#### LANGUAGES OF ARNHEM LAND, NORTH AUSTRALIA

By A. CAPELL

(Continued from Oceania, Vol. XII, No. 4)

#### A2. DUAL CLASSIFYING LANGUAGES

THE languages which possess only two classes of nouns, usually a more or less definite masculine-feminine grouping, are found sporadically along the extreme north and the extreme south of Arnhem Land, the difference being that in the extreme north the concord is thorough-going, in the south it is very limited, mostly to the demonstrative, occasionally including the verb. No. 16, Worgaidj, was examined in the previous report (*Oceania*, Vol. X, No. 4, pp. 408-10).

(17) Tiwi (Bathurst and Melville Is.). Preliminary notes were given on this language in the first report. There the spelling b, d, g was used for the plosives as in the remainder of the languages, but the series in Tiwi is so light that I have agreed to fall in line with the local Roman Catholic missionary and use p, t, k, even though the use is exceptional.

The general features of Tiwi were outlined in the previous paper. Certain important additions will now be made to the notes, which will show Tiwi as unique in Australia in its linguistic type. In the first place, the verb is much more complicated than it is in the other languages, the number of adverbial and other infixes being much greater, and extremely long compound words often result, e.g. <code>nirimini-wutina-prin-ani</code>, I was continually hitting you. The most remarkable characteristic of the language is, however, the incorporation of nouns as well as pronouns into the verb. There are some three dozen nouns which can thus be incorporated, but the infix which serves to indicate the incorporated noun in Tiwi often bears no formal relation to the independent noun. Thus, an egg is köluwuka, but if I say "I took the egg," the form is <code>niri-tinunu-na</code>, where "egg" is represented by <code>-tinunu-na</code>. These infixed nouns can then be combined with other infixes, and the resultant compound is completely worthy of the name "polysynthetic" used in American Indian linguistics.

<sup>7</sup> Oceania, Vol. X, pp. 408, 411.

In a few instances there are infixed nouns which have no independent correlatives. The following list shows the chief examples:

#### (a) Parts of the Body.

		(a) Parts of the B	oay.	
Independent		Incorporated		
Form.		Form.		Meaning.
tuluwa		-mila		head
turua		-punita		ear
jiruntamura		-punutama-		nose
winuta		-kira		hand
mala:mpora		-mili		foot
impula		-pulu		knee
iripapwata		-tipuna		elbow
nuwana		-nankala		calf of leg
jirankala		-kili		thigh
jirankata	•	-numpwari-		side
jampurimula		-inapanta		buttocks
mimuta		-pali		back
	• • •	-piriti-		shoulder
nipala	• •	-tantji		throat
jirinampurpwatja		-puna		chin
jirinampurpanja		-pali	gge	mouth
iriputara		-tiŋkiri-		eye, face
pitara		-conjecto		oy 0, 1000
		(1) Consult Non	22.0	
		(b) General Nou		TOTAL LEGISLA CONTROL
tawila		-pa(ja)t-, -tio-, -tu	mu-	tomahawk
jo:ni, kuriripa		-kua		knife
kwakini		-antunu		flour
pununkapa		-paniŋö		raw meat
9056 XXX 13		-lipi		cooked meat
köluwuka		-tinunu		egg
mantana		-kiti-		stick
mapiti		-piaintili		fish
munkarila		-tirayamu		spear
Manager Trees and the		-rinam		flour tin
töraka		-niliontuni-		wallaby
möwönikini		-tunu-, -kini, -ru	ku-	vegetable food
		nitunu		
wanatuna		-tilinanta-		basket
wilitina		-tilinanta-		billycan
jukwoni	190	-ruku		fire
para		-tjunu		canoe
wangini		-tjinulunu-		dog
turuwali		-kupu(wamini)-		gun
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·		-kuintini-		cooked fish
		-wawalinu-		something empty
jarina		-nilu-	07. 9	red ochre, red pain
juingu		or variousin di		causmil off hi ognes

These forms are incorporated into verbs already compounded with elements showing person and tense, adverbial infixes and suffixes. They precede the verbal

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stem immediately, following all the prefixes and other infixes. There are infixes showing whether an action takes place in the morning or at night: the former precedes the pronoun object (incorporated), the latter follows it. Any incorporated noun follows the entire combination. Thus:

Simple form: tamaruipa, bring it.

Incorporations: tamari-piaintili-pa, bring the fish. tamari-niliontuni-ripa, bring the wallaby.

Simple form: niri-wurini, I cut it off (past tense).

Incorporations: nirinankalawurini, I cut off (the wallaby's) leg.

Simple form: niru-una, I took it.

Incorporations: nirikuana, I took the knife.

niripunintana, I held (or pulled) his ear.

Simple form: -öwiri, to bite.

Incorporations: iminimilöwiri, he bit my head. iminipuluwiri, he bit my knee.

When a possessive idea has to be expressed in the compound verb, the incorporated form of the pronoun object corresponding is used, so that the last example is lit. "he bit me the knee," or rather "he-knee-bit-me."

Parts of the body, besides the more general incorporations, also find use as elements in certain special verbs indicating the hitting of the part concerned: niripalini, I hit him on the mouth; niripanampua, I hit him in the face; niripanantaya or niripanataya, I hit him on the hand; niripanantani, I hit him on the nose; niripanantani, I boxed his ears; niripanantini, I hit him on the chin; niripanantani, I hit him in the eye; niripanantani, I hit him on the (upper) back; niripanantani, I hit him on the (lower) back; niripanatani, I hit him on the buttocks.

The following examples show more complicated incorporation, where elements of time and duration have been embodied as well as those of subject and object: anuŋkwa ŋumatamaripiaintiliwuri, I will not take the fish away; awinikamariniliontunita, he brought the wallaby at night; ninilamarikupuri, I've brought the gun; aripunininauu:a, he throws the meat this way; and still more involved are examples such as waliwalina iwatumininilintunutamöwiri, the green ant bit my nose this morning while I was asleep; wangini iwiniwatumininilimpaninöwiri, the dog came and bit my meat this morning while I was asleep; nawutjinalipikirimami, we are preparing cooked meat (-wutjina- is a stative infix, and -ami a continuative suffix).

The unique nature of this system of polysynthesis in an Australian language seems to justify the amount of space given to it in this report. Further study is called for, and that soon, as the younger generation as a whole is losing the finer shades of usage in the language. An elementary form of noun-incorporation in languages of the Gunwinggu group has been mentioned in the preceding part of this report (Vol. XII, p. 372).

(18) Nagara. Nagara and Gunavidji (19) are both spoken in an enclave of multiple classifying languages, and occupy the territory between the Tomkinson River and the sea, being bounded on the east by Burera and on the west by Gunba:lang. Yet both are dual-classifying languages in similar type, though very different vocabularies. The culture of the tribes looks westward.

In Nagara there are two genders, masculine and feminine; nouns are accounted masculine unless they are names of feminine creatures. Formally, gender is distinguishable in pronouns, including demonstratives and possessives, and in adjectives and verbs. No number is distinguished, except that a few nouns are used only in the plural, e.g. didjabara:ra, menfolk. The Nagara pronouns are:

		Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
incl. excl. masculine feminine	 	na:raba nje:jaba na:gaba ni:gaba	araga:garaba ŋingaga:raba nunaga:raba banaga:garaba baranaga:garaba	nubaraba nibaraba nubaraba be:baraba be:baraba

Nagara has several ways of indicating possession: (1) The oblique pronouns—not given above—may follow the noun: nga:ro nagajara nabulawa, here camp to-me, i.e. here is my camp; (2) the cardinal pronouns, subjective, may precede the noun: naiawa nje:jaba nagajara? Where you camp, i.e. where is your camp; (3) some parts of the body are constructed with possessive prefixes, e.g. -mo:ma, a bone: namo:ma, my bone; (4) other parts of the body are constructed with a possessive noun, -gayai: gadji nagayai, my foot; (5) some relationship terms have special forms, including forms of address different from the terms of reference, e.g. bagamo, father; but nanagadjuwale, my father; annarabe nunubo:gamaro:, one boy his father.

The verb is conjugated by prefixes, and the intransitive conjugation must be distinguished from the transitive, in which the pronoun object is incorporated. Present, past and future tenses are distinguishable, together with an imperative. A few examples of forms must suffice: bagam(\*) ne:jang(\*), my father came; manai ginejang(\*), my mother came; ragana dadje:ba, naraba nadje:ba, that way you go, I go this way; namindja jindji:γa, mafamaija djawo:ja, bring me the food and I will give you a little; namindja naga:ndja nabulawa, mafamaija ngalugunja nawo:na, he brought me the food and I gave him a little. The relationship even of these dual-classifying languages with the multiple-classifying languages of the Northern Kimberlies is obvious. In Worora, "I gave him" is gano:na, radically the same as Nagara nawo:na.

(19) Gunavidji. This is one of the languages possessing the bilabial v. Some of its possible outside relationships will be mentioned at the end of this section.

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Its structure is very similar to that of Nagara, but the words are frequently of considerable length, even without compounding, e.g. namani:riva:liva, the sea. The same two genders are distinguished as in Nagara, and in the same parts of speech. The dual number, however, is absent, and gender is grammatical, not natural: baruwugala, lice, and nala:la, fire drill, are among the feminine nouns. The inflexion of the adjective is a little more elaborate than in Nagara. Thus:

nt bus give	Sin	gular.	Plural.	
NO REUGO	Masculine.	Feminine.	Masculine.	Feminine.
good big tall	mädjän ŋuriraga ragama:dba	njimädjän njinuriraga njiragarama:- dba	baramädjän biriŋuriraga biriragarama:- dba	baramädjän biriŋuriraga biriragama:dba

Some, however, are invariable, e.g. do:dbalg, also meaning "good"; while gara:\gammaawa, many, is treated as a collective singular and takes a feminine njagara:\gammaawa. Adjectives, of course, can also serve as intransitive verbs and be conjugated for person.

The system of possessives is more complex than in Nagara. Different parts of the body take different possessive suffixes, the plan of which does not yet appear. Relationship terms have each a form used in address as well as a form used in reference and the latter takes prefixes to indicate possession. The majority of common nouns, which do not refer to parts of the body or relations, take the cardinal pronoun after them with a feminine prefix nja- if the object possessed is feminine. Examples of each class: di:bara njanaiaba, my spear; junganjäba, my head; junganga, your head; jungana, his head; junganaia, her head; nagalinjäba, my shin; galanarandjija, my ear; galana-nanarendjija, your ear; gala-garendjija, his ear; galirendjija, her ear; wi:ba-nga, your camp; ba:ba, father!; niniwirimeribijana, my father; naiaba biriwirimeriba, my (classificatory) fathers; jirindjina, my brother; njirarindjina, my brothers.

The pronouns are:

			Singular.	Plural.	
I	incl			ŋarageaba	
	excl.	STANCE OF	 ŋaiaba	njarageaba	
2	HERIOGRAP.		 njindjaba	narageaba	
3	masculine		 nageaba	barageaba	
0	feminine		 najaba-	barageaba	

The verb, again, is divisible into a transitive and an intransitive conjugation, incorporation of the pronoun object taking place in the former. A separate negative

conjugation is distinguished only in the past tense: go:ma naijara, I'm not going; njelnjel go:ma naibobana, yesterday I did not go. Other forms are seen in the njelnjel go:ma naibobana, yesterday I did not go. Other forms are seen in the following examples: nanawudubojana, he follows me; naiaba narama njaja wi:bara following examples: nanawudubojana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajiganga najagana, najanudjija jana narama njinaba, if I see that woman in the jigajigana

There are a few indications of the possible external relationships of this language, and they tend in an easterly direction. The pronoun ending -ba recurs in Andiljaugwa as -wa, and is found again in the languages of the Torres Straits Islands and the neighbouring mainland. This was regarded by Schmidt as originally an intransitive neighbouring mainland. This was regarded by Schmidt as originally an intransitive neighbouring mainland. This was regarded by Schmidt as originally an intransitive neighbouring mainland. This was regarded by Schmidt as originally an intransitive neighbouring mainland. This was regarded by Schmidt as originally an intransitive neighbouring mainland. This was regarded by Schmidt as originally an intransitive neighbour, the distance in Torres Straits ending. The work of the work of the Torres Straits of the surginal parameters of the Torres Straits as the surginal parameters of the Torres Straits and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits are great and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gunav. The proposition of the Torres Straits Islands and the Gun

(20) Alawa. The Alawa language tends to agree with its eastern neighbour, Mara, in many points of construction, chiefly in its fondness for conjugation by auxiliaries. Nouns are divisible into masculine-feminine groupings, on a basis of auxiliaries. Nouns are divisible into masculine-feminine groupings, on a basis of auxiliaries. Nouns are feminine which are the names of female beings. "natural gender," i.e. those nouns are feminine which are the names of female beings. The feminine prefix is an-, which is added to many masculine words to produce the corresponding feminine, e.g. bababa, brother (elder) > anbababa, elder sister; jädjädja, corresponding feminine, e.g. bababa, brother (elder) > anbababa, elder sister; jädjädja, boy > anjädjädja, girl. The concord is carried farther than in Mara, however, and being by anjädjädja, girl. The concord is carried farther than in Mara, however, and irregularities, e.g. "this," masc. ni:nda, fem. anyinda, apparently for \*an-ni:nda. irregularities, e.g. "this," masc. ni:nda, fem. anyinda, apparently for \*an-ni:nda. Number is indicated by prefixes which have much in common with the Mara forms: Number is indicated by prefixes which have much in common with the Mara forms: Number is indicated by prefixes which have much in common with the Mara forms: Number is indicated by prefixes which have much in common with the Mara forms: Number is indicated by prefixes which have much in common with the Mara forms: Number is indicated by prefixes which have much in common with the Mara forms: Number is indicated by prefixes which have much in common with the Mara forms: Number is indicated by prefixes which have much in common with the Mara forms: Number is indicated by prefixes which have much in common with the Mara forms: Number is indicated by prefixes which have much in common with the Mara forms: Number is indicated by prefixes which have much in common with the Mara forms: Number is indicated by prefixes which have much in common with the Mara forms: Number is indicated by prefi

the state of the s	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
i incl. i excl.  masculine  masculine	njina njangana (n)danja	njanu naru wuru jurula, jirgan- danja (=masc.)	njalu njalu wulu juludanja (=masc.)

There are several methods of showing possessive relationships, according to the type of thing possessed, e.g. relationship terms tend to take either a suffix or the oblique pronouns, which latter also serve as object to some verbs, as in the multiple-

classifying languages.

In the verb there are separate forms for positive and negative (as well as a negative adverb), and gender is distinguished in both subject and object. Mara does not distinguish gender in the subject of the transitive verb, nor in the object; in this again Alawa is more nearly akin to the multiple-classifying languages. Alawa and Mara, however, agree in having very few verbs which are simple in form. These, when they exist, are conjugated by prefixes, and tense is shown in the ending as well. The bulk of the verb store, however, consists of invariable roots conjugated by one of several auxiliaries, e.g. jan gerenadinjunu, I am hitting him; jan gerenadinuru, I am hitting her. In the verb gun njendi, I see you, the following forms are typical:

Object.	I see.	I saw.	I will see.
you (sing.) you (dual) you (plural) nim	gun njendi	gun njända	gun nja
	gun nurgendi	gun nurganda	gun nurga
	gun nulgendi	gun nulganda	gun nulda
	gun gerenu	gun garana	gun garanu
	gun gerendinuru	gun garandanuru	gun garanuru
	gun gerendiwuru	gun garandawuru	gun garawuru
	gun gerendiwulu	gun garandawuru	gun garawulu

In this specimen it is seen that the compound verb shows the object in its suffix, and the number in the prefix, except for third person objects: this is akin to the Mara and Wandarang practices, to which reference should be made. There is more than one auxiliary. Thus one says mug najiman, "losing I went" for "I lost"; nal jimbirmudaja, "talking they-gave-them-two" for "they spoke to them two." The tense scheme is a little simpler than in Mara or Wandarang, and embraces the following forms: gun gerenu, I see him (present); gun garana, I saw him (past); gun garanadana, I saw him yesterday (near past); gun garanu, I shall see him (future). In the negatives, naji gun garanu, I do not see him or I shall not see him; naji gun garanjana, I did not see him. The differences that the gender-concord can produce in a sentence is shown in the following examples:

Masculine: nanaya gun djana? Did you see my father? Feminine: angudjaga gun djandanuru? Did you see my mother?

Masculine: naru dul nuranana nananarana wagar niri, we two saw my father sitting there. Feminine: naru dul nurananuru angudjaga wara ari, we two saw my mother sitting there.

Masculine: jira:ga ŋurumuduwunu, we gave him two fish (jira:ga, dual of a:ga, fish). Feminine: jira:ga njulmudinjinuru, we gave her two fish.

It is of interest that Alawa agrees with Buan, Ngalagan and neighbouring languages in having an agentive case, e.g. jädjädj-ir jan gannadananga, the boy hit me, as against jädjädja jan garanadana, I hit the boy (recently). This is not a normal feature of multiple-classifying languages, but would seem to have been borrowed from the more normal Australian languages (Group B) to the south of Alawa.

### A3. SEMI-CLASSIFYING LANGUAGE

The reason for setting Mara apart has already been stated; the grounds on which this reason is founded will now appear.

(22) Mara. There is no need for further notes at this stage on No. 21 (Mangarai); some notes were given in the preceding report, and nothing remains to be added.

Mara agrees with Alawa in that gender is "natural," but there is no concord of the adjective: gärijimar ninja yabar uma, this man is dead; girija ninda yabar uma, this woman is dead. With this compare the Alawa for the two sentences: lilmi ni:nda wainma niri, this man is dead, and girija anninda anwainma ari, this woman is dead. In Wandarang they would be nawariji nawanani yabar ami, and niwoibi niwanani yabar nami. The intermediate position of Mara is evident, and with it the reason for the special classification made.

The following are the Mara pronouns:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
i incl	nina ni:ja nangaia naiara	nagara nirinja nuriji wuruji	naruwinja niwurinja nuruwinja walaia

To indicate possession in most instances the cardinal pronoun is placed before or after the noun concerned: duŋal ŋina, my spear, but in some cases special forms are used: (a) parts of the body, ŋinan maraŋuṛu, my head; (b) relationship terms, some of which appear to be irregular in two ways, (i) a specific term of address is used, e.g. ŋaluru! father! and (ii) in some cases the second person singular in reference is quite different, e.g. wabimar, your father. Thus for "father":

100.000 2000	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
2	ŋaluru wabimar	naga ganarinja nirinja ganarinja nuruji ganarinja	naruwu ganarinja niruwi ganarinja nuruwu ganarinja
masculine and feminine	ganarinja	biriwu ganarinja	biliwu ganarinja

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Oceania, Vol. X, pp. 253-4, 408, 409, 411. The only Mangarai speaking native contacted was Alawa by birth and had not learned the tones, so that no further notes on these are possible.

The verb is conjugated by prefixes for person and number and by suffixes for tense and mood. The person prefixes of intransitive verb are obvious abbreviations of the cardinal pronouns, which are used only for emphasis. In the transitive conjugation, as in Wandarang, practically all the verbs are compounded of an invariable root and an auxiliary, and an infix shows the number of the object. Comparison with the Wandarang (Vol. XII, pp. 383-4) may be made for the following Mara forms of the verb -na-, to see, one of the few simple verbs. Beginning from nangu-mi-na-djini, he sees me (present continuous), we have:

Object.			he (she) sees.	he (she) saw.	he (she) will see.
me us 2 (incl.) us 2 (excl.) us (incl.) us (excl.) you (sing.) you (dual) you (plural) him, her them 2	Addition of the second	bigli	nanguminadja narguminadja nirguminadja nalguminadja nilguminadja nunguminadja nurguminadja nurguminadja warguminadja warguminadja warguminadja warguminadja	nangunadji nargunadji nirgunadji nalgunadji nilgunadji nungunadji nurgundaji nulgunadji wanadji wargunadji	nangumina nargumina nirgumina nalgumina nilgumina nungumina nurgumina nurgumina wamina wamina wargumina wargumina

The methods of construction seen in this verb are interesting, and connect both with Wandarang and Alawa, while the wa- prefix is found as a future only also in Nunggubuyu. The number of auxiliaries in Mara is considerable, and some of them drop the initial consonant if the verbal root ends in a consonant, e.g. galinguduliji, I bite you, from galinguduliji, I bite him. In the simple verb there is e.g. ningu-mi-na-dja, I see you, but in the compound the initial n- is omitted.

There is also considerable variety of tenses. The following have been recorded in addition to the imperative mood: ningu-mi-na-djini, I am looking at you; ningu-mi-na-dja, I look at or see you; wandaidjba ningu-mi-na-ni, yesterday I saw you; ningu-na-dji, I saw you (at an unspecified time); ningu-mi-na-i, I'll see you (soon); ningu-na-ji, I can see you, I'd like to see you; ningu-mi-na-dji, if I see you. There is also possible reduplication, involving the infix in the continued tenses: ningu-minamina-djini, I stare at you. Various derived forms are made also, e.g. warngu nangu-na-i, I'll make you look at me.

In addition, there is a negative form, and a reflexive conjugation. Both are shown in the following table of the verb *nadjala-na*, I look at myself, from the same root *-na-*, to see, look:

		Positive.	Negative.
Present	 	ŋadjala-na	ŋala-na
Future	 	ŋanjula-na	ŋala-na
Past	 111.00	ŋanjilu-na	najala-na

These are the simple tenses. Some of the tense forms of the auxiliaries are very irregular. Mara does not have the agentive case in nouns, as in Alawa.

The comparative vocabulary for the preceding two sub-groups follows next. That of Wo:gaidj and Tiwi as well as Mangarai, has appeared in the previous report, and need not be repeated. The same applies to Gunavidji.

English.	Nagara.	Alawa.	Mara.
man  woman head  eye nose mouth tongue stomach bone blood kangaroo opossum emu crow fly sun moon fire smoke water	wagwag namo:nj naben wununurabildbilaga nadjo:ga nawu:ra	lilmi girija guruguru gulur gulur gujumur na:ndal dje:jäln gundjäl galawa nulidji girimbo gudjani djinaliri wangunaji wundil marawalbal adayari wubu gununu nogo	gärijimar girija maranuru magur djiri na:ndal dji:jil gunjan najigad nulidji girmo gudjani djiwidiwidi wanganani gundil gunaru wadanari wadgar gunono nogo

## A4. Non-classifying Languages

Next comes a group of languages which conjugate the verb by prefix and incorporate the pronoun object, but which do not possess noun-classification at all. A similar group was shown in the previous report to exist in Western Australia also<sup>9</sup>; and No. 23 (Iwaidja) on the present list has already been discussed as No. 33 of the previous list. The others are additions to the known languages. One feature is commonly noticeable, however; these languages almost all appear to be closely related to a multiple-classifying language: Iwaidja definitely belongs to the Maung-Gunwinggu-Mangeri group; and Gundangbon is closely akin to Gunwinggu also, and Buan more distantly related, while Rainbarngo can be grouped with these languages, though it deviates rather more than the other. It would therefore appear possible that all these languages have actually lost the multiple-classificatory system, which would then have been more widespread in north Australia in times past than it is to-day. The language of Croker Island (Margu, No. 24) is the exception to this,

<sup>9</sup> See Oceania, Vol. X, pp. 244 and 411-420.

and its vocabulary stands so far apart from the others that it does not seem possible to make the same affirmation concerning it. Its general structure, however, is much like that of Iwaidja. This language has been treated before, so that it may be

passed over now. See Oceania, Vol. X, pp. 419-420.

(24) Margu. This was the language of Croker Island, but it is doubtful whether half a dozen speakers still exist. Most of the information was obtained from an old native named Ormu, now reputed "king" of Croker Island, and two younger men, half Iwaidja, half Margu, from the mainland, by the medium partly of pidgin English and partly of Iwaidja. The phonetics of Margu are difficult, especially the frequent occurrence of  $\gamma$  and the irregularity of the tonic accent. I have written the bilabial v in some instances, but it is not always easy to distinguish from w, e.g. vanjin, son or daughter. The mixed vowel  $\ddot{i}$  is also of very frequent occurrence. Consonantal endings are practically the normal use.

As the language has no noun-classes, the adjective and demonstrative are invariable. In the noun, number can be indicated by a suffix: one man, ruga geiag; two men, wurjarg geiaguji; men, geiaguji. There is thus no specific dual.

The following are the pronouns:

			Singular.	Plural.
I	incl.	 	 -	ŋaraŋan
I	excl.	 	 ŋaḍa	nadab
2		 	 niḍi	vanani
3			 nijad	nayaginja

These have very little formal connection with any other language. Again they lack dual forms. In this they agree with the Iwaidja-Maung group. Margu does, however, possess the agentive case, formed by a suffix -ni as in gulinga nidi mivimaijini miviluma jimargu wurad? did your father see you in the camp? It does not seem to be always used, and is definitely not used with the cardinal pronouns, e.g., nada manaluma, I saw you. The cardinal pronoun may precede a noun with the force of a possessive: nada balai, my string, but some nouns have prefixed possessives as in Iwaidja, Maung and Gunwinggu. Thus, from wurad, a camp:

			Singular.	Plural.
I inc	l	 		nadburad
I exc	d	 	nadburad	nadburad
2	a dia een	 	anburad	gudburad
3	50 7.00	 	iwurad	awurad

Some of these prefixes are Iwaidja in form, and may actually have been coloured by the medium of transmission. More characteristic is the treatment of a relationship term: manameji, my father (in address, bunji is used as in Maung and Iwaidja):

				Singular.	Plural.
I	incl.	DOM:	4		manmeji
I	excl.			 manameji	manmeji
2				 miγimeji	miyijananugai
3				 mamaji	adijananuga

There is also a first person dual, mariumeji, used by two brothers in speaking of "our father."

The verb is similar in style to the general types found in multiple-classifying languages. The great feature of it in Margu, however, is the elaborate series of changes in the initial consonant that take place during conjugation. Thus, duan, dead or tired, but iluan, you are tired, ma:luan, he is dead; also, the following forms of the verb "to see": maijuma, I see him; jirinumi, I will see him; njanalumi, we saw you; nandumi, they saw me; lumi, he saw him. This third person singular past seems usually to give the simplest or root form of the verb. The three simple tenses are present, together with an imperative. There is no distinction of verbal forms for the negative, the particle jagu preceding the positive. There is, however, a type of conjunctive, used in a dependent clause:

nanjumi, he sees me jidumi, he sees you lumi, he sees him Jidjayan giryanjumi, he comes looking at me. Jidjayan wuyolumi, he comes looking at you. Jidjayan virjumi, he comes looking at him.

If, however, the object of the second verb is a noun, this conjunctive form is not used: jidjayan djura lumi, he comes looking at a book, contrasted with jidjayan virma nijad nagayinja djawi:na, he is coming along talking to his friends.

There are other points of interest in the language which cannot be treated in the present notes. The vocabulary appears at the end of this section.

(25) Amarag. This seems to be the language of the people called Umoriu by Sir Baldwin Spencer in his Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia. Their numbers, like those of the Margu, are now extremely few. One native was encountered at Oenpelli, and on his information our knowledge of the language must rest. It was mostly obtained through Gunwinggu. In the pronouns the distinction of inclusive and exclusive seems to be lacking; neither are there dual forms, though a suffix to the verb may indicate a dual. There are oblique pronouns which serve as objects to verbs, as in other languages that have been noticed, and incorporation is absent. The cardinal pronouns are strange:

	Singular.	Plural.
I	 ŋaiuwa	ŋarawa
2	 wamba	nurawa
3	 wandjag	jirimbag

Possessives take on more than one form. Some are prefixed, e.g. -lu, body, gives yalu, my body; nulu, your body, wilu, his body, yuruyulu, our bodies, wirulu, their bodies. More commonly a separate possessive is built up by suffixing -wandji to the first and second person pronouns, and -barag to the third person. Curiously enough these suffixes are Maung, wandji being "near" (adverb), and -barag a verbal suffix indicating movement away from the speaker. The genitive relation is indicated

by the third person possessive before the possessing noun: wandjibarag nagi wiälgu, its dog tail, i.e. the dog's tail. The normal position of the possessive as of other adjectives, is after the noun: imädijäg wandjibarag, its feather.

In the verb, conjugation is by prefix, but incorporation is not practised. An oblique pronoun comes after the verb, which takes only subject prefixes: ana-gan nu, I see you; ra-gan nanu, you see me; ara-gan nanu, he sees me; ada-gan (d)ra, we see you (pl.), where the bracketed -d- is purely euphonic between n and r. A dual object is indicated by a further suffix: wamba ragan nara-wuru, you see us two.

It is interesting that no trace of incorporation is found in Amarag. In most of the languages here treated, the following sentences might be expected to show both incorporation and the use of oblique pronouns: "Did you see me in the camp yesterday? Why did you not come to me?" but in Amarag oblique pronouns are used in both instances: Anabua anurgan yanu wuran? yamadja aldau anwuragan yanu? The language is thus much simpler to learn than any of the neighbouring tongues, and phonetically it is simpler than some. There are only three simple tenses and an imperative. A very few phonetic changes take place in the course of conjugation.

(26) Rainbarngo. With Rainbarngo, the position of which is indicated on the map, a different type of language is encountered. It has some affiliation with the Murngin languages, at any rate in vocabulary, and especially with Ridarngo, but the bulk of its grammar is of a more western type. Like all the interior languages, it is rich in glottal stops, and the glottal stop can occur between two consonants, or at the end of a syllable, followed by a consonant. It is for an English speaker rather difficult at times to enunciate. There are no noun-classes, but incorporation of pronoun objects is found. The dual is indicated by the suffix -bara, and trial or limited plural by -gabbul. These are cognate, no doubt, with the forms in Ngálagan already given (Vol. XII, p. 388). The cardinal pronouns in Rainbarngo are:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
i incl i excl 2	ŋinda danda ni <sup>°</sup> da	jabbara janabara nagundabara bundabara	jaggabbul jandagabbul nagundagabbul bundagabbul

The dual and plural suffixes may be discarded, and each pronoun, like nouns in this language, assumes an agentive suffix -ji when it is the subject of a transitive verb. There is a long series of suffixes also to indicate case relationships, as in Buan, Ngalagan, etc., and as in the Murngin and most Australian languages.

Possession is indicated by short pronouns which follow the noun: djara nina, my head; djara ngə:, 10 your head; djara nawə, his head. These serve for nouns of all types alike. If the noun is the subject of a transitive verb, the agentive suffix follows that of the possessive: njara-nina-'ji, my father (did something). Many parts of the body end in -na, which seems to stand for nawə and be a third person suffix. Parts of other things often carry the same suffix.

The verb is interesting. Most past tenses are formed by adding *-min* to the root; the future is formed by doubling the final consonant, with a glottal stop in between, and adding *-a*. Examples:

en, and adding -	a. Exa	inpies.		Future.
cii, all		Present.	Past.	
I throw away		nawar'	ŋawar'min ŋajiw'-min	ŋawar'-ra ŋajiw'-wa
I scratch		ŋajiw'		e future is so

If the root ends in a glottal stop following a vowel, the future is somewhat different, e.g.:

Present Past. Future.

ent, e.g.:		Present.	Past.	Future.
I get up I send	10.000	 η aηε' η adju' η abɔfɔ	ŋaŋεʻmin ŋadjuʻmin ŋabɔrɔʻmin	naneʻṛa nadjuʻja nabəreʻṛa
I put		1 0	r two irregular ve	erbs, e.g. nar

There are still other forms, and one or two irregular verbs, e.g. nara:, I go; namain, I went; naronara, I shall go.

The pronoun object is incorporated as in the multiple-classifying languages. Tense is shown in the ending, and there are special forms for the negative. Examples: nana, I see him (from -na-, the very common root "to see"); nanana, I shall see him; malag ninana, I shall not see him; nana; I saw him; malag ninana, I did not see him. The vowel -i- is characteristic of the negative. There are considerable numbers of adverbial infixes and suffixes. Thus, -bag- is infixed after the subject-object prefix to show that the object is only indirect (similar to -mane- in Gunwinggu and -bag- in Buan). So -njaug-, speak, gives nana-bag-njaug-ga, I will tell you and -bag- in Buan). So -njaug-, speak, gives nana-bag-njaug-ga, I will tell you becoming -dji- if the pronoun prefix ends in -n: malag nin-dji-dz'wana, I will not give it to you. Amongst suffixes, the signs of past and future have been mentioned already; -n indicates the present: nindz'wan, I give you; -ma is interrogative: waba jaba-ngo:-ma? have you no sister? To indicate purpose, the post-position -gan, which with nouns indicates "to" or "for" is added to the verb: ninda nanjaugmin din ningan nanin gan nura gan, I told my wife to make a fire.

(27) Buan. This language spoken about the head of the Wilton River, is properly to be grouped with Gunwinggu, and with Gundangbon and probably the uncontacted Gundeidjeme, forms the eastern branch of the Gunwinggu group. Its vocabulary is very mixed. It has the agentive case with both nouns and pronouns. The structure of Buan and Ngalagan is very similar, except for the occurrence

 $<sup>^{10}</sup>$  The vowel written here  $\vartheta$  or  $\vartheta$  is a peculiarly backed variety of i very characteristic, sounding rather like the iv of siv pronounced between clenched teeth.

of noun-classes in the latter, and both harmonize in general with Gunwinggu. The Buan pronouns are as follows:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
i incl i excl 2 3	yɛ:i njiŋ nin	nje: nje:r nɔ:r nin'gɔ	nor nje:l no:l bulna

In the second person dual and plural the -r and -l recall the infixes of number in the Mara, Wandarang and Alawa verbs. Possession is shown thus: bulu, father:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
i incl i excl	bulu yan bulunə	bulu njon njern bulu bulnagan	bulu nəgərn bulu njeln bulu buln

Comparison is possible with both Gundangbon and Rainbarngo in these forms. The verbal system is simple as far as incorporation is concerned, and the forms are very regular. They may be tabulated thus:

Prefixes of the verbs: (1) subject, with third person singular object implied;

(2) object prefixes.

Here again are certain resemblances to the Mara, Alawa and Wandarang. Tense is shown by the suffix, and there are adverbial infixes as well. Some examples will make this clear:

	Positive.	Negative.
I see him	ŋa'-na-n	mag na'-nian
I saw him	ŋa'-na-nin	mag ŋa'-nä-ji
I shall see him	ŋa'nian	mag na'nian

Further, najenian na'nabojan, if I see him I shall give it to him; djajenian dja'wojan danmin, if I see you I will give you the spear; dja'waggogu'nanin, mag dja'bonian, na'bonian, I have waited a long time for you; if you don't come, I'm going; na'manegu'nanin mo:no:, ga'jelinbul'min, I waited a little and he came. nara-gara'-wodanian, we shall all stand together; ga'-ju-dorino, he lived a long time (in a place). Comparison with Rainbarngo again suggests itself, almost as much as with Gunwinggu, including the peculiar a: sound, very marked in Buan. Causative and other derived verbal forms are found, constructed much as in Gunwinggu.

(28) Gundangbon. This language may be regarded simply as a south-eastern dialect of Gunwinggu. It makes a much freer use of the glottal stop than any other form of that language. It also has a feminine pronoun in the 3rd person singular, as in Gunwinggu, though it makes no other distinction of gender. Very little needs to be said about it in this place. The past tense of the verb -bon, to come, will show its resemblance to Buan:

HER TO WESTER OF	Singular.	Dual.	Plural
r incl r excl	na'bon da'bon ga'bon	naridja'bon nara'bon nara'bon bara'bon	jala'bon jala'bon nala'bon bala'bon

Many other comparisons within the group could be made.

The vocabulary for all the non-classifying languages may now be shown, though it would have been better to group the languages by their resemblances in word-store if the grouping from a grammatical viewpoint had not been given preference. For the Iwaidja vocabulary see the previous report, Oceania, Vol. X, p. 420.

	vocabulary see	Amarag.	Rainbarngo.	Buan.	Gundangbon
fly sun . moon . fire . smoke	narjad narjad viwud aruwa didja:ridj wi:djud wi:ririn	awulalu wuraidbaru iwulja waliwu wi:l wiinara winaril adigu igada maninul malaijuwar wanguwu gangurg gubula mulgulg mänjidj gurana gudjäli gunan adawud	bi: diŋ' djara gaindjulja gi:ja di:jälŋ di:jälŋ gi:na balmana gulbana bulaidj- bulaidj marŋo  wa'wa' buad muda gurŋa ŋura do:lŋ djula	jawurin gidigid goidj mimi dje: da:lo: del gu: mo: guraidj guin  dugula nurodo wa'wa' mor walir did mimäl dolgno wa:	biji girigidj goidj mumu dje: dalugara' djen nu' mo: gulba guin  dugula nurodo wa'wa' bo:d belbagar gurya mimäl djunör wa:

### B. SUFFIXING LANGUAGES.

The languages numbered 30 to 43 can be treated as one group subdivided into two sub-groups. They are completely different in type from all the others discussed in both the previous report and this one, and agree with the type common throughout large parts of the rest of Australia. The characteristics of the two sub-groups together may be summarised thus:

- I. No classification of nouns or sentence concord, with no differentiation of gender or number in nouns.
- 2. Cases of nouns are indicated by suffixes and post-positions. Some of the case-endings are identical with forms found in New South Wales and South Australia: e.g. -na as the objective case of personal nouns, and -go as a possessive and dative ending. The agentive case is present.
- 3. Pronouns are treated in the same way as nouns; there is no incorporation, e.g. naii narana nama, he sees me; nara nama, I him see. Some verbs govern the genitive case: naii narago dja:l, he likes or wants me.
  - 4. The verb is invariable for person and number, being of the "Kattang" type in New South Wales. 11 Tense and mood are shown in suffixes.
  - 5. The vocabulary has agreements with West and South Australian desert languages, and contains a good deal of "common Australian" word-store not found elsewhere in the north and north-west.

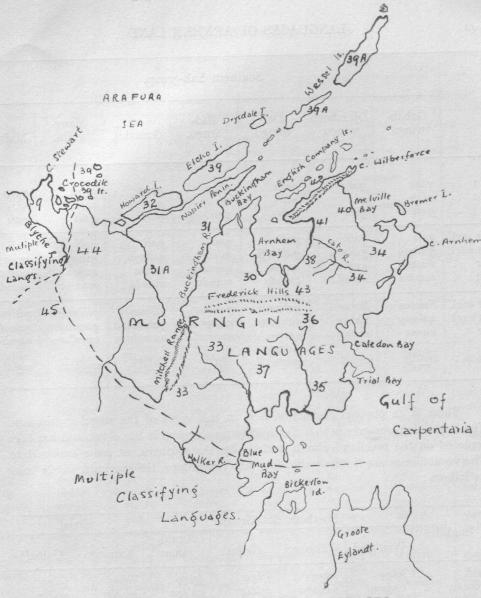
The languages of the group here called Murngin<sup>12</sup> are subdivisible into two parts, which have a good deal in common, but which are marked by different sets of pronouns, different grammatical processes (though again only verbal variations of one type) and certain vocabulary characteristic of each. One group is that of the languages of the northern islands and part of the northern coast, the other that of the mainland languages in general. Two: Yanango (ja'nano) and Golba, and possibly also Dalwongo, may be regarded as mixed. The pronouns and the vocabulary can be set forth immediately. Map II shows the actual localities.

TABLE A. Pronouns

		Northern :	Mi	Mixed.		
	Wan'guri	Warameri	Galbu	Riraid- jango	Yanango	Golba
Sing. I 2 3	naia	naia	naia	naia	nara	nara
	nunu	nunu	nunu	nunu	nunu	nunu
	na:n	na:n	na:n	na:n	na:ni	naii
Dual I incl. I excl. 2 3	nali	nali	nali	nali	nali	nali
	nalinju	nalinju	nalinju	nalinju	nalinju	nalinju
	numa	njuma	numa	numa	numa	numa
	djubul	djubäl	dubbäl	dubäl	balei	balei
Plur. I incl. I excl. 2 3	nalma	nalma	nalma	ŋalma	nalima	nalima
	nanabu	nanabu	nanabu	ŋanabu	nanabu	nanabu
	numa	njɛ:li	njɛ:li	njɛ:li	nuruli	numa
	dänäl	djänäl	dänäl	dänäl	jana, dana	waläla

<sup>11</sup> See A. Capell, "The Nature of Australian Languages," Oceania, Vol. VIII, pp. 40-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See W. Lloyd Warner, A Black Civilization, for the explanation of this term, which is rather unsatisfactory, but hard to replace, and at any rate has now become accepted as applied to these peoples.



## SKETCH MAP 2: MURNGIN LANGUAGES

30. 31A. 33.	Sub-group. Gobabwingo. Liagala:wumiri. Ridarngo. Manggalili. 37. Mařařba.	<ul><li>31. Djambarbwingo.</li><li>32. Wolgara.</li><li>34. Gomaidj.</li><li>36. Djabu.</li></ul>
38.	Sub-group. Wan'guri. Galbu.	40. Riraidjango. 42. Warameri.

Mixed Types.

41. Galbu.

39A. Golba. 39. Yanango. (Based on a sketch map by Rev. T. T. Webb.)

		Southern Sub-group.									
	Gobab- wingo.	Djambarb- wingo.	Dal- wongo.	Rid- arngo.	Gomaidj.	Mang- galili.	Mararba.				
Sing. I 2 3	ŋara ni: ŋaii	yara ni: yaii	ŋara ni: ŋaii	nara ni: naii	nara ni: naii	nara ni: naii	yara ni: yaii				
Dual I incl. I excl. 2 3	nali nilinju numa manda	nali nilinju numa manda	nali nalineji numa manda	nali nilinju numara manda	nali nilinju numa manda	nali nilinju numa manda	nali nilinju numa manda				
Plur. 1 incl. 1 excl. 2	limuru naburu numa w <u>a</u> läla	limur nabur numa waläl	nalimur nanabur nara- láwur wuru	ŋalïma nabur numari däli	nilimuru nanaburu nuwáluru w <u>a</u> läla	nilimuru nanaburu nuráluru w <u>a</u> läla	yilimuru yanaburu nuráluru w <u>a</u> läla				

There is an obvious distinction here in the forms of the singular pronouns. The impression one gets is that the Northern sub-group is the older, and has been replaced on the mainland almost entirely by the southern, at some earlier date. The vocabularies are similarly divisible into two groups, the specimen words being as follows:

			Northern S	Mixed.			
Englis	h.	Wan'guri	Warameri	Galbu	Riraid- jango	Yanango	Golba <sup>13</sup>
man woman head eye		jolyo badami murgur mayudji	jolno badami murguru manudji	jolno miälg mulgur mi:l, manudji	jolno daʻiga mulgur mi:l	jolno miälg da:mbu manudji	jolno miälg da:mbu mi:l
nose mouth tongue stomach bone		noro da na:nar guru maŝiŝin	gamuru djurwara mada gulun naraga	noro da mada gulun naraga	noro da na:nar dulmo naraga	gamuru durwara na:nar gulun mafifin	mada gulun

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> These words are taken from a MS. list compiled and given me by the Rev. T. T. Webb, covering a different series, and so not containing all required for the present purpose.

entare tree	Laterack Asia	Northern S	Sub-Group.		Mix	æd.
English.	Wan'guri	Warameri	Galbu	Riraid- jango	Yanango	Golba <sup>13</sup>
blood kangaroo opossum	gulaŋ wi:di rubu malui:ja	jilan wi:di marno wurban	gulaŋ mundbia marŋo 'maluja	gulaŋ mulbia marŋo malui:ja	gulaŋ wi:di marŋo baḍa:- wuma	gulan — marno —
crow	galgmanda	wa:g	gäl- gäriŋo	wa:g	galg- manda	
fly sun moon fire smoke	walmura nurdja	gädiŋälo walo bo:la ŋurdja diliwur	wurubul walo nalindi dänuda näräli <sup>14</sup>	buad walo walmura däŋuda ŋäräli	buad bi:n walmura bwi:mar diliwur	walo walmura gurda —
water .	nargula	garmag	magadi	gabu	gabu	1 8000

1 (30.53)			Sou	thern Sub-g	roup.	dia dia	49
English.	Goba- bwingo.	Djambar- bwingo.	Dal- wongo.	Ridarngo.	Gomaidj.	Mang- galili.	Mararba
man woman head eye nose mouth stomach blood kangaroo opossum emu crow fly sun moon	jolno miälg lia mi:l noro da mada gulun naraga mango, gulan wi:di marno wurban wa:g wurulul walo nalindi	jolno miälg lia mi:l noro da mada gulun narag mango, gulan wi:di marno wurban wa:g wurulul walo nalindi gurda diliwur gabu	jolno mare:- bulu mulgur manudji noro da na:nar dulmo naraga gulan gangurul rubu wurban wa:g gädinäli larngai nalindi dänuda näräli gudjärg	jolno din' lia mi:l noro deln mada gulun naraga gula  narggo marno  wa:gia buad walir nalindi, gulgia gurda ba:n gabu	jolno daiga:- wuru lia mi:l noro da na:nar gulun naraga gulan mulbia marno wurban wa:g gädinälo walo nalindi gorda diliwur gabu	jolno daiga:- wuru lia mi:l noro da na:nar gulun naraga wurungul mulbia rubu wurban wa:g gädinäli walo wirmu 'bujuga diliwur gudjärg	jolyo miälg mulgur mi:l yoro da mada gulun yaraga gulay mulbia maryo wurban wa:g wurulul walo nalindi yura yüra

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> These words are taken from a MS. list compiled and given me by the Rev. T. T. Webb, covering a different series, and so not containing all required for the present purpose.

<sup>14</sup> This word is commonly used for "tobacco" throughout the area.

Some of these words are typical of the desert languages of Western and South Australia, such as *gabu*, water, which is very common in those areas in the form *gabi*, but there is no space to go into these comparisons here. The languages as a whole bear evidence of having been brought in from more central regions of the continent: first came the northern sub-group, of common stock with the languages of central and eastern Australia, then later those of the southern sub-group, connected with the western desert tribes. What chronological relationship subsists between the various groups and tribes it is as yet impossible to say—and it may remain so.

Although the verb is invariable for person, it is possible to indicate tense and mood with fair exactitude by endings and by auxiliaries. Space permits of only brief illustrations.

English.		Goba- bwingo	Ridarngo	Wan'guri	Warameri	Yanango
see— Present Past Imperative	• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •	nama naŋala naŋo	nama nawala nawa	nama naŋa naŋa	nama naŋal naŋa	na:ma na:na naŋa
hear— Present Past Imperative	•••	ŋa:ma ŋa:gula ŋa:gu	ŋa:ma ŋa:wala ŋa:wa	na:ma na:gul na:ga	ŋa:ma ŋa:gul ŋa:ga	barŋara barŋarana barŋara:ji
go, move— Present Past Imperative	•••	mardji mardjina mardji	wani waninu wani	nara naran mangara	nari narinan naria	gaṛama gaṛana gaṛamava
turn (self)— Present Past Imperative	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	biljun biljuruna biljuro	dureiʻjun dureiʻjuna dureiʻjun	bilun biluan bilua	waddun wadduan waddua	biljo biljana biljova
turn (trans.)— Present	9.54	bilmarama	durei'- muran	biluman	biljuma	bilmiaŋa
Past Imperative		bilmara- nala bilmarano	durei'mala durei'mara		biljuman biljuma	bilmiana bilmiaŋö

There are other types, but these suffice to show that although each of the two groups have points of distinction in their methods of conjugation, there is more overlapping here than in the other factors discussed above. Dalwango has some peculiar endings; Yanango, besides those illustrated, has an interrogative, e.g.

ni: garami va? are you going? na:ni garanji? did he go? Its future particle, as in, e.g. ŋara wurogo garama, I shall go, is the same as the Gunwinggu and other western languages, gurogo, then, by and bye. It is also unique in the Murngin group of languages in having the bilabial v.

### B2. SEMI-MUDBURA TYPE

The Mudbura group of languages was treated in the previous report, <sup>15</sup> where the chief characteristic of it was shown to lie in the method of the conjugation of verbs. It was there shown that the language possesses a series of particles, to which are added suffixed pronouns to express person, and these are then placed in front of the verbal stem, which changes its endings for tense and mood. If the verb is transitive, the particles have added to them a combined form of subject and object suffixes telescoped together. The verbal particles themselves vary a little, but in the eastern languages (Mudbura, Ngarinman) the aorist tense particle is ba-, so that one says in Mudbura bana jänduru, I shall go or am going; nai banangu jänduru, I will go with you, using the combined suffixes of the 1st person (-na) and the 2nd person (-ngu). Thus there is built up a series of forms which look exactly like the incorporated forms which in the other languages of Group A are prefixed to the verbal stem. Mudbura has the richest series of verbal particles to which such suffixes are added.

In Djinba, and with traces also in Yandjinang an exactly similar system is found, though in a much shrunken form, and it is this fact that has led to the creation of the separate sub-group denominated "Semi-Mudbura Type."

(44) Yandjinang or Djinang and (45) Djinba may be treated together, as they have a good deal in common. The vocabulary in general leans towards agreements with the Murngin group, the word for "tongue" in the specimen vocabulary being the only one which distinctly recalls the Mudbura: viz. Mudb. djälan, Djinba djälinan, Jandj. djelan. This vocabulary may be given in full before the grammar is reviewed:

English	Djinba	Yandjinang	English	Djinba	Yandjinang
man woman head eye nose mouth tongue stomach bone	julni miälg gungu mili ŋɔrɛ ṛari djäliŋan gulun ŋaṛaga gulaŋ	djäriwidji mi:lg gongi mi:l ŋore ṛari djelaŋ budjiri ŋiṛige bofe	kangaroo opossum emu crow fly sun moon fire smoke water	narggo märno wa:gia bolgi djärbir galgi djonge mälgge gabi	nargo marno wurban wa:gire muruläl walir rangu djonge narimbi gabe

<sup>16</sup> See Oceania, Vol. X, pp. 425-429.

With this the vocabulary of the Mudbura group (op. cit., p. 429) may be compared.

In spite, however, of this dissimilarity in general vocabulary, the two languages show a simplified Mudbura conjugation. In nouns and pronouns the agentive case is present, and other cases are formed in a manner not unlike that of the Murngin languages. The phonetics of these two tongues are, however, more harsh than those of the Murngin, and unusual combinations of consonants occur, e.g. Jandj. ŋare bälbm, I hit; äldjn, you (as objective pronoun).

In Djinba, the verb is conjugated in the present tense by means of the particle ba-, which takes as suffixes the shortened pronouns of the subject, and to them may be added those of the object in the transitive verb. Comparison with Mudbura may then be made as follows: "I shall go," "I am going."

	Djinba.	Mudbura.
Singular 1	 banar garme	bana jänduru
2	 ban garme	ban jänduru
3	 ban garme	ba jänduru
Plural I incl.	 balim garme	bala jänduru
I excl.	 banain garme	banali jänduru
2	 bannei garme	banda jänduru
3	 bandjan garme	bali jänduru

In the transitive verb, the following pairs: I see you (sing.): Mudb. ba-na-ngu njäŋana, Djinba ba-njuri njäm; they-two see me: Mudb. ba-i-wula njäŋana, Djinba barainjale njäm; he sees you two: Mudb. ba-gula njaŋana, Djinba ban-nju-malain njäm; we see you: Mudb. ba-na-ngu-lu njaŋana, Djinba ban-njuwa-nain njäm. In the other tenses Mudbura varies the initial particle; Djinba, however, drops the ba- and does not substitute for it, so that, e.g. "I saw you" is njur njäŋe. In Jandjinang, the verb njäm, see, makes the past tense njaŋana, like the root form in Mudbura. The variety of possible endings to the verb stem is, however, greater in Djinba and Yandjinang than in Mudbura; the two former have a series of negative suffixes to the verb, whereas Mudbura forms the negative by adding the person endings to a negative particle gula-, used before ba- forms. Sufficient, however, has been said here to explain the extraordinary feeling of "Mudbura type" language that came over the compiler in his first contacts with these languages.

In closing, it must be stated that much more research remains to be done in each language, although a considerable amount of material, still unpublished, was collected in them. The time, however, was too short for thorough study, and in individual cases later study may correct errors. More attention needs to be given especially to the language of Bathurst and Melville Is. (Tiwi), which is so unusual in structure, and to those of Groote Eylandt and Rose River, which may serve to explain many of the irregularities of noun-classification in the other multiple-

classifying languages. There are indications also of possible wider affiliations of the languages that can only be hinted at here.

Thanks are due to a number of persons. Firstly to the Australian National Research Council, which has made the investigation possible by its generous use of funds, and especially to the Chairman of the Anthropological Section of this Council, Professor A. P. Elkin, who has both obtained the allocation of funds for this research and helped it by advice and encouragement at all times. I wish to thank members of various Missions on whose stations I have stayed, for both hospitality and help: Rev. Fr. McGrath at Bathurst Island Roman Catholic Mission, Mr. and Mrs. G. R. Harris at Oenpelli C.M.S. Station, Rev. and Mrs. L. N. Kentish at Goulburn Island Methodist Mission, and their fellow workers at Millingimbi, Rev. A. F. and Mrs. Ellemor. My stay at Yirrkala Mission was in the absence of the missionary in charge. I thank also Rev. L. J. Harris and Mrs. Harris at Groote Eylandt C.M.S. Station, and Mr. and Mrs. Port at Roper River. Mr. V. White, acting for Mr. Chinnery at the Department of Native Affairs in Darwin, has also been of material assistance.

#### APPENDIX

# NOTE ON THE LANGUAGES OF THE WELLESLEY ISLANDS

The Wellesley Islands are situated in the Gulf of Carpentaria, some sixty miles from Karumba, in the south-eastern corner of the Gulf. Some work on the social organization and totemism was done by R. Lauriston Sharp. 16 I was able to collect a few notes on two of the languages, viz. that of Mornington Island and that of Forsyth Island. The former is called by the natives Ladil (phonetically 'la:dil), recorded by Sharp as Laierdila. These people call Bentinck Island Madunun ('madunun). The people of Forsyth Island use the name Nemarang for themselves.

# (1) Mornington Island: Ladil Language.

In writing this language I found it necessary to distinguish a velar l, much like the l in English bugle, or more exactly, the Polish "dark l." This is written here l. The bilabial v is also found in the language, which permits as endings of words only the consonants l, n or r in addition to vowels.

The agentive case is absent, and nouns do not undergo inflexion for number, gender or class. Gender, is, however, distinguished in the demonstratives and at least the second numeral. Demonstratives:

ond numera			T
	Near.	Middle.	Far.
Masculine	deinda	nandabaLa	gi:nda
		nandaLa	gi:n
Feminine	dein	nanuala	8****

For the numerals I have noted: 1, wanni; 2, masc. gianda, fem. gian; 3, mungalar; 4, gian bana gian; 5, gian bana gian bana wanni.

<sup>16</sup> See R. Lauriston Sharp, "Tribes and Totemism in North-East Australia," Oceania, Vol. IX, No. 4, p. 454 et seq., and map on p. 440.

The objective case is distinguished by an ending, -i: guna yada deini, I don't want that—but the verb madu, to want, is followed by a dative, with the post-position -gu: gaLa:nmängu madu nji? What do you want?; dein-gu madu yada, I want that one. This is the same usage as in the Murngin languages with the verb dja:l, want. Other case relationships are shown by post-positions, which follow the adjective as well as the noun, and are also used with interrogatives. Thus: Nija jur wirima yaduni duyali yadunburi yamburburi, he has run away with my things from my house. The interesting thing is that some of these post-positions vary for tense, like the objective pronouns (for which see below). Compare

Past: nija wa: nimbenburi nidan bidi, he came from you to me.

Future: nija wangu nimbenda-buri-du, he will come from you (-du, future).

The pronoun is placed before the verb to indicate person, the verb itself being invariable; but the objective pronoun changes in the future tense. In the Pittapitta language, the nominative pronoun changes for tense, but in Ladil the nominative remains unchanged, tense being indicated in the ending of the verb, and in the object pronoun. Whilst there is a negative conjugation as well as a positive, this does not affect the pronoun object in Ladil, but in Nemarang it does. The following are the Ladil pronouns:

to tent but busiel (XVII) ellectrons accorded busiel systement social			Obje	ctive.	De la constant
		Subject.	Present and Past.	Future.	Possessive.
Singular I  2 3 Dual I incl. I excl. 2 3 Plural I incl. I excl. 2 3		nada njingi nija naguni nja:ngi nje:ngi ne:ngi nagulmu njälmu gilmu bilmu	nidan nimben niwen nagunin nja:n nje:n ne:n nagulmun njälmun gilmun bilmun	nidanda nimbenda niwenda naguningu nja:ngu nje:ngu ni:ngu nagulmungu njälmungu gilmungu bilmungu	nedun nimbe niwen naguninan nja:nan nje:nen ne:nen nagulmunan njälmunan gilmunan bilmunan

Space does not permit discussion of this interesting pronominal system, but examples will appear in the sentences illustrating the verbs.

As stated, the verb does not vary for person, but tense is indicated by suffixes, and there are different endings for positive and negative. The imperative position

ends in -a or the stem vowel of the verb, the negative in -ne. There is more than one type of conjugation, and the following are merely specimens collected:

Parlish		Positive.		Negative.			
English	Present	Past	Future	Present	Past	Future	
see give go hear take swim	guri-gu wuda-gun wa:ŋgu <sup>17</sup> mari-gu madu dilmagun	guri wuda wa: mari mada dilmɛ	guri-du wudu wa:ŋgu mari-du madu dilmagu	guri-geri wuda-geri (wa:niŋgu) mari-geri	guri-djari wuda-djäri wa:djäri mari-djäri	guri-ningu wudu-ningu wa:ningu mari-ningu	

Not all the negatives were recorded. Illustrations of the verb and pronoun forms are seen in the following sentences.

nja:ngi wa:ngu, njingi gäli, we two are going, you stay here; ga:Langu wa:ngu njingi? Why are you going away?; nija nidan wudagun, he is giving it to me; biLangu wudu nidanda, he will give it to me to-morrow; nada nimben gurigu, I see you; guri nidan! Look at me!; njingi nanda, nimbenda guridu, look out, he may see you; biLangu nimbenda jadu wa:ngu, he'll go to you to-morrow; jur dane nadan garari, I have left my camp (jur indicates complete action); jur dane nada neduni gänden, I have left my wife (gände, wife); nija jugarban jur dane, she left her husband; nada jur dane vene njidja, I have left some food on the fire; biLan-gu njärwuri läridu wunda, it may rain to-morrow; nadjida njunda nji? What is your name?; nadjida njunda gi:nda? What is that man's name?; guna dilmine gi:ni gadiri, djiga gugujen, don't swim in that river, there are too many crocodiles (note the objective case, like "don't swim that river"; also that "river" is feminine).

These notes were gathered during the course of a single day's call at Mornington Island, where the missionary in charge of the Presbyterian Mission, Mr. Docherty, kindly provided an excellent informant, from whom it was possible to get much information in a short time. The brief notes on Nemarang that follow were taken from a Forsyth Islander among the crew of the "Leisha" on the way from Mornington Island to Karumba, but he was not so intelligent, and the notes are not so satisfactory.

### (2) Forsyth Island: Nemarang Language.

This language is in general structure much like the simpler type of Australian language farther south. It lacks the tenses in the objective pronouns that Ladil has, but has a separate negative in the verb. There appears to be no distinction of

 $<sup>^{17}</sup>$  This word is really future in form, just as we in English say " I am going " when we mean " I shall go."

gender in the demonstrative or numeral, nor of number in the noun. Some of its vocabulary and grammatical formatives are cognate with those of Ladil. The following sentences will serve to illustrate this language.

Njuwa djina? yana guridjär. yi:, yana yumandji jur guri:, Where are you? I can't see you? Yes, I can see you (or, have seen you). Baranda yana yumandji guri, I saw you yesterday; Balmbu yana nuwandji guridju, I shall see him to-morrow; yana jur la:dji magurag; wara gabada yidjin magurag, I have killed a wallaby, bring me the wallaby here; yidjin ganda jani dirgayguru, my father is coming to-day; gala njuwa guri nuwandji? When did you see him?; girnada nadai guri nuwandji, I saw him two days ago.

There are, however, negative objective pronouns, which are not found in La:dil, i.e. if the verb is negative, the pronoun object ends not in -ndji but in -ni, and this independently of tense: guridjär nidjini, he did not look at me; guridjär girwani, he did not look at you two (the positive would be guri girwandji).

Not all the usual vocabulary was obtained in the time, so the following list differs from that which was appended to each group in the report.

English.	La:dil.	Ne:marang.	English.	La:dil.	Ne:marang
man woman head eye nose mouth tongue wallaby crow sun moon fire smoke	jugadbada binnin lälga goa njulda Lämin djälda Lämin gandjin wa:ga warga gidigir njuda dunal	bidinanga magudanga nälda mi:bul girga wara djärnana magurag djadag wargu waldar nida wadu	raft paddle father mother sky, above  ground wind snake food ashes sea whirlwind	yoga wälba bilir ganda yama vägiri, walman du Lga wannal jälbur vene borbo mäla wargudulen	yogo wälbu bilir ganda

A. CAPELL.