LANGUAGES OF ARNHEM LAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA

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THIS paper is really a continuation of previous work carried out under a fellowship from the Australian National Research Council in north-west and north Australia in the years 1938-9. A second grant has enabled further work to be carried out, east of the region then investigated, and now extending over the remainder of Arnhem Land. The map shows the area covered and the resultant linguistic groupings.¹

In general the same lines of demarcation and the same groupings of languages have been found. In one or two instances the discoveries made have been quite unexpected. This is particularly so in the structure of the Djinba and Djinang languages, with their affinities to the Mudbura and southern Fitzroy River languages, and secondly in the grouping of Anyula with the classifying languages, in spite of its separation geographically by Mara from the others. One new sub-group has been created, occupied by the Mara language, together with Alawa. These languages have a feminine for the demonstratives and the pronoun, and Alawa also for certain verb forms, but they make no agreement in the adjective. This sub-group has been denominated "semi-classifying," because it has thus the elements of the dual-classifying group, but they are not fully developed, as e.g. in Nagara. In a few instances languages are dealt with here that have been already mentioned in the previous report (see *Oceania*, Vol. X, as mentioned in Note I above). This means that fresh information of importance has been gained about these languages, e.g. Maung and Gunwinggu.

A. PHONETICS

Little more need be said about phonetics than was said in the previous report; the general phonetic basis of the languages is the same throughout, and the same table of sounds holds good as was previously given. The outstanding difference is in the matter of the devoiced plosives $b,\,d,\,$ and g. It has previously been pointed

¹ The following is the relevant literature of the area:

W. Schmidt, Die Gliederung der Australischen Sprachen. (Revised edition), Vienna, 1919. Baldwin Spencer, Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia, London, 1914 (information not only inaccurate but misleading).

N. B. Tindale, "Natives of Groote Eylandt and of the West Coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria," Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia, 1928.

W. Lloyd Warner, A Black Civilisation, London and New York, 1937. (Incidental references to words.)

A. Capell, "The Classification of Languages in North and North-West Australia," Oceania, Vol. X, No. 3, pp. 241-272, and No. 4, pp. 404-433.

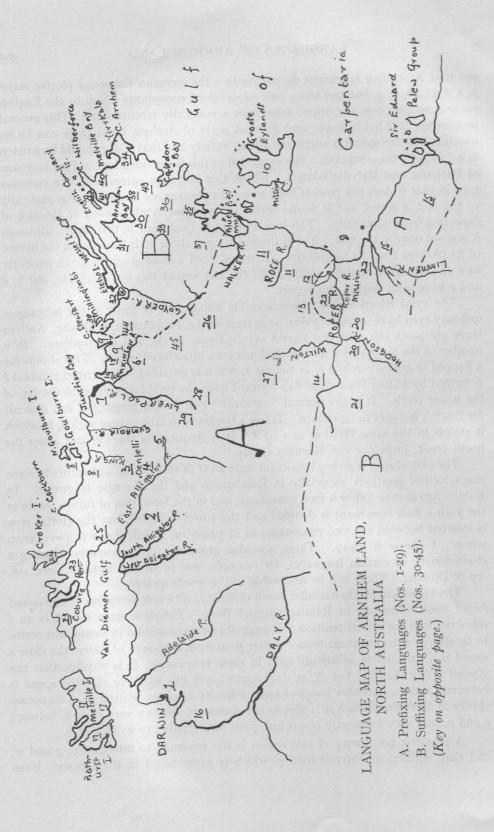
out that Australian languages do not contain the common European plosive series p, t, k and b, d, g, but one series only of devoiced consonants which to the English ear is now one, now the other, sometimes acoustically intermediate. This general proposition still holds goods, and in most parts of Arnhem Land there can be no question that the sound is nearer the voiced variety and that b, d, g should be written in a "broad" transcription. The exception to this is provided by the Tiwi language of Bathurst and Melville Islands. Whilst this language agrees with the common type in that it does not possess both series, its plosives are much closer acoustically to the p, t, t series, and it seems better to use those symbols even at the risk of departing from uniformity. This has accordingly been done in this report, although it was not done in the first. The Murngin Group is also a little less clear in the nature of its plosives than its neighbours. It would need a kymograph to make perfectly sure of the nature of these sounds, and the instrument was not available, but t, t and t have been used in this report.

The velar fricative γ is of considerable importance in some of the languages, and may even have semantic value, as against hard g, for example, in Maung. Natives there are particular that one should say $inj\ddot{a}l\gamma an$, turtle, and not $inj\ddot{a}lgan$. In a number of the languages a new symbol has been introduced, viz. \dot{r} . This stands for a flapped or trilled cerebral r, as against r, which is untrilled. The trilled cerebral \dot{r} is formed by letting the tongue flap forward from the cerebral position to the top of the upper teeth. It is the normal "cerebral" r of Indian languages, and difficult for English learners to reproduce. It has a tendency to interchange with d, to which it stands in the same relation as r to d. It is frequent in Gagadu and along the north coast, including the Murngin Group.

The glottal stop is a very important consonant in this region, and occurs in some characteristic positions, especially in Rainbarngo and the Murngin languages. In Rainbarngo it may follow a final consonant, and in the formation of future tenses in the verb a final consonant is doubled and the vowel -a added, but the glottal stop is inserted between the two consonants as in yawar'ra, I shall throw it away, from yawar', I throw it away. There are also groupings of consonants which are characteristic of certain languages, for example -yw- of Groote Eylandt, -rm, -ry, -gy of Djinang. These will be noticeable in the words quoted.

The vowel sounds do not offer much difficulty, with the exception of one sound found most commonly in Rainbarngo and Buan. This is written i, and is an i retracted into the mixed position. It suggests an unrounded o in sound, but seems to be always a development from i rather than from e, though of course the close e sound is a permissible substitute for i in these languages. It is possible that the symbol o: (see Oceania, Vol. X, p. 252) might cover this sound or that the sound is between i and o:. Another vowel of some difficulty has been written o. This occurs chiefly in Murngin, though it is also heard elsewhere, and is a very close o, between o and o0, and very frequently one is not quite sure whether to write o0 or o0.

A phonetic peculiarity of this region is the tendency to interchange g and w, and that without an intermediate γ , which is never heard in these cases. Even



speakers of one language will sometimes vary thus among themselves between g and w, and several languages allow the change regularly. Thus the class-prefix gu in Ngandi is wu in Wandarang.

B. CLASSIFICATION OF THE LANGUAGES

The same divisions of language-groups holds good in Arnhem Land as has already been studied, viz. a general distinction between prefixing and suffixing languages, and within the former group, between those which classify the noun into (a) a number of groups—Multiple Classifying Languages, or (b) into two groups, generally regarded as masculine and feminine—Dual Classifying Languages, and (c) Semi-Classifying Languages, as already indicated. All these languages incorporate the pronoun object into the verb, as well as the subject. Some incorporate certain nouns as well. This is a phenomenon that has not been noticed in Australia before.

KEY TO MAP.

A. PREFIXING LANGUAGES.

I. Multiple Classifying.

1. Laragia. 2. Gagadu. 3. Gunwinggu. 4. Mangeri. 5. Uningangk. 6. Gungorogone.	7. Gunbalang.8. Maung.9. Gudjälavia-Burera-Gunaidbe.10. Andiljaugwa.	11. Nunggubuyu. 12. Wandarang. 13. Ngandi. 14. Ngalagan. 15. Anjula.
II. Dual Classifying Languages. 16. Worgaidj 17. Tiwi.	18. Nagara. 19. Gunavidji.	20. Alawa. 21. Mangarai.
III. Semi-Classifying Language. 22. Mara.		
IV. Non-Classifying Languages. 23. Iwaidja. 24. Margu. 25. Amarag.	26. Rainbarngo. 27. Buan.	28. Gundangbon. 29. Gundeidjeme.
B. S	UFFIXING LANGUAGES.	
I. Murngin Group.	Lagrage fisted by earlie	be added that the
(a) 30. Gogabwingo. 31. Djambarbwingo. 32. Wolgara.	33. Ridarngo. 34. Gomaidj. 35. Manggalili.	36. Djabu. 37. Mararba.
(b) 38. Wan'guri. 39. Yanango.	40. Riraidjängo. 41. Galbu.	42. Warameri. 43. Dalwango.
II. Semi-Mudbura Type. 44. Djinang.	45. Djinba.	

It is at its highest development in the Tiwi of Bathurst and Melville Islands, and it recalls very strongly the Amerindian type such as Algonkin. Fourthly, (d) there comes the group which conjugates by prefixes and has incorporation, but has no classification of nouns at all. Iwaidja is one of these that was dealt with in the first report, others are Margu of Croker Island, Amarag, Gundangbon and Buan. Rainbarngo and Buan have strong affinities to Gunwinggu in vocabulary but lack nounclassification.

The confusion of tongues in the Roper River valley is noteworthy. Thus Ngandi has close affinities in vocabulary with the languages to the north of the Murngin Group, but it is a multiple classifying language and incorporates pronoun objects: Murngin dialects have little inflection comparatively, and it will be shown that they are probable latecomers in north Australia. The eastern neighbour of Ngandi, Wandarang, has the same phenomena, but its vocabulary is largely Mara, and many nouns are identical in both languages, except for class-prefixes added in Wandarang. The verb is purely Mara in structure, while the Ngandi verb is typical of the group (a) languages. Thus in Mara, yellow ochre is gabanda, in Wandarang it is wugabanda. Conjugation of the verb by means of auxiliaries is the normal practice in both languages.

Of the suffixing languages, the Murngin Group is the only representative in this area. It is marked by the absence of classification of nouns, and no variation of the verb for person. Changes for tense are marked by a change of ending, not of initial. These languages are crowded into the north-eastern corner of Arnhem Land, and themselves fall into two sub-groups, while the historical problem of how they could have got there, hemmed in by classifying languages, is complicated by the fact that many of their words are western and southern Australian, e.g. gabu, water.

It is now possible to take the languages individually and point out their characteristics. The same common vocabulary is used as in the previous report, so that comparison may be made with those languages and with Schmidt's examples in *Die Gliederung der Australischen Sprachen*. Languages which are mentioned in both reports are given again in the vocabulary here, but they are not treated separately.

1. Multiple Classifying Languages.

- (1) Laragia. This language has already been studied (Oceania, X, 266-8), and the subject does not call for expansion here, though further notes were gained. It may be added that the language listed by earlier writers as Wulna or Woolna is the northern form of Laragia. Mindji was not contacted.
- (2) Gagadu. This, spelled Kakadu, is the language of the people who form the chief subjects of Sir Baldwin Spencer's Native Tribes of Northern Australia, where he gives an outline of the grammar and vocabulary. This material, however, is worse than useless, because his treatment of the grammar is radically wrong and his phonetics very weak. He treated the language as a dual classifying language, whereas it has four noun-classes, and possesses also incorporation of the pronoun

object, which Spencer overlooked. The people are now very few in number; the information gained was gathered from two women living at Oenpelli Mission. The proper name of the people seems to be A:wur, and it is possible that Kakadu is simply the native pronunciation of "cockatoo" as a totem-name. The language is extremely complicated, but fairly regular. The noun-classes are four in number, and there is also a gender system crossing the bounds of the classes. Thus, "I give you" varies according to whether "you" refers to one male or female, two males, two females, or a number of males or females. Yet there are only two nominative pronouns in the third person singular, the 1st class (masculine) and 2nd class (feminine), which latter has to serve also for the 3rd and 4th classes. It may have been this fact that led Spencer so badly astray. The same phenomenon is found in Gunwinggu. The class forms are shown in the following examples, which mean "Where is that big (I, man; II, woman; III, stone; IV, (lot of) food) I saw?"

- I. Jana na:biri djereini maruwara ore:gara?
- II. Janinja njina:biri djire:wan njamaruwara njungore:gara?
- III. Janinga nanga:biri geimbi gumaruwara gungore:gara?
- IV. Janama nama:biri djamu mamaruwara mungore:gara?

The similarity of the prefixes to those of the Northern Kimberley languages leaves no doubt of the actual connection of the two, and this holds good right across to Groote Eylandt. The infixing of some class signs, while others are prefixed or suffixed, is characteristic of Arnhem Land.

The pronouns given in the first report were taken from Spencer, and contain some phonetic errors. The correct list is therefore given:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Ist person— Masculine Feminine	}-yainma	}-mánerima	maneidima maneimbama
2nd person— Masculine Feminine	}-ŋeinjima	injaminama injandjima	injadima injambima
3rd person— Masculine Feminine	па:үита ŋa:juma	noyomanima nojoindima	noγo:dima ηογοmbima

These forms can be used as possessives also, but relationship terms take a series of prefixed possessives. The pronoun object is incorporated into the verb, and examples of it will be given below; some verbs, however, take the object as a suffix, and these, as in the Northern Kimberleys, correspond roughly to indirect objects in English, but not exclusively so. In the dual and plural the gender of the subject

is also shown by a suffix to the verb, as will appear below. The object suffixes are as follows:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
ist person—			
Masculine		-ŋamana	-ŋida
Feminine	:: }-ŋa	-ŋindja	-ŋimba
2nd person—			
Masculine) b. ex ed	-njamana	-njada
Feminine	·· }-nja	-njandja	-njamba
3rd person—			
Masculine	· · -no	-namana	-nada
Feminine	ju	-nandja	-namba

The 3rd person feminine serves also for classes III and IV. The subject suffixes are the characteristic portions of the above suffixes, i.e. -mana, dual masculine; -ndja, dual feminine; -da, plural masculine; and -mba, plural feminine, and these are seen also to be infixed in the cardinal pronouns. The two types of suffix can be combined in one verb: jarbo-ŋa-da bari, came-me-they (masc.), behind, i.e. they (masc.) followed me. Similarly jarbonamba bari, they (fem.) followed me.

The verb is extremely complicated. Two main conjugations are to be distinguished, one intransitive, the other transitive. Only the second takes object prefixes as well as subject prefixes. The intransitive conjugation is shown in the following examples, which are agrist tense positive:

		Si Si	it. Cry.	Fall.	Want.
Sing. I 2 3	(i) (ii) (iii)	are: njin ne:y njin djey	neni djawadaja _y ni wadjayi neni njawadjayi	ri njingare:nbimi ingare:nbimi	ararayaimar narayaimar darayaimar ijerayaimar
	(iv)	men			

In the dual, only the first person has a special form, *marenini*, we two sit; in the other two persons and the plural the suffixes listed above come into use, e.g. *djawadjada*, you two (masc.) cry; *ne:namba*, they two (fem.) sit.

The tense scheme consists of (I) an aorist tense, which may serve as present or past, and (2) a future. The negative involves a change of ending, and the prefixes of the aorist are applied to the future negative and those of the future positive to the aorist negative. This extraordinary change implies that to the native there is implied not a distinction of tense so much as one of aspect, and the system has not been worked out fully as yet. The following examples show the forms actually assumed

by the verbal prefixes of subject and object, combined with the suffixes of gender, number and aspect.

	Root	: -ore:gara, to see.
I see you (sing.)		b-ore:gara
you-two (masc.)		b-ore:gara-mana
you-two (fem.)		b-ore:gara-ndja
you see me		ŋun-ore:gara
us, 2 (masc.)		ŋun-ore:gara-mana
(fem.)	101 ,1319	ŋun-ore:gara-ndja
I see him	vitores	g-ore:gara
them, 2 (masc.)	e dalues	g-ore:gara-mana
(fem.)		g-ore:gara-ndja
them (masc.)		g-ore:gara-da
(fem.)		g-ore:gara-mba
you see him	CHARLE.	n-ore:gara
them, 2 (masc.)	963-07	n-ore:gara-mana
(fem.)		n-ore:gara-ndja
them (masc.)		n-ore:gara-da
(fem.)	• •	n-ore:gara-mba
Class objects: I see him		g-ore:gara
her		nj-ore:gara
ston	e	geimbi g-ore:gara
food		djamu m-ore:gara
Plural subjects: We see	him	miraw-ore:gara-da
	her	nji-maw-ore:gara-da
	stone	geimbi gu-maw-ore:gara-da
	food	djamu ma-maw-ore:gara-da.
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If the object as well as the subject is plural, the suffixes are doubled: <code>miraw-ore:gara-mba-njono</code>, we (fem.), see them two (masc.); <code>nju-miraw-ore:gara-da-njono</code>, we (masc.), see them two (fem.). As throughout the classifying languages, there is no dual or plural for classes III and IV. The whole of this Gagadu system strikingly recalls that of the Papuan Kiwai in the Fly River delta, New Guinea.

(3) Gunwinggu. The Gunwinggu language has been treated in the earlier report (Oceania, Vol. X, pp. 269-272). It is the most widely known language in western Arnhem Land and a useful lingua franca, both in extent and in the fact that it is not the most difficult of the languages. It exists in several dialects. One is spoken about Oenpelli, and it is this which has been accepted as the basis of the published notes. To the north is the Gumadir dialect, which differs only slightly. Eastwards, about the Liverpool River is the dialect of Muralidban, which differs in quite a number of grammatical forms, and nearly half its vocabulary. Some of the divergences are illustrated in the comparative vocabulary below. The Gundangbon (No. 28) and Buan (No. 27) languages are closely related to Gunwinggu and to each

other, but neither has the classification of nouns. The only fact to be added to the previous discussion of Gunwinggu is that nouns of class III (prefix gun-) and IV (prefix man-) may reject their prefixes and be incorporated into the verb of which they are the objects. Thus "I want my spear" may be either mangole na-mane-djare or more idiomatically na-mane-gole-djare; and there are numerous adverbial infixes which may be combined in a certain definite order in the verb in like manner, e.g. gabiri-djäl-djarg-gole-djare-ni, they were all wanting spears all the time.

(4) Mangeri (mange:ri) and (5) Uningangk (uningang). It would appear that Gunwinggu was not originally spoken about Oenpelli, but that its habitat was much farther to the east and north. The language originally spoken about Awunbelenja (the native form of Oenpelli) was Mangeri, while south-east of it, about the head of the East Alligator River, was the Uningangk language. Both are now nearly extinct. While neither name has been recorded before, it seems that Mangeri was known to Spencer under the name of Geimbio, just as Amarag was recorded by him as Umoriu. Both Mangeri and Uningangk are dialects of one language, of a rather more archaic type than Gunwinggu, and showing relationship to the Maung of Goulburn Island and the neighbouring mainland.² At the same time there are definite traits which serve to bridge these languages and Gagadu. Thus the masculine dual sign is -mana in Gagadu and -mun in Mangeri, but in the latter it is of common gender. The Mangeri pronouns are as follows:

		Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
I incl.		g-oreigana	ŋargaminuwumun	ŋarga
I excl.		ŋa:b	ŋaneminuwumun	ŋaneminu
2		no:w	iniminuwumun	iniminu
3 (i)		no:g	miniminuwumun	miniminu
(ii)	. 19	ŋaidj		

As in Gagadu, Cl. II singular serves also for Cl. III and Cl. IV, and the cardinal pronouns are used as possessives. Relationship terms take prefixed possessives as in Uningangk ŋeɣanjaŋai, my father:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
I incl.	River delta · No	ŋanjawunbalgumun	nanjawunbalg
I excl.	 neyanjanai	ŋanjawunbalgumun	nanjawunbalg
2	 injawalg	injawunbalgumun	injawunbalg
3 (i)	nawalg	anjanunbalgumun	anjanunbalg
(ii)	 injawalg		

A larger plural may be shown by suffixing -unprindj, three, instead of the dual ending. Nouns in each language are divided into four classes, but adjectives can also show a masculine and feminine plural, the noun remaining unchanged. It will be seen later that this is an intermediate stage between the Groote Eylandt

² See Oceania, Vol. X, pp. 268-270.

type and the Gunwinggu. The adjective "short" in Mangeri shows the following class forms:

		Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
Class	I	 aningurb	mununingurbadbumun	
Class	II	 iningurb	miraningurbadbumun	miraningurbad
Class	III	uningurb	all numbers alike	
Class	IV	 manmaningurb	Jan namoro ami	

Not all adjectives take the same class prefixes. As in other languages, the adjective may also take the verbal prefixes to show person. The verb has the normal division into intransitive and transitive conjugations, the latter with incorporation. The tense scheme is shown in Mangeri: present and future <code>name-nuweleg</code>, I tell or will tell him; negative for this, <code>na-nuweleg</code>; past, <code>na-nuweleg</code>, I told him; negative past, <code>na-nuweleg</code>. The structure of the negative shows affinity with Gagadu. A typical intransitive conjugation is furnished by <code>namalj</code>, I go:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
I incl.	 	monjamun	monj
ı excl.	 ŋamalj	ŋanainjamun	ŋanainj
2	 imalj	ininjamun	ininj
3 (i)	 imalj	monoinjamun	monoinj
(ii)	 imalj	miraljamun	miralj
(iii)	 umalj	dual and plura	l as singular
(iv)	 mamalj	Sudar and plara	- Co onigua

Some of these verbs are irregular, in that the stem shows change for number.

Here follows the comparative vocabulary for this sub-group, the Gagadu being repeated in order to correct Spencer's spellings.

English.	Gagadu.	Mangeri.	Uningangk.	S. Gunwinggu	. Muralidban.
man woman head	djereiŋi djire:wan ŋa:ri bɔ:rɔ	wurilg ne:n wilinerm i:m	wurig ne:n ulnerb i:m	binin dalug gungoidj gunmi:m	binin nalware:rulg gungoidan gunmi:m
nose mouth tongue	ge:ni dja:bul ŋa:ndjil	jingolm jagir nindjadj	ingolb indja:d indja:d	gungəb gundan gundjen gunjam	gungəb gundaŋ gundjen gunmelem
stomach bone blood kangaroo opossum emu	mabulu bena:găra maneŋul ba:gu mɔṇɔ gabarɛ:bi	aberwere ijerm maneŋulm oidjbayar muŋa:d wiwijüw	aberwe mulgud waija wurulamb malijarŋ iwidjiw	gunyum gunmurun gungulba goṇobolo djɛ:bui gurugaiju	gunmurun gungulba gundagi duri

English.	Gagadu.	Mangeri.	Uningangk.	S. Gunwing	gu. Muralidban.
crow fly	mawa:ga	gagud munimuni	gagud manananan	wa:g bo:d	wa:g bo:d
sun	gobolbara	muγa:liŋ	indjuwawi	gunduŋ	nalbenbe
moon fire	maḍba gudjāli	järagäl wirumgarm	järagäl widjälim	di:ḍ gunag	di:ḍ gunag
smoke	unari	wuneng	wuŋɛŋg	gundəly	gundəlŋ
water	garu	ogog	ogog	gogo	gnuis:ū

With the Gunwinggu may be compared the vocabularies of Gundangbon and Buan. It is possible that the Gundeidjeme language may belong to this group, or to the Gundangbon-Buan, for it was not contacted.

The following languages may be next taken together: (6) Gungorogone, (9) Burera-Gudjälavia-Gunaidbe. Nos. (7) (Gunba:lang) and (8) (Maung) have already been referred to in *Oceania*, Vol. X, pp. 268-272.

(6) Gungorogone, (9) Gudjälavia-Gunaidbe-Burera. The Gungorogone language stands somewhat apart, though its vocabulary in large measure agrees with Burera. Gudjälavia and Gunaidbe are very close dialects of Burera—or rather it is purely an arbitrary matter which dialect is taken as standard. Each language has four nounclasses corresponding to those in Gunwinggu, but a dual and plural in the personal classes may be marked by a numeral suffix. In Gungorogone at least the demonstratives and adjectives have prefixes for dual and plural: "this" in Gung., Cl. I agone, dual awunigone, plural awurigone; II, djugone; III, gugone; IV, mugone. With these compare Burera, Cl. I anguno, II djunguno, III gunguno, IV munguno (accenting the first syllable in all cases). Whilst in the case of Gungorogone it is reasonable to regard the personal dual and plural as separate classes (as will be done below in Andiljaugwa and Nunggubuyu) it is not necessary in the Burera dialects, as these inflect differently to express number. Thus: Bur. angigälije anmuno, man big; gigälijiridje munmunojäridje, two big men. These languages are marked by a special demonstrative used after names of parts of the body, and which varies for person and class: Bur. bama-djire, head, giving either bamadjire annaibe or bama nidjire, my head. Thus:

			Singular.	Dual.		Plural.
I incl				bama ridjire	bama	nibiridjire
I exc	1.		bama yidjire	bama njiridjire	bama	njibiridjire
2			bama ndjire	bama njiridjire	bama	nibiridjire
3, Cl.	I		bama djire	bama abiridjire	bama	biridjire
		II	bama djindjire	bama abiridjire	bama	biridjire
			bama gindjire	Jama for dual and	plural	
		IV	bama mundjire	same for dual and	piurai	

Parts of the body are always mentioned in this way, and the demonstrative seems to have lost its significance. Similarly in Gudjälavia, mi:bele yidjire, my eye; iri yidjire, my tooth; and in Gungorogone, wele yidjire, my forehead; bobala yidjire, my back. In all the dialects relationship terms take suffixes to indicate possession, and in many cases there are completely different terms of address and reference. The cardinal pronouns in the two series of languages are as follows:

		Gungorogone.	Burera.
Sing. I	inia i mwa Manania Manania	naibe narbu nejabu	naibe ninjibe nibe
3, Cl. I Dual I incl. I excl.	olid nybi	laidiju (?) nadiju nogodiju bo:diju	nadibe njadibe anago:dibe budibe
3 Plur. I incl. I excl.		laidjburo ŋaidjburo nɔgɔ:diba bɔgɔ:diba	naiiribe njaiiribe anagoiiribe buribe

There is also a series of indirect objects, but the direct object is incorporated into the verb.

The intransitive verb shows the following prefixes for person : Burera, ηu - $b\varepsilon$ - $n\varepsilon$, I came.

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
ı incl.	 yubene	aribene njiribene	njuburubene njuburubene
2	njibene	niribene	nuburubene
3, Cl. I	 abene djindjene	abiribene abiribene	aburubene aburubene
III	 gubene	}alike in all	numbers.
IV	 gubene		

The expected form in Cl. IV is, of course, *mubene*, but informants refused to accept it. There is also in these languages another type of conjugation not found in the other groups, in which the first person singular begins with η -, followed by a consonant instead of a vowel. Thus Gudjälavia, $\eta gaga$, I push:

		Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
ı incl	/		arigaga	ŋabagaga
ı excl.		ngaga	njirgaga	njibugaga
2		gaga	nirigaga	nibigaga
3, Cl. I		agaga	abirigaga	abagaga

Burera is only slightly different. The tense scheme allows for differentiation of present, past and future by prefix, but these tenses can be subdivided by varying the verbal suffixes for nearer and remoter past: Bur. yubənə, I went, recently; yubəndə, I went (remoter). Not all verbs, however, make the distinction. There are some further distinctions also in tense, e.g. a relative future, as in Bur. nuwuro abenge, yiniwidje, when he comes, I will ask him; waigidje bara bə:l gurə, ygambo, if the fire burns well I will cook (the food).

Examples of the transitive conjugation are shown in the following words and phrases: Gungorogone: arane, he killed him; narane, I killed him; adibu djundjun miji-bari, that dog bit you; gelei nini-bari, the crocodile bit me; nji-naga, you (sing.) give me; boro-naga, you (plur.) give me. In Gudjälavia these become respectively arani, narani, djundjun nadibu bija-bari and gelei nina-bari.

The comparative vocabulary of the group is shown below.

English.	Gungorogone.	Gudjälavia.	Gunaidbe.	Burera.
man	wari	angigälije	angigälije	angigälije
woman	gami	gamu	gamu	gamu
head	noronoro	bama	bama	bama
eve	mebele	mi:bele	mi:bele	mi:bele
nose	goi	guje	ŋoira	noira
mouth	ŋaṛa	nane	nane	nana
tongue	nara	nal	ŋal	ŋala
stomach	godjana	naburba	naburba	goidjila
bone	gadjäldi	<i>питата</i>	питата	munmama
blood	go:lidja	maninan	maninan	maninan,
Diood				mangaraba
kangaroo	ganajala	gandejala	gandejala	gonobolo
opossum	wara:gun	wa:ragun	wa:ragun	wa:ragun
emu	burar			wurban
crow	na:ridje	wagwag	wagwag	ma'rälgara
fly	mɔ:ji	jumudbi	jumudbi	mɔ:ja
sun	djinmurga	manna	manna	manna
moon	ŋɔlgɔwar	nandjireda	ŋandjireḍa	rangu
C	gunnudja	bo:l	bo:l	bo:l
	ginele	djolno	djolno	djolno
	gunmenan	djidjurog	bugulo	bugulo
water	· · gumenung	wjwjwr08	01151110	01181110

(10) Andiljaugwa. Andiljaugwa is the language of Groote Eylandt, and forms a unit structurally, though not in vocabulary, with the Nunggubuyu of Rose River on the mainland. These two are by far the most complicated languages in north Australia, perhaps in the whole of Australia. In both, nouns are divisible into nine classes; the functions of some classes are clear, those of others not so clear, and in

both the parts of the body are very irregularly distributed among the classes. This is true for Maung also, the next in point of elaboration. The following sentences show the class inflections in Andiljaugwa.

- Class I. Ni-miebina nini-mi:gara nana-mamalja na-ŋaba ni-durunana nine:ni-ringa? Ni-ŋamba na-mbilja? "What is the name of that big man I saw? Where is he sitting?"
- Class II. Wuna-miebina wunini-mi:gara wana-mamalja wuna-mbiljuma wunalayaba wuna-duruyana niyara-riyga? Wunala-yamba wu-bilja? "What are the names of those two big men I saw? Where are they sitting?"
- Class III. Wura-miebina wuni-mi:gara wana-mamalja wanu-ŋaba wura-duruŋana niŋara-riŋga? Wura-ŋamba na-mbilja? "What are the names of those big men I saw? Where are they sitting?"
- Class IV. Da-mibeina dada-mi:gara wudáringa da-naba da-durunana nanana-ringa? Da-namba ina-mbilja? "What is the name of that big woman I saw? Where is she sitting?"
- Class V. Wurna-miebina wurnada-mi:gara wurna-dáringa-gia wurnala-mbiljuma wurnala-naba wurna-durunana-gia nanaralaraga-ringa? Wurnala-namba narna-mbilja? "What are the names of those two big women I saw? Where are they sitting?"
- Class VI. A-miebina a-mi:gara agwalja a-ŋaba a-duruŋana niŋa-riŋga? A-ŋamba na-mbilja? "What is the name of that big fish I saw? Where is it?"
- Class VII. Ma-miebina ma-mi:gara midjian ma-naba ma-durunana ninama-ringa? Ma-namba numa-mbilja? "What is the name of that big ship I saw? Where is it?"
- Class VIII. Ji-miebina ini-mi:gara jaraidja ja-ŋaba ja-duruŋana niŋana-riŋga? Ji-ŋamba na-mbilja? "What is the name of that big iguana I saw? Where is it?
- Class IX. Wura-miebina wana-mi:gara wurudjaidja wura-ŋaba wura-duruŋana niŋara-riŋga? Wura-ŋamba na-mbilja? "What is the name of that big bird I saw? Where is it?"

Class I contains the names of male persons, Cl. II is the dual of Cl. I and Cl. III its plural; Cl. IV contains the names of female persons and of some birds and animals, and its dual is given by Cl. V and the plural by Cl. III, but only for persons; Cl. VI is for most inanimate objects, some fish, trees, most parts of the body, the heavenly bodies except the sun and moon; Cl. VII contains the sun, sea, shore,

ships, lily roots and most wooden objects; Cl. VIII the moon, the lesser animals, implements, weapons and some miscellaneous words; Cl. IX is that of the larger animals, and its prefixes are almost identical with those of Cl. III. In Wandarang there is a similar confusion between the personal and the animal classes. Practically every part of speech is subject to inflection for class. In view of the numerous classes, it seems best to treat this language as the Bantu languages are often treated, i.e. to abolish distinction of number in the 3rd person pronoun and count the classes straight through from I to IX. The pronouns themselves have a trial number that is here marked IIIA, but this has no corresponding forms in other parts of speech. There are three types of possessives: (i) independent words, e.g. nanjanwa, my; (2) suffixes to relationship terms, e.g. nunw-áraga, my father (though both of these, like the cardinal pronouns, are lacking beyond Cl. V); and (3) prefixes, but in this language only to the word -mi:gara, name. The table shows these forms.

Person.		Cardinal Pronoun.	Possessive.	Suffixed Pronoun.	Prefixed Pronoun.
I singular dual incl. dual excl. trial incl. trial excl. plur. incl. plur. excl.		naijuwa ja:gwa inuwa naribugúruwa irubugúruwa nagúruwa iruwa	nanjanwa ja:gulanwa inulanwa naribuguru- lanwa irubugurulanwa nagurulanwa irulanwa	nunw-áraga nunw-áraga nunw-áraga nunw-anjanwa nunw-áraga nunw-anjanwa nunw-áraga	e:gara e:gara e:gara e:gara e:gara e:gara e:gara
2 singular dual trial	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	nunguwa nungunuwa nungurubu- guruwa nungúruwa	nungulanwa nungunulanwa nungurubu- gurulanwa nungurulanwa	nunw-e:na nunw-e:na nunw-e:na nunw-e:na	ninge:nini:gara ginini-mi:gara ? garini-mi:gara
3 Class I Class III Class IIII Class IIIA Class IV Class V		naŋa:ga abinuwa aburuwa aburubu- guruwa daŋa:ga aburŋuwa	anilanwa abinulanwa aburulanwa aburubuguru- lanwa nalilanwa aburnulanwa	nunw-:enigba nunw-árunba nunw-árunba nunw-árunba nunw-adugba	nini-mi:gara wunini-mi:gara wani-mi:gara ? dada-mi:gara wurnada-mi- gara
Class VII Class VIII Class VIII		toph mend Hall form only come at the Process	Farming states	dus U <u>sam</u> nes St. co n um St. conum St. conum St. conum	a-mi:gara ma-mi:gara ini-mi:gara wana-mi:gara

The missing forms in Classes VI-IX are supplied by demonstratives.

The verb is equally complex. The transitive verb incorporates the object pronoun, and class must be allowed for in both subject and object. Space does not permit of examples of the verbal system beyond a table showing the past tense of the transitive verb -ringa, to see. The subject in Classes I, IV and III (he, she, they) alone is given.

Person of Object.	He saw.	She saw.	They saw.
singular	njini-ringa	nu-ringa	bu-ringa
dual incl.	jireni-laragi-ringa	jana-laragi-ringa	jabu-laragi-ringa
dual excl.	jireni-ringa	jirana-laragi-ringa	jirabu-laragi-ringa
plur. incl.	narani-ringa	narana-ringa	narabu-ringa
plur. excl.	jireni-ringa	jirani-ringa	jirabu-ringa
singular dual	nunu-ringa	nu-ringa	bu-ringa
	gireni-laragi-ringa	girani-laragi-ringa	girabu-laragi-ringa
	gireni-ringa	girani-ringa	girabu-ringa
Class I Class II Class III . Class IV Class V Class VI . Class VII Class VIII Class IX	neni-ringa neni-laragi-ringa nani-ringa nana-ringa neni-laragi-ringa ni-ringa nima-ringa ni-ringa ni-ringa ni-ringa nani-ringa	inini-ringa narana-ringa narana-ringa nana-ringa nara-laragi-ringa ini-ringa ini-ma-ringa ini-ringa narina-ringa	neni-ringa nara-laragi-ringa nara-ringa narina-ringa nara-laragi-ringa nari-ringa nari-ma-ringa neni-ringa nara-ringa

A considerable variety of tenses and moods exist, and there is a separate negative conjugation. Similar sequences of forms to that illustrated above have to be allowed for in each of these, and there is also a reflexive conjugation. There are many other intricacies of Andiljaugwa grammar that cannot be entered into here. Mention should be made, however, of the numeral system, which has been developed under Malay trading influence into a regular quinary system, which seems to extend indefinitely upwards as far as needed. The same sort of system has been taken over also by the Nunggubuyu.

(II) Nunggubuyu (nungu'buju). The Nunggubuyu language of Rose River district on the mainland opposite Groote Eylandt bears a very close structural resemblance to Andiljaugwa, but it is rare for two actual words to be alike. All the general statements made concerning Andiljaugwa grammar can be taken as true also for Nunggubuyu. The examples given in Groote Eylandt language will now be given also in that of Rose River.

- Table of class forms:
- Class I. Janinjun nanimuwaidjun nawaljinjun nuwagi narungaljun naninani?

 Ajiga nibura? "What is the name of that big man I saw? Where is he sitting?"
- Class II. Janiwa nanimuwaidjba nawaljiwa nuwinila winiwulawa narungalwa naranani? Awiniga winibura? "What are the names of those two big men I saw? Where are they sitting?"
- Class III. Janajani warumumuwaidj warawaljawalja warawurala warungarungal naranani? Adjiga wurubura? "What are the names of those big men I saw? Where are they sitting?"
- Class IV. Janinjun naranarimuwaidjun narumaninjun naruwagi narungaljun nanunani? Ajiga nibura? "What is the name of that big woman I saw? Where is she sitting?"
- Class V. Janinjumba narunarimuwaidjba naramanamba naruwuni winiwulawa narungalwa naranani? Adjiga winibura? "What are the names of those two big women I saw? Where are they sitting?"
- Class VI. Ajani anumuwaidj ananudjidja anuwani anarungal nanani? Aniga wubura? "What is the name of that big fish I saw? Where is it?"
- Class VII. Jani manamamuwaidj manabarawu manuwama manarungal namanani? Amiga mabura? "What is the name of that big ship I saw? Where is it?"
- Class VIII. Jayi anumuwaidj anaranag anuwani anarungal nawunani? Aniga wubura? "What is the name of that big tree I saw? Where is it?"
- Class IX. Jani warumuwaidj walandurg waruwawa warurungal naranani? Awiga wubura? "What is the name of that big dog I saw? Where is he?"

The chief difference here as compared with Andiljaugwa is that Nunggubuyu does not inflect every word in the series, e.g. not always *jaŋi*, "what?" and that suffixes as well as prefixes are used, and that more liberally than in Andiljaugwa. The Nunggubuyu pronouns are as follows:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
r incl		nagawaidj	naguruwaidj
I excl.	naijawaidj	niniwaidj	nuruwaidj
2	nugawaidj	nuguniwaidj	nuguruwaidj
3, Cl. I	juwagi	juwanila	wuguruwaidj

The class forms in the 3rd person are in part defective. The general relationship of these words to the Andiljaugwa is obvious. There are prefixed and suffixed possessives, as in Andiljaugwa. The following table shows the intransitive verb-jari, to go.

Person.		Present.	Past.	Future.
i singular		najari	najangi	nandjari
dual incl.		najari	najangi	nandjari
dual excl.		ninijari	ninijangi	nanijari
plural incl.		nambijari	nambijangi	nambujari
plural excl.		nambijari	nambijangi	nambijari
2 singular	•••	nujari	nujangi	bajari
dual		ninijari	ninijangi	nimbinijari
plural		numbijari	numbijangi	numbujari
Class II Class III Class III Class IV Class V Class VI Class VIII Class VIII Class IX		nijari winijari wurujari njijari winijari wujari majari wujari wujari wujari	nijangi winijangi wurujangi nijangi winijangi wujangi majangi wujangi wujangi	anijari ambinijari ambujari anjijari winijari angujari animajari wangujari. wangujari

Once again there is more than one conjugation. In the transitive verb, the scheme of prefixes corresponding to those given for Andiljaugwa is as follows: root, -na-, to see.

Person of Obj	ect.	He saw.	She saw.	They saw.
i singular		nani-na-ni	nayi-na-ni	nambi-na-ni
dual incl.		nani-na-ni	nayi-na-ni	nambi-na-ni
dual excl.		nunu-na-ni	nunu-na-ni	nambi-na-ni
plural incl.		naniara-na-ni	narayi-na-ni	nambi-na-ni
plural excl.		nani-na-ni	nayi-na-ni	nambi-na-ni
2 singular		nini-na-ni	niŋi-na-ni	nambi-na-ni
dual		nani-na-ni	naŋi-na-ni	nambi-na-ni
plural		naniara-na-ni	naŋiara-na-ni	nambiara-na-ni
3 Class I Class II Class III Class IV. Class V Class V Class VII Class VIII Class VIII Class IX		nu-na-ni wani-na-ni wanara-na-ni yu-na-ni wani-na-ni ni-na-ni nima-na-ni niwu-na-ni wani-na-ni	yunu-na-ni wayi-na-ni wayara-na-ni yu-na-ni wayi-na-ni yi-na-ni yima-na-ni yiwu-na-ni wayi-na-ni	wunu-na-ni wara-na-ni wara-na-ni wara-na-ni wuru-na-ni wirima-na-ni wiri-na-ni wara-na-ni

examples. It may be noted in passing, also, that the Wandarang have adopted the Mara section-system of marriage classes, but without named moieties. The Wandarang pronouns are more distinct:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
I incl	i.	njanja	ŋalbur
I excl.	nina	njiraji	njidbur
2	njinju	ŋuraji	ŋudbur
3 Cl. I	niwa	wuraji	wudbur
Cl. II	ŋadba	wuraji	wudbur
Ch. III	wiwa	same in all	numbers
Cl. IV	miwa	Same in an	numbers
Cl. V	(ṛ)iwa		

Independent possessives, like normal adjectives, agree with their nouns in class. The forms for "my" are: Cl. I, nanunina; Cl. II, nanunina; Cl. III, wununina; Cl. IV, manunina; Cl. V, (r)anunina. There are short forms in the singular: nini, my; njigi, your; and agi, his or her; these are used chiefly with relationship terms and are related to the Mara words. The following examples show how the concord rules are applied in Wandarang:

Jiri-wudnoi jiri-wariji jiri-balwaji wawuruni war' nalnu-windimani, "Those two big men I see them."

Awarani awungan abalwaji war' nawindimani, "That big dog I see it."

The demonstrative "that" takes a double concord within itself: Cl. I, nawanani; Cl. II, niwanani; Cl. III, wawuni; Cl. IV, mamani; Cl. V, awarani. Dual, wawuruni, and plural wawuluni.

It is in the verb that the close relationship of Wandarang to Mara is shown, as much as in vocabulary. Mara has a preference for a verbal noun combined with an auxiliary as a method of conjugation. This has appeared already in the earlier report.³ In Wandarang, as in Mara, the following types of conjugation appear: (a) simple verbs, (b) compound verbs, each subdivided into (I) intransitive, and (2) transitive. The tense scheme is also practically that of Mara; thus, the verbal noun war, "seeing," gives:

Present simple		. war'	ŋawindimani	I see him
Past simple		. war'	ŋawindi	I saw him
Recent past		. war'	ŋawindima	I saw him
Near future		. war'	wuŋawindima	I will see him
Far future and desi	derative	war'	ŋawindiri	I want to see him
Desiderative past		. war'	ŋawindimari	I wanted to see him
Definite future		. war'	wunawindinju	I shall see him!
Imperative		. war'	windi	Look at him!

³ Oceania, Vol. X, pp. 258, 406, 416, and elsewhere.

In the compound intransitive conjugation (a, 2) are found, e.g., bai yadjani, I stand up, using person prefixes the same as those of the simple intransitive: past simple, bai yadjura, I stood up; and future simple, bai juyadjura, I shall stand up. (b, 2), the simple transitive conjugation, does not contain many verbs, the bulk belonging to the compound conjugation. An example, however, is ya-bani, I kicked him; as in ajaraman yarabani, the horse kicked me; njibani, you kicked him; abani, he kicked you; njirurubani, he kicked us two. An important verb of this type is yawindimani, I go to him, already exemplified as the auxiliary used in the table of tenses above. Further examples will be given in the next table also. (b, 2), the transitive compound conjugation, may be compared with the corresponding examples in Mara (No. 22).

```
.. war' na-windimani
I see you (sing.)
                    .. war' narnu-windimani
          (dual)
                    .. war' nalnu-windimani
          (plur.)
                    .. war' na-windimani
I see him
                    .. war' narnu-windimani
      them
                    .. war' nalnu-windimani
      them
                    .. war' nja-windimani
We-two see him
                    .. war' njarnu-windimani (dl.)
            them
                    .. war' njalnu-windimani (pl.)
            them
                    .. war' nara-windimani
We see him ...
                    .. war' naranur-windimani (dl.)
        them ..
                    .. war' nalanu-windimani (pl.)
        them ..
```

The function of the infix, showing the number of the object, will be apparent. It should be noted that class does not enter into the subject in Wandarang transitive verbs, unlike the Andiljaugwa, Nunggubuyu and Ngandi.

```
.. war' nara-windimani
He or she sees me
             us-two (incl.) war' njararu-windimani
             us-two (excl.) war' njiriru-windimani
                        .. war' nalalu-windimani
             us (incl.)
                        .. war' njililu-windimani
             us (excl.)
             you (sing.) .. war' nji-windimani
                        .. war' nururu-windimani
             you-two
                           war' nululu-windimani
             you (plur.)
             him, her .. war' a-windimani
                        .. war' arnu-windimani
             them-two
                        .. war' alnu-windimani
```

The imperative is conjugated in this manner:

Look at:

	You (singular).	You (dual and plural).
me	war' jaŋara-windi	war' nararu-windi
us-two	war' njiriru-windi	war' njiriru-windi
us	war' njilili-windi	war' njililu-windi
him, her	war' windi	war' jiru-windi
them-two	war' jurunu-windi	war' jirunu-windi
them	war' juluŋu-windi	war' jilunu-windi.

Some further examples of Wandarang constructions: wunu war' wunarwindinju, wunawinju, if I see you, I will give it to you; niwoibi naralmadgabi jirimarburmiri, the woman covered her face with her hands; rawarani awalanjan waridj njira:wa; wunu gu waridj njinumi, djabai waridj nanjinumi, you catch that fish; if you don't catch him, probably he will catch you! Wunu wuradbu'rjana anani, wunadjani, if he is in the camp, I'd like to see him.

(13) Ngandi. The territory of the Ngandi lies immediately to the west of the Wandarang, and touches on Nunggubuyu also; hence it is not unexpected that the language shows agreements with both. To the north it makes contact with the Ridarngo country, and through that has connections with the Murngin dialects (b, 1). Many of the words are Murngin with class prefixes, e.g. gudagal, cheek; cf. Ridarngo, Gobabwingo, Galbu, Manggalili, dagal; awaḍu, dog; cf. Ridarngo waḍu. Many other examples could be quoted, including verbs, the last having prefixes not present in the northern languages, e.g. Ngandi yamarygi, I know; Murngin dialects, marygi, to know. There are also agreements with the Gunwinggu Group farther west (no doubt through Buan), e.g. Ngandi adjen, fish; cf. Gunw. djen.

In Ngandi six classes must be allowed for: there is no class-form for the dual number, but a suffix, -bula, is used after nouns of any class. This is the word bula commonly used for "two" or "they two" in very many parts of Australia. The plural prefix ba- is the same as that found, e.g., in Ungarinyin in the Northern Kimberleys. The following sentences exemplify the Ngandi classes:

- Cl. I. nandja nijul niwayara nina yananani? Who is that big man I saw?
- Cl. II. nandja namanun nawanara nana nananani? Who is that big woman I saw?
- Cl. III. bandja bijul bawayara bana yabaranani? Who are those big men I saw?

⁴ See Oceania, Vol. X, p. 256.

- Cl. IV. gundja gudjundo guwanara guna nagunani? What is that big stone I saw?
- Cl. V. mandja mawangura mawanara mana namanani? What is that big bandicoot I saw?
- Cl. VI. andja awaqu awayara ana yaranani? What is that big dog I saw?

Elements of agreement with Wandarang also appear here, especially in Cl. VI. It is interesting to note that for "three," which is 2+1, the word for "one" takes the plural prefix: bajabban bawangin, one=niwangin, etc.; cf. Murngin wangan. As a dual suffix, however, -bula is used, as already noted, and for a limited plural sometimes -gabbul, which in neighbouring languages means "three."

The Ngandi pronouns are set forth next.

The verbal system follows the general lines of Nunggubuyu, not of Wandarang. The tense-scheme of the transitive verb (which has incorporation) is the following: root -na-, to see; yana-na-djini, I see him.

Present simple Present continued Past simple Past continued Future simple Future continued Desiderative Conditional presen Conditional past Purpose, present Purpose, past	. nana-na-ni . nana-naninani . nana-na-n . nana-na-na-n . nana-na-n-gu at nana-gaia'-na-n . nana-gaia'-na-dji . nana-na	Negative. gujagu ŋana-na-djmai gujagu ŋana-nadjmainadjmai gujagu ŋana-na-djidj gujagu ŋana-na-djidj gujagu ŋana-na-djinadjidj gujagu ŋana-na-dji gurag ŋana-gaia'-na-djidj gurag ŋana-gaia'-na-djidj gurag ŋana-na-dji
Imperative	ŋana-na-dji =future	=future

This scheme of the tenses presents quite a number of departures from those exhibited hitherto, chiefly in the wholesale doubling of words, the suffix of the simple tense being included in the part doubled to make the continued tense. There are

specific endings also, which mark certain kinds of verb as such, and chief among them one which connects with the Murngin dialects, viz. Murngin $-\underline{dun}$, an intransitive ending. Here Ngandi has present -di, past $-du\eta i$, future $-du\eta$. See notes on the Murngin Group.

Each tense is conjugated by the application of person prefixes; the object is incorporated, and class is distinguished in the subject of a transitive verb, as well as in the object, just as in Andiljaugwa and Nunggubuyu; this is another point of disagreement with Wandarang. Examples: nibandari nanubadji, I hit the boy; babandaribula nabarabadji, I hit the two boys; adjen narabadjan, I hit the fish; and for other types of subject: namanun nagu-na-ban, the woman bit me; a-naradij nagu-ra-ban, the snake bit me (root -ba, to bite); ma-gargan namanarban, the chickenhawk bit me; nigolgol naguniban, the pelican bit me. Other forms are shown in the subjoined table.

	Him.	Them-two.	It (Class V).
I saw you (sing.) saw he saw they-two saw they saw the bandicoot saw the dog saw	ŋa-nu-na-ni nu-nu-na-ni ni-ni-na-ni na-nu-na-ni bar-u-na-ni-bula bar-u-na-ni ni-ma-na-ni ni-gura-na-ni	na-bara-na-ni-bula nu-bara-na-ni-bula ni-bara-na-ni-bula na-bara-na-ni-bula bar-ba-na-ni-bula bar-ba-na-ni-bula bar-ma-na-ni-bula bar-gura-na-ni-bula	na-ma-ma-ni nu-mu-na-ni ni-ma-na-ni na-ma-na-ni ba-ma-na-ni-bula ba-ma-na-ni bar-ma-na-ni bar-gura-na-ni

These examples show a logical system, with, however, some variation in the relative positions of the subject and object prefixes. The language also makes rather liberal use of adverbial infixes, and in this agrees with the Buan-Gundangbon-Gunwinggu Group. Thus: ni-walya, he is alive (cf. Murngin, walya, live) and ninuda nigi, he sits here.

- (1) Continuative infix: ni-na'-walya, he is still alive.
- (2) Conditional infix: ni-gaia'-walna, if he is alive.
- (3) Combined (1) and (2): ni-gaia'-na'-walna, if he is still alive.
- (4) Collective infix: nar-gara-nuḍa-nigi, we sit here together.
- (5) Combined (1) and (4): yar-gara-na'-nuḍa-nigi, we sit here together for a long time.

(14) Ngálagan. The Ngalagan language belongs to the Ngandi sub-group, but is in many respects anomalous. Its vocabulary seems to be drawn from every northern source there is—Murngin, Ngandi, Nunggubuyu, and there are agreements also with the Gunwinggu Group in the west, which is not surprising, seeing that Buan

lies on the northern boundary of Ngalagan. Yet there is no suggestion of southern agreements, with Mangarai or Alawa. The Ngalagan language has the agentive suffix, i.e. a suffix added to nouns and pronouns to indicate that they are the subjects of a transitive verb. This occurs also in Buan, but in no other language of the region. except the Murngin Group, and it is obviously from that group that it has come into Ngalagan. The agentive suffix is -'ji after a noun, and -ni'ji after a pronoun.

There are four classes of nouns in Ngalagan, but the language has the peculiarity that the prefixes of class are separable, and sometimes the noun appears without them, sometimes with a strengthened form of prefix. The reason for these vagaries is not yet clear. The prefixes marking the four classes are: Cl. I, nu- or nugu-; Cl. II, dju-; Cl. III, gu-; Cl. IV, ma. The feminine (Cl. II) prefix recalls those of Gungorogone and Burera. Examples of concords:

- Cl. I. Nu-jana' ye: nugun'biri nugubigur nugunolggo yunanin? "What is the name of that big man I saw?"
- Cl. II. Djujana' ne: djugun'biri bolo'bolo djugunolggo nunanin, "What is the name of that big woman I saw?"

The formation of the dual and plural is like that of Ngandi, having -bira for the dual and -gabbul for the plural, e.g. nujana'bira nunen'gunbiribira bigurbira nubunaninbira? "What are the names of those two big men I saw?" The anomalous construction of the dual and plural in the demonstrative (nunen'gunbiri) should be observed, together with the fact that this plural formation goes through all four classes. It is unusual for Classes III and IV to admit a dual or plural form. The pronouns in the dual and plural numbers take a double agentive: nurgabira, we two, agentive nurga:ni-bira'ji. This shows that the dual suffix enjoys a certain independent stability in native thought, although it is not the word for "two." The pronouns are these:

· ·		Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
I incl.	 		ŋurgabira	ŋurgagabbul
ı excl.	 	ŋaiga	jirgabira	jirgagabbul
2	 	ŋindja	norgabira	norgagabbul
3 Cl. I	 	nindja	burgabira	burgagabbul
Cl. II		djindja	burgabira	burgagabbul

Forms for Classes III and IV are not found, and the Class II form seems to be used as already shown in Gunwinggu and the related languages. The possessive in general is expressed by a simple word, but there are traces of suffixes for relationship terms.

The conjugation of the verb proceeds along the lines illustrated in Nunggubuyu, except that the transitive verb does not indicate the class of the subject. There is

no conjugation by auxiliaries. The negative has its own set of endings for different tenses. For the intransitive verb the root -naŋa- to sit, will serve as example:

		Present.	Past.	Future.
Sing.	I	ŋunaŋan	ŋunaŋanin	na'ninian
	2	naŋan	nayanin	dja'ninian
	3 I, II	gunaŋan	gunananin	ga'ninian
Plur.	I incl.	ŋurunaŋan	ŋurunaŋanin	ŋuruniŋian
	I excl.	jirinanan	jirinananin	jirininian
	2	nurunaŋan	nurunaŋanin	nuruniŋian
	3	burunanan	burunayanin	buruniyian

The negative gu ŋunaŋandji is "I do not sit," or "I did not sit." The imperative is worth noticing: sing. pos. ŋinnaŋan, neg. ŋinwaidnaŋan; plur. pos. nurunaŋan, neg. nuruwaidnaŋan. The dual, of course, adds -bira throughout.

The transitive verb proceeds on the same basis as in Ngandi, except that class is distinguished in the object only. The tense scheme is simple:

		Positive.	Negative.
Present: I sit	 	пи-па-п	nunanigoro
Past: I sat	 	ŋu-na-nin	ŋunani'molg
Future: I will sit	 	пи-па-па	ŋu-na-ndji

The following sentences will show some of the adverbial infixes that are used as liberally as in Gunwinggu and Buan: η unanagan η uwuna, if I see him I will give it to him; η inagaia'nanagan ninuwuna mungubaragal, if I see him I will give him the spear; η ugaia'nandjigan η uwagena, if I don't see him I am going back again; rab: juga'wi η unani'molg, he went away before I could see him; jana'gan nirab? Durabən numəgəl η unanagan, why have you come? I've come to see my father; η indjubogbag'wen mirin, I have been waiting a long time for you.

(15) Anjula. Anjula is also known as Wadiri, and its inclusion among the multiple-classifying languages is one of the surprises of the investigation. Its location, with Mara intervening between it and the Wandarang-Ngandi Group, suggested that it would fall into Group B (Suffixing Languages) like the bulk of Australian languages. To the east of Anjula, the Garawa language does belong to Group B, but nothing is known of Ngewin and Binbinga, the southerly neighbours of Anjula. In Anjula the concord extends throughout the entire gamut of variables found in such a language as Andiljaugwa, Maung or Laragia. The verb is complicated, has incorporation of the pronoun object, and class must be allowed for in both subject and object. The peculiarity of Anjula is that it conjugates by infix,

the first syllable serving to indicate time, not person. In many ways Anjula is a very interesting language. Sociologically the people are to be grouped with Mara; linguistically the two are poles apart.

The classes in Anjula may be reckoned as six in number, for the concord of the personal dual and trial is sufficiently thorough to justify their being reckoned as separate classes. The "non-personal" classes do not indicate dual or plural separately. This is, of course, now known to be a normal feature of multiple-classifying languages. The examples previously given may be adapted to suit Anjula, as follows:

- Cl. I. Njanandanu mininnia walgura njambanu gananana? nandiwa djiwini? Who is that big man I saw? Where is he sitting?
- Cl. II. Rayandayu ananawaija rawalgura rambayu garayana? yandanda djariwini? Who is that big woman I saw? Where is she sitting?
- Cl. III. Riyandayu mininyia (or ananawaija) riwalgura rimbayu gawunilayana? Riyandiwa djawulawini? Who are those two big men (or women) I saw? Where are they sitting?
- Cl. IV. Liyandayu mininyia (or ananwaija) liwalgura limbayu galunayana? Liyandiwa djalawini? Who are those big men (or women) I saw? Where are they sitting?
- Cl. V. Manjananiju mijidji mawalgura mambanu gunanana? nandawu guijibara? Whose is that big fire-drill I saw? Where did you put it?
- Cl. VI. Nanjananiju najiba nawalgura nambanu ganananana? nandanu ginanjijibara? Whose is that big coollamin I saw? Where did you put it?

In the concord are included also the possessive, like other adjectives, the numeral and the interrogative "which?" There is considerable complication of forms amongst the relationship-terms. These also have prefixed possessives, though all other nouns take an independent possessive word. The admixture of prefix, infix and suffix in the class signs given above is instructive. Cl. VI nouns are relatively uncommon, and beyond the fact that they all commence with n- there seems to be absolutely no common idea underlying them. In fact no examples occurred at all for some time in the actual study of the language. Whilst all Cl. V nouns begin with m-, not all nouns so beginning are Cl. V; for example, mawuradji, a spear, is Cl. I, and mawabidja, a yamstick, is also Cl. I. These non-personal nouns of Cl. I or II do not pass into Cl. III and Cl. IV for dual and plural. This is also a common principle of the classifying languages in Australia: dual and plural forms are limited to human beings. In this the type shown in Ngalagan, etc., suggests admixture of other types. Most parts of the body are in Cl. I, but they may also be constructed with the prefix niwi-: namilimili niwi-nada, my forehead; naiirinji

niwi-ŋada, my nail. In other contexts, again, these words take the normal Cl. I prefixes: naniju njigunu nama:ji, that is his tooth.

The following are the pronouns in Anjula:

		Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
I incl.	 		ŋali	ŋambala
ı excl.	 	ŋana	ŋadara	ŋanu
2	 	jinda	jimbala	jiru
3 Cl. I	 	njambanu	rimbanu	limbanu

The remaining forms of the third person classes have already occurred in the examples of classes given above, where they served as demonstratives. The special interest of these pronouns lies in the fact that they show close relationship to a common Australian type not included in the multiple-classifying area, but found in the Mudbura-Djaru-Wolmeri languages stretching across into Western Australia. Examples were given in the preceding report (*Oceania*, Vol. X, pp. 421, 422, 423, 428). The occurrence of this type of language in central Arnhem Land will be discussed below (Nos. 44 and 45).

In the Anjula verb it is the transitive conjugation that provides most interest. The scheme of tenses is the same as that in Mara:

Tense.	English.	Positive.	Negative.
Present simple	I see you (now)	djana-ŋa-ndji	baṇi gina-ŋa-ru
Near past	I saw you (yesterday)	gina-ŋa-na	waraba gina-ya-nma
General past	I saw you	gina-ŋa-na	waraba gina-ŋa-nma
Near future	I will see you (soon)	gina-ŋa-ndjama	bani gina-ŋa-ru
Desiderative	I'd like to see you	gina-ŋa-nma	
Conditional	If I see you	gina-ŋa-ndji	baṇi gina-ŋa-ru
General future	I shall see you	gina-ŋa-la	baṇi gina-ŋa-ru

There is also an imperative. These transitive verbs incorporate the pronoun object as an infix after the infix of subject, so that the general type of Anjula verbal construction is tense-prefix+subject infix+object infix+stem+tense suffix. The interesting feature about the two infixes is that they show a definite relationship to those of Narrinyeri, in South Australia. The possible connections of the Narrinyeri language group with the languages of north Australia was mentioned in the previous report, and calls for still further study. It can be shown that the verbal system in Narrinyeri represents the system from which the method of incorporation in north Australian languages can well have originated. In Anjula some of the elements

⁵ Oceania, Vol. X, p. 431.

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involved are actually the same as those of Narrinyeri. In Anjula the elements are:

	Singular.		Dual.		Plural.	
i incl. i excl. cl. ii Cl. II Cl. III	 Subject. -niiliandi-	Object. -anini- (none) -ar(u)-	Subject(ŋa)li(ŋa)dariimbaliawul-	Object. -ali- -ad(ar)- -mbili- -awul-	Subject(ŋ)ambali -(ŋa)niiriali-	Object.
Cl. IV		-an-				

An analysis of the Narrinyeri elements is given by Schmidt.⁶ Some of them are identical with those of Anjula. This section may now be concluded with the comparative vocabulary of the second group of languages discussed.

	Andil-	Nung-	Wan-			
English.	jaugwa.	gubuyu.	darang.	Ngandi.	Ngalagan.	Anjula.
man	nanama	nawarinjun	nawariji	nijul	bigur	miningia
	malja					
woman	wudáriŋga	naraman- injun	ŋiwoibi	namanaŋ	bolo'bolo	ananawaija
head	aringa	jinag	wugululu	gulan	mi:ra	wulaia
eye	me:nba	bagala	mamagur	mayandjula	ŋandjula	mi:
nose	aminda	jomo:r	wundjiriba	gwijiban	gudje:	nuin
mouth	adira	ramadan	wuŋa:ndal	gudagula	gudja:la	mulu
tongue	aljäljigba	la:n	wudjijil	gudälŋ	dja:lŋ	ŋa:ndal
stomach	mulgwa	ŋuḍan	wuŋandja	mowara	guwar	wadju
bone	adidira	ŋagaṛa	wuŋaṛaga	gunaraga	ŋaraga	guruwuru
blood	me:ra	wulan	manulidji	mabango	guraidj	djinanulja
kangaroo	juburáda	ŋargo	mulbia	mulbia	go:in	wunäla
opossum	jugunba	jirgi	ajirgin	adawa	dugula	biwali
emu		wajin	niwurugan	awurban	nurundoidj	djagudugudu
crow	jiŋwa	wo:wag	wargwarg	awa'wa	wa:rnwa:rn	rawanga
fly	juwama	amun	awamun	abod	bod	ramijimiji
sun	mama:wura	alir	ningunaru	mawalir	nuwadji	ragamba
moon	jima:wura	labama	nadaŋa-	nigurŋa	gurŋa	ŋagala
			daŋa			
	anura	ŋuṛa	wuŋambur		gunwe	bújuga
smoke	aŋwara	wuŋuban	wundular	gubán	guguwal- bene	wulyara
water	aguŋwa	agogo	wuŋaladja	gujärg	gu'we	wajuru
		(7)	1	1.		

(To be continued.)

A. CAPELL.

⁶ W. Schmidt, Die Personalpronomina in den australischen Sprachen, p. 29.

