

NOTES ON THE WARAMUNGA LANGUAGE, CENTRAL AUSTRALIA

By A. CAPELL

INTRODUCTION

THE anthropology of the Waramunga tribe was studied by Spencer and Gillen, and their results will be found in *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* and *Wanderings in Wild Australia*. The tribe inhabited the area about Tennant Creek, in the Northern Territory of Australia. At the time of the discovery of gold in that region, they were moved away from the gold diggings. To-day they will be found working on various stations to the north-east of Tennant Creek, and at the time of my visit in 1952 some were at Phillip Creek Government Station. I was able to make a brief study of the language, which was not recorded by Spencer and Gillen and the analysis of the material is given below. It represents a rather distinct type in its method of conjugating verbs. It is surrounded on the west and now partly also on the north and east by the Wailbri (Waljbiri), an account of whom has been given in *Oceania*¹; on the south they meet with the Gaididj and on the south-east with the Iliaura, both of whom speak languages of the Aranda group.

The following outline is only a brief sketch, the outcome of a few days spent at Phillip Creek on the way back from my taking part in Professor Elkin's expedition to Arnhem Land in 1952. At Phillip Creek I was the guest of Mr. T. Wake, the manager of the Government Station. My chief informant was a Waramunga named Warana (English name Nat), who claims to have worked as informant for Spencer and Gillen. His ability to give the answers required readily and understandingly suggests that he had previously had some such training, and it is owing to this that I was able to gather the amount of information here recorded in the very brief period available.

PHONEMICS

Waramunga does not depart in any respect from the normal Australian phonetics. The sound-system, in the script normally used in *Oceania*, is shown in the table on p. 298.

Notes on the Table of Sound.

(1) The plosives are the usual "devoiced" series, acoustically intermediate between the English voiced and voiceless series. There is in Waramunga, however, a rather more marked tendency to devoice these sounds than in most Australian languages, and in this the language compares with Gaididj.² There is also a tendency

¹ A. Capell, "The Wailbri Through Their Own Eyes," *Oceania*, Vol. XXIII, No. 2, pp. 110-132.

² It is hoped to give an account of the grammar of Gaididj, gathered on the same expedition as Wailbri and Waramunga, in a later issue.

		Labial.	Alveolar.	Palatal.	Cerebral.	Velar.
Consonants	Plosive ..	<i>b</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dj</i>	<i>ɖ</i>	<i>g</i>
	Nasal ..	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>nj</i>	<i>ɳ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
	Lateral ..		<i>l</i>	<i>lj</i>	<i>ɭ</i>	(<i>ɮ</i>)
	Fricative ..	<i>w</i>	<i>ɹ</i>	<i>j</i>		
Vowels	High ..			<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
	Mid ..			<i>ɛ</i>		<i>ɔ</i>
	Low ..			<i>a</i>	<i>ɑ</i>	

to gemination of plosives. This gemination is never phonemic, nor is it entirely consistent, and it is not written in the material given here. Thus for "man" one hears a variation between *gaɖi*, *gaɖɖi*, *gattɪ* and *gati*. The word probably is cognate with the *wadi* of the southern desert tribes in the region of the Western Australian border. It is here spelled *gaɖi*. The present tense of the verb "see" may equally well be written *nantan* or *nandan*: the latter is chosen here only for consistency in spelling. So, too, *dabali*, "others," appeared in the original notes as *dabbali*. In other cases, spellings with single and double consonants appeared for the same word. The tendency to devoicing appears apart from gemination, however: "alive" was written both *wanka* and *wanga* in the first draft of notes; the verb "see" has already been mentioned.

(2) The palatal *nj* as a final presents the difficulties usually found in the northern Australian languages, i.e. it has a simultaneous interdental enunciation that makes it somewhat difficult to identify at first. It has been finally decided to use *nj* here instead of *ɳ*.

(3) The occurrence of *ɮ* is rare, and is conditioned by the presence of a following *g*, as in *baɭgan*, "short." The sound is not phonemic and is accordingly bracketed in the table above.

(4) Vowels show the normal range of free variation: *i* is tense only in long and stressed syllables; when short or unstressed, it becomes *ɪ*, and interchanges with *e*. Similarly, for the relationship of *u*, *ʊ* and *o*. The last, however, is found in a number of words, e.g. *gogo*, "wait on!", *ai'jo*, "yes," but the occurrence of alternative *ai'jau* in the latter case suggests that even so *o* is not a phoneme, and certainly no minimal pairs *o-ɔ* or *o-u* were discovered. On the other hand, *ɔ* is a phoneme, e.g. *bo:ru*, "sick." The variants of *ɑ* and *a* are *ä* in the neighbourhood of palatal con-

sonants, and *a* in the neighbourhood of *w*. The only diphthongal combinations or vowel clusters recorded are *ei* > *ɛi* and *ai*.

Stress. Stress tends to fall on the penultimate of two-syllabled words, and the antepenultimate of longer words. Words of more than three syllables are not common, and mostly compounded. In this case there is a subsidiary stress on the initial syllable of the word. There is no particularly outstanding tonal pattern, and no attempt has been made in this sketch to deal with questions of tonality.

Syllable Patterns. A syllable may begin with a vowel—see pronouns in the morphology below. Syllables of the types of V., C.V., C.V.C. are found, together with a very few of the type C.C.V. (e.g. the middle syllable of *bangwala*, "mosquito"), but the type C.V.C.C. common farther north does not appear in Waramunga. The preference is for a vowel final in most words, though this is not exclusive. It is more marked than in the northern languages such as those along the southern border of Arnhem Land.

MORPHOPHONEMICS

(1) *Vowel-harmony.* As in Waljbiri, so in Waramunga, there is vowel harmony between the vowel of certain suffixes (or the first vowel if there are more than two syllables) and the stem of the word to which it is added. If the final (though unstressed) vowel of the base is *-i*, the vowel of the suffix is *-i-*; if the final vowel of the base is *-u* or *-a*, the vowel of the suffix is *-u-*. Historically, as comparison with other languages shows, the original form of the suffix was *-u-*, so that the change to *-i-* must be taken as secondary in Waramunga. The rules in Waljbiri are precisely the same. Examples:

adjinji-gi gonwija-gu, "to my grandson."

gabulu-gu aginji-gi, "to his elder sister."

gambadju-guna, "of the father," contrast *yamini-gina*, "of the cousin."

There are some peculiar exceptions to this harmony, e.g. *njai-gu*, "why," a word shared with Waljbiri, where, however, the cognate is *njia-gu*, giving the right sequence. It looks like a case of metathesis in Waramunga. In Waramunga there is a third modification of certain suffixes, not paralleled in Waljbiri, i.e. if both vowels in the base are *-a*, the suffix also takes *-a-*: *ɲala-ga*, "for him." The Waljbiri is *jali-gi*. The genitive suffix *-guna* ~ *-gina* becomes *-gana* in Waramunga under these conditions, though the Waljbiri cognate *-gura* ~ *-gira*, does not have a third allomorph; compare with the examples above *ɲala-gana*, "there," *wanda-gana*, "where," and irregularly *mina-gana*, "at evening time." All these forms in *-gana* also present an extension in the sphere of meaning also.

(2) *Elimination of Vowels.* As against Waljbiri but in harmony with Gaididj, Waramunga practises extensively the elimination of the first of two vowels, when a word ending in a vowel is followed immediately in close juncture by one beginning with a vowel. The pronominal forms used with verbs will be present abundant examples of this phenomenon. Sometimes it is a simple case of liaison, much as in French: *naianaagil*, "I'll see him bye and bye," almost *nai-yan-agil*.

MORPHOLOGY

In Waramunga the pronoun is the key to much of the sentence structure, and the suffixes added to verbal stems form the only other variable element in the morphology.

(1) *Pronouns.* The cardinal pronouns and the possessives in Waramunga are as follows:

		Cardinal.	Possessive.
Singular	1 ..	.. <i>ani</i>	.. <i>adjinji</i>
	2 ..	.. <i>ayi</i>	.. <i>anginji</i>
	3 ..	.. <i>ɣala</i>	.. <i>aginji</i>
Dual	1 incl.	.. <i>aijila</i>	.. <i>ailiɣinji</i>
	1 excl.	.. <i>adjila</i>	.. <i>adjinɣinji</i>
	2 ..	.. <i>ambul</i>	.. <i>ambuliɣanji</i>
Plural	3 ..	.. <i>awul</i>	.. <i>ɣala gudɣilgari</i>
	1 ..	.. <i>anjula</i>	.. <i>anjulɣinji</i>
	2 ..	.. <i>argul</i>	.. <i>arginji</i>
	3 ..	.. <i>adjul</i>	.. <i>adjulɣinji</i>

There are many noteworthy features about these pronouns, but a further study is needed on some points in regard to them. The student of Australian language cannot but be struck by their wide departure from the common Australian roots. The third person singular is a demonstrative, and reappears in the dual third plural possessive. For "his," "her" there is a corresponding alternative, *ɣalagari*; *gudɣul* is a form of a common Australian word for "two." The absence of a first plural inclusive-exclusive distinction is in keeping with the earlier stratum of Australian language, but its normal accompaniment—the absence of special forms for second and third dual—is missing in Waramunga, where these forms have been developed. This absence of inclusive-exclusive was checked a number of times, especially by contrast with forms given by a Djingili informant, working with me at the same time as Nat, and able to supply the required forms in Djingili.

There are indications of certain other possessives, suffixed to names of parts of the body: *daga-ɣgu*, "your hand" (cf. *-ɣgu*, "you" (obj.) in Waljbiri), and kinship terms: *babaɣi gurani*, "your elder brother" (Waljbiri, *babaɣi*, "elder brother," and cf. *gulaɣ(u)*, "belonging to," with Waramungu *ayi*, "you"). These occur in texts and sentences, but the series was not worked out.

Possessives may precede or follow the noun to which they belong, e.g.:

"where is your camp?": *wanda aɣinji wuradji?*

where your camp

"he said to his elder sister": *ama waɣinji gabulugu aginji*

he-her said elder-sister-to his-to.

The last example shows that a suffix expressing grammatical relationship is repeated on both the noun and the dependent possessive (or other adjective-functioning word, as in Waljbiri and many other Australian languages).

There are no object forms of the pronouns given. These coalesce with the cardinal pronouns when used with verbs, and form a compound of both, often differing somewhat in form from the original elements, occasionally—as in the case of the third person singular—differing entirely. The subject and object pronouns go together, whether before or after the verb is optional, so long as the two are not separated by the verb. It is in this arrangement that Waramunga differs so markedly from the other languages of the Northern Territory. The nearest resemblances are found in north-eastern Arnhem Land, in Djinba and Yandjinang, but is only a resemblance of method, not of morphemes. The table following shows the combinations of forms expressing the subject and object of a verb, so far as these are pronominal in nature.

These compound pronominal forms are independent of the form of the verb. The following examples show how they are used :

I hit the boy with a stick : *windirindji ani walbundan ganu*
stick-with I hit boy.

We hit the boy with a stick : *windirindji anjul walbundan ganu.*

The dog bit you (sing.) : *gunaba angu bunju*
dog he-you bit.

The dog bit you two : *gunaba ambugu bunju.*

Did you see me in the camp? : *nanji ayandu wuradjigina?*
saw you-me camp-in?

I saw you : *nanji anangu (nanj'anangu)*
saw I-you.

Your father followed you : *gambadju angu njirganji*
father he-you followed.

Bring ye me the food : *gandi arguladji djugundjira*
food ye-me bring-hither.

Bring ye us two the food : *gandi adjirgi djugundjira*
food ye-us-two bring-hither.

They two gave me kangaroo : *jawiri awuladji njinju*
kangaroo they-two-me gave.

Other examples of the various combinations will appear in the texts. The pronouns are written as single words because (1) they are frequently abbreviated forms and (2) they share one main stress.

(2) *The Verb.* The verb in Waramunga has considerable resemblance to the Waljbiri verb in the methods of tense and mood formation, but it differs in the manner of incorporating the object into the utterance. This is done by a combination of the pronominal forms. The entire system cannot be obtained from the material gathered; in particular the occurrence of participles is hinted at but not really documented. As normally, the passive voice is missing, and the formation of reciprocals and reflexives is unusual.

The following table sets out the forms for subjects and objects; reading down the page for subjects and across for objects.

	me	you (I)	him, her	you-and-me	he-and-I	you-two	them-two	us (inc.)	you (pl.)	them
I ..		ananggu(*)	anagu			anambugu	anabulu		andiwugu	anadijunu
you (I)	angadiju		angi		angadiji		alagudju	agulangji		anadijungu
he, she	adiju	angu	ama	aijijigi	adijigi	ambugu	abulu	anjugu	angu	adijunu
y o u and I			aijil				aijil			aijildjani
he and I		adijanggu	adjil			adjilinggi	adjil		adjilargu	adjildjani
y o u two	ambuladiji		ambul		ambuljigi		ambul ?	ambulangi		ambuldjani
the y two	awuladiji	awulunggu	awul	awulaiji- nggi	awuladiji- nggi	awulambu- gu	?	awulangi	awulargu	awuldjani
we ..		anggulu- ngu	anjul			anjulambu- gu	anjulambul		anjulargu	anjuldjani
y o u (pl.)	arguladiji		argul		adijigi		argulambul	argulangi		arguldjani
they	adjuladiji	adjulun- nggu	adjul	aijijigi	adijigi	adjulan- bugu	adjulambul	anjugu	adjulargu	aijuldjani

* Exigencies of printing make necessary the expansion of the "eng" symbol, but in some cases the -n-g- are separate phonemes. This is so throughout the "us (inc.)" column, where the ending is "an-gi"; and in he-you (I), "an-gu," and aijin-gi, adjin-gi.

The
by means
if a non-
wind blo
moon so
material
as far as
together
the endi

The
closely a
is most
is derive
are two
first gro
ending
tense fo
the futu
is that
ending

Gr

G

The Waramunga verb does not vary for person or number ; these are expressed by means of the pronominal forms already given. Sometimes in the third person if a non-personal noun is the subject, no pronoun is used, e.g. *wudu guranda*, "the wind blows," lit. "runs"; *giljir baɖan*, "the sun rises"; *ganga darban*, "the moon sets." The stem of the verb varies only for tense and mood. The amount of material to hand does not permit of a complete analysis : it is too restricted, at least as far as moods are concerned. Only indicative and imperative are documented, together with a doubtful participle. There is a distinct resemblance to Waljbiri in the endings and general construction.

The tenses found in the indicative are three : present, past and future, with uses closely approximate to those of the English "simple" tenses. The verbal system is most conveniently arranged with the future as a basis. From this the imperative is derived ; the past and present tenses of the indicative are placed after this. There are two types of future tense, one ending in *-i* and the other in *-l/-r*. Within the first group, a subdivision is to be made between stems ending in a vowel and those ending in a consonant, when the *-i* of the future is cut off. Some examples of these tense forms are shown below under the headings suggested. Group 1a is that of the futures in *-i* preceded by a vowel (or semi-vowel, as *-j* belongs here) ; Group 1b is that of the future ending in *-i* after a consonant, and Group 2 is that of the future ending in *-l/-r*.

Future.	Imperative.	Past.	Present.	Meaning.
Group 1a—				
<i>nai</i>	<i>naia</i>	<i>nanji</i>	<i>nandan</i>	see
<i>ɳadai</i>	<i>ɳadaia</i>	<i>ɳadanji</i>	<i>ɳada</i>	find
<i>buju</i>	<i>buja</i>	<i>bunju</i>	<i>bundan</i>	strike
<i>njuju</i>	<i>njuja</i>	<i>njunju</i>	<i>njundan</i>	see
Group 1b—				
<i>mari</i>	<i>mara</i>	<i>manji</i>	<i>manda</i>	grasp
<i>wirari</i>	<i>wirara</i>	<i>wiranji (?)</i>	<i>wiranda</i>	watch
<i>gurari</i>	<i>gurara</i>	<i>guranji (?)</i>	<i>guranda</i>	run
<i>gulari</i>	<i>gulara</i>	<i>gulanji</i>	<i>gulanda(n)</i>	call
<i>gulbari</i>	<i>gulbara</i>	<i>gulbanji</i>	<i>gulbanda</i>	leave, send
<i>bari</i>	<i>bara</i>	<i>barinji</i>	<i>barandan</i>	get
<i>wangi</i>	<i>wanga</i>	<i>wanginji</i>	<i>wangan</i>	speak (cf. "cut")
<i>baɖi</i>	<i>baɖa (?)</i>	<i>baɖinji</i>	<i>baɖan</i>	rise
<i>djadji</i>	<i>djadji</i>	<i>djadjinji</i>	<i>djadan</i>	eat
Group 2—				
<i>gadil</i>	<i>gadila</i>	<i>gadinji</i>	<i>gandin</i>	make
<i>wangil</i>	<i>wangila</i>	<i>wanginji</i>	<i>wangan</i>	cut (cf. "speak")
<i>djugul</i>	<i>djugula</i>	<i>djugunju (?)</i>	<i>djugun(da)</i>	carry
<i>winbir</i>	<i>winbira</i>	<i>winbinji</i>	<i>winbin</i>	break
<i>gubun</i>	<i>gubula</i>	<i>gubunju</i>	<i>gubun</i>	cook
<i>bagil</i>	<i>bagila</i>	<i>baginji</i>	<i>baganda</i>	cut

A special case is provided by directive verbs, i.e. verbs which indicate the direction in which the action takes place, either away from or towards the speaker. In Waljbiri these do not follow a special type of conjugation, as the directives are treated as separable suffixes. In Waramunga, however, the directive suffix provides the ending of the verb, and is accordingly modified for tense and mood. While the forms are not fully documented in the material, the following examples seem clear:

Future.	Imperative.	Past.	Present.	Meaning.
<i>abirigal</i>	<i>abirigala</i>	<i>abirigani</i>	<i>abiranda</i>	go away
<i>barandjigal</i>	<i>barandajigala</i>	<i>barandjirani</i>	<i>baranda (?)</i>	take away

The series indicating movement towards speaker are not shown completely; the imperative is the commonest, and ends in *-ndjira*, e.g. *baramandjira*, "bring hither"; *gulbandjira*, "send hither" (contrast *gulbara*, "send"). In the second instance the past tense is *gulbadugani*, "sent hither." Similarly there are *djugundjira*, "bring," with past *djugundugani*, "I have brought it." The present should be *gulbandanda*, *djugunda*, but I have no examples to hand. The verb *nju-*, "give," is often given the directive suffix, becoming *njundjira*, "give me," but no other form of this verb seems to be in common use, for "I'll give it to you," the simple *njuj' ayandju* is used.

A note on the verb "to go" is needed. The simple forms are:

Future.	Imperative.	Past.	Present.	Meaning.
<i>abi</i>	<i>aba</i>	<i>abinji</i>	<i>aban</i>	go

These, however, are comparatively rare in use, and certain compounds are found: (1) reduplicated: present *abiraban*, future *abiribari*, as in *abiribar' anjula*, "let us go"; (2) a form compounded with the suffix of direction away, giving the endings already listed.

There is another ending that may be described as "consequential," viz. *-gan*, "and so . . ." This is usually added to verbs, and many examples will be seen in the texts, but occasionally it is added to the noun in the clause, showing that it is not strictly a tense sign at all. Examples: *gilidjinji-gan awul*, "so they both quarrelled" (following upon a preceding incident in the story); *wangil anjula*, *djidjigan anjula*, "we shall cut it up, then we shall eat it." *Mala-nga-gan awul njina*, "shade-in-then sat they-two," is an example which the suffix is transferred to the nucleus of the sentence in a manner quite characteristic of Waljbiri, not usual, however, in Waramunga.

There are a few examples of inchoative or inceptive verbs, i.e. those that indicate "becoming," e.g. *bunmuru*, "white" > *bunmuridjini*, "became white"; *jugunu*, "sated" > *jugundjiri*, "became sated."

Many verbs are compounded just as in Waljbiri and other Western Desert languages, e.g. *barga manda*, "hold"; *bara manda*, "put down," and apparently *baraman' adjul*, "they sit," all with a verb which normally in Australia is *ma-* and indicates grasping; with the root *bu-* which over most of Australia indicates striking, there are *yara bundan*, "throw away"; *wudu bundan*, "blow" with the mouth; *burdjali bundan*, "dance"; *wal bundan*, "strike." These show a tendency to

modify the literal meaning of the auxiliary into "perform" usually with some force, as in many other languages. One example with the verb to "stand" is *bina danda*, "hear," literally "ear stands up." A few others are not clear in the restricted material, e.g. *jir baginji*, "cut it"; *wur bununji*, "collected it"; *wur barinji*, "pulled it."

Reflexive verbs take a different series of pronominal adjuncts, shown in the following specimen.

- wayangu anadju*, "I cut myself."
- wayangu ayunu*, "you cut yourself."
- wayangu awunu*, "he cuts himself."
- wayangu aijilina*, "we two (incl.) cut ourselves."
- wayangu adjilina*, "we two (excl.) cut ourselves."
- wayangu ambunu*, "you two cut yourselves."
- wayangu awulunu*, "they two cut themselves."
- wayangu anjuna*, "we cut ourselves."
- wayangu argunu*, "you (plur.) cut yourselves."
- wayangu adjunu*, "they cut themselves."

The verb in this instance varies for tense and mood while the pronouns remain as in the above example.

The reciprocal forms of the pronouns, however, end in *-mu*: *anjumu nandan*, "we look at each other." The other forms are built by a similar substitution. Of course only dual and plural forms are possible in this relationship.

(3) *Nouns*. There is no system of gender or class in Waramunga nouns, and the only two plurals in evidence, as distinct from the singular forms, are *giridji*, "the women," and *bigabiga*, "the children" (either boys or girls, or both). For "men," the singular *gadi* appears, e.g. *gadi djulali*, "all the men." No dual forms appear, only the numeral "two" placed after the noun. The numerals are: (1) *jandi*, (2) *gudjara*, (3) *wurgadi*. Other words which may serve to mark plurality are *djulali*, "many," "all"; *gama*, "other" (precedes noun); *dabali*, "others" (chiefly pronominal).

(4) *Demonstratives*. Words of this nature, used either pronominally or adjectivally with nouns, include the following:

- (1) *ηala*, "he," "she," "that," used as pronoun only, dual *ηala gudjara*, "the two"; *ηala gudjulgari*, "belonging to them two," answering to *ηalagari*, "belonging into him or her." It takes other case endings: *ηala-ga an* *aban*, "for that I come," "I want that."
- (2) *ala*, "that," pronoun, referring to objects: *njanir ala?*, "what is that?" *Njanir ηala* is also usable, and there is also *njai ala?*, "who is that?" and *njai ala wini?*, "what is that man's name?"
- (3) *gabi*, "that," adjectivally: *gabi ηunjari*, "that brother-in-law"; *gabi djulali*, "all those."
- (4) *gadi*, "another," for which a plural, *dabali*, is used.

There are apparently no sharp lines of demarcation between the various demonstratives, and the data do not allow of defining them, e.g. in order of distance from the speaker, if this is possible. *Ala* shows compounds *alanba*, "over there," and perhaps also *alinja*, "now." There are also *bani . . . bani . . .*, "this way . . . that way," and *ɲanda . . . ɲanda . . .*, "that way . . . that way . . ."

(5) *Non-Verbal Suffixes.* Suffixes added to non-verbal roots are mostly shared between nouns and pronouns, except for the possessive forms of the pronouns, which have been listed earlier. Most of them, also, are subject to the rules of vowel harmony, and were mentioned under Morphophonemics. The list of such suffixes, of which the texts show examples, is as follows:

-buda, directive with points of the compass: *garubuda*, westwards; *gudjulubuda*, northwards.

-gadji, "about": *wadi muɖumuɖugadji*, "afraid about the bullroarer."

-gu~gi~ga: See Section 2, Indirect object.

-guna~gina~gana: "of," but also used as a locative: *ɲalagana*, "there"; *mina-gana*, "in the evening"; *wanda-gana*, "where."

-gura~gira, "of": *-gara* should theoretically occur, but no examples are found in the material to hand.

-ndju~ndji, "operative case," i.e. subject of transitive verbs and marker of the instrument with which an action is done: *windirindji ani walbundan ganu*, "with a stick I am hitting the boy"; *ɲunjarindji ama jir bagil*, "the 'doctor' will cut it" (see Text 2, line 19).

-ɲara, "from": *wandanɲara?*, "whence?"

To these may be added the suffix *-nba*, which is dubitative: *djuɲa'la?*, "is that true?"; *aia, djuɲanba*, "Yes, probably true." It is less clear in *ɲala-gari-nba ani jiril*, "I'll leave it here," but probably the sense is "round here," "somewhere about here."

It should be noticed that the suffix *-gura* is not always used in a possessive statement. One noun may precede another in a qualifying role: *walugun wingara*, "fire totem"; *daladjiribi wingara*, "cockatoo totem"; *burudu warinji*, "coollebah country." The same usage applies to possessive pronouns: *adjinji wingara*, "my country," but in this instance it is equally possible, as has been stated, to reverse the word-order and say *wingara adjinji*. In the case of two nouns this reversal of word-order is not allowable. Such a pronominal possessive also may take a suffix *-gari*, which makes it almost predicative: *adjinjigari gongwijagari*, "it belongs to my grandfather." Actually, I believe that the *-gari* ending is descriptive, not actually predicative, though the latter arrangement in English may convey the meaning more easily.

A suffix *-nja* is emphatic and deictic: *ɲalanja aɲginji wingara*, "this is your totem" (pointing and emphasizing); *baninja gadila*, "make it like this."

THE TEXTS

The following texts will give examples which will cover the field of syntax. They are in all instances texts dictated freely by the informant, not translations from English. They are therefore authoritative in matters of syntax, and it will be seen that there is considerable elasticity of word-order in the Waramunga sentence. No attempt has been made in this short paper to outline any rules of syntax. The First Text covers an important item of daily life, and shows the informant's gifts as a vivid narrator (indeed this is marked in his other contributions as well). The Second Text is his own description of initiation rites, and shows a clear mind in placing of events in their right order; this was not so marked in my corresponding text in Waljbiri. The Third, Fourth and Fifth Texts are dealing with the cult life.

These texts are given purely as specimens of the language, not as anthropological data. For the anthropology of the tribe see Spencer and Gillen's *Northern Tribes of Central Australia* and also *Wanderings in Wild Australia*.

Text 1. Kangaroo Hunting.

This is a free text given by Nat in his own words. It is a good example of native narrative style.

baɖ' anjula 'gujugu, 'jawirigi! Aija—u! Gurag!
 Let us get up for meat, for kangaroo! Certainly! Hurry up!
 Abiribar' anjula. Waliɲindji gujugu njandjiri baɖa. Na:ɲagu,
 We shall go walking. Slowly for meat look about walking. Look!
 alinja ama njinda! ɲalanja! Walir gurara! Balu buläbidjira.
 there he sit (=kangaroo sits). That's it! Around run! Behind watch it.
 Waiaban? Alanba njinda. Baginji ama. Walbi windirindji.
 Which way? There sitting. He threw (a spear). Kill it with stick.
 Guna barinji, djägur barinjigan. Baɖirali adjul, buɖagidji
 Guts he got, and hung round his shoulder. They got up, returned
 wuradjigi, guju ɲini djugundu baɖinji, wuradjigina baraman' adjul,
 to camp, meat that (they) carried back, at the camp they put it down,
 guridjayu. Walugan adjul barinji, waraguru wandinji. Guju jawiri gubun
 cut it up. Firewood they got, hole (they) hid. Meat kangaroo they
 adjul, wiɖjäl birilunju adjul, gamanda. Jirinji waraguruguna. warar
 cooked, hair they singed, finish. (They) put it in the hole. They
 barinji gamanda. Baraman' adjul, ɲjin' adjul. Gamanda, baɖ' anjula,
 covered it up now. They sit down, they stay. Now then, let's get up,
 wanil anjula. Djadjigan anjula. Gamandaga jugunu mungu.
 we shall cut it up. Then we shall eat it. And now filled belly.
 Gamand' aɲi djanji? Aija, dudunjayunu. Gamandaganu, guju ɲunɲa
 Now have-you-eaten-it-all? Yes, we go to sleep. All right now, meat some
 wanabadaga.
 for to-morrow.

Text 2. Initiation.

This text is also a spontaneous description by Nat of the rite of circumcision of the Waramunga. The full details will be found in Spencer and Gillen, and their longer account should be compared, so that an idea can be obtained of the native's power of condensing and arranging his subject matter—though of course psychological generalization from this example is not justified, even if that given in my article previously referred to, "The Wailbri Through Their Own Eyes," be compared. Very little has been done yet in the examination of the Australian aborigine's literary powers, but personal observation of other unpublished field material suggests that these are considerable and should respond to education, at any rate in the vernacular at the present stage.

The *ɲunjari* referred to was translated by Nat as "doctor"; he is, however, the brother-in-law, and the boy's guardian as well. See Spencer and Gillen.

"*Garu aburuma:ban bargamanda,*" *ganandi gambadju dabudabu*
 "Boy first of all catch," mother father mother's father
ɲamini, *gongwiya* *wanginji,* "gongujiri anjula." *Däbiɲara*
 mother's brother father's father said, "we shall make him man. At night
bargamara argul." *Galagala* *aginji wurbuninji gaɖi djuläli, giridji*
 catch him ye." Sister's husband his collected men all, women
walandadjigi—gabulu, babaɖi, gaɖigidji. *Däbiɲara wanginji:* "Bargamari
 to the dance—sisters, brothers, cousins. At night said (they): "Let us catch
anjula bajindi." *Däbiɲara bargaman' adjul, lar ɲarbunju adjul.*³ *Je!*"
 him now." In the dark they caught him, they called out.
Djugun' adjul *wadi gaɖigi, djuläligi ɲunjarigi.* *Gamanda, walandjeina*
 They took him away to other men, to many doctors. Finish, dance
däbiɲara adjul. *Ganandi, gabulu, gogaɖji, djoɖandji, gambadju,*
 at night they. Mother, elder sister, younger sister, mother's father, father,
ɲamini, dadi djuläli ɲjin' adjul walbirindji ɲaraŋga.
 mother's brother, others many sat they at the dancing ground.
Djuagunja. *Guladju gubudugani.* *Gola! Gola! Gola!*⁴
 (They) then waited. Smoke signal they made. H— h— h—
Wurbudjir' adjul ɲanganga, garagaragan adjul. *Wanabada adjula baraman-*
 They gathered quickly, so-that-they-are-close. To-morrow they will
djira. *Alinj' adjul golanda, anjula gulajambal, gambadju wanginji*
 bring him. Now they sing h—, we shall respond, father said
gabulugu aginji, "Gandiri guju, ɲaba, djugundagala ɲanganga, ɲindjurgala
 to elder sister his, "Bring meat, water, take them quickly, give them to
gogaɖji *anginji, ɲindjurgala gabi ɲunjari aginji, gama gaɖi djuläli;*
 younger sister your, give them that guardian his, other men all;

³ This is a completely voiceless call, a pure whisper, which it is difficult to represent in phonetic script. Lower down, the term *gola* is applied to it, and will be rendered in the text by "h—."

⁴ See footnote 3.

adjula djadji jugundjiri. Minagana *adjula djugundjira.* Lon *yaragu*
they will eat till sated." At sunset they bring him in. Hoist him on the legs
*ganandigina,*⁵ *gambadjuguna, yaminigina,* *gabi djuläligina.*
of mother, of father, of mother's brother, of all those.

Däbinara djudjundju njinda, *ama njai Walbbiri.*
At night (they) make secret corroboree, he will see the Walbbiri dance.
Dudumana warara gubunda, *ama yunda wambaladja,*
All night they keep him (in the ashes), he lies-quiet on-his-back,
warara gubunda *bi'djuwuna.* *Gadi wurbudjinda jir bagindjigi*
(they) keep in the ashes his penis. The men gather together to cut
bi'djuwuna. *Ama yunjaridji ama jir bagil.*⁶ "Gadindiri malaraga."
his penis. The "doctor" will cut him. (Song words.)
*Giridji wagabi wadadjul aban, njind' adjul gandugandu, Walugun barbanda.*⁷
The women afar depart, they stay quiet. Fire make,
gunbu gudjaranja, bani, *bani.* "Wandjar' argul?" *Gadi*
two (big) fires, on this side and on that. "Where are you (pl.)?" Men
bargamanda yanganga, "murudjar' argul"; giwari djagurbur' argul,
catch him quickly, "get ready"; upwards lift him,
wandajaraba *wambaladja,* *gadungagana gadigina.*
throw him (on to the bearers) lying-on-his-back, on-the-backs-of the men.
"Danganga! madan *njuja, babadindji!*" *Winar' argul "wai lundu*
"Quickly! stone knife give him, brother!" Sing ye (words of song),
lundu" yunjaridji madan bargamanda, babadindji njunju.
(as the) doctor stone-knife takes, (which) his brother gave him.
Jir baganda. Borundjaigan. Barindjirani, waraga wadigan.
He cuts him. Now he is-sick. They-take-him-bush privately a long way.
Mudumuđu njunju gadbadjundju aginji. Dayalgi mudumuđu gambadju
Bullroarer gave-him father his. His-country bullroarer father
agu wangu. Duđuldjanda inalguranda bigabiga, giridji, dabali
will-tell-him. It-makes-a-whirr, (they) run away children, women, others
djuläli wadi mudumuđu gadji.
all frightened bullroarer concerning.

Text 3. Conception Totem

This is a brief statement by Nat in answer to certain queries.

Wurgulu, dalawala, wuradjigi abiraban. Ani badinji, njanji ani
Snake a brown snake, to the camp comes. I got up, saw I

⁵ This extraordinary statement is given here just as narrated by Nat.

⁶ Before this the women have, of course, departed from the scene. The narrator seems to have misplaced his events a little here, in that the boy after the circumcision lies on his back with ashes applied to soothe the pain; this is not necessary before the cutting.

⁷ Nat's explanation was "they make fire at ring place." This applies to the men in the special camp; the boy is hoisted on four bearers, and there is a fire at either side of the group. These are the *gunbu gudjara* which Nat mentions.

wurgulu, wuraijindi yunjina. Ama wurgulu djugudjug' ani, bululundju
 the snake, where-we-were-camped. The snake passed-by I, baby
wiradjigi. War' ani walbunju, ama abarini ginagina.
 to the camp. Not I killed it, it went free.

A freer translation is called for: "A brown snake came into the camp. I got up and saw the snake, where we were camped. I let the snake go by, (I realized it was the spirit of) a baby (come) to the camp. So I did not kill it, the snake went free."

Text 4. Possession of a Totem.

This and the text next following go together. The former is concerned with the passing on of ownership in a totem, and the following is a totemic myth. Nat is still the narrator.

Adjinji wingara Widjili. Adjinjigari gongwijagari
 My dreaming Widjili. It belongs to my father's father (and)
gambadjugari. Adju wadawada njinji, yalanja anginji wingara. Anyanda
 father. He showed it to me, this-is your dreaming. We
anangu walungundiri anginjing' anangu. Ani gununul. Adjinjigi gongwijaga.
 to-you hand-it-over (and) it is yours. You keep it. (It will be) for my grand-
 child.)

Text 5. Nat's Dreaming.

This story is given at greater length in Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 199-204. The characters are two women, Landjinjali and Djuwanjali, of the Nanjali and Narulu sub-sections. Nat has merely called them by their subsection names. The story of the cause of fighting between them is given rather differently in Spencer and Gillen.

Nanjali Narulu awul abina duḍundi. Buguguna
 The Nanjali and Narulu walked about continually. Ants' eggs
walbidjinj' awul. Manbinj' awul. Malanagagan awul njina.
 they were seeking. They cleaned them up. So in the shade they two sat.
Wanginj' agu, "Mala adjinji." "Ḑala adjinji." "Ḑala adjinji."
 (Narulu) said to her, "Shade mine." "This is mine." "This is mine."
Gilidjinjigan awul. Nanjali njinji, gana barinj' ama,
 So the two quarrelled. The Nanjali was seated, yamstick took she,
walbunju Narulu. Gilingi malanara buludju dilal bunju Narulu, Nanjali,
 struck the Narulu. Fright from-shade head split Narulu, Nanjali,
dilal bunju. Bani gudju walbinji walbinji awul. Garin manidjili,
 split. This-way the-two struck struck they-two. Blood flowed,
balaligan awul.
 so died they both.

Daladjirba wingara mala dadjinj' ama. Mala bulbul bagindj' ama.
 White cockatoo dreaming shade ate. Shade down fell.

"Ge:::!" *wanginj'* ama *wingara*. *Bur badina barabara manji*
 said the dreaming (bird). Flying away he alighted
wibanba. *Wilal miridji abindjin'* *awul bunmiridjini*. *Bindjin'*
 on-the-ground. White line they two find they become white. He dances
ama bargala. *Gun* *wanginj'* *agu*, *gun wanginj'* *agu*
 secret corroboree. (Sound of beating sticks) they beat sticks they beat
duru *bargala djudju*.
 nulla-nulla secret business.

The preceding sketch is incomplete. It is published because no previous account has been given of the language. It leaves a number of points undecided, and some forms will be found in the texts which are not explained in the grammar. More material is needed for the elucidation of such points. It is to be hoped that such material will be forthcoming, but the Waramunga are not numerous, and since the discovery of gold at Tennant Creek, and the consequent removal of the tribe from that area, they have become very scattered. They are usually to be found only on sundry stations east of the main north telegraph line through Central Australia. They meet from time to time at such places as Phillip Creek for wet season ceremonies, and an observer needs to be present on such an occasion to gather what still remains to be learned.—So far the opportunity has not presented itself.

A. CAPELL.