Sef) see yič-
ir- see yir-

ja- (Prf) now, just then. Indicates temporal immediacy; see grammar (8.2)
(a-)ja? (N) meat ant, \(\text{Iridio- myrmex app.}\). Cogn.: Nungg yaq-
jabuc (Nk) wife's mother's brother, etc. \(\text{male avoidance relation}\). mar-Jabuc your wife's mother's brother. Cf. guran. Cogn.: Rith jaibur
(ma-)jačačaja? (N) certain water plants such as Caldoesta oligooocoa
jača-gu- (VIntr1) to rub fire-stick (to produce spark). Rdp: jača-jaga-gu-. Cogn.: Rith jača-gu-
(ja-)jačak (N) a fan-palm, probably \(\text{Livistona lori-}
jača- (Prf) see gu- (jaka-gu-) to

stand. Cogn.: Rith jaka long, jäl
(ma-)jaka? (N) jametsiqué
jakuna mother's brother's child
jai (Prf) mental state, attitude (in compounds). Cpd's: cf. warjaki-\(\text{-g}, jaliapk, jaričima. jai-1- (VIntr1) to want, to take, \(\text{ni-}, jai-1-\text{-ma mana?}\)
-\(\text{p}-\text{r}-\text{g}-\text{u}-\text{n} \text{He wants to go there.} \text{Cf. maik, warjaki.}
Cogn.: Rith jač-
(ma-)jačač (N) a woody climbing vine with edible roots. Cogn.: Rith; Nungg jačač, Warnd majalač
jačača - (Prf) together. nari-wο-
čač-\(\text{-} \text{p}-\text{r}-\text{g}-\text{u}-\text{n} \text{You too will go together.} \text{barb-jačača-ga-njilni (They (Du) bring them (Du) to-
gether).
jač (N) wet, jač1-gi- (VIntr-Inch) to be/become wet. Cogn.: Rith
(ma-)jaču (N) tree or/and, e.g. Dendrobus, cf. gači, guqon?. Cogn.: Rith; Nungg yaču
(ma-)jačam (N) (1) round yam, \(\text{Dioscorea}\) yam var. rotunda. (2) grasshopper sp. which makes noises at night. Cogn.: Rith (both senses), Warnd (yam only)
(ma-)jač (N) a small type of \(\text{spínfex} \) grass, \(\text{Tridici} \) sp.). Cogn: Rith jač, Nungg yač
jači (N) wild, trouble-making, unestealt, always moving around. Syn: jaričima, jaliapk-\(\text{-}\text{g}, (VIntrInch) to be/become wild, etc. Perhaps from *jači-\(\text{-}\text{pi}\) with a form of bir
jači-\(\text{-}\text{r}-\text{mič} (N) trouble-making; unestealt. Syn: jači. Probably from *jači-\(\text{-}\text{mič-bir}
(gu-)jač (N) small arachyfish sp. Cf. jakawa?
jač (N) to hunt kangooco
(ma-)jačara (N) Milky Way. Syn: burumumba
(ma-)jamba (N) burial platform
jamba (N) good or successful hunter. Cpd: cf. wel. jambač-
warjač bad hunter. Cogn: Rith

(a-)jambaka? (N) bullfrog. Cogn.: Rith
(ma-)jambaj (N) native oven. Syn: \(\text{Jet}\). Cogn: Rith
jambaj (NK) father's mother. Syn: memom
(ma-)janqba (N) banana tree, \(\text{Ficus}\) \(\text{virens}\). Cogn: Rith
(a-)jamur (N) frilled liiasard. Cogn: Rith
jamur (1) (gu-)jamur? (N) same place. (2) \(\text{jamur}-\text{g}-\text{h} (VTr1) to go to the same place. Object is the same place. Rdp: japo-
čapagga-gu-
(ma-)japea (N) torture es., perhaps an \(\text{Eucalyptus}\) sp. cf. gurupi
jamur-\(\text{-}\text{g} (VTr2) to erect, to cause to stand. Rdp: jop-jamur-
(a-)jamûg (N) grasshopper sp. with moderately long horns. Cf. dapururutu, majirji
jara (1) (N) what's-it?, what's-its-
nname? Used when the speaker is trying to remember a word or name. For place names the form used is bičara (‘bičara). (2) jara-gu-
(VIntr1) to do what's-it? Used when the speaker has forgotten a verb. (3) jara-\(\text{-}\text{g-j} (VIntrInch) to be/become what's-it?
(a-)jaragabua (N) chestnut rail \(\text{bird}\). Cogn: Rith; Nungg and Warnd jaragabua
(a-)jaranumum (N) ground beetles, especially reddish ones like \(\text{Scarabæus laticollis}\) (Carabi-
idae, Coleoptera). Cogn: Nungg yaramum
(a-)jararjiri (N) western brown snake
jar-\(\text{-}\text{g} (VTr2) to move through (trees). Rdp: jar?-jar-\(\text{-}\text{g} (VIntrBen) to move toward (something, going through trees)
(a-)jarra (N) young water goanna. Adult: bangawu. Cogn: Rith
(ji-)jarri (N) immature barram-
undu (mirič).
jaruru (VIntr) to poke (stick, \(\text{VIntr\text{su}}\) to get honey)
(ji-)jaru (N) female agile (sandy) wallaby. Cogn: borongoi. Cogn: Rith

Rith; Nungg yardu
(gu-)jar (N) water, especially fresh water; beer, liquor. Cogn: Rith gujar (rare word)
(a-)jason (N) scorpion. Cogn: Rith jason eumtapa
jawalwajal (NAdv) attested in \(\text{jawalwajal p}-\text{r}-\text{g}-\text{u}-\text{n}\) \(\text{He walks} \text{ grewly}, \text{staggered}
jaway-gu- (VIntr1) to fly around. Cogn: Rith jaway-u-
(gu-)jawajaw (N) water lily stem. Cogn: Warnd jowaj
jawula (N) old (pereon). jawa-pa-
(ji-) jawa-gu- (VIntr1) to be/become old. Rdp: jaway-
jawula. Cogn: Rith, Warnd
(ma-)jekbe? (N) nightjar (owl) sp. Cogn: Rith jikbi!
(a-)jejele (N) stone axe. Cf. mumba?
(a-)jelejele? (N) a bird, perhaps a woodswallow. Cogn: Rith jile-jilej!
gi (N) fish (generic term)
(ja-)jarakalere (N) insect es., perhaps mole cricket. Lives in mud, flies around at night.
(ja-)jet (N) native ovum. Syn: jamba
(gu/-a-)jiban (N) end, tdp. Cogn: perhaps Warnd fijiba nose, tdp
(ji-)jugi (N) dreaming, totem, totemitu ates. Cogn: Mara njlan
(gu-)jiči (N) sore, wound. \(\text{jiči}-\text{g (VIntr1) to have a sore or injury, magna-jiči-g (VIntr1) to have a sore}
(\text{thrusts, baša-}\text{-jiči}-\text{-}\text{g (VIntr1) to be covered with sores. Cogn: Nungg jiljil, Rith jilj}
(a)-jīluk (N) spectacled hare-wallow, (Lagorhoteses com-spectaculatus).

jī?-gu- (Vlntr) (contains gu- to stand) (fish) to hang still in water.

(a)-jīlīlīlīlī (N) waap ep. Large, roundish body, nest in tree.

(a)-jīkay? (N) small bird ep., possibly a cuckoo (lives in swamps and jungles); small birds generally. Cogn: Rith.

(ma)-jīlākīlāk (N) a small water plant. Cogn: Warn jīnjīlēj, Rith jākējāk.


(a)-jīmi? (N) leech. Cogn: Rith (a)-jīmījī (N) half- to spine of dugong harpoon. Cogn: Rith: wine spear; Nung and Warn jīmīngi.

(i)-jīmīt (N) tree with apple-like fruits, (Planchonella pohimimana var. vestita). Possibly from bark. Cogn: Rith; Nung yīmīd (ma)-jīnambur (N) a paperbark tree with relatively tough bark, along rivers.

(a)-jīnīri (N) see jangīnīr (a)-jīnīna (N) water shrub. Cogn: Rith, Warn; Nung wūjīnīna (ma)-jīnīni (N) a shrub, (Thepsea populnea). Cogn: Warn and Nung jīnīni (i)-jīnū (SFF) see -vūn (ma)-jīnjāgār (N) female darter (garakar). Cogn: Rith jīnjāgār


jīr-ge- (Vlntr) (contains ge- to roll grass (fish trap)

(a)-jīlībūyk (N) whistle-duuk. Cf. āľwān, jīlīlī (N) Cogn: Rith; Warn jīlībūyk.

(a)-jīnjīgī (N) kingfisher. Cogn: Rith, Nung jīnjīgī (N) an important performer in the magya'min ritual. Cogn: Nungg jīnjīgī.


(a)-jīnjīkīlīlī (N) willowy water iris (bird). Cogn: Rith; Nungg jīnjīkīlīlī.

(a)-jīnjī (N) hair, especially on head. Cdh: nālījīhu-ji-kīlī (N) having hair on the eyes (i.e. having eyebrow). Cf. bulu?. Cogn: Nung gīnjī (gū)-ji-kīlī (N) shrub ep. Cogn: Rith; Nungg jīnjīlīgī. The Nung term applies to Drypetes latifolius, but the Ngandi term may refer to a different shrub (a)-jīnjīkīlī (N) quatl. Cogn: Nungg jīnjīkīlī (gū)-jiwūnīlī (N) white ibis (nà)-jīnok (N) honey bee, (Trigona sp.). Cogn: Nungg jīnjīnūrūa Rith jīnjīnūlāmīnū.

jīnjōqū- (gū) (Vlntr) to become weak. Subject is -gu. yōnjōqū- (gū)-gu- (Vlntr) to do until daylight. Cogn: Rith

jagwāw?wū-


jōk-bu- (Vtr) (contains bu- to surpass, to outdo, to do better than. Probably related to jōk-kō).

jōk-gu- (Vlntr) to go past, to step away, to move (from one point, to another). Cf. jōk-bu-. Cogn: Rith jōk-bu-.

(ju)k-bu- (Vtr), Nungg -vāgā (root form) jōk-. Warn jōk-

(o)-jōmbōjō (N) large freshwater eel-tailed catfish, (Neoleotirurus sp.). Cf. bārčā. Cogn: Rith jāmbājāk:

o-

jōmbōpō? (N) water snail. Cogn: Rith jambāpā?

jom(jom) (Vtr2) to pile up (wood)

(ma)-jōppō? (N) a palm sp., said to be common to the south. Cogn: Rith jōppō?

jōr-gu- (Vlntr) to deicate.

jōr-gu- (Vlntr) to shift one's position, woolon-jōr-gu-sūba- (VtrCauss) to shift, to displace.

(gu)-jōmōr (N) rib area, side of body around ribs.

jūgū- (Vlntr) to equat, to attract fish by encroaching in a small stream and blocking their passage. Cogn: Rith jūgū?

jūlūgū?

jūlūgū- (Vlntr) to pour, to drink quickly, to guzzel down. Cph: bunnjūlūgū? (Vlntr) to pour water. Cogn: Rith

jūlūgū- (Vlntr) to pour (liquid).

(ma)-jūlūgū? (N) lanewood, (Aoaiaeh stirbīj). Cogn: Rith;

jūlūgū (N) stream-necked ibis. Cogn: Rith; Nungg jūluw (ma)-jūlpūn (N) baakbone, spine.

(gu)-jūmbač (N) walking atik.

(ju) (N) stone. Cph: (gu)-

(ju) (N) large stone (hill). Cogn: (a)-jīndubū (N) a small mound, smaller than gaḍāwū?

(ju) (SFF) see -yùh, jüngeyīl (N) confusion (for mother's clan). Cogn: Rith, Nungg.

(ju)-jünāgī (N) shrub ep., like jōp, but also with reddish fruits.

(gu)-jùpū (N) shrub with fruits, (Friedeloa ghaesembillia). Corr: jōjūpū (N) jūpū (N) narrow road. Cogn: Rith

jūr-gu- (Vlntr) to pour (liquid).

jūr-gu- (Vtr) to pour (water).

jūr-gu- (Vlntr) to pour (liquid).

jūr-gu- (Vtr) to pour.

(ju) (N) (Vtr) (contains bu- to pull flesh from shell (of turtle or tortoise). Cogn: Rith

(gu)-jümbēk (N) (tin) can lambar (NK) mother's brother. Syn: jōmēkay (more common term). Cogn: occurs in creole English as well as some Aboriginal languages to the south.

(ju) gūrūgū (N) pield (ma'pie) goose. Cogn: Warn, Rith, etc.
(mo-)mojo (N) road. Cpd: cf. 
gark-gu-. Cogn: Rith maja
monaŋa (N) White, European. Var:
muŋa. Cogn: Red English and 
adjacent Aboriginal
language ngäŋa. Cog. no
moinci (Adv) secretly, in stealth.
ba-yaŋ-yaŋ be-ga-ŋaŋaŋ-ga-ŋa-nda
moinci aborigines have spear
fight secretly (so the police will not arrest them)
(gu-)mōroi (N) witchetty grub
(cassid moth larva). Cf. mera.
(gu-)mōtoj (N) beetle larva
(coral grub), found in ant 
mounds
(mo-)mojyo (N) red coho. Cogn: 
Mara maynu
(mo-)mojyn (N) a kind of ayoa
d palm, (Cyam su ep). Smaller 
than naju
(a-)muć (N) (1) rainbow. (2) 
rainbow serpent. Cogn: Rith mōj
(gu-)muć (N) river coolibah,
(Eucalyptus microtheca). Cf. 
wajnj. Cogn: Rith; Warnd
mućju, Nungg wunmuju
mućju (N) pink flower. Cogn: 
Warnd mućju, Nungg mućju.
mućju? (N) see mućju
muk (Part) indeed. Cogn: Rith;
Nungg muću
muk-gu (Vintr) to become dark, 
to become night. Subject is 
gu. Cogn: Rith muk-gu, Nungg
muć-gu (Vintr) to become angry
(ma-)mululu (N) a species of 
Darwinia. Very similar to 
mulkulul, which is said to be 
a somewhat taller plant. Cogn: 
Warnd, Rith
(ma-)mululul (N) see mululu. It 
is not clear whether the two 
both refer to varieties of 
Darwinia, or whether one is a 
different sp. Cogn: Rith
(gu-)mulmu (N) grass (general 
term). Cogn: Rith
mulmu? (N) black, dark. Cogn: 
Rith
(gu-)mulukan (N) fīn
(ma-)mulululk (N) oonkerberry
(shrub with edible berries), 
(Carissa lanoeolata)
(a-)muľ? (N) black whip snake.
Cogn: Rith muľ?
(a-)muluji (N) large muraqitooes. Cf.
mulkulul. Cogn: Nungg, Warnd
(a-)mulba? (N) metal axe. Cf. 
jelele
(gu-)mun (N) heel. Cogn: Nungg 
mun foot
munanga (N) see monaŋa
mungu-gu (VTr1) to follow. Cpd: 
(gu-)gur. Cogn: Rith mungu-gu-
(a-)mungu (N) a grass with soft 
rootage which can be dipped into 
honey and chewed, (Allotropys 
semilatula). Corr: Rith munmuŋu?, 
Nungg agari
munungu? (N) dark (at night). As 
predicate: gu-na-?munungu?-may?
It is not dark yet.
(a-)munuji (N) fleas or lice on 
dog. Cf. gu-mč
(gu-)munuji-gu (Vintr) to be angry
munyugai-gi (Vintr3a) to become 
stable. Cpd: gu-gor-
munuŋu (N) in fine bits, powder-
like. Cogn: Rith, Nungg
munuŋu (Vintr3a) to do (something)
for good, permanently
munyu? (Adv) onstantly, wulu-
munyu (Adv) same meaning.
Cogn: Rith
(gu-)munyu? (N) a small arable 
field, including the freshwater arable.
Cogn: Rith muraŋuŋ, Nungg and 
Warnd muraŋu
(a-)munka? (N) spangled paroh, 
(Madagaskar antincola). Cogn: 
Rith
Rith
(a-)murinha? a shrub with 
edible berries, (Grevia retusfolia).
Syn: mernji. Cogn: Rith murinha?
and murhiri. Cogn: Nungg murnin
(a-)murnjuŋ (N) backbone. Cogn: 
Nungg murnjuŋ shiri
(a-)murnŋiŋ (N) shovell spear. Cogn: 
Rith
Rith
(a-)murnŋiŋ (N) tree, (Termin-
alia ep.). Cogn: Rith
(a-)murnŋiŋ (N) male euro 
girlsc). Cogn: Rith; Nungg 
murnŋuŋuŋu
(a-)murnŋiŋ (N) termite
(gu-)murnŋiŋ (N) eastern 
swamp-hen. Cogn: Nungg; Rith
murnŋiŋ? (N) small lizards, 
probably including Anach 
conoperas. Cogn: Rith murnŋiŋ?, 
Nungg murnŋiŋ? (a-)murnŋiŋ (N) 
sandpaper fīg, (Ficus opposita). Cogn: 
Rith murnŋiŋ?
N
na? (Prep) still. ga-na-?gugu-ni
He is still going
-gu? (Dem) that
(gu-)na?ji-n-luŋun (N) that kind of 
thing. See grammar (6.8)
(gu-)na?ji-n-yuŋ (N) that kind of 
thing. See grammar (6.8)
-na?l (Dem) that
-niŋ (Dem) this
-niŋ (Dem) that. gu-niŋ that 
was that. (Indicates the end of 
a train of thought by the 
speaker.)
N
pa- (Prf) a noun-class prefix 
(Fsg or nonhuman
pa? (Dem) cf. -ki-ri, -cų-, etc.
-pa? (VTrreg) to see. Rarely 
(Vintr) to look. har-ja-ga-
čini! He look. ganu-ga-ni I saw 
him. Cpd: gik-pa? (VTr) to see 
(bones); wai-pa? (VTr) 
to see (tree); go-pa? (VTr) 
to see the eyes of; to look in 
the eyes of; gana-pa? (VTr) 
(dream) to examine the ears 
of. Cogn: Nungg -ra- 
ra?na, Mara -na, etc.
-pa? (VTrreg) to burn, to oook 
on open fire. In cpd as 
 auxiliary: cf. buuyu-pa?
Cogn: Nungg -na- to burn; 
Warnd -naŋ? to be on fire
-pa?- (Prf) see na?-
-pa? (Dem) see na?
pačeweleŋ (Adv) then, after 
that; from there
paŋiŋ? (Adv) from around somewhere 
else. paŋiŋ?–wala (Adv) from 
around somewhere else
paŋiŋ (Vintr) to burn, to be on 
fire. Patterns as an irregular 
Refi form of pa- to burn. Rdp:
-nagi-ŋiŋ. Cogn: Nungg -nag-
pačeweleŋ (Adv) then, after 
that; from there
paŋiŋ? (Adv) from around somewhere 
else. paŋiŋ?–wala (Adv) from 
around somewhere else
paŋiŋ (Vintr) to burn, to be on 
fire. Patterns as an irregular 
Refi form of pa- to burn. Rdp:
-nagi-ŋiŋ. Cogn: Nungg -nag-
pačeweleŋ (Adv) then, after 
that; from there
-jo (V) see go-
-lu (Sff) Ergative; Instrumental. See grammar (4.6)

U

-wu (V) see yu-
-gu (Sff) see -yu

W

-wa (V[ntrreg]) gu-wa Come! (Sg address) Cogn.: Rith, Nung, Warnd. In other forms of this stem occur:

(ma-)wañi (Sff) spider

(a-)wañqui (N) a form of the sand goanna, (Varamus gouldii). Cf.: bijayi?. Cogn.: Rith, Cogn. Nung

-wa (V[ntrreg]) to return, bak-wa (Vr[en]) go back to. Rpd: wai-wa (Adv) pronom. Cogn.: Nung

(wa-) but without (N) a small fresh-water eel-tailed catfish, perhaps Porochilus obesus

-wa( Adv), wa- (Adv) pronom. in the high country, wa-l (Adv) pronom. to the high country, wa (Adv) pronom. from the high country. Cogn.: Rith, Cogn. Nung

warthamal, Ꙁین. Cogn:Rith; (rare in Nungg)
waraj-gu (Vintr) to go hunting or searching; to go walkabout. Cogn:Rith waraj-gu-
warajak (N) eating; warja-warjak. Cdpd: maš-warjak (N) bad-
tasting; mana-warjak (N) having bad throat (hence unable to sing well); ganam-warjak (N) deaf; buš-warjak (N) bad smelling; meraj-warjak (N) blunt, not having a good blade. Cf. also gubur, bela-, warjak-
gi- (VintrInch) to become bad. Rdp: warja-warjak-gi-.
Cdpd: jał-warjak-gi- to become tìred; rum-warjak-gi- to be sad. Cf. warjak-
warjaka- (Vintràa) to make a mistake, to do something wrong. Less often (Vintr) to be bad with regard to, to do wrong, gün-ga-
warjakal-ja-yaw if he does badly with (spare: ma-gami; i.e. if he is unable to dodge them successfully), he (the other man) will speak him. Cdpd: 
gubur-warjaka- (Vintr) to behave badly as (Nungg) (to do so badly); yîl-warjaka- (Vintr) to tell a lie. Cf. warjak
(a-)warwkark (N) ants (all species except those which have specific names). Cogn: Rith
warbmaya (Past) anyway; nevertheless. ba-ja-lan-gu-čini warmbaya (They are told not to drink, but) they drink anyway. Cogn: Rith
(a-)warwu (N) red flying fox, (Eridopous scapulatus). Cogn: Rith warwu
(a-)warwgu (N) bone-point spear. Cogn: perhaps Nungg warwgu
stingray spike
(gu-)warja (N) fish tail 
warjà- (Vintr2) to build a camp-
warjaba-gu- (N) bone spear, 
warjamba- (N) stone spear. 
Syn: ʃeŋ, warman. Cogn: Rith
warjaka-gu- (Vitr) to forget; to leave behind, to lose. Cdpd: run-
warjaka-gu- (Vitr) to be ignorant about; gawal-warjaka-gu- (Vitr) to
forget (name of) country. In the last example the object is 'country'.
(gu-)waral (N) image; soul waraj-gu- (Vitr) to ask a question of, to inquire of. Cogn: Rith waraj-gu-
(pî)-warajama (N) a fresh-water fork-tailed outfish, (Barramundi therapeph.) Smaller not than that of gur. Cf. also mišunjuru. Cogn: Rith and Nungg warma
(gu-)warbamba (N) headband worm in Gunabibb
warbu- (Vitr) (contains bu- as auxiliary) to sing curse at, to curse by singing. Cogn: Rith
waral- (Vitr3a) to take baok. Rdp: warj-warl-
(la-)waral (N) testicles
(a-)warpur (N) sugar glider (flying mammal). Cogn: Rith: Warrn warmur
(ma-)warfurku (N) nulla nulla (gu-)watar (N) a tree with large red flowers, (Crevillea pseudoflora). Cogn: Rith; Nungg mawtar: Warrn watar-
(warjana- (Vintr3a) to die. Rdp:
wa-tad-wadi-
(a-)wauj (N) dog. Cogn: Rith
waju- (Vitr3b) to leave, to leave behind, to abandon. Cogn: Nungg waju-
(a-)waśwa (N) crow
wawab (Nk) elder brother. Used with first person possessor; cf. yawyu. Cogn: Rith wa-wa-
gu-wayaša (N) flat country. Cogn: warjawa
(a-)way (N) fire. Cogn: Rith
(a-)wayway (N) Long-necked tortoise, (Chelodina longicollis). Syn: bekara, etc.
wej (N) boat, owner. jambu-wel (N) successful hunter, owner (of a particular killed animal)
gawol-wel (N) owner of country wejknay- (Vintr3a) Attested in mungu-wejknay- (Vintr) to look back
(ma-)warjewerey (N) varied torti-
Syn: wirjewi
wej-gu- (Vitr) to vomit. bala-wet-7-gu- (Vitr3b) to expel by vomiting
(a-)warjew (N) rainbow fish, probably Nematochromis maculata. 
Syn: Rith wiři
wiře (Prf) three, matter. Cdpd: cf. 
mas. Cogn: Nungg li-
wiře (Sff) having. Often with bala-, yarama-wiře (N) having a horse, on horseback. bala-motoroa-wiře (N) having a motoroa. Cogn, bala-wiře, jirliwi
-wiře (Sff) Emphatic, with pronouns. gi-wa-wiře ( Pron) he himself. Cogn: Nungg waj-
(a-)wiři (Sff) wisjirli (N) wea
Syn: Rith: wiři-jirli
(la-)wiři- (N) see -jiri, -jiri
(la-)wiři- (N) see -jiri, -jiri
(la-)wiři- (Vitr) to go away (object associated with victim, to be used in black 
magic). (2) wiři-gu- (Vitr3b) (same meaning). Cogn: Warnd wiři
(la-)wiři (N) wire spear. Cogn: Rith, Warnd
(gu)-wiřiğál (N) type of spear. Wooden, two-pronged, with bars on the inside of both prongs. Cf. boko-. Cogn: Nungg
(la-)wirj (N) heart-beaked tortoise sp. Syn: gurjį. Cf. yalbyalbu, japata;
(la-)wirj (N) limestone
(la-)wirj (N) a bird, the white-rumped (yellow-throated) minor
withura (N) name of language and tribe on Groote Eyland
wirj-gu- (Vitr) Attested in 
(bun-)wirj-gu- (Vitr) (water) to splash. bun-wirj-gu- (Vitr- 
Caus) to make water splash. (Object is 'water
(la-)wirj-gu- (Vitr) to dig out of (stone) oven, to remove from oven or 
fire to open out (e.g. a folded blanket). Cdpd: buli- 
wirj-gu- (Vitr) to dig out (cooked meat or food) from oven or fire
(a-)wiřjį (N) dreaming, totem. Cf. Jićan. Cogn: Rith wiřjį
(a-)wiři (N) a parrot, the varied tortikeyt. Syn. warjewerey. Cogn: Nungg wirjį, Rith wiri-wirjį
(a-)wiraj (N) seaweed. (2) a seaweed-like plant with yellow 
flowers, growing in two or three boxes of freshater, (Urticaria bareala). Cf. purč 
wirj-gu- (Vitr) to whittle, (whistle or stream) to blow. Cogn: Rith wirj-gu-
viřj (N) other, different; 
viřj-umay (N) not different; the opposite. Cogn: wiri (Adv) (on the) other side, (on a) different side. mak-wirj (Adv) a different time; once again. Cf. gewal. Cogn: Rith 
(a-)wirar (N) fish hook
(a-)wirar (Vitr) to give. Object is recipient. Cogn: Nungg wiri-1/-u-
(“wu”), Warnd -wu, -wu. Cogn: Rith wirr (Sff) which? where? gu-wu: which one (GL class) gu-wi where? gu-wo: Where are you?
woč (Prf) together, both. Not common. bari-woč-girijul-pula (N) and two men. Note that here 
woč is redundant, since bari-
is MDu. Cf. also gača-
(gu-)woč (N) hunt in (fresh) 
water (for tortoises, file
snakes, etc.) gu-woč hargu-ga-
lyka-n di We used to engage in 
hunts in the water. gu-woč hargu-
gu-wiρu-gu-ji We used to go into the water (for) hunting. Cogn: Nungg: wadji- in wadji-
arma- go hunting for water game 
wə-gi see wo:
(gu-)woč (N) face 
wol (Dem) that. Rdp: wol- 
woč-woč. Cf. 
(gu-)wol (N) (clear) sky. Cogn: perhaps Nungg rgba-mud to 
become dark (at dusk), cf.
wur?-gu- (Vtrl) to take away; to pluck. Cpd: mar-wur?-gu- (Vtrl) to take away from; to steal (the wife) of. Object is the loser. ganqañja-wur?-gu- (Vtrl) to pluck emu feathers. Cogn: Rith wur?-yu- to pull out

(wur?)-work (N) a small bush fire (see by people). Cpd: ganj[ to other fires, including camp fires]. Cpd: cf. wajk-gu.

Cogn: Rith; Nungg wur; Warmlan
den (a-)wurpaq (N) pane. Cogn: Rith (gu-)wurpajik (N) stick, flat. Cf. wa[y].

war? (ma-)wur (N) abdomen

Cogn: Nungg wur; Mawng wur

(a-)wurpu (N) freshwater snake, probably Amphiesma mawng. Cogn: Rith; Nungg wurubu

(wur?)-urpu (N) a type of sea-grass eaten by dugong, 'dugong grass'. Cogn: Nungg

(a-)wur?wur (N) probably barn and marked oola. Also gu[ur].

Cogn: Nungg wurur

wur?uru (N) old person. Cogn: Ngalkon

wur?-gu- (Vtrl) to swallow. Cogn: Rith wur?-gu- to suck wur?-gu- (Vtrl) to throw spears

y

_ya?- (Prf) ga-ya-? if


yaku (N) missing, absent, not (at a place). ni-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-gi- (Vlinch) to disappear, to become extinct. Cogn: Warng yagug, Rith yaka; possibly Nungg yagug but

(0-)yakaj (N) a large wedge in coastal swamp, with edible rootstock, (Stipite littoralis).

Cogn: Nungg yagaj, Warrn yagaj

(a-)yakalyulu (N) a short-necked tortoise sp., probably Elesya dentata. Said to occur in "lime water" around Elsey Station. Cogn: Rith

yajugja (Nk) daughter's child. Cf. yajug. Cogn Nungg yajugja

yajuga (Nk) Optional variant of yajugja, with 1st person possessor

yaluk-gi- (Vlinch) to be hungry. Rdp: yalu-yaluk-gi-

Cogn: Rith

(ya-)jag (N) a small tree with large drooping yellow flowers, (Hibiscus tiliaceus). Cogn: Nungg and Rith ya[j].

yajug-gu- (Vtrl) to scatter, to spill out

yambe (Part) because. gunakujjik-[ un ga-ruju-], yambe ['ar-ju-

nyak-gi-] I because I am going tomorrow, you and I will not talk. Syn: aru. Cogn: Rith and Rith

yanaj (Adv) long ago; all along; all the while. malk-yanaj- burkayi (Adv) a very long time ago. Texts 12.25/48/55, 11.2/13/15.

(a-)yan (N) a groanter sp. (fish), probably the black-striped groanter Amelastia percoidea. Cogn: Nungg yany

(ya)-yaj (N) apeeh, word(s), sound, language. Cogn: Nungg yaj


yara (N) thief, buk-yara (N) habitual thief; yara-ma- (VTrl) contains ma- as get as auxiliary to steal. Cogn: Rith yara

(a-)yarama (N) horse. Cogn: Warng yarama-gu- (Vtrl) to attack spear to woman's, to hook up spear. Cogn: Rith yarama-gu-

(ya)-yara (N) to keep doing that. Cogn: gubu-yara-gu- (Vtrl) to keep doing that thing
yawah (Nk) older brother. Form used with 2nd and 3rd person pronoun. Rith made to occur in 'lime water' around Elsey Station. Cogn: Rith

(ya)-yleka (N) hole, jail. Cf. mir? yaleka- (Vtrl) to make a hole. Cf. yel. gie-yaleka-ci He made a hole

yale (Prf) thinking, truth, etc. (in compounds). Cdfs: cf. garu-, gamba?-gu-, ga-, varjaka.- Cogn: Nungg yale-

(ya-)ylariga (N) hawk sp. Cogn: Nungg yaliga

yikay (Vtrl) apply oneself to. Cdfs: ma-ika- (Vtrl) to taaste. Syn: mah- ga-bu (cf. ga-bu). gubu-yika- (Vtrl) to behave well, to know (all along). rum-a- (Vtrl) to know something about. gwa-yika- (Vtrl) to head for (place). Rdp: yiga-yiga-

yillong-gu- (Vtrl) to be open

yilm-a- (Vtrl)reg to do/aay/think like that. Often accompanied by gulu or gulu- inca. Cogn: Nungg yilma-?

yima? (N) a large dark cockroach sp. ('black beetle') found in fallen timber. Cogn: Rith warwerc

work (N)? Attested only in
gu-ga-work It is outside
gu-wokowk (N) light (in weight).

Cdp: mawrgu-wokowk (N) having light or thin scales

wok-gu- (Vtrl) to go fishing. Cdf. jibuk-gu-

wyo-yo-gu- (Vtrl) Attested in cpds: gure-yo-yo-? gu-yo- (Vtrl) to be asleep

-woyoy (Sf?o) mixed with, to
together with, ba-gin? wwoyoy?
together with women, ma-golu-wwoyoy? mixed with the stomach

(gu)-wubin (N) (smoking) pipe.

Syn: jaj

(gu)-wubia? (N) eatav. Cogn: Rith

(gu)-wukara (N) small toad. Cogn: Rith wukara

(gu)-wuclum (N) 'bush wire spear', the percursor of the modern

wire spear, with wooden instead of iron prongs

wulun- see munyu

wu-jup-gu- (Vtrl) to bathe; to be or become immersed in water

(a-)wunun (N) paper wappa. Cogn: Rith

(ma-), wunjan? (N) black plum tree, (Vitez glabrata). Cogn: Rith

His track lies here; ofere-ya- (Vintr) to be asleep or resting; giyu-yu- (Vintr) (appear) to be lying down. For Aux compounds see list under first element. Cogn: yun?gu-. Cogn: Nungg yirliyu- yu- (VTR1) to put on, to put in; to put down. Root form: yu?-yu- (Past Continuous), etc. beh-yu- (VTR4) to put on, to attach to. Object is thing to which something is attached. Cpd: qi-ju- (VTR) to put down (i.e. write down) the name of yu?-yu- (Vintr1) to tell a lie. Cogn: warjaka-. Cogn: Rich yu?yu?-yu- (qi)-yuqojai (N) honey bee, (Trigona ept.). Corr: Nungg miqiqojai. Cogn: Rich yu? (N) human; Aborigiene; man. Cpd: qi-(yu)-yuqojai (N) really good man. Cogn: Rich yu-! (ma)-yumuji (N) a shrub with edible fruit(s), (Bleoypus ept.) yuq- see jopiwi-gu-qui-yuq (Sf) Absolute suffix; see grammar (4.9) yuryur-gu- (VTR1) to dodge (e.g. epeare)

**LEXICAL DOMAINS LISTS**

**FLORA** (gu-ganda?, gu-mulmu, gu-noojo?, etc.)

(a) water titites and their parts: ma-bokoi, ma-burpa?, ma-burpa?-baj? ma-bijai, ma-dam, ma-giri, ma-guruq, ma-guyk, gu-jowji, ma-jiriilii, ma-riio.

(b) other aquatics plants: a-jaafaqaq?, ma-jaakkiljil, ma-gurq, ma-wirryai, ma-wuruq.


(d) grasses and similar herbs: gu-bilinjirli, gu-bingay, gu-bunbaalial, gu-darln, gu-galal, gu-godolbor, ma-jain, a-maniman, ma-mamon, ma-niinyi, gu-nilgul, gu-nyagall, gu-nuyar, gu-tuwur.

(e) vines and other small plants: gu-barassamur (wtillc cucumber), ma-barassamur, ma-gailliq (okhild), gu-galkaj (isiga), ma-gailliq (grape), ma-gailliq, ma-gailliq (bloodroot), ma-ganubukak (aloe), a-gilil (pascoenforrut), a-gumum, a-gurraaastos (ma-jarkur, gu-arkil, ma-nurnah, ma-nuqag, gu-mailet (oasat-tail), gu-najik (goosebery), gu-nuruji (wtillc banana), a-gilkara.

(f) paperbark trees: gu-bararaay, gu-biipi, gu-gila, gu-guka, gu-gujt, gu-muljum, gu-jurwool, gu-jurunbar, gu-jarakal.

(g) wattle: ma-bajara, ma-borol, gu-gomotom, ma-gukal, ma-gurtii, ma-gaypaaj, ma-juji (lanwood), ma-muffij, ma-wambo.

(h) eucalypt: gu-jaraak (ghost gum), gu-gili, ma-garaak, gu-gumaaj (bloodwood), gu-gajagayk (stringybark), gu-gaaj, gu-gorcqor, ma-gurajaj, gu-ma-gurajaj, ma-gajaj, gu-nolongo? (wtillc red gum), ma-nuru, ma-nuru, ma-nuru.

(i) palm, ayood: pandanus: gu-galaj (fan palm), ma-gatara (ooco-nut), gu-munga and ma-gunjak (pandanus), gu-jajak (fan palm), ma-jonpo (palm), mo-moyon (ayood), gu-gekkanka (palm), ma-jaal (ayood), ma-rok (pandanus).
ENGLISH-NGANDI SUPPLEMENTARY INDEX

A
abseent yaku (N)
afraid guřjiki- (Vintrića)
afternoon ḡágabarq? (Adv)
ahead rak! (Adv)
almost bɪgič- (Prf)
alone gor? (N)
always munyʉ? (Adv)
angry muŋ-gu (Vintrić)
antmound gu-buʔ (N)
anyway warmbeya (Part)
appear see go out
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a-mumbɛ? (N)

B
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-gərgreg? (Sfl), wəgar (N)
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E

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F

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G

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H

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(nor?) mek-gi (VIntr1),
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(VIntr1)

I

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immersee see go into water
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J

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under -gaiga-)
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L

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middle jiruga (Adv)
mlik gu-nam (N)

Hilki Way ma-bubumuru? (N), ma-jirala (N)
moon, month n?i-gurana (N),

P

point see rub on, clay, oohre paperkax gu-ga? (N)
pases see go past
path mo-molo (N)
peneon yul (N)
pick up see get
picture gu-wa? (N)
pile joni/jongai? (VTr2)
pipe gu-ja? (N), gu-wubin (N)
poetry mar-bu? (VTr)
place see country
plait, flat country gu-mayama
(N), gu-wara? (N), gu-wa? (N)
play gai?ma? (N)
play ga?mai (VTr)
pluck war?gu? (VTr)
point, spikke a-bij? (N)
,a-jima? (N), gu-mere? (N)
police goila? (VTr2),
(Mirriga)
poor jarky? (VTr)
pout gu?gu? (VTr)
pour, spill jululu?gu? (VTr)
pj?gu? (VTr), jor?gu? (VTr)

poverty, like, fine mo? (N)
proprietary gamaka? (Adv),
Jga? (VTr2), yir?ga? (VTr2)
(Rirreg)

Q

queue golkoik?gu? (VTr)

R

rain a-akh (N), war?gu? (VTr)
roan a-mu? (N)
Irreg
reed jirik (N)
rest see sleep
return waki? (VTr)
revenge (bag-i?gama?gu? (VTr)
Ben)
ri?ga see cooked
river gu-baipa (N)
road see path
road see cook
root gu-waa? (N)
road see string
rough garkax (N)
rub on, apply yowk-ga? (VTr2)

run buna? (VTr)
rush along see run

s

sand gu-wambu (N)
say that see do that
scale gu-ma? (N)
scatter yar?gu? (VTr)
scoot buyuy-ga? (VTr)
scoope yir?gu? (VTr)
scooteh dy?gu? (VTr)
seea j?y?gu? (VTr)
seea yu?gu? (VTr)
set (out) yi?gu? (VTr)
several, few, gupol (Sf), gujupur
(N), marilak (N)
shade (ceremonial) gu-jyur (N)
shake mar?gu? (VTr)
shell gu-ba (N) (‘sheat’),
gu-nojan (N)
shift (in seat) jor?gu? (VTr)
shoot gua? (VTr)
short gubu? (N), gubu? (N),
gu? (N), jor? (N)
shortout gipoj? (Adv)
shoo gu? (VTr)
shy banjar?gu? (VTr)
stick gu? (VTr), mu?g-ahi
sidra (VTr)
sidra (Bpf), gu-gen (N),
gu-geik (N), gu-yolbor (N)
sing biji?gu? (VTr)
Egun guj? (VTr)

eat see sleep
skin (verb) guja? (Bpf)

sky gu-wono (N)
sleep, rest ma? (N), kaligo-
(VTr), run?gu? (VTr)
wooy?gu? (VTr), yu? (VTr)

smol (yma) get-gu? (VTr)
small gaku (N), gi?rikirii? (Sf)
smol bogu? (VTr), bu? (Prf),

smol yu? (VTr)
smoke gu? (Bpf)

snack mayi see flee
sneak up bu? (Bpf)

178

179
take out wiru?-gu- (VTr1)
talk see speak
tall see long
tapistick ma-bi?mir (N)
taste ma?h? (Prf) (see also test)
tall bir?2?gu- (VTr1)
twiddle mound see antmound
test ga:-bu- (VTr1), (ma?h)-yika- (VTr1)
thik nqanu? (N)
thief yara (N)
thing see busines
think glya? (Part), (yaq)-na- (VIntr)
throw geyk-ga- (VTr2) (see also spear)
tie earp-gu- (VTr1), kuq-gu- (VTr1)
timbo majk- (Prf)
tire gorkogor-gu- (VTr1)
tobaaco- gu-gambaku (N)
today see now
together jai?ca (Prf)
tomahawk see axe
touch gir?2?gu- (VTr1)
track see track
trail gu-bi?a2 (N), gu-wang (N)
trap (for fish) gu-ulu (N)
tree, wood gu-ganda? (N), gu-wal (N)
true maki- (VIntr3a)
try see test
turn over bujet-gu- (VIntr1)
twilight garpar-gi- (VIntr1)
twist biyr-gu- (VTr1)
twister see whirlwind
two yapan? (N)

U

uweiru-no robin gazaku (N)
up garkala- (Adv), wala- (Adv)
urinate worca- (VIntr2)

V

vainly -gari?- (Prf)
vegetable food gu-gakidi? (N),
ma-qi? (N)
vomit we?2gu- (VIntr1)

W

walking stick gu-jumbe?umbaj (N)

want jai-ji- (VIntr1) (see also like)
warrior, war party jumra (N)
water bun- (Prf), gu-jak (N)
war, semen a-bigi (N), ma-gala?an? (N)
well (water) gu-yorom (N)
wet na?i (Adv)
wet jai? (N)
what's? bishara (Adv), jara (N)
whirlwind, twister ni-bijugu (N)
whistle wir?-gu- (VIntr1)
white barf?i2 (N)
White (European) monaga (N),
monaga (N)
wide wajakur (N)
will jai? (N), jai?mber (N),
na? quar-gu- (VIntr1)
wind a-bara (N), mo-nongo (N),
mo-go?ji2 (N)
winter see cold
wood gu-ya? (N) (see also story)
y

yamattak ma-jaka? (N)
yesterday see afternoon
yong see small
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 mulgaranga (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 magulp (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 magulp ritual, which is the most important ritual in the Ngandi, Nunggubuyu, and Ritharrngu 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 Ritharrngu-speaking clans are constantly referred to, the Nunggubuyu and Warnarang 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 Ritha ngu 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 Wadebuy 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 rituel 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 3PeYa/3Plm, which means third feminine singular subject and first plural inclusive object. An example:

baru-ga-maka-na
3Pl/3MaBg-Sub-oal1-Pr
Here baru- is glossed by 3Pl/3MaBg, -ga- by Sub, -maka- by oal1, 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 interlines 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 (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
-nou-

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 nou 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/3MaBg-
By means of these conventions the reader can determine which morpheme corresponds to which gloss in the interlinear. However, there is another twist. Sometimes it is desirable to gloss two or more morphemes with a single item in the interlinear. This is done as follows:

\[ \text{mala?-12-wolo} \]

\[ \text{at that time} \]

Since there are no hyphens in the interlinear, the reader should not connect at with mala?-, that with -12-, 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?-12-wolo, there is no hyphen after at that time, so this gloss is assumed to cover not only mala?-, but the entire expression mala?-12-wolo.

There is an occasional instance of a more complicated type, as in this example:

\[ \text{pa-ki?-2-bugl?} \]

\[ \text{there -only} \]

Here the notation is intended to show that there is the gloss for pa-ki?-2-, whereas -only glosses -bugl?-. If we had wanted there to gloss only pa-, we would have put a hyphen directly after there:

\[ \text{pa-ki?-2-bugl?} \]

\[ \text{there - only} \]

In this instance -ki- and -2- would be unglossed.

If we had wanted there to gloss only pa-, and only to gloss the sequence -ki?-2-bugl?, we would have used this representation:

\[ \text{pa-ki?-2-bugl?} \]

\[ \text{there-only} \]

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 -2- and -bugl? 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 pa-ki-rl 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

\[ \text{baru-yo-pana} \]

\[ \text{SPL/3M45g-put in-P} \]

the element -yo- is glossed by put in. The reader should not connect put with -yo- and in with -pana.

In some instances the dummy label Ø has been used in the interlinear where a more precise gloss is difficult or irrelevant. Thus the morpheme -y- found in some demonstrative forms, and which cannot be assigned a simple, grammatically significant label, is usually glossed as -Ø.

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-)jerk is glossed as water even in contexts where it means, liquid, 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 sang a song - Oooa! 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-wilmur, gu-wulcum baika haru-ge-?-yaw-gu-ql, A-wire spear GU-wood spear before IPI21/3M45g-Sub-Dar-e spear-Aug-PCon a-jeh-ql bara-ga-ya-gu-ql, gu-wulcum-gu A-fish-Abs SPL/A- GU-wood spear-Infet We used to spear (a person) before (with) a wire spear, or rather a wulcum spear (prototype of the wire spear, made with wooden point). They used to spear fish with wulcum spears.

1.2

gu-wulcum-gu ba-ga-bu-yql-ql ba-yul-yu, 3Pl/Sub-Hit-Root-PCon Pl-person-Abs
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

Gačweleń-un, ba-ga-giće-ńi buluki?-yun, ma-jangiřič then-Abе SPL/Sub-poison fish-PCon as well-Abе Ma-marble tree
bargu-ma-ńi,1 ba-giće-ńi a-jeh-ńi a-ja-watil-ńi, a-hja SPL/Gi-get-Pcon A-fish-Abе A-now-die-Pcon A-what?
Ga-kł-? a-lepäl, a-bīgaraña?, a-mir̆iči, a-warma, there A-peroh sp. A-peroh sp. A-barramandž A-ōtfish sp.
a-jombok-ńun, a-murka?-ńun, a-wareč-ńuŋ, a-watil-ńi, A-ōtfish sp.-Abе A-bream-Abе A-rainbowfish-Abе A-die-Pcon
ma-jangiřič-guńun, Ma-marble tree-Orig
Also they poisoned fish. They got (branches of) marble tree (Cenoria vermicola) and poisoned the fish (by throwing the branches into a pond). The fish died, all kinds (a-hja ga-kł-?) of them — peroh, otfish, barramandž, bream (spangled peroh), rainbowfish. They died because of the marble tree.

1.7

Ba-ga-guń-ńi gu-gawal-giće-ńun, gu-jark-ńun SPl/Sub-go-Pcon Gu-country-All-Abе Gu-water-Abе
Ba-ga-bun-ńun, gu-gawal-giće-ńun ba-ga-guń-ńi, SPL/Sub-water-eat-Pcon Gu-country-All-Abе
Bara-čič--git-lže, ma-jangiřič-bugl? bečn SPL/A-look-for-Aug-Aug-P Ma-marble tree-only that’s all
Bara-ga-ma-ńi, ma-jara buluki?-yun, SPL/Ma-sub-get-Pcon Ma-what’s it? as well-Abе
Ma-goći, barma-ga-ma-ńi, a-jeh-ńun, Ma-freshwater mangrove SPL/Ma/Sub-get-Pcon A-fish-Dat-Abе
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-ėt?, fresh-water mangroves (Barringtonia acutangula), for fish.

1.8

Nuri-ń-un ba-ga-guń-ńi, baki-č-ńun ba-ga-guń-ńi, Naorh-All-Abе SPL/Sub-go-Pcon south-All-Abе

1Should be barma-ma-ńi with Ma object.
They went north and south. They got only marble trees (and freshwater mangroves), nothing else. (That is what) they poisoned fish (with).

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.

I will talk about fire as well. There were no matches. They got sticks, they made sparks with firestrokes, and put (the firestrokes) 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.

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).

Collecting Food

Ironwood and freshwater mangrove, we call them 'ganda' (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).
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

A girl, a jarra, we (IKEz)/other IKEz/A-sub look for Aug-PCon A-euro A-what's it?

A-urpu, a jarra buluk? yung, a bakara yung, A-emu A-what's it? also-Ab a tortoise sp., -Ab

A-jara yung A-what's it? -Ab IKEz/A-sub call -Fr

A-jara a-wi, ma mulupitga yung arma-neg yung A-tortoise sp., MA-tortoise sp., -Ab IKEz/MA-still eat-PCon

We (men) went hunting after euros, and what's it, emus, and also what's it, long-necked tortoises (Chelodina trivagula). We call them what's it, 'bakara'. Also short-necked tortoises (probably Gymdura sp.), and smelly tortoises. We used to eat them.

2.7

A-bili re-yung also-Ab A-what's it? -Ab A-file snake-Ab

A-neg bu-ni, A-neg wajugua yung 1PL/in/A-sub -killa -Aug-PCon 1PL/in/A-get-PCon

A-urpu yung 1PL/in/A-sub eat Aug-PCon -Sub -A-kind that


A-neg yung, guwah -git -A-neg -Aug -PCon 1PL/in/A-sub eat Aug-PCon

We also killed what's it?, file snakes (Aerocordis javanica), 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

A bird, a jarra, we (IKEz)/A-sub look for Aug-PCon A-euro A-what's it?

A-mo-wol, a-wi, ma burpa yung, MA-water lily root -Ab

We also killed what's it?, file snakes (Aerocordis javanica), 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.
At this point there was a two-minute interruption as a vehicle approached. When Sam resumed the narrative he changed the subject.
We call this wire spear 'wil'ur', belonging to Whites (i.e. made with iron prongs). We have abandoned stone spears and old-fashindoned wooden-bladed spears, long ago. We still have wire spears, we always keep (using) those wire spears.

2.16

buluki? a-munriŋ nara-ga-maŋiŋ?, a-munriŋ-ung also A-shovel spear IPLEx/A-sub-make A-shovel spear-Ab
ma-gami-giŋ nara-ya-gana, buluki? a-wil'ur-mung MA-spear shaft-All IPLEx/A-put on-Pr also A-wire-spear-Ab
nara-ya-gana ma-gami-giŋ, a-bigí nara-ja-maŋiŋ?, IPLEx/A-put on-Pr MA-spear shaft-All A-wax IPLEx/A-now-make
nara-ya-gana ma-gami-giŋ, a-bigí nara-ja-maŋiŋ?, IPLEx/A-put on-Pr MA-spear shaft-All A-wax IPLEx/A-now-make

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

nara-ya-guŋ-ní a-jeŋ-ung nara-ja-yaw gamakun?, IPLEx/A-shovel-gana-PCon A-fish-Ab IPLEx/A-now-spear properly
a-wil'ur-mung-yung buluki?--yung a-girk-ung nara-ja-yaw, A-wire spear-Inst-Ab aalso-Ab IPLEx/A-now-spear

We went along and really speared fish properly with wire spears. We also speared euras 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-yiŋ-na mo-wolo-ung, ba-yul-yung, GU-that IPLEx/A-shovel-Hit-Recip-Pr MA-that-Inst Fl-Aboriginal-Ab

Actually, stone tomahawks are properly called 'jeler', but this term and mumba? can be interchanged.
They fight with these (hook spears), the Aboriginals do. We go along, we make woomeeras. We prepare the wood. We chop down a tree, then we make it, we make the woomeera.

2.19

They fight with these (hook spears), the Aboriginals do. We go along, we make woomeeras. We prepare the wood. We chop down a tree, then we make it, we make the woomeera.

2.20

We have not abandoned woomeeras, all of us, the Aboriginals, certainly keep (using) them.

2.21

This Ngandi (country), we have abandoned them, we have abandoned stone spears. Only what we call 'wiljmur' (wire spear) do we keep. They are good, we tried them out and they were good for fish.

2.22

We also go fishing (with line and hook). We go fishing with what's-it?, the thing belonging to Whetta, we go fishing then. We go fishing and catch fish. We abandoned them (stone spears) long ago.

2.23

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

We also go fishing (with line and hook). We go fishing with what's-it?, the thing belonging to Whetta, we go fishing then. We go fishing and catch fish. We abandoned them (stone spears) long ago.

The narrator first used the wrong noun-class of the object (Nargu-ja-maqin?), then corrected himself.

1The term ngaga refers to honey as a substance. The term gun (cf. Text 2.22) is a general word for honey, honey bees, wax, bee hives, and so forth.
The White man (told us). 'You should not fight,' he said. 'You will leave (spear) behind, you will keep (using) only rifles,' the White man said.

We keep only rifles. We go hunting, we kill aurochs, brolgas, plains turkeys, and emus with rifles. We can hear all kinds of things (t-ña-ja pa-ki?-yun), we kill them with rifles only (after locating them by hearing them).

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 clauses 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-díla-gíč as the object of -yuyá?-yu-č (it is the object of hargu-ja-wań-č).

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.
As for us, (we lived) there to the north. That country, warpani, Ngaandi (country) there. That (country) to the east belongs to someone else. To the west (liksewise) to someone else. This way (a long way) to the north (liksewise) to someone else. We (lived) in the middle (i.e. a short distance to the north) we who speak Ngaandi.

We also get marble trees (Owelia vernicosa). We throw (scrapings from) the bark (and) of the wood into water. We scrape (wood of) marble trees.

They get the wood of buguga tree (Clerodendrum florigenatum) — 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.

1Here bargu- should be barma-; note the correction following. Once again the narrator confused Allative gu-jar-kič with the direct object; cf. footnote on page 200).
ma-ga-bu?ku-gi-na, buluki?-yuŋ ḋar-ja-wu?up,
Ma-Sub-ripe-Inak-Ink-Fr also-ABS
IPE?Ew-now-bathe
ba-ga-wu?up-gu-ni gu-gu?ja?-gu, buluki?-yuŋ
SPL-Sub-bathe-Aug-Fr GU-gain-That also-ABS
GU-group-other-ABS SPL-water-eat-Fr GU-body-dat
boŋ gu-ja-wo?o-bu?bi?, gu-bush medicine-yuŋ, gu-ja-yaku
that's all GU-now-only dat
buluki?-yuŋ gu-yaku.
also-ABS GU-abseent

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 medici-
one (we used). There is none any longer.

TEXT 4 (Sam)

Fishing Techniques

4.1
 Notícias-ye?, beri-le-ya-či?ni 'gu-wo:
IPE?Ew-Sub-tear_PR IPE?Ew-mind-hear-PR GU-which?
GU-river-ABS A-fish-Dat-ABS A-meat-ABS where?
ğara-ga-ni-yuŋ, ńar-ugu-ni gu-wo?o-gi?či,
IPE?EwSub-get-PUT IPE?Ew-go-PR GU-which-ABS
We sleep, then get up. We think, 'Which billabong, for fish? Where
will we get meat? We are going to that (billabong).'

4.2
IPE?Ew-go-PR GU-river IPE?Ew-gu-now-see-PR GU-small-DEM
MA-what's it?-ABS GU-river IPE?Ew-gu-see-PR IPE?Ew-owouch
mai-ka-li?uŋ ńar-ju?u?, ńara-man-i-ma-ni ńara-geyku,
ńara-ge?? yk gu-ni?n, that's all

We go and see the river, a small one. We see the river and catch
fish by crowhucking in it (and grabbing the fish). We get (fish), we
throw them (onto the bank), and that is that.

4.3
times-some-ABS GU-stone IPE?Ew/GU-put in-Fr
IPE?Ew-mak-ABS dam-Fr then
IPE?Ew-Sub-make dam-Fr
ńar-wo?o gu-ba?pa-yuŋ gu-wo?o ńar?u-ya-či?ni "em up,
GU-that GU-river-ABS IPE?Ew/GU-block
ńar-wo?o, bu-ma-yaŋ, bu-ba?pa-yuŋ,
IPE?Ew/GU-block-Aug-Fr

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-stone IPE?Ew/GU-put in-Fr there other side
here middle-ABS -now-
GU-what's it?
gu-jundo, gu-jundo gu-kara-yaŋ gu-ja-ga-du gu-ja-ga-du
GU-stone above GU-now-sit-PR GU-water-ABS
ũ-ki?, ġar?u-yaŋ, here 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
then-ABS GU-stringybark IPE?Ew/GU-get-Fr
IPE?Ew/GU-put on-PR DR from there also-ABS
first GU-grass GU-what's it?
GU-paperbark
GU-Sub-sit-PR IPE?Ew/GU-Sub-put on-Fr

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).
Then we open it up, they make a hole (in the middle of the dam). Then we put a long section of stringy bark, like a didjeridu (i.e. in tube-like form). We put it along from here. It is big now. It is like a coolim (a paperbark die). We put it on, we attach it to the side (of the dam).

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.

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.

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.

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).
Travelling and Collecting Vegetables, Honey and Eggs

5.1

غاچوکوئش-ین ba-jor?, gu-wiri-gu-sh, ba-rudu-nil,...
then-Abs SPL-now-shift GU-other-All SPL-go-Abs

ماگا gu-jark bargu-ga-či, gu-jarq bargu-ga-či,
maybe GU-water SPL/GU-seep

با-ماغ? gu-ni gu-jarq gu-wagarr, gu-ni?
SPL-look-Abs GU-huge GU-hate Bu GU-water-rush-Aug-Pr

gu-garpoi, 'gu-ger?ger gar-ima-ran?',1
GU-big GU-strong IPLIN-do that-Put-

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?'

1A fuller form here would be 'gu-ger?ger, miri gar-ima-ran?'. The interrogative particle miri is usually found with the verb -(y)ma- in the 'to do what?' construction.

5.2

gu-wali dumur?, gu-wali-yun bač gu-wanar, ba-ja-wor-gu-nil
GU-wood break off -Abe get GU-huge SPL-now-melt-Aug-Pr

gu-woloi, gu-wa-gow: darguna?, gekey, ba-bir manga?
gu-wa-gow: GU-fish-Ind GU-wa-gow: other side throw PI-many maybe
ba-ja-wor-gu-nil, gu-woloi ba-na-wa-wa-ki
SPL-built GU-that SPL-still-return-Abs GU-Wood-Ind-Aug-Pr

(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-canoe-yun ma-yaku, gu-wali-yu gu-woloi-yu
MA- -Abe MA-absent GU-Wood-Ind GU-that-ABS

Rar-ga?-wor-gu-nil, gu-wali-yu, gu-jarq-yun manga?,
IPELI-sub-Gu-test-Aug-PCon GU-Wood-Ind GU-water-ABS maybe

gu-wagarr, har-uyu-nil: har-wagarr, mo-jorjo-gi-yu,
GU-huge IPELI-go-Abs IPELI-look GU-mud-Loo-ABE

Raru-ruc?, gu-woloi-yu1 mo-jorjo-yu ma-wagarr-yu,
IPELI/GU-bypass GU-that-ABS MA-mud-AbE MA-huge-AbE

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

maqga? ga-ki-ñ har-ga-uyu-qa, har-uyu-qa, har-uyu-qa
maybe GU-ga IPTLI-sub-Gu-test-Abs

Har-uyu-qa, gu-woloi gu-jolko-yu gu-garqger-gi-ña
GU-that GU-ground-AbE GU-sub-Gu-Inh-AbE

Har-uyu-nil, gu-mak, gu-jolko-mak, gu-woloi-yu bulky,
IPELI-go-Abs GU-good GU-ground-good GU-that-ABS alright

Har-uyu-nil, har-garqguy-ñi har-wagarr-ñi gu-gaiwag-qi-yu,
IPELI-go-Abs IPELI-sub-Gu-test-Aug-Pr IPELI-look-Aug-Pr GU-mud-Loo-ABE

Maybe we sleep there, 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.

1In this and the preceding word the GU class was incorrectly used for the MA class.
They get round yams (Dioscorea esculenta var. rotundata) 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.

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 they cooked.

We are 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 yam.

They are going now (looking) for vegetable food instead of meat, for water lily root crops, fruits, and stems—we eat that. The women go into the water, (that work) is for women. Maybe they get guyk (Apomocoton elongatus), we eat that. Maybe water lily fruits and root crops (of the principal water lily spp.), we eat that.

They get up and leave. We are going now (looking) for vegetable food instead of meat, for water lily root crops, fruits, and stems—we eat that. The women go into the water, (that work) is for women. Maybe they get guyk (Apomocoton elongatus), we eat that. Maybe water lily fruits and root crops (of the principal water lily spp.), we eat that.

Mango? guumuk, barma-ma-ni:: gu-ni-n that's all SPL/Sub-rise SPL/Sub-rise that's all

Gu-gii-gi ch barma-ja-yo-qla, gu-wo-1o-yn GU-oo-col-te ALL SPL/Sub-rise SPL/Sub-rise SPL/Sub-rise SPL/Sub-rise SPL/Sub-rise SPL/Sub-rise
Maybe at night they get up and get (the round yams). They put them in cool/mane. 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

NI-honey-own(PL,Ez)  IPE Laz-ag-Pe-f  IPE Laz-now-dig -Sub-
qi-guña  Ḷar-ja-qa-čeini,  Ḷar-ga-gawe,  gu-Joko-wala-yuñ,
NI-honey  IPE Laz/NI-sub-see-Pr  IPE Laz-now-go-Pr  GU-ground-Ab1-Ab
we watch the bees. We look for bees. Then we look for bees disappearing (into their hives). We look for what 'it's', for beemau, 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?-yuñ  garkala-w  Ḷar-qa-qa-čeini  Ḷar-ja-go-ni,
also-Ab  above  IPE Laz/NI-sub-see-Pr  IPE Laz-now-chop-Pr
a-numba?-yuñ,  Ḷar-qa-qa-čeini,  Ḷar-ja-qa-čeini,  Ḷar-ga-qa-čeini,
A-metal axe-Intat  IPE Laz-sub-go-Pr  IPE Laz-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

qi-guña?  Ḷar-qa-qa-čeini
then  GU-sub-sen-Inch-Pr  IPE Laz/GU-sub-see-Pr
gu-ga-wal-i-na,  gu-ja-qa-qa-juñ,  yanac,  Ḷar-ja-qa-čeini
GU-nów-egg-Dat  long time  IPE Laz-now-go-Pr
gu-ga-qa-juñ,  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

qi-guña?  Ḷar-qa-qa-čeini
then  GU-sub-sen-Inch-Pr  IPE Laz/GU-sub-see-Pr
qi-guña?  IPE Laz-ag-Pe-f  IPE Laz-now-go-Aug-Pr
we look for bees. Then we look for bees disappear-
IPE Laz-sub-go-Pr  IPE Laz-now-go-Aug-Pr
ing (into their hives). We look for what 'it's', for beemau, 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.

1GU class forms are used here twice incorrectly for NI class forms (gu-walo-yuñ, gu-jara-yuñ).
2Should be qi-bot, and the narrator corrects his mistake in the next word.
Hunting and Cooking Emu

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.

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.

We might sleep for three nights (at one camp). Then we get up early in the morning, right at dawn. We think, 'I'm going (hunting) for emus.' We go looking for tracks. We see jerererei bush (Bovetia bovetiioides), we go looking around buruburu? vine (Casenthes filliformis). (Emus eat the fruits of these plants.)

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.
gamekun-burkayi ḡara-ga-yaw, gu-wiripu-may? ḡara-ga-yaw, properly-really IPE/other-spear GU-other-spear

gu-garpič-gi-burkayi ḡara-ga-yaw, ḡar-ga-wut, GU-upper-leg-Loc-really IPE/other-spear

ḡar-ja-ram-ga-ni ḡar-garpič-gi bugan? a-garpič-gonk IPE/other-spear-Aug-Pr

a-ga-wop-gu-nil, a-ja-rukba-n-nil, 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 leg break, they jump and fall down.

6.7
'a-wareʔ-ñaṅga ḡara-ga-gu-nun', ḡar-ima-naʔ?, A-game-my IPE/A-Sub-eat-Put IPE/other-think-Pt-∅

ḡar-ja-miŋem?, ḡara-ga-ganda-garp ḡara-ga-maga-garp, IPE/other-now-pleased IPE/A-Sub-leg-tie up

ḡa-ga-diyii?, bata-gaganaŋaʔ-wič ḡar-uyu-nil... IPE/A-Sub-now-carry Com-feather-having IPE/other-go-Pr

We think, 'It is my game. I will eat it.' We are pleased. We tie up their legs and neck, and carry them (on our shoulders) with their feathers still on their bodies.

6.8
'ni-kiʔ? mgaŋa ḡara-ga-gaʔ-gu-ŋ, ni-kiʔ? here maybe IPE/A-Sub-roast-Aug-Put

ḡara-ga-gaʔ-gu-ŋ, ḡar-ima-naʔ?, ḡar-ja-ylma-naʔ?, IPE/other-think-Pt-∅ IPE/other-now-think-Pt-∅

gu-bal guyek, gu-bal-yun ḡargu-ja-ma-nil, gu-bal GU-firewood throw -AbE IPE/A-Sub-get-Pr

ḡargu-ja-nil gu-nil-∅, ḡar-ja-ga, ḡar-ga-ga, IPE/other-now-see firewood stick that's all IPE/other-now-see firewood stick

ḡar-ja-gul-guba-na gu-ŋoʔ-yun baŋ, IPE/A-Sub-light-Care-Aug GU-graze-AbE get

gu-ŋoʔ-gi bop, ḡar-ja-gu?, gu-bal-yun gu-ganij ḡu- Township put on IPE/A-Sub-blow GU-that GU-fire-AbE

ḡargu-ja-yo-ga-na, gu-ganij-yuŋ, gu-ja-way?, gu-bal-yun IPE/A-Sub-now-put-on-Pr GU-now-spread

gu-ganij yanači gu-ga-nil gu-bal-yun, gu-bal-yun long time GU-burn-Pr

The narrator says, 'Okay I will roast it here, I will roast it here.' We throw firewood on the fire and we get firewood now. We get firewood, then we rub firewoodstick. When we rub the firewood we set fire to the grass. We get grass, we put the flames on the grass and blow. We put the flames in (the fire), the fire spreads, the firewood burns for a long time, the firewood burns now.

6.9
yanači ma-jet-ŋe ḡar-ja-tuɣu-nil, gu-buŋ long time GU-oven-All IPE/A-Sub-now-go-Pr GU-antmound

ḡar-u-ga-nil, gu-junu-ʔmaʔ?, gu-buŋ, ḡargu-ma-nil IPE/A-Sub-get-Pr GU-stone-AbE IPE/A-Sub-get-Pr

gu-nil-∅, ḡar-ga-waki-na, ḡargu-ja-ya-ŋa-∅ that's all IPE/A-Sub-return-Pr IPE/A-Sub-now-put-in-Pr

gu-bal-gi garka-la-w, gu-bal-ga-nil gu-wol-o-yuŋ GU-firewood-Loc above GU-now-burn-Pr GU-that-AbE

gu-buŋ-juŋ, GU-antmound-AbE

We go away for a while to (find materials for) a native oven. We get (shanks 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.

6.10

gu-nil-∅, ḡar-uyu-nil gu-baŋa-gi baŋ, mo-joŋjo-yn, that's all IPE/A-Sub-go-Pr GU-river-LoC get Ma-dry mud-AbE

mo-joŋjo-yn baŋ ḡar-ga-ma-nil, ḡar-ja-ŋi-ku-yow-ka-ga-nav IPE/A-Sub-get-Pr IPE/A-Sub-now-raw-AbE-Aug-Pr

ḡar-ja-ŋi-ku-yoː-waː IPE/A-Sub-now-raw-AbE-Aug-Pr

o-wol-o-yuŋ a-wurŋa-gu, ḡar-ja-buŋu-ya-ga-ŋa-∅ IPE/A-Sub-now-raw-AbE-Aug-Pr

A-Sub-smooth A-Sub-appear

1This and the preceding word have been emended. The narrator incorrectly used -buku- 'cooked, ripe' instead of -ŋi- 'raw, unripe; dead'.

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We plug the emu feathers, then we go to the river and get some drying mud. We get the mud and rub it on the raw (emu). Then we searoch it (to seal the skin) on an open fire. We searoch that emu. It comes out (from the fire) with a clean surface.

6.11

Nara-ja-geyk-qa-ni, bap Ṛara-yo-ŋana,
IPA/go/a-now-throw-Aug-Pr put on IPA/go/a-put on-Pr

gu-jara-ŋ-yun gu-manjär-ŋ-gi-yun gu-manjär-ŋ-yun
GU-what's it-Loo-Abs GU-leaf-Loo-AbS

Raru-ga-ma-ni, gu-wolo-gi gu-manjär-ŋ-gi, Ṛara-ja-yo-ŋana,
IPA/go/GU-sub-get-Pr GU-that-Loo -now-

yanači gu-jara-yun, yanači gu-jara-yun, Ṛaru-ga-yo-ŋana
long time GU-what's it-Abs IPA/go-

buiki-ŋ-yun, gu-geje-ŋ-yun, gu-geje? Ṛaru-ga-ma-ni,
also-Abs GU-paperbank-Abs

Raru-ga-yo-ŋana, Ṛaru-ga-ma-ni.

We throw it down, we put it on what'e-it?, on leaves (branches with leaves) which we get. We put it on the leaves. Then we get paperbank also and put it on (the emu).

6.12

a-jara-yun, bat a-jara-yun, manga? knife, manga?
A-whats it?-Abs get maybe

a-jara-yun gu-jundu-yun manga?, Ṛara-ja-gak, qi-ki?,
GU-stone-Abs IPA/go/a-now-out here

mo-wor-ŋ-may? Ṛara-ja-gak, gu-ŋeṭ?-ŋ-gi-bugli? qi-ki?
MA-belly-Loo-Neg -Sub- GU-heart-Loo-only here

garkš-garkša-w, Ṛara-ja-gak, Ṛaru-qa::k gu-ni-R,
Ráp -on top that's all

(We get) what's it?, maybe a knife, maybe a stone (blade). We cut it open – not in the belly, rather higher up here, around the heart. We cut into it.

6.13

geyk, ma-ŋuŋ-yun, Ṛama-geyk-qa-ni,
throu MA-gute-Abs IPA/go/Ma-throw-Aug-Pr

Ṛama-gurgur-bu-mana:: gu-ni-R, gu-jara-yun,
IPA/go/Ma-pull out gute-Aug-Pr that's all GU-what's it?-Abs

gu-ŋeṭ?-ŋ-yun, gu-ŋeṭ?-ŋ-yun Ṛaru-ŋa-wuţ-a-na gu-giwh-bugli?
GU-heart-Abs IPA/go/GU-leave-Pr GU-liver-only

ma-ŋuk-qaie, ma-jaara ma-wuro-yińuŋ, Ṛaru-ga-ma-ni,
MA-gute-mother MA-what's it? MA-abdomen-Rel IPA/go/Ma-sub-get-Pr

We remove the guts. We pull out the intestines. We leave the heart (in the body), we take out only the liver, gullet ('mother gut'), and the thing in the abdomen (i.e., the bladder).

6.14

ma-ŋu-kongkongyoũ gu-ŋa-gaj?, yaneči Ṛaru-ga-yo-ŋana
MA-gute-branche(s)-Abs IPA/go/Ma-roast IPA/go/GU-put in-Pr

gu-ŋanič-ũ gu-gakü-ŋaŋa? ga-ki?, wiripu, o-wolo-yun
GU-fire-Abs GU-small-Dimin there other A-that-Abs

a-waĩna-yun, Ṛara-ja-ga-ŋana, Ṛara-ga-gaj?, yaneči
A-body-Abs IPA/go/a-now-burn-Pr IPA/go/A-sub-roast

a-balaika-yun o-wolo-yun Ṛara-ga-gaj?, gu-wiriwu-gi
A-first-Abs A-that-Abs GU-other-Loo

gu-gakü-ŋaŋa?, gu-gluw-wa, ma-ŋu-kongkongyoũ-gu,
GU-small-Dimin GU-liver-Dat MA-gute-branche(s)-Dat

Ṛaru-ga-gaj?,
IPA/go/A-sub-roast

We roast the intestines (‘branches of guts’). We put them in a small fire (i.e., oven) there. We cook – or rather we roast the body in another (oven). We roast the first one (liver, etc.) in another, smaller (oven) for the liver and the intestines. We roast them.

6.15

Ṛaru-ŋu-ŋa:: Ṛaru-ŋu-ŋa gamakun? Ṛaru-ŋu-ŋa balaika-yińuŋ
IPA/go/et-Pr properly first-Rel

wiri?, Ṛaru-wiri?
A-balaika-yińuŋ, remove from oven IPA/go/a-remove from oven A-first-Rel

Ṛara-ja-nuji-ŋu-jińi, Ṛaru-ŋu-čini:: gu-ni-R,
IPA/go/a-now-Ráp-eat-Pr IPA/go/a-eat-Pr that's all

We eat (waiting) for a long time. We remove the first part (the liver, etc.) from the oven. We remove it and we always eat it. We eat it, and that is that.

6.16

o-wolo a-waĩna-yun Ṛara-ja-buji-wiri?,
A-that A-body-Abs IPA/go/a-now-cooked-alt out

Ṛaru-ga-wiri?, Ṛaru-ja-gumu-gulkepit
IPA/go/A-sub-remove from oven IPA/go/a-now-wait-out

Ṛaru-ga-gumu-gulkepit, ma-ŋuŋ-yun, o-wolo-yun Ṛaru-ga-gulk,
-SUB- MA-fat-Abs MA-that-Abs IPA/go/Ma-now-out
Hunting Kangaroos with Fire

7.1


ɡan-ja-ŋi-yaŋ, wala? ɡar-ga-ŋu-ŋ ɡi-ču? ɡuri-e, -Sub- to where? IFLEx/Sub-go-Fut this way north-All

ɡu-jundo-ŋaŋ-gi, ɡi-waŋi?-yaŋ ɡi-ču? gu-rawara, GU-stone-huge-All Masg-one-Ab a they way GU-east

ɡi-waŋi?-yaŋ ɡu-naŋi, ɡa-ŋu-ŋi, ɡi-yaŋ ɡi-ki-ŋ -Ab GU-west 15g-go-Pr I-Ab he here


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


yanači gu-wurk-yaŋ bārgu-jag-yaŋ, bārgu-yaŋ: GU-bush GU-what's fire-Ab a SFL/GU-nom-burn-Pr


bāri-ɡa-ŋu-ŋ, Mādu-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

ɡi-yan-yaŋ: ɡi-yaŋ-yaŋ, ɡi-yaŋ-yaŋ manga?, SMDg-go-Pr Masg-what Masg-man-Ab SMDg/A-see-Ab maybe

a-yaŋ-waŋ, a-buŋ-njaŋ, manga? a-ŋaŋ-yaŋ-ɡa ɡa-yaŋ-yaŋ A-tha't-Ab A-round-Aug-Pr A-Rg-att-Pr

a-biŋ-aŋg-i na ɡi-yaŋ-gaŋk-a-ŋj-i, A-Rg-look-Aug-Ref-Pl SMDg/A-nom-burn up to-Aug-Pr


ɡi-yaŋ-yaŋ, Masg/A-hang-Aug-Pr

That man goes along. Maybe he sees (a euro) running along toward him. Maybe it is stopped ('sitting'), looking itself. He sneaks up to it. Having sneaked up to it, he really spears it good. He hangs it up.
7.5

bari-ja-waki-na,  bari-waki-na  a-yapan?-bula  balaka  
SlaDu-nau-return-Pr  A-two-Du  first
bara-ga-n-jini  na-ki-?,  gu-jara-gi,  gu-jara-gl,  
SPl/A-carry-Aug-Fr  there  GU-what's-it-Loc

gu-ter-gl,  gu-ter-May?  muka  gu-jara,  gu-jara-gl
GU-camp-Loc  GU-camp-Neg  indeed
bara-ga-ga-ji?,  bara-geyk-ga-ni,  
SPl/A-sub-rost  SPl/A-throw-Aug-Fr

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,  bari-ni-ma-ni,  bari-ga-rugu-ni  
also  SlaDu-return-Pr  SPl/A-MaDu-get-Pr  SlaDu-still-go-Pr
bara-geyk,  a-ñja  a-ñja?  nura-ga-rang-a-ni!  nagan-yun,
SPl/A-throw  A-what?  A-what?  SgS/A-sub-brain-PCC  you(Sg)-Abe
qini-ja-yini?-nigua-na  qil-wangni?i?-giq-un,?  May?,  a-ñgzi?  
SmaSg/SmSg-now-say-Cause-Pr  SmSg-one-All-AbE  well,  A-one
buluki?  na-ki-?  nara-rang-1,  p?  nakuy  na-rugu-ni,
more there  SgS/A-brain-PCC  we(Duin)  10a-in-Du-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 spearmed one more over
there. Let's go.'

7.7

biri-ja-rugu-ni,  bari-rugu-ni  a-wangzi?  bari-ja-ni-ma-ni,  
SlaDu-now-go-Pr  A-old  SPl/A-now-MaDu-get-Pr
'a-wegar  a-nil-?yung,  nara-ja-biye?-ga-ny
A-large  A-bite-A-AbE  10a-in/A-carry-Aug-Fut
Runu-ja-help  en?-guyun,  pili-biye?-ga-ni!  qil-ima-na-n?,  
SgS/I-10a-now-brain-Aug-Fut  10a-in/A-carry-Aug-Fut  SmaSg-say-Pr-

They go then, they go and then they get that one (euro). 'This one is
huge, it'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-biye?:y?  geyk,  gi-wan-yung  buluki?yung  
SPl/A-MaDu-carry  throw  SmaSg-Fron-AbE  also-AbE
qil-wangni?i?-yung  ba?,  giya-biye?:y?  qil-wangni?i?-yung  
SmaSg-one-AbE  get  SmaSg/A-carry  SmaSg-one-Erg-AbE

gu-ja-car-gl,  
GU-nau-camp-ATL L-

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-gal?,  bargu-ja-nya,  gu-ganiq-ung  gu-nya-R,  
SPl/A-now-rost  SPl/GU-burn-Pr  GU-Fire-Abe  that's-all

gu-bai-yung,  baru-ja-ma-ni,  ma-jamba-uya  bargu-ya-nya,  
GU-firewood-Abe  SPl/GU-sub-get-Pr  Ma-oven-AbE  SPl/GU-pit-in-Pr
buluki?  o-wolo-yung  a-gir-k-yaung  bara-ja-ni-ma-ni,  
also  A-that-AbE  A-euro-AbE  SPl/A-now-MaDu-get-Pr
bara-ja-genda-por,  bara-gerp-ya-nya,  ma-jara-tu,  
SPl/A-now-leg-break  SPl/A-tie-up-Aug-Pr  MA-what's-it-Inst
ma-jara  ma-jawar-tu  bara-gerp,  ba-gu-e:rep  gu-nya-R,  
MA-string-Inst  SPl/A-sub-tie-up

They roast them now. They make a campfire. They get firewood and
put it in an oven. 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-nuk-ya-nya,  a-gun-ga-li-yung  bara-gulo-gorta-nya,  
SPl/A-guts-get-Pr  A-fat-much-Abe  SPl/A-atomach-put-inside-Pr
a-gua-ga-gal-ya-nya,  bara-ja-gulo-gorta-nya,  
A-all-fat-much-Abe  -now-
bara-ja-woromp-ya-gube-nya,  woromp?  bara-ja-gulo-gorta-nya,  
SPl/A-now-get-pretty-Cause-Pr  get-pretty  -now-

O-wolo-yung  a-mak-yung,  gu-wolo-yung  bara-ga-ge-nya,  
A-that-AbE  A-good-Abe  GU-that-AbE  SPl/A-sub-rost
mo-gulo-woypo?,  ma-capara,  bara-ga-ge-nya?  
MA-atomach-mixed-with  MA-ta2

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.

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1Error for o-wolo-yung (A class, not GU class).
2Error for bara-ja-gal? (object is MA class, not A class).
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.

They are 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 fruit.' As for him (the wife-stealer), he watches them for a while, then grabs (the man's wife).

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.)

Of the men says, 'Let's chase him by following the smoke (from the fires he makes) and then appear 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.
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 'liirič' (outritem). That one (the husband) spears him good, and he dies now, that one dies now.

8.7

ni-rugni-ši ga-ki-ʔ, barguni-teak-waki-na, žirgi-yun
3Mašg-go-Pr there 3Mašg/Spl-return-Pr corroboree-Abe
ba-ga-ga-ga-male-ʔi-wolo ni-ga-waki-na,
SPl-sub-či-Pr at that time 3Mašg-sub-return-Pr
ba-ga-ga-gačai-ma-ni, ni-jakwa-waki-na male-ʔi-wolo, 'gaya-tu
SPl-sub-dazon-Aug-Pr -now-
3Mašg-aug-Pr -či-Pr
nuši-ga-ga-ga-gi-ł
3Mašg-aug-Pr -či-Pr
ba-yu-tu 13g/3Mašg-sub-spear-Aug-PPun 3Mašg-aug-Pr -či-Pr Pl-person-Pr
ba-juram-gu
3Mašg-aug-now-spear-Aug-PPun 3Mašg-aug-Pr -či-Pr
ba-juram-gu
PL-MAR party-Pr SPl/3Mašg-now-threw-spear at-Aug-Pr
ba-juram-gu, 'mayy? Ža-nam-či-či
3Mašg/3Mašg-now-spear-Aug-Pr no SPl/13g-spear-Aug-Neg-Pr
baru-pam-gu
3Mašg-aug-now-spear-Aug-PPun 3Mašg-aug-Pr -či-Pr
baru-pam-gu
3Mašg-aug-now-spear-Aug-PPun 3Mašg-aug-Pr -či-Pr
baru-pam-gu, 'mayy? Ža-nam-či-či
3Mašg-aug-now-spear-Aug-PPun 3Mašg-aug-Pr -či-Pr
because 3Mašg/13g-hand-pluck-Aug-PPun 3Mašg-aug-Pr -či-Pr
barguni-ga-ga-gi-ł
3Mašg/3Mašg-now-say-Caus-Pr
He (the husband) then goes back there to them (the people in the camp), who are having a corroboree 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.)

8.6

yanači ni-ja-yey, ni-ga-ga-yey-gu-ni
long time 3Mašg-now-rise 3Mašg-sub-rise-Aug-Pr
qini-jakawa-karu-ni, qini-yaw-gu-ni, qini-wop-gu-ni,
3Mašg/3Mašg-now-body-phase-Pr -spear-Aug-Pr 3Mašg-jump-Aug-Pr
qini-yaw-gi-ł, qini-wop, qini-yaw qi-wop, qini-yaw qi-wop,
-Aug-PPun
qima-ga-warjaka-na qini-ja-yaw, qini-ga-yaw-gu-ni,
3Mašg/3Mašg-sub-spear -Sub-
3Mašg/3Mašg-now-rise 3Mašg-sub-rise-Aug-Pr
gekman? qini-ga-yaw-gu-ni qini-ja-wati-na qini-wolo
properly 3Mašg-now-die-Pr Mašg-that
qini-ga-yaw-gu-ni qini-ja-wati-na qini-wolo
3Mašg/3Mašg-now-die-Pr Mašg-that

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.
9.2
garu-v-yimi-ŋuba-ša-ňaŋ, a-jara maw-jara Spl/Smag/do-Cauq-Put A-whats it? Ma-what-s it?
garu-bak-mi-yaŋ, gu-juŋ mang-ga° gu-jara Spl/Smag-Ben-get-Put GU-genital cover maybe GU-what-s it?

Later they talk about him (the man who did the spearing), they have a
debate. 'We will do it (sorcery) to him, we will get his what-s it-
its genital cover maybe, or maybe we will get a part of his
own.' (The others reply,) 'Yes, we will get it.'

9.3
baŋ barma-ma-ni, ba-ruŋu-ni:: gu-wali-gi, gu-wali get Spl/MA-get-Pr Spl-go-Pr GU-tree-Loo GU-tree

bargu-ga-sha-na, bargu-yelike-na gu-ni-ŋ Spl/GU-burn-Pr Spl/GU-make hole in-Pr that's all
bargu-ja-yo-ña-na, mo-wolo-yuŋ barma-ja-yo-ña-na ga-či-ŋ, Spl/GU-nou-put in-Pr MA-that-Abx Spl/MA-
way
gu-wali-gi, GU-tree-all

They get it, they go to a tree. (The preferred tree for this type of
sorcery is ironwood, (Krythopculum 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-ruŋu-ŋu-ŋa ba-man-gu-ni ba-rič-ya-či-ni ɗag, Spl-Rag-af-Pr Spl-Look-Augs-Pr Spl-mind-hear-Pr (?)
qi-ja-gor-gu-ńi, qi-ga-gor-gu-ńi Spl/Mag-nou-be stick-Augs-Pr Spl/Mag-die-Augs-Pr
qi-ja-bi-lai-go::qi-ja-wati-na qi-wolo qi-yul-yuŋ, Spl/Mag-now-very(?)be stick Spl/Mag-that Spl/Mag-man-Pr
baru-ba-kebn-ye-ŋo-rič-may, qi-ja-wati-na qi-wolo-yuŋ, Spl/Smag/Bar-mi-Ben-heart-tie-Reg-Pr
qi-yul-yuŋ, qi-jirič-un qi-wolo-yuŋ, ba-yama-na-?, Spl/Ga-ulprit-Abx Spl-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.
There at wajkundu (a place south of the Roper River), they call that place wajkundu, a man was going along there. He ate what's-it?, a pregnant (snake).

The rainbow serpent ate 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 ep.)

A big rain appeared there. It killed (people) at wajkundu. It also killed people here at what's-it?, at gaļju.

One man said to another man, 'Come here! We will kill it.' That snake, which had eaten him (the dead man) appeared there, at yalaša, then it went along.

A small pond appeared there at gašuji. Two sides bargura-ga-bo:m, at-yayen? a-yaul-yu: Pl-person-Ab there pl.n. here pl.n.

That went north, that snake—they call it 'xorâč' (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 wajkundu and those at gaļju.
The State of Aboriginal Ceremonies

11.1

ba-rugu-ni, qa-ču?-n, quri-č, bičara-gič, 3Pl-go-PCon that way north-All what's it place?-All
warpani-gič, qa-ki-n ba-ga-gur?-gi, gu-magayin pl.n.-All there 3Pl-Sub-3t-Aug-FPan GU-name of ceremony
ba-ja-gi; ba-yul-yun, ba-na?-bir-li-ni, yanači, 3Pl-nor-3t-PCon Pl-pereon-All 3Pl-still-many-inch-PCon long ago
ba-war?wuru, ba-ga-gi-gi, Pl-leader 3Pl-Sub-Rap-eit-PCon

They used to go north to what's it?, to warpani. They stopped (for) a magayin ceremony. Long ago, when the people were numerous. The elders would stay (there).}

11.2

gawa?-yun ba-ja-yaku-či-n, ba-miŋginiri-yun qa-ki?-n
now-3Abs SPI-now-absent-Inch-FPan Pl-name of clan-3Abs there
yanači Roper, ba-wolo-yun, ba-maŋguyan-gič kor-3Abs there
long ago Roper River settlement Pl-that-3Abs Pl-name of clan
barba-ga-maŋ-n, qa-ki-n-un ba-ga-gi-l, gu-magayin-yun, SPI/SPI-Slim-call-Pr there 3Pl-Sub-3t-Aug-PPan GU-ceremony-3Abs
ba-ga-gi-gi, qa-ki-n SPI-Sub-3g-eit-PCon constantly there

Now they have all disappeared – the mĩŋginiri clan, the (people) around Roper River, the maŋguyan-gič (a subgroup of the Ritharrwu-speaking waklak group), that's what they call them. They stayed there for a magayin ceremony, they stayed there very often.

11.3

qa-ču?-yun ma:ru-rū-gič-un, a-bulči? bara-juy?-gii, that way pl.n.-All-3Abs A-laabag SPI/A-send-Aug-PCon
ba-yul-lm? qa-ču-wala? ba-ja-ne?g-ju-ni, ba-bir, many people from there SPI-now-rise-Aug-PCon Pl-many
barba-ga-ga-ni o-wolo-yun, SPI/a-Sub-carry-Aug-PCon A-that-3Abs

They sent laabaga to ma:ru (place name). (This was to announce that a ceremony was being planned.) Many people got up and shifted camps from there to ma:ru. They carried (laabaga).

11.4

qałuweleń-un, ba-bolku-gi, ba-gawai-maŋk-ri, then 3Pl-appear-Aug-PCon 3Pl-country-PCon
warpani-yun, barba-bak-bolku-gi, buluki?y-un, qaŋi-č, pl.n.-All SPI/Benappear-Aug-PCon as well-All west-All
barba-ga-bak-juy?-gii, ba-manjuwuruma-kü, SPI/SPI-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 (laabaga) to the west, to the manjuwuruma clan.

11.5

qałuweleń-un, qaŋi-yala-yun ba-na?-rugu-ni, then-3Abs west-All-3Abs SPI-3g-go-PCon
barba-bak-bolku-gi qa-ki-n-un, warpani-yun, qa-ki-n SPI/Benappear-Aug-PCon there pl.n.-All there
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
pa-ki-ī na-juri-ung, there GU-shade-Abī
They also sent (Lambage) to the miingiri clan. As for the malabarca-ray clan (a Rithamgpa-speaking group), they came from the north, from burawanji, to warpani. They stayed there (at) the ceremonial shade.

11.7
bulukǐ, wan-yung garan-temo ba-ga-ru-ge-ni, as well as for-Abī pl-n.-Abī 3Pl/Sub-go-PCon
na-? na-zi-? -buki? barba-ga-bak-juy?-gu-ni, still -that way -only 3Pl/Sub-Ben-send-Aug-PCon
na-zi-burkayi gu-na-nutu, gan?-bišara, west-All-really GU-still-far place near-what's-it place?
GAN? bulmun, pa-ki-ī načwe-len ba-ga-ne?y?-gu-ni, place near-pl-n. there then 3Pl/Sub-shift camp-Aug-PCon
bulmun-wala, warpani-gi-?-ung, pl-n.-Abī pl-n.-All-Abī
They also came from garan. They sent (lambage) 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 bulukǐ?-yung ba-jar-a-yung, ba-biinai-yung Pl-Pron-Abī as well-Abī Pl-what's-it?-Abī Pl-name of clan-Abī ba-ga-ney?-gu-ni, guança-wala, na-? na-zi-? -buki? 3Pl/Sub-shift camp-Aug-PCon pl-n.-Abī still -that way -only
Warpani-gi-? na-ki-ī ba-ga-ni, pl-n.-All there 3Pl/Sub-et-PCon
Then there were the what's-it?, the biginal clan. They shifted from guança to that same place, to warpani. They stayed there.
to there (gurüçapal), 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 gurüçapal).

11.12

mal-kalž-un, ñargaba ba-ga-ŋ-i,\nba-wurwuruŋ-yaŋ,\ntimes-some-Abs p.l.n. SPl-Sub-Dur-ët-PCom SPl-old people-Abs
qi-ču-will-ŋ barba-ga-girj-aŋ,\ncara-la, quri-yaŋ,\nfrom here SPl/SPl-Sub-head for-PCom east-Abl north-Abl
qagi-yaŋ, baka-yaŋ, qa? -qa-či-ŋ gu-wolo-qič,\nwest-Abl south-Abl still that way GU-that All
bargu-japaŋaŋ-gu-ŋi\ngu-wolo-yaŋ,\nSPl/GU-go to same place-Aug-PCom GU-that-Abs

Sometimes they stayed at ñargaba, the old men. They would head for them (the people at ñargaba) from here, from the east, from the north, from the west, and from the south, all going to that same place.

11.13

yanič ba-ja-ian-gar?-g-i-ŋ,\nba-yaku yaneči\nbut SPl-nov-1-finithe-Aug-Refle-PPun Pl-abessent
ba-miŋigiri-yaŋ, ba-gupur?, ba-wan-galü buluki?\nPl-name of olan-Abs Pl-few Pl-Pron-other also
ba-malabarcaray-yaŋ, ba-ja-gar?-g-i-ŋ,\nPl-name of olan-Abs
ba-giŋ-bera-yaŋ,\nba-giŋ-bera-yaŋ quni,\nPl-people from what's it place-ABS\ndamn!

But they have died off. There are now no miŋigiri people left, just a few. As for the malabarcaray, they also have died off. As for the people from what's it place?, what the hell is the name — the people from quänga, there are still many of them.

11.14

ba-wan-yaŋ buluki? ba-magwuruŋa-yaŋ garaŋam-gu-yaŋ\nSPl-Pron-Abs also Pl-name of olan-Abs p.l.n.-Gen-Abs
ba-ja-gar?-g-i-ŋ, ba-yaku ba-ja-geku-geku-bugl?,\nSPl-nov-finithe-Aug-Refle-PPun Pl-abessent SPl-nov-Rdp-child-only
ba-na? qaği ba-ga-gu-da, qabara-ga-na-li,\nPl-that-Œ west SPl-Sub-sit-PF 1Sp/gSPl-Sub-see-PCom

gayku-yaŋ, qabara-ga-yiŋ-n?gubi-ri ñaye-yaŋ-yaŋ,\nlast year-Abs 1Sp/gSPl-Sub-say-Cause-PCom I-Erg-Abs

As for the maŋgwuruma olan, from garaŋam, 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

gwaŋyaŋ, bargu-ja-maŋiŋ?-gura\ngu-yiñiŋ-yaŋ,\nnov-Abs SPl/GU-nov-make properly-Neg GU-things-Abs
gu-jaraŋaŋ, gu-maŋayiŋ\nbargu-maŋiŋ?-gura,\nGU-what's it? Abl GU-name of ceremony
ba-maŋjag-gi-j?\nbaj-bjarkar?-gi-j?\nSPl-eing maŋayiŋ-Aug-Neg-Fut SPl-call-names of countries-Aug-Neg-Fut
gu-yaku, bo-wol-e-yaŋ\nbawurwuruŋ yamba\nnot at all Pl-that-Abs Pl-old person because
ba-gar?-g-i-ŋ,\nbargu-ja-gubur-maŋiŋ-gura,\nSPl-finithe-Aug-Refle-PPun SPl-GU-nov-things-Rdp-make properly-Neg
yanič-yaŋ, bargu-gamulu-maŋiŋ?-gu-ŋi,\ngu-yiñiŋ-yaŋ,\nlong ago-Abs SPl/GU-nov-make properly-Aug-PCom GU-things-Abs

Now they are unable to properly perform the thing, the what's it?, the maŋayin ceremony. They cannot do it properly; they can neither sing the maŋayin (with tapestik 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? qa-ki? ba-ga-ŋ-i:\nbičara,\nWell, also there SPl-Sub-sit-PCom what's it place?
Roper ba-ŋ-n-gi,\nwaša-w gaŋj[u? Top Crossing-qi,\nRoper River SPl-Sub-sit-PCom above p.l.n.-Loc
waša-w-burkay, qa-ki-gi\nba-ga-gi-i, gu-wolo ba-ja-mer-guk\nGU-that SPl-nov-abandon\n-gi,\nmai-ši-wolo, giyan gu-wolo\n-Aug-PPun at that time I think GU-that
baru-ga-gar?-g-i\nqa-ki-ŋ-un,\nSPl/GU-nov-finithe-Aug-PPun there

They (another group of people) used to stay at what's it?, at Roper River (Ngykarm). 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.
They have all disappeared, all of them. There are only children left, they stay (there), they cannot perform properly.

There are two men from what's-it?, from ga-par-imun, (named) yi-rirama and ja-jajara. 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).

They (the old men from baču) still sing the magayin songs (with tapsticks) 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.
He (mulū wigii) got the old men (to teach him to perform ceremonies), he learned it well. On the other hand, he (mulūgarjana) only recently attempted (to perform) at what’s-it?. He called out the countries at yurupanj (a cattle station near Roper River). There ḥaŋ (an old Khamar-doo-speaking man) taught mulūgarjana, so that he called out the countries. I heard him myself. There are no others (in the clan who can perform).

11.22

be-waŋ-yuŋ bu.lu:kī-yuŋ malabarçaŋay-gu-yuŋ, bari-ja-ga-yapaŋ,?
Pi-Fron-Abs also-Abs name of clan-Gen-Abse MaDu-Du-nu-Sub-two

pi-mumuŋa, boŋ bari-woŋ-pa-ri, MaSy-man’s name MaSy-man’s name finish MaDu-Du-that-Imm

bari-ja-birkaŋ, bargu-ja-ga-wai-make-na, MaDu-Du-Sub-call countries SPL/nun-Abse country-call-Pr

There are also these men of the malabarçaŋay clan. Two of them, munuma (English name: Willy) and manbaiŋ (English name: Goliath), just those two, they call out the names of countries.

11.23

bargu-ni-maŋ-bo-m boŋ, yimič bari-qaŋ-maŋa-warjak, SPL/Go-MaDu-lem-Abse-PFfinsh but MaDu-still-neck-bad

dgu-mu-luŋkaŋ, bargu-ni-ga-ga-wai-make-na, SPL/Go-MaDu-make properly SPL/Go-MaDu-Sub-country-call-Pr

ba-maija-ga-liŋ-ŋuŋ gu-ja-yuŋ, ba-gara-gaŋ?-g-i-ŋ, Pi-group-some-Abse GU-now-absent SPL-all-finish-Aug-Refl-PFfinsh

be-yaŋ-yuŋ, ba-wuṟu wuruŋuŋ-yuŋ, SPL-peren-Abse Pi-olden-Abse

They learned it well, but they have weak voices ('bad neck'). They call out the countries properly. There are no others, they all died off, the old people.

11.24

bu.lu:kī? biŋ-ga, biŋ-ga guni, also what’s it place? SPL/Sub-set-PCon, damn!

qangparra, qa-ki-ŋ bala-ga -mar-gulŋ -g-i, yamba
Pi-nm. SPL/Sub-abandon -Aug-PFfinsh because

ba-muŋ-gu-bay-gi-ŋi, gu-wolo-gi, gu-jaŋaŋ, gu-jičan, SPL-stick-Inch-PCon GU-that-Loo GU-tree GU-dreaming

bari-ja-ga-goŋi, gu-wolo-gi, gu-wolo-wolo, SPL/Go-Sub-shape-PCon GU-that-Loo GU-Rŋp-that

barba-ga-buni-bu-ni, ba-jana-gaŋ-gi-ŋ, gawa-ŋyuŋ
SPL/SPL-Sub-Rŋp-kill-PCon SPL-nun-Abse-finish-Aug-Refl-PFfinsh now-Abse

be-ba-yuŋ gu-ga-wal-bugil, Pi-now-absent GU-country-only

Also people stayed at what’s-it? — at qangparra. There they have lost (the knowledge of ceremonies), because (the old men) got sick. Some people chopped down trees there, dreaming, killing them (the old people at qangparra, since damaging dreams results in the owners' destruction). They were finished off. Now there are no people, just the country.

11.25

qawurbaalan-ŋuŋ, qa-ŋ -ʔ garka-ja-w, ba-maia-ga-waŋuŋa, gu-yuŋ, Pi-nm.-Gen that way above Pi-name of clan GU-absent

be-ba-gara-gaŋ-gi-ŋ, qa-woŋ bari-ja-ri-bugil, SPL-nun-all-finish-Aug-Refl-PFfinsh now-finish MaDu-Du-that-Imm-only

qi-liŋyagarpa, qi-ŋaŋkaŋjaŋ, bowongi-yuŋ, MaSy-man’s name MaSy-man’s name they(MaDu-Abe


Away from the coasts, (people) of qawurbaalan. The maia-ga-waŋuŋa clan, there is nothing now, they all died off. There are only two now, (named) liŋyagarpa and ŋaŋkaŋjaŋ, those two, from what’s-it?, from nuroŋupai.

11.26

ba-maija-ga-kiŋ-ŋuŋ ba-gara-gaŋ-gi-ŋ Roper, qa-ki-ŋ
Pi-group-some-Abse SPL-all-finish-Aug-Refl-PFfinsh there

be-ba-ga-wa-ti-ni, ba-ba-ga-poieon 'em'-g-i, kuŋgaŋa SPL/Sub-die-Imm SPL/Sub-nun-poison-PCon maybe

ma-maunya-ŋuŋ, ba-ba-gaŋ-gi, qa-ki-ŋ, Ma-(magical) poison-Inst SPL/SPL-finish-Aug-Refl-PFfinsh there

The other all died at Roper River. Maybe someone poisoned them with magical poison. They finished them off there.

11.27


qi-biŋgul-bugiŋ, qa-na-ni qa-waŋgiŋ-ŋuŋ, qa-ga-ŋuŋ, MaSy-man’s name-only MaSy-that-Imm MaSy-one SPL/MaSy-sub-Inst
The narrator is correcting himself here, using MaDu forms where he had just previously used incorrect P1 forms.
11.33

bičara ba-qa-gi:, ba-wan-galu
what’s its place? 3Pl-Sub-set-PCon Pl-Prn-other
be-gr-kol-bul-yuŋ, nąŋ-gu-gawal-warwuŋ?-gi31 gu-wolo-yuŋ
Pl-people of-pln.-Abe 15G/3U-country-miss-Aug-PPun GU-that-Abe
mangga? bi-ŋja, nį-ki? waia-wa, gu-marawi-yuŋ nąji-č
maybe place-what? here above GU-pln.-Abe west-All
ja-ravara, 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.¹

¹Later Sandy told me that ganimifỉiŋọ is the name of the place he was
trying to remember here.

11.34

gi-gi-kį gaŋyu? ba-qa-gi-gi1, munguy?,
there 3Pl-Sub-Rdp-set-PCon always
nį-gi-wuŋgiŋ?-reyag nį-na?-wiŋa?-gi2, ni-wan-yuŋ
Našg-man’s name-the late Našg-still-alive-while Našg-Prn-Abe
nį-wuŋakKnife? nį-na?-gaku-gi2, jipa? gawal?,
Našg-man’s name-abe Našg-child-while later now
nį-na-ri nį-ga-bindi-wurt?wuruŋu-ki na
Našg-that-Imm 3Našg-Sub-really-elder-call-Ref/Pr
gi-gu-bi-lį-nį-ń?guy?, gu-na-ri munguy?
3Našg-child-many-Inch-PPun-while GU-that-Imm always
ba-qa-gi-gi1, gu-wolo-yuŋ ba-ga-gar?-gi1, 3Pl-Sub-Rdp-set-PCon GU-that-Abe 3Pl-Sub-finish-Aug-Ref/PPun
They used to stay there (at ganimifỉiŋọ) often, when the late
giŋyu? was still alive, when wuŋakKnife? (Paul) was still a child.
Now, that man (wuŋakKnife?) is (‘call 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

ńer-yuŋ, baki-č-ŋiri? ųer-ja-laŋ-waki-ń, buluki?-yuŋ
we(Pipa)-Abe south-All-also 1PlEx-now-f-return-PPun also-Abe
ńer-ja-munbi-ń ųer-ja-waki-j-ič nquirrel-č-uni,
1PlEx-now-do for good-PPun 1PlEx-now-return-Neg-P north-All-Abs
yamba gu-ja-gawal-bugli? gu-gawal-yuŋ, ba-qa-gi-gi1,
because GU-now-country-only GU-country-Abe 3Pl-Sub-Rdp-set-PCon

11.36

gu-wolo-yuŋ ną?-ńer-kį waray gu-wolo gu-gawal-yuŋ,
GU-that-Abe still-we(PLEx)-Gen indeed GU-that GU-country-Abe
ńargu-gorči1 ųer-gi1, ųar-ugu-ńi nąki-ń, 3Našg/PlEx-set-GU ABE sh(PLEx)-All 3PlEx-go-PCon there
ńačueiň ųar-ŋa?-waksi-ńi, gu-na-japa-ŋa?-gi1
then 3PlEx-set-return-PCon 3Gu-equal same place-All
bičara-gic, warpani-gi1, what’s it place-All pln.-All

That place belongs to us, to be sure; we part-out 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

ńa-gi-ń gi-ga-gi1, gi-jawula-yuŋ ri-jara-yuŋ,
there 3Našg-Sub-set-PCon Našg-old man-abe Našg-what’s it?-Abe
ńa-maraŋa-yuŋ, nigu?-wati-j-ič gi-wolo
Našg-name of clan-Abe 3Našg/GU-Dur-abandon-Neg-P GU-that
gu-gawal-yuŋ, nągi-ń gi-ga-gi1, bowonji-pula-yuŋ,
GU-country-Abe there 3Našg-Sub-set-PCon they(GU-Dur)-AbE
gi-jara-pula-yuŋ, gi-ŋja miri? nągi-ri
Našg-what’s it?-and-abe Našg-sho? there
ńa-jawula-yuŋ, nį-gumujimiŋi?-bula-yuŋ,
Našg-old man-abe Našg-man’s name-and-abe
He stayed there, the old man what’s-his-name?, the old man of the
marapa 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, gumujimiŋi?.
gu-ja-gubur-warjak, ṣar-jà-gubur-gi-i, GU-now-business-bad IPLEz-now-be helpless-Aug-PPm
ba-ga-yimi-ñ-gi-i buluk? baru-ja-bo-m
SPL-Sub-do that-PPm-ṣ-g-Aug-PPm also SPL/3Maṣg-now-kill-PPm
ni-jara-giñ-è, ṣar-ja-rangè, 3Maṣg-what's it-All-Ab equivalent SPL/3Maṣg-now-spear-PPm
ni-marqgiñ-giñ-ù, biñara-yn, gugubara-yun, Maṣg-man's name-All-Ab what's it place-?Abé pln.-Abé
pa-kì-ñi baru-ga-bu-m, SPL/3Maṣg-Sub-kill-PPm
there (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, manq, they speared him, at what's-it?, at gugubara, they killed him there.

11.41

gaṣweleñ-ù, ni-ga-bolk-gi-i, bixara-yun, then-Abé 3Maṣg-Sub-appear-Aug-PPm what's it place-?Abé
Roper-yun, Roper Bar-yun pa-kì-ñi ni-ja-wati-ñ, pln.-Abé pln.-Abé there 3Maṣg-now-die-PPm
ugu-nil-kiñ-ù, settlement-giñ-ù, pa-kì-ñ, GU-that-Imm-All-Ab -All-Ab there
baru-ja-burk-gi, SPL/3Maṣg-now-bury-Aug-PPm

(After being speared, he (manq) 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 yaypuñala carried his dead body to that settlement (Roper River) and they buried him there.

11.42

bari-giku-μuñjù-ñ-ñ, gi-muqda:-äl-yn, ni-jara-yun, 3Maṣg-dead-name-Imm-PPm 3Maṣg-man's name-Abé 3Maṣg-what's it-?Abé
ni-marqgiñ-ù, ni-wan-yun, gugukuñi gi-biñara-ñ, Maṣg-man's name-Abé Maṣg-Fron-Abé morning 3Maṣg-Sub-die-PPm
pa-kì-ñ, settlement-yun, ni-wan-yun ṣa-ga-dagbañ? pa-kì-ñ-ù, there -Abé Maṣg-Fron-Abé Rdp-afternoon there
wai-si-yan ni-biñara-ñ, baru-ja-bak-gubur-μuñjù-ñ-ñ, above 3Maṣg-Sub-die-PPm 3Maṣg-now-ben-business-same-Imm-PPm
The two of them, marga:laŋi and what’s-his-name?, marga, 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

qi-jarakay-giŋ baru-ja-gar-i giyaŋ
MaSG-lastborn-All SPl/SMaSG-now-chase-PFm thinking
qi-jara-wan, angaŋba gu-yuku, ba-ja-yuŋu?-yuŋu? gu-ŋi
SMaSG-(7)-Fron whereas GUM-absent SPl-now-rdp-tell lie-Aug-PCon
gu-wolo-yuŋ gu-gubur-yuŋ,
GU-that-Abs GU-business-Abs

They chased the lastborn son (manbagu), thinking 'He's the one (who did the killing)'. However, this was not correct, they made incorrect statements (in) that business.

11.44

angaŋba barba-wiŋ-gubuŋ,1 baru-wiŋ-gubuŋ
however SPl/SMaSG-(bones) burn-Cause-PFm SPl/MaSG-
qi-wangĩŋ? giŋ-uniŋ, qi-marga:laŋi giŋ-iŋuŋ-uniŋ, qi-wan-uniŋ
MaSG-one-All-Abse MaSG-man’s name-All-Rel-Abse MaSG-Fron-Abse
qi-jara-uniŋ baru-wiŋ-gubuŋ kiŋ-uniŋ
MaSG-what’s it?-Abs SPl/SMaSG-(bones) burn-Cause-Neg-P

qi-marga-uniŋ, baru-li-rang-i ma-road-g1
MaSG-man’s name-Abse SPl/SMaSG-side-spear-PFm MA-road-Loc
qi-ruŋu-gu-ŋi-ŋuŋ, gugubara.
SMaSG-Rdp-go-PCon-white pln.

However, they (later) burned their bones — or rather they burned the bones of one of them, those of marga:laŋi. As for the other, marga, they did not burn his bones. Someone had spearred him in the side, as he was walking on the road, at gugubara.2

1Should be baru- instead of barba-, and in the next word Sandy corrects himself.

2When 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 hurt 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.
They put on what’s-it?, like an armband. They call it ‘wa-then-ice’, ‘handafu’. 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

Ga-wa-wa-nj-wu, na-ra-ju-y?-g?q, early fellow-yuŋ, then-Abe
IPLE/S Maŋg-wa-confin-e-Auŋ-PPun GU- -Dimin-Loo GU-
early fellow-may? gukiki-wiŋ1 ga-i-na-fawk-faw-k-gi.
Maŋg-wa-sub-send-Auŋ-PPun morning-
Maŋg-wa-sub-kep-expe-Auŋ-PPun
Maŋg-sub-eat-loc here
That’s all at that time IPLE/S Maŋg-wa-send-Auŋ-PPun
Ga-je-je-gi ga-ki-?, ba-wur-wurung-gi,
Maŋg-sub-see-PPcon 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

Ga-wa-wa-yuŋ buluk? ga-Conklin-yuŋ
Maŋg-prom-Abe also Maŋg-policeman’s name-Abe
Ga-gi-viŋ-ga-ŋ, ‘mey?, na-ra-ge-n pa-ku?
Maŋg-sub-mind-hear-PPun well, IPLE/S Maŋg-carry-put that way
Bagot-giŋ ga-yi-mi-n?, Bagot-giŋ na-ra-ga-ga,
IPLE/S Maŋg-now-carry-PPun.
Maŋg-now-carry-PPun
Pa-ra-qi- up, na-ju-wa-ti-ŋ, there-PL-elder-loc
Maŋg-abandon-PPun
Government office-gi, ga-ki-ŋ na-ra-laŋ-gi: -loc there
IPLE/S Maŋg-now-see-PPcon
As for Conklin, he was thinking, ‘We’ll take him to Bagot (Reserve, near Darwin),’ he said. We took him to Bagot. He took him westward and left him, we took him to the government office and waited (sitting).

12.6

Ga-Ted Ervin-yuŋ ga-yi-mi-n?, ‘mey? na-je miri?
Maŋg-man’s name-Abe Maŋg-say-PPun-ŋ Maŋg-who?

1 Sandy first used the Pidgin English term early fellow (morning), then corrected himself and produced the Ngandi term gukuki-wiŋ.
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-yo-qi-le-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

gu-buga-puga-n ba-za-motoroar-wi?-un muuny? 2SG-Rdp-ruuh along-Put Com- having-Abs always

qubara-miya-mi-yan ba-yul-yun gu-na-ri gu-jark 2SG/3PL-Rdp-get-Put PL-persone-Abs GU-that-Imm GU-water

ba-ga-bun-nyu-li ni-ga-jir-ri gu-ma?n-warja, 3PL-Sub-Water-get-Pr GU-that-kind-Imm GU-taste-bad


ma-road-bi, gu-wolo qubara-ga-mi-yan,
MA- Per GU-that 2SG/3PL-Sub-get-Prut

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

buluk? ba-ma-e-gali?-un, ba-jan-gur-burkayi-yun, also PL-group-eome-Abs PL-dangerous-really-Abs

ξ qubara-ga-gi1ta-n, quba-mi1li?-ram2-ga3, ma-jara 2SG/3PL-Sub-head for-Put 3PL/2SG-Isst-spear-Evet NA-what's it?

buluk? gu-gu-ga-ga-n, gu-jara nuni, gu-jara also 2SG/2PL-Sub-carry-Put GU-what's it? damn!

baru-make-na, gu-revolvver baru-ga-maka-na ni-qi-? GU-SUB-call-Pr GU- this way

gu-pokket-gi1? gu-ga-yi yan, ganju? barga-na-1i GU- All 2SG/2PL-Sub-put in-Fut SPl/2PL-Neg-put

ba-yul-ji-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, 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

ni-wolo ga-ju-wala? ni-ga-ner-yu, gu-ga-chu-yu, MaSG-that from there MaSG-dangerous-Abs 2SG-Sub-go-Fut


ha-jar-ju-0 gu-ju-ga? na-jar-gu-yu as for GU-that 3MaSG-Sub-If-be unrealtrainable-Aug-Put

ni-ga-yara-gu? gu-? qunu-ga-ya? ram-ga, 3MaSG-Sub-hook up spear-Aug-Put 3MaSG/2SG-Sub-if-spear-Aug-Put


qunu-gur?war-gu? xxx qunu-ga-rang1-zi-1, 2SG/3MaSG-shoot-Aug-Put 3MaSG/2SG-Sub-spear-Neg-Put

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 police,' you will say. If he becomes wild, hooks his spear (onto his boomerang), and (tries to) spear you, you will dodge (the spear), then Pov!, you will shoot him. That way he will not spear you.

12.13

gu-wolo-yun, narl-wo-caja-rugu-o, ni-yu-ma-burkayi-yu, GU-that-ABS MaDu-both-together-go-Put MaSG-persone-good-really-Abs

gu-wolo-yun, qunu-ja-ga-n, qunu-ga-n qa-ki?, 2SG/3MaSG-now-carry-Put 2SG/3PL-Sub-spear-Aug-PPov PL-persone-Abs Neil,

bawar-gu-balaka na-ju-wala?, ba-ga-estar 'em-gi? they-INER first from there 3PL-Sub- Aug-PPov
Sometimes he tells him, 'Three months, then you will go back. You will not speak anyone more. You will just sit (quietly). You will leave spear behind.' The what's-it?, the policeman, tells him that.

12.16

gu-wolo-yun, gi-ja-gubur-yike-n-jini, GU-that-Ab=Ab 3MaSg-new-business-be-wrong-Aug-Pr
qi-ja-gubur-warjaki-č-may? munuy?y-un, gamakun?
3MaSg-new-business-be wrong-Neg-Pr always-Ab=Ab properly
qi-ja-guh-ga, qi-yul-yun qi-wolo-yun, munuy?
3MaSg-new-sit-Pr MaSg-man=Ab MaSg-that-Ab
qi-ja-gu-ga, gamakun?, an-yun ba-ma-la-galič-un
3MaSg-new-sit-Pr properly as for PL-group-some-Ab=Ab
ba-ja-iang-rugu-ni na-ču?-y-un, ba-yul-yun, barba-ga-ma-ni,
3PL-new-č-go-Pr that way 3PL-person-Ab=Ab 3PL/3PL-sub-get-Pr
mai-kalič-un, gu-ni? builiki-yun, Roper-yun bu-ni?-y-un
time-some-Ab=Ab GU-thia-č also-Ab pl.n.-Ab GU-thia-č-Ab
ba-ga-7-bun-ručini, 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

3MaSg/3PL-confine-Aug-Pr-only GU-that-Loc-Ab=Ab mourning-Ab
3MaSg/3PL-send GU-that-Ab later from there west-Ab=Ab
gu-Darvin-wala, gu-paper baru-ga-juy? mai-č-wolo
GU-Ab GU=3PL/3PL-sub-send at that time
qi-bunga-n-jini, gu-money barguni-ma-wur? bo-wolo-gič-ńun
3MaSg-wa-č-Aug-Pr GU=3MaSg/3PL-hand-pluck PL-that-All-Ab
gu-ni-ń, ja-boń, that's all now-finish
He looks them up in that (jailhouse). In the morning he sends them away. Later from there, from the west, from Darvin 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-yun gu-money-yu-yun na-çu-n nga-či-Katherine-giš
as for GU-Just-Abe that way west-All pl.n.-All
barguni-ga-an-jini, ni-na-ri ni-police-mention-gu-yun, muqy?
SMaSg/SPl/Sub-Aug-Pr MaSg-that-Imm MaSg-
-ag-Abe always
ni-ga-yi-na-čen-?, ni-na-ri-yun, ni-ni-?-yun
SMaSg/Sub-do that-Abe that-Ni-thia-?-Abe
ni-ji-wa-ki-n muka, ni-ja-ru-ču-n, ni-ni-
SMaSg/no-return-Fut indeed SMaSg-now-go-Fut Ni-thia-?
ni-gurqa ni-ga-wati-n ni-gurqa-wangi?-n SMaSg-
Ni-month Ni-sub-Die-PPun Ni-month-one-Dat SMaSg-now-go-Fut
nag-či na-ču-n, Darwin-giš,
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? ni-ri-jia ni-na-ri ni-police-mention-yun na-ki-?
maybe MaSg-who? MaSg-that-Imm MaSg-
there
ni-ga-gi-na Roper Bar-yun, ni-ni-
SMaSg/Sub-est-Fut pl.n.-Abe MaSg-thia-
ni-Graham-mention-yun ni-ja-yu-ču-n na-či-Katherine-giš,
SMaSg-police-mention's name-AbE SMaSg-now-go-Fut that way west-All
naguni-ga-yi-na-n?gubu-n, ni-wa-yun ni-gokoko-ču-ču-n
SMaSg/15g/Sub-agay-Cause-PPun MaSg-Pron-Abe MaSg-man's name-AbE
ni-ji-wa-ki-bišara-giš, gu-na-ri-kič
SMaSg-now-return-Fut what's it place?-All GU-that-Imm-All
settlement-giš, ni-ja-work-gi-ju, Saturday-?n-
-AbE SMaSg-now-work-Aug-Neg-Fut
Maybe what's his name?, that policeman will stay there at Roper Bar
(the police station). This man Graham (the policeman) will go west.
He told me. As for gojokočo (Roy, another police tracker), he will
go back to what's its?, there to the settlement (Roper River), he will
not work, (because) it is Saturday.

12.20

manga? ba-yul ba-wangi? barguni-ga-ya-ya-n,
maybe Pl-Person Pl-one SMaSg/SPl/Sub-put in-Fut
bwoqu-yun manga? ni-jara-pula-yun
they(MaDu-Abe maybe MaSg-what's it?-and-Abe

12.21

guya-tu nqašara-ga-yi-na-n?gubu-n, na-šuna-ga-yi-na-n?gubu-n,
I-Erg 15g/SPl/Sub-agay-Cause-PPun 15g/SMaSg-
ni-jara-či-ču-n ni-jama-bu-ča-ču-n, muqy?
MaSg-what's it?-All-Abe MaSg-man's name-All-AbE always
ni-na-ri ni-ga-yi-na-ń? ni-bu-na-n-jini
MaSg-that-Imm SMaSg/Sub-do that-Fr-n SMaSg-thia-Aug-Pr
bišara, Porter Baṅka ga-ki-n barguni-ga-ča-či,
what's it place? pl.n. there SMaSg/SPl/Sub-see-Pr
ba-wa-yun ba-ni-?y-un ba-jara-tu-yun, gu-jarb
Pl-Pron-Abe Pl-thia-?-Abe Pl-what's it?-Erg-Abe GU-water
ba-qa-ga-ya-n?gubu-n, muqy-yun, muqy?
SPl/Sub-Dur-agay-PPun always-Abe barguni-ga-na-?n
SMaSg/SPl/Sub-hard-pluck
I told them — I told him, what's his name?, jambuza (Wallace, another
tracker). That man always does that, he dives to what's it?,
to Porter Baṅka. He sees them there, these men are — they often
drink grog (water'). He always takes it away from them.

12.22

gu-na-ji-ši-nišun gu-bottle-garagang?-yun, gu-na-ji-ši-nišun
GU-that-kind-?-Rel GU-
big-Abe
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 stitcks when they fight, they hit each other on the top of the head. He (jambuja) sees them because of that, it is a bad business.

12.23

bulli? gu-woilo-yun barguni-ma-zi-i, gungeyi also GU-that-Abs MsAg/Spl-get-Neg-Fut merely
ba-ga-bu-nu-yun ba-ga-rum?-gu-n barguni-ma-z-i 3Pl-Sub-water-eat-Put 3Pl-Sub-go-to sleep-Aug-Put

12.24

mal-gawa?-gawa? bargu-ma-ni-ga-bo-m gu-na-ji-ri-yun, time-Adv-now 3Pl-Gu-taste-try-Aug-PPun GU-that-kind-Imm-Abs

12.25

qi-wan-yun yakaqa qi-poloma-nun-yun ga-ki-ni-bugil?, yanaa? MsAg-Prep-Abs MsAg-Abs there still
bat barguni-ma-ni barguni-ga-ni-jini barguni-look 'em up, get MsAg/Spl-get-Prep MsAg/Spl-carry-Aug-Prep
barguni-look 'em up-may? barguni-ni-li-bu-man1 gu-yele-gi, -Neg MsAg/Spl-confine-Aug-Prep GU-hole-All

12.26

ma-gi buarma-nu-zi-i alanga? jyu? barguni-ga-ni-jini, Mx-food 3Pl/Ma-eat-Pt then send MsAg/Spl-carry-Aug-Prep
munguy? qi-ga-yima-na-?, na-ki-i?, ba-yul-yun, always MsAg/Sub-do that-Prep-3 there Pl-Aboriginal-All
barguni-ga-nun-ga-yima-na-?, Pl-White-All -All

12.27

qi-rig-i::: qi-waangi? buluki? qi-muna-nun, bari-yapan?, MsAg-go-PPun MsAg-one also MsAg-White MsAg-two
pa-ni-ku? pa-jara-yun, na-din-yuq na-Indian, FeSg-what's it?-Prep-3 FeSg-woman-Prep
qi-golgoko-gulia bari-ga-rig-i, bi-shara-gi, MsAg-man's name-and MsAg/Sub-go-PPun what's it place-All

Red Lily-yun ga-ku-?, gu-na-2-burkayi ngaqi, ja-gujupa? pl.?-Prep that way GU-that-PP-really want now-this way
bi-shara, bululan bargu-ma-nun, what's it place? pl.?-Prep GU-Prep-call-Prep

1 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,) gojokongo (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

gà-kì-ni ssùl-gì-i; bàtì-motoro-kwàč, there 3PL/Sub-eitt-PCom Com- -hasing
bàrma-yàr-mà-y, qì-nì-jùy-gì-gì 3PL/MA-thief-take-PFUn 3MAg/3MAg-send-Aug-PFUn
qì-gójokongo-gë-gù-yì qì-gì-rì-gì-i:: gà-kì-nì-bargunyì-gà-y, 3MAg-gà-gà-PFUn there 3MAg/3MAg-eitt-PFUn
'Bà-ña-rì yaw bàtì-motoro-kwàč' qì-yì-mì-kì, 3MAg-say-PFUn-
3Pl-that-Imm there!

'Bàbara-wàyù-wùn', jìpa? gujukùkwàč bàrì-rùn-gù-i, 10PM/3PL-leave-Pst later morning 3MAg-gà-go to sleep-Aug-PFUn

They (the two White men and the Indian) stopped there (at bululan), having a motoroar. They had stolen it. He (the policeman) sent gojokongo. He went and saw them there. (The policeman accompanied him.) He said (to the policeman), 'There they are over there with the motoroar. We will leave them alone (for the time being)'. The two of them went to sleep until the morning.

12.29

bàri-yò-gì-i:: gù-jà-mài-kàrrkarbà-rì-gì jàpàgù-a, 3MAg-eitt-PFUn GU-now-time-be morning-Aug-PFUn same place
mà-giì-gùn bàrma-nì-nò:: qì a-jìkà-yì-yùn MA-IM-Abé 3PL/MA-3MAg-eitt-PFUn 3MAg-Abé A-Bird-Abé

a-na? hàwàl-gì-i gù-nà-rì-yùkà, bàrì-gà-rì-gì-i:: gà-kì-nì A-still-speak-Aug-Neg-P GU-STILL-absent 3MAg/Sub-eitt-PFUn there


The two of them slept, then it was morning in that same place. They ate some food. Birds were still not making noise (it was too early). The two of them went, they came out to these men as they were still asleep.

12.30

gu-jàrà bargunyì-mà-y gu-rì-fle bargunyì-ma-y, GU-what's-it? 3PL/GU-3MAg-get-PFUn GU-
bargunyì-gà-rà-mà-y boùn, gu-jà-jòwò bù, -all- finish GU-now-be daylight
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 Christmasses'), they looked them up in jail.

12.33

ba-yapan? ba-wanggi? qa-gin? bar-i-wo cooker-puila, Pl-two Pl-one FeSG-woman MaDu-both-man-and

ba-ga-mojo-gaark-gu-ni, jipa? guru-guru Aug-Pl that Aug-PCon late Aug-PCon

ba-ga-bol-gi bo-wo-gaapu-yun, gi-yun ga-ki-? Pl-that several Aug-PCon I-Abs there

baka, na-ja-gi-1, maia-i-i-wo-ken, gaba-ja-bak-na-ni, south 15g-Pl-now Ben-Hear-PCon at that time 15g/Pl-now Ben-Hear-PCon

gu-gow-wa-yun, gu-wo-lo ba-ga-faw-kaw-gi, gu-fawk-gi-ga-gi1 GU-story-Abs GU-that Pl-Pl-epeak Aug-PCon Aug-PCon

ba-ga-gow-birown? Pl-Pl-story tell-Aug-PCon

Three of them, one woman and two men. They passed 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

gi-yun buluki? gu-gawal-mi-rpu-gi qa-gi-1, I-Abs also GU-country otherLoc 15g-Pl-subit-PCon

gi-ya-tu-wotmak? waray gu-gawal-buruburu?, gu-wo-lo-yun still-far-Neg indeed GU-country near GU-that-Abu

gu-gawal-yun, GU-country-Abu

I was staying in a different country, though not too far away, a nearby country, that country.

12.35

gu-wo-lo-yun ba-naar-kur-yun, gi-wol-yun gi-jara-yun, GU-that-Abu Pl-dangerous Aug-Abu MaDu-that-Abu MaDu-what's it-?-Abu

gi-wan-yun gi-poloeman-yun, gi-wan-yun gu-revolver MaDu-Pron-Abu MaDu-?-Abu GU-

*Sandy has decided that -gow-bir'gu- is a more appropriate verb here than -fawk-gu-.

12.36

qi-wan-galu buluki? qi-yul-yun MaDu-Pron other also MaDu-Aboriginal-Ab
qi-na-yi-ma-nu-ni?, buluki? a-jara-2wajjii?, MaDu-still do that Pl-? also A-what's it-like
ma-biripiri-wajjii? make?, a-jara ma-wan-yun MaMa-nulla nulla-make maybe A-what's it MaDu-Pron-Ab
mo-gomay? ma-na-ri-yun, a-gumbu-ga-ma, a-jara MaDu-long MaMa-that-Imm-Abu A-short-Dim

bara-ma-ka-nu baton, qi-juw? giya-na-?yo-nana 3Pl/A-call-Aug this way 3Pl/A-still put in Pr

4wolo qi-yul-yun gi-ya-ja-bu-ya-nu, GU-that MaDu-Aboriginal-Abu 3Pl/aug-3Pl-subit-fre-fate-Fut

qi-wi-ya-yun na-ju-w? gi-poloeman-gi-bun, gi-wo-lo MaDu-Aboriginal-Abu that way MaDu-Aug-All-Abu MaDu-that


qi-poloe tracker baru-ga-ma-kan you know, qi-wan-yun MaDu-

qa-ya-wala? gi-ya-wo-ga-gun gi-ya-ja-ya-?ana-1 from there 3MaDu-Sub-Aug-Aug-Fut 3MaDu/Sub-now Sub-head-fate-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 police and police tracker have is) a short one. They call it what's it?, a 'baton' (i.e. a billy club). He put it inside (this coat). If an Aboriginal (mupirs) attacks the police man, (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

qi-mamburu-ba-cu-ni mai-kali-?un, handauff 3MaDu/Sub-Aug-Aug-fre-fate-Aug time-some-Abu

This word is preceded on the tape by what sounds like gulupu?-yala ('this way-Abative'), but during the transcription Sandy asked that this be deleted.
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

gēzwelən-gi, gi-ga-gi'g-i, gi-wolo gi-yul-yuŋ, then 3MaSG-Sub-go-PPun MaSG-that MaSG-Aboriginal-Ab
ba'ta-rifle-wi'ch-un, ni-ja-nal-gi'bi'ni gu-jundo-gi'ni, Com'-having-Abse 3MaSG-now-go up-Aug-PPun GU-stone-All
ni-yul baru-maka-na ni-jara, ni-Johnny, MaSG-Aboriginal 3Pl/3MaSG-call-Pr MaSG-what's-it? MaSG-

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-lu-yuŋ MaSG-Pron-Abse MaSG- -Erg-Abse
bi'g-bak-nurgo?-jar-gi, ga-ki-ni-bugli? 3MaSG/3MaSG-Ben-β-approach through treees-Aug-PPun there -still
ni-gi-ga-bak-bolk-gi, 'nu-mill?-buna-yi gu-ni? 3MaSG/3MaSG-Ben-appar-Aug-PPun 3Sg-let-stick-Eat GU-thie-β

Hot Raina, ni-ki? ni-wolo ni-yul-yuŋ there what's it place? here MaSG-that MaSG-Aboriginal-Ab

They took him and left him there at what's-it? Hot Raina, 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).
ba-police-man-ga-yun, ba-wan-gi-i 'ni-ni?', PL- -Erg-Ab, SPL-Look-Amp-FPan Ma6g-this-g

qi-ni-ga-n-ji, baru-jga-go, mir?ki?,
SPL/Ma6g-carry-A, Aug-Pra SPL/Ma6g-now-carry-FPan 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 looked him up.

12.47
manlí-ún ga-ki-ñ-bugl? ma-mir?gl qi-ma-ga-gu-qi, M6a-food-Ab there -still M6a-Jail-Loc Ma6g/MA-Sub-eat-Pr
muny?i, ganukumi-ún ga?-gaba?b-ñ-yn, dinname-time-yn, always morning-Ab Rd6-afternoon-Ab noon-Ab
qi-bolb-ka-may?, yamba qi-wol yu-yu-yn, 3Ma6g-Rd6-come out-(Neg)Pre because Ma6g-that Ma6g-man-Ab
qi-warjak, ga-ki-, gu-jara-gl qi-ga-gu-da, Ma6g-bad there GU-what’s it-Loc 3Ma6g-Sub-eat-Pr
bargu-maka-na gu-wol-yn Guu666h, ga-ki-?-yn 3SPL/GU-call-Pr GU-that-Ab pL, there
Alice-Spring4-yun, ga-ki-? qg-got-wo-da, -Ab there 3Ma6g-Sub-Dur-be looked up-Amp-Pr
ma-wajr-yn qi-ma-ñ-may?, gu-yaku, ga-ki-ñ-bugl? Ma6-sun-Ab 3Ma6g/MA-see-Neg-Pr GU-absent there -still
qi-ga-wu, muny?, 3Ma6g-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 looked up there. He never sees the sun. He takes showers right there all the time.

12.48
garka qi-ni?, qi-ki? buluki? nuri, manga? bi-Ag like Ma6g-this-g here also north maybe where?
gu-wol-yun ngau-gawa-waraka-gi-gi ga-na-gaku-gu, GU-that-Ab 3SG/GU-country-miss-Amp-FPan 3SG-still-ghild-white
malk-yanati-burkayi, man-jara ba-ga-yu-gi, yimi he time-long ago-really group’s it? SPL-Sub-go-Amp but

'Garara-gi-wara?ka-gi ... 1
ISG/SPL-name-miss-Amp-FPan

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 forgot their names...

12.49
qi-ki? qi-wan-?i? qi-?u? baru-ja-ram-gi-i, there Ma6g-one this way SPL/Ma6g-Sub-spear-Amp-FPan
qi-jara-yun qi-wol-yun, qi-police-man-yun, qi-6r MoCh Ma6g-what’s it?-Ab Ma6g-that-Ab Ma6g- -Ab Ma6g-
baru-ga-mak-i, ganj?i, qi-gaykay-gu
3SPL/Ma6g-Sub-call-Pr MoCh-uncle-6r
qi-j-ja-bak-work-gu-uni, yamba bata-gi?i?wi ci 3Ma6g/Ma6g-now-Ben-work-Amp-FPan because Com-woman-having
buluki? qi-ni? qi-ga-rom-gi?i, also Ma6g-this-g 3Ma6g-Sub-man away-Amp-FPan 3Ma6g-that-Ab
qi-MoCh-yun, qi-wan-yun qi-yakikun-yu-yun Ma6g- -Ab Ma6g-Fron-Ab Ma6g-man’s name-6r-Ab
qi-j-ja-bak-baj-gi-gi, gu-firgj?u-gi,
3Ma6g/Ma6g-now-Ben-oversake-Amp-FPan GU-tall grass-Loa
qi-yun qi-ja-jok-gi-gi qi-j-ja-ram-gi, thinking 3Ma6g-Sub-go past-Amp-FPan 3Ma6g/Ma6g-now-spear-Amp-FPan muka, indeed

Someone speared one man there - what’s-his-name?, a policeman, 'Mr MoColl,' they called him. His (collection) mother’s brother was working for him. (Mr MoColl was speared) because he, Mr MoColl, ran away with a woman. As for gakikun (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
qi-gori? qi-rugu-qi, ba-ru-yu-yun bargu-ga-zi, Ma6g-alone 3Ma6g-Sub-gon FPan PI-Aboriginal-Ab SPL/Ma6g-carry-Neg-Pr
'baru-ja-ram-boa-m, baru-ja-ram-gi-i ba-wan-yn
SPL/Ma6g-now-Amp-kill-FPan spear-Amp-FPan PL-Fron-Ab
ba-ja-yi-ñ-ñi gu-jodj-gi, 3SPL-now-mind-hear-FPan GU-be daylight-Amp-FPan
He (Mr McCall) had gone alone, he had not taken any Aborigines with him. (Back at the camp, when Mr McCall 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 Aboriginal), who died (later) at Borrooloola, and his bunch (found Mr McCall).

12.51

ŋaŋuweleŋ-wuŋ, ma-galagaŋa baru-bak-maŋirʔ-gi-i,
then-Abs MA-box SPl/3Masg-Ben-make-Aug-PPun
baru-bjukj-gorj-i,1 baru-jagiku-ga-nuŋi,
SPl/3Masg-cooked-put in-PPun SPl/3Masg-now-raw-carry-Aug-PCon
baru-bjukj-gorj-i baru-giku-gorj-i, gu-niʔ?
SPl/3Masg-cooked-put in-PPun SPl/3Masg-raw-put in-PPun GU-this-ŋ
ba-yuŋ-guŋ ba-naʔ-jara-ku? ba-warja-ku?
Pl-Aboriginal-Abs SPl-still-what’s it-while SPl-bad-while
ba-gaŋ-gaŋ-guŋ? ba-qaŋ-ʔ-gaŋ-ŋe-gi-niʔ-guŋ?
SPl-dangerous-while SPl-Sub-Dur-pear-Aug-Recip-PC-on-while
malaʔ-iž-wolu gaŋjuʔi, at that time

Then they made a box (coffin) for him. They put the dead body in, then they carried 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

baŋa-yaran-maŋi baŋa-ruguŋ, ŋaŋuweleŋ-wuŋ
Com-horse-having SPl/Sub-go-PC-on then-Abs
ba-yiŋ-gaŋ 'may? gar-imı-ži, ma-barawu
SPl-mind-hear-PPun Well, 3PlIn-do it-Neg-Fut MA-boat
ŋarma-mi-ŋ-wuŋ malaʔ-iž-wolu ɡi-niʔ-ŋuŋ ɡi-yuŋ-guŋ
3PlIn/MA-get-Fut at that time MaSg-that-ŋ-ABS MaSg-man-ABS

1The two instances of -bjuku- 'cooked, ripe' in this segment should be emended to -giku- 'raw, unripe; dead'. See footnote, p.217.
They took him—these men, when they were still alive, what’s-his-name’s bunch, wugyu’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

gara-ki-ni barred-court ‘em’gi-jile, barred-ja-ga-ni
there SPl/MSaNg-try-Aug-Neg-P SPl/MSaNg now-carry-PPun

raga-zi, barred-ga-ni
gu-na-ul-yun, Darowin-yun
west-all SPl/MSaNg-carry-PPun GU-that-Imm-Abp pln.-Abp

baru-ci-bolk-d-1, gu-naul-jara-gu?
SPl/MSaNg-utl-appear-Aug-PPun GU-still-what’s-it?-while indeed

yaraman-nil ba-na-
ba-ga-yu-gu-nil::, bata-jara-nil,
horses-haveing Pl-that-S SPl/Sub-go-PPCon Com-what’s-it?-having
bullock wagon bara-maka-na a-fulugiga-agu-ga-doror-gu-nil
SPl/A-call-Pr A-bullock-erg A/GU-Sub-pull-Aug-PPCon

ama-ag-dorror-gu-nil ma-wagon-yun, yanachi-yiyn gu-nil-1-yun,
A-MA-Sub-pull-Aug-PPCon MA-Abp long ago REL GU-this-S-ABp

*They tried him in court there. They took him west. They took him (to) that place, they came out with him in Darowin. (This was) when there still were what’s-it?, (wagons) with horses, those men went along, with what’s-it?, 'bullock wagon', they call them. The bullocks were pulling it, they were pulling the wagon, this kind from long ago.

12.56

baru-ga-ni

gara-ki-ni, gara-ki-ni barred-ga-court ‘em’gi-d1
SPl/MSaNg-carry-PPun there SPl/MSaNg-Sub-try-Aug-PPCon

baru-ga-Nak-1-1:: ‘may? gi-yun gu-yaku’,
SPl/MSaNg-Sub-appear-Aug-PPCon Well, I-Abp GU-absent

qi-yi-ni-nil, juy? bara-ga-ni, gi-wan-yun
SPl/MSaNg-send-PPCon MaSaNg-PPCon-Ab

buluk?1-yun Borroloola-nayi-yun, bargini-waral-d1 also-Abp pln.-died at-Abp SPl/MSaNg/MSaNg-aug-PPCon

* 'walagun gi-ni-nil-gu gi-nil-ri-nil, ‘may? to where? MaSaNg-that-S-Abp SPl/Sub/MSaNg-go-Aug-PPCon way Well,

qi-na-nil garu-mana-gul-gu-nil, gi-yi-nil-nil, MaSaNg-that-Imm SPl/Sub/MSaNg-near-out-Aug-PPCon

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 (gakiyar) go?' (They told him,) 'That way.' He said, 'Well, we will (get him and) hang him by the neck.'

12.57

gara qiini-mungu-gi

qiini-mungu-gi:: ri-ki-?
like SPl/Gat/BaNg-follow-Aug-PPCon

Jim-imyu gu-yima-na? gi-lu-?, nani-z ja-rewarra
pI-n.-Abp GU-do that-Pr-S they way west-All

*gi-ki-ni qiini-ga-bak-bolk-gi-d1, handoff
there SPl/Gat/BaNg/Sub-appear-Aug-PPCon
qiini-bak-gu?, nai-gwalini-un qiini-ga-ni,
SPl/Gat/BaNg/Sub-put-on-PPCon then-Abp SPl/Gat/BaNg-send-PPCon

qa? Darowin, qa-ki-nil bara-jama-gul-gi-d1,
still-pln. there SPl/Gat/BaNg-now-near-cut-Aug-PPCon

So they went after him there. Jim-im (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-im. They confronted him, they put handoffs on him, then they took him back to Darowin. They hanged him there.

12.58

ba-munanga-yun ba-yima-na? ‘hang ‘em’?, baru-hang ‘em’gi-d1
Pl-White-Abp SPl-say-Pr-S SPl/Gat/BaNg-

*ga-ki-ni, anga-gbagu bara-mana-gul-gi-d1, gu-wolo
there however SPl/Gat/BaNg-near-out-Aug-PPCon GU that

ba-yi-yun ba-na-jara-gu?,
ba-na-wild-fellow-gu?,
Pl-Aboriginal-Abp Pl-still-what’s-it?-while Pl-still -while

bargu-maka-na wild fellow, ba-warjak-gi-nil angaC,
SPl/GU-call-Pr SPl/bad-Aboriginal PPCon however

The Whites say 'Hang'. They hanged (narrator uses English term) him there, but (we say) they hanged him (Ngandu 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

ma-zi-wolo ga-jun?, ba-na-jara-gi-nil-i
at that time SPl-still-what’s-it-Ind-Neg-P

ba-ba-ram-mak-gi-nil-i
a-jara-ku-yun,
SPl/A-BeNg-behaviour-good-Ind-Neg-P A-what’s-it-Dat-Abp

a-yi-nil-gu-yun a-munanga-ku-yun, gewa-yun
A-thing-Dat-Abp A-White-Dat-Abp now-Abp

ba-ba-ram-mak-gi-na, yamba a-mak,
SPl/A-BeNg-behaviour-good-Ind-Fr because A-good

ba-yi-bu-yun gi-woli-yun, yamba gi-yi-nil-yun
Pl-Aboriginal-Abg-Abp MaSaNg-that-Abp because MaSaNg-Aboriginal-Abg

273
At that time they were still doing what’s-it?, they did not like what’s-it?, Whites. Nowadays they, the Aboriginals, like them, because they (the Whites) are good. That Aboriginal (gakiyar) was a real culprit, so he used to spear Aboriginals. They did it once to him, they hanged that Aboriginal.

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.
A policeman, maybe an Aboriginal policeman, 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 nguŋumiŋi was covered (with people). There was a corroboree, all kinds of things (a-ŋa-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.)

12.66

ba-ga-ni-giŋ ba-ga-yimi-ŋ-ŋ-gi-ːːː, SPL/Sub-nw-it-FPan SPL/Sub-do that-FPan-ŋ-Aug-FPan
bargu-gaŋ-t?-g-i gu-bungul-yung mala?-iŋ-wolo SPL/GU-finish-Aug-FPan GU-dancing-Abs at that time
baru-jama-guŋ-k-g-i gi-wolo-yung, SPL/Sub-nwneok-AAug-FPan SPL/Sub-ed-FPan MaSg-that-Abs
ni-nariŋiŋ gi-wolo-yung gaŋju?, SPL/Sub-nwneok-AAug-FPan SPL/Sub-ŋ Aug-FPan MaSg-name of subsection MaSg-that-Abs
baru-gana-guŋ-k-g-i baru-burk-g-i ŋa-ki-ŋ-bugiri?, SPL/Sub-nwneok-AAug-FPan SPL/Sub-ed-FPan SPL/Sub-giŋ-FPan Du Ga-food SPL/Sub-finish

They stopped, they did that, they finished the singing and dancing. At that time they hanged that man, man of the ngari subsection. They hanged him and buried him right there. They gave food and tobacco to his father and mother, and it was over.

12.67

gu-wolo-yung, gu-wolo ba-ja-ga-guŋ-k-g-i, GU-that-Abs SPL/Sub-ŋ-Aug-FPan SPL/Sub-dwŋ-gi, SPL/Sub-giŋ-FPan SPL/Sub-finish
ba-jayim-i-ŋ-may? mungyuŋ-yung, gu-yaku, yamba
SG/Sub-nw-Abs that-Aug-FPan always-Abs GU-absent because
malaŋ-iŋ-wolo gi-jara at that time MaSg-what's-it? SPL/Sub-giŋ-FPan SPL/Sub-wiŋ-FPan SPL/Sub-ŋ-Aug-FPan

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

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.
(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
be-gu-da, gurpa-yapen?, maikali-ŋu ayapen? a-wangiri?
3Pi-Sub-Pr month-two times-some-Ab several A-two A-one
ba-ga-gu-da, ŋa-ki-ŋu ba-ga-got-gu-da gwo-lo
3Pi-Sub-itt-Pr there 3Pi-Sub-be enclosed-Aus-Pr Gw-that
gu-yalgi-yung, ma-i-č-wolo-yung barguni-ja-juy?,
GU-Jail-Loc-Ab two at that time 3Maag/Sli-Pr-some-Ab
maikali-ŋu gwo-Christmas gu-yapen? wangi, gu-yapen?
times-some-Ab GU- GU-two one
a-wangiri, maikali-ŋu-i-č-wolo barguni-ja-juy?, ŋi-police-man-gu-yung, Gw-
at that time -Sub- Maag- -Erg-Ab
barguni-ja-juy?,
3Maag/Sli-Pr-some-Ab

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
ŋa-ki-ŋu-yung ŋi-wangiri? ŋi-ga-qua, ŋi-ga-boss-gl-na
there 3Maag-one 3Maag-Sub-itt-Pr 3Maag-Sub-boss-Inch-Pr
ŋa-ki-i-ri, bargu-ya-na, gu-jari-gi, gu-paper-gi, gi,
there 3Pi/Gu-put in-Pr GU-what's this? All GU-newspaper-All
ma-i-č-wolo ŋi-gwak-i-nu, gwo-lo-yung, gi-wolo-yung
at that time 3Maag/Sub-return-Part GU-what's this? Ab Maag-sub-what's this
ŋi-yul-ŋu, ŋi-yul, ba-mala-galič ba-na-munana
Maag-Absolut-Ab one group some Pl-still-white
ba-ga-yima-na-?, muny?, ba-bak-gubur-irigi-gu-ga,
3Pi/Sub-itt-one that-Pr- always 3Pi-Ben-business-continue-Aus-Pr

One man sits there, the one who is the boss there. He put 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.

1 In such complex numerals as 'three' ('two, one') Sandy considered it more correct to add the noun-class prefix to both elements. Therefore, gu-yapen? gu-wangiri? is given here as a correction for gu-yapen? wangi,? However, the latter type occurs several times in the texts and must be regarded as typical in casual style.

12.70
an-yung a-jara-ku gambič, gu-yimin-gu gu-jara-ku,
as for A-what's it-Dat (?) GU-sfilm-Dat GU-what's it-Dat
ba-ja-ram-ge-gi-l-č-may?, ŋa-glugi-hug? ba-yul-yung
3Pi-Sub-spear-Aug-Node-Pr-Prep-Pr somewhere else only Pl-Aboriginal-Ab
ba-ja-ram-ge-gi-l-č-ma, monči, garbera-ge-č-may?,
3Pi-Sub-spear-Aug-Node-Pr-Prep-Pr secretly 3Pl/Pi/some-Ab
ba-yul-ju-yung, ma-bir-ju-yung buluki? barba-ge-č-may?,
Pl-Aboriginal-Erg-Ab Pl-many-Erg-Ab also 3Pi/3Pl-some-Ab
Gu-yaku, yamba barguni-mili? jara-č-č
GU-absent because 3Maag/Sli-Pr-some-what's it? Inoch-Avitt
barguni-mili? milič? 3Pl-buč
3Pl/Sli-Pr-some-Jail-confine-Avitt 3Maag- -Erg
For what's it?, for that thing, what's it?. They do not speak each other (openly). Aboriginals speak each other somewhere else, secretly. We do not see them. Most Aborigines 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-guňiki-na gwo-lo-ku, ba-ja-gamulu-yung-i-na
3Pl-Sub-be afraid-Pr GU-what's this 3Pi-Sub-be-temper-late-Refl-Pr
ba-burk-č-í-na, buluki? gu-na-č-ri-č-ki-yung,
3Pi-cover-Aug-Ref-Pr also GU-what's this? Kind-Impr-Loc-Ab
gu-gubur-garungar-gi-ung, ba-ja-ying-i-na,
GU-business-big-Loc-Ab 3Pi/Sub-hide-Refl-Pr
ba-ja-maki-č-may?, gwo-lo-ung, yamba ba-guňiki-na
3Pl-some-truck-Neg-Pr GU-what's this Ab because 3Pl-be afraid-Pr
barba-milič? ram-č-č-
3Pi/Sub-spear-Aug-Ref-Pr Pl-Aboriginal-Erg-Ab

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 truck, because they are afraid that some Aboriginals will spear them.

12.72
buluki?-yung barguni-milič? 3Pl-buč yamba
also-Ab 3Maag/Sli-Pr-some-Jail-confine-Avitt because
ŋi-police-man-gu, baru-ja-ku-ňiki-na, angičba
Maag- -Erg 3Pi/3Maag-some-be afraid-Pr however
ŋi-mi-č?, ŋi-yimin-gu ŋi-police-man-gu,
Maag-thit-č 3Maag-good Maag-sfilm-Ab 3Maag- -Ab
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
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rum-wangi?}-\text{yu} & \text{ ba-ga-gugu?-q} \quad \text{alright, alright-may?} \\
\text{behaviour-one-Abe} & \text{ SPL-Sub-go-Put} \quad \text{Neg} \\
\text{guni bulku?} & \text{1} \quad \text{damn! alright}
\end{align*}
\]

1Sandy has corrected himself, replacing the English term alright with the Ngandu equivalent bulku.

12.74
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gu-wolo-yun, yamba ba?-gubur-warjaka-na, ba-wan?-twi} & \text{, \textit{Gl-that-Abs} because SPL-Dur-business-be bad-Pr PL-Pron-Emph} \\
\text{ba-jaipir?-ti-na, ba-yi?na-na-z-may?} & \text{, gu-yimin?-gi-yifun-yun} \\
\text{SPL-wild-InoH-Pr} & \text{SPL-mind-hear-Neg-Fr \textit{GU-thing-Loo-Rel-Abs}} \\
\text{gu-jara-gi} & \text{gu-jark gu-na-jri} \\
\text{\textit{GU-what’s it?-Loc GU-water GU-that-kind-Imm}} & \text{GU-thing-Inat-Ab} & \text{SPL-water-eat-Pr-Loo-Abs} & \text{MaSi-one until MaSi-Aboriginal} \\
\text{gi-wati?-n} & \text{gi-yimin?gu-yun, gu-jark-gu-yun} \\
\text{MaSi-die-PPun} & \text{GU-thing-Inat-Ab} & \text{GU-water-Inst-Abs} & \text{MaSi-Aboriginal} \\
\text{Because they always do bad things and they are wild, they do not think (properly) about that thing, what’s it?, that kind of liquid which they drink (i.e. beer and liquor), until one man died because of the thing, because of the liquid.}
\end{align*}
\]

12.75
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{buluki?} & \text{ ni-gey?-qi-i} \quad \text{wuulu-wunuy? ni-ja-wati-n} \\
\text{also \textit{3MaSi-rise-Aug-Neg-P} always \textit{3MaSi-nou-die-PPun} \textit{-All}} \\
\text{baru-ga-giku-ga-y} & \text{baru-ga,n, \textit{qi-jara-gl} \textit{-SPL/3MaSi-Sub-see-eep-PPun \textit{SPL/3MaSi-carry-PPun MaSi-what’s it?-All}} \textit{-All}} \\
\text{gi-doctor-gl} & \text{, \textit{qi-doctor-yun} \textit{1} \textit{gini-ga-gak-gi}} \\
\text{MaSi-doctor-All} & \text{MaSi-doctor-All} \quad \text{MaSi-Sub-out-Aug-PPun} \\
\text{gini-ga-na-y} & \text{gini-ga-na-y} \quad \text{\textit{may?} gu-jara yambe} \\
\text{\textit{SPL/MaSi-Sub-see-PPun} \textit{Well, GU-what’s it? because}} & \text{MaSi-Aboriginal-PPun} & \text{because} \\
\text{gini-bun-gu-nil} & \text{gina-na-jri} \quad \text{gu-bottle-garaggar?n',} \\
\text{\textit{3MaSi-water-eat-PPcon GU-that-kind-Imm GU-water-bottle}} & \text{gu-bottle-garaggar?n,} \\
\text{\textit{SPL/3MaSi-kil-11-Neg-P \textit{3MaSi-carry-PPun}}} & \text{\textit{Well,} \textit{GU-what’s it? because}} \\
\text{gi-yini-n} & \text{gy-wolo-golo gi-ga-wati-n} \\
\text{\textit{3MaSi-say-PPun-P} GU-Rap-that} & \text{\textit{3MaSi-Sub-die-PPun} \textit{-All}} \\
\text{ba-yul-ju-yun} & \text{baru-bu-z-i} \\
\text{PL-Aboriginal-Erg Ape} & \text{qi-yini-n?} \\
\text{Then he did not get up again, he died for good. He carried his body, they carried him to what’s-hie-name?, to the doctor. The doctor operated on him (‘cut him up’), he looked at him. ‘Well, it was because he drank what’s it?, the stuff in the big bottle’, he said.} & \text{GU-bottle-big} \\
\text{That’s why he died, he was not killed by Aboriginal’, he said.}
\end{align*}
\]

12.76
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gu-yaku,} & \text{ \textit{qi-mak-gi-i} \textit{, gin, \textit{qi-mak-gi-i}}} \\
\text{GU-absent} & \text{\textit{3MaSi-good-InoH-Neg-P} I mean \textit{3MaSi-good-InoH-Neg-P} \textit{-All}} \\
\text{gi-jara-gi-n} & \text{, \textit{qi-wan?-twi} \textit{gi-gubur-warjaka-n}} \\
\text{\textit{3MaSi-what’s it?-InoH-Pcon} \textit{MaSi-Prune-Emph} \textit{MaSi-business-be bad-PPun}} \\
\text{gii-yul-ju} & \text{gigu-ga-wujun} \quad \text{gu-wulo} \\
\text{\textit{MaSi-Aboriginal-Erg} \textit{3MaSi-Aboriginal-PPcon} \textit{-All}} \quad \text{\textit{3MaSi-Sub-abandon-Pot} \textit{GU-that}} \\
\text{qi-ja-bak-guber-mak-gi-nun} & \text{3MaSi-Sub-die-PPun} \quad \text{3MaSi-Sub-go to sleep-Aug-PPun} \\
\text{\textit{SPL/MaSi-Sub-go-PPcon}} & \text{\textit{No, he did not get well. I mean, he did not get well. (Narrator thought he had made a mistake, then repeated what he had said before.) He was what’s it?, he acted badly. The Aboriginal should have left that (liquor) alone. He should have acted properly.}}
\end{align*}
\]

\text{1Should be Ergative \textit{qi-doctor-gu-yun}. Sandy probably did not correctly anticipate the case role of this noun in the following clause.}
12.77

*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

*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

I know nothing 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

They are bad. Their mouths stink. Those Aboriginals only (consume) liquor (‘water’). They do not kill swine, they do not collect vegetable food, they do not eat it (vegetable food). They only drink that liquor, always.
But they did not pay attention, they still bring it there, to the house (at Roper River). There they drink it anyway. They fight. They behave badly.

12.85
qi-wan-yun buluki? qi-polioemam-yun qi-na?-mungu, MaSuG-Fron-Abs also MaSuG- -Abs 3MaSuG-still-follow
ga-či-ń-ų, barguni-baťa-mungu, barguni-baťa-ga-či, that way 3MaSuG/SPl-Com-follow 3MaSuG/SPl-Com-see-Pr
gu-bottle-garga-gar?-yung barguni-mar-wur?, GU-bottle-big-Abs 3MaSuG/SPl-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 (-mar-wur/-) from them.

12.86
Gu-wan-yug gu-jare-yung, gu-beer-yung, gu-wolo
GU-Fron-Abs GU-what's it?-Abs GU- -Abs GU-that
barguni-ga-baťa-watu-na, gu-beer barguni-mak-a-na, norkor-yung
3MaSuG/SPl-Sub-Com-abandon-Pr GU- SPl/GU-call-Pr we (PLIn)-Abs
gu-jaṛk ngači-mak-a-na gu-wol-yung, gu-baťa-jamaka?-wič, GU-water 1PLIn/GU-call-Pr GU-that- Abs GU-Com-own
with gu-wolo ba-ga-bun-ń-či, ńgi-ga-watu-na, GU- that 3Pl/Spl-Sub-water-eat-Pr 3MaSuG/GU-Sub-abandon-Pr
ni-ga-wači-ń-may? giba-ga-baťa-watu-na, 3MaSuG-Sub-abandon-Neg-Pr 3MaSuG/SPl-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 'jařk' (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-bug? ba-ga-bun-ń-či, gu-wolo-yun
GU-that-only 3Pl/Spl-Sub-water-eat-Pr GU-that- Abs
baru-ga-yo?-gač?-guń, bok, baru-ga-gař?-gu-ni buluki? SPl/GU/Sub-ťs-finah Aug-Aug-Pr finish -Pr also
ba-na?-miya-miyam-ga-ni-jin, ba-na?-ńłu-ń ni-ga-ń? SPl-still-RĐp-get more Aug-Aug-Pr SPl-still-go-Pr that way
waś-ač, ba-ma-ga-gaši-ń-ů, gu-mulmu-pič ba-ja-yu-ń-ů, up-All 3Pl-group-some- Abs GU-graše-Per 3Pl-now-ile 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.
gu-jark-yan, gu-na-ji-h-un
GU-water-Abe GU-that-kind-#Abe GU-bottle-big-Abe

qi-bun-nyu-čini, gi-ga-bun-nyu-čini
SMaG-water-eat-Pr -Sub-

qi-na-za-ga-jara-gi-na
SMaG-old man-call-Haj-f-Neg-Pr

qi=jara-ga, gi-ryum-gu-ni, gi=wo-lo-yuŋ
SMaG-go to sleep-Aug-Fr

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-wo-lo qa=gu-wala? ni-policeman ni-ga-buŋa-n-jini
GU-that from there MaSp-

SMaG-Sub-push-Aug-Fr

qiini=za-čini, 'ga=ma ni-ni? ni-i-lu-ya-ga
SMaG/smMaG-see-Fr Oh MaSp-this-# MaSp-might as well-sleep-Fr

gamakun?, nu=nu=waŋu=na
qi=nya=ma=na?, properly 1Sp/MaSp-abandon-Fr MaSp-say-Fr=

qi=waŋu=na, 'qi=na= wa=-zmay? qi=na-wai̱qa
SMaG/MaSp-abandon-Fr MaSp-still-die-Neg-Fr MaSp-still-alive

qi=nya=ma=na?, qi=nya=la=waŋu=na, ma=la=i=-wo-lo-yuŋ
SMaG-say-Fr# MaSp/MaSp=now-#-abandon-Fr 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

qungayi-buŋi? ba-ma=ia=giilli barguni-ga=za-čini,
merely-only Pi-group-some MaSp/SPl/Sub-see-Fr

barguni-ga=n-jini, ga=ču=, bo-wo-lo ba-bu=ŋaŋa=i=μ
=oa=ry-Aug-Fr that way Pi-that Pi-always-dangerous-Rel

bo-wo-lo-yi=μ, ba=ga=ŋaŋ=ma=may barguni-waŋu=na
Pi-that-Rel Pi/Sub-Dangerous-Neg MaSp/SPl/Sub-abandon-Fr

bo-wo-lo-yuŋ, ba-ri=mu=ma=yamba ba=yu-yuŋ
Pi-that-Ab Pi-behaviour-good because Pi-Aboriginal-Ab

bo=wo=lo=yn, Pi-that-Ab

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.
ba-yi-ma-gailiĉ-un gaykubur?, 3PL/mitj-Abn-plv-see-Fr 3PL/seek-Abn-plv-Fr Pl-Aboriginal-All-Abse

Many (polo)men 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 (the Aboriginals) drink the liquid (i.e. liquor).
1Sandy 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.

2Here the root is -yu- (allomorph -yo-).
You have come back a second time.' 'Yes' (says the culprit). 'What did you do?' 'Well,' he might say, 'it was because I spared an Aboriginal man.' Sometimes he might say, 'it was because I and a man were fighting,' he says.

12.102
'nil-wan-gu, nil-wan-gu, nil-ga-gubur-warjaka-ni.', 'gaga',
Masg-Pron-Erg
Masg-gubur-business-be bad-EPun Oh.
'sya-gi-ki-bugii? naba-ga-juy?-g-i naba-ga-ga-n-dl
I-All-only 3Pl/IsAg-sub-send-Aug-EPun 3Pl/IsAg-sub-carry-Aug-PCon
gulupu-yun' ni-yima-na-?, gali-c-ul baba-jaila-ga-n-jini,
this way-Abc 3Masg-ag-Pr-sh some-Abc 3Pl/IsAgboth-carry-Aug-Pr
baba-ga-n-jini-pula, bari-ga-fawk baba-gi-n-ga-man-ki?
3Pl/IsAg-carry-Aug-Pr-Du 3MaDu-sub-speak 3Pl/GU-MaDu-sub-make
gulugol-yun, guli-c-mak, GU-theirs-Abc GU-sh-good
'It was him (the other man) who did a bad thing' (the culprit says). 'Oh!' (the police say). 'They only sent me away, they brought me home!' he says. Sometimes they take both (fighters), they take the two of them. They both speak, they make it (the story?) good.

12.103
baba-ga-n-juy?, baba-ga-juy?-bula, gulugol
3Pl/3Pl-still-send 3Pl/3Pl-send-Du GU-that
baba-ga-n-juy?-g-i, baba-ga-juy?-g-i, baba-ga-juy?-g-i, baba-ga-juy?-g-i
3GU-MaDu-sub-business-do bad-Fut 3Pl/3Pl-noa-send-Aug-Neg-Fut-Du
baba-jalga-ji-ni, baba-jalga-n-jini, baba-jalga-n-jini, baba-jalga-n-jini
3Pl/3Pl-send-Aug-EPun this way west-all
baba-jalga-gi-c, Fannie-Bay-c, baba-jalga-n-jini? an-yun
what's it place-all pln-all A-Ben-do that-Pr-sh as for
baba-ga-yun a-ga-bak-ya-ga, a-bak-ya-ga
GU-business-Abc A-Sub-Ben-like down-Pr A-what's it? Dat
a-poleseman-ga-ga, ga-ga-bak-gubur-ga, a-
Dat-Abc GU-that A-Sub-Ben-business-like 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 whatever, to Fannie Bay jail. That is the way the business operates for whatever it is?, for a policeman. That is the way it is.

12.104
ma-i-c-li-c-ul a-bulugl baba-yara-ma-ni, baba-wan-yun
time-some-Abc A-bulook 3Pl/A-thief-take-Pr Pl-Fron-Abc

1Should be MaDu-bo-wogi-yun rather than Pl ba-wan-yun here.
12.107

maia?-i:wolo bari-ga-tugunini, gi-wan-yun magga?
at that time SMar/Sub-go-Pr MAsg-Pron-Abse maybe
qi-munana-yun ge-ki-ni, qi-stoocom baru-ga-maka-na,
MAsg-White-Abse there MAsgs- BIf/SubMAsg-sub-call-Pr
qi-ja-pory, qi-tugunini ge-ki-ni, qi-wolo qi-policeymen-yun,
SMAsg-now-nore SMAsg-go-Pr there MAsg-that MAsg-
qi-warja-warja gu-revolver-yung bal, gigu-ma-ni i
SMAsg-Rdp-search GU- -Abse get SMAsg/GU-get-Pr
At that time the two of them (the policeman and policeman) go along.
The stockman for his part is over there, they call him 'stockman'.
He is enquiring now. The policeman goes along there, searching for the
(stockman's) revolver. He grubs it ...

12.108

paquwenu-un, a-jara qini-ja-bak-yo-nana, handauff
then-Abse A-what's it? SMar/SMar-nou-Ben-put on-Pr
qini-ja-bak-yo-nana, qi-wololgi-un, qi-munana-gliq-un
MAsg-that-All-Abse MAsg-White-All-Abse
paquwenu-un qini-ja-ja-n-jini, wajman?
then-abse SMAsg/SMar-nou-carry-Aug-Pr everyone
barja-ja-ja-jini, ga-cu?, police station-glig,
BIf/Sub-nou-carry-Aug-Pr that way -All
ba-ga-tugunini:q ge-ki-n, bargun-ja-rild-bu-mana,
SMasg/Sub-go-Pr there SMasg/Sub-jail-confine-Aus-Pr
Then he puts the what's it?, the handauff, 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 police-
man) looks them up in jail.

1Sandy has decided to use the verb -rili?-bu- instead of -yo-. In
this example he says baru-yo-gi-i-may? with -rili? may? added to the
Negative stem, although he could have said baru-(ja)-yo-nana?-may?,
i.e. 'not baru-(ja)-yo-nana'; cf. footnote 1, page 291.
13.1

gu-wolo-yuŋ, ŋa-raŋ-gurun-giŋ-wuŋ
GU-that-All Fe2sg-his-mother in law-All-All

E-gibaŋ-yowk-ga-ni a-jara-ju, a-jara-ju ʊnuni,
SmSoG/SFeSoG-nose-apply-Aug-Pr A-what's it?-Inst damn!
o-moyoŋ-guŋ, gu-wolo-yuŋ bič, a-gaku-ŋuŋtayi-yuŋ,
A-red-cohre-Inst GU-that-All well,... A-child-her-All

ŋa-raŋ-gurun-giŋ-wuŋ, 6-ja-wo-nuŋ
6FeSoG/A-Sub-if-appear-Cause-Put SmSoG/SmoSoG-now-give-Put

(Tha boy) rubs what's-it?, red cohre, 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).

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—— (to appear) Nunggubuyu grammar.

