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DHUWAL (ARNHEM LAND) TEXTS ON KINSHIP AND OTHER SUBJECTS
WITH GRAMMATICAL SKETCH AND DICTIONARY

by

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OTHER BOOKS BY JEFFREY HEATH

Linguistic Diffusion in Arnhem Land. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. 1978.

Ngandi Grammar, Texts, and Dictionary. Canberra: Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. 1979.

Basic Materials in Ritharngu: Grammar, Texts, and Dictionary. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics. Forthcoming.

Basic Materials in Warndarang: Grammar, Texts, and Dictionary. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics. Forthcoming.

A NOTE ON KINSHIP NOTATION

Kin terms are glossed with labels like B (brother) and F (father). To distinguish 'son' from 'sister', the former is abbreviated S and the latter Z, as is often done among anthropologists. Sequences like FZS are relative products of the type 'father's sister's son'. The symbol C represents 'child' (S or D).

Subsections are labeled D1A, Y2B, etc. Here D and Y represent the two patrilineal moieties. For details see the comments on p. 68.

To conserve space, the commentary on the Dhuwal texts has been kept to a minimum in this volume. For a general overview of Dhuwal kinship terminology and related vocabulary, see now Heath (forthcoming-b).

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PART ONE: GRAMMAR

1. INTRODUCTION.

This volume presents textual material, along with a grammatical sketch and a small dictionary, from the Dhuwal language of the Yuulngu group of Australian languages. This group is found in a continuous area in north-east Arnhem Land. I am publishing elsewhere (Pacific Linguistics) a volume on Ritharngu, the most southerly of the Yuulngu languages, and in addition to the Dhuwal material I have a few texts in the Dhay'yi language.

Although I have been able to examine some unpublished paradigmatic material by B. Schebeck on other Yuulngu languages, the following genetic classification is highly tentative:

- a) Western Yuulngu: Djinang, Djinba.
- b) Northern Yuulngu: Dhaangu, Djaangu, Nhaangu.
- c) Southern Yuulngu: Ritharngu, Dhuwal, Dhuwala, Dhuwaya, Dhay'yi.

Within the last subgroup, the genetic relationships seem to be roughly as follows:

- i) Ritharngu.
- ii) a. Dhay'yi.
- b. Dhuwal, Dhuwala, Dhuwaya.

Dhuwal and Dhuwala appear not to be sharply distinct; the Aborigines themselves make the distinction on the basis of the loss of final vowels in some Dhuwal words, notably the deictic dhuwal 'this' (*dhuwala). The Dhuwaya language, which I have not recorded and which other linguists have never heard of, appears to be a minor variant of Dhuwala (cf. Text B6, below). For additional comments on the difficulty of distinguishing Dhuwal and Dhuwala, see Morphy (1977).

The native classification of languages works primarily on two levels. First, each patrilineal clan is thought to have its own speech variety; from the linguist's view this is true in some cases but not in others. Second, larger language groups such as those listed above are recognized; most are labeled in the native classification by the word for 'this' (this is not true of Ritharngu, however). As language names, the words for 'this' are usually garnished with a glottal stop, hence dhuwal 'this' but dhuwal? 'the Dhuwal language'.

The texts in this volume show rather clearly that the Dhuwal language contains considerable dialectal variation. We can make an initial distinction between the Jambarpuyn^{Gu} and Japu? clan-dialects. There are systematic differences between the two; Japu? has an Ergative suffix -l for kin terms not found in Jambarpuyn^{Gu}; Japu? has a pronominal case form with suffix -l/-bal/-pal not used in Jambarpuyn^{Gu}; there are some important differences in verbal suffix allomorphs. The two clan-dialects will be abbreviated Jam and Jap.

For both Jam and Jap I was able to work with two speakers, one young (about 18-20) and one over 40. All were male. From the material it is apparent that neither Jam nor Jap is especially homogeneous. For example, the two Jam speakers differ in their most common Future particle (thu vs. yur, cf. Jap yuru), and in whether verbal root forms (to be described below) occur normally with or without the suffix -na 'now'. The two Jap speakers show even more differences, although they were father and son; this probably reflects the great age differential between them (c. 70 and c. 18 years old, resp.), and some changes which have been creeping into

the language in a context of considerable demographic instability, etc. The four speakers were these:

Jam: Miyala (c. 50 in 1976) Wuyulwuy (c. 70, deceased)
 Roy = natilma (c. 20) Benjamin = macurumbuy (c. 18)

The two younger speakers are referred to here by their English names Roy and Benjamin.

Texts are labeled M3, R2, W5, B6, etc., with separate numbering for each speaker (M for Miyala, etc.). The citation M4.2.3 means the third line of the second section of Miyala's fourth text. Readers should note these conventions since many textual citations occur in the grammar and dictionary. There is also a section of short utterances (U), so the citation U15 means the fifteenth item in that section.

My first Dhuwal informant was Wuyulwuy, whom I met while working on the Nunggubuyu language at Numbulwar Mission around the end of 1973. I did not have much time to work with Wuyulwuy but I did record a number of texts (some of them, not published here, turned out to be secret-sacred). Although rough transcriptions and analyses were made, the material was not in good shape when Wuyulwuy left Numbulwar; I did not even understand the phonemic system. Because Wuyulwuy's voice on the tapes was quite clear, I was later able to polish the nonsecret texts up for publication here.

My major work on Dhuwal was done at the very end of my fieldwork, around July 1977. By this time Miyala was the only fluent Dhuwal speaker left at Numbulwar. Since I had by then completed research on another Yuulngu language, Ritharngu, I decided to work intensively on Dhuwal at this time. I was delighted when Miyala turned out to have quite a good knowledge of the language, and to be an excellent narrator. In addition, on a visit to Ngukurr (Roper R.) I was able to record texts and a few utterances from Roy and Benjamin. Roy is normally at Lake Evella, and Benjamin at Yirrkala, but were then at Ngukurr visiting relatives. Back at Numbulwar, Miyala helped transcribe and analyse these texts.

The following grammatical sketch and dictionary are biased towards the Jambarpuynḡu (Jam) dialect, although Jap data are presented when available. It was not possible for me to carry out systematic grammatical or lexical analysis of Jap. Another linguist, F. Morphy, has studied the Jap dialect and will hopefully be publishing on it shortly. My Jap textual material, on the other hand, is in reasonable shape, particularly the Wuyulwuy material, and should be useful for dialectological purposes.

Because of the relatively brief duration of my Dhuwal fieldwork, the fact that a decent volume has resulted is a tribute to these informants. The texts by Miyala and Wuyulwuy are of high quality linguistically and ethnographically, though in Wuyulwuy's case some of the best material is secret and cannot be published. The texts by Roy and Benjamin are also of high quality considering their age.

The emphasis on texts is due to several reasons. First, the texts on kinship in particular are of ethnographic interest since despite the vast primary and secondary ethnographic literature on Yuulngu (=Murngin) kinship, authentic native statements have not previously been published. Secondly, I believe that grammars and dictionaries are poor ways of presenting linguistic and semantic information, and that the best way to

communicate useful information about a language is to encourage (or force) readers to work through actual texts. Thirdly, since the data for this language are less full than for most other languages I have written on, I am reluctant to present the data in a highly processed grammar which might contain important interpretative errors on my part. Fourthly, the publication of a substantial textual corpus will permit readers to investigate grammatical or cognitive problems which might be overlooked in a grammar or dictionary by a linguist more interested in some matters than in others.

2. PHONOLOGY.

The basic phonemes are shown below:

m	nh	n	<u>n</u>	n ^y	n ^ḡ	i	u	i:	u:
p	th	t	<u>t</u>	c	k				
b	dh	d	<u>d</u>	j	ḡ	a		a:	
		l	<u>l</u>						
		r							
		<u>r</u>	y	w	?				

Excluding the lowest row of consonants (r y w ?), the six basic consonantal columns are, respectively, these: bilabial, interdental (laminal), alveolar (apical), retroflexed (apical), laminoalveolar, and velar. Note that n^ḡ is the velar nasal, usually ŋ in linguistic transcriptions.

r is an alveolar tap, while r is the slightly retroflexed approximant r-sound found in American English. ? is glottal stop, which occurs only in syllable-final position and usually at morpheme boundaries. Long vowels occur only in word-initial syllables. The distinction between fortis (p, th...) and lenis (b, dh...) stops occurs within a word in intervocalic position (V V) and in the environment VL V where L is a nonnasal sonorant (l, l, r, r, y, w). In positions where the fortis/lenis opposition is neutralized, I use the fortis symbols syllable-finally and the lenis symbols syllable-initially, as in bat 'get', where neither the b nor the t is phonemically specified for the fortis/lenis opposition.

Interdentals (nh th dh) occur only before vowels. Interdental nh is largely confined to affixes and a few high-frequency stems like nha: 'what?'. Word-initially, apicoalveolars (n d l) are rare, and r is not especially common; by contrast, retroflexed consonants are common in this position.

In addition to the basic six vowels shown above, e and o occur in a few not-yet-assimilated loanwords, chiefly subsection terms.

In the remainder of this section, the major phonological alternations are described. Further details about allomorphs, etc., will be given in the morphology chapters below.

2.1 Reduplication.

This applies primarily to verbs, indicating repetition or sometimes prolongation of a state. For class 5 verbs (with thematic -dhu-/-yu-/-u-) the regular procedure is to reduplicate the root only. Exx. are lup-lup-dhu-n 'bathed' R2.12.1, wilan^ḡ?-wilan^ḡ?-dhu-r-nja 'took out' R2.12.4,

jalk-jalk-dhu-n-a 'throw' W9.2.7, mit-mit-dhu-r-a 'carved' R1.2.3 = R2.12.2, widi?-widi-yu-r-a 'fled' W23.4.1 (root widi?-), n^ɛal?-n^ɛal-mara-n^ɛal 'raised' M5.13.1 (root n^ɛal?-, here with Causative -mara-replacing thematic -yu-), buwundi?-buwundi-yu-n-ja 'hurry' W2.8.9. An intrusive glottal stop shows up in the reduplicative segment in a few forms: war?-war-yu-r 'pulled' R4.1.2 (cf. war-yu-r-a R4.5.1). A final glottal stop with loss of final C in CVCVC- class 5 roots is seen in bada?-badac-u-na 'threw spears' B2.7.7 and its variant seen in bada?-wadac-u-n-mi-n 'threw spears at each other' M22.1.4.

For verbs of other classes the usual reduplication is of this CVCV?- type, and may include part of the suffix if the root is monosyllabic. Thus from nha:- 'see', Fut/Imper form nha:-n^ɛu, we get rdp. nhan^ɛu?-nha-n^ɛu R2.6.3 = R3.1.3. Other examples: buma?-bu-ma 'hits' R3.1.2 (root bu-), nhina?-nhina-∅ 'sits' R3.8.2 = B4.3.3, n^ɛupa?-n^ɛupa-r 'chased' M5.6.5, guru?-guruka-m 'carries' R1.2.2, guru?-gurupa-r 'gave' R2.6.1 = R3.9.1 (and variant guru?-wurupa-r M23.7.2), n^ɛura?-n^ɛura-n 'lay down' B2.6.3, wadu?-waduca-ya-ma-n^ɛ 'cause to be fast' W2.8.9. In dha:-mun^ɛgu?-mun^ɛgu-n^ɛal-nja 'destroyed' M8.7.4 we see that a compounding initial (dha: 'mouth') is not involved in the reduplication. Occasionally, class 5 roots in which the segmentation into root (CVC- or the like) and thematic augment (-dhu-, etc.) is not sharp may take the CVCV?- reduplication or some similar bisyllabic type: din?dhu-din?-dhu-r 'followed' (root din?-). In this example the presence of an internal ? may inhibit the insertion of ?.

Two examples of a CVC?- reduplication for non-class 5 verbs have been noted: gur?-wuru-ma-n^ɛ 'hangs' M5.17.4 (gu:ru-), gal?-galkiri-n^ɛ 'fell' M5.20.1.

Reduplication is not regular for pronouns, demonstratives, nouns, or particles. However, the noun yu:l-n^ɛu 'man, person, Aboriginal' (whence the term 'Yuulngu languages') does take a common reduplicated plural yuln^ɛu?-yul-n^ɛu 'people' M23.7.2 = R1.1.2 = B1.5.5. Emphatic repetition of complete words is not uncommon: dhawal-lil dhawal-lil dhawal-lil mala-n^ɛu-lil 'to several countries' M26.2.1-2.

2.2 Vowel Morphophonemics.

The rules applying to vowels are relatively simple. First, in verb class 2 we get such paradigmatic forms as nhi:na-∅ 'sits', nhi:na-n 'sat', and nhi:n-i 'sit!'. Taking the root as nhi:na- (all roots of this class end in a), we note a-→ i in the Fut/Imper form nhi:n-i. In a generative analysis we might posit /nhi:na-i/-→ nhi:n-i by a contraction rule, but we need not use this framework. For class 1 verbs, which already end in i, the Pres/Fut and Fut/Imper forms are homophonous: marci-∅ 'goes', marc-i 'go!'. Note the transcriptional distinction!

Second, when a morpheme which has a long vowel word-initially finds itself in noninitial position, the vowel shows up as a short V (long vowels occur only in word-initial syllables). Moreover, in longish reduplications and compounds there is a tendency for length distinctions to be blurred even in the initial syllable. Hence from nhi:na- 'sit' we get rdp. nhina?-nhina- (see above). As compounding finals, nha:- 'see' similarly becomes -nha-, ma:ra- 'get' becomes -mara-, etc. The frozen, well established (routinized) compounds show this shortening clearly; some

noun-verb sequences which are not completely fused together are inconsistent in V-length (which is difficult to hear in any event). Let us refer to this rule as Vowel-Shortening.

The next rule, Vowel Elision, accounts for alternations of morpheme-final V with ∅ (zero). Thus dhuwal 'this' has an archaic Pl dhuwala-wur, cf. dilkur 'elder' and Pl dilkuru-wur. Stem-finals are affected only in a handful of forms with -wur like these; otherwise noun and verb stems lack such alternations (as in dhuwal-na 'this now' and most other forms of dhuwal-). Thus the morpheme-final V/∅ alternation is characteristic mainly of nominal and verbal suffixes, which are sometimes followed by other suffixes (Absolute -n^ɛ/-n^ɛja/-n^ɛja/ja and Immediate -n/-na).

Verbal inflectional suffixes have the shapes -C, -CV, and -CVC word-finally (we disregard the occasional -∅ or -i suffix here). The -CV and -CVC suffixes (e.g., PastRem -nha/-n^ɛja/-na, Past -n^ɛal) undergo no changes with a following suffix: Absolute -nha-n^ɛ (-n^ɛja-n^ɛ, -na-n^ɛ) and -n^ɛal-nja. Of the -C suffixes, some but not others are extended as -CV- before other suffixes with a vowel which cannot be predicted a priori. Thus Pres/Fut -m (class 6) is extended as -ma-, Past -n becomes -na-, Fut/Imper -n^ɛ (class 6) becomes -n^ɛu-. Thus from class 6 stem lawu- 'to bite' we get these forms:

	simple	Absolute
Pres/Fut	lawu-m	lawu-ma-n ^ɛ
Fut/Imper	lawu-n ^ɛ	lawu-n ^ɛ u-n ^ɛ

Moreover, in cases where such a -C/-CV- suffix can occur with a monosyllabic stem, the -CV variant appears even in word-final position, as in these forms for nha:- 'to see' (class 6):

	simple	Absolute
Pres/Fut	nha:-ma	nha:-ma-n ^ɛ
Fut/Imper	nha:-n ^ɛ u	nha:-n ^ɛ u-n ^ɛ

On the other hand, some -C suffixes do not have a -CV- extension. In the Jam dialect, class 5 verbs (thematics with -dhu-/-yu-/-u-) like wut-dhu- 'to hit' show forms like these:

	simple	Absolute
Pres/Fut	wut-dhu-n	wut-dhu-n-ja
Fut/Imper	wut-dhu-r	wut-dhu-r-nja

Here we get postconsonantal allomorphs (-ja, -nja) of the Absolute morpheme instead of postvocalic allomorph -n^ɛ seen above. For the Jap dialect, the Past form is also wut-dhu-n in this class, but for this form the Absolute is wut-dhu-na-n^ɛ, so we have Past -n/-na- vs. Pres/Fut invariant -n.

In casual speech, even the -C/-CV- suffix shows sporadic uses of -C- even in nonfinal position. For class 6 dharrpu- 'to spear', in addition to the regular Pres/Fut Absolute form dharrpu-ma-n^ɛ there are attestations of 'incorrect' dharrpu-m-ja, where -n^ɛ and -ja are postvocalic and postconsonantal Absolute allomorphs (both forms occur in M22.3.4).

For nouns, we find -C and -CVC suffixes word-finally if the stem ends in a V (or V?), hence bati 'hook spear' and its case forms bati-w, bati-y, bati-kur, bati-wun^ɛ, etc. The -C suffixes are not extended to -CV- before the Absolute or Immediate suffixes, hence bati-w (Gen-Dat) becomes bati-w-nja, etc. The exception is that in the Jap dialect we get -CV- before Immediate -n, as in gandurpa-wu-n 'for harpoon now' W8.2.4 and miyapunu-wu-n 'for turtle' B1.1.3; Jam shows -w-na instead of -wu-n

as in wa:wa-w-na 'for crow' M5.9.5. Using bati 'hook spear' we therefore have the following pattern:

	simple	Absolute	Immediate
Nom (∅)	<u>bati</u>	<u>bati-n^y</u>	<u>bati-n</u>
Gen-Dat	<u>bati-w</u>	{Jam <u>bati-w-nja</u> Jap <u>bati-w-n^y</u>	{Jam <u>bati-w-na</u> Jap <u>bati-wu-n</u>

This applies when the stem ends in V or V? (for forms with V? see discussion below of Glottal Metathesis). When the stem ends in C or C? where C is a consonant other than ?, the Gen-Dat is -wu- (or -gu- after some consonants), as in these forms of mumalkur (a kin term):

	simple	Absolute	Immediate
Nom	<u>mumalkur</u>	{Jam <u>mumalkur-n^yja</u> Jap <u>mumalkur-n^y</u>	<u>mumalkur-na</u>
Gen-Dat	<u>mumalkur-wu</u>	<u>mumalkur-wu-n^y</u>	<u>mumalkur-wu-n</u>

Comparison of the two paradigms above shows that for nouns the -C/-CV- suffix alternation is determined entirely by the stem-final segments in Jam; in the Jap dialect this is true except for the Immediate form of the Gen-Dat suffix.

Suffixes of the type -CVC sometimes occur before the Absolute or Immediate suffix in nominal morphology. Some suffixes keep the form -CVC-, while a small number show an extended form -CVCV-. Exx. of invariant suffixes are Allative -lil-, Loc-Abl -n^gur, Pgressive -kur (with Absolute suffix -lil-nja, n^gur-n^yja, -kur-nja in Jam dialect). On the other hand, Originative -wun^g ('provided by; borne by') shows Absolute -wun^gu-n^y and Immediate -wun^gu-n. Textual exx. are dhumungur-wun^gu-n^y 'product of FZDDC (kin term)' M2.4.5, dilkuru-wuru-n^g-gun^gu-n^y 'produced by elders' W6.3.1, dilkuru-wuru-n^g-gun^gu-n 'produced by elders now' W7.1.8. The allomorph -wun^gu- (-gun^gu-) is quite reliable before other suffixes. It may be that avoidance of the clusters n^gj and n^gn favors the -CVCV- variant here; these clusters do occur in the language but are not optimal (they do not occur morpheme-medially).

Other nominal -CVC suffixes with a -CVCV- extension do not use the latter reliably before other suffixes. Thus Pl -wur (archaic, unproductive) forms -wuru- before case suffixes (cf. dilkuru-wuru-n^g-... twice in the preceding paragraph), but the Absolute and Immediate forms of Nom -wur are normally -wur-nja (M5.14.2, M8.8.3, M16.8.3) and -wur-(n)a (M20.5.3), respectively. Similarly, Human All-Loc -wal (-gal) has an extension -wala-, seen chiefly in the combination -wala-n^gur with Loc-Abl suffix -n^gur. However, the Absolute form of -wal is -wal-nja rather than *-wala-n^y (at least in Jam), hence balan^g-gal-nja 'at camp of balan^g man' M2.12.6. Although not all dialectal variants have been studied, the following represents the basic situation for the three types of -CVC suffix studied here:

	simple	Absolute	before case suffix
Allative	-lil	-lil-nja	---
Pl (archaic)	-wur	-wur-nja	-wuru-
Originative	-wun ^g	-wun ^g u-n ^y	---

Here --- means that the combination in question does not occur. The Immediate forms are parallel to those in the Absolute column; Human All-Loc -wal patterns like the forms in the Pl row. The final segments of the preceding noun stem do not affect the choice of -CVC or -CVCV- suffix allomorph.

2.3 Rules Affecting ?.

Some noun stems end in ?, while others do not. ? can follow a vowel or any sonorant (nasal, liquid, semivowel) but not a stop. Exx. of nouns ending in ? are milipi? 'shoulder blade' and yawirin^y? 'uncircumcised boy'. Although a few stems fluctuate between final ? and zero (gun^yul? and gun^yul 'shade'), this is uncommon and for the majority of stems it is easy to determine whether or not there is a final ?.

Verb stems may not end in glottal stop, except that many class 5 roots are of the shape CVC?- or CVCVC?- (n^gal?-yu- 'to go up', gudhal?-yu- 'to roast'). Since these take a thematizing augment -dhu-/-yu-/-u- before inflectional suffixes, it is still correct to say that verb stems (as opposed to roots) must end in vowels.

No suffix (verbal or nominal) ends in ?, except rare Dimin -gan^yan^g?

There are two rules which affect ?. First, we note that the ? is frequently omitted in word-final position in the Jam dialect, though it is audible on occasion even in this position. 'Shoulder blade' is likely to be heard as milipi without suffixes, especially when before a pause; in a nonzero case form like milipi?-lil 'to the shoulder blade' it is much easier to hear the ?. Similarly, when gudhal?-yu- 'to roast' occurs in the root form we often hear it as gudhal (sometimes gudhal?).

In the Jap dialect, there seems to be an even stronger tendency to omit stem-final glottal stops, and I frequently did not hear them even when suffixes were added (especially in the speech of Wuyulwuy, though his enunciation was otherwise quite clear). The following simple schema is therefore most appropriate for the Jam dialect:

	word-final	presuffixal	citation form
'shoulder blade'	<u>milipi</u> or <u>milipi?</u>	<u>milipi?-</u>	<u>milipi?</u>
'fish'	<u>guya</u>	<u>guya-</u>	<u>guya</u>
'to go up'	<u>n^gal</u> or <u>n^gal?</u>	<u>n^gal?-</u>	<u>n^gal?-</u>
'to pull'	<u>war</u>	<u>war-</u>	<u>war-</u>

Note the convention for determining citation (i.e., dictionary) representations.

The second rule is more interesting. In Dhuwal, ? occurs only in syllable-final position (usually, but not always, at a morpheme or word boundary). Consider the Gen-Dat case form of milipi? and guya. As we have seen, the postvocalic form of this case suffix is -w (hence guya-w). Moreover, nouns ending in V? take the same allomorphs as those ending in V. However, /milipi?-w/ as it stands is unpronounceable since ? is not syllable-final. Hence Glottal Metathesis applies, producing milipi-w?. Suppose now that the Absolute suffix (postconsonantal allomorph -nja here) is added. Again we note that /milipi-w?-nja/ is incorrect since ? is not at the syllable boundary (between n and j). The correct form is therefore milipi-w-n?ja. Using Erg-Inst suffix -y instead of Gen-Dat -w, we likewise get simple milipi-y? and Absolute milipi-y-n^y?ja. Adding Absolute -n^y or Immediate -n to the Nom (zero) case form, we get milipi-n^y? and milipi-n?. Because of the Glottal Deletion rule mentioned above, the ? may drop out in word-final position, but often enough it is retained in these metathesized forms, as least in the Jam dialect.

Textual exx.: n^gama-w? 'for mother' B5.4.6 (n^gama?-), gamunun^ggu-y-n^y?ja 'by means of white clay' (gamunun^ggu?- plus -y- plus -n^yja) M5.2.4. Exx. with n^garali? 'tobacco' occur in R3.8 and R3.9.

2.4 Fortis/Lenis Alternations.

In this section we deal with alternations involving fortis stops like k, lenis stops like g, and continuants like w. The relevant continuants are w (related morphophonemically to g/k) and y (related to dh/th, not to c/j).

We first mention sporadic alternations not subject to rigorous phonological rules, in reduplications and compounds. We have seen (2.1 above) a few exx. of g/w in reduplication, as in guru?-wurupa-r 'gave' alongside unlenited guru?-gurupa-r and gur?-wuru-ma-n^y (root gu:ru-) 'hangs'. There was also one example of b/w, namely bada?-wadac-u-n-mi-n 'threw spears at each other'. In these cases the simplex stem (gurupa-, gu:ru-, badac-u-) begins with the lenis stop.

In nominal compounds (not a productive formation), in two textual exx. (out of about six whose second element normally begins elsewhere in a lenis stop) the lenis stop becomes fortis: dha:-pam^g? 'empty-handed, without meat' (bam^g? 'bitter'), gurka-pucay?-mir 'noncircumcizing people' (bucay?-mir, same meaning). These occur at M22.9.1 and M27.5.3, respectively. Contrast dha:-diku-mir 'carnivorous' M27.2.5, n^gapa-gaya?-mir 'having paperbark on back' M16.3.5. The few exx. available are consistent with the suggestion that b→p but other lenis stops are unchanged in this environment.

Of the many noun-verb compounds attested, about five are of the relevant type, and only one shows the fortis stop: ra:li-kurun^g-?-dhu- 'to call "FZDS" (kin term) this way' M2.1.4. (Here -kurun^g-?-dhu- is not really a verb, rather a kin term gurun^g in a special thematized verbal formation characteristic of kin terms.) Contrast muu-garpi- 'tie up arms of' M5.7.1 and similar forms with lenis stop.

We now turn to more rigorous alternations involving the initial consonant of suffixes in various positions. First, there is a routine rule of Postconsonantal Lenition which is directly related to surface phonetic constraints. The Progressive case suffix -kur and the major allomorph -puy of the Associative nominal suffix show the fortis stop k or p when following a vowel or a nonnasal sonorant: garcambal-kur 'for (=along) kangaroo' M5.1.3, wa:n^ga-puy 'associated with country' R3.3.3, gundir-puy 'associated with ant mound' B2.1.4. This is the position where fortis and lenis stops contrast phonemically. However, after other consonants (stops, nasals, ?) this fortis/lenis opposition is lost. Stops in this position are usually closer to lenis articulation (i.e. brief duration, onset of voicing immediately after stop release) than to fortis and I therefore use lenis symbols. Exx. showing k→g and p→b are wa:yin-gur 'for game' M5.1.3 and wa:yin-buy 'associated with game' M5.1.4. An ex. with preceding ? is dhuwal?-gur-a 'in (=through) the Dhuwal language' B6.1.7. We formulate the rule as follows:

Postconsonantal Lenition Stop → [-fortis] // $\left. \begin{array}{l} \text{Stop} \\ \text{Nasal} \\ ? \end{array} \right\} -$ —
 [+fortis]

A small number of suffixes which, like -kur, can begin in a fortis stop after vowel or nonnasal sonorant, not only show this automatic lenition process but also show sporadic and somewhat irregular lenition to a continuant (semivowel). For the Associative suffix, in addition to

allomorph -puy and its regular variant -buy, seen above, there is a second allomorph -wuy used with certain stems ending in vowel or nonnasal sonorant. Exx. are mumalkur-wuy M2.2.2, ja:ca-wuy M5.1.4, wa:n^ga-wuy M24.4.5, dilci-wuy B2.2.1/3, and several exx. in B2.1.4-8. The form -wuy seems characteristic of Benjamin (Jap), but is uncommon for Miyala and Roy (Jam). Jam exx. with -puy in this position include wa:n^ga-puy R3.3.3 (cf. wa:n^ga-wuy in the preceding list), dhulmu-puy M7.1.5, ba:pa-puy M17.1.6, waku-puy M2.7.4, lambara-puy M2.7.5, barku-puy and galki-puy M2.2.3; Benjamin (Jap) shows this form in yindi-puy- B2.4.4 and gundir-puy B2.1.4. (Glosses omitted to save space.)

Emphatic -pi/-wuy with pronouns shows a contraction uy→i in addition to the p/w alternation. The choice of allomorphs depends on the pronominal stem and case form, as will be mentioned in the section on pronouns, below. Although the conditioning is morphological, the effect is that -wuy tends to occur with longer forms and -pi with shorter ones (one or two syllables).

The other relevant forms here are verbalizing suffixes added to nouns: Inchoative ('become') -thi-/-yi- and Factitive ('cause to become') -tha-/-ya-. Of course, th becomes dh after stop, nasal, or ?. Exx. of fortis th are galki-thi- 'become close by' R7.4.2 (cf. also R4.14.1, M26.7.1, M8.8.3, M16.4.5, M24.4.3 = W5.2.3, W6.3.5, W2.4.2, W2.6.2, B1.2.2), and n^gama-tha- 'to cause to be good' M6.2.4 (no other textual exx. of -tha-). Exx. of dh after stop, nasal, or ? are bandan^y-dhi- 'become dry' W5.3.6, buwayak-dhi- 'disappear' M11.8.4, bu:r^um-dhi- 'become ripe/cooked' R4.12.5, gaya?-dha- 'make bed' M13.5.4. Exx. of y after vowel or nonnasal sonorant (sometimes with intervening ?) are ba:yn^gu-yi- 'become absent' M25.3.4 (cf. ba:yn^gu-thi- W2.4.2), dulki-yi- 'become rotten' W3.3.1 (others with -yi- are W5.3.1, M21.3.3, M3.4.4 = M15.2.4, W9.1.7, W8.2.1), daramu-ya- 'to cause to become a man' M3.5.4 = M14.4.2 (-ya- also in M3.4.4 = W8.2.1, R5.1.2). As with Associative -puy/-wuy, it appears that the Jap dialect favors the lenited variant somewhat more than does the Jam dialect; moreover, as with pronominal Emphatic -pi/-wuy, we see a moderate tendency in both dialects to use the lenited form after longish stems. In fact, Inchoative -yi- and Factitive -ya- are obligatory in all dialects when following stem-suffix- combinations. Thus -yi- is found with archaic Pl -wur(u-) in midiku-wuru-yi- 'become bad (Pl)' W2.7.6. From Proprietative -mir(i-) there are many exx. of Inchoative -miri-yi- like mari-miri-yi- 'to become a fighter' R6.1.3 (cf. M21.3.3, M16.8.2, W6.2.1), and of Factitive -miri-ya- as in gadawulkulk-miri-ya- 'make platform' M8.2.3 (cf. M2.4.4, M14.5.2, M20.1.1/2, M27.7.2/6, W2.7.4, W8.1.4, W9.2.3). The allomorphs -thi- and -tha- are unattested after -wur(u-) or -mir(i-).

Because the alternations of the type p/w and th/y which we have just discussed are rather irregular and specialized, I will refer to them collectively as Allomorphic Lenition; this implies that the variants are not due to a productive phonological process.

<u>Allomorphic Lenition</u>	Inchoative -thi-	→	-yi-
	Factitive -tha-	→	-ya-
	Assoc -puy	→	-wuy
	Emphatic -pi	→	-wuy

in some combinations after V, V?, L, or L? (L=nonnasal sonorant)

There is another type of alternation of the type k/g/w and th/dh/y (or th/dh/y/∅) which is more frequent and more regular than the collection of specialized shifts seen in Allomorphic Lenition. I refer to the present rule as Suffix Hardening, though I do not commit myself strongly to the implication that the lenis forms are underlying.

The rule applies to several nominal case suffixes; we discuss below its partial application to verbal class 5 thematic -dhu/-yu-. The case suffixes are these:

Gen-Dat	-ku	-gu	-wu
Human All-Loc	-kal	-gal	-wal
Originative	-kun ^g	-gun ^g	-wun ^g
Erg-Inst	-thu	-dhu	-yu

We disregard here additional variants due to the operation of previous rules such as loss of final vowels (see above). We are concerned only with the initial consonant.

Fortis k and th in these suffixes occurs only with personal pronouns, interrogative pronouns ('who?' 'what?'), and demonstratives. For some of these words this rule is overridden by Postconsonantal Lenition (above); the relevant forms are those with augment -n^g- after nonsingular personal pronominal stem (n^ganapur 'we (ExPl)', Gen-Dat n^ganapuru-n^g or nonfinal n^ganapuru-n^ggu-, All-Loc n^ganapuru-n^ggal, Originative n^ganapuru-n^ggun^g). Moreover, a small number of singular personal pronouns and the demonstrative stems take a special nasalized Gen-Dat form -n^gu (2Sg nhu-n^gu, 3Sg nhan-n^gu) or a special Erg-Inst allomorph (-n^g or nonfinal -n^gV- with demonstratives), which of course do not show the fortis stop. Those forms which clearly show surface fortis stop are therefore these:

- 1Sg Gen-Dat n^gara-ku or n^gara-k, All-Loc n^gara-kal, Originative n^gara-kun^g
- 2Sg All-Loc nhu:-kal, Originative nhu:-kun^g
- 3Sg All-Loc nhanu-kal, Originative nhanu-kun^g
- Human interrogative: Erg yu:l-thu, Gen-Dat yu:l-ku, etc.
- Nonhuman interrogative: Erg-Inst nha:-thu, Gen-Dat nha:-ku, etc.
- Proximate: Gen-Dat dhiya-k or dhiya-ku, etc.
- Distant: Gen-Dat n^guru-k or n^guru-ku, etc.

Because personal pronouns do not take any form of the Erg-Inst suffix (Nom used for transitive agent; no Inst form in use), and because as just noted the demonstratives take a special Erg-Inst allomorph, the fortis form of Erg-Inst -thu/-dhu/-yu is observable only in yu:l-thu and nha:-thu.

The other case suffixes which can directly follow the various stems listed above are: Assoc -puy (allomorph -wuy), Acc -n^v/-nha, Loc-Abl -n^gur, All -lil, Pergressive -kur, and (for personal pronouns) a second Gen-Dat form -pal/-l. Note that none of these begins in a lenis stop or in a semivowel. For other types of suffixes, this generalization does not apply strictly. Thus dhuwal 'this' (Proximate) has an archaic Pl dhuwala-wur. All case forms of dhuwal 'this' and n^gunhi 'that' can be followed by Definite -dhi/-yi/-i (the first of these three allomorphs is rare). A morpheme -pal related to pronominal Gen-Dat -pal/-l, but semantically distinct, is seen in dhi-pal 'to here',

but the semantically parallel Distant demonstrative form is n^gunha-wal 'to there' with semivowel w. Personal pronouns (and rarely some other forms) may be followed by Emphatic -pi/-wuy; the first allomorph is used in most forms where no intervening nonzero case suffix is present (Nominative Emphatic n^gara-pi 1Sg, nhi:-pi 2Sg, n^gayi-pi 3Sg, etc.) but -wuy is found after case suffixes and with several nonsingular pronouns even in the Nominative (n^ganapuru-wuy 1ExPl Nominative Emphatic). Overall, thus, there is a strong tendency for personal and interrogative pronouns and demonstratives to prefer following fortis stops rather than lenis stops or semivowels, but this is rigorous only for case suffixes.

After nouns, a greater range of initial consonants is permitted. We have seen Pergressive -kur and Associative allomorph -puy, which occur as such after nouns as well as pronouns, subject only to the usual Postconsonantal Lenition after stops, nasals, or ?. On the other hand, the four case suffixes shown in the table at the top of the preceding page (Gen-Dat, etc.) never show a fortis stop after a noun stem. Thus Gen-Dat allomorphs are -gu and -wu (and -w), while the Erg-Inst is -dhu or -yu (or -y) following nouns. The basic rule is that the lenis stop g or dh occurs after stop or nasal (or nasal plus ?), while the semivowel w or y shows up after a vowel or nonnasal sonorant (or one of these plus ?). Note that a stem-final ? is simply ignored in this alternation. As examples take forms of the subsection terms n^garic and bu^lan^y; the kin terms mumalkur 'MMBW', ba:pa 'father', and n^gama? 'mother'; and the terms jaykun^g? 'file snake' and dakul? 'stone ax'.

Nom	n ^g aric	bu ^l an ^y	jaykun ^g ?
Gen-Dat	n ^g aric-gu	bu ^l an ^y -gu	jaykun ^g ?-gu
Erg-Inst	n ^g aric-dhu	bu ^l an ^y -dhu	jaykun ^g ?-dhu

Nom	ba:pa	n ^g ama?	mumalkur	dakul?
Gen-Dat	ba:pa-w	n ^g ama-w?	mumalkur-wu	dakul?-wu
Erg-Inst	ba:pa-y	n ^g ama-y?	mumalkur-yu	dakul?-yu

Glottal Metathesis applies in the Gen-Dat and Erg-Inst forms of n^gama?. The forms of Human All-Loc -gal/-wal and Originative -gun^g/-wun^g follow the same patterns seen above.

In a generative analysis, we might take /-gu/ and /-dhu/ as the 'underlying' forms, and derive -ku and -thu (with pronouns) by a hardening rule and -w(u) and -y(u) with nouns after vowels or nonnasal sonorants by a lenition rule. It would also be possible to take /-wu/ and /-yu/ as the underlying forms and harden the semivowels to lenis or fortis stops in different environments. It would not be convenient to take /-ku/ and /-thu/ as base forms since we would then have to explain why Pergressive -kur does not lenite to -gur/-wur after noun stems.

I will simply state the present rule in distributional terms as follows:

Suffix Hardening Case suffixes beginning in g/w or dh/y after nouns show fortis k or th, respectively, after pronominal and demonstrative stems if phonologically possible; after nouns (disregarding final ? if present) we get g or dh after nasal or stop, w or y after vowel or nonnasal sonorant.

-ja after various consonants in Jam (we disregard the irregular $n^Y/n/\emptyset$ alternation). After V or V? we get $-n^Y$. Jam exx. are these:

simple	Absolute	
guya	guya- n^Y	'fish'
wa:yin	wa:yin-ja	'game animal'
guya-y	guya-y- n^Y ja	'fish (Erg-Inst)'
guya-w	guya-w-nja	'fish (Gen-Dat)'

Although it would be excessively generous to dignify these alternations by setting up phonological rules for them, we could consider $/-n^Yja/$ as the base form, derive $-nja$ and $-ja$ by rules applying to the nasal, and derive $-n^Y$ by a rule deleting the final CV sequence.

In Jap, the old man Wuyulwuy pronounced these Absolute forms as $guya-n^Y$, $wa:yin-ja$, $guya-y-n^Y$, and $guya-w-n^Y$. Here the allomorphs $-n^Y$ and $-ja$ appear to be quite unrelated phonologically.

A second, equally irregular, truncation applies in the Gen-Dat form of nonsingular personal pronouns: $walal$ 'they', Gen-Dat $walala-n^g$ (word-final) and $walala-n^ggu-$ (nonfinal). As noted earlier, we might segment the latter form as $walala-n^g-gu-$, since $-ku/-gu/-wu/-w$ is elsewhere found as the Gen-Dat suffix and since nonsingular pronouns have an assimilating augment $-N-$ before other suffixes beginning in g . Regardless of the segmentation (which I consider to be fundamentally ambivalent), there does appear to be an alternation of word-final \emptyset and nonfinal CV which is at least loosely comparable to the behavior of Absolute $/-n^Yja/$ and to Vowel Elision.

2.7 Minor Phonological Rules.

When two identical consonants come together, Geminate Contraction reduces them to a single segment. For purposes of this rule, such clusters as $/kg/$ are considered geminate clusters. In many cases, the transcription used in the texts shows both underlying consonants since this will assist readers in identifying the morphemes; I thus write $n^gurgic-ja$ 'resting place' M5.7.4 rather than $*n^gurgic-a$ or $*n^gurgi-ca$ since the former permits ready identification not only of the noun stem but also of Absolute suffix allomorph $-ja$.

Verbalizing and verbal thematizing suffixes $-thi-$ (Inchoative) and $-dhu-$ (class 5 thematizing augment), which would normally be $-dhi-$ and $-dhu-$, respectively, after a stop or nasal, show deletion of the $/dh/$ following c or j . Exx. are Inchoative $ya:c-i-$ 'to become bad' and several exx. with $-dhu-$ including $barc-u-$ 'to throw spears', $n^garc-u-$ 'to argue with, to rebuke', $ra:c-u-$ 'to scrape', $yac-u-$ 'to shout', and $riranj-u-$ '(bird) to call'. There are no counterexx. involving these suffixes. No relevant exx. with Factitive $-tha-$ are available. In nouns, Erg-Inst $-dhu$ does not undergo deletion after c or j , hence n^garic (subsection term), Erg-Inst $n^garic-dhu$.

dh-Deletion $dh \rightarrow \emptyset // \{c\} -$

in verbalizing and verbal thematizing suffixes

Another minor rule is needed to account for $jara-n^Y?-ju-$ 'to pull', where class 5 thematizing augment $-dhu-$ shows up as $-ju-$, agreeing in point of articulation with the preceding nasal. This suggests that in the exx. above like $ra:c-u-$ 'to scrape' we first have $/ra:c-ju-/$ by assimilation, then $/ra:c-u-/$ by Geminate Contraction. I will not insist

on this interpretation, however, since the direct evidence for such assimilation in this language is slender.

Additional phonological alternations, usually of a minor nature, can be gleaned from following sections on morphology.

3. NOUN MORPHOLOGY.

Nouns have an unsuffixed Nominative form and several suffixed case forms. Number (Du, Pl) is normally expressed by a following postnoun (Du $manda$, Pl $mala$), but a few nouns also have their own stem-internal Pl formations. In addition to a case suffix, nouns often take a further suffix such as Absolute $-n^Y/-n^Yja/-nja/-ja$ (or $-ya$) or Immediate $-n/-na$. Thus $daramu-nha-n^Y mala$ 'the men (Acc)' shows stem $daramu$ 'man', Accusative $-nha-$, Absolute $-n^Y$, and Pl postnoun $mala$. The Absolute suffix can usually be left untranslated and is not to be confused with the 'Absolute' case of some other languages.

3.1 Case Suffixes.

The unmarked Nominative case is used regularly for intransitive subject and for citation forms. Exx. are $ma:lu?$ 'father' U50/52, $ba:pi$ 'snake' U70, and the citation form (or nominal predicate) $gunda$ 'stone' U15. Inanimate nouns, and more often than not nonhuman animate nouns, avoid the Acc suffix and thus use the Nom also for transitive object. Fluctuation for nonhuman animates is seen in $wa:yin-nha$ U21 vs. $wa:yin$ U22, both meaning 'game animal' and both functioning as transitive objects. For an inanimate noun see n^gatha 'food' as transitive object in U66. For place names, the Loc-Abl suffix $-n^gur$ tends to be used only in Abl sense, so the unmarked (Nom) form has Loc sense, as in $n^gagalala$ (place n.) R2.1.3.

Ergative-Instrumental $-dhu/-yu/-y$ (for Wuyulwuy also $-u$) indicates transitive subject (ordinarily animate) or instrument (ordinarily inanimate). The allomorphs are due to Vowel Elision (2.2) and Suffix Hardening (2.4); the form $-y?$ reflects Glottal Metathesis (2.3). Erg exx. are $dhumungur-yu-n$ (kin term) with Immediate $-n$ M2.3.2 and $yawirin^Y?-dhu$ 'young man' R2.13.3; Inst exx. are $gamunun^ggu-y-n^Y?ja$ 'with white clay' M5.2.3 with Absolute $-n^Yja$ (and Glottal Metathesis) and $luku-y$ 'by foot' B1.5.2 (others are M5.2.4, M5.8.3, M5.12.3, M14.5.5, B1.3.5, W1.1.3/4/5/6). Allomorph $-u$ occurs in $warn^ggu-lu$ 'with stingray spike' W1.1.4 and is apparently Wuyulwuy's version of $-yu$. Postvocalic $-yu$ instead of $-y$ occurs several times in text B9 in a special sequential construction characterized by high pitch on the final syllable (here the case suffix) of nonfinal and sometimes final words in the string; some regular forms like $marakulu-y?$ occur in the same passage where this special intonation is suspended (B9.1.5).

Curiously, the Erg-Inst is occasionally used with place names in semantically allative sense: M22.4.1, M23.2.5.

The form of the Accusative (Acc) suffix varies. For the two Jam speakers, the form is $-n^Y$ after V or V? in word-final position, and is $-nha$ elsewhere. Thus from $daramu$ 'man' we get $daramu-n^Y$, and with further suffixation of Absolute $-n^Y$ we get $daramu-nha-n^Y$ ('man'-Acc-Abs). For textual exx. see $milmara-n^Y$ 'promised one' and $waku-?mirin^gu-nha-n^Y$ 'his ZD (kin term)' M2.3.3/4. If the stem ends in a true consonant or consonant plus $?$, the form is always $-nha$, as in $n^garic-nha$ (subsection

term) M2.8.2.

For Wuyulwuy (Jap dialect) the postvocalic form is $-n$ rather than $-n^y$, as in $n^{\text{Ea}}\text{:ndi-n}$ 'mother' W2.2.4. The postconsonantal form was transcribed $-na$ in gawal-na 'mother's brother' W2.2.4 but could possibly have been mistranscribed (so that $-nha$ is correct). For Wuyulwuy's son Benjamin, the much younger Jap speaker, the usual Acc form is $-nha$ even after vowels, as in guku-nha 'honey bee' and $\text{yarpan}^y\text{-nha}$ 'honey bee sp.' B2.1.2/3.

For all speakers except Benjamin, Acc allomorphs are easily confused with other suffixes. For the Jam speakers, daramu-n^y could be either the Acc of 'man', or the Absolute ($-n^y$) form of the Nom (zero) of the same noun. After a consonant, Jam Accusative $-nha$ is easily distinguishable from Absolute allomorphs ($-n^y\text{ja}$, etc.) but is sometimes difficult to distinguish phonetically from postconsonantal Immediate $-na$ (Acc $n^{\text{Ea}}\text{aric-nha}$ vs. Nom Immediate $n^{\text{Ea}}\text{aric-na}$).

For Wuyulwuy, postvocalic Acc $-n$ is easily distinguishable from Absolute $-n^y$ but is homophonous with Immediate $-n$ added to the Nom form ($n^{\text{Ea}}\text{:ndi-n}$ could be 'mother (Acc)' or 'mother (Nom) now'). After consonants, if $-na$ (not $-nha$) is the correct transcription of the Acc allomorph we again have homophony with postconsonantal Immediate allomorph $-na$.

The Acc suffix is used for transitive object. It appears to be used fairly reliably with human nouns, but is only optional for nonhuman animates and uncommon with inanimates. In addition to the exx. above, a nonhuman animate ex. is $\text{mulpiya-n}^y?$ 'wallaby' U17 (with Glottal Metathesis), and another human ex. is dhuway-nha-n 'husband now' (with Immediate $-n$) M18.4.4.

Especially for nonhuman nouns, it is often just impossible to decide in particular instances whether $-n^y$ is Acc or Abs in Jam, and whether $-n$ is Acc or Immediate in Jap (Wuyulwuy's speech). This is because the Acc is only optional, and because Absolute $-n^y$ and Immediate $-n$ are both extremely common with Nom (and other) nouns. In favorable cases we can make a judgement as to the identity of a $-n^y$ or $-n$ suffix using informal criteria such as these: a) occurrence in a conjoined sequence of nouns, some of which have unambiguous suffixes; b) co-occurrence or absence of 3Sg Acc pronoun $n^{\text{Ei}}\text{-n}^y\text{a}$ (or $n^{\text{Ea}}\text{-n}^y\text{a}$). To take (a), if in Jam we find a conjunction of two nouns CVCV- n^y and CVCVC- nha , since the latter is clearly Acc in form we assume that the former has Acc $-n^y$ rather than Absolute $-n^y$. Conversely, in a sequence CVCV- n^y plus CVCVC- $n^y\text{ja}$, since the latter shows postconsonantal Abs $-n^y\text{ja}$ we conclude that $-n^y$ in the former is Abs, not Acc. The notion of 'conjunction' here is a broad one involving any type of direct juxtaposition or syntactic parallelism. As for (b), we will see later that 3Sg $n^{\text{Ei}}\text{-n}^y\text{a}$ is very common for human transitive objects, but only sporadic for nonhuman animates and rare for inanimates; moreover, when $n^{\text{Ei}}\text{-n}^y\text{a}$ cross-refers to a noun in the same clause the latter seems to regularly take Acc form. These criteria are not foolproof and are not always applicable to specific instances. Of course, the surest indication that the Acc suffix is present is when it co-occurs with a following Abs or Immediate suffix, as in daramu-nha-n^y 'man'-Acc-Abs.

Genitive-Dative $-gu/-wu/-w$ can be initially differentiated into two main functions, Genitive (adnominal, normally possessive) and

Dative (part of the basic case frame of the verb). As will be expected, the distinction is not always easy to apply, especially since word-order is not rigorous even for the Genitive type. A Genitive noun normally directly precedes or follows the modified noun, but the two do not form the tightly-bound sequence characteristic of Standard Average European genitive noun phrases. Occasionally the two are separated by intervening elements, as in U92 and U93 (here the Gen form is the pronoun $n^{\text{Ea}}\text{ara-ku}$ 'my', but there is no reason to assume that Gen nouns are more tightly bound to the modified noun than a Gen pronoun is).

Exx. of the Gen usage are dhumungur-wu 'of FZDDC (kin term)' M2.3.4 (in apposition, after a pause, to a Gen demonstrative form) and $\text{dhatam}^?\text{-gu}$ 'of water lily' (in apposition to Gen pronoun $\text{nhan-n}^{\text{Eu}}$ 'of it' following modified noun balwak 'seed pod') M12.1.2.

Exx. of the dative usage are ma:ri-w-nja 'for MMB (kin term)' M3.10.3 (with Absolute $-nja$; in apposition to preceding Dat pronoun $\text{nhan-n}^{\text{Eu}}$ 'for him'), wa:?wa-w-na 'for crow now' M5.9.5, gayit-gu 'for blade' W1.2.3, mari-w 'for fighting' B2.7.3. The gloss 'for ___' usually has to be modified to give idiomatic contextual translations; the exx. just mentioned involve constructions translatable 'to arrive at', 'to throw (something) to', 'to know about', and 'to want'. Exx. where the Dat noun is more loosely related to the main predication (i.e., in benefactive or similar sense) include $\text{jaykur}^{\text{E}}\text{-gu}$ '(we went into water) for file snake' M1.3.6 and wa:yin-gu '(let's go hunting,) for game animals' R2.6.3. There is probably a greater tendency for these loose Dative nouns to lack a cross-referring third person Dat pronoun in the core of the clause, but no rigorous distinctions can be made among different Dative types.

We will see below that when a Gen noun modifies a noun which is in certain cases, the Gen ending on the former is replaced by Human All-Loc $-kal$ or a suffix complex built on $-kal$. Gen nouns can, however, be used with a modified noun in the Nom or Acc case (exx. given later).

Originative $-\text{gun}^{\text{E}}/-\text{wun}^{\text{E}}$, which becomes $-\text{gun}^{\text{Eu}}/-\text{wun}^{\text{Eu}}$ before any following suffix (see Vowel Elision, 2.2), can be glossed 'provided by ___', indicating the provider or source of something. This form, rather than the Ablative, is likely to be used in Dhuwal translations of English constructions like 'I got some meat from my father'. Close attention to textual exx. is especially useful here. In U68, M8.10.1, and B5.3.6 the context is basically '(food/meat) provided by ___'. In W6.3.1 the context is '(knowledge of bush medicines) obtained from ___'. A special sense in the context of kinship relations is '(child) borne by ___', indicating actual biological mother/child relation, as in M2.4.5, M2.5.2, and M5.20.5 (among other citations).

Locative-Ablative $-\text{n}^{\text{Eur}}$ has no allomorphic variants. With place names, usually only the Abl sense is possible, the unmarked Nom case being used for Loc sense; however, some place names can take $-\text{n}^{\text{Eur}}$ in Loc as well as Abl sense: $\text{jirkuy-n}^{\text{Eur}}$ 'at Jirkuy' M5.15.4. Abl exx. include $\text{n}^{\text{Ea}}\text{arkula}^?\text{-n}^{\text{Eur}}\text{-n}^y\text{ja}$ 'from river' U36, $\text{bunbu-n}^{\text{Eur}}$ 'from the house', $\text{dilci-n}^{\text{Eur}}\text{-n}^y\text{ja}$ 'from the hills' M26.4.7 (with Absolute suffix), $\text{du:n}^y\text{ji-n}^{\text{Eur}}$ 'from Doindji (place n.)' R2.1.4, $\text{ba:tharipa-miri-n}^{\text{Eur}}$ 'from the Macassan-having (country)' W1.2.2, $\text{numbulwar-n}^{\text{Eur}}$ 'from Numbulwar (place n.)' B1.1.2. In the temporal sense 'after ___' we find $-\text{n}^{\text{Eur}}$ in $\text{manikay-n}^{\text{Eur}}$ 'after (=from) the song' W5.4.4.

The Loc sense is present in *dharpa-n^gur* '(climbing) on the tree' U69, *gapu-n^gur* '(immersed) in water' M1.8.8, *lami-n^gur* '(I speared kangaroo) on the hip' M5.6.3, *jamba-n^gur* '(I put them) on a platform' M5.12.4, *gupa-n^gur* '(I left it) on the top' M5.15.2, *wulukur?-n^gur* '(He will stay) at (the camp of) his sister's husband' M21.4.5, *waraw?-n^gur* '(They made them stay) in the shade' R2.7.1, *numbulwar-n^y* *ya:ku-n^gur* '(I speak to you) at the place called (ya:ku-) Numbulwar' W2.3.2, *ran^gi-n^gur* '(We went up) onto the beach' B1.3.3.

The gloss 'Locative' for these uses oversimplifies the matter somewhat. In several exx. a gloss of the type 'around___', 'in the area of___', or even 'moving through___' is appropriate, locating the entity not at a point but in or adjacent to a zone. Thus the distinction between Loc and Pergressive (cf. below) is not always sharp. Moreover, frequently the zone in question consists of a focal point or center and a surrounding area with poorly defined boundaries; the formal identity of Loc and Abl is thus not so aberrant as it sounds.

As we will see below, for human nouns *-n^gur* is normally (though not invariably) restricted to Abl sense, and requires intervening *-gala/-wala-*. In the Loc sense (usually 'at the camp of___'), human nouns regularly take *-gal/-wal* rather than *-n^gur*.

Allative *-lil* is normally used with nonhuman nouns and can be glossed 'to___', 'toward___', 'into/onto___'. Exx. are *n^garkula?-lil* 'to the river' U35, *dilci-lil* '(I looked) toward the hill' M5.3.5, *gulun-lil* '(I stuffed fat) into the gullet' M5.9.4, *tape-lil* '(I speak) into the tape' W2.3.3. Frequently where English would use a dative construction, Dhuwal prefers the Allative, provided that there is actually motion involved; thus 'I went hunting for kangaroos' usually shows up in Dhuwal as 'I went to kangaroos' (see U10, M1.1.2, etc.).

Pergressive *-kur* is translated 'around___', 'along___', 'through___', or occasionally 'in___' with reference to a zone (such as a vegetative or topographic zone like 'grass' or 'hill'). There are also some idiomatic uses. Exx. include *mulmu-kur* '(going) through grass' U70, *wa:yin-gur garcambal-kur* '(hunting) for game, for kangaroo' M5.1.3, *n^guru-kur* 'along the top (=nose)' M5.2.6, *banara?-gur-a* 'along the plain now' M5.3.4, *barku-kur* '(going around) far away' M9.3.4, *n^gu:y-kur-a* '(going) in the sea' (lit. 'through the heart now') M23.3.3, *dilci-kur-a* '(going) in the high country' M23.4.5, several exx. in M26.4.4, *gapu-kur-a* '(going) through the water now' B1.3.2. Exx. of the construction 'I am speaking in (=through) the Dhuwal language' are B6.1.7 and B8.1.4.

Human Allative-Locative *-gal/-wal* is regularly used with human nouns in place of Allative *-lil* and of the Locative sense of Loc-Abl *-n^gur*. Locative exx., meaning 'at the camp of___', are *n^garic-gal* 'at the camp of the *n^garic* man (subsection term)' M2.9.3 and M3.3.3, among others. Allative exx., meaning 'to/toward___' are *ba:pa-?mirin^gu-wal* 'to (my) father' U104, *ma:ri-?mirin^gu-wal* 'to MMB (kin term)' M3.8.2. Word-final *-gala* for Benjamin occurs in B2.4.3.

The Ablative of human nouns is *-gala-n^gur/-wala-n^gur*, though no textual exx. occur. Here it appears that *-gala/-wala-* functions as an increment between the stem and the true case suffix. In this light,

we might wish to regard Human All-Loc *-gal/-wal* as an abbreviation of a putative Allative form **-gala-lil/-wala-lil* and of a putative Locative form **-gala-n^gur/-wala-n^gur*.

As we will see below, *-gal/-wal* and derivatives like *-gala-n^gur/-wala-n^gur* (Ablative) are used, instead of Gen-Dat *-gu/-wu/-w*, for semantically Genitive nouns modifying other nouns which are in certain cases. We will here merely mention that *-gal/-wal* is often used in Genitive sense to modify an Ergative noun.

Associative *-puy* or *-wuy* (see discussion of Allomorphic Lenition, 2.4) generally means 'associated with___' or 'related to___'. Thus in B2.1.4-8 we find several exx. like *gunda-wuy* 'related to stones' and *walan?-buy* 'related to coolibah tree', specifying different kinds of honey bee (some of these nest in rocks, others in certain spp. of tree). In English we would normally use a compound: rock bee, coolibah bee, etc. The Associative suffix is not always used in this quasi-genitive sense, giving attributes of some class of referents; in M5.1.4 we see exx. like *wa:yin-buy* '(I will tell him) about game animals', where the Associative noun is part of the basic case frame of the verb. Body parts with *-puy/-wuy* are used for kinship categories to indicate actual (genealogically close) relations as opposed to classificatory ones; thus *gulun-buy* 'associated with the belly' means, in the context of kinship, 'actual' mother (M20.5.1. There are a few idiomatic combinations, e.g. *walu-puy* 'daytime' (*walu* 'sun'). In the unusual form *gurtha-puy?* 'nut of cycad tree' (*gurtha* 'fire') there is a final ? which is not usual for this suffix (M11.3.4). Several other exx. of *-puy/-wuy* were mentioned in 2.4 and readers may wish to look up the relevant textual passages.

Cross-references are in order to relative-clause marking *-Na-wuy* (6.11), Gentilic *-puy-n^gu* (3.7), and pronominal Emphatic *-pi/-wuy* (4.3).

Forms in Associative *-puy/-wuy* do not commonly take a further case suffix; that is, *-puy/-wuy* usually patterns formally as a case suffix and is thus mutually exclusive with other case suffixes. However, in its quasi-genitive senses a form in *-puy/-wuy* is semantically rather like an adjective (i.e., in Dhuwal terms, like a noun), and we occasionally find a further suffix added to it. Thus we find *mananbali-puy-yu* 'related to the place Mananbali' (Erg) M22.2.1, where *-puy* functions like English *-er* in New Yorker. Similarly *wa:n^ga-puy-gu* 'for the people of the camp (*wa:n^ga*)' R3.3.3.

3.2 Absolute *-n^y/-n^yja/-nja/-ja* or *-ya*, Immediate *-n/-na*.

In Jap (Wuyulwuy's speech) the Absolute suffix is *-ja* after a stop or nasal (or nasal plus ?), and otherwise *-n^y*. Exx. are *ga:thu-n^y* 'son' W2.3.5, *gu:n^yjuy-n^y* 'beeswax' W9.1.6, *numbulwar-n^y* (place n.) W2.3.2, *rin^gic-ja* 'ritual ground' W2.2.2. The younger Jap speaker, Benjamin, uses *-n^y* occasionally after V or V?, as in *wata-n^y* 'wind' B1.1.4 and *naku-n^y?* 'dugout canoe' B1.4.2 (Glottal Metathesis applies here), and regularly uses *-ja* after stop, nasal, or nasal plus ?, as in *yawirin^y?-ja* 'young man' B1.5.3. However, Benjamin also frequently uses another form *-ya* after V or V?, as in *naku?-ya* 'dugout canoe' B1.2.6 and *wiripu-ya* 'other' B2.1.1, and this appears to be the only form Benjamin uses after nonnasal sonorant, as in *wulma-mir-ya* 'cloud-having time' B4.1.7. However, *-nja* is attested for Benjamin once or twice after w (B1.5.4).

For the two Jam speakers there is a distinction between an invariant form -ya and a set -n^y/-n^yja/-nja/-ja. In the latter set, we find -n^y after V or V?; -n^yja after y, y?, r, or r?; -nja after w, w?, l, l?, l, l?, r, or r?; and -ja after stop, nasal, or nasal plus ?. Some exx. are guya-n^y 'fish' M1.2.4, ma:lu-n^y? 'father' M8.10.3, dhawar-n^yja 'string bag' M5.2.2, dakul?-nja 'metal ax' M12.3.3, garcambal-nja 'kangaroo' M5.3.6, gundir-nja 'ant mound' M5.7.6, wa:yin-ja 'game animal' M1.7.3, ru:m-ja 'law' M21.3.4, jarak-ja 'gull' M26.4.7. The form -ya, moreover, seems less tightly bound phonologically to the word. I had the strong impression that -n^y/-n^yja/-nja/-ja was considered more 'correct' than -ya, and the percentage of occurrences of the former seemed higher in careful speaking than in more rapidly spoken textual passages. A minor note on the distribution of the allomorphs -n^y/-n^yja/-nja/-ja is that, very infrequently, -n^y was found where -n^yja was expected in Jam (cf. exx. with Associative -puy, just below); recall that in Jap (Wuyulwuy's speech) -n^y is regular in this position.

We summarize the Absolute allomorphs below:

	Jap (Benjamin)	Jap (Wuyulwuy)	Jam
after V, V?	-n ^y , -ya	-n ^y	-n ^y , -ya
after <u>r</u> (?), y(?)	-ya	-n ^y	-n ^y ja, -ya
after <u>l</u> (?), <u>l</u> (?), w(?), r(?)	-ya (-nja)	-n ^y	-nja, -ya
after stop, nasal(?)	-ja	-ja	-ja, -ya

Note that a stem-final glottal stop (shown in parentheses here) is never taken into consideration in formulating the Absolute allomorphs.

The Absolute suffix is frequently attested following nonzero case suffixes, in addition to the Nom exx. seen above. In the diagram below, the form on the left shows the word-final allomorph of the case suffix corresponding to the Absolute derivative on the right.

Acc	{ -n ^y → -nha-n ^y M2.3.4 -nha → -nha-n ^y
Erg-Inst	{ -y → -y-n ^y ja M5.2.4 -y-n ^y W2.8.7 -yu → -yu-n ^y M7.5.2 -dhu → -dhu-n ^y M2.8.7
All	-lil → -lil-nja M2.14.2
Loc-Abl	-n ^ɛ ur → -n ^ɛ ur-n ^y ja M26.3.1
Per	-kur → -kur-nja
Originative	{ -wun ^ɛ → -wun ^ɛ u-n ^y M2.4.5 -gun ^ɛ → -gun ^ɛ u-n ^y W6.3.1
Assoc	-puy → -puy-n ^y ja M2.7.3/4, M2.2.3 -puy-n ^y M2.7.2, M2.7.5
Hum All-Loc	{ -wal → -wal-nja -gal → -gal-nja M2.12.6
Gen-Dat	{ -w → -w-nja M3.5.3, R2.13.2, B1.5.4 -wu → -wu-n ^y W7.1.4 -gu → -gu-n ^y M5.12.6

This list is not exhaustive but does show the main patterns.

The Absolute form, which is similar typologically to morphemes in other nearby languages (Ritharngu ya, Ngandi -yun^ɛ, etc.) is usually not translated; moreover, some speakers make much more use of it than others. Basically, it seems to indicate a degree of syntactic autonomy in terms of surface structure; it is most common when the noun is separated from the nucleus of the clause by a slight pause or at least occurs at or near the end. There is no simple, rigorous rule for its use; a more serious analysis would require very sensitive examination of the original tapes, noting pauses and intonational contours which might interact with the distribution of the suffix. We will see later (Syntax) that the Absolute is also used with verbs in somewhat better defined conditions, and (Pronouns) that it has a special sense with pronouns.

Immediate -n/-na is used with various word-classes, including nouns of various cases, and usually indicates temporal immediacy ('now', etc.) in some fashion. It is very common, though perhaps less so in Jap (where it is easily confused with Acc -n, -na, -nha). The allomorph -na is used following a true consonant or a true consonant plus ?, while -n is used after V or V?. Exx. are gapu-n 'water now' B1.2.2, warpam?-na 'all now' B1.2.3, gayit-na 'blade now' W1.2.2. Exx. with case suffixes are:

Acc	{ -n ^y → -nha-n -nha → -nha-n M18.4.4
Erg-Inst	{ -y → -y-na M3.4.2, B2.3.6 -yu → -yu-n M2.4.3 -dhu → -dhu-n W2.7.7
All	-lil → -lil-a M1.5.1, R2.9.2, W8.2.5, B1.1.5
Loc-Abl	-n ^ɛ ur → { -n ^ɛ ur-na M5.13.4, M10.4.3 -n ^ɛ ur-a R4.2.3, W8.2.6
Per	-kur → -kur-a M10.3.5, B1.3.2, B2.8.4
Originative	{ -wun ^ɛ → -wun ^ɛ u-n -gun ^ɛ → -gun ^ɛ u-n W7.1.8
Assoc	-puy-na → -puy-na
Hum All-Loc	{ -wal → (unattested) -gal → (unattested)
Gen-Dat	{ -w → { Jam -w-na M5.9.5 Jap -wu-n W8.2.4, B1.1.3 -wu → -wu-n -gu → -gu-n W9.1.3

It will be noted that there is some tendency for -na to lose its consonant after liquids (which would form a nonoptimal apical-apical cluster with following n). This deletion is absolutely rigorous in the All form -lil-a, which is attested many times in the corpus (it is possible that it is rigorous also for Per -kur-a but there are only a few exx.). Other exx. of deletion of n in -na after a liquid are found in verb morphology. Miyala tended to retain the full form -na more often than Roy (both are Jam). The two Jap speakers, who used the suffix sparingly, did not show a strong tendency to delete the /n/ except in cases like -lil-a.

The combination of Absolute and Immediate suffixes is extremely rare; for practical purposes they should be considered mutually exclusive. There are a handful of possible exx. of their co-occurrence, though it is

important to recall that the Absolute and Immediate can be confused with Acc $-n^y$, $-n$, etc., and that what I have tentatively taken as Immediate-Absolute sequences might not be so clearcut structurally. The apparent exx. are $n^{\text{a}}\text{athu-n-ja}$ 'food' M11.2.1, dhatam?na-n^y 'water lily' M12.2.2, both showing the Immediate suffix preceding the Absolute.

3.3 Number.

Singular number is unmarked. A handful of irregular Pl (3+) stems are attested: jamarkuli 'children' (Sg jama 'child'), and reduplicated $\text{yuln}^{\text{e}}\text{u?yul-n}^{\text{e}}\text{u}$ 'people' (Sg $\text{yu:l-n}^{\text{e}}\text{u}$ 'person').

A few nouns have a suffixed Pl with $-\text{wur}(u-)$ or a variant thereof:

dilkur 'elder', Pl dilkuru-wur M8.8.3

jama 'child', Pl jama-wur M20.5.3

daramu 'man', Pl daramu-wur W6.3.3

midiku or $\text{midiku-n}^{\text{e}}\text{u}$ 'bad', Pl $\text{midiku-ru-n}^{\text{e}}\text{u}$ M25.1.3

miyalk 'woman', Pl miyalk-guru-wur B4.1.2

The only really common form is dilkuru-wur 'elders'; it is worth noting that Sg dilkur 'elder' is rare (this is also true of Sg jama 'child'). The forms daramu-wur 'men' and miyalk-guru-wur 'women' are not common, since they compete with a productive Pl formation with postnoun mala (cf. below). As for the forms, $-\text{ru-}$ in $\text{midiku-ru-n}^{\text{e}}\text{u}$ is probably contracted from $*-\text{wuru-}$, and miyalk-guru-wur (kg indistinguishable from k phonetically) is obviously analogical to dilkuru-wur (resegmented as dil-kuru-wur).

The suffix $-\text{wur}$ forms Absolute $-\text{wur-nja}$ (dilkuru-wur-nja M8.8.3) and Immediate $-\text{wur-na}$ (jama-wur-na M20.5.3). Before case suffixes it is $-\text{wuru-}$, as in Erg dilkuru-wuru-y M23.2.2 and Acc dilkuru-wuru-n^y . The Gen-Dat, however, is not in $-\text{w}$ but in $-\text{n}^{\text{e}}$, resembling the Gen-Dat of nonsingular pronouns rather than that of other nouns: $\text{dilkuru-wuru-n}^{\text{e}}$ M27.5.8. Moreover, like these pronouns, such case suffixes as Human All-Loc $-\text{wal/-gal}$ and Originative $-\text{wun}^{\text{e}}\text{/}-\text{gun}^{\text{e}}$ follow this $-\text{n}^{\text{e}}$ - ($-\text{m-}$), as in $\text{dilkuru-wuru-n}^{\text{e}}\text{-gun}^{\text{e}}\text{-n}^y$ 'produced by elders' W6.3.1, $\text{dilkuru-wuru-n}^{\text{e}}\text{-gal}$ 'to elders' W1.2.5, wiripu-wuru-m-bal 'of others' (W).

The vast majority of nouns, and some of the above nouns optionally, have another Du and Pl formation: addition of Du postnoun manda or Pl postnoun mala . The latter, though it can be used with any countable noun, is used mainly with animate nouns and even for them it is not especially common. The obvious reason for this is that if it is necessary to express plurality of a noun in Nom, Acc, Erg, or Gen-Dat case and to some extent for others, it is possible to use a coreferential personal pronoun (3Sg, 3Du, or 3Pl) in the same clause. Thus in the following constructions the parenthesized number-marking postnoun is redundant:

Sg:	$\text{daramu n}^{\text{e}}\text{ayi}$	marci-n	'The man went'
	man he	went	
Du:	$\text{daramu (manda) manda}$	marci-n	'The two men went'
	man Du they(Du)	went	
Pl:	$\text{daramu (mala) walal}$	marci-n	'The (three or more) men went'
	man Pl they(Pl)	went	

Note that for the Du, the cross-referring 3Du pronoun is based on the same stem manda- . Since a cross-referring third person pronoun is optional when the noun is present, the type $\text{daramu manda marci-n}$ is

structurally ambiguous, since here manda could be either the postnoun or the 3Du pronoun. Since the propositional sense is not affected, this ambiguity is tolerated; the basic rule, or rather stylistic constraint, is that you do not use both manda as postnoun and manda as pronoun in the same nuclear clause. This constraint, which is not always observed, applies less and less as the noun moves further away from the beginning of the clause (where the pronouns tend to occur) and/or as the noun is set off by a pause or an intonational break.

This fundamental ambiguity is not found in the Pl, where mala (Pl postnoun) and walal (3Pl pronoun) are formally distinct. Nevertheless, perhaps reflecting the ambiguities in the dual formations, some speakers tend rather strongly to use walal in postnominal position in place of mala . For example, in a list of Erg nouns set off by intonational breaks, we find these forms: $\text{...ma:ri-?mun}^{\text{e}}\text{u-y walal}$, $\text{nhakun n}^{\text{e}}\text{a:ndi-y walal}$, ma:ri-y walal , ... M12.6.2-3 ('...my FF's, also my mothers, my MMB's,...'). Because the following verb is clearly set off formally from these noun-phrases, it appears that walal here is more of a postnoun than a cross-referring pronoun linked formally to the verb.

These ambiguities may well be partly responsible for the other major syntactic problem affecting Du manda and Pl mala , namely the question whether they agree with the preceding noun in suffixation (for case, Absolute, Immediate). The close structural relationship between these postnouns and third person pronouns (which are inflected for case) can be thought of as a factor favoring use of suffixes with postnouns; on the other hand, it is only really necessary to mark one element in the noun-phrase for case and other categories, and simplicity would seem to favor absence of concord with the postnoun.

For the Nom case, there is no problem since the suffix is zero in any case. For Erg-Inst (all relevant exx. are Erg), the case-marking is almost always just on the noun:

daramu-y	manda/mala	marci-n	'The two men/The men went'
man-Erg	Du	Pl	went

However, a rare Erg form $\text{mala-n}^{\text{e}}\text{u-y}$ is attested once with a Jap informant: $\text{yu:l-n}^{\text{e}}\text{u-y-n}^y$ $\text{mala-n}^{\text{e}}\text{u-y}$ 'people' W6.3.2. Looking at the noun $\text{yu:l-n}^{\text{e}}\text{u-y-n}^y$ 'person', we might note that because this informant (unlike the other three) used Absolute allomorph $-\text{n}^y$ (rather than $-\text{n}^y\text{ja}$) after Erg-Inst $-\text{y-}$, making confusion with Nominative Absolute $-\text{n}^y$ ($\text{yu:l-n}^{\text{e}}\text{u-n}^y$) quite probable, there is a particular reason why a special Erg form of mala is useful. Be this as it may, at least for the other speakers mala normally takes no Erg suffix.

For the other nonzero cases, manda and mala often agree with the noun although this is not rigorous. Sometimes the noun omits case-marking if it is shown on the postnoun; thus $\text{dhuwala?-mir mala-n}^{\text{e}}\text{u-w}$ 'of the ones having Dhuwal (as their language)' B8.1.7, where we might have expected a fuller form $\text{dhuwala?-miri-w mala-n}^{\text{e}}\text{u-w}$. Exx. of Acc mala-n^y (Jam) or mala-n (Jap) agreeing with the noun are seen in $\text{dilak-nha mala-n}^y$ 'old men' U45 and the Jap variant dilak-nha mala-n (not in texts). Exx. showing the optionality of agreement are $\text{dhawal-lil mala-n}^{\text{e}}\text{u-lil}$ 'to the countries' M26.2.2 and dhawal-lil mala (same gloss) M12.6.1. The case forms of Du manda are identical to those

of 3Du pronoun *manda*. On *mala-n^gu-mi* M7.2.3-4 see discussion in 5.5 (end).

The Absolute and Immediate suffixes are even less bound to rules in constructions with *manda* and *mala*. Compare *n^gama-n^y?* *manda* 'mothers' M4.3.5 with *gutu?* *manda-n^y* 'two kidneys' M5.9.3. One complication is that if *Du manda* is taken as the 3Du pronoun, it can take Absolute *-n^y* in a special sense (see section on pronouns), and that might be going on here in *gutu?* *manda-n^y*, but this does not account for all such forms. Pl *mala* is less likely to take an Absolute or Immediate suffix than *manda*.

We will see below that kin terms take, in Jap only, an Erg allomorph *-l*. When an Erg kin term with this suffix co-occurs with *Du* postnoun *manda*, agreement operates and we get forms like *ba:pa-l manda-l* 'the two fathers (Erg)'. The Jam version of this, based on remarks given on the preceding page, is *ba:pa-y manda* with Erg *-y* on the noun and no agreement with the postnoun.

As a noun, *mala* means 'group' and in this sense takes regular case marking for nouns (the stem is not extended as *mala-n^gu-* before other suffixes), hence *mala-w* (Gen-Dat) M7.4.2 (cf. R7.2.2/7).

Other quantifiers which can be briefly mentioned are numerals *wan^ggan^y?* 'one' and *ma:rma?* U60 or *bulal* M5.1.3, M2.15.2 'two'; *gulku/wulku* 'group' used chiefly in the common expression *wiripu wulku* 'the other group' M5.6.4, M24.3.5, Erg *wiripu wulku-y* R4.12.1, reversed as *gulku wiripu* rarely as in M22.10.5, cf. also *gulku-n* *gulku-n* 'whole lot' B1.4.7; *lurkun?* 'several, three' M5.8.2, M8.4.4, B4.1.2; *dharwa* 'big group' R7.2.6, often in apposition to a noun; *bukmak* or *bukmak-mir* 'all, everyone' M23.7.5, M26.7.1; *warpam?* 'all, every' M24.4.3; and *-pulal/-bulal* related to *bulal* 'two' in a few compound-like forms, notably *dhuwur-bulal* or *dhuwur-pulal* 'two ways' M2.11.3, M2.15.3. We may also mention the distributive form *bula?-bulal* 'two; in pairs, two by two' M2.12.5.

3.4 Kin Terms.

A paper on kinship terminology will be published elsewhere; we will here merely go over the major morphological features. Taking *ba:pa* 'father' (cf. the more familiar *ma:lu?* 'father'), we may mention the following formations:

- ba:pa* 'father' (or vocative 'father!')
- ba:pa-?mirin^gu* '(my/his) father'
- ba:pa-n^gali* 'your father'
- ba:pa-?man^yji* 'father and reciprocal (i.e., child)'
- ba:pa-pulu* 'father and his group (i.e., his patriclan)'
- ba:pa-?-yu-* 'to call (some one) "father"'

In the vocative (address) form, just *ba:pa* is used. In reference, if no Gen pronoun is juxtaposed, we get *ba:pa-?mirin^gu* for first or third person possessor and *ba:pa-n^gali* for second person; the simplex *ba:pa* is also possible in either case. There are many exx. of the types *ba:pa* and *ba:pa-?mirin^gu* in the kinship texts; the type with *-n^gali* is seen in *wa:wa-n^gali* 'your elder brother' M17.5.4, *yapa-n^gali* 'your sister' M17.7.1/2, and Gen-Dat *waku-n^gali-w* 'of/for your nephew' M18.2.3.

It is, of course, possible to juxtapose a Gen-Dat pronoun like *n^gara-ku* 'my' or *nhu-n^gu* 'your (Sg)', and this is often done. However, the suffix *-n^gali* cannot be used in conjunction with a Gen-Dat pronoun,

so 'your father' comes out as *nhu-n^gu ba:pa-?mirin^gu* (or *nhu-n^gu ba:pa*) as in U51. Hence *-?mirin^gu* has no pronominal possessive value when there is a juxtaposed Gen-Dat pronoun. Because such pronouns are very common, often the main function of *-?mirin^gu* is not to mark pronominal category of the possessor, rather to explicitly mark the noun to which it is added as a kinship term; the more kinship as such is foregrounded the less likely is omission of *-?mirin^gu*.

The dyadic form with *-?man^yji* (not used with other nouns, though cf. Ritharngu Dual suffix *-man^yji?*) is added to the kin term designating one member of the dyad from the perspective of the other member. For each reciprocal pair of kin terms (e.g., father/child, mother/child, uncle/nephew) usually only one of the two terms can be used in this construction; details will appear in the separate paper. Textual exx. of *-?man^yji* are in M3.3.1, (two), M5.18.2, M10.3.1, M9.1.3, M19.2.2, M21.2.1, M22.1.5, M23.8.1. The 3+ Pl form is *-?man^yji-wur*.

The suffix *-pulu-* is attested in the texts with *waku-* 'nephew (ZS)' in W2.2.5 and W2.3.4. It does not occur in my Jam materials and may be uncommon in that dialect.

The type *ba:pa-?-yu-* 'to call (someone) "father"' shows verbal class 5 thematizing augment *-yu-* (or *-dhu-* after nasal or stop, as in *gurun^g-?-dhu-* 'to call "son-in-law"') along with an extra ?. Exx. are in M2.1.2-6 and M10.4.4 (*lambara-?* in this last citation is the 'root form' of *lambara-?-yu-*).

In general, all of the nominal forms based on *ba:pa-* shown on the preceding page take regular suffixation for case, Absolute, and Immediate categories. Thus from *ba:pa-?mirin^gu* we get Erg *ba:pa-?mirin^gu-y* and Human All-Loc *ba:pa-?mirin^gu-wal*. Textual exx. of *-?mirin^gu-* with case suffix are Acc *-n^y* in U93, Erg *-y* in U102 and M2.6.1, Acc plus Absolute *-nha-n^y* in M9.2.8, Gen-Dat *-w* in M3.1.6, Human All-Loc *-wal* in M3.9.4. An ex. with *-n^gali-* (second person possessive suffix) followed by a case suffix was given on the preceding page (*waku-n^gali-w*). The suffix *-pulu-* shows *-pulu-n^y* with Absolute suffix in W2.3.4; there happen to be no convenient textual exx. with case suffixes but there is no doubt that such suffixes can follow *-pulu-*. Similarly, *-?man^yji* does not happen to occur in the texts with a case or other suffix but can take them.

The simplex *ba:pa* can also take the usual case suffixes, except that in Jap (Wuyulwuy) we find Erg *ba:pa-l*, and as we have seen (3.3) when this is followed by *Du manda* we get case agreement: *ba:pa-l manda-l* 'the two fathers (Erg)' (cf. Jam *ba:pa-y manda*).

3.5 *-n^gu-*.

This obscure element shows up sporadically with certain noun stems, sometimes only before nonzero cases suffixes, and as part of some suffix complexes. It is usually not possible to gloss it.

The most common occurrence is in *yu:l-n^gu* 'person' (reduplicated Pl *yu:l-n^gu?-yu:l-n^gu*), cf. *yu:l* 'who?'. In the sense 'person' the *-n^gu* is always present.

The noun *wiripu* 'other' appears to take *-n^gu-* before Erg-Inst *-y* as well as Gen-Dat *-w*, hence *wiripu-n^gu-w* M21.4.1. Textual exx. of this stem in the Nom (R4.8.3), All (R4.5.3), Loc-Abl (R4.9.2), and Associative (R4.13.4) lack *-n^gu-*. It is possible that a few other

adjectival nouns show this pattern; waln^εa 'healthy, alive' is attested in the Erg form waln^εa-n^εu-y M22.2.1.

In some cases the -n^εu is either frozen onto the stem or is used in a special sense. Thus alongside ya:na 'mere, unimportant' W7.1.7 we find ya:na-n^εu 'free of avoidance restrictions', applied to such kin as father's sister (FZ) to differentiate them from the mother-in-law category, both being called mu:kul in the basic kinship vocabulary. Alongside guriri 'short' we find guriri?-n^εu 'short' with unexpected glottal stop B5.1.6. The adverb n^εa:thil 'long ago, old days' has a free variant n^εa:thil-n^εu W1.1.2. From wiyin 'long' we get either wiyin-mir or wiyin-n^εu-mir 'long' W5.2.2. From ga:na 'alone' we get ga:na-n^εu-wuy 'alone' R5.2.3. In the last two exx. -mir is Proprietative (see below) and -wuy is probably the Associative case suffix. From midiku 'bad' we get a variant midiku-n^εu of the same meaning; the Pl is midiku-ru-n^εu (see 3.3). From n^εuru 'nose' we get n^εuru-n^εu 'eldest (e.g., of several children)' M3.3.5, M17.3.7. Some fairly frozen, unsegmentable combinations are liran^ε '(moving) in a circle' (cf. lira 'tooth' ?), jambac-n^εu 'successful harpooner' R4.4.1 (cf. jambac in this sense in lgs. to the south), and mirin^ε 'warrior' M22.6.2 (cf. marⁱ 'fight, anger', hence a probable prototype *marⁱ-n^εu).

This -n^εu might be detected in such suffixes as -?mirin^εu, used in kinship terminology (3.4), but there is no way to segment these synchronically. On the other hand, we have seen that Pl postnoun mala has some case forms like Erg-Inst mala-n^εu-y (see 3.3), and here -n^εu- seems to be an augment much as in wiripu-n^εu- (above). Similarly, Human All-Loc -gal/-wal (with pronoun -kal) takes -n^εu- before certain suffixes. The exx. I have are pronominal but they presumably work the same way for nouns: n^εara-kal 'to me', n^εara-kala-n^εu-y 'my' (agreeing with Erg noun) M3.1.5, etc.

3.6 Proprietative -mir and Privative -miriw.

These suffixes can be glossed as 'having X' and 'lacking X', respectively, when added to a noun X. In principle, the derivative with -mir or -miriw is itself a noun and can take relevant nominal suffixation or be verbalized by the usual denominative verbalizing suffixes. In practice, the rather uncommon -miriw rarely takes any further affixes, aside from the Absolute or Immediate suffix. Exx. of -miriw, sometimes heard as -muruw, are marⁱ-miriw '(you two sit there) without fighting!' M6.3.1, ma:ni-muruw '(we went along) without money' R2.5.3, milmara-muruw-na '(you are) without a promised mother-in-law now' R5.2.3, walkur-miriw-na '(I stay here) without a son' W2.8.2 (i.e., my son has grown up and gone away), blade-miriw and then lira-miriw 'without blade' B2.8.1/2. Note that some of these exx. seem to show the -miriw form functioning as a kind of sentence adverb similar to English 'without X'.

The forms in -mir are much more numerous; some are high-frequency adverbs or idioms. Thus a very common word for 'old man' is n^εalapa^l-mir 'having old woman'; the Gen-Dat form n^εalapa^l-miri-w is seen in R2.13.2. Note the extension of -mir to -miri- before case suffix; before Absolute -nja and Immediate -(n)a we usually get just

-mir (i.e., -mir-nja as in n^εarali?-mir-nja 'having tobacco' R3.9.3, and -mir-a as in barukala?-mir-a 'having paper bark now' M14.6.2). Miyala (Jam dialect) sporadically pronounced the suffix as -miri even word-finally (dha:-diku-miri 'eating things raw' M27.2.5), but he also used -mir (dha:-diku-mir M27.3.9). In the former case, Abs and Imm suffixes take postvocalic shape, as in bawala-miri-n^y 'nonetheless' M27.5.10 (= bawala-mir-nja).

Semantically simple exx. of -mir include batba?-mir 'having coral' R4.7.1, dhuwala?-mir 'having the Dhuwala language' B8.1.7, galpu-mir 'having woomera' M15.3.2, wun^εgan?-mir '(we went) with a dog' B5.1.2, ba:tharipa-mir '(country) having Macassan people' W1.2.2, manikay-mir 'having songs' M8.10.2, yathi-mir 'having coffin' M8.8.2, marⁱ-mir 'fighter' M3.7.1 (= 'having fight'). Adverbially specialized exx. include wulma-mir 'cloud-having season' B4.1.7, yalala-mir 'later' (same gloss as yalala) M4.2.4, munhaku-mir 'around dawn' (= 'having night') W3.3.3, and gudar?-mir 'morning before dawn' (= 'having morning') M24.3.2. Note that in the last two exx. -mir indicates a transitional or marginal period adjacent to that specified by the root. Other exx. with -mir are n^εuru-mir 'long and thin' M11.5.2 with n^εuru 'nose, point', and the frozen bawala-mir 'regardless, without restriction, anyway, doesn't matter' (formally a noun, but often treated like an adverb) M7.4.1, M27.5.10, M26.7.5.

The combination -miri-yi- with Inchoative -thi-/-yi-, and the combination -miri-ya- with Factitive -tha-/-ya-, are discussed in 6.9.

Note also ma:rma?-mir 'twice' from ma:rma? 'two'.

3.7 Other Nominal Derivatives.

Diminutive -gan^{van} is rare; I have found it only with n^yumukunin^y 'small' in n^yumukunin^y-gan^{van} 'tiny' R2.10.3.

A suffix -batan^ε/watan^ε meaning '(proper) owner of ___' occurs in a few high-frequency combinations: milmara-watan^ε 'man who has proper bestowal rights over a woman (his WM)', dhawal-watan^ε 'owner of country' (M26.3.1, M27.6.9). The final syllable may be another ex. of -n^εu- (see 3.5, above).

An obscure ending -mar occurs in guriri-mar 'short time' B4.1.6, from guriri 'short'.

A collective suffix -kundic is used with the two patrilineal moiety terms: dhu:wa-kundic 'Dhuwa people', yirica-kundic 'Yirica people'.

Gentilic -puy-n^εu, apparently the combination of Associative -puy and -n^εu- (3.5), is used in clan names and the like. It is more common in the Jap dialect than in Jam. Exx. are landing-buy-n^εu '(goanna lizards) from the landing (jetty) area' B2.4.7, du:n^yji-puy-n^εu '(people) of Doindji (place name)' B8.1.3.

3.8 Nominal Compounds.

Compounds functioning as nouns are not common. The attested noun-noun compounds are a) gun^ε-uripu 'ten' M11.4.2 (gu:n^ε 'hand' plus distorted form of wiripu 'other'); b) jama-dumur 'people of all ages'

M22.7.3 (jama 'child' plus dumur 'big'); c) gurka-wadaku 'uncircumcized' M27.5.3 (gurka 'penis', gadaku 'uncircumcized boy'); d) a few exx. beginning with dha:- 'mouth' such as dha:-parn^g? 'empty-handed, returning to camp without animal after hunt' M22.9.1 (barn^g? 'bitter') and dha:-yun^ga 'ignorant' M11.9.2 (dhun^ga 'ignorant'). A type noun-noun-mir occurs in n^gapa-gaya?-mir 'having paper bark (gaya?) on one's back' M16.3.5. Cf. dha:-diku-mir 'eating raw' M27.2.5.

3.9 Case Marking of Genitive Noun.

In genitive function, a noun takes Gen-Dat case -gu/-wu/-w when the modified noun is in Nom or Acc case. When the modified noun is Erg, the genitive noun takes the Human All-Loc case -gal/-wal. The situation is not clear for all other cases of the modified noun, but at least with the Abl the genitive noun ends up with -gala-n^gur or -wala-n^gur. I can find no good textual exx. involving nouns as possessors, but exx. are available with pronominal possessors (see section on pronouns, below). On the basis of informal observations made in off-tape interviews I believe that the system for possessor nouns is the same as that for pronouns.

4. PRONOUNS.

Personal and interrogative pronouns have much the same set of case distinctions as nouns; many of the case suffixes are the same except for Suffix Hardening (2.4). A major difference is the absence of Erg-Inst case forms (Nom is used instead of Erg for transitive subject; no Inst forms are used). Absolute -n^y/-n^yja/-nja/-ja can be added to pronominal case forms, but the Abs form of the Nom has a special sense (cf. below). For Jap only, a special Gen-Dat form in -l/-pal (with -pal becoming -bal after nasal) exists alongside the usual Gen-Dat form; I will here label the former as 'Gen-Dat₂'. Personal pronouns are sometimes, but by no means always, enclitic to a preceding word in surface structure; for some stems the initial syllable is optionally deleted in this event, e.g. 1Sg n^gara, enclitic n^gara or ra.

4.1 Singular Personal Pronouns.

The full forms are these:

	1Sg	2Sg	3Sg
Nom	n ^g ara	nhi:	n ^g ayi
Nom Abs	n ^g ara-n ^y	nhi:-n ^y	n ^g ayi-n ^y
Acc (final)	n ^g ara-n ^y	nhu-na	n ^g i-n ^y a, n ^g a-n ^y a
Acc (nonfinal)	n ^g ara-nha-	nhu-na-	n ^g i-n ^y a-, n ^g a-n ^y a-
Gen-Dat	{n ^g ara-ku n ^g ara-k	nhu-n ^g u	nhan-n ^g u
Gen-Dat ₂	n ^g ara-l	nhi-pal	nhan-bal
Human All-Loc	n ^g ara-kal	nhu:-kal	nhanu-kal
Originative	n ^g ara-kun ^g	nhu:-kun ^g	nhanu-kun ^g

The 1Sg Acc forms shown are for the Jam dialect. For Jap we get word-final n^gara-n in Wuyulwuy's speech (W2.6.5), so that this form is overtly distinct from the Nom Abs form n^gara-n^y W2.2.8. Of the two 3Sg Acc variants, n^gi-n^ya occurs chiefly in the Jam dialect (M3.2.4, R2.9.1, etc.), though it is attested in Jap (B2.8.4 and B5.1.4); n^ga-n^ya

is characteristic of Jap (W5.3.3, W5.4.3, B3.3.6) but is apparently attested once or twice in Jam (M18.2.1). In rapid speech the distinction may be hard to hear.

The choice between 1Sg Gen-Dat n^gara-ku and n^gara-k is similarly difficult to pin down, except that n^gara-ku- must be used nonfinally. The full form n^gara-ku is very common in Jam (U92, M2.1.3, etc.), but n^gara-k is attested four or five times (M2.7.4, M16.1.7, M18.5.5, M23.2.2). In Jap the short form n^gara-k is most common (W2.6.2, W2.2.2, W2.3.4/6/7, W2.9.1, B2.7.2, B3.1.3), but n^gara-ku is also attested (B7.1.2) once or twice.

Exx. of Gen-Dat₂ -l/-pal are 1Sg n^gara-l W2.5.1 and W2.9.2, 3Sg nhan-bal W1.1.1. Exx. of the irregular 2Sg Acc nhu-na are U2, M6.2.3, R2.4.6. Exx. of the irregular Gen-Dat forms are 2Sg nhu-n^gu U51 and M9.5.1 (cf. U88 for an Abs form), and 3Sg nhan-n^gu M5.16.3/4 and W5.4.2 (Abs form in M5.16.3). The Human All-Loc forms are seen as follows: 1Sg n^gara-kal in U47, M16.1.6, W2.7.5/8, 2Sg nhu:-kal in M3.12.5, 3Sg nhanu-kal in M2.10.3, W9.1.5, and B5.2.4. An Originative ex. is 1Sg n^gara-kun^g-n^y (with Abs suffix -n^y) M26.5.5.

The Loc-Abl form with -n^gur (used only in Abl sense) for all personal pronouns consists of -n^gur added to Human Loc-All -kala-, hence 1Sg n^gara-kala-n^gur 'from me' U48. See also the section below on Case Marking of Genitive Pronoun.

Of the forms shown above, deletion of the first syllable in enclitic position is common for 1Sg n^gara-, is not possible for any of the 2Sg forms, and for 3Sg occurs only in Acc forms (and is not common even there). Exx. are 1Sg Nom ra U3, Acc ra-n^y U32, U95, M2.2.1, Gen-Dat ra-ku U50, M5.4.2, and Hum All-Loc ra-kal M2.7.2; for 3Sg we get Acc n^ya in M5.3.6 and R2.12.4. Truncated 1Sg ra-, when following a stop or nasal (and often when following l or l) changes r to d to avoid an awkward cluster, hence Nom da U44, U79, R2.4.4 and Gen-Dat da-ku U103. All of these exx. with da- are from one speaker (Roy); it appears that other speakers tend not to drop the initial syllable n^ga when it is preceded by a true consonant. Note: Abs forms are not truncated.

3Sg Acc n^gi-n^ya and its variants are usually not used to refer to inanimate referents and are often omitted even for nonhuman animates. This is over and above a general tendency to omit pronouns in some elliptical textual passages.

4.2 Nonsingular Personal Pronouns.

These stems are characterized by the use of an augment -n^g- or -m- (i.e., homorganic nasal) before Hum All-Loc -gal; forms such as Loc-Abl -gala-n^gur which contain -gal; Originative -gun^g; and Gen-Dat₂ -bal. In the table below it is sufficient to show the form of the 'derived stem' used before these suffixes; N represents the assimilating nasal. The Gen-Dat form is -n^g word-finally, -n^gu- nonfinally; it is possible to take -gu- as the Gen-Dat ending and -n^g- as the assimilating -N- augment, with word-final deletion of /-gu/ after the -N- has assimilated to it. Note that some of the first and second person stems show additional stem changes in the Nom (including the Nom Abs). As with nouns and other pronouns, word-final Acc -n^y is good for Jam only; the corresponding Jap forms have -n.

	1ExDu	1ExPl	1InDu	
Nom	n ^ɛ ilin ^y , n ^ɛ ilin ^y u	n ^ɛ anapur	n ^ɛ ali	
Nom Abs	n ^ɛ ilin ^y u-n ^y	n ^ɛ anapur-nja	n ^ɛ ali-n ^y	
Acc (final)	n ^ɛ ilin ^y ala-n ^y	n ^ɛ anapuru-n ^y	n ^ɛ alicala-n ^y	
(nonfinal)	n ^ɛ ilin ^y ala-nha-	n ^ɛ anapuru-nha-	n ^ɛ alicala-nha-	
Gen-Dat	n ^ɛ ilin ^y ala-n ^ɛ (gu-)	n ^ɛ anapuru-n ^ɛ (gu-)	n ^ɛ alicala-n ^ɛ (gu-)	
derived stem	n ^ɛ ilin ^y ala-N-	n ^ɛ anapuru-N-	n ^ɛ alicala-N-	
	1InPl	2Pl	3Du	3Pl
Nom	limur	nhuma	manda	walal
Nom Abs	limur-nja	nhuma-n ^y	manda-n ^y	walal-nja
Acc (final)	limuru-n ^y	nhumala-n ^y	manda-n ^y	walala-n ^y
(nonfinal)	limuru-nha-	nhumala-nha-	manda-nha-	walala-nha-
Gen-Dat	limuru-n ^ɛ (gu-)	nhumala-n ^ɛ (gu-)	manda-n ^ɛ (gu-)	walala-n ^ɛ (gu-)
derived stem	limuru-N-	nhumala-N-	manda-N-	walala-N-

The first three (those beginning with n^ɛi or n^ɛa) are subject to initial truncation when used as enclitics. Exx. are 1ExDu lin^yu M17.2.3, 1InDu li B1.2.1/4, and 1ExPl napur M1.2.7, R1.1.1, B1.4.5 (Acc napuru-n^y R2.10.1). The others are not subject to truncation, though historically 1InPl limur is a truncation of *n^ɛalimur or the like.

2Pl nhuma is used for Du as well as (3+) Pl number; to specify 2Du it is possible to add Du manda as a postnoun (nhuma manda 'you two'), see 3.3. Other than this the grammatical categories are straightforward, except that the young Jap speaker Benjamin frequently used 1In forms where 1Ex was appropriate (B1.2, B4.3.1, etc.).

Exx. showing the Gen-Dat alternation of final -n^ɛ vs. nonfinal -n^ɛgu- are 1ExPl n^ɛanapuru-n^ɛ M2.19.4, B2.1.8, contrast n^ɛanapuru-n^ɛgu-n^y M2.14.1 with Abs -n^y. Benjamin, who tended also in other cases to use nonfinal suffix allomorphs even in final position, apparently used -n^ɛgu finally in n^ɛanapuru-n^ɛgu B2.1.3 (unless I missed a following -n^y or -n suffix).

Representative textual exx. showing stem forms:

a) 1ExDu n^ɛilin^yu M17.2.2/3, M1.1.4, M17.2.2; n^ɛalin^yu-n with Immediate -n U14; n^ɛilin^y manda with Du postnoun M25.2.2. Note n^ɛi/n^ɛa alternation.

b) 1ExPl n^ɛanapur M1.1.5, B1.1.2; Nom Abs n^ɛanapur-nja M1.9.6; Acc n^ɛanapuru-n^y M1.5.6/7; Acc n^ɛanapuru-n (Jap dialect) W4.1.4; Hum All-Loc n^ɛanapuru-n^ɛ-gal M22.9.2, W2.6.7 and n^ɛanapuru-n^ɛ-gala B2.4.3.

c) 1InDu n^ɛali U12, B1.2.3. The remaining forms, based on a few interview notes, need checking and may not be valid for the Jap dialect. A possible variant stem n^ɛalimala- for non-Nom forms may be present in (truncated) limala-n^ɛ (Gen-Dat) B5.4.1, but it is not even certain that this is a 1InDu form (as opposed to 1InPl).

d) 1InPl limur M1.4.2, R1.3.2, B1.1.5; limur-a with Immediate -(n)a R2.9.2, B2.6.5; Gen-Dat limuru-n^ɛ M1.7.4, R1.2.2.

e) 2Pl nhuma M1.8.1, B1.4.1; Nom Abs nhuma-n^y R1.1.2; Acc nhumala-n^y U101, M3.7.2; Gen-Dat nhumala-n^ɛ M16.5.3, R2.5.3 and Abs nhumala-n^ɛgu-n^y M1.9.5, R3.8.1.

f) 3Du manda M17.1.3-8; Acc manda-n (Jap dialect) W2.6.3; Human All-Loc manda-n^ɛ-gal W2.6.3, M2.15.2. For Erg manda-l with a kin term (W2.2.2) see above, end of 3.3 (this form is used only when manda is a Du postnoun, not a real pronoun). The Gen-Dat₂ form is manda-pal, nonfinal manda-pala- (both seen in W2.2.6); note that the -N- augment is not present here (cf. 1ExPl n^ɛanapuru-m-bal, 3Pl walala-m-bal).

f) 3Pl walal M16.6.5, B1.3.5, R1.3.4, W1.2.6; Nom Abs walal-nja M1.5.6, R2.10.1, B5.3.6; Acc walala-n^y U4, B2.7.4/7 (Jap!), M22.8.1 and Jap walala-n W2.7.3; Originative walala-n^ɛ-gun^ɛ M1.9.7;

Gen-Dat₂ walala-m-bal B3.3.7/8, B5.3.4.

4.3 Emphatic -pi/-wuy.

An emphatic form roughly translatable by English 'myself', 'himself', etc. (in emphatic rather than reflexive sense) is formed by adding -pi or -wuy. If the pronoun (including case suffixes in their nonfinal forms) is three or more syllables, -wuy must be used: 1Sg Acc n^ɛara-n^y, nonfinal n^ɛara-nha-, becomes n^ɛara-nha-wuy U99. The only monosyllabic form, 2Sg Nom nhi:, takes -pi, hence nhi:-pi 'you yourself' R6.1.4. For bisyllabic forms, -pi occurs in several Nom forms: 1Sg n^ɛara-pi U98, M3.6.3, W2.8.1, B4.2.7, 1InDu n^ɛali-pi, 2Pl nhuma-pi B2.7.2, 3Sg n^ɛayi-pi M3.4.1. Contrast 3Du manda-wuy M22.1.4, W2.2.6 (and 3Pl walala-wuy M5.15.5, W1.2.3 with trisyllabic nonfinal base). Of the non-Nom forms, -pi is found in 3Sg Acc n^ɛi-n^ya-pi, but -wuy is used in the Gen-Dat forms 2Sg nhu-n^ɛu-wuy and 3Sg nhan-n^ɛu-wuy M2.5.2, M3.9.2. Note that -pi/-wuy consistently follows the fullest form of the preceding morpheme, unlike Absolute -n^y/^y-n^yja/-nja/-ja for ex. Further exx. are 1ExPl n^ɛanapuru-wuy-na with Immediate -na M22.9.5, 3Du Gen-Dat₂ manda-pala-wuy W2.2.6, and 1ExPl Gen-Dat n^ɛanapuru-n^ɛ-gu-wuy-na M24.5.3.

Sporadic exx. of -pi with other word-classes are nhawu-pi 'what's-it?' B4.1.1, and two curious exx. in M26.7.1 (following a demonstrative and a Past tense verb form). Another ex. obtained off the tape:

n^ɛunhi-yi luka-na pi nhi:
that should have eaten indeed you(Sg)
'You really should have eaten it!'

4.4 Absolute Forms.

At least in the Nom, the Abs suffix -n^y/^y-n^yja/-nja/-ja has a special sense for pronouns: contrastive emphatic. Thus English 'You go that way, while I'll stay here' generally has contrastive stress on 'I' and optionally on 'You'; in Dhuwal this is not expressed by stress but by adding the Abs suffix to the second and perhaps to the first of the two pronouns. Among many exx. note 1ExPl n^ɛanapur-nja in M1.9.6, M23.8.3, and R3.5.3, and 3Sg n^ɛayi-n^y in M2.8.7, M2.14.4, and B3.4.4. It is not clear whether this contrastive function is present when the Abs suffix is added to a nonzero pronominal case form, e.g. 1Sg Acc n^ɛara-nha-n^y M2.1.4, 2Pl Gen-Dat nhumala-n^ɛgu-n^y M1.9.5.

4.5 Number Markers.

Dual postnoun manda is commonly added to 2Pl nhuma for dual sense, and occasionally occurs redundantly with 1InDu n^ɛali (U12) or with 1ExDu n^ɛilin^y and its variants (n^ɛalin^yu...manda U14). It need not immediately follow the pronoun and thus acts like a cross-referring 3Du pronoun. Pl postnoun mala is attested once (n^ɛanapur mala-n^y 'all of us' M22.9.5), emphasizing plurality with 1ExPl n^ɛanapur.

4.6 -kiyin-.

This suffix is occasionally inserted between a Sg pronoun stem and Human All-Loc -gal or a form based on it: 1Sg n^ɛara-kiyin-gal W2.9.4, W2.6.6; 3Sg nhanu-kiyin-gal M20.1.3/7, M20.2.5, M20.5.3. Miyala accepted 2Sg nhu:-kiyin-gal when I suggested it, but rejected Pl forms with -kiyin-.

4.7 Case Marking of Genitive Pronoun.

A Gen-Dat form such as 1Sg n^εara-ku 'of/for me' can be used in Gen function in such combinations as n^εara-ku ba:pa 'my father'. If ba:pa is put in the Acc form as the transitive object of the sentence as a whole, the Gen-Dat pronoun is unchanged:

bu-mar n^εi-n^{ya} n^εara-ku ba:pa-n^y n^εuri-n^εi-yi daramu-y
hit him my father-Acc that (Erg) man-Erg
'That man hit (killed) my father.'

However, for certain other cases of ba:pa, the Gen-Dat pronoun must also be changed. What happens is that Gen-Dat -ku (or, for other Gen-Dat pronouns, another suffixal allomorph) is replaced by Human All-Loc -kal, and a copy of the case suffix on ba:pa may be added to this (e.g., Loc-Abl -kala-n^εur). Before case suffixes other than -n^εur, -kal takes the form -kala-n^εu-. If ba:pa is Erg (ba:pa-y), the Gen-Dat pronoun 'my' thus can show up as n^εara-kala-n^εu-y, though as it happens in the case of an Erg modified noun the usual pronominal form is just n^εara-kal. A textual ex. of n^εara-kala-n^εu-y is M3.1.5 (cf. 3Sg nhanu-kala-n^εu-w 'his' with Gen-Dat -w modifying a Dat noun in the following line M3.1.6), while n^εara-kal occurs in U67 and U102. If the modified noun takes Human All-Loc -gal/-wal, the Gen-Dat pronoun can be n^εara-kala-n^εu-wal (U104) or short n^εara-kal (M16.1.6). Moreover, n^εara-kiyin-gal-na (with Immediate -na and with -kiyin-, cf. above) 'my' with All dhawal-lil ('to my country') W2.9.4 appears to be short for a putative full form n^εara-kiyin-gala-n^εu-lil (unattested).

It is likely that these same rules apply to nominal Gen-Dat forms (e.g., 'the man's father') as the modified noun ('father') varies in case, but good textual exx. are unavailable. Off the tape I obtained this form: ma:lu?-wal bunbu-n^εur 'from father's house' (ma:lu? 'father', bunbu- 'house'), apparently showing Human All-Loc -gal/-wal parallel to n^εara-kal 'my'; the full form would be ma:lu?-wala-n^εur.

4.8 Other Notes on Personal Pronouns.

Personal pronouns, like demonstratives, are often used in apposition to a coreferential noun; usually both take the appropriate case marking, and the pronoun most often precedes the noun. Thus in M3.10.3 we see nhan-n^εu ma:ri-w-nja 'for him, for my MMB (kin term)' with 3Sg Gen-Dat nhan-n^εu 'for him' in apposition to 'for (my) MMB' (with Gen-Dat -w-). Note that the translation in the context cannot be 'for his MMB' with nhan-n^εu interpreted as a Gen pronoun modifying 'MMB'.

In addition to this type of direct juxtaposition, third person pronouns are optionally used (especially for Nom, Acc, and Gen-Dat) in the same clause as a coreferential noun, which may be separated or may happen to be adjacent to the pronoun. Thus in the ex. at the top of this page we find n^εi-n^{ya} 'him' in the same clause as the Acc noun-phrase n^εara-ku ba:pa-n^y, and one could have added 3Sg Nom n^εayi cross-referring to the Erg noun-phrase at the end (bu-mar n^εi-n^{ya} n^εayi n^εara-ku ba:pa-n^y n^εuri-n^εi-yi daramu-y). There is a tendency for such cross-referring third person pronouns to occur as enclitics to the first word of the nucleus of the clause (here bu-mar). If two such pronouns occur together the order is variable (n^εi-n^{ya} n^εayi or n^εayi n^εi-n^{ya} in this ex.). Cross-referring pronouns are not required and are less common in Dhuwal than in Ritharngu.

When a noun functioning as subject or object is omitted, we usually expect a third person pronoun to replace it, as in English. However, in texts we find some elliptical passages where sequences of clauses with the same subjects and objects are shortened by omitting the pronouns; see for example M1.1.5-7. On the other hand, there are textual passages where each clause must have at least a pronoun for subject (and object); thus note the repetition of manda 'they (Du)' in M17.1.3-8.

4.9 Interrogative Pronouns.

The two primary stems are yu:l 'who?' and nha: 'what?', the latter nonhuman. These stems show Suffix Hardening of following suffixes as for personal pronouns; they differ from them in taking the Erg-Inst suffix (-thu with hardening). Moreover, nha: lacks an Acc form, but instead has a variety of special forms (e.g., nha:-tha 'when?' showing suffixes not found with nouns or personal pronouns. The forms are:

	'who?'	'what?'
Nom	yu:l	nha:
Acc	yu:l-nha	--- (Nom used for object)
Erg-Inst	yu:l-thu (Erg)	nha:-thu (usually Inst)
Gen-Dat	yu:l-ku	nha:-ku 'what for?'
Originative	yu:l-kun ^ε	nha:-kun ^ε
Human All-Loc	yu:l-kal	---
Loc-Abl	yu:l-kala-n ^ε ur	nha:-n ^ε ur
All	---	nha:-lil
Pergressive	---	nha:-kur 'where'
Associative	---	nha:-puy
Kinship	---	nha:-?mirin ^ε u 'what relation?'
Proprietative	---	nha:-mir 'how about ___?'
Privative	---	nha:-miriw 'without what?'
Temporal	---	nha:-tha 'when?'
Quantitative	---	nha:-munha 'how many?'
Frequentative	---	nha:-munha-mir 'how many times?'

Textual exx.: yu:l M9.1.2, R4.1.4; yu:l-nha U81-U83; yu:l-ku M2.3.3, M7.1.1; nha: B1.2.4; nha:-thu M12.3.1; nha:-ku U19, B2.7.3, W7.1.3; nha:-lil B4.2.6; nha:-kur U8, U74, B4.3.5; nha:-puy M11.5.2; nha:-?mirin^εu M4.1.2; nha:-mir U101; nha:-miriw B2.8.1; nha:-tha U39, U84, R2.4.4/5; nha:-munha M5.8.1; nha:-munha-mir M8.2.6.

Sometimes these forms are indefinite ('someone', 'I don't know who') rather than interrogative in the strict sense. In the case of forms of nha:, the particle n^εula is often added for an indefinite sense, before or after nha:. Thus nha: n^εula or n^εula nha: in W2.3.5, M2.5.3-4, and dozens of other places in the texts; nha:-thu n^εula M12.3.1; nha:-tha...n^εula R2.4.4-5. Verbalized nha:-thi- 'to be what?', 'to do what?' occurs in R7.3.1 (Inchoative -thi-/-yi-). The expression bay?n^εa nha: appears to mean 'everyone' M22.7.3/4 but the first part is hard to analyze.

There is also a form nhawi (stem-variant nhawu- in some forms) 'what's-it?' used very often when the speaker cannot remember a name or a noun and needs a temporary filler while he searches his memory. Before suffixes there is some fluctuation in the forms nhawi- and nhawu-, with the latter preferred if the suffix has a u-vowel and dialectal variation in the other forms. The following is a partial paradigm:

Nom	nhawi M2.13.2, R3.4.3, B1.2.2
Acc	nhawi-n ^y , nhawu-nha- (for Benjamin: nhawu-nha B1.3.4, nhawi-nha B3.3.4)
Erg-Inst	nhawu-thu B2.5.2
Gen-Dat	nhawu-ku B3.2.4, W7.1.4, R3.1.3, M3.3.3, M18.3.3.
Originative	nhawu-kun ^ε
All	nhawu-lil R3.2.1, nhawi-lil M8.11.1, B2.4.1
Loc-Abl	nhawu-n ^ε ur B1.2.4, B3.3.7, nhawi-n ^ε ur
Pergressive	nhawu-kur
Associative	nhawu-puy B2.1.4, B4.3.2
Hum All-Loc	nhawu-kal
Hum Loc-Abl	nhawu-kala-n ^ε ur

We may also mention verbalized nhawu-thi- 'to become what's-it?' B3.5.6.

Forms of nhawi do not rigorously agree in case with the noun they are substituting for; thus nhawi miyapunu-w 'what's-it?', for the turtle' R4.1.2 (with Nom nhawi, not Gen-Dat nhawu-ku).

A form nhayka 'what's-it?' can be used instead of nhawi when the noun in question is a place name. Hence Nom nhayka M5.15.3 and M22.1.1 and All nhayka-lil 'to what's-it?' R7.1.2. This form is treated as an ordinary noun for purposes of case marking allomorphs (like place names generally, the Nom usually functions in locative sense). I had some trouble transcribing nhayka (sometimes I heard nha:yka or nhayika).

Other interrogatives will be mentioned in the next chapter (see section on wanha-).

5. DEMONSTRATIVES.

The system of demonstratives is relatively irregular. Nom and Acc are not systematically distinguished, so 'Nom' here applies to transitive object and intransitive subject. There are Erg forms, though using a suffix -n^ε(u-) not found with nouns or pronouns in this category. The 'local' case forms like Loc and All usually function as adverbs ('here', 'to here') rather than as case forms of demonstrative pronouns ('at this one', 'to this one').

There are two stems, dhuwal and n^εunhi (Proximate and Distant, resp.), both of which show stem-variation in some case forms. A skeletal list of forms, which we will extend as we go, follows:

	Prox	Dist
Nom	dhuwal	n ^ε unhi, n ^ε unha
Erg-Inst	dhiya-n ^ε (u-)	n ^ε uru-n ^ε (u-)
Gen-Dat	dhiya-k(u-)	n ^ε uru-k(u-)
Originative	dhiya-kun ^ε (u-)	n ^ε uru-kun ^ε (u-)
Loc	dhiya-l 'here'	n ^ε unha-l 'there'
All	dhi-pal 'to here'	n ^ε unha-wal 'to there'
Abl	dhipu-n ^ε ur 'from here'	---
Hum All-Loc	dhiya-kal	n ^ε uru-kal, n ^ε uri-kal

The parenthesized vowels occur before Absolute -n^y and Immediate -n. Of the two Nom Dist forms, n^εunhi and n^εunha, the former is most common as a demonstrative pronoun 'that one', while n^εunha is generally predicative ('___ is there') or adverbial ('there'). Exx. of n^εunha are U43, U90, M1.2.3, R4.2.2, W2.9.4, B1.2.5; exx. of n^εunhi are W1.2.2, M11.2.1, R1.2.2, B1.2.5. There is no Abl Dist form from this stem.

5.1 Definite -dhi/-yi/-i and Emphatic -ga?yi.

The suffix -dhi/-yi/-i is extremely common with certain demonstrative pronouns and adverbs, but is very rare elsewhere. Some of the demonstrative forms occur much more often with -dhi/-yi/-i than without it. Although the suffix is not very strong or emphatic, it does tend to have a definite or anaphoric sense, and is thus not normally used in true deictic contexts (i.e., pointing to an object or region). Some exx. of Nom Prox dhuwal-i are U54, M6.3.1, M7.1.4, M11.7.4, R4.13.1, and B6.1.1; the form dhuwal-dhi occurs in R2.11.3. From Erg-Inst dhiya-n^ε we get dhiya-n^ε-i M7.14, M22.2.1, M22.8.1, M26.7.2; and similarly dhiya-k-i M22.6.2 from Gen-Dat dhiya-k; an adverbial ex. is dhi-pal-i M22.2.2 from dhi-pal M11.8.4.

Because Dist n^εunhi is more likely to be anaphoric than Prox dhuwal, -dhi/-yi/-i is especially frequent with the former. Thus n^εunhi-yi 'that (Nom)' is much more common than n^εunhi, even if poorly audible exx. on the tapes are transcribed as n^εunhi. Exx. of n^εunhi-vi are U94, M1.6.6, M2.2.3, R7.2.5, W2.8.5, B5.2.7, and many others. Erg-Inst n^εuru-n^ε and n^εuru-k do not occur except in constructions with -ga?yi (see below); the forms n^εuri-n^εi W5.2.1 and n^εuri-ki W5.3.4, M7.4.6 are attested but uncommon; the usual forms are n^εuri-n^εi-yi M2.3.2, M2.4.1, M2.16.2 and n^εuri-ki-yi M2.3.4, M5.21.5, M13.3.5, etc. Although by analogy to the Prox paradigm we might take n^εuri-n^εi and n^εuri-ki as containing -dhi/-yi/-i (i.e., n^εuri-n^ε-i, etc.), perhaps we should take -n^εi and -ki as the basic word-final (and sometimes nonfinal) case suffix allomorphs, so that only -n^εi-yi and -ki-yi are recognized as having -dhi/-yi/-i. Nom Dist n^εunha occasionally takes -yi, as in n^εunha-yi M1.4.3, M3.10.4, and there is one ex. of n^εunha-dhi R7.2.5. (Roy tended to use the allomorph -dhi more than other speakers.) From Loc n^εunha-l M1.1.3, R4.2.2, B1.4.8 we get n^εunhi-l-i with addition of -dhi/-yi/-i, see M9.1.2, M10.1.4, etc. (Wuyulwuy uses the form n^εunhi-li-yi W2.7.2).

The suffix -ga?yi is moderately common with Nom Prox dhuwal, giving an emphatic sense: dhuwal-ga?yi 'this one here' M1.8.2, M5.2.3, M5.12.6, M22.2.4. It is attested also in dhiya-l-ga?yi 'right here' M14.2.6, M22.7.1. It is attested but rare with Dist forms: n^εunha-ga?yi 'that one' (not in texts); Erg-Inst n^εuru-n^ε-ga?yi M25.1.2; Gen-Dat n^εuru-k-ga?yi M3.1.5, M17.5.4.

Phonology: note that -ga?yi is added to short forms of suffixes (e.g., -n^ε- instead of -n^εu-), unlike Absolute -n^y and Immediate -n. Some vowel assimilations are seen in forms of -dhi/-yi/-i, above.

5.2 Absolute -n^y/-n^yja/-nja/-ja and Immediate -n/-na.

These suffixes are very common with demonstrative pronouns and are permitted with adverbial forms. From dhuwal 'this' we get dhuwa-nja showing deletion of /l/, though the Abs allomorph -nja is the one we expect after l, see U15, M2.14.1, R7.4.4. For Dist n^εunhi-n^y with Abs -n^y see M3.4.1.

With Imm -n/-na, dhuwal 'this' combines to form either dhuwal-a M1.1.2, dhuwal-na M1.6.3, or the much more common dhuwa-na U89, M1.5.3, M3.12.2, B4.2.5, B5.2.4, etc.. From Dist n^εunha 'that, there' we get n^εunha-n W8.2.4.

These suffixes precede -ga?yi in dhuwa-nja-ga?yi 'this' M6.2.3 and

dhuwa-na-ga?yi 'this' M8.3.4. They follow Definite -dhi/-yi/-i in the Jam material, as in dhuwal-i-n 'this now' U57, n^ɛunhi-yi-n^y 'that' M15.2.6, M17.3.6 and variant n^ɛunhi-dhi-n^y R6.1.2. For Jap speakers (at least for Wuyulwuy) -dhi/-yi/-i follows the Abs or Imm suffixes: n^ɛunhi-n^y-dhi W5.1.3 (Abs -n^y-), n^ɛuri-n^ɛi-n-dhi 'by means of that now' W9.1.4. This type also turns up once or twice in the Jam material in certain forms: n^ɛuri-ki-n^y-dhi 'of/for that' M5.20.4 and M18.1.1 (but cf. n^ɛuri-ki-yi-n^y M2.3.4).

5.3 Other Demonstrative Adverbs and Pronouns.

A stem n^ɛuli 'that one', apparently a strongly anaphoric demonstrative pronoun, occurs in M2.4.6, M3.3.3, M5.1.1/2, M5.8.7, M5.23.2, M6.2.2, M8.3.2, R4.5.1, R6.2.4, and B2.3.6; it is uncommon in Jap. It does not seem to occur except in the Nom form. The exception is Abl n^ɛuli-n^ɛur 'from there; after that' M8.7.2, M14.4.1, M16.1.5, M16.6.3, M23.2.3, M23.4.1, W1.1.7, W2.2.5/6 (the last few exx. show -yi added to it).

The form n^ɛula is generally a particle indicating indefiniteness or doubt, often used with nha: 'what?' (nha: n^ɛula 'something; I don't know what'). It also occurs with yu:l 'who?' M9.1.2, mak 'maybe' M2.15.5, and nharca- 'to do what?' W2.7.4. Formally it may be a noun 'something; someone'. The Abl form n^ɛula-n^ɛur apparently means 'from there (indefinite place); after that' and is not always sharply distinct semantically from n^ɛuli-n^ɛur (M3.2.5, M5.5.1, M9.1.3, M14.2.1, M22.5.5, M22.6.1, M25.2.5, M27.1.3).

A particle bi: occurs in Wuyulwuy's speech (W2.2.4, W2.4.2, W2.5.1, W2.7.7); in some cases it is tentatively glossed 'because' but in some of these it could also mean '(at) a distant place'. In bi:-n^ɛur it definitely means 'from somewhere; from some distant place' M7.2.2, M10.1.3, M13.5.3, M22.9.4, M23.1.2, M27.1.3, R2.10.2, R3.4.1, B1.3.5, B4.1.1.

Important Directional adverbs are ra:li or lili 'this way, toward here' and bala 'that way'. For ra:li see U47, M5.5.3, R2.5.2 and for lili B4.2.5; some of these show Abs -n^y or Imm -n added. It appears that ra:li is Jam and lili is Jap. For bala see U42, M1.2.7, R6.4.2, W1.2.5, W4.1.4, B1.4.5 (the exx. from Wuyulwuy appear sometimes to have lost the lexical value and to have become conjunctions). Definite -dhi/-yi can be added: bala-yi M20.2.3, bala-dhi M22.7.2, R1.3.1.

Several common adverbials occur with bala as second element of a closely-knit sequence; often the preceding element ends in Imm -n/-na. Exx.: bi:-n bala 'that way (indefinite)' R4.2.3; dhika-n bala 'this way' M22.10.4, M23.3.3, M23.9.2, M27.2.2 (dhika bala M24.2.3); n^ɛunha-n bala 'that way' M27.2.2; n^ɛunha-wal bala 'that way' M5.17.1-2, M22.1.6; dhiya-n^ɛ bala (also dhiya-n^ɛu-n bala, dhiya-n^ɛu-n^y bala) 'today, nowadays' U74, U76, U85, M6.3.3, M11.4.2, W2.7.8; various tense forms of bica- 'to do thus', e.g. Fut/Imper biya-ku-n bala 'in that way' M1.2.5, Pres/Fut bica-n bala 'in that way' B3.2.2. For dhika- see just below; n^ɛunha is 'that; there'; n^ɛunha-wal 'to there', and dhiya-n^ɛ is the Erg-Inst of dhuwal 'this'.

The form dhika occurs chiefly in dhika(-n) bala (cf. just above), but dhika-n^ɛur 'from around here' is attested from Miyala off the tape.

5.4 Interrogative wanha-.

We have seen (3.9) nha:-kur 'where?'. In predicative 'to be where?', however, we usually get wanha, which is formally related to demonstrative pronouns:

wanha ka nhu:piya-n^y
be where? Pres brother-Abs 'Where is (your) brother?'

For a similar textual ex. see R5.2.7. In exx. elicited off the tape wanha was sometimes used in nonpredicative forms like wanha nhi: ka n^ɛa:-kul-nja 'Where did you (nhi:) hear (n^ɛa:-) it?', but this seems unusual and is not backed up by textual exx.

In fact, the usual nonpredicative adverb 'where?' (Locative) is wanha-l (for the form cf. n^ɛunha-l 'there', dhiya-l 'here'). This is seen in U75 and U76. In general, nha:-kur 'where?' seems to inquire about a general region, while wanha-l inquires about a more specific location (nha:-kur also permits the referent to be in motion).

Another form is Abl wanha-n^ɛur 'from where?' R7.4.3, M23.6.5. The forms wanha-n^ɛu, wanha-mi, wanha-n^ɛu-mal, and wanha-n^ɛu-mi are treated in the next section.

5.5 -mi, -mal.

Isolated exx. of barku-mal 'to far away (place)' (barku 'far away') M18.5.3 and garwar-mal 'upward, to the hills' (garwar 'up, on top') M10.1.5 suggest an All or Directional suffix of restricted use -mal, though I would like further exx. of these forms to insure that -mal is not mistranscribed for -wal here. (-wal is usually Human All-Loc, but also occurs in demonstrative adverbs like n^ɛunha-wal 'to there'.)

The clearest cases are with stem wanha- (5.4), and both -mal and another suffix -mi occur. The form wanha-n^ɛu-mal occurs several times in Miyala's texts meaning 'to where?' M22.10.3, M23.7.2, M24.2.2. For the dummy -n^ɛu- augment see 3.5. The form wanha-n^ɛu-mi occurred only in elicited utterances and seems to be Locative:

wanha-n^ɛu-mi nhi: nha:-n^ɛal-nja
where? you saw -Abs 'Where did you see (him)?'

In texts, wanha-l (5.4) was used in this sense.

There appears to be considerable dialectal variation, even though I lack relevant forms from wanha- from Jap speakers. Roy (Jam dialect, like Miyala) uses wanha-n^ɛu R7.1.5 and wanha-mi R7.3.3 (no exx. attested of wanha-n^ɛu-mal or wanha-n^ɛu-mi), both apparently Locative. (Although readers examining the context of R7.1.5 might suspect that wanha-n^ɛu is mistranscribed for wanha-n^ɛur 'from where?' in view of preceding bi:-n^ɛur 'from somewhere' earlier on the same line, my feeling from listening to the tape, including intonational cues, is that wanha-n^ɛu is correctly transcribed and does not belong with bi:-n^ɛur.) Perhaps wanha-n^ɛu and wanha-mi are variant contractions of wanha-n^ɛu-mi.

Other forms in which -mi (but not -mal) occur commonly are extended forms of dhiya-l 'here' and n^ɛunha-l 'there'. For the Prox stem we get the very common dhiya-la-mi 'here' M5.12.4, M5.20.6, M7.3.4, M11.6.1, M14.1.3/4, M14.2.6, B4.3.1; there is also an uncommon Definite form dhiya-li-mi 'right here' M24.1.5 (note that in this ex. dhiya-li-mi follows two coreferential occurrences of dhiya-la-mi). For the Dist stem we get n^ɛunha-la-mi 'there' M4.1.4, M10.1.2, M11.4.4, M12.5.1, M22.7.3, B5.2.7, B9.1.3; the Def form n^ɛunhi-li-mi is seen in M1.7.2, M3.3.2, M5.15.4, M9.4.1, M12.5.3, W2.4.2, B1.4.6. Forms with -mi are more common than 'unmarked' forms in the Prox (especially for Miyala), and equally common or somewhat more common in the Dist. The morpheme segmentations are a little messy but we might want to take -li- as -l- plus Def -i- with a further vowel assimilation in n^ɛunhi-li-mi.

The form *wiripu-n^εu-mi* 'in another place' occurs in a secret M text.

The other exx. of *-mi* are in *mala-n^εu-mi* from Pl postnoun *mala* in M7.2.3/4 (*dhawal-n^εur mala-n^εu-mi* 'from the countries'). Since *-mi* is usually Loc rather than Abl in sense, it may be that *-n^εur* here is used in Loc rather than Abl meaning, hence 'in the countries' (the context is not absolutely decisive here).

5.6 Notes on Demonstrative Syntax.

In one ex. *n^εunhi* 'that' occurs with Emphatic *-pi* (M26.7.1); usually *-pi* is limited to personal pronouns.

The distinction between *dhuwal* 'this' and *dhuwal-i* 'this (Def)' is sometimes shifted so that *dhuwal* relates to the region around the speaker and *dhuwal-i* to that around the addressee. Moreover, in some constructions *dhuwal* can be added in apposition to *n^εara* 'I' or other first person pronoun, and *dhuwal-i* to *nhi*: 'you' or other second pronoun. This construction is used a) for emphasis (cf. English 'you there', 'us here', etc.); b) in nominal predications. An ex. of (b), recorded off the tape, is this: *n^εara dhuwal ban^εidi* 'I am of *ban^εidi* subsection' (lit. 'I this *ban^εidi*'), cf. perhaps M16.4.3-4 (*dhuwa-nja n^εara-pi yan, dha:ra-∅ yur*) as an ex. of (a). Here *dhuwa-nja* is *dhuwal* 'this' plus Abs *-nja*.

However, the association of *dhuwal* with first and *dhuwal-i* with second person is not rigorous, and *dhuwal-i* is sometimes used in apposition to first person pronouns: *yaka n^εara dhuwal-i yuwalk-ja japu* 'I am not really Japu?' B6.1.1 (lit. 'not I this body Japu?').

Plurality is usually marked, as for nouns, by addition of Du *manda* or Pl *mala* (postnouns), see 3.3. Thus we get forms like *n^εuri-n^εi-yi manda* 'those two (Erg)' M8.4.3 with the Erg demonstrative followed by *manda*. (Since *manda* is identical in form to 3Du pronoun *manda*, the Nom is used for transitive subject.) A Gen-Dat Du form would be *dhiya-k manda-n^ε* 'of these two' with both the demonstrative and the postnoun marked for Gen-Dat case. For the Du of *n^εuli* 'that' see M3.3.1.

When a demonstrative co-occurs with a noun (e.g., 'that man'), it is usual for both to be marked for case and for the demonstrative to come first; there may or may not be a pause or intonation break between them. Exx. with *dhapi?* 'young (uncircumcized) boy' are Human All-Loc *n^εuri-kal-yi dhapi?-wal* M14.1.4, Erg-Inst *n^εuri-n^εi-yi dhapi-y* M14.3.3, and Gen-Dat *n^εuri-ki-yi dhapi-w?* M13.3.2. An ex. of the less usual order with the noun first is *watu-y-n^yja n^εuri-n^εi-yi* 'that dog (Erg-Inst)' M22.5.6.

Especially when there is a following noun, sometimes case agreement is a little sloppy and the Nom demonstrative is used (especially before an Erg-Inst noun): *n^εunhi-yi dhumungur-yu-n* 'that FZDDC (kin term)' with Erg-Inst *-yu-* on the noun but Nom demonstrative (M2.4.3).

Although the usual Pl form is with postnoun *mala* (if plurality is marked at all), as noted above, for *dhuwal* 'this' there is also an archaic Pl form with suffix *-wur*, hence *dhuwala-wur* 'these' (see 3.3).

6. VERBAL MORPHOLOGY.

Omitting derivatives (Caus, Repl/Recip, Purp, relatives) the basic inflectional suffixal categories are: Past, PastRem, Pres/Fut, and Fut/Imper. The value of the latter two forms depends on context, including the presence of particles.

The forms labelled 'Past' are the basic past tense forms for positive and negative clauses, and for any aspectual nuance (punctual, durative, repetitive). The great majority of past tense forms in the texts are of this type.

The 'PastRem' (Past Remote) is used in ordinary factual sentences as an alternative to the preceding. There is a tendency for the PastRem to occur in contexts involving prolonged or habitual activities at a distant time in the past; however, there is a great deal of shifting back and forth within the same passage from Past to PastRem and vice versa and no sharp semantic distinction can be made. However, the PastRem is the regular form used in certain special constructions: both clauses of a counterfactual conditional (see U79), and in the type 'should have ___' (U19). This form always ends in *-na*, *-nha*, or *-n^ya* (for Wuyulwuy *-nar*, *-nhar*, *-n^yar*). Other exx. are M1.1.5, M1.2.1.

The sense of the 'Pres/Fut' form is more precisely specified as Pres by the occurrence in the same clause of the Pres particle *ka*, and as Fut by the occurrence of Fut particle *yur* (*Miyala*), *thu* (*Roy*, rarely *Miyala*), or *yuru* (*Benjamin* and *Wuyulwuy*). Thus from *bu-ma* 'hit/will hit' we get *bu-ma ka* 'hit (Pres)' and *bu-ma yur* 'will hit'. The Jap speakers, especially *Wuyulwuy*, usually omitted Pres *ka*, so without a particle the form is to be taken as Pres in this dialect. This omission also occurred, but more rarely, in the Jam material. More details on particles are given below.

The 'Fut/Imper' form is used regularly in true imperatives, both positive and negative. However, it can also be used as a kind of Fut form, particularly when there is a normative nuance (e.g., when a speaker is describing proper behavior). Imperative exx. are seen in M6.1.6, while in Text M3 we see a shift from Pres tense (up to M3.7) to normative future forms with Fut/Imper suffixes (M3.8 ff.). Particles like *yur* are not used with the Fut/Imper suffix.

Further morphological and syntactic details will be given later. In the following paradigms it should be noted that Absolute *-n^y/-n^yja/-nja/-ja* and Immediate *-n/-na* (3.2) can follow inflected verb forms. Thus inflectional suffixes ending in a consonant must be specified as to whether a final vowel is added before the Abs or Imm suffix. Some *-C* and *-CVC* suffixes do not add a vowel (e.g., *-r* becoming Abs *-r-nja*, Imm *-r-na* or *-r-a*), while other *-C* suffixes add a vowel (e.g., *-n* becoming Abs *-na-n^y*, Imm *-na-n*). These will be represented as *-r* and *-n(a-)*, respectively.

Classes 1 and 2 are essentially the same aside from morphophonemics (class 1 stems end in *i*, class 2 in *a*) and some subdifferentiation in class 1. Classes 3 and 4 are very similar to each other, differing only in the Fut/Imper (*-r* vs. *-l*). Classes 5 and 6 are fairly distinctive, though 5 resembles 3 to some extent. 'Irregular' verbs and minor subclasses are discussed in connection with the most closely related major class.

In the following paradigms the 'derived stem' is used before some other suffixes which we will describe below.

6.1 Class 1.

About seven stems (and two suffixes), all ending in *i*. The Pres/Fut (-∅, -r) is diagnostic for the division into 1A and 1B.

	marci- 'to go' 1A	wandi- 'to run' 1B
Pres/Fut	marci-∅	wandi-r
Fut/Imper	marc-i	wand-i
Past	marci-n(a-)	wandi-n(a-)
PastRem	marci-n ^{ya} (r)	wandi-n ^{ya} (r)
derived stem	marci-n ^{ya} -	wandi-n ^{ya} -

The optional final (r) in the PastRem, as for all verb classes, is pronounced by Wuyulwuy but not other speakers. The transcriptional distinction between homophonous marci-∅ and marc-i is not only a useful gimmick, but actually makes some sense in the light of class 2 forms.

1A includes also ga:ri- 'to enter', galkiri- 'to fall', and probably n^εa:thi- 'to weep'. Exx. of marci- are Pres/Fut U8, R7.1.1, B2.2.3; Past U48, B1.1.2; PastRem M8.5.1, W2.9.4. For the derived stem see ga:ri-n^{ya}-mara- 'cause to enter' M8.11.3 and n^εa:thi-n^{ya}-mi- 'to weep together' M22.7.4. Fut/Imper forms of marci- are U42 and M3.10.1.

For wandi- see Pres/Fut W5.1.2 and U27; Past M5.6.5 and W2.8.2. Other stems are manan^εi- 'to steal' and run^εiyi- 'to go back'. PastRem manan^εi-n^{ya} is in M22.5.2; Fut/Imper run^εiy-i is R7.2.3 and M18.5.4. There are some idiosyncracies in the derived stem, though not many forms are attested. Along with wandi-n^{ya}-mara- 'cause to run' U59 we find manan^εi-n-mi- 'to steal from each other' and run^εa-n-mara- 'cause to go back' showing various complications.

Two important derivational suffixes, Inchoative -thi-/-yi- and Refl/Recip -mi-, take endings of class 1. The former belongs to 1B, while -mi- is unique in requiring -r not only for Pres/Fut but also for Fut/Imper. Exx. of -thi-/-yi-: Pres/Fut -r U54, W2.6.6; Fut/Imper -i M17.4.2/4 and M17.5.1; Past -n(a-) U55, W1.2.3, B1.2.2; PastRem -n^{ya}(r) M12.5.2/3. Exx. of -mi-: Pres/Fut -r M19.2.2, W3.2.4; Fut/Imper -r U87, M6.3.3; Past -n(a-) M22.7.3; PastRem -n^{ya}(r) M8.1.1, W1.1.2, W6.3.8 (in this last ex. Wuyulwuy used the short form -n^{ya}). Miyala sometimes used -ri instead of -r for the Pres/Fut and Fut/Imper of -mi- (M6.1.1, M6.2.1, M6.3.3), but other speakers did not do this. (Ritharngu influence on Miyala is suspected here.) A derived stem -mi-n^{ya}- is attested for Refl/Recip -mi- (Purposive -mi-n^{ya}-raw).

As might be expected, there is occasional fluctuation in 1B and forms of -thi-/-yi- and -mi- between -r and -∅ (or -i) suffixes. Thus we seem to get Fut/Imper -r instead of -i after -thi-/-yi- in M16.8.2, and there are some possible exx. of the same thing with 1B run^εiyi- 'to go back' (e.g., M16.8.2).

6.2 Class 2.

The stems end in *a*. A fairly complete list is nhi:na- 'sit', dha:ra- 'stand', n^εu:ra- 'lie down, sleep', luka- 'eat', wan^εa- 'speak (to)', buna- 'arrive, come out', mulka- 'hold, guard', guyan^εa- 'listen', yukura- 'sleep' (also used as auxiliary), nha:ra- 'to burn (intr.)', ja:ma- 'work on', walma- 'go up on shore', bu:kma- 'create', gu:ra- 'be shy, ashamed'. The forms are:

	nhi:na- 'sit'
Pres/Fut	nhi:na-∅ U12, W2.2.7
Fut/Imper	nhi:n-i M3.9.2, R1.1.3
Past	nhi:na-n(a-) U19
PastRem	nhi:na-nha(<u>r</u>) M5.5.3, W2.3.6
derived stem	nhi:na-nha-

Although the word-final Past form is clearly nhi:na-n, I had trouble with the nonfinal Past forms, which sometimes sounded like nhi:na-nha- and sometimes like nhi:na-na-. One problem is that even if nhi:na-nha- is correctly transcribed it could be taken as the PastRem form. Although I have retranscribed many doubtful exx. as nonfinal -na- instead of -nha-, I have a feeling that at least for some speakers nhi:na-n regularly becomes nhi:na-nha- before suffixes (so that Past and PastRem are neutralized, except for Wuyulwuy who retains the r of PastRem nhi:na-nhar).

For dha:ra- 'stand' and n^εu:ra- 'lie down' there is a special form in -nhan with loss of stem-final vowel: dha:r-nhan 'sat down' M5.18.5/7, M5.19.2, n^εu:r-nhan. This form is moderately common and appears to have punctual sense ('to sit down', 'to lie down'), while other Past forms are usually stative.

Although the final vowel of nhi:na-n(a-) (Past) is normally present when another suffix is added (nhi:na-na-n^y Absolute, etc.), sporadically in casual speech we find just nhi:na-n- and hence a postconsonantal allomorph of the following suffix. An ex. is luka-n-ja 'ate' (for luka-na-n^y) M1.4.6 with Abs -n^y/-ja. This also applies to other verb classes with -n(a-) as the Past ending: marci-n-ja 'went' (for marci-na-n^y) M5.1.5, wap-dhu-n-ja 'jumped' (for wap-dhu-na-n^y) W1.1.7.

Benjamin (Jap dialect), who has some tendency to use long, nonfinal suffix allomorphs even word-finally (e.g., case suffix -gala for -gal, -yu for -y), likewise seems to use Past -na (not -n) in classes 1 and 2. A class 1 ex. is marci-na 'went' B1.3.2. The more usual form marci-n is also found in his speech (e.g., B1.1.2).

Exx. of the derived stem are n^εu:ra-nha-mi- 'to lie down together' M2.19.5 and Purposive luka-nha-raw 'to eat' W4.1.2.

6.3 Class 3.

The verbs are n^εupa- 'chase, follow', batha- 'burn (tr.)', and the irregular gana-/ganatha- 'abandon'. Fut/Imper -r distinguishes this class from the otherwise very similar class 4 (both of which are characterized by Past -r). The forms are:

	n ^ε upa- 'chase'	gana-/ganatha- 'abandon'
Pres/Fut	n ^ε upa-n R2.11.1	{ ganatha-m(a-) B1.3.2
		{ gana-n
Fut/Imper	n ^ε upu-r	ganu-r M6.1.2
Past	n ^ε upa-r R2.11.2	ganatha-r M3.12.4
PastRem	n ^ε upa-na(<u>r</u>)	gana-na(<u>r</u>) M21.2.4
derived stem	n ^ε upa-n- R7.4.6	gana-n-

Pres/Fut -n becomes -n- (not -na-) before suffix (Abs n^εupa-n-ja). Although n^εupu-r and n^εupa-na do not occur in the texts they were carefully checked off the tape; moreover, batha-na occurs in B2.3.6/7 and bathu-r occurs in R4.12.2/3. Note the shift a→u before -r (etymologically *-ru). I regret that the forms of gana-/ganatha- were

not rigorously checked out for different speakers; Pres/Fut gana-n was obtained once from Miyala but more exx. would help.

6.4 Class 4.

This class takes Fut/Imper -l instead of -r (class 3). One stem ends in i, garpi- 'to tie up'. The others end in a, hence gurupa- 'give', mapa- 'put in', n^gutha- 'grow up', manapa- 'mix(tr.)', nhirpa- or nhi:ra- 'cause to sit/stand', dhulpa- 'immerse', gatha- 'hold; give', nhuma- 'smell'.

	gurupa- 'give'	garpi- 'tie up'
Pres/Fut	{gurupa-n M2.3.3, U62	garpi-n
	{gurupa-n M19.1.5	
Fut/Imper	gurupu-l U54	garpu-l
Past	gurupa-r M1.5.4	garpi-r M5.8.3
PastRem	gurupa-na(r)	garpi-na(r)
derived stem	{gurupa-n- M3.3.1	garpi-n-
	{gurupa-n- M10.3.2	

The forms with retroflexed -n were obtained only from Miyala, who also used -n variants as indicated. It is likely that the -n forms are due to Ritharngu influence and that most Dhuwal speakers do not use them. Note the shift of a or i to u before -l (historically *-lu).

6.5 Class 5.

This class consists chiefly of thematic verbs with thematizer -dhu-/-yu-. Phonological rules account for allomorph -u- after c or j (ra:c-u- 'scrape'), and -ju- in one or two forms involving n^y like jaran^y?-ju- 'pull'. Most thematic verbs have a 'root form' (see below) consisting of the bare root (usually CVC-, CVCVC-, etc.).

	wut-dhu- 'hit'	lup-dhu- 'bathe'
Pres/Fut	wut-dhu-n U30	lup-dhu-n
Fut/Imper	wut-dhu-r U29, B5.2.6	lup-dhu-r
Past	{Jam wut-dhu-r U32	{Jam lup-dhu-r
	{Jap wut-dhu-n(a-) B5.1.5	{Jap lup-dhu-n(a-) B5.1.5
PastRem	wut-dhu-na(r) B5.3.7	lup-dhu-na(r) B1.4.2
derived stem	wut-dhu-n-	{lup-dhu-n-
		{lup-

There is an important difference between the two dialects, Jam and Jap, in the Past form. The Jap forms, which may be more archaic, show the same -n(a-) seen in classes 1 and 2. A difficulty is that word-finally this -n(a-) takes the form -n and is homophonous with the Pres/Fut form. Word-medially the two are distinct in principle (-na- Past vs. -n- Pres/Fut), but as noted earlier in casual speech the extended nonfinal allomorphs are sometimes not used. The full form -na- is seen in yark-dhu-na-n 'went away now' W2.2.8 and bil-yu-na-n '(wind) blew now' B1.1.4, but note wap-dhu-n-ja 'has changed' W1.1.7 (probably, though not certainly, Past tense in form). For Jam speakers, the Past form is -r (homophonous to the Fut/Imper). The remaining forms are straightforward but it should be noted that the reduction of derived stem ROOT-dhu-n- to ROOT- is not usual when the root ends in a coronal consonant (t, c, j, n, etc.) or a vowel or w. Reduction is never obligatory: compare day-yu-n-mara- 'cause to cool' M1.9.1 with synonymous day-mara- M1.4.6.

Three other verbs show affinities in their paradigms:

	bica- 'do thus'	nharca- 'do what?'	galku- 'wait'
Pres/Fut	bica-n B2.4.6	nharca-n W2.7.4	galku-n W3.1.3
Fut/Imper	biya-k(u-)	---	galku-r R1.1.3
Past	bica-r M5.3.5	nharca-r	---
PastRem	bica-na(r)	nharca-na(r)	galku-na(r) M5.11.4
derived stem	bica-n- M13.4.5		

The Fut/Imper of nharca- would not make much sense and is not used. I was unable to elicit a Past form of galku-, and it appears that PastRem galku-na is the only past form in common use. Exx. of irregular biya-k(u-) are M4.2.4 and M9.3.5, among others. The alternation of Pres/Fut -n and Past -r in the first two paradigms, and the use of -r as Fut/Imper, point to a class 5 affiliation (though class 3 could also be suggested for galku- in the absence of a decisive Past form). This use of -n and -r seems pretty clearly established for the Jam dialect, though my transcriptions occasionally show -r intruding into the Pres/Fut (nharca-r R4.8.2). For bica-, I have transcribed -r in the Past (bica-r B1.1.6) once or twice in Jap forms (as well as Jam), but the Jap transcriptions are not fully reliable on this point (often forms of bica- are mumbled, especially when used as a quotative verb after a quotation).

6.6 Class 6.

It is convenient to distinguish 6A (stem ends in a), 6B (stem ends in u), and 6C (stem ends in ka, or ga after a stop or nasal, with final a becoming u in the Fut/Imper form). The subclass distinctions are predictable phonologically, except wi:ka- 'present gift' (6A, not 6C).

	lawu- 'bite' 6B	Causative 6A	guruka- 'carry' 6C
Pres/Fut	lawu-m(a-)	-mara-m(a-)	guruka-m(a-) M5.21.3
Fut/Imper	lawu-n ^g (u-) U67	-mara-n ^g (u-)	guruku-n ^g (u-)
Past	lawu-n ^g al	-mara-n ^g al	guruku-n ^g al M5.20.6
PastRem	lawu-nha(r)	-mara-nha(r)	guruku-nha(r)
derived stem	lawu-nha-	-mara-nha-	guruku-nha-

6A also includes wi:ka- 'present gift', yu:ra- 'to assent', bu:ca- 'to make, build', lakara- 'tell', barwandhara- 'strip off bark', and derivatives with Factitive -tha-/-ya- (see below). Exx. of Causative -mara- are Pres/Fut -mara-m(a-) B1.4.6, M9.3.2, R6.2.2; Fut/Imper -mara-n^g(u-) M9.5.2, R4.1.1; Past -mara-n^gal U59; PastRem -mara-nha(r) U79, B5.3.7. 6B includes also dharpu- 'spear', mi:mbu- 'lose', yangu- 'send', mingi- 'hunt', dhulku- 'cover', gurilku- 'discuss', n^yalu- 'eat', gumbu- 'take away', bunbu- 'make', gurupu- 'give' (Jap), bu:ciwan^ggapunu- 'hold finger over fire', and forms with Factitive -ku-. Exx. of suffixes are Pres/Fut dharpu-m(a-) M22.3.4 (also includes one ex. of dharpu-m-); Past dharpu-n^gal R2.7.4. 6C consists of guruka- plus n^gurka- 'throw' and dhin^gga- 'die'; a textual ex. of the crucial Fut/Imper form is dhin^ggu-n^g(u-) M20.5.5.

The stem ma:ra- 'get, take' has a 6A paradigm with an optional irregular Fut/Imper form ma:n-n^gu alongside regular ma:ra-n^g(u-). Exx. of the irregular form are M3.4.2 and M20.5.4, while the regular form is found in M16.1.3 and M20.5.2/3. Pres/Fut ma:ra-m(a-) occurs in M8.3.1, B2.6.5, and B3.2.5, while Past ma:ra-n^gal is seen in M5.16.1 and W1.1.8.

A subclass which we will call 6D consists of the monosyllabic stems nha:- 'see', ga:- 'carry', and mu:- 'lose'; we show the forms below along

with those of two irregular verbs:

	nha:- 'see' 6D	n ^ɛ a:- 'hear'	bu- 'hit, kill'
Pres/Fut	nha:-ma M9.2.7	n ^ɛ a:-ma U53	bu-ma U4, W2.7.5
Fut/Imper	nha:-n ^ɛ u R7.2.1	n ^ɛ a:-ku	bu-n ^ɛ u R3.5.3
Past	nha:-n ^ɛ al U64	n ^ɛ a:-kul M5.14.1	bu-mar U1, M24.3.3
PastRem	nha:-nha(r)	n ^ɛ a:-nha(r)	bu-nha(r) U79
derived stem	{nha:-nha- nha:-nha-ra-	{n ^ɛ a:-nha- n ^ɛ a:-nha-ra-	{bu-nha- U60 bu-nha-ra- M6.1.2

The suffixes for the 6D type (nha:-) are essentially the same as those for 6A, 6B, and 6C except that the full -CV forms are used word-finally as well as word-medially (e.g., *nha:-m is never found). The -ra- in derived stem variant nha:-nha-ra- (and n^ɛa:-nha-ra-, bu-nha-ra-) appears to be an idiosyncrasy of Miyala's speech; thus nha:-nha-ra-mi- 'see each other' M9.4.4/5, ga:-nha-ra-mi- 'carry each other' M22.3.3, bu-nha-ra-mi- 'hit each other' M6.1.2, M22.7.3, etc. Other speakers did not use the -ra- before Refl/Recip -mi- (nha:-nha-mi- U66, R2.3.3, bu-nha-mi- U60).

For n^ɛa:- 'hear' the irregular forms are Fut/Imper -ku and Past -kul, while for bu- 'hit' the irregular form is Past -mar.

6.7 Root Forms.

A root form is an uninflected verb form functioning as an abbreviation for a regular verb form. For thematic class 5 verbs, the root form lacks thematizing -dhu-/-yu- as well as the inflectional suffix; verbs of other classes either have no root form or show a special suppletive root form. Class 5 root forms include marcmarc 'walk' M1.2.7 (marcmarc-u), lup 'bathe' M1.3.6 (lup-dhu-), and compound ganda-n^ɛaraw? 'break leg' M5.8.3 (Causative ganda-n^ɛaraw?-yu-n-mara-). Some of the more common suppletive root forms, shown with the semantically nearest regular verb in parentheses, are these:

bat 'get' (ma:ra-) M1.1.2	jut 'spear' (dharpu-) R1.2.1
bat 'throw down' (n ^ɛ urka-) M1.1.7	git 'spear' " R2.7.3
duy 'throw down' " M14.1.5	jip 'stand (tr.)' (nhirpa-) R2.7.1
dhut 'sit down' (nhi:na-) M1.2.8	jucuc 'go' (marci-) R2.4.1
guray 'give' (gurupa-) M1.9.4/5	gacu 'go' " M5.17.4
duc 'return' M5.6.5, R2.4.1	lark 'get up and go' M1.5.2
dhur 'give' (wi:ka-) M18.4.2	dac 'cut' (gulk-dhu-) M13.5.1

The root form, which is usually pronounced sharply (like an interjection), may be followed by Immediate -n/-na. In fact, Miyala generally used -n/-na with root forms, though others did not do so often.

Frequently a root form is added to a clause which already contains the related verb stem. Thus bur buna-n 'arrived' is a common sequence, especially in Roy's texts. Some root forms like lark and duc are used alone and appear to have no close semantic correspondence to a regular verb. Root forms may occur by themselves, or may take at least the trappings of a regular clause (i.e., subject and/or object pronoun or noun). Thus dhut n^ɛali 'We (InDu) sat down' B5.2.8, bat n^ɛa-n^ɛa '(he) got it' B5.2.5.

6.8 Reflexive/Reciprocal -mi-, Causative -mara-.

Refl/Recip -mi- is added to the derived stem, e.g., wut-dhu-n-mi- 'to hit oneself; to hit each other'. Occasionally the base is intransitive in the reciprocal sense ('together, in concert'): n^ɛa:thi-n^ɛa-mi- 'to cry together'.

Causative -mara- is likewise added to the derived stem; textual exx. seem always to involve intransitive bases: n^ɛutha-n-mara- 'cause to grow' M3.5.3, lup-dhu-n-mara- 'cause to bathe, immerse' B1.2.7 (short form lup-mara-). I have only one ex. where -mara- is added to a noun: midiku-mara- 'ruin, make bad' (midiku- 'bad').

The Caus can form a Refl/Recip derivative -mara-nha-mi- (W5.2.1, B3.1.6).

6.9 Inchoative -thi-/-yi-, Factitive -ku- or -tha-/-ya-.

Inchoative -thi-/-yi- is added to a noun to create an intransitive verb 'to be/become X'. For the th/y alternation and a list of textual exx. see 2.4. For -wuru-yi- with Pl -wur see W2.7.6.

The corresponding transitive form 'to make (something) X', called Factitive, replaces -thi-/-yi- either by -ku- or by -tha-/-ya-. The exx. I have of -ku- are ya:c-gu- 'make bad' U56, da:l-ku- 'make strong' M3.4.3, balwur-ku- 'cook' M1.1.6 (simplex unattested and apparently not used), dhulmu-ku- 'make belly (in canoe)' W8.2.1, rara?-gu- 'cause to grow' M3.4.4.

Exx. of -tha-/-ya- are n^ɛama-tha- 'make good' M6.2.4, murukay-ya- 'make big' W8.2.1, daramu-ya- 'make man (circumcize)' M3.5.4, yaku-ya- 'summon' R5.1.2 (cf. ya:ku 'named'). With Proprietative -mir 'having' we get a common sequence -miri-ya- 'cause to have X' (M8.2.3, M14.5.2, M20.1.1/2, M27.7.2/6, W2.7.4, W8.1.4, W9.2.3); for the corresponding intransitive -miri-yi- see R6.1.3, M21.3.3, M16.8.2, W6.2.1.

From these exx. it appears that -ku- is typical for CV:C- monosyllables and that -tha-/-ya- is regular for stems with more than two syllables; both occur with bisyllables.

6.10 Compounds.

One type of compound is a frozen combination of a basic root with one of a set of high-frequency verbs, used here as auxiliaries (ma:ra- 'get', nha:- 'see', n^ɛu:ra- 'lie down', nha:ra- 'burn, be on fire'). Textual exx. are gulan^ɛ-mara- 'get blood of' M27.4.2, gapu-mara- 'take from water' M11.4.3, dhuri-mara- 'get guts (of animal)' R3.7.2, gumur-nha- 'see cloud from plain' and gapalal-nha- 'see cloud' M27.4.6/7, wakal-n^ɛura- 'play, dance' M8.12.4, juku?-nha- 'take aim' M5.6.2, bu:l-nhara- 'roast (intr.)' M5.11.2. Other exx. of compounds, some similar to this type, are la:-yark-mara- 'feed out rope' R4.4.4, gatha-larak-bu- 'make pit wide for oven' M5.10.3, gumur-manapa- 'come together with' M26.4.8, buku-dun^ɛ?-dhu- 'have headache' M8.6.2, dha:-dhal?-yu- 'close up' M8.12.1, mulu-garpi- 'tie up arms' (cf. M8.6.3 and M1.2.5, also with garpi-), gu:n^ɛ-yuwalk-dhi- 'look for' W6.1.2, gilin^ɛ-barpu- 'pound end of spear shaft' W9.1.4. See also several exx. M5.8.3/5, and the exx. with bala- 'that way' and ra:li- 'this way' in M2.1.

6.11 Purposive -raw, Agentive -Na-mir, Relative -Na-wuy/-Na-ra-wuy.

A purposive subordinate clause ('in order to ___') can be created by adding -raw to the derived stem. In texts this form was used only by Wuyulwuy: yukura-nha-raw 'in order to sleep' W3.4.5, luka-nha-raw 'in order to consume (it)' W4.1.2. Both of these exx. occur before and after pauses and it does not appear that they co-occur readily with other elements such as subject/object nouns or pronouns which occur in full clauses. Forms in -raw could be elicited from Miyala but he did not use them in texts. Etymology: perhaps -ra- augment and Gen-Dat -w.

Agentive -Na-mir occurs only twice in the texts: liw?-yu-na-mir 'paddler' (liw?-yu- 'to paddle') R4.1.4, and in the parallel forms dar?-yu-na-mir and gunbur?-yu-na-mir 'ritual chant performer' B6.1.3/4 (using verbs for the chants associated with Dhu:wa and Yirica moieties, respectively). The -Na- is identical to the -na-, -nha-, or -na- of the derived stem of various verb classes, except that we get -na- instead of -n- for classes 3, 4, 5. (The verbs in the textual exx. are class 5; liw?-yu- would normally be liw?-yu-n- in the derived stem.)

A form in -Na-wuy occurs fairly often in Miyala's texts, usually forming a relative clause, though sometimes a gerundial clause is the best translation. Exx. are in M8.2.2/4, M8.3.4, M8.11.5, M26.3.2, M20.1.1, M27.4.7, M27.5.8, M27.7.9 (two). This form shows up as -Na-ra-wuy in Wuyulwuy's texts: W5.1.3, W5.3.4. The relativized referent may be the underlying intransitive subject: miwuk-dhu-na-wuy '(wind) which was blowing' M27.7.9. If the verb is transitive the relativized referent is usually the object: dharpunha-wuy '(the man) who was speared' M8.2.2. -Na-wuy takes no case suffix for any case slot.

6.12 Prefix ray-.

This prefix, creating transitive verbs of transporting from intransitive verbs of motion, does not seem to be productive in Dhuwal (it is fairly common in Ritharngu to the south), but is attested once: ray-walma? 'take up (from water) to shore' M12.5.4 (cf. walma? 'go up from water to shore', here in root form).

6.13 marci- and yukura-.

These two verbs, meaning 'go' and 'lie down, sleep', resp., can be juxtaposed to another verb (both being marked for inflectional categories) with basically durative sense. marci- is favored in the Jam dialect, yukura- in the Jap dialect. Exx. of marci- are M1.1.6, M1.3.3, M1.8.2/3/4, M11.1.1, R1.3.3; exx. of yukura- are B4.2.2/3.

6.14 Particles ka/ga, kan/gan, thu/dhu, yur, yuru, gu, gul?.

The k/g and th/dh alternations are due to Postconsonantal Lenition (2.4) following a word ending in stop, nasal, or ?. In other words, though these particles are written as separate words (the only ones which can begin in fortis stops), they are partly integrated into the preceding word phonologically.

With Pres/Fut verbal suffix, ka specifies present tense and thu (Roy), yur (Miyala), or yuru (Jap dialect) specifies future tense. This was noted at the start of this chapter. ka is usually omitted in Jap, but can occur (B4.3.4).

A particle kan is found in data from Roy (Jam) and Benjamin (Jap), usually with Past (or PastRem) inflection, indicating durative: U11, R2.11.2, R3.1.4, B1.5.4. Miyala (Jap) uses ka in this sense: M1.8.6, M5.3.3, M5.20.1, M11.1.4, M26.3.2; a possible ex. of this for Benjamin (Jap) is B2.5.4.

Particles gu and gul? are used in hortative sense ('come on!', 'go on!'). They may occur alone, but are usually juxtaposed to a verb in Pres/Fut inflection without other particles like ka or thu. Exx. of gu (usually strongly stressed gu!) are M1.7.3, M8.3.1, R2.11.1, while in M1.4.2-3 we appear to have a Fut/Imper inflection, and in B1.1.5-6 the verb form run^giyi-r 'return' is ambiguous (cf. also R1.3.1). gul? occurs

with Pres/Fut verbs in M1.6.6-7, M22.10.3, and M23.6.2, while the verbs in M1.5.1 are ambiguous in form. Most of these exx. of gu and gul? involve first person inclusive hortatives of the type 'let's___!'.

7. SYNTAX.

In this final chapter we briefly mention some syntactic matters not previously discussed and list some of the more significant particles.

7.1 Negation.

The basic negative particles are ba:yn^gu and yaka. With verbs, the basic difference is that ba:yn^gu is used in the past and present tense and yaka in the future and imperative, though this distinction is not rigorous and there is some flexibility in the choice of particle. Exx. of ba:yn^gu are U25, U80, U85, U86, W2.3.6, B1.1.4, B2.4.2; exx. of yaka are U2, U42, U71, U77, M3.7.2, M5.20.6, M19.1.1, and (Past tense) M2.14.2.

yaka can also be used to negate a nonverbal constituent such as a noun, and can thus be used in negative nonverbal predications of the type 'It is not X', etc. Exx. are M15.1.3, M23.6.2, M26.6.3, R2.10.3, B6.1.1. On the other hand, ba:yn^gu is also used in the sense 'There is no X' or 'X is absent, nonexistent' as in M11.8.1, M14.3.1/2, R2.10.2, R4.6.3.

7.2 Evitative.

The analogue to what I have been calling 'evitative' verb forms in other nearby languages is normally expressed by adding the particle balan^g to a Pres/Fut or Fut/Imper verb form. Exx. are U2, U67 (Fut/Imper), U61, U73, U78 (Pres/Fut). This is normally an indication of something undesirable which might happen if appropriate action is not taken.

7.3 Conjunction.

Clausal conjunction is commonly by simple juxtaposition with intonational cues indicating syntactic relationships to some degree. The particle ga 'and' is occasionally used at the beginning of a clause conjoined to a preceding one.

Conjunction of a noun and a pronoun (e.g., 'the man and me') is normally expressed by juxtaposing the two, with the pronoun put in the Du or Pl form depending on the combined number ('the man, us'). The two need not be immediately adjacent. Textual exx. showing the basic idea of this are M1.1.4-5, M25.3.6, M26.6.4-6. The type exemplified by n^gara ga yan^galka 'I and Yan^galka' B1.1.2 is unusual and appears to be a calque from English. Slightly more complex exx. of the regular construction are seen in M2.15.2 (manda-n^g-gal) and M5.15.5-6 (walala-wuy-na).

Conjunction of two nouns is either by juxtaposition (M2.11.6 wa:mutjan wa:mut) or by interposition of ga 'and'.

7.4 Absolute Forms.

In 3.2 we mentioned Absolute -n^v (and other allomorphs), and Immediate -n/-na, with nouns and briefly indicated their uses; see 4.4 for some special uses of -n^v with personal pronouns, and 5.2 for demonstratives. The syntax of -n^v is very difficult to describe and varies considerably from one idiolect to another.

Absolute $-n^y$, as well as Immediate $-n/-na$, can be added to verbs; they follow the inflectional ending. On common use of Abs $-n^y$ with verbs is in constructions beginning with an interrogative pronoun or adverb ('who?', 'what?', 'when?', etc.), or beginning with a focussed noun or adverb (often a temporal or locative adverb). Exx. with initial *gudar?* 'tomorrow' with subsequent clause-final verbs in Abs form are U20/23 (*n^gupa-n-ja, dharpu-ma-n^y*). Interrogative exx. are M2.11.2-3 (*nha:* 'what?' with following *nhi:na- \emptyset -n^y* 'sit') and U19 (*nha:-ku* 'for what?' with subsequent *nhi:na-na-n^y* 'sat').

Absolute verbs are common, especially for *Miyala*, in narrative discourse. Although the conditioning factors are evanescent, the basic idea is that the verb can be put in the Absolute form if the clause is somehow peripheral to some other clause (like a gerundial clause). In a fuller discussion we would want to connect the use of the Absolute with intonational patterns and fine nuances of semantic context, but this is not possible here. Exx. of Absolute verbs of this category are *batha-r-n^yja* 'burned' M1.1.6 and *balcam?-dhu-r-nja* 'made fire' M1.3.1. The latter exemplifies the use of Absolute form when a verb is repeated. Translating Absolute as '-ing', the basic discourse pattern can be captured by the following translation type: '...he cooked it. Cooking it (=having cooked it), he ate it. Eating it, ...'. Note that the Absolute form ('-ing') is defocussed as given (=repeated) information. However, Absolute verbs in narrative are not limited to repetitions since the notion of defocussed status is a flexible one. Stylistic factors enter into the picture as well; stylized narrative segments spoken in high pitch may show several Absolute verbs in a sequence, hence *wilan?-dhu-r-nja* 'took out' and some following verbs in M1.4.5-6.

A few additional exx. of Absolute $-n^y$ and other allomorphs with verbs are *nhi:n-i-n^y* and *nhi:na- \emptyset -n^y* M2.12.4-5, *dhawar-mara-n^gal-nja* M2.14.2, *guruksa-ma-n^y* M5.14.3, and *wan^ga- \emptyset -n^y* W2.3.1.

7.5 Possessive Predications.

It appears that the predicative type 'X is mine' is expressed by means of the usual Gen-Dat form of the possessor noun or pronoun, in predicative function: *wa:yin-ja limuru-n^g* 'meat for us' (= 'We have meat'), M1.7.3-4.

7.6 Some Particle Combinations (*yan bili*, etc.).

We discuss below several particles. The particle *bili*, glossed 'enough!', occurs in several frozen combinations which require separate treatment. Most importantly, *yan bili*, consisting of *bili* plus *yan* 'only, still' means 'constantly, always, continuously'. For Roy (Jam dialect), *bili* is also used with forms of *bica-* 'to do thus, to say', hence *bica-n bili* 'does that' U4/22/62.

7.7 Particles.

We discuss here a large number of elements most of which occur only without further affixation, though some take $-n/-na$ (very few take Absolute $-n^y$). Those labelled 'clitic' do not occur clause-initially.

balan^g 'lest; ought to' U2, U19. For *balan^gun^yar* see *balan^ya*.

balan^ya 'like that'. Generally used in conjunction with a noun X, meaning 'X, that kind of thing'. Exx. are M1.8.5, M2.1.1, M2.7.5, M2.8.1/6, M2.20.3, M4.1.1 (with $-yi$, cf. 5.1), B2.2.4. Although we suspect on semantic grounds that *balan^ya* is formally a noun in apposition to the modified noun (like *ya:ku* 'named' as in X *ya:ku* 'something named X'), the many exx. of this form in Jam do not show nominal affixes, but in Jap we can get nominal forms: *balan^ya mala* 'things like that' with Pl postnoun *mala* B3.4.3. For Wuyulwuy the form is *balan^gun^yar* instead of *balan^ya* (W6.1.4, W9.2.8), and this can take case affixes such as Gen-Dat $-wu-$ (W7.1.5).

ba:lay '(going) away' R3.8.3. Not common. Possibly related to *bala* 'that way', specifically the form *bala-dhi* or *bala-yi*, but this relationship is incorrect synchronically.

ban^yji 'behind, back there' U49, M1.7.2, M4.3.1, M12.5.1, M22.7.3.

bawala-mir 'anyway, anything, anyone, doesn't matter' M2.18.2, M2.20.2, R2.4.6. This is formally a noun containing Proprietative $-mir$ 'having' (3.6), but is often used in unaffixed form to indicate that something is unrestricted. Cf. *birka?*.

ba:y, bay?, bay?-na (with Immediate $-na$). This appears to be a yes/no tag question marker in R4.8.2 (it has this function also in *Ritharngu*). In other exx. it appears to mean 'left behind, abandoned, no good', or the like, but I have had a hard time getting the nuance in particular cases. It is possible that more than one particle is involved. The difference between *ba:y* and *bay?* may or may not be due to transcriptional inconsistencies. Exx. without $-na$ are U96, M1.2.3, M1.8.6, M1.9.6, M2.8.1, M5.21.4, M5.23.2, M13.4.1, M24.2.2, R2.5.1, B1.1.1, B2.5.1. Exx. with $-na$ are M8.7.3, M8.7.4 (two), M11.4.3, M21.2.3, B3.3.5.

bili 'enough!'. Especially with Immediate $-n$ (*bili-n*) this indicates the end of a train of thought and is often used at a juncture ('paragraph' boundary) in a narrative: M1.3.2, M3.6.1, R1.3.4, B1.5.6. In the simple form *bili*, for the combinations *yan bili* and *bica-n bili* see 7.6, above. Simple *bili* by itself in a clause is usually best left untranslated. It can be thrown into a nonverbal copula construction: M5.23.1, M27.3.5/6. Other exx. include U93, M1.1.6, M1.7.2, M2.1.4, M2.9.4, W2.8.1.

birka? 'unrestricted, anyway' M2.14.3. Rare synonym of *bawala-mir*.

bulu 'again, more, further' U6, U37, M1.2.1 (two), M1.5.6, M1.6.2, M11.4.1, R2.1.3, R4.3.3, B1.3.3, among others.

dhu = form taken by *thu* after stop, nasal, or ?.

ga 'and' M2.1.4 (two), M2.14.4, W1.1.4/5/6/7, B1.1.2, B2.2.4. This is also the form taken by *ka* after stop, nasal, or ? (see 6.14 above).

gan = *kan* after stop, nasal, or ?. See 6.14 above.

gay = *kay* after stop, nasal, or ?. See 6.14 above.

gu, gul?. See 6.14, above.

ka 'Present tense', becoming *ga* after stop, nasal, or ?. Used chiefly in Jam dialect, occasionally in Jap. *Miyala* also uses this in place of *kan* (below) for durative sense. See 6.14, above.

kan 'durative', *gan* after stop, nasal, or ?. See 6.14, above.

kay 'then', *gay* after stop, nasal, or ?. Unstressed enclitic closely bound to the preceding verb; not common. Exx. are M5.12.1/2, M10.1.1,

W9.1.6, M9.2.7, B5.2.5 (complete list of textual exx.).

lin^vgun 'enough!' R7.4.6, B1.1.4, etc. Basically synonymous with bili-n (see bili, above), used very often by Benjamin and not used at all by Miyala.

ma? 'hortative' U27, U29. Apparently used by Roy, though not often by Miyala, as an alternative to hortative gu, gul?.

mak 'maybe; don't know' U6, U53, M2.3.3, R2.3.3, W1.1.7, B2.3.1, etc.

ma:r 'very (close/far)'. Commonly co-occurs with galki 'near' or barku 'far away', and usually functions as an intensive, but the nuance is hard to pin down. In other exx. it means 'nearly, just about to' and indicates that an event or situation is imminent. Exx. are M5.4.6, M5.17.3, M5.18.7, M5.20.4/7, M13.5.1, M15.1.2, M17.4.1/4, M22.7.1, R4.3.3, R4.7.3 (two), W2.6.4.

muka 'indeed', sometimes thrown into a nonverbal clause with no translatable meaning. Exx. are M24.4.1, M25.1.2, M26.6.1, M26.7.5, R2.10.2/3.

mun^uy? 'constantly' M22.8.4. Less common than yan bili (see 7.6, above).

nhakun 'like'. This gloss is rather poor; this element introduces a following noun X, the construction being translatable 'Similarly, X...', '(That is) just like X', or the like. Exx. are U15, M2.1.2 (best translated 'for example'), M2.4.6/7 ('similarly'), R4.9.2, W3.1.3.

n^uathil 'for a while, briefly' M1.6.7, M11.2.2. Corresponds typologically to tha? in Ritharngu. Sometimes used after a noun, roughly translatable 'then' (M5.7.6, M5.9.3, M14.2.3, R3.8.3). Not to be confused with the following item n^ua:thil. n^uathil itself is an enclitic particle closely linked to the preceding word phonologically.

n^ua:thil 'long ago, in the old days' U102, etc. A regular word with full word-stress on the long vowel; usually there is no difficulty in distinguishing this from n^uathil. It is likely, however, that the two are etymologically identical.

n^ui? 'yes/no tag question' U13, M4.2.3.

thu 'Future tense', dhu after nasal, stop, or ?. See 6.14, above. Used only in Jam dialect, chiefly by Roy.

waray 'to be sure' R6.2.5, B6.2.3. The sense of 'to be sure' here is the unstressed adverb as in 'I am not dead; to be sure, I am ill...', and 'admittedly' is another possible gloss.

wu 'or'. This gloss does not always work; sometimes wu merely introduces a new noun and thus functions somewhat like nhakun. Exx. are U61, M2.3.3, M2.8.1, M2.16.1, M3.11.3, M4.1.1, M8.4.2, M9.1.2, R2.4.5, R2.6.2, R2.13.2, M3.1.3, B3.2.5, B6.1.2.

ya? 'look there!' is not always easily distinguished from Absolute suffix allomorph -ya. ya? occurs with rising intonation and is found only at the end of the clause or at least an intonational boundary. It is used to emphasize that something described or referred to is concretely observable and can be used when the speaker is emphatically pointing to something which the addressee might not believe is present. Exx. include U18, U26/28, U69, U90, M3.12.3, M5.20.7, R2.11.2, R4.2.2; perhaps the best ex. is M23.6.1.

yan 'only'. For yan bili see 7.6, above. By itself, the usual gloss for yan is 'only' (M2.20.1, M23.2.1 at end of line), 'still, unchanging' (U15, U49, M3.4.5, M5.5.6), 'strictly, without deviation' (M2.14.3,

M2.17.4, M5.19.6), 'nothing but, constantly' (U4, U62), '(not) yet' (M23.2.1), or 'still only' (M14.3.1).

yur (Jam) or yuru (Jap) 'Future tense'. See 6.14, above.

7.8 Some Interjections.

ay! 'oh!' M9.3.1, M23.6.1.

gap! 'shut up!' M5.4.2.

n^uay?! 'here, take this!' U88, M1.9.5, M22.6.4.

way! 'hey!' M1.7.3, M6.1.1, B3.2.1.

yay! 'oh!' M5.4.2, M6.1.1.

PART TWO: TEXTS

INTRODUCTION

The texts are presented in four blocks for each speaker: Miyala (M) and R (Roy) for Jam dialect, then W (Wuyulwuy) and B (Benjamin) for Jap. The texts are numbered M1 to M27, R1 to R7, etc. Cross-references to textual passages are of the type M1.4.3 (=line 3 of section 4 of text M1). Each text is divided into several somewhat arbitrary divisions for ease of cross-referencing.

For each speaker, the order of presentation of the texts here is the same as the order in which they were given, with some exceptions for Miyala. Roy and Benjamin gave their texts in a single continuous session; Wuyulwuy used two sessions; Miyala had several taping sessions.

Text M1 is given with morpheme-by-morpheme interlinear glossing and with extensive grammatical and semantic commentary in notes. The other texts are presented with word translations and only occasional comments. A handful of texts are given without word translations to save space.

Some of the transcriptions are tentative. B in particular speaks in a casual articulatory manner which makes transcription difficult; this is partly true of R as well. W articulated clearly except for glottal stops; M generally articulated most clearly of all.

Serious readers should obtain copies of the tapes, so that a) passages spoken rapidly or with lax articulation can be spotted; b) possible transcriptional errors can be detected; and c) an appreciation of narrative style and intonational phenomena can be attained.

The Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies, Resource Centre section, has been kind enough to prepare a set of master tapes matching this volume; readers should correspond with that section (AIAS, POBox 553, Canberra City ACT 2601, Australia) for details and prices. The archive tape numbers are 5866 to 5869, and are broken down as follows:

5866 includes M1 to M12 except that M3 and M4 were inadvertently omitted; track A ends at about M5.17.

5867 includes M13 to M27, with track A ending with M21.

5868 includes R1-R7 on track A, and W3-W9 and B1-B4.2 on track B.

5869 includes B4.3 to B9, followed by Short Utterances (cf. Part 3 of this volume) by Roy and one untranscribed short text by Miyala.

These master tapes are simply rearranged versions of the original field tapes, which used a different numbering system; listeners using the tapes in conjunction with this volume should disregard the tape numbers spoken by me onto the tapes.

I understand that the tapes are sold at cost in reel-to-reel or cassette form and that individual tapes or the full set can be purchased. The first two texts by W are parts of longer secret texts and general access to the original tapes cannot be granted.

TEXT M1 HUNTING FISH AND FILE SNAKES

Speaker: Miyala

	line
1. yo!, marci- \emptyset -n n ^ɛ ara, bala ra ka marci- \emptyset -n, all right go-Pres/Fut-now I that way I Pres go-Pres/Fut-now	1
guya-lil, marci- \emptyset -n bala:::, dhuwal-a, guya bat!, n ^ɛ u:ra- \emptyset fish-to this-now fish get lie down-Pres/Fut	2
marci- \emptyset , mayan ^ɛ ?-ja n ^ɛ u:ra- \emptyset marci- \emptyset , n ^ɛ unha-l gangan, go-Pres/Fut river-Abs lie down-Pres/Fut go-Pres/Fut that-at (place n.)	3
bala ra marci- \emptyset -n n ^ɛ ilin ^y u nhawi, gapiyin ^ɛ i, n ^ɛ anapur that way I go-Pres/Fut-now we(ExDu) what's-it? (man's n.) we(ExPl)	4
yan ^ɛ alka, marci- \emptyset -n n ^ɛ anapur, gun ^y an-ja bu-nha (man's n.) go-Pres/Fut-now we(ExPl) small fish sp.-Abs hit/kill-PastRem	5
marci-n ^y a::: dakawa:::, bili, batha-r-n ^y ja n ^ɛ i-n ^y a, balwur-ku-n ^ɛ al, go-PastRem crayfish enough! burn-Past-Abs it-Acc cooked-make-Past	6
bala marci-n, bat-na, n ^ɛ urka-n ^ɛ al, bat-na baypinn ^ɛ a wan ^ɛ gan ^y , that way go-Past throw-now throw-Past get-now Saratoga fish one	7

All right. I am going now. I am going now that way, to (get) fish. (I) am going now that way. Now (I) get this fish. (I) lie down (=pass one night) and go. (I) lie down (along) a river and go. There at the place gangan (in Dhalwan^ɛu clan country). I am going that way now. Me and what's-it? (The man) gapiyin^ɛi. He and me and (the man) yan^ɛalka. We (three) are going now. (We) used to kill small fish and crayfish. Then (we) cooked them on a fire ('burned them'). (We) cooked (them). (We) went that way. (We) threw out (the fishing line). (We) got one Saratoga (Scleropages) fish.

Notes on specific words and phrases:

a) marci- \emptyset -n appears to show the common suffix -n 'now', here in its post-vocalic form (cf. -na or -a after consonants). However, this could also be analyzed as marc-i-n 'will go now' with Fut/Imper suffix -i instead of Pres/Fut - \emptyset ; I prefer to take it as marci- \emptyset -n since the particle ka (first line of the segment above) commonly co-occurs with Pres/Fut verbs but only infrequently turns up in conjunction with Fut/Imper forms. A third possibility is marci-n 'went' with Past suffix -n and without the 'now' suffix (this occurs in the last line of the segment); this is a possibility for reanalyzing marci- \emptyset -n in lines 1, 2, 4, and 5 of this segment but not for marci- \emptyset in line 3. The form n^ɛu:ra- \emptyset in lines 2 and 3 is clearly Pres/Fut. Starting with bu-nha 'hit/killed' in line 5 we have unambiguous Past and PastRem forms, so at some point between line 3 (marci- \emptyset) and this bu-nha we have a transition to past tense.

b) ra in line 1 is contracted from n^ɛara, which also occurs in that line. This ra occurs again in line 4. Note, however, the frequent omission of a subject (and/or object) pronoun 'I' and, later in the segment, 'we'.

c) ka in line 1 is ordinarily a present tense marker; it co-occurs with the Pres/Fut suffix form of the verb. A future tense form is constituted by using yur (in other dialects, thu or yuru) instead of ka with the same Pres/Fut verb. Sometimes the tense particle is omitted and we get just the Pres/Fut verb form, whose exact tense can only be guessed at by examining the context (e.g. n^ɛu:ra- \emptyset marci- \emptyset in lines 2-3).

d) bala::: in line 2 shows stylistic lengthening; cf. marci-n^ya::: in line 6.

(Text M1)

e) dhuwal-a 'this now' contains the 'now' suffix in its post-consonantal form /-na/. Here the underlying /n/ disappears because it is preceded by l. Cf. bat-na in line 7 showing the full form -na.

f) bat! in line 2 (also line 7) is a 'root form' (uninflected interjection-like particle) related to the inflected verb ma:ra- 'to get, to seize', which does not happen to occur in this segment. Such root forms are common in such narratives because of their stylistic impact and because tense is often predictable from context or unimportant. See comment below on bat 'throw', another root form.

g) n^gu:ra- 'to lie down' (hence 'to sleep') is often used to indicate the passage of a night and hence can function to indicate time durations measured in days (=nights).

h) marci-. This verb means 'to go' literally, and the examples of it here seem to have this meaning. However, close sequences of marci- with another verb, such as n^gu:ra-∅ marci-∅ in lines 2 and 3, sometimes have marci- functioning much like a derivational affix indicating motion or continuous prolongation.

i) mayan^g?-ja in line 3 shows the Abs (absolute) ending -ja (the post-nasal allomorph, cf. -n^y after vowels and -nja or -n^yja after some other consonants). Note that the glottal stop ? at the end of the noun root does not affect suffixal allomorphs. The Abs ending is not a case suffix and is very hard to translate; it tends to indicate at least a weakly independent status for the word with respect to the remainder of the sentence.

j) n^gunha-l gangan in line 3 shows a locative adverb 'there' followed by a specific place name; such progression from general to concrete terms is common. Place names generally do not take case suffixes to express locative case.

k) n^gilin^yu nhawi in line 4 is an example of the usual nominal conjunction type, literally something like 'we (dual) and John' meaning 'John and I'. In this case the speaker did not have the other man's name on his tongue so he began by using the very common filler nhawi 'what's-it?', then after a pause added the correct name (gapiyin^gi). Having thus established 'we (dual)', this is further elaborated by adding a third man, yan^galka, using the same type of formula: 'we (3+ plural) and yan^galka' (meaning 'The two of us and yan^galka'). For first person exclusive there is a dual/plural opposition, so here 'Pl' means three or more.

l) gun^yan-ja (line 5), dakawa::: (line 6, stylistic lengthening), and baypinn^ga wan^ggan^y (line 7) function as direct objects but, as is common (especially for nonhuman nouns) do not have accusative case -nha/-n^y. See note below on n^gi-n^ya, however.

m) bu-nha (line 5) and marci-n^ya::: (line 6) show the remote past (PastRem) ending -nha/-n^ya (cf. simple past bu-mar and marci-n for these roots). This narrator often switches between simple past (Past) and PastRem, though the latter is most appropriate for distant past events, especially if habitual or prolonged. The forms in -r-, -n^gal, and -n in lines 6 and 7 are simple past.

(Text M1)

n) bili (line 6) is a high-frequency particle. Here, as usual in its unsuffixed form, it simply indicates a break between two events or situations, here the break between hunting the fish and crayfish and cooking them. It may occur either at the end of the first clause, or at the beginning of the second--or occasionally in the middle with pauses before it and after it, as here. In the form bili-n 'enough now!' it tends to be a stronger word, roughly 'That's all' or 'It's finished'.

o) batha-r-n^yja (line 6) shows the absolute ending -n^yja added to a past tense verb form. This is less common than the combination of the Abs ending with a noun. With a verb, Abs may have weak subordinating functions somewhat like a gerund in another language.

p) n^gi-n^ya (line 6) is formally singular, agreeing with the conceptually plural (but formally singular) nouns gun^yan-ja 'fish sp.' and dakawa 'crayfish'. Singular agreement is typical for nonhuman nouns and NPs. Accusative n^gi-n^ya for nonhuman referent is usually omitted, but here the speaker has put it in (cf., however, its omission with the following balwur-ku-n^gal). When such a pronoun is used, it tends to be put in the proper case form (here accusative), even though nonhuman nouns (and sometimes even human nouns) themselves usually omit accusative marking.

q) balwur-ku-n^gal 'cooked' (line 6) is literally 'caused to be cooked' with adjectival noun root balwur 'ripe, cooked' and factitive -ku- ('to make X' with some quality X) followed by the tense ending.

r) bat (line 7), not to be confused with bat (note f, above) is a root form (hence uninflectable) correlated with the inflectable stem n^gurka-, which also happens to appear here. Such collocations are fairly common when the root form is formally unrelated to the inflectable root. The suffix -na 'now' is very common with root forms.

2. bulu n^gayi ma:ra-n^gal, bulu n^gara ma:ra-n^gal, bu-nha-n 1
 again he get-Past again I hit/kill-PastRem-now
- n^ganapur, bu-mar n^ganapur, bu-mar-na n^ganapur, bu-mar-na n^ganapur 2
 we(ExPl) hit/kill-Past -now
- baypinn^ga, bu-mar-na n^ganapur, yan bili::: dhan^gan^g n^gunha, bay!, 3
 Saratoga fish only enough! full that leave
 =continuously
- limur-a!, dhan^gan^g-dhi-na-n n^gayi guya-n^y, n^gunha-wal marc-i-n 4
 we(InPl)-now full-become-Past-now it fish-Abs that-to go-Fut/Imper-now
- limur, gun^yul?-lil, gun^yul?-lil, gul?! limur, ru:ku-garpi-r, 5
 we(InPl) shade-to let's! paper bark-tie up-Past
- barukala?-lil, ru:ku-garpi-r barukala?-lil, law?-na, 6
 paper bark-to cause to rise-now
- marcmarc, bala napur marcmarc-u-r bala::: gurn^gan?-ja 7
 walk that way we(ExPl) walk-Augment-Past shade-Abs
- dhuwal, dhut-na waraw?-lil, 8
 this sit down-now shade-to

(Text M1)

He got another (fish). I got another (fish). We killed (them). We killed (them). We killed (them) now. We killed the Saratoga fish now. We killed them continuously. 'It is full (of fish) there! Let's leave (the water) now! There is enough fish! Let's go over there, to a shady spot! Let's go!' (We) wrapped (the fish) up in paper bark (bark of *Melaleuca* trees). (We) wrapped (the fish) up in paper bark. (We) slung (them) over our shoulders and walked. We walked that way. A (shady) resting place was right there. (We) sat down then in the shade.

Notes:

a) bulu (line 1) means variously 'again, likewise, more'; here the sense is 'more' or 'yet another'.

b) bu-nha-n (line 1) and bu-mar (lines 2-3) again show fluctuation between the PastRem and simple Past. Other past tense forms in this segment are simple Past (ma:ra-n^εal, dhan^εan^ε-dhi-na-n, ru:ku-garpi-r, marcmarc-u-r). The PastRem does not often take a following -n 'now' as it does here.

c) yan bili::: (line 3) is a high-frequency combination meaning 'continuously', 'over a long period', or 'gradually'. Readers should note this combination since in later texts the combined gloss is omitted and just the individual glosses 'only' and 'enough!' are shown.

d) n^εunha (line 3) is often translatable 'there' as well as 'that'.

e) bay! (line 3) is a root form from 'to leave, to abandon' (bay?-yu-). Here it functions as an emphatic imperative.

f) dhan^εan^ε-dhi-na-n (line 4) shows the Inchoative suffix -thi- (here -dhi- after nasal), elsewhere sometimes -yi-, translatable 'to become' or 'to be' (with adjectival quality).

g) gul?! (line 5) is an exhortative particle.

h) ru:ku-garpi-r (line 5). The main verb root is garpi- 'to wrap, to tie up'. It is preceded here by a specialized compounding initial ru:ku- which does not occur in my data as an independent noun. The compound means 'to tie or wrap up in paper bark'.

i) barukala?-lil (line 6). The basic words for 'paper bark' as nouns are barukala? and gaya?. The Allative case (-lil 'to') is often used in this language in ambivalent locative/allative contexts where English prefers a locative form ('wrapped it into/to paper bark' vs. English 'wrapped it in paper bark'). Cf. waraw?-lil (line 8).

j) law?-na (line 6) is a root form from law?-yu- 'to rise' (or, more accurately, its causative law?-yu-n-mara- 'to cause to rise').

k) marcmarc (line 7) is similarly a root form related to the thematic verb stem marcmarc-u-, found in the same line. This verb is unrelated to marci- 'to go', which has a flapped r.

l) napur (line 7) is a reduced form of n^εanapur 'we (ExPl)', seen in lines 2 and 3.

m) dhuwal (line 8). The use of proximate deictic ('this', 'here') in narratives emphasizes proximity to some reference point. Alternatively, we can think of such forms as quotations (of speech or thinking), for example: We went along. 'This is a resting place' (I was thinking).

n) dhut-na (line 8). Root form, always active 'to sit down', related to stative nhi:na- 'to be sitting' (= 'to stay').

(Text M1)

3. balcam? gurtha-n^y, balcam?-dhu-r-nja n^εanapur gurtha:::-n^y 1
make fire fire-Abs make fire-Augment-Past-Abs we(ExPl) fire-Abs
balcam?-dhu:::-r, bili-n, gurka-mara?-mara-n^εal गया-n^y, baypinn^εa-n^y, 2
enough-now guts-Rdp-get-Past fish-Abs Saratoga-Abs
gurka-mara-n^εal marci:::-n, jumbala n^εurka-n^εal-na, n^εurka-n^εal-na, 3
go-Past some (creole) throw-Past-now
wiripu-n mala, war?man^y-ja mala, n^yumukunin^y-ja, gudhal?-na, 4
other-now Plural minnow-Abs Plural small-Abs roast-now
gudhal?-yu-r-nja n^εanapu:::r, gul?! limur lup-dhu-n, 5
roast-Augment-Past-Abs we(ExPl) let's we(InPl) bathe-Augment-Pres/Fut
jaykun^ε?-gu, lup n^εanapur, lup-dhu-r n^εanapur n^εunha-l 6
file snake-for bathe we(ExPl) -Past that-at
jaykun?-gu bat, wan^εgan^y, jaykun^ε, 7
get one file snake

We made a fire. We made a fire. Then we cleaned (i.e. gutted) the fish. (We) cleaned the Saratoga fish. We threw some (the big ones) (into a stone oven). We roasted (lightly) the others, the minnows and small ones. 'Come on! Let's go into the water for file snakes!' We went into the water there for file snakes. (We) got one file snake.

Note: file snakes (*Acrochordus*) are edible aquatic snakes. Remarks on specific words and phrases:

a) balcam? (line 1) is short for balcam?-dhu-r (lines 1 and 2). Other root forms in this segment are gudhal?-na (line 4), lup (line 6), and the suppletive root form bat (line 7). Compare gudhal?-yu-r-nja (line 5) and lup-dhu-r (line 6).

b) In gurtha-n^y 'fire' (twice, line 1), गया-n^y 'fish' (line 2), and baypinn^εa-n^y (line 2) the suffix is more likely to be Absolute -n^y (cf. Absolute -ja twice in line 4) than Accusative -n^y, although since these roots end in vowels there is no formal difference between the two.

c) bili-n (line 2) emphasizes the break between building the fire and preparing the fish. The particle bili is extremely common in this function, with or without -n. Usually we can capture its sense simply by starting the translation of the following clause with 'then'.

d) gurka-mara?-mara-n^εal (line 2) differs from gurka-mara-n^εal (line 3) only in containing a reduplicative element -mara?- (note the glottal stop). In the second occurrence the following marci:::-n emphasizes prolongation (not motion), so the effect is similar to that of reduplicated gurka-mara?-mara-n^εal. In the compound gurka-mara- we have a verb ma:ra- 'to get' (note the shortening of the vowel in compounds) and the noun gurka 'guts' (also 'penis').

e) The speaker may have gotten a little mixed up in the middle of this segment. Normally small fish are cooked directly on an open fire, while larger fish may be cooked in an oven. Perhaps here gudhal?- has the sense 'roast in ashes' (not 'roast in oven').

f) bat (line 7) constitutes a separate proposition from the preceding, although it is formally in the same breath-group. The dative noun jaykun^ε?-gu is syntactically part of the clause with lup-dhu-r.

(Text M1)

g) jaykun^ε?-gu (lines 6 and 7) shows retention of the final glottal stop of the stem. Unsuffixed jaykun^ε (end of line 7) shows deletion of the glottal stop in word-final position, as usual.

4. bulu napur lup-dhu-r bakara bat, bulu lup-dhu-r	1
again we(ExPl) bathe-Augment-Past tortoise get again	
n ^ε anapur n ^ε upa-r, jaykun ^ε bat, gu! limur!,	2
chase-Past file snake get come on! we(InPl)	
n ^ε ulu?-yu-r-a n ^ε unha-yi guya, walma-n, walma-n	3
hit-Augment-Fut/Imper-now that-Anaph fish go up on shore-Past	
n ^ε anapur, bala-n n ^ε anapur marci:::-n, wilan ^ε ?-na, wark-na	4
we(ExPl) that way-now go-Past take from fire-now (=preceding)	
wark! wark! wilan ^ε ?-dhu-r-nja:::, wilan ^ε ?-dhu-r	5
take from fire take from fire-Augment-Past-Abs	
n ^ε anapur bat, day-mara-n ^ε al-nja guya-n ^y , luka-n-ja n ^ε anapur	6
throw be dry/cool-cause-Past-Abs fish-Abs eat-Past-Abs we(ExPl)	
guya-n ^y mala:::,	7
fish-Abs Plural	

Again we went into the water. We got a long-necked tortoise (*Chelodina*). Again we went into the water and chased and caught a file snake. 'Come on! Let's hit those fish!' We went up onto shore (i.e. got out of the water). We went that way (back to the cooking area). (We) took (the fish) out from the fire. We took the fish out from the fire and dropped them (on the ground) to let the fish cool off. We ate those fish.

Notes:

- a) bakara (line 1) belongs syntactically with the following root form bat 'get'. In such combinations bat typically forms almost a compound with the preceding noun. Cf. jaykun^ε bat in line 2.
- b) n^εulu?-yu-r-a (line 3). Gloss uncertain for this uncommon verb.
- c) n^εunha-yi (line 3). Suffix -yi or -i, which can usually be described as a kind of anaphoric emphatic ending, is not very common with n^εunha 'that, there' though it is very common with n^εunhi 'that' (n^εunhi-yi). Here n^εunha-yi might be best translatable 'there' instead of 'that/those'.
- d) guya-n^y (lines 6 and 7) probably ends in Absolute -n^y, possibly in Accusative -n^y.
- e) mala (line 7) is the regular Plural element, following the noun it modifies, but is commonly omitted (cf. earlier occurrences of guya 'fish', in plural sense, earlier in this segment). Frequently mala omits any case suffixes or the like on the preceding noun, though in some other cases mala can take suffixes. Other examples of mala are in segment 3 (line 4) of this text.

5. gul?!, marci-∅-n wa:n ^ε a-lil-a run ^ε iyi-r-a,	1
come on! go-Pres/Fut-now camp-to-now return-Pres/Fut-now	
lark-na marci-n n ^ε anapur bala::: marci-n bala marci-n bala:::	2
set off-now go-Past we(ExPl) that way	

(Text M1)

house-ja dha:ra-∅ ka, gu:muk, dhuwa-na wa:n ^ε a-n ^y , bur-na	3
-Abs stand-Pres/Fut Pres (man's n.) this-now camp-Abs arrive-now	
buna-n, gurupa-r-na walala-n ^ε , gurupa-r-na walala-n ^ε , guya-n ^y	4
arrive-Past give-Past-now them-for fish-Abs	
rar?-yu-r-a, jaykun ^ε -ja bakara-n ^y , bakara-n ^y	5
put down-Augment-Past-now file snake-Abs tortoise-Abs	
rar?-yu-r-a, walal-nja bulu gurupa-r n ^ε anapuru-n ^y n ^ε atha, da:mba	6
they-Abs again give-Past us-Acc food damper(loan)	
ju:ga gurupa-r n ^ε anapuru-n ^y ,	7
sugar(loan) give-Past	

'Come on! Let's go back to the camp now!' We set off and went that way. We went along that way, (to where) the houses are. Gu:muk (i.e. where the man Gu:muk's houses are, in Dhalwan^εu clan territory). We arrived then at this camp. (We) gave them (meat). We put down (i.e. presented) fish, file snakes, and tortoises for them. (We) put down tortoises. As for them, they likewise gave us (vegetable) food, damper (type of bread), and sugar.

Notes:

- a) lark-na (line 2). lark is very common as a root form meaning 'to set off, to begin a trip', usually with -na 'now'. Its closest counterpart among inflected verb roots is marci- 'to go'.
- b) bur-na buna-n (lines 3 and 4). This combination of the root form bur and the inflected verb buna- 'to arrive' is very common. Most often these expressions indicate emergence from jungle or bush to a camp.
- c) The verb gurupa- 'to give' can take its indirect object (recipient) in dative case (walala-n^ε in line 4) or in accusative case (n^εanapuru-n^y in lines 6 and 7).
- d) rar?-yu- (lines 5 and 6) is often used in precisely this context: putting down killed game animals on arrival back at the camp. With a dative NP it often indicates giving or presenting such a carcass to other people.
- e) jaykun^ε (line 5) lacks the glottal stop seen in jaykun^ε?-gu in segment 3. Such fluctuation is not unheard-of in this language.
- f) walal-nja (line 6). When the Absolute suffix -n^y or -nja (distinct from partly homophonous Accusative -n^y or -nja) is added to a pronoun it generally means 'as for ___' and emphasizes a contrast among NPs in the same position in adjacent clauses. Here the sequence is of the type 'We gave them meat. As for them, they gave us vegetable food.' The reversal of the subject-object relationship from one clause to the next justifies using the contrastive form of the third plural pronoun. The contrastive sense of the Absolute suffix is limited to pronouns.
- g) bulu (line 6) is best translated 'likewise' or 'reciprocally' in this passage.
- h) n^εatha (line 6), loosely translated 'food', means specifically 'food other than meat' (i.e. chiefly vegetable food, also eggs, etc.).

(Text M1)

6. n ^ε u:ra-n	jadaw?, wanha ka	limur	marci-∅-n,	1
lie down-Past	dawn where? Pres	we(InPl)	go-Pres/Fut-now	
n ^ε unha:::	dhudi-lil, bulu napur	marci-n, lark-na,	marci-n	2
that	bottom-to again we(ExPl)	go-Past	set off-now go-Past	
bala:::	marci-n n ^ε anapu:::r,	dhuwal-na, dhut-na	n ^ε anapur,	3
that way	we(ExPl)	this-now	sit down-now	
lup-na	n ^ε anapur, bu-mar-na	n ^ε anapur n ^ε i-n ^y a,	guya-n ^y , bi:kan ^ε	4
bathe-now	hit/kill-Past-now	it-Acc	fish-Abs fishhook	
n ^ε urka-n ^ε al-na,	bu-mar-na n ^ε anapur	n ^ε i-n ^y a baypinn ^ε a-n ^y ,	bu-mar-na	5
throw-Past-now		Saratoga-Abs		
n ^ε anapur n ^ε i-n ^y a	baypinn ^ε a, rar?	baypinn ^ε a-n ^y	n ^ε unhi-yi, gul?!	6
	put down	Saratoga-Abs	that-Abs let's	
limur	lup-dhu-n	n ^ε athil, jaykun ^ε -gu,	bakara,	7
we(InPl)	bathe-Augment-Pres/Fut	a while	file snake-for tortoise	

(We) slept (and it) dawned. 'Where are we going?' 'There, down (toward the coast).' (i.e. The next day we decided to go down toward the coast.) Again we set off and went. We went along. We sat down then at that place. We went into the water. We killed them, fish. (We) threw fishhooks in. We killed them, Saratoga fish. We killed Saratoga fish. (We) put those Saratoga fish down. 'Come on! Let's go into the water for a while, for file snakes and (for) tortoises.'

Notes:

a) Observe the usage of direct quotations (often thoughts rather than spoken words) in complex constructions where English uses an expression with a higher verb like 'to decide to'.

b) n^εunha::: (line 2) shows stylistic lengthening. Since such lengthening sometimes produces the deletion of a final consonant, it is possible that this represents n^εunha-l 'there' rather than n^εunha 'that; there', but this is of little importance.

c) dhudi-lil (line 2). In most languages of this region an expression meaning 'to the bottom' is used commonly in senses like 'downhill', 'downriver', and 'toward the coast'.

d) n^εi-n^ya (lines 4 and 5) is often omitted for nonhuman object, but occurs here cross-referencing fish terms. The nouns guya-n^y (line 4) and baypinn^εa-n^y (line 5, also line 6) could have Accusative -n^y instead of Absolute -n^y, but note that unsuffixed baypinn^εa also occurs in line 6. I am therefore inclined to treat all of these nouns as formally nominative, hence to take -n^y as Absolute (not a case ending).

e) n^εunhi-yi (line 6). Although this form occurs just once in this text, it is extremely common in most other texts. Anaphoric ending -yi is rather weak semantically (hence very frequent statistically).

f) n^εathil (line 7) is an unstressed particle which regularly follows the verb. It tends to indicate a temporary or reversible activity, hence 'Let's go into the water for a while' suggests that the swimming will not last very long. This element is to be distinguished from n^εa:thil 'long ago' which can take various suffixes and can occur in any position in the sentence.

(Text M1)

7. lup-na	n ^ε anapur,	lup-dhu-r	n ^ε anapur	bu-mar	1
bathe-now	we(ExPl)	bathe-Augment-Past	we	hit/kill-Past	
n ^ε i-n ^y a:::	bakara-nha-n ^y	n ^ε unhi-li-mi	bili	ban ^y ji:::	2
it-Acc	tortoise-Acc-Abs	there	enough!	behind	enough-now
way!, walma-∅-n		gu!,	dharwa	dhuwal, wa:yin-ja	3
hey!	go on shore-Pres/Fut-now	come on!	big group	this	game animal-Abs
limuru-n ^ε ,	limur-na,	walma? n ^ε anapur,	lark-na,	bala	n ^ε anapur
us(InPl)-for	we(InPl)-now	go up	we(ExPl)	set off-now	that way
marci:::-n	dhuwal-na	wa:n ^ε a-n ^y ,	n ^ε urgic-ja,	gudhal?-na,	5
go-Past	this-now	camp-Abs	resting place-Abs	roast-now	

We went into the water then. We went into the water (and) killed them, tortoises right there. Back there. Then: 'Hey! Go up onto the shore! We have a big crowd of game animals (tortoises) here. We (will go up) now.' We went up onto the shore. We set off. We went that way. There was our camp, a shady resting place. (We) roasted (them) then.

Notes:

a) bakara-nha-n^y (line 2) is a clear example of Accusative -nha- with a nonhuman noun. In some previous examples we have been unable to determine whether -n^y after a vowel-final noun was Absolute -n^y or Accusative -n^y (word-final postvocalic form). For bakara 'tortoise' both forms are normally bakara-n^y. However, here we are fortunate in that both of these suffixes occur on the same noun, in the order Acc-Abs, so that Acc takes the nonfinal form -nha-.

b) n^εunhi-li-mi (line 2) is an emphatic form of n^εunha-l 'there'.

c) dharwa (line 3) means '(big) group', but is here used in a construction which corresponds functionally to an English expression such as 'We have enough'.

d) limuru-n^ε (line 4) is a genitive-dative pronoun. In a construction where this is the predicate, we can use 'to have' in the translation. Such an expression recurs constantly in texts in precisely this kind of context: announcing the acquisition of meat or other food. The call 'We have meat' (wa:yin limuru-n^ε) would go up in the camp when a man was seen approaching the camp with a killed animal.

e) walma? (line 4). For 'to go up (from water) onto shore' we have two verbs, walma- (Past walma-n, Pres/Fut walma-∅, etc.) and thematic walma?-yu- (Past walma?-yu-r, Pres/Fut walma?-yu-n, etc.). The former occurs in line 3, the latter here (in the root form) in line 4. Simple walma- has no distinct root form of its own.

8. nhuma	limuru-n ^ε	balcam?-dhu-r	gurtha, dhanda,	1	
you(Pl)	us(InPl)-for	make fire-Augment-Fut/Imper	fire	ant mound	
xx(?)	n ^ε ara-n ^y ,	gurka-mara-m	marci-∅	dhuwal-ga?yi	2
(unintelligible)	me-Acc	guts-get-Pres/Fut	go-Pres/Fut	this-indeed	
baypinn ^ε a,	gurka-mara-m	marci-∅	gurka-mara-ma-n ^y	marci:::-∅	3
			-Pres/Fut-Abs		
rar?,	jambala-n ^y	rar?-yu-r-a	marci:::-∅,	4	
put down	some(creole)-Abs	put down-Augment-Past-now	go-Pres/Fut		

(Text M1)

war?man^y-ja balan^ya ya? n^yumukunin^y, n^yumukunin^y-ja, bili, 5
 minnow-Abs like that indeed small -Abs enough!

guyal?-yu-r, bay n^gayi ka bu:l-nhara-nha-n, 6
 roast-Augment-Past leave alone it Dur roast-burn-PastRem-now

nhi:na-nha-n n^ganapu::r, lup-- gapu n^ganapur lup-dhu-r, 7
 sit-PastRem-now we(ExPl) bathe water we bathe-Augment-Past

lup-dhu-r-a n^ganapur gapu-n^gur, bala napur marci-n, walma? 8
 -now water-in that way we(ExPl) go-Past go on shore

dhut!, wilan^g? guya-n^y, 9
 sit down take from fire fish-Abs

'You(Pl) make a fire for all of us! (Get some) ant mound (material).
 xx me.' (We) clean this Saratoga fish. (We) clean (this). Some we
 put down (in hot ashes). The minnows, the small ones. Then we roasted
 them (?cooked them in hot ashes). They were left alone to roast.
 We sat (waited). We went (into) the water. We went into the water then.
 We went that way, onto the shore. We sat down and took out the fish
 from the fire.

Notes:

- a) dhuwal-ga?yi (line 2) is a common emphatic extension of dhuwal 'this'.
 b) balan^ya (line 5) is difficult to translate; it commonly follows a
 noun which has just been introduced and whose semantic properties are
 important in the context (here 'minnows'). The overall effect is somewhat
 like that achieved in English by stressing a newly introduced noun.
 The particle balan^ya is sometimes followed by emphatic ya?.
 c) ka (line 6). This particle, with Pres/Fut verb form, marks the
 present tense. It is occasionally used with other verb forms, generally
 indicating prolonged or continuous aspect.
 d) bul-nhara- (line 6) is a compound made with root nha:ra- 'to burn
 (intrans.)'. The initial bul- does not occur elsewhere.
 e) gapu (line 7) is short for gapu-n^gur (line 8).

9. wilan^g?-dhu-r-nja::: day-yu-n-mara-n^gal-nja, 1
 take from fire-Augment-Past-Abs be dry/cool-Augment-Ø-cause-Past-Abs

gul?! run^giyi-r-a wa:n^ga-lil-a, lark-na, bala napur 2
 let's return-Pres/Fut-now camp-to-now set off-now that way we(ExPl)

run^giyi-n, wa:n^ga-lil-a, marci-n n^ganapu::r wa:n^ga-lil-a::: dhuwa-na 3
 return-Past camp-to-now go-Past we(ExPl) this-now

house-ja, bur-na walala-n^g, guray-na walala-n^g wa:yin-ja, 4
 -Abs arrive-now them-for give-now them-for game animal-Abs

guray-na walala-n^g wa:yin-ja, n^gay?! nhumala-n^ggu-n^y, bakara 5
 here! you(Pl)-for-Abs tortoise

jaykun^g bay walal ka luka-na-n n^ganapur-nja n^gatha, 6
 file snake leave alone they Dur eat-Past-now we-Abs food

walala-n^g-gun^g, gurupa-r n^ganapuru-n^y walal, luka-n 7
 them-Ø-product of give-Past us(ExPl)-Acc they eat-Past

(Text M1)

n^ganapur n^gatha-n^y walala-n^g-gu::n^g bili-n . 8
 we food-Abs them-Ø-product of enough-now

(We) took (them) out from the fire (and) let them cool off. 'Now
 let's go back to the camp!' (We) set off then. We went back to the camp.
 We kept going to the camp. There was the house. (We) arrived to them.
 (We) gave them the animals (the meat). We gave them the animals. 'Here!
 Tortoises and file snakes for you all!' Then they (went off) and ate
 (the meat). We (ate) vegetable food obtained from them. They gave (it)
 to us. We ate vegetable food obtained from them. That is all.

Notes:

- a) day-yu-n-mara-n^gal (line 1) is the full form corresponding to
 shortened day-mara-n^gal (segment 4, line 6 of this text). Thematic verbs
 with post-radical augment -dhu-/-yu-/-u- often show this contraction
 with causative -mara-.
- b) dhuwa-na (line 3). Here, as frequently, the proximate demonstrative
 ('this', 'here') indicates proximity to a reference point within the
 narrative.
- c) guray-na (line 4) is a root form related to gurupa- 'to give'.
 d) n^gay?! (line 5) is translated 'here!' not in the deictic sense
 but in the sense of 'take this!'.
 e) n^ganapur-nja (line 6). This pronoun ends with Absolute -nja in
 its contrastive emphatic sense; 'we' is opposed to 'they' in the preceding
 sequence.
- f) walala-n^g-gun^g (lines 7 and 8) shows the Originative suffix -wun^g
 or -gun^g, which specifies the source of something (especially a useful
 commodity such as food). Some pronominal stems take -n^g- before certain
 suffixes.

TEXT M2 KINSHIP AND SUBSECTIONS

Speaker: Miyala

1. n^εuli n^εara-ya, balan^ya, balan^ya walala-n^ε dhuwal ma:lk, ma:lk
 that I like that for them this subsection
 balan^ya jun^εun^y-ya, nhakun n^εuli n^εayi, n^εara ka maralkur-?-yu-n, n^εara
 subsection like that he I Pres call 'MMBS' I
 ka maralkur-?-yu-n, n^εara-ku maralkur, n^εara-ku maralkur, gurun^ε
 Pres my MMBS FZDS
 balan^ya, ga bili n^εara-nha-n^y n^εayi, ra:li-kurun^ε-?-dhu-n, ga n^εara
 like that and enough! me he calls 'FZDS' this way and I
 n^εi-n^ya bala-maralkur-?-yu-n, n^εara n^εi-n^ya bala-maralkur-?-yu-n, ga n^εayi
 him call 'MMBS' that way I him and he
 --n^εara-n^y dhipu-n^εur-n^yja n^εi-n^ya, gurun^ε-?- --gurun^ε-?-dhu-n,
 I(emph) from here him call 'FZDS'

gurun^ε-?-dhu-n,

I (will speak about) that sort of thing, this subsection (kinship) business, ma:lk or jun^εun^y ('subsection' or more generally structural category in marital politics). Suppose he--suppose I call some man maralkur (MMBS), just like gurun^ε (FZDS, reciprocal of maralkur; both are avoidance categories and the two are often blurred). He calls me gurun^ε this way, and in the other direction I call him maralkur. From here I call him gurun^ε. (In this last sentence, the speaker got a little mixed up and inverted the relationships; but recall that gurun^ε and maralkur are very similar relationships.)

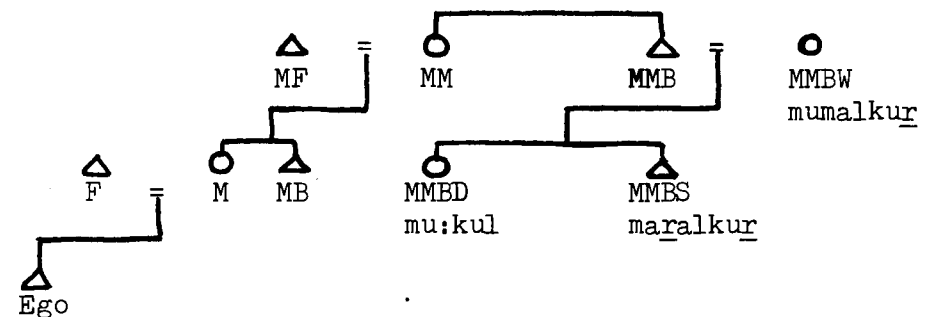
2. ga wiripu-n^y, n^εayi ra-n^y gurun^ε-?-dhu-n, ga n^εara n^εi-n^ya
 and other he me calls 'FZDS' and I him
 maralkur-?-yu-n, mu:kul, balan^ya mumalkur-wuy gal?n^εu-ya,
 call 'MMBS' MMBD like that related to MMBW indeed
 mumalkur-wuy, wiripu-n^y, barku-puy-n^yja, ga galki-puy-n^yja n^εunhi-yi,
 other of distant (place) and of nearby (place) that
 gurun^ε, galki-puy-n^yja gurun^ε, gurun^ε,
 FZDC of nearby FZDC

Another one. He calls me gurun^ε (FZDS) and I call him maralkur (MMBS). (Also there is) mu:kul (here MMBD, hence prospective WM, an avoidance relation). She is related (e.g. as D) to my mumalkur (MMBW). Of a distant (i.e. different) territory (hence clan-affiliation). Of nearby territory is that gurun^ε (i.e. the man whom the mu:kul, his MMBD, calls gurun^ε). (This gurun^ε has been referred to heretofore as the first person pronoun; the speaker henceforth uses third person pronouns.)

Note: Figure 1, below, illustrates the maralkur, mu:kul, and mumalkur relationships. Mu:kul and maralkur call Ego gurun^ε, and mumalkur calls Ego dhumungur.

(Text M2)

FIGURE 1



3. ga yu:thu-n^y n^εayi maln^ε?-mara-m, gurun^ε-dhu, dhumungur, dhumungur,
 and child he/she makes appear FZDC FZDDC
 ga bili n^εuri-n^εi-yi n^εayi dhumungur-yu-n, ga milmara, nha: mak
 and enough! that he/she FZDDC and promised what? maybe
 n^εayi n^εara-ku wu yu:l-ku mak n^εayi gurupa-n yur, milmara-n^y,
 he/she for me or for whom? maybe he/she give Fut promised
 waku-?mirin^εu-nha-n^y n^εuri-ki-yi-n^y, dhumungur-wu,
 his ZD (or her D) of that one of FZDDC

And the gurun^ε (FZDS or FZDD) has a child (his ZC, her C). This is dhumungur (FZDDC). So much for that. Now suppose that the dhumungur likewise (has a child, i.e. FZDDDD). This is the one who can be bestowed (promised) as mother-in-law. The dhumungur will bestow (give) her, maybe to me or to someone (in the right relationship). The promised one (as WM) is the waku (man's ZD, woman's D) of dhumungur.

Notes: See Figure 2 below. The stem milmara 'promised' is a noun; the gloss is a passive participle, not a past tense verb.

4. dhumungur wiripu-n^y, n^εuri-n^εi-yi dhumungur-yu walkur-mara-m,
 FZDDC other that one FZDDC has child
 dhumungur-yu walkur-mara-m, ga maralkur n^εara-ku, n^εara-ku maralkur,
 and FZDDDS my
 n^εara-ku maralkur, n^εunhi-yi dhumungur-yu-n -- dhumungur-yu-n n^εunhi-yi --
 that FZDDC
 yu:thu-miri-ya-n^ε, yu:thu-ma:ra-n^ε, nha: mak n^εayi yur n^εunhi-yi, n^εara
 will have child will get child what? maybe he Fut that I
 yur -- dhumungur-wun^εu-n^y yu:thu, dhumungur-wun^εu-n^y yu:thu, ga n^εara-n^y
 Fut product of FZDDC child and I
 n^εuli maralkur-?-yu-n, maralkur-?-yu-n, maralkur-?-yu-n, nhakun --
 that call 'FZDDDS' like
 nhakun gurun^ε --
 like FZDC

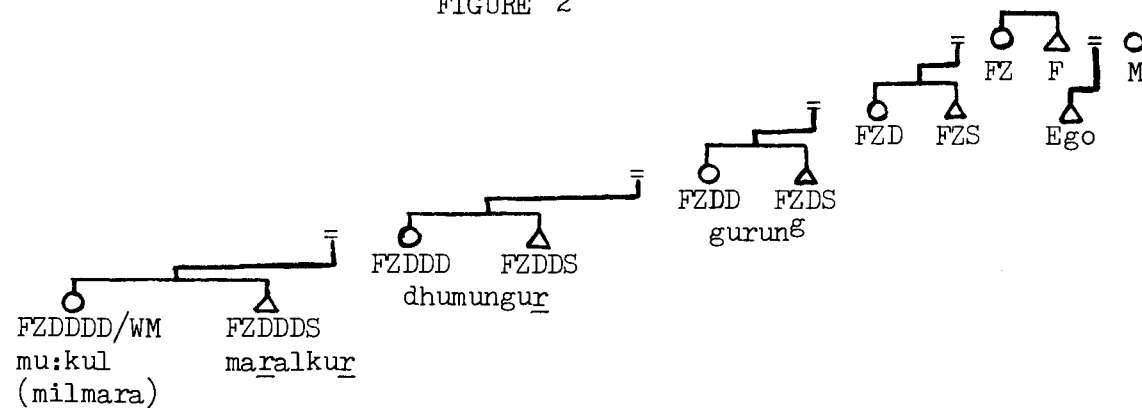
The dhumungur (FZDDC) has a child (FZDDDS). That (man) is my maralkur. If that dhumungur has a child, that will be--. If it is a child produced

(Text M2)

by dhumungur, I call it maralkur, sort of like gurun^g.

Note: As the following figure shows, this maralkur is the brother of the woman (milmara) bestowed on Ego in the preceding segment (no. 3) as prospective WM (the proper kin term for her is mu:kul):

FIGURE 2



5. mumalkur-yu n^gunhi-yi n^gayi ma:ra-n^g-- mumalkur-yu-n, walkur-mara-n^g,
MMBW(=WMM) that she will get MMBW will have child
xx (?), mumalkur-yu-n n^gunhi n^gayi yu:thu nhan-n^gu-wuy, mumalkur-wun^g,
MMBW that she child her produced by MMBW
n^gunhi nhakun mu:kul, rumaru, ga wiripu-n^y mak n^gula nha:, nha: mak
that like MMBD taboo and other maybe something what?
n^gula ba:pa, ga mu:kul auntie, mu:kul n^gunhi-ya, ya:na-n^gu,
F and FZ FZ that free

That mumalkur (relabeling of dhumungur FZDDD) will have a child. Her child, the one produced by mumalkur, is the respect mu:kul (a mu:kul who can be bestowed on Ego).

Another (kin category), something or other. Father. Also the aunt (FZ) type of mu:kul, free (of avoidance/respect behavior).

Note: Inspection of the two figures above shows that mu:kul and maralkur have as their M Ego's mumalkur (Fig. 1) or dhumungur (Fig. 2). The most regular term for M of mu:kul and maralkur is mumalkur, and in segment 5 dhumungur (Fig. 2) is relabeled as mumalkur. Note also the subcategorization of mu:kul into a respect subtype (focally MMBD) from which Ego's WM will come, and a free subtype (focally FZ).

6. ga nhakun gaykay-- gawal-?mirin^gu-y n^gayi yur walkur-mara-m, n^gayi
and like MB MB he Fut have child he
yur gawal-?mirin^gu-y walkur-mara-m, n^gara-ku, gawal-?mirin^gu-y, nhakun
Fut MB have child my MB like
n^gara bun^yju-na yur, garmala, garmala, garmala-?-yu-r n^gara, ga--
I call (kin term) Fut actual MBD will call 'MBD' I and
garmala-?-yu-r n^gara, n^gunhi n^gayi n^gapipi-y dhawar-mara-n^gal, n^gunhi n^gayi
will call 'MBD' I that he MB had son that he

(Text M2)

n^gapipi-- n^gapipi-y? n^gayi walkur-mara-m yur, ga garmala-?-yu-r n^gara,
MB he have child Fut and will call 'MBD' I

As well, there is my MB (gawal-, gaykay, n^gapipi?). My MB might have a child. He will have a child, and I will call her garmala (D of actual MB). I will call her garmala. If my MB has a child, I call her garmala.

7. wiripu-n^y, ga wiripu-n^y banga, n^gunhi n^gayi waku-?mirin^gu-y ra-kal,
other and ZC (creole) that he ZC my
ga n^gunhi n^gara-ku gamin^yar wiripu-n^y barku-puy-n^y gal?n^gu, ga
and that my ZSC other of distant (place) indeed and
n^gunhi galki-puy-n^y, gamin^yar, ga n^gunhi barku-puy-n^yja, ga n^gunhi
that of nearby ZSC and that of distant and that
n^gara-k dhuway-?-yu-n yur ga nharca-n mak n^gara yur galay-?-yu-n,
for me calls 'FZC' Fut and do what? maybe I Fut call 'MBC'
n^gunhi waku-puy-n^yja, lambara-puy-n^y balan^ya-ya,
that related to ZC related to ZC (creole) like that

Another (category) is banga (creole for waku ZC). If my waku (ZS) (has a child) it is another category, my gamin^yar (ZSC). He or she (gamin^yar) is (genealogically and territorially) distant, while he (apparently waku) is nearby. There is another one who calls me dhuway, and what do I call him/her? I call him/her galay ('MBC' except actual MBC). Related to waku, to lambara (creole for male waku qua potential affine).

Note: The sense of the last comment ('related to waku') is not clear. The term waku is used here for ZC, who is not closely related to Ego's galay ('MBC', e.g. MMBDC). It may be that 'related to waku' is a gloss for the term dhuway (not galay), which could be genealogically justified (dhuway is the normal term for ZH, hence can be F to Ego's ZC).

8. balan^ya ma:lk-ja jun^gun^y-ja, wu n^garic, balan^g, bulan^y,
like that subsection subsection or subsection Y1A D1A Y1B
gajak, n^gayi yur gajak-dhu dhawar-mara-m, n^garic-nha, n^gayi-n^y yur
Y2B he Fut Y2B have child Y1A he Fut
ban^gidi-y-n^y dhawar-mara-m, gajak, ban^gidi-y dhawar-mara-m yur, ban^gidi-y,
Y2A have child Y2B Y2A have child Fut Y2A
nhakun gajak-na, wu bulan^y, bulan^y, ga n^gayi-n^y yur bulan^y-dhu
like Y2B now or Y1B and he Fut Y1B
dhawar-mara-m, nhakun ban^gidi dhawar-mara-m n^gayi yur, ga sometimes n^gayi
have child like Y2A have child he Fut and he
gajak n^gayi, dhawar-mara-m yur, gajak balan^ya, gojok, dhawar-mara-m,
Y2B he have child Fut Y2B like that Y2B have child
bulan^y-dhu-n^y, ga n^gayi-n^y yur, n^garic-dhu-n^y, n^garic-dhu, dhawar-mara-m
Y1B and he Fut Y1A Y1A have child
yur, n^garic-dhu, nhakun ban^gadican,
Fut Y1A like Y2A

(Text M2)

Then there are the subsections: for example n^εaric, balan^ε, bulan^y, gajak. If a gajak man has a child it is n^εaric. If a ban^εidi man has a child, it is gajak. If the ban^εidi man has a child then it is gajak, or maybe bulan^y. (Actually, a ban^εidi man should have bulan^y or n^εaric, not gajak, children.) If the bulan^y man has a child, it is a ban^εidi child, or sometimes gajak. The bulan^y man can have a gajak, or gojok (alternate pronunciation) child. If a n^εaric man has a child, it might be a ban^εidi girl (ban^εadican).

Notes: A 'subsection' is one of eight social categories, salient primarily in marriage and bestowal politics. The subsection system has come into Arnhem Land in the last half-century or so and there are some difficulties in articulating it with the traditional kinship system. Strictly speaking, Ego's subsection is determined from a formula based on his M's subsection. There are two nonintersecting matricycles of four stages each, reverting after that back to the initial stage, as shown in this figure:

FIGURE 3

Subsection Matricycles

D1/Y2 cycle	D2/Y1 cycle
a. balan ^ε D1A	gamaran ^ε D2A
b. ban ^ε idi Y2A	bulan ^y Y1B
c. buralan ^ε D1B	wa:mut D2B
d. gajak (gojok) Y2B	n ^ε aric Y1A
e. ↓ =a.	↓ =a.

Thus a balan^ε woman has ban^εidi children, and so forth. The terms shown here are for male referents; each of the eight terms has a feminine variant, usually ending in -can? or -jan? with various irregularities (e.g. balan^ε becomes bilin^yjan?). A suppletive feminine form galiyan? occurs for buralan^ε, however.

The formulae 'D1A', etc., begin with letters representing the two patrilineal moieties, D (dhu:wa) and Y (yirica). Naturally, each moiety is divided in half by the matricycle bifurcation; for example, D1 occurs in the cycle on the left and D2 in that on the right in the figure above. If the 'marriage rule' is stated in subsection terms, D1 persons should marry Y1 and vice versa, and D2 should marry Y2 and vice versa (hence a man and a woman with different moiety letter but same numerical index can marry).

Because a given Ego can, in theory, marry into only two of the eight subsections (e.g. a balan^ε man D1A can take a wife from either of the two Y1 subsections), and since their children are determined by the subsection of the wife, there are (in theory) strict limitations on the relation between Ego's (the father's) subsection and that of his offspring. Thus the matricycles shown above can be complemented with patricycle sequences, even though the latter are less rigorous and allow two possibilities at each juncture. Because patrilineal descent groups (clans, moieties) are of great importance in this society, there is some tendency to reinterpret the subsection system along patrilineal lines. In the

(Text M2)

text, the speaker focuses mainly on the father-child subsection relationship, although (as we will soon see) he is forced to refer to the matricycles in the course of clarifying details. As we might expect, there are occasional hesitations and errors in the formulation of rules for father-child sequences, as in segment 8 (above). This is partly because men do not always marry women from the two optimal subsections, hence a man's children are not always in the two regular filial subsections for him.

9. nhakun ban^εadican, ban^εidi, bilin^yjan?-buy dhulmu-puy,
like fem. Y2A Y2A related to fem. D1A related to belly

bilin^yjan?-buy, dhulmu-puy, n^εayi ka nhi:na-∅ n^εunhi-yi, bilin^yjan,
she Pres sits that fem. D1A

n^εaric, n^εaric-gal, n^εaric-gal, n^εaric-gal n^εayi nhi:na-∅ yur, bilin^yjan,
Y1A at Y1A she sit Fut fem. D1A

bili n^εayi dhawar-mara-ma-n^y, ban^εidi, ban^εadican,
enough! he have child Y2A fem. Y2A

A female or male ban^εidi will have a balan^ε woman as M, they will have a balan^ε belly (i.e. M). She (the balan^ε M) lives there, with a n^εaric husband. He has a child (from her), it is ban^εidi.

10. ga n^εayi-n^y yur dhawar-mara-m bulan^y-dhu, bulan^y-dhu, nhakun
and he Fut have child Y1B like

bulan^y-dhu n^εayi dhawar-mara-m yur, nhakun gajak, gajak, gucan,
Y1B he have child Fut like Y2B fem. Y2B

dhawar-mara-m yur, galiyan? n^εayi nhi:na-∅ nhanu-kal yur, bulan^y-gal,
have child fem. D1B she sit at him Fut at Y1B

n^εayi-n^y yur balan^ε-dhu dhawar-mara-m yur balan^ε-dhu, balan^ε-dhu-n^y, nhakun
he Fut D1A have child Fut like

gamaran^ε, nhakun gamaran^ε, nhakun gamaran^ε, balan^ε-dhu dhawar-mara-m yur,
D2A D1A have child Fut

balan^ε, gamaran^ε, gamaran^ε balan^ya-ya, nhakun nhakun n^εara, gamaran^ε,
D1A D2A like that like I D2A

If a bulan^y man has a child, it is male or female gajak. He has a (gajak) child if a female buralan^ε is with him (his wife). However, if a balan^ε man has a child, it is gamaran^ε. (This is correct if the balan^ε man has a n^εaric wife.) If he has a child it is gamaran^ε, like me.

11. ga n^εayi-n^y yur wa:mut-dhu dhawar-mara-m yur, buralan^ε, buralan^ε n^εayi
and he Fut D2B have child Fut D1B he

dhawar-mara-m yur wa:mut-dhu-n^y, wa:mut-dhu-n^y, nha: n^εayi ka nhi:na-∅-n^y
D2B what? she Pres sit

nhanu-kal wa:mut-gal ban^εadican, ban^εadican, wa:mut-gal, dhuwur-pulal,
at him at D2B fem. Y2A at D2B two ways

ban^εadican ga gucan, wa:mut-gal n^εayi nhi:na-∅ yur, ga n^εayi-n^y
fem. Y2A and fem. Y2B at D2B she sit Fut and she

(Text M2)

buralan^ε-gal nhi:na-∅ yur, bulan^yjan, buralan^ε-dhu n^εayi dhawar-mara-m
at D1B sit Fut fem. Y1B D1B he have child

yur, ga bili n^εayi yu:thu-n^y maln^ε?-mara-m, wa:mutjan wa:mut ,
Fut and enough! he child makes appear fem. D2B D2B

If a wa:mut man has a child, it is buralan^ε (if the M is ban^εidi).
A what's-it, a ban^εidi woman, lives with the wa:mut man. There are two
possibilities (for a wa:mut man): a ban^εidi or a gajak wife. A woman of
these two subsections can live with a wa:mut man. On the other hand, a
bulan^y woman can live with a buralan^ε man (or a balan^ε man). If the
buralan^ε man has a child, it is wa:mut (with bulan^y mother).

12. n^εayi-n^y yur maln^ε?-mara-m, wa:mutjan wa:mut, buralan^ε-dhu-n^y, n^εayi-n^y
he Fut makes appear fem. D2B D2B D1A he

yur dhawar-mara-m, ga n^εayi-n^y n^εunhi-- balan^ε-dhu dhawar-mara-m yur,
Fut have child and he that D1A have child Fut

balan^ε-dhu, gamaran^ε, gamaran^ε, dhuwal-ga?yi gamaran^ε, n^εayi-n^y yur
D1A D2A this D2A he Fut

dhawar-mara-m gamaran^ε, balan^ε-dhu-n^y, ga n^εarican n^εayi nhi:n-i-n^y
have child D2A D1A and fem. Y1A she will sit

nhanu-kal, n^εarican, ga bulan^yjan, bula?-bulal, nhi:na-∅-n^y nhanu-kal
at him fem. Y1A and fem. Y1B two sit at him

yur balan^ε-gal, balan^ε-gal-nja,
Fut at D1A at D1A

He (buralan^ε man) will have wa:mut children. On the other hand, if a
balan^ε man has a child, it is gamaran^ε (if the M is n^εaric). This
gamaran^ε subsection (i.e. like me). He will have a gamaran^ε child, the
balan^ε man will. A n^εaric woman lives with him. Either a n^εaric or a
bulan^y woman lives at his camp (but if she is bulan^y the children would
be wa:mut, not gamaran^ε).

13. nhi:na-∅-n^y nhanu-kal yur, n^εarican-- n^εarican-dhu n^εayi dhawar-mara-m,
sit at him Fut fem. Y1A fem. Y1A she has child

yu:thu, dhuwal-ga?yi gamaran^ε-ja, gamaran^ε, ga dhuwal nhawi, gaman^yjan,
child this D2A D2A and this what's-it? fem. D2A

nhakun n^εanapur ma:lk gamaran^ε, n^εayi-n^y yur, balan^ε-dhu-n^y
like we(ExPl) subsection D2A he Fut D1A

dhawar-mara-m, balan^ε-dhu-n^y, n^εayi-n^y yur buralan^ε-dhu dhawar-mara-m yur,
has child D1A he Fut D1B have child Fut

buralan^ε-dhu, buralan^ε-dhu-n^y, dhuwal wa:mut, dhuwal wa:mut, wa:mutjan,
D1B this D2B fem. D2B

wa:mutjan wa:mut, n^εayi-n^y yur, maln^ε?-mara-m dhawar-mara-m,
he Fut make appear have child

The n^εaric woman lives with him (balan^ε man). If the n^εaric woman has
a child, it is in this gamaran^ε subsection. Male or female gamaran^ε, like
us, gamaran^ε subsection. If a balan^ε--or rather, buralan^ε man has a child,
it is this wa:mut subsection. Male or female wa:mut. He has a child.

(Text M2)

14. balan^ya jun^εun^y-ja, dhuwa-nja, n^εanapuru-n^εgu-n^y jun^εun^y,
like that subsection this our (ExPl) subsection

n^εapa-lil-nja, dhuwal n^εayi dhawar-mara-n^εal-nja n^εanapur, yaka n^εula
to the top this he had child we (ExPl) not somehow

nha: birka? n^εanapur dhawar-mara-n^εal, dhunupa yan, dhunupa yan
what? unrestricted we had child straight only

ga n^εayi-n^y yur gamaran^ε-dhu dhawar-mara-m yur, balan^ε-na, nhakun
and he Fut D2A have child Fut D1A now like

bilin^yjan?-na, galiyan?-na,
fem. D1A fem. D1B

Subsections operate like that. This is our subsection, up in the
hill country (i.e. away from the coast). This is how it worked when we
had a child. We did not just have a child without restrictions. We did
things straight. When a gamaran^ε man has a child, it is male or female
balan^ε, or perhaps female buralan^ε (depending on the M's subsection).

15. bili n^εayi nhi:na-∅ yur nhanu-kal gamaran^ε-gal, gucan, ban^εadican,
enough! she sit Fut at him at D2A fem. Y2B fem. Y2A

manda-n^ε-gal wa:mut-gal, gamaran^ε-dhu, ga wa:mut-dhu, bulal, balan^ya
at them two at D2B D2A and D2B two like that

dhuwal-bulal n^εayi galku-n, galku-n-ja yur, wa:mutjan, wa:mut, wa:mut-na,
two ways he holds hold Fut fem. D2B D2B D2B now

ga nhakun wa:mutjan-na, n^εayi-n^y yur ma:ra-m, dhawar-mara-m, ga n^εayi-n^y
and like fem. D2B now he Fut get has child and he

mak n^εula wa:mut-dhu-n^y dhawar-mara-m yur, dhuwal buralan^ε, dhuwal
maybe something D2B have child Fut this D1B this

galiyan,
fem. D1B

A gajak or ban^εidi woman lives with the gamaran^ε man. These women
(can live with) either of the two, gamaran^ε or wa:mut. A wa:mut or gamaran^ε
man can hold (as wife) either of the two. Male and female wa:mut; if he
(wa:mut man) has a child--if a wa:mut man, for example, has a child, it
will be male or female buralan^ε (if the M is ban^εidi).

16. wu sometimes n^εayi gamaran^ε, yu:thu maln^ε?-mara-m yur, buralan^ε-dhu,
or he D2A child make appear Fut D1B

yu:thu maln^ε?-mara-m yur, gamaran^ε, n^εuri-n^εi-yi buralan^ε-dhu, bili,
child make appear Fut D2A that D1B enough!

balan^ya gurthac, jun^εun^y-ja, n^εu:ra-∅ ka, wiripu-n^y n^εayi balan^ε-dhu
like that alliance subsection lie down Pres other he D1A

gamin^yar?-yu-n, ga wiripu-n^y n^εayi dha:-guru-m nhanu-kal, dha:-guru-m
call 'DC'/'ZSC' and other she have as spouse (at) him

nhanu-kal, balan^ε-gal, wa:mut-gal, buralan^ε-gal, dha:-guru-m n^εayi ,
at D1A at D2B at D1B have as spouse she

(Text M2)

Or perhaps a buralan^ε man will have a gamaran^ε child. That buralan^ε man will have a gamaran^ε child. Enough of that! Then there are marital exchanges (alliances). Subsections (are involved). Suppose a balan^ε man has a gamin^Yar (DD or ZSD). That other one (the DD/ZSD, normally of n^εaric or bulan^Y subsection) will be the wife of the man--a balan^ε, wa:mut, or buralan^ε man. (Wa:mut here would be somewhat irregular.)

17. manda-n^Y bulu gurthac nha:-nha-mi-ri, manda-n^Y bulu gurthac
they two again alliance see each other

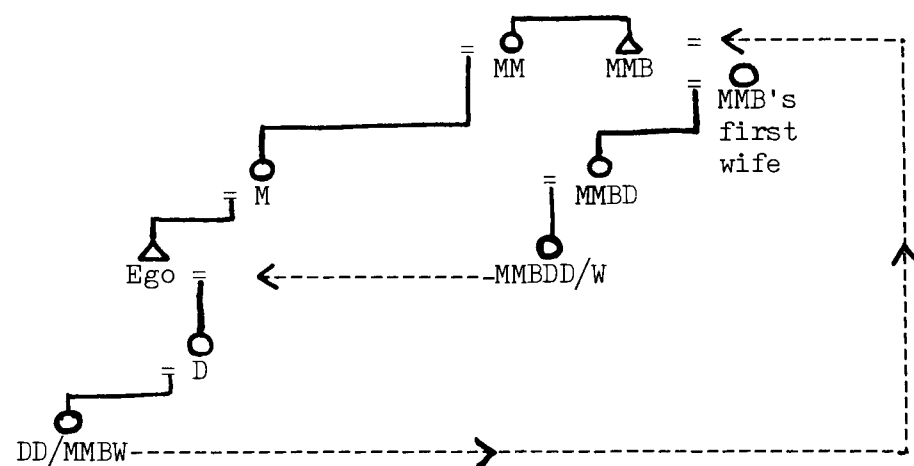
nha:-nha-mi-ri, dhuwal bulan^Y-ja, dhuwal n^εarican, ga ramban^εi manda-n^ε,
this Y1B this fem. Y1A and united for them two
ramban^εi manda-n^ε, n^εaric-gu, bulan^Y-gu, galiyan, bilin^Yjan, ramban^εi
for Y1A for Y1B fem. D1B fem. D1A united
yan, manda-n^ε, manda-n^εgu-n^Y, manda-n^εgu-n^Y,
only for them two for them two

Or perhaps a marital exchange will occur. Perhaps (the initiators are) this bulan^Y man and this n^εaric woman. (Actually, a n^εaric man--not woman--will receive a spouse, though his Z may be involved as a link in the specific relationship--MMB and ZDS--which connects the bulan^Y and n^εaric men.) (Because of the exchange,) they (husband and wife) are united. A buralan^ε woman (galiyan?) and a balan^ε woman belong to the n^εaric man and the bulan^Y woman.

Note: In order to initiate the exchange the n^εaric and bulan^Y men should be in the MMB/ZDS relationship; it does not matter which is which. As suggested in segment 16 (above), each man arranges for his female gamin^Yar (DD or ZSD) to become the wife of the other man.

In the following figure, Ego is the ZDS of the man (MMB) with whom he wishes to carry out an exchange. The MMB has a gamin^Yar (here DD), Ego's MMBDD, who becomes Ego's wife--perhaps his first wife, perhaps a second or third wife. Ego's own gamin^Yar (here DD) becomes a second or third wife to Ego's MMB, completing the exchange.

FIGURE 4



(Text M2)

Because in traditional times women married at a much younger age than men, the age differential between Ego and his MMB might not be as great as would be thought (if Ego's MM and M both married and reproduced early). Therefore the exchange shown could actually materialize under certain conditions. Moreover, an exchange might occur between Ego and a classificatory 'MMB' of similar ages; or if Ego owes a debt to a deceased MMB he might bestow his DD/ZSD on a substitute from the same local group.

18. bulu wa:mut-gu, gamaran^ε-gu, gamaran^ε-gu, ban^εadican, ban^εadican,
again for D2B for D2A fem. Y2A

gucan, bawala-mir n^εayi gamaran^ε-dhu walkur-mara-m n^εayi buralan^ε-na,
fem. Y2B unrestricted he D2A have child he D1B now

balan^ε-na, dhawar-mara-m yur, n^εayi-n^Y bulu balan^Ya bili, n^εayi-n^Y
D1A now have child Fut he again like that enough! he

yur dhawar-mara-m, n^εupanayn^εu, wa:mut-dhu-n^Y, buralan^ε, gamaran^ε,
Fut have child all together D2B D1B D2A

dhawar-mara-m n^εayi yur,
have child he Fut

Now for a wa:mut or gamaran^ε man (the wife will be) a female ban^εidi or gajak, it does not matter which. The gamaran^ε man has a child, it is buralan^ε (for ban^εidi M) or balan^ε (for gajak M). That is how it works. He has a child, they are all connected in this way. A wa:mut man has a buralan^ε or gamaran^ε child (actually, the regular filial subsections for a wa:mut man are buralan^ε and balan^ε, not gamaran^ε).

19. nhakun n^εayi-n^Y bulu--, bulan^Y-dhu-n^Y, bulan^Y-dhu-n^Y, ban^εidi, ban^εidi
like he again Y1B Y2A

gajak dhawar-mara-m yur, n^εayi-n^Y bulu n^εaric-dhu-n^Y balan^Ya bili,
Y2B have child Fut he again Y1A like that enough!

balan^Ya bili n^εaric-dhu-n^Y, dhawar-mara-m yur, jun^εun^Y-ja balan^Ya,
Y1A have child subsection like that

jun^εun^Y balan^Ya n^εanapuru-n^ε wurumbulu n^εunha, n^εunhi-yi raln^εin^Y
our (ExPl) subsection that that subsection

n^εu:ra-nha-mi-n n^εanapur bandak-n^εur, gurkur-n^εur, jun^εun^Y-n^εur
lay down together we (ExPl) at the woomera at the sinew at the subsection
wurumbulu-n^εur, gulan^ε-n^εur, garayal-n^εur, raln^εin^Y-n^εur,
at the subsection at the blood at the subsection at the subsection

Moreover, a bulan^Y man will have a ban^εidi or gajak child. A n^εaric man will have a child (balan^ε or buralan^ε). That is how the subsection system works. Our subsections are like that. When we lived together we had subsections, back in the woomera (spearthrower) days, the sinew (subsection) days, the subsection days, the blood days, the subsection days (i.e. before we were settled in missions and stations).

Note: This segment ends with a long string of expressions for the old (pre-settlement) days, several of them based on the word for 'subsection'. Actually, the speaker knew that the subsection system had only become firmly established in the area during his lifetime; however,

(Text M2)

the system had come in before most of the people settled in the missions, and in any event the notion of 'subsection' can be extended to cover kinship categories in some contexts.

In addition to jun^{EunY} , which along with ma:lk is a common term for 'subsection', we find the following synonyms in this segment: $\text{raln}^{\text{EinY}}$ (apparently literally 'kangaroo blood' or 'kangaroo sinew'), gurkur (lit. 'sinew'), $\text{wurumbu}^{\text{lu}}$, and garayal (the latter two, to my knowledge, have no other specific meaning). The expression $\text{gulan}^{\text{E-nEur}}$ 'at the blood (time)' does not seem to refer directly to subsections, but rather to warfare; similarly bandak-nEur 'at the woomera (time)', since woomeras were used to propel spears in fights or war expeditions.

20. $\text{dhuwal n}^{\text{Eanapur ma:lk}}$ $\text{dhunupa yan dhunupa yan, yaka yan}$
 this we (ExPl) subsection straight only not only

$\text{jarpi-jarpi bawala-mir, dhunupa yan dhunupa yan n}^{\text{Eanapur, jun}^{\text{EunY}}\text{-ja}$
 crooked(ly) unrestricted we subsection

$\text{mala, wurumbu}^{\text{lu}} \text{ balan}^{\text{Ya}} \text{ skin balan}^{\text{Ya}}$.
 Plural subsection like that subsection like that

This is our subsection (and kinship) system. (We did things) straight all the way. Not crookedly (improperly), without any rules--we (behaved) straight all the way. The subsections (and kinship categories) were like that.

TEXT M3 RAISING CHILDREN OF DECEASED MAN

Speaker: Miyala

1. $\text{balan}^{\text{Ya}} \text{ yan n}^{\text{Eara ka dha:wu lakara-m nhan-n}^{\text{Eu}}, \text{balan}^{\text{Ya}},$
 like that only I Pres word speak to him like that
 $\text{nhakun ma:ri, nhakun ma:ri-?mirin}^{\text{Eu}} \text{ n}^{\text{Eara-ku, nhakun n}^{\text{Eayi, n}^{\text{Eula}}$
 like MMB like MMB my like he something
 $\text{nha: n}^{\text{Eayi, dhawar-mara-m yur yu:thu nhan-n}^{\text{Eu}} \text{ maln}^{\text{E}}\text{-dhu-n,}$
 what? he have child Fut child for him appears
 $\text{ga bala mak n}^{\text{Eayi nhan-n}^{\text{Eu}}\text{-} \text{ n}^{\text{Eayi-n}^{\text{Y}} \text{ yur ya:ngu-m nhan-n}^{\text{Eu}},$
 and that way maybe he for him he Fut send for him
 $\text{n}^{\text{Euri-ki-- n}^{\text{Euri-n}^{\text{Ei-yi}} \text{ ma:ri-y n}^{\text{Eara-kala-n}^{\text{Eu}}\text{-y}} \text{ ga n}^{\text{Euru-k-ga?yi, ga}}$
 for that that MMB my and for that and
 $\text{nhanu-kala-n}^{\text{Eu}}\text{-w waku-?mirin}^{\text{Eu}}\text{-w,}$
 for his for ZS

I will speak about that to him (the linguist). My ma:ri (MMB). He does something, he will have a child. He will send her (as wife) to him, to that (man). That ma:ri of mine (will send her) to that waku (ZS) of his.
 Note: the 'ZS' is likely to be a classificatory (not actual) ZS.

2. $\text{wa:mut-dhu n}^{\text{Euli n}^{\text{Eayi ka, dhawar-mara-m yur, ga yu:thu nhan-n}^{\text{Eu}},$
 subsection D2B that he Pres have child Fut and child his
 $\text{ga milmara, n}^{\text{Earic-gu, nhan-n}^{\text{Eu}} \text{ n}^{\text{Earic-gu}} \text{ milmara, gurupa-n}$
 and promised for subsection Y1A for him for Y1A promised give
 $\text{n}^{\text{Eayi yur n}^{\text{Earic-nha, ga n}^{\text{Eayi-n}^{\text{Y}} \text{ yur n}^{\text{Earic-dhu, n}^{\text{Eula}} \text{ nhan-n}^{\text{Eu}}$
 he Fut Y1A and he Fut Y1A something for him
 $\text{n}^{\text{Eula-- nhan-n}^{\text{Eu}} \text{ n}^{\text{Eula}} \text{ wa:mut-gu, nha: mak n}^{\text{Ei-n}^{\text{Ya}} \text{ wa:mut-dhu,}}$
 something for him something for D2B what? maybe him D2B
 $\text{wa:mut-na gurupa-n yur, n}^{\text{Eayi n}^{\text{Eula-n}^{\text{Eur}} \text{ n}^{\text{Earic-dhu,}}$
 D2B now give Fut he from there Y1A

That man of wa:mut subsection (i.e. MMB) will have a child. His child (D) is the promised (wife) for a man of n^{Earic} subsection (i.e. the 'ZS' of the MMB). The promised one for the n^{Earic} man. He (MMB) will give (his D) to the n^{Earic} man. As for the n^{Earic} man, (he will do) something (in return) for the wa:mut man. He will give (a woman) in that direction, to the wa:mut man.

3. $\text{manda n}^{\text{Euli waku-?man}^{\text{Y}}\text{ji-ya, lambara-?man}^{\text{Y}}\text{ji?}, \text{gurupa-n-mi-n}$
 they two that MB/ZS pair MB/ZS pair give to each other
 $\text{manda yur, n}^{\text{Eula}} \text{ nhan-n}^{\text{Eu}} \text{ wa:mut-gu mu:kul-?mirin}^{\text{Eu}} \text{ n}^{\text{Eunhi-li-mi}}$
 they two Fut something for him of D2B WM to there
 $\text{n}^{\text{Earic-gal, balan}^{\text{Ya}}, \text{balan}^{\text{Ya}}, \text{n}^{\text{Euli}} \text{ nhawu-ku-ya, n}^{\text{Eayi-n}^{\text{Y}} \text{ yur}}$
 at Y1A like that that for what's-it? he Fut
 $\text{wa:wa-?mirin}^{\text{Eu}} \text{ dhin}^{\text{E}}\text{ga-m, dhin}^{\text{E}}\text{ga-m nhan-n}^{\text{Eu}}, \text{dhin}^{\text{E}}\text{ga-m nhan-n}^{\text{Eu}}$
 elder B die dies for him his

(Text M3)

wa:wa-?mirin^εu n^εuru-n^εu n^εunhi-ya wa:wa-?mirin^εu-ya n^εa:ndi-puy
 elder B eldest that elder B related to M
 wan^εgac-buy manda,
 related to one they two

Those two men, related to each other as MB and ZS, make a trade. The mu:kul (here: WM) of the wa:mut man is staying with (e.g. as Z) the n^εaric man. That is how it is.

Now suppose that a what's-it?, an elder brother dies on (his younger brother). His elder brother dies on him, the oldest one, both (brothers) having the same mother (i.e. full brothers).

4. n^εunhi-n^y, jama-wur, jama-wur n^εunhi, bat-na n^εayi, n^εayi-pi-n
 that children that take now he by himself

gutha-?mirin^εu-y-na, yukuyuku-?mirin^εu-y, ma:n-n^εu-n n^εayi, ga
 younger B now younger B will get now he and

bili n^εayi-pi-n ga da:l-ku-m walala-n^y yur, grow 'em up-na n^εayi,
 enough! himself and fortify them Fut raise (them) now he

yan bili ra:ra?-gu-m, murukay-yi-n, murukay-ya-ma-n walala-n^y n^εayi,
 only enough! causes to grow gets big now makes big them he

n^εayi-pi yan, n^εayi-pi yan,
 himself only

Those children (of the dead man), his younger B (gutha, yukuyuku) takes charge of them now. He will get them. Then he himself makes them strong and raises them. They get big, he makes them big, himself.

Note: In this language 'younger B' can be gutha (regular in southern languages like Ritharngu) or yukuyuku (regular in the northern languages).

5. ga n^εayi-n^y n^εuli, n^εunhi wa:wa?, wa:wa? n^εara-ku n^εuli
 and he that that elder B my that

wa:wa-?mirin^εu-ya, n^εayi yur dhin^εga-m, bili n^εayi-pi-n n^εunhi-yi
 elder B he Fut die enough! himself that

marci-∅, jamarkuli-w-nja, yan bili n^εutha-n-mara-n^εal, yan bili
 goes for children only enough! caused to grow

daramu-nha-n^y n^εayi daramu-ya-n^ε n^εi-n^ya n^εayi, n^εayi-pi-n,
 man he will make man him he himself

yukuyuku-?mirin^εu-y-na,
 younger B now

Suppose that elder brother of mine dies. Then he himself (the younger B) goes for the children. Now (years later) he has raised them up. Now that younger brother will himself make them men (by arranging for their circumcision).

Note: The switch to first person at the beginning of this segment is an example of the speaker adopting the perspective of a particular participant; we could perhaps capture this by putting the first translation sentence in quotes.

(Text M3)

6. bili n^εayi n^εunhi-yi too old now, bili n^εayi ka, bili-n, dhin^εga-m
 enough! he that Pres enough! dies

n^εunha, bili wa:wa-?mirin^εu, n^εunhi-yi wa:wa-?mirin^εu nhan-n^εu, bat-na
 that enough! elder B that his gets now

gutha-?mirin^εu-y-na, yukuyuku-?mirin^εu-y, n^εara-pi-n dhuwa-nja da:l-ku-m,
 younger B now younger B myself this fortify

dhuwala-wur jama-wur, n^εara-ku-wuy-na,
 these children mine now

He (elder B) gets old. Then he dies, finish! That elder B. The younger B gets (the children) then. 'I will take care of these children. They are mine now.'

7. yan bili n^εara n^εutha-n-mara-ma-n, n^εara-ku-wuy-na n^εara, mari-mir
 only enough! I cause to grow mine now I fighter

n^εara, dhuwa-nja mala, yaka n^εara nhumala-n^y gurupa-n yur, dhuwal
 I this Plural not I you all give Fut this

yumurku-n^y, n^εara-ku-wuy,
 children mine

'I will continue to raise (them). They are mine. I might get into a fight (with other relatives who want custody of the children). (I will say to them,) "I will not give these children to you; they are mine!"'

8. bay walal yur dumuru-yi-∅, murukay-yi-∅ walal, yalala-n n^εara
 alone they Fut get big get big they later I

yangu-n^ε, ma:ri-?mirin^εu-wal, nhakun n^εathi-?mirin^εu-wal, nhakun,
 will send to MMB like to MF like

amuri-?mirin^εu-wal, nhakun ga:thu-?mirin^εu-wal, yalala-n,
 to FF (creole) like to S later

They get big. 'I will send (one of them) to his ma:ri (MMB), or to his n^εathi (MF), or to his amuri (creole for ma:ri-?mun^εu FF), or to his (classificatory) ga:thu (S).'

9. n^εayi yur murukay-yi-∅, bili n^εayi ya:ngu-n^ε nhanu-kal, n^εayi-n^y
 he Fut gets big enough! he will send to him he

n^εuli barku nhi:n-i nhan-n^εu n^εunhi-yi ma:ri-?mirin^εu nhan-n^εu-wuy-n^y ja,
 that distant will sit for him that MMB his

ga bili n^εayi, juy?-na n^εi-n^ya, juy?-na n^εi-n^ya, juy?-na n^εi-n^ya,
 and enough! he sends now him

ma:ri-?mirin^εu-wal,
 to MMB

He (one of the children) gets big. 'Now I will send (the child) to him.' As for that man, his ma:ri (MMB), he lives far away. Then he (the custodian) sends him to his ma:ri.

Note: The repetition of juy?-na n^εi-n^ya in this segment may indicate that the custodian sent several of the children.

(Text M3)

10. marc-i-n n^εayi n^εunha-l bun-i, nhanu-kal, nha:-n^εu n^εi-n^{ya}
 will go now he to there will arrive to him will see him
 n^εayi, ma:ri-?mirin^εu-n^{ya}, duc-na n^εayi, ra:li, bili ra buna-n
 he MMB return he this way enough! I arrived
 nhan-n^εu ma:ri-w-nja, nhi:na-∅ n^εayi ka n^εunha, n^εamakur yan,
 for him for MMB sit he Pres that good only
 n^εama-n^{ya}? walal, ga nhakun ma:lu-n^{ya}?, n^εunha-yi nhi:na-∅ ka, yo!,
 M they and like F that sit Pres indeed

He (the child) will go now and will arrive at his (MMB's) camp. He will see his ma:ri (MMB). He will go back now. (The child will think,) 'I have come this way and arrived at my ma:ri's camp.' He stays there. Everything is all right. Some of his (classificatory) M's and F's are staying there too.

11. n^εayi-n^{ya} bulu, bulu nha: n^εula n^εayi n^εula, bulan^{ya}-dhu,
 he again what? something he subsection Y1B
 bulan^{ya}-dhu, dhawar-mara-m yur, yu:thu, bulan^{ya}-dhu n^εayi dhawar-mara-m,
 have child Fut child Y1B he have child
 n^εayi-n^{ya} bulu ma:ri-?mirin^εu barku ban^εidi nhi:na-∅ yur, wu
 he again MMB distant Y2A sit Fut or
 ban^εadican, ban^εidi n^εayi nhi:na-∅ barku,
 fem. Y2A Y2A he sits distant

Suppose that someone--suppose that a bulan^{ya} man has a child. A bulan^{ya} man has a child. The ma:ri (MMB) of the child, of ban^εidi subsection, will be living far away. Male or female ma:ri (MM or MMB) of ban^εidi subsection will be living far away.

12. lark-na n^εayi, yan bili buna-n walal barku yan, bili ra
 set off now he only enough! arrived they distant only enough! I
 buna-n nhan-n^εu ma:ri-w-nja, n^εunha-yi nhi:na-∅ ka, dhuwa-na n^εayi,
 arrived to him for MMB that sit Pres this now he
 n^εunha::: n^εayi ka ya?, wa:n^εa-n^{ya} n^εayi lakara-n^ε, n^εunhi-yi,
 that he Pres indeed country he speak that
 ganatha-r n^εi-n^{ya} ra, dhuwa-nja ra run^εiyi-na-n ma:lu-w?, ra:li
 left behind him I this I returned to F this way
 nhu:-kal .
 to you

He (child) sets off (from home) now. Eventually they arrive there, far away. 'I have arrived at my ma:ri's (MMB's) camp. There he sits. This man, there he is. He will call out (the names of) the countries. I left him behind, I went back to my F, (back) this way, to you.'

Note: The final quotation is ostensibly addressed by the returning child to his (step-)father on his return. Calling out the names of the countries (of a particular clan estate) is part of the child's ritual training; such training is an important inducement for an adolescent to visit certain of his relatives (MB, MMB, etc.).

TEXT M4 VISITING A DISTANT 'FATHER'

Speaker: Miyala

1. yo!, balan^{ya}, balan^{ya}-yi, wu nhakun, bili-- , n^εunhi-yi wiripu-n^{ya},
 yes! like that like that or like enough! that other

nhan-n^εu n^εula nha:-?mirin^εu nhan-n^εu nhi:na-∅ barku yur,
 his something what's-it relation? his sit distant Fut

n^εula ba:pa-?mirin^εu, n^εula nha: ba:pa-?mirin^εu nhan-n^εu,
 something F something what? F his

single boy, nhi:na-∅ yur barku, n^εunha-la-mi, ga n^εayi-n^{ya} yur ya:ngu-m,
 bachelor sit Fut distant there and he Fut send

dhipu-n^εur n^εaric-dhu, bala nhanu-kal bulan^{ya}-gal, n^εunhi-yi--
 from here subsection Y1A that way to him Y1B that

The same kind of thing. That other (man). His what's-it? lives far away, perhaps his (classificatory) F. His (distant) 'F', a bachelor, lives far away over there. This n^εaric subsection man (the actual F) sends him (his S) over there to the bulan^{ya} subsection man (classificatory F of the boy).

Note: The speaker was briefly interrupted just at the end of this segment, but segment 2 continues with no significant disruption.

2. bili n^εayi ya:ngu-n^εu-n, bulan^{ya}-dhu-n^{ya} a! n^εaric-dhu-n^{ya} ya:ngu-n^εu-n
 enough! he will send Y1B oops! Y1A will send

n^εayi, nhanu-kal bulan^{ya}-gal, ba:pa-?mirin^εu-wal, ya:ngu-n^εu-n n^εayi,
 he to him to Y1B to F will send he

ga:thu-?mirin^εu manda-n^εgu-wuy, n^εara marci-∅ ma:lu-n^{ya}? n^εi?, bala,
 S of them two I go F yes? that way

yalala-mir n^εara run^εiyi-r, ra:li ma:lu?, biya-k n^εayi wan^ε-i,
 later I return this way F! will say he will speak

lark n^εayi, bala n^εayi marci:::∅-n, buna-∅ yur nhan-n^εu, n^εunha-l,
 set off he that way he goes now arrive Fut to him there

The bulan^{ya}--I mean n^εaric man will send (his S) to the bulan^{ya} 'F'. The S of them both (the two F's). 'I am going to my (distant) F, all right? That way. Later I will come back here, father.' He (the S) will say that. Now he goes that way, and arrives there with him.

3. n^εunha ra ma:lu?-nha-n^{ya} ganatha-r, n^εunha ban^{ya}ji, nhi:na-∅ n^εayi ka,
 that I F left that behind sit he Pres

dhuwa-nja ra yan marci-n, dhuwa-nja ra marci-n yan, yan bili::: duc-na
 this I only went only enough! return now

n^εayi, yan bili::: bun-i nhan-n^εu n^εayi, bun-i nhan-n^εu n^εayi, bili
 he will arrive for him he enough!

ra ma:lu?-nha-n^{ya} buna-n, n^εunhi-yi n^εayi ganatha-r n^εara n^εi-n^{ya}, ban^{ya}ji,
 I F arrived that he left I him behind

nhi:na-∅ ka, ga ma:ri, ga n^εama-n^{ya}? manda, n^εunha-yi ban^{ya}ji nhi:na-∅ ka .
 sit Pres and FF and M two that behind sit Pres

'I left my (true) F, living back there. I have come here.' He comes back. He will arrive to him (other F). 'I have arrived to my (other) F. I have left him (true F), my FF, my 'M's, living back there.'

TEXT M5 HUNTING KANGAROOS

Speaker: Miyala

1. man^ymak, dhuwa-nja n^εara n^εan-n^εu lakara-m yur, n^εuli n^εara n^εa:thil
all right this I for him speak Fut that I long ago
mingu-nha-ya, n^εuli bush-n^εur yan, n^εa:thil n^εara mingu-nha
used to hunt kangaroo that in the bush only long ago I used to hunt
wa:yin-gur garcambal-kur, ga dhuwal n^εara n^εan-n^εu lakara-m yur,
for game for kangaroo and this I for him speak Fut
wa:yin-buy, ja:ca-wuy balan^ya, man^ymak n^εara bili marci-na-n,
about game about kangaroo like that all right I enough! went now
bili n^εara marci-na-n n^εuli, marci-n-ja n^εara:::, marci-n n^εara bala,
that went I went I that way

Okay. I will tell him (the linguist) this. Long ago I used to hunt kangaroos in the bush. I used to hunt for game animals, for antelope kangaroo (garcambal). I will tell him this, about game animals, about kangaroos and wallabies (ja:ca, the generic term). All right, I went along there. I went along that way. (marci-n-ja should be marci-na-n^y.)

2. marci-n n^εara bala:::, jip-na nhirpa-r nhawi-n^y, nha:
went I that way make sit up now erected what's-it? what?
n^εula, dhawar-n^yja, ga jimindi?, rulan^ε-dhu-r n^εara, bala
something string bag and wire spear put down I that way
marci-n, gamunun^εgu dhuwal-ga?yi, luka-n-- gamunun^εgu-y-n^y?ja n^εara
went white clay this applied white clay I
bidi?-yu-n-mi-n, gamunun^εgu-y-n^y?ja n^εara bidi?-yu-n-mi-n, lark-na
painted self set off now
n^εara marci-na-n, bala marci-n bala marci-n bumbaru? n^εupa-r
I went now that way stone headed for

n^εula n^εuru-kur duwat-dhu-r bala bumbaru?-gu:::
something along the top climbed that way along the rock

I went along that way. I planted my wire spear and the spearhead covering (similar to a string dillybag). I put them down (temporarily). I went that way. I rubbed some white clay onto myself. Then (having reclaimed my spear) I set off again. I went that way, heading for the rocks (i.e. the sandstone escarpment area). I climbed up and went along the rocks, high up.

3. marci-n n^εara bala:::, nha:-n^εal luku n^εi-n^ya, baman?-n^εu-wuy yan,
went I that way saw foot it of long ago only
dhuwal n^εayi ka baman?-n^εu-wuy, n^εu:ra-n n^εayi ka, garcambal, bulu ra
this it Dur of long ago lay down it Dur kangaroo again I
marci-n, bala-n n^εara marci-n, bala n^εara marci-n, bala ra ka
went that way I I Durative
marci-n, bala n^εara marci-n n^εula--, banara?-gur-a, bala
went something along the plain now that way

(Text M5)

n^εara wan?-dhu-r bica-r bala dilci-lil, n^εula bala
I looked did like that that way to the hill something that way
bumbaru?-lil, bala nha:-n^εal-na n^ya, garcambal-nja,
to the rock that way saw then it kangaroo

I went along that way. Then I saw (kangaroo's) footprint, fairly old (not too fresh). This is an old one, it lay down here. I went along further. I went that way, I kept going that way. I went along the plain (flat land). I looked around that way, toward the hill (=back, body part). (I) saw the kangaroos.

4. n^εu:ra-nha walal, dharwa, dharwa balan^ya wa:yin-ya garcambal,
were lying down they group like that game kangaroo
yay!, gap! gap!, garcambal ra-ku, n^εayi-n^y wata-n^y dhipu-n^εur bala,
oh! quiet! kangaroo for me it wind from here that way
dimuru, wata-n^y n^εayi galkiri-n^ya, dimuru, dhipu-n^εur bala,
east wind wind it fell east wind from here that way
judap-na n^εara, judap! judap! judap! judap! galki, dha:ra-n
sneak up now I sneak up near stood (=stopped)
n^εara, dha:ra-n n^εara, bulu judap! judap! judap! judap! dha:ra-n n^εara,
I again sneak up stood I
ma:r n^εayi-n^y galki-n-ya, bulu n^εara-- judap! judap!
very it near now again sneak up

A big group of them were lying down, game animals, antelope kangaroos. (I said to myself,) 'Oh! Keep quiet! Kangaroos for me!' The wind was blowing from the east, from here to there (i.e. I was downwind from them so they could not smell me). Bit by bit I sneaked up toward them. I would sneak up a bit, then stop, sneak up some more, then stop. They were very close now. I kept sneaking up.

5. n^εayi-n^y-- n^εayi-n^y n^εula-n^εur-n^yja garcambal-nja-- yur? n^εayi,
it it from there kangaroo move it
bala-n gal?-yu-r-a waraw?-lil, gun^yul-lil, gal?-yu-r-a n^εayi,
that way now ate grass now to shade to shade ate grass now it
bala n^εayi ka buku-n^y nhi:na-nha, ga ra:li-n^y n^εayi ra-ku,
that way it Durative face was sitting and this way it for me
dhudi-- gurupa-r-n^yja, dhudi ra-ku n^εayi gurupa-r-n^yja,
rear end gave rear end for me it gave
xx (?), n^εuru?-mara-n^εal, n^εula nha: gadayka nha: n^εula
hid behind tree something what? stringybark what? something
dharpa, n^εunhi yan, n^εuru?-mara-n^εal-nja
tree that only hid behind tree

The kangaroo shifted that way. It began eating grass in the shade. It was facing away from me, it was giving me its rear end. I hid behind a tree, maybe a stringybark. I hid behind the tree there still.

(Text M5)

6. judap! judap! judap! galtha?-n^gurka-n^gal n^gara, nhakun dhipu-n^gur
sneak up held spear ready I like from here
nhakun n^gunha-wal, juku?-nha-n^gal-nja, dup-dhu-r nhan-n^gu n^gara,
like to there aimed threw spear for it I
lami-n^gur yan, dadakar, bili ra dharpu-n^gal, gam?! gam?!
on the hip only crunch under foot enough! I speared hop
gam?! galki-n n^gayi, walal-nja-- walal-nja wiripu wulku-n^y bala ka
near he they they other group that way Dur
wandi-na-n, n^gupa?-n^gupa-r n^gara walala-n^y gana-- ganatha-r, duc! n^gara,
ran kept chasing I them left return I

I kept sneaking up. I held the spear ready (hooked onto a woomera). (I was about as far away from the kangaroos) as from here to there (speaker points to something ten metres away). I took aim and flung the spear at it (a kangaroo). I hit it around the hip. I moved toward it (making a noise as I stepped on twigs and dry leaves), I speared it. It hopped a few times, close by. The bunch of other kangaroos fled. I chased them (a little ways), then left them. I returned.

7. yan bili dhuwa-na n^gayi, nharca-n n^gara yur, mulu-garpi-r n^gara
only enough! this he do what? I Fut tied up arms I
n^gi-n^ya, dubuk-na, guruka-n^gal-na marci-n^ya,
it sling over shoulder now carried on shoulder now went
wa:n^ga-lil-a, n^gurgic-lil, guruka-n^gal-na n^gara:::, dhuwa-na
to camp now to shady spot carried on shoulder now I this
n^gurgic-ja, n^gunhi ra rulan^g-dhu-r nhawi-n^y, jimindi-n^y?, bat-na
shady spot that I put down what's-it? wire spear throw down now
n^gara, balcam?-na gurtha-n, balcam?! balcam?! balcam?! gurtha-n^y
I light campfire now fire now light fire fire
n^gara:::, bulu gundir-nja gundir-nja gundir-nja bili-n, gaya?, gaya? n^gathil,
I again ant mound enough! bark then

Enough! This (dead kangaroo). 'What should I do?' I tied up the forearms, slung it over my shoulder (and back) and carried it to a shady resting place. I put down the what's-it?, the wire spear, there. I dropped (the kangaroo) then. I made a fire. Ant mound and paper bark.

Note: In building an 'oven', ant mound sections are put over the burning wood, and paper bark (from *Melaleuca* spp.) is used to wrap the carcass. The 'oven' is built in a small pit dug in the ground.

8. marci-n n^gara n^gunha-l gaya?, dharpu-n^gal nha:-munha n^gula
went I to there paper bark speared how many? something
lurkun?, duc-na n^gara, ra:li-n, yan bili dhuwa-na,
several sit down now I this way now only enough! this
ganda-n^garaw?, wana-garpi-r, balwur-yu, bulu ganda-garpi-r,
break leg tied up arm with string again tied up leg

(Text M5)

balwur-yu, bili-n, bat-na n^gurka-n^gal gurtha-lil,
with string enough now! throw down now threw to fire
bulka?-batha-r n^gi-n^ya:::, batha-r-n^yja n^gi-n^ya:::, bulka?-batha-r-n^yja:::
burned fur it burned burned fur
bili-n, jaran^y?! bat-na, mit-na, jimbic nhi: mit-dhu-r n^gi-n^ya,
enough now! pull throw down now carve now groin you carve! it
mit-dhu-r bica-r n^gayi, nhakun nha: n^guli jukur-nja,
said he like what? that (solid) fat

I went there, (to) the paper bark. I knocked off (=speared) several (strips of paper bark). I sat down, back this way. I continued to prepare this (kangaroo). I broke the leg bones (ganda-n^garaw? is short for causative ganda-n^garaw?-mara-n^gal), and tied up the arms and legs with string. Then I dropped it (the carcass) into the fire. I scorched the fur (i.e. the surface, to seal the carcass). I pulled (the carcass) and dropped it down, then I started to cut it up. 'Cut up the groin area!' he (=I) said to himself. Also that fat.

9. dhudi mit-dhu-r, bulu dhudi mit-dhu-r, bulu gulun bar?-mara-n^gal,
rear end carved again belly cut vertically
dhuri-n^y bat-na, bat-na dhuri-n^y, bulu n^galthir, bat-na,
guts throw down now again liver throw down now
bulu war?war-nja, nha: gutu? n^gathil, gutu? manda-n^y, bat-na
again lung what? kidney then kidney two throw down now
manda-n^y, bulu war?war-nja, jukur-nja bu-mar gulun-li:::1, n^gunhi-yi
them two again lung fat hit to stomach that
dhuri yu:thu-n^y, bili n^gara jalk-dhu-nha, wa:?wa-w-na balan^ya wa:?wa-w,
guts small enough! I threw away for crow like that for crow

(I) cut up the hind end, then cut up the hind end some more. Then (I) made a vertical slit down the front of the belly and took out the guts. I (took out and) dropped down the liver, the lungs, the two kidneys, the lungs. I stuffed fat in the gullet. I tossed the intestines to crows.

10. nini?-yu-r n^gara, mayan^g nini?-yu-r, n^gunhi-yi gulun-ja n^gi-n^ya,
sewed up I neck that stomach it
nini?-yu-r n^gara n^gi-n^ya, gudhal?-na, rar?-yu-r n^gara marci-n^ya:::,
sewed up I it roast now put down I went
gatha-larak-bu-n^gal, gatha-larak-bu-n^gal, bala n^gara rar?-yu-r-a
widened pit for oven that way I put down
marci-n, bat-na n^gi-n^ya, rumbal-nja, bat-na n^gi-n^ya gulun-ja,
went throw down now it body stomach
miran^g-ja bat-na, gudhal?-na, dhulku-n^gal,
tail throw down now roast now covered

I sewed up the 'neck' of the stomach (gullet). I roasted it (the gullet (with fat inside)). I put it down (in a small oven). I widened (the main oven). I put the main carcass in. I also put the stomach and tail (in an oven) and roasted them. I covered up (the ovens).

(Text M5)

11. gawuk-dhu-r n^εara n^εi-n^ya ka n^εunhi-yi, gawuk-dhu-r-a n^εara n^εi-n^ya
 buried I it Dur that buried now I it
 munatha-y-n^y?ja, ba:n n^εayi ka bu:l-nhara-nha, bili-n, lark
 pit unmolested it Dur roasted (intr.) enough now! set off
 n^εara, lup n^εara, mayan^ε?-lil, lup-dhu-r n^εara yal?-yu-r, walma? n^εara,
 I bathe I to river bathed I was cool go up I
 walma? n^εara, galku-na ra::: mun^εuy?-na:::, a!, dhuwal-nja ripuru-m--
 waited I long time now oh! this aftern--
 dhuwal-nja nhawi-n^y, n^εunha-n ja:pa-n?,
 this what's-it? that now afternoon now

I buried (the carcass). I covered up that pit. It was left alone to roast by itself. I went to the river to bathe. It (the water) was nice and cool. I got up (out of the river). I waited (for the meat to cook). Quite a while, to the late afternoon.

Note: The speaker started to use the Ritharngu word for 'afternoon', ripuru-miri, but finally remembered the correct Dhuwal word ja:pa?.

12. lark-na n^εara, wilan^ε? gay, wilan^ε?, wilan^ε?-dhu-r-a,
 set off now I take out then took out now
 bat-na n^εi-n^ya wa:yin-ja n^εunhi-yi rumbal-nja, lar?lar-yu-r gay,
 throw down now it game that body butchered then
 dakul?-yu, lar?lar-yu-r, dakul?-yu bat n^εurka-n^εal baran^εin^y
 with ax butchered throw down threw leg
 baran^εin^y, dhudi-n^y ga:na, gulun-ja, dhiya-la-mi n^εara yur jamba-n^εur
 rear end alone stomach here I Fut on platform
 bu-ma-n^y, dhuwal-na n^εara jamba nhan-n^εu bu-ma-n^y yur dhiya-ku
 cut (=hit) this now I platform for it cut Fut for this
 wa:yin-gu-n^y, dhuwal-ga?yi jamba-n^εur,
 for game this on platform

I went (back to the cooking area) then. I took out (the carcass from the oven). I threw the carcass, the main body, (on the ground). I butchered it then, with a (stone) ax. I dropped down both of the legs (after cutting them off). (I put) the hind section by itself. (Also) the gullet. I put (them) on a little 'platform' which I made (from the point where the branches split off the trunk of a nearby shrub). I cut away a platform for this carcass.

13. dharpa n^εara gulk! gulk! gulk! gulk! gulk!, n^εal?-n^εal-mara-n^εal-nja,
 wood I cut raised
 lark-na, bala n^εara run^εiyi-na-n wa:n^εa-lil-a, gulun wan^εgan^y?
 set off now that way I returned to camp now stomach one
 n^εara ga:-nha-n^y, wa:n^εa-lil-nja, ma:lu-w-n?ja, gulun-- gulun yan,
 I carried to camp for father stomach only

(Text M5)

yan bili:::, duwat!, yarup!, jir?-na wa:n^εa-n^εur-na,
 only enough! go up go down go down now in the camp now

I repeatedly cut at the wood. I raised (the carcass onto the platform). Then I set off. I went back that way, to the camp then. I carried with me only the gullet, just the gullet, to the camp, for my father. I kept going, uphill and downhill. Then I went down into the camp.

14. n^εa:-kul n^εara, yac-u-n walal ka, yac-u-n walal ka yumurku-n^y,
 heard I shout they Pres children

jama-wur-nja, yan bili, nha:-n^εal n^εara-n^y walal, n^εula nha:--
 children only enough! saw me they something what?

nha:-n^εal n^εara-n^y walal, wa:yin limuru-n^ε n^εayi guruka-ma-n^y,
 game for us (InPl) he carries over shoulder

wa:yin ya? garcambal, dharpu-n^εal n^εayi, mi:rpal? limuru-n^ε, gu:n^yil?,
 game indeed kangaroo speared he meat for us meat

I heard them (in the camp). (I thought,) 'The children are calling out.' They saw me. Something like that--they saw me. (They said to each other,) 'He is carrying game (meat) for us! Game, antelope kangaroo. He speared it. Meat for us!'

Note: English 'meat' is usually wa:yin 'game animal' or dha:n^εgu 'flesh'. The terms mi:rpal? and gu:n^yil? mean 'meat for a change', that is, meat as a change of diet after a period of eating just vegetables.

15. yan bili dhut-na, jarcar n^εara dhut!, n^εula::: barku,
 only enough! sit down now move I sit something distant

gupa-n^εur ya? wa:yin-ja ra ganatha-r, n^εal?-n^εal-mara-n^εal,
 on the top (=nape) indeed game I left raised

garcambal-nja limuru-n^ε, gul? limur, nhayka yan
 kangaroo for us come on! we (InPl) what's-it? (place) only

n^εunhi, jirkuy-n^εur yan, n^εunhi-li-mi n^εara baman jirkuy-n^εur
 that at Jirkuy (pl.n.) only there I long ago at Jirkuy

dharpu-n^εal garcambal, yan bili, n^εurka-n^εal walal, walala-wuy-na,
 speared kangaroo only enough! threw they they now

ma:lu-y?-na n^εayi-pi-n,
 father himself

I kept going (all the way to the camp) and then sat down. 'I left the animal way back there in the hills. I put it up (on a platform). Antelope kangaroo for us! Let's go to that place, Jirkuy. I speared a kangaroo some time ago at Jirkuy. My father and the others (but not me) (collected the kangaroo, brought it back to the camp, and) threw it down.

16. yan bili::: dhuwal-ga?yi, ma:ra-n^εal n^εayi, ma:ra-n^εal n^εayi,
 only enough! this got he

duc-na walal yan bili bur buna-∅ wa:n^εa-n^εur, bur walal
 return now they only enough! arrive arrive in camp arrive they

(Text M5)

ka, n^εunha-wal n^εhan-n^εu-n^y, n^εara-ku gawal-?mirin^εu , baran^εin^y n^εhan-n^εu
 Dur to there for him my uncle (MB) leg for him
 yutun^εgur, n^εhan-n^εu bulu ma:ri-w-nja, yutun^εgur, n^εanapuru-n^εgu-n^y
 leg for him again for FF (or MMB) leg for us
 ma:lu-w?-nja dhudi, bundaln^εu, nha: mak,
 for father rear end lower back what? maybe

He (my father) got it. They came back and arrived in the camp.
 They arrived at my uncle (MB). A leg for him. Another leg for my ma:ri
 (FF, or MMB). For us and my father, maybe the rump and backside.

17. bulu walal ka gurupa-r n^εi-n^ya dhipu-n^εur, bundaln^εu, n^εunha-wal
 again they Dur gave him from here lower back to there

bala, ma:ri-w, n^εu:ra-n n^εanapur, n^εu:ra-- n^εunhi-yi bili
 that way for FF (MMB) lay down we (ExPl) that enough

n^εanapur-- luka-n, n^εunhi bili n^εanapur luka-n, bulu ra, ma:r
 we ate that enough! we ate again I just

gan^εgan-ya, dha:n^εgu-n, dha:n^εgu-n n^εayi gur?-wuru-ma-n^y, gacu bulu
 scraps flesh now it is hanging (gu:ru-) go! again

limuru-n^ε mi:rpal?-lil, bulu ra marci-n,
 for us (InPl) to meat again I went

They gave my ma:ri (FF or MMB) a section from around here, the lower
 back, along that way. (Speaker illustrates, pointing to his own body
 parts.) We slept. We ate that (meat). Now there were just bits and
 pieces left. The meat was hanging up (e.g. on a platform). 'More
 meat for us! Let's go (hunting again)!'. Again I went (hunting).

18. walal marci-n, baman?, marci-n n^εara:::, nha:-n^εal, gandalpuru
 they went long time went I saw fem. kangaroo

nhi:na-nha ka, gandalpuru, n^εa:ndi-?man^yji manda, gandalpuru manda
 sat Dur mother and child two fem. kangaroo two

n^εunha::: nhi:na-∅ ka, judap n^εayi n^εhan-n^εu, judap n^εara n^εhan-n^εu,
 that sit Pres sneak up he for it sneak up I for it

galki-n galki-n galki-n galki-n galki-n nhakun dhipal-ga?yi, wit-dhu-r
 near now like to here scanned

n^εayi, n^εara-n^y bulu dha:ra-n, dha:r-nhan n^εara, bay n^εayi wan?-dhu-r
 it I again stood stood I alone it looked

ra:li, bulu n^εayi bala wan?-dhu-r n^εara-n^y marci-n judap-dhu-r
 this way again it that way looked I went sneaked up

nhan-n^εu, ma:r n^εayi wan?-dhu-r ra:li n^εara-n^y dha:r-nhan,
 for it near it looked this way I stood

They went. (Or rather,) I went, for a long time. I saw two female
 antelope kangaroos, mother and daughter, sitting there. He--rather I,
 sneaked up to it. Very close. It looked around toward where I was.
 I stopped (stood). It was looking toward me. Then it looked the other
 way. I sneaked up. Then it looked toward me, close up, and I stopped.

(Text M5)

Note: Observe the occasional fluctuations between first and third
 persons. In this text there are also occasional switches from past to
 present tense; these can be taken either as instances of the historical
 present, or as 'quotations' representing thoughts of the hunter or other
 participants. Examples of the present tense include buna-∅ 'arrive' in
 segment 16, and gur?-wuru-ma-n^y 'hangs, lies above ground level' in 17.
 Such temporary switches are facilitated by the frequent usage of tenseless
 root forms and the like, and by many past tense forms which are ambiguous
 (e.g. dha:ra-n 'stood', homophonous with dha:ra-∅-n 'stands now').
 However, there are numerous unambiguous past tense forms in these segments.

19. ga bulu n^εayi bala wan?-dhu-r n^εara-n^y n^εhan-n^εu judap-dhu-r
 and again it that way looked I for it sneaked up

galki-n, dha:r-nhan n^εara, ga bulu-n n^εayi bala wan?-dhu-r, n^εara-n^y
 near now stood I and again now that way looked I

nhan-n^εu wap! wap! wap! galtha?-n^εurka-n^εal-na, n^εayi-n^y bala
 for it jump held spear ready it that way

wan?-dhu-r, ma:r n^εayi ka-- bulu-n^y n^εayi wan?-dhu-r, bala, n^εara-n^y
 looked near it Dur again it looked that way I

dhipu-n^εur n^εurka-n^εal, gayit-ja n^εhan-n^εu, n^εurka-n^εal-nja, yaka-n
 from here threw shovel spear for it threw not now

ga gayit-ja, guyara? yan, la:ka balan^ya, guyara?, dup!,
 and shovel spear stone spear only stone spear like that threw spear

Again it looked away, and I sneaked up some more. I stopped, very
 close now. Again it looked away. I moved in quick bursts. I held the
 spear on the woomera (ready to strike). It looked away. I threw the
 spear from where I was. I threw a shovel spear at it. Not a shovel spear,
 a stone spear (guyara?). Like la:ka (the Nunggubuyu word for stone spear,
 actually la:ga). I threw a stone spear.

20. lami yan bulwan^ε, bili-n, bala n^εayi ka gal?-galkiri-n^ya,
 hip only break enough now! that way it Dur fell

gal?-galkiri-n^ya, bala n^εupa?-n^εupa-r n^εara n^εi-n^ya n^εupa?-n^εupa-r-a,
 that way kept chasing kept chasing now

bat-na, n^εayi-n^y yu:thu-n^y ga:ri-n^ya yan, yu:thu-n^y n^εhan-n^εu, murukay
 fell now it small went in only small its big

yan, ma:r murukay-ya, yu:thu-n^y n^εhan-n^εu, n^εuri-ki-n^y-dhi,
 only almost big small its of that

gandalpuru-wun^ε, dharpu-n^εal n^εara, law?-na n^εara n^εi-n^ya,
 produced by fem. kangaroo speared I raise now I it

guruka-n^εal marci:::-n, yaka ra-- yaka ra dhiya-la-mi guyal?-yu-n,
 carried on shoulder went not I not I here roast

n^εunha-l-na wa:n^εa-n^εur-na ya?, ma:r gaya?-miri-n^εur,
 there now in the camp now indeed close at a paper bark area

(Text M5)

Its hip was broken. It stumbled along and fell. I chased it. It collapsed then. I speared the small one, which had formerly gone in (to the mother's pouch), offspring of the (adult) female kangaroo, fairly grown up now. I lifted it and carried it on my shoulder. 'I will not roast it here; (I will roast it) there, in the camp, where paper bark is.'

21. yan bili::: guruka-n^gal marci:::-n, wana-w budap, yan bili:::
only enough! carried went for river cross only enough!
mayan^g?-gu budap, bulu::: duwat!, jir?-na wa:n^ga-n^gur-na, nha:-n^gal
for river cross again go up go down now in camp now saw
n^gara-n^y walal, way! limuru-n^g guruka-m n^gayi, yan bili bat-na,
me they hey! for us carries he only enough! throw down now
bay walal ka mur-mara-n^gal-na gurtha-n^y, balcam?-dhu-r walal gurtha-n^y
alone they Dur made fire now fire made fire they fire
nhan-n^gu, n^guri-ki-yi wa:yin-gu, balcam?-dhu-r walal,
for it for that for game made fire they

I kept carrying it. I went to a river and crossed it. Again I went uphill, then down to the camp. They saw me. 'Hey! He has got (meat) for us!' Then I threw down (the carcass). Then the others built a fire (i.e. an oven). They built a fire for that animal.

22. ganda-n^garaw?-mara-n^gal ganda-n^garaw?-mara-n^gal, mit-dhu-r walal,
broke leg carved they
mit-dhu-r walal, jukur walal mapa-r dhuri?-lil, gudhal?-yu-r walal, bili-n,
fat they put in to guts roasted they enough!
wilan^g? walal, wilan^g?-dhu-r walal, wilan^g?-dhu-r walal, lar?lar-yu-r,
take out they took out butchered
baran^gin^y n^gunha-wal, ma:ri-w-nja, nhan-n^gu bulu baran^gin^y, gawal-?mirin^gu-n^y
leg to there for FF (MMB) for him again leg uncle (MB)
n^gara-ku, n^ganapuru-n^ggu-n^y ma:lu-w?-nja n^gunhi-yi bundaln^gu, ga dhudi,
my for us for father that lower back and rear

(We) broke the legs. They cut it up. They put some fat inside the guts. They roasted it. Then they took it out and butchered it. A leg for my ma:ri (FF or MMB), and one for him, my uncle (MB). The lower back and the rump for my father and us.

23. bili-n, n^gu:ra-n marci-∅ jadaw, dhuwal bili wa:yin-ja limur luka-∅,
enough! lay down go dawn this enough! game we eat
bay n^gayi thu dhawar?-yu-n yur wa:yin dhuwal-ga?yi, ga yalala-mir, n^guli
alone it Fut be used up Fut game this and later that
n^gayi thu dha:n^ggu dhawar?-yu-n-ya, limuru-n^g, ga yalala-n, n^gara yur
it Fut flesh be used up for us and later now I Fut
marci-∅ wa:yin-lil-a .
go to game now

We slept. It dawned. All of us are eating meat. This meat is now used up. Our meat is all used up. Soon I will go for (more) game animals.

TEXT M6 DON'T FIGHT, YOU TWO!

Speaker: Miyala

Note: This text is a simulation of a man's intervention in a quarrel between two young men.

1. yay! manda way!, yaka manda bu-nha-ra-mi-ri, yaka manda
hey! (you) two hey! not two hit each other
bu-nha-ra-mi-ri, ganu-r balan^ya, ganu-r, ganu-r, barku-n^gur yan, nhi:
abandon! like that far away only you(Sg)
yur barku-n^gur yan, bulal, n^gula nhi: dha:rak badac-u-n
Fut far away only two something you spear shaft throw spear
ra:li, dhuwal-ga?yi n^gi-n^ya, ga nhi:-n^y bulu, barku-n^gur yan
this way this him and you again far away only
dup-dhu-r, yaka galki galki, yaka manda barku yan barku yan manda
spear! not near not (you) two far only
dha:r-i, barku yan barku yan manda dha:r-i-n^y,
stand! stand!

Hey! You two! Don't fight! Stop that kind of thing! You (Sg) get away from him. The two of you (may) throw spears this way (at each other), you (Sg) may throw spears at this (other man) (but only from a distance). As for you (the other man), throw spears (at him) from far away! Don't get close to each other! Stand far away (from each other)!

2. ga yaka manda bu-nha-ra-mi-ri, galki, galki-n^y manda yaka--
and not (you) two hit each other near near you (two) not
bu-nha-ra-mi-ri, ga barku-n^gur yan nhi: n^guli badac-u-n-ja n^gi-n^ya,
hit each other and far away only you(Sg) that throw spear him
dhuwa-nja-ga?yi, ga nha: mak n^gayi-n^y nhu-na badac-u-n yur,
this and what? maybe he you(Sg) throw spear Fut
n^gayi-n^y n^gunha badac-u-n yur, ga nhi:-n^y-- ga nhi:-n^y n^gama-tha-n^g
he that and you(Sg) and do it well!
wap-dhu-r ga n^gayi yur wap-dhu-n n^gama-tha-m, ga barku yan manda,
jump! and he Fut jump do well and far only (you) two

Don't fight! Don't fight at close range! Throw spears at him from far away! And he will throw them at you. He will throw spears at you there, so you jump properly! He will also jump. Stay far apart!

3. ga bili-n, bili-n dhuwal-i, bili-n, mari-muruw limur nhi:na-∅,
and enough now! this without fight we(InPl) sit
bili nhawi, bili nhawi-n^y-- munhaku-n wa:n^ga-n^y, n^gunhi nhuma
enough! what's-it? night now camp that you(Pl)
manda dharpu-nha-mi-ri-n, dhiya-n^gu-n bala .
two spear each other now of this now that way

Enough now! We will live in peace. Enough! (Peace) tonight in the camp. You spear each other today (dhiya-n^gu-n bala)! (But not tonight.)

TEXT M7 THEY MUST GIVE ME A WIFE

Speaker: Miyala

1. dhuwa-nja yu:l-ku milmara, mumalkur-n^yja, mumalkur, mumalkur
 this of whom? promised WMM
 yu:l-ku dhuwal-i, n^gara bun^gawa-n^y, n^gara bun^gawa-n^y, yaka wiripu,
 of whom? this I owner not other
 yaka wiripu, yaka barku-puy mala, gurun^g-ja dhuwal-i n^gara-ku,
 not of distant Pl WMB (or WM) this my
 gurun^g-ja dhuwal-i n^gara-ku, ga dhiya-n^gi ma:ra-n^gal, walala-n^g-gun^g
 and this got produced by them
 dhulmu-puy, gulun-buy walala-n^g-gun^g waku-?mirin^gu,
 related to belly related to belly produced by them ZC (=woman's C)
 ga mumalkur-n^yja, dhuwa-nja n^gara-ku, milmara, mu:kul-nja, mu:kul
 and WMM this mine promised WM WM
 balan^ya rumaru?-ya, mu:kul balan^ya rumaru,
 like that respect

Of whom is (that woman) the promised WMM? This (woman) is the mumalkur (WMM) of whom? The 'owner' is me! Not somebody else! Not some distant bunch of people. This one (C of the mumalkur) is my gurun^g (WM or her B; strictly speaking the term should be mu:kul for female, maralkur for male; see below). This promised mu:kul (WM) of mine, the actual ('belly') daughter of the mumalkur and her siblings. A respect mu:kul (i.e. WM rather than FZ, also called mu:kul but not subject to avoidance or respect behavior).

2. yaka bawala-miri-w, yaka wiripu-wuru-n^g dharwa-w, ba:yn^gu
 not for anybody not for others for big group nothing
 yan, ba:yn^gu yan, yan nhuma ka n^ga:na?-yu-n bi:-n^gur bi:-n^gur
 only only you(Pl) Pres lack spouse from somewhere
 dhawal-n^gur mala-n^gu-mi, yan nhuma ka n^ga:na?-yu-n bi:-n^gur
 from country Pl (people) only you(Pl) Pres lack spouse from somewhere
 dhawal-n^gur mala-n^gu-mi, wiripu-n^gur wiripu-n^gur wiripu-n^gur nhuma,
 from country Pl from other you(Pl)
 yaka limuru-n^g dharwa-w, mumalkur, mumalkur-n^yja,
 not for us(InPl) for group WMM WMM

(She is) not (the promised WM) for a lot of other people. Nothing (for them). You people from some other (indefinite) country (i.e. lacking the correct kinship relation to the woman) will just have to go without a wife (from this source). You all are from some other place. She is not the mumalkur (WMM) for the whole lot of us (just for me).

3. ga mumalkur-wun^g yu:thu, mu:kul, mumalkur-wun^g yu:thu, mu:kul
 and produced by WMM child WM
 n^gunhi-ya, ga n^gara-pi yan, dha:ra-Ø-n ga, dha:ra-Ø-n ga, yaka
 that and myself only stand now Pres not

(Text M7)

- limuru-n^ggu-- dharwa-w, bawala-miri-w, yaka limuru-n^g dharwa-w
 for us for group for anyone not for us for group
 bawala-miri-w, ba:yn^gu yan, dhiya-la-mi dhawar?-yu-n, ba:yn^gu yan,
 for anyone nothing only here is finished up
 ba:yn^gu yan yuwalk yan,
 true only

The child (D) of mumalkur (WMM) is mu:kul (WM). It is I who stands (as proper son-in-law to her). (She) is not (WM) for just any of us. (The others) here do not count ('are finished'). (I am) the true one.

4. ga bili nhuma ka, bawala-mir-a, bawala-mir-a limuru-n^g
 and enough! you(Pl) Pres anyone now for us(InPl)
 mumalkur, dhiya-ku-n bala bili mala-w, dharwa-w-na yu:l-n^gu-w-na
 WMM for this that way enough! for Pl for group now for person
 mala, dharwa-w yan yu:l-n^gu-w, ga n^gayi-n^y n^gunhi-yi mumalkur-n^yja,
 Pl for group only for person and he that WMM
 wan^ggan^y?-gu yan, n^gayi-pi yan, wan^ggan^y? yan mumalkur, ga n^guri-n^gi-yi
 for one only himself only one only WMM and that
 n^gayi ma:ri-wal nhi:na-Ø ka, ma:ri-wal n^gayi mumalkur nhi:na-Ø ka,
 she at MMB sit Pres WMM
 nhan-n^gu-wuy yan, nhan-n^gu-wuy yan, n^guri-ki bili mumalkur-wu,
 of her only of that enough! of WMM
 mumalkur-wu,

You (others) are just anybody. All of us have some mumalkur somewhere. (There is a mumalkur, WMM,) for the whole group of people, for all of you today (dhiya-ku-n bala). But that woman is mumalkur (WMM) for just one person (i.e. me). That mumalkur lives with (is the wife of) my ma:ri (MMB). He (my MMB) is hers, of that mumalkur.

Note: The hypothetical speaker's claim to have the woman (his mumalkur) bestowed on him as future WMM is based on the fact that she is his actual MMBW; the speaker would have a much more attenuated claim on her if she were a more distant classificatory mumalkur.

5. n^gunhi yan n^gi-n^ya n^gayi dhumungur?-yu-n, daramu-nha-n^y, n^gayi-n^y
 that only him she calls 'HZDS' man she
 dhipu-n^gur-n^yja mumalkur-yu-n^y, ga nhakun n^gayi mumalkur-yu, mumalkur-yu
 from here WMM and like she WMM
 yu:thu maln^g?-dhu-r, ga mu:kul nhan-n^gu rumaru?, nhan-n^gu-wuy yan,
 child will appear and WM his respect for him only
 yaka bawala-miri-w, yaka dharwa-w, bili-n .
 not for anybody not for group enough now!

She (mumalkur) calls him (the hypothetical Ego) dhumungur (HZDS, reciprocal of mumalkur). She, the mumalkur, (calls) the man dhumungur. Now suppose the mumalkur has a D. It is his respect mu:kul (WM). For him alone, not just for anybody, not for a lot of people. Finished.

Note: It might be good to change intransitive maln^g?-dhu-r to causative maln^g?-mara-n^g 'will cause to appear'.

TEXT M8 MORTUARY RITES

Speaker: Miyala

1. yo!, baman? walal ka n^uli bu-nha-ra-mi-n^ya barc-u-n-mi-n,
yes! long ago they Dur that hit each other speared each other

ma:ri-?mun^u walal, n^ula wa:wa-?mirin^u ra-ku, n^ula
FF they something elder B my something

nha:-?mirin^u ra-ku gawal-?mirin^u walal, baman?, baman? n^uli-ya,
what relation? my uncle (MB) they long ago that

ma:ri-?mun^u walal, barc-u-n-mi-n^ya, git! dharpu-n^ual, n^uunhi-yi
FF they speared each other spear speared that

yu:l-n^u-n^y, git! dharpu-n^ual, all right,
person

In the old days my ma:ri's and wa:wa's (FF's and elder B's) used to fight, used to have spear fights. Also what's-it?, my maternal uncles. Long ago my ma:ri's used to fight. (Someone) speared that man (and killed him).

2. n^uli-n^uur-n^yja, bili walal bu:ca-n^ual-na gadawulkulk
from there enough! they built now burial platform

garwar-na, n^uunhi-yi dharpu-nha-wuy, n^uunhi-yi-- walal-nja mu:nun^u-n^y
on top now that who was speared that they killer

walal, wandi-na-n, ga bu:ca-n^ual-na, gadawulkulk-miri-ya-n^ual,
they ran now and built now made burial platform

rulwan^u-na n^uunhi-yi, yu:l-n^u-nha-n^y, dhin^uga-nha-wuy-n^yja, n^uanapur--
put down now that person who died we(ExPl)

n^u:ra-ø-n n^uanapur n^uli, n^u:ra-ø n^u:ra-ø n^u:ra-ø n^u:ra-ø n^u:ra-ø,
lie down now we that lie down

nha:-munha-mir, dharwa-mir, n^u:ra-ø-n^y n^uanapur,
having how many? having many lie down we(ExPl)

After that they built a burial platform, up high. That man who had been speared. The killers ran (away). They (relatives) then built a burial platform. They put that man who had died (on it). We slept five--how many?, quite a few--nights.

Note: The speaker shifts to present tense during this segment. The repetition of n^u:ra- 'to lie down, to sleep' is common to indicate the number of nights which pass between two moments; here, however, we are dealing with a period of three weeks or so, hence the expression dharwa-mir 'having many (nights)' is used.

3. yan bili::: gu!, limur, ma:ra-ma-n n^ui-n^ya, n^uunhi-yi
only enough! let's we(InPl) get now him that

yu:l-n^u-n^y, ma:ra-ma-n limur n^ui-n^ya, marci-ø-n n^uli, marci-ø walal
person get now we him go now that go they

(Text M8)

ka:::, dhuwa-na n^uayi, gadawulkulk dha:ra-ø, n^uunhi-yi yu:l-n^u-n^y
Pres this now it burial platform stands that person

dipala-n^y dhin^uga-nha-wuy-n^yja, marci-ø-n dhuwa-na-ga?yi,
dead fellow (loanword) who died go now this now

bur-na nhan-n^u bun-a-ø-n,
arrive now to him arrive now

'All right, let's go and get (take care of) him (the corpse) now.'
They go there now. This burial platform stands (there). They go to that man who died now. They arrive where he is.

Note: In the traditional mortuary practices, the corpse was left exposed on a platform for several weeks. Then the custodians return to it and the corpse is treated as indicated below.

4. n^ual?-na wan^ugan^y?-ja n^ula nha:-?mirin^u n^ula, ma:ri-?mirin^u,
go up now one something what relation? FF (or MMB)

wu n^uamuri-?mirin^u, maraca-?mirin^u, n^uunhi-yi manda wu:kuti-n^y?
or FF (creole word) SS that two sacred

manda, n^uunhi-yi manda n^ui-n^ya mulka-ø-n^y, n^uuri-n^ui-yi manda n^ula--
two that two him hold that two something

n^ual?-na manda, ga n^uayi-n^y n^ula walal-nja lurkun?-ja, gaya?
go up now two and he something they several paper bark

walal ka mulka-ø, gaya? walal ka mulka-ø, bat-na n^ui-n^ya,
they Pres hold throw down now him

One (man) goes up (onto the platform). What relation? Perhaps the ma:ri (here FF) or the maraca (SS) (i.e. a clan-mate) of the dead man. Two men hold him (the corpse) and are therefore sacred. Those two go up. Several other men get some paper bark. (The sacred two) drop him (the corpse) down.

Note: The men who handle the corpse in this way become ritually sacred for a period of time.

5. rar?-yu-na marci-n^ya, midimidi, n^uaraka-n^y mala, rar?-yu-na marci-ø,
put down went rib bone Pl put down go

n^uunha nhawi-n^y, barukala?-lil, gaya?-lil, rar?-yu-na marci-ø,
that what's-it? to paper bark to paper bark put down go

ba:ka-n^y mala dharamu-n^y mala, rar?-yu-na marci-ø, bun?gumu mala,
shin bone Pl upper leg bone Pl put down go kneecap Pl

likan-ja mala, gupa-n^uara mala dilci mala, rar?-yu-na marci-ø n^uunha
elbow Pl neck bone Pl backbone Pl put down go that

gaya?-lil, mulkur-nja, rar?-yu-na marci-ø, dhawar?-na, bili-n,
to paper bark skull put down go be finished now enough now!

They put the ribs, all the bones, into the what's-it?, the paper bark. They put in the shin bone, the upper leg bone, the kneecap, the elbow, the backbone, the skull, into the paper bark. All of it was put in.

(Text M8)

6. yup-na, n^εunhi-yi manda, bambukuta? manda, yup-na manda
 go down now that two corpse handler two
 bambukuta-n^y? manda, gaya?-warpi-r-a n^εi-n^ya, buku-lumbak-mara-n^εal-na,
 corpse handler two wrap in paper bark him roll up in paper bark
 gaya?-warpi-r-a, garpi-r-a n^εi-n^ya dap-- dap-mara-n^εal-na bili-n,
 wrapped now him tied up now enough now!
 n^εunhi-yi yu:l-n^εu-n^y, garpi-r-a n^εi-n^ya, dap-mara-n^εal-na bili-n,
 that person wrapped now him tied up now enough!

The two corpse handlers got down (from the platform). They wrapped him (the corpse) in paper bark. They rolled him up in paper bark and tied up (the bundle).

7. wap-na n^εayi, n^εayi-n^y n^εunhi-yi, bambukuta-n^y? manda,
 jump now he he that corpse handler two
 n^εuli-n^εur-n^y ja, n^εunhi-yi gadawulkulk, yup-mara-n^εal-na walal
 from there that burial platform caused to come down now they
 buwayak-gu-n^εal-na, yup-mara-n^εal-na, gadawulkul-nja, bay?-na
 destroyed now burial platform alone now
 ganatha-r dha:-mun^ygu?-mun^ygu-n^εal-nja bili-n bay?-na, bay?-na
 left alone destroyed enough now! alone now
 n^εi-n^ya, wan^εgan^y?-na gadawulkulk-na, ga n^εunhi-yi yu:l-n^εu-n^y
 him one now burial platform now and that person
 n^εanapur bili ma:ra-n^εal-na,
 we(ExPl) enough! got now

He and that (other) man, the two corpse handlers jumped down (from the platform). From there, (from) that platform. They took down (the corpse). (We) destroyed the burial platform, so that he (the corpse) was alone. Then we took him (away).

8. n^εu:ra-n n^εanapur n^εu:ra-n n^εanapur n^εu:ra-n n^εanapur n^εula nha:
 lay down we(ExPl) something what?
 n^εula, yathi-mir-a, n^εula n^εula yathi-mir-a n^εanapur, walal ka
 having coffin now something we they Dur
 jal-thi-na-n yathi-w-na, dilkuru-wur-nja, ma:ri-?mun^εu-n^y walal,
 wanted now for coffin now elders FF they
 bili-n manikay-na, manikay-na walal, manikay-na walal ka:::,
 enough now! song now they Dur

After three nights had passed, something like that, we got out the coffin (a hollow log). The elders, my ma:ri-?mun^εu's (FF's), wanted the coffin. They (performed) songs.

9. bili-n, gulk-na walal n^εunhi-yi, nhawi-n^y, yidaki balan^ya,
 enough now! cut now they that what's-it? didjeridu like that
 yidaki balan^ya, yaka n^εunhi yidaki-n^y nhawi-n^y, yidaki balan^ya,
 not that didjeridu what's-it?

(Text M8)

n^εula nha: n^εula yirica-n^y jalumbu, n^εula nha:
 something what? Y moiety coffin (Y moiety) something what?
 daymiri, dhu:wa-n^y, gulk-na walal ka, gulk-na walal ka, bili-n,
 coffin (D moiety) D moiety cut now they Dur cut now they Dur enough!

Then they cut out (the inside of) that what's-it?, a didjeridu (hollow wooden drone-pipe). Not really a didjeridu, what's-it? For (deceased man of) Y moiety, a jalumbu. For D moiety, a daymiri. (These are types of hollow log coffins.) They cut it (out).

10. n^εunhi ga:ln^εbuy?-wun^εu-n^y, walal-nja bun^εgul-na,
 that produced by first-time hunter they corroboree now
 n^εayi-n^y manikay-mir-a n^εula nha: ma:ri-?mun^εu-n^y mala ma:ri-n^y
 he having song now something what? FF Pl FF (or MMB)
 mala, ma:lu-n^y? manda, ma:lu-n^y? walal, n^εayi-- bili-n ga?-- n^εula
 Pl F two F they enough! something
 n^εayi ga:ln^εbuy?-na, wa:yin-nha n^εunhi n^εayi barc-u-na yu:l-n^εu-y
 he first-time hunter game that he speared person
 daramu-y ga:ln^εbuy?, bili-n, jip-mara-n^εal-na,
 man first-time hunter enough now! caused to sit up now

(An animal) killed by a first-time hunter (one who had never before killed a game animal). They had a corroboree (dancing and singing). My ma:ri-?mun^εu's (FF's), my ma:ri's (here probably FF's), my two--all of my ma:lu?'s (F's). A first-time hunter--a person, a man--speared a game animal. Then (they) put it (the remains of the animal) in there.

11. wa:yin-ja mala garcambal-nja n^εunhi-yi n^εaraka mala::: nhawi-lil-nja
 game Pl kangaroo that bone Pl to what's-it?
 n^εunhi-yi yidaki-li:::l liw?-mara-n^εal nhanu-kun^ε, ga:ln^εbuy-n^y? ja,
 that to didjeridu put around produced by him first-time hunter
 bili-n judup-na, ga:ri-n^ya-mara-n^εal-na, ga:ri-n^ya-mara-n^εal-na,
 enough now! put in now caused to enter now
 n^εaraka-n^y mala n^εunhi mugu-muguy?-nha-n^y, n^εunhi dipala-nha-n^y,
 bone Pl that dead person that dead fellow
 n^εunhi dhin^εga-nha-wuy-n^y ja, ga:ri-n^ya-mara-n^εal-na::: dhan^εan^ε, dhan^εan^ε,
 that who died caused to enter now full

They put the bones (of) the kangaroo obtained by the first-time hunter around that didjeridu (coffin). They put them (bones) right in there (with) the dead man. It (the coffin) was quite full now.

12. bili-n, dha:-dhal?, dhal?-yu-r-a n^εi-n^ya, barukala-y?,
 enough now! close up closed up now him with paper bark
 n^εunhi-yi dhurara-n^y, bili-n jip! nhi:ra-r,
 that coffin enough now! cause to stand caused to stand
 n^εunhi-yi-- n^εunhi-yi nhawi-n^y, yidaki-n^y, yathi-n^y, bun^εgul
 that what's-it? didjeridu coffin corroboree

(Text M8)

n^εula n^εa:thil dilkuru-wur wakal-n^εura-nha-ya ma:ri-?mun^εu walal
 something long ago elders played (had fun) FF they
 ma:ri walal, baman?, n^εuri-kal-yi, n^εunhi n^εayi dhin^εga-n^εal,
 FF (or MMB) they long ago to that that he died
 baman?, n^εula nha:-?mirin^εu ra-ku, ma:ri ra-ku n^εula
 long ago something what relation? my FF (or MMB) my something
 nha:-?mirin^εu ra-ku, n^εula nha: n^εula n^εathi-?mirin^εu ra-ku,
 what relation? my something what? MF my
 n^εula mak n^εayi dhin^εga-nha baman,
 something maybe he died long ago

Then they closed up that coffin (and the corpse inside) with paper bark. They stood up that coffin or didjeridu. The old people, my ma:ri-?mun^εu's and ma:ri's (FF's and perhaps MMB's) played (danced). Long ago, for that (man), he had died. My relations, maybe my ma:ri (FF or MMB), or my n^εathi (MF). He died a long time ago.

13. ga bili walal ka bun^εgul-na wap-dhu-na, ga bili
 and enough! they Dur corroboree now jumped and enough!
 walal ka larakic-na nhi:ra-r-na, nhi:na-n, yathi-n^εur,
 they Dur hollow tree now caused to stand now sat in coffin
 walal dilkuru-wur, xx (?), yan n^εara, lakara-m walala-n^ε-gun^ε,
 they elders only I speak produced by them
 dha:wu?-buy, dhuwa-nja .
 related to story this

Then they shifted (jumped) and had a corroboree. They stood up a hollow tree (coffin). It (the corpse) sat in the coffin. The elders (did that). I am speaking a story due to them, these words.

TEXT M9 AVOIDANCE OF TABOO RELATIVE (I)

Speaker: Miyala

Note: The characters in this text are a man_i, his WM_j, and the latter's own M_k (his WMM). The subscripts i, j, k will be used in the translations to keep the referents straight.

1. n^εayi dhuwa-na mumalkur-n^yja, nha: mak n^εara n^εuli nhi:n-i
 she this WMM (or DDH) what? maybe I that will sit
 n^εara n^εunhi-yi ga wu yu:l n^εula n^εunhi-l-i nhi:na-∅-ya, ga
 I that and or who? something there sits and
 n^εayi-n^y bili n^εula-n^εur manda n^εula n^εa:ndi-?man^yji-- marci-∅-n
 she enough! from there two something M and D will go now
 manda yur n^εula-n^εur, n^εunhi-yi mumalkur ga n^εunhi-yi mu:kul, rumaru?
 two Fut from there that WMM and that WM respect
 ra-ku, ga nha: n^εula n^εara-n^y yur waraw?-n^εur nhi:na-nha,
 my and what? something I Fut in shade sat

This mumalkur_i (her_k DDH). Maybe I_i will sit over there. I wonder who that is sitting over that way? The two of them, M_k and D_j, will come from that direction. That mumalkur_k and that respect mu:kul_j (WM) of mine. Suppose I will be sitting in the shade (unaware of their approach).

2. n^εula mak n^εayi n^εula-n^εur nhi:na-nha wiripu, ga n^εayi-n^y
 something maybe he from there sat other and she
 dhunupa-n marci-n n^εunhi-yi, gurun^ε-?mirin^εu-n^y nhan-n^εu
 straight now went that (woman's) DH her
 mu:kul-?mirin^εu-n^y nhan-n^εu, ga n^εayi-n^y n^εuli n^εu:r-i-n
 WM his and he that will lie down now
 n^εunhi n^εu:r-i-n n^εayi, yakur-na n^εayi ka n^εu:r-- waraw?-n^εur
 that he sleep now he Pres in shade
 n^εu:ra-nha, n^εunhi-yi gurun^ε-?mirin^εu-n^y, n^εayi-n^y bili yur marci:::-∅,
 lay down now that DH she enough! Fut go
 nhakun galki dhuwal-ga?yi nha:-n^εal n^εayi, n^εayi-n^y n^εula nha:-n^εu-n
 like near this saw she she something will see
 n^εula, mumalkur-?mirin^εu-y mak nhawi-n-- nha:-ma-n^y yur n^εayi,
 something WMM maybe what's-it? see Fut she
 n^εunhi-yi, gurun^ε-?mirin^εu-nha-n^y,
 that DH

Maybe he_i sat down over (from) there, that other one (the man). She_j started to walk straight toward her gurun^ε_i, that mu:kul_j did. Suppose that he is lying down (asleep). He is sleeping in the shade (where she doesn't see him at first). Getting closer, she_k saw him_i. Suppose the mumalkur_k (his WMM) sees him. Or maybe she_j (mu:kul) sees her gurun^ε_i.

Note: This text, designed to describe a recurrent cultural event type, fluctuates between first and third person referring to the man, and also shows considerable fluctuation in tense.

(Text M9)

3. ay! ay! dhuwal-i mumalkur_k mumalkur_k, dhuwal-i mumalkur_k
 oh! this WMM (or reverse) this
 nhi:na-∅ ka, gurun^ε gurun^ε dhuwal-i ka nhi:na-∅, bala nhi:
 sit Pres DH this sit that way you(Sg)
 ka marci-∅, gurun^ε dhuwal-i ka nhi:na-∅, bala nhi: ka marci-∅,
 Pres go DH
 n^εula bala ya?, barku-kur, liw?-mara-m bala
 something that way indeed along distant (place) go around that way
 ya?, ga biya-k nhan-n^εu n^εayi n^εa:ndi-?mirin^εu-n^y wan^ε-i,
 indeed and will say to her she M and D will speak
 n^εunhi-yi mumalkur-?mirin^εu, liw?-na n^εayi ka barku-n
 that WMM go around now she Pres distant now
 n^εayi ka marci-∅, liw?-mara-m,
 she Pres go goes around

(She_k says to her_j;) 'Oh dear! Here is my mumalkur_k (here woman's DDH). My mumalkur_k is sitting here! This is your_j gurun^ε (DH)! You_j walk around that way, some distance away, making a wide detour around him!' She_k will tell her_j that. The two women, M_k and D_j, will speak (like that). That mumalkur_k (will say that). She_j walks far away from him, making a wide circular detour around him.

Note: Usually the term mumalkur_k applies to such associated kinswomen as WMM and MMBW, and not to the reciprocal types (regularly called dhumungur). In this text, however, the latter term is not used and the term mumalkur_k is used self-reciprocally between the man_i and his WMM_k. In the following segment, the term garmala is also used irregularly for expected dhumungur.

The major taboo relationship is between the man_i and his WM_j, who are not supposed to come near each other, to speak to each other, or to establish direct facial contact; the man has no extreme avoidance of his WMM_k. The latter functions here as an intermediary, trying to avoid an unintentional coming together of the two persons who are taboo to each other.

4. ga n^εayi-n^y n^εuli nhi:n-i n^εunhi-li-mi waraw?-n^εur, n^εunhi-yi
 and he that will sit there in shade that
 mumalkur-?mirin^εu, gurun^ε-?mirin^εu-n^y nhan-n^εu, garmalan^ε-?mirin^εu
 WMM (or reverse) DH her WMM (or reverse)
 n^εunhi-li-mi n^εayi nhi:n-i, ga n^εayi-n^y n^εunhi mu:kul-?mirin^εu-n^y
 there he will sit and she that WM
 marc-i dhunupa-n, bili-n xx (?) manda buku nha:-nha-ra-mi-n,
 will go straight now enough! two face saw each other
 bili manda ka nha:-nha-ra-mi-n, bili-n n^εayi-- n^εayi-n^y
 enough! two Dur saw each other enough now! she

(Text M9)

mumalkur-?mirin^εu-nha-n^y n^εayi wan^ε-i-n n^εi-n^ya, n^εunhi-yi
 WMM she will speak now her that
 waku-?mirin^εu-n^y,
 (her) D

He_i will be sitting there (asleep) in the shade. That mumalkur_k (DDH) of hers_k, her_j gurun^ε (DH). Her_k garmalan^ε (DDH) will sit there. And that woman, his_i mu:kul_j (WM), will be walking straight toward him. The two have seen each other_i; right in the face. She_j will speak to her_k, the man's_i mumalkur_k (WMM). Her_k D_j (will speak to her_k).

5. ay!, dhuwal-i xx (?) nhawi-ya, gurun^ε gurun^ε gurun^ε nhu-n^εu
 oh! this what's-it? DH your
 n^εu:ra-∅ ka, bala liw?-mara-n^ε marc-i, biya-ku-n n^εayi,
 lie down Pres that way will go around will go will say now she
 biya-ku-n n^εayi n^εunhi-- mu:kul-?mirin^εu-n^y, n^εuri-n^εi-yi
 that WM that
 n^εa:ndi-?mirin^εu-y, wan^ε-i-n n^εi-n^ya n^εayi waku-?mirin^εu-n^y.
 M will speak her she (her) D

(The old woman_k speaks to her_j;) 'Oh dear! Here is what's-it?, your gurun^ε (DH) lying down! Go around on a detour, that way!' That M_k will say that to her_j, the man's WM_j.

TEXT M10 AVOIDANCE OF TABOO RELATIVE (II)

Speaker: Miyala

1. n^εunha n^εunhi mu:kul-nja marci-∅ kay, bili n^εayi marci-∅-n mu:kul n^εunhi rumaru?-ya, ga nha: mak n^εayi-n^y yur n^εu:ra-- nhi:na-∅ mak yur n^εunha-la-mi, gurun^ε-?mirin^εu-n^y nhan-n^εu, n^εayi-n^y yur marci-∅ bi:-n^εur, dhunupa-n n^εayi-- yaka n^εi-n^ya n^εayi nha:-ma-n^y n^εunhi-l-i, gurun^ε-?mirin^εu-nha-n^y, ga n^εayi-n^y n^εunhi-yi, man^εuci n^εayi wan?-dhu-r bala, garwar-mal,

That WM (mu:kul) goes along. That respect (rumaru?) relation goes along. Her DH (gurun^ε) is lying--rather sitting over there. She comes from somewhere, going straight (toward him). She does not see her DH. She looks with her eyes (man^εuci) up high (garwar) (hence cannot see him).

2. ga n^εunhi-yi mu:kul-?mirin^εu-n^y, nha:-n^εal n^εayi yur marci-n bala, nhakun dhuwal-ga?yi n^εuli ya?, galki-n, nha:-n^εal n^εi-n^ya n^εayi, a::m! gurun^ε-nha n^εara nha:-n^εal-nja yan n^εayi gacbal?, bala-n n^εayi run^εiyi-∅, ay! gurun^ε-nha n^εara nha:-n^εal, bili-n n^εayi gacbal?-na, bala-n n^εayi marc-i-n, biya-ku-n bala, n^εunhi-yi rumaru-n^y? nhan-n^εu, mu:kul-?mirin^εu-n^y,

That WM. Then she sees him as she goes along that way. That man is right there, close up! She saw him. 'Oh! I have seen my DH!' She practices avoidance (gacbal?-). She turns back that way. 'Oh! I have seen my DH!' She will practice avoidance. She will go that way, like that (biya-ku-n bala). That respect WM of his.

3. bili n^εayi ka manda n^εunhi-yi nha:-nha-ra-mi-n gurun^ε-?man^yji, manda gurtha yan, gurupa-n-mi-n manda n^εunhi-yi n^εayi gurupa-r n^εi-n^ya n^εayi, yu:thu, n^εuri-n^εi-yi mu:kul-yu, n^εunhi-yi gurun^ε-?mirin^εu-n^y, bili manda nha:-nha-ra-mi-n, bili n^εayi gacbal?-yu-r-a bala n^εula-n bala n^εayi barku-kur-a marci-n,

The two have seen each other. They are WM and DH to each other (gurun^ε-?man^yji). They are actual marital allies, they have engaged in a marital alliance. She gave (her D) to him, a child. That WM, to that DH.

4. gurur?-yu-r-a n^εayi nhan-n^εu, n^εuri-ki-yi rumaru-w?, gurun^ε-?mirin^εu-w, n^εayi-n^y mu:kul-?mirin^εu-n^y n^εayi, gacbal?-yu-r, gurur?-yu-r-a n^εayi bala-n bala, dhut-na n^εayi ka wa:n^εa-n^εur-na, lambara-?mirin^εu-wal, n^εula n^εayi ka lambara-? n^εi-n^ya, lambara-?-yu-n n^εi-n^ya n^εayi n^εunhi-yi, dhuway-?mirin^εu-n^y, n^εunhi-yi ka nhi:na-∅ n^εayi nhanu-kal xx(?) mu:kul-?mirin^εu.

She avoided (gurur?-) him then. That respect relation (avoided) that DH. The WM practiced avoidance, she avoided him going that way (bala-n bala). Now she sits down in the camp, with (his) WF (lambara). He calls him 'WF'. Her husband (dhuway). That WM sits at his camp (nhanu-kal).

Note: Because of the tense switches in this text, some verb forms are ambiguous. The forms ending in -yu-r-a (end segment 3, beginning segment 4) could be past or future since for this verb class -r- marks either tense.

Near the beginning of segment 4, I am inclined to emend n^εuri-ki-yi rumaru-w? 'that respect relation' (usually applied to WM, not DH) as n^εuri-n^εi-yi rumaru-y? (ergative case instead of dative). In this particular text, it is WM (not DH) who takes evasive action.

TEXT M11 PREPARING CYCAD FOOD

Speaker: Miyala

1. yo! yarga?-yu-na-n marci-n^ya, n^εathu-n^y, bu:c-n^εur-n^yja, yarga?-yu-na marci-n^ya, nhakun ma:ri-?mirin^εu-y ma:ri-y ra-ku, yarga?-yu-na marci-n^ya nhakun n^εama-y?, nhakun mu:kul-yu ba:pa-y, nhakun mu:kul-yu rumaru-y?, nhakun ma:ri-?mun^εu-y, yarga?-yu-na walal ka, n^εathu-n,

(They) used to go and grind cycad (nuts), in the bush. They used to grind them. For example, my MMB (ma:ri), my M (n^εama?), my FZ (mu:kul ba:pa), my WM (mu:kul rumaru?), my FF (ma:ri-?mun^εu). They ground cycads.

2. bili n^εathu-n-ja, n^εunhi walal ka dal?-yu-n-ja n^εanapur marci::∅ n^εathu::∅ wala::∅ l day-yu-n-mara-m n^εathil, n^εathu-n^y, day-yu-n-mara-ma-n, day-yu-n-mara-ma-n bili-n, bili-n, mun^ε-dhu-n-a n^εi-n^ya, bumbaru-y?-na mun^ε-dhu-n-a marci::∅ judup-na, n^εula nha: gay?wu-lil bacbara?-lil, gay?wu-lil, bacbara?-lil, n^εunhi n^εathu-n^y walal lup-mara-ma-n, lup-na lup-mara-m, bili-n,

They always pound (dal?-) them (to make them soft). We go along. They dry them out (day-yu-n-mara-) then, the cycad (nuts). Now they pound (mun^ε-) it with a stone (bumbaru?). They pound it for a while, then they put it in (judup), in a string dillybag (gay?wu) or on a pandanus mat (bacbara?). Then they immerse (lup-mara-) the cycad nuts in water (to let them soak for a while, leaching out the poison).

3. munha jaw?, barku, bala n^εanapur marci-∅-n, marci-∅-n walal, yukura-∅ walal n^εunha-l, bulu walal yukura-∅ n^εunha-l, bulu walal yukura-∅ n^εunha-l, bulu walal yukura-∅, dhuwa-nja walal yindi-y-n^y?ja run^εiyi-na-n, run^εiyi-na-n, yan walal gaca?-wacar?-yu-n n^εunha nha:, gurtha-puy? mala, ga mu:nuk yan,

We spend (jaw? 'take away') a night. Far away. We go (there) now. They go. They sleep (yukura-) there. Again (i.e. another night) they sleep. Again they sleep there. Again they sleep there. This (day), the fifth (yindi 'big', hence 'thumb', hence 'five') they go back now. They taste (gacar?-) that thing, what is it? Cycad nuts (gurtha-puy? 'of the fire'). But they are still bitter-tasting (mu:nuk).

4. ga bulu walal n^εu:ra-∅, bulu walal n^εu:ra-∅ n^εanapur, bulu walal n^εu:ra-∅, ga dhiya-n^ε bala yindi-n^y? gun^ε-uripu-y-na, bili-n gapu-mara-n^εal, yarga?, yarga?-yu-na marci-n^ya, bay?-na gurtha nha:ra-nha, n^εunha-la-mi, n^εunha-la-mi, n^εunha-la-mi,

They sleep (n^εu:ra-) again. They, we sleep again. Again they sleep. This day (dhiya-n^ε bala), the tenth (five on the other hand). They took (-mara-) them from the water (gapu-). They started to grind them. There was a campfire there, (another) there, (another) there. (The speaker is pointing to spots a few yards apart.)

5. bili walal ka yarga?-yu-na, yarga?-yu-na, buku-lumbak, yathi-w-nja, n^εula nha:-puy n^εula dhapi?-buy, n^εuru-mir, wiripu-n^y buku-lumbak, wiripu-n^y n^εuru-mir, ga:r-n^yja ga:na, ga:r-n^yja ga:na, yarga?-yu-na marci-n^ya, n^εula nha:-puy dhapi?-buy, ga yathi-puy, luka-nha n^εanapur n^εuli bu:c-n^εur n a:thil,

Then they ground them up. They wrapped them in paper bark (buku-lumbak-mara-). They made a hollow tube (yathi), just like for the

(Text M11)

circumcision ritual (dhapi?). A long one (n^εuru-mir 'nose-having'). They rolled up another (paperbark tube). Another long one. The cycad bread (ga:r) was kept separate. They ground it up. We used to eat the part in the circumcision-like tube, in the bush days (bu:c-n^εur).

6. ga dhuwa-nja ga:thur-na da:mba-n^y n^εanapur luka-∅ dhiya-la-mi, dhuwa-na new mission xx(?) n^εanapur luka-∅ dhiya-la-mi-n ga, n^εa:thil-nja n^εanapur luka-nha, n^εa:thil-nja n^εanapu-- luka-nha, n^εathu, n^εathu yan, bili-n, ganguri, jalma, n^εa:thil-nja n^εanapur luka-nha, wada?n^εu, bunbun, n^εa:thil-nja n^εanapur luka-nha, ga wun^εay?-na, ga n^εunhi-yi-n n^εathu-n,

Nowadays, here, we eat damper (bread). We eat (that) here in this new mission. We used to eat cycad (nuts) long ago. Also long yams (ganguri), round yams (jalma), grass potato (wada?n^εu), yams (bunbun), wild honey (wun^εay?), and cycads. We ate them in the old days.

7. n^εa:thil-nja napur luka-nha bu:c-n^εur-n^yja, n^εama-y-n^y?ja walal, nhakun ma:ri-?mun^εu-y-n^yja, nhakun ma:ri-y-n^yja walal, nhakun ma:lu-y-n^y?ja walal, n^εunhi-yi bili n^εatha-n^y n^εanapur-n^ε wan^εgan^y? yan, yaka nha: n^εula balan^ya, nhakun dhuwal-i limur luka-∅ n^εuli, da:mba mission-n^εur, dhiya-n^ε bala-n^y mission-n^εur, dhiya-n^εu-n bala, ga nhakun n^εunhi-yi n^εuri-n^εi-yi-n^y bala n^εanapur, wap-dhu-n mission-lil walal,

We used to eat in the bush. My M's, FF's, MMB's, and F's. We used to eat the same (wan^εgan^y?) food (n^εatha). We did not have any of this mission damper today (dhiya-n^ε bala). At that time we shifted (wap-) to the mission (to settle there).

8. bak-mara-n^εal-na n^εunhi-yi, dha:rak-ja, ga ba:yn^εu-n mari n^εula old time, barc-u-n-mi-n^ya walal ka n^εa:thil n^εuli-ya, ba:yn^εu-n dhiya-n^εu-n^y bala, n^εa:thil-nja n^εanapur, bili n^εanapur marci-n bi:-n^εur n^εathu n^εanapur luka-n buwayak-dhi-n, ga marci-n n^εanapur dhi-pal mission-lil, bili-n da:mba-n, da:mba-n, wan^εgan^y?-na da:mba-n, luka-∅-n^y n^εanapur,

We broke (bak-mara-) our spear shafts (dha:rak). No more (ba:yn^εu-) fighting (mari) like in the old times, (when) we had spear fights (barc-u-n-mi-). No more (of that) today. Long ago we would come from somewhere and eat cycads, but that has disappeared (buwayak-dhi-). We came to this mission, and all we eat now is damper.

9. mi:mbu-n^εal-na, n^εathu-n^y, ganguri-n^y, jalma-n^y, n^yam^yam?-ja, jalawu balan^ya-ya, mi:mbu-n^εal-na, bili-n n^εanapur dhun^εa-thi-na-n, dha:-yun^εa-n, ga bindar? balan^ya-ya .

(We) have lost (forgotten about) cycads, long yams, round yams, river tubers (n^yam^yam? = jalawu). We have lost that kind. Now we are ignorant (dhun^εa, dha:-yun^εa). Also swamp tubers (bindar?).

TEXT M12 WATER LILY FOODS

Speaker: Miyala

1. ga wiripu-n^y n^εanapur n^εuli luka-nha, dhatam?, burpa, ga nhawi balan^ya, dhatam?-na n^εunhi-yi balwak nhan-n^εu dhatam?-gu, galiwur, galiwur balan^ya, wiripu-n^y n^εanapur n^εuli luka-nha, ga dhiran^ε, dhudi n^εayi dhiran^ε gal?n^εu, balan^ya n^εanapur wiripu-n^y jalk-dhu-na n^εuli, bala wiripu-n^y n^εuli dhatam?-ja walal ka yarga?-yu-na ruwam^εu?-yu-na, yarga?-yu-n walal, yarga?-yu-n walal, yan bili,

We (also) ate another thing, water lily foods (dhatam?). Water lily roots (burpa?). Also the seed pod (balwak) and stem (galiwur) of the lily. We ate that other (food). Also water lily root (dhiran^ε), the 'base' (dhudi) (of the water lily plant). We threw down (jalk-) that (onto the shore of the billabong, to be collected later). Other times (wiripu-n^y) they used to grind the water lily (seeds) and store away (the resulting mush). (yarga?- = grind; ruwam^εu?- = store)

2. ga dhatam?-lil, n^εunhi-yi bili, marwat nhan-n^εu n^εunhi dhatam?-ya, ruwam n^εi-n^ya, ruwam? n^εi-n^ya, gurtha-n^εur-n^yja, n^εunhi-yi dhatam?-na-n^y, ga dhiran^ε-nha n^εanapur bawala-mir luka-nha, dhu:n^εgu-n^y? n^εanapur bawala-mir luka-nha, burpa-n^y?, bawala-mir-ya, balan^ya napuru-n^ε-- bu:c-n^εur-n^yja napur luka-nha, n^εa:thil-nja, mission-n^εur balan^ya-ya, ba:yn^εu yan,

(We went) to water lilies. Its leaves. Water lilies. (We) cooked (ruwam?-) it (mush from seeds) in a fire (gurtha). Those water lilies. Also we ate lily seeds (dhatam?) and root corms (dhiran^ε) without special preparation (bawala-mir 'anyway'). We ate big root corms (dhu:n^εgu?) without preparation, root corms (burpa?). We used to eat (those things) long ago (n^εa:thil), in the bush. (Now) in the mission that is all gone (ba:yn^εu).

3. mak dhiran^ε-ja n^εanapur jalk-dhu-na, nha:-thu n^εula, jalpat-dhu balan^ya-ya, yaka gal?n^εu gayit-dhu-n^y, jalpat-dhu, jalpat balan^ya yaka bulu dakul?-nja n^εamakuru?n^εu-n^y, ga jalpat yan, balan^ya n^εanapur luka-nha-n^y, jalk-dhu-na walal n^εuli dhiran^ε-ja, bat-na n^εurka-nha, ruwam?-na n^εi-n^ya, gudhal?-yu-na, dhiran^ε balan^ya, ga n^εunhi-yi napur luka-nha-n^y n^εa:thil-nja,

We threw down water lily roots. (We knocked them off) with what? With a stone ax (jalpat). Not with a (modern) metal ax (dakul?), with a stone ax. Just a stone ax, not a good metal ax. We ate (that). They threw down those lily roots (dhiran^ε). (They) threw them down (n^εurka-), cooked them (ruwam?-), roasted them, those lily roots. We ate them, long ago.

4. burpa? nhan-n^εu friend, nhawi-nha-n n^εunhi-ya, n^εayi-n^y dhiran^ε-ja ga:na-yi ga n^εayi-n^y bulu burpa-n^y ga:na-yi, wiripu-n^y n^εanapur n^εunhi-yi dhatam? nhan-n^εu balwak nhan-n^εu dhatam?-gu, galiwur n^εanapur luka-nha galiwur balan^ya, n^εunhi-yi n^εawkn^εawk, n^εawkn^εawk n^εanapur luka-nha, balan^ya-yi,

(Text M12)

Water lily roots (burpa?) are friends of (i.e. found in the same place as) that (i.e. dhiran^g, another type of lily root). That what's-it? Those two (lily root types), burpa? and dhiran^g, are distinct (separate). In addition, we ate the seed pods (balwak) of that water lily (dhatam?). We ate the lily stem (galiwur). We ate the water lily stems (n^gawkn^gawk).

5. lup-dhu-na n^guli walal bu-nha::: n^gunha ban^yji yan, n^gunha-la-mi ban^yji::: dhan^gan^g-dhi-n^ya n^gayi, wucumun^ggu?, dhan^gan^g-dhi-n^ya wucumun^ggu-n^y? walala-n^g-gun^g, dhan^gan^g-dhi-n^ya n^gunhi-li-mi bili, ray-walma? n^gi-n^ya n^gunha-l wa:n^ga-lil-nja, mun^guy?, bica-na walal, jululu?-yu-na, ruwam^gu?,

They went into the water (of the billabong) there and knocked off (bu-) those (lily roots). Back (ban^yji) there. The container (wucumun^ggu?) was full (dhan^gan^g). The container was full, because of them (walala-n^g-gun^g). They took them up (ray-walma?) there, to the camp (wa:n^ga). All the time. They did that. They put them in the ground (jululu?-), they stored them (ruwam?-).

6. juy?-yu-na n^gula dhawal-lil mala, n^guri-n^gi-n^y mala, n^ga:thil-nja old people-yu, juy?-yu-na ma:ri-?mun^gu-y walal, nhakun n^ga:ndi-y walal, ma:ri-y walal, juy?-yu-na walal n^guli, n^gunhi-yi dhiran^g, dhatam, juy?-yu-na yan walal, walala-n^g.

They sent (the food) to the ones in the country (dhawal). Those old people, long ago, (sent the food). My FF's (ma:ri-?mun^gu), also my M's (n^ga:ndi) and MMB's (ma:ri), sent (them) there. They sent those lily roots, those lily foods, to them.

TEXT M13 CIRCUMCISION (I)

Speaker: Miyala

1. wiripu-n^y, dhapi? balan^ya, dhapi, bun^ggul n^guli walal n^ga:thil
other uncircumcised like that song that they long ago

baman, bu:c-n^gur n^guli n^ga:thil-ya, n^gayi-n^y muka n^gunhi-yi,
long ago in the bush that long ago he indeed that

galay-?mirin^gu-n^y, ga n^gunha dhuway-?mirin^gu-wal n^gu:ra-nha,
WB and that at ZH lay down

wulukur?-n^gur, wulukur?-n^gur n^gayi n^gu:ra-nha nhanu-kal, galay-?mirin^gu-n^y,
at ZH's camp he lay down at him WB

yan bili::: n^gutha-r n^gayi, n^gutha-r n^gayi, n^gunhi-yi wulukur?-n^gur,
only enough! grew up he that at ZH's camp

ramban^gi manda yapa-?mirin^gu,
united two elder Z

Also, an uncircumcised boy. They used to have a (circumcision) corroboree, long ago, in the bush. That WB (young, uncircumcised). He was living at the camp of his (elder) sister's husband, that WB was. He grew up at his ZH's camp. The two of them (elder Z and her H) were living together (married).

2. n^gayi-n^y yapa-?mirin^gu ga:na, ga n^gayi-n^y gutha-?mirin^gu-n^y
she elder Z alone and he younger B

n^gunhi-li-mi wulukur?-n^gur n^gu:ra-nha bulu, daramu-n^y, nhanu-kal,
there at ZH's camp lay down again man at him

n^ga:thil baman, n^ga:thil baman, n^gu:ra-nha n^gayi, wulukur?-n^gur,
old days long ago lay down he at ZH's camp

n^gayi-n^y n^gu:ra-nha, nhakun-- n^gayi-n^y bulu n^gunhi-yi yapa-?mirin^gu
he lay down like she again that elder Z

n^gu:ra-nha, ga nhakun n^gayi wa:wa-?-- gutha-?mirin^gu nhan-n^gu n^gu:ra-nha,
lay down and like he elder B younger B her lay down

dhuway-?mirin^gu-wal, wulukur?-n^gur yan,
at ZH at ZH's camp only

His elder Z (was there), and distinct from her (ga:na) her younger B was living there as well at his ZH's camp. In the old days, at his camp, (at) the man. He stayed at his ZH's camp. The elder Z lived there (with her H), and her elder--or rather younger B lived there, at his ZH's camp.

3. n^guli-n^gur-n^y ja, gurilku-nha-n walal, n^gula yathi-n^y,
after that discussed they something tube (ritual gear)

n^guri-ki-yi, dhapi-w?, n^gula bun^ggul-na walal dar?-dar-u-na,
for that for young boy something song now they performed

manikay-na, dar?-dar-u-na walal, ma:ri-?mun^gu-n^y walal, ma:ri-n^y walal,
song now performed they FF they MMB they

(Text M13)

nhakun wa:wa-n^y walal, dar?-dar-u-na walal, n^ɛula dar?-dar-u-na,
like elder B they performed they something

guriri-wulk-na nhan-n^ɛu n^ɛuri-ki-yi,
wait short time now for him for that

Eventually they (the old men) discussed the circumcision ritual performance for that uncircumcised boy (dhapi?). They performed corroboree singing (and dancing)--his ma:ri-?mun^ɛu's (FF's), his ma:ri's (MMB's), his older brothers. They performed the songs. They waited a little while for that boy (i.e. before the circumcision operation itself).

4. bay? n^ɛayi nha: burkunun^ɛ wandi-n, walal-nja, n^ɛa:ndi-?mirin^ɛu,
alone he what? women's dance ran they M

yapa-?mirin^ɛu, n^ɛula nha:, ma:ri-?mirin^ɛu, nha: n^ɛula,
elder Z something what? MM (or FFZ) what? something

guthara-?mirin^ɛu, burkunun^ɛ-na wandi-n, n^ɛuri-ki-yi dhapi-w?,
ZDC women's dance now ran for that for young boy

bun^ɛgul-na walal wap-dhu-na, yan bili::: guriri-wulk, gudar?
song they jumped only enough! wait short time next day

gulk-dhu-n-ja limur yur dhapi-n^y?, bica-n-mi-n walal wan^ɛa-n,
cut off we(InPl) Fut young boy said to each other they spoke

ga:thur-n^yja limur makal wiyin, manikay-na yur,
today we night long song now Fut

A separate part (of the ritual). They (women) performed ('ran') the women's dance (burkunun^ɛ)--his M, his elder Z, maybe his MM (FFZ) and his ZDD. They ran the women's dance. They (men) danced vigorously ('jumped') in the corroboree song. After that they waited a short time (i.e. until the next day). They (old men) said to each other, 'Tomorrow we will circumcise the young boy.' 'Today we will have a long night (of singing). There will be songs.'

5. yan bili::: jadow?-mara-n^ɛal, dac-na gulk-dhu-r, ma:r n^ɛayi
only enough! did until dawn cut now cut off very he

galki-n, yukura-∅ walal ka guriri-ya, jadow?-yu-na n^ɛayi,
near now sleep they Pres short (time) dawned it

n^ɛayi-n^y bi:-n^ɛur-na marci-n, mulmu walal wur?-yu-r, mulmu walal
he from somewhere went grass they uprooted

wur?-yu:::-r, rulan^ɛ-na, gaya?-dha-n^ɛal-na, n^ɛuri-ki-yi dhapi-w?,
put down now made bed now for that for young boy

gaya?-dha-n^ɛal-na, yaka blanket-ja ba yan, n^ɛa:thil, mulmu yan,
made bed not absent only long ago grass only

n^ɛuri-ki-yi dhapi-w-n?ja walal gaya?-dha-n^ɛal,
for that for young boy they made bed

(Text M13)

They (sang) until dawn. Then they circumcised (him). It was very close (imminent) now. They (waited) a short time. It dawned. He (the boy) came up. They pulled up some grass and put it down, making a kind of bed for that young boy. There were no blankets, long ago. Just grass. They made a bed for that young boy.

6. n^ɛayi-n^y dhuway-?mirin^ɛu-n^y walal-- wa:t-dhu-r nhan-n^ɛu walal,
he ZH they called for him they

gu! marc-i-n, yan bili::: dhut-na n^ɛayi ka dhuway-?mirin^ɛu,
go on! go now! only enough! sit down now he Pres ZH

ga:-n^ɛal-na n^ɛi-n^ya walal, wakal-n^ɛura-nha, wakal-n^ɛura-nha walal
carried now him they played they

galki-n bala galki-n galki-n .
near now that way near now

The boy's ZH and the other men called out for him. 'Go on now!' Then he sat down, the ZH. They carried him (to the circumcision place). They danced and sang nearby.

Note: The circumcisor is, ideally, the husband of the young boy's sister. A further indication of the close relationship between a boy and his sister's husband is the common practice whereby the boy's parents send him to live for a while at the ZH's camp; the expression wulukur?-n^ɛur 'at the ZH's camp' (see segments 1 and 2 of this text) is used specifically for this context.

TEXT M14 CIRCUMCISION (II)

Speaker: Miyala

1. n^εunhi garmak-lil-a, jip-na, bat-na,
 that to circumcision ground now make sit now throw down now
 dap-mara-n^εal n^εayi bathi-n^y, bathi-n^y n^εayi dap-mara-n^εal, n^εan^ybak
 held tight he ritual bag armband
 dhiya-la-mi n^εan^ybak dhiya-la-mi, nhirpa-r nhanu-kal walal, wu nha:
 here made stand to him they or what?
 dhiya-la-mi gutgut, n^εuri-kal-yi dhapi?-wal, bat-na dhuway-?mirin^εu-n^y
 here feather to that to young boy lie down ZH
 n^εu:ra-n ga, duy-na n^εayi, n^εunhi-yi, dhuway-?mirin^εu-n^y,
 lay down Dur throw down now he that ZH

(They took the young boy) to that circumcision ground and made him sit down. He (the boy) held on to the ritual bag. They put ('made stand') armbands (leaves of a vine) here and here (i.e. on his upper arms). Maybe some feathers here (top of head), onto that young boy. His ZH lay down.

2. n^εula nha: n^εayi ka n^εula-n^εur-- birkar?-yu-n nha: mak
 something what? he Pres from there call 'birkar?!' what maybe
 n^εayi, nha: mak n^εayi gunbur?-yu-n n^εula-n^εur, bat-na n^εi-n^ya
 he call 'gunbur?!' from there throw down now him
 dhuway-?mirin^εu n^εathil n^εa:thil-nja, n^εuli-n^εur-n^yja, n^εunhi-yi-n^y
 ZH then long ago from there that
 galay-?mirin^εu-n^y nhan-n^εu, wulukur?-nha, galay-?mirin^εu nhan-n^εu,
 WB his brother-in-law WB his
 bat-na nhanu-kal gulun-lil, n^εal?-mara-n^εal, bat n^εi-n^ya,
 throw down now to him to belly caused to go up get him
 dhiya-la-mi mulka-∅, dhiya-la-mi mulka-∅ dhiya-l-ga?yi mulka-∅ dap-mara-m,
 here holds here holds tight

Maybe he (e.g. FF or MMB) calls out 'birkar?!' (untranslatable ritual interjection for yirica moiety) or 'gunbur?!' (same, for dhu:wa moiety). Then they used to make the ZH lie down, long ago. Then they put his WB, the actual brother-in-law (i.e. the young boy), down on his (the ZH's) belly. They used to put him up (on the other man's belly). He (the ZH) gets ahold of him here (the young boy's arms and legs) and holds him tightly.

3. bili-n, yaka-n^y razor, n^εula nha:, guyara? yan, ba:yn^εu
 enough now! not something what? stone spear only absent
 yan n^εunhi-yi n^εayi bulu nhawi-n^y, ju:lu yan n^εayi nhirpa-r-na,
 only that he again what's-it? cloth only he caused to stand now
 ga trousers-ja ba:yn^εu yan, n^εuri-n^εi-yi dhapi-y, balara? yan,
 and absent only that young boy genital cover only

(Text M14)

- balara? yan, raki? nhan-n^εu dhudipiri, raki? n^εunhi-yi
 string belt his string belt that
 dhudi-n^εur-n^yja, balwur balan^ya, dhudi-n^εur-n^yja n^εayi-- dap-mara-n^εal
 on behind string like that on behind he held tight
 n^εi-n^ya, jut-ja nhan-n^εu ga balara?, n^εa:thil-nja,
 him genital cover his and genital cover long ago
 n^εuri-ki-yi, dhapi-w,
 of that of young boy

There were no razors then, just stone spear (blades). There was also none of that (modern clothing). He (the boy) had put on (traditional) clothing. There were no trousers then. That boy (had put on) the traditional genital cover, with a string belt going around his waist (his rear end). He had his genital cover tight (on his skin). For that young boy.

4. n^εuli-n^εur-n^yja, n^εula nha:-?mirin^εu-y n^εula, n^εathi-?mirin^εu-y,
 from there something what relation? something MF
 n^εula n^εayi-pi yan daramu-nha-- daramu-ya-n^εal-nja, n^εayi-pi yan,
 something himself only man made a man
 n^εathi-?mirin^εu n^εula, n^εara-pi n^εara-pi, n^εara-pi yan, n^εara-pi yan
 MF something myself only
 n^εara mit-dhu-n-ja n^εi-n^ya, gamin^yar-nha ra-ku ra, bica-n n^εayi ka
 I cut him DS my I says he Pres
 wan^εa-∅ yur, n^εunhi-yi n^εathi-?mirin^εu,
 speak Fut that MF

Then what relation?--his (the boy's) MF, he (and no-one else) made him a man (circumcised him). Just he, the MF. (The MF says,) 'Me! Me! I will cut him. I will (cut) my DS.' He says that, the MF.

5. ga n^εayi-pi yan n^εi-n^ya daramu-ya-ma-n^y, dirgi!, bat-na
 and himself only him makes a man hold foreskin get now
 gula-n^y?, barwan?-miri-ya-n^εal, barwan?-ja xx(?) bat-na, jaw?-na
 skin extend foreskin foreskin get now take away now
 n^εi-n^ya, dhuway-?-- galay-?-- galay-?mirin^εu-nha-n^y, n^εuri-n^εi-yi
 him ZH WB WB that
 dhuway-?mirin^εu-y, yan bili, m!, bu:ciwan^εgapunu-n^εal-na, gurtha-lil,
 ZH only enough! oh! held finger over fire now to fire
 batha?-batha-r yan n^εi-n^ya:::, batha?-batha-r xx(?), gurtha-y-na:::,
 burned only him burned with fire now
 bu:ciwan^εgapunu-n^εal, batha-r n^εi-n^ya:::,
 held finger over fire burned him

(Text M14)

He himself (MF) circumcised him. He held the foreskin out (and cut it with the stone spearhead). That ZH (who had been lying under the boy, on his belly, holding his arms and legs to restrain him) now took the boy away. He (ZH) held his (own) fingers over the fire (to warm them), then applied the warmth (of his fingers) to the boy (i.e. to the boy's wound, to help control the bleeding).

6. bili, garpi-r-a n^εi-n^ya, n^εunhi-yi, garpi-r n^εi-n^ya, barukala-y,
 enough! wrapped now him that with paper bark
 garpi-r-n^yja n^εi-n^ya bili-n, barukala?-mir-a n^εayi marci-n^ya,
 wrapped him enough now! having paper bark now he went
 barukala?-mir-a n^εayi marci-n^ya n^εunhi-yi, dhapi? n^εunhi-yi .
 that young boy that

Then (they) wrapped up him (i.e. his wound) with paper bark (as a bandage). That young boy then walked around with the paper bark.

TEXT M15 CIRCUMCISION (III)

Speaker: Miyala

1. nhakun n^εunhi-yi, nhakun n^εunhi-yi, n^εunhi-yi, galay-?mirin^εu-y nhan-n^εu,
 like that like that that WB his
 galay-?mirin^εu-nha-n n^εunhi-yi, ma:r n^εuli, ma:r n^εuli n^yumukunin^y yan,
 WB now that almost that small only
 yaka dumur n^εuli-ya, n^εa:thil-nja n^εanapur gulk-dhu-na, yaka n^εula dumur
 not big that long ago we cut not something big
 n^εanapur gulk-- gulk-dhu-na n^εuli n^εa:thil-nja walal, n^yumu::kunin^y yan,
 we cut that long ago they small only

That WB-- (The ZH was involved in circumcizing) that WB of his. That (WB) was not quite (grown). He was still small, not big. Long ago we used to circumcise (boys). We did not cut them when they were big, long ago, (rather) when they were still fairly small.

2. ga ya:na-n n^εayi n^εutha-r-n^yja, n^εayi-n^y daramu-n^y,
 and unrestricted now he grew he man
 gurmul-na, gurmul-na n^εunhi-yi, n^εunhi-yi galay-?mirin^εu-y nhan-n^εu,
 young man now that that WB his
 n^εuri-ki-yi dhuway-?mirin^εu-w, ga ya:na n^εayi n^εutha-r-n^yja n^εunhi
 of that of ZH and unrestricted he grew that
 ga yan bili n^εayi::: murukay-yi-n, yan bili n^εayi ga murukay-yi-n
 and only enough! he got big and got big
 n^εunhi-yi galay-?mirin^εu-n^y, mun^εuy?-na, n^εunhi-yi daramu-ya-ma-n^y n^εi-n^ya
 that WB always now that makes man him
 n^εayi, n^εunhi-yi gulumur-ya, n^εunhi-yi-n^y galay-?mirin^εu-n^y,
 he that young man that WB

He (the young WB) used to grow up free (without being circumcised). Then that WB became a young man. The WB of that other man, his ZH. He grew up free, he got bigger. The WB kept getting bigger. Then he (ZH) makes his WB a man (circumcises him).

3. yan bili::: bili-n murukay-na, dha:rak-na n^εayi mulka-n,
 only enough! enough now! big now spear now he held
 galpu-mir-a n^εayi, dha:rak-mir-a n^εayi, guya-n n^εayi dharpu-nha
 having woomera now he having spear now he fish now he speared
 ga wa:yin-na n^εayi dharpu-nha, n^εuri-n^εi-yi galay-?mirin^εu-y-n^yja,
 and game now he speared that WB
 n^εuri-ki-yi dhuway-?mirin^εu-w, bili-n .
 of that of ZH enough now!

Now he is big. He has a spear and a woomera. He spears fish and game now. That WB of that ZH.

TEXT M16 WIFE-BESTOWING

Speaker: Miyala

1. balan^ya, n^εuli n^εara-ku ma:ri-?mirin^εu-ya, n^εuli n^εara-ku
 like that that my MMB that my
 ma:ri-?mirin^εu-ya, ga bili n^εayi nhi:n-i nhanu-kal n^εunhi mumalkur
 and enough! she will sit at him that MMBW
 n^εara-ku, n^εuri-kal-yi, ga bili n^εayi mumalkur-yu yu:thu ma:ra-n^ε,
 my at that and enough! she MMBW child will get
 waku-?mirin^εu-n^y nhan-n^εu, mumalkur-wu, ga mu:kul ra-ku rumaru,
 ZC (=woman's C) her of MMBW and MMBD(=WM) my respect
 ga n^εuli-n^εur-n^yja, ga n^εuri-n^εi-yi, mu:kul-yu rumaru-y?, ga bili
 and from that and that MMBD respect and enough!
 n^εayi gurupa-n-a yur n^εunha-wal, n^εayi-n^y yur gawal-?mirin^εu-wal n^εara-kal
 she gives now Fut to there she Fut at MB at my
 nhi:na-∅ yur n^εayi n^εunhi-yi, gawal-?mirin^εu-wal, n^εara-k,
 sit Fut she that at MB my
 gawal-?mirin^εu, n^εunhi-yi mu:kul rumaru,
 MB that MMBD respect

My MMB. She (my MMBW) will live at his camp, my MMBW. That MMBW will have a daughter (my MMBD). That is my respect mu:kul (prospective WM, avoidance relation). After that, my respect mu:kul (will have a D, who will become my W). She (my mu:kul) will live at the camp of my (actual or classificatory) MB. My MB. That respect mu:kul.

Note: Without the modifier rumaru?, the kin term mu:kul can also apply to such non-avoidance relations as FZ.

Observe that the prospective WM can be labeled as MMBD in the simplest kinship notation, but that the longer, denotatively equivalent label MMBWD is more culturally appropriate. That is, Ego's mumalkur (actual or classificatory MMBW) is crucial in establishing Ego's claim to her D as his prospective WM, and plays a role in the actual bestowal arrangements.

2. ga bili n^εayi-- yu:thu-n maln^ε?-mara-n^ε, maln^ε?-mara-n^ε,
 and enough! she child now will cause to appear
 maln^ε?-mara-n^εu-n n^εayi, n^εuri-n^εi-yi mu:kul-yu, n^εula daramu,
 will cause to appear now she that MMBD something male
 ga n^εula dha-- miyalk, ga bili n^εara-n^y-- bili n^εara-n^y
 and female (dhayka) woman and enough! I
 guyan^ε-i-n, n^εunhi-yi, mumalkur-na, guyan^ε-i-n n^εara, guyan^ε-i-n
 will think now that MMBW now will think now I
 n^εara, bili n^εara-ku n^εunhi-yi mumalkur-n^yja, biya-k n^εara, ga
 enough! for me that MMBW will do I and
 n^εayi-n bulu guyan^ε-i n^εuri-n^εi-yi, n^εuri-n^εi-yi mumalkur-yu,
 she again will think that MMBW

(Text M16)

Now that MMBD (WM) will bear a child--either a male or a female. Now I will start thinking about that MMBW (mumalkur) of mine. She will likewise (think about) me. I will do that (think of her), and that MMBW will likewise think (of me).

Note: This means that Ego and his MMBW will begin to consider arranging the marriage of Ego to Ego's MMBDD (the DD of MMBW). This may have been anticipated long before the birth of the bride-to-be, but a more specific and up-dated commitment is now considered.

3. ga biya-k n^εayi wan^ε-i, n^εunha n^εara-ku-n^y dhumungur, ninin^yn^εu-n^y
 and will say she will speak that my HZDS actual
 gal?n^εu, maran^εu-n^y n^εara-ku, biya-k n^εayi n^εunhi-yi mumalkur
 indeed actual my will say she that MMBW
 wan^ε-i, ga bili n^εayi ka n^εunhi-yi ga:-n^εu-n, mumalkur-yu, n^εunhi-yi
 will speak and enough! she Dur that will carry MMBW that
 guthara-?mirin^εu-n^y, n^εapa-lil nhanu-kal, ga:-n^εu-n marc-i:::
 (woman's) DD onto backbone to her will carry now will go
 n^yumukunin^y yan n^εapa-gaya?-mir, bunic-u-r-a n^εara
 small only having paper bark on back will apply sweat now I
 n^εi-n^ya, yinipi?-miri-ya-n^εu-n, yinipi?-miri-ya-n^εu-n n^εi-n^ya,
 her will perform bestowal ritual her
 n^εunhi-yi mu:kul-nha, n^εunhi-yi,
 that MMBD that

She (Ego's MMBW) will say (or think), 'That man is my actual HZDS (i.e. proper H of my DD).' That MMBW will say that. Then (my) MMBW will bring her DD (my wife-to-be). Her actual DD (who went 'onto her back' as a child). She will carry her (the DD), still very young--being carried around on some paper bark (i.e. a young baby). I will apply sweat (from my underarm), I will go through the bestowal ritual with that MMBD (D of my MMBW, M of MMBDD, hence my prospective WM).

Note: Observe the expressions for 'actual (kinsman)' specifying the closest possible genealogical relationship (ninin^yn^εu, gal?n^εu, maran^εu) as well as the body-part expression for 'actual MM/MMB' ('onto his/her back'). The bestowal ritual is a brief ceremony involving the rubbing of underarm sweat by the prospective DH onto the body of his prospective WM; this may occur before or after the WM has a D to bestow.

4. n^εula daramu-n^y, n^εaric-gu n^εunhi-yi walkur
 something man for man of n^εaric subsection that child (S/D)
 nhan-n^εu, n^εula gajak, nha: n^εula gacan, ga
 his something gajak subsection what? something female gajak and
 bili n^εara bunic-u-r-a, yinipi?-miri-ya-n^εu-n, dhuwa-nja
 enough! I will apply sweat will perform bestowal ritual this
 n^εara-pi yan, dha:ra-∅ yur, ga biya-ku-n wan^ε-i, biya-k wan^ε-i,
 myself only stand Fut and will say now will speak

(Text M16)

n^gayi-n^y bulu ma:ri-n^y n^gunhi-yi n^gayi wan^ga-ø yur, da:l-thi-ø
 he again MMB that he speak Fut will be strong
 n^gara-ku-wuy yan, n^gara-ku-wuy yan, yaka n^gayi gacbal?-yu-r
 for myself only not he will have respect relation
 bala, wiripu n^guli, balan^ya,
 that way other that like that

Suppose there is a man of n^garic subsection. That child of the n^garic man will be gajak subsection or female gajak (gacan). (The n^garic man is my MMB, the gacan woman my MMBD and prospective WM). I will apply sweat and perform the bestowal ritual (with her). Now it is I who will stand (as the future H of her D). She will say that. Also my MMB (the n^garic man) will say (that). He will be firm (i.e. will uphold the promise to see that his DD is presented to me as wife). For me and me alone. He will not establish a respect relationship (i.e. a marital alliance) over that way, (with) some other man. (That is, he will not betray me and renege on the deal.)

5. ga n^gayi-n^y bulu n^gunhi-yi gawal-?mirin^gu n^gara-ku, lambara-?mirin^gu
 and he again that MB my WF
 n^gunhi-yi n^gara-ku, n^gayi-n^y yur biya-k wan^g-i, dhuwa-nja nhan-n^gu, yaka
 that my he Fut will say will speak this his not
 nhumala-n^g, biya-k n^gayi, n^gunhi-yi lambara-?mirin^gu, biya-k n^gayi
 for you(Pl) will say he that WF will say he
 wan^g-i, n^gunhi-yi, gawal-?mirin^gu-n^y n^gara-ku, yaka limuru-n^g
 will speak that MB my not for us(InPl)
 dharwa-w, biya-k n^gayi, biya-k n^gayi wan^g-i-n^y, bili n^gayi
 for whole group will speak enough! he
 da:l-thi-ø, n^gara-ku-wuy-- n^gara-ku-wuy yan, bili-n, n^gunhi-yi,
 will be strong for myself enough now! that
 ga balan^ya, balan^ya,
 and like that

In addition, my (classificatory) MB, my WF (H of my MMBD). He will say (to any other men who want the girl as their wife), 'This (girl) is his (Ego's). Not for you all.' That WF will say that. My 'MB' (WF) will say, '(She is) not for just any one of us.' He will say that. He will be firm (true to his word). (She is) for me and me alone. That (business) is like that.

6. ga bili n^gayi ka-- bili n^gayi ka murukay-na, n^gunhi-yi,
 and enough! she Pres enough! she Pres big now that
 n^guri-ki-yi mumalkur-wu, n^gapa-lil nhanu-kal guthara-?mirin^gu nhan-n^gu,
 for that for MMBW onto backbone to her (woman's) DD her
 ga bili-n n^gayi murukay-na, n^guli-n^gur-n^yja, n^ga:thil-nja walal
 and enough now! she big now from that long ago they

(Text M16)

gurupa-n-mi-n n^guli, bu:c-n^gur-n^yja, yaka yan murukay-n^yja,
 gave to each other that in the bush not only big
 n^yu::mukunin^y yan walal gurupa-n-mi-n^ya n^ga:thil-nja bu:c-n^gur-n^yja,
 small only they gave to each other long ago in the bush

All right. She (my prospective W) is big now. That actual DD of my MMBW, who went up onto her back (i.e. actual DD). Now she is big. At that point, in the old days, they used to exchange (women). Not when they were big, when they (the girls) were little, they used to exchange them long ago, in the bush days.

7. n^gunhi-yi, married-dhu-n-ja n^gayi n^gunhi-yi married-dhu-n n^gunhi-yi
 that marries he that marries that
 dhuway-?mirin^gu-y-ya, married gurupa-n n^gi-n^ya walal ka, ga bili-n,
 H gives her they Pres and enough now!
 n^gayi-pi-n n^gi-n^ya n^gunhi-yi n^gutha-n-mara-ma-n^y dhuway-?mirin^gu-y-na:::
 himself her that causes to grow H
 yan bili::: murukay-yi-r n^gayi, n^gunhi-yi dhayka-n^y nhan-n^gu,
 only enough! gets big she that female his
 n^gutha-n-mara-m n^gi-n^ya n^gayi, yan bili::: dumuru-yi-ø-n n^gayi,
 causes to grow her he only enough! will get big now she

The husband would marry that (girl). They give her (to him). Then he (the H) himself raises her. She gets big, his woman. He raises her. Gradually she gets big.

Note: In the old days the husband frequently took in a wife when she was quite young, perhaps twelve or thirteen.

8. yan bili::: mun^guy?-na::: ga yu:thu n^gayi ka ma:ra-n^g,
 only enough! always now and child she Dur will get
 yu:thu-miri-yi-r n^gayi, n^gunhi-yi, n^ga:thil-nja walal bica-r,
 will have child she that long ago they did that
 dilkuru-wur-nja, n^gara-ku-n^y ma:ri-n^y walal, nhakun ma:ri-?mun^gu-n^y
 elders my MMB they like FF
 walal, ga n^gathi-n^y walal, bica-r walal n^ga:thil-nja, walala-n^g,
 they and MF they did that they long ago for them
 n^ganapuru-n^g xx(?) n^ga:thil law, Aborigine n^gunhi-yi n^ganapur
 for us long ago that we(ExPl)
 baman-ya, n^gunhi n^ga:thil-ya, ba:yn^gu yan munan^ga n^ganapuru-n^g
 long time that long ago absent only white man for us

nhi:na-nha n^gunhi walal, bili dilkuru-wur .
 sat that they enough! elders

This will go on. She (the new bride) will have a child. They did that long ago, the elders (i.e. ancestors). My MMB's, my FF's, my MF's did that long ago. Their--our former law (traditions). Aboriginal (law). We did that long ago, when whites did not live with us. The elders.

TEXT M17 SIBLING RELATIONSHIPS

Speaker: Miyala

1. balan^ya wiripu-n^y, n^εula ba:pa-?mirin^εu-y walkur-mara-m yur,
like that other something F have child Fut
n^εanapuru-n^ε, n^εula n^εayi ba:pa-?mirin^εu-y walkur-mara-m yur-ya,
for us(ExPl) something he F Fut
ma:lu-y?, ga bili manda n^εunhi-yi yu:thu manda n^εunhi-yi,
F and enough! they(two) that child two that
wa:wa-?mirin^εu nhan-n^εu:: ga nha: yapa-?mirin^εu, bili manda
(elder) B her and what? Z enough! two
wakal-n^εur-i-n, wakal-n^εur-i-n manda, n^yumukunin^y yan manda, wakal-n^εur-i-n
will play now two small only two will play now
manda, ba:pa-puy-- wan^εgac-buy yan, n^εa:ndi-puy wan^εgac-buy yan,
related to F related to one only related to M related to one only
bili manda wakal-n^εur-i-n, bili manda wakal-n^εur-i-n, mun^εuy?-na,
enough! two will play now always now
mun^εuy?-na manda wakal-n^εur-i-n,

Another (thing). Suppose one of us, the F, has a child. The F will have a (second) child. Those two children, a B and a Z. They will play together, (because) they are still small. They have the same F and M (i.e. are full siblings). They will play together all the time.

2. ga n^εayi-n^y n^εuli yapa-?mirin^εu-n^y nhan-n^εu biya-ku-n, n^εama?,
and she that Z for her will say now M
n^εilin^yu marci-∅-n n^εunha wakal-n^εura-∅ barku, n^εunha bala ya?,
we(ExDu) go now that play distant that that way indeed
barku lin^yu wakal-n^εura-∅-n^y, n^εilin^yu wa:wa-n^y, ga n^εayi-n^y biya-k
we(ExDu) play we(ExDu) elder B and she will say
wan^ε-i yo!, gacuy-na, nhu:piya nhuma manda wakal-n^εur-i, biya-k
will speak yes! go now B you(Pl) two play will say
n^εayi wan^ε-i, ba:pa-?mirin^εu-n^y, ga n^εa:ndi-?mirin^εu-n^y, ga bili
he will speak F and M and enough!
manda wakal-n^εur-i:::n n^εula nha: manda, bala manda--
two will play now something what? two that way two
run^εiyi-∅-n, ra:li wa:n^εa-lil-a ba:pa-?mirin^εu-w-na,
will return now this way to camp now to F now

The Z will say to her (the M), 'Mother! The two of us (me and my B) are going over that way to play. Me and my B will play over that way.' And she (the M) will say, 'All right. You and your B go play.' The F and the M will say that. Then the two (children) will play, and then they will come back to their camp, for their F.

(Text M17)

3. run^εiyi-∅-n manda, dhut-na manda nhi:n-i, n^εatha-n manda
will return now two sit down now two will sit food now two
luk-i n^εula nha:, nhi:n-i-n manda, ga n^εu:r-i manda
will eat something what? will sit now two and will lie down two
n^εunhi-l-i bili, wa:wa-?mirin^εu-wal, ba:pa-?mirin^εu-wal, n^εunhi-yi-n^y
there enough! to elder B to F that
wa:wa-?mirin^εu-n^y, n^εu:r-i manda n^εunhi-li-mi bili, n^εu:r-i
elder B will lie down two there enough! will lie down
manda bili, n^εunhi-li-mi, n^εa:ndi-?mirin^εu-wal, nhakun ma:lu-?mirin^εu-wal,
there to M like to F
biya-ku-n bili, bili n^εayi grow up-na, n^εunhi-yi-n^y n^εayi
will do now enough! he grows up now that he
murukay-yi-∅-n, n^εayi-n^y n^εuru-n^εu-n^y nhan-n^εu wa:wa-?mirin^εu-n^y,
will get big now he eldest her elder B

The two (children) come back and sit down. Now they will eat something and sit. They will sleep right there, at the camp of their elder B's and their F. The B (and his Z) will sleep there, at the camp of their M and F. They will do that. Now the B, who is oldest, will grow up.

4. ma:r n^εayi-- ma:r n^εayi murukay-na wal?n^εu-ya, dumur-na n^εayi,
almost he big now indeed big now he
dumuru-yi-∅-n n^εayi, dhil manda n^εunhi-li-mi bili manda yur
will get big now he still(loan) two there enough! two Fut
nhi:na-∅, n^εu:ra-∅ yur, n^εa:ndi-?mirin^εu-wal, ga n^εayi-n^y bulu
sit lie down Fut at M and she again
yapa-?mirin^εu-n^y ma:r muruka-yi-∅, ga biya-k bili manda
Z nearly will get big and will do that enough! two
wakal-n^εura-∅ yan, mun^εuy? manda yur bul?-yu-n wakal-n^εura-∅ yan, yan
play only always two Fut play only
bili:::,
enough!

He (the B) is fairly big now. He will get big. Still the two of them (B and Z) play there and sit (together). They sleep at their M's camp. The Z will likewise be getting bigger. The two of them keep playing together.

5. n^εayi-n^y wa:wa-?mirin^εu-n^y murukay-yi-∅, ga n^εayi-n^y ba:pa-?mirin^εu-n^y
he elder B will get big and he F
wan^ε-i-n, ay! n^εunha nhu:piya nhuma manda yukur-i-n, nhi:-n^y
will speak now hey! that B you(Pl) two will sleep now you(Sg)
daramu-n^y, nhi:-n^y daramu-n^y yur n^εunha nhu:piya xx(?) yukur-i-n^y-ya,
man Fut that B will sleep

(Text M17)

wa:wa-n^εali, ba:mara nhan-n^εu n^εuru-k-ga?yi nhu:piya-w, biya-k
 your elder B companion his of that of B will say
 n^εayi wan^ε-i-n, ba:pa-?mirin^εu-n^y,
 he will speak now F

The (elder) B will get big. Then the F will say (to this boy and his brother--not sister), 'Hey! You two brothers will sleep over there (in the single boys' quarters in a separate camp). You and you, boys. You will sleep (together). You and your B. You are (henceforth) the companion of that brother of yours.' The F says that.

Note: The point is that as boys approach puberty they are sent to live in a special single boys' camp, and are expected to avoid their sisters (who remain in the parents' camp).

6. ga n^εayi-n^y bulu n^εa:ndi-?mirin^εu-n^y wan^ε-i, biya-ku-n n^εayi
 and she again M will speak will say now she
 wan^ε-i nhan-n^εu, yo! ma:lu?, biya-k yu:ra-n^ε, n^εunhi-yi,
 will speak to him yes! F will say will agree that
 ga:thu-?mirin^εu-n^y nhan-n^εu, lark-na n^εayi marc-i-n bala-n
 S his set off now he will go now that way now
 bala, wa:wa-?mirin^εu-nha-n^y, bili n^εayi murukay-yi-∅-n n^εuli-ya,
 that way elder B enough! he will get big now that
 dumur-na n^εayi,
 big now he

The M will likewise speak. She will say to him, 'Yes, Dad!' She will agree with (=support) him. That S of his will go now (to the single boys' camp). (The parents will send) the elder B. He will be getting big.

7. ga dhuwal bili n^εara-- dhuwal bili n^εara galku-n-ja, yapa-n^εali-n^y,
 and this enough! I this enough! I hold your Z
 biya-k n^εayi wan^ε-i, dhuwal n^εara galku-n dhuwal yapa-n^εali ga
 will say he will speak this I hold this your Z and
 nhuma-n^y nhu:piya n^εu:r-i ka, n^εunha-la-mi, ba:mara nhan-n^εu,
 you(Pl) B will lie down Dur there companion his
 wa:wa-w?, biya-k n^εayi wan^ε-i, n^εunhi-yi ma:lu-n^y?, ga nhakun
 for elder B will say he will speak that F and like
 n^εama-n^y? .
 M

(The F tells the boy,) 'I will keep your Z here.' He will say that. 'I will keep your Z here. You two brothers will sleep there. You (younger B) will be your elder B's companion.' He will say that. The F. Also the M (will say that).

TEXT M18 MOTHER-IN-LAW (I)

Speaker: Miyala

1. n^εuri-ki-n^y-dhi, garkaran^ε-gu-n^y, garkaran^ε, n^εunhi murn^εaram?-ya,
 of that of WM WM that WM
 garkaran^ε-ja, n^εayi-n^y n^εuli biya-ku-n garkaran^ε-ja wan^ε-i, n^εula
 WM she that will say now WM will speak something
 nhan-n^εu waku-?mirin^εu, daramu n^εunhi-ya, n^εula nha: n^εara-ku ba:pa,
 her (woman's) C man that something what? my F
 ma:lu? ra-ku, n^εayi-n^y biya-ku-n wan^ε-i, garkaran^ε-ja n^εunhi-yi,
 F my she will say now will speak WM that
 biya-k n^εayi wan^ε-i-n^y, ay! n^εunha:::, xx(?), walala-n^ε ga:-n^εu, ay!
 will say she will speak oh! that to them take! oh!
 n^εula nha:, biya-k n^εayi wan^ε-i, n^εunhi-yi garkaran^ε-ja, dhuwal
 something what? will say she will speak that WM this
 walala-n^ε ga:-n^εu, biya-k n^εayi garkaran^ε n^εunhi-yi, murn^εaram?-ja,
 to them carry! will say she WM that WM

(Discussion) of that WM (garkaran^ε, murn^εaram?). Her child, a man. Perhaps my father. She (WM) will speak. That WM will say (e.g. to her husband, cf. below), 'Take it (e.g. food or other gifts) to them!' She will say something like that, that WM. That WM will say, 'Take this to them!'

Note: Part of this segment seems garbled. The role of Ego's F in this segment is unclear; the speaker may have started on one line of thought and then dropped it. The quoted segment here was spoken rapidly and in high pitch, like many direct quotations, and part of it is unintelligible.

2. ga n^εa-n^ya n^εayi wan^ε-i n^εunhi-yi dhuway-?mirin^εu-n^y, n^εunhi
 and him she will speak that H that
 bu^lan^y-nha, nha: n^εaric-nha, dhuway-?mirin^εu-n^y
 of bu^lan^y subsection what? of n^εaric subsection H
 n^εayi wan^ε-i, dhuwal ga:-n^εu walala-n^ε-- waku-n^εali-w, biya-k
 she will speak this carry! to them to your ZS will say
 n^εayi wan^ε-i, n^εunhi-yi garkaran^ε-ja, dhuwal ga:-n^εu walala-n^ε n^εatha,
 she will speak that WM this carry! to them food
 walal yur n^yalu-ma-n, walal yur n^yalu-ma-n, walu-puy, biya-k n^εayi
 they Fut eat now daytime will say she
 wan^ε-i garkaran^ε n^εunhi mu:kul,
 will speak WM that WM

She (WM) will speak to her H, that man of bu^lan^y--or rather of n^εaric subsection. She will say to her H, 'Take this to them, to your nephew (ZS).' That WM will say, 'Take this food to them. They will eat it, in the daytime.' That WM, that mu:kul (WM), will say that.

(Text M18)

Note: The term *mu:kul* applies to MMBD and other kinswomen who function as avoidance or respect relatives and potential WM to Ego, and can be extended as *mu:kul rumaru?* for such relatives. It can also apply to FZ and other non-avoidance relatives and in this case would be extended as *mu:kul ba:pa* or *mu:kul ya:nan^u*. The terms *garkaran^u* and (the less common) *murn^uaram?* are emphatic avoidance terms for actual or prospective WM, used especially in contexts where Ego and such an avoidance relative are in close proximity so that tension is created. As this text shows, the terms can also be used in other contexts lacking such tension, but such uses are apparently uncommon; the speaker and I had been discussing these terms informally prior to the recording of this text and this may have induced the speaker to use them in a non-optimal context.

The gifts in question are to the prospective husband of the woman's D. The woman (WM) sends her own H (Ego's actual or classificatory 'MB') with these gifts to reassure the prospective in-laws that the previously arranged marriage is still projected; subsequently the D herself is sent to her groom.

3. *dhuwal mak n^uula nha: ga:-n^u walala-n^u n^uatha ya?, walal*
 this maybe something what? carry! to them food indeed they
n^yalu-ma-n n^uatha-n^y, ga biya-k n^ui-n^ya n^uayi wan^u-i n^uunhi-yi,
 eat now food and will say him she will speak that
n^uunhi-yi gawal-?mirin^u-n^y n^uara-ku, n^uuri-ki-yi-- n^uuri-ki-yi nhawu-ku,
 that MB my of that of what's-it?
garkaran^u-gu dhuway-?mirin^u, mu:kul, n^uuri-ki-yi rumaru-w, garkaran^u-gu,
 of WM H WM of that of respect of WM

'Take this something or other, food! They (will) eat the food.'
 She (my WM) says that to my 'MB' (her H). The H of that what's-it?,
 of my respect *mu:kul* (WM), of my WM.

4. *lark-na n^uayi, marc-i-n n^uayi, n^uunhi-yi gawal-?mirin^u ra-ku,*
 set off now he will go now he that MB my
bala::: ga:-n^u marc-i:::, dhur-na wi:ka-n^u, dhur-na wi:ka-m yur,
 that way carry will go give now will give give Fut
n^uula nha: n^uatha, ga wiripu-n^y mak n^uayi yur ya:ngu-m, gacuy!
 something what? food and other maybe she Fut send go!
marc-i-n, gacuy marc-i-n, n^uunha dhuway-nha-n marc-i, nhuma yukura- \emptyset -n,
 go now! that (to) H now go! you(Pl) sleep now
biya-k n^uayi waku-?mirin^u-nha-n^y n^uunhi-yi garkaran^u-ja wan^u-i,
 will say she (to) D that WM will speak

He (my 'MB' and prospective WF) will set off then. That MB will go that way (to my camp). He will present the gifts then, maybe food. On the other hand, eventually she (WM) will send (her D, as W, to me). 'Go now! Go there to your H! The two of you sleep there (i.e. live in one camp).' That WM will say that to her D.

(Text M18)

5. *nhuma yukura- \emptyset -n, munhaku-n dhuwal, munhaku-n dhuwal, biya-k*
 you(Pl) sleep now night now this will say
n^uayi wan^u-i, n^uunhi-yi murn^uaram?-ja, nhuma manda yukura- \emptyset -n,
 she will speak that WM you(Pl) two sleep now
munhaku-- yaka nhi: ka wakal-n^uur-i, yaka nhi: ka barku-mal
 night not you(Sg) Dur play! to far away
marc-i, gacuy! run^uiyi- \emptyset -n, wa:n^ua-lil-a, garkaran^u-ja n^uayi biya-k
 go! go! go back now! to camp now WM she will say
wan^u-i n^uara-k, wan^u-i n^ui-n^ya n^uunhi-yi waku-?mirin^u-n^y,
 will speak my will speak her that (woman's) D
ga bili-n dhuwal-i, bili-n .
 and enough now! this enough now!

'You (two) sleep (at the same camp) now, tonight.' That WM will say that (to her D). 'You two sleep (at the same camp) now, tonight. Do not play around. Do not run off far away (from your H's camp)! Go back to (i.e. stay close to) the camp!' My WM will say that. She will speak to her D. Finish.

TEXT M19 MOTHER-IN-LAW (II)

Speaker: Miyala

1. n^εunhi-yi garkaran^ε n^εunhi-ya, ga bili napur yaka-yi lakara-m
 that WM that and enough! we(Expl) not speak
 n^εunhi, bili napur rumaru-w n^εuri-ki-yi garkaran^ε-gu, ga yaka n^εanapur
 that for respect for that for WM and not we
 n^εi-n^ya ya:ku-n^y yur lakara-m, n^εunhi-yi garkaran^ε-na, mu:kul balan^ya
 her name(d) Fut speak that WM WM like that
 rumaru?-ya, ga bili n^εayi n^εuri-ki-yi-- n^εuri-n^εi-yi mu:kul-yu rumaru-y?
 respect and enough! she of that that WM respect
 gurupa-n yur yu:thu, ga yaka n^εanapur allowed-ja nhan-n^εu n^εunhi
 give Fut child and not we(Expl) permitted for her that
 n^εuri-ki-yi, yaka n^εi-n^ya lakara-m yur ya:ku,
 for that not her speak Fut name(d)

That WM. We do not call her by name. We (do not do that) for a respect WM. We will not call her by name, that WM, that respect mu:kul (WM). That WM will give (me) her D. We are not allowed (to do that) for that woman. We cannot speak her name. (In address or reference.)

2. nha: mak yapa-?mirin^εu ra-ku, n^εuri-n^εi-yi mak manda ya:ku-n^y
 what? maybe Z my that maybe two name

lakara-nha-mi-r yur, mu:kul-?man^yji, n^εunhi-yi garkaran^ε-ja, bili manda
 call each other Fut BWM and DHZ pair that WM enough! two

marc-i n^εunhi, galki, ga n^εunhi daramu-n^y gal?n^εu gurun^ε-?mirin^εu-n^y
 will go that near and that man indeed (woman's) DH

nhan-n^εu, ga yaka n^εi-n^ya ya:ku lakara-m ga, nha:-nha-ra-mi-r manda
 her and not him/her name(d) speak Pres see each other two

yur, barku yan, barku barku yan manda marc-i, n^εunhi-yi garkaran^ε,
 Fut far only two will go that WM

Perhaps my Z. That woman--the two of them (my Z and WM) can call each other by name. The pair related (to each other) as BWM and DHZ, that WM (of mine) (and the Z). They can go close (to each other). But if the gurun^ε (DH male, DHZ female) is a man (DH), he (she) cannot call her (him) by name. If they see each other they stay or go far away from each other. That WM.

3. bili n^εanapur yaka yur-- galki nhanu-kal-- n^εu:ra-∅ yur-ya, ga
 enough! we(Expl) not Fut near to her/him lie down Fut and

barku yan walal yur nhi:na-∅ yur n^εunhi-yi garkaran^ε, ga n^εanapur yur
 far only they Fut sit Fut that WM and we Fut

barku yan, wa:n^εa-n^y n^εanapuru-n^ε, n^εa:thil-nja n^εunhi-yi, bu:c-n^εur-n^yja
 far only camp our(Expl) long ago that in bush

n^εanapur bica-r, bili-n dhuwal-i .
 we did that enough now! this

We will not sleep close to her (WM). They will stay far from that WM. We will (stay) far. Our camp (was not close to hers). Long ago, in the bush, we did that. Finish.

TEXT M20 SORORAL POLYGYNY AND JUNIOR LEVIRATE

Speaker: Miyala

Note: sororal polygyny = man marries a girl and her younger sister(s). junior levirate = after death of the elder brother, the younger brother takes over the dead man's wives and children.

1. n^εunhi yinipi?-miri-ya-nha-wuy-ya, mu:kul n^εunhi-yi-ya rumaru, n^εunhi-yi
 that one who is bestowed WM that respect that

yinipi?-miri-ya-m n^εi-n^ya n^εayi, bili n^εayi dha:ra-∅ n^εayi ka
 obtains as WM her he enough! she stand (firm) she Pres

nhanu-kiyin-gal yan, n^εuri-ki-yi gurun^ε-?mirin^εu-wal, nhan-n^εu-wuy yan
 to him only for that to DH (FZDS) for him only

gurun^ε-?mirin^εu-w, ja:l-nja n^εayi, ga yaka n^εayi n^εula gurupa-n yur
 for DH want DH and not she something give Fut

wiripu-lil, n^εunhi yawirin^y?-na mala-n-ya, yaka n^εayi gurupa-n yur,
 to other that young boy now Pl now not she give Fut

yawirin^y?-gu-n^y, ga n^εunhi yan bili n^εayi dha:ra-∅-n yur,
 for young boy and that only enough! she stand now Fut

gurun^ε-?mirin^εu-wal nhanu-kiyin-gal yan, wan^εgan^y?-gal,
 to DH to him only to one

That (prospective WM) whom he (her prospective DH) has obtained in the bestowal ceremony. He obtains his respect mu:kul (WM) in the bestowal ceremony. Then she stands firm (keeps the pledge) for just that particular (prospective) DH. He wants her (as WM). She will not give (her D) to any of the other boys. She stands firm for that one DH.

2. ga bili n^εunhi-yi yapa-?mirin^εu nhi:na-∅ ka-ya, nhanu-kal, ga
 and enough! that Z sit Pres at him and

n^εuri-ki-yi garkaran^ε-gu-n^y nhan-n^εu yu:thu n^εuru-n^εu, ga n^εayi-n^y bulu
 of that of WM her child eldest and he again

n^εunhi-yi gutha-?mirin^εu-n^y nhan-n^εu yukuyuku-?mirin^εu-n^y, ga bala-yi
 that younger B her younger B and that way

bili, n^εuri-kal-yi bili, bili n^εayi yapa-?mirin^εu nhanu-kal nhi:na-∅
 enough! at that enough! she Z at him sit

ka, ga n^εayi-n^y bulu n^εunhi-yi, marc-i-n nhanu-kiyin-gal bili,
 Pres and he again that will go now to him enough!

n^εunhi gutha-?mirin^εu-n^y nhan-n^εu,
 that younger B her

(The WM has several children of both sexes.) Now that Z (D of the WM) is living there (with her H). The eldest child of that WM. She (the married D) has a younger B. He will go that way also. His Z is living at his (her H's) camp, and her younger B will go to (stay with) him also.

(Text M20)

3. ga bulu n^εunhi-yi, ga yuta-n^y n^εayi yur maIn^ε?-mara-m, ga n^εuri-kal
 and again that and new she Fut cause to appear and to that
 bili n^εuri-ki-yi bili nhan-n^εu-wuy yan, n^εunhi n^εayi
 enough! of that enough! of him only that he
 yinipi?-miri-ya-m, n^εunhi-yi nhan-n^εu-wuy, nhan-n^εu-wuy yan n^εayi
 obtain as WM that of him only she
 n^εunhi-yi yinipi?-miri-ya-m n^εunhi-yi mu:kul, ga mumalkur-?mirin^εu-n^y
 that obtain as WM that WM and WMM
 nhan-n^εu dha:ra-∅ yur, mumalkur-?mirin^εu, ga n^εayi-n^y n^εi-n^ya n^εuri-n^εi-yi
 his stand Fut WMM and she him that
 garmala-?mirin^εu-y garmala-?-yu-n n^εunhi-yi daramu-ya, n^εunhi-yi
 WMM call 'WMM' that man that
 mumalkur-na, ga n^εayi-n^y yur n^εunhi-yi maIn^ε?-mara-n^εu-n n^εunhi-yi
 WMM now and she Fut that will cause to appear that
 n^εayi mumalkur-yu yu:thu, ga mu:kul-na nhan-n^εu n^εuri-ki-yi, rumaru-n?,
 she WMM child and WM now his of that respect now
 rumaru-n? nhan-n^εu,
 respect his

Now (the WM) has another (D), a new one. That (D) is for him alone (the H of the first D). He has her (WM) as his prospective WM. (Her D's are) for him only. He has her as his WM. His WMM (MM of both of the young girls) will stand firm (i.e. will see that the young girls both become properly married to the designated man). That WMM (garmala-) (will do that). He calls her garmala, the man (does). When she (WMM) has a child (D), she becomes the WM of that man, his respect mu:kul (WM).

4. ga nhan-n^εu-wuy yan n^εuri-ki-yi mu:kul-?mirin^εu, yaka wiripu-n^εu-w,
 and of him only of that WM not of other
 nhan-n^εu-wuy yan n^εuri-ki-yi bili gurun^ε-?mirin^εu-n^y, wan^εgan^y? yan
 of her only of that enough! DH one only
 gurun^ε-?mirin^εu-n^y, dha:ra-∅-n n^εayi ka::: dhin^εga-m n^εayi yur bili,
 DH stand now she Pres die he Fut enough!
 n^εayi-pi yan, dhin^εga-m n^εayi yur, ga bat-na n^εayi-n^y yur
 himself only die he Fut and get now he Fut
 gutha-?mirin^εu-y-n^y ja, yukuyuku-?mirin^εu n^εunhi-ya, yukuyuku-?mirin^εu
 younger B younger B that younger B
 n^εunhi n^εayi yur dhin^εga-m n^εunhi wa:wa-?mirin^εu, ga bat-na n^εayi n^εunhi-yi,
 that he Fut die that elder B and get now he that

(She is) the mu:kul (WM) just of that man, not of anyone else. He is the DH (gurun^ε) of that (woman). Just one DH. She stands firm. Then he dies (after acquiring wives from this woman). He will die, and his younger B will get (the wives and children). The elder B will die, and the younger B will get (them).

(Text M20)

Note: Near the beginning of segment 4, it is possible that mu:kul-?mirin^εu 'WM' (nominative case) was mistranscribed for mu:kul-?mirin^εu-w (dative or genitive case). In this event the first five words should be translated: '(He is the designated DH) of that WM.'

5. n^εa:ndi-puy manda wan^εgan^y?-buy yan, n^εa:ndi-puy n^εunhi gulun-buy,
 related to M two related to one only that related to belly
 wan^εgan^y? manda n^εunhi n^εama?, n^εunhi yan bili, ma:ra-n^εu-n n^εayi,
 one two that M that only enough! will get now he
 nhanu-kiyin-gal-na, yan bili:::, jama-wur-na, ma:ra-n^ε n^εayi, nhakun
 to him now only enough! children now will get he like
 n^εunhi-yi n^εa:ndi-?mirin^εu-n^y, gutha-?mirin^εu-y-na ma:n-n^εu, n^εayi-pi-n
 that M younger B will get himself now
 yur, n^εayi-n^y yur wa:wa-?mirin^εu nhan-n^εu dhin^εgu-n^εu-n, bili-n
 Fut he Fut elder B his will die now enough now
 dhuwal-i .
 this

The two (B's) are from the same M. Of the same belly (=womb). They both (have) the same M. (After his elder B dies,) he will get the children. They are his now. He will also get their M (his elder B's wife), the younger B will. His elder B will die. Finish.

TEXT M21 BOY STAYS WITH SISTER'S HUSBAND

Speaker: Miyala

1. n^εunhi wiripu-n^y, wulukur? n^εunhi-ya, n^εa:thil-nja n^εanapur bica-r,
 that other ZH that long ago we(ExPl) did that
 nhakun n^εayi yapa-?mirin^εu-- yapa-?mirin^εu n^εuli n^εayi ma:ra-m
 like she Z that he gets
 n^εanapuru-n^ε-ya, yapa-?mirin^εu, ga n^εayi-n^y yur n^εunhi gutha-?mirin^εu
 our Z and he Fut that younger B
 nhan-n^εu-ya wa:wa-?-- gutha-?mirin^εu, n^εayi-n^y bulu daramu n^εunhi-yi
 his elder B younger B he again man that
 bili marci-∅, n^εu:ra-n n^εayi ka n^εunhi-li-mi wulukur?-n^εur,
 enough! goes lay down he Pres there at ZH
 wulukur?-n^εur n^εayi n^εu:ra-nha,
 he lay down

Another (story). Living at the ZH's camp. Long ago we used to do that. Suppose that he (ZH) gets our Z (as his wife). Then her younger B, a male, goes (to the ZH's camp). He lay down (slept) at his ZH's camp. He used to sleep at his ZH's camp.

Note: The usual term for ZH is dhuway (also FZC and similar genealogical kin-types). The term wulukur? is used specifically in the context of the practice whereby a boy goes to stay with his ZH.

The speaker shifts from present tense (ma:ra-m, marci-∅) to past tense (n^εu:ra-nha); the form n^εu:ra-n 'lay down' occurs at the transition point and could also be interpreted as present tense n^εu:ra-∅-n 'lies down now'.

2. ga ramban^εi manda yapa-?man^yji, yapa-?mirin^εu, n^εu:ra-n manda, yan
 and united two B and Z pair Z lay down two only
 bili::: n^εutha-r n^εayi, dumuru-yi-n n^εayi n^εunhi-yi, daramu-n^y, yan
 enough! grew up he got big he that man only
 bili:::, murukay-na n^εayi, bay?-na n^εayi, dhuway-?mirin^εu-nha-n^y,
 enough! big now he leave now he ZH
 gana-na n^εi-n^ya n^εayi, duc-na n^εayi wa:n^εa-lil ba:pa-?mirin^εu-wal,
 left him he return now he to camp to F
 n^εa:ndi-?mirin^εu-wal, n^εunhi-yi wulukur,
 to M that ZH

The B and Z pair are together. They slept (at the ZH's camp). Then the B grew up. He got bigger. He was big now, a (young) man. Then he left his ZH. He abandoned him. He returned back to the camp, to his F and M. That boy who stayed at his ZH's camp.

3. nhakun n^εara-n^y, bica-r muka n^εa:thil-nja n^εunhi, n^εu:ra-nha
 like I did that indeed long ago that lay down
 wulukur?-n^εur, n^εa:thil-nja baman?-ja, bica-r n^εara n^εu:ra-nha
 at ZH long ago long ago did that I lay down

(Text M21)

wulukur?-n^εur, yan bili n^εara::: dhawarak-miri-yi-n dumuru-yi-n
 at ZH only enough! I began to have whiskers got big
 n^εara, wulukur?-n^εur yan balan^ya, balan^ya walala-n^ε ru:m-ja,
 I at ZH only like that their law
 bu:c-n^εur-n^yja n^εanapur n^εu:ra-nha n^εuli-ya, n^εa:thil-nja, wulukur?-nja,
 in the bush we(ExPl) lay down that long ago ZH

I also did that, long ago. I stayed (slept) with my ZH. I stayed at my ZH's camp long ago. For a while. I got bigger, I grew whiskers, at my ZH's camp. That was their (the old people's) law, in the bush days. We would stay at our ZH's camp.

4. nhakun n^εunhi-yi yapa-?mirin^εu n^εayi married-ja, dhuway-?mirin^εu-n^y,
 like that Z she H

manda rapari n^εunhi-ya, manda rapari n^εunhi-ya, n^εa:ndi-puy
 two calf of leg that related to M

wan^εgan^y?-buy, n^εunhi n^εayi married-dhu-n, ga bili manda n^εu:ra-∅-n,
 related to one that she is married and enough! two lie down now

yapa-?mirin^εu-n^y nhan-n^εu, ga n^εayi-n^y yur gutha-?mirin^εu-n^y, ga n^εunhi-yi
 Z his and he Fut younger B and that

bili daramu-n^y yur marci-∅ ga wulukur?-n^εur yan n^εu:ra-∅,
 enough! man Fut go and at ZH only lie down

nhanu-kiyin-gal, dhuway-n^εur, bili-n .
 to him at ZH enough now!

Suppose that Z got married. Her H. (She and her B) are 'calf' (=full) siblings, from the same M. She gets married. She and her younger B stay at the same camp. That man (=boy) will go and stay at his ZH's camp. Finish.

TEXT M22 WARFARE

Speaker: Miyala

1. yo! wiripu-n^y, makarata, n^εunha nhayka dha:pun^εa,
all right! other-Abs ordeal that what's-it? (place n.)

baman?, narkala-y walal ka n^εupa-r, n^εara-ku wa:wa-?mirin^εu-n^y,
long time (clan n.) they Dur chased my elder B

A1-nha, n^εupa-r walal ka baman, n^εara-n^y n^yumukunin^y yan,
(man's n.) chased they Dur long time I small only

n^εupa-r walal ka, manda-wuy ka-- bada?-wadac-u-n-mi-n,
they two Dur kept spearing each other

garmala-?man^yji, n^εupa-r-na::: gamunun^εgu? walal-- dhipu-n^εur-n^yja
MMBWB and ZHZDS pair chased now white clay they from here

luka-n, n^εunha-wal bala:::,
consumed to there that way

All right. Another (story). Punishment ordeal. There at the place dha:pun^εa (in Dhalwan^εu clan territory). Long ago. Men of the Narkala clan chased my elder B, A1 (see note below). They chased (him) long ago, (when) I was a small child. They chased (him). The two of them, him (A1) and his garmala (e.g. MMBWB), kept spearing each other (throwing spears at each other). (They) chased (him) then. They applied (consumed) white clay paint from here to there (i.e. on chest, etc.).

Note: In this text, the names of the combatants and victims are given in most cases in the form of symbols like A1 to avoid embarrassment to these men and their relatives. The symbols A1, A2, etc. designate men on one side of the fight (to which Miyala belonged), mainly of Dhurili and Dhalwan^εu clans with some Jambarpuy^εu. The symbols B1, etc., refer to men of the opposite side (e.g. Narkala clan).

2. n^εapipi-y? mananbali-puy-yu, nhakun dhiya-n^ε-i waln^εa-n^εu-y
MB related to M. (place n.) like this alive

B1-dhu, ga dhi-pal-i B2, wandi-n n^εayi makarata, nan^ε?! nan^ε?!
(man's n.) and here (man's n.) ran he ordeal run

nan^ε! nan^ε?! garan^εa!, nan^ε?! nan^ε?! nan^ε?! nan^ε?! garan^εa!, bur-na
stop run stop arrive-now

walal-nja, narkala-n^y, war?war!, nhakun dhuwal-ga?yi ya?,
they (clan n.) run like this indeed

murn^εin^y-dhu, badac-u-r,
with shovel spear speared

My MB, who died at Mananbali, and this living man B1 (painted themselves). And the man B2 here ran (for) a punishment ordeal (i.e. to punish some man in the A group). He would run along for a while, then stop (i.e. sneaking up). The Narkala clan group arrived (at our camp) then. They ran along. They threw spears (at us), with these shovel spears.

(Text M22)

3. bulu::: badac-u-r, murn^εin^y-dhu, nhakun dhuwal-ga?yi galki ya?,
again speared with shovel spear like this near indeed

badac-u-r bulu, bulu::: badac-u-r bulu, bulu badac-u-r bulu, bili
speared again enough!

marci-n bala yutun^εgur-nja ga:-nha-ra-mi-n, ba:yn^εu, yaka ra yur
went that way upper leg carried each other no! not I Fut

dharpu-m-ja, dharpu-ma-n^y yur ra, yutun^εgur-nja, bica-r, bica-r, yo!
spear(vb.) spear Fut I upper leg said said all right

Again they threw shovel spears. From short range, like this. Again and again and again they threw spears. Then they went that way, (so that) they would jab spears into each other's upper leg (punishment ordeal). (And one of them said,) 'No! I will not spear (kill) him, just jab him in the upper leg!' He said that. All right.

4. bulu yark n^εanapur gangan-dhu, guya-n luka-nha, baman?,
again walk we(ExPl) to G. (place n.) fish now ate long time

guya-n luka-nha dhin^εga-n^εal-na n^εayi, walal-nja galki-n, juramu-n^y,
died then he they near now war party

walal-nja galki-n juramu-n^y, narkala::: nun^εudulpu::: mala-warcaray,
(clan n.) (clan n.) (clan n.)

walal-nja marci-n^ya, baman?, n^εara-n^y n^εunhi-li-mi xx(?) n^yumukunin^y,
they went long time I there small

gangan, n^εunha-l dhudi-n^εur, nhi:na-nha n^εanapur,
(place n.) there at bottom sat we(ExPl)

Again we traveled, to the place gangan (in Dhalwan^εu clan territory). We ate fish then. Long ago. We ate fish. He (a man who had been mortally wounded in the initial fight) died then. The enemy war party was not far away--the men of the Narkala, Nun^εudulpu, and Mala-warcaray clans. They went along. I was right there, a small child, at gangan. There, in the low country, we stayed.

Note: The Mala-warcaray are the Ritharngu-speaking subclan of the Madarpa clan. The Nun^εudulpu were a Dha?yi-speaking clan whose territory was around the base of the Koolatong River; most now live at Numbulwar Mission and speak Nunggubuyu.

5. n^εu:ra-n marci-n jadaw?-yu-r-a marci-n jadaw?-yu-r-a marci-n n^εu:ra-n
lay down went dawned then lay down

marci-n walal-nja manan^εi-n^ya guya-n marci-n^ya luka-nha manan^εi-n^ya
they stole fish now went ate stole

manan^εi-n^ya walal manan^εi-n^ya n^εuri-n^εi-yi mirin^εu-y-n^yja, manan^εi-n^ya
they that warrior

walal, dhudi-n n^εayi bilpil-yu-r, walal-- n^εayi nha:-n^εal-na
they bottom now it dawned they it saw now

(Text M22)

watu-y-n^yja n^gula-n^gur-n^yja, watu-y-n^yja nha:-n^gal-na, bili n^ga?--
 dog from there dog saw now enough!

n^gak-dhu-r-a, ra?-yu-r-a n^gayi, watu-y-n^yja n^guri-n^gi-yi,
 barked now barked it dog that

(We) slept and then it dawned. (We) went ahead and it dawned. (We) went and slept and it dawned. As for them (the enemy, they stole fish (from us) and ate them. Those warriors stole (fish). They stole (them). Down below (near the coast). It was getting light out (around dawn). A dog (in our camp) saw (them) from there. Then it barked, that dog.

6. walal-nja n^gula-n^gur-n^yja bili-n, wa::: dap!, wa::: dap! bili-n,
 they from there enough now! (war cry) enough now

garpi-r-a n^ganapuru-n^y mirin^gu-y-n^yja, dhiya-k-i-- B3-w-n?ja
 surrounded now us(ExPl) warriors for this of B3 (man's n.)

ba:pa-?mirin^gu yur?-yur bica-r-ya, ga n^gayi ma:lu-y-n^y?ja
 F get up and go (rdp) did that and he F

wandi-n, A2-nja, wandi-n bala, n^gay?!, gara-n^y nhu-n^gu, n^gay?!,
 ran (man's n.) that way here! spear here!

gara-n^y nhu-n^gu ba:pa,
 F

They (the enemy war party) came from that way. Then (they cried out,) wa::: dap! (war cry). Then the warriors surrounded us. The F (A2) of this man B3 got up and ran. He did that. The F, A2, ran that way. (B3 said to him,) 'Here! How about a spear (in the belly) for you? Here! How about a spear for you?'

Note: The quoted segment is a derisive remark by B3, who is about to throw a spear at his 'F', A2, after pretending to hand him a spear.

Here and elsewhere in this text, many kin terms like F and elder B are classificatory relationship terms and usually do not indicate full relatives.

7. ma:r n^gayi n^gadup-dhu-r, bala dharpu-n^gal dhiya-l-ga?yi,
 nearly he held out hand that way speared here

murn^gin^y-dhu, bala-dhi, warca-n^gur ya?, bili, bili-n n^ganapur
 shovel spear that way in forearm indeed enough! enough now! we(ExPl)

ban^yji n^gunha-la-mi-n, bay?n^ga nha: bu-nha-ra-mi-n, jama-dumur n^gayi
 behind there now all what? hit each other children he

n^ga:thi-n, bay?n^ga nha: n^ga:thi-n n^gunha-l, bili:::, n^ga:thi-n^ya-mi-na:::-n
 cried cried there enough! cried together

bili-n,
 enough now!

He (A2) held out his hand (thinking that B3 would give him the spear). (B3) speared him here (in the forearm), with a shovel spear. That way, in the forearm. We were back there. The fight was going on. The children were crying out. (We) were all crying together.

(Text M22)

Note: The expression bay?n^ga nha: in this segment is an idiom meaning 'everyone'.

8. mungu walala-n^y, dhiya-n^g-i dhurili-y-n^yja, mungu-yu-r-a walala-n^y,
 follow them this (clan n.) followed now them

baman-ja, bu:c-n^gur yan, mungu-yu-r-a::: walala-n^y n^gupa-r-a:::
 long time in the bush only chased now

walala:::-n^y walal-nja wandi-na-n, wirki-n bala, wandi-na-n walal,
 them they ran now (?) that way ran now they

wandi-na-n walal, mun^guy?-na,
 ran now constantly now

(The A group) followed them (the enemy). These men of the Dhurili clan followed (pursued) them. They pursued them in the bush for a long time. They chased after them. As for them (the enemy), they ran away. They ran that way. They ran continuously.

9. walal-nja dha:-pam^g? run^giyi-n walal, ra:li wa:n^ga-lil
 they empty handed returned they this way to camp

n^ganapuru-n^g-gal, gangan-dhu, run^giyi-n n^ganapur, n^gayi-n^y muka
 to us(ExPl) to G. (place n.) returned we(ExPl) it indeed

waraw? n^gunhi-li-mi dha:ra-nha gurn^gan walala-n^g, baman, n^gara-n^y
 shade there stood shade their long time I

n^yumukunin^y yan, wandi-n walal, n^gu:ra-n, bi:-n^gur-n^yja walal run^giyi-n,
 small only ran they lay down from somewhere they returned

n^ganapur mala-n^y, n^ganapuru-wuy-na,
 we(ExPl) Pl we now

They (the A group) returned (to our camp) empty-handed (without having killed the enemy). (They returned) this way, to the camp, to us, to the place gangan. We went back. A ceremonial shade was standing there, for them (yirica moiety people). Long ago, I was just a small child then. (We) slept (there). They returned from various places--we did.

10. bu-nha-ra-mi-n n^gunha walala-wuy-na walal ka bu-nha-ra-mi-n,
 hit each other that they now they Dur hit each other

bu-nha-ra-mi-n walal bu-nha-ra-mi-n bu-nha-ra-mi-n bu-nha-ra-mi-n bili,
 enough!

bili, bili n^ganapur n^gu:ra-n n^ganapur gul?! law?-yu-n-a wanha-n^gu-mal
 we lay down we let's set off now to where?

bala-n limur marci-Ø-n, dhika-n bala bu:c-lil-a marci-n
 that way now we(InPl) go now this way that way to bush now went

walal, walal-nja bulu yark-dhu-r-a, ran^gi-lil, gulku wiripu-n^y, walal-nja
 they they again walked now to beach group other they

bulu:::, bala-n walal marci-n gupadal-na, bili-n, n^gu:ra-nha-n n^ganapur .
 again that way they went for good now enough lay down now we(ExPl)

They (Dhalwan^gu vs. Dhurili) fought then. 'Let's go into the bush'. They (Dhalwan^gu) went this way, to the bush. They (Dhurili) went to the beach, the others. They went that way, for good. Finish. We stayed there.

TEXT M23 TROUBLE IN OLD DAYS FROM WHITE MEN (I)

Speaker: Miyala

1. all right, n^{gunhi}-yi, n^{gunhi}-yi munan^{ga}, baman old time, marci-n n^{gai}yi, bi:-n^{gur}, bala n^{gai}yi marci-na:::-n dhiripi n^{gai}yi walma-n n^{gunha}-l ya?, baman? n^{gara}-n^y ba:yn^{gu} yan, n^{yumukunin} yan, walma-n n^{gai}yi munan^{ga} n^{gunhi}-yi, old time n^{gunhi} baman walal ka bu-nha-ra-mi-n, barc-u-n-mi-n^ya walal ka o:::ld, walma-n n^{gai}yi n^{gunhi}-li-mi wan^{ga}-n n^{gai}yi walala-n^y, ma:ra-n^{gal} n^{gai}yi walala-n^y, ma:ra-n^{gal} n^{gai}yi walala-n^y, n^{guri}-n^{gi}-yi, munan^{ga}-y,

That white man (munan^{ga}), long ago, in the old days. He came from some place. He went along that way, low down (dhiripi) (i.e. sailing along the coast). He went onto the land there (near Caledon Bay). That was long ago. I did not exist yet, (or at least) I was just a small child. That white man went onto the land. In those old days people fought each other, they speared each other, in the old days. He went onto the land and spoke to them (Aboriginals in the area). He arrested (took) them, that white man did.

2. ga n^{gara}-n^y ba:yn^{gu} yan n^{yumukunin} yan, yan dha:wu walala-n^g-gun^g lakara-nha walal, dilkuru-wuru-y, n^{gara}-k, n^{ga}:-nha n^{gara} walala-n^y, marci-n^ya n^{gunha}-l, munan^{ga}, marci-n n^{gai}yi n^{guli}-n^{gur}-n^yja, lark-na, all right, marci-n n^{gai}yi n^{gunhi}-yi, bala-n^y n^{gai}yi marci-n yirkala-y-na, ma:ra-n^{gal} n^{gunha}-l, ma:ra-n^{gal} n^{gunha}-l, yu:l-n^{gu}-n^y mala, ma:ra-n^{gal}, ma:ra-n^{gal} n^{gai}yi n^{gunhi}-li-mi, yirkala, yu:l-n^{gu}-n^y mala, ma:ra-n^{gal} n^{gai}yi:::,

I did not exist, (or at least) I was just a small child. (I know) just the words (dha:wu) produced by them, (which) the elders (dilkuru-) spoke (lakara-) to me. I heard them. The white man went there. He went from there, he set off (lark-). All right, that (man) went. He went that way, toward Yirkala. He arrested (took) some Aboriginals (yu:l-n^{gu}-) there. He arrested some Aboriginals there.

3. duc-na, bala n^{gai}yi jaw?-yu-r-a walala-n^y, dhika-n bala, bala n^{gai}yi jaw?-yu-r-a walala-n^y, yu:l-n^{gu}-n^y mala, balamumu::: narkala::: yu:l-n^{gu} wiripu wiripu wiripu mala, bala n^{gai}yi jaw?-yu-r-a, dhika-n bala n^{gu}:y-kur-a n^{gai}yi marci-n barawu-n^y, yan bili n^{gai}yi walma-n-ja n^{gunha}-l, manukani, manukani, Roper Mission, manukani yan walma-n-ja, n^{gunhi}-yi munan^{ga},

(He) returned (duc-) then. He took them away (jaw?-). He took them away (from there), this way (dhika-n bala), the Aboriginals--Balamumu, Narkala (clan names), and other Aboriginals. He took them away, this way. He went along (in) a boat (barawu), down below (n^{gu}:y-kur-a 'through the heart', i.e. in the sea). Eventually (yan bili) he went up (walma-) onto the land there, at the place manukani, at Roper Mission. (manukani is the Aboriginal place name for the site of the original Roper River Mission, which was subsequently shifted to another site.) He went onto the land at manukani, that white man.

4. n^{guli}-n^{gur}-n^yja walal, bala walal widi?-widi-yu-r-a, yu:l-n^{gu}-n^y mala, yu:l-n^{gu}-n^y mala widi?-widi-yu-r-a, dhika-n bala bu:c-lil-a, walal-nja narkala-n^y run^{gi}yi-na-n, walal-nja jinba-n^y? mala run^{gi}yi-na-n, jinba? mala wulaki mala, jinan^g?, burara, bala walal widi?-widi-yu-r-a, walal-nja balamumu-n^y, dilci-kur-a dhika-n bala marci-n, dilci-kur-a walal marci-n, balamumu-n^y,

(Text M23)

After that (some of) the Aboriginals fled (widi?-) this way, into the bush. The Narkala men returned (to their country). The Jinba? men returned (to their country)--the Jinba? and Wulaki, (also) the Jinan^g? and Burara. They fled that way. As for the Balamumu, they went along this way (dhika-n bala), in the high country (dilci 'backbone').

5. marci-n walal, marci-n walal, yan bili::: gandar-n^{gur} n^{gu}:ra-n, ga yan bili::: gandar-n^{gur} n^{gu}:ra-n, yan bili::: guyara?-n^{gur} yarup-dhu-r walal, n^{guli}-n^{gur}-n^yja walal marci-n, n^{gunha} burwur?-n^{gur}-n^yja, nhayka-n^y, malagi-n^y, n^{gara}-n^y n^{gunhi}-li-mi n^{ganapur}-nja, gurtha-n n^{ganapur} nha:-n^{gal}, dhun^ggur?-yu-r walal, baman?, dhun^ggur?-yu-r walal gurtha,

They (the Balamumu) went along. They continued (yan bili:::), then slept (n^{gu}:ra-) along the way (gandar-n^{gur}). They continued, then slept along the way. They continued. Then they went down (yarup-) at the stone spear (guyara?) place. (I.e. at the famous quarry for stone spear heads, at n^{gilipici}). After that they went along there, at the place burwur? (near n^{gilipici}). (Then) what's-it? (nhayka-), the place malagi. I and some others were in that area (not knowing that another Aboriginal party, the Balamumu escapees, were passing through). We saw a fire (the campfire of the Balamumus). They (Balamumu party) set the fires. Long ago.

6. ay! gurtha gurtha ya?, juramu! juramu! juramu!, juramu! juramu!, gul?! limur!, yaka yaka dhuwal-i mirin^{gu}, gul?! limur milt-dhu-n, bala napur marci-n, marci-n bala:::, nha:-n^{gal}, nha:-n^{gal} walala-n^y, nha:-n^{gal}-nja walala-n^y, ga gul?! limur buna- ϕ -n, marci-n n^{ganapur} buna-n walala-n^g, wanha-n^{gur} nhuma, n^{gula}-n^{gur} manukani-n^{gur}, munan^{ga} napuru-n^y-- wandi-n n^{ganapur} munan^{ga}-w, bica-r walal, n^{guru}-ki-yi munan^{ga}-w,

(We said to each other,) 'Hey! There is a fire there! Maybe an enemy war party!' (Others said,) 'It is (probably) not warriors. Let's sneak up (and investigate)! We went along that way. We saw them (the Balamumus). (We said to each other,) 'Let's go out (buna-) to them!' We went and presented ourselves (buna-) to them. (We asked them,) 'From where (wanha-n^{gur}) are you all?' 'From over there, manukani (old Roper River Mission). A white man (captured) us--. We ran from ('for') the white man (munan^{ga}).' They said that. 'From that white man.'

7. n^{garali} n^{ganapur}-n^y walal guru?-wurupa-r, n^{gara}-n^y n^{gunhi}-li-mi, n^{garali} n^{ganapur}-n^y walal guru?-wurupa-r, yuln^{gu}?-yul-n^{gu}-y-n^yja, wanha-n^{gu}-mal xx(?) dhuwa-nja nhuma, bala-n n^{ganji}-lil-a, Caledon Bay, n^{ganji}-lil-a bala-n n^{ganapur} run^{gi}yi-r-a, n^{ganji}-lil, bala-n n^{ganapur}, dhuwal-i bili balamumu bukmak, bulubayk too,

They kept giving us tobacco (n^{garali}) (which they had obtained at the Mission). I (was) there. The Aboriginals (yuln^{gu}?-yul-n^{gu}-) gave us tobacco. (We asked them,) 'To where are you all (going)?' 'That way, to the place n^{ganji}, around Caledon Bay. We are going back (run^{gi}yi-) to n^{ganji} now.' We (headed) that way, (us and) these Balamumus, and the man Bulubayk too.

Note: Bulubayk is the nickname of the man Munuma, of the Ritharmgu-speaking Mala-warcaray clan.

Traditional Aboriginals are trained to notice smoke from distant fires, which may signal the presence of another group. In this case the Balamumu may have set the fire to announce their presence to the other group.

(Text M23)

8. marci-n n^ɛayi n^ɛunhi-li-mi, ba:pa-?man^yji manda, ga n^ɛayi n^ɛunhi-yi, ma:ri-n^y n^ɛara-ku-n^y gunalpum?-ja bambay-n^yja, wandi-na-n, dhika-n bala bumaru?-lil-a n^ɛal?-yu-r-a ba:pa-?man^yji manda, n^ɛanapur-nja ma:ra-n^ɛal, n^ɛarali-n^y? ma:ra-n^ɛal, walala-n^ɛ-gun^ɛ, bala napur jaw?-yu-r-a, bala birka?-yu-r-a n^ɛanapur, n^ɛu:ra-n n^ɛanapur n^ɛunhi-li-mi,

He (Bulubayk) went there, him and his father (ba:pa-?man^yji 'F and C pair'), my MMB (ma:ri), that Gunalpum? (his name) or Bambay (his nickname, creole for 'blind man'). (These men had grudges against the Balamumus and did not want to travel together with them.) They ran, this way, into the hills (bumaru? 'stone'). They went up (n^ɛal?-), that F and C pair. As for us, we took tobacco, produced by them. We took it (tobacco) away in that direction. Then we searched (birka?-) (for Bulubayk and his F). We slept there.

9. law?-na walal, guruka-n^ɛal-na n^ɛi-n^ya blanket-ja, n^ɛunhi-li-mi, blanket-na walal guruka-n^ɛal, n^ɛanapur-nja run^ɛiyi-na-n, dhika-n bala laru-n^ɛal-na ba:pa-?man^yji-w, yan bili::: bur buna-∅, manda-n^ɛ, ba:pa-?man^yji-w, n^ɛunha gu!, yu:l-n^ɛu balamumu, n^ɛunha run^ɛiyi-na-n walal n^ɛanji-lil, bili walala-n^y n^ɛayi munan^ɛa-y-- n^ɛupa-r n^ɛunha-la-mi, manukani .

They (Balamumus) got up (and set off) then. They carried (guruka-) blankets there. As for us, we went back then this way, looking for (laru-) the F and C pair this way (dhika-n bala). Continuously (yan bili:::). (Then) we appeared (bur buna-) to them (i.e. found them), the F and C. (We said to them, to reassure them that they were no longer in danger from the Balamumus,) 'Hey there! The Aboriginals (yu:l-n^ɛu), the Balamumus, have gone back there, to n^ɛanji. (They passed through here because) a white man chased them there, at manukani.'

Note: bur buna-∅ 'arrived; appeared (before someone)' should really be bur buna-n with past tense suffix -n. The combination of the stem buna- with the correlative root form bur is highly frozen, and sometimes the present tense form bur buna-∅ is used in a general sense with unspecified tense (i.e. as a kind of second-order invariable root form).

TEXT M24 TROUBLE IN OLD DAYS FROM WHITE MEN (II)

Speaker: Miyala

1. wiripu-n^y, wiripu-n^y, n^ɛanapur-nja dhiya-l balma-n^ɛur nhi:na-nha, baman?, baman n^ɛanapur nhi:na-nha dhiya-la-mi, wiripu-n^y, ba:::man, ba:yn^ɛu yan mission, nhi:na-nha n^ɛanapur dhiya-la-mi balma-n^ɛur, n^ɛayi-n^y bi:-n^ɛur marci-n, jaran^ɛu, yaraman-ja bi:-n^ɛur marci-n, Roper-n^ɛur, policeman-ja n^ɛayi baman?-ja, yan bili::: bur buna-n n^ɛanapuru-n^ɛ dhiya-li-mi balma,

Another (story). We were staying at this place balma. Long ago. Long ago we were staying here. Another (story). A long time ago. There was no mission yet (i.e. before Numbulwar Mission was built in 1952). We stayed here, at balma. Then some horses (i.e. mounted policemen) (jaran^ɛu = yaraman) came from somewhere, from Roper (Roper River Mission). Policemen, long ago. (They) went along, then appeared to us here at balma.

2. gurupa-r-a n^ɛanapuru-n^y n^ɛayi n^ɛatha, gurupa-r n^ɛanapuru-n^y walal flour, bay? xx(?), n^ɛanapur-nja wan^ɛa-n, wanha-n^ɛu-mal nhuma, bala napur ka marci-∅-n dhika bala, bica-r walal, n^ɛayi-n^y policeman-ja, n^ɛayi-n^y n^ɛunhi-li-mi marci-n^ya, n^ɛara-ku gawal-?mirin^ɛu, yilaykama, n^ɛunhi-li-mi n^ɛayi marci-n^ya, bala-n^y walal n^ɛunhi-l-i dhunupa-n walal ka marci-n n^ɛunhi-yi-n^y, yarup-dhu-r-nja walal gangan-ja, mu:c-n^ɛur-n^yja,

They (policemen) gave us food (n^ɛatha) then. They gave us flour (for making damper). xx (an unclear fragment). We spoke: 'Where are you (going)?' (They answered,) 'We are going that way, along here'. They said that, the policemen. My MB (galay), named Yilaykama, went (had gone) there (some distance from where we and the policemen were). They (the policemen) went there. They went directly (dhunupa) that way, to there. They went down toward the places gangan and mu:c (in Dhalwan^ɛu clan territory).

3. nha:-n^ɛal-na walala-n^y, burarpuyn^ɛu-nha-n^y, waku-n^y walala-n^y, nha:-n^ɛal-na walala-n^y, bili-n, munhaku-n^y walal balkar?-yu-r-a walala-n^ɛ gudar?-mir, bu-mar-na marci-n^ya, ma:riyan^ɛ-dhu bu-mar-na marci-n^ya, dhawar?-mara-n^ɛal-na bu-mar-na marci-n^ya, walal-nja gapu-lil, walal-nja gapu-lil-a lup-dhu-r, walal-nja lup-dhu-r gapu-lil, wiripu wulku-n^y,

(The policemen) saw them (a group of Aboriginals, including Yilaykama). (They) saw them, the Burarpuyn^ɛu (group of men of the Dhalwan^ɛu clan), (my) ZS's (waku). They (the policemen) saw them. Then at night (munhaku) they (policemen) sneaked up (balkar?-yu-) to them, shortly before dawn (gudar?-mir). (They) went along killing (bu-) them. They shot (bu-) them with rifles (ma:riyan^ɛ). They finished them off (dhawar?-mara-) (i.e. they killed most of them). They were shooting them. As for them (the Aboriginals), some jumped (lup-dhu-) into the water (gapu) then. Some others (wiripu wulku) (i.e. those who were not shot) jumped into the water (and tried to flee).

(Text M24)

4. n^ɛayi nhi:na-nha muka dhuwal-i ma:ri-?mirin^ɛu walala-n^ɛ-gal, dhuwal-i gu:muk n^ɛayi ka nhi:na-nha ma:ri-?mirin^ɛu walala-n^ɛ-gal, n^ɛayi-pi-n waln^ɛa-thi-na-n^y, ma:ri-?mirin^ɛu, gu:muk-na, warpam?-nha n^ɛayi bu-mar-n^yja walala-n^y bu-mar-n^yja yan bili dhawa:::r gapu-n wan^ɛgan^y?-na, ninin^yn^ɛu-n^y gal?n^ɛu burarpuyn^ɛu-nha-n^y n^ɛuru-ku-wuy-n^yja, wa:n^ɛa-wuy gangan-puy-n^yja, bu-mar-n^yja n^ɛayi, policeman-dhu,

This man (Gu:muk), my MMB (ma:ri), was staying with them (the Aborigines attacked by the policemen). This Gu:muk, my MMB, was staying with them. He himself survived (waln^ɛa-thi- 'be alive'). Gu:muk, my MMB. He (i.e. the policemen) were killing (Aborigines), they were massacring them. All (wan^ɛgan^y? 'one') (the bodies) were in the water (the police dumped all the corpses in the water). Those Burarpuyn^ɛu clan men, the men of that country (wa:n^ɛa), of gangan. The police killed them.

5. lark-na, run^ɛiyi-na-n n^ɛayi, bala, duc-na n^ɛayi, yan bili bur buna-n n^ɛanapuru-n^ɛ gangan, nhayka, balma-n^ɛur, bala-n n^ɛanapur marci-n, n^ɛatha-n^y walal ganatha-r-na n^ɛanapuru-n^ɛgu-wuy-na, n^ɛayi marci-na-n, yaraman?-ja n^ɛunhi-yi, yan bili, yan bili, bur-na buna-n, Roper Bar, manda policeman .

(The policemen) set off then. He (=they) went back that way, they went back then. They came out to us at gangan--(rather) at what's-it?, at balma. We went that way. They left some food (n^ɛatha) for us. Those horses (=mounted police) went then. They went along, and finally arrived at Roper Bar (police station near Roper River Mission). The two policemen.

Note: Only at the end is it specified that there are exactly two policemen. Previously the speaker alternates between singular and plural pronouns.

TEXT M25 PURIFICATION RITUAL

Speaker: Miyala

Note: This brief text refers to a ritual applied to a woman married to a man, here labeled J, of the mala-warcaray (mala-barcaray) subclan of the madarpa clan (Ritharngu-speaking). The woman had been 'stolen' temporarily by another man of her own moiety (a shocking transgression) and was then recovered by J and his relatives. I observed a portion of the purification ritual, performed at Ngukurr (Roper R.) in 1977. One portion of the ritual consisted of the 'bathing' of the girl in a circular pit a few inches deep, while the men danced around. Another portion involved the ritualized 'combat' of two male actors, both holding spears, lying on their bellies facing and menacing each other (the 'snake' dance). This ritual is only nominally secret and although women and children (other than the girl) were kept at a distance this ritual was performed in the camp during the daytime. Apparently earlier portions of the purification ritual had been performed at the place yawuryawur, said to be in Jambarpuyn^ɛu country.

1. yo! Roper n^ɛunha-la-mi, Roper n^ɛara-n^y
all right! Roper R. Mission (=Ngukurr) there I
n^ɛunhi-li-mi muka, n^ɛuru-n^ɛ-ga?yi ban^ɛidi-y ban^ɛidi-y, bica-r
there indeed that of B. subsection did that
n^ɛayi n^ɛunhi-yi::: midiku-ru-n^ɛu-n^y, ga bili manda munatha-n bu:ca-n^ɛal,
she that bad (Pl) and enough! two pit now made
munatha-n manda bu:ca-n^ɛal, n^ɛunha-wal, yawuryawur-lil, bu:ca-n^ɛal
to there to Y. (place n.) made
manda, munatha, ga makar mala nhawi mala datam? mala
and leg Pl what's-it? Pl water lily Pl
rulan^ɛ-dhu-r, n^ɛatha mala, n^ɛunhi-yi, n^ɛunhi n^ɛanapur lup-mara-n^ɛal
put food Pl that that we(ExPl) caused to bathe
midiku-n^y, lup-mara-n^ɛal n^ɛanapur,
bad we

All right! There, at Roper, I (was) there (when it happened). That man of ban^ɛidi subsection (the man J, see note above), he did that. Those bad (=ritually impure) (women). Those two (J and the man Badikan, also of Mala-warcaray subclan) constructed a (circular) pit then, there at the place yawuryawur. They made a pit. They put down 'legs' and what's-it?, 'water lilies', 'foods'. We bathed that ritually impure (woman). We bathed (her).

Note: 'leg' and 'water lily' here refer to channels leading away from the main ceremonial pit; I am not sure of the exact details. The expression 'food' (specifically, vegetable food) here is used in apposition to 'water lily' (an important vegetable food).

2. bili n^ɛunhi-yi n^ɛanapuru-n^ɛ wan^ɛar, n^ɛanapuru-n^ɛ wan^ɛar, n^ɛara-pi
enough! that out(ExPl) ritual myself
bun^ɛgawa-n^y yan^ɛalka n^ɛilin^y manda, ga n^ɛayi-n^y jun^ɛgaya, jur^ɛgaya n^ɛayi,
boss (man's n.) we(ExDu) two and he manager he

(Text M25)

ga n^εunhi manda, Benjamin ga n^εunhi ban^εidi J, n^εunhi
 and that two and that of B. subsection (man's n.) that
 manda ba:pi-n^εur n^εunhi-yi-n^y manda da:l-thi-n, n^εayi dhipu-n^εur,
 two in snake (dance) that two became strong he from here
 gayit, gayit n^εayi ka mulka-n n^εayi n^εula-n^εur-- gayit n^εayi ka mulka-n,
 spear he Dur held he from there
 n^yapili balan^ya ya?, ba:pi-n^εur, n^εunhi manda da:l-thi-n,
 death adder like that indeed in snake (dance) that two became strong
 n^εunhi manda da:l-thi-n n^εunhi-yi,
 that two that

Then (we had) our important ritual (wan^εar 'important, big'; hence 'ritual'). I myself am the boss--I and the man Yan^εalka. (The speaker Miyala and his brother Yan^εalka are of the dhu:wa moiety and the Jambarpuyngu clan, while J and his Mala-warcaray clanmates are of the yirica moiety.) He (J) is the 'manager' (of the ritual). The two of them, Benjamin and that man of ban^εidi subsection, the man J--the two of them performed ('became strong') in the snake (dance). One from this side, holding a shovel spear, and (the other) from that side, holding a shovel spear. The death adder (dance), in the snake (dance). Those two performed it.

Note: Benjamin (the speaker of some other texts in this series) is of the dhu:wa moiety, hence the ritual combat between him and J (of yirica moiety) involves the moiety opposition.

The term 'manager' designates the role a man plays toward the men of his mother's clan (and moiety), and to the rituals of that moiety. The 'bosses' (or 'owners'), bun^εgawa, of the ritual in question are of the dhu:wa moiety, and the 'managers', jun^εgaya, are of the yirica moiety.

3. bili n^εanapuru-n^ε law, ma:ri-?mun^εu walala-n^ε, ba:pa walala-n^ε, nhakun
 enough! our(ExPl) FF of them F of them like

ma:lu? walala-n^ε, n^εunhi-yi law n^εanapuru-n^ε, nhakun jun^εgaya walal ka
 F of them that our like manager they Dur

mulka-n, n^εunhi-yi law, n^εayi-pi-n ban^εidi-y-na, nhan-n^εu-wuy-na
 held that himself now of B. subsection now of him now

n^εayi-pi-n bun^εgawa, ga bili ma:lu-y? manda ba:yn^εu-yi-n,
 himself now boss and enough! F two became absent

gawal-?mirin^εu-y manda nhan-n^εu, nhakun n^εanapuru-wuy-na, nhakun
 MB two of him like we(ExPl) now like

n^εilin^yu-wuy-na yan^εalka-n bili, n^εuri-ki-yi-n munatha-w, dhambur-wu
 we(ExDu) now (man's n.) now enough! of that of pit of ground

bili manda-- lup-mara-n^εal walala-n^y, n^εara-n^y-- n^εara-n^y gal?n^εu lup-mara-n^εal.
 two made bathe them I I indeed made bathe

That is our law. Of my FF's, my F's. Our law. And the managers hold that law--himself, the man of ban^εidi subsection (i.e. J). It is his, he is the boss. (Her) two F's (held the law), who are dead now--his two 'uncles' (WF's). Also us, me and Yan^εalka. Those two men--and me indeed--caused them to bathe, for that pit (in) the ground.

Note: the term 'owner' is used rather loosely here.

TEXT M26 SILVER GULL, OYSTER-CATCHER, ETC. (MYTH)
 Speaker: Miyala

Note: This text mentions a few events in the dreamtime travels of Silver Gull, Oyster-Catcher, and other animals (mostly birds). Those mentioned here are primarily commemorated in bun^εgul songs and dances which are performed in public and are not secret. In their travels, these totemic beings (some of whom are explicitly said to have been in human-like form) helped shape the topography of Arnhem Land and helped establish the current 'social landscape', but these beings are subsidiary in this respect to the major secret totemic creator beings.

1. yo!, wiripu-n^y n^εara-- wiripu-n^y story n^εara yur lakara-m
 all right! other I other I Fut speak

nhu-n^εu, warakan n^εayi ka n^εa:thi-n, warakan n^εayi ka riranj-u-r
 for you(Sg) bird it Dur cried called

n^εunha-l, gulpuyuna n^εunha-l burukiyala, n^εunha-l dha:miyaka, warakan,
 there (pl.n.) there (pl.n.) (pl.n.) bird

wir-yu-n-mara-n^εal n^εayi marci-na-n,
 flew in circles it went now

All right! I will tell you another story. The bird (Silver Gull) was crying out. The bird was calling (chirping) there at the place gulpuyuna, there at the place burukiyala, there at the place dha:miyaka. (These places are said to be in the vicinity of Lake Evella Mission and the area to the south.) The bird (Silver Gull) went along, flying around overhead.

2. bala n^εayi jalk-dhu-na marci-n^ya gurumu, dhawal-lil dhawal-lil
 that way it threw down went (pl.n.) to country

dhawal-lil mala-n^εu-lil, warakan n^εunhi-yi warakan, jarak n^εunhi-yi
 to Pl bird that silver gull that

jarak-ja, dhuwal-i-yi n^εayi, nuwur marci-n^ya n^εaman^εama-yu-na
 silver gull this it thick scrub went made

n^εunha ya?, gamarki, gamarwa-n^εur, bunbu-nha n^εayi marci-n^ya gamarwa,
 that indeed (pl.n.) at G. (pl.n.) made it went (pl.n.)

ga bili n^εayi bu:ca-n^εal-na n^εunha ri:ca-- n^εunhi-yi,
 and enough! it made now that jungle that

It went along throwing down (its babies) to various countries. That bird--that Silver Gull. It went along making this thick scrubland, there at the place gamarwa. It went along, making the place gamarwa. Then it made that jungle (thick monsoon scrub).

3. nhi:na-n ga gurun^ε-ja, dhawal-watan^εu-n, gamarwa-n^εur-n^yja
 sat Dur FZDS boss of country now at G. (pl.n.)

gamarwa-n^εur-n^yja bunbu-nha-wuy jalk-dhu-na n^εayi marci-n^ya, miri n^εayi--
 which it made threw down it went scrub it

jalk-dhu-na marci-n^ya, gamarwa marci-n^ya bunbu-nha, warakan balan^ya,
 threw down went (pl.n.) went made bird like that

(Text M26)

The owners of the country, my FZDS (i.e. the clan including men related to me in this way), (was) at the place gamarwa. It (Silver Gull) went along throwing down (its babies). It threw down (created) the scrubland. It made the place gamarwa, that bird did.

4. bala n^gayi n^ga:-kul-a, n^gayi-n^y bulu n^gula-n^gur-n^y ja n^ga:-kul-a,
that way it heard now it again from there heard now
mu:l-yu-n^y, ga bica-r bili, n^gayi-n^y bulu n^ga:-kul, gathaka-y-n^y ja,
black and did that enough! it again heard oyster-catcher
n^gayi-n^y marci-n riranj-u-r bica-r bili, jalk-dhu-na marci-n^y a,
it went called did that enough! threw down went
n^gu:y-kur wata-kur, buluwunu-kur, buluwunu-kur
through heart (=below) through wind through north wind
n^gula, dhawat-dhu-r n^gayi marci-n, buluwunu, n^gayi-n^y marci-n n^gayi
something rose up it went north wind it went it
n^ga:-kul, n^ga:thi-n^y a marci-n^y a n^gunha, n^gayi-n^y n^gurula-n^y, ga n^gayi-n^y
heard cried went that it oyster-catcher and it
dhipu-n^gur dilci-n^gur-n^y ja, jarak-ja, bili manda
from here from backbone (=hills) silver gull enough! two
gumur-manapa-n-mi-n^y a, n^gunhi-li-mi,
came together there

Over that way it heard (Oyster-Catcher). Likewise from over there it (Oyster-Catcher) heard it (Silver Gull). The black one (Oyster-Catcher) did that. It heard it. Oyster-Catcher (a beach bird with an extremely strong beak). It (Oyster-Catcher) went along calling out like that. It went along throwing down (babies), down below in the wind, in the north wind (which brings rain). It went along and heard (Silver Gull). It cried, the Oyster-Catcher. Silver Gull (was coming) from the inland hills (toward the coast). The two came together there.

Note: The opposition between coast/sea and inland/hills is extremely prominent in Aboriginal thought in this area, and is dramatized in this meeting of the Silver Gull (going from inland to the coast) and the Oyster-Catcher (moving from coast inland).

5. bala bunbu-n^gal-na, miri-n manda jalk-dhu-na, nuwur-n^gur
that way made now scrub now two threw down in the jungle
marci-∅ n^gaman^gama-yu-r-a marci-n n^gunha, gamarwa bunbu-nha manda,
go made then went that (pl.n.) made two
man^ymak, n^gayi-n^y, ganji balan^y a ganji-ya, jabiru, n^gunha::: yalu
all right! it jabiru like that jabiru that nest
n^gayi ka-- bunbu-n^gal n^gunha, bunbu-n^gal n^gayi yalu, buku-n^gur
it Dur made that made it nest in forehead (=hill)
garapa-n^gur, walala-n^g-gun^g dha:wu, n^gara-kun^gu-n^y ba:yn^gu,
at G. (pl.n.) produced by them story (word) produced by me not at all
dhuwal-i, dhuwal-i, n^gayi-n^y ganji-y-n^y ja, jabiru-y-n^y ja, dhuwal jabiru-n^y,
this it jabiru this

(Text M26)

They made (the country) that way. They threw down some scrubland now. They went along in the jungle, making it then. They made the place gamarwa. All right! Meanwhile, Jabiru (stork-like wading bird) was making a nest there. It made a nest, on the flat hill ('forehead') at the place garapa. That is what they (elders, now dead) said, not me. (I am just repeating what they told me.) This Jabiru (did that). This Jabiru.

6. n^gayi-n^y yu:l-n^gu muka dhuwal-i, yan n^gayi wa:yin-dhi-n, n^gayi-n^y
it human indeed this only it became animal it
dhuwal-i yu:l-n^gu, jabiru, ga dhuwal gurucucur, ga yu:l-n^gu
this human and this whistling kite (hawk) and human
yan, gurucucur-n^y ja yu:l-n^gu yan, yaka n^gayi ka dhuwal-i wa:yin,
only not it Dur this game animal
n^ga:thil-nja n^gayi yu:l-n^gu, manda wurpan-ja, dhuwal wa:yin-ja n^gunhi--
long ago it human two emu(bird) this animal that
manda yu:l-n^gu yan dhuwal-i, yan n^gayi ka wa:yin-dhi-n, walal dhuwal
two human only this only it Dur became animal they this
ka ya?, gulkiya, n^gayi-n^y bulu balan^y a bili yu:l-n^gu yan,
Dur indeed moon it again like that enough! human only

This (Jabiru) was human. It has only become an animal (since then). This human Jabiru. Also this Whistling Kite (hawk) was human then. The Whistling Kite was human, not (in the form of) this animal (i.e. its present form). These two were human then. It only became an animal (later). These (three)--(these first two and) Moon. It (Moon) was also human.

7. n^gunhi-pi yu:l-n^gu-thi-n^y a-pi limur, bukmak-miri muka,
that itself became human indeed we(InPl) everyone indeed
yu:l-n^gu-thi-n^y a limur, ga n^gayi-n^y dhiya-n^g-i barkuma-y limuru-n^g
became human we(InPl) and it this native cat for us(InPl)
midiku-mara-n^gal-nja, barkuma-y, bala n^gayi dhin^gga-n^gal-na, bala
caused to be bad native cat that way it died now
gupadal-nja, bala n^gayi midiku-mara-n^gal limuru-n^g,
for good that way it caused to be bad for us(InPl)
yuln^gu?-yul-n^gu-w-na bawala-miri-w-na, bawala-miri-w-na muka .
for people now for anyone now indeed

We have become (or remained) human. All of us indeed have become human. This Native Cat (spotted cat-like animal which can hunt in water) made things bad for us (=created death). Native Cat (did that). It (Moon) died then, for good (because Native Cat tricked it). It (Native Cat) made things bad for us, for (Aboriginal) people--for everyone.

Note: Various versions of a myth in which Native Cat tricks Moon into dying occur in this region. I obtained a full version in the Nunggubuyu language: Native Cat and Moon, to start with, can both enter the water and then return, but Native Cat tricks Moon into diving in deeply to save Native Cat, whereupon Moon drowns (this is the origin of death). At the end of the text, bawala-mir 'anyone' includes white people, since yuln^gu?-yul-n^gu (from yu:l-n^gu) often means specifically 'Aboriginals'.

TEXT M27 DEVILS (MYTH)

Speaker: Miyala

The term 'devil-devil' in local creole refers to the ghost of a specific dead person, or--as in this text--to various human-like beings of the dreamtime. The native term is a:nuk, wu:ray, or any other of a set of near-synonyms. The brief narrative here describes the travels of a group of devil-devils through the clan territories of several clans of the dhu:wa moiety, beginning with the Wa:gilak in the southern part of Arnhem Land (Ritharngu-speaking) and moving through the Jambarpuyngu area before ending in the northwest part of the Arnhem Land reserve in the non-circumcising area (around Maningrida or Ramangining). The linkage among this particular set of clans is maintained by their joint performance (and ownership) of the devil-devil song cycle.

1. wiripu-n^y, a:nuk, n^gara-ku ma:ri-?mirin^gu, wu:ray balan^ya wu:ray-ya,
 other devil my FF devil like that devil
 marci-n n^gayi, marci-n n^gayi lurtha?-gur, marci-n n^gayi, marci-n n^gayi,
 went he along L. (pl.n.)
 bi:::-n^gu:::r n^gula-n^gur wulawula-n^gur, marci-n n^gayi, bala
 from somewhere from somewhere from W. (pl.n.) went he that way
 n^gayi marci-n, wulawula, wulawula-n^gur, marci-n n^gayi, n^guli n^ganapur
 (pl.n.) from W. (pl.n.) that we(ExPl)
 ka manikay lakara-m n^gi-n^ya-ya, dhuwal-i bun^ggul, n^ganapur
 Pres corroborree song speak him this song we(ExPl)
 n^gi-n^ya lakara-m n^gunhi-yi, a:nuk-na dreaming, wu:ray balan^ya-ya,
 him speak that devil now totem devil like that

Another (story). Devils. My FF's (=my ancestors). Devils. They went along the place lurtha? (a billabong in Wa:gilak country). They went along, coming from some distant place, from the place wulawula (place in Wa:gilak country). They went along, from wulawula. We sing corroborree songs (about) them, this (corroboree) song cycle. We sing (about) that totem, the devils.

Note: In this part of the text, the speaker uses singular forms for 'devil', but he explained later that there is actually a large number of devils traveling together here.

2. gica?-yu-r n^gayi marci-n^ya, yan bili wulawula, wulawula-n^gur,
 danced he went only enough! (pl.n.) from W. (pl.n.)
 yan bili n^gayi marci-n n^gunha-n bala, dhika-n bala ya?,
 only enough! he went that now that way this way now that way indeed
 yan bili mulayala, mulayala, duwat-na dhika-n bala, duwat-na n^gayi,
 (pl.n.) climb now climb now he
 duwat-na n^gayi, n^guli n^ganapur ka manikay lakara-m n^gi-n^ya-ya, bili
 that we(ExPl) Pres song speak him enough!
 n^gayi dha:-diku-miri luka-n ga wa:yin, wa:yin n^gayi ka
 he having raw (food) in mouth ate Dur game animal he Pres

(Text M27)

luka-∅ dha:-diku-miri, a:nuk-dhu balan^ya-ya, man?jar-nja
 eats having raw in mouth devil like that branch with leaves
 n^gayi ma:ra-n^gal-na, bala n^gayi wuyya-miri-ya-n^gal,
 he got now that way he caused to have painted decorations
 bidi?-yu-n-mi-r-a, n^gal?-yu-r-a nhan-n^gu n^gunhi, min^y?ji nhan-n^gu
 rubbed on self now went up now for him that painted design for him
 n^gal?-yu-r,
 went up

They went along, dancing. They continued (from the original indefinite point of origin) to the place wulawula. From wulawula they continued going along that way, along this way. All the way to mulayala (in Wa:gilak clan territory). They went uphill, this way. We sing the songs for those (devils). They would eat animals (=meat) raw, the devils did. They got branches with foliage on them. They painted facial decorations (on each other). They applied (white clay paint) on themselves. Those painted designs went up onto (=were applied to) them.

3. yan bili, marci-n n^gayi n^gunha-la-mi, wu:ray balan^ya-ya, a:nuk
 only enough! went he there devil like that devil
 gicburwada, birin^yjalki n^ganapur lakara-ma-n^y, n^guli n^ganapur manikay
 devil devil we(ExPl) speak that we(ExPl) song
 n^guli n^ya lakara-m-ya, bili walal ka-- bun^ggul-na wap-dhu-n,
 that him speak enough they Pres corroborree song now jump
 bun^ggul-na walal ka n^guli wakal-n^gura-∅-ya, yu:l-n^gu bawala-mir,
 that play (=dance) Aboriginal anyone
 jambarpuyngu bun^ggul, maran^gu bun^ggul, wa:gilak bun^ggul, dhuwal
 (clan n.) corroborree (clan n.) (clan n.) this
 bili wan^ggan^y, riracin^gu bun^ggul, dhuwal bili wan^ggan^y, yan bili
 enough! one (clan n.) this enough! one only enough!
 muypan, muypan-dhu n^gunha n^gayi marci-n, galn^ga-n^y man?jar-mir-a,
 (pl.n.) to M.(pl.n.) that he went skin having branch with leaf
 galn^ga-n^y n^guli n^gayi janbin^y-mir marci-n n^gayi dha:-diku-mir
 skin that he having facial design went he having raw in mouth
 n^gunhi yu:l-n^gu-ya, dha:-diku-mir,
 that human(=devil)

They continued on thaeere. The devils (wu:ray). We call them a:nuk, gicburwada, or birin^yjalki. (The last two are uncommon, specialized terms for this particular group of devils.) We sing corroborree songs (about) them. They (Aboriginal people) dance and play around in the corroborees, all Aboriginals. The corroborees of the Jambarpuyngu, Maran^gu, Wa:gilak clans are all the same--(also) of the Riracin^gu clan, all the same. (The devils) continued to the place muypan (Wa:gilak clan territory). They held small branches with foliage close to their skin. They had designs painted on the skin of their faces. They went along, those people (=devils), eating (meat) raw.

(Text M27)

Note: A full corroboree performance of the devil song cycle involves dancers who hold small branches with leaves in their hands and use them in the dance routines. The paintings referred to are totemic designs like those now applied to the dancers, primarily using paint made from white clay.

4. n^εuli ka n^εayi-- bu-nha-ra-mi-r walal ka, bili walal ka
that Pres he hit each other they Pres enough! they Pres
gulan^ε-mara-nha-mi-r, ga n^εunhi-yi-n, n^εunhi-yi-n, ga yan bili
got each other's blood and that now and only enough!
n^εayi n^εunhi yarup-dhu-r-a n^εayi guruwilin^y-n^εur, dhika-n bala
he that went down now he at G. (pl.n.) this way that way
gapawapa?-mir-a n^εunhi-yi nhi:na-∅ ka, gapawapa?-mir n^εunhi
having burns now that sit Pres that
gapawapa?-mir-ya, ga jark-dhu-na-n n^εayi ma:li, rulpurulpu, balan^ya-ya,
and carved now he club club like that
wandala, gumur-nha-n^εal n^εayi n^εunha-la-mi ban^yji,
club saw (cloud) from plain he there behind
gapalal-nha-n^εal n^εunha-l gandhalir, miwuk-dhu-na-wuy, ba:ra, n^εayi-n^y
saw cloud there NW wind which blew NW wind it
ga gundur-yu-r n^εunha-l, gundur-yu-r n^εunha-l, gandhalir-nja, ba:ra-n^y,
Dur hummed there hummed there NW wind NW wind

Those (devils) are fighting! Now they are drawing blood from each other! Those (devils) now. Now they (two of the devils, having split off from the others) went downhill, at the place guruwilin^y (said to be in north-west Arnhem Land, perhaps in the Jinba speaking area). Those (two) are sitting there, having burn spots (on their chests and shoulders). They carved out clubs (fighting-sticks) (several synonyms given). They saw rain-clouds approaching, back there. (They) saw clouds there, (in) the north-west wind, which was blowing strongly. The north-west wind was humming (drone) there.

Note: The north-west wind is dominant during the wet season and is frequently accompanied by rain-clouds.

5. jalwucbuc, walal-nja buca?-- lup-dhu-r-a
noncircumcising they noncircumcising (buca?-mir) bathed now
walal ka, walal-nja lup-dhu-r-a walal ka, dhawilin^εu-n^y wa:n^εa
they Dur they bathed now they Dur noncircumcising country
ninin^yn^εu n^εunha gurka-puca?-mir n^εunha gurka-wadaku-ya, n^εuli n^εanapur
indeed that noncircumcising that uncircumcised that we(ExPl)
manikay lakara-m n^εunhi-li-mi, n^εu:y-kur n^εunhi ba:ra?-gur,
song speak there in heart (=below) that through NW wind
miwuk-dhu-na n^εayi ka, n^εuli-n^εur-n^yja n^εayi-- gapalal-na n^εal?-yu-r
blew it Dur from there it cloud now went up
nhanu-kal, n^εunhi yu:l-n^εu-wal n^εunhi-ya, dhalacn^εu-wal ga
to him that to human that to D (devil's n.)

(Text M27)

wurn^εgumiri-wal, ma:li n^εayi ka jark-dhu-na n^εunhi-ya, rulpurulpu
to W (devil's n.) club he Dur carved that club
wandala, n^εa:thil walala-n^εgu-wuy dilkuru-wuru-n^ε, guyan^εa-nha-wuy,
club long ago of them of elders thinking
bili walal ka manikay-na ja:ma-∅ dhuwal-i, manikay-na n^εanapur,
enough! they Pres song now make this song now we(ExPl)
bawala-miri-n^y n^εanapur manikay ja:ma-∅,
anybody we song make

The noncircumcising people (of north-west Arnhem Land) were bathing (swimming) then. The noncircumcising people were in the water. There in the noncircumcising country (several synonyms for 'noncircumcising' and 'uncircumcised'). We perform songs (and dances) about that area. Down below, where the north-west wind was blowing. After that a rain-cloud came up to him, to that human (=devil), to Dhalacn^εu and to Wurn^εgumir (the two devils who had split off from the others). They carved out clubs, long ago, for the old people. Thinking (of these events), they (Aboriginals) perform these songs now. We (perform) the songs now. Any of us perform the songs.

6. ga n^εunhi-yi, ga bili n^εayi ka jark-dhu-na-n, bat-na
and that and enough! he Dur carved now get now
n^εanapur n^εunhi-yi, all right, guluwukbuk-na n^εunhi but-na, bat-na,
we(ExPl) that club now that fly now get now
n^εayi-n^y ga bu:ca-n^εal, n^εayi-n^y ga bu:ca-n^εal-na n^εunhi-yi wandala-n^y,
he Dur made he Dur made now that club
rulpurulpu-n^y, n^εayi-n^y ga:na-yi n^εunha-n^y maniwuman^ε-ja
club it separate (noun) that cane grass spear
n^εunhi-ya dhindi, gumur-n^εur n^εunha gandhalir nha:-n^εal,
that cane grass spear in plain that NW wind saw
dha:-miri-ya-n^εal n^εunhi yu:l-n^εu-w walala-n^ε, dha:-miri-ya-n^εal, nhakun
showed (taught) that for human for them showed like
dhawilin^εu-w, nhakun yu:l-n^εu-w mala, bawala-miri-w,
for noncircumcizing like for Aboriginal Pl for anybody
bawala-miri-w, n^εunhi-yi, dhindi n^εunhi-ya maniwuman^ε,
that cane grass spear that cane grass spear
jark-dhu-n walal ka, yu:l-n^εu-y n^εunhi dhawal-watan^εu-y,
carve they Pres human that boss of country

Then they (the two devils) carved (clubs). We got them (i.e. learned how to make them). The club (which the devils threw away) went flying (through the air), and we picked it up. He (one devil) was making them, and he (the other devil) was making those clubs. A different thing there were cane grass shafts (used as spears, especially by children in play). There in the plain (flat country) they saw a north-west wind. (The devils) taught the people--the noncircumcizing people as well as (us) Aboriginal people, anyone at all. They carve out cane grass spears, the Aborigines, the bosses of (those) countries.

(Text M27)

7. ga bili walal ka n^εanapur manikay-na ja:ma-∅ n^εunhi-yi,
 and enough! they Pres we(ExPl) song now make that
 dhindi balan^ya-ya, maniwuman^ε, dhudi-miri-ya-n^εal
 cane grass spear like that cane grass spear made spear
 n^εanapuru-n^ε, manikay-wu, bawala-miri-w, maran^εu-w, japu-w,
 for us(ExPl) for song for anybody for M. (clan n.) for J. (clan n.)
 riracin^εu-w, wa:gilak-gu, dhuwal bili napuru-n^ε, wan^εgan^y,
 for R. (clan n.) for W. (clan n.) this enough! for us(ExPl) one
 manikay-n^yja mu:kuy dhuwal-ga?yi devil-devil balan^ya, nhawi,
 song devil this like that what's-it?
 wu:ray balan^ya-ya, bala walal ka gan^yjar-miri-ya-n^εal-na n^εunhi-yi,
 devil like that that way they Dur clapped clubs that
 gan^yjar-miri-ya-n^εal-na n^εunhi-yi wandala, rulpurulpu-n^y, may?-yu-r-a
 club club threw now
 n^εayi n^εunhi-li-mi, dhudi-n^εur wa:n^εa-n^εur, gumur-nha-n^εal
 he there from the bottom from country see (cloud) from plain
 n^εunha gandhalir miwuk-dhu-na-wuy, gundur-yu-na-wuy n^εunha ya?,
 that NW wind which was blowing which was humming that indeed
 gurka-wadaku-wal jalwucbuc-gal .
 to uncircumcised to noncircumcising

Now they--we perform corroboree songs (for) that. The cane grass spear. (They) made spears for us, for the songs, for everybody--the Maran^εu, Japu, Riracin^εu, and Wa:gilak clans. We share this one song cycle, (about) devils. What's-it?, wu:ray (term for 'devil'). They (devils) clapped the clubs together (to mark the beat of the songs). They threw (the clubs) there, from the low country (i.e. around the place guruwilin^y). (They) saw the NW wind and the clouds, (looking) from the plain. The NW wind, which was blowing hard and humming there, (heading) for the noncircumcising people (of north-west Arnhem Land).

TEXT R1 HUNTING KANGAROOS

Speaker: Roy

1. yo!, marci-n napu::r, ja:ca-lil, marci-n napu::r nha:-n^εal
 all right! went we(ExPl) to kangaroo saw
 ja:ca, nhirpa-r yuln^εu?-yul-n^εu-n^y half-now, nhuma-n^y dhiya-l
 kangaroo caused to sit up people halfway you(Pl) here
 nhi:n-i, n^εanapur bala, galku-r nhuma-n^y, bica-r, dhun^εgur wurk,
 sit! we(ExPl) that way wait! you(Pl) said that set fire bushfire
 liw dap!,
 go around join

All right. We went hunting for kangaroos (generic term). We went along and saw a kangaroo. (We) had some of the people remain there, along the way. 'You(Pl) stay here, (while) the rest of us go that way! You stay here and wait!' (We) said that. (We) set bushfires. (They burned) in a ring, then closed (the ring).

2. marci:::-n, garcambal jut, maluya?, jut, dhuwa-na
 went antelope kangaroo spear(verb) emu this
 guru?-guruka-m n^εunhi, ja:ca limuru-n^ε, gurtha n^εaw, bili-n,
 keeps carrying that kangaroo for us(InPl) fire make fire enough now!
 luka-na:::-n gudhal?-gudhal?-yu-r-a::: mit-mit-dhu-r-a:::, bili-n,
 ate now kept roasting now kept cutting up now enough now!

(We) went along, and speared an antelope kangaroo, (or maybe) we speared an emu (flightless bird). (The hunter then brought the animal back to the camp.) 'Here he comes now, carrying that (kangaroo). Kangaroo (meat) for us!' (exclaimed the people in the camp). We built a fire, then we ate. We roasted it and cut it up then.

3. ja:ca limuru-n^ε, limur run^εiyi-r-a gu!, bala-dhi-n,
 kangaroo for us(InPl) we(InPl) return now come on! that way now
 ga:-ma-n limur walala-n^ε, jann^εar-thi-r-a walal ka, yu:l-n^εu-n^y
 carry now we(InPl) for them are hungry now they Pres person
 mala, bica-r, ga:-n^εal rar?, gurupa-r-na walala-n^ε marci:::-n,
 Pl said that carried put down gave now to them went

luka-na-n wala:::l, bili-n, yo! .
 ate now they enough now! all right!

'We have kangaroo (meat)! Let's go back that way and take (it) to them! The people are hungry.' (We) said that. (We) carried it (to the camp) and put it down. (We) gave (it) to them. They ate (it) then. That is all.

TEXT R2 VISIT TO NANGALALA

Speaker: Roy

1. baman? napur wiripu-n^y n^gangalala-lil marci-n,
long time we(ExPl) other to Nangalala (settlement) went
marci-n napu::r n^gu:ra-n gandar-n^gur, jucuc, marci::n gandar-n^gur
lay down on the way go went
n^gu:ra-n, bulu marci::n bur, n^gangalala, yu:l-n^gu mala limuru-n^g,
again arrive Nangalala person Pl for us(InPl)
du:n^yji-n^gur marci-∅ ka dhuwal, bica-r, yo!,
from Doindji (outstation) go Pres this said that all right!
du:n^yji-n^gur yu:l-n^gu mala limuru-n^g, bica-r,
said that

Long ago we went to that other place, Nangalala settlement (in north-west Arnhem Land). We went along, and after spending two nights on the way we arrived at Nangalala. 'We have people (visitors), from Doindji outstation. Here they come!' (The people of Nangalala) said that (to each other). 'We have visitors from Doindji,' (they) said.

2. marci::n bur, n^gatha napuru-n^y marci-n gurupa-r, n^gula nha:
went arrive food us(ExPl) went gave something what?
wa:yin, gurupa-r-a marci::n, gurupa-r-a marci-n wa:yin n^gatha::,
animal gave now went animal food
bili-n,
enough now!

(We) went into their camp. (They) gave us vegetable food, and maybe meat. They kept giving us meat and vegetable food.

3. bala-yi napur thu run^giyi-r yan napur guwar marci-n, yan
that way we(ExPl) Fut return only we temporarily went only
nhumala-n^y nha:-n^gal marci-n, bala-yi napur thu run^giyi-r du:n^yji-lil
you(Pl) saw went that way we Fut return to Doindji
mak, yalala limur thu baman? n^gula nha:-nha-mi-r nha:-tha-yi,
maybe later we(InPl) Fut long time something see each other when?
baman?-dhi, bica-r napur, yo!,
long time, said we(ExPl) all right!

(We told them:) 'We will go back there (soon, to Doindji). We have just come for a little while. We have just come (to) see you. Maybe we will go back to Doindji (soon). Later on, at some time or other, we will see each other for a long period.' We said that. All right!

4. ga duc bala-yi, marci::n gandar-n^gur n^gu:ra-n, jucuc, bulu
and return that way went on the way lay down go again
marci::n, gandar-n^gur n^gu:ra-n, bulu:: bur, nhi:na::n, nhuma-n^y
went on the way lay down again arrive sat you(Pl)

(Text R2)

- nhi:n-i n^gara limuru-n^g n^garali?-lil n^ganapur limuru-n^g, bala,
sit! I for us(InPl) to tobacco we(ExPl) for us(InPl) that way
n^garali?-lil limuru-n^g da, yo!, nha:-tha nhuma thu buna-∅-n^y
to tobacco for us I (=ra) all right! when? you(Pl) Fut arrive
n^gula, yo!, yalala n^gula nha:-tha, gudar?, wu nha:-tha
something all right! later something when? tomorrow or when
bawala-mir nhu-na thu wan?-dhu-n-ja,
anyway you(Sg) Fut watch

(We) went back that way (to Doindji). After spending two nights on the way we arrived again. (We) sat down. (After a while, one man said to the others:) 'You all stay (here), while I and a few others (go) that way, to (get) tobacco. I (will go) for tobacco, for us.' 'All right. When will you arrive (back here)? Later on, maybe tomorrow, or whenever it is, (we) will watch for you (to return).'

5. marci-na::n bur, n^garali bat, bay marci-n n^garali::
went now arrive tobacco get leave alone went tobacco
duc, ra:li, marci::n bur, dhuwa-na n^garali-n^y?, ba:y^gu muka
return this way went arrive this tobacco absent indeed
ma:ni-muruw napur marci-na-n^y, n^garali-n^y? nhumala-n^g, bica-r,
without money we(ExPl) went tobacco for you(Pl) said

(He) went along, and arrived (at the settlement). (He) got some tobacco. (He) left (the settlement) and returned (with) the tobacco, this way. (He) went along and arrived. 'Here is some tobacco. We went without (much) money. Some tobacco for you all.' (He) said that.

6. ga duc, guru?-gurupa-r marci-n n^garali-n^y?, gurupa-r walala-n^g n^gatha
and return kept giving went tobacco gave to them food
n^garali, wu ma:ni, gurupa-r walala-n^g marci-n, bili-n, limur
tobacco or money gave to them went enough now! we(InPl)
hunting-lil n^gi!, wa:yin-gu limuru-n^g n^gula nhan^gu?-nha-n^gu,
to hunting yes? for animal for us(InPl) something see! (nha:-)

marci::n dhut,
went sit down

(He) came back and gave the tobacco (to them). (He) gave them food and tobacco, or maybe some money. (He) gave it to them. Then: 'Shall we go hunting? For some meat for us. Look (for it)!' (They) went along, then stopped (sat).

7. nhirpa-r walala-n^y waraw?-n^gur, waraw? walala-n^y jip,
caused to sit up them in shade shade them make sit up
nhuma limuru-n^g galku-r dhiya-l, n^ganapur n^gula bala
you(Pl) for us(InPl) wait! here we(ExPl) something that way
hunting-gu limuru-n^g marci-marci-∅, marci::n, ja:ca git,
-for for us(InPl) go went kangaroo spear(verb)

(Text R2)

mulpiya?, mulpiya walal dharpu-n^εal, duc,
agile wallaby they speared return

(They) had some (of the people) remain there in the shade. 'You all wait here for us! We are going that way to get some game for us.' (They) went along, and speared a kangaroo. They speared an agile wallaby (small kangaroo-like animal). They speared an agile wallaby, then went back.

8. mulpiya? limuru-n^ε, nhuma gurtha-n dhan^εal-ku-n^ε, gurtha-n
agile wallaby for us(InPl) you(Pl) fire now start up! fire now
nhuma-n^y balcam?-dhu-r, gurtha n^εaw bili-n, batha-r-a marci:::-n,
you(Pl) build (fire)! fire make fire enough now! burned now went
gudhal?-gudhal?-yu-r-a, bu:rum-dhi-na-n n^εayi, wilan^ε?,
kept roasting now got cooked it take out

'We have wallaby (meat)! You all start up a fire now! You all build a fire now!' (They) made a fire. Then they cooked (burned) it, they roasted it (in stone oven). Then it was cooked, and (they) took it out.

9. wark-dhu-r-nja n^εi-n^ya bili-n, luka-na-n marci:::-n bili-n,
took out it enough now! ate now went enough now!

ga duc bala-yi, wa:n^εa-lil-a, limur-a gu!, wa:n^εa-lil-a,
and return that way to camp now we(InPl) now go on! to camp now

marci:::-n gurupa-r-a walala-n^ε marci-n wa:yin-ja, rar?-yu-r-a walala-n^ε
went gave now to them went animal put down now for them

marci-n bili-n, gurupa-r-a walala-n^ε marci-n,
went enough now! gave now to them went

(They) took it out (from the fire). Then (they) ate it. Then (they) went back that way, to the camp. 'Come on! Back to the camp!' (They) went along, and gave them (people back in the camp) the meat. (They) went and put it down for them. (They) gave it to them.

10. walal-nja n^εatha-n marci-n bi:-n^εur-n^yja gurupa-r, n^εatha-n napuru-n^y
they food now went from somewhere gave food now us(ExPl)

walal marci-n gurupa-r bi:-n^εur-n^yja, ba:yn^εu muka wa:yin-ja
they went gave from somewhere absent indeed animal

n^yumukunin^y?-gan^yan^ε?, yaka muka yindi-n^y, bica-r,
small not indeed big said that

In return, they (the ones who had been given meat) gave (the meat-providers) vegetable food after that. They gave us vegetable food after that. There was (almost) no meat--just a little bit, not much at all.

11. wiripu-n^y nha:, limur gatapan^εa?-na n^εupa-n gu!, nha:-n^εal
other what? we(InPl) buffalo now chase go on! saw

napur dhukar, yuta, dhuwal marci-n n^εayi kan ya?, n^εupa-r
we(ExPl) tracks recent this went it Dur indeed chased

gatapan^εa:::, din?-dhu-r-a bala marci:::-n, din?-dhu-r-a, dhuwal-dhi
buffalo followed now that way went followed now this

(Text R2)

dha:ra-∅ n^εayi ka,
stand it Pres

Another one. What? 'Let's hunt down a buffalo now!' We saw some fresh tracks. 'It went along here!' We chased the buffalo (tracks), we followed it that way. 'There it is!'

12. lup-lup-dhu-n gapu-n^εur, n^εupa-r n^εi-n^ya::: jut,
bathes in water chased it spear(verb)

barc-u-r-a n^εi-n^ya marci:::-n bat, mit-mit-dhu-r-a n^εi-n^ya:::,
threw spears at now it went fall cut up now it

bili-n, gurtha n^εaw, gudhal?-gudhal?-yu-r-a, bili-n,
enough now! fire make (fire) roasted now enough now!

balcam?-dhu-r-a, gudhal?-gudhal?-yu-r-nja n^ya wilan^ε?-wilan^ε?-dhu-r-nja
made fire now roasted it took out

bili-n, bala-yi duc, wa:n^εa-lil-a,
enough now! that way return to camp now

'It is in the water!' (We) chased it and threw spears at it. It went along, but then fell. (We) cut it up then. (We) made a fire and roasted it. We built a fire and roasted it. We took it out (from the fire). Then we went back that way, to the camp.

13. gatapan^εa bu-mar napur, gatapan^εa? limuru-n^ε, rar?-yu-r-a
buffalo killed we(ExPl) buffalo for us(InPl) put down now

walala-n^ε marci-n gurupa-r-a jamarkuli-w-nja, wu n^εalapa-miri-w,
for them went gave now for children or for old men

gurupa-r-a walala-n^ε marci:::-n, luka-na-n walal marci-n, yawirin^y?-dhu .
gave now for them went ate now they went young man

(Arriving back in the camp, we announced:) 'We killed a buffalo! We have buffalo (meat).' (We) put down (the buffalo) for them, (we) gave it to the children, or to the old men. (We) gave it to them. They ate it, the young men.

TEXT R3 HUNTING AND GATHERING

Speaker: Roy

1. yo!, nhuma nhi:n-i, napur bala datam-lil, datam-lil limuru-n^g
 lup-lup-dhu-n, bulpi, guthun^g buma?-bu-ma, mayan^g-n^gur limuru-n^g, nhuma
 limuru-n^g n^gula nhawu-ku nhan^gu?-nha-n^gu muthali-w, wu gudurku-w n^gula,
 marci:::-n lup-lup-dhu-r-a bu-mar-a walal kan datam-ja bili-n,

All right! 'You all sit (stay) here, we are going that way, to the
 water lilies (datam). Water lilies for us. (We) will go into the water.
 (We) will break off (bu-) water lily root corms (bulpi, guthun^g). We
 have (them), on the bottom (mayan^g). The rest of you, look for what's-it
 (nhawu-ku), for black ducks (muthali) or perhaps brolga birds (gudurku).'
 (They) went along and went into the water. They were breaking off water
 lily seed pods (datam).

Note: datam has a specific meaning 'seed pod of large water lily sp.',
 but is also used loosely to refer to that lily sp., or to lilies (and
 lily foods) in general.

2. walal-nja wiripu wulku yawirin^v?-ja ba:lay, nhawu-lil-a, muthali-w,
 gudurku gurumarci bu-mar-a walal marci-n, ganji, judurku, bugulbugul,
 gulunbalkara, bu-mar-a walal marci-n duc, rar?, gurtha n^gaw,

As for the other group (wiripu wulku), the young men (yawirin^v?), (they)
 went away to what's-it? (nhawu-), for black ducks (muthali). They killed
 brolgas (gudurku) and magpie geese (gurumarci). They killed jabirus
 (ganji), black cormorants (judurku = bugulbugul), and little pied cormorants
 (gulunbalkara). (They) went back (duc), and lit a fire.

3. walal-nja marci-n gurupa-r datam-na guthun^g-na, dhiran^g,
 gudhal?-gudhal?-yu-r-a walal-nja marci-n, gurtha n^gaw bili-n, gudhal,
 luka-na-n, wilan^g?-dhu-r-a marci-n, bili-n, wa:n^ga-lil duc, wa:n^ga-puy-gu
 walala-n^g rar?,

As for them (adults), they gave (the young men) water lily seed pods
 (datam) and water lily root corms (guthun^g, dhiran^g). As for them (the
 young men), they roasted (the animals). (They) lit fires (gurtha). Then
 they roasted (gudhal?-) it and ate (luka-) it. (They) took it out
 (wilan^g?-). Then they returned (duc) to the camp (wa:n^ga). (They) put
 it down (rar?-) for the camp people (wa:n^ga-puy).

4. walal-nja n^gatha-n bi:-n^gur-n^vja, luka-na-n walal marci-n, wa:n^ga-n^gur-n^vja,
 guthun^g-ja luka-na-n walal marci-n bulpi-n^v, dhiran^g, gurumarci, gudurku,
 muthali, judurku, nhawi, muthali, gurumba,

They (the hunters) ate vegetable food (n^gatha) then, after that. In
 the camp they ate water lily roots (guthun^g, bulpi, dhiran^g), magpie geese,
 brolgas, black ducks, black cormorants, what's-it? (nhawi)--black ducks,
 magpie geese (gurumba).

5. bu-mar-na walal marci-n, luka-na-n marci-n dhawar, limur bala gu!, wurk
 limur n^gunha-n liw-mara-m, ja:ca-w, garcambal-wu, nhuma limuru-n^g datam-lil
 dhiran^g nhuma marc-i bu-n^gu limuru-n^g, n^ganapur-nja bala wurk dhun^ggur?-yu-n
 ya?, garcambal-gu,

(Text R3)

They killed (bu-) them, ate (luka-) them, and finished them off
 (dhawar-) then. 'Let's go that way! Let's set (liw-) bushfires (wurk)
 there, for kangaroos (ja:ca), for antelope kangaroos (garcambal). You
 all go break off (bu-) some water lily seed pods and root corms for us,
 while we go set (dhun^ggur?-) bushfires that way, for kangaroos.'

6. ga:-n^gal n^gurn^ggic-n^gur jip, waraw?-n^gur, bala-n wala:::l marci-na:::-n,
 bu-mar-a marci-n wa:yin-ja:::, janda, n^gula nha:, wangura?, wan?gabu, jaykun^g,
 bakara, mulupinda?, bu-mar-a marci:::-n, dhawar,

(They) carried (their things) and put them (jip) at a shady resting
 place (n^gurn^ggic). Then they went that way. They killed some game animals
 (wa:yin): goannas (janda), various things (n^gula nha:), bandicoots
 (wangura?), water goannas (wan?gabu), file snakes (jaykun^g), tortoise
 species (bakara, mulupinda?). They killed them, they killed many (dhawar-).

7. gudhal?-gudhal?-yu-r-a marci-n gurtha n^gaw, batha-r-a marci-n bulka?
 wur?-yu-r-a, dhuri-mara-n^gal-a marci-n, n^gaw-mara-n^gal-a gurtha, gudhal,
 wilan^g?-wilan^g?-dhu-r-a marci-n, luka-na:::-n, bala wa:n^ga-lil walala-n^g
 ga:-n^gal-a, ga:-n^gal walala-n^g rar?,

(They) roasted them. (They) lit a fire. (They) burned off (batha-)
 the feathers (bulka?) and plucked (wur?-) them. (They) cleaned out the
 guts (dhuri-mara-). (They) lit (n^gaw-mara-) a fire and roasted it. (They)
 took it out (wilan^g?-) and ate it then. (They) took (the rest) that way,
 to the camp, for them. (They) carried it and put it down (rar?-) for them
 (the people in the camp).

8. dhuwal nhumala-n^ggu-n^v ya?, wa:yin-ja, bica-r, wa:n^ga-n^gur dhut,
 nhina?-nhina:::-Ø, way! ba:yn^gulimuru-n^g dhuwal nhawi-n^v, n^garali-n^v?,
 limur n^garali-w? n^gathil walala-n^g bal?-yu-n gu!, ba:lay,

'Here is meat (wa:yin) for you all', (he) said. (They) sat down in the
 camp. (They) stayed a while (nhi:na-). 'Hey! We have no what's-it?,
 tobacco (n^garali?) here! Let's fetch (bal?-) some tobacco for them!' (They
 went) away (ba:lay).

9. marci:::-n n^garali? bayim?-bayim, guru?-gurupa-r walala-n^g marci-n
 n^garali::: duc, bala-yi, marci:::-n guray, dhuwa-na n^garali? marci-n bala
 yuln^gu?-yul-n^gu-n^v, yu:l-n^gu-n^v mala n^garali?-mir-nja limuru-n^g, yo!,
 gurupa-r walala-n^v marci:::-n, gurupa-r walala-n^v marci:::-n n^garali
 half-now walal marci-n, bili-n .

(They) went and bought (bayim?-, a loanword) some tobacco. (They) gave
 the tobacco to them, then went back (duc). They went that way, and gave
 (guray) it (to the others). 'Here is some tobacco! People have come,
 having tobacco (n^garali?-mir), for us.' All right! (They) gave it to
 them. They gave the tobacco to them. They went along the way (half-now).
 That is all.

TEXT R4 HUNTING TURTLES

Speaker: Roy

Note: Hunting marine turtles, especially the green turtle (Chelonia mydas), is a major subsistence activity for coastal peoples in this area. The usual technique is to use a canoe with at least two men, one paddling and the other first scouting and then acting as harpooner. When a turtle is sighted an effort is made to station the canoe where the turtle is likely to surface in order to breathe. If this is successful, the harpooner crouches in the prow of the canoe and harpoons the turtle; the turtle then dives but the harpoon spike (which detaches from the harpoon shaft and is attached to a length of rope) remains embedded in it. A piece of floating wood tied to the rope shows the hunters approximately where the turtle is, so when it surfaces again to breathe the harpooner can finish it off with a second harpoon.

This hunting activity is highly specialized and certain men become experts in it; men at middle age or beyond rarely have sufficient strength and eyesight for the job. Hunting dugongs (sea-cows) is performed in essentially the same manner with two men in a canoe, the chief difference being that stalking techniques are different. This is because dugong are essentially blind but have exceptional auditory ability, while turtles have comparatively good vision. Thus in stalking turtles there is a premium on avoiding visual signals which the turtles can detect, while in stalking dugong the premium is on absolute silence.

1. marci-n napu::r baman? rayman^ggir-lil, nhuma limuru-n^g naku? dap-mara-n^g ya?, war?-war-yu-r ra:li, limur hunting-gu wukalic-gu, nhawi miyapunu-w, limur miyapunu-lil marci-∅ hunting-lil, yo!, limur, lun^ggu bat, raki bat, ga yu:l liw?-yu-na-mir-nja, n^gara, yo!,

Long ago we went to the place rayman^ggir (said to be in Maran^gu clan territory). 'You all tie up (dap-mara-) the canoe (naku?) for us! Drag (war?-war-) it this way! We (are going) for game (hunting), for dugong (wukalic). (Or rather) what's-it?, for green turtles (miyapunu). We are going hunting for turtles. All right, we (must) get the harpoon (lun^ggu) and the rope (raki). Now who (yu:l) will be the paddler (liw?-)?' (Someone answers:) 'I (will paddle).' 'All right.'

Note: liw?-yu-na-mir 'paddler' is a noun of the form 'having X' with suffix -mir 'having' added to a nominal form in -na- of the thematic verb liw?-yu- 'to paddle (around)'.

2. liw?, liw?-yu-r-a marci:::-n, nha:-n^gal napuru-n^y, nha:-n^gal walala-n^y, nha:-n^gal walala-n^y n^gayi, n^gunha wa:yin-ja gu! lup-dhu-r-nja n^gunha-l ya?, bi:-n bala n^gayi thu dhawat-dhu-n-ja ya?, batba?-n^gur-a, marci-n napu::r liw?-yu-r marci:::-n, gul!,

(They) paddled along. (The turtle) saw us. It saw them. 'The animal (wa:yin) is there (n^gunha)! Come on! (It) just went underwater (lup-) there! Somewhere over that way (bi:-n bala) it will surface (dhawat-), around the shoals (batba?!)' We went along paddling. 'Gul!' (gurgling sound made by turtle).

(Text R4)

3. wan?-dhu-r nhan-n^gu:: ba:yn^gu, jun^g? n^gayi wiripu-n^gur-a, wan^ga-n n^gayi, yidip, bala-yi, n^gunha-wal gu! gu! liw?-yu-n-ja, liw liw liw liw liw liw liw!, bulu n^gayi ma:r galki-n dhawat-dhu-r,

(We) looked for it, (but there was) nothing (ba:yn^gu). (Then) it made a noise (jun^g?) at another place. It spoke (wan^ga-). (Then it) dove deeply (yidip-), that way. 'Come on! Let's paddle (liw?-) over that way!' We paddled furiously (repeated liw!). Again it came to the surface, fairly close (ma:r galki-n).

4. nhi:-n^yja xx (false start)--nhawi jambac-n^gu-n^y, dha:r-i-n nhi:-n^y dhuwal ban^yji ya?, galki ma:r n^gayi jun^g?-dhu-r-nja, dhawat, liw liw liw liw yurk!, marci:::-n, liw?-yu-r marci-n, galki, liw?-liw?-yu-r jut, raki walal la:-yark-mara-n^gal-na, jut,

'You! What's-it?, the harpooner (jambac^gu)! Stand up (dha:ra-) now, back here! It has just made a noise (jun^g?) not far away!' It surfaced. (They) paddled and hid (yurk!) (i.e. kept low). (They) paddled along, (until they) were near (galki). (They) paddled and harpooned (jut) it. They fed out (la:-yark-mara-) the rope (raki) (as the turtle dove under).

5. war, war-yu-r-a n^gi-n^ya marci:::-n, bat, n^gal?, n^guli limur bala ya?, wiripu-w laru-n^g, wiripu-w laru-n^g war-yu-r-a n^gal? bat, law?-mara-n^gal n^gal?-mara-n^gal n^gi-n^ya, ga jarcar wiripu-lil, liw? liw? liw?, marci:::-n,

(They) pulled (war-) it along. (They) grabbed (bat) it and raised (n^gal?, for causative n^gal?-mara-) it (into the canoe). 'Let's (go) that way! (Let's) look for (laru-) another! (Let's) look for another!' (They) pulled in, lifted, grabbed, and brought inside (law?-mara-) it (a second turtle). They moved (jarcar) to another (place). (They) went along, paddling.

6. nha:-n^gal barku jun^g, n^gunha n^gayi jun^g?-dhu-r-nja gu!, limur bala nhan-n^gu laru-n^g, liran^gu-n, n^gal, liw?-yu-n marci:::-∅, dha:ra-∅ wan?-dhu:::-n ba:yn^gu, wan?-dhu-n nhan-n^gu ba:yn^gu, bulu liw?,

(They) saw it far away, making a noise (jun^g). 'It made a noise over there! Come on! Let's look for it that way!' (They moved) in a circular motion (liran^gu) then. (The turtle) came up (n^gal). (They) paddled along. (The harpooner) stands and looks around (wan?-), (but sees) nothing (ba:yn^gu). (He) looks and sees nothing. Again (they) paddle.

7. dhika bala dhawat-dhu-r-nja ya?, batba?-mir n^gula batba?-mir-nja wa:n^ga, dhika bala wa:yin-ja ya?, bica-r, yo!, liw?-yu-n-a marci:::-∅, jut!, dhawat-dhu-r n^gayi ma:r barku, bulu n^gayi dhawat-dhu-r ma:r galki-n,

'In this area (dhika bala) it surfaced! (Its) home (wa:n^ga) is in ('having') the coral shoals (batba?). The animal (wa:yin) is in this area.' (He) said that. 'All right!' (said the other). (They) paddle along now, and (the harpooner) harpoons it (jut). It surfaced rather far away (ma:r barku), then again it surfaced not far away (ma:r galki-n).

(Text R4)

8. liw?-yu-r-a n^ēayi jut, dharpu-n^ēal n^ēi-n^ya war-yu-r marci:::-n, n^ēal?, nharca-r nhi: thu ma:rma-n? dhuwal wa:yin-ja bay?, bulu limur thu laru-n^ē wiripu-w, wiripu-w nhuma thu bulu laru-n^ē, wan^ēgan^y?-na limur thu dharpu-m bala duwat-dhu-n-a limur thu, yo!, bica-r,

(They) paddled, and he harpooned (it). (He) harpooned (dharpu-) it and (they) pulled it in. (They) lifted (n^ēal?-mara-) it (into the canoe). 'How about (nharca-r 'do what?') you (getting) two (ma:rma?) animals, all right? (bay?). Let's look for yet another one!' 'Yes! (yi!). 'You all look for another one! We will harpoon (dharpu-) one more (wan^ēgan^y?). Then we will go up on shore (duwat-dhu-) that way (bala).' 'All right.' He said that.

9. liw?-yu-n marci:::-∅, liw?-yu-n marci:::-∅ bur, nha:-n^ēal napur dhawat, wiripu-n^ēur, dhawat n^ēayi, barku ma:r n^ēunha-l nhakun ya:::, dilci-n^ēur ya?, dhawat n^ēayi, n^ēunha gu! jun^ē?-dhu-r-nja n^ēayi, limur bala bica-n ya? liran^ēu nhan-n^ēu, liran^ēu nhan-n^ēu laru-n^ē, bica-r,

(They) paddle along. (They) paddle and arrive (there). We saw it surface, at another place. It surfaced, over there some distance away. Near the island (dilci 'backbone; hill; island'). It surfaced. 'Come on! (gu!). Over there (n^ēunha) it made a noise! Let's (go) circling around like this for it! Let's look for it, circling around!' (One of the men) said that.

10. liw? liw? liw? liw? liw? liw? liw? liw? liw?!, ma:r galki-n n^ēayi ma:r dhawat-dhu-n-ja, xx(?) dhawat n^ēayi galki-n ma:r, mak n^ēunha mak ya?, dhipu-n^ēur nhakun dhuwal xx(?) dharpa dha:ra-∅, liw?-yu-n-a n^ēaraka bulwan^ē, war-yu-n-a marci-∅ dhawat n^ēal?, war-yu-n-a marci-∅ dhawat n^ēal?,

(They) paddled furiously. It is surfacing fairly close by. It is coming up not far away. Maybe there--(the distance) from here to where that tree (dharpa) is standing (i.e. about ten metres). (They) paddle along and (he) smashes (bulwan^ē?-dhu-) it (in) the bone (n^ēaraka). (They) pull it in now, (as) it surfaces and rises. (They) pull it in as it surfaces and rises.

Note: Alternatively, dhawat and n^ēal? ('to surface' and 'to go up', resp.) at the end of this segment could be taken as representing causative dhawat-mara- and n^ēal?-mara- ('to cause to surface' and 'to raise').

11. limur marci-∅-n gu!, run^ēiyi-r-a bala-yi-n, wa:n^ēa-lil-a, liw? liw? liw? liw? dhawat, miyapunu-n^y lurkun? limuru-n^ē, three lurkun? miyapunu-n^y limuru-n^ē, lurkun? limuru-n^ē miyapunu-n^y dhuwal, yo! limuru-n^ē miyapunu-mir mala, nhuma mit-dhu-r-a n^ēanapur-nja gurtha-n dhan^ēal-ku-m limuru-n^ē, yo!,

'Let's go now! Let's go back (run^ēiyi-) that way, to the camp!' (They) paddled along, and went up (dhawat-) (to the camp). 'We have several (lurkun? 'three or more') turtles! We have three turtles! We have three turtles here!' 'Yes, we have people with turtles! You all cut them up, and we will start up a fire for us!' 'All right!'

(Text R4)

12. mit-mit-dhu-r-a walal-nja wiripu wulku-y-n^yja gurtha-n marci-n bathu-r, mit-mit-dhu-r-a walal n^ēi-n^ya:::, dhawar, nhuma limuru-n^ē gurtha bathu-r, n^ēi!, n^ēanapur mit-dhu-n, yo!, gudhal batha-r-a, gurtha-lil-a bat, jalk-dhu-r-a marci-n warakan-ja, miyapunu-n^y, nha:ra-na-n^y n^ēayi:::, bu:rum-dhi-na-n,

Another group (wiripu wulku) cut them up. 'Go make (batha- 'burn') a fire (gurtha) now!' They cut them up, they finished (dhawar?-) with them. 'You all make ('burn') a fire for us, all right? We are cutting them up.' 'All right' (the others said). (They) roasted and cooked ('burned') them. (The turtles) fell (bat) into the fire. (They) threw the animals (warakan), the turtles, (into the fire). They (turtles) were burning, then they were (fully) cooked (bu:rum-dhi-).

13. ga nhuma limuru-n^ē wark-dhu-r-a, bili-n dhuwal-i bu:rum-na, wark, wilan^ē?-dhu-r-nja walal bili-n, mit-mit-dhu-r-a gurupa-n-mi-na-n marci-n, half xx(?) -na, gurupa-n-mi-na-n walal marci:::-n, nhumala-n^ēgu-n^y dhuwal, wiripu-puy, n^ēanapuru-n^ē dhuwal half-gu wiripu-puy yan, ga nhumala-n^ē dhuwal wiripu-puy, bica-r,

'And you all take (them) out (from the fire) for us now! This is enough; (they are) cooked now!' They took them out (wark, wilan^ē?-), then they cut them up and gave it to each other (gurupa-n-mi-), each getting a portion. They shared it ('gave to each other'). 'This ('this other') is for you all, and this portion is for us. This ('this other') is for you all.' (He) said that.

14. guru?-gurupa-n-mi-na-n walal marci-n, luka-na:::-n, munhawu-thi-na-n, limur bala gu!, bulu miyapunu-w laru-n^ē, bica-r, jarcar walal, jarcar walal .

They kept giving (them) to each other then. (They) ate (them) then. It became night (munhawu-thi-). 'Let's (go) that way! (Let's) look for another turtle!' (He) said that. They traveled.

TEXT R5 CLAIMING A MOTHER-IN-LAW

Speaker: Roy

1. all right, n^εara-ku-wuy n^εunhi nhawi, mumalkur-?mirin^εu-y-n^yja
 my that what's-it? MMBW(=WMM)
 yaku-ya-n^εal, milmara-n^y n^εara-ku, mumalkur-yu-n^y, ga ma:ri-y-n^yja,
 summoned promised WM my MMBW and MMB
 n^εara-ku-n^y, n^εara-ku-wuy-na buku milmara-n^y, ma:ri-y-n^yja
 my my now forehead promised WM MMB
 yaku-ya-n^εal ga mumalkur-yu-n^y, ga gurun^ε-dhu-n^y, n^εara-ku-wuy
 summoned and MMBW and MMBS my
 yaku-ya-n^εal,
 summoned

All right. That what's-it? (promised WM) is mine. (My) MMBW
 (M of my promised WM) summoned my promised WM. My MMBW and my MMB.
 She is mine, my full ('forehead') WM. My MMB and MMBW summoned (her).
 Also my MMBS summoned her.

Note: The point of 'summon' here is that the MMB, MMBW, etc., prevent
 Ego's designated WM from breaking the agreement to provide Ego with her
 daughter's as his wives.

The term gurun^ε is apparently used here for MMBS (the B of Ego's
 promised WM). Although this usage is not uncommon, MMBS also has a more
 specific designation maralkur.

2. ga nhi:-n^y dhuwal-i ga wiripu-puy-na lalawk-dhu-r,
 and you(Sg) this and related to other now be without spouse!
 dhur^εa-puy-na, n^εara-ku yuwalk-ja milmara, nhi:-n^y
 ignorant (=without spouse) now my body (=true) promised WM you(Sg)
 dhuwal-i ga milmara-mur^u-na, ga:na-n^εu-wuy-na nhi:
 this and without promised WM now alone now you(Sg)
lalawk-dhu-r, dhun^εa-puy-na balan^ya, milmara-mur^u-na,
 be without spouse! ignorant now like that without promised WM now
 n^εara-ku yuwalk-ja, milmara-n^y, mumalkur-yu yaku-ya-n^εal, ga ma:ri-y-n^yja,
 my body MMBW summoned and MMB
 ga gurun^ε-dhu-n^y, nhi:-n^y dhuwal-i lalawk-dhu-r ga dhun^εa-puy-na,
 and MMBS you(Sg) this be without spouse! and ignorant now
 milmara-mur^u-na, wanha nhu-n^εu milmara, dhun^εa-puy-na
 without promised WM now where? your(Sg) promised WM ignorant now
 balan^ya, lu:pa-n, ga:na-n^εu-wuy-na nhi: lalawk-dhu-r,
 like that rubbish(creole word) now alone
 bili-n .
 enough now

(Ego says to a rival:) 'You are related to (a promised WM) other than
 this one. Go without a wife! She is my true promised WM. You are without
 a promised WM! You are alone! Go without a wife! Without a wife. She is
 my true WM. My MMBW, MMB, and MMBS summoned her. You go without a wife,
 without a WM! Where is your promised WM? You have none, you rubbish!
 Be alone, go without a wife!' That is all.

TEXT R6 WIFE-STEALING

Speaker: Roy

1. yo!, jaw?-yu-r-a nhan-n^εu walal miyalk-ja n^εunhi-yi, gumbu-n^εal-na
 yes! took away now for him they girl that took from now
 nhu-na walal n^εunhi-dhi-n^y miyalk, ga nharca-n n^εayi thu mak
 you(Sg) they that girl and do what? he Fut maybe
 guyan^εa-∅-n^y, mak nhi: thu mari-miri-yi-r wu nharca-n nhi: thu,
 think maybe you(Sg) Fut become fighter or do what? you(Sg) Fut
 nhi:-pi-n^y dhu guyan^εa-∅-n^y, maladhiriya, bili nhi:-pi ru:m, bili
 you(Sg) Fut think (sense unclear) enough! you(Sg) wrong enough!
 nhi: marci-∅-n, n^εunhi bala nhuma manda ramban^εi marci-∅-n
 you(Sg) go now that that way you(Pl) two united go now
 yan man^ymak,
 only all right

All right. They have taken away that girl from him (his wife).
 'They have taken that girl away from you.' I wonder what he (the proper
 husband) will think. 'Maybe you will start a fight or something like
 that. You will think (about fighting). You are in the wrong. You will
 go now, that way, and the two of you (the two rival men) will go together
 (i.e. in peace), and everything will be all right.'

2. ga nhi:-pi-n^y dhu guyan^εa-∅-n^y, ga nhi:-pi-n dharpu-ma-n yan
 and you(Sg) Fut think and you(Sg) now spear(verb) now only
 dhunupa yan, n^εunhi walal thu wacar-yu gul-mara-m, wu n^εula
 straight only that they Fut restrainer restrain or something
 nharca-n, ga nhi:-pi-n^y dhu yan guyan^εa-∅-n^y, bili nhi:-pi n^εi-n^ya
 do what? and you(Sg) Fut only think enough! you(Sg) him
 ganatha-r, n^εuli bala nhuma manda ramban^εi marci-n^ya man^ymak
 left that that way you(Pl) two united went all right
 waray, bili-n dhuwal-i .
 to be sure(adverb) enough now! this

'You will think about it. You will spear (him) straight (=properly,
 i.e. not from behind or from too close). The restrainers (nonparticipants
 in the fight) will restrain (the two of you), or something like that.
 You will think about it. Then you left him alone. You and that (man)
 went together, all right indeed (= in peace).' That is all.

TEXT R7 A WAR PARTY

Speaker: Roy

1. yo!, nhuma nhi:n-i, n^εanapur walala-n^ε bala marci-∅,
 all right! you(Pl) sit! we(ExPl) for them that way go
 juramu-n^y, bala nhayka-lil, gangan-lil, rayman^εgir-n^εur marci-n
 war party that way to what's-it? to G. (pl.n.) from R. (pl.n.) went
 walal, marci-n wala::l, n^εu:ra-n walpirin^yja, juc, marci:::n, n^εu:ra-n
 they went they lay down W. (pl.n.) go went lay down
 maramar?-n^εur, yo!, julk!, bala::: dha:miyaka julk!, n^εu:ra-n
 at M. (pl.n.) all right! pass that way (pl.n.) pass lay down
 walal, jir?-na bi:-n^εur gandar-n^εur n^εunhi-yi wanha-n^εu
 they go down now from somewhere on the way that where
 mak n^εunhi-yi,
 maybe that

'All right, you all stay (here)! We will go that way, for (=to attack) them, as a war party. That way, to what's-it?, to the place gangan (Dhalwan^εu clan territory).' They went from the place rayman^εgir. They went along, and stopped for the night at the place walpirin^yja. Then they went along and stopped for another night at the place maramar?. They left (=went past) that way, (and stopped at) the place dha:miyaka. They left, and spent the night. They came down (to a river) from some place along the way, I don't know exactly where.

2. juy? manda-n^y ma:rma-n^y?, nhuma nha:-n^εu nha:-n^εu walala-n^y marc-i
 send two two you(Pl) see! them go!
 milt-dhu-r, n^εanapur dhiya-l nhumala-n^y galku-n, nhuma thu nha:-ma mala
 follow! we(ExPl) here you(Pl) wait for you(Pl) Fut see group
 walala-n^y dharwa, ga bu:ndi-n nhuma run^εiyi-∅-n, yo!, dhuwal-i--
 them big group and quickly you(Pl) return now! all right! this
 dhuwal mala-n^y, marci-n manda nha:-n^εal, nha:-n^εal dharwa, yo!,
 this Pl went two saw big group all right!
 n^εunha-dhi nhi:na-∅ walal ka, nhi:na-∅ walal ka n^εunhi-yi dhan^εan^ε,
 that sit they Pres that full (=many)
 dharwa walal ka nhi:na-∅, nhi:na-∅ walal ka dharwa n^εunha-dhi
 big group they Pres sit sit they Pres big group that
 yuln^εu?-yul-n^εu-n^y, mala yan,
 people group only

(The war party) sent two (scouts). 'You (two) go look for them (the enemy)! We will wait for you here. You (two) will see that big group (i.e. observe their location and how many there are). Then come right back!' 'All right' (the two scouts said). (The enemy) was here. The two went and saw the big group (of enemy people) sitting there. 'A whole bunch of them are sitting there. A big group of people are sitting there.'

(Text R7)

3. marci-n manda::: bur walala-n^ε, gu!, limur nha:-thi-r-a,
 went two arrive for them come on! we(InPl) do what? now
 din?dhu-din?-dhu-r walala-n^y, marci:::n mala bat walala-n^y, n^εunhi-yi
 kept following them went group get them that
 wanha-mi walal ka nhi:na-∅-n^y, n^εunhi-yi bili gangan-n^εur yan,
 where? they Pres sit that enough! at G. (pl.n.) only
 mala dharwa muka dharwa yan,
 group big group indeed only

The two (scouts) went and came to them (the enemy). 'What shall we do now?' (The scouts) kept following them (the enemy). (Then) they went (back) and got them (their relatives, who had been waiting for them). 'Where are they staying?' (the relatives asked). 'Right there, still at the place gangan. A big group of them.'

4. gu!, marci-n, malkar git, gara-y, jarcar, marci:::∅
 come on! went spear(noun) spear(verb) with spear travel go
 galki-thi-r-a marci-∅ galki dha:ra-∅, liw dap!,
 get close now go close by stand go around close (ring)
 daw? wa:::, juramu limuru-n^ε, wanha-n^εur mak, wanha-n^εur nhuma,
 (war cry) war party for us(InPl) from where? maybe from where? you(Pl)
 n^εanapur dhuwa-nja bi:-n^εur rayman^εgir-n^εur, bica-r,
 we(ExPl) this from somewhere from R. (pl.n.) said that
 barc-u-n-mi-na-n walal, bili-n, bu-nha-mi-n,
 threw spears at each other now they enough now! killed each other
 n^εupa-n-mi-n, lin^ygun .
 chased each other finish

'Come on!' (They) went. They speared (the enemy) with spears. They go along, getting closer. Now they stand close (to the enemy). They move around (the enemy) and close up the ring (i.e. surround them). (They shout:) 'daw? wa:::' (war cry). (The people in the enemy camp say to each other:) 'There is an enemy war party! Where are they from? You all, where are you from?' 'We here are from a distant place, from rayman^εgir.' (They) said that. They speared each other. Then they killed and chased each other. That is all.

TEXT W1 MACASSANS IN THE OLD DAYS (EXCERPTS)

Speaker: Wuyulwuy

Note: This is the initial portion of a text most of which is secret and cannot be reproduced here.

1. n^εara yuru nhan-bal lakara-m dhan^εun^y, n^εara yuru lakara-m nhan-bal
 I Fut to him speak story
 dhan^εun^y, dha:wu n^εa:thil-n^εu, barc-u-n-mi-n^yar, dha:wu
 words long ago threw spears at each other words
 yukura-na-n barc-u-n-mi-n n^εa:thil dilkuru-wuru-y, guyara-y,
 slept now speared each other long ago elders with stone spear
 guyara-y yukura-na-n barc-u-n-mi-n ga warn^εgul-u,
 slept threw spears at each other and with stingray spike
 ga larta-y, ga mundurk-dhu, ga wariman-dhu,
 and with spear (shaft) and with spear (shaft) and with stone spear
 ga dhan^εundu-y, ga bati-y, barc-u-n-mi-n yukura-na-n
 and with shovel spear and with hook spear speared each other slept
 n^εa:thil, dilkuru-wur, ga wap-dhu-n-ja n^εuli-n^εur-yi, mak walal
 long ago elders and jump from there maybe they
 ma:ra-n^εal dilkuru-wuru-y n^εa:thil n^εanapuru-n^ε buku,
 got elders long ago our(ExPl) face(=clan)

I will tell him (Heath) a story. Words (about) the old days. They used to have spear fights. (I tell him these) words. The elders (now dead) used to have spear fights in the old days, with stone spears. They threw spears at each other with stone spears, and spears made with stingray spikes, and with (plain wood) spears, and with stone spears, and with shovel spears, and with hook spears. They used to have lots of spear fights in the old days, the elders. Things have changed a lot since then. Maybe the elders, of our 'face' (i.e. clan), got (it).

2. ma:ra-n^εal n^εula drum-na ma:ra-n^εal bala
 got something metal barrel (drum) now got that way
 gayit-na wut-dhu-n, n^εunhi n^εa:thil ba:tharipa-miri-n^εur,
 blade now hit that long ago from Macassan-having (country)
 walala-wuy dilkuru-wuru-y bala n^εanapur marn^εgi-thi-na-n gayit-gu,
 they elders that way we(ExPl) began to know now for blade
 n^εaman^εama-yu-na-n n^εanapur dhuwal gayit-ja, shovel spear-n^y ya:ku,
 made now we this blade name(d)
 n^εunhi ba:tharipa n^εayi marci-n n^εa:thil dilkuru-wuru-n^ε-gal, bala
 that Macassan he went long ago to elders that way
 walal ja:ma-n n^εunhi-yi, dhuwal shovel spear, gayit n^εayi ya:ku-n^y,
 they made that this blade it name(d)

(Text W1)

They got metal sheets (like modern garbage 'drums'). They made (knocked off) those blades (for metal shovel spears), long ago, from the Macassan country. The elders (not us young people) did that. We learned about (shovel spear) blades (in that fashion). Then we made these blades, these 'shovel spears' (English word used), as they are called. The Macassans came long ago to the elders (i.e. to our ancestors). They made those shovel spear blades, as they are called.

Note: The Macassans were traders from the Indonesian island of Macassar who visited the Gulf of Carpentaria annually to hunt trepang until around World War I. Various implements, especially metal ones such as modern axes, were obtained from them, replacing more primitive Aboriginal implements such as stone axes; some fruit trees, notably the tamarind, were likewise introduced into Arnhem Land by the Macassans. In the (secret) myth which follows, not reproduced here, the Macassans play a role in the Dreamtime.

TEXT W2 I HOLD MY ANCESTORS' RITUALS

Speaker: Wuyulwuy

Note: The following are excerpts and fragments from a long text, most of which involves secret material and cannot be published here.

1. ... japu ba:puru, n^εara-ku-n^y buku, ...
 (clan n.) clan my face

...(of) the Japu? clan, my agnatic relatives, ...

Note: The term ba:puru 'clan, group' has various uses; here it is a classifier for the clan name japu?. The use of buku 'face' to symbolize a common patriclan membership is common. Technically, Wuyulwuy is by birth a member of another clan but was raised basically as a Japu? and often spoke of himself as though a true Japu? man.

2. n^εunhi ba:pa-l manda-l mulka-∅ nhi:na-∅ yukuyuku walal wa:n^εa
 that father two hold sit younger B they country
 n^εara-k n^εaraka, n^εanapuru-n^ε, ga rin^εgic-ja n^εanapuru-n^ε wan^εgan^y,
 my bone our(ExPl) and ritual ground our one

ba:pa-w walala-n^ε ga ma:ri-w, ga guyak-gu walala-n^ε, rin^εgic-ja
 of F of them and of FF and of ? of them ritual ground

bi: n^εa:ndi-n walala-n ga gawal-na walala-n n^εuli-n^εur-yi
 somewhere M them and MB them after that

bu:kma-n, waku-pulu-n n^εara-k n^εuli-n^εur-yi bu:kma-n, [secret place
 created ZS's clan my after that created

names omitted] ga manda-pala-wuy ba:pa manda-pal, manda-wuy-na
 and to them two F to them two two now

ba:pa-l manda-l yukura-∅ nhi:na-∅ wan^εar rin^εgic
 F two sleep sit huge (=sacred) ritual ground

n^εanapuru-n^ε mulka-∅ n^εaraka dhawal, ga n^εara-n^y yark-dhu-na-n dhuwal,
 our(ExPl) hold bone country and I went away now this

Those two F's of mine hold (our clan rituals and countries), (also) my younger B's, (at) my clan ('bone') country. It is ours. There is one common ritual ground for all of us--for my F's and FF's, and for the guyak group (the term guyak is obscure but may be a dialectal form meaning 'brother'). At (another) ritual ground, my M's and MB's (i.e. members of my M's patriclan) were created. Then (at another ritual ground) my ZS's clan was created. ...to those two F's of mine. Those two F's continue to hold onto (=maintain) our sacred ritual ground and our clan ('bone') country, although for my part I am living here, away from that area.

Notes: This last remark is due to the fact that the text was recorded at Numbulwar, far to the south of Wuyulwuy's clan territory. Note the use of n^εaraka 'bone' to symbolize patriclan identity, with particular reference to the clan territory (cf. buku 'face' in other passages, for example in section 1 of this text). Note also the use of the suffix -pulu- (waku-pulu-n) with a kin term meaning 'the clan including my ___'. The exact sense of bu:kma- 'to create' is not clear here.

(Text W2)

3. ga barku-n dhuwal n^εara wan^εa-∅-n^y yukura-∅ numbulwar-n^y
 and far away now this I speak sleep (at) Numbulwar

ya:ku-n^εur, numbulwar-n^y ya:ku-n^εur yukura-∅ wan^εa-∅-n^y,
 at (the place) named Numbulwar at (the place) named sleep speak

tape-lil munan^εa-w-a, speaker-lil munan^εa-w-a, dhan^εun^y
 onto the tape for white man now into microphone story

yukura-∅ lakara-m, yaka n^εa:thil n^εara-k nhi:na-nhar buku, ma:ri-pulu-n^y
 sleep speak not long ago my used to sit face FF clan

ga ga:thu-n^y walal, ga n^εula nha: n^εathiwalkur-n^y walal, ga
 and S they and something what? MMBWB they and

n^εula nha: n^εapipi-n^y walal, ba:yn^εu n^εara-k buku nhi:na-nhar, ba:yn^εu
 MB they not at all my face used to sit

n^εara-k buku dhiya-l nhi:na-nhar, ga n^εapipi-n^y walal, ga ma:ri-n^y
 here and MB they and MMB (or FF)

walal, ga ga:thu-n^y walal,
 they and S they

Now I am speaking (to you) far away (from my clan territory), here at the place named Numbulwar. (I) speak into the tape, into the microphone, for the white man at the place named Numbulwar. I speak the story. People of my clan did not used to live (here)--my FF's clan, my S's (here: my FFF's). Nor did my MMBWB's or my MB's, for example. No one of my clan used to live (here). My clan did not live here, nor did my MB's, my MMB's, or my S's.

4. [secret names of some ancestors omitted], ga yaka n^εara lakara-m
 and not I speak

dhawara, bi: ba:yn^εu-thi-n, n^εunhi-li-mi ba:pa-mirin^εu-wal,
 name because became absent (=died) there to his F

dhawara manda wan^εgan^y, yuta, ...
 name two one recent

(List of names of individuals: A, B, C, D,) and one whose name I cannot speak because he has just died. There at his father's camp; they both had the same name. (He died) recently...

Note: It is improper to utter the name of a recently deceased person. Wuyulwuy is here trying to give the addressee enough information about the deceased to permit correct identification.

5. ... buku n^εara mulka-∅-n bi: wa:wa-l manda-l n^εara-l gatha-r, ...
 face I hold now because elder B two to me

...I am holding our 'face' (i.e. am custodian for our clan), since my two elder brothers (deceased) gave it to me...

(Text W2)

6. ga dhuwal n^εara yukura-∅ barku-n wan^εa-∅, ru:m-dhu
 and this I sleep far away now speak by means of Law
 n^εara yukura-∅ dhawar?-yu-n ru:m n^εara-k yaka-yaka-thi-r mak yuru
 I sleep finish Law my will become nothing maybe Fut
 n^εara ba:pa-wal manda-n^ε-gal marci-∅ bala, ba:pa-n manda-n n^εara
 I to F to two go that way F two I
 liya-y wuyan^εa-∅ ga ma:r walal yukuyuku-y walal
 with head think(=guyan^εa) and nearly they younger B they
 n^εara-n yuru gun^εga?-yu-n buwundi, n^εara ma:ra-m dhawal, n^εara
 me Fut help quickly I get country I
 n^εara-kiyin-gal n^εara dalpam-dhi-r yuru wa:n^εa-n^εur, dhawal-n^εur,
 to my I will die Fut at country at country
 yapa-miri-n^εur n^εanapuru-n^ε-gal yukuyuku-wal walala-n^ε-gal,
 at Z-having (place) to our to younger B to them

Here I am speaking, far away (from there). I am finishing up the Law (i.e. rituals and traditions); my Law might vanish. (I.e., after I die the knowledge may become lost.) I might go to those two (classificatory) F's of mine, that way. I am thinking about those two F's of mine. I am anxiously waiting for my younger B's to (come here and) help me right away (to go to my country before I die). I will get (go to) the country. I will die in my own country, where my sisters are. (I will go) to our younger B's.

Note: yapa-miri-n^εur in the last line might be mistranscribed for some case form of yapa-?mirin^ε- 'sister' (with kinship suffix -?mirin^ε-). However, it does make some sense as it stands (Locative case form of 'having Z').

7. bala yuru n^εara guru?-yu-n walala-n n^εara, bala yuru
 that way Fut I grow up (loanword) them I that way Fut
 n^εara n^εunhi-li-yi ba:pa-wal manda-n^ε-gal galku-n yukura-∅ yukuyuku
 I there to F to two wait for sleep younger B
 walala-n ga walala-wuy-na yuru n^εara-k bu-ma-n^y marci-∅ yuru,
 them and as for them now Fut my hit go Fut
 n^εula nharca-n-ja yuru aerodrome-miri-ya-ma-n^y n^εula-- motorcar-n^y
 something do what? Fut cause to have airstrip something automobile
 road-ja n^εara-kal bu-ma yuru, walala-wuy-na, ga n^εara-n^y yukura-∅
 to me hit Fut they now and I sleep
 nhi:na-∅-n yuru, bi: midiku-wuru-yi-n n^εara ya:c-i-n n^εara, yaka
 sit now Fut because (all) became bad I became bad I not
 n^εara-kal jamarkuli-y dhika gurupu-n^εal warpam?-dhu-n, bi:
 to me children like this gave all because
 dhiya-n^ε-n^y bala-- n^εara-kal jamarkuli-y yukura-na-n gurupu-n^εal-a
 by this that way to me children slept gave now

(Text W2)

gurupu-n^εal n^εara-kal, jamarkuli-y,
 gave to me children

I will raise them (children) there. I will wait (to see) my two F's there, (and) my younger B's. As for them, they will construct ('hit') it. They will do what's-it?, build an airstrip. Maybe automobiles; they will build a road, they will. I will just sit there, because (we) have become infirm--I have become infirm (unable to do hard work). These young people around here, all of them, have not given me that (food?), These days (dhiya-n^ε-n^y bala) the young people (from my country) gave it to me.

8. ga bili n^εara-pi-n gun^ε-gal?-wal-u-n nhi:na-∅
 and enough! myself now be boss of country sit
 walkur-miriw-na, n^εayi dumur wandi-n dhilin^εin^y dhalwan^εu, ga walal
 without child now he big ran milk, breast (clan n.) and they
 dhika ritharn^εu walal gurupu-n^εal, n^εayi ritharn^εu yawungu n^εara-n
 like this (clan n.) they gave he (clan n.) yesterday me
 marci-∅ bala ma:ri-?mirin^ε-u-wal ga ba:pa-?mirin^ε-u-wal walala-n^ε-gal,
 go that way to FF and to F to them
 ga n^εunhi-yi work-dhu-n yukura-∅, Caledon Bay ya:ku-n^εur
 and that work sleep (place name) at (the place) named
 dhawal-n^εur, ga n^εara-n^y dhuwal yukura-∅ ga ready-n, ready-n
 at country and I this sleep and (I am) ready now
 dhuwal n^εara yukura-∅ yu:l-n^ε-y-n^y, yuru bulna?-yu-n-mara-m yukura-∅
 this I sleep person Fut cause to go slowly sleep
 n^εara-n yu:l-n^ε-y-n^y, yaka buwundi?-yu-n-mara-ma-n^y, yaka
 me person not cause to be quick

buwundi?-buwundi-yu-n-ja marci-∅ bala wadu?-waduca-ya-ma-n^y bica-n-ja ya,
 be quick go that way cause to be fast do thus

I am now boss of the place; he (my son) has grown up and gone away. Milk of Dhalwan^εu clan (i.e. my son's M is of Dh. clan). These Ritharn^εu people here have been giving it to me. Yesterday a Ritharn^εu man went that way, to (his) FF's and F's. There they are working (e.g. building a road), at the place called Caledon Bay (i.e. in Japu? clan territory). Now I am here, ready (to go there). But somebody is slowing things up, he is not hurrying up. It is not being done quickly.

Note: The section beginning n^εayi ritharn^εu... starting in the third line of the transcription in this segment is a little unclear. If the translation given just above this note is correct, marci-∅ in line 4 should be emended to past tense marci-n 'went'; if the form marci-∅ is correct, the translation should be: Yesterday a Ritharn^εu man (gave me food); (I) will go that way...

9. bi: n^εara-k-- n^εa:thil n^εanapur meeting-ja dhiya-l, Seamus
 because for me long ago we(ExPl) here (man's n.)

(Text W2)

n^gara-kal marci-n, n^gara-n^y ga ready, ga dhuwal bili n^gara-l
 to me went I Pres and this enough! for me
 lakara-n^gal rarndhar n^gara-ku-wuy n^gara dhuwal
 spoke to desert (i.e. hot season) for me I this
 rarndhar, n^gara-pi marci-n^yar n^gunha git-dhu-nar n^gara-kiyin-gal-na
 myself went that shifted position to my now
 dhawal-lil, ga wa:n^ga mulka-nhar, n^garaka dhawal .
 to country and country held bone country

Because for me--. Long ago, at a meeting here, Seamus (i.e. Mr. Leske, head of the Darwin office of the Church Mission Society) came to me. (I said,) 'I am ready (to go to my country).' He told me, (it was all right to go) in the hot season (just before the wet season begins, i.e. when it is possible to travel in the bush by automobile). The hot season for me. Now it is in the hot season. I should have gone there, I should have shifted over there to my country and held my country, my own clan's ('bone') country.

Note: The translation 'should' for the past tense forms in -n^yar/-nar at the end here is tentative; normally this form means 'used to'.

At the time this text was recorded, what had for several years been a large contingent of North-East Arnhem Land people at Numbulwar (and Ngukurr) had already begun to leave, some of them going to the established settlements further north and others leaving for newly revived 'outstations' in areas which had been traditionally inhabited but which had been abandoned for a decade or longer (as Aborigines were grouped into missions and other settlements). At that time Wuyulwuy was likewise preparing to return to his native country, around Caledon Bay, and was still at Numbulwar only because he required medical attention and because the new outstation was not yet sufficiently equipped with housing and transportation facilities. One day, a few weeks after recording this text, I went into the area of Wuyulwuy's camp in Numbulwar and, sure enough, I was told he had left that morning by airplane. I heard of his death a little more than a year later.

For the expression 'bone country' (at end of text), cf. the last line of segment 2 of this text and the following commentary.

TEXT W3 MEDICINE FOR EYES

Speaker: Wuyulwuy

1. n^gunhi n^ganapur yuru ma:ra-m milipa, milipa ya:ku-n^y, warpanin^ya,
 that we(ExPl) Fut get tree sp. name(d) tree sp. (=milipa)
 ma:ra-m yuru n^ganapur, medicine-ja n^ganapuru-n^ggu-wuy n^ganapur, nhakun
 for us(ExPl) we(ExPl) like
 n^gunhi eyedrop, eyedrop nhakun n^gunha sister-y n^gayi galku-n, n^ganapur
 that like that she holds we(ExPl)
 yuru ma:ra-m eyedrop, bush medicine-ja, man^guci-w n^ganapuru-n^ggu-wuy
 Fut get for eye for us(ExPl)
 n^ganapur, ga warpanin^ya,
 we(ExPl) and tree sp.

We will get (wood from) that milipa tree (Cansjera or Opilia). It is called milipa, or warpanin^ya. We will get medicine for ourselves, just like those eyedrops that the Sister has. We will get eyedrops, bush medicine, for our eyes. That warpanin^ya tree.

Notes: For the benefit of foreign readers, in Australia the term 'Sister' corresponds to American 'registered nurse' (male or female); the Aboriginal pronunciation is approximately jicta.

In line two of this segment, the second n^ganapur (next-to-last word in line) is emended at the informant's request; the tape has n^ganapuru-n^g 'for us' which is inappropriate (cf. the sequence n^ganapuru-n^ggu-wuy n^ganapur in lines 4-5).

2. ga barwandhara-m n^ganapur n^gunhi-yi yuru, warpanin^ya yu:l-n^gu-y-n^y,
 and strip off bark we(ExPl) that Fut tree sp. person
 ga n^garaka-n^y n^ganapur yuru, ga scrape 'em-a-n^y nhawi ra:c-u-n-ja
 and bone we(ExPl) Fut and scrape what's-it? scrape
 n^ganapur yuru, ra:c-u-n n^ganapur yuru, bala gandawu-n-mara-m
 we Fut scrape that way put
 gapu-lil, bala n^ganapur yuru jur-yu-n-mi-r-a man^guci, jur-yu-n-mi-r,
 to water that way pour on selves now eye
afternoon, early fella, afternoon, dinner, n^ganapur yuru jur-yu-n-mi-r,
 morning dusk we Fut pour on selves

We will remove the bark from that (wood). A person (will do that to) warpanin^ya tree. We take the bone (i.e. the remaining wood) and scrape its surface (to shave off little strips of wood fibre). We will scrape it, then put (the shavings) into some water. (After a while) we will pour (the resulting liquid) over our eyes. (We let the shavings soak in the water) for about a day or a day and a half, (then) we pour it on ourselves.

3. n^gayi yuru barpa-thi-r n^gayi dulki-yi-r-n^y, bala walal yuru
 it Fut get rotten it get rotten that way they Fut
 n^gurka-m ga ma:ra-m wiripu-n yuta-n, bulu ma:ra-m yuru, n^gunhi-n^y--
 throw away and get other fresh again get Fut that

(Text W3)

munhaku-mir yuru ma:ra-m nhawi milmicba-n yuru ma:ra-m, ga
 having night get what's-it? afternoon Fut get and
 gudar?-wu-n, gandawu-n-a nhi:na-∅ yuru ga munhaku-mir-a yuru,
 next day stay now sit Fut and having morning Fut
 munhaku-mir-a bala yuru n^εayi barwandhara-m, bala ra:c-u-n,
 having morning now that way Fut it strip off bark that way scrape
 ga yuta-n medicine,
 and new now

It (the liquid medicine) will get a little stale, (so) they will discard it and get some fresh (medicine). Again they will get that--. In the morning they will get (it)--what's-it?, in the afternoon they will get (it). The next day, it will be lying there (soaking in the water). In the morning they will strip off the bark (of the wood), scrape it, and (there will be) some fresh medicine.

4. n^εunhi-yi, ga bica-n yan bili yuru, ra:c-u-n barwan-ja n^εurka-m
 that and do thus only enough! Fut scrape skin throw away
 yuru, ga ra:c-u-n-ja yuru bala gapu-lil dhulpa-n, bala
 Fut and scrape Fut that way to water immerse that way
 jur-yu-n breakfast munhaku-mir, jur-yu-n, man^εuci-lil, ga nhi:na-∅ ga
 pour on having night pour to eye and sit and
dinner, jur-yu-n yuru, ga nhi:na-∅ ga milmicba-n yuru jur-yu-n n^εunhi-yi
 dusk pour on Fut and sit and afternoon Fut pour on that
large one-na, yukura-nha-raw, bala yukura-n n^εanapur .
 big one now in order to sleep that way sleep we(ExPl)

(We) will continuously (yan bili) do that. (We will) scrape and strip off the bark from the wood, and throw (the shavings into the water). We will scrape it and immerse it in water. Then in the morning we will pour (the liquid) over our eyes. Then, late in the day, around dusk, we will pour a large quantity (of the liquid), in order for us to sleep. Then we sleep.

TEXT W4 HEADACHE MEDICINE

Speaker: Wuyulwuy

1. n^εunhi n^εanapur buduka number one-ja yuru, barwandhara-m
 that we(ExPl) tree sp. best Fut strip off bark
 n^εanapur yuru, ga ra:c-u-n yuru n^εanapur, luka-nha-raw, dhiya-k
 and scrape Fut we(ExPl) to consume for this
 mulkur-wu, buku-dun^ε?-dhu-n n^εanapur yuru mulkur, headache balan^εun^yar-ya,
 for head have headache we(ExPl) Fut head like that
 bala n^εanapur luka-n yuru, bala n^εanapuru-n walal lup-mara-m
 that way we(ExPl) consume Fut that way us(ExPl) they cause to bathe
 yuru, bala n^εanapur yuru n^εama-thi-r .
 Fut that way we Fut be healthy

We (get) that buduka tree (*Clerodendrum floribundum*). We strip off the bark. We will scrape it (making shavings), in order to drink (medicine) for our heads. We will have a headache, a 'headache' (English word used). Then we will drink (medicine made by soaking wood shavings in water). Then they (our relatives) will bathe us (by pouring the liquid over us). Then we will be healthy (cured).

TEXT W5 HEALING WOUNDS FROM SPEAR-FIGHTING

Speaker: Wuyulwuy

1. dharpu-nha-mi-r n^εanapur yuru, dharpu-nha-mi-r n^εanapur yuru,
spear each other we(ExPl) Fut
- bala n^εanapur yuru wandi-r warkar-wu, warkar-wu n^εanapur yuru--
that way we Fut run for bush lily we Fut
- ji:ci-n^y n^εunhi-n^y-dhi dharpu-nha-mi-n^ya-ra-wuy dhal?-yu-n-mi-r-n^y,
wound that which was speared close self up
- warkar-wu, number one-ja medicine n^εunhi-yi, n^εa:thil n^εurunan^εgal
for bush lily best that long ago old people
- maln^ε?-mara-n^εal, dilkuru-wuru-y olden times,
found (caused to appear) elders

We will have a spear fight (with real injuries). Then we will run (to get) bush lilies (*Crinum asiaticum*, swamp plant with large bulbous root, not a water lily). The wound, there where (the man) was speared, will be closed up (by applying strips of the lily bulb to the surface of the wound). (We will go) for bush lily; that is the best medicine (i.e. bandage). Long ago (before white man medicine came into the area), the old people (now dead) used to get that.

Note: The exact sense and form of n^εurunan^εgal is unclear. The two occurrences of dharpu-nha-mi-r in the first line are possibly mistranscribed for dharpu-nha-mi-r-n^y (not fully clear on tape).

2. warkar-wu n^εuri-n^εi n^εanapur yuru ji:ci dhal?-mara-nha-mi-r
for bush lily that we(ExPl) Fut wound cause self to close up
- wiyin-mir n^εuri-ki wiyin-n^εu-mir yan bili yuru yan bili yuru yan bili
having long for that having long only enough! Fut
- yuru yan bili yuru yan bili yuru yan bili yuru waln^εa-thi-r-a marci-∅ n^εayi
be healthy now go he
- yuru waln^εa-thi-r-a man?da-thi-r-a marci-∅ yuru n^εayi man?da-thi-r-a
Fut be healthy now be healed (with scar) go Fut he
- marci-∅ n^εayi yuru::: ,
go he Fut

(We will go) for those bush lilies. Our wounds will close themselves up, over a long time. It will go on like that (yan bili 'continuously') for a long time. Then he will be all right, he will be healthy but with a scar. He will be healed.

Note: This entire segment is spoken very excitedly and rapidly; the repetitions of yan bili yuru (with stress on yan each time) are particularly noteworthy (indicating passage of time).

In the first line, n^εuri-n^εi 'that' is ergative in form, which does not make much sense. Either warkar-wu 'for bush lily' should be changed to warkar-yu 'by means of bush lily' (instrumental case), in which case n^εuri-n^εi 'that' can be taken as instrumental (formally = ergative), or n^εuri-n^εi itself should be emended to dative n^εuri-ki 'for that'.

(Text W5)

3. buyuwuyu?-yi-r-a yuru n^εanapur, buyuwuyu?-yi-r-a man?da-thi-r-a,
be healed now Fut we(ExPl) be healed now
- bala n^εanapur manikay-n^y barkbark-dhu-n-ja yuru, manikay-n^y
that way we song sing with tapsticks Fut
- barkbark-dhu-n-ja yuru n^εanapur, bala lup-mara-m n^εa-n^ya
Fut we that way cause to bathe him
- n^εuri-ki dharpu-nha-mi-n^ya-ra-wuy, dhiya-n^εi-n-dhi n^εanapur
for that which was speared by means of this we
- dharpu-nha-mi-r-n^y yuru, bala bica-n ga after n^εuli-n^εur-yi
spear each other that way do thus and after that after that
- yuru warkar-n^εur, n^εayi yuru bandan^y-dhi-r-n^y man?da-thi-r-n^y
Fut from bush lily he Fut dry up healed (with scar)
- n^εayi yuru,
he Fut

Then we will be healed, we will be healed. Then we perform a corroboree song with tapsticks. We will perform a corroboree song with tapsticks. Then we give him a bath, there around where he got speared. In this way we will spear each other, then do that (treat the wounds). After (using) the bush lily (bandage), (the wound) dries up and is healed, leaving a scar.

4. bala n^εanapur n^εa-n^ya manikay-yu-n yuru lup-mara-m,
that way we(ExPl) him by means of song now Fut cause to bathe
- wu nharca-n yuru n^εanapur jirikay lakara-m nhan-n^εu lup-mara-nha-raw,
or do what? Fut we(ExPl) ceremony speak for him for causing to bathe
- mak yuru nharca-n n^εanapur n^εa-n^ya lup-mara-m yuru, yan
maybe Fut do what? we(ExPl) him cause to bathe Fut only
- manikay-n^εur .
from song

Then, with (=during) our singing, we will give him a bath. Or perhaps we might perform (sing) a ceremonial segment for him, to give him a bath (i.e. ritual purification), after the (corroboree) song.

TEXT W6 VARIOUS BUSH MEDICINES

Speaker: Wuyulwuy

1. murukay-n^y, murukay-n^y mur?mur yuru n^εanapur ma:ra-m, bala n^εanapur
 big big be sick Fut we(ExPl) get that way we
 yuru gu:n^ε-yuwalk-dhi-r, marwalk n^εanapuru-n^ε yuru gadayka wut-dhu-n,
 Fut go look for tree sp. for us(ExPl) Fut stringybark hit
 ga wiripu-n^y n^εanapuru-n^ε yuru, ga warkar dhulpa-n, ga wiripu-n^y
 and other for us Fut and bush lily soak
 n^εanapuru-n^ε yuru, ga dangapa ma:ra-m, dhagiric balan^εun^yar, ga
 and tree sp. get (=dangapa) like that and
 wiripu-n^y n^εanapuru-n^ε yuru, ga gun^εuru wut-dhu-n,
 other for us Fut and woollybutt hit

(When) we get a serious sickness, we go looking (in the bush, for medicinal trees). We have marwalk tree (unidentified), (or we) knock down a stringybark tree (*E. tetradonta*). We have another also; we soak bush lily (bulbs) in water. Another one: we get dangapa tree (*Persoonia*). That is also (called) dhagiric. We have another one; we knock down a woollybutt tree (*E. miniata*).

2. n^εuli n^εanapur yuru diarrhoea-miri-yi-r-n^yja ga gun^εuru?,
 that we(ExPl) Fut be having diarrhoea and woollybutt
 n^εanapur yuru batha-n, n^εunhi dhuri n^εanapuru-n yuru batha-n
 we Fut burn (tr.) that excrement we now Fut burn
 n^εanapuru-n yuru diarrhoea ma:ra-m, ga buthuwa-n^y n^εanapur bala
 we now Fut get and excrement we that way
 batha-n n^εanapuru-n walal yuru, batha-n n^εanapuru-n walal yuru, medicine-ja
 burn us they Fut burn us they Fut
 n^εanapur n^εa:thil-n^εu olden times-ja dilkuru-wuru-y gacar?-yu-n,
 we long ago old days elders tasted

When we have diarrhoea, (we get) woollybutt tree. We burn (the wood), and burn that excrement. We get the diarrhoea (excrement), and we--they heat us (hold us over the pit in which the diarrhoea has been put on top of burning woollybutt sticks). They heat us. That is (bush) medicine. In the old days the elders (our ancestors) used to try that.

Note: The patient's buttocks are held over the fire so that the smoke enters the anus and 'cleans' the diarrhoea away; this practice is common, particularly for children.

3. bi:-n^y dilkuru-wuru-n^ε-gun^εu-n^y n^εa:thil-n^εu-n^y mulkur-puy
 somewhere produced by elders long ago related to head
 n^εupa-nar ga n^εanapur dhiya-n^εu-n^y yu:l-n^εu-y-n^y mala-n^εu-y,
 looked for and we with this(=today) Aboriginal Pl
 yuta-y-n^y daramu-wuru-y young fel-young fella-y-n^y, ga yan bili
 new men young people (note rdp.) and only enough!

(Text W6)

ga new generation dhuwal, guru?-yu-n, ga walala-n^y new generation-na,
 and this grow up and they -now
 dhun^εa-thi-n-ja ga n^εanapuru-n^y, dilkuru-wuru-y-n^y, ga still n^εanapur
 be ignorant and we(ExPl) elders and we
 yukura-∅ gyan^εa-∅, muk-dhu-n dhuwal gyan^εa-∅ n^εanapur medicine-ja,
 sleep think be silent this think we
bush medicine-ja wal?n^εu, wal?n^εu n^εunhi n^εanapuru-n^y n^εanapur
 indeed that we(ExPl) we
 waln^εa-tha-nha-ra-mi-n^ya .
 caused selves to be healthy

At some distant time (we learned about bush medicine) from the elders. (They) looked for medicine, related to the head. Nowadays we Aboriginal people, (us) new men (i.e. old men still alive, hence younger than the dead elders) (still use the medicines). But this young generation, who are growing up--this young generation does not know about them. Us elder men still remember (them). These (medicines) are no longer much in use (but) we remember them, the bush medicines. As for us (the older generation), we used to cure ourselves (with the bush medicines).

TEXT W7 MAKING SPEARS

Speaker: Wuyulwuy

1. ga n^εa:thil n^εanapuru-n^ε n^εurunan^εgal ma:ra-n^εal gudatba
 and long ago our(ExPl) ancestor got tree sp.
 gadanuk dilkuru-wuru-y, gudatba gadanuk-ja ma:ra-n^εal, n^εula
 spear shaft elders tree sp. shaft got something
 nha:-ku-n^y, gunjaran^ε-gu-n^y, bati-w, ga n^εula nha:-ku-n^y,
 for what? for hook spear for hook spear and something for what?
 warn^εgul-wu-n^y, ga n^εula nha:-ku-n^y, nhawu-ku-n^y,
 for spear with stingray barb and something for what? for what's-it?
 makur-wu-n^y balan^εun^yar-wu-n^y dhan^εundu-w,
 for spear with wood points for (something) like that for shovel spear
 mi:li, ga gadayka, ga gudatba, gudatba dilkur, ga mi:li
 tree sp. and stringybark tree and tree sp. old and tree sp.
 wan^εgan^y-n^εu-n^y ma:ra-n^εal n^εa:thil dilkuru-wuru-y, ga ya:na-n
 different got long ago elders and only
 n^εanapuru-n^y ma:ra-n^εal dilkuru-wuru-n^ε-gun^εu-n .
 we(ExPl) got produced by elders

Long ago our ancestor(s) got spear shafts of gudatba tree (*Macaranga*), the elders did. (They) got shafts of gudatba tree. For whatever kind of spear: for gunjaran^ε hook spears, for bati hook spears (two different kinds of spear with wooden barbs on the sides), and for what's-it?, spears with stingray barbs as points, and for what's-it?, for spears with two wooden prongs--that kind of spear--, and for shovel spears (with knife-like metal blades). (Shafts of) mi:li tree (*Thespesia*), stringybark (*E. tetradonta*), and gudatba tree. Gudatba is old (i.e. was used formerly), and another kind of tree, mi:li, (is now more commonly used). The elders used to get them (all of these) long ago. We only got (learned about) them from the elders (i.e. we did not discover them ourselves).

TEXT W8 BUILDING CANOES

Speaker: Wuyulwuy

1. n^εunhi walal naku-n^y dhulwu-n^y jat-dhu-n, naku-n^y walal
 that they canoe paperbark tree sp. chop down canoe they
 yukura-∅ jat-dhu-n-ja dhulwu-n^y, bala dhulmu-n^y n^εaman^εama-yu-n,
 sleep chop down paperbark tree that way belly make
 dhulwu marci-∅ n^εaman^εama-yu-n gulun n^εa-n^ya n^εunhi-yi:::,
 paperbark tree go make belly it that
 ga gurak-miri-ya-m, ga gurak-miri-ya-m galaninin^εu, ga dhudi,
 and cause to have prow stern and base (=stern)
 bala lakara-m naku-n,
 that way speak canoe now
 [Gu:muk interjects: wadak-mir
 having cross-beam (=seat)]
 yo!, ga jark-dhu-n-ja walal ga dhawar?-mara-ma-n^y, bala batha-n
 yes! and carve out they and finish that way burn
 gurtha-lil, n^εayi n^yal-yu-n-ja bala wadak-ja nhi:ra-n, wadak-ja
 into fire it is curved that way cross-beam set cross-beam
 dhulmu-lil,
 into belly

They (make) that dugout canoe. They chop down a paperbark tree (riverine form of *Melaleuca leucadendron*). The chop down that tree (to make) a canoe. They make the 'belly' (hollowed side) of that paperbark tree (by chopping and carving). They carve out the prow and the stern (front and back of the canoe). They call it dugout canoe (*naku*). Yes! They carve out (the belly) and finish that. They they scorch the canoe over a fire (to seal it). The two sides are curved away from each other, and they put in the cross-beams (seats). The cross-beams go into the 'belly'.

2. ga n^εunhi murukay-ya-ma-n, dhulmu-ku-ma-n ga naku?-yi-r-a
 and that cause to be big now cause to be belly now and is canoe now
 wal?n^εu n^εayi, ga mu:l-na-n^y n^εunha-n^y bala jaran^y?-ju-n
 indeed it and dark colored that that way pull
 dha:-waran^εul-lil, ga n^εula nha:-ku-n^y miyapunu-w, ga
 into high tide water and something for what? for green turtle and
 raki-w jin^εgibat-dhu-n ga ganderpa-wu-n, bala n^εunha-n
 for rope think about (loanword) and for harpoon now that way that now
 yarup-dhu-n-a, damurun^ε-lil-a, dhan^εamak-lil-a, ga n^εayi nhi:na-∅
 go down now into salty water now onto beach and it sits

(Text W8)

gapu-n^gur-a dhan^gbaw-u-n yukura-∅ yuta-n^y naku .
 in water now float sleep new canoe

(They) make it big (=wide) now. (They) make the belly (wide) now. It is now a real dugout canoe. Now they pull that dark think (canoe) along, into the water at high tide. They start thinking about green turtles, rope, and harpoons. (Turtles are hunted with harpoons with detachable spikes to which rope is attached.) Then they go down there, into the salt water, on the beach now. It sits there, floating in the water, a new canoe.

TEXT W9 ATTACHING SPEARHEAD TO SPEAR SHAFT

Speaker: Wuyulwuy

1. n^gunhi n^ganapur yuru, luka-∅-n^y ga:mu-n, luka-∅-n^y n^ganapur wi:ka
 that we(ExPl) Fut consume honey we nectar
 wan^ggan^y n^ga-n^ya, luka-∅-n^y n^ganapur n^ga-n^ya ga:mu-n wi:ka wan^ggan^y,
 one it eat we(ExPl) it honey nectar one
 bala gu:n^yjuy gandawu-n-mara-ma-n, ga gadanuk-gu-n, ga gadanuk-na,
 that way wax put down and for spear now and spear now
 n^ganapur gilin^g-mun^g-dhu-n-- gilin^g-barpu-m n^guri-n^gi-n-dhi,
 we(ExPl) pound end of shaft pound end of shaft with that
 ga:mu-y, gu:n^yjuy-yu-n nhanu-kal, wap-dhu-n-ja n^ganapur n^gunhi, luka-∅-n^y,
 with honey with wax now to it jump we(ExPl) that eat
 ga gu:n^yjuy-n^y ga:-ma bala bumbaru-n^y bat gay ma:ra-m, bala
 and wax carry that way stone get then get that way
 mun^g-dhu-n-a n^ganapu::r, gunana?-yi-r-a marci-∅ n^gayi gunana?-yi-r,
 pound now we get hard now go it get hard
 We eat that honey. We (only) eat that one (part, the) nectar part. We eat that honey, just the nectar (i.e. not the wax). We put down (i.e. keep) the wax part, and (use it) for spear shafts. We pound (wax) on the (spearhead) end of the shaft, (we pound it) with that honey--with that beeswax. We shift (from the place where the honey is found to the place where the spear is constructed). (First) we eat (the nectar part), then we take the wax that way, get a stone, and (use the stone to) pound (the wax on the shaft). It (the wax) begins to get hard now.

2. bala gilin^g-na barpu-m, gadanuk-na, guda^gba-lil-a,
 that way shaft now pound spear now to tree sp. now
 gilin^g-barpu-ma-n n^ganapur, wap-dhu-n-ja bala,
 pound end of shaft now we(ExPl) jump that way
 gilin^g-n^gaman^gama-yu-n-a n^ganapur, raki-miri-ya-ma-n,
 make end of shaft now we(ExPl) cause to be with string now
 balwur-na ma:ra-m bala-- balwur buyu?-yu-nar
 rope fibre now get that way rope fibre used to braid into rope
 bala gilin^g-mun^g-dhu-n-a n^ganapur, wap-dhu-n-ja bala
 that way pound end of shaft now we jump that way
 milak gulk-dhu-n-a bala yarara?-yu-n-mara-m
 hole in blunt end of spear cut now that way hook spear on woomera
 galpu-n^y judup gay, bala yarara?-yu-n-mara-m n^ganapur jalk-jalk-dhu-n-a
 woomera put into then keep throwing now
 yukura-∅, ga balan^gun^yar dha:wu .
 sleep and like that story

(Text W9)

(We) pound on the spear shaft now, onto (the shaft of) gudatba tree (Macaranga). We pound the (spearhead) end of the shaft now. We shift (to another place). We work on making the (spearhead) end of the shaft. We put the string on it. We get rope fibre (= kurrajong tree), we rolled it (on our thighs) into string. We beat the end of the shaft now. We move (to the other end of the shaft). (We) put a small hole in the blunt end of the shaft. We hook the spear onto the woomera, then throw it. That is how it is.

Note: The spearhead (whether a piece of flint, a metal blade, or something else) must be attached to the spear shaft by inserting the head into a hole on the end of the shaft, and then securing it by means of beeswax and string. The wax is placed around the shaft where the spearhead meets it, and as the wax hardens several layers of kurrajong string are tied around it. A small hole may be put in the other end of the spear shaft, so that the hook of the woomera (spear-thrower) can be inserted into it. When the spear has been hooked up to the woomera, the man hold the spear and woomera together with a quivering motion prior to flinging it.

TEXT B1 TROUBLE AT SEA

Speaker: Benjamin

1. baman? wiripu bay numbulwar, numbulwar-n^εur
 long time other leave alone Numbulwar (Mission) from Numbulwar
 numbulwar-n^εur n^εanapur marci-n, n^εara ga yan^εalka bawa?-mir walal,
 we(ExPl) went I and (man's n.) unwise they
 marci-n n^εanapu::r miyapunu-wu-n laru-n^εal, laru-n^εal marci:::-n,
 went we(ExPl) for green turtle now looked for went
 ba:yn^εu n^εanapur nha:-n^εal, a wata-n^y n^εayi bil-yu-na-n lin^ygun,
 not we(ExPl) saw and wind it blew now enough!
 buluwunu-lil-a, bil!, nha: dhuwal, wata yindi-n^y gu, limur
 to north wind now blow what? this wind big come on! we(InPl)
 run^εiyi-r-a bica-r n^εara, ba:yn^εu laru-ma yan, bica-r wan^εa-n
 return now said that I not look for only said spoke
 yan^εalka-n^y,
 (man's n.)

Another (story). Long ago. The man Yan^εalka and I, unwisely, went (in a canoe) from Numbulwar Mission. We went hunting for green turtles. We went along hunting, but could not find any. The wind began to blow strongly. (We were moving) into the north (north-west) wind. It blew (harder). I said, 'What is this? A big wind (= storm). Come on!' Yan^εalka said, 'Let's not hunt (Let's stop hunting).'

Note: The speaker, during transcription, corrected laru-ma to laru-m in the penultimate line.

2. laru-n^εal-a li::: miyapunu-w n^εayi wata bil-yu-na lin^ygun
 looked for now we(InDu) for green turtle it wind blew enough!
 yindi-thi-na-n lin^ygun gapu-n n^εunhi-yi nhawi-n garwar-thi-na-n
 got big now enough! water now that what's-it? now got high now
 warpam?-na, nharca-n n^εali run^εiyi-r-a gu! bica-r wan^εa-n
 all now do what? we(InDu) return now let's said that spoke
 yan^εalka-n^y, run^εiyi-r-a li:::, run^εiyi-n ga nhawu-n^εur, nha:
 (man's n.) return now we(InDu) returned and from what's-it? what?
 n^εunhi wa:n^εa, ran^yjiric-n^εur n^εunha n^εunha gali-n? ran^yjiric-n^εur,
 that country from R. (pl.n.) that other side now
 ran^yjiric-n^εur, lup-na naku?-ya, gapu yan yindi-thi-na-n lin^ygun
 bathe now canoe water only got big now enough!
 lup-mara-n^εal micia-nha-ya-- naku-nha-ya, dhu:n^yin?-nha-ya, lup!,
 caused to bathe ship canoe canoe bathe

The two of us hunted for green turtle. The wind blew (stronger). The water (=waves) got big, what's-it?, they got high. All of them. Yan^εalka said, 'What shall we do? Let's go back! Let's return now!' We went back, from what's-it? What is (the name of) that country? From

(Text B1)

the place ran^vjiric ('Rocky Point'), there on the far side. The canoe went into the water (got turned over by the wind). The water (=waves) was getting big, and soaked (turned over) the ship--(or rather) the canoe.

Note: The speaker here uses the pronoun n^gali or (contracted) li both in the sense of 'we(InDu)' (i.e. 'you and me') and in that of 'we(ExDu)' (i.e. 'him and me'). Only the former usage is regular; other speakers whom I worked with used n^gilin^vu for ExDu, and expressed disapproval of this speaker's usage.

3. gu:ra-na-n li nharca-n-a dhuwal miciya-nha-ya,
be ashamed (=nervous) we(InDu) do what now? this ship
ganatha-ma-n nhi: lin^vgun, marci-na li::: gapu-kur-a
leave now you(Sg) enough! went we(InDu) through water now
marci:::-n dhawat ran^gi-n^gur, bulu walal nha:-n^gal, gudar? n^gu:ra-na-n
went go up on beach again they saw tomorrow lay down now
n^gali:::, gudar?-mir nha:-n^gal nhawu-nha mala-n, guruwul?-na mala-n,
we(InDu) morning saw what's-it? Pl now (man's n.) Pl now
man?jar-yu nhawu-n^gur buna-n walal bi:-n^gur
with branch (= canoe) from what's-it? arrived they from somewhere
nhawu-n^gur garapara-n^gur, guruwul? mala,
from what's-it? from G. (pl.n.) (man's n.) Pl

The two of us were nervous. 'What shall we do? You (had better) get off this boat!' Then we went along, (swimming) through the water. (We) went along and got up on the beach. Then they saw (us, from a distance). We slept (until) the next morning. (Then we) saw what's-it?, the man Guruwul?(of Dhudi-Japu? clan) and his bunch. They came from some distant place in man?jar ('branch with leaves', here name of a type of canoe said to be of the Yirica moiety). Guruwul and his bunch, from what's-it?, from the place garapara (in Dhalwan^gu clan territory).

4. marci-n, n^gunha-l ran^vjiric, gu!, nharca-n nhuma manda lup-dhu-na
went there (pl n.) come on! do what? you(Pl) two bathed
nhuma, lup-dhu-na nhuma, yi:::!, dhika-n naku-n^v? barku-n, gu!
you(Pl) yes! this way canoe far now come on!
run^giyi-r-a mission-lil-a, marci-na-n limur mission-n^gur, bulu,
return now to mission now went now we(InPl) from mission again
miyapunu-lil-a marci-n, n^gara waracima, guruwul, wuyal, yawirin^v?
to green turtle now went I (names of three men) young man
mala, marci-n napur miyapunu-lil-a, bala nhawi, wulmu-lil
Pl went we(ExPl) to green turtle now that way what's-it? to W. (pl.n.)
n^gunhi-li-mi nhi: yuru maIn^g?-mara-m, nhawi, ma:na, marwada,
there you(Sg) Fut cause to appear what's-it? shark fish sp.

(Text B1)

gu:pu, n^guykal, barapiri, gulku-n gulku-n, buririca,
fish sp. fish sp. mullet-like fish sp. big group fish sp.

n^gunha-l n^ganapur luka-n marci-n,
there we(ExPl) ate went

(We) went along, there at the place ran^vjiric ('Rocky Point'). 'Well, what happened to you two? Did you get wet?' 'Yes! The canoe (must have gone) a long way in that direction. Let's go back to the mission now!' (After staying at Numbulwar Mission for a few days:) We all went from the mission again, for green turtles. Me and the men Waracima, Guruwul?, and Wuyal, a group of young men. We went for green turtles, that way, to what's-it?, to the place wulmu. There you can find what's-it?, sharks, mullet-like fish, and other fish--a whole bunch of them. We went and ate there.

Note: In line 3 of this segment the speaker uses first person pronoun limur (InPl) where n^ganapur or napur (ExPl) should have been used; this is corrected in line 5 (marci-n napur).

The gloss 'Rocky Point' for the place name ran^vjiric is not a literal gloss, since the place name is unanalyzable. The place in question is called 'Rocky Point' by whites in the area of Numbulwar.

5. luka-n lin^vgun yawirin^v?-dhu xx(?), luka-n marci-n
ate enough! young man (unintelligible) ate went
yawirin^v?-dhu:::, luku-y n^ganapur marci-n n^gunhi, xx(?), nhawi,
by foot we(ExPl) went that what's-it?
run^giyi-r-a n^ganapur yawirin^v?-ja, run^giyi-r-a mission-lil, bur
return now we(ExPl) young man return now to mission arrive
mission-lil, wanha kan n^gunhi yuln^gu?-yuln^gu-w-nja buririca mala, luka-n
where? Dur that of people fish sp. Pl ate
marci-n yawirin^v? yuln^gu?-yuln^gu-w, n^gu:ra-n n^ganapur jadaw, lin^vgun,
went young man of people lay down we(ExPl) dawn enough!
bili-n .
enough now!

The young men ate (fish). The young men ate and went. We walked on foot there, at what's-it? We return now, the young men. We return now to the mission. We arrive at the mission. 'Where are those buririca fish for the people (in the camp)?' The young men ate and went (back) for the people. We slept and the dawn came. That is all.

TEXT B2 COLLECTING HONEY AND OTHER FOODS

Speaker: Benjamin

1. wiripu-ya, dha:wu? nhu-n^εu, ma:t, ma:t balan^ya
 other word for you(Sg) honey-eating implement like that
 n^εunhi dharpa-ya, bulu-- bala luka-∅ nhawu-nha-n, guku-nha
 that wood again that way eat what's-it now? honey bee
 yarpan^y-nha n^εunhi, wiripu miya-- nhawi guku n^εanapuru-n^εgu
 honey bee sp. that other what's-it? honey bee for us(ExPl)
 gundir-puy, ga nhawu-puy gunda-wuy,
 related to ant mound and related to what's-it? related to stone
 ga dharpa-wuy, walan?-buy ga gun^εuru, gadayka,
 and related to tree rel. to hill coolibah tree and woollybutt stringybark
 ga xx(?) nhawi, nhawi n^εunha-yi guku, nha: balan^ya
 and (unintelligible) what's-it? that honey bee what? like that
 dharpa, giriri?-wuy, n^εalan^εga?-wuy, ga:thu-nha-n yuru lakara-m,
 tree rel. to tree sp. rel. to tree sp. daughter now Fut call
 nhawi, lanapu?-wuy, guku, gulku n^εanapuru-n^ε guku,
 what's-it? rel. to cypress honey bee big group for us honey bee

Another story for you. Honey-eating implements. That wood. (We go) that way and eat what's-it? Honey bees, yarpan^y bees (a particular species). Also what's-it? We (will) have some honey! (There are honey bees) in ant mounds, in what's-it?--in stones, and in tree (trunks)--hill coolibah, woollybutt, stringybark (tree spp.), and what's-it? What kind of tree is that, with honey bees there? In giriri? tree. In n^εalan^εga? tree--just like (we) call my daughter. (The speaker happens to have a classificatory daughter with this name.) In what's-it?, cypress trees. We (have) a lot of honey (bees).

2. balan^ya guku balan^ya nhawu-puy dilci-wuy, dhalpi?,
 like that honey bee related to what's-it? rel. to hill fan-palm
 n^εatha n^εanapuru-n^ε dhalpi?, ga nhawi, la:luk, dakul?-yu
 food for us(ExPl) and what's-it? pandanus with ax
 jat-dhu-n, luka-∅ marci-∅, balan^ya n^εanapuru-n^ε n^εatha mala, dilci-wuy,
 chop eat go like that for us(ExPl) food Pl rel. to hill
 ga dharan^εgi, ga dharan^εgul, n^εanapur yuru luka-∅, dilci-wuy balan^ya
 and tree sp. and kurrajong we(ExPl) Fut eat rel. to hill like that
 n^εatha mala-ya, ga mun^yjuc ga larani, ga dhan^εgi, ga
 food Pl and green plum and wild apple and billygoat plum and
 nhawi, dhangapa n^εanapuru-n^ε n^εatha, bu:c-buy-ya,
 what's-it? tree sp. for us(ExPl) food rel. to the bush

Honey bees in what's-it?, the hill country. Fan-palms and what's-it?, flesh from nuts of pandanus tree, are food for us. We chop them down with an ax and eat them. We have food like that in the hills. Also dharan^εgi tree and kurrajong, we eat (the fruits). Foods in the hill country. We

(Text B2)

get foods from green plum, wild apple, billygoat plum, and what's-it?, dhangapa tree. (We eat them) in the bush (away from the settlements).
 3. mak n^εanapur-- dhun^εa-n n^εanapur half-ja, n^εa:paki-w? n^εatha
 maybe we(ExPl) ignorant now more or less of white man food
 mala, yuru wundan?-ja n^εanapuru-n^ε, balan^ya black-mir-ya, wundan?-ja
 Pl Fut black plum for us(ExPl) like that having black black plum
 n^εanapuru-n^εgu, balan^ya nhawi, wiripu-n^y nha: n^εama? manda, baman?
 for us(ExPl) like that what's-it? other what? mother two long time
 marci-n n^εanapur marci-n, bala janda-lil ya?, marci-n napu::r,
 went we(ExPl) went that way to goanna indeed went we(ExPl)
 landing-n^εur, wan^εgan^y? wa:n^εa, n^εunha yawirin^y? lin^ygun liw?-yu-na-n
 from the landing one camp that young man enough! set fires now
 lin^ygun, gurtha-y-na, wurk-gu-n n^εuli batha-na-n mulmu-n^y
 enough! with fire now for bush fire now that burned now grass
 warpam mulmu-n^y n^εunhi batha-na walal,
 all grass that burned now they

(Nowadays) I guess we are somewhat ignorant (of native foods). (We have) white man foods. We have black plums (a native tree), with black (fruits). Also what's-it? Another (story), what? Long ago my two 'mothers' and some of us went (hunting) for goanna lizards. We went from the landing area (on the river at Roper River Mission = Ngukurr settlement). There is one camp (there). (Apparently this means that all the people in the hunting party belong to the same camp.) The young men went around setting little bush fires. They burned up the grass (to smoke out the goannas).

4. n^εanapur n^εunhi half-ja yawirin^y? nhawi-lil friend-lil n^εanapur
 we(ExPl) that sort of young man to what's-it? -to we(ExPl)
 wandi-n, n^εa:thil, xx(?), janda-n^y mala dhawat-dhu-na ba:yn^εu
 ran long ago (unintelligible) goanna Pl go up not
 n^εarn^εga-n^εur, bala n^εanapuru-n^ε-gala yawirin^y?-gala, ba:yn^εu n^εayi
 in burrow that way to us(ExPl) to young man not it
 garan^ygura-ya, wan^εgac-nha wut-dhu-na, janda-nha-n, yindi-puy-nha, n^εunhi
 (man's n.) one killed goanna now big that
 wan^εgac-ja yu:l-n^εu, bica-r n^εayi gam!, n^ya:kuli
 one human said that he say to me (Ga:lpu language)
 bica-n n^εayi, garala? n^εunhi ya:ku-n^y n^εunhi yu:l-n^εu, bamañ?-mir,
 say that he (man's n.) that name(d) that human long ago
 landing-buy-n^εu luka-n n^εanapur n^εunhi wa:yin-ja mala, janda mala,
 of the landing ate we(ExPl) that game animal Pl goanna Pl
 run^εiyi-r-a lin^ygun,
 return now enough!

(Text B2)

Us more or less young men ran then to our friends, long ago. The goannas came up, (they did) not (stay) in their burrows. (They scurried) that way, to us young men. They (did) not (escape). The man Garan^ggura killed one of them, a big goanna. That one man. He said, '(It is coming) toward me!' (This utterance is in the Ga:lpu language, spoken to the north.) That man, named Garala? said that. Long ago. We ate the animals, from the landing area, the goannas, and then went back.

5. marci-n napu::r, walan?-buy bay!, maln^g?-na
went we(ExPl) related to hill coolibah leave alone appear now

guku, ga wan^ggac-ja n^gunhi nhawu-thu, walan?-ja n^gunhi nha:,
honey bee and one that what's-it? hill coolibah that what?

nhawi, ra:wak-na lin^vgun, nha:ra-∅ n^gayi gurtha-ya, gu:n^g-dhu
what's-it? dry now enough! burn(intr.) it fire by hand

napur daw?, n^gunhi dharpa nhi:na-n n^gunhi ka dharpa nhi:na-n,
we(ExPl) break off that tree sat that Dur tree sat

daw?, luka-n marci-n guku-nha-ya::, walan?-buy n^gunhi
break off ate went honey bee rel. to hill coolibah that

guku, yirica, luka-n marci-n luka-n yi::,
honey bee of Yirica moiety ate went ate (meaningless)

We went along (looking for honey). Honey bees, nesting in a hill coolibah tree, were coming out from its trunk (i.e. we spotted which tree they were going into and out from). One what's-it?, one hill coolibah tree, it was what's-it?, dry (i.e. dead and hollowed-out). The fire was burning. We knocked down that tree with our hands. The tree was sitting there, and we broke it down. (We) were eating the honey, from hill coolibah tree--that Yirica moiety type of honey bee. (We) kept eating it.

6. dhawat-na wa:n^ga-lil-a, run^giyi-r-a wa:n^ga-lil-a, gu! limur
go up now to camp now return now to camp now let's we(InPl)

run^giyi-r-a gu!, nhawi-lil, nha: n^gunhi wa:n^ga, dhayarkmiri-lil gu!,
return now to what's-it? what? that country to D. (pl.n.) let's

n^gunha-l napur n^gura?-n^gura-n n^gu:ra-n marci-n yawirin^v?-dhu::
there we(ExPl) kept lying down lay down went young man

n^gu:ra-na-n n^ganapur, n^gu:ra-n n^ganapur yawirin^v?-ja, jadaw?, gu!,
lay down now we(ExPl) lay down we(ExPl) young man dawn let's

limur dhatam?-lil-a, baralmana limur-a gu!, marci-∅ yan,
we(InPl) to water lily now (pl.n.) we(InPl) now let's go only

wan^ggac-ja yu:l-n^gu, lup-dhu-na-n, jaykun^g?-gu-n, lup-dhu-n n^gayi
one human bathed now for file snake now bathed he

jaykun^g?-gu, luka-n napur jaykun^g?-ja mala::, jaykun^g?-ja mala
for file snake ate we(ExPl) file snake Pl

luka-∅ marci-∅ yawirin^v?-ja::,
eat go young man

(Text B2)

(We) went up to the camp then. We went back to the camp then. 'Let's go back now to what's-it?--what is that place?--to the place dhayarkmiri.' Us young men spent a few nights there. We spent the night, and then it dawned. 'Let's go to the water lilies now! Let's go to the place baralmana!' One man went into the water, for file snakes. He went into the water for file snakes. We ate file snakes; the young men were eating file snakes.

7. batha-na marci-∅ gurtha-lil gurtha-n^gur, n^gara-n^v bica-r wan^ga-n-ja,
burned go to fire from fire I said that spoke

gu!, n^gara-k gathu-l gu!, walal, jaykun^g, nha:-ku nhuma-pi yuru
come on! for me give! they file snake what for? you(Pl) Fut

luka-∅, yaka nhuma yuru luka-∅, nha:-ku nhuma ja:l mari-w,
eat not you(Pl) Fut eat what for? you(Pl) want for fighting

limur bu-nha-mi-r gu!, bica-r n^gara walala-n^v, yawirin^v?-nha,
we(InPl) hit each other let's said that I them young man

marci-n n^gara dhit! murn^gin^v, walala-n^g yawirin^v?-gu, wandi-n n^gara
went I get (spear) shovel spear for them for young man ran I

badac-u-na walala-n^v, gara-y murn^gin^v-dhu bati-y
threw spear at them with spear with shovel spear with hook spear

n^gara bada?-badac-u-na walala-n^v,
I kept throwing spears at them

(We) burned the area from one fire to another. Then I said, 'Come on! Give me (some meat)!' They said, 'Why are you eating file snakes? Don't eat (that)! Why do you want trouble?' 'Let's fight!' I said that to them, to the young men. I went and got a shovel spear, for (fighting) the young men. I ran and threw a spear at them--using a spear, (maybe) a shovel spear or a hook spear. I kept throwing spears at them.

8. ga bulu gilin^g?-dhu-n, nha:-miriw blade-miriw n^gunhi gara
and again with the shaft now without what? without blade that spear

nhawi, murn^gin^v-ja ba:yn^gu, lira-miriw gilin^g?-dhu yan
what's-it? shovel spear absent without blade (=tooth) with shaft only

n^gara badac-u-na walala-n^v, n^gunhi gilin^g?-ja marci-n, yaka
I threw spears at them that shaft went not

n^gu:y-kur ga garwar-kur-a, wata-y n^gayi n^gi-n^va
through heart (= down low) and through above now wind it it

jaw?-yu-na, gilin^g?-nha, ga bili-n .
took away shaft and enough now!

(I also fought them) with bladeless spear shafts then. The shovel spearhead was missing, there was no blade. I threw just the spear shafts at them. That spear shaft went (sailing through the air), up high, not down now. The wind took the spear shaft away (i.e. off course). That is all.

Note: The fighting episode in the last two segments is apparently a fictitious story.

TEXT B3 RUNNING INTO A POISONOUS SNAKE

Speaker: Benjamin

1. yo!, wiripu-n^y walal marci:::-n datam?-miri-lil, balma-lil
 all right! other they went (pl.n.) -to to B. (pl.n.)
 baman, n^εara ga mu:ri, ga n^εama?, marci-n napu:::r datam?-miri-lil,
 long time I and father and mother went we(ExPl) to D. (pl.n.)
 n^εayi n^εunhi mu:ri-ya marci-na-n, ma:lu? n^εara-k, marci-n, gurumba-lil,
 he that father went now father my went to goose
 marci-n walal, nha:-n^εal-a gurumba, gudurku, wa:yin mala lin^ygun,
 went they saw now goose broлга game animal Pl enough!
 n^εayi-n^y ma:lu-n^y? marci-n, n^εayi n^εunhi dhalara n^εayi, ba:pi
 he father went it that king brown snake it snake
 yan n^εu:ra-n yukura-n, dap-mara-nha-mi-n n^εayi, nha:-n^εal n^εanapur,
 only lay down slept tied self together it saw we(ExPl)

All right. Another time they went to the places datam?-mir ('having water lilies') and balma, long ago. Me and my father and my mother, we went to datam?-mir. My father went to (hunt) magpie geese. They went along, and saw geese and broлга--game animals (sources of meat). Then my father went along. That king brown snake (lethal snake sp.) was lying there asleep. It was coiled together. We saw it.

2. nha: dhuwal, dhalara, dhalara dhuwal-i way!, bica-n
 what? this king brown snake this look out! say
 n^εara, bica-n bala limur marci-∅ gu!, n^εunhi wa:n^εa yan nhawi,
 I do that that way we(InPl) go let's that country only what's-it?
 datam?-miri-n^εur, yaka nhi: yuru marci-∅ nhawi barefoot-ja,
 from D. (pl.n.) not you(Sg) Fut go what's-it?
 dhapathun^ε?-mir-ya, n^εunhi nhi: ja:l-thi-r nhawu-ku, nhawu-ku
 having shoe that you(Sg) want for what's-it?
 nhi: ja:l ma:ra-m, datam, wu dhika-n nha: burpa,
 want get water lily or this kind now what? water lily root corm
 nhi: yuru ja:l-thi-r nhan-n^εu, xx(?) dhapathun^ε?-mir
 you(Sg) Fut want for it (unintelligible) having shoe
 dhapathun^ε?-dhu-n lup-dhu-n, balan^ya n^εunhi n^εa:paki-w? balan^ya
 with shoe now bathe like that that white man like that
 dhapathun^ε?-ya,
 shoe

'What is this? A king brown snake! Look out, here is a king brown snake!' I say that. 'Let's go over that way! (From) that country, from datam?-mir. You there, do not go around barefoot! (Go) with shoes! When you want to get some water lilies (seed pods), or this other kind, water lily root corms, you should go into the water with shoes on. Shoes, just like those of the white man.'

(Text B3)

3. wiripu nhi: yuru mak-- n^εunha-l bayma nhi:na-∅, dilci-n^εur
 other you(Sg) Fut maybe there behind sit in hills
 nhi: yuru nhi:na-∅, walal n^εalapa-l-mir-- n^εalapa-l-mir mala yarup-dhu-n
 you(Sg) Fut sit they old man old man Pl go down
 bala nhawi-lil, burpa?-lil, datam?-lil,
 that way to what's-it? to water lily root corm to water lily (seed pod)
 jalagu?-lil, guwar napur nhawi-nha nha:-n^εal, nha:-n^εal n^εanapur
 to root tuber sp. briefly we(ExPl) what's-it? saw we(ExPl)
 n^εunhi xx(?) nhawi-nha-ya, dhalara-nha-ya ma:lu-y? nha:-n^εal bay?-na
 that what's-it? king brown snake father saw leave now
 n^εanapur n^εa-n^ya, duwat-ja n^εanapur n^εunhi, marci:::-n, yarup n^εanapur
 we(ExPl) it go up we(ExPl) that went go down we(ExPl)
 nhawu-n^εur, nhawu-ku walala-m-bal wa:n^εa, gu:muk-gu
 at what's-it? of what's-it? their camp of G. (man's n.)
 walala-m-bal wa:n^εa, garapara-lil, n^εunha-l napur nhi:na-n, nhi:na-n
 their camp to G. (pl.n.) there we(ExPl) sat sat
 n^εanapu:::r,
 we(ExPl)

'Maybe you had better stay back there, uphill (i.e. away from the billabong), while the old people go down to the what's-it?, to the water lily roots and seed pods, and to jalagu? (aquatic plant with root tuber, *Aponogeton elongatus*).' We briefly saw that what's-it?, my father saw the brown snake and we left it alone (stayed away from it). We went up there, then came down at what's-it? The camp of whose group? The camp of Gu:muk (man of Dhalwan^εu clan) and his group. To the place garapara. We stayed there for a time.

4. walal n^εunhi mulirin^y? n^εunha-ya, lup-mara-n^εal n^εanapuru-n^ε, xx(?)
 they that cousin that caused to bathe for us(ExPl)
 nhawi, naku-n?, baman, walumari-w walala-m-bal, ga
 what's-it? canoe now long time of W. (man's n.) their and
 midiku-w walala-n^ε warpam?, binin^yjiri, balan^ya mala,
 of rubbish (=sister) their all (man's n.) like that Pl
 jamarkuli n^εanapur, n^εayi-n^y balan^ya n^εunhi, nhawi-ya n^εunhi,
 children we(ExPl) he like that that what's-it? that
 mulirin^y?-ja nhawi, dhawal guyan^εa-n, dhawal guyan^εa-n, dhawal guyan^εa-n,
 cousin what's-it? country thought
 marci-n n^εanapu:::r lup-mara-n^εal nhawi xx(?), xx(?) n^εayi-n^y
 went we(ExPl) caused to bathe what's-it? he
 dhan^εark-ja lup-dhu-na-n, n^εanapuru-n^εgu-n, n^εa:thil-na marci-n,
 (man's n.) bathed now of us(ExPl) now long ago now went

(Text B3)

Those 'cousins' there put a what's-it?, a canoe, into the water for us then, long ago. For Walumari's group, for my rubbish (=sisters), for all of them, (also) the man binin^vjiri. Those people. We were children. That what's-it?, that 'cousin' was thinking about (=was anxious to go to) the country. We went and put the what's-it? into the water. The man Dhan^gark went into the water for us, long ago.

Note: The exact sense of the term mulirin^v? is not clear, since the person who helped me transcribe this text (not the original speaker) had trouble with the word. It is apparently a kin term used around Yirrkala settlement to the north, where the speaker has lived. It may be from creole English, and is perhaps ultimately related to the kin term muluri 'cousin' (i.e. avoidance relative) found in languages on the Roper River such as Mara (several creole kin terms are from these languages).

5. n^ganapur n^gunhi n^ga:thi-na-n nhan-n^gu, naku?-n^gur garwar, walumari
we(ExPl) that cried now for it in canoe above (man's n.)

guyan^ga-n limur marci-∅-n gu!, nhawi naku-n? nhawi
thought we(InPl) go now let's what's-it? canoe what's-it?

lup-dhu-na-n gu!, nhawi-lil-a mu:c-lil-a, mu:c-dhu
bathe now let's to what's-it? now to M. (pl.n.) now to M. (pl.n.)

lup-mara-n^gal n^ganapuru-n^g yuwalk-ja, marci-n n^ganapu::r, ran^gi-n^gur,
caused to bathe for us(ExPl) body (=true) went we(ExPl) from beach

nhi:na-nha napur, nha:-n^gal-na nhawi-nha-n^v mala-n, nhawi-nha,
sat we(ExPl) saw now what's-it? Pl now what's-it?

wakuthi?-nha mala-n, bica-r n^ganapur nhawu-thi-n, man?jar-yu-n
(man's n.) Pl now did that we(ExPl) did what's-it? with branch now

bala nhawi-lil, numbulwar-lil, lin^vgun dhuwal, bili-n .
that way to what's-it? to Numbulwar (Mission) enough! this enough now!

We were anxious for it (the country). Above, in a canoe, the man Walumari thought (about the country). 'Let's go! Let's go into the water (in) a canoe! To what's-it?, to the place mu:c ('rainbow snake').' (They) put (a canoe) into the water for us at the place mu:c, truly. We went along. We sat along the beach. We saw what's-it? group, the man Wakuthi? (of madarpa clan) and his group. We did that, we did something. In man?jar ('branch', here a type of canoe of Yirica moiety) (we came) that way, to what's-it?, to Numbulwar Mission. That is all.

TEXT B4 MY TRAVELS

Speaker: Benjamin

1. wiripu-ya n^ganapur, nhawu-pi bi:-n^gur yirkala-n^gur marci-n,
other we(ExPl) what's-it? from somewhere from Yirrkala went

yawirin^v?, three yawirin^v?, ga nhawi, miyalk-guru-wur lurkun,
young man and what's-it? women several

bala Brisbane-lil-a n^ganapur marci-n, baman?, 1976 n^ganapur marci-n,
that way to Brisbane now we(ExPl) went long time we(ExPl) went

1967, marci-n n^ganapur bala, college-lil-a n^ganapur marci-n, Bible study
went we(ExPl) that way to college now we(ExPl) went

n^ganapur marci-n baman?, training n^ganapu::r, run^giyi-r-a yirkala-lil
we went long time we(ExPl) returned now to Yirrkala

n^ganapur marci-n, marci-n yirkala nhi:na-n n^gara guriri-mar-ya,
we went Yirrkala sat I short time

wulma-mir-ya,
cloud-having time

Another time we went from far away, from Yirrkala Mission. Three young men, and what's-it?, a few girls. We went to Brisbane then, long ago. We went in 1976--(or rather) in 1967. We went that way, to a college, (for) Bible study. We went long ago. We were (in) training. We went back to Yirrkala then. I stayed at Yirrkala for a short while, during the cloudy season (around December).

2. marci-na-n n^gara bi:-n^gur, yirkala-n^gur, bala nhawi-lil-a
went now I from somewhere from Yirrkala that way to what's-it? now
gapuwuyak-lil, n^gunha-l n^gara ja:ma-∅ yukura::r, galiwin?gu
to Lake Evella Mission there I work slept Elcho Island Mission

bur!, n^gunha-l ja:ma-∅ yukura-n galiwin?gu::r, ga run^giyi-r-a
arrive there work slept Elcho Is. and returned now

gapuwuyak-lil-a marci-n, ja:ma-∅ marci-∅ gapuwuyak-n^gu::r, marci-na-n
to Lake Evella now went work go from Lake Evella went now

n^gara lili-n, holiday, ga dhuwa-na n^gara nhi:na-∅ yukura-∅ Roper-n,
I to here now and this I sit sleep Roper R. now

dhipu-n^gur mak n^gara run^giyi-r n^gula nha:-lil-a, mak
from here maybe I will return now something to what? now maybe

bala-yi gapuwuyak-lil yaka-n mar^gngi, n^gara-pi yuru guyan^ga-∅,
that way to Lake Evella not now knowing I Fut think

I went from there, from Yirrkala. That way, to what's-it?, to Lake Evella Mission. A worked there for a while. (Then I) arrived at Elcho Island Mission. (I) worked at Elcho for a while, then (I) went back to Lake Evella. I worked, then I went from Lake Evella to here. (The text was recorded at Ngukurr = Roper R. settlement.) On vacation. Here I am spending some time, at Roper now. I might go back from here to what?, maybe to Lake Evella. (I am) not sure. I will think about it.

(Text B4)

Note: Yirrkala (east) and Elcho Island (west) are on or near the Top End (north coast) of Arnhem Land. Lake Evella is some distance into the interior, roughly south of Elcho. Ngukurr (Roper R.) is well to the south, though still inside the Arnhem Land reserve. An unmarried man like Benjamin (the speaker) can move around from one community to another, since he has relatives at several of them.

3. dhuwal limur lurkun yawirin^y? dhiya-la-mi nhi:na-∅ yukura-∅,
this we(InPl) several young man here sit sleep

Roper, dhuwal nhawu-puy-ya, Arnhem Land-buy yuln^u?-yul-n^u
this related to what's-it? rel. to Arnhem Land people

dhuwa-na bili lurkun?-na dhiya-la-mi nhina?-nhina-∅ yukura-∅, ma:rma?
this enough! several now here keep sitting sleep two

jambarpuyn^u n^uara-pi wan^gac-na, dhuwal n^uara ka wan^ga-∅ yukura-∅
(clan n.) myself one now this I Pres speak sleep

tape-lil, n^uula nha:-kur n^uanapur yuru-- n^uanapur yuru marci-∅,
onto tape something through what? we(ExPl) Fut go

mak bala-yi gapuwuyak-lil yaka-n marn^ggi, ga lin^ygun dhuwal,
maybe that way to Lake Evella not now knowing and enough! this

bili-n .
enough now!

A few of us young men are staying here at Roper. These people from Arnhem Land. (Here by 'Arnhem Land' the speaker means people specifically from the Yirrkala/Elcho/Lake Evella area.) A few of us are staying here. Two of the Jambarpuyn^u clan, and just me (of the Japu? clan). I am saying this onto the tape. We will go through what? Maybe (we will go) that way, to Lake Evella. I don't know. That is all.

Note: In the first line of this segment we find limur 'we(InPl)' where n^uanapur 'we(ExPl)' is appropriate; this substitution is not unusual for this speaker.

TEXT B5 TRAVELS WITH MIYALA

Speaker: Benjamin

1. baman?, n^uali miyala marci-n, n^uara-n^y n^uunhi marci-n
long time we(InDu) (man's n.) went I that went

garu?n^u-n miyala-w, marci-na-n n^uayi miyala:::, wun^ggan?-mir,
together of M. (man's n.) went now he having dog

n^uayi n^uunhi wun^ggan?-ja ya:ku nhawi wurkadi, n^uunhi wurkadi-y
it that dog name(d) what's-it? dog's n. that dog's n.

nha:-n^ual-na n^ui-n^ya, dharpa-lil-a n^ual?-yu-na nhawi, wan?gawu-ya,
saw now it to tree now went up what's-it? water goanna

nha:-n^ual n^uayi, lup! n^uayi n^uunhi wan?gawu-ya, lup-dhu-n, n^uayi-n^y
saw it bathe that water goanna bathed he

miyala-y nha:-n^ual, ba:yn^u guriri?-n^u dhawal gapu, n^uali lup-dhu-n-a
(man's n.) saw nothing short country water we(InDu) bathe now

gu!, guthara bica-r n^uayi, lup n^uali,
let's ZDS said he bathe we(InDu)

Long ago, Miyala and I went (hunting). I went together with Miyala. Miyala went along with a dog, named Wulkadi. That Wulkadi saw it go up into a tree, the water goanna (lizard). It saw (it). Then the water goanna jumped into the water. Miyala saw (it), (but could do) nothing, (since) there was just a short distance between the land (where the tree was) and the water. 'Come on, my ZDS! Let's go into the water!' He said that. We went into the water.

2. garu-nha marci-n lin^ygun, nhawu-ku n^uunhi-yi, wan?gawu-w
hunted for fish went enough! for what's-it? that for w. goanna

garu-nha marci:::-n, laru-n^ual laru-n^ual-a n^uunhi wan?gawu
went looked for looked for now that water goanna

n^uarn^gga-n^y nhan-n^u gapu-n^uur jinawa?, munatha-y? mulka-n yukura-n,
burrow its in water underwater with ground held slept

bulu n^uayi miyala luku-n n^ual?-yu-na nahanu-kal dilci-lil-a, dhuwa-na
again he (man's n.) foot now went up to it to hill now this now

guthara bica-r n^uayi, lup n^uayi miyala-n^y lup gay, bat n^ua-n^ya
ZDS said that he bathe he (man's n.) then get it

mayan^g? yan, law?-mara-n^ual-na dhuwa-na guthara, wut-dhu-r-a n^ui-n^ya marc-i,
neck only brought up now this now ZDS kill now! it go!

wan?gawu n^uunhi-yi, gu!, n^uunha-la-mi n^uali luka-∅ gu!, marci-n
water goanna that come on! there we(InDu) eat let's went

n^uali, dhiya-l gurtha nhawu-n^uur-ya, gun^yul?-n^uur, dhut n^uali, miyala-ya,
we here fire at what's-it? in shade sit we (man's n.)

We went along hunting for fish (and other water game), for what's-it?, for water goanna. (We) looked and looked for that water goanna. Its burrow is under the water. It was holding tightly onto the ground (under the water). Miyala put his foot up onto a mound (or stone, at the edge of the water).

(Text B5)

'Here (it is) now, my ZDS!' He said that. Miyala went into the water. He grabbed hold of it (the goanna), at the neck. He brought it up then. 'Here it is now, my ZDS! Come on, (help me) kill it, this water goanna! Let's eat it over there!' We went (and made) a fire at what's-it?, at a shady spot. Miyala and I sat down.

3. n^gara-n^y yucuwala yan malt-dhu-na nhan-n^gu, luka-n marci-n n^gunhi
 I child only followed for him ate went that
 wan?gawu-nha:::-ya, yarup n^gali, marci-n n^gali:::, nhawi-lil,
 water goanna go down we(InDu) went to what's-it?
 nhawu-ku-n walala-n^ggu-n nhawi, buna-n n^gali, nhawu-ku
 of what's-it? now of them now what's-it? arrived we(InDu) of what's-it?
 walala-m-bal, yawirin^y?-gu-n, wiripu wulku-n, n^gunha-l bili nhi:na-n
 of them of young man other group now there enough! sat
 yukura-n nhawu-n^gur, luka-n marci-n n^gunhi-yi nhawi,
 slept at what's-it? ate went that what's-it?
 yawirin^y?-gun^g, walal-nja yawirin^y?-ja mala luka-n, nhawi,
 provided by young men they young man Pl ate what's-it?
 dhawar?-mara-nha wut-dhu-na ma:riyan^g-dhu,
 finished off killed with rifle

I, just a child, followed him. We ate that water goanna. We went down to (the camp) of what's-it? group. We arrived at (the camp) of what's-it?, of another group of young men. There we stayed for a while at what's-it? (We) ate what's-it?, (food) provided by the (other) young men. On the other hand, the (other) young men ate (food which we provided). They had killed a bunch (of animals) with a rifle.

4. nhawi limala-n^g jirman^ga-n? nhawi-n, jirman^ga-n? walal
 what's-it? for us(InDu) porcupine now what's-it? they
 maln^g?-mara-n^gal walal maln^g?-mara-n^gal, luka-n marci-n, three walal
 caused to appear ate went they
 maln^g?-mara-n^gal, lurkun? yan, luka-n napur marci-n yawirin^y?-dhu:::,
 several only ate we(ExPl) went young man
 yarup n^ganapur, bala-n ran^gi-lil-a napur marci-n, marci-n
 go down we(ExPl) that way now to beach now we(ExPl) went
 napu:::r, dhut-na ran^gi-n^gur, yawirin^y?-gu-n, ga n^gama?-wu-n,
 sit down now at beach for young man and for mother now
 n^gara-n^y n^gunhi ga:-n^gal, wa:yin-ja wan?gawu-ya, n^gama-w? ga mak
 I that carried game animal water goanna for mother and maybe
 ma:lu-w?, ga bili-n .
 for father and enough now

'We have what's-it?, porcupines (spiny anteaters) now!' They brought out some porcupines. (We) ate them. They took out three of them. Us young men went along eating them. We went down that way to the beach, for (the other) young men and for our mother(s). I took that animal, the water goanna, for my mother, and maybe (also) for my father. That is all.

TEXT B6 MY TRUE CLAN AFFILIATION

Speaker: Benjamin

1. yo!, dhuwal wiripu, yaka n^gara dhuwal-i yuwalk-ja japu,
 all right! this other not I this body (=true) of J. clan
 wu marakulu dhikan-a, n^gara dhuwal-i yuwalk-ja, jarwark yu:l-n^gu,
 or of M. clan like this now I this body of J. clan person
 yu:thu, dar?-yu-na-mir balan^ya buyu-yukulul-mir
 child performer of dhu:wa moiety songs like that having dhu:wa songs
 balan^ya gunbur?-yu-na-mir, n^gara dhuwal-i yu:thu yuwalk-ja,
 like that performer of dhu:wa chants I this child body
 ga ba:pa?-mirin^gu n^gara-k, nhawi yukulul-mir, yuru n^gayi--
 and father my what's-it? having dhu:wa songs Fut he
 dhuwal n^gara n^gutha-na n^gunhi, ga japu-w walala-n^g, ga dhuwa-na
 this I grew up that and of J. clan of them and this
 n^gara wan^ga-ø, dhuwal?-na, dhuwal?-gur-a n^gara wan^ga-ø
 I speak Dhuwal (language) now through Dhuwal now I speak
 yukura-ø, ga n^ganapur dhuwal dhuwal?-mir-ya yuln^gu?-yul-n^gu, jambarpuy^gu,
 sleep and I this having Dhuwal people of J. clan
 ga dhudi-jambarpuy^gu, ga marakulu ga dhudi-marakulu, balan^ya mala,
 and inland J. clan and of M. clan and inland M. clan like that Pl
 ga walal n^gunhi dhay?yi-mir-ya, jarwark dhay?yi-mir-ya,
 and they that having Dhay?yi (language) of J. clan having Dhay?yi

All right! This other (story). I am not really of Japu? clan, or of this Marakulu clan. I am really of Jarwark clan, as a child (=by birth). (I am) a performer of Dhu:wa moiety songs and ritual chants. I am really (Jarwark) by birth. My father (Wuyulwuy) was likewise a performer of Dhu:wa songs. I grew up there, (as a child) of the Japu? clan. (Therefore) I now speak this Dhuwal language. I always speak in Dhuwal. We are Dhuwal people--Jambarpuy^gu and inland Jambarpuy^gu, and Marakulu and inland Marakulu, that type. But the Jarwark are (properly) Dhay?yi-speaking.

Note: Several clans in this area are divided into two groups, one coastal and the other inland (usually these divisions have the same name but to distinguish them the prefix dhudi- can be used for the inland group). Both Benjamin and his very old father, Wuyulwuy, usually functioned as members of the Marakulu or Japu? clans but were, by birthright, Jarwark and thus, in theory, should speak Dhay?yi. Such realignments, either of whole clans or of an individual man and his descendants, are common in the region, though they were probably less common before European contact.

2. ga dhalwan^gu, ga dha:n^gu?-mir-ya marika mala, ga
 and of D. clan and having Dha:n^gu (language) clan n.(?) Pl and
 waramiri, ga ga:lpu, ga dhudi-galpu, ga dhudi-waramiri mala,
 of W. clan and of G. clan and inland G. clan and inland W. clan Pl
 ga gupapuy^gu wiripu waray, dhuwala?-gur walal
 and of G. clan other indeed through Dhuwala (language) they

(Text B6)

wan^εa-nha-mi-r, dhuwala?, ga nhawi-ya ga nhawu-ku-ya--
 speak to each other Dhuwala (language) and what's-it? and of what's-it?
 nhawu-ku, n^εara-k n^εa:ndi-?mirin^εu, nhawi mala, gumac-ja mala,
 of what's-it? my mother what's-it? Pl of G. clan Pl
 ga dhuwala?-gur yan, ga dhuwaya? mala, dhuwaya?-mir
 and through Dhuwala only and Dhuwaya Pl having Dhuwaya (language)
 mala, madarpa .
 Pl of M. clan

Also there is Dhalwan^εu clan (in the Dhay?yi-speaking group). And the clans of the Dha:n^εu language: Marika, Waramiri, Ga:lpu and inland Ga:lpu, and inland Waramiri. Then the Gupapuy^εu clan is different, they speak to each other through the Dhuwala language. Also what's-it?, my mother, what is that group? The Gumac clan, also speaking through the Dhuwala language. Also the Dhuwaya? language, the Madarpa clan.

Note: The native classification of dialects and languages in this region has two basic levels: clan-dialect and broader dialect groups. It is often difficult for a linguist to attach any substance to the notion of well-bounded clan-dialects, but the larger dialect groups can be compared fairly closely to the linguist's notion of languages. At least a comparison of material I have in the Ritharngu, Dhay?yi, and Dhuwal languages suggests that the boundaries among these groups are sharp; the boundaries may be fuzzier further north, however.

The Dhuwaya language has not been mentioned in the literature, so far as I am aware. The Madarpa clan actually consists of distinct subclans, one of which (Mala-Barcaray) speaks Ritharngu, one of which is said to speak Dhay?yi, and the third of which is either assigned to a language of its own (as here, Dhuwaya) or is lumped in with the Dhuwala language group (the differences between its dialect and those of the Dhuwala clans seem to be small).

The dialect groups are normally designated by their respective terms for 'this' (dhuwal for the Dhuwal language, etc.), the only exception that I know of being Ritharngu (which has no agreed-upon name among its users). As language terms, these expressions may show final glottal stop ? which is not used in the form for 'this' (hence dhuwal 'this' becomes language term dhuwal?).

TEXT B7 CLAN-TERRITORIES

Speaker: Benjamin

1. walala-m-bal nhawu-ku walala-m-bal, jambarpuy^εu-w walala-m-bal,
 of them of what's-it? of J. clan of them
 n^εara-ku ba:pa-?mirin^εu wa:n^εa, ga gupawupa, n^εanapuru-n^εgu nhawu-ku
 my father country and (pl.n.) of us(ExPl) of what's-it?
 walala-m-bal, marakulu-w walala-m-bal, ga guruka?wuy, ga wiripu-ya
 of them of M. clan of them and (pl.n.) and other
 balma, datam?-miri-n^εur, ga n^εanapuru-n^ε wiripu wulku-w
 (pl.n.) (pl.n. 'at water lily-having') and of us(ExPl) other of group
 nhawu-ku dhu:wa-kundic-gu, garthala, ga nhawi, nha: n^εunhi
 of what's-it? of Dhu:wa moiety people (pl.n.) and what's-it? what? that
 wa:n^εa, nhawi--
 country what's-it?

(The country) of those what's-it?, of people of the Jambarpuy^εu clan. My father's country is gupawupa. It belongs to us what's-it?, (us) people of Marakulu clan. Also the place guruka?wuy. Another one is the place balma, (also) datam?-mir. And belonging to us people of Dhu:wa moiety, to another group (clan), is the place garthala. And what's-it?, what is (the name of) that place? What's it?

2. dhudi-jambarpuy^εu nha: walala-m-bal wa:n^εa, yaka, nhawi,
 inland J. clan what? of them country not what's-it?
 nhawu-ku walala-m-bal n^εunhi-yi, wiripu-ya, n^εanapuru-n^εgu nhawi,
 of what's-it? of them that other of us(ExPl) what's-it?
 dhu:wa-kundic-gu-ya, maran^εu, rayman^εgir n^εunhi wa:n^εa, ga nhawu-ku
 of Dhu:wa moiety people clan n. (pl.n.) that country and of what's-it?
 Willy-w manda-n^ε, dhuwal?-wu walala-m-bal wa:n^εa-ya, dhika nhawi,
 of W. of two of Dhuwal of them country this kind what's-it?
 luthunba n^εunhi wa:n^εa-ya, dhudi-japu-ya, wa:n^εa-ya, ga bili-n .
 (pl.n.) that country inland J. clan country and enough now!

The inland Jambarpuy^εu (sub-)clan. Their country is-- . Not (that). What is it? That (country) of those what's-it? Another one. Of us people of the Dhu:wa moiety. The Maran^εu clan. That country is rayman^εgir. Also (the country) of Willy and the other man (his brother). The country of the people of the Dhuwal language. This what's-it?, the place luthunba. Inland Japu? clan territory. That is all.

TEXT B8 RITUAL MANAGERS (ZS) OF A CLAN

Speaker: Benjamin

1. wiripu-ya n^εunhi jambarpuy^{nε}u mala, yuru malt-dhu-n-- walal yuru
 other that (clan n.) Pl Fut follow (manage) they Fut
 malt-dhu-n, n^εa:ndi-?mirin^εu-w, balan^va nhakun-a, n^εanapuru-n^ε--
 follow mother like that like now of us(ExPl)
 nhawu-ku, du:n^vji-puy-n^εu n^εanapuru-n^ε n^εa:ndi-?mirin^εu
 of what's-it? people of Doindji (pl.n.) of us of M
 mala, bidin^εal-wu, ga wiripu-- nhawi n^εara yuru wan^εa-∅, ritharn^εu-kur,
 Pl of B. clan and other what's-it? I Fut speak in Ritharn^εu
 wiripu n^εara yuru malt-dhu-n, ga walal jambarpuy^{nε}u mala yuru malt-dhu-n,
 other I Fut follow and they (clan n.) Pl Fut follow
 nhawi, marakulu yuru malt-dhu-n, gumac-gu walala-m-bal,
 what's-it? (clan n.) Fut follow of G. clan of them
 dhuwala?-mir mala-n^εu-w, n^εa:ndi-?mirin^εu, ga walal japu
 having Dhuwala (language) of Pl M and they (clan n.)
 mala yuru malt-dhu-n, ga nhawu-ku, dhalwan^εu-w walala-m-bal matha-w,
 Pl Fut follow and of what's-it? of Dh. clan of them of clan
 ga bili-n dhuwal-i, yo! .
 and enough now! this all right!

Another one. The Jambarpuy^{nε}u clan will 'follow' (act as ritual managers for) their M (i.e. their mother's clan). Like that now. Of what's-it? The Doindji people (i.e. Mala-barcaray subclan of Madarpa clan), our mothers. (Also) of the Bidin^εal (Ritharn^εu) clan. What's-it? I will (=can) speak in the Ritharn^εu language. I will follow (be manager for) another. The people of Jambarpuy^{nε}u clan will 'follow' what's-it? The Marakulu people will 'follow' the men of the Gumac clan, who speak the Dhuwala language. (They will follow) their mother(s). The Japu? people will also follow (Gumac people). (The Japu? will follow) also what's-it?, the Dhalwan^εu clan. That is all.

Note: In a few forms it is difficult to tell whether a genitive-dative suffix -w is present or not when a noun (du:n^vji-puy-n^εu, n^εa:ndi-?mirin^εu) already ends in the vowel u.

The term matha 'clan' in the penultimate line designates a social unit which, in theory, has its own dialect as well as a particular estate (set of localities) and ritual knowledge; most of the clan names mentioned in these texts are examples of a matha. Some matha number hundreds of individuals, though some others are virtually extinct. Smaller units of perhaps twenty-five persons originally functioned as closely-knit groups in daily life, but in abstract commentaries it is the matha groups (clans) which are stressed by Aborigines and there is often no precise terminology for the smaller units.

The office of ritual 'manager' for the men of a given clan is performed by men in the ZS relationship to that clan; thus a man is 'manager' to the men of his mother's clan. Managers have important duties in ritual preparation (e.g., putting the totemic designs in the form of clay paint on the bodies of the ritual 'owners'), punishing transgressions, etc. The verb malt-dhu- 'to follow, to go with' is used, as in this text, to describe this managerial relationship.

TEXT B9 SONGS GO FROM INLAND TO COAST

Speaker: Benjamin

1. n^εunhi walal yuru, wiripu-ya manikay n^εanapur yuru nhawu-thu-n,
 that they Fut other song we(ExPl) Fut who now?
 marakulu?-yú ga jambarpuy^{nε}u-yú ga japu-yú, man^εan-n^εur n^εanapur
 (clan n.) and (clan n.) and (clan n.) from cloud we(ExPl)
 yuru wut-dhu-n, n^εunha-la-mi mak ran^εi-n^εur n^εanapur yuru n^εurka-m
 Fut hit that maybe at beach we(ExPl) Fut throw
 warpam?-dhu yan, n^εunhi lurkun?-dhu manikay-yu,
 by means of whole lot only that by means of several by means of song
 jambarpuy^{nε}u-yú ga dhudi-japu-- nhawu-thu japu-yú ga marakulu-y?
 (clan n.) and inland J. clan what's-it? (clan n.) and (clan n.)
 lin^vgun, ga bili-n dhuwal-i, yo! .
 enough! and enough now! this all right!

They will--(or rather) we will (perform) other songs. What's-it? People of the Marakulu?, Jambarpuy^{nε}u, and Japu? clans (all of Dhu:wa moiety). From (inland) clouds we will sing ('hit') the song cycle. (At last), maybe down there on the coast (at the beach) we will finish ('throw') it, the whole lot, the (sequence of) several songs. People of Jambarpuy^{nε}u, inland Japu?, and what's-it?, the Japu? and Marakulu clans. That is all.

Note: In giving a series of nouns in a list, a speaker may put high rising pitch on the last syllable of all nouns but the last. This is the case in the lists of clan names in lines 2 and 5 of this text (hence phonetically marakulu?-yú, etc.). It is notable that the ergative suffix -yu in these forms takes its full (syllabic) form in conjunction with such high rising pitch, and does not reduce to -y as it normally does with nouns ending in vowels (or vowel plus ?). Thus in line 2 we would normally expect marakulu-y? (see end of line 5), jambarpuy^{nε}u-y, and japu-y (or rather japu-y?). In the list of line 2, even the last of the series (japu-yú) shows the full suffixal allomorph and high rising pitch, perhaps because when this item was uttered the speaker was not sure that it would be the last item in the list. On the other hand, in the list of line 5 the final item (marakulu-y?) lacks high rising pitch, shows the regular suffixal allomorph, and is followed without a pause by lin^vgun 'enough!', which terminates the list.

Lengthy song cycles, which may take hours to perform under normal conditions, are thought of as having a geographical trajectory from a starting point to an end point, here from some inland place to the sea. Song texts are highly elliptical, often consisting primarily of song epithets for a particular totemic animal, and often use archaic and esoteric language. Often a song cycle involves seven or eight identifiable subsections, each commemorating a totemic animal or some dreamtime event. There is usually a standard sequencing of these subsections, hence the notion of a linear ordering, but in actual performances the order is fairly fluid and backtracking is quite common. I have recorded quite a bit of this public singing and am preparing transcriptions of the material.

PART THREE: SHORT ELICITED UTTERANCES

Utterances by Roy, Jambarpuyⁿ clan-dialect. This material is recorded on Heath field tape 54, which corresponds to the end of AIAS archive tape 4812. Some material on the tape is omitted here. Items preceded by asterisks were obtained and transcribed during the same session but were not recorded.

1. lawu-n^{al} n^{ara-n} n^{ayi} watu-y, bu-mar n^{ara-n} n^{ayi}.
bite-Past I-Acc it dog-Erg hit-Past me-Acc it
'The dog bit me, it hit (hurt) me.'
2. yaka bala marc-i n^{ayi} thu nhu-na balan^s ba:pi-y lawu-n^s.
not that way go-Fut/Imper it Fut you-Acc lest snake-Erg bite-Fut/Imper
'Don't go that way, lest the snake bite you!'
3. yawungu nⁱ⁻ⁿ ra bu-mar.
yesterday he-Acc I hit-Past 'Yesterday I hit (killed) him.'
4. bu-ma yan walala-n^y ga bica-n bili-n^y.
hit-Pres/Fut only they-Acc Pres do thus-Pres/Fut enough!-Abs
'He constantly hit (kills) them.'
5. bu-ma nⁱ⁻ⁿ ka watu-y-n^y ja.
hit-Pres/Fut he-Acc Pres dog-Erg-Abs 'The dog is hitting him.'
6. gudar? nⁱ⁻ⁿ dhuwal bulu bu-ma mak, watu-y-n^y ja.
tomorrow he-Acc this again hit-Pres/Fut maybe dog-Erg-Abs
'Tomorrow it (dog) might hit (hurt) him again, the dog might.'
- *7. marci-na-n n^{ayi}.
go-Past-now he 'He has (just) left; He left then.'
- *8. nha:-kur nhi: thu marci- \emptyset -n.
what?-Per you(Sg) Fut go-Pres/Fut-now 'Where are you going now?'
- *9. bala n^{ara} thu marci- \emptyset buluwunu-lil.
that way I Fut go-Pres/Fut north wind-All 'I will go that way, north.'
- *10. ja:ca-lil n^{ara} marci- \emptyset thu.
kangaroo-All I go-Pres/Fut Fut 'I will go to (=hunting for) kangaroos.'
- *11. nhi:na-n n^{ayi} kan.
sit-Past he Dur 'He used to sit (live) there.'
12. nhi:na- \emptyset n^{ali} ka, n^{ali} manda ka nhi:na- \emptyset .
sit-Pres/Fut we(InDu) Pres two 'You and I sit.'
13. limur ka nhi:na- \emptyset dhiya-l, nⁱ?
we(InPl) Pres sit-Pres/Fut here yes/no?
'We are all sitting here, aren't we?'
14. nhi:-n dhu marci- \emptyset , n^{alin} u-n dhu dhiya-l manda nhi:na- \emptyset .
you-now Fut go-Pres/Fut we(ExDu)-now Fut here two sit-Pres/Fut
'You will go now, (while) us two will stay here.'
(Note: -n 'now' possibly mistranscribed for Absolute -n^y, i.e. 'as for___', but either suffix is possible in this context.)
15. nhakun dhuwa-nja, gunda yan.
like this-Abs stone only
'(That one) is like this one, still a stone (i.e. both are stones).'
16. n^{upa-r} nhu-na n^{ayi} mulpiya-y?.
chase-Past you-Acc it wallaby-Erg 'The wallaby chased you.'
17. gudar? nⁱ⁻ⁿ ra n^{upa-n} mulpiya-n^y?.
tomorrow it-Acc Fut I chase-Pres/Fut wallaby-Acc
'Tomorrow I will chase (hunt for) wallabies.'

18. n^{unhi} watu-y nⁱ⁻ⁿ ka n^{upa-n} ya?.
that dog-Erg he-Acc Pres chase-Pres/Fut look!
'There look! The dog is chasing that (man).'
19. nha:-ku nhi: nhi:na-na-n^y, balan^s nⁱ⁻ⁿ nhi: n^{upa-na}
what?-Gen/Dat you sit-Past-Abs ought it-Acc you chase-PastRem
n^{unhi-yi}, mulpiya?-nha-n^y. 'Why did you (just) sit? You ought
that wallaby-Acc-Abs to have chased that wallaby.'
20. gudar? nhi: nⁱ⁻ⁿ thu n^{upa-n}-ja.
tomorrow you(Sg) it-Acc Fut chase-Pres/Fut-Abs 'Tomorrow you will chase it.'
21. dharpu-n^{al} nⁱ⁻ⁿ ra wa:yin-nha n^{unhi}.
spear-Past it-Acc I game-Acc that 'I speared that (game) animal.'
22. bica-n bili ra ka wa:yin barc-u-n yan.
do thus-Pres/Fut enough! I Pres game throw spear-Augment-Pres/Fut only
'I frequently (try to) spear game animals.'
23. gudar? n^{ara} nⁱ⁻ⁿ thu dharpu-ma-n^y.
tomorrow I it-Acc Fut spear-Pres/Fut-Abs 'Tomorrow I will spear it.'
(Note: Repeated by informant on tape with thu preceding rather than following nⁱ⁻ⁿ, hence gudar? n^{ara} thu nⁱ⁻ⁿ dharpu-ma-n^y.)
24. dharpu-n^s nⁱ⁻ⁿ mulpiya-n^y?
spear-Fut/Imper it-Acc wallaby-Acc 'Spear the wallaby!'
25. ba:yn^{eu} nⁱ⁻ⁿ ra dharpu-n^{al}.
not it-Acc I spear-Past 'I did not spear it (at all).'
26. wandi-r n^{ayi} ka ya?.
run-Pres/Fut he Pres look! 'Look there! He is running.'
27. wandi-r nhi:-n^y bala-n ma?.
run-Fut/Imper you-Abs that way-now go on! 'Go on, run that way!'
28. barku lacwar-yu-r-a dhuwal n^{a:paki}
far away stay apart-Augment-Fut/Imper-now this white man
nhi:na- \emptyset ka ya? 'Stay away! The white man is sitting here.'
sit-Pres/Fut Pres look!
29. wut-dhu-r nⁱ⁻ⁿ ma?.
hit-Augment-Fut/Imper he-Acc go on! 'Go on, hit (kill) him!'
30. yaka nⁱ⁻ⁿ thu ra wut-dhu-n-ja
not he-Acc Fut I hit-Augment-Pres/Fut-Abs 'I will not hit him.'
31. yawungu nⁱ⁻ⁿ ra wut-dhu-r.
yesterday he-Acc I hit-Augment-Past 'Yesterday I hit him.'
32. dhuwal ra-n^y n^{ayi} wut-dhu-r-nja wana.
this I-Acc he hit-Augment-Past-Abs arm 'He hit me here, in the arm.'
33. ba:yn^{eu} n^{ara-n} n^{ayi} wut-dhu-r.
not I-Acc he hit-Augment-Past 'He did not hit me.'
34. nhi: marc-i, n^{ayi} balan^s nhu-na wut-dhu-r-a.
you go-Fut/Imper he lest you-Acc hit-Augment-Fut/Imper-now
'Go! Lest he hit (hurt) you.'
35. marci- \emptyset n^{ara} thu n^{arkula}-lil.
go-Pres/Fut I Fut river-All 'I will go to the river.'
36. run^{iyi}-na-n n^{ara}, n^{arkula}-n^{ur-n} ja
return-Past-now I river-Abl-Abs 'I have come back from the river.'
37. bulu nhi: run^{iyi}-r n^{arkula}-lil.
again you return-Fut/Imper river-All 'Go back again to the river!'
(Note: -r suffix here not very clear on tape)
38. yaka n^{ara} thu run^{iyi}-r.
not I Fut return-Pres/Fut 'I will not go back.'
(Note: Again the -r is a little indistinct on the tape)

39. nha:-tha nhi: run^{gi}yi-na-n^y.
when? you return-Past-Abs 'When did you come back?'
40. gudar?-nja n^{ga}ra thu numbulwar-lil-a run^{gi}yi-r.
tomorrow-Abs I Fut (place n.)-All-now return-Pres/Fut
'Tomorrow I will go back to Numbulwar.'
41. galkiri-n n^{ga}ra.
fall-Past I 'I fell down.'
42. yaka bala marc-i, balan^g nhi: thu galkiri-∅.
not that way go-Fut/Imper lest you Fut fall-Pres/Fut
'Don't go that way, lest you fall down.'
43. n^{ga}unha ya? miyalk manda ma:rma marci-∅ ka, n^{ga}alapa^l manda.
that look! female two two go-Pres/Fut Pres old woman two
'There look! Two women are coming--two old women.'
(Note: ma:rma? is the numeral 'two', manda is a Dual postnominal particle and/or 3Du pronoun.)
44. yu:thu manda-n^y da ma:rma? wut-dhu-r.
small two-Acc I(=ra) two hit-Augment-Past 'I hit two children.'
45. dilak-nha mala-n^y n^{ga}ra nha:-n^{ga}l.
old man-Acc Pl-Acc I see-Past 'I saw the old men.'
46. dilak-dhu n^{gi}-n^{ya} nha:-n^{ga}l.
old man-Erg he-Acc see-Past 'The old man saw him.'
47. marci-∅ n^{ga}ra-kal n^{ga}ayi yu:l-n^{gu} ra:li.
go-Pres/Fut I-All he person this way
'The man is coming this way, to me.'
48. n^{ga}ra-kala-n^{ga}ur n^{ga}ayi dhipu-n^{ga}ur marci-n.
I-(All)-Abl he from here go-Past 'He went away from here, from me.'
49. nhi:na-∅ yan n^{ga}ayi ka dhiya-l ban^yji.
sit-Pres/Fut only he Pres here behind 'He is still living back here.'
- *50. ma:lu? ra-ku marci-n.
father I-Gen/Dat go-Past 'My father went (away).'
- *51. wanha nhu-n^{gu} ma:lu?-mirin^{gu}-n^y.
where? you-Gen/Dat father-Kinship-Abs 'Where is your father?'
- *52. ma:lu? manda ra-ku ma:rma? marci-n.
father two I-Gen/Dat two go-Past 'My two fathers went.'
- *53. gudar? mak n^{gi}-n^{ya} thu ra n^{ga}a:-ma-n^y.
tomorrow maybe he-Acc Fut I hear-Pres/Fut-Abs 'I may hear him tomorrow.'
- *54. gurupu-l n^{gi}-n^{ya} n^{ga}atha jann^{ga}ar-thi-r n^{ga}ayi ka dhuwal-i.
give-Fut/Imper he-Acc food hungry-Inch-Pres/Fut he Pres this
'Give him some food; he is hungry.'
- *55. ya:c-i-na-n n^{ga}ayi.
bad-Inch-Past-now it 'It has become no good now.'
(Note: here -i- represents Inchoative -thi-.)
- *56. ya:c-gu-n^{ga}l n^{ga}ra.
bad-Factitive-Past I 'I made it no good; I ruined it.'
- *57. nharca-n nhuma manda ka dhuwal-i-n.
do what?-Pres/Fut you(Pl) two Pres this -now 'What are you two doing?'
(Note: In my original notes the first word was transcribed nhaca.)
- *58. dharpa n^{ga}ra ka dhuwal ja:ma-∅.
wood I Pres this work on-Pres/Fut 'I am working on (carving)
this piece of wood.'

- *59. wandi-n^{ya}-mara-n^{ga}l n^{gi}-n^{ya} n^{ga}ra.
run-(Augment)-Causative-Past it-Acc I 'I made it run fast.'
- *60. ma:rma manda bu-nha-mi-n.
two two hit-(Augment)-Refl/Recip-Past 'The two were fighting.'
- *61. wu gudar?-nja nhi: thu mu:-ma-n balan^g.
or tomorrow-Abs you Fut lost-Pres/Fut-now lest
'You might (=lest you) lose it tomorrow.'
(gudar?-nja emended from gudar?-ya in original notes; -ya is often the casual pronunciation of -nja or -n^yja; mu:-ma-n might be emended to mu:-ma-n^y with Absolute suffix instead of 'now' since I occasionally mistranscribed -n^y as -n.)
- *62. bica-n bili-n nhu-na ra ka, gurupa-n yan n^{ga}atha-n^y.
do thus-Pres/Fut enough!-now you-Acc I Pres give-Pres/Fut only food-Abs
'I regularly give you food.'
- *63. dhuwa-nja n^{ga}uru-k manda-n^g.
this-Abs that-Gen/Dat two-Gen/Dat 'This belongs to those two (men).'
- *64. nha:-n^{ga}l lin^{ya}ala-n^y n^{ga}ayi.
see-Past we(ExDu)-Acc he 'He saw us two (Exclusive).'
- *65. nha:-tha nhuma thu manda marci-∅-n.
when? you(Pl) Fut two go-Pres/Fut-now 'When will you two go?'
(Last suffix probably mistranscribed for Absolute -n^y.)
- *66. n^{ga}atha nhumala-n^g n^{ga}ra thu ga:-ma.
food you(Pl)-Gen/Dat I Fut carry-Pres/Fut 'I will bring you food.'
- *67. watu-y n^{ga}ra-kal nhu-na thu balan^g lawu-n^g.
dog-Erg/Inst I-All you-Acc Fut lest bite-Fut/Imper
'(Watch out,) lest my dog bite you.'
(Note: This is an example of the use of the Allative pronoun in genitive sense, modifying a noun in the Ergative case.)
- *68. n^{ga}atha n^{ga}ra ka luka-∅ ma:lu?-wun^g.
food I Pres eat-Pres/Fut father-Originative
'I eat food provided by (my) father.'
- *69. dharpa-n^{ga}ur n^{ga}al?-yu-n n^{ga}ayi ka ya?.
tree-Loc go up-Augment-Pres/Fut he Pres look!
'Look there! He is climbing the tree.'
(An example of -n^{ga}ur in locative, not ablative, sense.)
- *70. mulmu-kur n^{ga}ayi marci-∅ ba:pi.
grass-Per it go-Pres/Fut snake 'The snake goes through the grass.'
- *71. mak n^{ga}ra thu yaka-n run^{gi}yi-r.
maybe I Fut not-now return-Pres/Fut 'I might not go back.'
- *72. balan^g nhi:-n^y run^{gi}yi-n yan.
ought you-Abs return-Past only 'You should have gone back.'
(Note: Of interest as ex. of simple Past, not Past Remote, in 'ought to have' construction with particle balan^g, contrast item 19 above; however the present ex. has queried transcription in my notes.)
- *73. nhi:-n^y muk-dhu-r, balan^g nhu-na thu n^{ga}a:-ma.
you-Abs be silent-Augment-Fut/Imper lest you-Acc Fut hear-Pres/Fut
'You be quiet! Lest he hear you.'
- *74. nha:-kur-na nhi: thu marci-∅ dhiya-n^{gu}-n^y bala.
what?-Per-now you Fut go-Pres/Fut this-Gen/Dat-Abs that way
'Where are you going today?' ('today' = dhiya-n^{gu}-n^y bala).

- *75. wanha-l nhi: nhi:na-na-n^y.
where? you sit-Past-Abs 'Where did you sit (live)?'
- *76. wanha-l n^gayi ka dhiya-n^gu-n^y bala nhi:na-∅.
where? he Pres sit-Pres/Fut
'Where is he (sitting) today?' (Cf. item 74 above)
- *77. yaka nhi:n-i dhiya-l-i.
not sit-Fut/Imper here 'Don't sit here!'
- *78. ga:-n^gu n^gi-n^ya bala watu-n^y, balan^g n^gayi thu nhi:na-∅.
carry-Fut/Imper it-Acc that way dog-Abs lest it Fut sit-Pres/Fut
'Take the dog that way, lest it sit (here).'
(Note: This is one of many exx. where it is difficult to decide whether -n^y is Accusative or Absolute.)
79. n^guli balan^g da yawungu n^gi-n^ya maln^g?-mara-nha,
that ought I(=ra) yesterday he-Acc appear-Causative-PastRem
n^gara balan^g n^gi-n^ya bu-nha.
I ought he-Acc hit-PastRem
'If I had found him yesterday, I would have hurt (killed) him.'
80. ba:yn^gu n^gi-n^ya ra yawungu nha:-n^gal, ba:yn^gu n^gi-n^ya ra n^gatha gurupa-r.
not he-Acc I yesterday see-Past not he-Acc I food give-Past
'I did not see him yesterday, (so) I did not give him food.'
- *81. yu:l-nha nhi: wut-dhu-r-nja
who?-Acc you hit-Augment-Past-Abs 'Who did you hit (kill)?'
- *82. yu:l-nha nhi: thu nha:-ma gudar?-nja.
who?-Acc you Fut see-Pres/Fut tomorrow-Abs 'Who will you see tomorrow?'
- *83. yu:l-nha nhi: thu nha:-ma-n^y.
see-Pres/Fut-Abs 'Who will you see?'
- *84. nha:-tha nhi: n^gi-n^ya n^gupa-r-n^yja.
when? you he-Acc chase-Past-Abs 'When did you chase him?'
- *85. ba:yn^gu n^gi-n^ya thu n^gupa-n dhiya-n^g bala.
not he-Acc Fut chase-Pres/Fut this-Gen/Dat that way
'He cannot chase him today.' (cf. item 74 above)
- *86. n^gara-n^y dhuwal jann^gar-thi-na-n ba:yn^gu n^gara-ku n^gayi
I-Acc this hungry-Inch-Past-now not I-Gen/Dat he
gurupa-r n^gatha. 'I here am hungry; he did not give me any food.'
give-Past food
- *87. nhuma thu balan^g bu-nha-mi-r-a.
you(Pl) Fut ought hit-(Augment)-Refl/Recip-Pres/Fut-now
'You (Pl) should fight (later).'
- *88. nhu-n^gu-n^y n^gatha n^gay?.
you-Gen/Dat-Abs food here! 'Here! Some food for you.'
- *89. dhuwa-na nhu-n^gu-n^y n^gatha.
this-now you-Gen/Dat-Abs food 'Here is some food for you.'
- *90. n^gunha n^gayi ya?.
that he look! 'There he is!'
- *91. yawungu n^gayi marci-n hunting-lil, jann^gar-thi-r n^gayi ka.
yesterday he go-Past -All hungry-Inch-Pres/Fut he Pres
'He did not go hunting yesterday, (so) he is hungry.'

- *92. n^gara-ku n^gayi ba:pa-?mirin^gu-n^y dharpu-n^gal.
I-Gen/Dat he father-Kinship-Acc spear-Past 'He speared my father.'
93. n^gara nhu-na thu dharpu-m yalala dhuwal-i, bili ra-ku
I you-Acc Fut spear-Pres/Fut later this enough! I-Gen/Dat
nhi: ba:pa-?mirin^gu-n^y dharpu-n^gal.
you father-Kinship-Acc spear-Past
'I will spear you later, since you speared my father.'
94. yu:l-nha n^gara thu dharpu-ma-n^y, n^gunhi-yi ra-ku n^gayi
who?-Acc I Fut spear-Pres/Fut-Abs that I-Gen/Dat he
ba:pa-?mirin^gu-n^y dharpu-n^gal, n^gunhi-yi n^gara thu dharpu-ma-n^y
father-Kinship-Acc spear-Past that I Fut spear-Pres/Fut-Abs
n^gi-n^ya. 'Who will I spear? That one speared my father; that is
he-Acc the one I will spear.'
95. wana ra-n^y n^gayi dhuwal wut-dhu-r, dhuwal ra-ku mark-ja.
arm I-Acc he this hit-Augment-Past this I-Gen/Dat -Abs
'He hurt me here on (my) arm; here is the mark (scar).'
96. ba:y n^gayi thu run^giyi-r, yalala nhan-n^gu thu ra wan^ga-∅.
alone he Fut return-Pres/Fut later he-Gen/Dat Fut I speak-Pres/Fut
'Well, when he comes back, then (later) I will speak to him.'
97. n^gara nhu-n^gu ka ja:l-thi-r, nhi: thu marci-∅-n.
I you-Gen/Dat Pres want-Inch-Pres/Fut you Fut go-Pres/Fut-now
'I want you to go now.'
- *98. n^gara-pi ga:na thu marci-∅.
I-Emphatic alone Fut go-Pres/Fut 'I will go alone.'
- *99. n^gara-nha-wuy n^gayi bu-mar.
I-Acc-Emphatic he hit-Past 'He hit me.'
- *100. dhuwa-nja n^gara-ku-wuy.
this-Abs I-Gen/Dat-Emphatic 'This is mine.'
101. nha:-mir n^gara thu nhumala-n^y gurupa-n n^gatha-n^y.
how about? I Fut you(Pl)-Acc give-Pres/Fut food-Abs
'How about (if) I give you all some food?'
102. ma:lu?-mirin^gu-y n^gara-kal n^gayi n^gara-n^y ga:-n^gal, ba:yn^gu
father-Kinship-Erg I-All he I-Acc carry-Past not
n^ga:thil n^gara nha:-n^gal. 'My father took me (to my country); I
long ago I see-Past did not see it long ago.'
(Note: For n^gara-kal 'my' cf. item 67 above.)
103. milku-n^gal da-ku n^gayi, wa:n^ga.
show-Past I-Gen/Dat he country 'He showed me the country.'
- *104. nhi: marci-n ba:pa-?mirin^gu-wal n^gara-kala-n^gu-wal.
you you-Past father-Kinship-All I-(Augment)-All
'You went to my father?'
- *105. marci-n n^gayi n^gara-kal.
go-Past he I-All 'He came to me.'
- *106. marci-n n^gayi n^gara-kala-n^gur bunbu-n^gur.
go-Past he I-(Augment)-Abl house-Abl 'He went from my house.'

PART FOUR: DHUWAL-ENGLISH DICTIONARY

The alphabetical order used here is this:

a b d d d dh e g i j k l l m n n nh n^ε n^y o p r r t t th u w y

In alphabetizing, vowel length and glottal stop ? are disregarded. Thus if bawa, ba:wa?, and ba?wa were Dhuwal words, they would be adjacent entries.

In most entries there are either textual cross-references of the type M2.3.4 (line 4 of section 3 of text M2), or else an abbreviation of the type M (=Miyala) or W (=Wuyulwuy) which indicates from which informant the item was elicited. Abbreviations beginning with M, R, or U are of the Jam dialect, while W and B are of the Jap dialect, as explained earlier.

Class 5 thematizer -dhu- and its allomorphs are treated as part of the stem for purposes of alphabetization, so that lup-dhu- is placed after lu:pa even though lup-dhu- can occur in the root form (VRF) lup. In other cases, derivational suffixes are usually not treated as part of the root for alphabetization, except in frozen combinations like bak-mara- where the suffix (here Causative) is obligatory. When there is a simple and one or more complex forms, the latter are placed in the same entry as the former, except that compounds are listed separately.

Bound morphemes are listed here, often with a cross-reference of the type Gr 50 (i.e., page 50 of the grammatical sketch).

At the beginning of an entry, the = sign indicates phonological variants: a:nuk (=n^εa:nuk). Elsewhere = is used here to indicate synonyms or near-synonyms. Hence in the entry for a:nuk 'ghost' we find at the end: =wu:ray.

The transcriptions are, in general, based on careful pronunciations obtained in unrecorded elicitation sessions. In particular, many forms which lack final ? in the textual transcriptions are shown here with final ? because it was heard in the more careful pronunciation. This style is represented in Heath field tape #71 at the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies in Canberra; many of the lexical items shown here are found on that tape in careful pronunciation, often with a following particle like yan 'only' to make the final ? easier to hear.

Most citation forms begin with the transcribed item followed by an underlined word-class label such as N (noun), V5tr (transitive verb of class 5), or Part (particle). The formula VRF means 'verbal root form' (see grammar, p. 44). The abbreviation rdp means 'reduplicated'. Many Dhuwal words which function (in English terms) as adverbs ('tomorrow', 'far away', 'for a long time', etc.) show at least some nominal features; the borderline between noun and particle (uninflected word) is hazy.

This material is based on the texts along with some additional elicitation; it is not a complete dictionary. It can serve as a glossary for these texts and as a start toward a decent dictionary. Other fieldworkers who disagree with or have doubts about transcriptions or glosses are encouraged to emend and add to this material.

Most scientific terms for plants and animals are based on the taxonomic practices of Australian herbaria and museums around 1975-76.

∅ (zero)

-∅ Pres/Fut, class 1A/2 (Gr 40-41).

?

-?- Augment with some class 5 roots, especially based on kin terms (Gr 24).

[a, a:]

amuri (=n^εamuri) N father's father (creole). =ma:ri-?mun^εu.
a:nuk (=n^εa:nuk) N ghost, devil. M27.1.1. =wu:ray.
ay! Part oh! M9.3.1. Gr 51.

[b]

bachara? N pandanus mat. M11.8.4.
badac-u- V5tr to spear. M6.1.3, M6.2.2, M22.1.4(rdp), M22.2.5, B2.7.7(rdp), B2.8.3. Cf. barc-u-, dharpu-, dup-dhu-.
badar N jagged-leaved shrub, *Bossia bossiaeoides*. =diritiri.
badawili? N eucalypt sp. M.
ba:ka N shin, lower leg. Can symbolize true sibling relation. M8.5.3. Cf. rapari, balwak.
bakara N long-necked tortoise, *Chelodina* sp. M1.4.1, R3.6.3.
bak-mara- V6Atr (Caus) to break (long object). M11.8.1.
-bal Gen-Dat₂ suffix with pronoun (Gr 28).
bala that way. Gr 36.
bala-maralkur-?-yu- V5tr to call that one 'maralkur'. M2.1.5.
balan^ε Part lest. Gr 49.
balan^ε N one of the 8 subsections (ma:lk). Female form bilin^yjan?.
balan^εun^yar N that sort of thing. Jap dialect only. Gr 49 (s.v. balan^ya).
balan^ya N that sort of thing. Gr 49.
ba:lay away. Gr 49.
balcam?-dhu- V5tr to build (fire) in camp or oven. M1.3.1, M5.21.4, R2.8.2. VRF: balcam? M1.3.1, M5.7.5. Cf. mur-mara-.
ba:lkay N urine or similar foul liquid. M.
balwak N calf of leg (=rapari); seed pod of water lily. M12.1.2. Can be used to indicate full sibling relation. Cf. dhatam?.
balwur N cooked, ripe. Fact: balwur-ku-V6Btr to cook. M1.1.6.
balara? N 1) a wattle, *Acacia torulosa*. 2) man's genital cover (cf. jut). M14.3.3.
balga? N a tree, *Persoonia falcata*. =dangapa?, dhagiric.
balkar?-yu- V5intr to sneak up on (in warfare). M24.3.2.
balkbalk N tree sp. (*Sterculia* ?)
balwur N kurrajong tree, *Brachychiton paradoxum*; string (made from bark fibre of this tree). M5.8.3, M14.3.5, W9.2.4.
bal?-yu- V5tr to go get. R3.8.3.
baman, baman? N long time, long ago. M5.15.4, M16.8.6, M8.12.5, R2.1.1, B1.1.1. baman?-dhi R2.3.4.
baman?-mir B2.4.6. baman?-n^εu-wuy M5.3.1. Cf. n^εa:thil.
ba:marā N companion, friend. M17.7.3.
bambukuta, bambukuta? N corpse-handler in mortuary ritual. M8.6.1/2.
bamburun^ε?burun^ε N brain. M.
ba:n N unmolested, left alone. M5.11.2.
banguca N shark sp. M.
banami N broilga (bird). =gudurku, dan^εgulci. M.
banara? N flat, thinly-vegetated plain. M5.3.4.
bandak N woomera, spear-thrower. M2.19.5. Cf. galpu.
bandan^y N dry, dried up. Inch: bandan^y-dhi- V1Bintr W5.3.6.
banga N sister's child (creole), =waku.
banja N arm, forearm. M. =warca.
banumbir N morning star. M.
ban^εadican? N See ban^εidi.
ban^εidi N one of the 8 subsections (ma:lk). Female: ban^εadican?.
ban^yji back there; behind. Gr 49.
ba:pa N father. M2.5.4, U92-94, W2.2.1. ba:pa-?man^yji N father and child M23.8.1. For mu:kul ba:pa cf. mu:kul. Cf. ma:lu?.
ba:pi N (any) snake. M25.2.4, U2, B3.1.5.
ba:puru N agnatic group (clan, subclan, etc.). W2.1.1. Cf. matha.

ba:ra? N northwest wind (common in rainy season). M27.4.7/8.
Cf. gandhalir.

baraduka? N marine crocodile. M. =mandimir.

barakal? N tree used as spear shaft, Thespesia populnea. M. =mi:li.

ba:ran^ε N machete. M.

baran^εgal N agile wallaby, Macropus agilis. M.

baran^εin^v N leg (esp. of kangaroo). Cf. yutun^εgur. M5.12.3, M5.16.3.

barapiri N mullet-like fish. B1.4.7, M.

barawu N boat, ship. M23.3.4.

barcaray N paperbark tree, Melaleuca sp. M.

barc-u- V5tr to throw spear at. M8.10.4, R2.12.2, U22, W.
Recip: barc-u-n-mi- M8.1.4, W1.1.3.

barku N far away, distant. M3.11.4, M19.2.5, U28, W2.6.1, B1.4.2.
barku-puy M2.2.3, M2.7.2/3.
barku-kur M9.3.4. barku-mal M18.5.3.

barpa N rotten, stale. Cf. dulki.
Inch: barpa-thi- W3.3.1.

barukala? N paper bark (bark of any Melaleuca sp.). =gaya?. M1.2.6, M8.5.2.
barukala?-mir M14.6.2/3.

barwan? N skin; foreskin; bark of tree. M14.5.2, W3.4.1.
barwan?-miri-ya- V6Atr to hold out (foreskin). M18.5.2.
Cf. gula?, galn^εa.

barwandhara- V6Atr to strip off (tree bark). W3.2.1, W4.1.1.
Cf. barwan? (formation obscure).

bar?-yu- V5intr to be split, torn. M. Caus: bar?-mara- V6Atr to split down middle, to cut (carcass) from chest to belly. M5.9.1.

barala N sandbar. W.

barkbark-dhu- V5intr to sing (with tapsticks). W5.3.2.

barkuma N native cat. M26.7.2.

barn^ε? N bitter- or bad-tasting. Cf. dha:-parn^ε?.

barn^εgic N honey bee, Trigona sp. M.

barpu- V6Btr to pound (with stone). W9.2.1. Cf. gilin^ε-barpu-.

bat VRFtr to throw down. M1.1.7, M14.1.1., M5.7.4. Sometimes VRFintr to fall down. M5.20.3, R2.12.2.
Cf. n^εurka-, galkiri-.

bat VRFtr to get, to take. M1.1.2, M3.6.2, R2.5.1, W9.1.6, B5.2.5.
-batan^εu (=watan^εu) See Gr 27.

batba? N coral, coral shoal. R4.2.3.
batba?-mir R4.7.1.

bati N hook spear. B2.7.6, W1.1.6, W7.1.3. Distinct from gunjaran^ε.

batha- V3tr to burn; to heat or cook. M1.1.6, M14.5.5, R2.8.2, R3.7.1, W6.2.2, W8.1.8, B2.3.7. Cf. bulka?-batha-, nha:ra-.

ba:tharipa N Macassans (Indonesian navigators who used to hunt trepang). W1.2.5. ba:tharipa-mir W1.2.2.

bathi N ritual bag. M14.1.2.

bawala-mir N anything, anyone; without rule or restrictions. M7.2.1, M2.20.2, R2.4.6.

bawa?-mir N unwise, silly. B1.1.2.

bawan^ε N wild banana, Leichhardtia australis. M.

ba:y, bay?, bay?-na Part See Gr 49.

bayim?-dhu- V5tr to buy (loanword). R3.9.1 (rdp).

bayma back there, behind, some distance away. B3.3.1, M.

bayn^εa nha: all (together), everyone. M22.7.3.

ba:yn^εu N no, not, nothing, absent. Inch: ba:yn^εu-yi- M25.3.4, or ba:yn^εu-thi- W2.4.2. Cf. dhin^εga-.

baypinn^εa N Saratoga fish, Scleropages jardini. M1.1.7.

bi: N some distant place; because. Gr 36.

bica- V5intr (Fut/Imper biya-k, -ku-) to do thus; to say. M4.2.4, M5.3.5, R1.3.3, W2.8.9, B1.1.6. Recip: bica-n-mi- M13.4.5.

bidila? N liver. M. =n^εalthir.

bidi?-yu- V5tr to rub; to apply paint to. Refl/Recip: bidi?-yu-n-mi- M5.2.4, M27.2.8.

bi:kan^ε, bi:kan^ε? N fishhook. M1.6.4. =guripa. Vowel length unclear.

bi:la- V6Atr to dig (hole). M.

bili Part enough! Gr 49.
yan bili constantly (Gr 48).

bilin^vjan? N See balan^ε.

bil-yu- V5intr (wind) to blow. B1.1.4. VRF: bil B1.1.5.

bil?bil N conkerberry shrub, Carissa lanceolata. M.

bilpil-yu- V5intr (dawn) to break. M22.5.4. Cf. jadaw?-yu-.

bindar? N plant with edible tubers, Triglochin procera. M11.9.3.

bindha N rib. M. =midimidi.

binin^v N (finger-, toe-) nail. M. =dharir.

birin^vjalki N ghost. M27.3.2.

biriri?-yu- V5tr to braid (rope). W.

biriwiri N fish sp. W.

birka? See Gr 49.

birka?-yu- V5tr to search for; to think about, consider. M23.8.5.

birku? N long wooden club. M.

birkar?-yu- V5intr to call out 'birkar?' in yirica moiety ritual. M14.2.1. Cf. gunbur?-yu-.

biw?-yu- V5intr (wind) to whistle. Cf. wil-yu-.

biya-k(u-) Fut/Imper of bica-.

bu- V6tr (irreg.) to hit, kill, knock (off), injure. M1.1.5, M1.2.2, M1.6.5, M5.12.5, M12.5.1, R3.1.2, U1, W2.7.3. Recip: bu-nha-ra-mi- M6.1.1, bu-nha-mi- R7.4.5, B2.7.4.

bu:c N 1) ironwood, Erythropleum chlorostachys =maypin^v?. M. 2) bush, bushland (loanword). M11.1.1, B2.2.6.

bu:ca- V6Atr to build, make. M8.2.1, M25.1.3, M26.2.5. Cf. bunbu-, n^εaman^εama-yu-.

bucay?-mir N noncircumcising people to northwest. Also gurka-pucay?-mir. M27.5.1.

bu:ciwan^εgapunu- V6Bintr to hold finger over fire. M14.5.4/6.

budap-dhu- V5tr to go across. M5.21.1. VRF: budap. M.

buduka? N tree sp., Clerodendrum floribundum. W4.1.1, M.

bugulbugul N black cormorant (bird). R3.2.2. =judurku.

bu:kma- V2tr to create. W2.2.5, M.

bukmak N all. M23.7.5. bukmak-mir everyone. M26.7.1. Cf. warpam?.

bu:k-mara- V6Atr (Caus) to put (corpse) into log coffin. M.

buku N face, forehead; flat hill; prow of boat (W). M5.5.3, M26.5.4. Symbol of full mother-in-law relation: R5.1.3. Symbol of agnatic substance: W1.1.8, W2.1.1, W2.3.4, W2.5.1. Cf. bun?gumu (mother-in-law), n^εaraka (agnatic).

buku-dun^ε?-dhu- V5intr to have a headache. W4.1.3, M.

buku-lumbak-mara- V6Atr (Caus) to roll up or wrap up in paperbark. M8.6.2. VRF: buku-lumbak M11.5.1/2.

bulal N both; either of two possibilities. M2.15.2, M6.1.3. Rdp: bula?-bulal M2.12.5. Cf. ma:rma?, manda, dhuwur-.

bulka? N body hair; fur; feathers. R3.7.1, M.

bulka?-batha- V3tr to singe or scorch the fur of. M5.8.5. Cf. batha-.

bulmurk N palm, perhaps Ptychosperma. M.

bulna N slow, slowly. (Check transcription)

bulna?-yu- V5intr to be slow, to go slowly. Caus: bulna?-yu-n-mara- W2.8.7.

bu:l-nhara- V2intr (meat) to roast in oven. M1.8.6, M5.11.2.

bu:l?n^εu N shooting star. M.

bulu Part again, more, further. Gr 49.

bulucu? N moustache. M. bulucu?

buluwunu, bulunu N north wind. M26.4.4, B1.1.5. buluwunu-lil northward U9. Cf. dirmala.

bulan^v N one of the 8 subsections (ma:lk). Female form: bulan^vjan?. M2.8.1, M2.11.5.

bulpi? N water lily root corm. M, R3.1.2. Cf. guthun^ε, burpa?.

bulwan^ε?-dhu- V5tr to smash; to break (bone). VRF: bulwan^ε M5.20.1, R4.10.3.

bul?-yu- V5intr to play. =wakal-n^εura-.

bumbaru? N stone, rock. M5.2.5, M11.2.3, M23.8.3, W9.1.6. =gunda.

buna- V2intr to arrive, to make one's appearance to (someone-Dat). M1.5.4, M3.10.1, M23.6.4, R2.4.4, B1.3.5. VRF: bur.
 bunbun N yam, Vigna vexillata. M11.6.4.
 bu:ndi N See buwundi.
 bun?gumu N knee, kneecap. M8.5.3. Also used in expressions for full mother-in-law (mu:kul). Cf. ni:pal, man^guci.
 bunba N butterfly. M.
 bunbu N house, humpy. U106, M.
 bunbu- V6Btr to make, manufacture. M26.2.4, M26.3.2. Cf. bu:ca-, n^gaman^gama-yu-.
 bundaln^gu N back, lower back. M5.16.5, M5.22.5. Cf. dilci.
 bunic-u- V5tr to apply ampit sweat to (someone-Acc) in bestowal ritual. M16.3.5, M16.4.3. Cf. yinipi?-.
 bun^ggawa N boss, (rightful) owner. M7.1.2, M25.2.2. Cf. jun^ggaya.
 bun^ggul N song, corroboree. M13.1.1, M27.1.5. Cf. manikay.
 bun^yju- V5tr to be in (a kinship relation) to, to call (someone) a certain kin term. M2.6.3. Example: ba:pa ra-ku bun^yju-n^gara n^gi-n^ya I have him as father.
 buralan^g N one of the 8 subsections (ma:lk). Female: galiyan?. M2.11.1, M2.10.3.
 burkunun^g N women's dance in circumcision ritual. M13.4.1.
 bu:ruc N mosquito. M.
 burul?-yu- V5intr (rain) to fall. M.
 burunburun? N red-brown vine, Cassytha filiformis. M.
 burwuc N lung. M.
 bur VRFintr root form for buna-. M1.5.3, M1.9.4, R7.3.1, B1.5.3.
 buriric (M), buririca (B) N marine fish spp. B1.4.7.
 burpa? N root corm of small Nymphaea water lily. M12.1.1, M12.2.4, B3.2.5, B3.3.3. Cf. bulpi?, guthun^g.
 bu:rum N cooked, ripe. R4.13.1. Inch: bu:rum-dhi- R2.8.3, R4.12.5.
 burwu? N pollen. M. burwu?-mir having pollen. M.

buta? N good. M. Cf. n^gama-.
 but-dhu- V5intr to fly away. M. VRF: but M27.6.2.
 buturu N ear. M. =ma:kiri?.
 butuwa N excrement. W6.2.3. Cf. dhuri.
 buwayak N Inch: buwayak-dhi- V1Bintr to disappear. Fact: buwayak-gu- V6Btr to eliminate, destroy. M8.7.3, M11.8.4.
 buwundi, bu:ndi N quick, in hurry. M, R7.2.3, W2.6.5. Pronunciation buwundi clearest for W.
 buwundi?-yu- V5intr to hurry, to move fast. W2.8.9. Cf. waduca. Caus: buwundi?-yu-n-mara- W2.8.8.
 buyuwuyu? N healed (after injury), with scar. Inch: buyuwuyu?-yi- W5.3.1. Cf. man?da-thi-.
 buyu?-yu- V5tr to braid (rope, string) together, on thigh. W9.2.4.
 buyu-yukulul-mir N having songs of dhu:wa moiety. B6.1.3.

[d]

da, da-ku, etc. Form taken by ra (contraction of n^gara 'I, me') after some consonants. Gr 28-29.
 di:tun^g N buffalo. M. =gatapan^ga?.

[d]

dac VRFtr to cut, sever. M13.5.1. Cf. gulk-dhu-.
 dadakar?-yu- V5intr to make slight crunching noises while walking on twigs, dry leaves, etc. VRF: dadakar M5.6.3.
 dakawa? N crayfish. M1.1.6.
 dakul? N (modern) metal ax. M12.3.3, B2.2.2. Occasionally: traditional stone ax (M5.12.3), but this is properly jalpat.
 da:l N strong, firm, solid. Inch: da:l-thi- V1Bintr to be strong, be firm (keep promise); to perform snake ritual. M16.4.5, M16.5.6, M25.2.4. Fact: da:l-ku- V6Btr strengthen. M3.4.3.
 dalpam-dhi- V1Bintr to die. =dhin^gga-. Cf. ba:yn^gu-yi-.
 dal?-yu- V5tr to pound (nuts). M11.2.1. Cf. mun^g-dhu-.

da:mba N damper (bread). M11.6.1. Loanword.
 damurun^g N saltwater. W8.2.5.
 dangapa? (=dhangapa?) N tree sp., Persoonia falcata. W6.1.3. =dhagiric, balga?.
 dan^ggulci N brolga (bird). M. =banami, gudurku.
 dap-dhu- V5intr to come together to form ring or circle. Caus: ^{from 'y' 'v'} dap-mara- V6Atr to hold tight, to tie up. M14.3.5, M14.1.2, M8.6.4, R4.1.1, B3.1.6. VRF: dap R1.1.4, R7.4.2.
 dap! war cry. Cf. wa: dap.
 daramu N man, male. M3.5.4, M7.5.1, M8.10.5, M13.2.2, M16.2.2. Pl: daramu-wur W6.3.2. Fact: daramu-ya- V6Atr to make (someone) a man, to circumcize. M3.5.4, M14.4.2. Cf. yu:l-n^gu.
 dar?-yu- V5intr to sing (songs of dhu:wa moiety). M13.3.2 (rdp), B6.1.3. Can be shortened to dar?-u-. Cf. buyu-yukulul-mir.
 datam?, datam N See dhatam?.
 datgay-dharpu- V6Btr to spear (shoot, harpoon) dead. W.
 daw? VRFtr to break off, knock down (tree). B2.5.6.
 dawalala? N yam, Ipomoea sp. M.
 dayka N See dhayka.
 daykun N sun. M. =walu.
 daymiri N hollow log coffin (yathi) for dhu:wa moiety. M8.9.4.
 day-yu- V5intr to be dry, cool. Caus: day-yu-n-mara-, day-mara- V6Atr to make dry, cool. M1.4.6, M1.9.1, M11.2.2.
 dikala? N swamp plant with edible tubers, Cartonema spp. M.
 diku N raw, unripe. M. Cf. dha:-diku-mir.
 dilak N old man. U45. =n^galalpal-mir.
 dilci N backbone, back; hill. M8.5.4, M5.3.5, B2.2.1. Cf. bundaln^gu. dilci-kur M23.4.5.
 dilci-n^gur M26.4.7.
 dilili N peewee (mudlark). M.
 dilkur N old, elder, ancestor. W7.1.6. Normally in Pl form

dilkuru-wur M8.8.3, M16.8.3, M23.2.2, W1.1.3, W1.2.5.
 dilmin^yin? N tree sp., Ganophyllum and/or Carallia. M.
 dimuru N east wind. M5.4.3.
 din?-dhu- V5tr to follow, pursue. R2.11.3, R7.3.2 (rdp). Cf. mungu-yu-.
 dipala N dead fella. M8.3.4. Loanword. Cf. dhin^gga-.
 dirgi VRFtr to hold foreskin of circumcision novice. M14.5.1.
 diritiri N jagged-leaved shrub, Bossia bossiaoides. M. =badar.
 dirmala N north to north-east wind. Cf. buluwunu, jalakan.
 dubal N leichhardt tree, Nauclea coadunata. M.
 dubuk-dhu- V5tr to sling (burden) over shoulder. VRF: dubuk M5.7.2. Cf. guruka-.
 duc VRFintr to go back, return. M3.10.2, M5.6.5, M23.3.1, R2.4.1. No corresponding inflected verb.
 dulki N rotten, stale. Inch: dulki-yi- V1Bintr W3.3.1. Cf. barpa.
 dulkun N ankle. M. =dun^guru.
 dumur N big. M15.1.3, M17.4.1, W2.8.2. dumuru- before case suffix. Inch: dumuru-yi- V1Bintr become big. M3.8.1, M16.7.5, M17.4.2. Cf. murukay.
 dun^g?-dhu- See buku-dun^g?-dhu-.
 dun^guru N ankle. M. =dulkun.
 dup-dhu- V5tr to throw (spear) at (someone-Dat). M5.6.2, M6.1.5. VRF: dup M5.19.6.
 dur-yu- V5intr (turtle) to be on surface of water. W. Caus: dur-yu-n-mara- V6Atr to cause (birds) to fly away. M.
 duwat-dhu- V5intr to climb (slope), to go uphill, to go up on shore. M5.2.6, R4.8.4, B3.3.6. VRF: duwat M5.13.4, M5.21.2, M27.2.3/4. Cf. n^gal?-yu-, walma-.
 duy VRFtr to throw down. M14.1.5.

[dh]

dha: N mouth. M.
 dha:-bapa-mir N having father. M.
 dha:-bapa-miriw N fatherless. M. Cf. ba:pa-, dha:-n^gandi-.

dha:-diku-mir N eating (food) raw. M27.2.5, M27.3.8.
 dha:-dhal?-yu- V5tr to enclose. VRF: dha:-dhal? M8.12.1. Cf. dhal?-yu-.

dhagiric N tree sp., Persoonia falcata. W6.1.4. =dangapa?.

dha:-guru- V6Bintr (woman) to have (man) as husband. Man is in Human All-Loc case. M2.16.4/5. Contains gu:ru-.

dhakal N cheekbone. M.
 dhalpi? N fan-palm, Livistona humilis. M. B2.2.2.

dhalara N king brown snake. B3.1.5.
 dhal?-yu- V5tr to enclose, to close (something) up. M8.12.1. Refl: dhal?-yu-n-mi- W5.1.3. Caus: dhal?-mara- W5.2.1.

dhambur N ground, sand. M25.3.6.
 dha:-miri-ya- V6Atr (Fact) to show (something) to (someone-Dat). M27.6.6.

dhamun N whiskers, beard. M. =dhawarak.

dhamunmun? N jawbone. M.
 dha:-mun?gu- V6Btr to destroy; to cover up. M8.7.3.

dhanda N ant mound. M1.8.1. =gundir.

dhandiwul N cotton tree, Cochlospermum fraseri. M.
 dhanga? (=dangapa?) N tree sp., Persoonia falcata. M, B2.2.6. =balga?, dhagiric.

dhanal-ku- V6Btr (Fact) to start up (fire). R2.8.1, R4.11.4.

dhanamak N beach. W8.2.5. =ran^{gi}.

dha:-n^{gi}andi-mir N having a mother (not orphaned). M. Same pattern as dha:-bapa-mir.

dha:-n^{gi}andi-miriw N motherless. M. Same pattern as dha:-bapa-miriw.

dhanan^{gi} N full, filled; abundant. M1.2.3, M8.11.5, R7.2.5. Inch: dhanan^{gi}-dhi- M1.2.4, M11.5.2.

dhanara? N flower. M.
 dhan^{gi}baw-u- V5intr to float. W8.2.6.

dhan^{gi}? N billygoat plum, Planchonia careya. M, B2.2.5.

dha:n^{gi}gu N flesh. M5.17.4, M5.23.3. Cf. wa:yin.

dhan^{gi}undu N shovel spear. W1.1.6. =murn^{gi}in^y.

dhan^{gi}un^y N story. W1.1.1. Cf. dha:wu.

dha:-par^{gi}? N empty-handed (e.g. warrior or hunter who has failed to make a kill). M22.9.1. Cf. barn^{gi}?.

dhapathun^{gi}? N shoe. B3.2.7/8.
 dhapathun^{gi}?-mir N B3.2.4.

dhapi? N circumcision novice; circumcision ritual. M11.5.2, M13.1.1, M14.1.4.

dha:ra- V2intr to stand; to stand motionless, stop; to stand in proper kinship relationship; to stand firm (fulfill promise to provide a wife for someone). M1.5.5, M5.4.4, M7.3.2, M20.1.2, M20.3.5, R2.11.4.

dharamu N upper leg bone. M8.5.3. Cf. makar.

dharan^{gi} N tree sp. B2.2.4.
 dharan^{gi}gul (B), dharan^{gi}gulk (M) N tree sp., perhaps Brachychiton diversifolium. B2.2.4.

dharwa N big group, multitude (of people, animals, etc.). M1.7.3, M5.4.1, M7.2.1/5, R7.2.3.
 dharwa-mir N M8.2.6.

dha:rak N spear shaft. M6.1.3, M11.8.1, M15.3.1. dha:rak-mir N M15.3.2.

dharar?-yu- V5intr to leave, flee; to get up and go. M. Caus: dharar?-yu-n-mara- V6Btr to put in motion, to cast (boat) off. W.

dharir N (finger, toe) nail. M. =binin^y.

dharpa N tree, wood, stick. M5.5.6, U58, B2.1.2.

dharpu- V6Btr to spear or stab. M5.6.3, M5.14.4, M8.1.4, M8.2.2, M15.3.2/3, M22.3.4, R2.7.4. VRF: git, jut. Recip: dharpu-nha-mi- M6.3.3, W5.1.1. Cf. barc-u-, badac-u-, dup-dhu-.

dha:ruk N word, speech. M. Cf. dha:wu.

dharwa N hip. M. =lami.

dharwir N vine whose leaves are made into n^{gi}an^ybak armbands, Flagellaria indica. M.
 dhar-yu- V5intr (rain) to fall. M. Cf. lika-.

dhatam? (=dhatam, datam?, datam) N seed pod of large Nymphaea water lily; this water lily; water lily foods generally. M12.1.1/2, M25.1.5, B2.6.5. Cf. burpa?, balwak, galiwur, dhiran^{gi}, etc.

dhawadac-gu- V6Btr (Fact) to err; to miss (target). M.

dhawal N country (a named place). M7.2.3, M26.2.1/2, W2.2.8, B3.4.5. Cf. wa:n^{gi}a. dhawal-watan^{gi} N owner of country. M26.3.1.

dhawal-guyan^{gi}a- V2tr to be born. M.
 dhawara N name. W2.4.2. Cf. ya:ku.

dhawarak N whiskers, beard. M. =dhamun. dhawarak-miri-yi- V1Bintr to start to grow beard. M21.3.3.

dha:-waran^{gi}ul N high tide. W8.2.3.

dhawar N string dillybag; dillybag used as spear cover. M5.2.2.

dhawar-mara- V6Atr (man) to beget a child. M2.6.1, and several exx. in M2.8 and M2.10. Cf. walkur-mara-.

dhawar?-yu- V5intr to be wiped out or finished off; to die out; to vanish. M5.23.2, M7.3.4, W2.6.2. Caus: dhawar?-mara- V6Atr to finish off. M24.3.3, W8.1.7, B5.3.7. VRF: dhawar?, dhawar. M8.5.5, M24.4.4, R3.5.1.

dhawat-dhu- V5intr to come up into the open (turtle rising to surface, goanna coming up out of burrow, man coming up out of water). R4.2.3, R4.3.3, B2.4.2. VRF: dhawat. R4.9.1, B1.3.3, B2.6.1. Cf. n^{gi}al?-yu-, walma-.

dhawilin^{gi} N noncircumcising people to northwest. M27.5.2. Cf. jalwucbuc, bucay?-mir.

dha:wu N word(s), speech, story. M3.1.1, M23.2.1, M26.5.5, W1.1.2, W9.2.7. Occasionally dha:wu? B2.1.1, M8.13.4. Cf. dhan^{gi}un^y.

dhayka N female, woman. M16.7.4. Pl: dhayka-wur M. Also dayka. Cf. miyalk, dhin^{gi}?.

dha:-yun^{gi}a N ignorant. M11.9.2. Cf. dhun^{gi}a.

-dhi 1) Definite suffix with demonstrative, Gr 35. 2) Inchoative (=thi), Gr 45.

dhilin^{gi}in^y N (woman's) breast; milk. M. Also used in expressions which indicate mother's clan, W2.8.2.

dhindi? N cane grass and toy spear made from it, Phragmites karka.

dhin^{gi}ga- V6Cintr to die. M3.3.4, M3.5.2, M8.2.4, M20.5.5. Fut/Imper dhin^{gi}gu-n^{gi}(u-). Cf. dalpam-dhi-, ba:yn^{gi}u-yi-. Cf. also mu:kuy.

dhi-pal to here. Gr 34.

dhipu-n^{gi}ur from here. Gr 34.

dhiran^{gi} (or possibly dhi:ran^{gi}) N root corm of small Nymphaea water lily. M12.1.3, R3.3.1. Cf. burpa?, etc.

dhiripi down low. M23.1.2.

dhirimbi? N small, harmless ray sp. M. =mithiri.

dhit VRFtr to grab (spear). B2.7.5.

dhiya- this (stem form of dhuwal in certain oblique cases). Gr 34.

dhiya-n^{gi} bala (dhiya-n^{gi}u-n bala, dhiya-n^{gi}u-n^y bala) today; nowadays. M6.3.3, W2.7.8, etc.

dhu Part Form of Future thu. Gr 46.

-dhu 1) Ergative-Instrumental, Gr 15. 2) class 5 thematizer, Gr 42.

dhudi N base, bottom, lowlands, coast, rear end, stern (of boat), root. M5.5.4, M12.1.3, M14.3.5. dhudi-lil M1.6.2. dhudi-n^{gi}ur M22.4.5.

dhudi-miri-ya- V6Atr (Fact) to make spear. M27.7.2. As compounding initial with clan terms: B6.1.9.

dhudipiri? N string belt worm around waist. M14.3.4. =raki?.

dhukar N track, footprint. R2.11.2.

dhu:ku? N crooked form of paperbark, Melaleuca leucadendron, found on old dunes. M.

dhulkin^yn^{gi}u, dhulkin^y?n^{gi}u N wild honey bee (Trigona) sp. M. =yarpan^y.

dhulku- V6Btr to cover. M5.10.5. Cf. gawuk-dhu-.

dhulmu N belly; 'belly' (concave part) of canoe. M, W8.1.2. Fact: dhulmu-ku- V6Btr to make belly, W8.2.1.

dhulmu-puy (indicating full M or MB

relationship), M2.9.2, M7.1.5.
=gulun.

dhulpa- V4tr to soak, to immerse in liquid. M, W3.4.2, W6.1.3.

dhulwu N riverine form of paperbark tree, Melaleuca leucadendron. W8.1.3.

dhumulu? N bloodwood tree, Eucalyptus polycarpa. M.

dhumumu? M quinine bush, Petalostigma pubescens. M.

dhumungur N HZDC, FZDDC and similar kinsmen (see Figure 2 following M2.4). M2.3.2, M16.3.1.

dhumungur-?-yu- V5tr to call (someone) 'dhumungur'. M7.5.1.

dhunara- V2intr to go down. W. Cf. yarup-dhu-.

dhungal N finger, toe. M. =n^εarambiya?. Cf. gu:n^ε.

dhunupa N straight; proper (conduct). M9.2.2, M2.14.3, M2.20.1, M24.2.5.

dhu:na? N yamstick, digging stick. M.

dhun^εa N ignorant; single, unmarried (man). B2.3.1, R5.2.2. Example: dhun^εa n^εara I don't know. Inch: dhun^εa-thi- V1Bintr to become ignorant. M11.9.2, W6.3.5. Opposite: marn^εgi. Cf. dha:-yun^εa.

dhu:n^εgu? N large, soft root corm (of deep-water water lily). M12.2.3. Cf. burpa?.

dhun^εgur-?-yu- V5tr to set (fires) in bush or grasslands, to clear brush off or as signal of approach, etc. M23.5.5, R3.5.3. VRF: dhun^εgur R1.1.3.

dhu:n^εin? N dugout canoe. M, B1.2.7. =naku?.

dhur VRFtr to present gift. M18.4.2. Cf. wi:ka-.

dhurara N hollow-log coffin, esp. of yirica moiety. M8.12.2. Cf. yathi, jalumbu.

dhuri, dhuri? N excrement; guts, bowels. M5.9.2, M5.22.2, W6.2.2.

dhuri yu:thu N intestines. Cf. buthuwa.

dhuri-mara- V6Atr to disembowel, to remove guts of. R3.7.2. Cf. ma:ra-.

dhuririn^εgic N shurb sp., probably Jacksonia dilatata. M.

dhururu-yu- V5intr to be in motion. W.

dhurkdhurk N heart (onomatopoeic). M. =n^εu:y.

dhurukul N paperbark shelter. M.

dhut VRFintr to sit down. M1.2.8, M1.8.9, R3.8.1, B5.2.8. Cf. stative nhi:na- to sit.

dhu:wa (or perhaps dhuwa) N one of the two exogamous patrilineal moieties. M8.9.4. Cf. yirica.

dhuwal this. For inflection: Gr 34.

dhuwal? N the Dhuwal language. Has regular nominal inflection.

dhuway N FZC, ZH, ZHZ, woman's H or HZ, etc. M13.1.3.

dhuway-?-yu- V5tr to call (someone) 'dhuway'. M2.7.4.

dhuwur-bulal, dhuwur-pulal in (either of) two ways. M2.11.3, M2.15.3. Cf. bulal.

[a]

ga Part 1) and, Gr 47, 49.
2) =ka, Present, Gr 46.

ga:- V6Dtr to carry. M5.13.3, M13.6.3, M16.3.3, M18.2.3, R1.3.2, W9.1.6, B5.4.6. Refl/Recip: ga:-nha-ra-mi- (M22.3.3), ga:-nha-mi- (regular for other speakers).

gacan N See gajak.

gacar-?-yu- V5tr to test, to try out, to taste. M11.3.4, W6.2.5.

gacbal-?-yu- V5intr to engage in an actual in-law relationship; to engage in avoidance behavior with in-laws. M10.3.4, M10.4.2, M16.4.6. VRF: gacbal? M10.2.3/4. Cf. gurul-?-yu-, rumaru?.

gacuy VRFintr to go. M5.17.4, M17.2.4. Cf. marci-.

gadanuk N spear shaft. M, W7.1.2, W9.1.3. Cf. larta, dha:rak, giln^ε?

ga:dan^y N fog. =wakulun^εgul?.

gadawulkul, gadawulkulk N burial platform. M8.2.1, M8.7.3.

gadawulkulk-miri-ya- V6Atr (Fact) to build platform. M8.2.3.

gadayka? N stringybark tree, Eucalyptus tetradonta. M5.5.5, W6.1.2, W7.1.6, B2.1.5.

gajak N one of the 8 subsections (ma:lk). Also gojok. Female: gucan, gacan. M2.8.2, M2.10.2, M2.8.6, M16.4.2.

-gal, -gala-, -gala-n^εu- Human Allative-Locative suffix, Gr 18.

galanin^εu N stern (hind end) of boat. M, W8.1.4. Cf. dhudi.

galan^yin? N cement made from sap of ironwood or cypress tree. M.

galay N man's wife or WB; BW; MMBDCm etc, M13,1,3.

galay-?-yu- V5tr to call (someone) 'galay'. M2.7.4.

gali? N far side, other side. M, B1.2.5. =laypa.

galiwur N edible stem of water lily, M12.1.2. Cf. dhatam?.

galiyan? N See buralan^ε.

galki N near, close by. M5.4.4, M5.18.4, R4.4.2. galki-puy M2.2.3. Inch: galki-thi- V1Bintr to become close, to approach. R7.4.2.

galkiri- V1Aintr to fall down. U41/42, M5.4.3, M5.20.1(rdp).

galku- V5tr to keep, to hold on to; to hold (as spouse); to wait for. M5.11.4, M2.15.3, M17.7.1, R1.1.3, R2.7.2, R7.2.2, W2.7.2, W3.1.3. Cf. garpi-, mulka-.

galn^εa N skin. M27.3.7. =gula?, barwan?.

galn^εalawur N ghost gum (whitebark) tree, E. papuana. M.

ga:ln^εbuy? N boy who has just killed his first large game animal. M8.10.1.

gal?n^εu, wal?n^εu Part indeed. Usually unstressed enclitic. M2.2.2, M2.7.2, M12.1.4, M16.3.2, M17.4.1, M24.4.5, W8.2.2.

galtha-?-n^εurka- V6Ctr to hold spear and woomera ready to strike. M5.6.1, M5.19.3. Cf. n^εurka-.

galpu N woomera, spearthrower. W9.2.7. Cf. bandak. galpu-mir M15.3.2.

ga:lura? N tree sp. M.

gal?-yu- N (kangaroo, etc.) to graze, to eat fodder. M5.5.2.

galu?-yu- V5tr to catch (water) in paperbark containers. M.

gam? VRF 1) to say. 2) to hop. M5.6.3/4. Glosses need checking.

gaman^yjan? N See gamaran^ε.

gamaran^ε N one of the 8 subsections (ma:lk). M2.10.5. Female: gaman^yjan?. M2.13.2.

gamarwa N type of cane grass. M. Cf. dhindi?.

ga:mbuma N ray sp. M.

gamin^yar N man's DC; ZSC, etc. M2.7.2, M14.4.4.

gamin^yar-?-yu- V5tr to call (someone) 'gamin^yar'. M2.16.4.

gamu N honey bee (Trigona) sp. and its honey. M, W9.1.2/5. Cf. guku.

gamunun^εgu? N white clay (used as paint). M5.2.3, M22.1.5. =gapan.

gan Part =kan, Durative. Gr 46.

ga:na N alone, by self, distinct. M5.12.4, M11.5.3, M13.2.1, R5.2.3, U98. ga:na-yi M12.4.2, M27.6.4.

gana-, ganatha- V3tr (irregular) to abandon, to leave behind. M3.12.4, M5.6.5, M5.15.2, M6.1.2, M8.7.4, M21.2.4, R6.2.4, B1.3.2. Gr 41.

ganatha- See preceding entry.

ganbukbuk N clover-like flower, Gomphrena sp. M.

ganda-n^εaraw?-mara- V6Atr (Caus) to break the leg of. M5.22.1. VRF: ganda-n^εaraw? M5.8.3.

gandar N point along the way (before end of journey). M23.5.1, R2.1.2. Normally in Loc form gandar-n^εur.

gandawu- V5intr to be (lying down) flat on surface. W. Caus: gandawu-n-mara- V6Atr to put down on or in something. W3.2.3, W9.1.3.

gandhalir N northwest wind (in rainy season). M27.4.7. =ba:ra?.

ganguri N long Dioscorea yam. M11.6.4. Cf. jalma.

ganji N jabiru bird. M26.5.3, R3.2.2.

=dhulmu. gulun-mir N having a belly; pregnant. M. gulun-buy N of the belly (i.e. true mother or mother's brother). M7.1.5, M20.5.1.

gulunbalkara N little pied cormorant bird. (Etymology: contains gulun-.)

gulun-buthalak N olive python. M.

gulwiri N palm sp. said to be common at the place mirnēaca, perhaps Corypha elata. M.

gumbu-V6Btr to take away from (someone-Acc). R6.1.1. Cf. jaw?-yu-. FAN tjeabju-

gumur N chest (body part); plain (topographic term). M27.6.5. Cf. miriki.

gumur-manapa-n-mi-V1intr (contains manapa- and Refl/Recip -mi-) to meet; to come together. M26.4.8.

gumur-nha-V6Dtr to see (cloud) from the plain. M27.4.6. Cf. nha:-.

gunana?-yi-V1Bintr (Inch) to become hard or solid. W9.1.7.

gunbur?-yu-V5intr to call out 'gunbur?' (ritual interjection of dhu:wa moiety). M14.2.2, B6.1.4. Cf. birkar?-yu-.

gundur-yu-V5intr (northwest wind) to hum or drone. M27.4.8.

gunga N pandanus tree, Pandanus spp. M.

gunjaranē N type of hook spear. M, W7.1.3. Cf. bati.

gunda N stone, rock. U15, B1.1.4. Cf. bumbaru?.

gundir N ant mound. M5.7.7, B2.1.4. =dhandā.

gunhir N gutta percha tree, Excaecaria agollacha. M. =wuduku.

gunē N finger(s), hand. B2.5.3. Cf. dhungal, nēarambiya?.

-gunē, -gunēu- Originative suffix, 'product of ___'. Gr 17.

gunē-gal?-yu-V5 to be the proper owner of (clan territory). W2.8.1(rdp). Transitivity unclear.

gunēga?-yu-V5tr to help. W2.6.5.

-gunēu- See -gunē.

gunēuru? N woollybutt tree, E. miniata. M, W6.1.5, B2.1.5.

gunē-uripu N ten ('hand-other'). M11.4.2. Cf. gu:nē, wiripu.

gu:nē-yuwalk-dhi-V1Bintr (Inch) to go looking (for something). W6.1.2.

gunyan N small mullet sp. M1.1.5.

gu:nvil? N meat for a change (after eating only other foods). M5.14.4. Cf. mi:rpāl?, wa:yin.

gu:njuy N beeswax. Cf. guku.

gunyul, gunyul? N shade. For form compare gunyul?-lil M1.2.5 with gunyul-lil M5.5.2. Also B5.2.8. Cf. gurnēan?, waraw?.

gupa N nape and adjacent area above shoulder; top. M5.15.2.

gupadal N for good, permanently. M22.10.6, M26.7.4.

gupa-nēara N neckbone (spine).

gu:pu N marine fish sp. M, B1.4.7.

guray VRFtr to give (something) to (someone-Dat). M1.9.4, R3.9.2. Cf. gurupa-.

guriri N short (time). M13.5.2.

guriri?-nēu N short. B5.1.6.

guriri-mar N short time. B4.1.6.

guriri-wulk-dhu-V5tr to wait short time (for someone-Dat). VRF: guriri-wulk M13.3.5, M13.4.4. Probably contains gulk-dhu-.

gurka N penis. M.

gurka-mara-V6Atr (contains ma:ra-) to disembowel (fish, animal). M1.3.3, M1.8.2. Rdp: gurka-mara?-mara- M1.3.2.

gurka-pucay?-mir N noncircumcising people. M27.5.1. =bucay?-mir.

gurka-wadaku N uncircumcised. M27.5.3.

gurkur N sinew; subsection (ma:lk). M2.19.5.

gurmuk sleep. M. (Not clear whether this is a VRF or N) Cf. yukura-.

gurmuk N circumcised man (especially if unmarried); boy old enough to be circumcised. M15.2.2.

gurnēan? N shady place, shade. M1.2.7, M22.9.3. =gunyul?, waraw?.

gu:ru-V6Bintr to hang down, to be suspended. M5.17.4(rdp). Cf. dha:-guru-.

gurucucur N whistling kite. M.

guruka-V6Ctr to carry on shoulder or back. M5.14.3, M5.20.5, M23.9.1, R1.2.3. Cf. dubuk.

gurumarci N magpie goose. R3.2.2. =gurumba.

gurumba N magpie goose. R3.4.3, B3.1.3/4. =gurumarci.

gurunē N FZDC, woman's son-in-law, etc. Reciprocal usually mu:kul (female) and maralkur (male), but these are sometimes also called gurunē (i.e. self-reciprocal). M2.1.3, M7.1.3, R5.1.4.

gurunē?-manvjji N M10.3.1.

gurunē?-dhu-V5tr to call (someone) 'gurunē'. M2.2.1. Cf. ra:li-kurunē?-dhu-.

gurupa-V4tr to give (something) to someone (Dative, Allative, or Accusative). Dative: M1.5.4, R1.3.3, R2.6.1, R2.9.3, R3.9.1 (all 3 Pl pronouns); M5.17.2, M20.1.5, R2.13.2 (human noun); M5.5.4/5 (1 Sg; idiomatic expression). Allative: M20.1.4. Accusative: M1.5.6/7, M1.9.7, M23.7.1/2, M24.2.1, R2.2.1, R2.10.1 (all 1 Pl pronoun); M3.7.2 (2 Pl); M3.2.2 (human noun); R3.9.4 (3 Pl); U54 and U80 (3 Sg). In sense: to bestow, M2.3.3. Recip: gurupa-n-mi- M3.3.1, gurupa-n-mi- M10.3.2. VRF: guray. Cf. wi:ka-, gatha-.

gurupu-V6Btr to give. W2.7.7/8. Cf. gurupa-.

gurur?-yu-V5intr to take a detour, to avoid (someone). M10.4.1/2. Cf. gacbal?-yu-.

gurutu N relative, kinsman (fairly close genealogically).

gurutu-mir N kisman. Cf. yu:l-nēu-watanēu.

gu:ra-V2intr to be shy, ashamed, nervous. B1.3.1.

gurak N prow (of boat).

gurak-miri-ya-V6Atr (Fact) to make prow (of boat). W8.1.4.

gurcal? N eucalypt sp. M.

gurilku-V6Btr to discuss, to talk about. M13.3.1.

guripa N fishhook. =bi:kanē.

gurtha N fire (campfire, oven, etc.). M5.7.5, R2.8.1, B2.3.6. Contrast wurk. Relevant verbs: balcam?-dhu-, dhunēgur?-yu-, dhanēal-ku-, nha:ra-, nēaw-mara-. Cf. next entry.

gurthac, gurtha(y) N alliance relation (agreement to deliver or exchange women as wives). M2.16.3, M2.17.1, M10.3.2.

gurtha-puy? N cycad nut. M11.3.4. Cf. nēathu.

guru?-yu-V5intr to grow up. W6.3.4.

V5tr to grow (something). W2.7.1. Loanword.

gutu? N kidney. M5.9.3.

gutgut N feather. M14.1.4.

gutha N younger brother (male or female Ego). M3.4.2, M13.2.1, M20.2.3. =yukuyuku.

guthara N ZDC, woman's DC, etc. M13.4.3, M16.3.4, B5.1.7.

guthunē N water lily root corm. R3.1.2, R3.3.1. Cf. bulpi?, burpa?, dhiranē.

guwar temporarily, for a while. R2.3.1, B3.3.4. Cf. nēathil.

guya N (any) fish. M1.1.2, W.

guyal?-yu-V5tr See gudhal?-yu-.

guyara-V2tr to remember, to think about. M16.2.4/6, M27.5.7, R6.1.3, W2.6.4, W6.3.6, B3.4.5, B4.2.7.

guyara? N stone spear. M5.19.6, M14.3.1, M23.5.2, W1.1.3. =wariman.

i

-i 1) Definite suffix with demonstratives (=dhi), Gr 35. 2) Fut/Imper suffix, classes 1 and 2, Gr 40-41.

j

-ja Absolute suffix, Gr 19.

ja:ca N kangaroo or wallaby (generic term). M5.1.4, R1.1.1, U10.

jadaw?-yu-V5intr to dawn. M13.5.2, M22.5.1. VRF: jadaw?, jadaw M1.6.1, M5.23.1, B1.5.5, B2.6.4. Cf. bilpil-yu-. Caus: jadaw?-mara-V6Atr to stay up until dawn. M13.5.1.

ja:l N wanting (something-Dat). M20.1.4, B3.2.5, B2.7.3. Inch: ja:l-thi- M8.8.3, U97, B3.2.4/6.

jalakan N northeast wind. M.
Cf. dirmala.
jalawu, jalagu N plant in streams
with edible tubers, Aponogeton
elongatus. M11.9.1, B3.3.4.
=n^{am}n^{am}?
jalkar N eye. M. =man^{uci}.
jalkar-wuy of the eye (i.e.
actual mother-in-law or her
brother). M. Cf. bun^{gumu}.
jalk-dhu- V5tr to throw down, to
throw away. M5.9.5, M12.1.4,
M26.2.1, M26.3/2/3, R4.12.4,
W9.2.7(rdp). Cf. n^{urka}-.
jalkiri N foot. M. =luku.
jalkurk N tree orchid; bloodroot
(Haemodorum sp.). (Both produce a
reddish dye used with baskets and
mats.) M.
jalma N round Dioscorea yam (must
be leached before eating). M11.6.4.
Cf. ganguri.
ja:ln^g N spinifex grass, Triodia
sp. M.
jalpat N stone ax. M12.3.1.
Cf. dakul?.
ja:l-thi- See ja:l.
jalumbu N hollow-log coffin (yathi)
of yirica moiety. M8.9.3. Cf.
daymiri.
jalwucbuc N noncircumcising people
to northwest. M27.5.1.
=dhawilin^{eu}, etc.
jama N child. Most often in Pl form
jama-wur children. M3.4.1, M3.6.4,
M5.14.2, M20.5.3. jama-dumur N
people of all ages. M22.7.3.
Cf. jamarkuli, yu:thu, yumurku.
ja:ma- V2tr to work on (object); to
perform (song, dance). M27.5.9,
U58, W1.2.6, B4.2.2.
jamandar N unidentified plant sp. M.
jamarkuli N children. M3.5.3,
R2.13.2, W2.7.7, B3.4.4. Cf.
jama, yu:thu, yumurku.
jamba N platform in tree. M5.12.4.
jambac-n^{eu} N hunter or harpooner.
R4.4.1. jambac-dumur N great
hunter. M. (Cf. mu:kar.)
jambac-miriw N bad hunter.
jambala N some. M1.8.4. =jumbala.
Loanword.

jambaw N tamarind tree. M.
janda N goanna sp. M, R3.6.2,
B2.3.4.
janda?-yu- V5intr to walk along. M.
jan?ba N banyan tree, Ficus virens.
M.
janbin^y N painted design on face.
janbin^y-mir N M27.3.8. Cf. wuypa.
jandil? N nail-tailed wallaby,
Onychogalea fraenata. M.
jann^{gar}-thi- V1Bintr (Inch) to be
hungry. R1.3.2, U54.
ja:pa? N late afternoon. M5.11.5.
Inch: ja:pa?-dhi- V1Bintr to be
or become late afternoon.
japuru N kangaroo sinew. M.
Cf. ralnⁱⁿ.
jarak N silver gull (bird). M26.2.3.
jaran^{eu} N horse; horse and rider.
M24.1.4. =yaraman. From jaran
jaran^y?-ju- V5tr to pull, to drag
along. M5.8.6, W8.2.2.
jark-dhu- V5tr to carve, sculpt.
M27.4.5, W8.1.7.
jarpi N crooked, not straight.
jarpi-jarpi N crooked(ly). M2.20.2.
Cf. dhunupa.
jarcar-yu- V5intr to move, to go in
motion. M5.15.1. VRF: jarcar
R4.5.3, R7.4.1.
jat-dhu- V5tr to chop down (tree).
W8.1.2, B2.2.3.
jaw?-yu- V5tr to take away (from
someone-Dat); to spend night.
M23.3.1/2, R6.1.1, B2.8.5. VRF:
jaw?, jaw M11.3.1, M14.5.2.
Cf. gumbu-.
jaykun^g, jaykun^g? N file snake,
Acrochordus javanicus, M1.3.6/7,
M1.5.5, M1.6.7, R3.6.2, B2.6.7,
B2.7.2.
ji:ci? N wound, sore (on body).
M, W5.1.3.
jilili N whistle duck. M.
jimbic N groin area. M5.8.6.
jim?-dhu- V5tr to strip off (bark).
M. Caus: jim?-mara- V6Atr to
strip off. M.
jimindi? N wire spear (with iron
points). M5.2.2, M5.7.4.
jinawa? N underwater; inside. M,
B5.2.3.

jin^gibat-dhu- V5intr to think about
(something-Dat). W8.2.4.
Loanword. Cf. gyan^{ga}-.
jip-dhu- V5tr to cause to sit up.
M. Caus: jip-mara- V6Atr to
cause to sit up. M8.10.5. VRF:
jip M5.2.1, M8.12.2, M14.1.1,
R2.7.1, R3.6.1. Cf. nhirpa-.
jirikay? N ritual chant. M,
W5.4.2. Cf. birkar?-yu-.
jirman^{ga}? N porcupine (echidna,
spiny anteater). B5.4.1.
jir?-yu- V5intr to go down.
VRF: jir? M5.13.4, M5.21.2,
R7.1.5. Cf. yarup-dhu-, yup-dhu-.
-ju- Variant of thematizer -dhu-,
Gr 42.
juc, jucuc VRFintr to go. R2.1.2.
Cf. marci-.
judap-dhu- V5intr to sneak up on
(someone-Dat). M18.1.6. VRF:
judap M5.4.4, M5.18.3.
judup VRFtr to enclose, to put
(something) inside. M8.11.3,
M11.2.4, W9.2.7.
judurku N black cormorant (bird).
R3.2.2. =bugulbugul.
jukarn^{eu} N brother (uncommon term).
Found only in Dyadic form:
jukarn^{eu}?-man^yji N two brothers.
Cf. wa:wa, yukuyuku.
juku?-nha- V6Dtr to aim (spear) at.
M5.6.2. Contains nha:-.
jukur N (solid) fat. M5.8.7,
M5.22.2.
jululu?-yu- V5tr to put (food) in
ground. M12.5.5.
julaymu? N cowtail ray. M.
jul^k-dhu- V5intr to rush away, to
go past. Caus: jul^k-mara- V6Atr
to go past (something). M. VRF:
jul^k M, R7.1.4.
ju:lu N cloth, clothes. M14.3.2.
jumbala N some, a few. M1.3.3.
Creole loanword. Also jambala.
jun^g?-dhu- V5intr (turtle) to make
a noise. R4.4.2. VRF: jun^g?
R4.3.1.
jun^ggaya N 'manager' in ritual.
(Relation of a man to the men of
his mother's clan.) M25.2.2,
M25.3.2. Cf. bun^ggawa.
jun^gun^y N subsection (=ma:lk);
kinship relations. M2.1.2,
M2.8.1, M2.14.1.
jupi? N tree sp., Antidesma
ghaesembilla. M.
jur-yu- V5tr to pour on or over
(someone-Accusative). W3.4.3/4.
Refl/Recip: jur-yu-n-mi- V1intr
to pour over oneself or each other.
W3.2.5.
juramu N war party. M22.4.2,
M23.6.1, R7.1.2.
jut VRFtr to spear. R1.2.1, R2.12.1.
Cf. dharpu-.
jut, jutjut N (man's) genital cover.
M14.3.6, M. Cf. balara?.
juy?-yu- V5tr to send away. M3.9.3,
M12.6.1. VRF: juy? R7.2.1.

[k]

-k Genitive-Dative suffix with
pronouns/demonstratives. Gr 28, 34.
ka Present tense particle; Durative
particle. Gr 46.
-kal, -kala-, -kala-n^{eu}- Human
Allative-Locative suffix with pronoun
or demonstrative. Gr 28, 34.
kan Part Durative. Gr 46.
kay Part See Gr 49.
-kiyin- See Gr 31.
-ku 1) Genitive-Dative suffix with
pronouns/demonstratives, Gr 28, 34.
2) -ku- Factitive suffix, Gr 45.
-kundic Collective suffix with
moiety terms, Gr 27.
-kun^g, -kun^{eu}- Originative suffix with
pronoun/demonstrative. Gr 28, 34.

[l]

-l 1) Ergative-Instrumental suffix
with kin terms, Gr 25. 2) Genitive-
Dative₂ in 1Sg n^gara-l in Jap
dialect, Gr 28. 2) Fut/Imper suffix
of verb class 4, Gr 42.
li Contraction of n^gali (1InDu).
-lil Allative suffix. Gr 18.
lili to here (Jap dialect). B4.2.5.
=ra:li (Jam dialect). Gr 36.
limur we (InPl). Gr 30.
lin^ygun Part enough! B1.1.4, B2.3.5.

lin^yu, lin^{ya}la- Contraction of n^gilin^yu (1ExDu pronoun).

1

lacwar-yu- V5intr to stay away or apart, to be isolated. U28.
lakara- V6Atr 1) to speak (words) to (someone-Dat). M3.1.1, M3.12.3, M8.13.3, M13.2.2, M26.1.5, M17.1.5 (song), W1.1.1. 2) to speak the name of, to call (by name). M19.1.1, W8.1.5, B2.1.7. Refl/Recip: lakara-nha-mi- V1intr to call each other. M19.2.2. Cf. wan^{ga}-.
lalawk-dhu- V5intr to have to go without a wife; to have to look elsewhere for a wife. R5.2.1.
la:luk N edible flesh from nut of pandanus (gunga), Pandanus ?spiralis. B2.2.2.
lambar N shoulder blade. M. =milipi?. Cf. mu:n. lambar-puy N of the shoulder (indicates actual father). M.
lambara N sister's child; wife's father. Creole loanword, cf. waku. M2.7.5, M10.4.3, M16.5.1.
lambara?-yu- V5tr to call (someone) 'lambara'. M10.4.4. VRF: lambara-? M10.4.4.
lami N hip. M5.6.2, M5.20.1. =dharwa.
lanapu? N cypress tree, Callitris sp. M, B2.1.8. =gangi?.
lan^gata N bamboo. M. Cf. gamarwa.
la:r N stone spearhead. M. Cf. guyara?.
larak-bu- V6Btr See gatha-larak-bu-
larakic N hollow tree, hollow log. M8.13.2. Cf. yathi, yidaki.
larani N wild apple, Syzygium suborbiculare (formerly Eugenia). B2.2.5.
lark VRFintr to set off, to get up and go. M1.5.2, M1.6.2, M1.7.4, etc.
lar?lar-yu- V5tr to cut up, to butcher (meat). M5.12.2, M5.22.3. Cf. mit-dhu-.
larta N spear (shaft). W1.1.5. Cf.

mundurk.
laru- V6Bintr to search or hunt for (something-Dat). M23.9.3, R4.5.2, R4.6.2, R4.9.4, B1.1.3. Cf. n^gupa-, birka?-yu-.
lawu- V6Btr to bite. U1/2. For lawu-
law?-yu- V5intr to get up and go. M22.10.3. Caus: law?-mara- V6Atr to raise, to bring up, lift. VRF: law? M23.9.1 (=law?-yu-); M1.2.6 and M5.20.5 (=law?-mara-). Cf. n^gal?-yu-.
la:-yark-mara- V6Atr (Caus) to feed out (rope). R4.4.4.
laypa N far side. M. laypa-n^gur on the other side. M. =gali?.
lika- V2intr (rain) to fall. M. Cf. n^yalk, dhar-yu-.
likan N elbow. M8.5.4. =nu:n^ggur.
lira N tooth; blade, tip (e.g. of spear). B2.8.2.
liran^gu (moving) in a circle. R4.6.2, R4.9.4.
lirawar? N honey bee (Trigona) sp. M.
litha- Vintr (class 3 or 4) to dry out. M. (Fut/Imper form not attested.) Caus: litha-n-mara- V6Atr to dry (something) out. M.
liw-yu- V5intr (small bush fires) to join into a ring or circle (around kangaroos, etc.). (Pronounced liw?-yu- by some speakers.) Caus: liw-yu-n-mara- or liw-mara- V6Atr to make a circle or ring of. R3.5.2. VRF: liw (=liw-mara-) R1.1.4.
liw?-yu- 1) V5intr to paddle (in canoe). R4.1.4, R4.2.1. 2) V5tr to set (fires) in circle. B2.3.5. Caus: liw?-yu-n-mara-, liw?-mara- V6Atr to make a circle around (something), to walk in a circular detour around (something). M8.11.2, M9.3.4. VRF: liw? (=liw?-mara-) M9.3.6. Cf. preceding entry.
liya N head. W2.6.4. Cf. mulkur.
liya-yup-dhu- V5intr (baby) to emerge from womb, to be born. M.
luka- V2tr to eat, drink, consume, smoke; to apply (paint). For latter gloss: M5.2.5, M22.1.6. Others: M1.4.6, M11.6.1, M17.3.2, R1.2.3,

R4.14.1, W4.1.2, W9.1.2, B1.4.8. Cf. n^yalu-.
luku N foot. M5.3.1, B5.2.4. =jalkiri. luku-y by foot. B1.5.2.
lul-dhu- V5 to play didjeridu. M. (Transitivity unclear.)
lumba-n^yiln^g?-dhu- V5intr to crouch (in canoe) ready to throw harpoon. W.
lun^gu N turtle/dugong harpoon. R4.1.3.
lu:pa N rubbish, filth. R5.2.8. Creole loanword. Cf. midiku.
lup-dhu- V5intr to bathe; to be immersed in water. M1.3.5, M1.8.7, R2.12.1(rdp), B1.4.1. VRF: lup B1.3.6, B1.2.6. Caus: lup-mara- V6Atr to immerse, soak. M11.2.5, W4.1.4, B1.2.7, B3.4.1.
lurja?-yu- V5tr to vomit. M.
lurkun? N several, a few, three. M4.8.2, M8.4.4, B4.1.2, B4.3.1/3.

III

-m- Augment in -m-bal, Gr 29-30.
 -m, -ma Present/Future suffix of class 6 verbs, Gr 43. Also in ganatha-m, Gr 41.
 ma? Part Hortative, Gr 50.
macakal N throat. M.
madakaric N dangerous, cheeky, harmful, violent. M. =mu:nuk.
madak-dhu- V5intr to sing (in ritual) with tapsticks (but no didjeridu). M.
madirin^y N southeast wind. M.
mak Part maybe; don't know. Gr 50.
makal N night. makal wiyin long night. M13.4.6. Cf. munhaku.
makar N (upper) leg. M. Also indicates a leg-like part of a ritual trench, M25.1.5. Cf. dharamu.
makarata N punishment ordeal (by spearing). M22.1.1, M22.2.2.
ma:kiri? N ear. M. =buthuru.
makur N spear with wood barbs. M, W7.1.5.
 -mal See Gr 37.
mala N group, mob. R7.2.7. Used as Pl postnoun, Gr 22.
mala-nhira- V4tr to set up (group of things). M. Cf. nhirpa-.
ma:lk N subsection (one of eight social categories); kinship relation. M2.8.1, M2.13.3, M2.1.1 (see comments after text M2.8). =jun^gun^y. Cf. wurumbulu, gurkur, garayal.
malkar N spear. R7.4.1. Cf. gara.
malt-dhu- V5intr to follow after (something-Dat); to act as ritual manager (jun^ggaya) for (men of mother's clan). B5.3.1, B8.1.1-6. Cf. n^gupa-, din?-dhu-.
ma:li N wooden club. M27.4.5. =rulpurulpu, wandala.
ma:lku? N black flying fox, Pteropus gouldii. M. Cf. warn^yu.
maln^g?-dhu- V5intr to appear, to make an appearance, to become visible, to be born. M3.1.3, M7.5.3, B2.5.1. Caus: maln^g?-mara- V6Atr to find, to cause to appear, (man or woman) to have a child. M2.3.1, M2.11.6, M2.12.1, M16.2.1, M20.3.1, U79, W5.1.5, B1.4.6, B5.4.3. Cf. walkur-mara-, dhawar-mara-.
ma:lu? N father, daddy. Slightly more familiar than ba:pa. M3.10.4, M8.10.3, B3.1.3, U50-52.
malurk N rain. M. =n^yalk.
maluya? N emu (flightless bird). R1.2.1.
malway N curved, not straight. W. Inch: malway-yi- V1Bintr to be curved; to deflect. W.
mamanbu? N large tree sp. M.
 ma:n- For ma:n-n^gu see ma:ra-, Gr 43.
manan^gi- V1Btr to steal. M22.5.2/3.
manan^gun^{ya}? N tree with large figs, Ficus racemosa. M.
manapa- V4tr to mix; to mix in, include. M. Cf. gumur-manapa-n-mi-.
man?da N healed; having scar (after injury heals). Inch: man?da-thi- V1Bintr M, W5.2.4. Cf. buyuwuyu?.
mandimir N marine crocodile. M. =baraduka?.
ma:ni N money. R2.5.3. Loanword.
manikay N songs, corroboree. M8.8.4, M13.3.3, M27.1.5, W5.3.2, B9.1.1. Cf. bun^ggul. manikay-mir N M8.10.2.
maniwuman^g N cane spear. M27.6.4. =dhindi?.

man?jar N branch with leaves.

M27.2.6, M27.3.7, B1.3.5, B1.5.6.

ma:na N small shark sp. B1.4.6.

manda 1) Dual postnoun, Gr 22.

2) 3Du pronoun, Gr 30. Cf. bulal.

man^εan N cloud. B9.1.2. Cf. wulma, gapalal.

man^εgu? N blood. M. =gulan^ε.

man^εuci N eye. M10.1.5, W3.2.4.

man^εuci-wuy N of the eye (i.e.

actual mother-in-law or her

brother). M. Cf. jalkar.

-?man^vji Dyadic suffix with kin terms, Gr 24.

man^vmak Part all right! M5.1.1/4, M26.5.3, R6.1.6.

mapa- V4tr to put or stuff (something) into (something-Allative). M5.22.2. Cf. judup.

ma:r Part See Gr 50.

mara N head hair. M.

ma:ra- V6Atr (Fut/Imper ma:ra-n^ε or irregular ma:n-n^ε) to get, take, pick up, acquire; (woman or man) to have a child. M1.2.1, M2.5.1, M2.15.4, M8.3.1, W1.1.8, B3.2.5. VRF: bat. Compounds: gurka-mara-, dhawar-mara-, yu:thu-mara-.

maraca N BSC, (man's) SC. M8.4.2. Often replaced by guthara.

mara-guyara?-mir N having stone spearhead (guyara?) in hair. M.

marci- V1Aintr to go. M1.1.1, R1.1.1, W2.6.3, B1.3.3, etc. As Durative auxiliary, Gr 46.

VRF: juc, gacuy. Cf. lark.

markap-mir N sorry! M.

ma:rma? N two. R4.8.2, R7.2.1,

U43/44, B4.3.3. Cf. manda,

bulal.

marwada N marine fish sp. B1.4.6.

marwalk N tree sp. M, W6.1.2.

-mara- Causative suffix, Gr 44-45.

maralkur N MMBS, MMBS and similar kinsmen (male avoidance relatives).

Reciprocal: gurun^ε (and maralkur is sometimes replaced by gurun^ε).

Etymology: cf. mari, walkur.

M2.1.3, M2.4.2.

maralkur-?-yu- V5tr to call (someone) 'maralkur'. M2.1.2/3. Cf.

bala-maralkur-?-yu-.

maran^ε N actual or close (relative).

M16.3.2. maran^ε ra-ku my real

(kinship relation). Cf.

ninin^vn^ε.

maran^vjalk N small shark sp. M.

=wapiti.

marcmarc-u- V5intr to walk. M1.2.7.

VRF: marcmarc M1.2.7.

mari N fight, anger, violence.

M11.8.1, B2.7.3. mari-mir N

fighter. M3.7.1. Inch:

mari-miri-yi- V1Bintr to be in a

fight. R6.1.3. mari-muruw N

not fighting. M6.3.1. Cf. mirin^ε.

ma:ri N MMB, MM; also frequently used

(instead of ma:ri-?mun^ε) for FF,

FFZ. M3.1.2, M7.4.5, R5.1.3,

W2.2.3, W2.3.7.

ma:ri-?mun^ε N father's father

or his siblings. M8.1.4, M8.8.3.

marmurn^ε N wild cucumber, Cucumis

melo. M.

marn^εgi N knowing about (something-

Dat). B4.2.7. marn^εgi n^εara I know.

Inch: marn^εgi-thi- V1Bintr to learn

about (something-Dat). Cf. dhun^εa.

marpuy N sedge sp. M.

marwat N leaf of water lily. M12.2.1.

ma:t N soft material (frayed end of

kurrajong twig, etc.) used in

collecting and/or eating honey. B2.1.1.

matin^vjar N certain scrub wattles and similar shrubs. M.

matha N patrilineal clan (agnatic group) and its clan-dialect. B8.1.8.

mawuraki N whistling tree, Casuarina equisetifolia. M.

mayan^ε N neck. M5.10.1.

mayan^ε? N river, creek. M1.1.3,

M5.11.3, M5.21.2, B5.2.6. Cf.

n^εarkula?, wana. (Etymology:

probably same etymon as mayan^ε.)

maypin^v? N ironwood tree (=bu:c),

Erythroleum chlorostachys. M.

may?-yu- V5tr to throw. M27.7.7.

Cf. n^εurka-.

-mi 1) See Gr 37. 2) -mi- Refl/ Recip suffix, Gr 44.

miciya N boat, ship. B1.2.7,

B1.3.1. Cf. naku?.

midawar N cold season. M.

midiku N bad, no good; ritually

impure; (my) sister (term of

ostensible disrespect). M25.1.7,

B3.4.3. Pl: midiku-wur W2.7.6,

midiku-ru-n^ε M25.1.7 (the Sg can

be midiku-n^ε as well as midiku).

Cf. yapa, ya:c. Caus: midiku-

mara- V6Atr to ruin, destroy

M26.7.3.

midimidi N rib. M8.5.1. =bindha.

milak N notch in end of spear shaft

opposite blade end, into which the

hook of the woomera (spearthrower)

is inserted. W9.2.6.

milbutjun^ε? N tree sp. (Queensland

tar tree, wild cashew), Semecarpus

australiense.

milipa? N tree sp. (Cansjera or

Opilia). M, W3.1.1. =warpanin^va.

milkinin^εin? N eyebrow. M.

milku- V6Btr to show (something)

to (someone-Dat). U103.

milmara N promised (bestowed)

mother-in-law or WMM for a man.

M2.3.2/3, M7.1.1/6, R5.1.3. Cf.

mu:kul, buku.

milmicba N late afternoon. M,

W3.3.3. =ja:pa?.

milt-dhu- V5tr to sneak up on, to

cautiously approach. M23.6.2,

R7.2.2.

mi:li N tree sp., Thespesia

populnea. W7.1.6. =barakal?.

milipi? N shoulder blade. M.

=lambar. Cf. mu:n.

mi:mbu- (or mimbu-) V6Btr to lose.

M11.9.1. Cf. mu:-. ^{mi:mbu?}

mingu- V6Btr to hunt kangaroos.

M5.1.2.

minica N tree sp., Cathormion

umbellatum. M.

min^v?ji N painted design. M17.2.8.

mi:r N edge of water. M.

-mir, -miri Proprietative suffix

('having ___'), Gr 26. For

-na-mir, etc., see Gr 45-46. Cf.

also -mi- (-mi-r, etc.).

miri N scrub, bushes. M26.3.2,

M26.5.1. Cf. nuwur, ri:ca.

miriki N chest (body part). M.

=gumur.

-?mirin^ε Suffix used with kin terms,

Gr 24.

mi:rpal? N meat for a change (after

eating other foods for a long time).

M5.14.4, M5.17.5. =gu:n^vil?.

Cf. wa:yin.

miran^ε N tail. M5.10.5.

mirin^ε N fighter, warrior. M22.5.3,

M22.6.2. Cf. mari.

-miriw, -muruw Privative suffix

('without ___'). Gr 26.

mit-dhu- V5tr to cut up, carve (meat),

butcher (animal). M5.8.3, M5.22.1/2,

M14.4.4, R1.2.3(rdp), R2.12.2(rdp),

R4.11.4. VRF: mit M5.8.6. Cf.

gulk-dhu-, lar?lar-yu-.

mithiri N small, harmless ray sp.

M. =dhirimbi?.

miwuk-dhu- V5intr (northwest wind) to

blow strongly. M27.4.7. Cf. ba:ra?.

miyalk N girl; woman; female. M16.2.3,

R6.1.1, U43. Pl: miyalk-guru-wur

B4.1.2. Cf. dhayka.

miyapunu N green turtle, Chelonia

mydas. M, R4.1.2/3, R4.11.2, W8.2.3,

B1.1.3. miyapunu-mir N R4.11.3.

mu:- V6Dtr to lose. U61. Cf. mi:mbu-.

mugu-muguy? N dead person. M8.11.3.

Related to mu:kuy but formation

irregular. Cf. dhin^εga-.

muka Part indeed. Gr 50.

mukar N ghost. W.

mu:kar N successful or skillful

dugong harpooner. M. (Both gloss

and vowel length need checking.)

Cf. jambac-.

muk-dhu- V5intr to be silent. U73,

W6.3.6.

mu:kul N 1) MMB, mother-in-law, and

similar female avoidance relatives.

In this sense often mu:kul rumaru?.

Cf. garkaran^ε, murn^εaram?, buku,

bun?gumu, etc. mu:kul-?man^vji N

WM and DH pair. M2.2.2, M7.1.6,

M18.2.6, M2.5.3, M7.1.7, M19.2.2.

2) FZ and similar non-avoidance

female relatives. In this sense often mu:kul ya:na-n^gu, mu:kul ba:pa, or nowadays mu:kul auntie. M2.5.4, M11.1.3.
 mukumiln^gin^y?-mir N olive python, Liasis olivacea. M. =gulun-buthalak.
 mu:kuy N ghost, 'devil'. W, M27.7.5. =wu:ray. Cf. mugumuguy?
 mu:l N black, dark. M26.4.2, W8.2.2.
 mulirin^y? N cousin. (Gloss unclear; apparently a semi-kin term used around Yirrkala.) B3.4.5.
 mulka- V2tr to hold, keep, take charge of. M8.4.3, M14.2.6, M25.2.5, W2.2.1, W2.5.1, B5.2.3. Cf. galku-.
 mulmu N grass. U70, M13.5.3, B2.3.6.
 mulupinda? N tortoise sp. (smelly, moderately long neck). M, R3.6.3. Cf. bakara.
 mulkur N head, skull. M8.5.5, W4.1.3. Cf. liya.
 muln^gu?-yu- V5tr to swallow. M.
 mulpiya? N agile (sandy wallaby, Macropus agilis). U16-19. =baran^ggal.
 mulu-garpi- V4tr to tie up the arms of (someone-Accusative). M5.7.1.
 mumalkur N MMBW, WMM and similar female relatives. M2.2.2, M2.5.1, M7.1.1, R5.1.1. See note after M9.3. Etymology: mu:mu plus walkur.
 mu:mu N MFZ, FFW, and similar female relatives. M.
 munan^ga N white man. M23.1.1, W2.3.3. =n^ga:paki?
 munatha N earth, ground, dirt; pit or trench in ground. Occasionally munatha?. M5.11.2, M25.1.3, M25.3.6, B5.2.3.
 mungu-yu- V5tr to follow, pursue. M22.8.1/2. VRF: mungu M22.8.1. Cf. n^gupa-, din?-dhu-.
 munmun? N grass sp. whose roots are used in sucking honey, Alloteropsis semialata. M.
 mu:n N shoulder (at joint). M.
 mu:n-buy N of shoulder (i.e. true father or FZ). M. Cf. lambar.

mundurk N spear (shaft). W1.1.5. Cf. larta, gara.
 munguy N drizzle, light rain; little bits. M.
 mu:nuk N violent, dangerous (person); bitter-tasting, bad-tasting. M, M11.3.5. Cf. barn^g?.
 mu:nun^gu N killer; one who has killed a man. M8.2.2.
 -munha Occurs in nha:-munha how many? Cf. Gr 33.
 munha N See munhaku.
 munhaku N night. M6.3.2, M18.5.1, M24.3.2. Rarely munha M11.3.1.
 munhaku-mir N 'having night' (i.e. early morning before dawn), W3.3.3. Cf. makal, gudar?, and next entry.
 munhawu-thi- V1Bintr (Inch) to be or become night (munhaku). R4.14.1.
 mun^gaduku N rope. W.
 mun^g-dhu- V5tr to pound, beat. M11.2.3, W9.1.7. Cf. giln^g-mun^g-dhu-, dal?-yu-.
 mun^guy? Part constantly, for a long time. M5.11.4, M12.5.4, etc. Gr 50.
 mun^yjuc N green plum tree, Buchania obovata. M, B2.2.5.
 mur-mara- V6Atr to make fire. Cf. balcam?-dhu-, etc.
 murn^garam? N (full) mother-in-law. Strong term emphasizing avoidance relationship. =garkaran^g. Cf. mu:kul. M18.1.1, M18.5.2.
 murn^gin^y N shovel spear (has metal blade). M22.2.5, B2.7.5. =dhan^gundu.
 murn^yi? N small shrub with berries, Grewia retusifolia. M.
 murukay N big; full-grown, mature. M5.20.3, M15.3.1, W6.1.1. Inch: murukay-yi- V1Bintr M3.4.4, M14.2.4, M17.3.7. Fact: murukay-ya- V6Atr to make big. M3.4.4, W8.2.1. Cf. dumur, yindi.
 mu:ri N (my) father. Familiar term used around Yirrkala. B3.1.2. Cf. ba:pa, ma:lu?
 mur?mur-yu- V5intr to be sick. M. VRF: mur?mur W6.1.1. Cf. riri, ririk-dhu-.
 -muruw (=miriw) Privative suffix. Gr 26.

muthali N black duck. R3.1.3.
 muthi? N sandpaper-leaf fig, Ficus opposita. M.

[n]

-n, -n? 1) Accusative (Jap dialect), Gr 15-16. 2) Immediate suffix ('now'). 3) Past tense (-n) of classes 1, 2, and (for Jap dialect) 5. 4) Present/Future suffix of classes 3, 4, 5. 5) Augment -n- with verb classes 3, 4, 5.
 -na 1) Immediate suffix ('now'). 2) Accusative (uncommon allomorph), Gr 15-16. 3) Accusative in 2Sg pronoun nhu-na, Gr 28. 4) Past tense -na- for classes 1, 2, and (Jap dialect) 5. 5) PastRem suffix for classes 3, 4, 5. 6) Augment -na- in several verb classes.
 napur Contraction of n^ganapur (1ExPl pronoun), Gr 30.
 -nar PastRem suffix (Jap dialect).
 ninin^yn^gu N genuine; actual (kinsman). M16.3.1, M24.4.4, M27.5.3. Cf. maran^g.
 -nja Absolute suffix, Gr 19.

[nh]

-n, -n- Variant of Pres/Fut -n or augment -n- used in class 4 verb forms by Miyala, Gr 42.
 naku? N dugout canoe. R4.1.1, W8.1.1, B1.2.6/7, B3.4.2. =dhu:n^yin?. Cf. miciya. Inch: naku?-yi- V1Bintr to become canoe. W8.2.1.
 nan^g?-dhu- V5intr to sprint, run short distance rapidly. Cf. wandi-. VRF: nan^g? M22.2.2.
 nini?-yu- V5tr to sew (something) up. M5.10.1/2.
 ni:pal N knee. M. =bun?gumu.
 nithun^g N freshwater mangrove tree, Barringtonia acutangula. M.
 niwar? N billabong, pond. M.
 nu:n^ggur N elbow. M. =likan.
 nuwur N thick scrub or brush. M26.2.3. Cf. ri:ca.

[nh]

-nha 1) Accusative suffix, Gr 15. 2) PastRem suffix of classes 2 and 6. 3) Augment with classes 2 and 6.
 nha: N what? For inflection see Gr 33. n^gula nha: (or nha: n^gula) something; don't know what. Inch: nha:-thi- V1Bintr to do what? R7.3.1.
 nha:- V6Dtr to see. M3.10.1, M5.3.1, R1.1.1, B1.1.4. Refl/Recip: nha:-nha-mi- V1intr (usually pronounced nha:-nha-ra-mi- by Miyala) to see each other; to form exchange relationship. M2.17.1, M19.2.4. buku nha:-nha-ra-mi- to face each other. M9.4.4. Compound: juku?-nha-.
 nhakun Part like ___; for example; additionally. Gr 50.
 nhan-, nhanu- Forms of 3Sg pronoun n^gayi before case suffixes, Gr 28.
 nharca- V5intr to do what?; to do something (indefinite). M2.7.4, R4.8.2, R6.1.3, W2.7.4, B1.2.3.
 nha:ra- V2intr (fire) to burn or blaze; (object) to burn, to be on fire. M, R4.12.4, B2.5.3.
 nhawi, nhawu- N what's-it?, whatchamacallit? M1.1.4. Gr 34.
 nhi: you(Sg). Gr 28.
 nhi:na- V2intr to be sitting, to remain (sitting). M1.8.7, M9.1.5, B1.1.3, R3.8.2(rdp), W2.2.1, B2.5.4, B4.3.3 (rdp). Cf. dhut and next entry.
 nhirpa-, nhi:ra- V4tr to erect, to cause to sit up or stand. M5.3.1, M8.12.2, M8.13.2, M14.1.3, M14.3.2 ('to wear clothing'), R1.1.2, W8.1.8. VRF: jip. Cf. nhi:na-, mala-nhira-.
 nhirpara- V6Atr Variant form of preceding entry (attested once in an unpublished text by Miyala as Past nhirpara-n^gal).
 nhu-, nhu:- 2Sg pronoun forms, Gr 28.
 nhuma- V4tr to smell. M.
 nhuma, nhumala- Forms of 2Pl pronoun, Gr 30.
 nhu:piya N (actual) brother. Term used mainly of children. M17.2.4, M17.5.2. Cf. wa:wa, yukuyuku, jukarn^gu.

n^g

-n^g Present/Future suffix, class 6. Gr 43.
 n^{ga}:- V6Dtr (irregular paradigm, see Gr 44) to hear, to listen to. M5.14.1, M23.2.2, M26.4.1, U53. Cf. g^{ya}na-.
 n^{ga}di?-yu- V5intr to be displeased, dissatisfied. M.
 n^{ga}dup-dhu- V5intr to hold out one's hand (as though giving something). M22.7.1.
 n^{ga}ak-dhu- V5intr (dog) to bark. =ra?-yu-.
 -n^{ga} Past suffix, class 6. Gr 43.
 n^{ga}alan^{ga}? N any of several white gums (eucalypts). M, B2.1.7.
 n^{ga}ali, n^{ga}alicala- 1InDu pronoun, Gr 30.
 -n^{ga}ali your ___ (kin term). Gr 24.
 n^{ga}althir N liver. M5.9.2. =bidila?.
 n^{ga}al?-yu- V5intr to go up, to rise. M23.8.3, M27.2.9, U69, B5.1.4. Caus: n^{ga}al?-mara- V6Atr to raise, lift. M5.13.1(rdp), M5.15.2(rdp), R4.5.3. VFR: n^{ga}al? M8.4.1, R4.5.1. Cf. duwat-dhu-.
 n^{ga}:l N saliva. M.
 n^{ga}alapal N old woman. U43.
 n^{ga}alapal-mir N 'having old woman' (=old man). B3.3.2, R2.13.2. Cf. dilak.
 n^{ga}alip-dhu- V5intr to be immersed (in liquid), to bathe. M. =lup-dhu-.
 n^{ga}ama- See n^{ga}amakur.
 n^{ga}ama? N mother, mom. Slightly more familiar than n^{ga}:ndi. M3.10.4, B2.3.3, B3.1.2.
 n^{ga}amakur N good; healthy.
 n^{ga}amakuru?n^{ga}u N good. M12.3.3. Inch: n^{ga}ama-thi- V1Bintr to be or feel good. W4.1.5. Fact: n^{ga}ama-tha- V6Atr to do well; to make good, improve. M6.2.4/5. Cf. ya:c-, waln^{ga}.
 n^{ga}aman^{ga}ama-yu- V5tr to make, build. M26.2.3, M26.5.2, W1.2.4, W8.1.2. Cf. bu:ca-, bunbu-.

n^{ga}:min-mi- V1intr (Refl/Recip) to paint self up. M. Cf. bidi?-yu-.
 n^{ga}amuri N father's father. Creole loanword; see ma:ri-?mun^{ga}u. Also pronounced amuri.
 n^{ga}anapur we (ExPl). Gr 30.
 n^{ga}:na?-yu- V5intr to have no wife. M7.2.2/3.
 n^{ga}ana? N marble tree, *Owenia vernicosa*. M.
 n^{ga}:nar N tongue. M. =yamana.
 n^{ga}:ndi N mother. M3.3.5, M5.18.2, W2.2.4, B8.1.2. n^{ga}:ndi-?man^vji N mother and child. M9.1.3. Cf. n^{ga}ama?, gulun, dhilin^v.
 n^{ga}andu N buttocks. M. Cf. dhudi.
 n^{ga}:nuk N See a:nuk.
 n^{ga}an^vbak N armband made from leaf of dharwir vine. M14.1.2/3.
 n^{ga}apa N (upper) back; inland area, hills away from coast. M2.14.2. Expression to indicate actual MM or MMB relation: n^{ga}apa-lil nhanu-kal (child was carried) on his/her back. M16.3.4, M16.6.2.
 n^{ga}apa-gaya?-mir N having paperbark (gaya?) on one's back (i.e. carrying a child). M16.3.5.
 n^{ga}:paki? N white man. B2.3.1, B3.2.7, U28. =munan^{ga}.
 n^{ga}apipi? N mother's brother. M2.6.4, M22.2.1, W2.3.6. =gaykay, gawal.
 n^{ga}ara 1Sg pronoun. Gr 28.
 n^{ga}araw?-mara- V6Btr (Caus) See ganda-n^{ga}araw?-mara-.
 n^{ga}aric N one of the 8 subsections (ma:lk). Female form: n^{ga}arican?. M2.8.2, M2.12.4.
 n^{ga}arpiya N marine crayfish or similar crustacean. M.
 n^{ga}araka N bone; any hard, bone-like object. M8.5.1, R4.10.3, W3.2.2. Can also indicate agnatic identity: W2.2.2/8, W2.9.5. Cf. buku.
 n^{ga}arali? N tobacco. M23.7.1, R2.4.3. n^{ga}arali?-mir N R3.9.3.
 n^{ga}arambiya? N finger, toe; falling rain ('fingers' of rain). M. =dhungal. Cf. gu:n^g.
 n^{ga}arkula? N river. U35. =wana, mayan^g?

n^{ga}arn^{ga} N burrow (of animal). M, B2.4.3, B5.2.3.
 n^{ga}atili N red-winged black cockatoo. M.
 n^{ga}atha N food other than meat; vegetable foods. M1.5.6, R2.2.2, M25.1.6, B2.2.3.
 n^{ga}athi N mother's father and similar kinsmen. M3.8.2, M8.12.7.
 n^{ga}:athi- V1Aintr to cry out loud, to whine, to wail. M22.7.4, M26.1.2, B3.5.1. Recip: n^{ga}:athi-n^{va}-mi- V1intr to weep together. M22.7.4.
 n^{ga}athil Part for a while, briefly; then. Enclitic to preceding word. Gr 50.
 n^{ga}:thil N long time; long ago. M5.1.1, R2.4.2, W1.1.3, B3.4.7. Also n^{ga}:thil-n^{ga}u (W1.1.2) or n^{ga}:thili-n^{ga}u. n^{ga}:thili-n^{ga}-wuy N of long ago. M.
 n^{ga}athiwalkur N MMBWB (i.e. B of Ego's prospective WMM). W2.3.5. Etymology: n^{ga}athi plus walkur.
 n^{ga}athu N cycad tree, *Cycas* sp. M11.1.1.
 n^{ga}aw VRFtr See n^{ga}aw-mara-.
 n^{ga}:w? N freshwater crocodile. M.
 n^{ga}awkn^{ga} N water lily stem (edible). M12.4.4. =galiwur.
 n^{ga}aw-mara- V6Atr (Caus) to set or light fire. M, R3.7.2. Usually in VRF n^{ga}aw. R1.2.2, R2.8.2.
 n^{ga}ay?! Part Here! Take this! M1.9.5. M22.6.4.
 n^{ga}ayan^ggula? N river, large creek. M. Cf. mayan^g?, n^{ga}arkula?.
 n^{ga}ayatha- V6Atr to hold. M.
 n^{ga}ayi 3Sg pronoun. Gr 28.
 n^{ga}i? Part tag-question particle, Gr 50.
 n^{ga}iliny, n^{ga}ilinyu, n^{ga}ilinyala- 1ExDu pronoun. Gr 30.
 n^{ga}in^vjapana N porpoise. M. -n^{ga}u 1) See Gr 25. 2) Genitive-Dative of pronoun/demonstrative, Gr 28 and 34. 3) Present/Future of class 6 verbs, Gr 43.
 n^{ga}ula Part Indicates indefinite sense, Gr 36. n^{ga}ula-n^{ga}ur from there, after that. Gr 36.
 n^{ga}uli that (anaphoric), Gr 36.

n^{ga}uli-n^{ga}ur from there, after that, Gr 36.
 n^{ga}uluc-dhi- V1Bintr (Inch) to be cold. M.
 n^{ga}ul-yu- V5intr to get up and go early in the morning. M.
 n^{ga}ulu?-yi- V1Bintr (Inch) to be cooked. M. Cf. bu:rum.
 n^{ga}ulu?-yu- V5tr to hit fish. M1.4.3. (Gloss and transcription need checking.)
 n^{ga}unha, n^{ga}unhi that, there. Gr 34.
 n^{ga}upa- V3tr to chase, head for, hunt for. M1.4.2, M5.2.5, M5.6.5, M22.1.2, R2.11.1, U18, W6.3.2. Refl/Recip: n^{ga}upa-n-mi- V1intr R7.4.6. Cf. laru-, malt-dhu-, din?-dhu-.
 n^{ga}upanayn^{ga}u N all together. M2.18.2.
 n^{ga}u:pur N wrist. M.
 n^{ga}u:ra- V2intr to lie down; to sleep; to live (at a place). M1.1.2, M9.2.4, M23.5.1, R2.1.2, B1.3.3, B2.6.3. When repeated several times usually indicates passage of that number of days and nights; see note to M1.1. Recip: n^{ga}u:ra-nha-mi- V1intr to lie down together. M2.19.5.
 n^{ga}urgic N Variant of n^{ga}urn^gic.
 n^{ga}urka- V6Ctr to throw; to throw down; to reject. M1.3.3, M1.6.5, W3.3.2, B9.1.3. VRF: bat. Cf. may?-yu-, jalk-dhu-, galtha?-n^{ga}urka-.
 n^{ga}urn^gic N resting place, shady place for resting or for cooking meat on a hunting trip. M1.7.5, M5.7.4, R3.6.1. Also n^{ga}urgic (the full form, however, is preferred in careful speech).
 n^{ga}uru N nose, tip. M. n^{ga}uru-kur M5.2.6. n^{ga}uru-mir N M11.5.3.
 n^{ga}uru-n^{ga}u N eldest, firstborn; leader. M3.3.5, M17.3.7, M20.3.3.
 n^{ga}uru-dawalan^{ga}u N first-born. W. Cf. n^{ga}uru-n^{ga}u in preceding entry, also n^{ga}urunan^gal.
 n^{ga}uru?-mara- V6Atr (Caus) to hide behind (tree). M5.5.5/6.
 n^{ga}urunan^gal N eldest; ancestor. M, W5.1.4, W7.1.1. Cf. dilkur. Etymology: contains n^{ga}uru.
 -n^{ga}ur Locative-Ablative, Gr 17.

n^εuri-, n^εuru- that (form with some oblique cases). Gr 34.
 n^εurula N oyster-catcher (bird). =gathaka. M26.4.2.
 n^εutha- V4intr to grow up. M13.1.5, B6.1.6. Caus: n^εutha-n-mara- V6Atr to cause to grow up. M3.5.3, M16.7.5.
 n^εu:y N heart; lowland, coast, sea off coast. M. n^εu:y-kur down below; in the lowlands along the coast; in the sea. M23.3.3, M26.4.4, B2.8.4. Cf. dhurkdhurk.
 n^εuykal? N marine fish sp., perhaps a trevally. M, B1.4.7. =warwada.

n^y

-n^y, -n^y? 1) Accusative suffix (Jam dialect), Gr 15. 2) Absolute suffix, Gr 19. 3) Absolute suffix with contrastive sense after pronoun, Gr 28.
 -n^{ya} 1) Accusative in 3Sg pronoun n^εi-n^{ya}, Gr 28. 2) PastRem tense for class 1 verbs. 3) Augment in class 1 verb forms.
 n^yalk N rain. M. =malurk.
 n^yalu- V6Btr to eat. M18.2.5. Much less common than luka-.
 n^yal-yu- V5intr to be curved, to form a warped or curved shape. W8.1.8.
 n^yal?-yu- (or possibly n^{ya}:l?-yu-) V5intr to tell a lie. M.
 n^yam^yam? N river plant with edible tubers, Aponogeton elongatus. M11.9.1. =jalawu.
 n^yapili N death adder (snake). M25.2.6.
 n^{ya}:r-yu- V5intr (rain) to fall constantly, to keep falling. M.
 -n^{yar} PastRem tense suffix.
 n^yil-yu- V5intr (baby) to rock or sway from side to side. M.
 n^yiln?-dhu- V5intr to crouch, getting ready to throw spear. M.
 -n^yja Absolute suffix, Gr 19.
 n^yumukunin^y, n^yumukunin^y? N small. M1.3.4, M1.8.5, M15.1.2, R2.10.3.

p

-pal Genitive-Dative₂ suffix with pronouns (Jap dialect), Gr 28-29.
 -pi Emphatic, usually after pronoun stem, Gr 31.
 -pulu 'clan or patriline of ___' after a kin term, Gr 25.
 -puy Associative case suffix, Gr 19.
 -puy-n^εu Gentilic suffix complex, Gr 27.

r

-r 1) Present/Future suffix, class 1B, Gr 40. 2) Future/Imperative of class 3 or 5, Gr 41-43. 3) Past tense of class 5 (Jam dialect), Gr 42.
 ra, ra-kal, ra-ku, etc. Contractions of n^εara (1Sg pronoun) in its various case forms, Gr 28.
 ramban^εi N union (of friendship or marriage). M2.17.2/3, M13.1.6, M21.2.1, R6.1.5.
 ru:ku-garpi- V4tr to tie up paper bark. M1.2.5. Cf. garpi-, gaya?.

r

-r Past tense, classes 3 and 4, Gr 41-42.
 -ra- Untranslatable augment in verb morphology. Gr 44 (top of page), 45-46 (-Na-ra-wuy).
 ra:c-u- V5tr to scrape. W3.2.2/3, W4.1.2.
 radhirk N antelope kangaroo, Macropus antelopinus. M. =garcambal (which is the more common term). Etymology: cf. Ngandi a-dhirk (*ra-dhirk) with noun-class prefix.
 rakala? N a paperbark tree, Melaleuca viridiflora. M.
 ra:kay N sedge with edible corms, Eleocharis dulcis. M.
 raki? N string belt worn around waist; rope. M14.3.4, R4.1.3, W8.2.4. Cf. dhudipiri?. Fact: raki?-miri-ya- V6Atr to attach string. W9.2.3.

ra:li this way, to here (Jam dialect). M3.10.2, R2.5.2. Gr 36. Cf. lili.
 ra:li-kurun^ε-?-dhu- V5tr to call (someone) here 'gurun^ε'. M2.1.4. Cf. gurun^ε, gurun^ε-?-dhu-.
 raln^εin^y N kangaroo blood or sinew; subsection (=ma:lk). An uncommon word. Cf. japuru. M2.19.4.
 ran^εi N beach. M22.10.5, B1.3.3, B3.5.4. =dhan^εamak.
 rapari N calf (of leg). Also used in expressions indicating full sibling relationship. M21.4.2.
 rapari-puy N of the calf (i.e. full sibling). M. Cf. ba:ka, balwak.
 ra:ra?- N Inch: ra:ra?-dhi- V1Bintr to grow up. M. Fact: ra:ra?-gu- V6Atr to raise (child). M3.4.4.
 rarndhar N desert, waterless plain; hot and dry season. W2.9.3/4. Cf. gu:du.
 rar?-yu- V5tr to put down (esp. large bundle such as carcass of animal). M1.5.5, M1.8.4, M5.10.2, M8.5.1, R2.9.3. VRF: rar? M1.6.6, M1.8.4, R1.3.3. Cf. rulwan^ε-dhu-.
 -raw Purposive suffix, Gr 45.
 ra:wak N dried out; dry (wood). M, B2.5.3.
 ray- Verbal prefix with verbs of motion creating transitive verbs of transporting, Gr 46. Cf. walma?-.
 ra?-yu- V5intr (dog) to bark. M22.5.6. =n^εak-dhu-.
 ri:ca N jungle, rain forest. M26.2.5. Cf. nuwur, miri.
 rin^εgic N ritual ground, sacred area (of a clan or set of linked clans). W2.2.2.
 riranj-u- V5intr (bird) to call out. M26.1.2, M26.4.3.
 riri N sick. M. riri n^εayi ka He is sick. M. Cf. next entry.
 ririk-dhu- V5intr to be sick, to be in pain. M. Cf. riri, mur?mur-yu-.
 rulan^ε-dhu- V5tr See rulwan^ε-dhu-.
 rulpurulpu N wooden club. M27.4.5. =ma:li, wandala.
 rulwan^ε-dhu- V5tr to put down. Also rulan^ε-dhu-. M5.2.2, M5.7.4,

M13.5.4, M25.1.6. VRF: rulwan^ε M8.2.4. Caus: rulwan^ε-mara- V6Atr to have (someone-Accusative) as one's manager (jun^εgaya). M.
 ru:m N law (traditional knowledge and norms of behavior). M21.3.4, R6.1.4, W2.6.1/2.
 rumaru? N respected, avoided. Term used in conjunction with mu:kul to specify that this kin term designates an avoidance relationship (real or classificatory mother-in-law). M2.5.3, M7.1.7, M7.5.3, M18.3.4. Rarely used with gurun^ε (woman's son-in-law). M. Cf. garkaran^ε, mu:kul.
 rumbal N body, torso. M5.10.4, M5.12.2.
 run^εiyi- (or ru:n^εiyi-) V1Bintr to go back, to come back. M1.9.2/3, M3.12.4, R1.3.1, U36-40, B1.1.6.
 ruwam?-dhu- V5tr to cook (water lily seed mush). VRF: ruwam, ruwam? M12.2.2, M12.3.5.
 ruwamn^εu?-yu- V5tr to store (food). M12.1.5. VRF: ruwamn^εu? M12.5.5.

th

-tha 1) nha:-tha when. Gr 33.
 2) -tha- Factitive, Gr 45.
 -thi- Inchoative suffix ('to be or become ___') after noun root, Gr 45.
 thu Part Future tense. Gr 46.
 -thu Ergative-Instrumental suffix with interrogative pronoun, Gr 33.

u

-u, -u- 1) Ergative-Instrumental suffix (Jap dialect). 2) verb class 5 thematizing suffix, Gr 42.

w

-w, -w? Genitive-Dative suffix, Gr 16.
 wa: dap! war cry. M22.6.1.
 wacar N one who restrains fighters; one who does not fight. R6.2.2. Cf. gul-mara-.
 wadak N cross-beam (seat in canoe). W8.1.8. wadak-mir N W8.1.6.
 wada?n^εu N grass potato, probably Curculigo ensifolia. M.

wadawada N a tree, Macaranga tanarius. M. =gudatba.
waduca N fast, quick. Fact: waduca-ya- V6Atr to cause to go fast. W2.8.9. Cf. buwundi.
wakal-n^gura- V2intr to play, frolic; dance (in corroboree). M8.12.4, M13.6.3, M17.1.5. Cf. n^gu:ra-.
waku N sister's child; woman's child; etc. M2.3.4, M2.7.1, W2.2.5. Cf. banga (creole word).
wakulun^ggul? N fog. M. =ga:dan^y.
wakuy N armpit. M.
wakwak N small, shallow-water water lily, Nymphaea? violacea. Cf. dhiran^g.
-wal, -wala-, -wala-n^gu- Human Allative-Locative, Gr 18.
walal they (3Pl pronoun), Gr 30.
walkur N (man's own) child, (man's) offspring. M16.4.1.
walkur-miriw N childless. W2.8.2. Cf. ga:thu, yu:thu.
walkur-mara- V6Atr (man) to beget (child); (man) to have (someone) as his own child. M2.4.1/2, M2.6.1/5, M2.18.2, M17.1.1. Rarely: (female) to bear (child) M2.5.1 (this ex. not clear). Cf. dhawar-mara-, maln^g?-mara-.
walma- V2intr to go up from the water onto the shore; (fat in carcass) to ooze up out of entrails. M1.4.3, M1.7.3, M23.1.2. Cf. next entry.
walma?-yu- V5intr to go up from the water onto the shore. Most commonly in VRF: walma? M1.7.4, M1.8.8, M5.11.3/4. ray-walma?-yu- V5tr to take (something) up onto the shore. VRF: ray-walma? M12.5.4.
waln^ga N alive, healthy. For waln^ga-n^gu- (Gr 25-26) see M22.2.1. Inch: waln^ga-thi- V1Bintr to be (still) alive, to survive. M24.4.3, W5.2.3. Fact: waln^ga-tha- V6Atr to make healthy. W6.3.8.
wal?n^gu Part See gal?n^gu.
walu N sun. M. =daykun.
walu-puy N daytime. M18.2.5.
walan? N hill coolibah tree, Eucalyptus tectifca. M, B2.5.1.
wa:mut N one of the 8 subsections (ma:lk). Female form: wa:mutjan?. M2.11.2, M2.13.5.
wandala N wooden club. M27.4.6. =rulpurulpu, ma:li.
wan?gabu, wan?gawu N water goanna. R3.6.2, B5.1.4/5.
wana N arm; creek, small river. U32/95, M, M5.21.1. wana-puy N of the arm (i.e. full mother's brother). M. Cf. mayan^g?, banja, n^garkula?.
wana-garpi- V4tr to tie up the arm of (someone). M5.8.3. Cf. garpi-.
wandi- V1Bintr to run, to move very fast, to flee, to rush. M5.6.5, M8.2.3, M22.2.2, U26/27, W2.8.2, B2.4.2. Caus: wandi-n^ya-mara- V6Atr U59. Cf. nan^g?-dhu-.
wan?-dhu- V5intr to look around, to take a look; to look for (something-Dat). M5.3.5, M5.18.5, M10.1.5, R4.3.1, R4.6.3. Rarely V5tr to look at (someone-Accusative). R2.4.6.
wangura? N bandicoot. R3.6.2.
wanha N which? where? Gr 36-37.
wan^ga- V2intr to speak, to talk. Also V2tr to speak to. M4.2.4, M16.3.1, M14.4.5, M23.1.5 (V2tr), R4.3.1, U96, W2.3.1, B1.1.6. Recip: wan^ga-nha-mi- V1intr to talk to each other. B6.2.4.
wan^ga N camp (of people); country, location. M1.5.3, M3.12.3, M24.4.5, R2.9.2, W2.2.1, B1.2.5, M3.3.7/8.
wan^gar N important or sacred thing; ritual. M25.2.1, W2.2.7.
wan^ggan^y, wan^ggan^y?, wan^ggac N one. M1.1.7, M3.3.6, M5.13.2, M7.4.4, M17.1.6, M27.3.6, R4.8.3, W2.4.3, B2.3.5, B2.4.5. Rarely wan^ggan^y-n^gu W7.1.7.
wap-dhu- V5intr to jump; to shift location. M6.2.5, M8.13.1, M11.7.6, M13.4.4, M27.3.3, W1.1.7 ('to change'), M9.1.5, W9.2.2. VRF: wap M5.19.3.
wapiti N small shark sp. M. =maran^yjalk.
warakan N bird; game animal. M26.1.2, R4.12.4.
wa:ran^g N dingo (wild dog). M.

waran^gul N born. M. Inch: waran^gul-yi- or waran^gul-thi- V1Bintr to be born. Cf. dha:-waran^gul, liya-dup-dhu-.
waraw? N shade. M5.5.2, M9.1.5, R2.7.1. =gun^yul?, gurn^gan?.
waray Part admittedly, indeed. B6.2.3. Gr 50.
wariman N stone spear. W1.1.5. =guyara?.
warkar N bush lily, Crinum sp. W5.1.2.
wark-dhu- V5tr to remove (from fire, etc.). R2.9.1, R4.13.1. VRF: wark M1.4.5, R4.13.1. Cf. wilan^g?-dhu-.
war?man^y N minnow, small fish. M1.3.4, M1.8.5.
warn^ggul N spike, stinger (of ray). W1.1.4, W7.1.4.
warn^yu N red flying fox, Pteropus scapulatus. M.
warpam? N everyone. M24.4.3, W2.2.7, B1.2.3, B2.3.7. =bukmak.
-warpi- V4tr See garpi-.
warukay N barracuda. M.
warwada N marine fish (trevally?). =n^guykal?.
war?war VRFintr to run. M22.2.4.
war?war N lung. M5.9.3.
war-yu- V5tr to drag or pull along. R4.5.1, R4.8.1. Rdp: war?-war-yu- R4.1.2. (Simple form occasionally war?-yu-. M.) VRF: war R4.5.1.
warca N forearm. M22.7.2. =banja.
warkurak N tree sp. with dark fruits. M.
warpanin^ya N tree sp. (Cansjera or Opilia). W3.1.1. =milipa?.
warumuk N evening, night, dark (sky). M. Inch: warumuk-dhi- V1Bintr to become dark (at night). M. Cf. munhaku.
wata N wind, air current (from any direction). M5.4.2, B1.1.4.
watbar N thin-leaved tree, Grevillea pteridifolia. M.
wa:t-dhu- V5intr to yell, to shout. M.
-watan^gu owner of _____. Gr 27.
watu N dog. U5, M22.5.5. =wun^ggan?.
wa:wa N elder brother. M3.3.4, M8.1.2, W2.5.1. Rarely wa:wa? M3.5.1 (this form needs checking). Cf. nhu:piya, yukuyuku, jukarn^gu.
wa:?wa N crow. M5.9.5.
way! hey! Gr 51.
wa:yin N game animal (large animal hunted for meat). M1.7.4, M1.9.4, M5.1.3, R2.2.2, U21/22, B2.4.7. Inch: wa:yin-dhi- V1Bintr M26.6.1.
widi?-yu- V5intr to flee. M23.4.1-4.
wi:ka- V6Atr to present gift. Fut/Imper wi:ka-n^g (not *wi:ku-n^g of class 6C). M18.4.2.
wi:ka? N honeycomb, honey (substance). M, W9.1.2. Cf. guku.
wilan^g?-dhu- V5tr to remove (from fire, etc.). M1.4.5, M5.12.1, R2.12.4, R4.13.2. VRF: wilan^g? M1.4.4, M1.8.9, M5.12.1, R2.8.3. Cf. wark-dhu-.
wirk-dhu- V5intr to paw ground, to dig into ground. M.
wirki Part (untranslatable) M22.8.3.
wir-yu-n-mara- V6Atr to fly around in a circle. M26.1.4. (Simplex *wir-yu- rejected by M.)
wiripu, wiripu-n^gu- N other, different. M1.3.4, M7.1.2, M20.4.1, M23.3.3, R2.1.1, W3.3.2, B1.1.1. Optional Pl form: wiripu-wur N M7.2.1. More common collective: wiripu wulku (from gulku) N the others. M5.6.4, R3.2.1, R4.12.1, B5.3.4.
wit-dhu- V5tr to scan (horizon), to take a sweeping look at. M5.18.4.
witic N a python sp. M.
wiyin N long. wiyin-mir, wiyin-n^gu-mir N long time. W5.2.2. ^{FAM us (1922)]}
wu Part or. Gr 50. ^{FAM us (1922)]}
-wu Genitive-Dative suffix. Gr 16.
wucumun^ggu? N paperbark container for water lily food, etc. M12.5.2/3.
wuduku N gutta percha tree, Excaecaria agollacha. M. =gunhir.
wukalic N dugong. R4.1.2.
wukuti? N (person) in sacred state. M8.4.2.
-wulk-dhu- V5tr See gulk-dhu-.
wulma N cloud. M. wulma-mir N cloudy season. B4.1.7. =man^gan.

wulukur? N (actual) sister's husband (less often: wife's brother); the camp of this person. M14.2.4, M21.1.1. wulukur?-n^εur at the camp of ZH. M13.1.4, M21.1.5. Cf. dhuway.

wulku N Lenited form of gulku.

wiripu wulku N the others.

wundan? N black plum tree, Vitex glabrata. B2.3.2.

-wun^ε, -wun^εu- Originative case suffix, Gr 17.

wun^εapu? N tree, Pouteria sericea. M.

wun^εay? N wild honey. M11.6.5. Cf. guku.

wun^εgan? N dog. B5.1.3. =watu.

wun^εgan?-mir N B5.1.2.

-wur, -wuru- Plural suffix. Gr 22.

wu:ray N ghost. M27.1.1. =a:nuk.

wurk N bushfire (set by people). R1.1.3, R3.5.1, B2.3.6. Cf. gurtha.

wurpan N emu. M26.6.4. =maluya?.

wurundhu? N a mullet fish. M.

wurumbulu N subsection (ma:lk). Uncommon word. M2.19.4, M2.20.3.

wur?-yu- V5tr to pull up, uproot, pluck. M13.5.3, R3.7.2.

wut-dhu- V5tr to hit, kill. U29-34, W1.2.2, W6.1.3, B5.2.6, B5.3.7, B9.1.3. Cf. bu-.

-wuy 1) Associative (=puy), Gr 19. 2) Emphatic with pronoun (=pi), Gr 31. 3) for -Na-wuy see Gr 45-46.

-wuyan^εa- V2tr See guyan^εa-.

-wuy-n^εu (=puy-n^εu) Gentilic suffix, Gr 27.

wuypa N painted design. Fact: wuypa-miri-ya- V6Atr to cause to have painted design. M27.2.7. Cf. min^y?ji, bidi?-yu-.

y

-y, -y? Egative-Instrumental, Gr 15.

-ya 1) Absolute suffix, Gr 19. 2) -ya- Factitive, Gr 45.

ya? Part look! there it is! I told you so! Gr 50.

ya:c- N ya:c-gur N bad. (For the ending cf. n^εamakur 'good'.) Inch: ya:c-i- V1Bintr to be or become bad. W2.7.6. Fact: ya:c-gu- V6Btr to ruin, to make bad. U56. Cf. midiku.

yac-u- V5intr to shout. M5.14.1. Cf. wa:t-dhu- ^{em yatjunm-}

yaka N not; don't! Gr 47. Cf. ba:yⁿεu. Inch (rdp): yaka-yaka-thi- V1Bintr to become nothing or absent, to vanish. W2.6.2.

ya:ku N named. (Used as a sort of copula linking the subject noun with the name.) M19.1.6, W1.2.4, W2.3.2, B2.4.6, B5.1.3. Cf. dhawara.

yakur VRFintr to go to sleep, to fall asleep. M9.1.3/6. M9.2.1/4. Cf. yukura-, n^εu:ra-.

yaku-ya- V6Atr (Fact) to summon (person, to fulfill bestowal pledge). R5.1.2.

yalala N later, in a while. M3.8.1, M5.23.3, R2.4.5, U93. Also yalala-mir N M4.2.4, M5.23.2.

yalu N nest. M26.5.3.

yal?-yu- V5intr (water, air, etc.) to be cool or refreshing. M5.11.3.

yamana N tongue. M. =n^εa:nar.

yan Part only, still; strictly, without deviation. yan bili ^{fam} constantly, continuously. Gr 50. ^{yam}

ya:na N free, unmolested; merely. M15.2.1, W7.1.7. ya:na-n^εu N free, not subject to avoidance restrictions for in-laws (used with mu:kul to indicate non-avoidance type). M2.5.4. Cf. rumaru?.

ya:ngu- V6Btr to send (someone) to a place. M3.1.4, M3.8.2, M18.4.3. Cf. juy?-yu-.

yapa N sister (elder or younger). M13.1.6, M17.1.4, W2.6.7.

yapa-?man^yji N brother and sister; two sisters. M21.2.1.

yaraman, yaraman? N horse; horse and rider. M24.2.4, M24.5.3. =jaran^εu.

yarara?-yu-n-mara- V6Atr to hook spear to woomera (before throwing it). W9.2.6. Cf. galtha?-n^εurka-.

yarata N line, row. M.

yarga?-yu- V5tr to grind (cycad nuts, water lily seeds, etc.). M11.1.1, M11.4.3, M12.1.5/6.

yark-dhu- V5intr to travel on foot, walk, go away. M22.10.5, W2.2.8. VRF: yark M22.4.1. Cf. la:-yark-mara-.

ya:rpa? N ray sp. with striped tail. M.

yarpan^y N honey bee, Triodia sp. M, B2.1.3. =dhulkin^yn^εu. Cf. guku.

yarup-dhu- V5intr to go down. M23.5.2, W8.2.5, B3.3.2. VRF: yarup M5.13.4, B3.3.6. Cf. jir?-yu-, yup-dhu-.

yata N lower leg, shin. M.

yathi N hollow-log coffin; hollow tube. M8.8.2, M11.5.1, M13.3.1. yathi-mir N M8.8.2. Cf. dhurara, jalumbu, daymiri, larakic.

yawirin^y? N young man (not yet circumcised). R2.13.3, B1.4.4, B2.3.5. Cf. dhapi?.

yawungu N yesterday; the previous day. U3/31, W2.8.3.

yawungu-n^εu-wuy N of yesterday. M.

yaw?-yu- V5tr to scrape. M. Cf. barpu-, ra:c-u-.

yay! Part oh! hey! M5.4.2, M6.1.1.

-yi 1) =dhi (Definite), Gr 35. 2) =-thi- (Inchoative), Gr 45.

yidaki N didjeridu (hollow pipe). Used loosely for hollow log (M8.9.1/2), properly larakic.

yidip VRFintr to dive deep. R4.3.2.

yiki? N blade, knife. M.

yindi N big; thumb; five. B1.1.5, R2.10.3, M11.3.3. Inch: yindi-thi- V1Bintr B1.2.2.

yinipi?-miri-ya- V6Atr (Fact) to perform bestowal ritual. M16.3.6, M16.4.3, M20.1.2. Cf. bunic-u-.

yirica N a moiety. M8.9.3, B2.5.6.

yo! all right! M1.1.1, R1.1.1.

-yu 1) Ergative-Instrumental, Gr 15. 2) class 5 thematizer, Gr 42.

yucuwala N child. B5.3.1. =yu:thu.

yukulul-mir N having dhu:wa moiety songs. B6.1.5. Cf. buyu-

yukura- V2intr to sleep. M11.3.1, W3.4.5. Durative auxiliary: Gr 46.

yukuyuku N younger B. M3.4.2, W2.2.1. =gutha.

yu:l N who? Gr 33.

yu:l-n^εu N person; Aboriginal; man. M7.4.3, M23.9.4, R1.3.2, R7.2.7, W2.8.7/8, B1.5.4/5. Inch: yu:l-n^εu-thi- M26.7.1. yu:l-n^εu-watan^εu N kinsman, clansman. M. Cf. daramu.

yumurku N children. M3.7.3, M3.14.1.

yup-dhu- V5intr to go down; to fall down; to be born. Caus: yup-mara- M8.7.2. VRF: yup M8.6.1.

yur Part Future. Gr 46.

yurk-dhu- V5intr to hide. R4.4.2, M.

yuru Part Future. Gr 46.

yu:ra- V6A to agree, say 'yes'. M17.6.2. (Transitivity unclear.)

yur?-yu- V5intr to get up and go; to move or shift suddenly. M. VRF: yur? (M5.5.1), rdp yur?-yur M22.6.3).

yuta N new; fresh. M20.3.1, R2.11.2, W2.4.3, W3.3.2, W8.2.6.

yutun^εgur N leg. M5.16.4, M22.3.3. Cf. baran^εin^y.

yu:thu N child (human or animal), offspring; small. M2.3.1, M2.12.2, M5.20.3/4, M7.3.1, U44, B6.1.4.

yu:thu-mir N having child. yu:thu-miri-ya- V6Atr (Fact) (parent) to have child (error for -miri-yi-). M2.4.5. yu:thi-miri-yi- M16.8.2. Cf. jama, yumurku, jamarkuli.

yu:thu-mara-, yu:thu-ma:ra- V6Atr (loose compound) to have child. (Said chiefly of the mother.) M2.4.4. Cf. maln^ε?-mara-.

yuwalk N true, truth, truly. M7.3.5, R5.2.2, B3.5.4, B6.1.2/4.

PART FIVE; ENGLISH-DHUWAL INDEX

The following is a rather brief list of English words along with a series of Dhuwal items which are semantically related to them; readers should not assume that the Dhuwal items are translation equivalents. Hence readers should use this section as an index to the preceding Dhuwal-English dictionary rather than as a self-contained unit.

Limitations of space preclude a full English-Dhuwal glossary. The items chosen for representation here are chiefly high-frequency English words of the sort usually utilized in comparative lexical research. Most zoological and botanical terms are omitted.

afternoon. ja:pa?, milmicba.	cross. budap-dhu-.
ant mound. dhanda, gundir.	cut. gulk-dhu-, lar?lar-yu-, mit-dhu-.
arm. banja, warca, wana.	dance. gica?-yu-, girici-, wakal-n ^g ura-.
arrive, appear. buna-, maln ^g ?-dhu-.	dawn. bilpil-yu-, jadaw?-yu-.
ax. dakul?, jalpat.	die. dalpam-dhi-, dhin ^g ga-,
back (of body). bundaln ^g u, dilci,	ba:yn ^g u-yi-.
n ^g apa.	dig. bi:la-.
bad. midiku, ya:c-.	dog. watu, wun ^g gan?.
bag, dillybag. dhawar, gay?wu.	dry. bandan ^y , day-yu-, litha-,
beach. dhan ^g amak, ran ^g i.	ra:wak.
beard. dhamun, dhawarak.	ear. buthuru, ma:kiri?.
belly. dhulmu, gulun.	eat. gal?-yu-, luka-, n ^y alu-.
big. dumur, murukay, yindi.	elbow. likan, nu:n ^g gur.
bite. lawu-.	enter. ga:ri-.
black. mu:l.	excrement. buthuwa, dhuri.
blood. gulan ^g , man ^g gu?.	eye. jalkar, man ^g uci.
body. rumbal.	face. buku.
bone. n ^g araka.	far away. barku.
bottom. dhu ^g i, dhiripi, n ^g u:y.	fast. buwundi (bu:ndi), waduca.
brain. bamburun ^g ?burun ^g .	fat. jukur.
break. bak-mara-, bulwan ^g ?-dhu-,	fight, fighter. mari, mirin ^g u.
daw?.	finger, hand. dhungal, n ^g arambiya?,
burn. batha- (tr.), nha:ra- (intr.).	gu:n ^g .
calf (of leg). balwak, rapari.	fire. gurtha, wurk. Cf. 'set (fire)'. fish. guya.
carry. dubuk-dhu-, ga:-, guruka-.	flesh. dha:n ^g gu.
cheeky, dangerous. gan ^y jar,	flower. dhan ^g ara?.
madakaric, mu:nuk. Cf. 'fight'.	fly. but-dhu-.
chest (of body). gumur, miriki.	follow, pursue. din?-dhu-, malt-dhu-,
child, boy, girl. jama, jamarkuli	mungu-yu-, n ^g upa-. Cf. 'hunt'.
(Pl), yawirin ^y ?, yucuwala,	food. n ^g atha.
yumurku (Pl), yu:thu, walkur.	foot. jalkiri, luku.
clan. ba:puru, matha.	friend. ba:mara.
close up (verb). dhal?-yu-.	full. dhan ^g an ^g .
cloud. gapalal, man ^g an, wulma.	get, pick up. ma:ra-.
cook; cooked. balwur, batha-,	get up, rise. lark, n ^g ul-yu-,
bu:rum, gudhal?-yu-, n ^g u:lu?-yi-.	yur?-yu-.
country. dhawal, wa:n ^g a.	ghost, dead person. a:nuk (=n ^g a:nuk),
cover, bury. dha:-mun ^y gu-, dhulku-,	mukar, mu:kuy, wu:ray.
gawuk-dhu-.	

give. gurupa-, gurupu-, wi:ka-.	nose. n ^g uru.
go, move, walk. marci-, lark,	old. dilak (man), n ^g alapa ^l (woman),
git-dhu-, marcmarc-u-, yark-dhu-.	n ^g alapa ^l -mir (man), dilkur.
go down. jir?-yu-, yarup-dhu-,	one. wan ^g gan ^y (wan ^g gac, wan ^g gan ^y ?).
yup-dhu-.	other, different. ga:na, wiripu.
go up, climb. duwat-dhu-, n ^g al?-yu-,	paint. verb: bidi?-yu-, luka-,
walma?-yu-, walma-.	n ^g a:min-mi-. noun: janbin ^y ,
good. n ^g amakur.	min ^y ?ji, wuypa. pigments:
grass. mulmu.	gapan, etc.
ground. dhambur, munatha.	penis. gurka.
grow. n ^g utha-, ra:ra?-dhi-.	plain (topography). banara?, gumur.
hair. bulka? (body), mara (head).	pollen. burwu?.
head, skull. liya, mulkur.	pound. barpu-, dal?-yu-, mun ^g -dhu-.
hear, listen to. guyan ^g a-, n ^g a:-.	put, put down. judup, mapa-,
heart. dhurkdhurk, n ^g u:y.	rar?-yu-, rulwan ^g -dhu-.
hip. dharwa, lami.	rain. noun: n ^y alk, malurk. verb:
hit, kill. bu-, wut-dhu-.	burul?-yu-, dhar-yu-, lika-,
hold. galku-, gatha-, mulka-,	n ^y a:r-yu-.
n ^g ayatha-.	raw. diku.
hollow log, coffin. dhurara, daymiri,	rib. bindha, midimidi.
jalumbu, larakic, yathi.	river, creek. mayan ^g ?, n ^g arkula?,
honey. guku, wun ^g ay?.	n ^g ayan ^g gula?, wana.
hunt (for). garu-, gu:n ^g -yuwalk-dhi-,	rotten. barpa, dulki.
laru-, mingu-. Cf. 'follow'.	run. nan ^g ?-dhu-, wandi-, war?war,
jump. wap-dhu-.	widi?-yu-.
kidney. gutu?.	saliva. n ^g a:l.
kangaroo. ja:ca.	sandbar. barala.
knee. bun?gumu, ni:pal.	speak, talk, say. bica-, lakara-,
know. dhun ^g a. marn ^g gi.	wan ^g a-.
leave, abandon. gana-/ganatha-.	scrape, grind. ra:c-u-, yarga?-yu-,
leg. ba:ka, baran ^g in ^y , dharamu,	yaw?-yu-.
makar, yata, yutun ^g gur.	see, look. nha:-, wan?-dhu-,
lie down. n ^g u:ra-.	wit-dhu-.
liver. bidila?, n ^g althir.	send. juy?-yu-, ya:ngu-.
lung. burwuc, war?war.	set (fire). balcam?-dhu-, dhan ^g al-ku-,
make. bu:ca-, bu:kma-, bunbu-,	dhun ^g gur?-yu-, mur-mara-, n ^g aw-mara-.
n ^g aman ^g ama-yu-.	shade. gun ^y ul(?), gurn ^g an?,
man. daramu, yu:l-n ^g u.	n ^g urn ^g gic, waraw?.
mat. bacbara?.	sick. mur?mur-yu-, riri, ririk-dhu-.
meat. gu:n ^y il?, mi:rpal?, wa:yin.	sing, song. barkbark-dhu-, bun ^g gul,
milk. dhilin ^g in ^y .	dar?-yu-, madak-dhu-, manikay.
moiety terms. dhu:wa (dhuwa),	shoulder, shoulder blade. lambar,
yirica.	milipi?, mu:n.
moon. gulkiya.	sit. nhi:na- (intr.), nhirpa-
mouth. dha:.	or nhi:ra- (tr.), jip-dhu- (tr.).
nail (of body). binin ^y , dharir.	skin. barwan?, galn ^g a, gula?.
name. dhawara, ya:ku.	sleep. gurmuk, n ^g u:ra-, yakur,
near. galki.	yukura-.
neck, nape. mayan ^g , gupa.	slow. bulna.
nest. yalu.	smell. nhuma-.
night. makal, munhaku, warumuk.	snake. ba:pi.

sneak up. bakar?-yu-, judap-dhu-,
 milt-dhu-.
 soak, bathe, immerse. dhulpa-,
lup-dhu-, n^galip-dhu-.
 spear. noun: dha:rak, gara, larta.
 verb: badac-u-, barc-u-,
dharpu-, dup-dhu-.
 stand. dha:ra-.
 steal. manan^gi-.
 stone. bumbaru?, gunda.
 string, rope. dhudipiri?,
mun^gaduku, raki?.
 strong, hard. da:l, gunana?-yi-.
 subsection. jun^gun^y, ma:lk.
 sun. dayun, walu.
 throw. jalk-dhu-, may?-yu-,
n^gurka-.
 tie. garpi-. Cf. 'wrap'.
 tomorrow. gudar?.
 tongue. n^ga:nar, yamana.
 tooth. lira.
 top. garwar.
 true. yuwalk.
 two. bulal, manda, ma:rma?.
 wait. galku-.
 want. ja:l.
 water. damurun^g, gapu.
 woman. dhayka, dhin^g?, miyalk.
 wood. dharpa.
 word. dha:wu, dhan^gun^y, dha:ruk.
 wrap. buku-lumbak-mara-, garpi-,
ru:ku-garpi-.
 urine. ba:lkay.
 woomera. bandak, galpu.

ABBREVIATION LIST AND INDEX (Page refs. are to grammar section)

Abl Ablative (see Loc-Abl)
 Abs Absolute -n^y, -ya, etc. p. 19, p. 31.
 Acc Accusative -n^y, -nha-, etc. pp. 15-16.
 -- Agentive. p. 45.
 All Allative -lil. p. 18. See also All-Loc.
 All-Loc (Human) Allative-Locative -wal, -gal, etc. pp. 18-19.
 -- Allomorphic Lenition. p. 9.
 Assoc Associative -puy, -wuy. p. 19.
 Aug Augment -dhu-/-yu-. p. 42. Aug -n^g- or -m-. p. 29.
 Aug -n-, -na-, etc. pp. 39ff. ('derived stem').
 Aux Auxiliary. marci-, yukura-. p. 46.
 B Benjamin (one of the Jap informants). p. 2.
 B4.1.3 line 3, section 1, of Benjamin's fourth text (and so on).
 C child (son, daughter).
 Caus Causative -mara-. p. 45.
 cf. compare
 -- Collective -kundic. p. 27.
 D daughter.
 D1A subsection 1A of dhu:wa moiety (and so forth). See text M2.8.
 Dat Dative (see Gen-Dat).
 Def Definite -dhi, -i. p. 35.
 Dem Demonstrative.
 Dimin Diminutive -gan^yan^g?. p. 27.
 Dist Distant demonstrative. p. 34.
 Du Dual manda (postnoun). p. 22.
 Dur Durative ka, ka. p. 46.
 E. Eucalyptus.
 Emph Emphatic -pi, -wuy. p. 31. Emph -ga?yi. p. 35.
 Erg Ergative (see Erg-Inst).
 Erg-Inst Ergative-Instrumental -dhu, -y, etc. p. 15.
 Evit evitative. p. 47.
 Ex Exclusive (first person). pp. 29-30.
 ex. example.
 exx. examples.
 F father
 Fact Factitive -ku-, -tha-, -ya-. p. 45.
 Fut Future particle thu, yur, yuru. p. 46.
 Fut/Imper Future/Imperative verbal suffix. p. 39.
 -- Geminate-Contraction. p. 14.
 Gen Genitive (see Gen-Dat).
 Gen-Dat Genitive-Dative -gu, -w, etc. pp. 16-17.
 Gen-Dat₂ Genitive-Dative₂ -pal, -l (Jap dialect). pp. 28-29.
 -- Gentilic -puy-n^gu. p. 17.
 Gr Grammar (Part One of this volume).
 H husband
 -- hortative gu!, gul?! pp. 46-47.
 Hum Human
 Imm Immediate -na, -n. p. 21.
 In Inclusive (first person). pp. 29-30.

Inch	Inchoative -thi-, -yi=. p. 45.
Infin	Infinitive.
Inst	Instrumental (see Erg-Inst).
intr	intransitive.
Jam	Jambarpuyn ^ε u clan-dialect. p. 1.
Jap	Japu? clan-dialect. p. 1.
--	Laminal Nasal Shift. p. 13.
Loc	Locative (see Loc-Abl).
Loc-Abl	Locative-Ablative -n ^ε ur. pp. 17-18. Cf. All-Loc.
M	1) mother. 2) Miyala (one of the Jam informants). p. 2.
M4.1.3	line 3, section 1 of Miyala's fourth text.
N	1) in phonology: unspecified nasal. p. 30. 2) Noun.
--	Nasalization. p. 12.
--	Nasal-Stop Assimilation. p. 12.
Neg	negative. p. 47.
Nom	Nominative -∅ case. p. 15.
Orig	Originative -wun ^ε , etc. p. 17.
Part	Particle (uninflectable stem).
--	Past. p. 39.
PastRem	Past Remote. p. 39.
Per	Progressive -kur. p. 18.
Pl	Plural -wur, mala. p. 22.
--	Postconsonantal Lenition. p. 8.
Pres	Present ka. p. 46.
Pres/Fut	Present-Future. p. 39.
--	Privative -miriw. p. 26.
Pron	pronoun.
Prop	Proprietative -mir. p. 26.
Prox	Proximate demonstrative. p. 34.
Purp	Purposive -raw. p. 45.
rdp	reduplicated. p. 3.
R	Roy (one of the Jam informants). p. 2.
R4.1.3	line 3, part 1, Roy's fourth text (and so on).
Refl/Recip	Reflexive/Reciprocal -mi-. p. 44.
Rel	Relative -Na-wuy, etc. p. 45.
--	root form of verb. p. 44.
S	son.
Sg	Singular. p. 22.
sp.	species (Sg).
spp.	species (Pl).
--	Suffix Hardening. pp. 10-11.
tr	transitive.
--	Truncation. pp. 13-14.
U	Utterance (Part Three of this volume)
U17	Utterance no. 17.
V	Verb (VRF = verbal root form, p. 44)
V2intr	intransitive verb of class 2.
W	1) wife. 2) Wuyulwuy (a Jap informant). p. 2.
W4.1.3	line 3, section 1, Wuyulwuy's fourth text.
Y1B	subsection 1B of yirica moiety. See text M2.8.
Z	sister.

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