Djabugay Grammar, Texts and Vocabulary

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GRAMMAR

1. THE LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS

In 1978 the number of competent speakers of Djabugay could be counted on the fingers of one hand. One of them, Gilbert Banning, contributed enthusiastically to this grammar of his language. He felt that it was his responsibility to preserve the language beyond the death of the last speakers.

Gilbert Banning - his tribal name is Wurrmbul 'pelican' - died some years ago. But since 1988 the Djabugay language is experiencing a revival, perhaps the only case of revival of a dying language in Australia. Michael Quinn, a social anthropologist and language teacher, took the initiative and with the help of the remaining speakers (in particular Roy Banning and Maggie Donahue) and this grammar the Djabugay language regained usage. More old people remembered and the young ones became interested. With community support and government assistance, language classes began. In 1989, 150 Djabugay children received instruction in their language; local Aboriginal artists illustrated Djabugay stories; Djabugay featured in a local play performed by black and white Australians; local bands put Djabugay poems to music; the local school has shown interest in extending Djabugay language instruction to white pupils.

The New Djabugay will of course be somewhat different from the traditional one. The mission regime at Mona Mona and the thrust towards assimilation effectively sundered the transmission of Djabugay as a living language from parents to children, except in at least one family, the Bannings, who kept the language alive in their home. Gilbert's nephew Roy Banning, born in 1948, learned Djabugay as his first language as he spent most of his childhood in the company of older Djabugay speakers in the Redlynch area. Roy's brothers and sisters, although they had a different upbringing, nevertheless understand Djabugay and Roy uses the language with them in private. So, while Djabugay was restricted to usage in the home for a while, it was never dead and now it promises to be an openly used, fully living language once again with all the connotations of social usage and social significance for its speech community.

This grammar of Djabugay is a salvage grammar. It is based primarily on the knowledge of one speaker, Gilbert Banning, in his late sixties at the time of investigation. Although a fluent speaker, he had used the language to only limited extent for some decades. This grammar can therefore only present the bare bones of Djabugay structure and can say nothing about the finer points of syntax and style, let alone the intricacies of discourse structure or conversational interaction.

1.1 LINGUISTIC TYPE

Djabugay belongs to the Paman or Cape York Peninsula group of the Pama-Nyungan language family. It represents a typical Australian language in that it is agglutinating and wholly suffixing. Its unmarked word order is subject - object - verb.

The language has clearly defined classes of nouns, verbs, location and time qualifiers, particles and interjections. Adjectives can also serve to modify a verb, but in this function they still remain part of the subject noun phrase. First and second person singular and plural pronouns constitute a word class of their own. Deictics, which are distinguished by a two-term spatial system 'here' and 'there', are also used as third person pronouns.

Verbs fall into two conjugation classes, l-conjugation and y-conjugation. There is some correlation between transitive verbs and l-conjugation, and intransitive verbs and y-conjugation. Verbal inflections distinguish between three different tenses, past, present and future, as well as aspect, mood and several types of subordinate clauses. Derivational suffixes include functions such as indication of plural participants, reciprocity, and change in transitivity.

Nouns and adjectives take inflections for twelve cases. Stem-forming derivational suffixes include genitive and a three-fold comitative with a diverse semantic range. For pronouns and deictics and location/time qualifiers, inflectional and derivational possibilities are less complex. A universal reflexive pronoun is used for all persons and numbers.

Surface syntax employs the ergative/absolutive system for nouns and the nominative/accusative system for pronouns. Deictics can use either system, some apparently optionally.

1.2 DIALECTS, TERRITORY, AND NEIGHBOURS

Hale (1976c) recorded the name of the language as Tya:pukay with a long vowel in the first syllable. Dixon's field notes on Yidiny show mention of Djabugay with long and short vowel in free variation. Compared with other vowels with phonologically contrastive length in Djabugay the 'a' in the first syllable is in fact short, albeit slightly lengthened because it carries stress.

Djabugay comprised five dialects: Yirrgay, Guluy, Nyagali, Bulway and Djabugay. The groups speaking these dialects inhabited a triangle from just south of Cairns to just north of Atherton, then northward along the Barron River and on to Mount Molloy, then meeting the coast again between Port Douglas and Mossman. The distribution of the dialect groups can be seen on Map 1 which is based on McConnel (1939-40) and communication with informants. The Djabugay-speaking group, the Djabuganydji, apparently occupied the largest territory, including a long stretch along the Barron River.

The extent of difference between these dialects is no longer possible to judge, because the only remaining competent speakers happen to be Djabuganydji with no specific knowledge of any other dialects. The immediate southern neighbour of the Djabugay language group is Yidiny with which Djabugay shares about 53% of common vocabulary, based on a 400-word list of basic vocabulary. There are also similarities in pronoun roots as well as in nominal and verbal suffixes and in some enclitics (Dixon 1977). Furthermore, Djabugay and Yidiny share a common stock of dreamtime myths. Clearly, these two languages and cultures are closely genetically related; and no other language appears to belong to this small subgroup.

Traditionally, the Djabugay and Yidiny tribes had close contact with each other. Intertribal marriage was permitted, which resulted in some degree of bilingualism. However, to what extent present familiarity between the two tribes is a result of traditional contact and to what extent it is the result of enforced mixing of the tribes during the white settlement period is difficult to assess.

The neighbour to the north and west is the Kuku Yalanji language group, with whom the Djabuganydji apparently had less contact than with the Yidiny tribe. While Djabugay and Kuku Yalanji share cognates, their morphological and syntactic systems and realisations show many differences.

1.3   SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION

Because of the decimation and breakup of the Djabugay group early this century the social structure of the tribe has changed dramatically. Sociolinguistic features linked to traditional tribal structure, such as special speech styles as found further south and north, have been forgotten - if they ever existed. What information could be obtained about the traditional way of life, linguistically or otherwise, was always accompanied by comments that this belonged to a bygone era.

With respect to food acquisition and processing, man-made shelters and artefacts and division of labour between the sexes, the Djabuganydji represented a typical rainforest civilisation of North Queensland.

Djabugay society was organised according to a two moiety system: gurrabana, associated with the wet summer season (bana 'water'), and gurraminya, associated with the dry winter season when most of the hunting activities took place (minya 'non-vegetable food'). An individual could only marry a member of the opposite moiety and offspring always belonged to their father's moiety (R. Banning & Quinn 1989). Marriages were arranged in childhood. No communication of any kind was permitted between the promised marriage partners until their betrothal after the male's initiation in his mid-teens. For their initiation, boys were taken to live in an all-male camp for several months. They received cicatrices on shoulders and chest. During this time the mother's brother played an important role as guardian of the initiate. Nothing seems to be known now about possible female initiation or about other aspects of the initiation ceremony, such as handing on of special knowledge, legends, songs, or the possible use of a special speech style. The last initiation ceremony took place at the very beginning of this century before the breakup of traditional tribal structure and customs. The present lack of knowledge of these matters is therefore not surprising, as is the current lack of information on the kinship system (except concerning the most closely related family members) and possible taboo relationships.

The only indication that language could function as a purely ceremonial tool is found in reported penance rituals. Certain plants were taboo and not to be touched by anybody and certain food was taboo for the uninitiated. Any breach of taboo was thought to be punished by frightening events such as thunderstorms or gales. It was believed that the elements could be appeased by public self-accusation during which the culprit had to lean over a fire and cry out repeatedly a word with mythical association: sho. This word had no other application. Furthermore, it is phonologically distinct from other Djabugay words; neither the fricative nor the mid back vowel belong to the regular phonological system of Djabugay.

1.4   PRESENT SITUATION

At the end of the 19th century Djabugay territory was taken over by white settlers for cane growing and cattle farming and many Djabuganydji were deliberately killed in the process. (Gilbert Banning's mother escaped a mass shooting in the Davies Creek/Speewah area.) Others succumbed to introduced diseases like influenza. In 1916 almost all remnants of the tribe were rounded up by the police and taken to Mona Mona, a Seventh Day Adventist mission on the Barron River. Here, children were separated from their parents and placed in single sex dormitories together with children of other tribes. This of course ensured that English became the dominant language for the children and that transmission of cultural knowledge from parents to children was virtually impossible. The trauma of this enforced assimilation to white Australian culture and language could still be felt in the late 1970s. Many old people who were rumoured to still know "language" blankly denied any knowledge of it when approached by a white researcher, no matter how tactfully, possibly for fear of reprisals. When Mona Mona mission closed in 1963, the tribal group was broken up again and moved to various small settlements in Kuranda, Mantaka, Kowrowa, Koah, and Redlynch.

In the early 1960s Hale estimated that there were about fifty fluent speakers of Djabugay, although apparently not all of these contributed as informants to Hale's research. By the late seventies Hale's main informants had died or were too old to concentrate on language work. Others, as mentioned above, were unwilling to share their knowledge. A further complication was that on several observed occasions old people's use of Djabugay met with derision from younger people present. In short, the Djabugay language was regarded as not desirable by the larger community and only three competent speakers could be reliably identified. These were: Gilbert Banning, in his late sixties, Keatie Street, in his early forties, and Roy Banning, aged thirty, all with Djabugay as their first language. Their families had evaded settlement on the Misson; Roy Banning lived with his uncle Gilbert Banning and learned the language from him.   In the late 1980s, in the wake of nation-wide awareness of Aboriginal identity, pride and political influence, Djabugay culture and language began to regain recognition and appreciation. A language program has been developed by Roy Banning and Michael Quinn in close consultation with about fifteen Djabugay speakers, most of whom have Djabugay as their second language and use it to limited extent, but are sufficiently competent to make valuable contributions. However, Gilbert Banning is still regarded as the authority on Djabugay language and culture and in cases of uncertainty recordings of his speech and this grammar based on his use of language are accepted by the Djabuganydji as a true record of their language.

1.5 PAST INVESTIGATIONS

The earliest mention of the Djabugay people can be found in Archibald Meston's Report on the Aboriginals of Queensland, 1896. While Meston does not make any specific comments on the Djabuganydji, he classes the "Chabbuki" at Port Douglas as a "quiet" tribe in his list of 'Tribes Interviewed'.

The first more detailed published comments on the Djabugay tribe appear in the first half of this century, at a time when the tribe was already disintegrating. In 1910 W.E. Roth described trade patterns among North-East Queensland coastal tribes and referred to the involvement of the "Yirkanji" (North Queensland Ethnography, Bulletin No. 18). In the 1930s, about twenty years after most Djabugay survivors had been placed in Mona Mona Mission, Ursula McConnel studied rainbow serpent myths of North Queensland, including that of the "Tjabogai-tjanji" ('The Rainbow Serpent in North Queensland', Oceania, vol.1, no.3, 1930). She also attempted to identify Djabugay dialect groups and their territories in the context of 'Social organization of tribes of Cape York Peninsula' (Oceania, vol.10, no.1,1939-40). In this paper she uses "Tya.bogai-tyandyi" as the general tribal name and identifies "Nyakali", "Bulwandyi", "Yirkandyi" as subgroups. Among other comments she identifies the moiety system of "kurabana" and "kurakula or kuraminya" (see ¤1.3); she also deplores the "intense disintegration" of the east coast tribes and the associated difficulty in recording their identity and customs. Norman B. Tindale in his 'Distribution of Australian Aboriginal Tribes' (Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia, vol.64, 1940) uses the names "Tja:pukai, Tjapukandji, Tjapukai" and records as further alternatives "Tja:pukanja, Tjabogai-tjandji, Tjabogaijanji, Njakali, Nyakali" as well as several terms which in reality refer to subgroups of the Kuku Yalanji. In 1941 N.B. Tindale and Joseph B. Birdsell published their ethnographic study 'Tasmanoid Tribes in North Queensland' (South Australian Museum Records, vol.7, no.1). "Tjapukai", "Buluwai" and "Irukandji" are identified, among others, in this paper and the "Tasmanoids in the Atherton Tableland area" receive special mention as "originally similar to the Tasmanians". The paper also includes some brief general comments on general comments on environment, cultural relationships, language and material culture of North Queensland tribes. During the 1950s Douglas Seaton of Cairns published two Djabugay myths, and descriptions of the initiation ceremony and the making of a stone axe in different issues of the North Queensland Naturalist (see references). His spelling of the tribal name varies between Tyapukai, Tchupaki, Tjapukai. Seaton's last contribution is an unpublished four-page typescript 'Notes on the Djabugai People, Cairns Area',1963, held at Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. In addition to notes on customs and artefacts, this manuscript includes a vocabulary list of about 250 words and nine phrases.

Serious language investigation began in the 1960s after sixty years of active language suppression. Kenneth Hale undertook an analysis of the language on the basis of some months of fieldwork during 1961, resulting in a seven-page sketch grammar published in The Languages of Cape York edited by P. Sutton (1976a) and a description and discussion of the form and function of the ergative, locative and instrumental cases in Grammatical Categories in Australian Languages edited by R.M.W. Dixon (1976). A number of other scholars gathered limited material on Djabugay, including Archibald Meston, N.B. Tindale, R.M.W. Dixon, Barry Alpher, Sandra Keen and Tasaku Tsunoda. In 1977 Helena Cassells, a graduate of the A.N.U., wrote a description of the phonology and morphology of Djabugay, including some texts and a fairly extensive Djabugay-English/English-Djabugay vocabulary list (unpublished). Cassells work is based on Hale's publications, supplemented by fieldwork with Gilbert Banning. The grammar in this Handbook is built on the investigations by both Cassells and Hale (publications and fieldnotes). Roy Banning and Sue Robertson (1990) have produced a Djabugay word list based mostly on earlier sources such as vocabularies by Hale and Patz.

In 1987 Michael Quinn and Roy Banning began their work on developing Djabugay language instruction material resulting in the publication of Djabugay Ngirrma Gulu (1989). The information and instructions contained in this 119-page book are excellent. The vocabulary is organised into culture-related semantic fields, illustrated by Aboriginal artists, and accompanied by clear and simple instructions on structural

language features. Using games and quizzes it presents Djabugay as an immediately usable language. Even though it cannot describe the social function and relevance of particular language forms because this aspect has been suppressed for many decades, it is still a "communicative grammar" in that it treats Djabugay as a tool for social interaction - the actual application will be up to the new users of Djabugay.

2. PHONOLOGY

2.1   PHONEMES AND THEIR REALISATIONS

With nineteen distinctive sounds Djabugay has a small phoneme inventory Êcompared Êto Êmany Êother Australian languages. There Êare four

TABLE 2.1 Djabugay Phoneme Inventory

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CONSONANTS

	bilabial	apico-	retroflex	lamino-	dorso-	alveolar	palatal	velar
stops	b	d	dj		g			
nasals	m	n	ny		ng			
lateral	l							
rhotics	rr	r						
semivowels		(w)	y		w			

VOWELS	short		long	
high	i	u	i:	u:
low	a	a:		
	front	back	front	back

_____

places of articulation for stops and nasals. Like all languages east of the Gulf of Carpentaria Djabugay has a single apical lateral. There are two rhotics, apical trill and retroflex continuant, the usual two semivowels and three vowels. All three vowels have contrastive long and short counterparts. The complete phoneme inventory is shown in Table 2.1 which uses current Djabugay orthography to represent the sounds.

Most phonemes are clearly distinguishable even to the untrained ear. However, for reasons explained in ¤2.1.2 the differences between the two rhotics and between the trill and the apical stop in intervocalic position are difficult to discern. In fact, it is not uncommon that data from different researchers shows different sounds; but all researchers agree that the three sounds are phonemic. The following minimal pairs in citation form illustrate the contrast between these sounds:

birri 'near'   garray 'to come' barra   'coal'
biri   'fire'   garay   'to fall' bada   'head'

No minimal pairs have been found to illustrate the contrast in other possible word positions.

The length contrast of vowels will be discussed in ¤2.1.4.

2.1.1   ORTHOGRAPHY. The orthography used in the reader Djabugay Ngirrma Gulu (Banning and Quinn, 1989) and in any other instructional material was developed in close cooperation between Michael Quinn and Djabugay speakers. The Djabuganydji feel confident using this orthography. They see it as a good reflection of the similarities and differences between Djabugay and English sounds, based on their knowledge of the representation of English sounds in spelling. In the linguist's view this orthography has some oddities and inconsistencies, but these are entirely justifiable from the Djabugay speaker's point of view. Difficult points are explained in the following paragraphs.

Stops: b, d, g are regarded as "right" by the speakers, even though in most environments these stops are voiceless (cf. Hale's transcriptions). However, stops are never aspirated in Djabugay and aspiration appears to be a predominant association with the letters p, t, k in English.

Dj, lamino-palatal stop, is preferred over j, the letter recommended by many linguists. The Djabugay sound is regarded as "harder" or "sharper" than the English j as in jury, therefore speakers favour the combination dj.

Nasals: Ng for velar nasal is entirely consistent with the use of voiced stop letters and consistent with the English use of ng to represent the velar nasal, an aspect that speakers literate in English are familiar with. The difference between a velar nasal and an alveolar nasal + velar stop cluster is indicated by a fullstop, i.e. ng (velar nasal) vs n.g (nasal + stop).

Ny for palatal nasal is inconsistent with the corresponding palatal stop dj. However, in contrast to dj, Djabugay speakers prefer ny as "less sharp" than nj and thus a more accurate representation of the palatal nasal. It was recognised that association with English ny, particularly in word final position, might prompt pronunciation [ni] as in 'many'. However, this difficulty was regarded as a minor one that could be overcome with proper instruction, an assumption that apparently has been proven right.

All other consonants are represented by letters recommended by most linguists.

The difference between vowel quality is appropriately expressed by the letters i, u, a. The colon has been accepted by native speakers as a less ambiguous indication of vowel length than a double vowel.

2.1.2   CONSONANT PHONEMES AND THEIR REALISATIONS. The classification of consonant phonemes by place and manner of articulation should be sufficient to indicate their basic pronunciation. This section will explain regular variations of pronunciation conditioned by the environment.

Stops: While stops are basically voiced they become unvoiced, but never aspirated, in the following environments:

  VÚ – V e.g. wabarr   [w‡pUr] 'hunt'

  ngadal [Na!tUl] 'to cover'
  gidjarr [g'cUr] 'paint'

  y-   e.g. waygal   [waykUl] 'to search'
  l-   e.g. bulbal   [bulpUl] 'to rub'

  rr-   e.g. murrba   [murpU] 'under water'

Considering such extensive distribution of unvoiced stops one could argue that the phonemes are basically voiceless, with the voiced alternants being conditioned allo-phones. However, devoicing tends to occur only in allegro speech; in slow citation form stops involve voicing.
The palatal stop is always slightly affricated.

Nasals: Only the apical nasal shows significant variation; it becomes laminalised be-fore a laminal stop. The difference between the laminal nasal phoneme /ny/ and a laminalised [ny] is only slight and could lead to misinterpretations. However, a dif-ference can be clearly observed in the effect on preceding vowels. Before the lamino-palatal phoneme /ny/ a vowel is slightly palatalised (see ¤2.1.3), but this does not happen before the laminalised allophone of /n/, i.e.[ny], for example banydji [bayöd3i] 'wife's brother', but bandjil [banyd3il] 'woman'.

Lateral: It should be noted that the lateral is always pronounced as a clear [l], not velarised like the English sound in certain positions.

Rhotics:
[1] Trill /rr/. In normal speech the trill is often reduced to a tap [\] between a stressed and an unstressed vowel, e.g. garray [g‡ray] 'to come'. This pronunciation is so similar to the stop /d/ that we may say there is neutralisation of trill and alveolar stop in this position. (Note that the Kuku Yalanji and Yidiny cognates for garray are gaday.) However, reduction to tap is not equally strong between all types of vowels. It is most obvious between low /a/ as in the example above; less so be-tween identical high vowels, e.g. birri 'near'; least strong between different vowels, e.g. dirra 'teeth'. In fact, in the latter position trill and tap appear to be in free variation in normal speech. In final position /rr/ is neither trill nor tap in normal speech. It involves raising of a slightly grooved tongue followed by a quick down-movement of the tongue. This results in a sound similar to a retroflex flap. The rhotics, in final position, may only be distinguished in slow, deliberate speech, be-ing neutralised in this position in normal speed.

[2] Retroflex /r/. This involves curling back of the apex only in careful citation forms. In normal speech it is pronounced more like the Australian/British central continuant, involving raising of the blade in typical grooved shape. Word-finally

this sound is more flap-like, resulting in close similarity to the variant of the trill in this position.

TABLE 2.2 Vowels and their Realisations

_____

   _____

                i:

  u:

       i   u

       a

  a:

   _____

_____

2.1.3   VOWEL PHONEMES AND THEIR REALISATIONS. With only three distinct vowel quali-
ties the range of pronunciation for vowels is considerable. Non-back long vowels are
pronounced close to the cardinal values of [i] and [a]; long back /u/ is lower than
the cardinal, closer to [o]. The short vowels vary more than the long ones in pronun-
ciation. Table 2.2 illustrates the range of vowel pronunciation in Djabugay (on the
IPA cardinal vowel quadrilateral). All short vowels are centralised in the direction
of schwa in unstressed positions, particularly in word-final open syllables, but
still remain distinct. This also involves slight lowering of the high vowels, except
after laminal consonants.

A more specific variation is palatalisation of vowels, most noticably in /a/ and /u/
before the laminal nasal, e.g.

burrany [burayö] 'fly-PAST'

guniny [guniyö] 'cut-PAST'

dunyu   [duyöu]   'husband'

2.1.4   VOWEL LENGTH. Each vowel in Djabugay has phonologically contrastive long and
short variants as can be illustrated by the following minimal pairs:

biri   'fire'   wuru   'drumstick'   mara   'hand'
biri: 'again'   wuru: 'river'   mara: 'hand-LOC

However, in some environments short vowels are phonetically lengthened and in the ab-
sence of minimal pairs it may sometimes be ambiguous whether a vowel is phonemically
long or just a lengthened variation of a short vowel. True long vowels are apparently
not possible in initial syllables of polysyllabic roots, with two exceptions: gu:guy
'hawk', which could be related to gu: 'nose', and dja:burray 'to yawn'. The Yidiny
cognate for this word is dja:wurgan, where the first syllable may be a reduction of
djawa 'mouth' (Dixon, 1977:98, 162-3). Although the present Djabugay word for 'mouth'
is binyi:, and not djawa, it is possible that Djabugay used to have djawa or dja: and
formed a compound for 'yawn' similar to the Yidiny one. While long vowels are possi-
ble in other open syllables, they are most common in root-final position,e.g.

durrgu: 'mopoke' guri: 'good'
gurra: 'dog'   djina: 'foot'

Evidence from some cognates in neighbouring languages suggests that in many cases the
long vowel has developed where a final consonant has been lost. By implication this
could mean that in non-final open syllables the long vowel developed after the loss
of a following consonant. Further evidence for the assumption that vowel length has
developed after the loss of a word segment can be found in the fact that almost all
monosyllabic roots in Djabugay end in a long vowel. Monosyllabic roots are rare in
the languages of this region and it is plausible that Djabugay has innovated and lost
part of a root. (For more detailed discussion of monosyllabic roots see ¤2.2.3.) Only
two examples of long vowels in closed syllables have been attested: gula:y 'these'
and gudja:y 'those'.

Conditioned phonetic vowel length typically occurs under the influence of stress be-
fore single consonants (cf. Hale Tya:pukay); in unstressed syllables before non-
peripheral nasals, e.g. malan [malaùn] 'right hand', burany [buÇaùö] 'dried'; before
trill, e.g. wabarr [wapaùr] 'hunt'; before /y/, e.g. girrway [giÇwaùy] 'whip snake';
before cluster /ln/, e.g. ngundalna [Nundaùlna] 'look-FUT'; and after retroflex /r/,
e.g. mara [maÇaù] 'hand'.

2.2 PHONOTACTICS

2.2.1 ROOT STRUCTURE. A regular Djabugay root has at least two and at most four syllables. The root structure is as follows:

C1 (V1 C2)nV2(C3) where n > 0 but < 3.

A root begins with a single consonant C1 and ends either in a vowel V2 or a single consonant C3. C2 can be a single consonant or a two or three member cluster. Possible sounds at the different structural positions are as follows:

V1 can be any short vowel: i, u, a.

V2 can be any short or long vowel: i, u, a, i:, u:, a:.

C1 can be any stop, nasal, or semivowel: b, d, dj, g, m, n, ny, ng, w, y.

C3 can be any nasal (except ng), the lateral, either rhotic, or the laminal semivowel:
  m, n, ny, l, rr, r, y.
C2 can be

  (i)   Any single consonant.
  (ii)   Any homorganic nasal+stop cluster: mb, nd, nydj, ngg.
  (iii) The apical nasal followed by a non-apical stop or bilabial nasal: nb, ndj, n.g, nm.
  The last cluster appears to be the only nasal+nasal possibility and is very rare with only one attested example: nyunmal 'to squash something on a hard object'.
  (iv) The lateral or trill followed by a non-apical stop or nasal or semivowel w: lb, ldj, lg, lm, lny, lng, lw, rrb, rrdj, rrg, rrm, rrny, rrng, rrw.
  The combinations with ny, ng and w are rare.
  (v)   The lateral or trill followed by a peripheral homorganic nasal+stop cluster or n.g : lmb, lngg, ln.g, rrmb, rrngg rrn.g. The combinations with n.g are rare. (There is also one attested occurrence of lateral plus laminal nasal+stop in walnydjan 'ironwood'.)
  (vi)   The retroflex followed by a peripheral stop or the lateral: rb, rg - these clusters have only been attested twice each - rl - only one occurrence of this is known in marlibay 'corkwood'.
  (vii) A rhotic followed by an apical homorganic nasal+stop cluster: rrnd, rnd.
  Only one occurrence has been attested for each of these: garrndal 'smooth, slippery' and barndil 'child'. Furthermore, gandal without the trill appears to be used in free variation with garrndal.
  (viii) The laminal semivowel followed by a peripheral stop: yb, yg.
  (ix)   The laminal semivowel followed by a peripheral nasal+stop cluster or apical nasal+velar stop cluster: ymb, yngg, yn.g.
  These clusters are quite rare, with only one to three attested occurrences of each.

  In summary, the most common intramorphemic consonant clusters are homorganic nasal+stop and a lateral or trill followed by one or two non-liquid consonants.
  Consonant clusters across morpheme boundaries show more diverse possibilities. However, some morpheme combinations are subject to morphophonological processes (see ¤2.4).

Disyllabic suffixes have the same phonotactic possibilities as roots, but monosyllabic suffixes are different in that they can have the lateral or consonant clusters in initial position. Suffixes may also end in a velar nasal, which means that inflected words can have final ng, while roots cannot.

Loanwords from English are adapted to the phonemic system of Djabugay, Êbut Êhave non-Djabugay phonotactic possibilities such as initial vowels or rhotics, e.g. aybi 'ibis', radjiradjirr 'rice', rrilinydji 'Redlynch'.

TABLE 2.3 Occurrence of phonemes in root-initial and root-final positions

	Initial		Final	
	%	%	%	%
Stops	62.0			
b		17.6		
d		7.5		
dj		14.4		
g		22.5		
Nasals	20.5		9.4	
m		10.2		2.1
n		1.5		6.1
ny		2.8		1.2
ng		6.0		--
Lateral	8.8			
l		8.8		
Rhotics	5.0			
rr		4.7		
r		0.3		
Semivowels	17.5		8.1	
w		12.7		--
y		4.8		8.1
Vowels	68.7			

2.2.2   PROBABILITIES OF PHONEME OCCURRENCE. Based on a vocabulary list of 950 items, the occurrence rate of consonants in initial and final position is shown in Table 2.3. Most roots begin with a stop, with dorsal stop being the most frequent and apical stop the least frequent initial sound. Among the nasals, bilabial is the most frequent and apical the least frequent initial sound. Of the semivowels, the labial-velar is almost three times as frequent as the palatal. In final position there is a vowel in two thirds of roots. Nasals are the most common final consonants followed closely by the lateral and the laminal semivowel. Rhotics occur least frequently in final position. Of the vowels, /a/ is the most frequent in roots and /i/ the least frequent, as shown in Table 2.4. It is notable that /a / is very frequent in non-initial syllables. With respect to association between vowels, it appears that any vowel in the first syllable is more often followed by the same vowel than by a different one in the next position. However, this association is not strong enough to imply any kind of vowel harmony.

TABLE 2.4 Occurrence of vowels

_____

	1st syll	2nd syll.	3rd syll.	4th syll.
	%	%	%	%
a	39.8	52.6	56.1	62.8
i	21.4	22.4	23.9	16.3
u	38.8	25.0	20.0	20.9

_____

2.2.3   MONOSYLLABIC ROOTS. There are nine monosyllabic roots in Djabugay which differ
from the normal root structure not only in number of syllables but also in that they
have a long vowel, i.e. a long vowel in initial syllable which is apparently not pos-
sible in polysyllabic roots. All these roots can form monosyllabic words, too. Com-
paring these roots with cognates in other languages (see Table 2.5) it appears that
they are reductions of disyllabic roots, even though cognates have not been found for
all of them.

In the nouns the second syllable has been lost, leaving a long vowel as a vestige.
This assumption is supported by the fact that the comitative form of ma: is mayirr in
Djabugay, and not *ma:rr, as would be expected according to regular rules. The inter-
rogatives appear to have dropped the first syllable. This syllable is identical in
all cognates and Djabugay has retained only the contrasting syllables of these words.
Subsequently the vowel could have been lengthened because of a possible phonotactic
requirement for vowel length in monosyllabic roots. Note also that nyi: 'what' has
the form nyirra for agent function and oblique cases in Djabugay which could mean
that the Yidiny paradigms for generic and specific 'what' have been collapsed in
Djabugay. While obvious cognates cannot be found for all monosyllabic verb roots,
Yidiny duyil and Kuku Yalandji manil provide a reasonably convincing indication that
second syllable loss could have occurred here as well as in nouns.

2.3   STRESS

2.4

  The stress pattern for polysyllabic words is quite regular and can be expressed in
  three basic rules as follows:

(i)   Basically, in words with two or three syllables stress falls on the first syl-
  lable, e.g.

  b'na   'ear'   gœrrungga   'kookaburra'
  m‡ra   'hand'   bœlurru   name of creator figure
  dj'na: 'foot'

TABLE 2.5 Monosyllabic Roots with Cognates

_____

  Djabugay   Cognates

Nouns   ma: 'veg. food'   mayi   (Yidiny; Kuku Yalandji;   and others)
  gu: 'nose'   guwu   (Dyirbal)

Interro- dju: 'who'   wanydju * (Yidiny; Kuku Nyungkul gatives   a dialect of
  Kuku Yalandji)   dja: 'where'   wanydja * (Yidiny; Kuku Yalandji)
  nyi: 'what'   wanyi *   'what-generic' (Yidiny)
  wanyirra *   'what-specific' (Yidiny)

Verbs   du:-l   'hit, kill'   duyil   'fight' (Yidiny)   ?dudal   'knock,
  clap' (Kuku
  Yalandji)
  ma:-l 'make'   manil   'make, get'; causative
  verbaliser (Kuku Yalanji)
  -ma   causative verbaliser
  (Dyirbal)
  nga:-l 'tell'   ------   wa:-y 'give'   ?wambal   'hand   out,   provide'   (Kuku
         Yalandji)

* The spelling of these words is adapted to Djabugay orthography.

_____

(ii)   In two or three syllable words with a long vowel in non-final position stress
  falls on the long vowel, e.g.

  gul‡:y 'these' wurœ:rril 'to take out'
  gudj‡:y 'those' bund‡:rra 'cassowary'

Note that stress shifts from the first syllable in disyllabic roots to a long vowel in
  the second syllable, if a third syllable is attached, e.g.

  dj'na: -->   djin‡:la 'foot-LOC/INST'
  wœru: -->   wurœ:la 'river-LOC'

(iii)   In words with more than three syllables primary stress falls on the first and secondary stress on the penultimate syllable, e.g.

    g‡nyarra   'crocodile'   -->   g‡nyarrˆnggu   'crocodile-ERG'
    b'rrbib"rrbi   'tomahawk'   -->   b'rrbibirrb"la 'tomahawk-INST

Note that in the last example stress shifts in the inflected form, an indication that Djabugay favours a stressed-unstressed-unstressed sequence. This is also exemplified by the convention of a-insertion in verbal constructions with the 'going to' aspect (see ¤3.6.2 [7]), e.g. w‡barr-a-gˆling 'going to hunt', w‡ygal-a-gˆling 'going to look for something'.

The above rules must be understood as general, basic rules. There are some, but not many, exceptions to these rules, such as buw‡l-bugˆ-y 'to speak, talk', which should have stress on first and third syllable according to the general rules.

2.4   MORPHOPHONOLOGICAL PROCESSES

Suffixes, particularly inflectional ones, have a variety of allomorphs, all of which are phonologically conditioned. Not all allomorphs can be explained synchronically, but several regular morphophonological processes can be identified that account for a number of suffix variations in the ergative, instrumental/locative and aversive inflections (see ¤3.2.1). The rules involve suffixes of the type Nasal+Stop+Vowel.

(i) After stems ending with bilabial nasal m the ergative suffix -nggu becomes -unggu and the instrumental/locative suffix -nda becomes -unda. In other words, vowel u is inserted at the morpheme boundary to prevent a nasal+nasal cluster. Some examples are:

gidju-nggu   but   djunggum-unggu

crab-ERG   worm-ERG

dumbul-nda   but   wulam-unda

bark-INST/LOC   perch-INST/LOC

(ii) Ergative -nggu becomes -ndu after stem-final l or n, and -nydju after ny or y, i.e. the homorganic nasal+stop cluster in the suffix assimilates to the place of articulation of the preceding consonant.

The instrumental/locative suffix has no resemblance to the ergative form -nggu after vowels, rather a stem-final short vowel is lengthened and a long vowel is followed by suffix -la (see ¤3.2.1 [4]). However, after apical and laminal consonants the above rule applies, giving -nda after l or n and -nydja after ny or y.

The aversive suffix is -ndabi in all environments except after ny or y, where palatalisation occurs giving -nydjabi.

(iii) Stem-final palatal y is lost before lamino-palatal nasal+stop cluster, i.e. a sequence ynydjV becomes nydjV.

(iv) A double nasal resulting at a morpheme boundary after the application of rule (ii) is reduced to a single nasal, i.e. the stem-final nasal is lost. Thus a sequence nndV becomes ndV, and nynydjV becomes nydjV.

TABLE 2.6 - Application of morphophonological processes

_____.

Stem	Rule (ii)	Rule (iii)	Rule (iv)	ERG-form
dulbil 'wallaby'	dulbil-ndu	N/A	N/A	dulbilndu
wawun 'scrub turkey'	wawun-ndu	N/A	wawu-ndu	wawundu
guginy 'flying fox'	guginy-nydju	N/A	gugi-nydju	guginydju
guliy 'louse'	guliy-nydju	guli-nydju	N/A	gulinydju

_____

The application of morphophonological processes (ii), (iii) and (iv) is illustrated in Table 2.6, using some words with ergative inflections.

In summary, morphophonological processes in Djabugay involve vowel insertion, and partial assimilation and loss of adjacent segments.

3. MORPHOLOGY

As most aspects of the morphology of Djabugay are interlinked with sentence formation, a brief general overview of the grammatical system of this language may be useful before a more detailed discussion of its morphology.

Every simple transitive sentence requires a transitive subject or agent (A), direct object (O) and verb in that order. A simple intransitive sentence requires an intransitive subject (S) and a verb in that order. Non-verbal constituents are marked by a case inflection according to their syntactic function. If these constituents are represented by nominals, then the agent is singled out, receiving ergative (ERG) case marking, while S and O remain unmarked or are in absolutive (ABS) case. This is illustrated in the following examples.

(1)   Transitive sentence with 'dog' as A:

```
  gurra:-nggu       djundjuru baya-ny
  dog-ERG (A)       bandicoot+ABS (O)  bite-PAST
  The dog bit the bandicoot.
```

(2)   Transitive sentence with 'dog' as O:

```
  nyurra  gurra:    ngunda-ny
  you sg+NOM (A)    dog+ABS (O)         see-PAST
  You saw the dog.
```

(3)   Intransitive sentence with 'dog' as S:

```
  gurra: djungga-ny
  dog+ABS (S)        run-PAST
  The dog ran.
```

If the non-verbal constituents involve pronouns, then the direct object is singled out, receiving accusative (ACC) case marking, and the two types of subject remain unmarked or are in nominative (NOM) case. Example (2) above illustrates a pronoun in A function and nominative case. This pronoun has the same form in example (4), where it functions as S, but a different form in example (5), where it functions as O.

(4)   nyurra   wuna-ny
```
  you sg+NOM (S)    lie down-PAST
  You lay down.
```

(5)   gurra:-nggu   nyurra-ny baya-ny
```
  dog-ERG (A)       you sg-ACC (O)      bite-PAST
  The dog bit you.
```

So, as in most Australian languages, the core syntactic system for nominals follows the ergative/absolutive pattern, while pronouns use the nominative/accusative pattern. There are exceptions to the pronominal system of case marking which will be discussed in ¤3.5.1. (Interlinear glosses in example sentences will simply indicate S, A or O function for consistency, in spite of the different case-marking systems.)

Transitive sentences with verbs like 'to tell' or 'to give' require a further con-
stituent as the recipient of the transaction. This indirect object occurs in the da-
tive case. Any sentence may take further optional components which may have either
peripheral syntactic function, like instrument, purpose or cause of an action, or
convey information about the locality of an action. Peripheral syntactic and local
cases often coincide in form, but can be distinguished on semantic and/or syntactic
grounds. (See ¤3.2.1.)

Complex sentences involve subordinate clauses in a (roughly) cause/effect or temporal
relationship with the main clause. Such subordinate clauses are formed by inflec-
tional suffixes on verbs (see ¤3.6.1 and ¤4.8).

With respect to word formation, some derivational affixes in Djabugay are used to
change the class of a word, e.g. forming an adjective or a verb from a noun root;
others change the meaning of a word without changing its word class. Such derivations
which serve to extend the lexicon apply mainly to nominal roots (see ¤3.2.2). Others
are required in the context of a sentence. There may be a formal syntactic reason,
such as reciprocal constructions where a verbal derivation expresses coreferentiality
between A and O. Or it may be for semantic reasons within the confines of a sentence,
e.g expressing a normally volitional action as accidental or performed by an inani-
mate agent, such as 'the branch hit the man', which requires a verbal detransitivis-
ing suffix. Such 'syntactic derivations' apply mainly to verbal roots (see ¤3.6.2).

3.1 PARTS OF SPEECH

Based on grammatical and semantic criteria the following word classes can be distinguished in Djabugay:

Nominals: Interrogatives   Nouns   Location and time words
Adjectives   Verbs
Personal pronounsParticles
Demonstratives/deictics   Interjections

Nominals: Nouns and adjectives, the two subgroups in this open word class, take identical inflections but can be distinguished on the basis of semantic content, syntactic functions and word formation possibilities. A rough semantic distinction is that nouns refer to objects and adjectives to properties of objects. Accordingly, adjectives usually co-occur with a noun, agreeing with the noun in case marking. They may also serve to qualify a verb, but even then they still take nominal inflections. Noun roots may be changed into adjectives by means of a comitative suffix (see ¤3.2.2 [2]), but no formal change is necessary for an adjective to function as a noun in its own right; an adjective with appropriate nominal inflection may be the sole constituent of a noun phrase.

Personal pronouns, a closed word class, are distinct from nominals in that they use a nominative/accusative rather than ergative/absolutive core syntactic system. Also, other case inflections differ somewhat in form from those of nominals.

Demonstratives and deictics, which also function as 3rd person pronouns, and interrogatives, each appear to employ a mixture of the ergative/absolutive and nominative/accusative case systems, but in different ways (see ¤3.5.1 and ¤3.5.4). They also take different forms of other inflections, with interrogatives being more similar to the nominal paradigm than the others. Deictics are a sub-class of pronouns with local reference.

Location and time words are set apart from all the above in their semantic content and in that they take only local inflections (see ¤3.3 and ¤3.4).

Verbs have their own set of inflectional and derivational suffixes which distinguish them on formal grounds from all other parts of speech. Their semantic content, referring to actions, motion and rest, further distinguishes them from other word classes.

Particles (see ¤4.11) do not take any suffixes, except -(w)ala 'now' (see ¤3.7 [1]). They serve to indicate negation, prohibition, permission, possibility and succession of actions.

Interjections (see ¤4.12) never take affixes and can constitute complete utterances. They indicate agreement, disagreement/negation, surprise and uncertainty.

3.2   NOMINALS

3.2.1   CASE INFLECTIONS. The full set of case inflections with their forms is as fol-
lows:

```
  absolute         -¿
  ergative          -nggu, -unggu, -u, -ndu, -nydju, -lu
  dative  -:nda, -ngunda
  instrumental/locative      -:, -la, -a, -nda, -nydja, -unda
  purposive/allative         -wu
  directional 'towards'      -djirra
  directional 'across'       -marri
  causal/ablative  -malim, -m, -mu, -mundu, -num
  aversive          -lan, -ndabi, -nydjabi
```

We now take these cases in turn, giving their formal and functional possibilities.

[1] Absolutive. This always has zero realisation, i.e. a nominal in absolutive case is
   the same as the stem. It indicates intransitive subject and transitive object func-
   tions.

[2] Ergative.
FORM: -nggu after a vowel, e.g. nyumbu 'father', ERG nyumbunggu.
   -unggu after the nasal m, i.e. vowel u is inserted after stem-final m, e.g. wulam
   'perch', ERG wulamunggu.
   -u after trill rr, e.g. wumbarr 'puppy dog', ERG wumbarru.
   -ndu after other stem-final consonants, e.g. badjigal 'turtle', ERG badjigalndu; bun-
   gan 'sun', ERG bungandu. As can be seen in the latter example, a stem-final n is
   dropped before this form. After palatal consonants y and ny the suffix consonants as-
   similate in place of articulation, giving -nydju, and the stem-final consonant is
   dropped, e.g. djawarray 'thunderstorm', ERG djawarranydju; murrany 'fever' ERG mur-
   ranydju.
   -lu is an irregular form which occurs only with the noun bama 'Aboriginal (man)', ERG
   bamalu.

FUNCTION: The ergative case marks the transitive subject of a sentence.

[3]   Dative.
FORM: -:nda after vowels, i.e.the stem-final vowel becomes lengthened as part of the
   suffix as in yaba 'elder brother, DAT yaba:nda.
   -ngunda after any consonant, e.g. gananggirray 'younger brother', DAT gananggirrayn-
   gunda.

FUNCTION: This case indicates the goal or recipient of verbs like 'to give' or 'to
   tell' as illustrated in the following example:

(6)   bama-lu minya   wa:-ng   gurra:-nda.
   man-A   food+O   give-PRES dog-DAT
   The man gives food to the dog.

Dative also marks an animate deep object in 'antipassive' constructions (see ¤4.6.4 [2]).

[4]   Instrumental/Locative.

FORM: With disyllabic roots ending in a vowel, the final vowel is lengthened, e.g. mara 'hand, INST mara:

-la after a long vowel, e.g. djina: 'foot', INST djina:la; and after stems with more than two syllables ending in a vowel, e.g. digarra 'sand', INST digarrala.

-a after trill rr, e.g. biwurr 'spear', INST biwurra.

-nda after other consonants with further regular variations similar to those applying to the ergative suffix forms. After stem-final l or n the form is -nda, e.g. dingal 'egg', INST dingalnda, djulbin 'tree, log', INST djulbinda. Note that a stem-final n is dropped. After nasal m vowel u is inserted, giving -unda, e.g. gurrngam 'flame tree', LOC gurrngamunda. After stem-final palatal consonants y and ny the suffix consonants assimilate in place of articulation, giving -nydja and the stem-final consonant is dropped, e.g. guguy 'centre', LOC gugunydja, budjany 'elephant beetle', LOC budjanydja.

FUNCTION: Instrumental indicates the instrument directly involved in performing an action or the material used for the accomplishment of an action, e.g.

(7)   ngawu   djulbin guni-l   birrbibirrbi-la
  I+A   tree+O   cut-PRES stone axe-INST
  I cut the tree with a stone axe.

(8)   ngawu   warrdjan gani-l   bidjirr-a
  I+A   raft+O   tie-PRES lawyer cane-INST
  I tie the raft with lawyer cane.

According to these functions, instrumental is restricted to transitive actions. Intransitive actions that are performed with the help of, but not directly with, an implement, such as 'he walks with (the help of) a stick' do not take instrumental but rather comitative marking.

Locative is mainly used to indicate a position of rest or motion ('in', 'on', 'at'), e.g.

(9)   wulam   walba-: wuna-ng
  perch+S stone-LOC lie-PRES
  The perch lies on the stone.

(10)   biri   daba-n   bana-:
  firestick+O   throw-IMP water-LOC
  Throw the firestick in the water!

Gilbert Banning favoured the use of locative for the object of wabarr-a-galiy 'to go hunting for' and waygal-a-galiy 'to go looking for'. Other informants preferred purposive in this context. The teaching material developed by Michael Quinn and Roy Banning uses the latter convention. Another use of locative is to mark an inanimate object in antipassive constructions (see ¤4.6.4 [2]).

[5]   Purposive/Allative.
FORM: There is only one form -wu for all environments, e.g. bulmba 'land, camp', ALL
  bulmbawu, wawun 'turkey', ALL wawunwu, guginy 'flying fox', ALL guginywu, etc.

FUNCTION: Purposive and allative both indicate a goal. However, there is a clear dis-
  tinction in the types of goal that they mark which justifies the separation into two
  different cases. Purposive marks the goal of an action as in the following examples:

(11)   ngawu   gali-ng   badjigal-wu
  I+S   go-PRES   turtle-PURP
  I'm going for turtle (i.e. to catch it).

(12)   ngawu   djabulagay   duga-ng   bibunbay-wu
  I+A   eel+O   get-PRES children-PURP
  I get an eel for the children (i.e. to give to them).

In the above examples the action relating to the goal is implied and understood but not
  overtly stated. Note that if the intended action is mentioned, as in 'I go out in or-
  der to catch turtle', then the subordinate verb receives purposive marking (see
  ¤3.6.1 [5]).
  Allative, on the other hand, is a local case and marks the goal of a movement, e.g.

(13)   ngawu   bulmba-wu gali-ng-ala
  I+S   camp-ALL go-PRES-now
  I go to the camp now.

[6] Directional (i): 'towards'.
FORM: There is only one form -djirra for all environments, e.g. guwa 'west', DIR(i)
  guwadjirra; gimuy 'Cairns', DIR(i) gimuydjirra; djulbin 'tree', DIR(i) djulbindjirra.
  This form might equally well be a stem-forming suffix, but since it has not been at-
  tested with any other case ending, it is here classed as a case inflection.

FUNCTION: This case differs from allative in that it does not indicate the goal of a
  movement, but its general direction, e.g. 'towards Cairns', 'towards the tree', but
  not necessarily reaching these locations. It is often used with location words such
  as compass points.

[7] Directional (ii): 'across'.
FORM: One form, -marri, applies in all environments, e.g. wuru: 'river', DIR (ii)
  wuru:marri; bunda 'mountain', DIR (ii) bundamarri; gimuy 'Cairns', DIR(ii) gimuymarri.
  As with DIR (i), there could be some doubt about -marri as a case inflection, espe-
  cially since there is a transitive verb marri-y 'to cross'. However, while undoubt-
  edly related to the verb, -marri is certainly part of a noun because it never shows
  verbal inflection, always immediately follows the noun, and is bound to the noun
  through intonation and stress pattern. A -marri form could possibly be a compound, or
  the verb marri-y a lexicalisation of a case inflection. However, since -marri forms
  have not been attested with any other inflections, -marri may be regarded as a case
  ending.

FUNCTION: This suffix indicates direction 'across, to the other side of', as in Text
  1:2 and 4:1.

[8] Causal/Ablative.

FORM: -malim or simply -m after vowels, e.g. ngalga 'fig tree', CAUS/ABL ngalgamalim
  or ngalgam; wuru: 'river', CAUS/ABL wuru:malim or wuru:m. The two forms are used in
  free variation. It is possible that the form -m has come from Yidiny and is used in
  Djabugay as a shortened form of -malim.

  -mu occurs after consonants, e.g. djulbin 'tree', CAUS/ABL djulbinmu; ganydjarr 'arm-
  pit', CAUS/ABL ganydjarrmu.

  -mundu is a further variant which can occur in any phonological environment, but is
  restricted in its function to a purely local sense (see below), whereas -malim/-mu is
  not so restricted. It therefore typically occurs with place names, location words and
  common nouns referring to a place, e.g. gimuy 'Cairns', ABL gimuymundu; djala-bagirr
  'other side', ABL djala-bagirrmundu.

  -num occurs only with bama 'Aboriginal (man)', CAUS/ABL bamanum.

FUNCTION: Generally speaking, both cases refer to a source, but as with pur-
  posive/allative, there is a clear functional distinction. Causal indicates the source,
  or better 'cause', of a physical state, e.g.

(14)   nyurra   murranydji   wuna-ng ma:-malim djamuy-mu
  you sg+S   sick   lie-PRES food-CAUS taboo-CAUS
  You are sick from (eating) taboo food.

Similar to purposive constructions, an action is implied and understood when a causa-
  tive NP is used.
  Ablative, on the other hand, marks the source of a movement; it has a purely local
  sense, e.g.
(15)   gudji   bunda-malim   garra-ny
  he+S   mountain-ABL   come-PAST
  He came from the mountain.

(16)   djumbun gudaguda daba-ny bunda-mundu   lightning+S   everywhere
        fall-PAST mountain-ABL
  gulu-mundu   gunggarri-mundu   guwa-mundu
  here-ABL   north-ABL south-ABL
  Lightning fell everywhere, from the mountain, from here, from   north, from south.

It seems possible that the two case functions used to have distinct forms, i.e. causal
  -malim/-mu, ablative -mundu, but that they have merged with the causal extending to
  local usage. Gilbert Banning often preferred -mundu in the local sense, but he was
  not dogmatic about this as can be seen in the examples above: bundamalim in (15),
  bundamundu in (16). Quinn and R. Banning do not include the form -mundu in their lan-
  guage material which suggests that the formal merger between the two cases is now
  completed.

[9] Aversive.

FORM: Two forms -lan and -ndabi occur in seemingly free variation. The examples
  elicited from Gilbert Banning suggest that -ndabi is associated with humans and per-
  sonified natural forces like thunderstorm, and -lan is used with any other non-human
  referents. This assumption is supported by the fact that pronouns and interrogative
  'who' only take -ndabi, but in the absence of more conclusive data the suggestion of
  semantic conditioning remains conjecture.

The form -ndabi could be a combination of locative + emphatic suffix -bi (see ¤3.7 [3]). Like locative, it has a phonologically conditioned variant -nydjabi after palatal consonants, i.e. there is assimilation in place of articulation. Another interesting aspect is that the -ndabi forms always carry stress on the last syllable -bi, a highly unusual stress placement in Djabugay. This suggests that the last syllable -bi is in fact the emphatic clitic -bi which is also always stressed.

FUNCTION: The aversive case marks the object of verbs of apprehension such as 'to fear', or implied apprehension such as 'to hide from', 'to run away from', e.g

(17)   djama-lan ngawu   yarrn.ga-ny
  snake-AVERS   I+S   be afraid-PAST
  I was afraid of the snake.

(18)   gudji   garrba-ng nyumbu-ndabi
  he+S   hide-PRES father-AVERS
  He is hiding from (his) father.

The nominal aversive case has a semantic parallel in the verbal aversive inflection (see ¤3.6.1 [6]).

3.2.2. STEM FORMATION. There are a number of suffixes which form nominal stems from nominal roots and one suffix which forms a verbal stem from a nominal root. These, as well as two other nominal stem formations which do not involve affixation, will be discussed in this section.

[1] Genitive. Genitive formations in Djabugay are inflected for case according to their syntactic function. For this reason genitive is regarded as a derivation rather than an inflection.

FORM: When followed by absolutive case, i.e. zero inflection, the genitive stem is formed by the following suffix variants:

-n after vowels, e.g. guludu 'dove', GEN guludun; gurra: 'dog', GEN gurra:n

-ngun after consonants, e.g. ganyal 'goanna', GEN ganyalngun; girrgirr 'bush canary', GEN girrgirrngun. Example (19) shows a genitive form in absolutive case.

(19)   djama-n   dingal   wuna-ng   digarra-la
  snake-GEN+S   egg+S   lie-PRES sand-LOC
  The snake's eggs lie in the sand.

If an inflectional suffix is attached to a genitive stem a linking morpheme has to be inserted between stem and suffix for all cases except instrumental/locative. These linking morphemes have the following forms:

-mu- for ergative and dative, e.g.

(20)   ngawu   bibuy-ngun-mu-nda gurra:-nda
  I+A   child-GEN-mu-DAT   dog-DAT
  wa:-ng ma:
  give-PRES   food+O
  I give the child's dog (some) food.

-munggu- for purposive/allative, e.g. nyumbunmungguwu 'father-GEN-munggu-PURP/ALL';
-munda- for aversive, e.g.

```
(21)     ngawu    yarrn.ga-ng       bibuy-ngun-munda-lan
  I+S     fear-PRES child-GEN-munda-AVERS
  gurra:-lan
  dog-AVERS
  I'm afraid of the child's dog.
```

FUNCTION: Genitive indicates alienable and inalienable possession (see ¤4.3).

[2] Comitative. Like many Australian languages, Djabugay indicates an and/with-relationship between the constituents of a noun phrase by means of a stem forming suffix. This comitative derivation is unusually complex in that it is realised by three different forms expressing different semantic nuances.
  (i) The first form is -:rr- after vowels, -nydji- after palatal consonants ny and y, and -i- elsewhere as in:

```
 (22)     warrdjan gulu      walngga-l bama-:rr
  raft+S this+S      float-PRES         people-COM
  bibunba(y)-nydji
  children-COM
  This raft floats with adults and children (aboard).
```

```
(23)     man.ga    gagay-mu garra-ny nganydji-nda       buwal-i
  cousin+S         far-ABL  come-PAST we-DAT   words-COM
  Cousin came from far away with news for us.
```

  The function of comitative (i) is to indicate a fairly close relationship between two referents on an equal level. Its implications lie somewhere between the supe-rior/inferior relationship of possession and the casual 'and'-relationship. The above examples (and others) would suggest an interpretation of 'bearing' or 'carrying'. This form also acts as a highly productive suffix in the formation of adjectives and noun stems, e.g. murrany 'fever', murranydji 'sick'; gidjarr 'paint', gidjarri 'painted'; gambarr 'cloud', gambarri 'cloudy'; Djabuganydji/Yidinydji, 'Djabugay/Yidiny-speaking people'; guynggay 'ghost', guyngganydji, name of a haunted place near Crystal Cascades.
  (ii) The second form is -mba- after vowels and -wa- after consonants. The following examples illustrate form and function.

```
(24)     yaba-mba magumagu-mba       bulmba-: nyina-ng
  eld.brother-COM+Ssister-COM+S      camp-LOC sit-PRES
  Brother and sister are sitting in the camp.
```

```
(25)     ngama-mba bawi-mba  garra-ng
  mother-COM+S      grandmother-COM+S  come-PRES
  Mother and grandmother are coming.
```

```
(26)     nganydji bandjil-wa-nggu   minya    buga-ng
  we+A    woman-COMIT-A       fish+O   eat-PRES
  The woman and I eat fish.
```

  Comitative (ii), as can be seen in the examples, indicates one of a pair. In such a relationship both participants take the comitative suffix, unless a first person ref-

erence 'we' is involved as in (26). (It must be noted that the ergative suffix in (26)
is somewhat doubtful; see ¤4.4 [2])

(iii) The third form is -djada in all environments. It expresses an unmarked
'and/with' or 'together' relationship, e.g.

(27)   gulu   bama   gurra:-djada   gali-ng
 this+S man+S   dog-COM   go-PRES
 This man goes with a dog.

(28)   ngawu   mulam-djada   buga-na   minya
 I+A   juice-COM+O   eat-FUT   fish+O
 I will eat fish with gravy.

[3] 'Belonging to/associated with'. This derivational suffix is common to a number of
 Queensland languages. Its form is -mbarra after y and -barra elsewhere. It is typi-
 cally used in the naming of local groups in terms of the territory they inhabit, e.g.
 bama bulmbabarra 'the people belonging to this camp/place'. When used with a demon-
 strative it can have temporal extension as in bama gula:ymbarra 'the people of these
 times/places'.
 Furthermore -barra is used very productively in the formation of nominal stems that
 indicate some kind of association between two entities.

(29)   djulbin bundabarra 'mountain trees'
 gurra: minyabarra'hunting dog' (lit. 'meat dog')
 yidjibarra   'small furry animal' (i.e. an animal
 similar to yidji 'pademelon')
 bibarabarra   'corroboree singer' (bibara 'tapping stick')

[4] 'Other'. -bagirr attached to a noun indicates 'another/the other', as in
 gurra:bagirr 'the other dog', djulbinbagirr 'another tree'. There is also a free form
 bagirra which means 'someone else/another one' and -bagirr is undoubtedly related to
 this. Forms with -bagirr could perhaps be regarded as compounds rather than deriva-
 tions, but they are certainly stems, not a noun phrase, because the resulting word
 inflects as a whole, e.g. djalabagirrmu 'from the other side'.

[5] Plural. While there are several ways to form a plural noun, the use of such forms
 is optional. Numerals or quantifiers like ngabi 'plenty' accompanied by a singular
 noun are sufficient to express plural; or a plural subject may be indicated by a ver-
 bal derivation (see ¤3.6.2 [2]), leaving the subject noun unchanged. Nominal plural
 formation may involve one of the following forms:
 (i) Reduplication, e.g. djulbin-djulbin 'trees', ngadji-ngadji 'grandfathers'. A re-
 duplicated form always inflects as a whole, thus where a suffix form is conditioned
 by the number of syllables in the stem, a reduplicated form will require a different
 suffix than the single form, e.g. walu '(mountain) side/beach', LOC walu:, redupli-
 cated stem+LOC, walu-walula. It should be noted that, when questioned, Gilbert Ban-
 ning did not favour reduplicated stems, but he used them quite frequently, especially
 with kinship terms.   Reduplication with implied plurality may also serve to form
 an adjective from a noun, e.g. wirri-wirri 'winding (i.e. many bends). (For redupli-
 cation of adjective roots see [7] below.)
 (ii) Special plural stems. Three kinship terms require a special stem when used in
 the plural. These are:

(30)   SG: ngama   PL: ngamani   'mother/mothers'
 nyumbu nyumbuni 'father/fathers'
 bibuy bibunbay 'child/children'

(iii) Emphatic plural 'all of'. The stem-forming suffix -wurru indicates that the entirety of a group, i.e. all of them, is referred to. It implies a certain emphasis as in the following example:

(31)   ngadji-wurru-nggu bawi-wurru-nggu   nganydji-nda
  f's father-all-A elder-all-A   we-DAT
  nga:-ny: "gari   walu-:   gali-n"
  tell-PAST   not   shore-LOC go+IMP
  All the grandfathers and all the elders told us: "Don't go (along) the shore."

For additional emphasis, -wurru may be attached to a reduplicated form, e.g. wulman-wulmanwurru 'all the old men of a tribe'.

  The following two stem-forming processes apply to adjectives.

[6] Intensity. To express the concept of 'very' an adjective is reduplicated, e.g. banggal-banggal 'very big', wigil-wigil 'very sweet'.
[7] Comparative. -wayan attached to an adjective indicates a comparison to another NP.

(32)   gulu bibuy banggal, gudji bibuy banggalwayan.
  This child is big, that child is bigger.

  Finally, Djabugay uses one derivational suffix which forms verb stems from nominal roots:

[8] Inchoative verbalising suffix -mayi-. This suffix forms an intransitive verb stem with the meaning 'become X'. Its usage has only been attested with adjective roots, but this does not necessarily mean that it is restricted to these. Examples are:

(33)   bayngga wumbul-mayi-ng
  cooking stone+S hot-INCHO-PRES
  The cooking stones are getting hot.

(34)   nyurra-n bala   guri:-mayi-ng
  you sg-GEN+S   head+S   good-INCHO-PRES
  Your head is getting better (from a headache).

(35)   bibunbay banggalmayiny   The children grew up (became big).

3.3   LOCATION WORDS

This word class includes compass points, gunggarri 'north', djilnggu 'east', djiwarri 'south', guwa 'west'; orientation with respect to an object like gananggarr 'ahead, in front', djunggu: 'behind', marrim 'by, beside', gana: 'under', wanggarr 'up, above'; and distance gagay 'far away', birri 'near'. Because local reference is inherent in these words, they do not take additional locative inflection but they may take allative, ablative and directional, e.g. gagaywu 'to far away', gagaymu 'from far away', wanggarrdjirra 'upwards'. However, case inflections are not obligatory with location words since the context usually makes it clear whether 'at', 'to' or 'from' is meant. 'Orientation' words often occur together with a noun, which must be in locative case, e.g.

(36)   gurra: wuna-ng djulbin-da   marrim
  dog+S   sleep-PRES   tree-LOC beside
  The dog is sleeping beside the tree.

3.4   TIME WORDS

Basic time reference words include yaluguli 'today', nguma 'tomorrow', bugarra 'yesterday', buga: 'night (also: darkness)', buga:djala 'last night', bugadjunu 'morning'. It would appear that some of these terms are compounds or derivations, but analysis is not (any more) possible. 'Noon' is expressed through reference to the sun: buganda wanggarr, literally 'sun-LOC up'. The basic forms may be combined or extended in other ways, such as nguma bugadjunu 'tomorrow morning', yaluguli buga: 'tonight', gulu yaluguli 'nowadays'.

The only inflection attested with time words is purposive/allative as in buga:wu 'for the night', i.e. make preparations for the night.

3.5   PRONOUNS

3.5.1   PERSONAL PRONOUNS AND DEMONSTRATIVES - SYSTEM AND FORMS. The Djabugay pronoun paradigm distinguishes first, second and third persons singular and plural. Third person singular forms, which are unmarked for gender, and third person plural forms have dual function as pronouns and demonstratives 'this/these', 'that/those'. The forms in core syntactic functions are presented in Table 3.1. Third person forms have further idiosyncracies in usage. 3sg forms can stand on their own (he/she/it; this/that one) or accompany a noun as demonstrative in a wider noun phrase (this dog, that man). 3pl forms, on the other hand, only occur on their own; they are not used to specify a noun. For demonstrative function within a wider noun phrase yet another two forms are used:

  gula:y 'these'   gudja:y 'those'

TABLE 3.1 Pronominal forms in core-syntactic functions
_____

	Intransitive subject	Transitive subject	Transitive object	
	S	A	O	
1sg	ngawu	(ngawunggu)	nganya	
1pl	nganydji	nganydjiny		
2sg	nyurra	nyurrany		
2pl	nyurramba	nyurrambany		
3sg				
this/here	gulu	gulunggu	gulunguny	
that/there		gudji	gudjanggu	gudjanguny
3pl				
these/here	gulumbarray		gulumbarranydju	gulumbarrany
those/there	gudjumbarray		gudjumbarranydju	gudjumbarrany

_____

These two forms inflect according to the regular nominal pattern, both in system and in forms. (For examples see Text 2:4, S function; Text 2:6, O function; Text 3:20, A function.) However, gula:y/gudja:y are not restricted to use in wider noun phrases. They can also be used on their own; thus there appears to be an overlap between gulumbarray/gudjumbarray and gula:y/gudja:y. Possibly, the latter are simply reductions of the former. This assumption is supported by the fact that in elicitation, i.e. careful, formal speech, Gilbert Banning insisted on the longer forms, but in narration he used gula:y/gudja:y.

As can be seen in Table 3.1, pronouns employ a mixed case sytem for core-syntactic functions. 1st and 2nd person pronouns operate on a nominative/accusative system where transitive and intransitive subjects have one form and transitive object has another. 1sg is somewhat ambiguous in this respect. Gilbert Banning normally used the uninflected form ngawu for both types of subjects, but the inflected form ngawunggu occurs occasionally as transitive subject in his texts. It appears that nominal ergative marking is being extended to pronominal use, leading to a three-way case distinction of nominative, ergative and accusative for the 1sg pronoun. The 3rd person pronouns also display this three-way distinction. Again, Gilbert Banning's use of these forms was not entirely consistent, which would suggest a change in progress.

The use of 3rd person singular forms as demonstratives which, as part of a wider NP, normally agree in case marking with the head noun, could have triggered the extension of the nominal ergative system to pronouns. Note that Banning and Quinn (1989) give three distinct case forms each for 1sg, 3sg and 3pl with no mention of optional usage. Agent marking, where applicable, follows the regular rules for erga-

TABLE 3.2 Pronoun stems and oblique case inflections

_____

Stem	DAT	PURP/ALL	CAUS/ABL
1sg	ngaya-	-nda	-n.gu	-num
1pl	nganydji-	"	"	"
2sg	nyurra-	"	"	"
2pl	nyurramba-	"	"	"
3sg	gulu-	"	"	"
	gudja-	"	"	"
3pl	gulumbarray-		-ngu-nda	-ngu-n.gu -num
	gudjumbarray-	"	"	"

(Instrumental-locative and aversive are identical to nominal inflections.)

_____

tive suffix forms on nominals. Pronouns in O function, except 1sg nganya, take the suffix -ny. The stem to which this suffix attaches is the same as the S-form, except 3sg forms, which employ a stem-forming suffix -ngu-. Gudji also undergoes a vowel change to gudja when being used as a stem.

Table 3.2 shows the forms of oblique case inflections and the pronominal stems to which they attach.

Overall, dative, purposive/allative and causal/ablative have different suffix forms for pronouns from those for nominals. The dative inflection -nda is only slightly different in that it does not involve lengthening of the stem-final vowel. Suffix -ngunda for 3pl forms looks identical to the nominal suffix after consonants, but since the component -ngu- functions as a stem-forming morpheme elsewhere in the 3rd person paradigm, it is at least doubtful whether it belongs to the dative inflection. Purposive/allative -n.gu is clearly different from the nominal suffix -wu, but not unrelated. Forms involving a velar stop, like -gu/-n.gu or a velar glide, like -wu, function as markers of "goal" (purposive, allative, dative) in many Australian languages. Djabugay uses both variants in different paradigms. Causal/ablative -num is also used with the noun bama 'person', but no other nouns. Its apparent association with humans, the typical referents of all 1st and 2nd person pronouns, could indicate an original semantic conditioning factor. A similar situation exists with the aversive inflection -ndabi which is identical to the suffix used with nouns referring to humans. Instrumental/locative could only be elicited with demonstratives/deictics gulu and gudji and involves lengthening of the final vowel.   Table 3.3 shows pronominal genitive stems. The paradigm is quite regular and corresponds to nominal genitive stem formation, i.e. suffix -n before zero inflection and -n + linking morpheme -mu- before further suffixes. Only Ê3sg forms are not entirely Êregular in that they again use the stem-forming morpheme -ngu-. TABLE 3.3   Pronominal   genitive stems

_____

Stem + ¿	Stem + suffix

```
1sg    ngayan   ngayanmu- 1pl       nganydjin nganydjinmu-
2sg    nyurran  nyurranmu-          2pl       nyurramban      nyurrambanmu-
3sg    gulungun gulungunmu-         gudjangun gudjangunmu-
(No 3pl forms could be elicited in genitive form.)
```
_____

After this discussion of the overall pronoun paradigm, some comments are required on the apparently irregular stems of 3sg gudji 'that/there' and 1sg. The change from gudji to gudja before any suffix could be caused by a simple and natural phonetic process, i.e. lowering of the tongue body in the direction of open central vowel be-tween two consonants. The 1sg forms ngawu (S/A), nganya (O), and oblique stem ngaya-can only be explained in diachronic terms. Dixon (1977) suggests *ngay as a possible 1sg pronoun root in an ancestor language of Yidiny and Djabugay. The ancestor lan-guage is thought to have had ergative suffix *-dju and accusative suffix *-nya, giv-ing *ngadju (A) and *nganya (O) after assimilation of the root-final semivowel to the palatal consonant of the suffix. The form nganya (O) has remained unchanged in Djabugay, while the accusative suffix *-nya was reduced to -ny after disyllabic and multisyllabic pronouns. Dixon shows further that the ergative form *ngadju, could have been reinterpreted as stem for all cases except accusative in both languages. This form then underwent phonological changes: dj > y throughout in Djabugay, i.e. *ngayu, and in the present nominative form in Yidiny ngayu. This form also exists in Kuku Yalanydji, Djabugay's northern neighbour. In the Djabugay nominative form the semivowel then changed to w in assimilation to the following u, giving ngawu. In the oblique stem ngaya- the semivowel has remained, but the second vowel changed to 'a', possibly in assimilation to the first vowel.

3.5.2   REFLEXIVE PRONOUN. Djabugay has one universal reflexive free form ngayany 'self' which functions as transitive object in a reflexive sentence, e.g.

(37)   ngawu guniny ngayany   I cut myself.

  nyurra guniny ngayany   You (sg) cut yourself.
  nganydji du:ny ngayany   We hit ourselves.

TABLE 3.4. Inflected forms of dju: 'who' and nyi: 'what''
_____

```
who      what

A       dju:      nyirranggu
S       "         nyi:
O       dju:ny    "

DAT     dju:nda   *
INST/LOC          *         nyirra:la
PURP/ALL          dju:nda   nyirra:wu
CAUS/ABL          dju:num   nyirramalim
AVERS   dju:ndabi nyirralan / nyirrandabi

* Apparently impossible forms
```
_____

3.5.3 LOCAL FORMS. Deictics distinguish three orientations: 'here' (close to speaker), 'there' (away from speaker) and 'over there/yonder' (far distant from speaker). Demonstratives gulu and gudji are commonly used to express 'here' and 'there' respectively, but there are alternative forms, all of which are listed below.

here	there	yonder
gulu	gudji	
gulun	gundi	gunyu

There does not seem to be a conditioning factor for the use of the here/there alternatives, only a slight preference for gulu/gudji. All forms take regular allative and ablative inflections from the nominal paradigm, e.g. guluwu 'to here', gunyumundu 'from over there'.

3.5.4 INTERROGATIVES. The basic interrogative forms are dju: 'who', nyi: 'what', dja: 'where', djirri 'how'. Interrogatives may also be used in an indefinite sense of 'someone', 'something', etc. According to inflectional possibilities the paradigm has to be split into [1] 'who, what,' and [2] 'where, how'.

[1]   'Who', 'what'. Inflected forms are listed in Table 3.4. For core-syntactic functions 'who' follows the basic pronominal paradigm of one form for A and S and another for O, i.e. nominative/accusative; 'what' uses nominal marking for A and the plain stem for S and O, i.e. it is ergative/absolutive. Occasionally an inflected form dju:nggu 'who-ERG' was encountered in A function, indicating the possible beginning of a merger of the two case systems.

The nominal dative inflection -nda fulfils both dative and purposive/allative function with dju: 'who', i.e. it is a general 'goal' marker. Causal/ablative and aversive are marked by the typical "human" inflections -num (cf. bamanum) and -ndabi on dju: 'who'. Nyi: 'what' takes "non-human" inflections, although aversive -ndabi is also occasionally used. The fact that 'what' does not occur in dative case, the typical recipient of something, and 'who' does not occur in instrumental/locative, further underlines a basic human/non-human, or more generally animate/inanimate, distinction. Furthermore, genitive stem formation, which follows regular nominal rules, applies only to 'who'.

As can be seen in Table 3.4 the stem for nyi: is nyirra- before a suffix. A comparison with Yidiny shows that Djabugay may have collapsed two interrogative paradigms into one. Yidiny distinguishes between wanyi 'what genus' and wanyirra 'what species/what kind of' (Dixon 1977:184-5). Together with loss of the first syllable and lengthening of the vowel Djabugay has generalised the two meanings of 'what genus' and 'what species' to simply 'what'. While nyi: assumed S/O function, nyirra- was reinterpreted as stem for inflected forms and also for use as indefinite 'something'. Note that in the purposive and instrumental/locative form this stem has a long final vowel, nyirra:, and in the latter case takes the appropriate suffix form -la.

[2]   'Where, how'. The forms based on dja: 'where' are as follows:

dja:	where	dja:ngunydja	whereabouts
dja:ngurru		where to dja:ngunda	when
dja:malim		where from	

Apart from the regular ablative suffix -malim, word formation does not use the normal nominal suffixes. One recurring feature in the paradigm is the use of the pronominal stem-forming suffix -ngu- for most forms. Indefinite 'somewhere' has a special form based on dja:, namely dja:n.gayu.

Djirri 'how' has only one other form: djirrimba 'how many'. This form, which looks like a comitative derivation (see ¤3.2.2 [2] (ii)), inflects like a pronoun, taking accusative suffix -ny in O-function.

3.6   VERBS

Djabugay distinguishes betwen transitive and intransitive verbs and two conjugations, y-conjugation and l-conjugation. Transitivity does not directly coincide with one or the other conjugation class, but there is a statistical correlation between transitive verbs and l-conjugation, and intransitive verbs and y-conjugation as can be seen in Table 3.5. With 73% of y-conjugation verbs being intransitive and 80% of l-conjugation verbs being transitive, the link between conjugation class and transitivity is quite significant. Further evidence for such a link can be seen in verbal stem-formation. Intransitive stems formed with inchoative verbaliser -mayi- (see ¤3.2.2 [8]) belong to the y-conjugation. Transitivised verb stems formed with suffix -rri-, on the other hand, belong to the l-conjugation (see ¤3.6.2 [4]).

Of the four monosyllabic verb roots in Djabugay, all of which are transitive, three belong to the l-conjugation. These are du:-l 'hit, kill', ma:-l TABLE 3.5 Correlation between transitivity and conjugation class

_____

	y-conjugation		l-conjugation	
Total number of verbs	75		96	
Transitive	20	(27%)	77	(80%)
Intransitive	55	(73%)	19	(20%)

(The verb count includes only those roots for which conjugation class and transitivity are clearly established. The vocabulary list includes further roots whose transitivity and/or conjugation could not be checked and also a number of stems.)

_____

'make', nga:-l 'tell'. Only one, wa:-y 'give', belongs to the y-conjugation. All monosyllabic verb roots take the regular inflectional suffixes for their respective conjugation and always retain their long vowel.

All verb roots end in a vowel. In citation form the root is marked by a final -l or -y, according to its conjugation. This conjugation marker is usually dropped when inflections or stem-forming suffixes are added.

3.6.1   VERB INFLECTIONS. Djabugay uses nine verb inflections. Table 3.6 gives an introductory overview of functions and forms. The following sections will give detailed explanations of their functions.

[1] PRESENT, FUTURE, PAST. This three-term tense system, while somewhat unusual among the languages of the region, has quite normal application. Examples of verbs in these tenses can be found throughout this chapter, e.g. (24) - (27) for present tense, (28) future, (23) past tense, as well as in the appended texts.

[2] IMPERATIVE. This inflection has the usual function of indicating an order or a request, e.g.

(38)   garran   Come!
  bana wungan   Drink water!
  biri wayi   Light the fire!
  nganya bandjarri   Follow me!

[3] IRREALIS. This marks an event that could happen or could have happened if not pre-
  vented in some way.

(39)   nganydji-ny   gunday   du:-lbarra,   nganydji
  we-O   perhaps   hit-IRR   we+S
  djungga-ny   dilnggu
  run-PAST   down
  (They) would perhaps have hit us, (but) we ran down (the mountain).

TABLE 3.6 Functions and forms of verb inflections

_____

	y-conjugation	l-conjugation
Present	-ng	-l
Future	-na	-lna
Past	-ny	-ny
Imperative	-n	-¿
Irrealis	-ybarra	-lbarra
Perfective	-ymu	-ymu
Purposive	-ynggum	-lum
Aversive	-yabi	-yabi
Synchronous subordinate	-:ya	-:ya

_____

The use of gunday 'perhaps' is fairly common but by no means obligatory with the irre-
  alis form.

(40)   nganydji djarri-ybarra
  we+S   drown-IRR
  We could have drowned (but we had a lucky escape).

Example (40) could, in another context, have the reading of 'we could drown there
  (unless we are careful)'. However, such a statement which amounts to an admonition is
  more usually expressed through the aversive inflection (see [6] below).

[4] PERFECTIVE. This indicates a completed action, as in (41) and (42), or a state re-
  sulting from a previous action, as in (43).

(41)   ngawu   ma:-ny   gulu   bulmba-wala   ma:-ymu
  I+A   make-PAST this   camp+O-now   make-PERF
  I built this camp, it's done/built now.

(42)   yaba-nggu minya   buga-ny, gudji-wala   buga-ymu
  brother-A   fish+O   eat-PAST he+A-now eat-PERF
  (My) brother ate fish, he has finished eating now.

(43)   minya   guni-guni-ymu
  fish+O cut-REDUP-PERF
  The fish has been cut up into small pieces.

The perfective aspect marker also has a syntactic function in the formation of subordinate clauses (see ¤4.8.2).

[5] PURPOSIVE. The suffix -ynggum/-lum is sometimes pronounced with final ng instead of m. (Note that Hale (1976c:238) recorded -ynggu/
-lung; Cassells some years later recorded -ynggum/-lum.) It is possible that the suffix originally had final -ng, but that this is being replaced by the other peripheral nasal m in accordance with the more common phonotactic pattern. The velar nasal is extremely rare in final position. There are no roots with final ng and the only suffix with ng in final position is the present tense marker for y-conjugation.

The purposive inflection has two distinct functions. In a main clause it indicates 'intend to do something/be about to do something', e.g.

(44)   ngawu ma:lum bulmba   I intend to build a camp.

(45)   ngawu nyinaynggum "I had better sit down".

In a subordinate clause it means 'in order to (verb)' as in example (46). (For subordinate clause construction see ¤4.8.3.)

(46)   ngawu   biwurr   duga-ng   bundu-lum minya
  I+A   spear+O   fetch-PRES   spear(vb)-PURP   fish+O
  I fetch a spear in order to spear fish.

[6] AVERSIVE. This inflection indicates a possible, usually unpleasant, event that ought to be prevented. It is typically used in a complex sentence (see ¤4.8.4) in connection with a negative imperative giving the meaning 'don't do that lest something nasty happen'.

(47)   gari   gali   gundi,   gayam-unggu   ganda-yabi
  not   go+IMP   there   stinging tree-A   burn-AVERS
  Don't go there, the stinging tree might burn (you).

(48)   gudji   gari   duga,   nganydji-ny   djawarra(y)-nydju
  that+O not   pick+IMP we-O   thunderstorm-A
  du:-yabi
  strike-AVERS
  Don't pick that [taboo plant], a thunderstorm might strike us.

[7] SYNCHRONOUS SUBORDINATE. This inflection is used in subordinate clauses where it indicates that the action referred to occurs at the same time as the action described in the main clause. A coreferentiality constraint prescribes that the action in the subordinate clause is performed by the object of the main clause (see ¤4.8.1). Examples are:

(49)   ngawu   ngunda-l djarruga burra-:ya
  I+A   watch-PRES   scrubhen+O   fly-SYNSUB
  I watch the scrubhen flying.

(50)   ngawu   ngunda-l nyurra-ny du:-ya   gurra:
  I+A   watch-PRES   you sg-O hit-SYNSUB   dog+O

I watch you hitting the dog.

TABLE 3.7   Verbal stem formation

_____

Function	Form	Conjugation of stem
Repeated action	reduplication	same as root
Plural participants	-da-	-y
Reciprocal	-lndjirri-/-nydjirri-	-y
Transitiviser	-rri-	-l
Chance event/intransitiviser	-yi-	-y

_____

3.6.2   STEM FORMATION. Verbal stem formation is achieved by reduplication, or one of four stem-forming suffixes, or productive compounding with aspect markers 'coming/going'. These processes change the meaning of the verb or add to the meaning and/or are required in specific syntactic contexts. This section explains formal aspects of stem formation and introduces functional properties of the derivations. For a more detailed discussion of their syntactic functions, where applicable, see ¤4.6.

The conjugation class of a derived stem is determined by the stem-forming suffix; a reduplicated form without further derivational suffix remains in its original conjugation class. The conjugation marker of the root is omitted in all but 'reciprocal' stems, e.g. du:l 'to hit', du:-du:l 'hit repeatedly',but du:lndjirriy 'hit each other'; burray 'to fly', burrarril 'to fly off with', bugay 'to eat', buganydjirriy 'eat each other'. As can be seen, the y-conjugation marker of a root assimilates to the 'reciprocal' suffix -ndjirri-, giving -nydjirri-. Table 3.7 lists functions, forms and resulting conjugation classes of stem formation.

[1] REDUPLICATION. This indicates a repeated or ongoing or habitual action, usually performed by a single actor, e.g.

(51)   ngawu djama du:-du:ny   I kept hitting the snake.

(52)   garra-ny gudji   gunyu-mundu   bungan   come-PAST he+S   over there-ABL   sun+S   maga-maga-yi-ng
rise-REDUP-INTRANS-PRES
He came from over there where the sun always rises.

[2] PLURAL PARTICIPANTS. The precise function of derivational suffix -da- is not entirely clear. On the one hand, it appears to indicate plurality of S or A, which usually do not appear in plural form (see ¤3.2.2.[5]) if a -da- stem is used. Gilbert Banning suggested the translations for the following sentences, implying plural S in (53) and plural A in (54) and (55). On the other hand, in (55) -da- also seems to imply a plural O, but not so in (54). The common factor in these examples, as well as those given in ¤4.6.1, is 'action performed severally by multiple actors or agents'.

(53)   bama   gali-gali-da-ny-ala   gulu-malim
person+S   go-REDUP-PL PARTI-PAST-now   this-ABL
bulmba-malim
camp-ABL
All the people have left this camp now.

```
(54)     warruwarru-nggu    bulmba    buda-buda-da-ng
  teenager-A        camp+O    clean up-REDUP-PL PARTI-PRES
  All the teenagers are cleaning up the camp.


(55)     bama-lu   nganydjin djulbin   guni-guni-da-ny
  person-A          our+O     tree+O    cut-REDUP-PL PARTI-PAST
  All the people cut down all our trees.
```

  Monosyllabic verb roots, while they may be reduplicated, cannot take the plural par-
  ticipant suffix. Gilbert Banning consistently rejected forms like *du:-du:dang as un-
  acceptable. Instead, he used quantifiers ngabi 'many' or -wurru 'all of' to indicate
  plural participants in sentences containing monosyllabic verbs.

[3] RECIPROCAL. An action that is performed by two or more actors on each other is ex-
  pressed by the suffixes -lndjirri- (on l-conjugation roots) and -nydjirri- (on y-
  conjugation roots).

```
(56)     gula:y ngundalndjirriny    They watched each other.
```

  This suffix may also be used with intransitive verbs, in which case it indicates a
  joint action performed by several actors together as in the following example.

```
(57)     bibunbay barri-nydjirri-ng  dalirr
  children+S       cry-RECIP-PRES      hungry
  The hungry children are crying together.
```

[4] TRANSITIVISER. The derivational suffix -rri- makes an intransitive verb root tran-
  sitive. This, of course, brings about a change in meaning of the verb which could
  broadly be described as 'causative', i.e. 'cause to (verb)'. However, since the se-
  mantic content of causative is not discernable in all -rri- stems, the label 'causa-
  tive' would be too narrow and misleading.
  Some examples with obvious causative content are:

```
warrn.giy to turn around    warrn.girril       to turn something
wanday    to fall  wandarril to fell, knock down
```

  Some examples with causative connotations which, however, are not explicit in actual
  usage, are:

```
djunggay  to run    djunggarril        to run off with
burray    to fly    burrarril to fly off with
```

Here the implications are that the object is not made to run or fly, but that it is
  carried off or abducted.
  Some examples with no causative content at all in the resulting transitive stem are:

```
manggay   to laugh manggarril        to laugh at, ridicule someone
yarrn.gay to be afraid     yarrn.garril       to dislike someone/something
```

Stem formation with -rri- is quite productive, but there are also a number of trisyl-
labic transitive verb stems ending in -rri-l for which no corresponding intransitive
roots could be elicited. It is quite likely that they represent frozen transitivised
stems. Some examples are: bunbirril 'to hide something', duwarril 'to shake some-
thing', ninggirril 'to pour out something', bandjarril 'to follow someone', wururril
'to take something out'.

[5] CHANCE EVENT/INTRANSITIVISER. The suffix -yi- (cf. -:dji- in Yidiny, Dixon,
1977:274-93, and -ji- in Kuku Yalandji, Patz, 1982:241-60) has a very complex func-
tional load. It may change the meaning of a verb, in which case the resulting stem
may or may not become intransitive, or it may create an intransitive stem from a
transitive root as required by certain syntactic conditions. (Note that INTRANS is
used as a cover term in interlinear glosses of example sentences for all occurrences
of -yi-. It will be clear from the translations in which particular function -yi- is
used.)

One type of semantic variation is that where the transitive root refers to an inten-
tional, purposeful action, the -yi- stem, still transitive, implies an unintentional
or chance action as in the examples below.

```
   transitive root  -yi- stem
ngundal   to watch, look at  ngundayiy to see, to notice by chance
nulal     to call someone    nulayiy   to cry out (e.g. in pain)
ngadal    to cover up        ngadayiy  to step on accidentally
dugal     to catch, seize    dugayiy   to comprehend, understand
```

(58)   gudja-nggu   ngunda-yi-ny   bana-:   malway
  he-A   watch-INTRANS-PAST water-LOC reflection+O
  He saw (by chance) his reflection in the water.

A -yi- stem may also imply a long ongoing event, practically a state, as in nyirruyiy
'to keep hanging' from nyirrul 'to hang up', burayiy 'to keep drying' from bural 'to
dry something'. Here we get an intransitive stem based on a transitive root.

(59)   waybi   bana-:   nyirru-yi-ng
  waterlily+S   water-LOC hang up-INTRANS-PRES   The waterlily is hanging in the
  water   [Compare: ngawu nyirrul gambi   I hang up clothes.]

In this function -yi- may also be used with intransitive roots, e.g. burrnggal 'to
snore, snort' (int), burrnggayiy 'to snore away/keep snoring' or in the next example.

(60)   gurra: bulga-yi-ng
  dog+S   bark-INTRANS-PRES The dog kept barking and barking.
  [Compare: gurra: bulgany The dog barked (just once).]

There is only a slight, but nevertheless important difference between the semantic
content of these types of -yi-stems and reduplicated verbs. Reduplication refers to
repeated discrete actions as in examples (51) and (52) while -yi-stems imply one long
ongoing event more like a state.

Syntactically, a -yi-stem is required in special circumstances where the conditions
for a transitive sentence are not met, for instance where the object is unknown and
therefore cannot be referred to, or where underlying A and O are assigned to differ-
ent surface roles. This will be discussed more fully in ¤4.6.4 [2].

[6] Hale (1976c) mentions another stem-forming suffix, the nominaliser -y which he il-
lustrates with one example: gagabal 'to vomit', gagabay 'vomit (noun)'. However,
since no supporting evidence for such a nominaliser could be found, neither through
elicitation nor in texts, it is more likely that the above example is an isolated in-
stance of a cognate verb/noun pair.

[7] ASPECT MARKERS 'COMING/GOING'. Galiy 'to go' and garray 'to come' compound produc-
tively with any verb root to express the aspects 'to go to (verb) and 'to come to
(verb). (Yidiny uses the 'going' aspect marker also to indicate 'doing an action
while going', but this usage does not apply in Djabugay.) The conjugation markers -y
and -l are retained between the root and the aspect marker. With l-conjugation roots
vowel -a- is inserted between conjugation marker and aspect morpheme.

(61)   ngawu   minya   biri-:-wala   waya-l-a-gali-ng
  I+A   fish+O   fire-LOC-now   cook-l-a-go-PRES
  I'm going to cook fish in the fire now.

(62)   gudji   nyina-y-garra-ny   bulmba-:
  he+S   sit-y-come-PAST   camp-LOC
  He came to sit in the camp.

3.7   POST-INFLECTIONAL SUFFIXES

There are three post-inflectional suffixes which serve as emphatic or temporal mark-
ers and which can attach to almost any sentence constituent.

[1] 'Now' -(w)ala. This suffix has the form -wala after vowels and -ala after conso-
nants. According to its function as temporal marker it is most often attached to
verbs or adjectives in predicate function as in (63) and (64). -(W)ala is used very
frequently and is the only suffix which may even attach to particles.

(63)   ngawu   ma: yimbi-:   buwa-l-ala
  I+A   food+O   dillybag-LOC   put in-PRES-now
  I now put the food into the dillybag.

(64)   ngawu nyiwulala   I am (the) one (left) now.

Where -(w)ala is attached to another constituent it also implies a certain emphasis as
in the following example.

(65)   gula:(y)-nydju   bibunba(y)-nydju   bina ngunda-l
  these-A children-A   listen-PRES
  gadja-wala   gula:y
  white man+O-now   these+O
  These children listen (only) to these white people now.

This marker may also be used with a verb in the past tense, which indicates that an ac-
tion is now completed, as in (53).

[2] 'Emphatic' -ngurru. Hale defines the meaning of this suffix as 'also, too' and Cas-
sells regards it as a general stress indicator. While it is very difficult, and per-
haps not even advisable, to force a specific translation on an emphasis marker, the
examples suggest something like 'totality', e.g.

(66)   gudji nyiwulngurru He is all on his own.

(67)   ngabindangurru djili:nda   under everybody's eyes

[3] 'Emphatic' -bi. This suffix is always stressed which leads to a lengthening of the
vowel [bi:]. It appears to have stronger emphatic force than -ngurru and wider appli-
cation. The following examples show that it translates in different ways in different
contexts. It would therefore be futile to suggest a single formula for its meaning
beyond the general 'strong emphasis'.
(68)   ngawu dalirralabi I am really hungry now.

(69)   ngawu gulunbi nyinana   I will stay right here.

(70)   ngayindabi wa:n   Give (it) to me [and nobody else]!

Another emphatic use of -bi is to register surprise (see Text 3:18). This corresponds
to the use of suffix -bi in Kuku Yalandji (Patz, 1982:390).

4. SYNTAX

A thumbnail sketch of Djabugay sentence construction was given at the beginning of chapter 3 as a working basis for Djabugay morphology. This chapter will elaborate on the syntactic system and will discuss in detail the syntactic application of morphological aspects.

4.1   SIMPLE SENTENCES

The basic rules for sentence constituents presented in these sections relate to sentences out of context; they answer the basic question of "what is necessary for a sentence to be grammatical in Djabugay". Connected speech, or discourse, allows modification of some of these rules. This will be discussed in ¤4.2.

4.1.1   CORE CONSTITUENTS. Each sentence requires a core of elements to constitute a semantic unit, and the type and number of core elements depend on the type of sentence. Clearly distinguishable sentence types in Djabugay are transitive and intransitive sentences, three-participant sentences as a transitive sub-category, and minimal sentences.

[1] Transitive core. A transitive core consists of a transitive verb complex (VC), a transitive subject or agent NP (A), and a transitive or direct object NP (O). The agent NP receives ergative case marking if consisting of nominal or 3rd person pronoun/demonstrative components (see (1), (42), (54), (55), (65)). 1st and 2nd person pronouns in A-function appear in nominative case, i.e. as an unmarked form (see (2), (7)). The object NP remains unmarked, in absolutive case, if consisting of nominal elements or demonstratives gula:y and gudja:y (see (1), (2), Text 2:6). Other demonstrative forms and pronouns in O-function receive accusative case marking (see (5), (50)).

[2] Intransitive core. An intransitive core consists of an intransitive VC and an intransitive subject or actor NP. The subject NP (S) appears in an unmarked form if it consists of nominal or 3rd person pronoun/demonstrative components (see (3), (15), (16)). Other pronouns have the same form as in transitive subject function (see (4), (11)). Table 4.1 illustrates the split case marking system of NPs in core functions, giving some typical examples. Note that, as discussed in ¤3.5.1, 1sg ngawu vacillates between the two pronominal systems in that it has alternative forms ngawu and ngawunggu for A-function.

[3] Three-participant sentence. Verbs like 'to tell', 'to give', and Ê'to show' require not only an agent and transitive object, but also a third NP as indirect TABLE 4.1
        Split case marking of NPs in core functions

_____

	Nominals	1 and 2 person pronouns	3 person pronouns/ demonstratives
A	gurra:nggu	nyurra	gulunggu
S	gurra: "		gulu
O	"	nyurrany	gulunguny

```
'dog'  2 sg     3 sg/'this'
```
_____

object denoting the recipient or goal of the transaction. This NP takes dative case as
  illustrated in (6).

[4] Minimal sentence. A minimal, or equational, sentence contains no verb. The NP is
  simply combined with an adjective or another NP which have descriptive or identifying
  function, e.g.

(71)   gudji banggal   He/that is big.

(72)   gulu gurra: guri: This dog is good. / This is a good dog.

The two different interpretations of (72) depend on whether gurra: is part of the sub-
  ject NP or part of the predicate. In speech the interpretation is disambiguated
  through intonation contour. 'This dog is good' has a slight rise in intonation on
  gurra: followed by a marked drop; in the other reading intonation rises on gulu.
  A noun in a local case may also serve as predicate of a minimal sentence as in the
  following examples:

(73)   gudji   gimuy-mundu
  he+S   Cairns-ABL
  "He is a Cairns bloke" (He is from Cairns.)

(74)   bama   bulmba-:
  man+S   camp-LOC
  The man is in the camp.

  In sentence (73) the ablative NP implies a characteristic rather than a local refer-
  ence as is evident from the informant's translation in quotation marks. Sentence (74)
  refers to an unmarked state, that of 'being in the camp'. Minimal sentences with lo-
  cal NPs are restricted to these types of semantic content. More commonly, presumably
  in the interest of accuracy, a verb of rest or motion is used in association with a
  local NP. Compare (74) with the preferred forms in (74a) :
(74a)   bama bulmba: nyinang (djanang)
  The man is sitting (standing) in the camp

4.1.2   SYNTACTIC AND LOCAL EXTENSIONS. Any simple sentence core can be extended by
one or more NPs to add further information as deemed necessary by the speaker. Such ad-
ditional NPs may relate to the instrument with which an action is performed (instrumen-
tal), the goal of an action (dative), the purpose of an action (purposive), the cause
of a state (causal), or something which is feared (aversive). Local extensions indicate
location of an action or state (locative), or goal (allative), direction (directional),
or source (ablative) of a movement. Nominal case forms for these extensions and example
sentences are presented in ¤3.2.1 [4]-[9]; pronominal forms are given in Table 3.2.
  While the above extensions are sufficiently exemplified in the morphology chapter,
  one particular dative construction requires some discussion. As mentioned before, da-
  tive generally marks the goal of an action in three-participant sentences or sen-
  tences like 'X talks to Y'. In a semantic extension of this 'goal'-function, dative
  marks an NP in conjunction with particle bala: which implies a leadership role of
  someone in joint motion, e.g.

(75)   ngawu   gali-ng-ala   bama-nda bala:

```
I+S      go-PRES-now        person-DAT        leading
I go now with [another] person in the lead.
```

Such a construction is quite different from one containing the transitive verb
banydjarril 'to follow'. Banydjarril takes a direct object and implies some kind of
intent such as 'to catch up with', 'to see where they are going', etc. Bala: + dative
NP, on the other hand, occurs in intransitive sentences with a verb of motion and
identifies the dative NP as a kind of goal in its leadership role, not as an object
to be affected.

4.1.3   VC STRUCTURE. Usually a simple sentence contains only one transitive or in-
transitive verb. It is possible to have two or more verbs, as in (76), provided they
agree in transitivity and inflection, i.e. several transitive verbs or several intran-
sitive verbs. However, it is not clear from the available examples whether multiple
verbs belong to one VC or are part of separate clauses, the latter of these being el-
liptical.

```
(76)     gula:y   bibunbay girriyi-ny        ngambi-ny
  those+S children+S       shout-PAST        swim-PAST
  Those children were shouting and swimming.
```

Comments on how an action is performed are not part of the VC. Adjectives, which re-
main part of the S or A NP, are used for this purpose (see next paragraph).

4.1.4   NP STRUCTURE. An NP in whatever syntactic function may consist of any single
nominal, pronoun or demonstrative. The head noun of an NP may be accompanied by a de-
monstrative and/or one or more adjectives. It may also be combined with a generic noun
as for instance bama in (77), but combinations of this type are infrequent.

```
(77)     gudja:y  bama     darrnggi-darrnggi-wurru    maynggal-ala
  those+S person+S  elder(N)-REDUP-all+S          nothing-now
  All those elders are no more (are dead).
```

As mentioned previously, an adjective contained in an S or A NP may relate to the way
in which an action is performed, i.e. may have pseudo-adverbial function, as in exam-
ple (78). Apparently, the manner in which an action is performed is associated with
the subject or agent as instigator of the action.

```
(78)     ngawu    dagal-ndu minya    guni-l
  I+A      slow-A   fish+O   cut-PRES
  I cut the fish slowly [i.e.carefully].
```
A pronoun as head of NP may only by combined with an adjective in pseudo-adverbial
function as in (78), or a comitative form.
NPs containing genitive and comitative constructions will be discussed separately in
¤4.3 and ¤4.4.
Normally all NP constituents show case inflection, however, in casual speech it is
possible for case marking to be omitted from some constituents. The normal pattern
seems to be that only the last element must show case marking, while any non-final
element may remain uninflected. But this is only possible if the NP constituents are
uttered in an unbroken sequence. If an NP is split and its constituents dispersed
throughout the sentence they must all be marked for case to indicate their connection.

4.2   SENTENCE CONSTITUENTS IN DISCOURSE

4.2.1   OMISSION OF CORE CONSTITUENTS. The presence of core constituents and their order depends largely on the speech context in which a sentence is uttered. A speech context is a situation where the referents of subject/agent and/or object are known and can be understood without repeated specification, in other words, a situation where a language like English typically uses pronouns or deictics. A sentence such as 'He ate that', for instance, can be understood correctly only in a speech context where the referents of 'he' and 'that' are known from previous identification.

   In Djabugay mention of all core NPs is obligatory only when a sentence is uttered independent of a speech context (an artificial situation such as elicitation), or at the beginning of discourse when topics are introduced. Within a speech context, on the other hand, the subject, agent, or object may be omitted. In such a context omission of a core NP does not lead to ambiguity or incomprehension since the reference is well understood in the same way as the reference of a pronoun or deictic in English would be understood. (For examples see Text 1:4-6; Text 2:5-8 and 12-14) Of course, Djabugay may also use 3rd person pronouns or deictics as replacement for nouns. Whether to use pronominal/deictic reference or NP-omission could be a matter of style or personal preference, but a frequent pattern in the collection of texts is for a subject or agent to be replaced by a pronoun/deictic and for an object to be omitted in a connected piece of discourse.

4.2.2   ORDER OF CONSTITUENTS. In common with other languages of the region Djabugay allows great flexibility in the order of phrases within a sentence, words within a phrase and even words within a sentence. The only apparent restriction is that a sentence should not begin with a verb.

   The normal or unmarked order of core constituents is: A-O-V and S-V. Any other order is marked in that it serves to emphasise a particular element by placing it in sentence-initial position. Elements which often appear sentence-initially because of their salience are:

   (i) Pronouns (with typically human reference) in any function, particularly if the other NP refers to something non-human, e.g.

(79)   nganya   gadjirraga-nggu   baya-ny
   I-O   taipan-A bite-PAST
   A taipan bit me. [=I was bitten by a taipan.]

   (ii) A transitive object which is marked as specific by a demonstrative, be it human, animate, or inanimate, e.g.

(80)   gulu   walba   ngawu   daba-ng
   this+O stone+O I-A   throw-PRES
   I throw this stone.
As can be seen in (80), convention (ii) may override convention (i).
   Syntactic and local extensions as well as location and time words are entirely free in their placement. They may appear adjacent to a component with which they have a semantic relationship, or initially for emphasis.
   Any NP can be split up by leaving the deictic or modifier in unmarked, or emphatic, initial position and moving the rest of the NP after the verb, e.g.

(81)   gudji   barri-ng bibuy
   that+S cry-PRES child+S
   That child is crying.

(82)   gula:y   ngawu   gani-l-a-gali-ng.
  these+O I+A   tie-l-a-go-PRES
  gudji gani-l-a-gali-ng warrdjan that+O   tie-l-a-go-PRES   raft+O
  I am going to tie these [fig tree branches] up. (I'm) going to tie that raft
  together.

  In a connected part of discourse it is possible to use different word orders in suc-
  cessive sentences to highlight different aspects, e.g.

(83)   yalma-:rr ngawu-nggu   wabarr-a-gali-ng
  cross boomerang-COMIT   I-A   hunt(N)-a-go-PRES gan.gula-wu.
  wallaby-PURP
  With a cross boomerang I go hunting for wallaby.

  ngawu yalma:rr wabarragaling.
  I go hunting with a cross boomerang. [unmarked order]

  ngawu   mulu-:rr gali-ng   wabarr   yalma-:rr
  I+A   two-COMIT go-PRES   hunt   cross b'rang-COMIT
  I go hunting with two cross boomerangs.

Note that the agent pronoun in the last sentence remains in initial position, but that
  mulu 'two' is split from the rest of the O-NP and takes 'second-best' sentence posi-
  tion, while the remainder of the comitative NP, a repetition of the previous utter-
  ances, is placed at the end of the sentence.

4.3   POSSESSION

Unlike most Australian languages Djabugay apparently does not distinguish between
alienable possession, such as possession of artefacts, pets, etc., and inalienable
possession such as body parts and other whole-part relationships. The genitive suffix,
see ¤3.2.2 [1], is used for all types of possession, including potential possession
such as 'something that (hopefully) will be mine' (see Text 4:2). Genitive is added
to each word of the 'possessor' NP which then modifies the 'possessed' head noun. The
inflection appropriate for the syntactic function of the head noun is added after the
genitive suffix on words of the possessor NP. Examples of possessor NP in S-function
with zero-inflection are (19) and (34), the latter also being an example of inalien-
able possession 'your head'. Further examples involving pronouns occur throughout the
texts. Instances of inflected possessor NPs can be found in (20) and (21).

4.4   COMITATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

  Comitative constructions have a variety of syntactic and semantic functions in
  Djabugay, involving NP coordination, extension, or modification in an adjectival
  function.

[1] The form -djada, which can be translated as 'and, with, also, too, together', at-
  taches to one of two NPs in the same syntactic function. Both NPs take appropriate
  case inflection, e.g.

(84)   yaba-nggu nyumbu-djada-nggu djama   du:-ny
  brother-A   father-COMIT-A   snake+O kill-PAST
  (My) brother and father killed a snake together.

(85)   ngawu   magumagu-djada-nggu   buga-na minya
  I+A   sister-COMIT-A   eat-FUT fish+O
  I and my sister will eat fish./I will eat fish together with my sister.

Examples (27) and (28) illustrate -djada constructions in S and O function respectively.
 Comitative constructions of this type may be assumed to have two underlying sentences,
  e.g. (84) 'brother killed a snake', 'father killed (the same) snake'. The comitative
  construction combines these two into one sentence by coordinating the two A NPs giv-
  ing 'brother (NP1) and father (NP2) killed a snake together'.

[2] Comitative -wa/-mba is similar to the above in that it involves two NPs in the same
  function, but the syntactic implications and semantic content are different. It re-
  fers to '(one of) a pair' and is apparently restricted to use with human referents.
  From its formal characteristics we may infer that it extends an NP or combines two
  into one, rather than coordinating two NPs. If the NP contains two nouns, both take
  the comitative suffix as in (86); if a pronoun is involved, this will be an appropri-
  ate plural pronoun and only the accompanying noun takes the comitative suffix as in
  (87). The latter construction in particular highlights the 'inclusive' nature of this
  type of comitative.

(86)   yaba-mba(-nggu)   nyumbu-mba(-nggu) djama   du:-ny
  brother-COMIT(-A)father-COMIT(-A)   snake+O kill-PAST
  Brother and father (the pair of them) killed a snake.

Compare (86) with (84) above.

(87)   nganydji magumagu-mba(-nggu)   buga-na minya
  we+A   sister-COMIT(-A)   eat-FUT fish+O
  I and my sister (the pair of us) will eat fish.

Compare (87) with (85) above. For examples of S function see (24) and (25).
  As indicated in the above examples, case marking on this type of comitative is some-
  what doubtful. Gilbert Banning was inconsistent in that he preferred to omit the er-
  gative inflection here, and no supporting evidence for either omission or inclusion
  could be obtained from other informants.

[3] Comitative -:rr/-nydji/-i is quite different from the above in that it forms an ad-
  jectival complement to the head noun or pronoun of an NP. It indicates something that

is in some way 'attached to' the referent of the NP head. For examples see (22), (23)
and the following:

(88)   gurrungga burra-ng djama-:rr,   djamu-:
  kookaburra+S   fly-PRES snake-COMIT+S   beak-LOC wanirri-l
  carry-PRES
  The kookaburra flies with a snake, (it) carries (it) in (its) beak.

(89)   ngawu   gali-ng gurra:-rr
  I+S   go-PRES   dog-COMIT+S
  I go carrying a dog.

Note that (89) only allows the interpretation of the dog being carried. If the dog
walks along as company, comitative -djada has to be used as in example (27).
    This type of comitative has only been attested as part of NPs in S function, which
corresponds to the use of a similar comitative in Kuku Yalanji (Patz, 1982:326-328).
On the other hand, it may also occur independent of an NP as adjectival predicate in
a minimal sentence, e.g.

(90)   gulu murranydji   He is sick (has a fever).

    An interesting extension in the use of this comitative is the following example:

(91)   ngawu gawanydji galing   I go by starlight.

Here the comitative appears to have pseudo-adverbial use, a function which can be per-
formed by any adjective (see ¤4.1.4).

4.5   VERBALISATION

Any adjective can be transformed into an intransitive verb through the addition of
the stem-forming suffix -mayi-. This inchoative verbaliser derives verbs with the
meaning 'become X', e.g. wigi 'thin', wigi-mayi-y 'become thin'. Verbs of this type
belong to the y-conjugation and inflect accordingly. Sentences (33), (34) and (35)
contain examples of inchoative verb stems.

Unlike other languages of the region, Djabugay apparently does not form inchoative
verbs from nouns. Sentences like 'he became a man' were paraphrased by informants as
gudji banggalmayiny 'he became big' (he big-become-PAST).

Again, unlike other languages of North Queensland, Djabugay has no derivational suf-
fix which can form causative transitive verbs from nominals, such as 'make hot',
'make big'. To express such a concept, the lexical verb gundal 'to make, cause' is
used together with the appropriate nominal, e.g.

(92)   gulu-nggu bayngga   wumbul   gunda-l

she-A   cooking stone+O   hot   make-PRES

She is heating (makes hot) the cooking stones

Since the nominal and gundal may be separated, as in (92a), such constructions clearly
do not involve verbal stem-formation.

(92a)   gulunggu bayngga wumbul gari gundal

She is not heating the cooking stones.

It is interesting to note that the inchoative suffix -mayi- itself could be an in-
transitive derivation from the transitive verb ma:l 'to make', i.e. ma: + intransi-
tive stem-forming suffix -yi (see ¤3.6.2 [5]). Ma:l is possibly a cognate of Kuku Ya-
lanji manil 'to get, make' and causative verbaliser (Patz, 1982:164-166), and Dyirbal
causative verbaliser -mal (Dixon 1972:86). If we can assume that Djabugay ma:l also
used to have causative function, apart from being a full verb, and derived intransi-
tive -mayi is its inchoative counterpart, then it could be possible that the distinc-
tion between the two closely related forms became obscured. This might have resulted
in the loss of causative function for ma:l, and Djabugay has developed a new means to
express 'causation', involving another free-form verb, i.e. gundal.

4.6 SYNTACTIC FUNCTIONS OF VERBAL STEM-FORMING SUFFIXES

For a transitive or intransitive verb to be used in its normal underived form in a sentence, certain semantic and syntactic conditions have to be met. If any of these conditions are not fulfilled the verb must be modified through one of several derivational suffixes.

One condition which applies to both transitive and intransitive constructions is that:

(a) The action must be discrete and be performed by one single agent or actor.

Conditions which apply to the use of transitive verbs are:

(b) The agent must have volitional control over the action.

(c) A transitive object which is in some way affected by the action must be included in the surface structure of the sentence.

(d) The surface realisation of a core-syntactic constituent must correspond to its deep syntactic role, i.e. the deep structure agent must surface as transitive subject in ergative case (or nominative, if a pronoun) and the deep structure patient/experiencer as transitive object in absolutive case (or accusative, if a pronoun).

Conditions which apply to the use of intransitive verbs are:

(e) The subject must be actor or experiencer.

(f) There must be no other participant affected by the action.

The following sections will discuss verbal derivations which are required if any of the above conditions is not met.

4.6.1 PLURAL PARTICIPANTS. The suffix -da- indicates that the same type of action is performed severally by many S or A and, in the case of transitive sentences, on many individual O, i.e. a context where condition (a) is not met. As indicated in ¤3.6.2 [2], it is not clear from the data whether -da- is associated with a particular participant or with all core-syntactic constituents.

This suffix always attaches to reduplicated verbs which imply plurality of action.

Examples with intransitive verbs are:

(93)   gaway   ngabi   djana-djana-da-ng
  star+S   many   stand-REDUP-PL PARTI-PRES
  Many stars are standing.
  [In free translation: Many stars are dotted all over the sky.]

(94)   murrgan   wanda-wanda-da-ng-ala
  quandong+S   fall-REDUP-PL PARTI-PRES-now
  Quandongs are falling [off trees] now.

An example with a transitive verb is:

(95)   bunda:rra-nggu   murrgan   wunga-wunga-da-ng
  cassowary-A   quandong+O   swallow-REDUP-PL PARTI-PRES
  Cassowaries gobble the quandongs all up.

For further examples see (53) - (55). Note that if the S/A NP itself is marked as plural through its form or a quantifier then suffix -da- is not obligatory.

4.6.2   RECIPROCAL. It is common practice in Djabugay, as in other languages, to de-
lete coreferential NPs in constructions like 'X hits Y and Y hits X'. The resulting
surface form 'X/Y hit each other' does not comply with condition (d) for transitive
verbs, which stipulates that deep and surface NPs have to be identical. Therefore the
verb must be modified. The reciprocal stem-forming suffix -lndjirri-/-nydjirri- al-
lows 'A plus O' to be mapped onto S as in the following examples:

(96)   minya   buga-nydjirri-ng
  fish+S eat-RECIP-PRES
  Fish eat each other.

(97)   nyurramba gana   du:-lnydjirri-ng
  you pl+S   always   hit-RECIP-PRES
  You are always hitting each other.

  Coreferential A and recipient (in dative case) in three-participant sentences can
  also be made reciprocal as in the next example:

(98)   gula:y   ma: wa:-nydjirri-ng
  these/they+S   food+O   give-RECIP-PRES
  They give each other food.

  In some contexts the reciprocal suffix may have the meaning of 'an action performed
  in unison or cooperation by several S or A', a contravention of condition (a). (Note
  that 'plural participants' -da- implies an action performed independently by several
  S/A.) In this function the reciprocal suffix can also be used with intransitive verbs
  as in (57) and (99) below. If attached to a transitive verb, the underlying A becomes
  S as in other reciprocal constructions; see (100).

(99)   bama   garra-nydjirri-ng
  person+S   come-RECIP-PRES
  (Some) people are coming together [i.e. walking together]

(100)   gula:y   bulmba   ma:-lndjirri-ng
  these/they+S   camp+O   make-RECIP-PRES
  They are building a camp together [= for each other].

4.6.3   TRANSITIVISED VERB STEMS. An intransitive verb by definition cannot take a
direct object (cf. condition (f)). The stem-forming suffix -rri- makes an intransitive
verb transitive with the result that:
  (i) S becomes A with an added O included in the sentence, see (101) and (102),or
  (ii) S becomes O with an added A, see (103).
It appears that the semantics of the verb determine whether the resulting construction
  will be (i) or (ii); some verbs lead to (i) when transitivised, others to (ii). There
  is no example of one and the same verb being involved in both (i) and (ii).

(101a)   gurrungga burra-ng
  kookaburra+S   fly-PRES.
  The kookaburra flies.

(101b)   gurrungga-nggu   djama   burra-rri-l

```
  kookaburra-A      snake+O   fly-TRANS-PRES
  The kookaburra flies off with a snake
```

(102a)   yaburu   mangga-ng
```
  girl+S  laugh-PRES
  The girl laughs.
```

(102b)   yaburu-nggu   warruwarru   mangga-rri-l
```
  girl-A boy+O     laugh at-TRANS-PRES
  The girl laughs about (ridicules) the boy.
```

(103a)   djulbin wanda-ny
```
  tree+S  fall-PAST
  The tree fell down.
```

(103b)   djimbarral-ndu   djulbin-wurru   wanda-rri-ny
```
  cyclone-A         tree-all+O        fall-TRANS-PAST
  The cyclone felled (blew down) all the trees.
```

4.6.4   INTRANSITIVISED VERB STEMS. The chance event/intransitive stem-forming suffix
-yi- has its application in various environments where conditions for transitive verbs
are not fulfilled.

[1] A -yi-stem is used if an action is not under the volitional control of the agent
   (cf. condition (b)). This applies where an inanimate agent is involved or where some-
   thing happens unintentionally. In such instances the A is still marked as such by er-
   gative case if it is a nominal. The verbal derivation merely indicates the accidental
   nature of the event; see example (58) and the following:

(104)   nganya   du:-yi-ny burrmburr-u
```
  I-O     hit-INTRANS-PAST   palm leaf-ERG
  A palm leaf hit me. (I was hit by a palm leaf.)
```

Note that in this example the animate O appears sentence-initially, the most prominent
   position, while the inanimate A is relegated to final position. This gives the sen-
   tence a 'passive' flavour, not in syntactic marking, but in the assignment of differ-
   ent degrees of prominence to the participants.
   Stem-formation with -yi- is not obligatory with all inanimate agents. If an inanimate
   agent is involved in some kind of behaviour that may be regarded as typical for this
   agent, then the verb is not modified. For instance, 'the fire burns something', or
   even 'the sand covers something' do not require a -yi-stem. But it is not character-
   istic for trees to knock down people, therefore a -yi-stem is used.

[2] Another application of a -yi-stem is in so-called 'antipassive' constructions where
   there is a discrepancy between deep and surface NPs of the following kind: the under-
   lying A NP appears as S and the underlying O NP is either omitted or appears in a
   marked case, i.e. dative or locative (cf. transitivity conditions (c) and (d)).

```
   A        O

   S        omitted/DAT / LOC
```

In some contexts the O NP is omitted because it is unknown, or because the speaker
may regard it as unnecessary to identify the object, as it is something that is eas-
ily understood from the context. For instance, the object of 'eat' would normally be
'food'. If the transitive object is omitted, the A appears in S function and a -yi-
stem is used, i.e. the resulting sentence is intransitive. Examples (105) and (106)
contrast intransitive -yi-constructions with their corresponding transitive forms.

(105)   bama   du:-yi-ng,   gudja-nggu   djama
    man+S   hit-INTRANS-PRES   he-A   snake+O   gunday   du-l
    perhaps hit-PRES
    The man is hitting (something), perhaps he is hitting a snake.

(106)   ngawu   buga-yi-ng,   ngawu-nggu   buga-ng   minya
    I+S   eat-INTRANS-PRES   I-A   eat-PRES fish+O
    I am eating (something), I am eating fish.

If the O NP is included in the surface construction, it appears in either dative or
locative case. Which of these cases is used depends on the following hierarchy (cf.
Dixon, 1977:111):

    human referent   dative
    non-human animatedative or locative
    inanimate   locative.

Examples (107) and (108) illustrate corresponding transitive and antipassive construc-
    tions.

(107a)   bama-lu   gurra: du:-ny
    man-A   dog+O   hit-PAST

(107b)   bama   gurra:-nda   du:-yi-ny
    man+S   dog-DAT   hit-INTRANS-PAST   The man hit the dog.

(108a)   yaba-nggu djulbin   guni-l
    brother-A   tree+O   cut-PRES

(108b)   yaba   djulbin-da   guni-yi-ng
    brother+S   tree-LOC cut-INTRANS-PRES   Brother cuts a tree.

While antipassives in Kuku Yalanji (Patz, 1982:254-259) express different meanings
from normal transitive sentences, the meaning of corresponding transitive and anti-
passive constructions in Djabugay is identical. In Yidiny and Dyirbal (Dixon 1972:71-
81, 1977:388ff) antipassives are used for coordination and subordination in topic
chains, but no such practice could be observed in Djabugay texts. Examples of anti-
passives with marked O NP could only be obtained through prompted elicitation. But
although Gilbert Banning was satisfied with the correctness of sentences such as
(107b) and (108b), he did not use them spontaneously. Since their semantic content is
the same as that of transitive sentences, it is likely that antipassives in Djabugay
used to have subordinating/coordinating function as in Yidiny and Dyirbal, but that
their syntactic relevance has been lost. Note that a similar observation has been

made for "Young People's Dyirbal", which is a simplification from traditional Dyirbal (Schmidt, 1985:113-115).

[3] A -yi- stem is also required where an ongoing action or state is expressed in breach of condition (a) which requires a discrete action. In this function -yi- may attach to either transitive or intransitive verbs. The underlying O of a transitive sentence is realised as S and the A is omitted as in (109). The resulting surface construction is identical to those in (105) and (106) where the underlying A is realised as S. This may lead to ambiguity, e.g. the first part of (105) could be interpreted as something like 'the man is in a state of getting beaten up', or (109) could be interpreted as 'he/that covers up something'. However, the wider context would normally lead to the correct interpretation, or the speaker can add a disambiguating comment as in (105),(106) and (109).

(109)   gudji   muma-yi-ng-ala,   digarra-nggu
   that+S cover-INTRANS-PRES-now   sand-A
   gudja-nguny   muma-ny
   that-O cover-PAST
   That is covered now, the sand covered it.

   As indicator of an ongoing state -yi- may also be used with intransitive verbs such as 'to bark' in (60). Such a construction does not involve any syntactic changes, the S remains S. However, (110) illustrates an interesting variation of an intransitive sentence with -yi-.

(110)   Djabugay bina-wula-yi-ng-ala
   Djabugay+S   forget-INTRANS-PRES-now
   Djabugay is forgotten now.

Bina-wula-y, literally 'ear-die', is an intransitive verb. Therefore we cannot assume that (110) is derived from a transitive sentence with 'Djabugay' as underlying O. Nor is it possible to interpret an underlying intransitive sentence with 'Djabugay' as S, see (110a), since this would be semantically impossible.

(110a)   *Djabugay bina-wulang   Djabugay forgets.

The only explanation would be that a -yi-stem in the sense of 'state' can function as an adjective. This would mean that (110) is simply a minimal sentence with the derived adjective 'forgotten' as predicate.

4.7   REFLEXIVE

In sentences where the transitive O is coreferential with the A, the O NP is replaced
by the reflexive pronoun ngayany 'self' which is the same for all persons. The verb
is not specifically marked.

(111)   nyurra   guni-ny   ngayany
  you sg+A   cut-PAST self
  You cut yourself.

Such a construction implies an intentional action. If the action is accidental, then
the verb is modified with -yi- (see ¤4.6.4 [1] above). The coreferential A is deleted
and the O remains in its normal form, i.e. no reflexive pronoun is used, e.g.

(112)   nganya   guni-yi-ny
  I+O   cut-INTRANS-PAST
  I cut myself accidentally. [I got cut.]

4.8   SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

  We can distinguish four types of complex sentences in Djabugay which contain subordi-
  nate clauses. A subordinate clause is always marked by a special verb inflection,
  synchronous subordinate, perfective, purposive, or aversive, and normally shares a
  coreferential NP with the main clause. The coreferentiality constraints that have
  been identified are quite likely not to be exhaustive, since, as in the case of anti-
  passive, these more intricate points of Djabugay syntax in discourse have possibly
  been forgotten through lack of use.

4.8.1   SYNCHRONOUS SUBORDINATE. This type of construction typically has verbs of per-
ception, such as 'see', 'hear', etc., in its main clause, but others are also possible.
The different actions referred to in main and subordinate clauses happen at the same
time, i.e. are synchronous. Underlying are two sentences with coreferentiality between
the O NP of sentence1 and the S/A-NP of sentence2. Sentence2 is marked by the verbal
inflection -:ya (see ¤3.6.1 [7]) and its S/A-NP is deleted in surface structure. For
examples see (49) and (50) and the following:

(113)   nyurra   nganya   bina-ngunda-ny   nga:-ya   gulu-ngunda
  you sg+A   I+O   hear-PAST tell-SYNSUB   he-DAT
  You heard me tell him. [bina-ngundal translates literally as 'ear-see']

  The S/A NP in sentence2 may also be coreferential with an oblique object in sentence1
  as in the following example:

(114)   ngawu   gurra:-nda   guriguri wanda-ny djama
  I+S   dog-DAT   on top   fall-PAST snake+O
  baya-yi-:ya
  bite-INTRANS-SYNSUB
  I stumbled over a dog as it was biting away at a snake.

  Example (114) could also be interpreted as a relative clause: 'I stumbled over the
  dog which was biting away at a snake'. However, since these constructions are re-
  stricted to actions that occur at the same time, a general classification as relative
  clause would be misleading.
  While the coreferential NP in the subordinate clause is usually deleted, it may be
  retained, in a different form, for special emphasis as in (115). Gilbert Banning con-
  firmed that 'him' and 'that man' in (115) refer to the same person. Apparently this
  is the only possible interpretation because of the subordinate nature of the second
  clause.

(115)   ngawu   gudji   ngunda-ny bama-lu gurra: du:-ya
  I+A   he+O   see-PAST man-A   dog+O   hit-SYNSUB
  I saw him as that man was hitting the dog.

4.8.2   PERFECTIVE. This construction involves the perfective verbal inflection -ymu,
  which may also be used in independent clauses (see ¤3.6.1 [4]). It is based on the
  same type of underlying structure as synchronous

subordinate with coreferential O and S/A NP, and again the S/A NP of the subordinate
  clause is deleted. Since -ymu indicates a completed action or a state resulting from
  a previous action, the subordinate clause may be seen to function as a complement in
  an adjectival manner or, similar to synchronous subordinate, as a relative clause.

(116)   gulu-nggu minya   wamba-l   guni-guni-ymu
  she-A   fish+O   put in-PRES   cut-REDUP-PERF
  She puts in the cut-up fish [the fish that has been cut up]

(117)   ngawu   gurra: du:-ny   minya   ngayang   buga-ymu
  I+A   dog+O   hit-PAST meat+O   my+O   eat-PERF
  I hit the dog that had eaten my meat.

  In the absence of any other, more general, relative clause formation we may assume
  that the above two types of subordination fulfil this function, each with a specific
  reference to temporal relation between main and subordinate clause.

4.8.3 PURPOSIVE. A purposive subordinate construction indicates that the action in the
main clause is performed in order to facilitate, or bring about, the action in the sub-
ordinate clause. The purposive inflection -lum/-ynggum, which may also be used in inde-
pendent clauses (see 3.6.1 [5]), marks the verb in the subordinate clause. The two un-
derlying sentences share coreferential S/A NPs and the S/A NP of sentence2 is deleted
in the resulting complex sentence. An example was given in (46) and see also (118) be-
low.

(118)   ngawu   gulu   minya   giba-l-ala   wayi-lum
  I+A   this+O   fish+O   scale-PRES-now   cook-PURP
  I scale this fish now in order to cook (it).

  A purposive construction may also involve an indirect command. Such a sentence typi-
  cally contains nga:l 'to tell' in the main clause. The dative NP, goal of 'to tell',
  in sentence1 is coreferential with the A/S NP in sentence2, and the latter is deleted.

(119)   ngawu   nyurra-nda   nga:-ny   yaluguli, gudji   balga-lum
  I+A   you sg-DAT   tell-PAST today   it+O   build-PURP
  I told you today to build it.

4.8.4   AVERSIVE. An aversive construction is based on two independent, even unrelated,
underlying sentences. The link between the two is established by the verbal inflection
-yabi (see ¤3.6.1 [6]) which indicates that action2 is a potential and undesirable re-
sult of action1. Accordingly, aversive constructions typically have a negative impera-
tive or some other kind of admonition as main clause. There can be coreferential A/S
NP1 and O NP2, in which case O NP2 may or may not be deleted. Example (47) shows O NP
deletion; in example (120) the O NP is retained.
(120)   nyurra, miningayi-n,   nyurra-ny guni-yi-yabi
  you sg watch out-IMP   you sg-O cut-INTRANS-AVERS
  (Hey) you, watch out, lest you get cut.
  It is also possible for there to be no coreferential NP as in example (48). Such a
  construction involves coordination, rather than subordination.

4.9   IMPERATIVES

An order or request is marked by the verb inflection -n/-¿ (¤3.6.1 [2]). The S/A NP
can be deleted in an imperative sentence, as in example (38). However, the receiver
is often addressed preceding the imperative as in (121) and also in (120) above, with
a distinct pause between the address word and the imperative.

(121)   nyurra, magarri bugidji
  you sg lift+IMP box+O
  (Hey) you, lift up the box!

An adjective in pseudo-adverbial function (see ¤4.1.4) can be included in an impera-
tive. Such adjectives are part of the S/A NP and they remain in their appropriate
case even though the head of the NP is deleted, e.g.

(122)   dagal-ndu minya   guni
  careful-ERG   fish+O   cut+IMP
  Cut the fish carefully!

(123)   girigiri-nggu   duga-n
  quick-ERG   catch-IMP
  Catch (it) quickly!

(124)   girigiri garra-n
  quick+ABS   come-IMP
  Come quickly!

A negative imperative is formed by adding negative particle gari (see ¤4.11) before
the verb as in example (47) and (48) and the following:.

(125)   gari magarri bugidji   Don't lift up the box!

4.10   QUESTIONS

The full set of interrogatives was presented in ¤3.5.4. Interrogatives may occur any-
where in a sentence. While there is a slight preference for interrogatives in initial
position, they are usually found in the sentence position that would be occupied by
the constituent that they replace, e.g. 'who' or 'what' as S/A in initial position,
see (126), as O in second sentence position, see (127), and so on.

(126)   dju: ngayang   ma: buga-ny

who+A   my+O   food+O   eat-PAST

Who ate my food?

(127)   nyurra   nyi: buga-ny

you sg+A   what+O   eat-PAST

What did you eat?

In addition to the interrogative, questions also display a marked intonation contour.
While the interrogative itself tends to be stressed, the most marked intonation fea-
ture occurs at the end of the question with a distinct rise on the penultimate sylla-
ble followed by a slight drop. Since interrogatives may also have 'indefinite' func-
tion, e.g. 'someone', 'something', the intonation contour serves to distinguish ques-
tions from statements with 'indefinite' forms (see Text 3:9).

Polar questions, i.e. those that require a yes/no answer, have no specific morpho-
logical marking. They are distinguished from statements by final high rising intona-
tion, as well as extralinguistic features such as facial expression and gestures.

4.11   PARTICLES

A number of non-inflecting free morphemes are used to add a variety of meanings to an
utterance, such as negation, temporal sucession, possibility, uncertainty, degree.
The complete list of attested particles is:

bala: 'with someone leading on' (see ¤4.1.2)
balu   'try to, attempt, in vain, uncertainty, let'
biri: 'again'
bulay   'before, former time'
gana   'always'
gari   'not, no'
garru   'later, by and by, then'
guda:guda: 'always'
gunday 'perhaps'
mugu   'in spite of, anyway'
muridji 'if, in case'
ngiyabagirr   'compared to'
wawurr 'sometimes'
yambu   'still, yet'
yurru   'still, yet'

Particles are normally placed before or after the constituent with which they have a
semantic relationship. In most instances their meaning is clearly defined and their
usage self-explanatory. Only those which show particular semantic complexities or
have interesting semantic contrasts have been singled out for discussion.

4.11.1   PARTICLES OF NEGATION. These particles precede the constituent which they ne-
gate, usually the verb.

[1] gari 'not'. The following examples will be sufficient to illustrate the use of this
  particle.

(128)   gudji gari garrany He did not come.

(129)   djamuy gari duga   Don't get a taboo plant!

Hale records that gari also functions as a privative suffix 'without', but this usage
could not be attested.

[2] balu 'attempt, in vain, uncertainty'. Balu has a much more complex and at the same
  time more subtle meaning than gari. In one sense it indicates that something cannot
  be done or is attempted in vain, whereas gari means that something does not or should
  not happen.
(130)   ngawu   balu   magayi-ng gurrngam-unda,   gandal-gandal
  I+S   in vain   climb-PRES   g.tree-LOC   slippery
  I can't (try in vain to) climb the gurrngam-tree, (it is) slippery.
  [Gurrngam is a smooth-skinned kind of tree, the bark of which was used for
  making drums.]

(131)   nganydji yaluguli djulbin balu   ngunda-l
  we+A   today   tree+O   in vain look-PRES
  We look in vain for trees today. [They have been cut down]

  In another sense balu means that something is permitted to happen, but that the out-
  come is uncertain.

(132)   ngawu   warrn.girri-l   warrdjan, bana   balu   barri-ng
  I+A   turn-PRES raft+O   water   let   run out-PRES
  I turn the raft over and let the water run out [hopefully it will do so].

4.11.2 TEMPORAL PARTICLES. Two particles are used to express a sequence of events.
These are:

[1] bulay 'former time'. Within the time frame of an utterance bulay refers to the for-
  mer of two states or events which is superceded by the following one.

(133)   gunbi-l gudji,   bibuy   bulay   wagarra gunda-l
  plait-PRES   she+A   small   former wide   make-PRES
  She plaits [a dillybag], from small (she) makes (it) wide.

  In relation to the actual present, the time of speaking, bulay refers to something
  long past and gone. A typical opener to stories about a narrator's childhood is
  bibunbay bulay 'when (we were) children'.

[2] garru 'later'. This particle refers to the later of successive events like 'now I
  do this, then I do that'.

(134)   bana-:   murrba   buwa-n, garru   bala
  water-LOC   inside   enter-IMP,   then   leg+O
  djimbay-gali-n, manu   djiga,   garru   bada   guni
  grab-go-IMP   neck+O   twist+IMP then   head+O   cut+IMP
  Go into the water, then go and grab [the crane's] legs, wring (its) neck, then
  cut (its) head off.

As in Yidiny (Dixon, 1977:499), garru may also be used simply in reference to an un-
  specified later time like 'by and by, later, eventually'.

(135)   nganydji garru   ngunda-lna   nyurra-ny biri:
  we+A   later   see-FUT   you sg-O again
  By and by we will see you again.

4.12   INTERJECTIONS

There are several interjections which can be used on their own as a complete utterance. If included in a wider sentence, they always appear in initial position. Several interjections are monosyllabic. Their forms and functions are listed below.

    gari   'no' (cf. gari as particle of negation)
    yiy   'yes' (agreement)
    buy   'ok, alright ' (approval)
    nga:y   'oh' (surprise)
    wa:y   'don't know'
    djambu 'wait, hang on, watch out' (no corresponding verb, of
    which this could be the imperative form, has been   attested)
    guyguy 'that's all'.

TEXTS

The following texts are part of a collection of about two dozen texts tape-recorded from Gilbert Banning at the Redlynch settlement near Cairns during November/December 1977 and July 1978. Tapes of all texts as well as elicited material have been deposited with the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies, GPO Box 553, Canberra, ACT 2601.

The texts have been transcribed in consultation with Gilbert Banning. They have been edited slightly, omitting false starts and hesitations.

TEXT 1 - A STORY OF DAMARRI

   This text is one of several stories about the creator figure Damarri. Myths relating
   to Damarri are part of the common heritage shared by Djabugay and neighbouring tribes,
   although there are some variations in story lines. This Djabugay story relates how
   Damarri saved the coastal region from flooding by placing hot stones along the sea
   shore.

 1. Damarri-nggu   bayngga-bayngga   wayi-ny
    Damarri-A   cooking stone-REDUP+O   heat-PAST   bana   walu-:.
    water/sea   side/shore-LOC
    Damarri heated cooking stones on the sea shore.

 2. Gudji nyinay-garra-ny,   gimuy-marri.
    he+S   sit/stay-come-PAST Cairns-DIR(ii)
    He came to stay on the other side of Cairns.

 3. Gudji nyina-ny gundi   walu-:   bana-:.
    he+S   sit-PAST there   shore-LOC sea-LOC
    He stayed there on the shore by the sea.

In this sentence the location phrase walu: bana: shows locative inflection on both ele-
   ments, whereas in sentence 1 only the second member is inflected, bana walu:. This
   could suggest an interpretation as compound in sentence 1, but a phrase in sentence 3.
Note that Damarri, by now established as topic in S/A function, receives zero-reference
   in the next three sentences.

 4. Bayngga   gundi   gamba-ny.
    cooking stone+O there   cook-PAST
    There (he) cooked/heated cooking stones.

 5. Gulu-ngurru   wamba-ny walba   wumbul-wumbul
    here-EMPH   put down-PAST   stone+O hot-REDUP+O
    banggal-banggal.
    big-REDUP+O
    Right here (he) put down very hot and very big stones.

 6. Walba nyiyarri-ny,   wanarri-ny   bana-:.
    stone+O gather-PAST   carry-PAST   water-LOC
    (He) gathered the stones, and carried (them) into the water.

 7. Gulu nganydji yaluguli ngunda-l.
    here   we+A   today   see-PRES We see (it) here today [i.e. the result of
    Damarri's action].

 8. Djirri   gudji   bana   yin.ga-ny.
    how/in this manner   that+S   water+S   stop-PAST
    (This is) how that water stopped.

9. Biri garra-garra-ng.
   fire+S come-REDUP-PRES
   The fire keeps coming.

A switch in tense from past to present as in sentences 9-11 is frequently used by Gil-
   bert Banning, presumably as a stylistic device to make his narrative more "immediate".

10. Bana bibuy-ala.
    water+S small-now
    The water is small (receding) now.

11. Walba-nggu   ganda-ng djilnggu-:   burrngan.
    stone-A burn-PRES east-LOC soil/ground+O
    The [hot] stones burn the ground in the east.

12. Damarri-nggu   wamba-ny walba   wumbul-wumbul,
    Damarri-A   put down-PAST   stone+O   hot-REDUP+O
    bayngga.
    cooking stone
    Damarri put down very hot stones, cooking stones.

13. Gudji yaluguli nganydji ngunda-l-ala,   binangunda-l   there   today
          we+A   see-PRES-now   listen-PRES   bulmba-:.
    camp-LOC
    We see (it) there now today (and) listen (to it) in the camp.

TEXT 2 - A DROWNING AT CRYSTAL CASCADES

This text relates a drowning accident at Crystal Cascades, northwest of Cairns, dur-
ing the installation of water pipelines. Gilbert Banning's father had been employed
on this project as a labourer and had told Gilbert of this incident.

1. Gulu   bulmba   warray.
   this+S country+S dangerous
   This country is dangerous.

2. Gadja   gulu   djarri-ny-ngurru.
   white man+S this+S drown-PAST-EMPH
   This white man drowned.
   [Gadja also means 'ghost, spirit of a dead person'.]

3. Gundan-du   wadi-ny   gulu-malim.
   flood-A wash away-PAST   here-ABL
   The flood washed (him) away from here.

4. Gula:y   balu   wayga-ny biri:.
   They+S in vain search-PAST   again
   They searched again in vain.

5. Ngayang   nyumbu   djunda-ny.
   my+S   father+S work-PAST   My father worked [there].

6. Gula:y   baybu   wamba-ny.
   these+O pipes+O   put in-PAST
   (He) put in these pipes.

7. Wanirri-ny   gimuy-mundu   gulu-wu-ngurru.
   carry-PAST   Cairns-ABL   here-ALL-EMPH
   (He) carried (the pipes) from Cairns to right here.

8. Gulu-nguny   binyi: wambal-a-gali-ny.
   this-O   mouth/opening+O   put in-go-PAST
   (He) went to put in the (pipe's) opening [the first segment of the pipes].

5 to 8 represent a part of discourse where neither A nor O are overtly stated any more,
once they have been established.

9. Baybu bana   yaluguli.
   pipe+S water+S   today
   (There are) water pipes today.

10. Gulun   ngawu   nyina-ng.
    here   I+S   sit-PRES
    I'm sitting here.

11. Ngawu nyurramba-nda   buwalbuga-ng.
   I+S   you pl-DAT   talk-PRES
   I'm talking to you all.

12. Gudji-malim   gadja   gulu   ngunda-ny nyumbu-nggu.
   there-ABL   white man+O   this+O   see-PAST father-A
   (My) father saw this man from there.

13. Bana-nggu   wadi-ny.
   water-A wash away-PAST
   The water washed (him) away.

14. Walba-malim   burra-ny, djana-djana-:ya.
   rock-ABL   pull-PAST stand-REDUP-SYNSUB
   (It) pulled (him) off a rock, while (he) was standing.

The NP 'white man' is established as topic in O-function in sentence 12. Note that it
  is shifted towards the beginning of sentence 12, preceding verb and A NP. It remains
  topic in O-function with zero-reference through sentences 13 and 14. 'Water', estab-
  lished as A in 13, is not overtly referred to again in 14.
15. Djambu!   Watch out! [Stylistically dramatic interjection]

16. Gudji walba-: djanay-gali-ny.
   he+S   rock-LOC stand-go-PAST
   He went to stand on a rock.

17. Gari djanay-gali-ybarra guri:.
   not   stand-go-IRR   good
   If (he) had not gone to stand (there), (he) would have been alright.

18. Gudji djanay-gali-ny. (But) he went to stand (there).

19. Gudjangun   walba-malim   djina: burra-ny-ala.
   his+O   rock-ABL foot+O   pull-PAST-now
   His foot was pulled off the rock (by the water).

The only possible agent in the context of 19 is 'water', which receives zero-reference.
  This gives the above sentence a 'passive' flavour. Also, note the split O NP, with
  the possessive pronoun gudjangun in initial position and the head noun djina: after
  the ablative NP.

20. Bana gundan   djungga-ny   baygarr.
   water+S flood+S   run-PAST strong/extreme
   The flood water ran too strong.

21. Gudji wadi-ny, djina: burra-ny walba-malim.
   he+O   wash away-PAST   foot+O   pull-PAST rock-ABL
   (The water) washed him away, pulled his foot off the rock.

22. Gudji djarri-ny,   wanda-ny.
    he+S   drown-PAST   fall-PAST
    He drowned, (he) fell.

23. Bama ngabi   burruwa-ny   djunggu: balu
    person+S   many   jump-PAST after   attempt
    wayga-lum.
    search-PURP
    Many Aborigines jumped after (him) to try and search.

24. Balu-wala   wayga-ny gudja-wu.
    in vain-now   search-PAST   he-PURP
    (They) searched for him in vain.

25. Gulu bana   girigiri-nggu   daybi-ny walba-:
    this   water   fast+A   pick up-PAST   rock-LOC
    djana-ymu.   stand-PERF
    The fast flowing water picked (him) up, (who) had been standing on the rock.

26. Bana girigiri-nggu   magarri-ny.
    water fast-A   carry-PAST
    The fast flowing water carried (him) away.

The A NP in 25 and 26 illustrates that not all elements of an unsplit NP need to be
  marked for case. In these examples only the last member girigiri-nggu takes ergative
  inflection.

TEXT 3 - THE CASE OF THE MISSING GUINEA PIGS

  This is the most lively and life-like of all the recorded texts. Its form is mostly
  like a dialogue between parent and child, the caretaker of the guinea pigs. This form
  illustrates language in action probably better than any of the other stories.

 1. Dja: nganydjin yidjibarra?
  where our+S   guinea pig+S
  Where is our guinea pig?
  [Yidji-barra 'pademelon-belong to', i.e. a small furry animal]

 2. Yidjibarra   nganydjin gana   gudji   mulu.
  guinea pig+S   our+S   always   there   two
  There (are) always two of our guinea pigs.

 3. Dawul bulay,   mulu-wala.
  three+S before   two-now
  There used to be three, now there are two.

 4. Gana ngunda!
  always watch+IMP
  Always watch!

 5. Djirri   gudji   bunydji-ny   gudji-malim?
  how   it+S   escape-PAST   there-ABL
  How did it escape from there?

 6. Gudja-ngurru   waya-:   gari   bunydji-ny.
  that+S-EMPH   wire-LOC not   escape-PAST
  That one did not escape at the wire(netting).

 7. Balu wayga-l.
  in vain search-PRES
  (We) search in vain.

 8. Mulu-wala.
  two-now
  (There are) two now.

 9. Nyiwul   nyirra-nggu   duga-ny.
  one+O   what/something-A   get-PAST
  Something got one.

 10. Gunday   yidjibarra   wula-ny.
  perhaps guinea pig+S   die-PAST
  Perhaps the guinea pig died.

 11. Gana ngundal-a-gali-n   gudja:y!

```
   always  look-go-IMP        they+O
   Always go to check them!

12. Maynggal,       balu     wayga-l.
   nothing in vain   search-PRES
   "(I) can't find nothing." [I search in vain, there's nothing.]

13. Gana biri:     buga:-wu wuna-n    wurrmba!
   always again    night-PURP         lie down-IMP          sleep
   Always lie down again and sleep for the night!

14. Nganydji        buga:   binangunda-l       murrmurr.
   we+A    night    listen-PRES        noise+O
   We listen to noises at night.

15. Maynggal,       djagal,  djagal-djagal.
   nothing quiet     quiet-REDUP
   (There is) nothing, (it's) quiet, all quiet.

16. Nyirra-nggu     gulu      buga-ny?
   what-A  it+O      eat-PAST
   What has eaten it?

17. Gudji magarri! Gulu     magarri  bugidji!
   that+O lift+IMP this+O    lift+IMP box+O
   Lift that up! Lift up this box!

18. Djama-bi!      Djama    wuna-ng  gudji,    mulu       djama.
   snake-EMPH        snake+S  lie-PRES there     two        snake
   It's a snake! There lies a snake, two snakes!

Note the use of emphatic suffix -bi to indicate surprise.

19. Gudja-nggu     buga-buga-ny.
   that-A  eat-REDUP-Past
   That had kept eating (the guinea pigs).

20. Yidjibarra      nganydjin gula:(y)-nydju     buga-buga-ny.
   guinea pig+O     our+O     these-A   eat-REDUP-PAST
   These have kept eating our guinea pigs.

21. Gulu djama-wala          du:!
   this+O  snake+O  hit/kill+IMP       Kill this snake now!
22. Guri:-wala.
   good-now
   Alright now.

23. Gudji yidjibarra          nyiwul-ala          djana-djana-ng.
```

```
   that+S  guinea pig+S       one-now   stand-REDUP-PRES
   That guinea pig is left on its own now.

24. Bagirr-ala     duga      gudja-wu!
    other-now           get+IMP   that-PURP
    Now get another one for that one!
```

TEXT 4 - HOW TO CATCH FRESHWATER CRAYFISH.

```
 1. Ngawu gulu      yimbi    wamba-l  walba-marri.
   I+A    this+O    dillybag+O          put down-PRES       rock-DIR(ii)
   I put this dillybag across a rock.
```

```
 2. Garru djun.gi   ngayang  buwa-ng   wulurr-wulurr.
   then     shrimp+S  my+S     go in-PRES          prawn-REDUP+S
   Then my shrimps and lots of prawns go in.
```

Djun.gi refers to a small species of freshwater crayfish, wulurr is a large species.
  Note the use of genitive ngayang for a potential possession.

```
 3. Buwa-ng         yimbi-:   binyi:.
   go in-PRES       dillybag-LOC       mouth/opening
    (They) go into the dillybag by the opening.
```

```
 4. Guda: binyi:   gudji    ngada    wulmburu-la!
   always  opening+O that+O    cover+IMP leaves-INST
   Always cover that opening with leaves!
```

The difference between guda: 'always' and gana 'always' (Text 3:11 and 13) is not clear.

```
 5. Garru gudji     minya    nganydji magarri-lna         ngabi.
   then    that+O   meat/fish+O          we+A     pick up-FUT         plenty+O
   Then we will pick up plenty of those crayfish.
```

Note the discontinuous O NP and marked word order with gudji minya before the A NP and
  ngabi in final position. This suggests an emphatic interpretation such as 'of those
   crayfish   we   will   pick   up   plenty'.

VOCABULARY

VOCABULARY BY SEMANTIC FIELDS

The vocabulary by semantic fields provides the fullest available information on the meaning of words, including example sentences, explanations of the derivation of words or phrases where known, scientific names for fauna and flora where known, and explanations on the use of plants for food or medicinal purposes, etc. The alphabetical vocabulary represents a checklist.

Apart from the writer's own elicitation, this vocabulary is based on the word lists by Kenneth Hale and Helena Cassells. These word lists were checked with Gilbert Banning and further confirmation and expansion sought from Michael Quinn, the most recent researcher in this field. Scientific names for fauna and flora and many of the comments on the use of plants have been provided by Michael Quinn. The list was also cross-checked with Banning and Robertson's vocabulary, which is largely based on the earlier sources, including this writer's list. Because of the short period of fieldwork and the limited number of informants, there are undoubtedly still mistakes in translation or interpretation, despite the care taken in the checking process. Where doubts are apparent to the writer, they are indicated in the following way:

- Uncertain meanings, i.e. meanings which were inferred from a context, but could not be checked with speakers, are indicated by (?) following the entry.

- Words and/or meanings supplied by other researchers and not confirmed by this writer's elicitation are indicated by the researcher's initials after the entry: (KH) Kenneth Hale, (HC) Helena Cassells. Words supplied by Michael Quinn, but not encountered by this writer, are not specifically marked, since his is the most recent original research done in close cooperation with several speakers.

- Where the conjugation class of a verb is doubtful, the verb root is followed by (?) in the conjugation-marker slot. Some verbs are only attested in past tense, which has identical form for both conjugations.

- Where the transitivity class of a verb is doubtful, a question mark will be found in the transitivity slot (tr=transitive; int=intransitive). If a verb is only attested in a context where a previously established object may be omitted (see ¤4.2.1) it is uncertain whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. Educated guesses on the basis of verb form or context are shown as (tr?), or (int?). A simple question mark (?) means that no suggestion can be offered.

The vocabulary, both semantic and alphabetical, includes compounds and phrases which are always used in toto and for which the meaning would otherwise not be obvious.

Derived verb stems with -rri- (see ¤3.6.2 [4]), and -yi- (see ¤3.6.2 [5]) are included where these are the only attested forms, or where the derived meaning is not obvious on the basis of the meaning of the root. The same applies for reduplicated verbs, adjectives and nouns.

Polysemous words have multiple entries under their respective headings, with the core meaning, if known, given in italics.

The vocabulary by semantic fields does not include personal pronouns, demonstratives, deictics, interrogatives, particles or proper nouns. These are, however, included in the alphabetical list.

NOUNS.

General.
djunu, type kind - gulu djunu guri: 'this kind is good'.
warraywarray, something, anything - nyurra, warraywarray badji 'hey you, sing something!'.
bagirra, someone else, another one.
guln.gu, heap, pile.

A - Body parts.
bada, head, roof.
mulabuny, brain.
mulaga, brain(KH).
gulmbu, hair of head.
djibi, hair of head.
guban-guban, grey hair.
ngulu, face, forehead.
djili, eye.
didi, eyebrow.
wudjal, eyebrow(HC), eyelash(KH).
duru, tears.
gu:, nose.
djingay, nostril.
birrmbirr, nasal mucus.
bungay, scent, smell.
bungayarra, (bad) smell.
bina, ear.
djulu, cheek.
walu, temple; side, shore.
djan.gun, chin.
binyi:, mouth, lip.
nyungga, beard, moustache.
dirra, tooth.
buwarra, toothache.
djun.gul, gums.

nyawil, tongue.
nyumba, saliva - nyumba dabay 'to spit'.
manu, throat.
wulnggu-wulnggu, throat (interior).
dugul, back of neck.
widil, shoulder blade, back.
binda, shoulder.
dala, shoulder.
ganydjarr, armpit.
djirri, upper arm.
daba, lower arm.
gun.ga, arm.
mun.gul, elbow.
mandi, wrist.
mara, hand, finger.
mara wada, palm.
mara djulga, fist (lit. hand round).
malan, right hand/foot.
djagu:, left hand/foot.
(mara) ngamu, thumb, big toe.
banggal mara, thumb (lit. big finger).
bundagan, index finger.
ngiriny, little finger.
bigum, fingernail, toenail.
guyungun, breasts, breastmilk.
ngamun, breasts.
dumu, chest.
burrnya, heart.
djiba, heart; happy.
diminbin, lungs.
wanggirr, rib.
djidja, hip.
balgu, belly, stomach, womb.
wubiy, stomach(HC).
djibin, navel, umbilical cord.
galmbara, liver.

gumun, guts.

djulbidjulbi, guts.

mudu, back.

bilga, groin.

birarram, lumps on groin.

bilu, hip bone.

magu, lap; sister.

gudjun, buttocks.

bunu, anus.

muyu, anus.

djarra, thigh.

bunggu, knee.

wara, bend of knee.

bala, lower leg.

nugal, ankle.

djina:, foot.

ngamu, big toe.

djina: walngga, sole.

djuga, heel.

yugu, penis.

djumbi, penis.

bulgi:, testicles.

mudji, semen.

djirany, female pubic hair.

guraga, male pubic hair.

mangga, pubic hair; nest.

mabu, vulva.

djinggin, vagina.

guna, faeces.

gumbu, urine.

djanydja, excrement, urine.

gula:, body.

budjay, body hair.

dumbul, skin, bark of tree.

dadagal, bone.

nyanydji, flesh, muscle.

galbal, blood.

wurra, tendon, veins.

gilmbarr, fat.

yagan, sweat.

ganydjan.ganydjan, under- arm sweat.

wayway, breath.

wurrmba, sleep.

munggun, sore, scab.

djun.ga, boil.

djidji, boil, pus.

wuba, swelling, red ochre.

dugun, pimple.

ganamay, dysentry.

garrdjay, heavy cold, cough.

ngigi, cold, cough.

ginga, fever.

murrany, fever.

girramgirram, cramp.

mululi, fit, shakes.

danidani, stutter, stutterer - buwalbugay danidani 'talk with a stutter'.

B - Human classification.

bama, aboriginal person, man.

dayal, male person, male kangaroo.

bandjil, female person, female kangaroo.

barndil, baby.

bibuy, child.

bibunbay, children.

bibuyanggan, infant.

wangarri, adolescent boy.

gargun, male teenager.

warruwarru, male youths.

wurguny, adolescent.

burriburri, adult man.

wadirr, initiated man, cicatrice.

bulbu, old person, grey hair.

gumba, young girl.

yaburu, mature girl.

wagal, married woman, wife.

darrnggidarrnggi, old women of tribe.

gurragurra, ancestors.

buyurru, widow, widower.

mara mugun, person with short fingers.

wunday bama, stranger.

gadja, white man, ghost of dead person; rotten.

guynggay, white woman, female ghost.

mura, corpse, secret place.

banimay, dead person, last of line.

djun.gi, policeman, small freshwater crayfish.

djimimdjala, thief(?).

djimimunda, known thief (?).

C - Kinship terms.

galnga, mother's brothers.

ngama, mother, mother's sisters.

nyumbu, father, father's brothers.

mayi, father's sisters.

gami, mother's mother, father's father.

ngadji, father's father, mother's father.

bawi, father's mother.

yaba, elder brother, father's brother's sons, mother's sister's sons.

yaba bibuy, younger brother.

yaba warru, younger brother.

gananggiray, little brother, little boy.

magu, sister; lap.

badini/barrini, elder sister, father's brother's daughters, mother's sister's daughters.

djurray, younger sister.

man.ga, father's sister's children, mother's brother's children.

dunyu, husband.

wagal, wife.

yila:la, married couple.

djabul, promised one.

nyubi, father-in-law.

biwul, mother-in-law.

muwa, mother-in-law.

banydji, wife's brother.

munggu, son (?).

ngayang bama, my son.

ngayang bandjil, my daughter.

djadja, one's child, son, daughter.

gamindjarr, grandchild.

gananggarrbarra, first baby (lit. in front/first-belong).

D - Mammals.

gurrina, echidna.

djunydjurru, bandicoot.

djalbay, long-nosed bandicoot (taboo for uninitiated).

gayarra, possum.

walburri, glider possum.

gububuru, black and white possum.

bidul, scrub possum.

gan.gula, grey kangaroo.

dulbil, wallaby, red kangaroo.

yidji, pademelon.

yidjibarra, any small animal, e.g. guinea pig (lit. pademelon-belong to).

buganbarra, tree kangaroo.

bungari, tree kangaroo (?).

mangga, pouch, bird's nest.

gulal, tail.

ganibarra, dingo.

gurra:, tame dog.

guginy, flying fox.

mundji, insect-eating bat.

dalgan, water rat.

ngunba, platypus.

yarraman, horse.

garrndamunydji, bullock.

garrndam, horn.

E - Reptiles.

ganyarra, crocodile.

badjigal, turtle.

mudubilmbili, big turtle (lit. back hard).

badjabadja, blue-tongue lizard.

gilbay, frilled lizard.

binandjal, frilled lizard.

gulamba, brown frail-tailed lizard.

gurrudji, tree lizard.

djanggulanggan, 'Tommy Roundhead' lizard, gecko.

ganyal, goanna.

ngunal, black forest goanna.

gurguday, water goanna.

djama, snake (generic).

wungali, carpet snake, rainbow snake (mythical).

buda:dji, carpet snake - Morelia variegata.

wuwala, tree snake.

wilgarr, green tree snake.

wiramu, whip snake.

gundjilbay, death adder - Acanthophis antarcticus.

gadjirraga, taipan - Oxyuranus scutellatus.

gurrumbun, red-bellied black snake.

djiliwiri, common brown snake.

garrbarri, yellow house snake.

mimbirri, green spotted small snake.

dundji, water snake.

girrway, whip snake.

murra:, shed snake skin.

F - Birds.

djarruy, bird (generic), spirit.

dingal, egg.

mangga, birds's nest, pouch.

dila, feather(s).

danggal, wing(s).

djamu, beak.

gindadja, emu.

bunda:rra, cassowary (was not regarded as a bird).

wiyam, cassowary chick.

wurrmbul, pelican.

balabira, curlew.

wawun, scrub turkey.

gaburgabur, domestic turkey.

guludu, dove.

gulguruwuy, pigeon.

bagam, wampoo pigeon.

gurbum, green pigeon.

nyunggulu, Torres Strait pigeon.

djilibulu, mopoke.

durrgu:, mopoke.

birrgala, mopoke.

diwidiwi, peewee.

djawadjawa, magpie.

galbu, crow (poss butcher bird).

wuwul, crow.

gurrungga, kookaburra.

giragira, kingfisher.

didjirrdidjirr, willy wagtail.

wanggulay, sulphur crested cockatoo.

giyamarra, sulphur-crested cockatoo.

djugala, white-coloured cockatoo.

burrn.gin, black cockatoo.

garna:, black cockatoo (?).

nalmalbarra, eagle hawk.

bidju, fish hawk.

diguy, chicken hawk.

guguy, hawk.

banabarra, water bird, crane (lit. water-belong to).

buru:, whistle duck.

gubalgubal, wild pheasant.

badjinydjila, spangled drongo djarruga, scrub hen.

djiguya, cat bird.

djiribi, small red/black/blue whistling bird.

djiriwanday, black starling.

gaguwarr, leatherhead.

galbirr, blue mountain parrot.

girrgirr, bush canary.

gudjugudju, night owl (HC).

gurril, stormbird.

guringaygu, king parrot.

galwara, egg white.

miru, egg yolk.

binirri, egg shell; fish scales.

G - Fishes, crayfish, shellfish.

guyu, fish (generic).

minya, fish (generic), flesh food.

djilibiri, barramundi.

wubanbarra, barramundi.

nyinggarra, big eel.

bugul, stone fish; small lawyer vine.

bumba, bone fish.

bulumay, mullet.

djabulagay, small eel.

guduba, mud cod.

gudjiga, mud cod.

garrgadji, garfish.

gumidjila, silver perch, silver bream.

wulam, perch (taboo for uninitiated).

gumidjila, silver bream (taboo for uninitiated).

gumu, perch.

ngurruy/ngurruwuy, big mouth fish.

yalnggay, jewfish.

gidiga, small jewfish.

didju, crab.

djun.gi, small freshwater crab, prawn, shrimp; policeman.

wulurr, large freshwater crab, large prawn.

djunbarra, big crayfish.

ngidjubany, edible sea shellfish.

banggan, fish tail.

yiyi, pectoral fin.

binirri, scales; egg shell.

H - Insects.

gabay, ant bed.

gabaybarra, white ant (lit. ant bed-belong to).

gadju, ant bed on tree.

manunggul, small brown ant (edible), ant bed on ground.

gudjin, black ant.

mirimiri, small black ants.

munyimunyi, small light brown ants (eat bread).

gawun.gawun, bull ant.

djiliburay, green ant (used. for medicinal purposes).

binydjin, wasp, hornet, honey.

mulma, wasp.

mugay, bee(s), honey comb.

wulubuga, honey bee.

wurruba, bee's wax; name of storywater.

muruy, sugarbag.

wunba, sugarbag.

ban.ga, bee's honey.

maranggilay, scorpion.

dumbunum, scorpion.

ginba, centipede.

dungun, maggot.

barabara, common fly.

ngugun, mosquito.

ngulbul, mosquito.

biray, marchfly.

walbirrwalbirr, butterfly.

wugam, firefly.

djambun, witchetty grub, wood with witchetty grubs.

gumbala, witchetty grub.

garra, (poisonous) spider.

malara, spider web.

djunggum, worm.

djirrirr, leech.

djalga, snail.

biga, shell (generic).

wubun, frog, toad (generic).

guwulguwul, tadpole.

bundim, grasshopper.

bunggudjin, flying grasshopper.

yindin, cricket, locust.

djularri, locust.

yulilul, locust (?).

mindil, tick.

guliy, head lice, nits.

dimandiman, flea(s).

bagarr, beetle in witchetty grub wood.

budjany, elephant beetle.

djawarray, ladybird-like beetle; thunder.

djindjalam, grasshopper-like beetle.

djiyarrdjiyarr, cockroach- like beetle.

gima, flying beetle.

I - Language, ceremony, etc.

ngirrma, language, speech.

buwal, word(s).

guwal, name.

djurrbu, women's dance at corroboree.

warrma, men's dance at corroboree.

dirrmbay, corroboree.

wulnggu, singing, tapping.

gugulu, clapping sticks for
  funeral rites.

gurrnga, drum.

wurru, drumstick.

bibara, tapping stick.

wulnggu, corroboree song.

bibarabarra, corroboree singer
  (lit. tapping stick- belong to).

djirrbi, fight, battle.

djirrbibarra bulmba, fighting
  ground.

murrgu, burial ground.

wadirr, cicatrice, initiated man.

wuba, red ochre, swelling.

marrga, yellow ochre.

gidjarr, paint.

bigunum, message, bumbu, joke,
  fun.

djuru, luck, lucky charm.

dungurr, noise.

giyal, order, command.

wudji, a lie.

J - Artefacts, etc.

wangal, boomerang.

yalma, cross boomerang.

ganda, digging stick (for yam).

wagay, wooden sword.

giyimu, spear, bullet.

gulu, spear.

gulu nidarr, spear with barb.

biwurr, spear with wire (?).

djuba, spear stick.

galga, fighting spear.

muranggal, heavy fighting spear.

yirrmba, multi-pronged fish spear.

ngadil, barb on spear.

djinil, point of spear.

milay, spear-thrower, woomera.

dagurr, shield.

madjay, shield.

waymbil, big stone axe.

wadji, stone axe.

birrbibirrbi, small stone axe.

miru:, club.

widal, knife from fishbone.

gimala, fire stick.

dalnggul, grinding stone.

garrgal, fishing line.

nugu, bait.

yulal, bark canoe.

warrdjan, raft.

yimbi, dillybag made of split
  lawyer cane and carried on back
  suspended from forehead.

djurrbal, dillybag of dalmba
  'grass', carried on shoulder.

murray, bag.

muygun, string bag(KH).

djulgil, kangaroo tail sinew used
  as binding; glue.

gaduy, glue.

mulgal, bark string.

gidjarr, paint.

djunydjal, spoon/brush for eating
  honey and painting - nganydji
  mugay djunydjalnda bugang 'we
  eat honey with a little spoon'.

gabul, stick for carrying fish
  (stuck through gills).

dugabil, bark water carrier.

wudu, track marker.

yuma, crossed sticks.

djugaba, bent sticks.

binydji, fence(KH).

gunambala, hair belt.

bulyal, bark cloth.

dabul, septum stick.

gambi, clothes.

buda, blanket.

walba, money, stone, pebble.

K - Food, fire, water.

minya, flesh food, fish, edible
  animal.

ma:, non-flesh food.

djamuy, taboo food.

wabarr, hunt.

nganydja, taste.

mulam, juice of meat/fruit.

biri, fire, firewood.

dawaray, bushfire.
maliyarr, grass fire.
yimba, firewood.
djirra, dry wood, kindling.
yidjal, kindling.
bayngga, cooking stones.
barra, coal.
bugan, charcoal.
birimarr, hot coals.
murrini, hot ashes.
gabu, cold ashes.
djugay, smoke, tobacco.
garran, soot.
ngandjal, flame, light.
djalbar, flame.
milmun, sparks.
bana, fresh water, rain.
gulbul, saltwater, sea.
waraba, creek.
wuru:, river.
danggay, waterfall, rapids.
gundan, flood.
djan.gu, swamp, lagoon.
gaban, rain.
wurrgu, hard rain drop; land.

L - Celestial, weather.
bungan, sun.
ngirri, sunrise.
bunganda, daytime.
djadu:, shade.
gindan, moon.
gidja, new moon.
gaway, star.
da:yirri, milky way(KH).
buga:, nighttime; tonight.
gudjugudju, rainbow.
gudjungurru, rainbow(KH).
gin.gal, rainbow; name of
  storywater.
djin.gal, sky.
nguda:, cloud.
gambarr, mist, heavy low.
 clouds.
guyurru, wind.

djimbarral, cyclone.
djawarray, thunder; beetle.
djumbun, lightning; greedy.

M - Geography.
barray, place, spot.
wurrgu, land; hard raindrop.
bulmba, camp, homeland.
djawun, home.
wunyan, campsite.
ganya, humpy, camp.
bayu, humpy made from lawyer cane.
dugurr, shelter made from
  branches and leaves.
djimurru, shelter made from
  lawyer cane.

bagarra, forest country.
djumburru, path, road.
burrngan, ground, dirt, earth.
digarra, sand, sugar.
gabidjan, mudhole, mud.
djambul, mud.
gaba, white clay.
djigawara, white clay.
bulburr, dust.
mulay, hole in ground.
guway, hole, entrance, door.
djadirr, burrow.
bunda, hill, mountain.
waga, bank, hillside.
walu, side, shore; temple.
gawan, gap(KH).
walba, rock, stone, pebble; money.
babulay, iron stone (used for
  bush oven).
burrwurr, gravel.

N - Flora.
djulbin, tree (generic), log.
nalmal, log.
bida, bark.
dumbul, bark, skin.
dugu, leaf.
mila, young leaf.
burrmburr, palm leaf.

garanggal, woolly leaves.

narra, string, vine.

dulgu, scrub.

djimba, stick.

nyingay, stick.

wulmburu, branch, leaf.

dumbarri, big branch(es).

djinarra, root.

guyga, flower, seeds.

dalmba, grass - Lomandra multiflora (used for baskets).

nguyu, sp. of grass.

djirrgarr, blady grass.

nguyay, kangaroo grass.

dirrdjal, reeds.

gin.ga, burr, prickle, thorn, spike.

mimu:, waterlily.

waybi, waterlily.

bundjurr, seaweed.

madjal, tree fern.

madjanmadjan, sp. of tree (seeds used as glue).

gambul, bloodwood - Eucalyptus gummifera (gum with leaves and mud used to stop bleeding; resin cure for diarrhoea).

burirrum, boxwood.

dugala, plum boxwood.

bubun, oak (used for clubs and spears.

bugu, wattle (generic) - Acacia (bark or leaves of some species used as fish poison).

gidi, paperbark - Melaleuca (bark used for blankets, clothes and receptacle under grinding stone).

diwirri, tea-tree.

banabulu, watergum.

bulnyan, grass tree - Xanthorrhoea australis - parts of leaves are edible; stalk used for firesticks and lengthening spears; resin used as bonding agent.

dulmbilay, cedar, red silkwood.

dunggal, kauri pine.

gurrngam, red flame tree - Brachychiton acerifolium (sacred tree; used for gurrnga 'drum') gandang-gurrngam, other name for red flame tree (lit. burning flame tree).

gawula, gum tree - Eucalyptus.

guyngilbi, gum tree.

giyarram, stinging tree.

gudagay, Leichhardt tree (extract from pounded bark used for treating sores; fruit or crushed seeds taken for general illness).

gurula, milky pine - Alstonia scholaris (milk rubbed on sores; wood used for shields).

guln.gay, black pine - Prumnopitys amarus (crushed seeds eaten as gruel).

murrgan, Kuranda quandong - Elaeocarpus bancroftii (edible fruit).

yan.gi, fig tree (generic).

ngalga, cluster fig.

manggalarr, Moreton Bay fig.

marlibay, corkwood - Duboisia myoporoides (leaves used as stimulant).

waguy, hickory - Flindersia ifflaiana (used for torches, digging sticks, shields, spearthrowers).

walnydjan, iron wood - Syzgium kuranda.

yiwurra, Moreton Bay chestnut, black bean.

djayn.garr, sandpaper fig (leaves used to treat ringworm and to smooth wooden implements).

yarawarr, poison tree.

yagal, pandanus (leaves used for baskets).

djanda, yellow walnut - Beilschmiedia bancroftii (nuts made into porridge after leaching out toxins).

djuludjulu, black walnut - Endiandra palmerstonii (seeds edible after roasting, pounding and leaching out toxins).

badil, ricket nuts - Cycas media (nuts ground and soaked in water for several days to remove toxins).

ngabala, candlenut - Aleurites moluccana (nuts were roasted and eaten; juice of nuts rubbed on babies' chests to make them strong; leaves used as wrapping for meat to be cooked in ground oven).

wadjin.gal, four-corner nut, Kuranda quandong, also known as:

gurrndu, Kuranda quandong.

djalunya, sp. of nut.

wanggabal, Kuranda satinash, 'brown' or 'native' apple.

gubirranggan, white apple, bumpy satinash.

bagul, edible red fruit with yellow flesh(?).

djarrudja, finger cherry - Rhodomyrtus macrocarpa (edible if picked at right time, otherwise fungus on fruit can cause blindness).

galbridji, other name for djarrudja.

djidju, wild cherry - Exocarpus latifolius.

bangan, wild raspberry.

nyayga, sp. of sweet rainforest berry.

danba, thorny vine.

nyanibarra, sp. of vine.

yabulam, lawyer cane.

bidjirr, large lawyer cane - Calamus (canes of this vine used for bayu 'humpy', and waday 'leaves' for thatch).

bugul, small white lawyer cane (used for bicornual baskets); stone fish djibay, vine leaf (scent of crushed leaves inhaled for headache).

yibay, sp. of vine (reddish sap used for stinging tree rash).

waday, lawyer cane leaves (used for thatch on humpy).

mulugun, lawyer cane shoot (edible).

gaybam, vine berries.

milmarr, berries on lawyer cane (yabulam).

dandi, yam - Dioscorea.

garu:, yam - Dioscorea bulbifera (round, covered with fibres).

magula / magulbay, yam with red flowers.

nyuru, sp. of yam.

munyin, ginger (edible red fruit; leaves used to wrap food for cooking); name of creek N/E of Redlynch.

ngarrawirr, sp. of ginger.

O - Adjectives.

(i) Number.

nyiwul, one.

mulu, two.

dawul, three.

mulumulu, a few.

dawuldawul, many.

ngabi, many, much, plenty.

yandarr, first yanda, last(?).

nyingaydjada, all kinds.

dja:ydja:y, all sizes.

nyiyanyiya, all together.

magi, all of.

maynggal, none.

(ii) Colour.

buga:l, black, dark.

djigawara, white, white clay.

marra:n, half-caste, white.

galbal, red, blood.

ngurbam, green, blue.

ngirringirri, multicoloured (ngirri 'sunrise').

bangganybanggany, spotted.

garan.garan/garadan, clear (of sky).

(iii) Dimension.

banggal, big.

bibuy, little.

galgalay, long, tall.

gawurru, outstretched.

wandi, short.

gilmbarr, fat.

wigi, thin, skinny.

wagarra, wide.

djamba, narrow.

gagi, deep.

wugu, deep.

yadjul, straight, correct, proper.

yudjun, in line, straight galin yudjunyudjunngurru 'go straight ahead!'.

wirriwirri, winding.

munumunu, crooked.

djulga, round.

(iv) Physical property.

wumbul, hot.

binggay(binggay), cold.

yamalyamal, cool.

ginydjun, wet.

djawan, wet.

gada(gada), dry.

bilmbil, hard.

djirrbadjirrba, soft, brittle (e.g. ground, wood).

gabun.gabun, soft (of sound) gulu gurra: bibuy bulgaying gabun.gabun 'this little dog barks softly'.

gandal, slippery.

djagarra, rough.

mubu, heavy.

gagal, empty.

djanggarra, half full - gulu djanggarra djanang 'this is half full'.

badabagay, full.

ngabirr, full of (plenty-COMIT).

gagalgagal, light (weight).

djuri, sharp (point, blade).

badju, blunt (point, blade).

djudu, blunt (point, blade).

balara, flat.

bindal, flat.

yalmba, flat.

mulanydji, hollow, with a hole (hole-COMIT).

gunggundji, sweet.

wigil, sweet.

mamba, sour.

burrdjil, bitter.

bindju, tasteless.

gurri, raw, unripe.

murrgul, cooked.

gadja, rotten; ghost, white man.

(v) Age and value.

burriburri, old, elder.

garrubulay, old (lit. later former).

wudjiy, grown up(HC).

ngura, becoming a teenager(HC).

guri:, good.

gurilanggan, pretty, good.

gamu, no good, alcohol.

warray, bad, dangerous.

(vi) Human propensity.

bina guri:, clever, skilful (lit. ear good).

milba, be good at something.

bina mirri, having common sense, intelligent ngandjungandju, clever.

mundu, feeling inclined to, feelings - ngawu mundu gari 'I don't want it/to'.

djumbun, greedy; lightning.

bada warray, stupid (lit. head bad).

ngalmuli, ignorant, mistaken.

bada girranydji, ashamed.

garray, angry, nasty.

guliguli, angry.

gulirr, angry (comitative form).

nguwanydji, jealous.

bada warrngginydji, insane, crazy (lit. head turned).

bina warray, disobedient, (lit. ear bad).

dagal, careful, slow.

djurradjurra, wrong.

(vii) Corporeal.

dagil, strong - dagil galiy 'walk with strong grip on ground'.

dugirr, alive.

nyubanyuba, living, alive.

murranydji, sick (fever-COMIT).

djili warray, poisoned (lit. eye bad).

baygarr, sore, bright, extreme.

djulmbi, lazy, tired.

djirranydji, tired.

wulmbarr, overtired.

dara, stiff.

dalirr, hungry.

wulnggur, thirsty.

galunydji, have bellyache, unsettled stomach, diarrhoea.

djumbun, greedy; lightning.

balgurr, satiated, full with food.

bina gari, deaf (lit. ear not).

babun, blind.

bada dibanydji, bald.

birrga:nydji, pregnant.

(viii) Miscellaneous.

girigiri, quick.

burrmu, quiet.

djagal, silent, quiet.

murimuri, quiet, serene - gulu bulmba daga:l murimuri 'this place is very quiet.

manydja, same.

ngundingundi, level, same age.

VERBS.

P - Motion.

gali-y, int, go.

garra-y, int, come.

djunda-y, int, walk, work.

djunda-djunda-y, int, walk around, go walkabout.

buwa-y, int, go in, shelter murrba buwa-y, int, dive (lit. under water go in).

bunydji-l, int, come out, escape, bloom (flowers).

dida-y, int, return.

warrn.gi-y, int, turn around.

warrnggirri-l, tr, walk around something.

bundarri-l, tr, lead.

banydjarri-l, tr, follow.

duba-y, tr, chase away, catch.

walayi-y, tr, pass by something/someone - nganya gudjanggu walaying 'it passes me by'.

gamba-y, int, crawl - gudji bibuy gambang 'the baby crawls'.

burrgi-y, int, slide down, crawl.

burruwa-l, int, jump, dive.

burra-y, int, fly.

djungga-y, int, run.

djungga-djungga-y, int, run away, run out - mulam djungga-djungga-da-yabi 'the juice might run away (in all directions). An alternative form was recorded as djungga-djinggu-(y?).

djinba-l, int, walk fast, run.

yiwandibi-y, int, play (of children).

wanda-y, int, fall down.

darrba-y, int, slip off.

gara-y, int, fall, drop - gudji garra garany 'the spider dropped'.

yana-(y?), int, fall.

magayi-y, int, climb up, rise, develop (e.g. illness) - nyurranda girramgirram magaying 'you are getting a cramp' -; recover from illness - ngawu magayiny, guri:wala 'I recovered, I'm well now'. This has the form of a -yi-stem (cf. magarri-l, tr, lift up), but no root maga- has been attested.

balngga-l, int, climb about on/across - nganydji balnggal

djinarrala 'we climb about on roots'.

djuda-y, int, climb down, dismount, recede (of flood).

djinda-y, drip.

yuli-y, int, leak, run out, melt, also metaphorical - nganydji yulinyala 'we [our race] has run out now'.

ngambi-y, int, swim, bathe.

ngaba-y, int, bathe, wash.

yunga-y, int, slither, swim.

walngga-l, int, float.

marri-y, tr, cross (e.g. river).

wudja-y, int, go across - bibuy wudjang 'the baby crawls across (to someone); also of illness (+dative) - ngayanda murrany wudjany bamanum 'I caught a fever from a man'.

dalngga-y, int, limp.

yulba-l, tr(?), creep up on.

waya-y, int, spread, swarm.

maramaranga-l, tr, swarm all over.

danggayi-y, int, clear (of sky).

djilimuni-y, int, twinkle (of star).

Q - Rest.

nyina-y, int, sit, stay, be.

warayi-y, int, hang about, (cf. wara-y, tr, wait for).

balgal-djana-y, int, sit on heels, squat (lit. to erect stand).

bunggu dumbarrangayi-y, int, sit cross-legged.

djana-y, int, stand, be.

burayi-y, int, stand over fire in ceremony, singe.

wuna-y, int, lie, sleep, be - ngawu balu wunang 'I can't sleep'.

walnggu wuna-y, int, lie down.

nanba-y, tr, lean on.

djan.gil, int, get stuck.

man.garri-l, int, stay on one's own(?).

waliyi-y, int, abate (e.g. wind).

munba-y, int, dry (e.g. in sun).

burrunga-l, (tr?), stop.

nyin.ga-?, (tr?), finish.

yirrnga-?, tr, finish.

R - Induced position.

wamba-l, tr, put, leave - bana murrba: wambal 'soak in water'.

nyirru-l, tr, hang up.

djarra-l, tr, stand something up; int, build up - djawarray djarral 'a thunderstorm [clouds] is building up.

djundurru djarra-l, tr, stand something upright.

walnggu wamba-l, tr, lay down.

yinba-l, tr, lay out.

magarri-l, tr, lift up, pick up.

nambi-l, tr, hold.

djimba-y, tr, catch, grab.

wanirri-l, tr, carry, bring, fetch.

duga-l, tr, fetch, seize, grab.

daybi-l, tr, take, pick up, gather - bananggu gulu daybiny 'the water took him [off the rock]'.

bara:-y, tr, leave.

buyurri-l, tr, drag along, pull.

burra-l, tr, pull off.

wadi-l, tr, wash away.

baba-l, tr, push.

warudjarra-l, tr, roll.

djiga-l, tr, turn something.

daba-y, tr, throw, blow down - daban djilnggu 'throw it down!'; giyal dabay 'give an order'; nyumba dabay 'to spit'.

buwa-l, tr, put in.

daga-y, tr, hide.

garrba-y, int, hide - gudji garrbang bibuy 'the child is hiding'.

mura djarra-l, tr, bury (lit. corpse stand up).

ninggirri-l, tr, spill, pour, ejaculate.

dabayi-y, tr, sow, spread.

djinbadjinba-l, tr, sprinkle(?).

wa:-y, tr, give.

gulngga-l, tr, breastfeed a baby, feed.

wuluwulu-?, (tr?), rocking a baby.

S - Affect.

baga-l, tr, hit, spear, kick.

mara baga-l, tr, punch (lit. hand hit).

du:-l, tr, hit, kill.

du:yi-y, tr, bash away at, hit accidentally, catch - nganya du:yiny bananggu 'I was caught by the rain'.

badji-l, tr, beat rhythm, sing - babara badjil 'beat singing sticks'.

barrma-l, tr, gather.

magidjarra-l, tr, gather together.

nyiyarri-l, tr, gather together.

manda-y, tr, trap prawns - ngawu gula:y mandana djun.gi 'I'll trap these prawns'; answer (see section U).

gunbi-l, tr, plant, plait.

djinbi-l, tr, shake.

duwarri-l, tr, shake.

nyibaga-?, (tr?), kick up.

djulma-l, tr, squeeze, press - gudjanggu djulmal gulu binydjin 'he squeezes the honey out'.

nyunma-l, tr, squash on hard surface.

nyaba-l, tr, pound, smash.

dumbarri-l, tr, strike, smash (e.g.glass).

wurra-y, tr, flatten grass by stamping on it, hit ground to drive away snakes, put out fire by hitting it.

wurrayi-y, int, hit oneself with twigs to drive away insects.

djula-l, tr, dig - gudjanggu mulay djulal 'he digs a hole'.

guni-l, tr, cut, chop (off).

balngarri-l, tr, peel, cut off (e.g. bark from tree).

nalba-l, tr, slice, peel off.

giba-l, tr, scrape, shave, scratch.

miri-y, int, break - ngayang biwurr mirriny 'my spear broke/is broken'.

mirindirringa-l, tr, break.

ngaya-y, tr, break.

yuwa-l, tr, bend.

ganda-y, int, burn, cook.

gamba-l, tr, cook in bush oven.

wayi-l, tr, light a fire, heat up, cook.

nyunga-l, int(?), burn.

baga-y, tr, wash.

bura:-l, tr, dry.

gani-l, tr, tie up, tie on to.

bulba-l, tr, rub, grind, sharpen - ngawu badil bulbal 'I grind ricket nuts'.

ngaba-l, tr, rub with clay(KH).

gidjarr-guni-l, tr, paint (lit. paint cut) - dagurr ngawu gidjarr-gunilna 'I'll paint the shield'.

bambi-l, tr, cover.

mumal, tr, cover, close.

ngada-l, tr, step on, cover mandja-l, tr, wrap in leaf.

wururri-l, tr, take out of, take off - ngawu gulu.

 dumbal garru wururril 'then I take the skin off'.

buda-y, tr, open up, clean up - bulmba budan 'clean up the camp!'buda-y, tr, open up, clean up - bulmba budan 'clean up the camp!'.

gunda-l, tr, make.

balga-l, tr, build, erect - ngawu galingala bulmbawu balgalum 'I'm going now to build a camp'.

bulunga-l, tr, form.

mininga-l, tr, mend, do properly - ngawu miningal gulu warrdjan 'I'm mending the raft'.

yuwarranga-l, tr, measure.

bila-?, int, get a fright - ngawu djamalan bilany 'I got a fright from the snake'.

bilandinga-l, tr, frighten - gari bibuy bilandinga 'don't frighten the child!'.

ginba-l, tickle.

burrdja-l, tr, visit.

maramaraba-?, tr, hand out (mara 'hand').

wa:y wanirri-l, tr, share out.

wa:ywa:-y, tr, share out (cf. wa:-y 'give').

marri-l, tr, choose.

wadari-l, tr, catch in the act.

yada-l, tr, chase away.

yinga-l, tr, send out.

wumarri-l, tr, help - ngawu. nyurrany wumarrilum 'I want to help you'.

warrangayi-y, int, hurt.

djadja-l, (tr?), break law.

T - Attention.

wara-y, tr, wait for - nganydji bana warang 'we're waiting for rain'.

ngunda-l, tr, see, watch, look at.

ngundayi-y, tr, see, feel, find by chance.

wuri-y, int, look around.

ngurrayi-y, tr, look at, observe.

djili djarra-l, tr, stare (lit. eye make stand up).

wayga-l, int, search.

gira-l, tr, lose.

yilba-l, tr, lose.

bina ngunda-l, tr, hear, listen (lit. ear see).

bina wula-y, int, forget (lit. ear die).

binarra-y, int, remember.

ngundayi-y galgarr or galgarr ngundayi-y, int, remember old times (lit. see long ago).

dugayi-y, int, comprehend (cf. duga-l 'fetch, grab').

djanba-y, tr, keep to, stick to - nyurra gulu djili djanbadjanban 'keep your eyes on him!'.

djigadjigayi-y, int, be concerned about (cf. djiga-l 'turn something').

malga-l, (int?), find out.

guwa-l, (tr?), show.

guyi-y, tr, show - ngayanda guyin djumburru 'show me the road!'.

U - Talking, etc.

buwal buga-y, int, speak, talk (lit. words eat).

nga:-l, tr, tell.

walgi-y, tr, tell to do.

djabara-l, tr, ask - gudji djabara 'ask him!'.

manda-y, tr, answer - gudji mandan 'answer him!'; trap prawns (see section S).

nula-l, tr, call someone.

nulayi-y, int, shout, call out.

gawadjana-(?), int(?), call out.

mangga-y, int, laugh.

girriyi-y, int, shout, yell, wail.

girriyi-barri-y, int, cry, weep.

barri-y, int, cry, buzz, bubble; also as compound barri-gali-y 'bubble along' - gamburra barri-galing 'Freshwater Creek bubbles along'.

yarri-?, tr, name, call.

nyudayi-y, int, make a noise - djarruy nyudaying 'the birds make a noise'.

ngaygarra-y, (int?), sing.

badji-l, tr, sing, beat rhythm.

wulnggu djana-y, int, sing (corroboree song?) (lit. singing/tapping stand).

gurraba-y, int, sing at burial.

guybi-l, int, whistle.

djangga-(?), tr, scold.

guli garra-y, int, be angry (lit. angry come).

murrga djana-y, int, sulk.

bulga-y, int, bark.

djalwa-y, tr, bark at.

V - Corporeal.

buga-y, tr, eat.

bandanga-l, tr, taste - nganydjinda wa:n, nganydji bandangalum 'give (it) to us for us to taste'.

baya-l, tr, bite.

biya-y, (int?), lick honey, dip into sugar bag.

wunga-y, tr, swallow, drink.

wungawungayi-y, int, drown.

djarri-y, int, drown.

gagaba-y, int, vomit.

gama-y, int, vomit.

nyumba daba-y, (int?), spit (lit. saliva throw).

bidjarri baya-l, (?), dream.

dja:burra-y, int, yawn.

djingay djarrayi-y, int, sneeze (lit. nostril stand up).

burrngga-l, int, snore.

ngigi djana-y, int, cough (lit. cough(N) stand).

wuba-y, int, swell up.

nyungga-l, tr, smell.

buyburri-l, int, blow.

djalba-y, tr, lick, touch.

maminga-l, tr, love, like.

babarranga-l, tr, hate, dislike.

yulmayi-y, (?), kiss.

wambayi-y, (?), marry.

djumba-y, (?), copulate.

mirrarri-l, tr, give birth - nganya gunyu mirarriny guwa 'I was born over there in the west'.

wudji-y, int, grow up.

mudu mirri-y, int, menstruate (lit. back break).

djurra-(?), int, urinate.

ginggidjarra-(?), (?), sting, be itchy.

wula-y, int, die.

yirra-y, int, become tired.

nulga-(?), (?), wake up.

yarrn.ga-y, int, be frightened.

yinigarra-y, int, be frightened.

yin.ga-y, int, stop, give up, disappear.

W - Adverbial.
(See ¤4.11 Particles).

X - Location.

gunggarri, north.

djiwarri, south.

djilnggu, east, down.

guwa, west.

birri:, near, close by.

marrim, beside, near.

ngambu, half-way.

gagay, far, far away.

wanggarr, up, uphill.

gidjirri, further up the hill.

guriguri, on top of.

gana:, down below, under.

djala, side, sideways.

ganggu, across.

guguy, centre - walba daban gugunydja 'throw the stone in the centre [of the waterhole]'.

guna:, middle.

nyidju, middle(?).

gananggarr, in front, first.

djunggu:, after, behind.

munu, inside.

barraga, outside.

wawu, outside.

murrba, under water.

Y - Time.

bugarra, yesterday.

yaluguli, today.

nguma, tomorrow.

buga:, tonight, nighttime.

buga:djala, last night.

buga:djunu, morning.

bunganda, daytime.

bunganda wanggarr, noon (lit. sun-LOC high up).

gulu yaluguli, nowadays.

yalu(:)yalu(:), these times.

wuya, day, time - wuya dawul
  'three days/three times'.
galgarr, long ago.
ngulguway, long ago.
wulbil, long time, all day long.

Z - Interjection.
yiy, yes.
.

gari, no.
wa:y, I don't know.
buy, alright.
nga:y, oh (surprise).
djambu, hang on, wait.
guyguy, that's all.

ALPHABETICAL VOCABULARY

The alphabetical listing is a checklist intended for cross-reference purposes; many glosses are given only in abbreviated form. Since a practical orthography has been adopted for Djabugay, the alphabetical order follows the normal order of letters in the alphabet. Word class membership is indicated as follows:.

N - noun   Part - particle.
Adj - adjective   Pro - pronoun.
Vtr - transitive verb   Dem - demonstrative.
Vint - intransitive verb   Deic - deictic.
Loc - location word   Inter- interrogative.
Time - time word   Proper - proper name.
Int - interjection.

Pronouns and members of similar closed word classes are given as roots or stems only with reference to their respective sections in the morphology chapter.

The locations of places or 'story waters' referred to by proper names could, unfortunately, often not be clearly identified. Where this is the case, the general type of place is given in parantheses, e.g. (story water).

baba-l, Vtr: push.

babarranga-l, Vtr: hate, dislike.

babulay, N: iron stone.

babun, Adj: blind.

bada, N: head, roof.

bada dibanydji, Adj: bald.

bada girranydji, Adj: ashamed.

bada warray, Adj: stupid.

bada warrngginydji, Adj: insane, crazy badabagay, Adj: full.

Badadjuri, Proper: Mt. Reservoir.

badil, N: ricket nuts.

badini/barrini, N: elder sister, father's brother's daughters, mother's sister's daughters.

badjabadja, N: blue-tongue lizard.

badji-l, Vtr: beat rhythm, sing.

badjigal, N: turtle.

badjinydjila, N: spangled drongo.

badju, Adj: blunt baga-l, Vtr: hit, spear, kick.

baga-y, Vtr: wash.

bagam, N: wampoo pigeon.

bagarr, N: beetle in witchetty grub logs.

bagarra, N: forest country.

bagirra, N: someone else.

bagul, N: edible red fruit with yellow flesh.

bala, N: lower leg.

balabira, N: curlew.

balara, Adj: flat.

bala:, Part: with someone leading on.

balga-l, Vtr: build, erect.

balgal-djana-y, Vint: squat.

balgu, N: belly, stomach, womb.

balgurr, Adj: full with food.

balngarri-l, Vtr: peel, cut off.

balngga-l, Vint: climb about on.

balu, Part: try to do, attempt, in vain.

bama, N: Aboriginal person, man.

bambi-l, Vtr: cover.

bana, N: water.

banabarra, N: water bird, crane.

banabulu, N: watergum.

bandanga-l, Vtr: taste.

bandjil, N: female person, female kangaroo.

ban.ga, N: honey.

bangan, N: wild raspberry.

banggal, Adj: big.

banggal mara, N: thumb.

banggan, N: fish tail.

banggany-banggany, Adj: spotted.

banimay, N: dead person, last of line.

banydjarri-l, Vtr: follow.

banydji, N: wife's brother.

bara-l, Vtr: drive into something by hitting.

barabara, N: house fly.

bara:-y, Vtr: leave.

barndil, N: baby.

barra, N: coal.

barraga, Loc: outside.

barray, N: place, spot.

barri-y, Vint: cry, buzz, bubble.

barrini, see badini.

barrma-l, Vtr: gather.

bawi, N: father's mother.

baya-l, Vtr: bite.

baygarr, Adj: sore, bright, extreme.

bayngga, N: cooking stones.

bayu, N: humpy.

bibara, N: tapping stick.

bibarabarra, N: corroboree singer.

bibunbay, N: children.

bibuy, N/Adj: child, little.

bibuyanggan, N: infant.

bida, N: bark of tree.

bidjarri baya-l, V(int?): dream.

Bidjilbidjil, Proper: (story water).

bidjirr, N: large lawyer cane.

bidju, N: fish hawk.

Bidjungunydji, Proper: (story water).

bidul, N: scrub possum.

biga, N: shell (generic), tiny fish.

bigaraybigaray, Adj: in pieces.

bigum, N: finger/toe-nail.

bigunum, N: message.

bilandinga-l, Vtr: frighten.

bilga, N: groin.

bilmbil, Adj: hard.

bilu, N: hip bone.

bina, N: ear, gills.

bina gari, Adj: deaf.

bina guri:, Adj: clever, skilfull.

bina mirri, Adj: having common sense, intelligent bina ngunda-l, Vtr: hear, listen, think.

bina warray, Adj: disobedient.

bina wula-y, Vint: forget.

binandjal, N: frilled lizard.

binarra-y, Vint: remember.

binda, N: shoulder.

bindal, Adj: flat.

bindju, Adj: tasteless.

binggay(binggay), Adj: cold.

binirri, N: egg shell, fish scales.

binydji, N: fence.

binydjin, N: wasp, hornet, honey.

binyi:, N: mouth, lip.

birarram, N: lumps on groin.

biray, N: march fly.

biri, N: fire, firewood.

birimarr, N: hot coals.

biri:, Part: again.

birrbibirrbi, N: small stone axe.

birrgala, N: mopoke.

birrga:nydji, Adj: pregnant.

birri:, Loc: close by.

birrmbirr, N: nasal mucus.

Biwal, Proper: (a lagoon).

biwul, N: mother-in-law.

biwurr, N: spear with wire.

biya-y, V(int?): lick honey.

bubun, N: oak.

Bubundji, Proper: (corroboree ground, creek).

buda, N: blanket.
buda-y, Vtr: open up, clean up.
buda:dji, N: carpet snake.
budjany, N: elephant beetle.
budjay, N: fur, body hair.
buga-y, Vtr: eat.
bugan, N: charcoal.
buganbarra, N: tree kangaroo.
bugarra, Time: yesterday.
buga:, Time: night, tonight.
buga:djala, Time: last night.
buga:djunu, Time: morning.
buga:l, Adj: black, dark.
bugu, N: wattle.
bugul, N: small lawyer vine; stone fish.
bulay, Part: before, past.
bulba-l, Vtr: rub, grind.
bulbu, N: grey hair, old person.
bulburr, N: dust.
bulga-y, Vint: bark.
bulgi:, N: testicles.
bulmba, N: camp, homeland.
bulnyan, N: grass tree.
bulumay, N: mullet.
bulunga-l, Vtr: form.
Bulurru, Proper: creator figure; (story water).
bulyal, N: bark cloth.
bumba, N: bone fish.
bumbu, N: joke, fun.
bunda, N: hill, mountain.
bundagan, N: index finger.
bundarri-l, Vtr: lead.
bunda:rra, N: cassowary.
bundim, N: grasshopper.
bunydji-l, Vint: emerge, escape, bloom.
bundjurr, N: sea weed.
bungan, N: sun.
bunganda, Time: daytime.
bunganda wanggarr, Time: noon.
bungari, N: tree kangaroo (?).
bungay, N: scent, smell.
bungayarra, N: (bad) smell.
bunggu, N: knee.

bunggu dumbarringayi-y, Vint: sit cross-legged.
bunggudjin, N: flying grasshopper.
bunu, N: anus.
burayi-y, Vint: stand over fire in ceremony, singe.
bura:-l, Vtr: dry.
burirrum, N: boxwood.
burra-l, Vtr: pull off`.
burra-y, Vint: fly.
Burrawungal, Proper: (a mountain).
burrdja-l, Vtr: visit.
burrdjil, Adj: bitter.
burrgi-y, Vint: slide, crawl.
burriburri, N/Adj: adult man; oldest, elder.
burrmburr, N: palm leaf.
burrmu, Adj: quiet.
burrn.gin, N: black cockatoo.
burrngan, N: ground, dirt.
burrngga-l, Vint: snore.
burrnya, N: heart.
burrunga-l, V(tr?): stop.
burruwa-l, Vint: jump, dive.
burrwurr, N: gravel.
buru, N: whistle duck.
burumay, N: mullet.
buwa-l, Vtr: put in.
buwa-y, Vint: go in, shelter.
buwal, N: word(s).
buwal buga-y, Vint: speak, talk.
buwarra, N: toothache.
buy, Int: alright.
buybirri-l, Vint: blow.
buyurri-l, Vtr: drag, pull.
buyurru, N: widow, widower.

daba, N: lower arm, branch.
daba-y, Vtr: throw down.
dabayi-y, Vtr: sow, spread.
dabul, N: septum stick.
dadagal, N: bone.
daga-y, Vtr: hide.
dagal, Adj: slow, careful.
dagil, Adj: strong, hard.
dagurr, N: shield.

dala, N: shoulder.

dalgan, N: water rat.

dalirr, Adj: hungry.

dalmba, N: grass.

dalngga-y, Vint: limp.

dalnggul, N/Adj: grinding stone; round.

Damarri, Proper: creator figure.

danba, N: thorny vine.

dandi, N: yam.

danggal, N: wing(s).

danggay, N: waterfall, rapids.

danggayi-y, Vint: clear (of sky).

danidani, N: stutter, stutterer.

dara, Adj: stiff.

darrba-y, Vint: slip off.

Darrigundji, Proper: (story water).

darrnggidarrnggi, N: old women.

dawa, N: story water.

dawaray, N: bushfire.

dawul, Adj: three.

dawuldawul, Adj: many.

dayal, N: male person, male kangaroo.

daybi-l, Vtr: pick up, gather.

da:yirri, N: milky way.

dida-y, Vint: return.

didi, N: eyebrow.

didjirrdidjirr, N: willy wagtail.

didju, N: crab.

digarra, N: sand, sugar.

diguy, N: chicken hawk.

dila, N: feather(s).

dimandiman, N: flea(s).

diminbin, N: lungs.

dingal, N: egg.

dirra, N: tooth.

dirrdjal, N: reeds.

dirrmbay, N: corroboree.

diwidiwi, N: peewee.

diwirri, N: tea-tree.

djabara-l, Vtr: ask Djabugay, Proper: name of language.

djabul, N: sweetheart, promised one.

djabulagay, N: small eel.

djadirr, N: burrow.

djadja, N: one's child.

djadja-l, V(tr?): break law.

djadu:, N: shade.

djagal, Adj: silent, quiet.

djagarra, Adj: rough.

djagu:, N: left hand/foot.

djala, Loc: side, sideways.

djalba-y, Vtr: lick, touch.

djalbar, N: flame.

djalbay, N: long-nosed bandicoot.

djalga, N: snail.

Djaludji, Proper: (story water).

djalwa-y, Vtr: bark at.

djama, N: snake (generic).

djamba, Adj: narrow.

djambu, Int: wait!.

djambul, N: mud.

djambun, N: witchetty grub.

djamu, N: beak.

djamuy, N: taboo food.

djana-y, Vint: stand, be.

djanba-y, Vtr: keep to, stick to.

djanda, N: yellow walnut.

djan.gi-l, Vint: get stuck.

djan.gu, N: swamp, lagoon.

djan.gun, N: chin.

djangga-(?), Vtr: scold.

djanggarra, Adj: half full.

djanggulanggan, N: 'Tommy Roundhead' lizard, gecko.

djanydja, N: excrement, urine.

djarra, N: thigh.

djarra-l, Vtr: stand up.

djarri-y, Vint: drown.

djarrudja, N: finger cherry.

djarruga, N: scrub hen.

djarruy, N: bird (generic).

djawadjawa, N: magpie.

djawan, Adj: wet.

djawarray, N: thunder; ladybird.

djawun, N: home.

Djaygul, Proper: (story water).

djayn.garr, N: sandpaper fig.

dja:, Inter: where, somewhere (see ¤3.5.4).

dja:burra-y, Vint: yawn.

dja:ngunda, Inter: when (see ¤3.5.4).

dja:ngunydja, Inter: whereabouts (see ¤3.5.4).

dja:ngurru, Inter: where to (see ¤3.5.4).

dja:ydja:y, Adj: all sizes.

djiba, N/Adj: heart; happy.

djibay, N: vine leaf.

djibi, N: head hair.

djibin, N: navel, umbilical cord.

djidja, N: hip.

djidji, N: boil, pus.

djidju, N: wild cherry.

djiga-l, Vtr: turn something.

djigadjigayi-y, Vint: be concerned about something.

djigawara, N: white clay.

djiguya, N: cat bird.

Djildjurr, Proper: (story water).

djili, N: eye.

djili djarra-l, Vtr: stare at.

djili warray, Adj: poisoned.

djilibiri, N: barramundi.

djilibulu, N: mopoke.

djiliburay, N: green ant.

djilimuni-y, Vint: twinkle (star).

djiliwanday, N: black starling.

djiliwiri, N: common brown snake.

djilnggu, Loc: east, down.

djimba, N: stick.

djimba-y, Vtr: catch, grab.

djimbarral, N: cyclone.

djimimdjala, N: thief.

djimimunda, N: known thief.

djimurru, N: shelter made from lawyer cane.

djinarra, N: root.

djina:, N: foot.

djina: walngga, N: sole of foot.

djinba-l, Vint: walk fast, run.

djinbadjinba-l, Vtr: sprinkle.

djinbi-l, Vtr: shake.

djinda-y, Vint: drip.

djindjalam, N: grasshopper-like beetle.

djin.gal, N: sky.

djingay, N: nostril.

djingay djarrayi-y, Vint: sneeze.

djinggin, N: vagina.

djinil, N: point of spear.

djirany, N: female pubic hair.

djiribi, N: small red/black/blue whistling bird.

djirra, N: dry wood, kindling.

djirranydji, Adj: tired.

djirrbadjirrba, Adj: soft, brittle.

djirrbi, N: fight, battle.

djirrbibarra bulmba, N: fighting ground.

djirrgarr, N: blady grass.

djirri, N: upper arm.

djirri, Inter: how (see ¤3.5.4).

djirrimba, Inter: how many (see ¤3.5.4).

djirrirr, N: leech.

djiwarri, Loc: south.

djiyarrdjiyarr, N: black cockroach-like beetle.

djuba, N: spear stick.

Djubagarray, Proper: (story water).

djuda-y, Vint: climb down, recede (of flood).

djudu, Adj: blunt djuga, N: heel.

djugaba-l, Vtr: bend sticks to make shelter.

djugabal, N: bent sticks.

djugala, N: white coloured cockatoo.

djugay, N: smoke, tobacco.

djula-l, Vtr: dig djulanyu, N: sp. of nut.

djularri, N: locust.

djulbidjulbi, N: guts.

djulbin, N: tree (generic), log.

djulga, Adj: round.

djulgil, N: kangaroo tail sinew used as binding.

djulma-l, Vtr: squeeze, press.

djulmbi, Adj: lazy, tired.

djulu, N: cheek.

djuludjulu, N: black walnut.

djumba-y, V(tr?): copulate.

djumbi, N: penis.

djumbun, N/Adj: lightning; greedy.

djumburru, N: path, road.

djunbarra, N: big crayfish.

djunda-y, Vint: walk, work.

djunda-djunda-y, Vint: go walkabout.

djundjurru, N: bandicoot.

djundurru djarra-l, Vtr: stand upright.

djun.ga, N: boil.

djun.gi, N: small crayfish, policeman.

djun.gul, N: gums.

djungga-y, Vint: run.

djunggadjungga-y, Vint, run away, run out.

djunggu:, Loc: behind, after.

djunggum, N: worm.

djunu, N: type, kind.

djunydjal, N: brush for eating honey.

djuri, Adj: sharp (of blade).

djurra-(?), Vint: urinate.

djurradjurra, Adj: wrong.

djurray, N: younger sister.

djurrbal, N: grass dillybag carried on shoulder.

djurrbu, N: women's dance at corroboree.

djuru, N: luck, lucky charm.

dju:, Inter: who, someone (see ¤3.5.4).

duba-y, Vtr: chase away, catch.

duga-l, Vtr: fetch, grab.

dugabil, N: bark water carrier.

dugala, N: plum boxwood.

dugayi-y, Vint: comprehend.

dugirr, Adj: alive.

dugu, N: leaf.

dugul, N: back of neck, mountain ridge.

dugun, N: pimple.

dugurr, N: shelter made from branches and leaves.

dulbil, N: wallaby.

dulgu, N: scrub.

dulmbilay, N: cedar, red silkwood.

dumbarri, N: big branch(es).

dumbarri-l, Vtr: strike, smash.

dumbul, N: skin, bark.

dumbunum, N: scorpion.

dumu, N: chest.

dundji, N: water snake.

dunggal, N: Kauri pine.

dungun, N: maggot.

dungurr, N: noise.

dunyu, N: husband.

durrgu:, N: mopoke.

duru, N: tears.

duwarri-l, Vtr: shake.

du:-l, Vtr: hit, kill.

gaba, N: white clay.

gaban, N: rain.

gabay, N: ant bed.

gabaybarra, N: white ant.

gabidjan, N: mudhole, mud.

gabu, N: cold ashes.

gabul, N: stick for carrying fish.

gabun(gabun), Adj: soft (of sound).

gaburrgaburr, N: domestic turkey.

gada(gada), Adj: dry.

gadja, N/Adj: dead person, ghost, white man; rotten.

gadjirraga, N: taipan.

gadju:, N: ant bed on tree.

gaduy, N: glue.

gagaba-y, Vint: vomit.

gagal, Adj: empty.

gagalgagal, Adj: light in weight.

gagay, Loc: far away.

gagi, Adj: deep.

gaguwarr, N: leatherhead.

galbal, N/Adj: blood; red.

Galbalam, Proper: (story water).

galbirr, N: blue mountain parrot.

galbridji, N: finger cherry.

galbu, N: crow, (butcher bird?).

galga, N: fighting spear.

galgalay, Adj: long, tall.

galgarr, Time: long ago.

galgarr ngundayi-y, Vint: remember old times.

gali-y, Vint: go.

galmbara, N: liver.

galnga, N: mother's brothers.

galunydji, Adj: have a bellyache.

galwara, N: egg white.

gama-y, Vint: vomit.

gamba-l, Vtr: cook in bush oven.

gamba-y, Vint: crawl.

gambarr, N: mist.

gambi, N: clothes.

gambul, N: bloodwood.

Gamburra, Proper: Freshwater Creek.

gami, N: mother's mother, father's father.

gamindjarr, N: grandchild.

gamu, Adj: no good; alcohol.

gana, Part: always.

ganamay, N: dysentry.

gananggarr, Loc: in front gananggiray, N: little brother,. little boy.

gana:, Loc: down, under.

ganda, N: digging stick.

ganda-y, Vint: burn, cook.

gandal, Adj: slippery.

gandanggurrngam, N: red flame tree.

gan.gula, N: grey kangaroo.

gani-l, Vtr: tie on to, tie up.

ganibarra, N: dingo.

ganya, N: humpy, camp.

ganyal, N: scrub goanna.

ganyarra, N: crocodile.

ganydjan.ganydjan, N: under- arm sweat.

ganydjarr, N: armpit.

gara-y, Vint: fall, drop Garadjurru, Proper: place near Copperland.

garanda, see garan.garan.

garan.garan/garanda, Adj: clear (of sky).

garanggal, N: woolly leaves.

gargun, N: male teenager.

gari, Part/Int: not, no.

garna:, N: black cockatoo.

garra, N: poisonous spider.

garra-y, Vint: come.

garran, N: soot.

garray, Adj: angry, nasty.

garrba-y, Vint: hide.

garrbarri, N: yellow house snake.

garrdjay, N: heavy cold, cough.

garrgadji, N: garfish.

garrgal, N: fishing line.

garrndam, N: horn.

garrndamunydji, N: bullock.

garru, Part: by-and-by.

garrubulay, Adj: old.

garu:, N: round yam.

gawadjana-y, Vint: call out.

gawan, N: gap.

gaway, N: star.

gawula, N: gum tree.

gawun.gawun, N: bull ant.

gawurru, Adj: outstretched.

gayam, N: stinging nettle.

gayarra, N: possum.

gaybam, N: vine berries.

giba-l, Vtr: scrape, scratch.

gidi, N: paperbark.

gidiga, N: small jewfish.

Gidiri, Proper: (story water).

gidja, N: new moon.

gidjarr, N: paint.

gidjarr guni-l, Vtr: paint.

gidjirri, Loc: further uphill.

gilmbarr, N: fat.

gilbay, N: frilled lizard.

gima, N: flying beetle in witchetty grub wood.

gimala, N: fire stick.

Gimuy, Proper: Cairns.

ginba, N: centipede.

ginba-l, Vtr: tickle.

gindadja, N: emu.

gindan, N: moon.

gin.ga, N: prickle, thorn.

gin.gal, N: rainbow.

ginga, N: fever.

ginggidjarra-y, Vint: sting, be itchy.

ginydjun, Adj: wet.

gira-l, Vtr: lose.

giragira, N: azure kingfisher.

girigiri, Adj: quick.

girramgirram, N: cramp.

girray, N: tide.

girrgirr, N: bush canary.

girriyi-y, Vint: shout, yell.

girriyi-barri-y, Vint: cry, weep.

girrway, N: whip snake.

giwurra, N: bean tree.

giyal, N: order, command.

giyamarra, N: sulphur crested cockatoo.

giyaram, N: stinging tree.

giyimu, N: spear, bullet.

gubalgubal, N: wild pheasant.

gubanguban, N: grey hair.

gubirranggan, N: bumpy satinash.

gububuru, N: black and white possum.

Guburr, Proper: (a mountain).

gudagay, N: Leichard tree.

guda:guda:, Part: always.

gudja-, Pro/Dem: stem of he/she/it/that before inflections (see ¤3.5.1).

gudjamgudjam, Part: from then on.

gudja:y, Dem: those (see ¤3.5.1).

gudji, Pro/Dem: he, she, it, that, there (see ¤3.5.1).

gudjiga, N: mud cod.

gudjin, N: black ants.

gudjugudju, N: night owl.

gudjumbarray, Pro/Dem: they, those, there (see ¤3.5.1).

gudjun, N: buttocks.

gudjunggurru, N: rainbow.

guginy, N: flying fox.

gugulu, N: tapping sticks for funeral.

guguy, Loc: centre.

gulal, N: tail.

gulamba, N: brown frail-tailed lizard.

gula:, N: body.

gula:y, Dem: these (see ¤3.5.1).

gulbul, N: saltwater, sea.

gulguruwuy, N: pigeon.

guli garra-y, Vint: be angry.

guliguli/gulirr, Adj: angry.

guliy, N: louse.

gulmbu, N: hair of head.

guln.gay, N: black pine.

guln.gu, N: heap, pile.

gulngga-l, Vtr: breastfeed, feed gulu, Pro/Dem: he, she, it, this, here (see ¤3.5.1).

gulu, N: spear.

gulu nidarr, N: spear with barb.

gulu yaluguli, Time: nowadays.

guludu, N: dove.

gulula, N: milky pine.

gulumbarray, Pro/Dem: they, these, here (see ¤3.5.1).

gulun, Deic: here (see ¤3.5.3).

gumba, N: young girl.

gumbala, N: witchetty grub.

gumbu, N: urine.

gumidjila, N: silver bream.

gumu, N: perch.

gumun, N: guts.

guna, N: faeces.

gunambala, N: hair belt.

guna:, Loc: middle.

gunbi-l, Vtr: plant, plait.

gunda-l, Vtr: make.

gundan, N: flood.

gunday, Part: perhaps.

gundi, Deic: there (see ¤3.5.3).

gundjilbay, N: death adder.

gun.ga, N: arm.

gunggarri, Loc: north.

gunggundji, Adj: sweet.

guni-l, Vtr: cut off.

gunyu, Deic: yonder (see ¤3.5.3).

guraga, N: male pubic hair.

gurbum, N: green pigeon.

gurguday, N: water goanna.

guriguri, Loc: on top of.

gurilanggan, Adj: good, pretty.

guringaygu, N: king parrot.

guri:, Adj: good.

gurraba-y, Vint: sing at burial.

gurragurra, N: ancestors.

gurra:, N: dog.

Gurra:bulay, Proper: (story water).

gurri, Adj: raw, unripe.

gurril, N: stormbird.

gurrina, N: echidna.

gurrndu, N: four-corner nut.

gurrnga, N: drum.

gurrngam, N: red flame tree.

gurrudji, N: tree lizard.

gurrumbun, N: red-bellied black snake.

gurrungga, N: kookaburra.

gurula, N: milky pine.

guwa, Loc: west.

guwa-l, Vtr: show.

guwal, N: name.

guway, N: hole, entrance.

guwulguwul, N: tadpole.

Guwulu, Proper: (place name).

Guyangga, Proper: (place name).

guybi-l, Vint: whistle.

guyga, N: seeds.

guyguy, Int: that's all.

guyi-y, Vtr: show.

guynggay, N: female ghost, white woman.

guyngilbi, N: gum tree.

guyu, N: fish (generic).

guyungun, N: breasts, breastmilk.

guyurru, N: wind.

gu:, N: nose; hook of spearthrower.

gu:guy, N: hawk.

Gu:midal, Proper: (story water).

mabu, N: vulva.

madjal, N: tree fern.

madjandjan, N: sp. of tree.

madjay, N: shield.

magarri-l, Vtr: pick up.

magayi-y, Vint: rise, develop.

magi, Adj: all of.

magidjarra-l, Vtr: gather together.

magu, N: sister; lap.

magula, N: yam with red flowers.

magulbay, see magula.

malan, N: right hand/foot.

malara, N: spider web.

malga-l, V(int?): find out.

maliyarr, N: grass fire.

mamba, Adj: sour.

maminga-l, Vtr: love, like.

manda-y, Vtr: answer; trap prawns.

Mandamanda, Proper: (story water).

mandi, N: wrist.

mandja-l, Vtr: wrap in leaf.

man.ga, N: father's sister's children, mother's brother's children.

man.garri-l, Vint: stay on one's own.

mangga, N: nest, pouch.

mangga-y, Vint: laugh.

manggalarr, N: Moreton Bay fig.

manggarri-l, Vtr: ridicule.

manu, N: throat, neck.

manunggul, N: small brown ant.

manydja, Adj: same.

mara, N: hand.

mara baga-l, Vtr: punch.

mara djulga, N: fist.

mara mugun, N: person with short fingers.

mara ngamu, N: thumb.

mara wada, N: palm of hand.

mara wanirri-l, Vtr: carry in hand.

maramaraba-(?), Vtr: hand out.

maramaranga-l, Vtr: swarm all over.

maranggilay, N: scorpion.

marlibay, N: corkwood.

Marranydjarru, Proper: mountain near Crystal Cascades.

marra:n, Adj: half-caste, white.

marrga, N: yellow ochre.

marri-l, Vtr: choose.

marri-y, Vint: cross.

marrim, Loc: beside, near.

mayi, N: father's sisters.

Mayila, Proper: Monument (two rocks in Barron Gorge).

maynggal, Adj: nothing.

ma:, N: non-flesh food.

ma:-l, Vtr: make, do.

mila, N: young leaf.

milay, N: spear-thrower.

milba, Adj: be good at.

milmarr, N: berries on lawyer cane.

Milmildji, Proper: (story water).

milmun, N: sparks.

mimbirri, N: green spotted small snake.

mimu:, N: waterlily.

mindil, N: tick.

mininga-l, Vtr: mend, do properly.

minya, N: flesh food, fish, edible animal.

mirimiri, N: small black ants.

mirrarri-l, Vtr: give birth.

mirri-y, Vint: break.

mirrindirringa-l, Vtr: break.

miru, N: egg yolk.

miru:, N: club.

mubu, Adj: heavy.

mudji, N: semen.

mudu, N: back.

mudu mirri-y, Vint: menstruate.

mudubilmbili, N: big turtle.

mugay, N: bee swarm, honey comb.

mugu, Part: in spite of, anyway.

mulabuny, N: brain.

mulaga, N: brain.

mulam, N: juice.

mulanydji, Adj: hollow.

mulay, N: hole.

mulgal, N: bark string.

mulma, N: wasp.

mulu, Adj: two.

mulugun, N: shoot of lawyer cane.

mululi, N: fit, shakes.

mulumulu, Adj: a few.

muma-l, Vtr: cover,close.

munba-y, Vint: dry.

mundji, N: insect-eating bat.

mundu, Adj: feeling inclined to, feelings.

mun.gul, N: elbow.

munggu, N: son.

munggun, N: sore, scab.

munumunu, Adj: crooked.

munu:, Loc: inside.

munyimunyi, N: small light brown ants.

munyin, N: ginger; Proper: creek N/E of Redlynch.

mura, N: corpse, secret place.

mura djarra-l, Vtr: bury.

muranggal, N: heavy fighting spear.

muridji, Part: if, in case.

murimuri, Part: quiet, serene.

murrany, N: fever.

murranydji, Adj: sick.

murray, N: bag.

murra:, N: shed snake skin.

murrba, Loc: under water.

murrga djana-y, Vint: sulk.

murrgan, N: Kuranda quandong.

murrgu, N: burial ground.

murrgul, Adj: cooked.

murrini, N: hot ashes.

muruy, N: sugar bag.

muwa, N: mother-in-law.

muygun, N: string bag.

muyu, N: anus.

nalba-l, Vtr: slice, peel off.

nalmal, N: log.

nalmalbarra, N: eagle hawk.

nambi-l, Vtr: hold.

nanba-y, V(tr?): lean on.

Nani, Proper: (story water).

narra, N: string, vine.

ngaba-l, Vtr: rub with clay.

ngaba-y, Vint: bathe, wash.

ngabala, N: candlenut.

ngabi, Adj: many, much.

ngabirr, Adj: full of.

ngada-l, Vtr: cover, step on.

ngadil, N: barb on spear.

ngadji, N: father's father, mother's father.

Ngadula, Proper: (a mountain).

ngalga, N: cluster fig.

Ngalmbangalmba, Proper: (story water).

ngalmuli, Adj: ignorant, mistaken.

ngama, N: mother, mother's sisters.

ngambi-y, Vint: swim, bathe.

ngambu:, Loc: half-way.

ngamu, N: thumb, big toe.

ngamun, N: breasts.

ngandjal, N: flame, light.

ngandjungandju, Adj: clever.

nganya, Pro: me (see ¤3.5.1).

nganydja, N: taste.

nganydji, Pro: we (see ¤3.5.1).

ngarrawirr, N: sp. of ginger.

ngawu, Pro: I (see ¤3.5.1).

ngaya-, Pro: stem of 'I' in oblique cases and genitive (see ¤3.5.1).

ngaya-y, Vtr: break.

ngayang bama, N: my son.

ngayang bandjil, N: my daughter.

ngayany, Pro: self, universal reflexive (see ¤3.5.2).

ngaygarra-y, V(int?): sing.

nga:-l, Vtr: tell.

nga:y, Int: oh (suprise).

ngidjubany, N: shellfish.

ngigi, N: cold, cough.

ngigi djana-y, Vint: cough.

ngiriny, N: little finger.

ngirri, N: sunrise.

ngirringirri, Adj: multicoloured.

ngirrma, N: language, speech.

ngiyabagirr, Part: compared to.

nguda:, N: cloud.

ngugun, N: mosquito.

ngulbul, N: mosquito.

ngulguway, Time: long ago.

ngulu, N: face, forehead.

nguma, Time: tomorrow.

ngunal, N: black forest goanna.

ngunba, N: platypus.

Ngunbay, Proper: Kuranda.

ngunda-l, Vtr: see, look at.

ngundayi-y, Vtr: find, see, feel.

ngundingundi, Adj: level, same age.

ngura, (Adj?): becoming a teenager.

ngurbam, Adj: green, blue.

ngurrayi-y, Vtr: look at.

ngurruwuy/ngurruy, N: big- mouth (fish).

ngurruy, see ngurruwuy.

nguwanydji, Adj: jealous.

nguyay, N: kangaroo grass.

nguyu, N: sp. of grass.

ninggirri-l, Vtr: spill, pour, ejaculate.

nugal, N: ankle.

nugu, N: bait.

nula-l, Vtr: call someone.

nulayi-y, Vint: shout, call out.

nyaba-l, Vtr: pound, smash.

nyanibarra, N: sp of vine.

nyanydji, N: flesh, muscle.

nyawil, N: tongue.

nyayga, N: sp. of rainforest berry.

nyibaga-(?), V(tr?): kick up.

nyidju, Loc: middle.

nyina-y, Vint: sit, stay, be.

nyin.ga-(?), V(tr?): finish.

nyingay, N: stick.

nyingaydjada, Adj: all kinds.

nyinggarra, N: big eel.

nyirra-, Inter: stem of 'what' with case inflections (see ¤3.5.4).

nyirru-l, Vtr: hang up.

nyiwul, Adj: one.

nyiyanyiya, Adj: all together.

nyiyarri-l, Vtr: gather together.

nyi:, Inter: what, something (see ¤3.5.4).

nyubanyuba, Adj: living, alive.

nyubi, N: father-in-law.

nyudayi-y, Vint: make a noise.

nyumba, N: saliva.

nyumba daba-y, Vint: spit.

nyumbu, N: father, father's brothers.

nyun.ga-l, V(int?): burn.

nyungga, N: beard, moustache.

nyungga-l, Vtr: smell.

nyunggulu, N: Torres Strait pigeon.

nyunma-l, Vtr: squash on hard surface.

nyurra, Pro: you sg (see ¤3.5.1).

nyurramba, Pro: you pl (see ¤3.5.1).

nyuru, N: sp. of yam.

wabarr, N: hunt.

wadari-l, Vtr: catch in the act of.

waday, N: lawyer leaves.

wadi-l, Vtr: wash away.

wadirr, N: cicatrice, initiated man.

wadji, N: stone axe.

wadjin.gal, N: four-corner nut, Kuranda quandong.

waga, N: bank, hillside.

wagal, N: wife.

wagarra, Adj: wide.

wagay, N: wooden sword.

waguy, N: hickory tree.

walayi-y, Vtr: pass by.

walba, N: stone, pebble, money.

walbirrwalbirr, N: butterfly.

walburri, N: glider possum.

walgi-y, Vtr: tell to do.

waliyi-y, Vint: abate.

walngga-l, Vint: float.

walnggu wamba-l, Vtr: lay down.

walnggu wuna-y, Vint: lie down.

walnydjan, N: iron wood.

walu, N: side, shore, temple.

wamba-l, Vtr: put, leave.

wambayi-y, V(int?): marry.

wanda-y, Vint: fall down.

wandi, Adj: short.

wangal, N: boomerang.

wangarri, N: adolescent boy.

wanggabal, N: Kuranda satinash, native apple.

wanggarr, Loc: up, uphill.

wanggirr, N: rib.

wanggulay, N: sulphur crested cockatoo.

wanirri-l, Vtr: carry, bring, fetch.

wara, N: bend of knee.

wara-y, Vtr: wait for.

waraba, N: creek.

warayi-y, Vint: hang about.

warrangayi-y, Vint: hurt.

warray, Adj: no good.

warraywarray, N: something, anything at all.

warrdjan, N: raft.

warrma, N: men's corroboree dance.

warrnggi-y, Vint: turn around.

warrnggirri-l, Vtr: walk around something.

warruwarru, N: male youths.

warudjarra-l, Vtr: roll.

wawu, Loc: outside.

wawun, N: scrub turkey.

wawurr, Part: sometimes.

waya-y, Vint: spread, swarm.

waybi, N: waterlily.

wayga-l, Vint: search.

wayi-l, Vtr: light a fire, cook.

waymbil, N: big stone axe.

wayway, N: breath.

wa:-y, Vtr: give.

wa:y, Int: I don't know.

wa:y-wanirri-l, Vtr: share out.

wa:ywa:-y, Vtr: share out.

widal, N: knife from fishbone.

widil, N: back, shoulder blade.

wigi, Adj: thin, skinny.

wigil, Adj: sweet.

wilgarr, N: green tree snake.

wiramu, N: whip snake.

wiriwiri, Adj: crooked.

wiyam, N: cassowary chick.

wuba, N: red ochre; swelling.

wuba-y, Vint: swell up.

wubanbarra, N: barramundi.

wubiy, N: stomach.

Wubulu, Proper: (name of mountain).

wubun, N: frog, toad (generic).

wudja-y, Vint: go across.

wudjal, N: eyebrow, eyelash.

wudji, N: a lie.

wudji-y, Vint: grow up.

wudu, N: track marker.

wugam, N: firefly.

wugu, Adj: deep.

wula-y, Vint: die.

wulam, N: mountain bream.

wulbil, Time: long time.

wulmbarr, Adj: overtired.

wulmburu, N: branch, leaf.

wulnggu, N: corroboree song.

wulnggu djana-y, Vint, sing.

wulnggur, Adj: thirsty.

wulngguwulnggu, N: throat (interior).

wulubuga, N: honey bee.

wulurr, N: big prawn, crab.

wuluwulu-(?), (Vtr?): rocking baby.

wumarri-l, Vtr: help.

wumbul, Adj: hot.

wuna-y, Vint: lie, sleep,.

wunba, N: sugarbag.

wunday bama, N: stranger.

wunga-y, Vtr: swallow, drink.

wungali, N: carpet snake, rainbow snake.

wungawungayi-y, Vint: drown.

wunyan, N: campsite.

wurguny, N: adolescent.

wuri-y, Vint: look around.

wurra, N: tendon, vein.

wurra-y, Vtr: flatten grass by stamping.

wurrayi-y, Vint: hit oneself with twigs to drive away insects.

wurrgu, N: land; hard raindrop.

wurrmba, N: sleep.

wurrmbul, N: pelican.

wurru, N: drumstick.

wurruba, N: bee's wax; name of storywater.

wururri-l, Vtr: take out/off.

wuru:, N: river.

wuwala, N: tree snake.

wuwul, N: crow.

wuya, Time: day, time.

wuyin, N: grass for dillybags.

yaba, N: elder brother, father's brother's sons, mother's sister's sons.

yaba bibuy, N: younger brother.

yaba warru, N: younger brother.

yabulam, N: lawyer cane.

yaburu, N: mature girl.

yada-l, Vtr: chase away.

yadjul, Adj: straight, correct.

yagal, N: pandanus.

yagan, N: sweat.

Yagay, Proper: (story water).

yalma, N: cross boomerang.

yalmba, Adj: flat.

Yaln.giri, Proper: Crystal Cascades.

yalnggay, N: jewfish.

yaluguli, Time: today.

yalu(:)yalu(:), Time: these times.

yamalyamal, Adj: cool.

yambu, Part: still, yet.

yana-(y?), Vint: fall.

yanda, Adj: last.

yandarr, Adj: first.

yan.gi, N: fig tree (generic).

yarawarr, N: poison tree.

yarraman, N: horse.

yarri-(?), Vtr: name, call.

yarrn.ga-y, Vint: be afraid.

yibay, N: sp. of vine.

yidjal, N: kindling.

yidji, N: pademelon.

yidjibarra, N: small animal, e.g. guinea pig.

yila:la, N: married couple.

yilba-l, Vtr: lose.

yimba, N: firewood.

yimbi, N: dillybag carried on back suspended from head.

yinba-l, Vtr: lay out.

yindin, N: cricket, locust.

yin.ga-y, Vint: stop, give up.

yinga-l, Vtr: send out.

yinigarra-y, Vint: be frightened.

yirra-y, Vint: become tired.

yirrmba, N: multi-pronged fish spear.

yirrngga-(?), Vtr: finish.

yiwandibi-y, Vint: play.

yiwurra, N: Moreton Bay chestnut, black bean.

yiy, Int: yes.

yiyi, N: pectoral fin.

yudjun, Adj: in line, straight.

yugu, N: penis.

yulal, N: bark canoe.

yulba-l, V(tr?): creep up.

yuli-y, Vint: leak out, melt.

yulilul, N: locust.

yulmayi-y, V(int?): kiss.

yuma, N: crossed sticks.

yunga-y, Vint: slither, swim.

yurru, Part: yet, still.

yuwa-l, Vtr: bend.

yuwarranga-l, Vtr: measure.

LIST OF AFFIXES

To assist the reader, the following list shows all affixes that appear in the grammar with reference to the sections in which their form and function are discussed. Allomorphs are referred to the appropriate canonical form.

-:, see -nda instrumental/locative.
-:nda, dative - ¤3.2.1, ¤3.2.1 [3], ¤4.1.1 [3], ¤4.1.2.
-:rr, comitative 'bearing/having' - ¤3.2.2 [2] (i), ¤4.4 [3].
-:ya, synchronous subordinate - ¤3.6.1, ¤3.6.1 [7], ¤4.8.1.

-a, see -nda instrumental/locative.
-a-, linking morpheme before aspect marker - ¤3.6.2 [7].
-ala, see -wala post-inflectional suffix 'now'.

-bagirr, 'other' - ¤3.2.2 [4].
-barra, 'belonging to/associated with' - ¤3.2.2 [3].
-bi, emphatic post-inflectional suffix - ¤3.7 [3].

-da-, plural participants - ¤3.6.2, ¤3.6.2 [2], ¤4.6.1.
-djada, comitative 'and/with' - ¤3.2.2 [2] (iii), ¤4.4 [1].
-djirra, directional 'towards' - ¤3.2.1, ¤3.2.1 [6].

-i, see -:rr comitative.

-l, see -ng present tense.
-la, see -nda instrumental/locative.
-lan, aversive (case inflection) - ¤3.2.1, ¤3.2.1 [9].
-lbara, see -ybarra irrealis.
-lna, see -na future tense.
-lndjirri-, reciprocal - ¤3.6.2, ¤3.6.2 [3], ¤4.6.2.
-lu, see -nggu ergative.
-lum, see -ynggum purposive.

-m, see -malim causal/ablative.
-malim, causal/ablative - ¤3.2.1, ¤3.2.1 [8], ¤4.1.1 [4].
-marri, directional 'across' - ¤3.2.1, ¤3.2.1 [7].
-mayi-, inchoative - ¤3.2.2 [8], ¤4.5.
-mba, comitative 'one of a pair' - ¤3.2.2 [2] (ii), ¤4.4 [2].
-mbarra, see -barra 'belonging to/associated with'.
-mu, see -malim causal/ablative.
-mu-, genitive linking morpheme - ¤3.2.2 [1].
-munda-, see -mu- genitive linking morpheme.

-mundu, see -malim causal/ablative.
-munggu-, see -mu- genitive linking morpheme.

-n, genitive - ¤3.2.2 [1], ¤4.3.
-n, imperative - ¤3.6.1, ¤3.6.1 [2], ¤4.9.
-na, future tense - ¤3.6.1, ¤3.6.1 [1].
-nda, instrumental/locative - ¤3.2.1, ¤3.2.1 [4], ¤4.1.1 [4].
-nda, pronominal dative - ¤3.5.1.
-ndabi, see -lan aversive.
-ndu, see -nggu ergative.
-n.gu, pronominal purposive/allative - ¤3.5 1.
-ng, present tense - ¤3.6.1, ¤3.6.1 [1].
-nggu, ergative - ¤3.2.1, ¤3.2.1 [2], ¤4.1.1 [1].
-ngu-, pronominal linking morpheme - ¤3.5.1.
-ngun, see -n genitive.

-ngunda, see -:nda dative.
-ngurru, emphatic post- inflectional suffix - ¤3.7 [2].
-num, see -malim causal/ablative.
-ny, past tense - ¤3.6.1, ¤3.6.1 [1].
-nydji, see -:rr comitative.
-nydjirri-, see -lndjirri- reciprocal.

-rri-, transitiviser - ¤3.6.2, ¤3.6.2 [4], ¤4.6.3.

-u, see -nggu ergative.
-unda, see -nda instrumental/locative.
-unggu, see -nggu ergative.

-wa, see -mba comitative.
-wala, post-inflectional suffix 'now' - ¤3.7 [1].
-wayan, comparative - ¤3.2.2 [7].
-wu, purposive/allative - ¤3.2.1, 3.2.1 [5].
-wurru, 'all of' - ¤3.2.2 [5] (iii).

-yabi, aversive (verbal inflection) - ¤3.6.1, ¤3.6.1 [6], ¤4.8.4.
-ybarra, irrealis - ¤3.6.1, ¤3.6.1 [3].
-yi-, chance event/intransitiviser - ¤3.6.2, ¤3.6.2 [5], ¤4.6.4 [1] - [3].
-ymu, perfective - ¤3.6.1, ¤3.6.1 [4], ¤4.8.2.
-ynggum, purposive - ¤ 3.6.1, ¤3.6.1 [5], ¤4.8.3.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS