In memory of Cherry

"The Queen of the Forest"

THE MAYI LANGUAGES OF THE QUEENSLAND GULF COUNTRY

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Contents

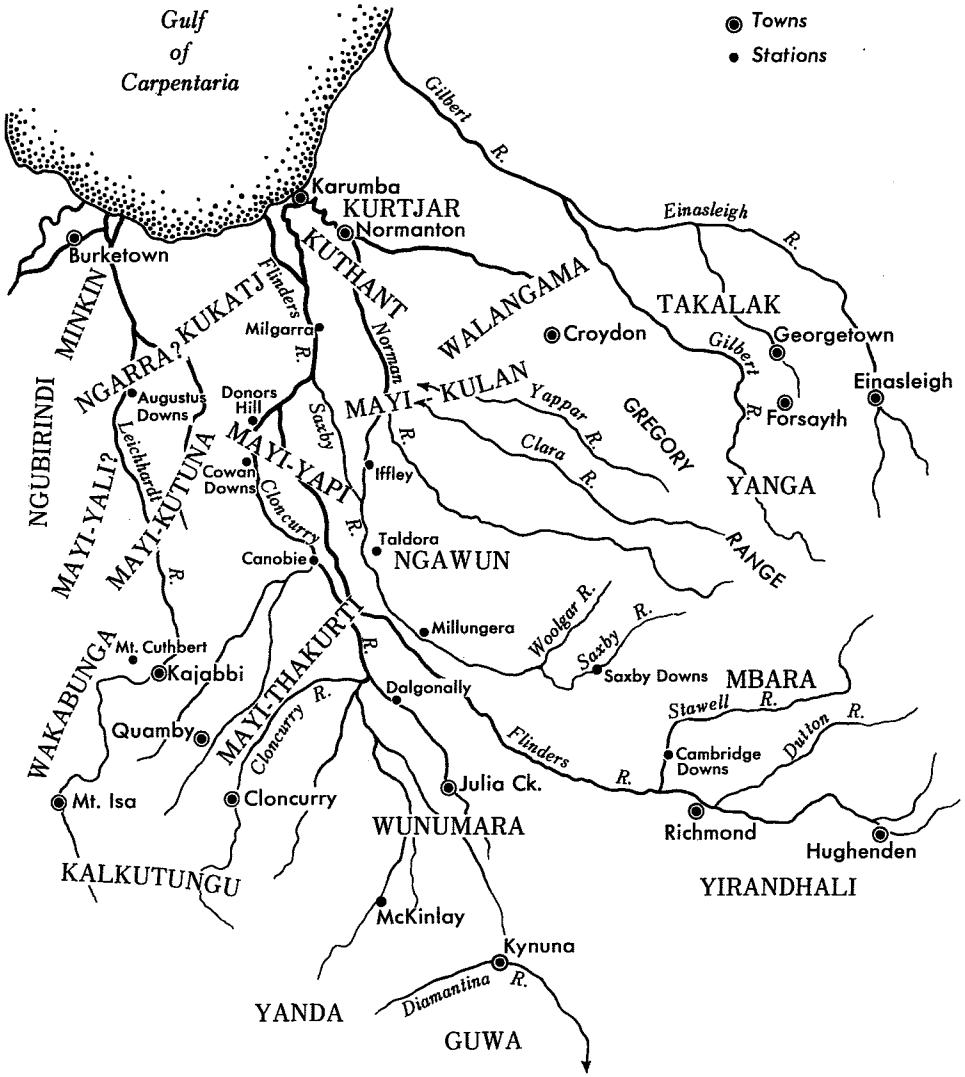
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- MAYI AND ITS SPEAKERS 1
  - 1.1 Spelling of Mayi words 1
  - 1.2 The language names 2
  - 1.3 Locations 3
  - 1.4 The speakers of Mayi 4
  - 1.5 Mayi languages: early sources 7
  - 1.6 Interpretation of early data 10
  - 1.7 Recent sources of data 13
  - 1.8 Internal relationships in the Mayi group 14
  - 1.9 Neighbouring languages 17
  - 1.10 Glossary 19
- PHONOLOGY 21
  - 2.1 Ngawun phonemes 21
  - 2.2 Description of the phonemes 24
  - 2.3 Stress and intonation 25
  - 2.4 Phonotactics 25
  - 2.5 Notes on other Mayi communalects 29
  - 2.6 Practical orthography 30

- GRAMMAR 32
3.1 Introduction 32
3.1.1 Conventions 33
3.2 Morphology 34
3.2.1 Word classes 34
3.2.2 Noun stems 34
3.2.3 Noun inflection 39
3.2.3.1 Absolutive 39
3.2.3.2 Ergative/Instrumental/Locative 40
3.2.3.3 Purposive 42
3.2.3.4 Allative 44
3.2.3.5 Genitive 44
3.2.3.6 Ablative 45
3.2.4 Personal pronoun inflection 46
3.2.4.1 Nominative 46
3.2.4.2 Accusative 46
3.2.4.3 Purposive 47
3.2.4.4 Allative 47
3.2.4.5 Genitive 48
3.2.4.6 Ablative 48
3.2.5 Topicaliser 49
3.2.6 Nominal paradigms 50
3.2.7 Verb stems 54
3.2.8 Verb inflection 55
3.2.8.1 Imperative 56
3.2.8.2 Past tense 56
3.2.8.3 Present tense 57
3.2.8.4 Purposive mood 58
3.2.8.5 Future tense 59
3.2.8.6 Continuative aspect 59
3.2.9 Other bound morphemes and clitics 60
3.3 Syntax 63
3.3.1 Phrase 63
3.3.2 Clause 64

3.3.3 Sentence 64
3.3.3.1 Verbless sentences 66
3.3.3.2 Intransitive sentences 67
3.3.3.3 Transitive sentences 67
3.3.3.4 Reflexive and reciprocal sentences 68
3.3.3.5 Negation 68
3.3.3.6 Commands 69
3.3.3.7 Questions 69
3.3.3.8 Compound sentences 71
3.3.3.9 Complex sentences 72
3.3.4 Interjections 73
3.3.5 Other particles 73
3.4 Grammatical notes on other eastern dialects 75
3.4.1 Nouns 76
3.4.2 Pronouns 79
3.4.3 Verbs 80
3.4.4 Particles and interjections 83
3.5 Mayi-Kutuna grammatical notes 84
3.5.1 Nouns 84
3.5.2 Pronouns 87
3.5.3 Verbs 89
3.5.4 Particles 90
- VOCABULARY 91
4.1 Introduction 91
4.2 Notes on pronunciation for non-linguists 94
4.3 The comparative vocabulary, with notes 95
REFERENCES 234

THE MAYI LANGUAGES



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Chapter 1

MAYI AND ITS SPEAKERS

1.1 Spelling of Mayi words

This description of the Mayi languages has been written mainly for two different groups: (a) people with a special interest in the Flinders-Leichhardt area, especially the descendants of the speakers of Mayi and (b) specialists in language. It was thought that the former group would be interested mainly in the introductory chapter and the vocabulary, and not so much in the more technical sections in which the phonology (or sound system) and grammar are described. (Note, however, that some parts of this chapter too are rather technical; in particular 1.6 and 1.8.) Therefore a practical orthography (or spelling system) has been designed to be used for Mayi words in the introduction (although occasionally phonemic - between slant lines - or phonetic - in square brackets - symbols have been used) and in the comparative vocabulary. The spelling in the other chapters and in the notes to the vocabulary is, as appropriate, either phonetic, phonemic or in the spelling of the writer quoted.

Phonetic spelling uses an alphabet suitable for any language; it requires a large number of special symbols and no knowledge of the structure of the particular language being written. A phonemic system is based on the sound system of the language; it writes sounds as different only if the speakers of the language hear them as different. Thus, for example, in the Mayi languages the sounds written p and b in English are not heard as separate sounds but only as varieties of the one sound, so they are both written with p. (b could just as well have been used.) The practical spelling system used here is adapted from the phonemic system to suit English speakers rather than native Mayi speakers (who no longer exist), and uses only the letters of the English alphabet. It is hoped that it will allow readers with no training in linguistics to make a reasonable approximation to the pronunciation of most words (if they keep in mind a few simple

rules).

The relationship between the phonemic and practical orthographies is explained in 2.6. Pronunciation rules (for non-linguists) are given in 4.2. A glossary of technical terms used in this chapter is given in 1.10.

1.2 The language names

The name Mayi is applied to a group of dialects comprising, it seems, two mutually unintelligible but closely related languages and formerly spoken in a large part of the catchment area of the Flinders and Leichhardt Rivers in the Gulf Country of Queensland. The map shows the approximate areas in which each of the communalects was spoken, together with the names of neighbouring languages. Boundaries are not drawn in as they are not sufficiently well-known.

The word mayi means *'speech'* or *'language'* in this area and has been heard used as a name for the languages of the area by the most knowledgeable of the informants. It has therefore been adopted in place of the term Mayapic Group, coined by O'Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966) and based on the dialect name Mayi-Yapi, misheard as Mayapi. Another name that has been used for the group is derived from the word for *'man'* in some communalects. This name was first used - with the spelling Bundyil - by Schmidt (1919:132). It has been used also (as Bundjil) by Holmer (n.d.b) and (as Bandjil) by Breen (1974:6).

The majority of the communalects forming the Mayi group have compound names of which the first member is the word mayi: Mayi-Kulan, Mayi-Yapi, Mayi-Thakurti, Mayi-Kutuna and Mayi-Yali. In most cases the second member of the compound cannot be identified. Mayi-Kulan (also called Mayi-Kuluyn) has a demonstrative kula *'this, here'*, of which kuluyn seems to be a variant. Mayi-Kutuna (also called Mayi-Kutun, Mayi-Kutunu and Mayi-Kutuyn) has a demonstrative kutu, meaning unknown but probably the same as kula in Mayi-Kulan. A word meaning *'this'* is used as an element of language names in other parts of Australia, e.g. Cape York Peninsula (Gugu-Yalandji) and the Western Desert (Ngaanyatjara).

Mayi-Yali is completely unknown apart from the name and the statement that it is "the same as Mayi-Yapi" (Cherry O'Keefe). However, if it was located in the area of Myally Creek and Myally Station, as seems likely, it is separated from Mayi-Yapi by Mayi-Kutuna and so is more likely to be closely related to the latter. A morpheme -yali, meaning unknown, occurs as a suffix to the demonstrative kutu in the speech of the Mayi-Kutuna informant Peter Nardoo. It is possible that Mayi-Yali is just an alternative name for Mayi-Kutuna.

I have no idea of the etymology of the other names, Ngarra, Wunumara and Ngawun.

1.3 Locations

Tindale (1974:183) places the Ngawun "at Iffley (in later post-contact times only), at Taldora and Millungera; east to Gregory Range and Saxby Downs; south-west to Julia Creek." Sharp (1939:256) and the older sources are substantially in agreement with this. O'Keefe thought the area extended further south and, in its southern part, much further east (to Hughenden); however, her knowledge is of the situation after its disruption by white settlement.

The Mayi-Kulan were on the "Middle Norman, Yappar and Clara Rivers; north to Milgarra; east to Gregory Range; west to Iffley and Canobie Stations (Tindale 1974:180). Palmer (1883a) perhaps combines Mayi-Kulan with Ngawun and some Mayi-Yapi territory in his "Mycoolan" area: "Saxby River, to within 40 miles of Normanton on Spear Creek, country about Donor's Hills, south nearly to Millungera Station, east to Creen Creek and through the sandy forest bordering on the Saxby Plains." Armit (1886:301) gives an impossible location while Lamond (1886:322) places it between the Gregory and Leichhardt Rivers, which is much too far west (he may be referring to the Mayi-Kutuna; his vocabulary is closer to that language than to Mayi-Kulan). Sharp (loc. cit.) also has it further west than Tindale or Palmer.

Tindale (loc. cit.) has Mayi-Yapi "on Cloncurry River south to Canobie, north to just above Donor[s] Hills, at Numbera (Conan [=Cowan] Downs); east to midway between Flinders and Saxby Rivers; west to Upper Dismal Creek and Leichhardt - Cloncurry Divide." (Dismal Creek rises a little north-east of Kajabbi and joins the Cloncurry a little south of Cowan Downs.) Sharp's (loc. cit.) map supports this and the older sources are essentially in agreement as far as they go.

Mayi-Thakurti country was "from Williams River and Cloncurry north to Canobie on Cloncurry River; east to the Julia Creek junction with Cloncurry River and to Mount Fort Bowen; at Dalgonally" (Tindale loc. cit.). Sharp (loc. cit.) seems to agree but Curr's (1886-7) map has it extending further east, and Roth (1897:42) gives it the whole Cloncurry River basin as far north as the Dismal Creek junction.

The Wunumara were on the "headwaters of Flinders River, east to Richmond; south to the Divide and to Kynuna; west to the Williams River near Cloncurry; north to Cambridge Downs and Dalgonally" (Tindale 1974:188). MacGillivray (1886:340) says that "Oonoomurra" country "commencing at Richmond Downs Station, on the Flinders, extends up that river and nearly to the Diamantina, thence stretches to the Cloncurry, and is bounded by that river to its junction with the Gulliet [Gilliat]. Its boundary from that junction is an easterly line to the Flinders, which river it follows up to the starting point". This includes some country others ascribe to the Mayi-Thakurti. Roth (loc. cit.) agrees fairly closely with Tindale, although his map does

not go as far west.

Mayi-Kutuna territory was "Middle Leichhardt River; north to Augustus Downs; south to Mount Cuthbert; western boundary on edge of inland plateau"(Tindale 1974:180). The old sources agree, insofar as they are specific.

According to Tindale (1974:181) the Marrago or Ngarrago were "on Alexandra River - no details are available". However, F. Donner (1900) placed them at Augustus Downs and Armit (loc. cit.) (whose spelling of the name, Ngarra, has been used here) placed them on the Leichhardt River. They may have been a northern group of Mayi-Kutuna; note that the northernmost source of Mayi-Kutuna - Turnbull (1896, 1903, 1911) at Armraynald - identifies the language he collected as Mayi-Kutuna and the vocabulary collected by F. Donner (1899) (at Floraville, between Armraynald and Augustus Downs) is almost identical to that from other Mayi-Kutuna sources.

Mayi-Yali, if a separate group, were presumably in the vicinity of Myally Creek, west of the Leichhardt.

Nearly all of this area consists of wide alluvial plains or, in the south, rolling downs of heavy grey and brown soil, intersected by numerous streams flowing only after the summer rains. The streams are especially numerous and ephemeral in the sandier eastern portion. The soil is poor and badly eroded and the country is to a large extent treeless, with vegetation dominated by tussocky Mitchell grasses *(Astrebla spp.)*. In many areas shrubs such as gidgea *(Acacia cambagei)* and *Acacia farnesiana* are scattered throughout the grassland. In the occasional woodland areas carbeen *(Eucalyptus tesselaris)* is prominent. Red gum *(E. camaldulensis)*, coolibah *(E. microtheca)* and paperbark *(Melaleuca spp.)* grow along the watercourses with bauhinia *(Lysiphyllum carronii)* in low-lying areas subject to prolonged flooding.

The eastern and southern parts of Mayi country were much more lightly populated than the more low-lying and better watered parts closer to the Gulf of Carpentaria.

1.4 The speakers of Mayi

Most of the early sources of linguistic data on Mayi give also some anthropological information, although in most cases it is no more than a collection of snippets. Combining this information, and assuming that most of it applies to all Mayi groups, we can learn a little of their appearance and lifestyle. (The details given below are not exhaustive.)

The Mayi people were tall and had long hair tied in a knob at the crown. They "ornamented" themselves with scars, the men on the arms and, in some areas, down the back and across the stomach and the women around the top of the shoulders and across the breasts. The septum of the nose was pierced to take a bone,

feather or stick, and in some places they also made "a large hole in the butt of the ear". At initiation, one or two (depending on locality) upper front teeth were knocked out. The Mayi-Kutuna may have had circumcision and subincision (the sources do not agree) but the other Mayi groups had neither.

The Mayi-Yapi were said to wear no clothes, but among the Mayi-Thakurti and/or Wunumara the women wore an apron made of strings of possum fur, hung from a human hair string round their waists. Mayi-Yapi men and women wore necklaces of shells.

The different tribes were said to be distinguished by "crests", which included a shell on each cheek (Ngarra), a forehead band with pendulous kangaroo teeth (Mayi-Kutuna), a snake painted on the shields (Mayi-Yapi), a belt painted with red ochre in imitation of the meshes of a net (Mayi-Thakurti), two possum fur legbands, with pendants, on each leg - one above the knee and the other on the calf (Mayi-Kulan) and possum fur armlets and pendants, worn beneath the biceps (Ngawun).

In the more northerly, better watered areas the main purpose of what little housing was used was protection from mosquitoes. "Rude bedsteads" were made, supported on forked sticks driven into the ground, and a smoky fire was lit underneath; the men slept on the beds while the women kept the fires going. Also used were beehive-shaped huts, the doorways of which were protected to some extent by smoke, and grass coverlets. In the drier, more inland areas the nights were colder and mosquitoes less of a problem. People there slept between small fires, covered with strips of tea-tree bark.

Main animal food items mentioned for the Mayi-Yapi are fish, goannas, snakes, turkeys, ducks, emu and wild dogs. Kangaroos were scarce. In the drier country the major items were mussels, rats and pigeons. Kangaroos, emus, possums, waterfowl and snakes were also eaten. Smaller game were roasted on coals or baked in ashes. Larger game were often cooked in earth ovens, heated stones being placed inside the carcase.

Vegetable foods were, however, probably the major part of the diet in all areas; Palmer (1883b) lists several dozen plants used as food sources as well as twenty or so used for medicine or to poison fish. Vegetable foods included a number of cereals, the seeds being winnowed, ground and roasted or made into a paste with water and baked. Many types of fruit were eaten, mostly raw. Yams and tubers were mostly roasted, but some could be eaten raw. Roots of a number of trees could, when young, be peeled and roasted. Roots, stalks and seeds of some kinds of lily were eaten, raw or roasted. Other items included gum from certain species of Acacia, manna from bloodwood leaves, nectar from certain blossoms and pods and/or leaves of some plants. In certain cases quite complicated procedures were required to make a food edible.

Weapons used in hunting or fighting included spears of various kinds, woomeras, various kinds of boomerang, nulla-nullas, two-handed clubs and shields. Other tools included axes of ground stone (or flint, according to one source) with wooden handles, chisels and knives of flint, sharpened mussel shells or possum teeth used with or without handles, and bone fishhooks. Fishing nets were made, as were wooden coolamons, bark and grass bags and dogskin water-bottles. Notched message sticks were used.

Marriage rules were based on a system in which every person belonged to one of four sections - although in much of the Mayi area eight names were involved, as each section had separate names for males and females. The four sections, as given by Palmer for the Mayi-Kulan, were (1) Marringo (male) and Ngarran-ngungo (female), (2) Yowingo (m) and Carburungo (f), (3) Bathingo (m) and Munjingo (f) and (4) Jimalingo (m) and Goothamungo (f). A man belonging to the section that we have numbered (1), i.e. a Marringo man, must marry a Goothamungo woman, i.e. belonging to (4), the Jimalingo-Goothamungo section, and their children belong to (3), i.e. the boys are Bathingo and the girls are Munjingo. The system, using the numbers to represent the sections, + to mean 'marries' and → to mean 'and their children are', is as follows (men on the left):

1 + 4 → 3

2 + 3 → 4

3 + 2 → 1

4 + 1 → 2

The sections can be combined into moieties, 1 and 2 forming the moiety called, over a wide area, wuthurru, and 3 and 4, parrkatha. (Palmer does not mention these names and the moieties seem to have been unnamed in the area he worked in.) It can be seen that one always married outside one's own moiety and that children belonged to their mother's moiety.

A different nomenclature (but the same system) has been spreading through the Mayi area in the recent past; Mayi-Thakurti and Wunumara had the names kurrkila, kanbari, wunku and kupuru late last century and it had spread to the other groups early this century.

Polygamy was common. According to Curr's anonymous correspondent the Mayi-Yapi men obtained their wives from other tribes, especially the Mayi-Thakurti, but MacGillivray (in Curr) says that the "Oonoomurra" got their wives from inside or outside their tribe indifferently.

Little is known of their religion and mythology, although most of it was probably shared with neighbouring tribes such as the Pitta-Pitta, who were described at some length by Roth (1897). One traditional story was told by Cherry O'Keefe (unfortunately

she could not tell it in Ngawun); it is a version of the story of how the porcupine *(echidna)* got its spines and is given below as told (note that 'he' may refer to a woman as well as a man).

"That's in the old times they reckon that - before the end of the world, years ago - that it was a dark woman. And he was married to the cockatoo; like, that was a man. And the cockatoo run away with this porcupine; he was a woman. And the mob of other blackfellows came along and riddled them with spears. That's how all them spikes are in them. And the old cocky had to paint himself with white chalk, being a widow you see. That's how he turned white."

The takeover of their country by the whites was for the Mayi a disaster whose magnitude can be gathered from figures given by some of the contributors to Curr (1886-7). MacGillivray estimated that the "Oonoomurra" numbered 200 when the whites came in 1868 and not much more than 100 in 1880. An anonymous contributor thought there were 1000 Mayi-Yapi when the whites first settled in that country, but only 250 a few years later (1868) and about 80 in 1879. Lamond says that the "Mykoolan" tribe was first settled by the whites in 1864, and their numbers had been reduced from 400 to 200 by the time he wrote. All three give the main causes of this mortality rate as the rifle and introduced diseases.

1.5 Mayi languages: early sources

The earliest and, for many years, probably the highest quality published work on Mayi languages was that of Palmer (1883a and b and 1886:330-9). Although obviously an amateur, he could hear phonetic distinctions that escaped other early collectors and even some twentieth century workers, being fairly consistently able to distinguish interdental from alveolar stop and to identify initial velar nasal. His translations of lexical items are generally reliable although his material on verb morphology is not correct, his data being forced into a Latin-type paradigm which is quite inappropriate. Palmer's informants were Plungreen (probably something like Panggariyn (/paŋkaṛinʸ/), English name Hector) for Mayi-Kulan and Yulegerri (also known as Jacky) for Mayi-Yapi. The former, who had been reared among whites, was regarded as a much more intelligent and reliable informant.

Palmer is responsible also for the information on Mayi-Thakurti kinship terms in the Howitt Papers, while Percival E. Walsh contributes terms in Mayi-Kulan and Wunumara. These are in answer to a questionnaire from A. W. Howitt and L. Fison. The terms are handwritten, not always legibly, and Howitt's own reading of them seems at times to be wrong. Glosses are not given on the originals (although items are numbered) but they are given in Howitt's reordered copies. Some items have, however, been incorrectly numbered and so are wrongly glossed by Howitt.

Of Curr's (1886-7) other correspondents, only one or two were able to recognise initial velar nasal at all, and then only occasionally, while only Montagu Curr has distinguished the interdental stop consistently - indeed, no other worker (except Palmer) prior to the late 1960's managed to do this. The others do not rise above the usual low level of linguistic ability found among graziers and policemen in the late nineteenth century - a failing for which they can hardly be blamed.

The Curr correspondents (other than Palmer) were:

W. E. Armit (Vol. II:300-5), whose vocabulary from the mouth of the Leichhardt River is in Mayi-Kutuna;

Edward Curr (Vol. II:316-7), Mayi-Kutuna from the Leichhardt River, twenty miles below Kamilaroi Station;

Montagu Curr (Vol. II:318-21), Mayi-Yapi from Kamilaroi Station;

an anonymous contributor (Vol. II:330-9), Mayi-Yapi from the Cloncurry River;

M. S. Lamond (Vol. II:322-5); Alexander MacGillivray (Vol. II:340-5).

There is some doubt about the identity of the material supplied by the last two. Lamond's area is given as "Between the Gregory and Leichhardt Rivers" and the tribe is called "Mykoolan". However, the area is much too far west for Mayi-Kulan and is, in fact, rather far west even for Mayi-Kutuna. Comparison of Lamond's vocabulary with others shows that it is closest to Mayi-Kutuna but has a number of items that are typically Mayi-Kulan (and Mayi-Yapi) and others that are typically Mayi-Thakurti. Counts show a 63% correspondence with other Mayi-Kutuna material, 44% with Mayi-Kulan and 46% with Mayi-Thakurti. It has been treated as a Mayi-Kutuna source, but any item not confirmed by other sources as Mayi-Kutuna has been marked in the vocabulary as doubtful.

MacGillivray's area has been very imprecisely specified in Curr as "The Flinders and Cloncurry Rivers" and the people identified as "Oonoomurra Tribe". A more accurate description of the location of the property belonging to this (presumably the same) man is given by Palmer (1884) who mentions "McGillivray's [sic] station on Eastern Creek" as being on the boundary of Mayi-Thakurti (and Wunumara) country. A comparison of MacGillivray's vocabulary with other Wunumura and Mayi-Thakurti sources (essentially Roth for the former, Roth and Marshall for the latter) shows that it has only about 50% in common with the former and about 80% with the latter. Despite the name, therefore, it has been treated as a Mayi-Thakurti source. However, see 1.8.

W. G. Marshall's list in Mayi-Thakurti, appearing in John Mathew's 'Eaglehawk and Crow' (1899:207-72) is valuable as it contains a fair number of verbs and much of the grammatical data available on this dialect. The material is generally reliable except that the spelling is poor - made more so, it seems, by poor writing; thus a letter which he must have intended to be g is printed several times as j.

Roth's material on the Mayi languages is taken mostly from his 'Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines' (1897), although some items are to be found scattered through the North Queensland Ethnography Bulletins Nos 1-16. His spelling system is scientific and his spelling of lexical items is careful, detailed and atrocious. His hearing of Aboriginal words (at least at that stage of his linguistic career) was as poor as that of almost any of his contemporaries and even his careful division of words into syllables cannot be trusted. He gives material in Mayi-Thakurti and Wunumara and a few items (kinship terms) in Mayi-Yapi.

The contributions of W. Turnbull (1896 - as WT, 1903, 1911) of Armraynald Station and A. Donner (1899) of Floraville Station on Mayi-Kutuna appear in Science of Man and are potentially superior in value to most other early sources in that they give a comparatively large number of verbs and also some pronouns. Turnbull also gives some discussion of grammar, with paradigms. Unfortunately, this potential superiority is more or less nullified by their spelling, almost unbelievably bad in some instances, and their lack of understanding of their material, resulting in inaccurate and unreliable glosses and paradigms.

Dutton's list in Science of Man (1899) is not identified and is not separated from a preceding list in another language. It seems to be Mayi-Thakurti, and contains a few verbal forms. The spelling is extremely poor; this is partly due to what must be very poor handwriting by Dutton, which has been often misread by the publishers. Thus "Argooci" *'kangaroo'*, must be Argoon, "Pulva" *'fish'* is probably Pulbee, "Muidie" *'mountain'* would be Mindie, "Mavriah" *'tomahawk'* Marriah and so on.

Daisy Bates' unpublished vocabulary and sentences in Mayi-Yapi, elicited in the Broome area, Western Australia, from Burangani (also called Queensland Tommy) and (same person?) Burrangoo (also spelt Burrongoo), are of higher quality than the earlier material. One peculiarity (whether of the informant or the collector) is the consistent appearance of what should, according to other sources, be [ṭ] as [tʸ]; for example, the language name Mayi-Thakurti is spelt Maiajagurdi. The sentence material is of limited value owing to the absence of bound morphemes.

Tindale's unpublished vocabularies were gathered in 1938 and are phonetically the most accurate of the sources up to 1960. He suffers in comparison with the best early collectors in his

inability to identify the interdental stop consistently and in his consistent writing of a vowel between /r/ and a following consonant, but he is superior in other respects such as his unambiguous rendering of the vowel sounds and his ability to (usually) recognise final /nʸ/. His informants were Jerry Aden (Hayden?), Mayi-Kutuna, interviewed at Palm Island, Polly Walters, from Milgarra Station, Mayi-Kulan, interviewed at Cherbourg and an identified Mayi-Kulan informant seen at Woorabinda. Unfortunately, the last two had forgotten most of their language through long separation from other speakers and the material collected is overwhelmingly contaminated with words acquired at their respective mission homes. Aden's material, however, is reliable. Note that Tindale's vocabulary for the language he called Ngaon has been identified by Sutton (1976) as Mbara and is quite different to Ngawun, as described here.

Sharp (1939) gives only a handful of words, mostly section and moiety names.

A deficiency shared by all collectors up to this time is a complete inability to hear (or at least notate) the difference between the two r - sounds. Interdental nasal is another sound that was never recognised.

It must be remembered, of course, that the early collectors were not, on the whole, educated people, least of all in linguistics, and they are to be thanked and commended for their efforts to record anthropological and linguistic information that would otherwise have been irretrievably lost.

1.6 Interpretation of early data

Interpretation of data on those communalects attested only or mainly from old sources relies heavily on our knowledge of the one communalect comparatively well attested from a modern source (Ngawun), as well as comparison with the surrounding languages (a few of which are well known).

Procedures used to determine the correct spelling of words which appeared in old lists but could not be elicited from modern informants included the following:

(1) Asking a modern informant; the spelling given suggested one or more likely pronunciations and if the informant (who, of course, had previously not remembered the word) recognised it he or she could then give the correct pronunciation. This procedure was particularly useful in Mayi-Thakurti, with Eric Murphy.

(2) Comparing it with a word given by a modern informant for another communalect, preferably, of course, another dialect of the same language.

(3) Taking account of known phonotactic rules for the dialect or a closely related one.

(4) Comparing probable cognates or borrowings involving another language (not closely related but often neighbouring).

(5) Comparing other spellings of the same word by the same or other collectors.

(6) Known idiosyncracies of the collector. These may be deduced from his spelling of better known words in the same language or of words in another, better known, language.

(7) Known idiosyncracies of untrained collectors in general.

These procedures have been listed more or less in the order of their reliability; clearly one would not need (6) or (7) if one could use (1) (although (6) or (7) might be used to determine what pronunciations to suggest to the informant). However, in a particular case the evidence from (5), say, might be accepted in preference to contrary indications from (3) and/or (4).

Note that some of these procedures also led on occasions to correction of the meaning given for a word or of an incorrect attribution of a word to a particular communalect (thus, for example, Sandy Lorraine said that the Mayi-Kutuna word for *'emu'* was tjungguparri, but Eric Murphy said that was Mayi-Kulan).

Examples of the use of some of the above procedures are now given:

(a) Tindale gave the Mayi-Kutuna word for *'vulva'* as 'njiritjin. He is known (by (6)) to have often inserted a vowel between /r/ and a following stop, so one of the pronunciations suggested to Eric Murphy was [nʸirtʸin] (nyirrtjin). He accepted and repeated this pronunciation.

(b) Marshall's Mayi-Thakurti wordlist in Mathew has a number of instances of j where k or g would be expected, including some of nj for ng. Clearly Mathew sometimes misread Marshall's g as j. The word for *'straight'* in Kalkutungu is, in our spelling, thurtuku. Marshall/Mathew's toortoojoo *'straight'* is therefore assumed to be the same.

(c) The word (for *'nose'*) spelt ningar by Curr's anonymous correspondent, nʸng-kă by Roth, nykar by MacGillivray, yeengar by Marshall, nuegar by Dutton and eengar by Lamond is spelt nyingga. /nʸi/ seems to be the only sequence that, in initial position, could be spelt by different people as ni, ny (?), nue (nu presumably as in nucleus), yee and ee. /ŋk/ is suggested by Roth's spelling, with some support from MacGillivray's and Dutton's (which both suggest a stop in that position; the other three spellings strongly suggest a nasal but are neutral as regards a stop following it).

(d) The only rhotic occurring initially in Ngawun is r (/ṛ/). The only one occurring finally or before a consonant is rr (/r/). This is true of a number of other Queensland languages and can be fairly safely assumed to apply to all Mayi communalects. Thus, Turnbull's ianbur *'spider'* is spelt yanburr, Palmer's kurcha *'galls on eucalypts'* kurrtja and Roth/s rō-kō-rō-boo-nă *'ornate boomerang'* rukuRupuna (R is an indeterminate rhotic). However, the word (for *'skin'*) variously spelt beeah, beer, beya, peea, peer and bea is almost certainly piya; r here and in many other spellings (as in many English words) represents a vowel. The r of Turnbull's ianbur was not interpreted as vocalic because the vowel normally represented by ur in English - [ɜ:] - does not normally occur in most Australian languages.

(e) A word for *'cold'* is spelt yerrunga, yerringe and yerringer by Palmer, ye-ring-a by Montagu Curr, yernga by MacGillivray, yeanga by Marshall, yirringa by Armit, yen-ga by Edward Curr and yeiranga by Lamond. This was ultimately spelt yirrnga. Several spellings suggested a three syllable word yiRiNGa (where R may be r or rr and NG may be ng, ngg or nk). However, other spellings suggest only two syllables, and the variety of vowels given in the second syllable of the three-syllable spellings suggest that there was simply a transitional vowel between rr and a following consonant. Edward and Montagu Curr's spellings are mutually incompatible; the former (in conjunction with other spellings) suggests yirnka but the latter clearly indicates no stop. Furthermore, it seems (at least for Ngawun) that rnk does not occur except across a boundary between morphemes. Edward Curr's spelling is therefore disregarded.

The following example illustrates conflict between the indications given by different procedures. Dutton gives goonadee for *'plain (geographical)'* and Palmer goonarry for *'bald'*. The same word has both meanings in some other Western Queensland languages, so it is assumed that this is the case here. Palmer's rr suggests a rhotic and Dutton's d suggests that it would be the tap rather than the glide. It is therefore spelt kunarri. However, some languages have kunari, suggesting that Dutton may have misheard. (Another possibility, of course, in this and similar cases is that the two words really are different.)

Inevitably many phonemicisations will be wrong. The degree to which even the spelling of a simple short word that has not been grossly misheard can be misleading is illustrated by two spellings of mandja *'good'* - Edward Curr wrote myn-ga and Dutton munga. The use of g for /ŋY/ even when a or u follows is not uncommon, while Curr's y is his rendering of /a/

followed by a palatal on-glide for the following consonant.

1.7 Recent sources of data

The first contact of qualified linguists with a Mayi communalect was by the Summer Institute of Linguistics survey team of Oates and Healey in 1960. Their work with a Mayi-Kulan speaker was brief and gave some results that, with hindsight, are puzzling (see 2.5), but they did not have the opportunity to follow it up.

Linguistic survey work by Blake, Breen, Newland, Sutton, Sommer and Holmer during the late 60's and early 70's resulted in the discovery (by Sutton) of only one person able to form sentences with any semblance of confidence in a Mayi dialect. This was Miss Cherry O'Keefe, or Tjapun, a Ngawun who had been living in busy and secluded retirement for many years on Poseidon Downs Station, on the Flinders River west of Hughenden. She was born about 1895 on Cambridge Downs Station, near Richmond (or perhaps at Taldora Station; our information is contradictory). During her early years she had been well known as a fine horsewoman and was once known as "The Queen of the Forest". In later years she became an expert at saddlery and other leatherwork, among other things. She was recorded by Sutton (1970) and Breen (1972-4-6-7) for a total of ten hours of tape as well as some untaped material, mainly in Ngawun but with some Mayi-Kulan. After surviving flood, snakebite and fire during the last three years of her life she died of pneumonia on 24th August 1977.

Others worked with by Sutton in 1970 were Alec Smith (Palm Island), Jimmy Keys (Maryron Station, via Hughenden), Sandy Lorraine (Wurung Station) and Charlie Mulberry (Charters Towers). Smith had some knowledge of Mayi-Kulan grammar and a fair vocabulary (with, however, a number of inconfirmed items which are probably intrusions from some other language); he died before any further work could be done with him. Keys knew a little Mayi-Kulan and Lorraine a little Mayi-Kutuna, both contaminated with other languages. Lorraine, who was born at Lorraine Station, was also recorded there briefly by Breen in 1973. Mulberry, born at Canobie, knew a few words in a mixture of languages, Mayi (but not assignable to any particular dialect) and others; he has also been recorded by Holmer (n.d.b). The phonology of the last three named was not reliable.

Others located, but not recorded, by Sutton in 1970 were Peter Nardoo (Cloncurry) and Eric Murphy (Palm Island). Nardoo, born at Nardoo Station, had the best knowledge of any modern Mayi-Kutuna informant and some fragments of grammar were learnt from him. Unfortunately, he was very reluctant to speak about the language. He was briefly recorded by Breen in 1973 and 1974. Murphy was recorded by Breen in 1978. He

did not remember much without prompting, but was able to confirm much of the vocabulary that had been learnt from other sources.

Bob McKillop was recorded by Blake at Townsville in 1971 and by Breen on Canobie Station in 1974. He called himself Ngawun, but was born of a Mayi-Kulan mother and a white father, in Mayi-Kulan country, and his dialect seems to be Mayi-Kulan with some admixture of Ngawun. A little grammatical material was obtained from him.

Charlie Calwell, a native speaker of Kalkutungu, was recorded by Breen at Dajarra in 1967 in what was supposedly Mayi-Thakurti but in fact mostly Kalkutungu with odd words in Mayi-Thakurti and other non-Mayi languages. Mrs Lardie Moonlight, another native speaker of Kalkutungu, was briefly recorded by Blake in 1967 and 1975 and by Breen in 1972-3-5. The material obtained was essentially the same every time - a few sentences learnt by heart to which she attached a variety of meanings, in either Mayi-Thakurti or Wunumara (or, conceivably, even Wakapunga). However, she was able to comment on a few items from the old Mayi-Thakurti and Wunumara sources.

Holmer (n.d.a) gives some supposed grammatical and lexical material in Ngawun, collected from Mrs Rosie Freeman, born Cambridge Downs, at Woorabinda. However, the whole of the grammar (apart from one interrogative pronoun) and almost all of the vocabulary are, in fact, in a Mari dialect. Only three or four lexical items are genuine Ngawun.

All tapes and transcripts made by Blake and Sutton (as well as manuscripts listed in the References) have been made freely available to the writer.

1.8 Internal relationships in the Mayi group

The percentages of shared vocabulary within the Mayi group are shown in Table I, which is based on the 100 item list published by O'Grady and Klokeid (1969). The actual number of items that could be compared ranged from 77 for Ngawun/Mayi-Thakurti to 36 to 40 for the five counts involving Wunumara; it was in the low 60's for other Mayi-Kutuna counts and in the high 60's or low 70's for all others. In particular the Wunumara list lacked verbs, a category in which similarities between the communalects (other than Mayi-Kutuna) were marked. Figures for Wunumara are therefore probably low. Counts on a bigger list (Breen 1971) give essentially the same results.

TABLE I

Cognate Percentages: Mayi Group

	MKI	MY	MT	W	MKt
Ngawun (Ng)	79	68	46	42	44
Mayi-Kulan (MKI)		86	62	50	55
Mayi-Yapi (MY)			76	59	62
Mayi-Thakurti (MT)				72	46
Wunumara (W)					31
(Mayi-Kutuna (MKt))					

MacGillivray's (1886) vocabulary can be taken as providing additional evidence for a close relationship between Wunumara and Mayi-Thakurti; as noted above (1.4) it was collected in an area close to the boundary between the two and it is lexically closer to the latter, as exemplified by other sources, but is called "Oonoomurra". It is known (see, for example, Breen (forthcoming, section 1.3)) that there may be greater differences in vocabulary between two geographically distant points in a dialect area than between two localities close together but in neighbouring dialect areas (of the same language). It does not follow that a linguistic boundary between the two does not exist; however, it may be marked by grammatical differences much more than by lexical ones.

It seems clear that this group comprises two languages. Using the abbreviations defined in Table I, Ng, MKI, MY, MT and W form a dialect chain; although it is curled so that the two end members (and, indeed, most others) are contiguous, these two do not share a high percentage of vocabulary with one another. MKt forms the second language. The figures suggest that it is most closely related to its eastern neighbour, MY, but the 62% they have in common would certainly have been inflated by mutual borrowing. In fact, at the time when MKt would have split from the other members of the group, they would hardly have begun to split from one another, and MKt is then genetically more or less equally close to all of them.

The hypothesis that the lexical similarities between MKt and the other group is due primarily to genetic relationship and only secondarily to borrowing is supported by a study of the similarities in various lexical categories. This suggests that verbs are less susceptible to change than are most other items; thus, from a (maximal) 250 word list, Ng and its closest relative, MKI, shared 88% of verbs while with the more distantly related MT the figure was 67%. This pair of figures can be compared with the corresponding pairs for nouns of human classification - 75 and 57, body parts - 80 and 46, fauna - 83 and 42, inanimate nature - 71 and 14 and culture - 75 and 36.

TABLE 2

Grammatical Comparison: Mayi Group

	Ng	MKI	MY	MT	W	MKt
Proprietive	puna	puna	puna	puna		puna?
Dative	ntu	nguntu		ntu	ntu	ngunu? nguntu
I	ngayu	ngayi	ngayi(ku)	ngayiku	ngayi(kura)	ngayu(ku)
my	ngatjiningu	ngatjiningu		ngatjiringi *or* ngatjiringu	ngatjiringi	ngatharramu
you (sing)	yuntu	yuntu	yuntu	yuntu	yuntu	yuntu
we (dual)	ngali		ngali	ngali		ngali
we (plural)	ngana	ngana	ngana	ngana		ngana
this, here	kunu	kunu	kunu	kulan		kutu
that, there	kula	kula	kula			
what?	tjila	tjunu		tjunu		tjiti
	ngani	ngani	ngani	ngani		ngani (?, *given as 'who?'*)
Present tense	ingu	i	i	ingu		yi
	lpungu	ingu	ingu	lpu(ngu)		
		lpu	lpu			
Past tense	nu	n	n	nu		la
						na

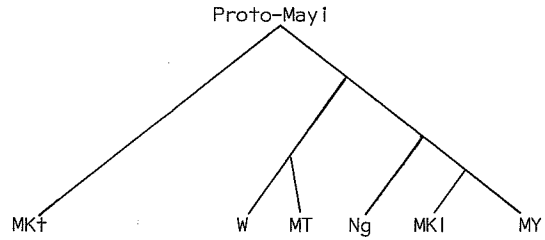
It appears that, since the dialects split up, more words have been replaced in the various nominal categories than in the verbal. The percentages shared between Ng and MKt are higher in some of the nominal categories than those between Ng and the genetically more closely related MT; the figures are 40, 34, 50, 29 and 27. However, the figure for Ng and MKt verbs is 53%, significantly lower than the corresponding figure for Ng and MT, but significantly high for a category comparatively insusceptible to replacement and for two non-contiguous communalects. The figures thus suggest that the two languages are genetically closely related; however, it should not be forgotten that the number of words involved is rather small (altogether, for the six categories, 112, 107 and 97 for comparisons of Ng with MKI, MT and MKt, respectively).

Table 2 gives a grammatical comparison of MKt with the other Mayi communalects. The paucity of data on MKt makes an adequate comparison impossible, but the material available does support the suggestion of a close genetic relationship between them.

It appears that a family tree of the Mayi communalects would be roughly of the form shown in Figure 1.

FIGURE 1

Mayi Family Tree



1.9 Neighbouring languages

Linguistic knowledge of the various groups bordering on the territory of the Mayi tribes ranges from zero (for Wakapunga) to fairly detailed (Kalkutungu). Wakapunga, in fact, could well have been another Mayi dialect although my own suspicion, based on wholly inadequate evidence, is that it was related to Kalkutungu.

Some names occurring in the literature have not been shown on the map. Quippen-bura is shown on Davidson's (1938) map in the vicinity of Richmond; it is not likely to be a language name (having the -bara suffix which is commonly applied to names of sub-tribal groups in Eastern and Central Queensland) but it

probably refers to a group belonging to the Yirandhali. It is spelt Queebinbirra by Armstrong (1886) and may be based on the word guyibiyn or something similar; this and related forms mean *'curlew'* in many Mari dialects (note, however, that Christison in Bennett (1927) gives "moorrkoo" for both *'curlew'* and *'mopoke'* in Yirandhali).

Tindale (1974:166) gives a name Bugulmara for a group located between the Mayi-Kulan and the Walangama; this could be a mishearing of Kumulmargh, an alternative name for Rib (also called Areba) which was spoken to the north of Walangama.

Armit (1886:303) gives other names of "tribes" on the Leichhardt River: Djargirra or people belonging to the fresh-water, Djinumarra or people belonging to the salt-water and Gooran or people belonging to the scrub. It is likely that these are local group names.

Table 3 gives cognate counts, based on the 100 word list, for Mayi communalects with neighbouring languages. In addition, figures are given for two languages which are not contiguous with a Mayi language: Wanyi (spoken west of Ngubirindi) and Gugu-Badhun, spoken some distance to the east and separated from the nearest Mayi groups by two languages, Yanga and Wamin. (It is probable that Takalak too is not contiguous with Mayi.) Apart from the names mentioned in the previous two paragraphs, two languages - Yanga and Wakapunga - are excluded for lack of data. Note, however, that Yanga is believed to be closely related to Mbara.

Most of the languages are known only from early sources. Sources of data are: Kalkutungu, Blake (1969, 1979); Ngubirindi, Roth (1897-1900, Obarindi); Wanyi, Breen, unpublished vocabulary; Minkin, Coward and Edward Curr (1886a) in Curr (1886-7), Turnbull (1896, 1903); Kukatj, Breen, unpublished vocabulary; Kuthant, Black (1980) and Breen, field notes; Walangama, Black (1976); Takalak, Tindale, unpublished vocabulary; Mbara, Sutton (1976) and Breen, unpublished vocabulary; Yirandhali, Montagu and Edward Curr, Dalhunty and Christison in Curr (1886-7), Christison in Bennett (1927), Tindale, unpublished vocabulary; Guwa, Blake, Breen and Sutton (n.d.); Yanda, Breen (n.d.); Gugu-Badhun, Sutton (1973).

No attempt has been made to correct for borrowing, which undoubtedly contributes to the figures for all contiguous languages.

It is clear that the Mayi group is quite distinct from any of the surrounding languages for which data are available. The most promising direction in which to look for relationships outside the group is with the Northern Mari languages (of which Gugu-Badhun is one). No attempt is made to do this here.

TABLE 3

Lexical Comparisons, Mayi Languages and Neighbours

	Ng	MKI	MY	MT	W	MKt
Kalkutungu				9	11	8
Ngubirindi						8
Wanyi						6
Minkin						4
Kukatj		16	13			
Kuthant		11				
Walangama	8	10				
Takalak		0				
Mbara	17			10		
Yirandhali	25			14		
Gugu-Badhun	29				17	
Guwa				21	34	
Yanda					23	

1.10 Glossary

alveolar: a sound made with the tip of the tongue touching the ridge behind the top teeth, as *t, d, n* or *l*.

cognate: when words in different languages show resemblances and are believed to originate from a single word in an earlier language from which these languages have descended, they are said to be cognate. Examples are English *mother*, German *mutter*, Latin *mater*.

communalect: the speech of a community. Two communalects may be dialects of the one language or may belong to different languages (in which case they are not mutually intelligible). The use of the term 'communalect' avoids such awkward phrases as 'language and/or dialect'.

demonstrative: words like *'here'*, *'there'*, *'this'* and *'that'*.

interdental: a sound made by putting the tip of the tongue between the tips of the upper and lower front teeth, as th.

lexical: lexical items are words which have a meaning, rather than a grammatical function. Most words are lexical; pronouns (*I, you, we, he,* etc.), demonstratives, prepositions (*to, for, with,* etc.) and some other small sets of common words are not.

morpheme: a word or part of a word that has a meaning or grammatical function and cannot be divided into any smaller

meaningful parts. Thus *'boys'* has two morphemes - *'boy'* and *'s'* (which means plural); neither of these can be broken up further into parts with a meaning.

morphology: the study of morphemes.

nasal: a sound made by blocking the flow of air through the mouth and letting it out through the nose, e.g. *m, n.*

palatal: a sound made by raising the tongue up to or towards the palate, e.g. *y, j, ch.*

phonotactics: the study of how the sounds (or phonemes - see 1.1) of a language are put together into words - what sounds can begin a word (for example, in English most sounds can begin a word but the velar nasal, *ng*, cannot), what consonants can come together in a word (for example, in English *ft* can occur, as in *'soft'*, but *fd* cannot) and so on.

rhotic: an *r*-sound. There are two distinct rhotics in Mayi - see 4.2.

stop: a sound made by blocking the flow of air through the mouth, e.g. by closing the lips or by obstructing it with the tongue, and then letting it go. Examples are *p, k, d,* etc.

velar: a sound made by raising the back of the tongue to or towards the soft palate, e.g. *k, g, ng.*

Chapter 2

PHONOLOGY

2.1 Ngawun phonemes

Ngawun seems to have had eighteen consonant and three vowel phonemes, as shown in Table 4. Table 5 gives examples of the consonants in word-initial, intervocalic and word-final positions; examples of the three vowels in stressed (first syllable) and unstressed (including word-final) positions can also be found in this table. A dash in this table indicates that the consonant is not known to occur in that position.

TABLE 4

Ngawun Phonemes

Agent and Location of Constriction / Manner of Articulation	Peripheral		Laminal		Apical		None
	Bilabial	Dorso-Velar	Dental	Alveo-palatal	Alveolar	Post-Alveolar	
Stop	p	k	t̪	tʸ	t	ṭ	
Nasal	m	ŋ	n̪	nʸ	n	ṇ	
Lateral					l	ḷ	
Tap					r		
Glide	w			y		ṛ	
Vowel	u			i			a

TABLE 5

Examples of Phonemes

	Initial	Intervocalic	Final
p	palkal *'arm'*	tʸapul *'belly'*	-
k	kan̪t̪ar *'head'*	kakunʸ *'possum'*	-
t̪	t̪iṇi *'tree'*	yat̪u *'father'*	-
tʸ	tʸana *'foot'*	ṇatʸiṛi *'sister'*	-
t	titʸiri *'call of willy wagtail'*	waratanka *'Iffley' (place name)*	-
ṭ	-	tʸaṭu *'short'*	-
m	mili *'eye'*	tʸamar *'spider'*	-
ṇ	ṇala *'by and by'*	yaṇuḷa *'goanna sp.'*	-
n̪	n̪amanu *'saw'*	ṇuṇan *'snake'*	-
nʸ	nʸimul *'fly'*	panʸa *'woman'*	maṇanʸmaṇanʸ *'ear'*
n	-	wanatʸuṇkaṛi *'moon'*	kunʸin *'nose'*
ṇ	-	paṇa *'goanna sp.'*	kan̪t̪uṇ *'father's sister'*
l	liwinʸ *'mosquito'*	pulun *'father's father'*	tʸinpal *'coolibah'*
ḷ	ḷuṇu *'lap'*	kaḷu *'hole'*	maḷ *'hand'*
r	-	t̪ariṛu *'thigh'*	puṛiṇkir *'tomorrow'*
w	waṇka *'one'*	yawanu *'threw'*	-
y	yar *'mouth'*	kaya *'windbreak'*	-
ṛ	ṛimpiṛimpi *'shoulder blade'*	kuṛu *'kangaroo'*	-

The opposition between the two laminal series is illustrated by the following pairs:

t̪apun *'spear'* / tʸapun *'name: Cherry O'Keefe'*

kat̪i *'meat'* / katʸi *'a lie'*

kut̪i *'star'* / kutʸir *'forehead'*

n̪amanu *'saw'* / nʸamuru *'itch'*

ṇuṇan *'snake'* / kunʸakunʸa *'dilly bag'*

/t/ is almost non-existent both intervocalically (known only in the place name waratanka *'Iffley'*) and word-initially (only in the onomatopoeic titʸiri *'call of the willy wagtail'*). /t/ in the former word, however, contrasts with /t̪/ in t̪ayat̪aya *'to cut* (reduplicated)' and initial /t̪i/ does occur, e.g. timul *'bone'*. Within a morpheme /n̪/ seems to be almost non-existent intervocalically but it does contrast with /n/ in the pair ṇuṇan *'snake'*/punaṛa *'white'*. However, the topicaliser -n̪V and the past tense suffix -nu can give rise to pairs like ṇayun̪u *'I*-TOP'/mayanu *'spoke'* or yaraṇa *'you* (plu.)-TOP'/maranu *'took'*. Unfortunately, the vowel of the topicaliser is assimilated to the preceding vowel, but /u/ never occurs stem-finally in a verb. The opposition between lamino-dental and apico-alveolar is shown also by pairs such as kun̪ta *'vulva'*/kunta *'to kick'*.

The opposition between the two apical series must, in the absence of intervocalic /t/, be illustrated by pairs involving nasals or laterals. These include ṇana *'we* (pl.)'/paṇa *'goanna sp.'*, ṇani *'what'*/kaṇi *'shoulder'*, yina *'to sit'*/piṇa *'lower leg'*, kaluṛu *'left (hand)'*/kaḷu *'hole'*.

Opposition between /r/ and /ṛ/ is illustrated by t̪ariṛu *'thigh'*/t̪ariṛiṇu *'is standing'* and pura *'to fetch'*/puṛa *'to run (of water)'*.

In addition to the apical laterals there is a lamino-alveo-palatal lateral [lʸ] which occurs in a few words in a cluster with a following /tʸ/ and which contrasts with neither /l/ nor /ḷ/. Since it is conditioned, as regards its point of articulation, by the following stop and so is predictable it clearly must be regarded as an allophone of one of the other laterals. The choice will be made on the basis of shared features. The features relevant to the point of articulation of Ngawun consonants can be analysed as coronal (the peripherals are -coronal and other consonants +coronal), distributed (relevant only to +coronal; the apicals are -distributed and the laminals +distributed) and anterior (of the stops [p], [t̪] and [t] are +anterior and [k], [tʸ] and [ṭ] -anterior). [lʸ] is +coronal, +distributed, -anterior and so differs by only one feature from [ḷ] which is +coronal, -distributed, -anterior and by two from [l] which is +coronal, -distributed, +anterior. [lʸ] is therefore regarded as an allophone of /ḷ/. Note, however, that on other grounds it could be argued that [lʸ] should be regarded as an allophone of /l/; for example, the fact that heterorganic /ḷC/ clusters are very uncommon while /lC/ is common.

Glides /y/ and /w/ are frequently not audible when they occur word-initially before the homorganic vowel, /i/ or /u/ respectively. However, the convention is adopted of writing them in these positions, and also in those intervocalic positions where they could be regarded as predictable, e.g. /y/ in /piya/ *'don't'*.

One word, [mán̪da:ra] *'sun'* has a consistently long vocoid. This is phonemicised as /aa/.

2.2 Description of the phonemes

Because of the small size and restricted nature of the corpus, little can be said about the pronunciation of the phonemes beyond what is contained in Table 4, and the details of point of articulation given there are based on auditory impression rather than visual observation.

In most positions, excluding only where they follow a nasal in a cluster, the stops are usually lenis voiceless or lightly voiced. Intervocalic /t̪/ after a primary stressed vowel is sometimes a fricative [θ] or [ð], especially noticeable in the word /kat̪i/ *'meat'*. After a nasal stops are voiced; /t̪/ may also again be a fricative [ð] as in /man̪da/ *'vegetable food'*. Note that this is a widespread word which may be a recent borrowing in Ngawun (replacing /palŋa/ which occurs in other Mayi communalects) and that both it and /kat̪i/ (another widely used word) may have been used in local Aboriginal English or Pidgin; thus Miss O'Keefe's pronunciation of them may be influenced by English.

The pronunciation of the nasals has no noteworthy features; nor has that of the laterals, except of course that /ḷ/ has an allophone [lʸ] occurring before /tʸ/.

/r/ is a tap intervocalically but tends to be trilled word-finally and before a consonant. Word-finally, if trilled, it may also be devoiced.

The only noteworthy feature of the pronunciation of the glides is the existence of a zero allophone of /y/ and /w/, occurring (more often than not) before /i/ and /u/ respectively.

In most environments /a/ is a low to mid-low central vocoid. Stressed /a/ is retracted after a peripheral, especially /w/ and especially if another peripheral follows. It is advanced after an alveo-palatal laminal. Unstressed /a/ also is advanced after /y/. Word-final /a/ may be centralised.

/i/ is typically [ɪ] but may be closer to [i] word-finally or before /y/ and perhaps other alveo-palatal laminals.

/u/ is typically in the region of [ʊ], sometimes [o], especially word-finally. It may be fronted and unrounded after /y/ and, to a lesser extent, /tʸ/ and /nʸ/.

All stressed vowels may be retroflexed before a post-alveolar apical consonant. All unstressed non-final vowels tend to be centralised and may be difficult to identify. Thus, for example, the second vocoid of [t̪areru] *'thigh'* and [maləru] *'hand'* (the latter not a Ngawun word but used frequently instead of /maḷ/) is assigned to /i/ only because it contrasts with the second vocoid of /tʸalaru/ *'baby'* and /kaluru/ *'left-hand'*.

2.3 Stress and intonation

The main stress on a word is almost always on the first syllable. Occasionally there is a secondary stress on the second syllable of a trisyllabic word. In a four-syllable word there may be a secondary stress on the third syllable, especially if the word is a reduplicated form. In a longer word secondary stress tends to fall on the first syllable of a disyllabic bound morpheme, if any (for example [ˈkalamùndʊ] *'grass-ABL'*), or otherwise on odd-numbered non-final syllables (e.g. [wánatʸùŋkari] *'moon'*). For purposes of stress the first vowel of suffixes of the form -VC(C)V normally counts as part of the preceding morpheme. Thus [ˈmbamìrɪŋgi] not [ˈmbamɪrìŋgi], although the latter seems to be possible.

The word /puriŋkir/ *'tomorrow'* is exceptional in that the main stress frequently falls on the second syllable, the first vowel then being centralised to [ə] and often reduced, thus [pᵊrˈiŋkər]. This is not an uncommon phenomenon in Australian languages for words of three or more syllables beginning with a peripheral stop (or sometimes nasal) and with a lateral or rhotic following the initial vowel. Note also Lamond's (1886) spelling of this word: bringar, and some spellings of /pulakara/ *'two'* in old wordlists: Anonymous (1886) blagura, Lamond (1886) blakarra, Roth (1897) plă-gă-ră.

Because of the hesitancy of Miss O'Keefe's speech there seems to be nothing worthwhile that can be said about sentence stress or intonation.

2.4 Phonotactics

Ngawun roots all begin in a single consonant (given our decision to write yi and wu instead of i and u initially) and end in a vowel or one of a small number of consonants. Any non-apical consonant may occur word-initially; in addition there are in the lexicon (which contains a little over 300 words) one word each with initial /t/, /ḷ/ and /r/ and two with initial /l/. Table 6 gives the percentage frequency of each CV combination in initial position in Ngawun lexical items. Total percentages of each C and V in these positions are also shown. Note that /t̪/, /n/, /ṇ/ and /r/ which never occur initially are not included. Perhaps the most noteworthy feature is the great predominance of /a/ in the primary stressed syllable.

Note that in Tables 6 and 7 figures are given only to an accuracy that seems justified by the number of words - about three hundred - on which they are based. Figures of more than about 10% are given to the nearest whole number, those between about 1 and 10% to the nearest half and those under about 1% to one decimal place. Any pretence at greater accuracy would merit the accusation of "delusions of accuracy" (to quote Moroney (1953:53)). As a result of this rounding off most sets of figures do not add up to exactly 100%.

Greater accuracy is justified in Table 8 because the figures are based on the number of phoneme occurrences, not on the number of words.

TABLE 6

Initial CV Frequencies

	Ca	Ci	Cu	Total C
p	8	4	5	17
k	11	1	13	25
ṭ	6	1	3	10
tʸ	2.5	2	1	5.5
t	0	0.3	0	0.3
m	7	2	1.5	10.5
ŋ	7	0	2	9
ṇ	1	0	0.3	1.3
nʸ	0.6	0.3	0	1
l	0	0.3	0.3	0.6
ḷ	0	0	0.3	0.3
w	7	1	1	9
y	4.5	3.5	1	9
ṛ	0	0.3	0	0.3
Total V	55	17	29	

Consonants occurring finally are /nʸ/, /n/, /ṇ/, /l/, /ḷ/ and /r/, i.e. all non-vocalic coronal continuants except /ṇ/. Table 7 gives the percentage frequency of occurrences of each V or CV combination in final position in lexical items.

TABLE 7

Final V(C) Frequencies

	aC	iC	uC	Total C
Ø	36	15	20	71
nʸ	1.5	2	0.3	4
n	3.5	2	4	9.5
ṇ	0.3	0	0.3	0.6
l	3	1	3	7
ḷ	0.3	0	0	0.3
r	1.5	3.5	2.5	7.5
Total V	47	23	30	

Consonant clusters can have only two members and predictable glides between vowels are written. Consequently the only syllable types are CV and CVC. The only word not conforming to this system is /manṭaara/ *'sun'* which has a V syllable; phonetically, however, this combines with the preceding syllable to form a syllable with a long vocoid [ḏa:].

The only four monosyllables in the lexicon are of the form CVC; these words are yar *'mouth'*, man *'neck'*, maḷ *'hand'* and nʸal *'just, now'*. Disyllabic roots form 65% of the total, and of these 38% are CVCV and the remainder are roughly equally divided among the three other possibilities, CVCVC, CVCCV and CVCCVC. Trisyllabic roots form 26%; more than half of these are CVCVCV and about a quarter CVCCVCV. Almost half of four syllable roots are CVCVCVCV. There is one five syllable root, wanatʸuṇkaṛi *'moon'*.

The following intra-morphemic consonant clusters occur: homorganic nasal-stop; apico-alveolar continuant plus peripheral stop; apico-alveolar oral continuant plus peripheral nasal; /ḷp/, /ḷtʸ/ and /rtʸ/. /ṛp/ and /rŋ/ each occur only once in the lexicon, /lŋ/ and /rtʸ/ only twice. However, /lŋ/ also occurs in a common bound morpheme. 55% of clusters are homorganic nasal plus stop; approximately one sixth of the total are /mp/ and one sixth /ŋk/. /ṇṭ/, /lk/ and /rk/ are the next most frequent.

About 40% of lexical items have one cluster; apart from a few reduplicated forms only one word has two clusters. One reduplicated form has three clusters, one of which is across a morpheme boundary.

Considering now inter-morphemic clusters, it seems that any cluster beginning with any phoneme that occurs root-finally and with its second member any phoneme that occurs root-initially should be permissible. In fact the only phonemes noted as

second member of an intermorphemic cluster are the peripheral stops and nasals, with the exception of the cluster /nʸṯ/ which occurs when the ergative-instrumental-locative allomorph -ṯV is added to a stem with final /nʸ/, e.g. /kakunʸṯu/ *'possum-E/I/L'*.

The overall percentage frequency of phonemes in lexical items is shown in Table 8. The average root has 5.8 phonemes: 3.3 consonants and 2.5 vowels. The most frequently occurring phonemes are the vowels /a/ /u/ and /i/, followed in order by /k p r m l n ṯ ŋ tʸ y w ṛ nʸ/ with t and the post-alveolar apicals forming the least frequent group.

TABLE 8

Overall Phoneme Frequencies

p	k	ṯ	tʸ	t	ṭ	Total stops
6.6	8.5	3.7	3.0	0.6	0.6	23.2
m	ŋ	ṇ	nʸ	n	ṇ	Total nasals
5.4	3.5	0.9	1.8	3.9	0.5	16.0
				l	ḷ	
				4.5	0.7	
				r		Total liquids
				5.7		10.9
w			y		ṛ	Total glides
2.2			2.4		1.8	6.4
u			i		a	Total vowels
12.7			9.0		22.0	43.7

Other features worthy of note are the preference for word-initial position of /w/ /y/ (about 70% of occurrences of each) k and ṯ (about 50% each), and the preference for word-final position of n and nʸ (about 40% each). Also worth noting is the tendency for the second vowel of a word to be the same as the first. 43% of words whose first vowel is /u/ have /u/ as the second vowel while for two /i/s the figure is 37%; compare the overall percentage of vowels, 29 for /u/ and 21 for /i/. The figure for two /a/s is not so striking.

Some minor differences in frequencies could be expected in textual material. Initial /ŋ/ and /y/ would be more common because of their occurrence in pronouns. All bound morphemes end in a vowel or /r/, so the frequency of other consonants

word-finally would be lower than in the lexicon. Words would, of course, be longer on average.

2.5 Notes on other Mayi communalects

Little can be said about phonological differences between Ngawun and other Mayi dialects and languages. The only difference in the phoneme inventory that can be suggested is that Mayi-Thakurti (and perhaps Wunumara, which is very closely related) has a phoneme /lʸ/. This is suggested by the words /tʸipilʸa/ *'duck'* (Tindale 1938a), /malʸiri/ (?) *'possum string armlet'* (Roth 1910a:43) and the place name phonemicised /kalʸiya/ (Roth 1897:134).

A few phonotactic differences seem to be fairly well established. Mayi-Kutuna has word-final /y/, as a verbal termination and also in kakay *'bad'*, and apical stops, /t/ in /lirapatʸit/ *'lip'* (although the correct form may be /lirapatʸi/) and /ṭ/ in /munkuṭ / *'anus'*, also word-initial /t/, as in /tipari/ *'eye'* and also may have a cluster /rw/ (Tindale's (1938a) /miṯirwaRi/ *'black goanna'*). Mayi-Thakurti, Wunumara and Mayi-Kulan may have a cluster /rṯ/ (e.g. in kurṯu *'two'* in the first two). Mayi-Kulan and Mayi-Yapi have /nŋ/ in /nʸinŋin/ *'neck'*. Mayi-Kulan has /ḷk/ in /ṯaḷkutu/ *'ashes'*. Mayi-Thakurti may have /lṯ/ (in /waḷṯa/ *'tail'*) and possibly /lt/ or even /ḷṭ/ (in NuL(T)u *'skin'* and WuLTu *'river'*). Cherry O'Keefe occasionally (and inconsistently) added final /nʸ/ to Mayi-Kulan words, changing a preceding /a/ to /u/. Thus /yuntu/ *'you'* became /yuntunʸ/ and the bound morphemes /puna/ *'proprietive'* and /muntu/ *'ablative'* became /pununʸ/ and /muntunʸ/. Note also the demonstrative pronoun pairs /kula kulunʸ/ in Mayi-Kulan and /kutu kutunʸ/ in Mayi-Kutuna. Also, the alternative form "punu" given for the proprietive in Mayi-Yapi may perhaps be /pununʸ/.

In general initial laterals are more common in other communalects (perhaps excluding Mayi-Kutuna) than in Ngawun, and there is a correspondence between Ngawun initial /y/ and Mayi-Kulan initial /l/ in two words, /yarku/ - /larku/ *'coolamon'* and /yawa/ - /lawa/ *'to throw'* (/lawa/ also in Mayi-Yapi).

There is no other evidence of regular sound correspondences between unlike sounds, and in most cases where two corresponding words in different communalects seem to differ only minimally the explanation is probably error on the part of a collector. One group of words where this does not seem plausible is found in Oates and Healey's (1960) Mayi-Kulan list, where the usual /panʸa/ *'woman'* seems to be /panʸatʸ/, /panʸtʸil/ *'man'* /panʸtʸatʸ/, /kapul/ *'blood'* /kaputʸ/, /ṯimul/ *'bone'* /ṯimutʸ/, /tʸikal/ *'wallaby'* /tʸikatʸ/ and /pariyal/ *'budgerigar or white cockatoo'* /pariyat/. Note also Bates' "yambitch" *'dog'* instead of /yampi/ for Mayi-Yapi.

2.6 Practical orthography

Table 9, which is to be compared with Table 4 (2.1), shows the symbols used in the practical orthography. Those in parentheses are relevant to only some communalects.

TABLE 9

Symbols for Phonemes in Practical Orthography

p, b	k, g	th, dh	tj, dj	t, d	rt, rd, d	
m	ng	nh, n	ny, yn, n	n	rn	
			(ly, l)	l	rl (,l)	
				rr		
	w		y		r	
	u		i			a

The following rules explain the usage where alternative forms are given:

(a) Voiced stop symbols are used in nasal-stop clusters except heterorganic clusters involving /k/ (where k is written to avoid confusion with the nasal sound written ng); elsewhere voiceless stop symbols.

(b) The spelling of some homorganic nasal-stop clusters is simplified: ndh instead of nhdh, ndj instead of nydj, rnd instead of rnrd.

(c) The lamino-palatal nasal is written ny before a vowel, n before the homorganic stop and yn before any other consonant or word-finally.

(d) The cluster pronounced [lʸtʸ] is written ltj; phonemically this is analysed as /l̪tʸ/ for communalects which lack a phoneme /lʸ/ and /lʸtʸ/ for those that have it.

In addition, the following symbols are used in the comparative vocabulary:

e for a vowel which could be either /i/ or /a/ - for example, the vowel in the last syllable of the word for *'tooth'* whose spellings in old sources include yarcharain and yarcharring,

o for a vowel which could be either /u/ or /a/,

V for a completely unidentifiable vowel,

W for an initial consonant that could be /w/ or /ŋ/,

R for an indeterminate rhotic - /r/ or /ṛ/,

T for an indeterminate non-peripheral stop - /t̪/ or /tʸ/ or /t/ or /ṭ/ - although /tʸ/ can often be eliminated,

D as for T, but in a nasal-stop cluster,

N for an indeterminate nasal - any except /m/, although /ŋ/ can be eliminated unless /k/ follows and /nʸ/ can often be eliminated. (Note that before /k/, if it is clear that the nasal is not /ŋ/, and before /p/ n can be written as it seems that no other non-peripheral nasal occurs.)

NG means /ŋ/ or /ŋk/ or /nk/.

L is an indeterminate lateral - /l/ or /ḷ/. (Note that word-finally and before a peripheral stop l is written because /ḷ/ is rare or non-existent in these positions).

Chapter 3

GRAMMAR

3.1 Introduction

The bulk of this chapter consists of a grammatical sketch of Ngawun. This is followed by grammatical notes on other Mayi communalects.

Ngawun and its sister dialects were a fairly standard Pama-Nyungan language with grammatical categories marked principally by suffixation, and perhaps no prefixation at all. Noun morphology was of the nominative-ergative type and pronoun morphology of the nominative-accusative type.

An interesting and perhaps unique feature of Ngawun noun morphology is the loss of the distinction between ergative, instrumental and locative forms as a result of vowel harmony. In many Pama-Nyungan languages ergative and locative suffixes differ only in that the former has a final /u/ and the latter a final /a/ (see, for example, Dixon (1976:313)). The instrumental coincides in form with one or the other; in most languages with the ergative. In some cases - certain Cape York languages, the Arandic languages, Wagaya - the distinction has been lost because of the loss of word-final vowels. In Ngawun the distinction has been lost because the final vowel of the suffix is assimilated to the vowel of the last syllable of the stem.

Verbs are in two conjugations, the division being made basically but not entirely on the basis of transitivity versus intransitivity. Our knowledge of the verb morphology is probably very incomplete, as little is known of aspect or derivation, especially nominalisation, which is important in many Queensland languages.

One morpheme which may have been a wide-ranging and important feature of Ngawun grammar is -ŋu; this forms part of the compound morphemes -pirŋu which marks genitive case of nouns and pronouns (-pir is the allative case inflection) and -iŋu and -ipuŋu which mark present tense of verbs (the basically

intransitive and the basically transitive conjugation, respectively). The -i of -iŋu is homophonous with a morpheme which nominalises intransitive verbs. The simply inflected verb forms in -i and -ipu function as present tense in Mayi-Kulan and Mayi-Yapi. ŋu occurs also in a verbal future tense inflection -iŋu, which could be complex, and in a few sentences in which its function is not known.

3.1.1 CONVENTIONS

Sentential examples are numbered consecutively and are referred to by the bracketed number, thus 'see (16)'. They consist of (a) a sentence in the Mayi language (b) an interlinear translation and (c) a more or less approximate English translation. Usually (c) is the sentence which the informant was asked to translate and it may therefore not correspond exactly to the Mayi sentence. If necessary some addition or comment is included (in brackets) to avoid confusion. Where a translation is that given by the informant double quotes are used.

In general, pauses are not marked unless they are thought to be significant; most are simply the informant's hesitations. Where they are marked, / is used.

The following abbreviations are used for bound morphemes. Zero morphemes (absolutive, nominative, imperative) are not shown:

ABL	for	ablative
ACC		accusative
ALLA		allative
DU		dual
ERG		ergative
FUT		future tense
GEN		genitive
INCH		inchoative
INST		instrumental
LOC		locative
NSKIN		non-singular kin-proprietive
PAST		past tense
PLU		plural
PRES		present tense
PRIV		privative
PROP		proprietive
PURP		purposive
QUES		question marker (not a bound morpheme)
REC		reciprocal
REF		reflexive
REL		relative clause marker
SING		singular
TOP		topicaliser
3KIN		3rd person kin-proprietive

3.2 Morphology

3.2.1 WORD CLASSES

Ngawun lexical items fall into three broad morphological classes: nominals, verbs and non-inflecting words. The first class can be subdivided into nouns (including demonstrative and interrogative pronouns) and personal pronouns. Further subdivision of the noun sub-class may be possible; the demonstrative pronouns are differentiated, on the data available, by having dual and plural forms, and there may be minor groups of defective or slightly irregular nouns, such as the compass point names. Numerals probably belong to the nouns; they occur in noun phrases but there is no evidence that they can be inflected.

The only other subdivision of a word class possible on morphological grounds is that of verbs into two conjugations, as mentioned above.

3.2.2 NOUN STEMS

The majority of noun stems consist of disyllabic and trisyllabic roots; only in a handful of cases is there any indication that such a root may be, even historically, not simple. These cases are the seemingly reduplicated forms pulpul *'old man'*, kulkul *'heron sp.'*, pupu *'mother's father'* and, less plausibly, kuŋkun *'spear'*, and the trisyllabic stem patʸaŋur *'child'*, in which the last syllable is not synchronically separable although there is a formative -ŋur (see below).

A number of stems are formed by reduplication of a disyllabic unit, although synchronically most of these units may not exist as independent roots. The only known examples are ṯampuṯampu *'lizard sp.'*, also *'breast'* (although the latter can probably also be ṯampu, as in Mayi-Yapi), maŋanʸmaŋanʸ *'ear'*, ṛimpiṛimpi *'shoulder blade'*, kitʸirkitʸir *'willy wagtail'*, manʸimanʸi *'bat'*, kunʸakunʸa *'dillybag'*, kulkukulku *'crooked'*, kuṯukuṯu *'Broadwater (place name)'*. panʸa *'woman'* can be reduplicated but in this case the function may be to mark plurality. There is no evidence that this is so in the other cases; thus maŋanʸmaŋanʸ was used in the translation of a sentence in which it clearly had a singular meaning (*'There's a fly on my ear'*). It is interesting to note, however, that kunʸin *'nose'* was reduplicated in the sentence.

(1) kunʸinkunʸin mantinʸpuna

nose-nose scar-PROP

'There's a scar on my nose.'

Reduplication was not used in other sentences of this type.

Some noun stems are compounded of two roots; in one case one of these roots has been shortened: tʸanminʸtʸil *'toenail'* from tʸana *'foot'*, minʸtʸil *'nail'*. Other examples are

maḷminʸtʸil *'fingernail'* (mal *'hand'*), the language names mayikulan, mayiyapi, mayiṯakuṭi, mayikutuna and mayiyali (mayi *'language'*; kula is a demonstrative in Ngawun and Mayi-Kulan and kutu a demonstrative in Mayi-Kutuna; other roots involved are not known) and perhaps waramutʸu *'blind'* (compare Mayi-Yapi miimutʸu, Kalkutungu mutʸupari, Kungkari mi:imutʸu, and putʸu in some south-west Queensland and South Australian languages). Some such words, of course, may have been borrowed into the language in their compound form; waramutʸu is a possible example.

It is likely that all other words of four or more syllables are compounds, whether native or borrowed. Such words include wanatʸuŋkaṛi *'moon'* (the only word of more than four syllables not presently analysable), paŋkutʸaṛu *'young woman'*, ṯarapuka *'brolga'* (which may incorporate the widespread root ṯara or ṯaṛa *'thigh'*; the Ngawun word is ṯariṛu), walapanta *'black cockatoo'*, palakaṛi *'river red gum'*, ṯulukumpu *'deaf'* and several others.

Several noun stem-forming suffixes are known; however, in some cases lack of data prevents any confident description of their function. One such is -pari, which occurs in tʸuŋkupari *'emu'*, kaŋkapari *'plant, Carissa sp.'*, mampiṛupari *'plain goanna'* and winupari *'galah'*. Cherry O'Keefe thought that mampiṛu "must be something he [the goanna] eats". The phonetically very similar -paṛi occurs in yalkapari *'boomerang'* and katʸipaṛi *'liar'* (katʸi *'a lie'*, katʸa *'to tell a lie'*).

The formative -paṛa may be translatable as *'characterised by'*; it occurs in puṯupaṛa *'tea tree, Melaleuca spp.'* (puṯu may be another name for these trees or may refer specifically to their bark) and kamupaṛa *'wet season'* (kamu *'water'*). Note also the Mayi-Kulan word kupinʸpaṛa *'windy'* (kupinʸ *'wind'*).

A productive formative is the proprietive -puna *'having'* which denotes possession, as of a quality or object, including physical possession (e.g. of something one is carrying) and also accompaniment. In the case of physical possession and accompaniment -puna is more akin to an inflectional suffix than a formative, functioning syntactically as a peripheral phrase rather than as (part of) a subject or object noun phrase. Compare, for example, the function of yaramanpuna in (7) with that of kiḷtʸanta in (36). The fact that -puna is suffixed to the accusative rather than the nominative form of a pronoun (see (10), also 3.2.6) is further reason for regarding it as a case form (but unfortunately there are no examples of other formatives affixed to a personal pronominal form). It may be more correct to regard this -puna, denoting accompaniment or temporary physical possession, as a case suffix ('comitative') and the clearly stem-forming -puna as a formative ('proprietive'). However, there may be no clear dividing line between the two; the -puna form in (2) denotes temporary physical possession but is inflected as a noun stem.

(2) waṭi yalmiriŋki kuŋkunpunaŋka
that man-ERG spear-PROP-ERG
'That man with the spear [killed it].'

Noun stems formed with this suffix include ṯankupuna *'fat (quality)'* from tanku *'fat (substance)'*, katʸapuna *'cold (of an object)'* from katʸa *'cold(ness)'*, nʸamurupuna *'itchy'*, kuntarpuna *'having a cold'*, kakipuna *'sore'*, makinpuna *'porcupine'* from makin *'spike'*, yiṯipuna *'sick'* (cf. yiṯimpa *'to be sick'*), yakanpuna *'hot coal'*, *'charcoal'* from yakan *'fire'*, kumiṛipuna *'smoky'* from kumiṛi *'smoke'*, kamupuna *'having rain (of a cloud)'* from kamu *'water'*, and katʸipuna *'liar'* (an alternative to katʸipaṛi, see above).

The following sentences further illustrate the uses of -puna.

(3) panʸtʸil wirkantu wapiŋu yalkapaṛipuna
man here-PURP go-PRES boomerang-PROP
'There's a man coming here with a boomerang.'

(4) walki/ŋayu ŋapuyupuna wapiŋu
no / I brother-PROP go-PRES
'No, I'm going with my brother.'

(5) wuluntu wapiŋu yaramanpuna
there-PURP go-PRES horse-PROP
'I'm going on horseback.'

(6) piya kanpa kankaṛipuna
don't play knife-PROP
'Don't play with the knife.'

(7) ŋuṉan waṭi yaramanpuna
snake that horse-PROP
'There's a snake near the horse.'

(8) tʸilampal ṉaŋkur ŋuraŋka yiniyiniŋu/maṉṯapuna
that-DU coolamon ground-LOC sit-sit-PRES/tucker-PROP
'There's two coolamons on the ground, with food in them.'

(9) kapuḷpuna tʸila kuŋkun
blood-PROP that spear
'There's blood on the spear.'

(10) kunu yina / ŋalintapuna
here sit / we(DU)-ACC-PROP
'Sit down with us two.'

In some languages the proprietive suffix is used with a body part to denote sickness or other abnormality; the use of a term literally meaning *'stomach-having'* to mean *'pregnant'* is widespread, and see Tsunoda (1976:220) and Walsh (1976:289) for other examples. The term tʸuŋkupuna (tʸuŋku *'navel'*), said to mean *"your belly is sick"*, seems to be an example of this usage in Ngawun.

The privative suffix is -kaṛa, which denotes absence of a quality or thing; the informant could not remember this formative until 1976 and there are only four examples:

(11) yanparkaṛa
beard-PRIV
'He's got no beard.'

(12) tʸila patʸaŋur yimpakaṛa
that child mother-PRIV
'That child has no mother.'

(13) tʸila yalmir panʸakaṛa
that man woman-PRIV
'That man is not married.'

(14) ŋayu kaṯikaṛa
I meat-PRIV
'I've got no meat.'

A suffix -ṯuŋu, attested only in Palmer's material on Mayi-Kulan and Mayi-Yapi (see 3.4.1) was said by Cherry O'Keefe to mean *'lost'* and to occur also in Ngawun. It is known only with kinship terms and could mean *'deceased'* although this does not fit one of the Mayi-Yapi examples.

The third person kin-proprietive suffix -mir is added to a kinship term to denote that the relationship is to a third person, who may be referred to in the same sentence or known from the context. (See also Breen 1976, especially p. 292, on this and the following suffix.)

(15) yimpamiriŋki ṯaṉṯalpuŋu palanta
mother-3KIN-ERG watch-PRES they(DU)-ACC
patʸaŋur kanpiŋu
child play-PRES
'The mother's watching the two kids playing.'
(i.e. their mother.)

(16) ŋapuyumir kurikuriŋu kulu
brother-3KIN come-come-PRES to here
'His brother's coming here.'

The non-singular kin-proprietive suffix -nʸtʸir is added to a kinship term to denote that there are two or more people involved, one of whom is in the specified relationship to the other(s), the other(s) not being separately specified.

(17) waṭi ŋapuyunʸtʸiriŋki kaṯikali maṉṯiŋu
that brother-NSKIN-ERG meat - ? eat-PRES
'Those brothers are eating meat.' (i.e. two or more brothers.)

(18) ŋatʸiṛinʸtʸir punʸtʸampiŋu
sister-NSKIN kill-REC-PRES
'The sisters are fighting.'

The morpheme -ŋur occurs occasionally suffixed to nouns, optionally and with a function that is quite unknown (with the exception of tʸilaŋur, where it forms the plural; see below). It has even occurred in a citation form (witʸuŋur *'no good'*; witʸu was not accepted without -ŋur but probably did occur. In Mayi-Kulan maṯi and maṯiŋur are both used to convey this meaning; Cherry O'Keefe also frequently used maṯiŋur.) Examples include:

(19) piḷtʸur maṯiŋur
white man bad-?
'That [white] man's no good.'

(20) waṭi patʸaŋur maṉṯaŋurku kurikuriŋu
that child tucker-?-PURP come-come-PRES
'That kid's coming here for some tucker.'

(21) ṯimuiŋur waṭi maṉṯamaṉṯanu
bone - ? that eat-eat-PAST
'[The dog] was eating the bone.'

(22) waṭiŋki panʸtʸiliŋki puwanu
that-ERG man-ERG hit-PAST
tʸikal /kuŋkunŋuruŋku
bandicoot/spear-?-INST
'The man killed the bandicoot with a spear.'

(23) kakunʸŋuruŋku ŋana paṯalŋu
possum-?-ERG me bite-FUT
'The possum might bite me.'

(24) waṉṯa yimpaŋur
where mother-?
'Where's your mother?'

(25) waṭaŋka puritʸiŋki puwanu tʸaluŋur
he-ERG big-ERG hit-PAST small-?
'The big one hit the little fellow.'

The only other examples involve the combination -ŋur + -ku (see 3.2.3.3). I have the impression that Miss O'Keefe used -ŋur with kuŋkun (22) and kakunʸ (23) because she had difficulty remembering the correct form of the ergative/instrumental/locative to use (she did not accept kuŋkuntu, the correct form, when it was suggested on one occasion, although she used it on a couple of other occasions, and she had trouble with stem-final /nʸ/ on several occasions).

Number markers have been heard only with demonstratives: a dual tʸilampal (once tʸilampala) and a plural tʸilaŋur of tʸila *'that'*, and a dual kulampal of kula *'this'*.

(26) kulampal panʸtʸil wirkantu wapiŋu
this-DU man here-PURP go-PRES
'There's two men coming.'

(27) wanʸu tʸilaŋur
who that-PLU
'Who are they?'

A few noun/verb pairs may be related by means of a nominaliser -i; mayi *'language, speech'* from maya *'to speak'*, katʸi *'a lie'* from katʸa *'to tell a lie'* and, doubtfully attested from other dialects, kawi *'frightened'* from kawa *'to fear'* (Mayi-Kulan) and lirki *'tired'*, *'lazy'* from lirka *'to be tired'* (Mayi-Yapi).

Two formatives which seem to combine with only a single stem are -ṛu in waŋkaṛu *'another'* (waŋka *'one'*) and -ru, in waṉṯiru *'where to?'*, *'where?'* (waṉṯi *'where?'*). The latter might appear to be an inflectional suffix, but it occurs with an inflectional suffix following in waṉṯirumuntu *'where from?'*.

3.2.3 NOUN INFLECTION

3.2.3.1 *Absolutive*

The uninflected stem of a noun (i.e. a member of the noun subclass as defined in 3.2.1) occurs in the citation form and as the subject of a verbless or intransitive sentence, predicate of an equational or descriptive sentence and object of a transitive verb.

(28) waṭi ṯiṇi· miṭan
that tree tall
'That tree's a tall one.'

(29) yakan kumiṛipuna
fire smoke-PROP
'The fire is smoky.'

(30) tʸilampal yampi punʸtʸampalŋu
that-DU dog kill-REC-FUT
'Those two dogs are going to fight.'

(31) kula tʸalaṛu yitʸampiŋu
this baby laugh-PRES
'The baby's laughing.'

(32) waṭi panʸaŋka ṉantalpuŋu tʸalaṛu
that woman-ERG hold-PRES baby
'The woman's holding the baby.'

(33) kuḷtʸira tʸila yakan
put out that fire
'Put out the fire.'

3.2.3.2 *Ergative/Instrumental/Locative*

These functions are all fulfilled by the same set of suffixes and the corpus does not include the data that would be necessary to justify their separation into two or three cases (although there is one example - see below - of a locative form in a verbless sentence).

There are a number of allomorphs, the conditioning being phonological in all cases but alternative forms being acceptable in certain cases. They may be summarised as follows, where V is the same as the next preceding vowel:

-ŋkV	after stem-final vowel
-VŋkV	after stem-final consonant
-ṯV	after stem-final /nʸ/
-tʸV	after stem-final /nʸ/
-tV	after stem-final /n/
-ṭV	after stem-final /ṇ/
-kV	after stem-final /nʸ/

and a few odd cases including zero. The odd cases and -kV (which coincides with purposive allomorphs) may all be mistakes, except that waṭaŋka must be accepted as an alternative to waṭiŋki (waṭi *'that'*). It is probable that either -ṯV or -tʸV is wrong; more likely the latter. It seems likely also that -VŋkV after final nasal is not correct; however it occurs in preference to the alternative form in about a quarter of

examples. Since there are three vowel phonemes, there are probably fifteen allophones (-ṯi and -ṯu do not occur in the corpus; -ṯa occurs only once, with kaṉṯuṇ, which would be expected to take -ṯu).

Examples of all attested non-zero forms, including those which are suspect, are listed below:

-ŋkV: -ŋka with yimpa *'mother'*, panʸa *'woman'*, ŋura *'camp'* pirpara *'flood'*, karpa *'dark'*, kuŋkunpuna *'the one with the spear'*, waŋka *'one'*, pulakara *'two'*, karuka *'rat'*;

-ŋki with waṭi *'that'*, yampi *'dog'*, ŋani *'what'*, yalkapari *'boomerang'*, walki *'not'* (?), ṯiṇi *'stick'*, kankaṛi *'knife'*, kaṇi *'shoulder'*;

-ŋku with kunu *'this'*, tʸunu *'that'*, waŋkaṛu *'another'*, tʸalu *'small'*, kamu *'water'*, kupulu *'bindieye'*, kumuru *'shade'*, puŋku *'back'*, ŋamuru *'armpit'*, yimpa *'mother'* (?), yalkapaṛi *'boomerang'* (?);

-VŋkV: -aŋka with tʸilampal *'those two'*, miṭan *'tall'*, maḷ *'hand'*, kaṉṯar *'head'*, man *'neck'*, paŋkal *'arm'*, tʸikal *'bandicoot'*, ṛaranʸ *'rat'* (a Mayi-Kulan word), ŋuṉan *'snake'*;

-iŋki with yalmir *'man'*, panʸtʸil *'man'*, stems in kin-proprietive suffixes -mir and -nʸtʸir, ṯaŋkir *'brown snake'*;

-uŋku with patʸaŋur *'child'*, waralkul~waraŋkul *'yesterday'*, pulpul *'old man'*, piḷtʸur *'white man'*, punkul *'knee'*, kaṉṯuṇ *'father's sister'* and stems with the suffix -ŋur;

-ṯV: -ṯa with ŋankanʸ *'dingo'*, wamuranʸ *'crow'*, ṛarany *'rat'* (Mayi-Kulan);

-ṯi with kupinʸ *'wind'*, piŋkinʸ *'axe'*, ŋurtʸin *'wife'* (?), kunʸin *'nose'* (?);

-ṯu with kakunʸ *'possum'*;

-tʸV: -tʸa with ŋankanʸ *'dingo'*;

-tʸi with liwinʸ *'mosquito'*;

-tV: -ta with kiḷtʸan *'grass'*, yakan *'fire'*, paŋkaman *'prickly bush'*, kalman *'Flinders River'*;

-ti with kamin *'mother's mother'*, ŋurtʸin *'wife'*;

-tu with kuŋkun *'spear'*, pulun *'father's father'*, wukun *'frog'*;

-ṭV: -ṭa with kaṉṯuṇ *'father's sister'* (?);

-kV: -ka with maŋanʸmaŋanʸ *'ear'*, ŋankanʸ *'dingo'*, wamuranʸ *'crow'*;

-ki with piŋkinʸ *'axe'*, kupinʸ *'wind'* (corrected to kupinʸṯi);

-ku with liwinʸ *'mosquito'*, wamuranʸ *'crow'* (both doubtful due to acoustic difficulties);

others:

-aŋku with yaraman *'horse'*;

-(a)ŋku with waṭi *'that'* (waṭaŋku corrected to waṭiŋki);

-(a)ŋka with waṭi *'that'* (waṭaŋka);

and several examples with zero, not listed.

The functions of this morpheme are to mark the agent of a transitive verb, the instrument of an action, and location, in space or time. It will be glossed ERG, INST or LOC, according to its function.

(34) kupuluŋku ŋana piriranu
bindieye-ERG me prick-PAST
'The bindieye pricked me.'

(35) ṭʸunu paṭʸaŋuruŋku puwanu kaṯi yalkapaṛiŋki
that child-ERG hit-PAST meat boomerang-INST
'The boy killed the bird with a boomerang.'

(36) waṭi yalmir yiniyiniŋu kiḷṭʸanta
that man sit-sit-PRES grass-LOC
'That man's sitting on the grass.'

(37) pala wapanu waralkuluŋku
they(DU) go-PAST yesterday-LOC
'Those two went away yesterday.'

There is one example of the negative particle walki inflected for ergative. A later check of this was inconclusive.

(38) ṭʸilampal walkiŋki puwanu
that-DU not-ERG hit-PAST
'Those two didn't hit him.'

3.2.3.3 *Purposive*

Purposive allomorphs in Ngawun as spoken by Cherry O'Keefe are -ntu, which occurs after a stem-final vowel, -kV (where V is the same as the next preceding vowel) which occurs after a stem-final consonant, and -ŋuntu, which occurs after either a

vowel or consonant but may be an intrusion from Mayi-Kulan.[1] In addition, some demonstrative pronouns have irregular forms; see 3.2.6. Most occurrences of -kV in the data occur with the suffix -ŋur preceding; the function of the -ŋur is not known (see 3.2.2) but on one occasion Miss O'Keefe would not allow its deletion. However, it seems to be optional; kamuntu and kamuŋurku *'for water'* are both attested, as are maṉṯantu, maṉṯaŋuntu and maṉṯaŋurku *'for food'*. There are only two examples of -ka in the corpus (yaŋkalka *'northwards'*, ŋankanʸka *'dingo*-PURP') and one of -ki (kuŋkirki *'honey*-PURP').

The purposive marks purpose of an action (39, 40, 41) and goal or indirect object of certain verbs (42). It also marks the object of a verb in a purposive clause (44). It combines with compass point names and wulu *'there'* (43) to denote direction of motion (wuluntu being often translatable *'away'*; note also wirkantu *'hither'* which is presumably the purposive form of a root wirka *'here'* which has not been heard in any other context (the ablative *wirkamuntu was not accepted).

(39) ŋayu wuluntu wapiŋu kuŋkirŋuntu
I there-PURP go-PRES honey-PURP
'I'm going out for sugarbag.'

(40) ŋayu ŋampiŋu yalkapaṛintu
I look-PRES boomerang-PURP
'I was (?) looking for the boomerang.'

(41) ŋanintu yuntu kaṭʸiŋu
what-PURP you lie-PRES
'What are you telling lies for?'

(42) kula panʸa pupalampiŋu / maṉṯaŋurku
this woman hungry-INCH-PRES / tucker-?-PURP
'This woman is hungry [for food].'

(43) ŋayu wuluntu kulpilantu wapiŋu
I there-PURP south-PURP go-PRES
'I'm going south.'

(44) panʸa wapanu kupupir kaṯintu ṯayantu
woman go-PAST house-ALLA meat-PURP cut-PURP
'The woman went to the house to cut the meat.'

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1. Miss O'Keefe said on one occasion that -ŋuntu was not right in Ngawun and that it was used much more in Mayi-Kulan. In fact, it seems to be the only form used in Mayi-Kulan.

3.2.3.4 *Allative*

The allative case marker is -pir. It marks the goal of an action (e.g. free or induced motion, speech). It may also mark a goal in time and, at least in a verbless sentence, a beneficiary.

(45) kunu ŋali yinalŋu / maṉṯaarapir
here we(DU) sit-FUT / sun-ALLA
'We'll stay here till sunrise.'

(46) ŋayu maraiŋu tʸalaṛu ḷuŋupir
I put-FUT baby lap-ALLA
'I'll put the baby on my lap.'

(47) kapi ŋali kurantu ŋurapir
come on we(DU) return-PURP camp-ALLA
'We'll go home now.'

(48) tʸilampalaŋka walki kali ṯayanu ṯiṇi yakanpir
that-DU-ERG not ? cut-PAST tree fire-ALLA
'Those two didn't chop any wood for the fire.'

(49) wanʸupir tʸilaṉa kaṯi
who-ALLA that-TOP meat
'Who's that meat for?'

The recipient of something given can, it seems, be marked either by the allative (only one example) or by the form used for object of a transitive verb. Both methods are illustrated below; note the difference in word order. The similarity to corresponding English forms is suspicious. In all other Western Queensland languages both recipient and gift are marked as direct object.

(50) waṭi panʸaŋka wakalpuŋu waṭi miṇṭi panʸtʸilpir
that woman-ERG give-PRES that stone man-ALLA
'The woman's going to give the man the money.'

(51) tʸila piḷtʸuruŋku wakanu tʸila wamura maṉṯa
that white man-ERG give-PAST that old woman food
'The white man gave the old woman some tucker.'

3.2.3.5 *Genitive*

The genitive suffix is -ŋu which occurs with and following the allative suffix -pir. It marks the owner of a person (in kinship) (attested only for personal pronouns but could be expected to apply to nouns too) or of an animal or object, and

also purpose (perhaps only in verbless sentences). There are no examples of further suffixation of a genitive form.

(52) kupu yaṯupirŋu bin yirpanu
humpy father-ALLA-GEN (Pidgin) burn-PAST
'My father's house got burnt.'

(53) yuntu pakaranu miṇṭi / piḷtʸurpirŋu
you steal-PAST stone / white man-ALLA-GEN
'You stole some money belonging to a white man.'

(54) kaṯi ŋuraŋka / yampipirŋu
meat ground-LOC / dog-ALLA-GEN
'That meat [on the ground] belongs to the dog.'

(55) kulaṉa maḷpirŋu
this-TOP hand-ALLA-GEN
'This (ointment) is for your hand.'

(56) tʸila kuŋkun palpipirŋu
that spear fish-ALLA-GEN
'That spear is for fish.'

The compound suffix -pirŋu is sometimes pronounced as a separate word and on one occasion was separated from the stem to which it belonged by two words and a pause. This is tentatively assumed to be due to the informant's hesitancy in the use of the language; there are other examples of suffixes being separated from stems by pauses.

(57) wanʸu tʸila yampi / pirŋu
who that dog / ALLA-GEN
'Who does that dog belong to?'

3.2.3.6 *Ablative*

The ablative suffix is -muntu. The function of the ablative is to denote origin, e.g. of motion, and cause (e.g. cause of sickness, object of fear or jealousy, reason for performing or not performing an action).

(58) kamu puṛipuṛiŋu kaḷumuntu
water run-run-PRES hole-ABL
'The water's running out of the hole.'

(59) kapi tʸurma kamumuntu
come on there(ABL) water-ABL
'Come away from the water'; also *'Come out of the water.'*

(60) waṭi waŋkaṛukuṛu yiṯimpiŋu / kaṯimuntu
that one-other-too (?) sick-INCH-PRES / meat-ABL
'That other fellow is sick too, because of the [bad] meat.'

(61) kunʸin ṯariŋu / panʸamuntu
nose stand-PRES / woman-ABL
'[He] is jealous "from his wife".'

(62) waṭi yalmir kuminiŋu / walkikali
that man lie-PRES / not - ?
wapalŋu / katʸamuntu
go-FUT / cold-ABL
'That man's sleeping; he's not going out because of the cold.'

3.2.4 PERSONAL PRONOUN INFLECTION

3.2.4.1 *Nominative*

The nominative form of a personal pronoun (see 3.2.6) may be used as subject of any sentence.

(63) waṉṯiru yuntuṉu
where you-TOP
'Where are you?'

(64) ŋayu wuluntu wapiŋu kamupir
I there-PURP go-PRES water-ALLA
'I'm going down to the waterhole.'

(65) ŋayu ṯiṇi ṯayalpuŋu / yakanpir
I tree cut-PRES / fire-ALLA
'I'm going to chop some wood for the fire.'

3.2.4.2 *Accusative*

The accusative form of non-singular personal pronouns is marked by the suffix -nta. Singular personal pronouns have suppletive forms. The accusative marks the pronoun object of a transitive verb.

In general the accusative form of a pronoun is the base form to which certain other inflectional suffixes are added. See the paradigm, 3.2.6, for details.

(66) yaramanaŋku ŋana yawanu kamupir
horse-ERG me(ACC) throw-PAST water-ALLA
'The horse threw me into the water.'

(67) waṭi patʸaŋuruŋku ŋananta ṯaṉṯalpuŋu
that child-ERG we(PLU)-ACC watch-PRES
'That kid's watching us.'

3.2.4.3 *Purposive*

Purposive forms of only two personal pronouns were heard; attempts to elicit the others usually resulted instead in allatives. However, it is presumed that they existed, although it may be that in the case of the first person singular pronoun, whose allative form is not regular and whose purposive would perhaps be less likely to be forgotten, the use of the same form for both is correct.

Functions attested are to mark purpose (68) and beneficiary (69) of an action; the latter is not one of the functions attested for purposive of a noun. Allative also is used for both functions.

(68) paraku waṯiwaṯiŋu yirantu
white man call-call-PRES you(ACC)-PURP
'The white man's calling out for you.'

(69) ŋayu yumir puwa warma yirantu
I just hit song you(ACC)-PURP
'I'll sing a song for you.' (puwa is the imperative form; puwalŋu was probably intended.)

3.2.4.4 *Allative*

Allative case on personal pronouns is marked by the suffix -pir (as for nouns), but it is added to the accusative form of the pronoun. An exception is the first person singular, which has the form ŋatʸintir.

The allative of personal pronouns marks goal (as with nouns) and also beneficiary of an action.

(70) ŋayu yirapir mayantu
I you(ACC)-ALLA speak-PURP
'I want to talk to you.'

(71) yara / kamu ŋatʸintir manʸṭʸira
you(PLU) / water me(ALLA) get
'You lot, get me some water!'

(72) ŋayu ŋampinuŋu yirapir
I look-PAST-? you(ACC)-ALLA
'I've been looking for you.' (cf. (40)).

(73) patʸaŋuruŋku yawanu miṇṭi / ŋatʸintir
child-ERG throw-PAST stone / me(ALLA)
'That kid threw a stone at me.'

3.2.4.5 *Genitive*

The genitive suffix is -ŋu, which almost always occurs with the allative -pir; the only exceptions are with the first person singular, optionally with the second person singular and once, later disowned, with the third person dual. Since the allative follows the accusative marker on non-singular pronouns (see 3.2.4.4) the genitive forms of these pronouns contain three inflectional suffixes, e.g. ŋalintapirŋu *'our (dual)'*. (An exception is the second person dual, yipalapirŋu.)

The only use attested for genitive pronouns is to mark ownership (cf. 3.2.3.5). There are no examples of further inflection.

(74) ŋayu puwanu yirapirŋu ŋapuyu
I hit-PAST you(ACC)-ALLA-GEN brother
'I hit your brother.'

(75) tʸilakali miṇṭi yiraŋu / ŋuraŋka
that - ? stone you(ACC)-GEN / ground-LOC
'There's your money! On the ground!'

3.2.4.6 *Ablative*

The ablative suffix is -muntu which, except for the first person singular and second person dual forms, is added to the accusative forms. The function is similar to that with nouns (see 3.2.3.6), but there are very few good examples.

(76) wulu paŋka / ŋatʸunmuntu
there run / me-ABL
'Get away from me.'

(77) tʸila patʸaŋur ŋalintamuntu kawiŋu
that child we(DU)-ACC-ABL fear-PRES
'That kid's frightened of you and me.'

3.2.5 TOPICALISER

The morpheme which has tentatively been given the name topicaliser has the form -ṉV where V is the same as the next preceding vowel. The function is not clear but it seems to be to draw attention to the word - nearly always a personal or demonstrative pronoun - to which it is suffixed. It is optional. It may be combined with inflected forms: there is a doubtful example of wuluntuṉu *'that*-PURP-TOP'.

About half of the recorded occurrences occur in "wh-question" sentences (none of them more than three words) in which it is suffixed to a pronoun, e.g.

(78) waṉṭi yuntuṉu
where you-TOP
'Where are you?'

(79) ŋanintu yuntuṉu pariŋu
what-PURP you-TOP cry-PRES
'What are you crying for?'

(80) ŋani ṯanaṉa pamaralpuŋu
what they(PLU)-TOP make-PRES
'What are they making?'

(81) wanʸu waṭiṉi
who that-TOP
'Who's he?'

(82) ŋani kulaṉa
what this-TOP
'What's this?'

In several examples it is suffixed to a demonstrative pronoun stem in a prohibition sentence, e.g.

(83) piya kuliṉi maya
don't this-TOP say
'Don't say that.'

(84) piya tʸuluṉu ṯara
don't there(PURP)-TOP stand
'Don't stand there [near the fire].'

Other sentence types in which it occurs are denial:

(85) walki ŋayuṉu puwanu
not I-TOP hit-PAST
'I didn't hit him [, someone else did].'

(86) no / ŋayuṉu mayikulan
(English) / I-TOP Mayi-Kulan
'No, I'm Mayi-Kulan' (in answer to *'Are you Ngawun?'*)

imperative:

(87) wulu yaraṉa wapa
there you(PLU)-TOP go
'You go up there!' (Previous sentence: *'Let's go up there.'*)

and deictic sentences:

(88) kulaṉa yiraŋu yarku
this-TOP you(ACC)-GEN yamstick
'This is your yamstick.'

There are very few clear occurrences of -ṉV affixed to a noun stem:

(89) wanʸupirŋu tʸila kupuṉu
who-ALLA-GEN that humpy-TOP
'Who does that house belong to?'

(90) piya tʸila ŋuraṉa yawa / ŋana
don't that ground-TOP throw / we(PLU)
yiniyiniŋu ŋuraŋka
sit-sit-PRES ground-LOC
'Don't throw dirt there, we sit there.'

There are two other sentences - both very similar and elicited one after the other - in which the form of the suffix seems to be -ṉVl although the last consonant is not clear.

(91) ŋanintu yuntu kaṯiṉil maṉṯanu
what-PURP you meat-TOP(?) eat-PAST
'What did you eat the meat for?'

kaṯiṉi was heard on another occasion in an uncompleted sentence.

-ṉV also occurs once on ŋala *'by and by'* (not a nominal?):

(92) ŋayu kuminalŋu ŋalaṉa
I lie-FUT by and by-TOP
'I'm going to lie down by and by.'

3.2.6 NOMINAL PARADIGMS

Nouns (excluding demonstrative pronouns) fall into five groups, each of which can be sub-divided into three according to which

of the three vowel phonemes occurs in the last syllable of the stem. The five groups are: words with vowel-final stems; words with stem-final /n/; words with stem-final /ŋ/; words with stem-final /nʸ/; words with stem-final /l/, /ḷ/ or /r/.

A paradigm for one word from each of four of these groups is given below; forms with an asterisk have not in fact been heard, but are inferred from forms heard with similar words. No word with final /ŋ/ is included; these differ from final /n/ only in (presumably) taking -ṯV instead of -tV for ergative/instrumental/locative (E/I/L). No word with stem-final nasal has been attested with both of the listed E/I/L forms (of which perhaps only the shorter forms are correct). The topicaliser -ṉV is omitted because of lack of data; possibly it becomes -VṉV with stem-final consonants. Forms with -ŋur and the purposive form -ŋuntu have also not been included.

	dog	*spear*	*dingo*	*bandicoot*
stem	yampi	kuŋkun	ŋankanʸ	tʸikal
E/I/L	yampiŋki	kuŋkuntu (*kuŋkunuŋku(?))	ŋankanʸṯa (*ŋankanʸaŋka(?))	tʸikalaŋka
Purposive	*yampintu	kuŋkunku	ŋankanʸka	*tʸikalka
Allative	*yampipir	*kuŋkunpir	*ŋankanʸpir	*tʸikalpir
Genitive	yampipirŋu	*kuŋkunpirŋu	*ŋankanʸpirŋu	*tʸikalpirŋu
Ablative	yampimuntu	*kuŋkunmuntu	*ŋankanʸmuntu	*tʸikalmuntu
Proprietive	*yampipuna	kuŋkunpuna	*ŋankanʸpuna	*tʸikalpuna

The demonstratives used by Miss O'Keefe seem to be a mixture of Ngawun and Mayi-Kulan forms. The two forms of the *'this'* demonstrative are kula (Ngawun according to Miss O'Keefe but used also by Bob McKillop) and kunu (Mayi-Kulan according to Miss O'Keefe but used by her in Ngawun more frequently than kula).[1] The *'that, nearby'* demonstrative forms are tʸunu (used also by the Mayi-Kulan informants) and tʸila. The *'that, far'* form is wulu. waṯi *'that'* (perhaps unmarked) may correspond to the Mayi-Kulan third person singular pronoun ṉulu *'he'*; Miss O'Keefe claims to know no word for *'he'*.

In some cases there is overlap between the functions of an uninflected form and a purposive; compare the following examples in which both wulu and wuluntu appear to have the same directional function, translatable *'away'*.

---

1. However, note the clause kula yiniŋu kunu
this sit-PRES here *'He's staying here.'*

(93) ŋayu wuluntu kulpilantu wapiŋu
I there-PURP south-PURP go-PRES
'I'm going south.'

(94) ŋayu wulu wapiŋu / palantapir
I there go-PRES / they(DU)-ACC-ALLA
'I'm going over to them two.'

All forms attested are tabulated below.

	here, this	*here*	*there (nearby), that*	*there (far), over there*	*that*
Stem	kula kuli kunu		†ʸila †ʸunu	wulu	waṭi
E/I/L	kunuŋku		†ʸunuŋku		waṭiŋki waṭaŋka
Purposive	kulu kuiku	wirkantu	†ʸulu	wuluntu	
Allative (?)	kular (?)		†ʸurmapir[1]		
Genitive				wulmapirŋu	wuṭantapirŋu(?)
Ablative			†ʸurma		
Dual	kulampal		†ʸilampal †ʸilampala		
Plural			†ʸilaŋur		

1. †ʸurmapir occurs only in the sentence

ŋayu kawiŋu / †ʸurmapir / yalmirpuna /
I fear-PRES / there(ABL)-ALLA / man-PROP /

ŋananta puwalŋu
we(PLU)-ACC hit-FUT

which does not seem to make sense. The translation asked for was of *'Those men might kill us.'*

For kular see (149).

The interrogative pronoun forms attested are:

	who?	*what?*	*where?*	*what?, how?*
Stem	wanʸu	ŋani	wan̲ṭi, wan̲ṭa wan̲ṭiru[1]	wan̲ṭa[2]
E/I/L	wanʸuŋku	ŋaniŋki		wan̲ṭara[3]
Purposive		ŋanintu		
Allative	wanʸupir		wan̲ṭiru (?)	
Genitive	wanʸupirŋu			
Ablative			wan̲ṭirumuntu	
Proprietive	wanʸupuna			

The personal pronoun paradigm is given below. It will be noted that in general the accusative form of the pronoun is used as a base to which allative and ablative suffixes may be added. The first person singular is an exception and is rather irregular. The second person dual is another exception, perhaps because the stem has three syllables. Forms marked with an asterisk have not been heard and could well be wrong.

	1sg	*2sg*	*1 dual*	*2 dual*
Nominative	ŋayu	yuntu	ŋali	yipala
Accusative	ŋana	yira	ŋalinta	*yipalanta
Purposive	ŋa†ʸintir (?)	yirantu	*ŋalintu	yipalantu
Allative	ŋa†ʸintir	yirapir	ŋalintapir	yipalantapir
Genitive	ŋa†ʸiniŋu	yiraŋu yirapirŋu	ŋalintapirŋu	yipalapirŋu
Ablative	ŋa†ʸunmuntu	yiramuntu	ŋalintamuntu	yipalamuntu[4]
Proprietive	ŋa†ʸunpuna	yirapuna	ŋalintapuna	yipalapuna

1. These function as locatives.

2. wan̲ṭa *'what?'*, in *'What did you say?'*

3. wan̲ṭara *'how?'*, possibly an instrumental, as in *'How did you break it?'*

4. Also given once as [yɛlmamundu].

	3 dual	*1 plu.*	*2 plu.*	*3 plu.*
Nominative	pala	ŋana	yara	ṯana
Accusative	palanta	ŋananta	yaranta	ṯananta
Purposive	*palantu	*ŋanantu	*yarantu	*ṯanantu
Allative	palantapir	ŋanantapir	yarantapir	ṯanantapir
Genitive	palantapirŋu	ŋanantapirŋu	yarantapirŋu	ṯanantapirŋu
Ablative	palantamuntu	ŋanantamuntu	yarantamuntu	ṯanantamuntu
Proprietive	palantapuna	ŋanantapuna	yarantapuna	ṯanantapuna

A third person dual genitive palantaŋu has been heard but was later denied.

Note that no locative form of any personal pronoun has been heard. The proprietive is used (as in (10) and similar sentences, some with verbs of motion) to mark accompaniment, which in many languages is marked by locative. However, proprietive has the same function with nouns; there is therefore no reason to believe that there was no locative form of personal pronouns.

Note also that first person singular accusative and first person plural nominative are homophonous. This seems strange; ŋana occurs as *'we (plu.)'* in some other Western Queensland languages, but ŋaṇa for *'me'* is very common. However, ŋana was heard for the latter consistently and clearly. Note also the accusative -nta for non-singular forms, compared with -ṇa in many languages; here again we have alveolar consonants rather than the common interdental.

ŋali yuntu (once) and yuntu ŋali (once, in the next sentence elicited) have been heard and this is a device for specifying inclusive in non-singular first person pronouns. This is a special case of a construction (not otherwise attested in Ngawun) in which the third person(s) included in such a pronoun can be specified, e.g. ŋali yimpa would mean *'my mother and I'*. ŋalintu has also been heard as an alternative to ŋali, and could be a contraction of ŋali yuntu.

3.2.7 VERB STEMS

Most verb stems are monomorphemic and disyllabic, e.g. paŋka *'to run'*, pima *'to swim'*, yawa *'to throw'*, para *'to cry'*. Of trisyllabic verbs, a number end in -ra, mostly -ira, which may be a stem formative; note especially kura *'to go'*, *'to return,'* kurira *'to carry'* (and compare Bidjara gana *'to return'*, gani *'to get'*, *'to gather'*, and similar pairs). Other verb stems in -ra include manʸtʸa ~ manʸtʸira *'to get'*, ṯalmira *'to bring'*, yitʸira *'to put down'*, *'to leave (tr.)'*, pakara *'to steal'*, pirira *'to prick'*, ṯiṇṯara *'to cook'* (note ṯiṇṯa *'to burn (transitive)'*), kuḷtʸira *'to put out (fire)'*, kampura *'to cover'*

(cf. Bidjara gambama where -ma is a causative stem formative) and pampara *'to taste'*. Note that these are all transitive verbs. Note also mayimira *'to tell'* (maya *'to say'*, mayi *'speech'*).

A few trisyllabic and longer verbs end in -mpa which is clearly an inchoative formative: wanampa *'to become mad'* (wana *'mad'*), yiṯimpa *'to be sick'* (yiṯipuna *'sick'*), kakampa *'to be tired'*, pupalampa *'to be hungry'*, yitʸampa *'to laugh'*. However, tʸintampa *'to make'* is transitive.

The same suffix, -mpa, is the reciprocal formative:

(95) pala yampi paṯampiŋu
they(DU) dog bite-REC-PRES
'The dogs bit [sic] *one another.'*

The only other reciprocal form in the corpus is punʸtʸampa *'to fight'*, from punʸtʸa *'to belt'*, *'to kill'*.

The reflexive formative is -ila and the only two examples that could be elicited are given. Note that in (97) the subject is ergative; this may be a mistake.

(96) piya punʸtʸila
don't hit-REF
'Don't hit yourself.'

(97) waṭaŋka piŋkinʸki ṯayilanu
that-ERG axe-INST(?) cut-REF(?)-PAST
'That fellow chopped himself with an axe.'

In other cases the transitive form of the verb was used, as in

(98) waṭi patʸaŋuruŋku maḷ ṯayanu kankaṛiŋki
that child-ERG hand cut-PAST knife-INST
'The little kid cut his hand with a knife.'

The only other verbs of more than two syllables in the corpus are kumina *'to lie'*, wartʸima *'to wash'* (probably from Pidgin washim), yirmaṯuna (?) *'to frighten'* and katʸapura (?) *'to be cold'* (derived from katʸa *'cold'*). The last two words were not recognised when checked on a later visit.

Verb/noun pairs such as katʸa *'to tell a lie'*/katʸi *'a lie'*, maya *'to speak'*/mayi *'speech'* have been mentioned earlier (3.2.2). Note also the pair maṇṯa *'to eat'*/maṇṯa *'tucker (vegetable food)'*.

3.2.8 VERB INFLECTION

Ngawun verbs can be divided into two conjugations according to the form of the present tense. These correspond imperfectly with a classification into intransitive and transitive. Intransitive

verbs have present tense -iŋu, transitive (with two known exceptions which have -iŋu) have -ipuŋu.

3.2.8.1 *Imperative*

The imperative form of the verb carries zero affix. This is used for commands and, with the particle piya *'don't'*, for prohibitions.

(99) wirkantu ɨala tʸurma
here-PURP go there(ABL)
'Come away from there.'

(100) yipala / kamu ŋatʸintir manʸtʸira
you(DU) / water me(ALLA) get
'Get me some water, you two.'

(101) kapi ŋana wulu wapantu / piya
come on we(PLU) there go-PURP / don't
yuntu yitʸira yarku
you leave yamstick
'Come on[1]*, we'll go there; don't leave your yamstick behind.'*

3.2.8.2 *Past tense*

The past tense suffix is -nu. It marks action in past time.

(102) waṭi pulpuluŋku puwanu kaṯi
that old man-ERG hit-PAST animal
'The old man killed a snake.'

(103) walki ŋayuṉu puwanu
not I-TOP hit-PAST
'I didn't hit [him].'

(104) pala wapanu puṛiŋkir
they(DU) go-PAST this morning
'Those two went away this morning.'

(105) ŋayu wuluntu kuranu / ŋayu puwanu kuṛu
I there-PURP come-PAST / I hit-PAST kangaroo
'I killed a kangaroo while I was going along.'

1. kapi *'Come on'* is an interjection.

3.2.8.3 *Present tense*

The present tense suffix is -iŋu for all intransitive verbs and a handful of transitive verbs, e.g. manta *'to eat'* and punʸtʸa *'to kill'*, with the /i/ of the suffix replacing stem-final /a/, and -ipuŋu for other transitive verbs. Data on ṉanta *'to hold'* and kurira *'to carry'* (see next sentence) are contradictory: ṉantaipuŋu, and a reduplicated form ṉantiṉantiŋu. Trisyllabic verbs in -ira seem to drop the ra before suffix-initial /i/ (i.e. -ipuŋu and -iŋu - see 3.2.8.5); thus kuriipuŋu from kurira *'to carry'* (but also kuririŋu), yitʸiipuŋu from yitʸira *'to put down'* and manʸtʸiiŋu from manʸtʸira *'to get'*. Present tense marks action or state in the present or immediate future, future action where the time is specified (attested only for *'tomorrow'*), and habitual or normal action or state.

(106) ŋayu ɨananta patʸaŋur
I they(PLU)-ACC child
ṉamaipuŋu / wuluu kanpiŋu
see-PRES / there-REL play-PRES
'I'm watching the kids playing.'

(107) waṭi kawiŋu / kaṯimuntu
that fear-PRES / animal-ABL
'He's frightened of the snake.'

(108) ŋayu wuluntu wapiŋu / kuŋkirŋuntu
I there-PURP go-PRES / honey-PURP
'I'm going out for sugarbag.'

(109) ŋayu wuluntu kuriŋu / puṛiŋkir
I there-PURP go-PRES / tomorrow
'I'm going tomorrow.'

(110) tʸila yampi walki waṯaŋu [sic]
that dog not call out-PRES
'That dog never barks.'

(111) piya wartʸima maliṛu kamuŋku / ŋana
don't wash hand water-LOC / we(PLU)
paṯalkuŋu [sic] that water
bite-PRES (English)
'Don't wash your hands in that water; we drink that water.'

(Note the apparent errors in the verbs in the last two examples - the usual present tense forms are waṯiŋu and paṯaipuŋu; it is possible that these are in fact not errors but verb markers denoting habitual action.)

There are a couple of cases where this verb suffix appears to denote an imperfect tense, but these may be errors.

(112) ŋayu ŋampiŋu yalkapaṛintu
I look-PRES boomerang-PURP
'I was looking (?) for the boomerang.'

3.2.8.4 *Purposive mood*

The suffix -ntu occurs mainly in subordinate clauses (the main clause on some occasions being the interjection kapi) and denotes the purpose of the action denoted by the main clause. There are a couple of examples where it occurs in a main clause; perhaps it is optative in these cases (and so a better translation of (113), for example, might be *'Let me have a sleep'*).

(113) ŋayu kuminantu
I lie-PURP
'I want a sleep' / 'I'm going to have a sleep.'

(114) kapi yinantu / ŋayu kakampiŋu
come on sit-PURP / I tired-INCH-PRES
'Let's sit down, I'm tired.'

(115) kapi / kuririntu (kurirantu?) kamu / ŋurapir
come on / carry-PURP water / camp-ALLA
'Come on, we'll take the water home.'

(116) pan^{y}a wapanu kupupir kaṭintu ṭayantu
woman go-PAST house-ALLA meat-PURP cut-PURP
'The woman went to the house to cut up the meat.'

(117) ŋayu kuminaiŋu / ŋalaṇa / and you told the little kid /
I lie-FUT / by and by-TOP / (English) /

kapi kula kuminantu
come on here lie-PURP
'I'm going to have a sleep by and by. (And you told the little kid) come here and have a sleep.'

(118) ŋayu yirapir mayantu
I you(ACC)-ALLA talk-PURP
'I want to talk to you.'

(119) kapi ŋana wulu wapantu kamupir ṭurkantu
come on we(PLU) there go-PURP water-ALLA enter-PURP
'Come on, we'll go down to the waterhole for a swim.'

3.2.8.5 *Future tense*

The suffix -iŋu seems to indicate that an action is likely or is intended. It may perhaps be more appropriately labelled 'potential mood' than 'future tense'.

(120) waṭi yalmir waṭaŋkakali kuminaiŋu
that man that-ERG-? lie-FUT
'That man's going to lie down over there.'

(121) kunu ŋali yinaiŋu / maṇṭaarapir
here we(DU) sit-FUT / sun-ALLA
'We'll stay here till sunrise.'

(122) ŋayu yira puwaiŋu
I you(ACC) hit-FUT
'I'll hit you.'

(123) waṭi pulpuluŋku maṇṭimaṇṭiŋu kaṭi
that old man-ERG eat-eat-PRES meat
kuluru / yiṭimpaiŋu
rotten / sick-INCH-FUT
'That old man's eating bad meat; he might get sick.'

(124) ṭ^{y}ilampala yampi pun^{y}ṭ^{y}ampaiŋu
they-DU dog kill-REC-FUT
'The dogs are going to fight.'

(125) ŋayu maraiŋu ḷuŋupir
I get-FUT lap-ALLA
"I can pick him up [and put him] in my lap."

3.2.8.6 *Continuative aspect*

A continuing, protracted or habitual action is marked by reduplication of the first two syllables of the inflected form. Thus, if the verb stem is disyllabic and the following inflectional affix has initial /i/, which replaces the final vowel of the verb stem, this /i/ is part of the reduplicated unit. This is the case for one of the allomorphs of the present tense, which is the tense of practically all attested reduplicated forms. Thus, from wapa *'to go'*, wapiwapiŋu *'is going'*; from pima *'to swim'*, pimipimiŋu *'is swimming'*; from maya *'to talk'*, mayimayiŋu *'is talking'* and from ŋampa *'to look (for)'*, ŋampiŋampiŋu *'is looking (for).'*

The only example of reduplication of a trisyllabic stem is kurikuririŋu *'is carrying'* from kurira *'to carry'* (see 3.2.8.3).

Examples of the continuative include:

(126) waṭi panʸtʸil puwapuwalpuŋu yampi
that man hit-hit-PRES dog
'That fellow's always belting his dog.'

(127) waṭi yalmir yiniyiniŋu kiḷtʸanta
that man sit-sit-PRES grass-LOC
'That fellow's sitting on the grass.'

(128) wanʸu waṭi waṯiwaṯiŋu / ŋanantapir
who that call-call-PRES / we(PLU)-ACC-ALLA
'Someone's calling out. Is it for us?'

(129) waṭi ṯimulŋur maṉṯamaṉṯanu
that bone - ? eat-eat-PAST
'He was (?) chewing the bone.'

(130) patʸaŋur wulu wapanu / kanpakanpantu
child there go-PAST / play-play-PURP
'The kids went over there to play.'

3.2.9 OTHER BOUND MORPHEMES AND CLITICS

-kuṛu occurs once in the corpus and may mean *'too'*.

(131) waṭi waŋkaṛukuṛu yiṯimpiŋu
that one-other-too(?) sick-INCH-PRES
'That other fellow is sick too.'

The meaning of -kali (also heard as a free form) is not known although there are a number of examples. Cherry O'Keefe once translated it as *"Go on!"* but this is not appropriate for most examples. It can be deleted with no apparent effect on meaning.

(132) waṭaŋka ŋalinta maṉṯakali wakanu
that-ERG we(DU)-ACC food - ? give-PAST
'She gave us some tucker.'

(133) walkikali wapalŋu / katʸamuntu
not - ? go-FUT / cold-ABL
'He's not going to go; it's too cold.'

(134) waṭi yalmir waṭaŋkakali kuminalŋu
that man that-LOC-? lie-FUT

repeated as waṭaŋka kali / kuminalŋu
that-LOC ? / lie-FUT

and as waṭaŋka wulukali kuminalŋu
that-LOC there-? lie-FUT
'He's going to lie down over there.'

(135) ṯana patʸaŋuruŋku miṇṭikali ṯayalpuŋu
they(PLU) child-ERG stone - ? cut-PRES

verb corrected to yawalŋu, then sentence repeated as
patʸaŋuruŋku miṇṭikali yawalŋu ŋanantapir
child-ERG stone - ? throw-FUT we(PLU)-ACC-ALLA
'The kids are throwing stones.'

(136) waṭi ŋapuyunʸtʸiriŋki kaṯikali maṉṯiŋu
that brother-NSKIN-ERG meat - ? eat-PRES
'Those brothers are eating meat.'

(137) waṭi miṭan yalmir / kuŋkunkali ṉantiṉantiŋu
that tall man / spear - ? hold-hold-PRES
'That tall man is holding a spear.'

(This sentence was repeated with the subject noun phrase carrying ergative inflection and -kali omitted.)

(138) kali puwa tʸunu kaṯi ŋuṉan
? hit that animal snake
'Kill that snake.'

(139) pulakara ṯiṇi wulu kali ṯaṛiṯaṛiŋu
two tree there ? stand-stand-PRES
'There's two trees over there.'

(140) tʸilampalaŋka(?) walki kali ṯayanu
that-DU-ERG not ? cut-PAST
ṯiṇi yakanpir
tree fire-ALLA
'They didn't chop the wood for the fire.'

(141) yampiŋki tʸila ṯimul(kali) maṉṯiŋu
dog-ERG that bone (- ?) eat-PRES
'The dog is eating the bone.'

(142) kali ṯiṉṯa tʸila yikala
(go on) burn that grass
'Burn that grass right now!'

(143) nʸal kali kuriŋu
just ? come-PRES
'He's just (now) coming.'

(144) kali mayimira tʸila wulu wapantu
? tell that there go-PURP
'Tell him to go away.'

-(u)ŋu occurs in the following sentences:

(145) waralkuluŋku wamuruŋu yiṯimpanu
yesterday-LOC old-woman-? sick-INCH-PAST
'Yesterday the old woman was sick.' (wamura *'old woman'*)

(146) yampiŋki ṯaṉṯalpuŋu waṭi yalmir
dog-ERG watch-PRES that man
maṉṯantaluŋu(?) maṉṯiŋu
food-?-REL-? eat-PRES
'The dog's watching the man eating.'

(147) ŋayu ŋampinuŋu yirapir (V3 in the verb is doubtful)
I look-?-? you(ACC)-ALLA
'I've been looking for you.'

(148) ŋayu ŋaŋkalaŋu panʸapanʸa mayimayiŋu
I hear-?-? woman-woman talk-talk-PRES
'I heard two women talking.'

-nta occurs in (146) and also in,

(149) walki ŋalinta
not we(DU)-?
'It wasn't us.' (In reply to:
piya yipala yawa miṇṭi kula(r)
don't you(DU) throw stone here(ALLA)
'Don't you throw stones over here.'

Compare also ŋalinta *'we*(DU-ACC'.)

(150) wulu yaranta wapa
there you(PL)-? go
'You go up there.' (Compare yaranta *'you*(PLU)-ACC.')

-lu may mark a subordinate clause, and will be discussed in 3.3.3.9.

3.3 Syntax

3.3.1 PHRASE

Sentences are made up basically of phrases: noun phrases, which denote the subject of the sentence, or are equated to or denote a quality of the subject, or denote the object affected by an action; verb phrases, which describe an action or state; peripheral phrases, which qualify noun or verb phrases and denote such concepts as instrument of an action, cause, location, time etc.; particles, which modify the meaning of a sentence (e.g. by negating it).

A noun phrase is made up of one or more of the constituents pronoun (personal or demonstrative or interrogative), numeral, noun (one or more), in that order (except that the position of the numeral is not definitely established). Where there are two nouns one qualifies the other; either may precede. There are no examples of a phrase with more than two nouns. There are no grounds for postulating a syntactic sub-class, adjectives, of nouns (although such a sub-class, based on word order, may perhaps be obscured by interference of English word order). Examples of noun phrases are: ŋali *'we two'*; wanʸu *'who?'*; maṉṯa *'food'*; kula panʸtʸil *'this man'*; pulakara yampiŋki *'two dogs* (ergative)'; ṯananta patʸanur *'those children* (accusative)'; waṭaŋka miṭanaŋka yalmir *'that tall man* (ergative).'

Where a noun phrase of more than one word is inflected for ergative, the inflectional suffix may be attached to any one or more than one of the constituents. For example:

waṭiŋki yalmiriŋki, waṭaŋka yalmiriŋki, waṭiŋki yalmir, waṭaŋka yalmir, waṭi yalmiriŋki *'that man* (ergative)' have all been recorded.

Note also

waṭi panʸa tʸaluŋku *'that small woman* (ergative)' and waṭaŋka yalmir miṭaŋ *'that tall man* (ergative)'.

Where there are two words in the phrase, one being a personal pronoun (or, perhaps, a numeral), the other must carry the

inflectional suffix (if any):

yara pat^{y}aŋuruŋku *'you children* (ergative)'

pulakara yampiŋki *'two dogs* (ergative)'

Verb phrases consist of verbs, e.g. yirapanu *'burned'*, yit^{y}ampiŋu *'is laughing'*, ṯala *'go away.'* The only possible two word verb phrase attested is the idiomatic kun^{y}in ṯariŋu *'is jealous'*, literally *'nose is standing'*, i.e. consisting of a noun and an intransitive verb, but it is probably more correct to regard kun^{y}in as part of the subject noun phrase.

Peripheral phrases are so called because they are optional constituents outside the sentence nucleus. They consist of inflected nominals or adverbs, e.g. ŋuraŋka *'on the ground'*, ṯiṇimuntu *'from the tree'*, kulpilantu *'to the south'*, puṛiŋkir *'tomorrow'*, t^{y}urma *'from there'*, ŋanintu *'what for?'*, n^{y}al *'just'*. There are no clear examples showing how peripheral phrases containing more than one noun would be inflected.

Modifiers are the prohibitive piya *'don't'*, the negative walki *'not'* and the question marker wayi.

3.3.2 CLAUSE

A clause is a construction of phrases which can stand alone as a sentence or can combine with one or more other clauses (with some modification in certain cases) to form a compound or complex sentence. As most sentences in the Ngawun corpus consist of a single clause there will be no further discussion of clauses as distinct from sentences.

3.3.3 SENTENCE

Sentences may be classified in several ways: verbless versus intransitive versus transitive versus reflexive versus reciprocal; statement versus denial versus command versus question; simple versus compound versus complex; other possible categories are not relevant to this description. The first classification is described first, simple statement sentences being described in the process. Denial, command and question sentences are then described, followed by compound and complex sentences.

Word order seems to be fairly free (except perhaps within a phrase; see 3.3.1); however, the degree and frequency of variation are not clear because of the informant's lack of fluency. Basic order seems to be SVO (154) except that when O is a pronoun it precedes V (158). Both of these orders - SVO_N and SO_PV - are frequent and there are few exceptions (one is (153)), which suggests that interference from English word order might not be a factor. SV, the basic order for intransitive sentences, is illustrated in (167-9).

Interrogatives and the prohibitive particle regularly take first place (156, 159), and the negative particle usually does (175-6). Peripheral phrases frequently occur within the sentence nucleus (151-2, 157), but also often follow it (153-5) and occasionally precede it (145). In particular, directional demonstratives like wulu and wuluntu often come between subject and verb (155, 160). Particles often occur within the sentence nucleus (203-10).

(151) ŋayu kupuŋku yiniŋu
I humpy-LOC sit-PRES
'I'm in the house.'

(152) t^{y}ila n^{y}imul maḷaŋka yiniyiniŋu
that fly hand-LOC sit-sit-PRES
'There's a fly on my hand.'

(153) ŋayu kaṯi yawanu yakanpir
I meat throw-PAST fire-ALLA
'I threw the meat in the fire.'

(154) t^{y}unu pat^{y}aŋuruŋku puwanu kaṯi yalkapaṛiŋki
that child-ERG hit-PAST animal boomerang-INST
'That kid killed a bird with a boomerang.'

(155) ŋayu wuluntu wapiŋu kaṯiŋurku
I there-PURP go-PRES meat-?-PURP
'I'm going out for meat.'

(156) waṉṯiru yuntu wapiŋu
where-ALLA you go-PRES
'Where are you going?'

(157) yuntu ŋat^{y}unpuna wapiŋu
you me-PROP go-PRES
'Are you coming with me?'

(158) t^{y}unu ŋankan^{y}ṯa ŋana paṯalŋu
that dingo-ERG me bite-FUT
'The dingo might bite me.'

(159) piya t^{y}uluṉu ṯaṛa
don't there-TOP stand
'Don't stand there.'

3.3.3.1 *Verbless sentences*

Verbless sentences consist of two noun phrases or a noun phrase and a peripheral phrase. It was difficult to elicit sentences of the latter type, other than those involving a genitive phrase (as in (166)) or a proprietive phrase (as in (165)). Attempts to do so usually resulted in intransitive sentences, such as:

(160) pulakara ṯiṇi wulu ṯariṯariṇu
two tree there stand-stand-PRES
'There's two trees over there.'

However, one example with allative and one with ablative were eventually obtained.

Examples of verbless sentences include:

(161) waṭi ṯiṇi miṭan
that tree tall
'That tree's a tall one.'

(162) panʸa tʸalu kawaṯura
woman small greedy
'The little woman is greedy.'

(163) ṯana ṇuwaṭumuntu
they(PLU) Taldora-ABL
'They're Taldora people.'

(164) kula kaṯi wamuranʸpir
this meat crow-ALLA
'This meat is for the crows.'

(In a sentence like (164) the genitive -pirṇu seems to be more common than the allative.)

(165) ṇuṉan waṭi / yaramanpuna
snake that / horse-PROP
'There's a snake near the horse.'

(166) kaṯi ṇuraṇka yampipirṇu
meat ground-LOC dog-ALLA-GEN
'That meat [on the ground] belongs to the dog.'

3.3.3.2 *Intransitive sentences*

Intransitive sentences consist of noun phrase, intransitive verb and optional peripheral phrases:

(167) yimpa ṇatʸiniṇu mutʸanu
mother me-GEN die-PAST
'My mother died.'

(168) yumir ṇayu kuminantu
just I lie-PURP
'I'm just going to have a sleep.'

(169) waṭi kawiṇu kaṯimuntu
that fear-PRES animal-ABL
'He's frightened of the snake.'

3.3.3.3 *Transitive sentences*

Transitive sentences consist of subject noun phrase, object noun phrase, transitive verb and optional peripheral phrases:

(170) kupuluṇku ṇana piriranu
bindieye-ERG me prick-PAST
'The bindieye pricked me.'

(171) waṭaṇka puwanu ṇapuyu ṇatʸiniṇu
that-ERG hit-PAST brother me-GEN
'That fellow hit my brother.'

(172) ṇayu maṉṯa yirapir kuririṇu
I food you(ACC)-ALLA carry-PRES
'I'm bringing some tucker for you.'

As in many Australian languages, the verb *'to give'* is ditransitive, governing two direct objects.

(173) waṭaŋka yalmir ŋalinta maṇṭa
that-ERG man we(DU)-ACC food

wakalpuŋu
give-PRES

'That man's giving us some tucker.'

3.3.3.4 *Reflexive and reciprocal sentences*

Very little data on these sentences could be obtained; the only reflexive sentences are illustrated above ((96, 97) in 3.2.7) as is the type of sentence usually obtained instead of reflexives (98).

Apart from (95) in 3.2.7, the only reciprocal sentences involve the verb pun^{y}ṭ^{y}ampa *'to fight'*.

(174) pala yampi pun^{y}ṭ^{y}ampiŋu

they(DU) dog kill-REC-PRES

'The two dogs are fighting.'

On one occasion the informant used ergative inflection on the subject of this verb, and maintained it when it was questioned. However, on several other occasions the subject was unmarked.

3.3.3.5 *Negation*

Negation of a statement is by means of the negative particle walki *'not'*.

(175) walki ŋayu ṇamalpuŋu

not I see-PRES

'I can't see it.'

(176) walki waṭi wapiŋu

not that go-PRES

'He's not going.'

Negation of a command will be described in 3.3.3.6.

3.3.3.6 *Commands*

Imperative sentences (including prohibitions) are characterised by optional deletion of the subject noun phrase, which is normally retained if the subject is non-singular but deleted if it is singular.

(177) ṭ^{y}urma yikalamuntu wapa

there grass-ABL go

'Get off the grass.'

(178) kapi ŋana waka ṭ^{y}ila minṭi

come on me give that stone

'Come on, give me that money.'

(Probably the word for *'stone'* is used for coins, not money in general.)

(179) yina yipala kunu

sit you(DU) here

'You two sit down here.'

(180) yuntu kura puṛiŋkir

you come tomorrow

'You come tomorrow.'

The subject is normally second person, but note:

(181) wulu ŋali wapa / kamuntu ŋampiŋu

there we(DU) go / water-PURP look-PRES

'We'll keep on walking, looking for water.'

The particle piya is used to negate an imperative sentence.

(182) piya kanpa kankaṛipuna

don't play knife-PROP

'Don't play with the knife.'

3.3.3.7 *Questions*

"Wh-questions" are characterised by the presence, usually initially, of an interrogative pronoun. This may also function as an indefinite pronoun (186); the functions of interrogative and indefinite are not separated in most Australian languages.

(183) ŋaniŋki yuntu ṯayanu
what-INST you cut-PAST
'What did you cut it with?'

(184) ŋanintu yuntu kaṯʸiŋu
what-PURP you lie-PRES
'What are you telling lies for?'

(185) wanʸupirŋu ṯʸila yalkapaṛi
who-ALLA-GEN that boomerang
'Whose boomerang is that?'

(186) wanʸu waṭi waṯiwaṯiŋu / ŋanantapir
who that call-call-PRES / we(PLU)-ACC-ALLA
'Someone's singing out. Is it for us?'

(187) waṉṯi yaṯu yiraŋu
where father you(ACC)-GEN
'Where's your father?'

Choice questions, which require as answer a choice between alternatives, usually 'yes' and 'no', may be distinguished only by intonation or may use the question particle wayi. Miss O'Keefe thought on one occasion that wayi was the English word *'why'* but this is probably not so; cognate forms with the same or related function occur in other languages, e.g. wayi in Warluwara, wiy in Wagaya, wayi (*'how'*, as in *'how big?'*) in Yandruwandha, wiya- (base of interrogative verbs) in Dyirbal (Dixon, 1972:55), perhaps keya- in Kukatj. Examples include:

(188) ŋayu wuluntu kuriŋu / yuntu
I there-PURP go-PRES / you
ŋatʸunpuna wapiŋu
me-PROP go-PRES
'I'm going away; are you coming with me?'
(Rising intonation on the last word, where a fall would be expected in a statement.)

(189) yuntu ŋatʸintir mayantu
you me-ALLA talk-PURP
'Do you want to talk to me?'
(Intonation pattern obscured by hesitations.)

(190) wayi yipala ṉamanu ŋuṉan
QUES you(DU) see-PAST snake
'Did you see the snake?'

(191) wayi yuntu ŋaŋkalpuŋu / wululu mayimayiŋu
QUES you hear-PRES / there-REL talk-talk-PRES
'Do you hear someone talking?'

3.3.3.8 *Compound sentences*

Compound sentences consist of more than one clause, with no subordination of one clause to another. They consist simply of juxtaposed clauses with no marker of co-ordination, except that a noun phrase may be deleted from the second if it appears in the first.

Data are not adequate for formulating any rule of noun phrase deletion, but some remarks can be made. Using the abbreviation S for subject of an intransitive verb, A for subject of a transitive verb and O for object, and subscripts 1 for first clause and 2 for second clause in a sentence, we have examples of the following:

deletion of S_2 when $O_1 = S_2$ (15),

deletion of O_1 when $O_1 = S_2$ (210),

deletion of S_2 when $S_1 = S_2$ (62, 181),

deletion of S_2 when $A_1 = S_2$ (123, 193?),

deletion of O_1 or S_2 - it is not possible to say which - when $O_1 = S_2$ (148),

no deletion when $S_1 = A_2$ (105).

The absence of deletion in the last case could be due to the speaker's hesitancy, but there is another similar example in the corpus (in which S_1 is waṭi *'that'* and S_2 the ergative form of the same root, waṭaŋka).

(192) ŋayu wuluntu wapiŋu / kula yiniŋu kunu
I there-PURP go-PRES / this sit-PRES here
'I'm going there; he's staying here.'

(193) waṭi panʸṯʸil maṉṯiŋu kaṯi wuluntu wapiŋu
that man eat-PRES meat there-PURP go-PRES
'He's eating while he's walking along.'

(Note that there are a number of instances of omission of the ergative inflection from the subject of the verb 'to eat', and also several cases where it does appear. This may be due to a partly remembered construction of a form perhaps like that of Kalkutungu where a few verbs, including 'to eat', have an unmarked agent and a dative object; Yalarnnga, where this is

optional (the verb then carrying the first order suffix -li); Pitta-Pitta, where a suffix, again -li, intransitivises some verbs, including 'to eat' (the object being omitted), or Yandruwandha, where the reflexive-reciprocal marker -indri may be used with some verbs, again including 'to eat', the agent and object both then being unmarked.)

3.3.3.9 *Complex sentences*

Complex sentences consist of a main clause and one or more subordinate clauses. Two types of subordinate clause have been noted in Ngawun; purposive clauses with the verb carrying the inflection -ntu (which, however, can also appear on a verb in a main clause) and, less definitely established, simultaneous action clauses and relative clauses in which one word, probably always the first, carries the marker -lu. In general, attempts to elicit complex sentences other than purposive were not successful.

Most purposive subordinate clauses in the corpus are subordinated to a main clause which comprises just the interjection kapi, e.g. (114, 115, 117) as well as (194), but a few have a main clause with a verb (116, 195). (119) has both kinds.

(194) kapi ŋali kurantu ŋurapir
come on we(DU) return-PURP camp-ALLA
'Let's go back to camp.'

(195) patʸaŋur wulu wapanu kanpakanpantu
child there go-PAST play-play-PURP
'The kids went over there to play.'

All examples of sentences with -lu are listed below, except one (for which see (191)):

(196) ŋayu ṯananta patʸaŋur
I they(PLU)-ACC child
ŋamalpuŋu / wululu kanpiŋu
see-PRES / there-REL play-PRES
'I'm watching the kids playing.'

(The informant translated the second clause as *"where they're playing."*)

(197) yampiŋki ṯaṉṯalpuŋu waṭi yalmir
dog-ERG watch-PRES that man
maṉṯantaluŋu(?) maṉṯiŋu
food-?-REL-? eat-PRES
'The dog's watching the man eating.'

(198) waṭaŋka waralkuluŋkulu wapanu / pakaranu
that-ERG yesterday-LOC-REL go-PAST / steal-PAST
miṇṭi yiraŋu
stone you(ACC)-GEN
'The man who came here yesterday took your money.'

(The relative clause is embedded in the main clause here.)

(199) waṭi wululu kuranu waralkuluŋku
that there-REL go-PAST yesterday-LOC
'That fellow left yesterday.'

(This sentence was elicited immediately after (198) and may have been thought of by the informant as dependent on it.)

(200) waṭi nʸal kuriŋu ŋurapir / wululu
that just return-PRES camp-ALLA / there-REL
wapanu waralkuluŋku
go-PAST yesterday-LOC
'That man who went away yesterday is just coming back to the camp now.'

(201) waka tʸila wululu pupalampiŋu
give that that-REL hungry-INCH-PRES
'Give it to that hungry fellow.'

3.3.4 INTERJECTIONS

The words ŋawiku *'yes'* and walki *'no'* can stand alone, often as the answer to a question, in substitution for a sentence.

The expression kapi *'come on!'*, which has cognates in many Australian languages, is used frequently in Ngawun. Syntactically it functions as a verb in that it governs a purposive verb form, as in (114), (115), (117), (119). It behaves like an imperative verb also in such sentences as (202). However, it does not have the final /a/ of all Ngawun imperatives and it is best treated as an interjection.

(202) kapi tʸurma yakanmuntu
come on there(ABL) fire-ABL
'Come away from the fire!'

3.3.5 OTHER PARTICLES

The particles yumir, nʸal and yuŋkal (~ wuŋkal) are all translated *'just'* by the informant. Examples suggest that the first may mean *'just about (to)'*, *'on the point of'*, the second *'just now'* and the third *'just'* in the sense of *'without any*

reason'. However, compare (205) with (207). (Kok-Nar nʸile has a similar meaning to that suggested for nʸal.)

(203) ŋayu yumir ṉumalŋu kunu kaṯi
I just smell-FUT this meat
'I'm just going to smell the meat.'

(204) yumir ŋayu kuminantu
just I lie-PURP
'I'm just going for a sleep.'

(205) yumir ṯiṉṯa tʸila kiḷtʸan
just burn that grass
'Burn that grass [immediately (?)].'

(206) waṯi nʸal kuriŋu ŋurapir
that just return-PRES camp-ALLA
'He's just coming back to the camp.'

(207) kali tiṉṯa nʸal
? burn just
'Burn it now.'

(208) ŋanintu yuntuṉu pariŋu / yuŋkal
what-PURP you-TOP cry-PRES / just
ŋayu kawiŋu tʸurma yalmirmuntu
I fear-PRES that-ABL man-ABL
'What are you crying for?' 'I'm just frightened of that man.'

(209) ŋayu wuŋkal wapiŋu
I just go-PRES
'I'm just walking about.'

(In a later check it was found that the form yuŋkal was accepted in preference to wuŋkal.)

(210) ŋayu yuŋkal ṯaṯalpuŋu / yampi punʸtʸampiŋu
I just watch-PRES / dog kill-REC-PRES
'I'm just watching those dogs fighting.'

ŋala was said to mean *"by and by"*. There are only two examples:

(211) ŋayu kuminalŋu ŋalaṉa
I lie-FUT by and by-TOP
'I'm going to lie down by and by.'

(212) yampiŋki waṯi pakaranu
dog-ERG that steal-PAST
kaṯi / ŋala yitʸira
meat / by and by put down
'The dog has got your meat.' 'Let him have it(?)'

3.4 Grammatical notes on other eastern dialects

Grammatical information supports the inference from lexical data that Ngawun, Mayi-Kulan, Mayi-Yapi, Mayi-Thakurti and Wunumara form a chain of mutually intelligible dialects, although the data on the last two in particular are very scanty.

Sources of grammatical data on Mayi-Kulan are Palmer's vocabularies and the present day informants Alec Smith, Bob McKillop and Cherry O'Keefe. Useful grammatical information can be extracted from Palmer's notes and wordlist and this is confirmed by modern material. Of the modern informants Alec Smith is possibly the most reliable (in grammar, if not vocabulary) although certainly not fluent; unfortunately he was not recorded on tape and all that is available is a few pages of notes, mostly just vocabulary. Bob McKillop is less reliable, and useful only for confirmatory data; he calls his language Ngawun and it does contain some Ngawun vocabulary, some items being used interchangeably with the corresponding Mayi-Kulan words, but in grammar it is Mayi-Kulan. Cherry O'Keefe recognised some differences between Mayi-Kulan and Ngawun (one or two of them dubious and inconsistent) but used almost exclusively Ngawun grammar in her "Mayi-Kulan".

The only sources for Mayi-Yapi are Palmer, Curr and Bates. The last gives a few sentences but some are simplified, with inflections absent. Palmer gives some verb paradigms which suggest that verbs are inflected for person of subject and past tense is marked by a particle preceding the subject pronoun, but these are clearly incorrect. In fact the "first person" forms are present tense, the "second person" forms imperative and the "third person" past tense.

Mayi-Thakurti sources are MacGillivray, Roth, Dutton and modern informants Charlie Calwell and (doubtfully) Lardie Moonlight. The last named is virtually the only source for Wunumara although a little information on noun stem formation can be gleaned from Roth's vocabulary. Data can be extracted from Mrs. Moonlight's sentences only by guesswork, as there is little relationship between them and the translations she gives. Charlie Calwell gives one two word sentence in Mayi-Thakurti and Roth gives a song (without translation).

The abbreviations MK, MY, MT and W are used to identify examples in this section.

3.4.1 NOUNS

Noun stems are mainly monomorphemic and disyllabic. Reduplicated stems include kuṇukuṇu (MK, MT) *'moon'*, mayimayi (MK, MY) *'hot'*, muṯumuṯu (MY) *'old woman'*, maRamaRa[1] (MY) *'sky'*, ṇaliṇali (MT) *'rock wallaby'* (the last three also in Mayi-Kutuna), kunʸakunʸa (MT, W, also Ngawun) *'dilly bag'*. Note also pulakara pulakara *'four'* (from pulakara *'two'*) (MK, W). A probable recent coinage is kamukamu (MK) *'grog'* (from kamu *'water'*). Possible variations on simple reduplication are seen in the plant name ṭʸaRiṭʸaRi (MK and/or MY) (but this may not be correct; there is another plant name that seems to be ṭʸaRiṭʸaRi) and in walkaṭʸakaṭʸakuRu (MT) *'small'* or *'small intestine'* (compare walkaṭʸakuRu (MY)).

Compounds are common but it is rare that either component (let alone both) can be identified. paṇku (W) *'many'* seems to combine with the word for *'faeces'* to give a form meaning *'large intestine'* - wanpaṇku (MY, *'faeces'* is wana), ṇuṇṯupaṇku (MT, W) (also kunapaṇku in Mayi-Kutuna and compare the Warluwara word kunapaṭa *'stomach'* from kuna *'faeces'* and paṭa *'big'*). It also combines with mala *'hand'* and ṯina *'foot'* (W) to form malapaṇku *'thumb'* and ṯinapaṇku *'big toe'*. In MT *'thumb'* is mampila maṭu, literally *'hand big'*, and may be a phrase rather than a compound word (*'finger'* is mampila walkaṭʸakaṭʸakuRu *'hand small'*). However, maṭu *'big'* does seem to form part of a compound in mukumaṭu *'wild rice'*. A form ṭʸaRinʸ seems to enter into yarṭʸaRinʸ (MY, MT) *'teeth'* and perhaps milṭʸaRinʸ (MT) *'eyebrow'* (mil *'eye'* in W but in MT it has been replaced by the word for *'star'*, yuku), but note that *'eyebrow'* in W seems to be kumuṭʸiRiRi (kumu *'forehead'*). Other words for *'teeth'* based on yar *'mouth'* are yarṇanti or yarṇantu (MY, MT, also Mayi-Kutuna) and yarṯiṯa (MK, W). Another recurring form is kuRa, in ṯapikuRa (MY) *'anus'* (ṯapi *'tail'*), ṇamakuRa (MT, W) *'breast'* and kapukuRa (MT, W) *'testicles'*. In the last kuRa corresponds to ṯiri in Ngawun and MK. Another interesting compound is pukuṯampu (MT) *'buttocks'*, in view of the fact that ṯampu means *'breast'* and *'milk'* in MY, MT and also Mayi-Kutuna and Guwa and that Cherry O'Keefe gave ṯampuṯampu as the Ngawun word for *'breast'* in 1970, but in 1976 said it meant *'hips'*.

The formative -paṛa occurs in kupinʸpaṛa (MK) *'windy'* and probably in pikupaRa (MY) *'rock wallaby'*, pikapaRa (MT) *'filled possum-skin pillow for rhythm-making'* (these two may well be the same word) and ṇanipaRa(?) (MT) *'when?'* (ṇani *'what?'*). The formatives -pari and -paṛi probably occur in all dialects (the latter is not attested for W): tyuṇkupari (all) *'emu'*,

1. R may be either /r/ or /ṛ/.

kaṭʸapari (MK, MT) *'hawk sp.'*, mam/npuṛupari (MK, MT, W) *'black goanna'*, yalkapaṛi (MK, MY, MT) *'boomerang'*, ṯuṇupaṛi (MK, MY) *'crow'*.

A formative -ṛa, meaning *'other'* occurs in waṇkaṛa (MK) *'another'* (waṇka *'one'*), and it may be this that occurs in kaṯakaRa (MT), given as *'children'* (from kaṯaka *'child'*).

A proprietive -puna is attested for MK, MY and MT. In MK -pun has also been heard, as has -pununʸ on one occasion (see 2.5). Forms -pun and -punu (or -pununʸ?) occur in MY. Examples include yilapuna *'aggressive'*, ṯanṯapuna *'greedy'*, kaṯipuna *'having meat'*, ṯiṇipuna *'having a stick'*, yaṯipuna *'with his father'* (all MK), kaṭʸipunu *'a liar'*, *'nonsense'*, kaṯalpun *'tiger snake'*, ṯalkupun *'pelican'* (all MY), maṇanipuna *'doctor'* (maṇani *'death-bone'*), ṛukuRupuna *'type of boomerang'* (ṛukuRu *'claw mark'*, *'scratch'*) (both MT).

The privative is -kunʸṭʸa in MK, as in milikunʸṭʸa *'blind'* (mili *'eye'*), pinarkunʸṭʸa *'deaf'* (pinar *'ear'*) and

(213) walki ṇayi kamukunʸṭʸa
not I water-PRIV
'I've got no water.'

(Note that walki is Ngawun; the MK word is ṇampi.) MY has a privative suffix -kala as in yanparkala *'beardless'*, panʸakala *'unmarried man'* (panʸa *'woman'*). This, with another syllable following, seems to be attested also for MT in Marshall's "pennekalunu" *'deaf'* and "nowarkulunga" *'weak'* (cf. "nowargoodul" *'strong'*).

A formative -ṯuṇu, translated by Cherry O'Keefe as *'lost'*, occurs in three items given by Palmer: yakuṛaṯuṇu *'motherless'* (yakuṛa *'mother'*) (MK), muṭʸuṯuṇu *'fatherless'* (muṭʸu *'father'*) and ṇaṯiyaṯuṇu *'unmarried girl'* (ṇaṯiya *'spouse'*) (both MY). This may be a privative allomorph used with kinship terms, or could perhaps mean *'deceased'* (compare the Garawa suffix with this function (Furby, 1972:20); there is one also in Wanyi). Palmer also gives wanṭalpu *'motherless'*, kumilpu *'widow'* and waRikumilpu *'widower'* (all MY) but these seem to have the form of verbs.

The suffix -ṇur occurs in maṯi *'bad'* in MK and MY; its function is not known. Note also MK maṯiyaṇkan *'bad + ?'* and ṭʸaluṇayila and ṭʸalumala, both given as *'small'* but the word for *'small'* is ṭʸalu. The word for *'rock wallaby'* is given in the Smith notes (MK) as miṇṭi ṇunya (miṇṭi *'stone'*, *'rock'*) but this may in fact have been a locative miṇṭiṇunʸṭʸa *'in the rocks'*.

The spellings Burangani and Burrangoo given for what is presumably the one name by Bates suggests a possible suffix, -ni or something similar, occurring on proper names.

See the second-last paragraph of 3.2.1 for a note on a possible nominaliser.

No reliable ergative or instrumental forms could be obtained for MK. O'Keefe used the Ngawun forms. McKillop used -puna instead of an instrumental suffix but his sentences were ungrammatical, sometimes to the degree that they were meaningless. A form -ŋ(k)u (possibly -ŋkV as in Ngawun) is attested for MY, in maliṛuŋ(k)u '[*to drink*] *with the hand*'. In MT Marshall's word for *'how?'*, ŋaniŋku (from ŋani *'what?'*), could involve an instrumental -ŋku.

Locative on a vowel-final stem in MK is -ŋunʸtʸal, occasionally -ŋunʸtʸa:

(214) ŋuṇan miṇṭiṇunʸtʸal
snake stone-LOC
'There's a snake on the rock.'

A possible form -ŋka occurs in the MY words waruŋka(?) *'night'* and the spirit name which may be ṯuyuŋka kula. The same form may also occur in the MT words which may be kawiŋka *'afraid'* (='*fear*-LOC'?) and kapitʸiŋ(ka) *'night'* (or *'at night'?* kapitʸi *'dark'*). A likely locative form in W is -nʸtʸal, heard as a suffix to makiya *'camp'*.

Locative with final /nʸ/ seems to be -tʸa in MK, MY, MT; the spirit name limpinʸtʸa kulunʸ (kulan in MT) literally *'that one in the bark'* is given for the first two by Palmer and the third by Roth. After final /l/ in MT it may be -a, as in another spirit name which may be ṯinkula kulan.

Purposive is -ŋuntu (MK):

(215) tʸunupari kaṯi muṯaruŋuntu
that - ? animal grub-PURP
'That [*magpie*] *is after grubs.'*

(This is almost the only unelicited sentence in the MK corpus.) Lardie Moonlight gives -ntu, for W and perhaps also MT. Forms she gives include palŋantu (alternating with palŋaŋku; palŋa *'food'*), yaŋuntu (yaŋu *'fire'*), wakaruntu (wakaru *'meat'*), palpintu (palpi *'fish'*), kuṯuṯuntu (kuṯuṯu *'child'*). The same suffix seems to function as an allative, in payimarantu *'to Cloncurry'*.

Allative in MK is -pir, given by O'Keefe as well as McKillop - the latter only with the English word 'town' and as a pronoun suffix (see 3.4.2).

(216) kula ŋayi paŋkalŋu townpir
this I run-FUT(?) town-ALLA
'I went to town.'

Genitive nouns have not been heard except from Cherry O'Keefe (MK), who uses -pirŋu as in Ngawun. However, this is probably correct; McKillop uses -pirŋu to form a genitive pronoun. A genitive -ŋu in MT is suggested by Calwell's pikumalaŋu *'fingernail'* - *'nail-hand*-GEN'. -pirŋu conceivably occurs in the spirit name spelt mokipiango by Roth (1903).

Ablative in MK is -muntu, as in Ngawun, except that O'Keefe used -muntunʸ on one occasion (see 2.5).

(217) kapi paŋka ŋuṇanmuntu
come on run snake-ABL
'Come away from the snake.'

3.4.2 PRONOUNS

Personal pronouns in MK and MY appear to be virtually the same as in Ngawun. Palmer gives, for both dialects, singular nominative forms ŋayi, yuntu, ṇulu and plural nominative forms ŋanayira, yara, ṯana. These are all confirmed for MK by McKillop or Smith. ŋana is also given as the first person plural form, and ŋanayira may perhaps be in fact ŋana yara *'we*(PLU) *you*(PLU)' and so a device for specifying first person inclusive (compare the dual form ŋali yuntu in Ngawun, 3.2.6). O'Keefe gave yuntunʸ *'you* (SING)' but usually used yuntu (see 2.5). McKillop also gives yipala *'you* (DU)' (the same form is given, presumably by mistake, by Smith as *'your* (SING)'). For MY Palmer also gives a first person singular form ŋayiku, Curr's anonymous correspondent gives ŋayu and Bates gives ŋaya. Bates also gives first person dual ŋali and plural ŋala.

Inflected pronouns attested for MK are ŋatʸiniŋu *'my'* (McKillop sometimes seems to say ŋatʸiriŋu but it is not clear), allative forms ŋatʸirintir *'to me'* and yirapir *'to you* (SING)' and a doubtful second person singular accusative yuna.

Pronouns given for MT include first and second person nominative forms, the former ŋayiku (MacGillivray, Marshall and Calwell) and the latter yuntu (MacGillivray and Marshall; [yundera] is recorded from Calwell). The corpus includes one brief sentence from Calwell: yirapirŋu tʸunu, which probably means *'that's yours'* (as it would in Ngawun).

Pronouns, or words that look like pronouns, given by Moonlight include ŋayikura *'I'*, yuntu *'you* (SING)'(?), ŋali *'we* (DU)', ŋatʸiriŋintu *'my* (plus an inflection?)', ŋanaŋintapir perhaps first person plural allative. Marshall gives ŋatʸiriŋu *'mine'*, ŋalintu *'we'* and ŋanaRa(?) given as

'our' but perhaps *'we* (PLU)*'*.

All three present day MK informants used kunu and kula which may both mean *'this, here'*; O'Keefe said that kunu is MK and kula Ngawun. McKillop often switched from one to the other (either way). An alternative form to kula, kulunʸ, seems to occur in the spirit name limpinʸtʸa kulunʸ and also in the alternative form of the language name, mayikulunʸ. (Compare the alternative forms with final -unʸ of other grammatical morphemes given by O'Keefe (2.5).) kunu, kula and kulunʸ also occur in MY, as does "coona, ma", perhaps kunama. The MT form corresponding to kula/kulunʸ, as attested in two spirit names and, metathesized, in Marshall's "goonul", seems to be kulan. A form kuRu, in the song given by Roth, could conceivably be a demonstrative. tʸunu - *'that, there'* in Ngawun - occurs also in MK and MT, presumably with the same meaning.

McKillop often suffixed -pari to demonstratives (see (215)); its function is not known. He also used kunu(pari) and kula(pari) frequently, and tʸunu(pari) rarely, to refer to the first person (see (216)).

Palmer gives pira *'close'* and wulu *'far'* for MK and MY. McKillop used pirapira but no translation was obtained.

Interrogatives attested for MK are ŋani *'what'* and its dative ŋaniŋuntu *'what for?'*, waṉta *'where?'* and waṉtaru *'where to?'*. In MY ŋani possibly occurs in "unipeenumello" while waṉta may occur in "wanthan kogool"; both utterances quoted were given as meaning *'I don't know'*, in reply to a *'where'* question. MT interrogatives given by Marshall are "urnu" (wanʸu?) *'who?'*, ŋani *'what?'*, waṉtu *'where?'*, ŋaniŋku *'how?'*, ŋanipaRa *'when?'*, "wondare" *'why?'*.

3.4.3 VERBS

Verb stems are mainly disyllabic and monomorphemic, but it seems possible that not all stems need end in /a/ (as they do in Ngawun); wanʸtʸi- seems to be the verb *'to lie'* in MK, MY and MT and seems to exist also (given as *'to see'* but this is doubted) in W, and note also ṯawu *'to break'* (MK; other examples of possible stem-final /u/ in MK are doubted).

Reciprocal -pa seems to be attested in punʸtʸapi (MK, MY, MT) *'fighting'*; compare Ngawun -mpa in punʸtʸampiŋu. However, -mpa, which is both reciprocal and inchoative formative in Ngawun, is used for inchoative by McKillop (MK) in

(218) ŋayi kakampi
I tired-INCH-PRES
'I'm tired.'

and by Bates (MY) in:

(219) kunu panʸtʸil kutʸulu yulampina
here man many aggressive-INCH-?
'Hear [sic] *a lot of men talking about and wanting to fight.'*

The verb *'to laugh'* is yitʸampa in MY, as in Ngawun.

A word mayimira derived from mayi *'speech'* and translated *'speech, talk'* and *'to speak'* by Bates (MY) is said by O'Keefe to mean *'to tell'*; -mira could be a causative suffix. However, it may well be a compound suffix. Compare Marshall's (MT) "minbar" *'tell'*, which could be mayinpa.

There may be a formative -ii in Palmer's wanʸtʸiii *'to sleep'* (MK) (but wanʸtʸi is also *'to sleep'*) and wanʸtʸiii may also be part of Marshall's (MT) "nunduanjiiingu" *'think'*, the first part apparently being the word *'know'*; compare Moonlight's yiniii (W/MT, meaning unknown but perhaps derived from yina *'to sit'*). Note also the noun-verb pairs in MY: mutʸi *'dead'* / mutʸa *'to die'*; lirki *'tired, lazy'* / lirka *'to be tired'* and mayi *'speech'* / maya *'to speak'* (the last probably in all dialects of the group although not attested for MT or W). The MT equivalent of MY mutʸi may be mutʸunʸ (MacGillivray's "moochoin"). Note also other MT forms which may have suffix -nʸ; Marshall's "buterain" *'bring'* and "yumebain" *'give'*. It seems unlikely that these are nominalisations, however.

A nominaliser must be present in the name "Plungreen" (MK), said to mean *"fast runner"*. The verb *'to run'* is paŋka and the name may be paŋkaRinʸ (compare the agent formative -:linʸ in some southern Mari dialects).

Imperative in MK is probably marked by zero inflection, with frequent distortion of the final vowel, as in Ngawun; thus Palmer's "yinay" *'sit'*. Data from the modern informants tend to confirm this. The inflection seems to be zero also in MY (yina *'sit'*, wapa *'go'*) and MT (yina *'sit'*, paŋka *'run'*, puwa *'hit'* and others).

Past tense is -n in most MK sources; the -nu McKillop occasionally and O'Keefe always used is Ngawun. -n is attested also in MY (mutʸan *'dead' (='died')*); a possible -nu may be a mishearing of present tense -iŋu. Palmer gives wil as a marker of past tense in MY; it may mean *'already'* (compare Yandruwandha kali). Compare also Bidjara guli *'long ago'*. Either or both could be cognate. -nu occurs on some of Marshall's MT verbs and its presence in mutʸanu *'dead' (='died')* shows that it is past tense. Others include puwanu *'hit'*, kalkanu *'fall' ('fell')* and ŋaŋamanu *'see' ('saw')*

Present tense forms -i and -iŋu (the /i/ replacing the stem-final vowel) are attested in Palmer and by O'Keefe and

McKillop, although the latter on one occasion would not accept yiniŋu *'is sitting'* and said that it belonged to "the other language" (i.e. one of the other dialects of the language, possibly Mayi-Yapi although he called it Walangama). However, -i and -iŋu seem to be interchangeable in his speech. -yi occurs rarely (Palmer, Smith and McKillop) apparently as an alternative to -i. All of these forms are used only with intransitive verbs. The present tense of transitive verbs, or of verbs belonging to the conjugation which includes most and consists mainly of transitive verbs, may be -ipu; examples have been heard from McKillop, who was inconsistent and indistinct, rarely from O'Keefe who usually used the Ngawun form -ipuŋu, and once from Smith. The forms attested for MY are -i, -iŋu and -ipu, not mutually exclusive and all of them apparently combinable with intransitive verbs (there are no clear examples of a transitive verb in the present tense). Examples include wapi and wapiŋu *'walking'*, waŋaipu *'running'*, kalki and kalkiŋu *'falling, going down'*, ("binjamu kalgingu" is given by Bates as *'sunset'*), yini *'sitting'*, pari and pariŋu *'crying'*, ṯurki *'diving'*, wanʸtʸilpu *'sleep* (tense not clear)', pakaripu (pakarilpu?) *'steal* (tense not clear)'; note also "larra thulbo" *'fighting'* which may include a noun root *'fight'* and a verbaliser -ṯu or -ṯa. In MT -iŋu occurs in intransitive verbs (puiŋiŋu *'is hungry'*, yurpiŋu *'is thirsty'*, yiniŋu *'is sitting'*, pariŋu *'is crying'*, punʸtʸapiŋu *'is fighting'* etc.), -ipu on at least one transitive verb (paṯaipu *'is eating'*) and -ipuŋu on two other transitive verbs (ŋumaipuŋu *'smells'* and watʸilpuŋu *'fills'(?)*). Moonlight gives a form wanʸtʸilpuŋu (meaning unknown) which may have a present tense suffix -ipuŋu while present tense -iŋu may occur in yintimaakumpa yintiwaṛitʸiŋu, not translated but described as *"swearing"*.

A purposive suffix -ḷtʸi is attested reliably for MK by Palmer and Smith and unreliably, because of his indiscriminate use of it, by McKillop. McKillop also uses -iŋu and O'Keefe -iŋu and -ntu, but these are Ngawun forms. MY also has -ḷtʸi (two examples seem to have -lʸi, but note that Ngawun and MK seem to have no phoneme /lʸ/ and there is no reliable evidence that other dialects of the language do). Examples include paṯaḷtʸi (and paṯalʸi(?)) *'to eat'*, wanʸtʸiḷtʸi *'to sleep'*, nukaḷtʸi *'to drink'*, ŋamalʸi(?) *'to see'*. The same form occurs in MT; examples are paṯaḷtʸi *'to drink'* and wanʸtʸiḷlʸi (?) *'to sleep'*.

Reduplication, presumably to mark continuing action, is attested from all sources but only for present tense forms.

McKillop occasionally uses a verb form in -l; e.g. yinal (also yina and yinayina as well as regular forms yini and yiniyini) *'sit* (present)', lawul *'throw* (imperative)', ŋamal *'see* (present)'. wanʸtʸil *'sleep'* is in Marshall's (MT) list.

Other verb endings noted in MT are -lu (twice), -ma (twice) and -la. No meanings can be suggested.

Examples illustrating verb forms, as given by Alec Smith, include:

(220) yinay / yiŋkal ŋana yanpay
sit / just we(PLU) talk
'Sit down. We'll have a talk.'

(Note that the final y on two words in this sentence is interpreted as a non-phonemic distortion of the stem-final /a/.)

(221) yiŋkal ŋayi paŋkan yuntu namaḷtʸi (ŋamaḷtʸi?)
just I run-PAST you see-PURP
'I just came to see you.'

(yuntu is incorrect; the correct form is probably yira.)

(222) kaṯi tʸunu yiniyini kankay
animal there sit-sit-PRES tree-?
namanamaipu you'n me
see-see-PRES (English)
'There's an animal sitting in that tree looking at us.'

3.4.4 PARTICLES AND INTERJECTIONS

ŋiya means *'yes'* in MY and MT. ŋampi is the negative *'no, not'* in all four dialects, although McKillop (MK) also uses the Ngawun form walki. Negation of imperatives in MK is by patʸi *'don't'* (sometimes pronounced paṯi by O'Keefe).

MK and MY have kapi *'come on!'*, but the MT equivalent seems to be kuyan.

A possible clitic meaning *'always'* has been heard from McKillop:

(223) tʸunu ṉulu punʸtʸipunʸtʸinunu
that he kill-kill-PRES-always(?)
'They're always fighting.'

(This sentence was not acceptable to Cherry O'Keefe.)

yiŋkal *'just, only'*, as used by Smith has the same function as Ngawun yuŋkal, and O'Keefe uses the latter pronunciation. It was not possible to check Smith's pronunciation. (See 220, 221).

McKillop sometimes uses a particle or clitic which may be waṯa; it is never pronounced clearly and there is little or no indication of any function. It could possibly be a hiatus filler. It seems unlikely that it is a demonstrative

corresponding to Ngawun waṭi. waṭa may occur also in a sentence from Moonlight and in the untranslated initiation song given by Roth.

Smith once used a particle kali which could mean *'up'*, but compare kali in Ngawun (3.2.9). McKillop also uses kali, with no indication of meaning.

(224) kali paŋka puwaḷtʸi
? run hit-PURP
'Climb up and kill him.'

See above (3.4.3) for wil in MY.

3.5 Mayi-Katuna grammatical notes

Almost all of the grammatical data on Mayi-Kutuna were elicited from Peter Nardoo. A few items come from the old sources and from Eric Murphy.

3.5.1 NOUNS

Noun stems are typically disyllabic. Compound stems include yarŋanti *'teeth'* (cf. yar *'mouth'* in Mayi-Kulan), lirapatʸi(t) *'lips'* (lira *'mouth'*), manapatʸi *'snake sp.'*, malapatʸi *'fingernail'* (mala *'hand'*), "mullaniwenoora" *'fingers'*. Reduplicated stems include panʸapanʸa *'young woman'* (panʸa *'woman'*) and others for which the simple stem is not otherwise attested, e.g. tʸatutʸatu *'neck, throat'*, mintiminti *'chest'*, yuṭuyuṭu *'crocodile'*, paṯapaṯa ~ paṯapaṯawari *'grey hawk'*.

The suffix -tʸipa occurs on compass point names: east is given (by Tindale) as [purá:ia] and [pura:iadjiba], north only as [ŋá:ra], south as [koádjiba].

A confusing set of formatives, obviously involving some mistakes and perhaps largely invented, occurs in the following set of numbers elicited from Peter Nardoo.

English	Mayi-Kutuna	Notes
one	waŋkari	Confirmed by other sources
two	kurpaya	Confirmed by other sources (but one gives it as *'three'*)
three	kurpaya waŋkari, yilatʸir	
four	yanʸtʸal	Means *'many'*. Edward Curr gives pulakara pulakara but this seems to be Mayi-Kulan or Mayi-Yapi
five	yanʸtʸalpari	-pari attested as a noun stem formative in a number of Queensland languages; see also below
six	yanʸtʸalkuri	
seven	yanʸtʸalyurpaya	= yanʸtʸal + kurpaya?
eight	yanʸtʸalwari	for -wari and -wari see below
ten	yanʸtʸalyurpaya	see seven

The word for *'child'* occurs as patʸaŋula and patʸaŋur; the latter is also Mayi-Kulan and the former only may be genuine Mayi-Kutuna. These words may not be synchronically analysable.

There seems to be a suffix -para or -para in Turnbull's yangon-barra *'to burn with fire'* (*'fire'* given as yangoon and yangoo) which may in fact mean *'consumed with fire'* or *'on fire'* (compare Ngawun -para, 3.2.2).

A possible proprietive -pari occurs in tularpari from tula (sic) *'stick'*[1]; however, the meaning of the compound form is not given. Note also miṇṭiwari (not heard clearly), from miṇṭi *'stone'*, in the sentence:

(225) ŋayu yinbila / nʸinbila yara / miṇṭiwari (?) /
I (error?) / hit - ? you(?) / stone - ? /
yalkaparinumu / or ṯalimpiri
boomerang-INST (?) / (English) nulla-nulla
"I'll hit him with a stone, or boomerang, or nulla-nulla."

-wari occurs also in paluwari, a pejorative term apparently meaning *'large vulva'* although not related to the normal word for *'vulva'*, and in manʸtʸawari *'good'* (normally 'manʸtʸa'). Note also panʸawari (with -wari, not -wari) *'girl'* (panʸa *'woman'*) and patʸaŋulawari "mob of patʸaŋula [children]".

ŋunu seems to be proprietive in,

(226) yirman tʸiti kaṯiŋunu
man that (?) meat-PROP
"A man coming along bringing meat."

and (227) yirman tʸiti maṇṯaŋunu wukay
man that (?) food-PROP bring-PRES (?)
"He's coming along with some tucker."

1. Compare Kalkutungu ṯular *'stick'*.

-ŋumu may be instrumental, but it is confused with -ŋunu and they may not be distinct, e.g.

(228) miṇṭiṇunu / miṇṭiṇumu / nʸinpila ŋana
stone-PROP (?) / stone-INST (?) / hit-PAST (?) me
"He hit me with a stone."

and other similar examples. There are no examples of an ergative use.

If -ŋumu is ergative/instrumental, a locative -ŋuma would be likely. There is one doubtful example; it could be -ŋumu or even -ŋuntu (purposive).

(229) kali ŋayu mayay / parakuṭʸi /
? I talk-PRES (?) / white-man-? /
parakuŋuma (?)
white man-LOC
"You and me are having a talk."

Another possible locative is -ŋ (perhaps -ŋa); however, the nasal sound here may not be phonemic at all.

(230) ŋayu yinay / makiyaŋ
I sit-PRES (?) / ground-LOC (?)
'I'm sitting on the ground.'

The word for *'day'*, given as "boorida" by Donner (1899), is probably puRila and a locative of puRil *'sun'*.

The purposive, used also to mark allative function, is -ŋuntu. It is the only bound morpheme which can be named with confidence.

(231) kapiṛiṇuntu ŋayu paŋkay
water-PURP I go-PRES (?)
'I'm going ... for some water.'

(232) kali yuntu paŋkay / yaŋuŋuntu
? you go-PRES (?) / fire-PURP
'Go over there to the fire.'

A possible ablative suffix is -kuta; there is only one example and it was not clear. Note (below) that -kuta could be allative with pronouns.

(233) kuli ŋayu kalkana / yaramankuta (?)
? I fall-PAST (?) / horse-ABL (?)
'I fell off a horse.'

3.5.2 PRONOUNS

The only personal pronouns attested from more than one source are the first and second person singular nominative forms ŋayu and yuntu, first singular genitive ŋaṯaramu (or ŋaṯarumu) and ŋaṯarakuta, apparently first singular allative (see item Ỳi in the vocabulary) although given as genitive by Murphy. Nardoo's ŋali *'we (dual)'* is probably also given by Donner and perhaps by Turnbull (but as part of his second person plural form). *'We (plural)'* may be ŋana (Donner's "nana" *'they'*). Nardoo gives ŋana and ŋanara (perhaps ŋaṇa(ra)) *'me'*, and yara *'you (accusative)'* (which is doubted).

The material from Donner and Turnbull is extremely confusing and will be given in detail with attempts at elucidation. Donner's forms are:

moona	*'I'*	perhaps ŋana *'me'*
namuna	*'my'*	?
nadaramoo	*'mine'*	ŋaṯaramu *'my'*
nanaramoondamoo	*'we two'*	perhaps ŋana *'we (plural)'* plus -ramu 'genitive' plus ? (Genitive suffix twice?)
naleeyingdamoo	*'our'*	perhaps ŋali *'we (dual)'* plus ? plus -ramu 'genitive'
nayoo	*'thou'*	ŋayu *'I'*
briee	*'you two'*	possibly a misreading of a rendering of pala *'they two'*
yonggaringgr	*'he'*	? (The first two syllables may be a demonstrative root present also in the word for *'these (two)'*)
unamubbada	*'she'*	?
nana	*'they'*	perhaps ŋana *'we (plural)'*
yangadamoo	*'these (two)'*	? plus -ramu 'genitive'
goolganawrnoo	*'hers (two)'*	? plus -ramu 'genitive' (compare Nardoo's kurpiyali *"you two"*, more likely *'those two'*)
malanawrnoo	*'his'*	perhaps ṇulu *'he'* plus ? plus -ramu 'genitive'

Turnbull gives a verbal paradigm ("present tense, indicative of active verb") as follows, with a dash representing the verb stem:

Singular

1. Goolin -i ——in
2. Indo ——abah
3. Goolin-Goolin ——inah

Plural

1. Goolin-Goolin —— murgoo
2. Indo ——abah margoo [sic]
3. Goolin-Goolin ——inah murgoo

Examples he gives are goolin-i-gnor-in *'I go away'* and goolin-goolin-gnor-mah[sic]-murgoo *'they go away'*. He is definite that indo (also spelt indoo) in the second person is not yundu, the second person singular pronoun. He also gives culbriadgee as *'we two'* (elsewhere culbriadjie, perhaps kurpaya yaṭʸi *'two go'*).

He gives goro as *'good'*, and then the following paradigm:

Singular

1. Ni-u-man-garah *'I am good'*
2. Yundu-man-garah *'Thou art good'*
3. Gooli-yed-ah mangah *'He is good'*

Plural

1. Murgoo-nani-u mangurah *'We are good'*
2. Coolbyn-nahlin-doo *'Ye are good'*
3. Ged-ee-ee-mungah *'They are good'*

The first two singular items are presumably ŋayu manʸṭʸa and yuntu manʸṭʸa. manʸṭʸa *'good'* also occurs in most other items. murgoo is murku *'many'*, and coolbyn is kurpaya *'two'*. nahlin-doo may be ŋalintu, a first person dual exclusive pronoun compounded of ŋali and yuntu (cf. 3.2.6). Gooli(n) is perhaps a demonstrative (possibly kulunʸ), but see 3.5.4 regarding kuli. nani-u could be ŋana *'we (plural)'*.

He also gives adther-amoo *'mine'*.

Two demonstratives, kutu and ṭʸiti are attested (without certainty) and, by analogy with similar Ngawun and Mayi-Kulan forms, are assumed to mean *'this, here'* and *'that, there'* respectively. kutu appears in the sentence "eerman goodo?" given by Lamond in Curr as *'Where are the blacks?'* but in fact it must mean *'Are the blacks here?'*. In the material elicited from Peter Nardoo kutu almost always appears with the suffix -yali, whose function is quite unknown (but compare Bob McKillop's

similar use of -pari in Mayi-Kulan). kutunʸ, deduced only from Tindale's spelling of the language name, is perhaps a variant of kutu (see 2.5).

(234) nʸinpi kutuyali yalpal
hit this-? dog
'I'm going to hit the dog.'

(235) yirman ṭʸiti wukampay
man that sleep-PRES(?)
'He's lying down asleep.'

Regarding -yali, note also:

(236) wanṯar kurpiyali
who (?) ? (kurpaya *'two'*)
'Who are you two.'

(237) ŋayu parku piriŋkir yali / ŋayu
I ? tomorrow ? / I
parku paŋkay piriŋkir
? go-PRES(?) tomorrow
'I'm going away tomorrow.' (parku possibly paraku *'white man'*.)

Peter Nardoo gives the word for *'who?'* as wanṯar and wanṯa (regarding the final /r/, compare tula *'stick'* and tularpari *'with a stick(?)'*). However, comparison with Mayi-Yapi, Mayi-Kulan and Ngawun suggests that wanṯa(r) might really be *'where?'*. Armit in Curr, gives "yirmandan dana" for *'Where are the blacks?'*. This could possibly be yirman wanṯana; alternatively, the "dana" may be a third person plural pronoun ṯana and the sentence could be yirman wanṯa ṯana. Eric Murphy gives ŋanikuru yirman as *"Who are you?"*; possibly it means *'Who is this man?'*

3.5.3 VERBS

Verb stems are normally disyllabic and end in a vowel. A possible stem formative is -mpa, perhaps an inchoative, in wukampa- *'to sleep'* (cf. Bidjara wuga *'sleep'*, *'asleep'*), but hardly also in walampa- *'to see'*. Another possible inchoative is -ya in muriyana *'dead'* (perhaps *'died'*), compare muri *'dead'* (perhaps a noun) but note also muri also given as *'to die'*. A possible causative -ma occurs in yinama- *'to give up'*, cf. yina- *'to sit'*.

Reduplication of a verb with substitution of a lateral for the initial consonant on its second occurrence occurs in some north-west Queensland languages, (e.g. Wariuwara, Kukatj) and seems to be attested here in "a-gi-la-gi" *'to walk'* (the simple

form, with the same meaning, is given as "yagee").

Information on verb tense and mood suffixes is almost non-existent; different terminations are noted but there is little indication of their function. Comparison with Mayi-Kulan suggests that the ending -y often used by Peter Nardoo could mark present tense; this seems to become zero after stem-final /i/. Some of the spellings in the old lists suggest that this suffix was correctly, at least then, -yi, e.g. "namiee" *'see'*, "oogiee" *'give'*, "mendiee" *'hold'*, "eenamiee" *'give up'*. Suffixes which could be marking past tense in the modern corpus are -la (n^{y}inpila *'hit'* but also *'will hit'*) and -na (kalkana *'fell'*, muriyana *'died'*). The latter may occur in Donner's "voganuna" / wukanana/? *'take'*.

Other possible suffixes in the old sources include -awu (or conceivably -iŋu, as in Ngawun; see 3.2.8.5) in Donner's "wondiceaoo" *'to release'*, and perhaps "nandieo" *'feel'*, something like -lpalta in a number of words (variously spelt -lbadda, -lbada, -lbilla, -nbadda, -lbilda and -llebilda) and -in, -pa and -ina in Turnbull (see the paradigm in 3.5.2). The second last could possibly be an imperative.

3.5.4 PARTICLES

yati and ŋampi are given for *'no'*. The latter may not be Mayi-Kutuna; it occurs in some Eastern dialects.

Peter Nardoo uses a word kuli which he once translated as *'come on'*, but this does not seem to fit all its occurrences and there is no real evidence as to its function. It occurs also in Turnbull and Donner.

(238)	kuli	ŋayu	yinay	
	?	I	sit-PRES(?)	
	'I'm going to sit down.'			
(239)	kuli	ŋayu	ṯalkar	yalpal
	?	I	afraid	dog
	'I'm frightened of the dog.'			

See also (233), and compare kali in Ngawun (3.2.9). Note also kali in (229) and (232).

The interjection kapi *'come here'* occurs in Mayi-Kutuna.

Chapter 4

VOCABULARY

4.1 Introduction

The vocabulary is divided into sections, each identified by a capital letter:

A	body parts	V	direction, location
B	human	W	time
C	kinship	X	pronouns
D	culture	Y	particles
E	animals		
F	birds		
G	reptiles, frogs		
H	fish, crustaceans, shellfish		
I	insects, etc.		
J	plants		
K	inanimate nature (sky, water, weather, earth)		
L	Numbers and specifiers		
M	qualities, states		
N	rest		
O	motion		
P	induced rest or motion		
Q	violence, damage		
R	material culture (verbs)		
S	inanimate state (verbs)		
T	vocalising and thought		
U	living		

Sources are identified by abbreviations, usually initials. The sources are, in alphabetical order:

An	Anonymous (in Curr)
Ar	Armit (in Curr)
B	Daisy Bates
CC	Charlie Calwell (rec. Breen)
Do	Donner (in Science of Man)
Du	Dutton (in Science of Man)
EC	Edward Curr (in Curr)
EM	Eric Murphy (rec. Breen)
H	Howitt's reading of material in Howitt papers from Palmer (PH) and Walsh (WH), given only when it differs from Breen's reading of the same items
K	Jimmy Keys (rec. Sutton)
L	Lamond (in Curr)
LM	Lardie Moonlight (rec. Blake and Breen)
M	Bob McKillop (rec. Blake and Breen)
Mac	MacGillivray (in Curr)
MC	Montagu Curr (in Curr)
MM	Marshall (in Mathew)
N	Peter Nardoo (rec. Breen)
O	Cherry O'Keefe (rec. Sutton and Breen)
OH	Oates and Healey
P	Palmer (both published sources, i.e. PA and PR for Mayi-Kulan, PA and PC for Mayi-Yapi)
PA	Palmer (in Journal of the Anthropological Institute)
PC	Palmer (in Curr)
PH	Palmer (in Howitt Papers)
PR	Palmer (in Journal of the Royal Society of New South Wales)
R	Roth (in Ethnological Studies)
RB	Roth (in Bulletins)
S	Alec Smith (rec. Sutton)
Sharp	Sharp
SL	Sandy Lorraine (rec. Sutton and Breen)

T	Tindale
Tu	Turnbull (in Science of Man)
WH	Walsh (in Howitt Papers)

Charlie Mulberry (rec. Sutton and Holmer) has not been assigned to any communalect, but where his items are Mayi they are listed in the notes under (g). (The material recorded by Holmer has not been used.) "Accidental" Mayi words, given by informants in other languages during the course of elicitation of those languages and not identified by them as belonging to a Mayi communalect, are not included; they contribute nothing to the data, as the items concerned are already well known from other sources.

Abbreviations of language names are Bd : Bidjara, Eng : English, Kk : Kukatj, Kl : Kalkutungu, Kn : Kungkari, PP : Pitta-Pitta, Wn : Wanyi, Yl : Yalarnnga, and Mayi dialects as in 1.8.

Other abbreviations used (apart from well known or obvious ones, and abbreviations used in botanical names - which are mostly of names of botanists who first described the plant) are a : accepted (as in aEM : accepted by Eric Murphy), d : doubtful (as in adEM), lg(s) : language(s), misr : probable misreading (e.g. by an editor).

The term *'reciprocal'* is best explained by an example: kamin is translated as *'mother's mother / reciprocal'*; this means it is used by a person to refer to his or her mother's mother and it is also used by a woman to refer to those, male or female, who call her kamin. Thus if A calls B kamin, B also calls A kamin.

A question mark after an item in the comparative list means that its phonemicisation is particularly tentative, while if an item is in brackets either its meaning, as given, is doubted or it is thought likely to not belong to that communalect.

For the most part, interpretation of the notes requires only common sense, but some conventions need to be stated. Forms given by modern (i.e. post 1960) informants are not given unless it is necessary while forms from old sources are always given. Thus M, S, K kanta means that M and S gave the word kan̲t̲ar (which appears on the opposite page as kandharr) while K pronounced it in a way that suggested a phonemicisation kanta. If, however, there had been another form, in addition to kandharr, on the opposite page it would have been necessary to say M, S kan̲t̲ar, K kanta. PA, An timmool can only mean that both the (old) sources PA and An gave the spelling timmool, since it is necessary always to give the item as spelt in any old source.

When forms from modern informants are given they are in phonemic or (with square brackets) phonetic notation - in the

latter case, using the symbols used by the collector. Forms from other languages also are in phonemic notation, using the symbols used in this book (thus, for example, tʸiriku for the Kalkutungu word spelt ciriku by Blake (1969, 1979)) except that voiced stop symbols are used if they are normally used for that language. Words from old sources are given as in the original except in the case of Roth; those items given by Roth with stress marked by italicising the stressed syllable are written here with stress unmarked if it is heard by Roth only on the initial syllable, and with stress marked by the symbol ' before the first letter of the syllable (i.e. the letter following Roth's hyphen) if he heard it on any syllable other than the first (as in pē-'ĕng-boo-nă *'comeback boomerang'*).

Where cross-references to other vocabulary items are given, the number only is given if it is in the same section (e.g. a reference to 14 in the notes to M8 is a reference to M14); otherwise letter and number are given. (This procedure is varied in a couple of instances to avoid confusion in a multiple cross-reference.)

Where a gloss or note is not separated from the preceding Mayi entry by any punctuation it refers only to that form; where it is separated by a comma (unless this is inside brackets or inverted commas) it refers to all preceding entries back to the nearest preceding semi-colon or bracketed letter (identifying the communalect). Where it is separated by a full stop it refers to the item as a whole.

Thus "PA yumbe, PC yamby *'wild dog'*" means that yamby is glossed as *'wild dog'* while yumbe is, in the original source, given the same gloss as shown on the opposite page (i.e. *'dog'* and *'dingo'*). Similarly, in "aEM makiya, T magia *'ground, camp'*" the gloss *'ground, camp'* refers only to T's entry. In "(b) PA karrabah; S pintura, OH pinturu, *'duck'*" the gloss *'duck'* refers to S's and OH's entries while PA gave *'black duck'* (as opposite). If there were a comma after karrabah the gloss *'duck'* would refer to all three entries. In "(G) 22 ... (e) R jou-ŭn *'frog'*. Cf. KI tʸawaṇ" the note "Cf. KI tʸawaṇ" refers to the any or all (as appropriate) of the entries for number G22. (G is bracketed because the letter appears only if the item is at the top of a page or is the first in its section.)

4.2 Notes on pronunciation for non-linguists

To produce a reasonable approximation to the sound of Mayi words, as spelt in the comparative vocabulary or in most parts of the introduction, the reader should be particularly careful to remember the rules for pronunciation of the vowels; correct pronunciation of the consonants is less critical. It is important also to remember the rule for stress: all words are stressed on the first syllable. Thus, for example, kukuru *'sky'* is kukuru, not kukuru.

Only three vowel symbols - a, i and u - are used in the spelling of Mayi words (except that e and o have been used in a few words whose correct pronunciation is not known). a should be pronounced like the u of English *cut* or the o of *mother* or the a of *among*. i should be pronounced as in *bit* or *winter*. u should be pronounced as in *put* or as oo in *good*; it should never be pronounced as in words like *gun* or *hurry*.

Many of the consonants are pronounced more or less as in English, although p, k and t are pronounced with less force. th is not pronounced as in English; it can be described as like a t-sound but interdental instead of alveolar (see 1.10). It resembles the sound of the sequence tth in *hit them*. dh is like a d pronounced in the same way, or like the sound of dth in *hid them*. nh is a nasal sound pronounced in the same way; the difference between n and nh is very difficult for English speakers to hear.

ng is always pronounced as a nasal sound, as in *singer*, not as in *finger*. The sound of the ng in *finger* is written ngg in Mayi words. ny is always as in *canyon*, never as in *any* or *Nyal*.

rr can be rolled, like the Scottish r, especially before another consonant; between vowels the roll is very short, usually just a single tap of the tongue on the roof of the mouth. r is more like the Australian English r. rt, rd, rn and rl are pronounced with the tongue curled back as in the speech of many Americans, for example in *sort*, *cord*, *burn* and *curl*. ir should never be pronounced as in *bird*, but is more like the er in *hero*. ur is never as in *burn*, but more like oor in *poorer*.

The name Mayi in language names is usually cut short, resembling English *my*; thus Mayi-Kulan, for example, could be spelt My-Coolan. As a separate word it is longer, more like myee.

The use of capital letters (other than for the initial letter of proper names) is a confession of ignorance; for example, L is used for a sound which could be either l or rl. A full key to the use of capitals (and of e and o) in this way is given in 2.6.

4.3 The comparative vocabulary, with notes

(see next page)

		a Ngawun	b Mayi-Kulan	c Mayi-Yapi	d Mayi-Thakurti	e Wunumara	f Mayi-Kutuna
A1	*head*	kandharr	kandharr	ngaNkul kandharr	ngaNkul kandharr	kandharr	kaparra tjitji
2	*hair of head*	kandhangu	warumbu (warangu)	warumbu	warumbu tjamol		warumpu waLuLu
3	*bald head*		yiyan	kunarri			
4	*grey head*		pulkin	tjuNGal	kaTun		
5	*forehead*	kutjirr	kutjirr	kutjirr	yatjirr (thime(rr))	kumu	mandapa meNDuLa ?
6	*eye*	mili	mili	mili	yuku	mil	tiparri
7	*eyebrow*				miltjeRiN	kumutjiRiRi	
8	*nose*	kunyin	kunyin	kunyin nyingga	nyingga	WuRu	kunyi (nyingga)

A1 (b) M, O, S, K kanta, PA gunther, OH kantar (c) P ngun kool, ngunkool, An condil, munda, MC nganggul and see 10 (d) R ŭng-gool and see 2, Mac nawgool, MM kundra, (e) R kăn-dă (f) N kapara, aEM, SL [gábəṛə], T djidji, Ar tchigi, EC gi-gi, D jee-jee, L kandarr, Tu jidgee or iidgi

2 (b) M [waṛəŋu] poss. a mistake, S warumpu, PA warrumboo (c) P warrumboo, warramboo, An waroombo, MC war-room-bo (d) Mac woorumboo, R kăn-'tâ (cf. 1), MM jamul, Du jancon (f) SL [waṛəmbu], aEM, T 'warumbu, Ar wallooiu, EC war-am-boo, D warlooloo, L waroomboo, Tu wallaro or walluro (g) [wárəmbo]

3 (b) PA yiyun (c) PA goonarry, cf. Marrgayn gunaṛi *'bald'*, also *'claypan'*, Kn kunaṛi *'plain'* and see K35

4 (b) PA boolkin (c) PA joongal (d) Du cardoon

5 (b) M (also *'face'*) (c) An codjear *'face'* (d) R yâ-chēr; MM themer, cf. 68 (e) R goo-mō (f) N mantapa, aEM, T 'manda:ba, D mundovar *'face'*, Tu mindula or mundula *'face'*

6 (b) M, S, PA mille, OH (c) P millee, milly, An mille, MC mille (d) R ū-kō, Mac uko, yenko (misr.), MM eugo, Du eugoo, cf. K4

7 (d) R mĕl-jĕ-rĭn (e) R goo-mō-'jĭ-rĭ-rĭ

8 (b) M kunʸi(n), S, PA koonyeen, OH kunʸinʸ (c) P goin geen, roomyeen (misr.), An ningar, MC goonyeen (d) R nĭng-kă (also *'nostril'*), Mac nykar, MM yeengar, Du nuegar; CC ṛikarkunka, cf. 61 (e) R ŏr-rō (f) N, SL, aEM, T 'ku:nji, Ar gunyi, EC koo-ni, D goonyee, L eengar, Tu gonyee or gonjee

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
A9	*nostril*					WuRukaḷu	
10	*ear*	mangaynmangayn	pinarr	pinarr	pinarr (ṭjiman or kiman)	pinarr	pinarr
11	*cheek*			?	waLiNDu	nganggathilmaRa	
12	*mouth*	yarr	yarr	yarr	thanggula lirra ?	ngaka	lirra ngaka (thanggula)
13	*lip*				thaRiNGa ?		lirrapatji(t)
14	*tooth*		yarrngandi yarrthitha	yarrtjareyn yarrngandu	yarrtjareyn yarrthitha	yarrthitha	yarrngandi
15	*tongue*	ngulan	ngulan	ngulan thamiNkVl	ngalandi thamiNkVl	ngalandi	muni
16	*spittle*	wiṭa (or wika)		wika (or wiṭa)			

A9 (d) R see 8 (e) R ŏr-'rō-kă-rō, cf. 8 and K43

10 (b) M; M also [ṭakeṭak] (?), S; O maŋanʸmaŋanʸ, PA beenah, K pina, OH (c) P beenar, An binnare, MC kun-dtha (cf. 1) (d) R pĭnâ, Mac binna, MM pinul, Du geman (e) R bĭnâ (f) SL, aEM, T 'penɑr:, Ar binna, EC phir-nur, D beenar, L benarr, Tu binai (g) pina

11 (c) An naua or nana (d) R wŭl-lĕn-dō, MM walindu (e) R ŭng-gă-'tĕl-mă-ră

12 (b) M; S yara; OH yarŋati, see 14 (c) PC, An yarra; MC yar-jeen, see 14 (d) R tŭng-goo-lă *'lip'*, *'mouth'*, Mac thangula; MM yarcharain, Du yedtheron, see 14, CC [wəlé·ra] = lira ? (e) R â-gâ *'lip'*, *'mouth'* (cf. Yandruwandha ngaga *'throat'*) (f) N, EM, SL lira; T 'leira, Ar lerra, EC na-gu, D lara, L tangoola (also *'eat'*, cf. U8); Tu yaruundie or yarunundie, see 14

13 (d) MM tharingar (mistake ?, cf. 12) (f) N lirapatʸit, aEM as lirapatʸi

14 (a) yar, see 12 (b) M yarŋanti, S [yaṛṭiṭa]; PA yarrah, K yaru, see 12, OH yarŋati, cf. 12 (c) P yarchine, yarhjine, An yarrangundoo; MC yar-ra, see 12 (d) R yâ-chĕ-rĭn, Mac yarcharring, MM yerdidther (e) R yār-dĭ-dă (f) N, SL, aEM, T 'jarɑŋandi, Ar yerngandi, EC yar-gan-di, L yargan, Tu see 12. Note that four informants for (a), (b), (c) give the same word as *'mouth'*. O said (1977) that yarŋanti is a man with his middle front teeth knocked out. Perhaps it is a name for these teeth or for incisors in general.

15 (b) M, S, PA ngoolan (c) P ngoolan, ngoolon, An tomingil, MC mool-lun (d) R nŭl-lŭn-dĕ, tŭm-mĕn-gool, Mac nullandee, MM tumingaroo, Du mulindie (e) R ŭl-'lŭn-dĭ (f) T'mo:ni, Ar mooni, EC moo-ni, L moonee

16 (a) also used wika, but said wiṭa was correct (c) An weeka *'to spit'*

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
A17	(deleted)						
18	*jaw*						(tjatutjatu)
19	*chin*, see notes on 20 (e) (f)						
20	*beard*	yanbarr	yanbarr	yanbarr	yanbarr (mangguRa)	yanbarr (mangguRa)	yanbarr
21	*throat*				mangguRa	mangguRa	
22	*neck*	mana	mana nyinngin	mana nyinngin			manamuki ? (tjatutjatu) (mirriyn)
23	*nape*				kayaTuRiTuRi		
24	*shoulder*	karni	karni		karni	karni	karni ? kaRarr
25	*shoulder blades*	rimbirimbi					
26	*armpit*	ngamurr	ngamurr				thapurr
27	*arm*	palkal	palkal	palkal?	waltjurr pilkarra		palkal NukuNuku
28	*elbow*			Wulu	yurrumuku		
29	*forearm*				palkal	pilkarra	
30	*wrist*						malali (Nampu)

A17 (deleted)

18 (f) T 'tjadu'djadu, cf. 22

20 (b) M, OH, PA yanbah, yanba; S waṛumpu, see 2 (c) P yanbah, An yanbar, MC yanbur (d) R mŭng-goo-ră *'chin'*, *'beard'*, see also 21, Mac mungurra, MM yanbar *'chin'*, mangoora *'beard'* (e) R yŭn-bâ, mung-goo-ră, both *'chin'*, *'beard'*, see also 21 (f) SL, aEM; Ar yanba, EC yanbar, D yambur, L yanbarr, Tu yanbur

21 (b) OH mana, see 22 (d) R mŭng-roo-rā, Du mangoree *'neck'* (e) R mŭng-goo-rĭ, cf. 20

22 (b) PA munna, S nyinṇin, OH see 21, 23 (c) PA ngingin, An munna (f) SL t^{y}atut^{y}atu, cf. 18; D merring, cf. 53, Tu manomoke (see note to 28 (d))

23 (b) OH mana *'back of neck'*, see 22 (d) R 'kī-ă-'too-rĭ-'too-rĭ

24 (b) S (d) R kă-nĕ (e) R kâ-nĭ (f) SL kaṇi, aEM, D garrar, Tu curur

26 (b) M [tikəltikəl] ?, OH ŋamur *'underarm hair'* (f) SL, aEM, cf. 39(a)

27 (b) M, S, OH [ɛmuř] cf. 26 (c) An boogul (d) R wŭl-joor and see 29, MM waljur, Du bilgolla (e) R see 29 (f) D noogoonoogoo, Tu pal-gal

28 (c) An oulo (d) R ū-rō-mō-kō cf. Kl yurumuku, Bd yuḍu, *'elbow'*, muku *'bone'* in some Karna lgs, mugu *'knee'* in some Mari lgs.

29 (d) R bŭlgŭl (e) R pĭl-gă-ră. See 27

30 (f) D mullarḷy, aEM malali, cf. 33, Tu namboo (also *'ankle'*, 61)

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
A31	*hand*	marl	maliru	maliru	mambila (mala)	mala (mambila)	mala
32	*left hand*	kaluru	wakuyn	wakuyn			
33	*fingers*				mambila walkatja-katjakuRu malakuNu ?		malaNiwiNuRa
34	*thumb*			maLpandjiRi (maRapanggu)	mambila maṭu	maRapanggu	malapanggu
35	*fingernail*	marlmindjil	malpitji	maLitji (or maLpitji ?)	maLpitji piku(malangu)		malapitji
36	*nails*	mindjil				mindjil	
37	*breast, milk*	thambuthambu mimi		thambu	thambu ngamakuRa ngamina	ngamakuRa	thambu (mandjimandji)
38	*chest*	parrkun	(lurrku)				mindimindi

A31 (a) O also used [maləṛu] (b) M, O, S, [maləṛu]; M, K, mala, OH maḷṛu and see 33 (c) PC malaroo, An mullero, MC mala-roo (d) mŭm-bĕ-lă, Mac mumbila, MM mumbinoor, Du monow and cf. 33, CC see 35 (e) R mŭl-lă *'hand'*, *'fingers'*, LM mampila (f) SL, EM; T 'mala, Ar malla, EC mulla, D mala, L mambilla, Tu mala (g) mala

32 (b) OH (b, c) PA wagoyne *'left handed'*

33 In most Australian languages there is no word for *'fingers'* as distinct from *'hand'*. (b) OH maḷu, see 31 (d) R mŭm-bĕ-lă-wŭl-kă-jă-kă-jă-koo-rō, lit. *'little hand'*, cf. M6; MM malbidji, see 36, Du murrogonoo (e) R, see 31 (f) D mullaniwenoora, cf. 30, 31; Tu mala-bungoo, cf. 34 (f)

34 (c) An mulbungeree and see 63 (d) R 'mŭm-bĕ-lă 'mâ-dō, lit. *'big hand'*, cf. M5 (e) R mā-ră-bŭng-gō, cf. 63 and L5 (f) Tu see 33

35 (b) OH (c) An marlidgee (d) R, see 36, Du pee coo, CC pikumalaŋu (piku in Y1, and see 31 for mala; -ŋu may be genitive, see 3.4.1) (f) SL, aEM

36 (a) Not attested but cf. 35 and 66 (d) R mŭl-pē-jē, MM malbidji, cf. 35 (e) R mĭn-jĭl

37 The gloss *'breasts'* is given in all cases; *'milk'* only where shown. (a) thamputhampu in 1970, but in 1976 this was said to mean *'hips'*, cf. 46 (d), and mimi *'breasts'* (c) PC thambo, An tambo, *'milk'*, MC d'thunboo (d) R ŭm-mă-koo-ră, tăm-bō; Mac tampo, MM thambo, *'milk'*; MM uminar, cf. Kuwa (e) R ŭm-mă-gō-ră (f) aEM thampu; Ar mundjimundji, cf. 38, EC tam-boo; L tamboo *'milk'*

38 (b) S (f) SL mintiminti, D mundy mindy, Tu mindi-mindi, cf. 37

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
A39	(i) *stomach*	thapul (ii,iv)	wayirr (ii)	wanpanggu (i,iii)	ngaparra (i,v)	ngaparra (i,v)	tjipa (i,ii)
	(ii) *belly*		ngaparra (ii)	ngaparra (i)	ngundhupanggu (iii)	ngundhupanggu (iii)	kunapanggu ? (i,iv)
	(iii) *bowels*			wayirr (i)	walkatjakatjakuRu (iii)		ngaparra (i)
	(iv) *guts*			walkatjakuRu (iii)	wanbanggu (iii)		kuna (i,iii)
	(v) *abdomen*				? (i)		thapurr (iii)
40	*navel, umbilicus*	(tjunggu) (thimbu)		tjunggu	runggu	tjimbu	tjunggu
41	*waist*		(watha)				
42	*heart*	marndika		marndika			
43	*liver*	matjirr		matjirr			
44	*back*	thunkun	mundhi		ruNDu	thalkupaRa	mundhi
		punggu	purru		thalkupaRa		
45	*flank*				kapakapa	kipakipa	
46	*buttocks*	muyu	muyu		pukuthambu		(mundhi)

A39 (b) S wayir, OH ŋapara (c) PC wanbungo *'stomach'*, waukitcherkurro, An ngabbara, wau-wur-noon *'bowels'*, MC wy-yeer, one-bun-go *'bowels'* (d) R ŭb-pĕr-ă, oon-dō-'bŭng-gō cf. 49; Mac wawkachcache kurro, cf. M6, wawbawgoo, MM uparer and see 49, CC [nĭyáṉṉa] (e) R ŭb-bŏr-ă, oon-dō-bŭng-gō (f) SL kulapaŋku (kunapaŋku ?) *'inside'*, aEM kunapaŋku *'milk gut'* i.e. *'large intestine'*, T 'djiba, cf. Proto-Pama-Mari tʸipa *'liver'*; Ar koodna *'stomach'*, cf. 49, turburr *'bowels'* cf. 26, EC na-boo-ra, tarndoo (= *'egg'*, F2), L teeba, kuna cf. 49. Note L5 paŋku *'plenty'* and Kl katʸakulu *'small'* and see 34, 63 and M6. Items ending in -paŋku may possibly refer to the large intestine but note the similar compound in Warluwarra, kunapaṭa *'stomach'* from kuna *'faeces'* and paṭa *'big'*, and waukitcherkurro and wawcachcache kurro, which seem to mean just *'small'*, may refer to the small intestine.

40 (a) O accepted these forms, and added "yuŋkupuna [tʸuŋkupuna ?] means your belly is sick". (c) An choongo (d) R rŏng-kō (e) R jĭm-bŏ (f) SL, aEM

41 (b) M, translation doubtful

42 (c) An mundegar

43 (a) matʸar also heard (c) An mudjear

44 (b) S muṉṯi, cf. 46, OH puru (d) R roon-dō, Du toolgavera (e) R tŭl-kō-pâ-ră (f) SL dirbiliii (prob. Wn); aEM muṉṯi, D mundy, Tu moondie, cf. 46

45 (d) R 'kâ-pâ 'kâ-pâ (e) R 'gĭ-bă 'gĭ-bă

46 (b) M *'anus'*, S, K (d) R bō-kō-tŭm-bō, cf. 37 (e) R bō-gō (f) SL, D, cf. 44

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
A47	*hip*	(thamputhampu)					
48	*anus*			(thapi)			munkurt
49	*faeces, excrement*	ngundhu	kuna ngundhu	wana ngundhu	ngundhu	ngundhu	kuna (Tala)
50	*penis*	tharti	tharti thungga tjumbi		miNu	wiNi	thungga
51	*testicles*	kaputhirri	kaputhirri (kalu)	ngurtu	kapukuRa	kapukuRa	ngurtu
52	*women's genitals*		thindhi kundha				
53	*vulva*	kundha	kundha mirriyn		miNi kundha pakil yalmaRaŋu	yiria	kundha nyirrtjin (warlu)
54	*urine*	kipara	kipara (kalmarra)	kipara	kipara	kipara	kipara
55	*pubic hair*		(murrapi)				tjirril (murrapi)
56	*lap*	riungu					

A47 (a) see 37

48 (c) An teppe, cf. tabbegoora *'tail of an animal'* (f) EM; T 'mun'gut

49 (b) M kuna, cf. 39, ngunṯu only in ngunṯu-house corresponding apparently to Eng. shithouse; K wunṯu (c) PC wanna, An wa-a-na, also wanna *'to dung'*, MC one-d'tho (d) R oon-dō, Mac noointo, MM oondoo (also *'bowels'*) (e) R oon-dō (f) EM kuna, T 'kudna, cf. 39, Ar dulla; EC moo-ni, cf. 15, L goona

50 (b) In order, M, M, K (d) R mē-nō (e) R wĭn-nĭ (f) EM thungka, T 'do:ŋga

51 (b) M [kaluⁿ], [kapəṯiri], S kaputʸari (c) PA see M17 (d) R kă-pō-koo-ră (e) R kă-pă-gŏr-ă (f) EM, SL, T 'ŋordo

52 (b) M, cf. 53

53 (b) K, cf. 52 and 22 (f) (d) R mē-nē ("society" polite term) cf. 50; koon-jă, pŭk-kĭl, yĕl-mă-rŭng-ō, ("blackguardly words to use"), cf. (b) and (f) (e) R yĕr-lă, cf. K1 i̯la (f) SL, aEM, kunṯa, cf. 52; T 'njiritjin, aEM nʸirtʸin; EM wa̯lu

54 (b) M kipa, kipa̯ra and see U11, K kalmara (c) An keepur (d) R gĭb-bă-ră, MM kiperer (e) R gĭb-bŏr-ă (f) SL

55 (b) see (f) (f) SL murapi, aEM as MK1, EM tjiril

56 (f) see 57

		a	b	c	d	e	f
A57	*thigh*	Ngawun tharriru	Mayi-Kulan tharriru	Mayi-Yapi tharriru	Mayi-Thakurti tharruru (kuyamaRa)	Wunumara tharra	Mayi-Kutuna tharra laNGin (thuwal)
58	*knee*	punkul	punkul	punkul	punkul	punkul	
59	*leg, lower leg, shin*			muku ?	yiNDaRa (muku) (NuL(T)u)	muku	
60	*calf*	thalku	pumbuyn				
61	*ankle*	pirna			pirna (rikarrkunka)		rikaRuka ? poss. rikarrkunka (Nampu)
62	*foot*	tjana	tjana	tjana	tjana	thina	tjina
63	*big toe*			(maRapanggu)	tjanaTindjal ?	thinapanggu	
64	*toes*			tjiRitjiRi			
65	*heel*			tjanduNGaRa			

A57 (b) M, S tharaṛu; OH tararu and see 59 (c) PC, MC mogo, cf. 59, An tharro (d) R tâ-rō-rō koo-yĕ-mâ-ră (kuyamarra is *'dogwood'* in several W. Qld. lgs); Mac mukkeo, cf. 59; MM nooldu, cf. 59, 60; Du see 59 (e) R tă-ră (f) EM, SL; Ar langiu (but note Mathews' reference (1899:38) to langui *'thigh'* at the mouth of the Leichhardt River and cf. 56 and 59), EC tar-ra; D tarail *'thigh'*, tara *'leg'*, L dooal, Tu tarra or darra

58 (b) M see 59, S (c) An boongool (d) R poong-kool (e) R boong-gool (d) and (e) assumed to be punkul rather than puŋkul by analogy with (a) and (b) but note PP puŋku

59 (a) piṇa, see 61 (b) M punkul *'lower leg'*, cf. 58; OH tharu, see 57 (c) see 57 (d) R ĭn-dă-ră, Mac see 57, MM nooldu cf. 57, 60, Du tharra *'leg'* (e) R mō-kō (f) Ar see 57, Tu langin *'leg'*. See note to 28, and see 68

60 (b) OH (d) MM nooldu, cf. 57, 59

61 (a) see 59 (d) R prē-nâ (cf. PP etc. piṇa *'bone'*) (f) D regaroga, cf. 8(d) - the connection seems remote but note that CC gave tʸana for *'head'*, *'eye'* and *'foot'*; Tu namboo (also *'wrist'*, 30)

62 See also K46 *'track'* (b) M, S, K tʸina, PA jannah, OH (c) P jannah, An janna, MC jenna (d) R chă-nă, Mac tunna, MM yanar, Du jannah, CC tʸana (e) R tĭn-nă (also *'little toes'*) (f) aEM, T 'tjena, Ar tinna, EC chinna, D jinna, L deina, Tu gina or jina (g) tʸana

63 (c) An marrabungo *'great toe'*, cf. 34 and L5, (d) MM yanartinjul, see notes to B1 and Q3

64 (d) An jerri-jerri (e) see 62

65 (c) An jandoongara

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
A66	*toenail*	ṭjanmindjil					
67	*skin*	kathariu	kathariu	piya	piya		yakarli ? kalku (piya)
68	*bone*	thimul	thimul	thimul mukuyn	thimul mukuyn	thimul	maTa (thimul)
69	*flesh*, see D98 *'meat'*						
70	*blood*	kapul or kapurl	kapul	kuwaRu kapul	kuwaRu maṭjangu	kuwaRu	maṭjangu (kirin) (ngaRu)
71	*fat*	thanku	kamirr thanku	thanku	kaNiyn		thanku kamirr
72	*sore*	kaki	kaki	kaki			
73	*scar*	mandiyn	(wartitji)				mandiyn
74	*cough*	kundul					
75	*sickness*	yithi					
76	*itch*			nyamurru			

A67 (b) M kaṯaḷu, kaṯuḷu (c) PC beeah, An beer, MC beya (d) Mac peea, MM peer (f) Ar yogale, EC ya-karr-li, D kalgoo, L bea. Cf. Bd biya *'bark'*.

68 (b) M ṯimu, OH ṯimuṭʸ (c) PC, An thimmool, MC moo-goo-in (d) R tŸm-mool, mō-koon, Mac mookooin, Du moojoey (e) R tŸm-mŭl (f) Ar mada, EC mud-da, L demul

70 (b) M, S, OH kaputʸ and see M3 (c) PC goowarro, An cobble, MC go-ar-roo, cf. Kuwa kuwaRu (d) R kwâ-rō, Mac machango, MM gooaroo (e) R gwâ-rō (f) SL kiṛin; T 'madjaṇo, aEM, A majaugo (misr.), EC my-yung, L ngarroo

71 (b) M kamir, PA kommeer, K tanku, OH kamir (c) PA thango wineyeer (wineyeer means *'big'*, see M5), PC thanko, An thango, MC d'thun-go (d) Mac karning (f) SL ṯanku, aEM, Ar gamirr, EC, D tan-goo, L tangoo

72 (b) PA coeke, koggee *'sores'*, OH (c) PA coekee *'sores'*

73 (b) S [wa(ṛ)ṭiṭʸi] (f) SL, aEM. See also D34

75 Heard only in yiṯipuna *'sick'* and yiṯimpa *'to be sick'*. See also M38

76 (c) PC nyamooroo *'smallpox'*

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
B1	*(adult) man, person (Aboriginal)*	pandjil yalmirr	pandjil yalmirr ?	pandjil (yakuyn)	nakirr pandjil (muRi ?)	nakirr	yirrman wambi
2	*(adult) woman (Aboriginal)*	panya	panya warangu (nyinga)	panya	panya (tjindima) ?	panya	panya (thINDiparri)
3	*old man*	pulpul	muwa	muwa	muwa		muwa pulpul ?
4	*old woman*	wamurra	wamurra	muthumuthu wamurra (yapuRa)	TamaLa wamurra		muthumuthu yanyirr ? (wamurra)

B1 (b) O yalmir; M yuru *'bad man'*, cf. K1 yuru *'man'*, OH panYtYatY, PA bunjil, marbarungal (see K8), S panYtYil, K yalmir, pama (from Pama lgs) (c) PA yagoyne (see M5), PC, An bunjil, MC banjil, B banjel, banjil (d) CC nakir, R â-gŭr, pŭn-yĭl (and see C17), Mac nukker, bungil; MM moorey, cf. 3, also prob. nakir in wundoo narjerar *'Where are the blacks?'* (Note that there are at least seven examples of j in MM where other sources indicate k; see also B7, D1, I2, K37, M14, O6) (e) R â-gŭr (f) N, EM yirman, SL panYtYil, T 'er:'man, Ar yirrman, EC in-goom *'the blacks'*, D yeermun, L eerman, Tu wombi (g) panYtYil

2 (b) M warangu, cf. C13, O, K panYa, PA bunya, S nYiŋa, WH see C16, OH panYatY (c) PA mootho-moootho [sic], cf. 4, and see C28, PC, MC bunya, An bunyah, B banya, banyel (d) R pŭn-yă (also *'wife'*), wŏm-mă-'ŏng-oo-lŭl, Mac bunya (also *'wife'*), MM pungar, CC tYintima (e) R bŭn-yă, see also 6 and 15, LM, WH see C16 (f) N, EM, T 'pa:nja, PC bauīa (misr.), Ar poin-u, EC bunayah, L dindebarri (cf. A52 and note also K1 t̲intipari *'beefwood'*), Tu bunja

3 (b) PA moa (c) P moa, An mowa, MC mo-a (d) Mac mooa; MM more, cf. 1, CC kutYurpatYipatYi ? (f) N pulpul, Ar see 4, EC mo-a, L boolgin-boola

4 (b) PA warmoora (c) PA mootho mootho and see 2, PC warmoora, An yappoora, MC wom-me-ra (d) Mac tamalla, MM womoora, CC mat̲imat̲iyuntu ? (f) N [yanYər], Ar moa (cf. 3), EC mo-do-mo-do, L wamoora

		a Ngawun	b Mayi-Kulan	c Mayi-Yapi	d Mayi-Thakurti	e Wunumara	f Mayi-Kutuna
B5	*young man*	kiingu yapayirri	yapayirri (kiingu)	yapayirri	yapayirri wuparrindji ngiNingiNi maRakaNDi	yapayirri wuparrindji maRakaNDi	yapayirri (wuparrindji)
6	*young woman*	panggutjaru			yiratji wuLamaRa	yiratji	(panyapanya)
7	*boy*		(walparra)	(kuyirri)	kanggi kaRangga kaNDakalpuRu kuyirri	kiingu ? (kuyirri)	piLa (tjalungani)

B5 (b) PA yabberin *'unmarried man'*, WH and H see C15 (c) PA yap-ary, An yabbiyerria, MC yab-bi-ree, B see C12 (d) R yŭp-pī-ĕ-rĭ *'male after 1st degree initiation'*, ō-brŭn-jĭ *'male after 2nd degree initiation'*, nĭ-nĭng-ĭ-nĭ *'male after 3rd degree initiation'*, mŭr-ŭk-kŭn-dĭ *'male after 4th degree initiation'* also *'female after 3rd degree initiation'* and *'female after 4th degree initiation'*, Mac yappoierre, PH and H see C19 (e) R yŭp-pī-ĕ-rĭ, ō-brŭn-jĭ, both as in (d), mŭr-ŭk-kŭn-dĭ *'male after 3rd degree initiation'* (f) N, aEM, Ar ya-bar-ri, kalbi, L oobaringee Cf. Kl uparinʸtʸi *'young man after second degree initiation'*

6 (d) ē-ră-jĭ *'female after 1st degree initiation'*, wŏl-lă-mă-ră *'female after 2nd degree initiation'* (e) R ē-ră-jĭ as in (d), bŭn-yă *'female after 2nd degree initiation'* but see 2. Cf. Kl iratʸi *'girl after first degree initiation'* (Roth) or *'girl'* (Blake)

7 (b) M kartaku, [ka·taku] *'boy (about 3 ft tall)'* but see also 8, 9 and M6; PA buchingore, see 9; K walpara *'little boy'* cf. Kn waḷpaṛa *'child'*, Bd walbaṛa *'young man'* (c) PA batchingoloo, see 9, An see C15; B bajungur, see 9 (d) R kŭng-gĭ, kŭr-rŭng-gâ, *'boy, male at first sign of puberty'*, kun-ta-kul-poo-roo *'boy at full development of puberty'*; MM jueary (?), see note to 1, Du coedie; PH goy yerry, no translation given, and see C15, CC kuyiri (e) R gĭng-gō, as for kŭng-gĭ in (d), WH see C15, cf. 5(a) (f) N patjangula *'little boy'*, see 8, 9, 10; D bagahmoole, see 9, Tu biiah (cf. Kl piḷapiḷa *'child'*). Cf. Kl, PP kuyiri

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
B8	*girl*		manggayn (kilkara ?)	manggayn	manggayn	manggayn	panyatjarlu (panyawarri)
9	*child*	patjangurr	patjangurr kathaku	patjangurr kathaku	kathaku	kathaku ?	patjangula (tjalungani) (TambuRu)
10	*baby*	tjalaru	(tjalaru) (kuthu)	kuthuthu	kuthuthu	kuthuthu	kuthuthu ?
11	*mate, friend*	makirr	makurtu				makutu
12	*good hunter*		wurrkari ?				
13	*doctor*	mangarnbuna			mangaNipuna		

B8 (b) M [kaṯeku] but see 7, 9 and M6; PA mungine, also numkine *'a maid or virgin'*, see K7, S [gilgarə] *'little girl'*, WH see C15 (c) PA goothathoo, see 10, An see C15 (d) R mŭng-gŭn *'girl, female at first sign of puberty'*, MM mungane, Du mungon; PH munkine, no translation given (e) R nŭng-gŭn, as in (d), WH see C15 (f) D bajahjarloo, aEM as pan^{Y}at^{Y}aḷu, cf. 9, 10, M6, EM pan^{Y}awari; Tu gut-thu-thu, cf. 10. Cf. Gunya maṇgan^{Y} *'young woman'*

9 (b) M, O pat^{Y}aṇur; M, PA, see 7, S pat^{Y}iṇur, OH see 10; WH knial, see C14 (c) PA see 7, PC kudda-kudulla *'children'*, An podjonger *'children'*, B see 7 and 10 (d) R kă-tă-gō, Mac kuttukara *'children'* and see 10, MM churloo (= *'small'*, M6), Du see 10 (e) R see C15, WH vermery *'child in arms'* (f) N see 7, 8, 10; SL patjangula, aEM; EM t^{Y}aluṇani, see M6, Ar murgoo *'children'* but see L5 *'many'*, D see 7, L tambooroo *'children'*

10 (b) O t^{Y}alaṛu, PA see C29, OH kaṭuku see 9 (c) PA see 8 and C14, PC goitho-thoo, An coot-too-doo, MC good-a-dthoo; B bajungur, cf. also 7 and 9 (d) Mac kuttukka, Du cuthergoo, also catherko *'calf'*, MM churloo (see M6), PH see C29, LM kuṯuṯu *'children'* (e) LM as in (d) (f) N pat^{Y}aṇur, see 7, 8, 9, Ar pajamulla, EC ty-gall, L billabilla (aEM as Kl piḷapiḷa) but see 7, Tu see 8

11 (b) M (f) N, EM

12 (b) M wur(or l)kar(or ṛ)i

13 (a) maṇaṇ is "a thing that lives in your skin like a worm", -puna *'having'* (d) R munguni boo-nă, RB mangani-buna *'the medicine man who uses it* [i.e. the death-bone apparatus, see D40]*'*, -puna *'having'*. Cf. Kl maṇaṇaan, PP maṇanimaru

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
B14	(i) *spirit*	piltjurr (ii,iv)	parraku (iv)	parraku (ii,iv)	parraku (all)		parraku (iv)
	(ii) *ghost*		mikulu (iv)	matha (iv)	wanbu (ii)		piltjurr (i)
	(iii) *corpse*		piltjurr (iv)	piltjurr (i)			mikulu (iv)
	(iv) *white person*						mumbi (iv) NaNGa (ii)
15	*white woman*		waynmarri		?		
16	*names of specific spirits*		limbindja kuluyn	limbindja kuluyn	TaLuwan		waNGaRindji?
				thuyungga kula ?	limbindja kulan		Tipirr ?
	(see opposite for details)				Tinkala kulan		puNGaTu
					muk(ay)ipiyangu		?
					Tayipanganya		?
					malkaRi		

B14 (a) O also used paraku but said it was MKI (b) M [pareku], mikulu (?), O pi!tʸur (?), S yanʸi (= KI), K [bilʸud̥], paraku, [migalo]; PA limbeen-jar-golong *'spirits, refers to tree bark where they live'*, see 16 (c) P barrago *'white fellow'*, *'white man'*; PC limbeenjargolong *'ghosts'*, see 16; An parrago *'ghosts'*, *'white man'*, muddtha *'white man'*, MC mud-dtha *'white man'* (presumably from Eng master), B baragu *'white man, woman'*, biljur *'devil'* (d) R pâ-ră-gō *'spirit, ghost, corpse, white person'*, Mac barrakoo *'evil spirits'*, burruka *'white man'*, MM simbingergolun *'ghost'* (= limpintja kulan, see 16), Du barrago *'white man'*, wanboo *'devil-devil'* cf. Guwa *'white man'* and words for *'ghost'*, *'devil'* or *'white man'* in some Mari dialects, eg. Bd, Margany (f) N, SL, aEM, paraku, SL pilʸtʸur *'spirit of dead person'*, Ar moombi, EC mi-goo-loo, L mekoolan *'white man'*, noonga *'ghosts'*

15 (b) S (from Eng "white Mary") (c) PA bunyah, see 2 (d) CC [nɛli]

16 (b) PA see 14 (c) PC limbeenjargolong *'ghosts'* (limbeen occurs as a separate word in Palmer 1883a:291. The name may be limpintja, locative of limpiyn *'bark'*, kuluyn demonstrative, i.e. *'that one in/under the bark'*. Compare Warluwarra bandungurlu *'devil'*, literally *'from the butt of the tree'*), An thoi-onga-goola *'evil spirit'* (d) R tŭl-lō-ŭn *'Rainbow Serpent'*, Lĭm-bĭ-jâ-koo-lŭn *'spirit that haunts graves'*, Tĕn-gŭl-â-goo-lŭn, Tengulagulan (RB) *'spirit that teaches the manganibuna* [see 13]*'*, Mō-kī-pĭ-ŭng-ō, mokipiango (RB) *'man-eating nature-spirit'*, Dī-pŭng-ŭn-yă (DĬ- in index), Daipanganya (RB) *'spirit that causes insanity'*, RB Malkari *'spirit that kills blacks'*, MM see 14 (f) Ar Wongaringe *'God'*, Dibir *'demon'*, Mandja *'good spirit'* (= *'good'*, M20), D Boongardoo *'name of Creator'*, Geevoorevoolo name of a spirit (?), Tu Bungerdoo or Bun-ger-duh *'the Being who taught their* [i.e. the Aborigines'] *ancestors'*

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
B17	*personal names* (see opposite for details)	tjapun	rendiltja panggariyn ?	yuLikiRi puRaNGaNi	kalpakalpa katji luRuluRu wamaTa katjipumaRa		
18	*tabooing of name of dead person*	(thamarrka)	(thamarrka) (kundhulkundhul)				
C1	*mother*	yimba	yakurra yimba	yakurra	miRa-	miRa	(miRaka) (kuyun ?)

B17 (a) Cherry O'Keefe's name, after the place where she was born, on Cambridge Downs, north of Richmond. (b) M [ṛentiltYa], Bob McKillop's name; PA Plungreen, an informant of Palmer's, said to mean *'fast runner'*. (c) PC Yulegerri, Palmer's informant; B Burungani, Burrangoo, Burrongoo, Bates' informant. (d) Mac Kulpa-kulpa, Kache (males), Luro-luro, Wammutta, Kachebowmurra (females)

18 M, when asked what you say when a man dies and you can't use his name: "ṯamarka; no name; just call him some other thing like kuṉṯulkuṉṯul or something like that. That mean say, don't mention the name, that's the sorrow." ṯamarka was accepted by O, who translated it "Don't name him".

C The following abbreviations for kinship terms are used in the notes to this section of the vocabulary: M mother, F father, B brother, Z sister, S son, D daughter, C child, H husband, W wife, -L in-law, e elder, y younger, m male speaker, f female speaker. Thus, for example, FZ is father's sister, SWf is son's wife as called by a female.

1 Note that, in most Australian languages, the kinship term translated as 'mother' also means MZ, MMZD and certain other categories. Similarly, F includes FB, etc. (b) M, O yimpa, S yakuṛa, PA yakoroo and see 23, WH yakorah, H yakora, OH yakura (c) R yă-kō-ră, P yakoroo, yakoro, An yagoora, MC yag-e-roo (d) R mĕ-rĭ-gă, Mac mirako, MM meerala, PH meraggi (?), H meragi (e) R mĕ-ră; WH mirrer, H mirier, cf. 4 (f) Ar mujoo (cf. 3 (b) and (c)), EC koo-youn, L miraga adEM

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
C2	*mother's brother*	ngamari	ngamirn	ngamirn	ngamirn	kaNa	
3	*father*	yathu	mutju yathu	mutju(Ri)	yathu	yathu	(kumaLa) (yathu)
4	*father's sister*	kandhurn	kandhurn	kaṇdhurn (tuRin)	kandhurn	kandhurn (kungi)	
5	*mother's mother/ reciprocal*	kamin	kamin (kirrirr)	kamin	kamin	kamin	
6	*mother's father/ reciprocal*	pupu	pupu (wirurr) (tjatji)	pupu	(TiNambuRu)	(mandjiya)	
7	*father's mother/ reciprocal*	papin	papin (kalirr) (tjatji)	papin	papin	papin	

C2 Since FB is called F (see 1) a term translated 'uncle' would normally mean MB (also MMBS, etc.). (b) M, S [ŋami(ṛ)ṇ], PA see 3 (c) R nŭm-mĭn, PA see 3, B ngaman, see also 16, 20, 21 (d) R ŭm-mĭn, PH ammin, see also 7, 9, 13, 21 (e) R kâ-nă, cf. Gangulu gana and see 20

3 See 1. (b) M, S yatu, O, OH mutʸu, PA moocho; ngammin *'father's brother'*, cf. 2, WH mootchon (?), H mootchou (c) R moo-jō, PA moochore, see 7, 8, 24, ngammin *'uncle (father's brother)'*, PC moocho, An mojure, MC mudjo, B muju (d) R yŭt-tō, Mac yato, MM yadthoo, PH yathu, yatho (This is followed by an unnumbered item which looks like ki ar bipri. There is no indication of its meaning.), H yathi (e) R yŭd-dō, WH yattho, H yatho (f) Ar kumalla, see 32 and 1; EC war-in-gu, see 13, L yadoo

4 (b) M, S; P boolon, see 8; WH yakorah, H yakora, see 1 (c) R kŭn-doon, PA thoo rin *'aunt* (FZ)', B mūjū *'aunt* (FZm)' but see 3 (d) R kŭn-doon, LM kaṇṭuṇ *'cousin'*; PH konchine, H konthone, see 20 (e) R koong-ĭ, see 12, LM kaṇṭuṇ *'mother-in-law'*; WH mirier, H mirrier, see 1

5 (b) M kamin *'MM'*; S yakuṛa kirir *'MM'*, cf. 1, PA see 7 (c) R gŭm-mĭn *'MM'*, *'SD'* (d) R kŭm-mĭn *'MM'*, *'SD'*, PH see 9 (e) R kŭm-mĭn *'SD'*

6 (b) M tjatji *'FF'*, *'FM'*, *'MF'*, see 7, 8, S wiṛur *'MF'*, PA see 8 (c) R bō-bō (d) R tĭn-'nŭm-boo-roo (e) R mŭn-jē-ă

7 (b) M see 6, S, PA kommin *'FM'* (see 5) and see 8; WH bujjuman, H budguman, *'FM'*, see 12 (c) R pă-pĭn; PA mootcho thoongo *'FM'*, see 24 (d) R pâ-pĭn; PH ammin *'FM'*, see 2 (e) R pâ-pĭn; WH yattho, H yatho *'FM'*, see 3

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
C8	*father's father/ reciprocal*	pulun	(pulun) (tjatji)	pulun	pulun	pulun	
9	*elder sister*	ngatjiri	kulamu	kulamu	muNa (kulamu)	muNa	kulakaLa
10	*younger sister*				(thuRuku)	(wamba)	
11	*elder brother*	ngapuyu	ngapun	ngapun	ngapun	yapa	ngapun thapu (katjakuRa)
12	*younger brother*	(patjamun)	(patjamun)	patjamun	patjamun pukal	puka (kungi ?)	

C8 (b) M see 6; S kalkuṯuṇ yaṯu *'FF'*, cf. 3; PA boobo-bobbin *'FF'*, presumably a combination of pupu (see 6) and papin (see 7), see also 4 (c) R boo-loon; PA mootchoo *'FF'*, see 3 (d) R poo-lŭl *'SS'*, LM pulun *'grandfather'*, PH see 11 (e) R poo-lŭl *'SS'*

9 (a) *'Z'* (b) M kulama, O, S kulamu, PA kool-amoo, *'Z'*, WH coolamoo, H koolamoo (c) R koo-lă-mō, P kool-amoo, koolamo, An coobamoo (misr.), *'Z'* , MC kool-a-moo; B gūlamu, goolamoo, *'Z'* (d) R moo-nă; Mac murno, MM moona, *'Z'*; PH commin, see 5, 10, 17, ammin *'FBDf'* (which would be expected to be covered by the same terms as Z, since FB = F, cf. 1, 13), note also nun-a (muna ?) unglossed (e) R moo-nă, WH moonar, H moona (f) EC ny-yili-ey, see 14, L koolakalla *'all sisters'*. See also 13.

10 (c) PC bichamon, cf. 12 and note that in many lgs *'yB'* and *'yZ'* are covered by the same term (d) R too-rō-gō, cf. 15; PH moona, see 9 (e) WH wombah, H womba, cf. Kl wampa *'girl'*

11 All given as *'B'* except where noted. (b) M, S; O ŋapuyu, PA ngabone; koolamoo *'eB'*, see 9, WH ngarpoon, H ngapoon (c) R nâ-boon *'eB'*; PA batch i moon *'eB'*, see 12, ngahbone, PC ngabone *'eB'*, An ngaboon, MC see 12, B ngaban, ngabburn (d) R nâ-boon *'eB'*, MM arboon; PH boolan *'eB'* but see 8, and ngab-bun unglossed (e) R yŭb-bă, WH yappar, H yappa, *'eB'* (f) SL ṯana, cf. 16 (b), 30, EM ṯapu, EC na-boor *'eB'*; L kadgakoora *'all brothers'*, cf. Kl katYakulu *'small'*. See also 13

12 (a) accepted as *'B'* (b) WH, H, see 7 (c) R bâ-jă-mŏn, PA see 11 and 14, PC bichamon; MC nga-boor, see 11; B yabbai'eree *'youngest B'*, see B5 (d) R boo-gŭl, PH bitch i mun, H bitchi-im (or bitchi-un ?) (e) R bō-gâ; WH kungo (given twice - once with first letter illegible and last more like i), H kungo, cf. 4

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
C13	*mother's brother's child, father's sister's child*	waringu	waringu		(maringu)	(maringu)	
14	*child (female speaking), sister's child*	(ngayal)	ngayal (thirrkanini)	ngayal	ngayal	thuwaNi	ngayala
15	*child (male speaking), brother's child*	nganban	nganban	nganban	nganban		

C13 It is assumed that the Mayi languages followed the common Australian system in which parallel cousins (FBC, MZC) were called B or Z, as appropriate, while cross cousins (FZC, MBC) were called by a term which might be translated as 'cousin'. Cf. 1. Note, however, that a number of items here are translated, in effect, 'parallel cousin' (b) M *'cousin'*, cf. B2, S waringu *'cousin'* (d) PH ma-ringo, H maringo, *'FBSm'*; PH ngy all, H ngaiale *'FBDm, MZDm, FZSm'*, see 14; PH ngyal, H ngaiale, *'FZDm'*; PH boolon, not included by H, *'FBSf'*, see 8; PH ammin *'FBDf'*, see 2; PH ngy al, not included by H, unglossed but possibly *'MZDf'*, see 14 (e) WH murringo, H wurringo, *'FBSf, FBDf'*

14 (a) meaning not clear (b) M [ṯiɹkanini] (cf. Bd d̲ilgi, Marrgayn and Gunya d̲idgi *'Sm, BS'*), PA ngial *'niece'*, WH see B9 (c) R nī-ŭl *'nephew'*, *'niece'*; PA biteh a moon (misr. bitch a moon) *'nephew'*, see 12; gooth a thoo *'niece'*, see B10 (d) R nī-ŭl *'niece'*, *'nephew'*, PH see 13 (e) R too-ŭn-nĭ *'niece'*, *'nephew'*, cf. d̲uwana *'S(f?)'* in Southern Mari dialects (f) Tu nhi-il-ah *'emu young'*, and note that in Kk the cognate word ŋiyələ means *'ZC'*, *'Cf'* and also *'chick'*

15 (b) PA ngunbun *'nephew, S, D'*, S ŋanpan *'son'*; WH kerringor, H kerringa, *'Sm'*, see B5; WH mungine *'Dm'*, see B8 (c) R nŭn-bŭn *'S, D'*, PA bin jammoo *'S'* (sic, see K2 *'sun'*), ngum-ban *'D'*; An cooyearee *'S'*, see B7; munguine *'D'*, see B8 (d) R ŭn-bŭn *'S, D, BS, BD'*, PH goy yery *'Sm'*, also goy yerry, unglossed, see B7; thoo-ro-go *'Dm'*, cf. 10 (e) R kă-ṯă-gō; see B9; WH kooery *'Sm'*, see B7; WH mungine, H wungine, *'Dm'* , see B8

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
C16	*wife, sister-in-law*	ngurrtjin	(thaNanda)				
17	*husband, brother-in-law*	tjaliyn (mula)	mula		tjaliyn	tjaliyn	
18	*spouse*	ngathiya	(ngila)	ngathiya	ngathiya	ngathiya	
19	*mother-in-law /reciprocal*			mami (thalarrma)	wapuTu mami (panggukuNiN)		
20	*man's father-in-law (/reciprocal ?)*		(thalarrma)	(ngamirn)	(ngamirn) (mami)	kaNa kumi ?	

C16 (a) *'W'*; also ŋaṯiya accepted as *'W'*, see 18 (b) PA thananther *'wife'*, cf. 11 (f), 30; WH bunyah, H bunya, *'W'*, see B2 (c) P ngathea *'W'*, see 18; An ngaddear *'W'*, see 18, 27; B ngajia, ngarai, ngaria, *'W'*, see 17, 18; ngammern *'W'*, see 2 (d) R pŭn-yă, Mac bunya, *'W'*, see B2; R nŭt-tē-ă *'Z-L'*, see 18; MM narthia, *'W'*, PH ngathiar, H ngathia, *'W, BWm'*, see 18; WH moona *'WZ'*, see 9; charlin *'HZ'*, see 17 (e) R nŭt-tē-ă *'Z-L'*, see 18; WH bunyah, H bunya, *'W'*, see B2; WH ut the yah, H ut-thia, utthia, *'BWm, HZ'*, see 18

17 (a) tʸalinʸ *'H'*, mula accepted as *'B-L'*; ŋaṯiya accepted as *'H'*, see 16, 18 (b) M mula *'B-L'*; PA ngathea *'H'*, see 18 (c) PA bunjil *'H'*, see B1; B ngajia *'H'*, see 16, 18; ngabbung *'H'*, see 11; banji *'B-L'*, see note to (g) (d) R pŭn-'jĭl *'H'*, see B1; châ-lĭn *'B-L'*; MM narthia *'H'*, PH ngu thia, H ngathia, *'H'*, see 16, 18; PH kool a mo, H koolamo, *'WB'*, see 9; PH ngab-bun, unglossed, possibly intended as *'HB'* but see 11 (e) R châ-lĭn *'B-L'*; WH ut the yah *'H, WB'*, H ut-thia *'H'*, ut thia *'WB'*, see 18 (g) panʸtʸi *'H'* (probably from Pidgin benjy ~ benjyman from Eng. fancy man = husband)

18 (a) (c) (d) (e) see 16, 17 (b) M (doubtful) (d) See also 20

19 (c) R mŭm-mĭ; B tchalarma, cf. 20; both *'M-L'* (d) R wŏp-poo-tō *'M-Lm, M-Lf, S-Lf, D-Lf'*; PH bobbin *'WM'*, see 7; PH mum-my, H mammy, *'HM'*, see 20; PH bungkokonin *'SWf'*, cf. B 6(a); PH yaberirie, H yaberine, *'DHf'*, see B5

20 (b) M [ṯaləɾma] *'F-L'*, aO as *'uncle'*, cf. 19, 21 (c) B ngamin *'F-L'*, see 2, 16, 21 (d) R ŭm-mĭn *'F-Lm'*, see 2, 21; PH kurthine (?), H kunthone, *'WF'*, see 4; PH nga-thiar, H ngathia, *'SWm'*, see 18; PH mam-my, unglossed and not included by H, but presumably *'DHm'*, see 19 (e) R kâ-nă *'F-Lm'*, see 2; PH kume (?) *'WF'*, not included by H

		a Ngawun	b Mayi-Kulan	c Mayi-Yapi	d Mayi-Thakurti	e Wunumara	f Mayi-Kutuna
C21	*woman's father-in-law /reciprocal*		(thalarrma)	(ngamirn)	maNDayiRi (ngamirn)		
22	*relationship between husband's and wife's mothers*				makuTu		
23	*motherless*		yakurrathungu	waNDalpu			
24	*fatherless*		kunyaNGu	mutjuthungu			
25	*widow*		mindhara	kumilpu			
26	*widower*		mindhara	waR(V)kumilpu			
27	*unmarried girl*		mindhara	ngathiyathungu			
28	*unmarried man*		mindhara	panyakala			
29	*one whose child is dead*		kuthu mutjan				
30	*one whose sister is dead*		thana mutjVC(V) miR(V)paN				
31	*names of moieties*	wuthurru maLaRa		wuthurru parrkatha	wuthurru parrkatha	wuthurru parrkatha	

C21 (b) M see 20 (c) B see 20 (d) R mŭn-'dā-rĭ *'F-Lf, D-Lm'*; PH ammin *'HF'*, see 2

22 (d) R mâ-koo-dō

23 (b) P yakor thoongo (according to O, -ṯuŋu means *'lost'*; this fits here and in 24 but not in 27), cf. 1 (c) PA wandalbo

24 (b) PA goonyungo (c) PA mootche-thoongo, cf. 3 and see note to 23

25 (b) M *'bachelor'*, accepted as *'spinster'*, PA mintherah (c) PA koom-ilbo

26 (b) M see 25, PA mondurah (c) PA warrego-milbo

27 (b) M see 25. (c) PA ngathea-thoongo, cf. 18 and see note to 23

28 (b) M see 25. (c) PA bunyah-kulla (literally *'woman-lacking'*)

29 (b) PA goitho moochon, cf. B10 and U15; kuṯuṯu may have been intended or alternatively kuṯuṯu may be a plural. Note also PH gu-tho, unglossed.

30 (b) PA thanna mootchere mirreban, cf. 11(f), 16(b), U15

31 (a) Sharp Wutaru, Malara (c) R woo-dă-roo, pâ-kŭt-tă; according to Sharp (1939:449) there were no named moieties and Roth's information probably applies only to southern members of the tribe, in contact with the MT (d) R oo-tă-roo, pâ-kŭt-tă, Sharp Wutaru, Parkada (e) R woo-dă-roo, pâ-kŭt-tă, Sharp Utara, Parkada. Compare Bd clans wuḏuru and yaŋuru and moieties bumbira and magula.

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
			Male				*Male*
C32	*names of sections*	kupuru wunku kurrkila panbari	pathingu tjimaLingu yuwingu maRingu *Female* kapuRungu ngaRanngungu mandjingu kuthamangu	pathingu tjimiLingu kuthamangu yuwingu maRingu; *alternatively, as for Ng*	*as for Ng*	*as for Ng*	maRingumu wapurrmu (?) kumaLa marrkingumu (?) *Female* mandjingumu maRingumu marrkingumu (?) tjimiLimu (?); *alternatively, as for Ng;* *alternatively, as for MKl*
D1	*spear*	kunggun (thapun)	kunggun kalka	kunggun thapun (pundjapi)	kunggun tjilka tjiNipaRi yiRakala	thapun kalka	kunggun
2	*war spear, spatulate tip hand spear*						tjiNipaRi
3	*reed spear*			NindjaRi piltjayi	thapun		TapaRa

C32 (a) Sharp Kuparu, Kurkila, Wunggu, Banbari; Mathews (1899) gives for "Nahwangan" the names Arenia, Arara, Loora, Arrawonga but these are clearly not Ngawun names (b) PA marringo, goothamungo, yowingo, munjingo, bathingo, carburungo, jimalingo (once misprinted ismalingo), ngarran-ngungo; Sharp as (a) (c) R bă-dĭng-ō, jĭm-mĭ-'lĭng-ō, you-ĭng-ō; mār-ĭng-ō; PC marringo, goothamungo; B guberu, woongu, gurgila, bunburi; Sharp as (a) (d) and (e) R koo-poo-roo, woong-kō, koor-kĭl-lă, bŭn-bŭr-ĭ; Sharp as (a) (f) PA "On the Leichhardt River jimalingo is represented by wootharoo" (but see 31); Tu mar-i-nu-moo, mun-ging-oo-moo, wah-bud-moo, coo-mah-lah (see 3), mar-ging-nu-moo, chim-il-im-oo; Sharp as (a). Compare Bd sections gubuṛu, wungu, gurgila, ganbayi. It appears that this nomenclature has spread even since white settlement.

D1 (a) t̪apun accepted (b) M, O, S, kuŋkun, (S also kunkun), PA goongon; K kalka (Pama lgs but see 40(e)) (c) PA goongon, PC see 2, MC see 2; B jabun *'spear, generic term'*, jā'bun *'spear'*, cf. 3 (d) R koon-gŭn; MM koonjul *'wood spear'*, see note to B1, Du congoon, LM tʸilka (e) R tâ-boon, cf. 3 and see 40 (f) SL kuŋkun, aEM, T 'koŋgon, Ar see 2, EC see 3, L see 3, Tu goon-goon (g) kuŋkun

2 See also 1 and 3. The second gloss is given only by R(e). (c) PC koong-koon; An boonjabbee, probably a misunderstanding, means *'fighting'*, see Q3, MC kon-goon (d) R ē-ră-kă-lă, jĭ-nĭ-bŭr-ĭ, Mac tinnepurre (f) Ar kungoon, EC chin-do-verri, L deenibarri

3 See also 1 and 2. (c) An neenjerry, MC piljai (d) R tâ-poon *'spear used with shell woomera...'*, Mac tapouin (f) Ar tabarra, EC, L koongoon

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
D4	*short fighting spear*						tjalpari (?)
5	*fishing spear*		yalathan(d)ha	yalathan(d)ha			wulkulku
6	*hunting spear*						(tjimani)
See also items D48 to 53							
7	*woomera*	yulman	yulman	yulman	yulman	yulman	yulman ngalika
8	*boomerang*	yalkapari	yalkapari	yalkapari	yalkapari	pVLiTaRu	yalkapari
See also items D54 to 59				miRikamu			
9	*nulla-nulla*	mirru (thambala)	thambala	thambala	maRu		mirru
10	*toy throwing stick*	tjimburu			tjimbaTu		
11	*fighting stick*	thalimbirri	thalimbirri	thalimbirri	thalimbirri	thalimbirri	thalimbirri
12	*two-handed club*				(miRaLu)		parrku

D4 (f) BL, not clear

5 (b) PA yalla thunna (c) PC yalla thuntha (f) SL

6 (f) SL (doubtful)

7 (b) M, S (c) PC yuleman, An ulemun, MC yule-man (d) R ūl-mŭn, Mac youlmon, LM yulman (e) R ūl-mŭn (f) SL yulman, EM ŋalika, T 'ŋaliga, Ar eurman, EC youl-man, L yeilman, Tu yal-mun

8 (b) M, O, S, K, PA yalkerberry (c) P yalker berry, mirry kammo, An elgoberre, B jalguber, jalguberi (d) R yŭl-kă-bă-rĭ, Mac yelkaburre, MM kalkarbooey (mistake?), Du yalcaberry (e) R blĭ-dă-rō (f) N, SL, EM, T 'jalkabari; L moora, see 9

9 (a) miru had a big round head, used for fighting; ṯampala same as miru and may be the MKI word for miru (b) PA thambullo; S ṯalimpiri, see 11 (c) PA thamballah (d) R mā-rō, maro, *'throwing stick'*, RB ma-ro *'nulla-nulla'* (f) SL miṛu, EM miru, T mero *'play stick'*, L see 8.

10 (a) tʸimpuṛu made of light wood, used for fun (d) R jĭm-bâ-dō, RB jim-ba-do *'small toy throwing stick'*. Cf. KI tʸimpala *'type of implement'*, *'reed'*.

11 (b) M [ṯalempiri] *'fighting pole'*, S see 9, K *'fighting stick'* (c) B jalamberi, jalumberi (d) R tăl-ŭm-bĕ-rĭ *'fighting pole'* (e) R tăl-lĭm-bĕ-rĭ *'fighting pole'* (f) N, EM, SL *'fighting stick'*

12 (d) MM miraloo *'club'* (f) T baruku *'two-handed club'*, cf. 17(c) (g) parku

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
D13	*shield*	yamburu	yamburu	yamburu	mitharr kunbarra	kunbarra	yamburu waLandja (mitharr)
14	*axe, tomahawk*	pinggiyn	marriya tjukuTuNGa pinggiyn (palku) (kalkirr)	marriya tjukuTuNGa	marriya		marriya kaTupuna
15	*knife* See also items D60-65	kankari	kankari pilpaRu (tjarrirr)		kankari kuya	kalpu	kankari
16	*gun*		pulipuli kuLumbuRu	pulipuli			
17	*yamstick*		larrku (thandhi)	(parrka)	thandhi		katjala
18	*coolamon, canoe*	nhanggurr	nhanggurr (yurrku) (ngumburr)	nhanggurr pimba	nhanggurr		TaTa
19	*carvings on coolamon, shield and woomera*						mulkul
20	*bark vessel*				waRaka		
21	*dilly bag*	kunyakunya	puyaN (kakirr)		kunyakunya	kunyakunya	

D13 (b) PA yamboro (c) P yamboro, An yambooro (d) R mĭ-tâ, MM goonbarra (e) R koon-bă-ră (f) SL yampuṛu, aEM, T 'jambur, Ar wallauja (misr, u=n?), L metir, Tu wahl-und-gah. Cf. PP etc. kunpara, Kl miṯar

14 (b) M [mariye], PA jookah doongah *'tomahawk'*, juko doongah *'axe'*, S kalkir, K piŋkinʸ, palku (cf. 12) (c) PA juko doongah *'axe'*, marreah *'tomahawk'*, PC marrea *'tomahawk'*, An chookledoonga *'tomahawk'*, MC marlba *'tomahawk'* (d) Mac murria, MM maree, Du mavriah (misr.) (f) SL, Ar marrēa, EC ma-re-a, L marree, Tu gar-duh-bun-ah

15 (b) M, O, K kankaṛi, S tʸarir, PA beelbarro (d) R kŭng-gă-rĭ *'stone knife'*, kanggari *'core stone for flaking'*, also (RB) *'knife'*, RB kuya *'stone knife'* (see Roth 1903:37); MM mindee *'stone knife'*, see K36 *'stone'* (e) R kul-bō (f) SL (g) kankaṛi

16 (b) M pulipuli *'rifle'*, PA kooloomboro (c) PA bully-bully

17 (b) PA largo, S ṯanṯi (c) PA bargah, cf. 12 (d) R tăn-dĕ (f) SL, aEM

18 (a) *'coolamon'* (b) S yurku *'coolamon'*, PA ngunkore *'canoe'*, ngoombore *'water-coolamon'* (c) PA beembah *'canoe'*, cf. J3 *'bark'*, ngoon gore *'coolamon'*, PC nungkore *'canoe'* (d) RB nangkur *'coolamon'*, MM nangool *'canoe'* (f) Tu tah-tah *'coolamon'*

19 (f) Tu mori-gori

20 (d) R wă-ră-kă *'bark envelope or receptacle'*

21 (b) S kakir, cf. E19 (d) R 'koon-yă 'koon-yă *'grass dilly bags'* (e) R koon-yă koon-yă

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
D22	*string*			walkurr	walkurr		walkurr
23	*knot (?)*		(ngalingu)				
24	*fishing net (large)*		muNa	muNa	muNa	muNa	
25	*fishing net (small)*				piLinya	piLinya	
26	*net for birds*				(mukuwarri)		
27	*fish poison*						tjiringirri
28	*blanket, covering*	puthu					
29	*possum-skin phallocrypt*		tungala		Tungga		
30	*strap*		(katha)				
31	*hair belt*		(wariltji)		yururtu		
32	*possum-fur belt*				muNDuLu		
33	*shell chest ornament*				tjikarra	tjikarra	
34	*tattoo on body*						mandiku
See also items D66 to 78							
35	*spinifex wax*						TungguRu
36	*initiation ceremony*						yaRali
37	*totem*		pikayn tjungguRa	pikayn	pikayn		pikayn tjungguRa

D22 (c) An walgoor (d) R wŭl-koor, RB walkur, given as the name of the string used as part of the death-bone apparatus, see 40 (f) T 'walkur

23 (b) M, doubtful

24 (b) PA moonah; K kankaṛi, cf. 15 (c) PA moonah (d) R moo-nă, mu-na, big, with rigid frame (e) R moo-nă

25 (d) R bĭl-lĭn-yă, billinya, small, with folding frame (e) R bĭl-lĭn-yă

26 (d) R mokwari, possibly not MT, cf. Kl mukuwari *'net'*

27 (f) T 'djiri'ŋiri, cf. K48

29 (b) M (d) R toong-gă, RB tungga

30 (b) M, meaning doubtful

31 (b) S (d) R ū-rō-dō, RB u-rodo *'human hair belt'*, cf. Kl yuṛuṭu

32 (d) R moon-dō-lō, RB mun-dolo, *'possum-rope waist belt'*

33 (d) R chē-kă-ră, RB chikara (f) R as (e). Cf. Kl t^{y}ikara

34 (f) Tu mun-deegu, cf. A73

35 (f) T 'toŋguru

36 (f) T 'eraie

37 All Sharp, pikain, djuŋkura. Same as *'dream'* (N4)

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
D38	*corroboree, song*	warrma	warrma yathan	kaRumbiNGu	yathan		
39	*bullroarer*		mupuLa		pirripirri		
40	*death bone apparatus*				maŋaNi	kalka	
41	*pointer (part of 40)*				kaTipirna		
42	*receptacle (part of 40)*				wupil		
43	*bone for charming*		maRu tjiku		tjiku		
44	*lasso for roping sleeping man to get kidney fat*		wiNGu				
45	*death by invisible spear*		pitjaRa				
See also items D79 to 85							
46	*letter stick*			tjakun	kulpu		
47	*speech, language*	mayi	mayi	(mayi)	(mayi)		(mayi)

D38 (a) *'song'* (b) M warma, PA yadthan, *'corroboree'*, K malkari *'singing'* (Pama lgs.) (c) PA karrum bingo *'corroboree'* (d) Du yadthan *'corroboree'*

39 (b) PA mobolah *'humming stick'* (d) R pĭ-rĭ pĭ-rĭ, cf. Kl piripiri

40 (b) PA thimmool, see A68 *'bone'* (d) R mŭng-ŭn-i, RB mangani (also mangai), *'death bone as a whole'*, cf. PP mangani, see also B13, D22 (e) R kŭl-kâ, RB kalka (also given as *'spear'*, see 1)

41 (d) R kă-tĕ-brĭ-nă, RB katebrina, cf. A61, D97

42 (d) R wō-bĭl, RB wobil

43 (b) M tjiku *'pointing the bone'* (doubtful), PA marro (d) R jē-gō, ji-go *'bone pin, for producing sickness'*, cf. Kl tʸiriku *'bone'* (which, as Blake, p.c., points out, may have had a variant tʸiiku)

44 (b) PA wingo

45 (b) PA beecharrah

46 (c) PC jakkoon (d) R kool-bō, cf. Kurrtjarr ku:lβ

47 (b) M, also in language name (c) (d) (f) in language name (c) B maimira *'speech, talk, to speak'*, cf. T 4, 5

The following items, D48 to 85, are attested only for Mayi-Thakurti (Roth) and the arrangement used elsewhere is therefore suspended. The order in each entry is: attempted phonemicisation; Roth's spelling; English translation and notes.

D48	lipitjaRa	lĭ-bĭ-jâ-ră	heavy, long reed spear
49	mapaNa	mă-bă-nă	as 48, but thicker and longer
50	kitjuma	kĭ-tū-mă	as 48, but smaller and lighter
51	tjaLuN	jâ-loon	as 50 (possibly misreading of jâ-boon, cf. 1, 3)
52	yanbaRa	yŭn-bă-ră	reed spear used with quartz-tipped woomera by Northern Mayi-Thakurti
53	pVRiltja	prĭl-jă	hook, barb on spear
54	piyaynbuna	pē-'ĕng-boo-nă	comeback boomerang (cf. -puna *'having'*)
55	patjara	pă-jĕ-ră	plain gidgea boomerang; actually means gidgea (J13)
56	rukuRupuna	rō-kō-rō-boo-nă	ornate boomerang (rokoro *'claw mark, scratch'*, -puna *'having'*)
57	kulangarra	koo-'lŭng-ă-ră	women's fighting stick (cf. Kl kulaŋara *'yamstick'*)
58	mindju	mĭn-jō	toy throwing stick, larger than 10
59	kaNDikaNDi	'kŭn-dĭ 'kŭn-dĭ	toy throwing stick, strongly bent

D60	kumbatha	koom-pâ-tă kumpata (RB)	chisel, adze (cf. Kl kumpaṯa, PP kumpaḷṯa)
61	kambu	kŭmbŏ kambo (RB)	flint flake, used in chisel, or "rather, a flint flake before being made into a knife proper"
62	ngulan	ō-lŭn	scrap of iron ground to take the place of the flint flake (kumbo) in the chisel; also used sometimes as a name for the chisel (see 60 and 61, and cf. A15, *'tongue'*)
63	kuwirla	koo-ĕ-lă ku-ila (RB)	grinding stone (the one with which the rubbing is done) (cf. Kl kuwiḷa)
64	yangaNDaRa	yŭng-ŭn-dă-ră	white quartz stone used as barbs on the *'yunbara'* spear (see 52)
65	wamatjimandji	wŏm-mă-jĭ-'mŭn-jĭ	bluish (copper?) stone
66	TuRiTuRi	'too-rĭ 'too-rĭ turi turi (RB)	skipping rope (Northern Mayi-Thakurti and Kl at Grenada)
67	mirrimirri	'mĭ-rĭ 'mĭ-rĭ miri-miri (RB)	forehead net (cf. Kl mirimiri *'pugaree'*, miri *'summit'*)
68	tjapu	châ-bō chabo (RB)	ornamental fillet made of possum string (or sometimes of rock wallaby hair)
69	WapulaRa	ŭp-poo-lâ-ră, wŏp-poo-lâ-rā, woppulara (RB)	head circlet of possum string

D70	kalku	kŭl-gō kalgo (RB)	spiral band (head ornament), of possum skin
71	kunyupa	kō-nū-pă konupa (RB)	"grass reed bugle necklace" (also Kl, PP)
72	miTamiku	mĭ-tă-'mĭ-kō mittamiko (RB)	possum string necklace (also Kl)
73	tjamal	jŭm-mŭl jammal (RB)	single possum string armlet
74	malyirri	mŭl-lă-rĭ malyeri (RB)	multiple possum string armlet (cf. Kl mal^{y}iri *'wristband'*)
75	wanba	wŭn-pâ wan-pa (RB)	eaglehawk feather, stuck in belt; feather duster-like ornament, cf. Kl wanpa *'object resembling a double-ended broom, carried in corroboree'*
76	yarranggal	yĕr-răng-gŭl yirranggal (RB)	hair ornament; two kangaroo teeth stuck together (cf. A14)
77	waLakutja	wŏl-lă-koo-jă	artificial whiskers (ornament)
78	maNDakuya	mŭn-dă-'koo-ē-ă manda-kuya (RB)	amulet (a fascile [sic] of emu feathers) (see 15, Q2)
79	yiLaRi	ĭl-lâ-rĭ	palisading for initiation
80	tjilpi	jĭl-bĭ jilbi (RB)	green room, i.e. dressing shed for corroborees

D81	pikapaRa	pĭ-kă-bŭr-ră pikabara (RB)	filled possum-skin pillow for rhythm-making
82	mawarr	mou-ār mau-ar (RB)	white powder used for magical killing
83	manggiLi	mŭng-gĭl-lĭ manggilli (RB)	reddish powder used for magical killing
84	?	kĭn-jă-lă wŭng-gŭn-mŭl-lĭ kŭng-gō kou-â mŭl-lĭl-pă-'wōl-lă wā-tă nŭn-ār-gō kō-rō	an initiation song (cf. J4)
85	?	pĭ-rĭ-pĭrr...rr<u>ou</u>	cry at daylight (cf. 39)

		a Ngawun	b Mayi-Kulan	c Mayi-Yapi	d Mayi-Thakurti	e Wunumara	f Mayi-Kutuna
E4	*dog, dingo*	yambi	yambi (mikamu)	yambi (mikamu)	yambi	yambi	yalpal (yambi) (muRul)
5	*dingo*	ngankayn	ngankayn				
6	*tame (of dog)*			?			
7	*male dog*				murrkan		
8	*slut, bitch*		yapuRu		yapuRu	yapuRu	
9	*kangaroo*	kuru	kuru	kuru ngalano	munkurungu	munkurungu	mayupi
10	*scrub kangaroo*		matjumba	matjumba	matjumba		matjumba

E4 (b) all *'dog'*, M, O, S, K; O also yampin^{Y}, S mikamu (Guwa, Yanda; mikam also once from M, but he corrected it to yampi); ŋalkan^{Y}, see 3, PA yumbe and see K9 *'Evening Star'*, OH also *'dingo'* (c) PA yumbe, PC yamby *'wild dog'*, mecum caramra *'tame dog'*, An yambe *'tame dog, wild dog'*, MC yambe *'tame dog'*, B yambi *'dingo'*, yambitch *'dog'* (d) R yŭm-bĕ; Mac yambe *'tame dog'*, MM yamby *'native dog'*, Du yamba *'dingo'* (e) R yŭm-bT (f) N yalpal, aEM, T 'jalbal, *'dog'*, Ar yalba *'tame dog'*, EM mo-rool, L yalbal *'tame dog, dingo'* , SL yampi (not sure whether *'dog'* or *'dingo'*) (g) yampi *'tame dog'*, *'dingo'*

5 Probably just means *'wild, of animals'*; note that many informants give the same word for dog and dingo, see 4 (b) S, see 4

6 (c) PC caramra, see 4. May be applicable to any animal.

7 May mean *'male animal'*. (d) R moor-kŭn *'he-dog'*

8 May mean *'female animal'*. (b) PA see K10, *'Morning Star'* (d) R yŭp-poo-rō (e) R yŭb-bō-rō

9 Red kangaroo, *Megaleia rufa*, and/or grey kangaroo, *Macropus giganteus*, see also 10, 11 (b) M, S, PA korroo, OH mat^{Y}umpa, see 10 (c) PA matchimbah, see 10, PC ngalana, An kooroo, MC ngulanoo; B ngargun, nargun, see 11 (d) Mac mongorongo (cf. Kuwa); MM maijumba, see 10; Du argooci (misr.), see 11 (e) R â-goon, see 11, LM munkuṛuṇu (f) SL, EM mat^{Y}umpa, T 'madjumba, Ar majumba, see 10; EC my-u-bee; L nargoon, see 11 (g) ŋarkun, see 11.

10 *Macropus antelopinus* (b) OH see 9 (c) PA see 9 (d) R mă-'choom-bă, MM see 9 (f) SL, EM, T, Ar, see 9

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
E11	*mountain kangaroo, wallaroo*			ngarrkun	ngarrkun	ngarrkun	ngarrkun
12	*wallaby*		kayakalku ?				
13	*rock wallaby*		mirndingunya	pikupaRa	ngalingali		ngalingali
14	*bandicoot*	(tjikal)	wuNi	wuNi pikuRa		pikuRa	
15	*kangaroo rat*	kuyikarr	tjikal	tjikal			
16	*rat*	karruka	rarrayn tjaNathaLa	karruka		karruka	
17	*flying fox*		mungurr	mungurr			
18	*bat*	manyimanyi					
19	*possum*	kakuyn	kakuyn (kakirr)	kakuyn	kakuyn	kakuyn mirramba	kartila kakuyn
20	*sp. of small animal (glider possum ?)*		mundjuN ?				
21	*native cat*		tjikaTa mitjipenden				

E11 *Macropus robustus* (c) B see 9 (d) R nâ-koon, Du see 9 (e) R see 9, LM (f) BL bidiriga (Wn), L see 9 (g) see 9

12 (b) PA kiakulko; OH tʲikatʲ, see 15, 21 (f) SL buŋgina (Wn)

13 Probably *Petrogale penicillata* (b) S, Sutton suggests literal translation *'stone dweller'*, cf. K36 (c) B bigubara (d) R nŭl-ĭn-gă-lĭ (f) SL, EM. Cf. Kl, Wn, Bularnu and others, ŋaliŋali

14 (a) Cf. 15 (b) PA woone (c) PA woone, B bigura (e) R pē-kō-ră. Cf. Kk pikere *'sp. of marsupial'*, Bd bugaṛa *'swamp wallaby'*

15 (b) PA jiggul, S, OH see 12 (c) PA jiggul

16 (a) used ṛaranʲ but later said it was MKl; karuka given once for *'heron'*, but later corrected (b) O ṛaranʲ, PA janna thulla (c) PA karrooga (e) R kă-'roo-kă

17 *Pteropus sp.* (b) M kakunʲ, see 19, OH muŋur, PA moongore (c) PA moong ore

19 (b) M, OH kakunʲ, M see also 17; S kakir, cf. D21, PA kogome (misr., prob kogoine) (c) P kogoyne, kogoin, An kooquine, MC ka-goo-in, B kāgoin (d) R kâ-koon, Mac kakooin, MM kargoin (e) R kâ-kō-ĭn, LM mirampa (f) SL kaṭila, T 'kade:la, Ar kardilla, EC ka-goin, L kardella

20 (b) PA mondune *'squirrel'*, possibly squirrel glider, *Petaurus norfolcensis*

21 *Dasyurus sp.* (b) PA jiggerdah, cf. 12, OH ['mɛʈibɛndɛn] *'wild cat'*

		a Ngawun	b Mayi-Kulan	c Mayi-Yapi	d Mayi-Thakurti	e Wunumara	f Mayi-Kutuna
E22	*porcupine, echidna*	makinbuna			watjinan		
23	*horse*	yarraman	yarraman (wanana)	yarramana			yarraman
24	*cattle*				yiRala ?		kawurti ?
F1	*bird*		tjawi				
2	*egg*	tharndu	tharndu	tharndu	wiRi		tharndu
3	*feather*		kuthi	kuthi			
4	*emu*	tjungguparri	tjungguparri	tjungguparri	tjungguparri	tjungguparri	kaRitjuRi kuNDuLu (tjungguparri)
5	*plain turkey*	thurrnga	thurrnga	thurrnga (parrkamu)	parrkamu thurrnga		thurrnga

E22 *Tachyglossus aculeatus* (a) Lit. *'spine-possessor'*, cf. 3, makin not known in any other context (e) R wŏ-jē-nŭn, MM wychguine, cf. K1 wat^{y}inaan and may be borrowed

23 (b) M [yarəmən], PA warna,na, cf. Garrwa (c) PA yarramunnah (f) SL

24 (d) Du eralla *'bullock'* and see B10 (f) Tu gourdi *'cattle'*, urdi-gurdi *'red cattle'*, ouble-gouble *'black cattle'*. The last two may mean just *'red'* and *'black'* respectively and are, in fact, remarkably (and suspiciously ?) like the Gunggari (Southern Queensland) words u̱gigu̱di *'red'* and ubuḏgubuḏ *'black'*. (Turnbull - see 1911:59 - had previously worked on cattle stations in Central and Southern Queensland.)

F1 (b) M

2 (b) M, K t̪anku (= *'fat'*, A71; probably a mistake) (c) PC thando, An tando, MC d'thandoo (d) Mac wirree (f) SL, EM, T 'ta:nḏu (ḏ = [d̪]), Ar, L,tandoo, Tu thuran dhu *'emu egg'*

3 (b) M (c) An koodee

4 *Dromaius novae-hollandiae* (b) M, K, PA junkerberry and see K11 *'The Coal Sack'* (c) P junkerberry, An chongoberry, MC d-pingo-burri (misr., p should be j ?), B tchungubardi (d) R joong-gō-pă-rĭ, Mac chungoburre, MM jungoobury, Du juigovery (e) R jŭng-gō-pă-rĭ (f) SL t^{y}uŋkupari, aEM as MK1, EC gon-do-io, L doongoobarri, Tu carri-joorie

5 *Ardeotis australis* (b) M; OH turŋa (c) PC thoorna, An thuringa, B bargamu, jūrūnga (d) Mac barkam, MM thurua, Du burgamoo (f) T 'toruŋa, L mykoolan (perhaps the turkey was specially associated in some way with the Mayi-Kulan). Cf. K1 and other lgs. parkamu

		a Ngawun	b Mayi-Kulan	c Mayi-Yapi	d Mayi-Thakurti	e Wunumara	f Mayi-Kutuna
F6	*ibis*						munkutjikarra wakuwaRi ?
7	*brolga*	tharrapuka	tharrapuka (warikarr)	tharrapuka	Turrka		kuRaNDa paRomba (Turrka)
8	*heron*	kulkul	thankiyn				
9	*pelican*		thungaLindji (wukirtarra)	thalkupun	walkirriparri		waNathiNGi or waNathindji (walkirriparri)
10	*sp. of water bird*		yalki	yalki			(kalalala ?)
11	*spoonbill*						purrpil
12	*black duck*	karrapa	karrapa pindurra	karrapa pindurra	karrapa pindurra		karrapa pindurra (Turrku)
13	*wood duck*			ngalawal	ngalawal		ngalawal
14	*Burdekin duck*						tjinborr

F6 *Threskiornis spp.* (f) BL munkutʸikara, Tu wagoo-rurie

7 *Grus rubicunda* (b) M ṯarapuka, S [wóṛigañ], OH tarapuka (c) PC tharra-boogah, An thoroboko, MC d'tharwo-booga (d) Mac turka, MM toorka, Du tulga (f) T 'guranda, Ar parumba, L toorga

8 *Ardea spp.*, possibly includes egret, *Egretta sp.* (b) OH tankinʸ *'crane'*

9 *Pelecanus conspicillatus* (b) PA thoong allinje and thoongaberry (but see 21), S [ʷúgiṛañ] (c) PA thalko boon, PC thalcoban, An thalgobun, may contain -pun(a) *'having'* (d) Mac whulkraburre, MM walkuperry (f) L wolgaribarri, Tu wana-thingie. Cf. Kl walkiripari

10 (b) PA yalke *'diver or darter'* (c) P yalke, as (b), also *'swan'* (f) EM, last syllable not clear and identification doubtful

11 *Platalea sp.* (f) Tu boor-bil

12 *Anas superciliosa* (b) PA karrabah; S pintura, OH pinturu, *'duck'* (c) PA karrabah, PC binderra, An garraba, MC bin-dur-ra, B bindura *'duck'* (d) Mac karrupa, MM koopery, Du pundura *'wild duck'* (f) T see 15, Ar bindūrra; EC toorgu, cf. 7, L beendoora, Tu carra-bah. There may be two species involved here.

13 *Chenonetta jubata* (c) PA see 15, PC ngul-owan, An ngalawul; MC wool-ad-dthoo, see 15 (d) Mac nurloin, MM alowan (f) Tu alowan Cf. Kl ŋalawal

14 *Tadorna radjah* (f) Tu djin bur

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
F15	*whistler duck*		waLathu	waLathu	waLathu	waLathu	tjipilya
16	*pigeon*		puwaLi	puRaNbuRaN			
17	*crested pigeon*	pilapalpal			kulupatji		palumbarr
18	*bronzewing pigeon*	wayakan					
19	*flock pigeon*				tjirruwali	tjirruwali	
20	*dove*						kurukuku
21	*crow*	wamurrayn	thungupari wamurrayn (tjilkarr)	thungupari waya	wamurrayn	wakarn	thungupari waya (wakan)
22	*kookaburra*	tjarranggul	tjarranggul	tjarranggul	tjarranggul		tjarranggul
23	*magpie*		kurrartapu				kurrartapu
24	*peewee*						kulilkulil
25	*willy wagtail*	kitjirrkitjirr					tjindirritjindirri

F15 *Dendrocygna arcuata* (b) PA wallatho, wallathoo (c) PA ngulla wal, see 13, MC see 13 (d) R wŭl-'lâ-dō (e) R wŭl-lâ-dō (f) T 'tjibilja *'black duck, whistling duck'*, cf. Kl tʸipulʸu and similar names in other lgs

16 (b) PA boowally (c) PA booran booran

17 *Ocyphaps lophotes* (d) Du coolabudgee *'sidgeon'* [sic], cf. Kl, Yl kulupatʸi *'crested pigeon'*

18 *Phaps chalcoptera*

19 *Histriophaps histrionica* (e),(f) R jĕr-rō-'â-lĭ

20 Probably *Geopelia cuneata* (f) EM *'pigeon'* or *'dove'* Many lgs have this or similar names.

21 *Corvus sp.* (a) wayakan (see 18) also given once (b) M ṯuŋupaṛi and a doubtful ṯuŋupaṛu, PA warmoorine and see 9, S tʸilkar, OH tuŋapari (c) P thoonga berry, thoongaberry, An wire, MC d'thong-oo-boore (d) R wŭm-mĕ-rān, Mac wamering, MM womarine, Du womerie (e) R wŏr-kă-rŭn, cf. Kn, etc. wakaṇ (f) SL walkula (probably not MKt), Ar wya, EC toon-ou-vrai; L wookan, cf. Kl wakan

22 Blue-winged kookaburra, *Dacelo leachi* (b) M (c) PC jarrangool, An charroongul, MC d'char-run-gul (d) MM jarungodl (f) SL [ɖarəgo(l)], Tu jarungool (g) tʸaruŋkul

23 *Gymnorhina tibicen* (b) OH kuratapu (f) SL [gúɹadabu], T 'koraṭapu Cf. Kl kuraṭapu

24 *Grallina cyanoleuca* (f) SL, EM

25 *Rhipidura leucophrys* (f) EM

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
F26	*leatherhead*						tjupa(r)n
27	*dummy martin*						tjalakan
28	*white cockatoo*	murrayn	(parriyal)	murrayn	kaRampuLa	murrayn kaRambuLa	nyinganyinga (yawuRawaRi)
29	*corella*			kuluRa ?	kuluRa ?		kuluRa ?
30	*black cockatoo*	walapanda			lipa(rr)		
31	*galah*	winuparri	winaparri		kilawurru	kilawurru	
32	*budgerigar*						parriyal
33	*eaglehawk*		kurrithila ?	kurrithila	kurrithila	kurrithila	kurrithila
34	*kite-hawk*	pitjarturtu	katjaparri pitjarturtu	walpiNkaRa	katjaparri		pumbulpumbul
35	*grey hawk*						pathapatha pathapathawari

F26 Possibly *Philemon sp.* (f) SL (-n), EM (-ṇ)

27 (f) SL, cf. Wn dʸulagin *'bird* (generic)'. SL also gave the English name.

28 *Kakatoë galerita* (b) OH pariyat, cf. 32 (c) PC moor-ine, An morine; MC koolera, see 29 (d) R koo-lŏr-ă, see 29, MM karambodla (e) R moor-rŭn, kă-'rŭm-bō-lă (f) T 'njiṇaṇiṇa; EC koo-lo-ra, see 29, L yaoorawarri

29 *Kakatoë sanguinea* (c),(e),(f), see 28 Cf. PP and related dialects, Kuwa

30 *Calyptorhynchus banksi* (d) MM leepar

31 *Kakatoe roseicapilla* (b) M (d) R gĕ-'lâ-rō (e) R gĕ-'lou-rō Cf. Kl kilawuru

32 *Melopsittacus undulatus* (f) SL, aEM, cf. 28(b)

33 *Aquila audax* (b) PA janna urgah, cooreythilla (c) P koore thilla, coorythilla, An cooradilla (d) R koo-rĭ-dă-lă, Mac kooritella, MM goorithilla (e) R koo-rĭ-dă-lă (f) Tu goori-dil-lah, L koontilla (misr. kooridilla ?). Cf. PP, Kn etc. kuraṯila

34 *Milvus migrans* (b) PA kitch a berry *'brown hawk'*, OH pitʸaturu *'hawk'* (c) PA walbin garrah *'brown hawk'* (d) R kâ-chă-pă-rĭ *'small hawk'*, Du cutherbury *'hawk'* (e) R wŏr-kŭn, see 21 (f) SL *'sparrowhawk'*, aEM as *'kite-hawk'*, Tu boom-bil boom-bil Cf. Kl katʸapi *'kite-hawk'*

35 (f) SL, said to be rare

		a Ngawun	b Mayi-Kulan	c Mayi-Yapi	d Mayi-Thakurti	e Wunumara	f Mayi-Kutuna
G1	*snake*	ngunhan kathi	ngunhan tjinyurr	mukuwa tjinyurr	tjinyurr	tjinyurr	(TulpuRu) (ngunhan)
2	*brown snake*	thanggirr		thanggirr		kundara	thanggirr yilingili
3	*tiger snake,* *black snake*		kurrthulpun	kurrthulpun			yuturr TilpuRu
4	*death adder*			paTimu			
5	*carpet snake*		kurima	kurima		kurimarra	tjunkurr
6	*snake sp.*						manapatji
7	*alligator* *(saltwater crocodile)*				pamithiRa		
8	*(freshwater)* *crocodile*		yurtuyurtu ? tjiltjapuna kaltja		tjiltjapuna		yurtuyurtu

G1 (a) For kaṯi see D97, E1. Some languages use the word for meat, or a reduplicated form of it, as a generic term for snakes. (b) M, O ŋuṉan, S [ŋuðan, ŋunŋan], PA jinure (c) PA thangeer, see 2, PC mokoa; B jinyūr, also *'rainbow'* K33 (d) R jĕn-yūr, Mac tinouir, MM chinur, Du enoo (e) R jĕn-yŭr (f) Ar dulburru, cf. 3, L woonan

2 (c) PA see 1, 3 (e) R koon-dă-ră *'green snake'*, cf. Kn kuntaṛa *'mulga snake'* (f) SL taŋkir, EM yiliŋili, T 'taŋgir

3 (b) PA kurthalbun *'black snake'* (c) PA thung eer *'black snake'*, see 2, An curtalboon *'tiger snake'*; cooremun *'black snake'*, see 5 (f) SL yutur *'tiger snake'*, Tu til bor oo *'black snake'*

4 *Acanthropus a. antarcticus* (c) PA bartimo

5 *Morelia spilotes variegata* (b) PA kooreemah, koorema *'carpet snake'*, kooremah *'mythological carpet snakes'* (c) PA kooreemah, An see 3 (e) R koo-rĭ-mă-ră (f) EM, SL tʸunkur, ("black-headed one" EM, "yellow with black spots" SL), T 'tjulŋ'guru. Cf. kuṛimara in PP, Kn, etc.

6 (f) SL "little red snake, on the flat", aEM as "yellow-belly one", EC ma-no-wag-gi *'snake'*

7 *Crocodylus porosus* (d) R see 8, Du boomothera *'alligator'*

8 *Crocodylus johnstoni*. All glossed *'crocodile'* (b) PA chilcha-boona, kulcha; OH [yEdtru] ? (second letter not clear), perhaps a mishearing of yuṯuyuṯu (d) R pâ-mĭ-tĕ-ră, see 7, Du chilchevona (f) SL, EM

	a Ngawun	b Mayi-Kulan	c Mayi-Yapi	d Mayi-Thakurti	e Wunumara	f Mayi-Kutuna
G9 *large sand goanna*	yangurla	yangurla	yangurla			yangurla
10 *small sand goanna*	parna		kundjaRa			
11 *black goanna*	mamburuparri	mamburuparri		manburuparri	manburuparri (or mam-?)	mithirrwaRi ʈjaNDaaRi wanggu
12 *spotted tree goanna*		pilitjapun				
13 *frilled lizard, jew lizard*	pinalparra?	pinarrpala			piyangirri	pinarrpala pinarraRi ? (poss. pinarrwaRi)
14 *blue-tongue lizard*	thumbarrumu	thumbarrumu				
15 *bicycle lizard*	yipindjirri					
16 *lizard sp.*	thambuthambu					
17 *lizard sp.*		kindupatji				
18 *lizard sp.*				wal'kartu	walkartu	walkartu
19 *lizard sp.*						NamuRaRa
20 *lizard sp.*				thiRapatji		
21 *turtle*		muyakatha	muyakatha			kanga
22 *frog*	wukun		Nukuyn	ʈjawarn	ʈjawarn	wukun

G9 Possibly *Varanus gouldii* (b) M, O, S [yʌŋola], PA yang, o, lah, yangolah *'iguana'*, OH yaŋura *'goanna'* (c) PA yang oolah, B yangura *'iguana, long-tailed'* (f) T 'jaŋula *'sand goanna'*

10 *Varanus sp.* (c) B gūnjara *'iguana, stump-tailed'*

11 *Varanus sp.* (a) *'plain goanna'* (b) K [mǽmbrᵊbàdi] *'goanna'* (d) R mŭm-boo-rō-pă-rĭ, MM mumbooaberry, Du mambroberry, *'iguana'* (e) R mŭm-boo-ră-pă-rĭ *'iguana'*, LM manpuṛupari *'prenty'* (f) T 'miðirwari, 'ʈjan'da:ri, waŋgu, Tu midthururi *'iguana'*

12 *Varanus sp.* (b) M

13 *Amphibolurus barbatus* (b) M (e) LM (same as Y1) (f) T 'pinar'pala; Tu pen-ar-ar-ee, cf. -waRi of F 35 and G 11. Cf. pinarr *'ear'*, A10

14 Possibly *Tiliqua scincoides* (b) M [ʈumparəmu]

15 (a) *'small, lives on trees'*

17 (b) M

18 (d) R wŏl-kâ-dō (e) R wăl-kâ-dō (f) SL

19 (f) Tu nam-ur-ar-ah *'lizard (small)'*

20 (d) R ʈĕ-ră-'pă-jĭ

21 (b),(c) PA moya gutha (f) SL, aEM

22 (c) An nogoin (d) R jou-ŭn *'frog (large)'*, Du jowan (e) R jou-ŭn *'frog'*. Cf. Kl ʈʸawaŋ

		a Ngawun	b Mayi-Kulan	c Mayi-Yapi	d Mayi-Thakurti	e Wunumara	f Mayi-Kutuna
G23	*small frog*				Ni(yi)Li		
H1	*fish*	palpi	palpi	palpi wakayi	palpi	palpi	palpi (wakarri) ?
2	*codfish*						kaNatja
3	*eel*						rimirimi
4	*catfish*						tjukatjuka tjukaRu
5	*crayfish*	(yapi)		tjundju pikul	pikul		tjundju (pikul)
6	*lobster*						rutja
7	*crab*	mukul					
8	*mussel*				pitji yangan lalkaRin		
I1	*fly*	nyimul	nyimul	nyimul milnga	milnga	milnga	nyimul(u) (milnga)

G23 (d) R nēl-lĭ

H1 (b) M, K, OH, PA balby, K also kuyu (Mari, Pama) (c) P balby, wog-ie, An balbee, MC bulbi (d) R bŭl-bĭ, Mac, MM palpy, Du pulva, LM palpi, paḷpi (e) R bŭl-bĭ (f) SL wakari, aEM, cf. D97, aEM palpi, Ar wokkai, EC balbi, L gemalla

2 (f) Tu can-ad-yah

3 (f) T 'remɑ'rimi *'freshwater eel'*

4 (f) T 'tjuka'tjuka, Tu too-karoo *'jewfish'*

5 (a) May be Eng. yabby (c) PC junju, An piccool, MC jin-ju (d) R pē-kool, Mac pikquol, MM beekodl (f) SL tʸunʸtʸu, aEM, EC choorn-gu, L begool

6 (f) Ar ruja

8 (d) R pē-jē, yŭng-ŭn (when obtained from water-covered mud), lŭl-kâ-rĭn (when got out of dry mud), *'freshwater mussel'*

I1 (b) M, S nʸimuṛ (c) PC nyimool, An nguimmool, MC melg-na (d) R mĕlg-nă *'common housefly'*, Mac milnga, MM millua (misr. milina ?) (e) R mĭlg-nă *'common housefly'*, Du melnar (f) EC ni-moo-loo, L milna. Cf. Kl milŋa *'blowfly'*. Perhaps nʸimul is *'bush fly'* and milŋa *'house fly'* or *'blowfly'*.

		a Ngawun	b Mayi-Kulan	c Mayi-Yapi	d Mayi-Thakurti	e Wunumara	f Mayi-Kutuna
12	*mosquito*	liwiyn	wungguyn (kilkurru)	wungguyn	mikaya liwiyn wungguyn ?	mikaya	wungguyn (mika)
3	*bee*	kunggirr	kunggirr		panggupanggu		
4	*spider*	tjamarr			kupu	kunmuRu	yanburr Tirrpa
5	*red-back spider*						?
6	*centipede*						malathurru
7	*ant*	withu	thurriyn		withu	withu	mulurr
8	*grasshopper*				piNDuwaN		
9	*locust*						kumarri(yn)
10	*caterpillar, grub*		muthara		kapara		tjapurta
11	*worm*				puRalka(rr)		
12	*butterfly*		(parndirr)				
13	*moth*		(puluru)				
14	*flea, louse*			yapin			

12 (b) M wuŋkun^{y}, S kilkuru (c) PC oonggoin, An wongoin, MC ong-go-in (d) R mĭ-kī-ă, Mac lewouin; MM woonjoin, see note to Bl, Du megiah (e) R mē-gī-ă (f) Ar wungūl, EC wan-gouin, L meka. Cf. Kl mika(r)a

3 (a) Also *'sugarbag, honey'*, D99 (b) OH (d) R 'bŭng-gō 'bŭng-gō

4 (d) R kō-bō, cf. Kl kupu (e) R koon-mō-rō (f) Tu ianbur and dirbah

5 (f) Tu burrum-burrum-gah

6 (f) EM

7 (b) M, OH tʸuṛinʸ *'black ant'* (d) R wā-tō (e) R wĭ-dō (f) SL *'black biting ant'*, aEM as *'ant'*

8 (d) Du bindowan

9 (f) SL, aEM, final nʸ doubtful (SL), absent (EM)

10 (b) M [muṯəra, muṯaṛu, muṯaṛa] *'grub, maggot'*, PA muthera *'edible grub, taken from roots of whitewood'* (cf. J20) (d) R kă-pă-ră, RB kapara, *'caterpillar, grub* (smaller kinds, especially those found on grass)', cf. Kl, PP, etc. kapaṛa *'grub'* (f) SL *'edible grub'*, aEM as *'maggot'*

11 (d) MM booralkar

12 (b) S

13 (b) S

14 (c) An yabbin

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
J1	*tree, stick, wood*	thirni	kunka	kunka pakurr	pakurr (puthaRiya ?)		tula(rr) kunka Nukurr ? (yikala)
2	*limb, branch*			pama			
3	*bark*	pimba	limbiyn	pimba limbiyn	piLa limbiyn		pimba yakarli (muRuNGu)
4	*leaf*		kitjata (or kindjarla ?)	tjalyarr ? kindjarla ? ?	kindjarla		
5	*river red gum*	palakari	palakari				palakari
6	*coolibah*	tjinbal	kinyula	tjinbal koLiya	pukuwaRa ?		pinbirri
7	*bloodwood*	karraya		Nambunbayn			
8	*carbeen*		thunburru				
9	*silverleaf box*			kaLiNGal			

J1 (a) *'tree, stick'* (b) M *'tree, log, stick'*, O *'tree, stick'*; both also used ṯiṇi but O said that this is Ng, not MKl; PA koonkah *'tree'*, S *'tree'* (also kunkay *'in the tree'* (?)), OH *'tree'* (c) PA goonga *'tree'*, PC bokore *'wood'*, An coongai *'wood'* (cf. (b), S), MC bug-goo-roo *'wood'*, B bogu *'tree'* (d) Mac bakkaro *'wood'*, MM bargour *'tree, wood'*, Du butharia *'tree'* (perhaps *'tree sp.'*) (f) N tula *'stick'*, but tularpari, see 3.5.1; EM kunka *'stick'*; Ar mada, cf. A68 *'bone'*, EC nor-goor, L eekalla *'wood'* (= Wn *'leaf'*). Cf. Kk pakərə, Mari lgs baga

2 (c) An bamma

3 (b) See B16 (c) PC beemba, An cimbin (misr. limbin?), MC bimba (d) Mac billa, cf. Kl piḷa *'cradle for cooking pitchery in'*, MM simbe (misr. limbe ?) (f) Ar yagarri (= *'skin'*, A67), EC bimba, L mooroongoo

4 (b) OH kitʸata (c) An cootgaboo *'leaf'*; jingella *'scrub'*; cf. (d), B jalyar (d) R gĭn-jă-lă, used also to refer to oval decorations on ornate boomerangs, D56. Cf. Yl kinʸtʸaḷa

5 *Eucalyptus camaldulensis* Dehnh. (Myrtaceae) (b) M (f) SL, aEM, Turn palla-gurri, *'gum tree'*

6 *E. microtheca* F. Muell. (b) M kinʸula (b/c) P jinbul or kurleah (d) Du bougworra (f) SL *'small eucalypt'*, aEM as *'coolibah'* (= Kl). Items placed between columns b and c and referred to as b/c are used "on Cloncurry" and may be MKl, MY or, most likely, both. See Palmer 1883b especially p.95 item 11.

7 *E. terminalis* F. Muell. (b) M kaliri, see 10 (b/c) PA narm-boon-bung, PR narm-boon-bong

8 *E. tessellaris* F. Muell. (b) M

9 *E. pruinosa* Schau. (b/c) P kullingal

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
J10	*mountain gum*		kalirri				
11	*sp. gum tree*				ʈjuwaRu		
12	*galls on eucalypts*			(kurrtja)			
13	*gidgea*	kamari	wungarra	(wungarra)	patjaRa		
14	*sp. of wattle*			yathurr			
15	*prickly bush*	panggaman		panggaman			
16	*sandalwood*			ʈhaRakipVRa			
			or	thaRaʈʸipVRa			
17	*beefwood*		thindhuparri		thunggaRu		
18	*kurrajong*			yiNDuRa			
19	*sp. of tree (Terminalia)*		TuRiN				
20	*whitewood*	pundhangarra	punhangarra				mirrki
21	*mistletoe on whitewood*			thapiN			

J10 *Eucalyptus leucophloia* I.M. Brooker (b) M, see also 7, = Kk

11 (e) R joo-ă-rō

12 (b/c) PA, PR kurcha; in the latter case it is said to refer to grubs or jelly contained in the galls. Found on *E. tetrodonta* and *E. corymbosa*

13 Probably *Acacia cambagei* R.T. Bak.(Leguminosae) (b) M (p)uŋara (b/c) P wong-arra, wong-arrah, *'Ac. homalophylla'* (now spelt *omalophylla*), but this does not occur in the area (d) R see D55; cf. Kl patʸara

14 May be *Acacia sutherlandii* F. Muell. (b/c) P yadthor, given for *Ac. pallida* F. Muell. and *Ac. bidwillii* Benth. but neither occurs in the area.

15 *Acacia farnesiana* (L.) Willd. (b/c) P bunkerman

16 *Santalum lanceolatum* R. Br. (Santalaceae) (b/c) P tharra-gibberah

17 Roth's name (at least) includes beefwood, *Grevillea striata* R. Br. and scrub beefwood, *Stenocarpus salignus* R. Br. (both Proteaceae) (b) M (V_2 = [u] ~ [ə]) (d) R toong-gă-rō; tunggaro *'cement made from beefwood gum'*. Cf. Kl ṭuŋkuru *'needlebush'*

18 Probably *Brachychiton* sp. (Sterculiaceae) (b/c) P eendurah, given as *'Sterculia* sp.'

19 *Terminalia platyphylla* F. Muell. (Combretaceae) (b) P durin *"Native name on Flinders"*

20 *Atalaya hemiglauca* (F. Muell.) F. Muell. ex Benth. (Sapindaceae) (b) M (f) SL, adEM

21 *Lysiana exocarpi* (Behr) Tiegh. (Loranthaceae) (b/c) P thappin *'Loranthus exocarpus'*, cf. 82

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
J22	*corkwood*	kuparu					
23	*tea tree*	puthu	puthu		puthu		
	(paperbark)	puthupuna					
24	*tea tree (small)*	tjinbil					
25	*Bauhinia*	pikani	pikani	pikani			pikani
	(bohemia tree)		thalmVRa				
26	*Cathormion sp.*		maLarr				
27	*Leichhardt tree*		kupeyapi				
28	*gutta-percha tree*		tjiLirr				
29	*fire tree*	thurrku	thurrku				
30	*supplejack*		thaNDuRa				
31	*Leichhardt fig*						ralta
32	*fruit tree*		kuwundji				
			kundhamaRa				

J22 Probably *Hakea* sp. but possibly *Erythrina* sp.

23 *Melaleuca leucadendron* (L.) L. (Myrtaceae) (a) pu<u>t</u>u is also "anything you can cover with", i.e. especially the bark of this tree. (b) M (d) Du bootha

24 Probably *Leptospermum* sp.

25 *Lysiphyllum carronii* (F. Muell.) Pedley (Leguminosae) (b) M pikani; P thalmera (c) PR pegunny (f) SL, aEM

26 *Cathormion umbellatum* (Vahl) Kosterm. (Leguminosae) (b/c) P mullar *'Albizzia monilifera'*

27 Probably *Nauclea orientalis* (L.) L. (Rubiaceae) (b/c) P coobiaby *'Sarcocephalus leichhardtii.'* This is probably a misidentification; F.M. Bailey (1899-1902) gives the name coobiaby for *S. cordatus*, which is now known as *Nauclea orientalis*. The former *S. leichhardtii* is now known as *Morinda citrifolia* L.

28 *Excoecaria parvifolia* Muell. Arg. (Euphorbiaceae) (b/c) P jil-leer

29 *Clerodendrum floribundum* R. Br. (Verbenaceae) (a) Also the name of the sticks used for lighting fires by friction, which are obtained from this tree (see D90) (b/c) P thurkoo *'Clerodendron floribundum'*.

30 *Ventilago viminalis* Hook. (Rhamnaceae) (b/c) P thandora

31 (f) SL

32 *Planchonia careya* (F. Muell.) Knuth (Barringtoniaceae) (b/c) P go-onje and gunthamarra *'Barringtonia careya' ('Careya australis')*

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
J33	*fruit tree*		thankuyn mutjuR(i)				
34	*wild orange, large pomegranate*	karnduthai	karnduthai		karnduthai		
35	*small pomegranate*	thukirr	thukirr				
36	*splitjack*		wayitjila ? thaLakurrpin				
37	*Capparis sp.*		lungaLa mitjarr				
38	*black plum*						talkula
39	*fruit tree*				pundjuparri		
40	*wild banana*						wandjal
41	*conkerberry*	kanggaparri	kanggaparri	(kanggaparri)	kanggaparri yalpunggu		
42	*emu apple*		nguraka		nguruka yiLDiN		nguruka
43	*emu berries*		kulayn				
44	*shrub (Cynanchum)*		thuRumeya				
45	*shrub (Securinega)*		tharrkinya				

J33 *Diospyros ferrea* (Willd.) Bakh. var. *humilis* (R. Br.) Bakh. (Ebenaceae) (b/c) P thankoin and mogiore *'Maba humilis'*.

34 *Capparis mitchellii* Lindl. (Capparaceae) (b/c) P karn-doo-thai *'large pomegranate'* (d) R kŭn-doo-tŭl, RB kandutai *'wild orange, Atalantia glauca'*

35 *Capparis lucida* (DC.) R. Br. ex Benth. (a) *'wild orange'* (b/c) PA thoogeer *'small pomegranate'*

36 *Capparis lasiantha* R. Br. ex DC. (b/c) PA wyjulah or thulla-kurbin; PR wyjeelah, thulla-kurbin

37 *Capparis spinosa* L. var. *nummularia* (DC.) F.M. Bail. (b/c) P longullah, mijar

38 (f) SL

39 (d) (or (e)?) LM

40 Possibly *Marsdenia australis* (R. Br.) Druce but cf. 56 (f) SL, aEM

41 Probably *Carissa lanceolata* R. Br., possibly *C. ovata* R. Br. (Apocynaceae). More likely the former although F.M. Bailey (1899-1902) gives the name kunkerberry for the latter (b) M (b/c) P kunkerberry (d) R kŭng-gă-pă-rĭ, yŭl-boong-gō

42 *Owenia acidula* F. Muell. (Meliaceae) (b) M (d) R ēl-dĭn, oo-rō-kă, RB eldin, uroka (f) SL, EM

43 *Grewia retusifolia* Kurz. (Tiliaceae) (b/c) P kooline *'Grewia polygama'*

44 *Cynanchum floribundum* R. Br. (Asclepiadaceae) (b/c) P thooromia

45 *Securinega melanthesoides* (F. Muell.) Airy Shaw (Euphorbiaceae) (b/c) P tharginyah *'Securinega obovata'*

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
J46	*shrub (Abutilon)*		palanburr				
47	*shrub (Tephrosia)*		tjaRitjaRi				
48	*shrub (Tephrosia)*				TuTa		
49	*Hibiscus sp., Native Rosella*				yukaTa		
50	*wild rosella*		ngarkuLi				
51	*small annual shrub*		kuRinyaN ?				
52	*small annual shrub*		tjaRitjaRi				
53	*small annual plant*		wamu				
54	*native gooseberry*		nyingguwan				nyingguwan
55	*annual herb*		wuNDuRu				
56	*creeping plant*		wandjul				
			muLuRi				

J46 *Abutilon otocarpum* F. Muell. (Malvaceae) (b/c) P ballan-boor

47 *Tephrosia* sp. (Leguminosae) Several occur in the area. May be same as 41 (b/c) jerril'-jĕrry' [sic] cf. also 52; the description suggests that these are different.

48 *Tephrosia* sp. Possibly *T. astragaloides* Benth. but other species of *Tephrosia* also possible. (d) R too-tă, RB tuta *'Tephrosia astragaloides'*.

49 (d) R ū-kă-tă *'rosella'*, RB yukata *'hibiscus'*. The common name *Native Rosella* is used for some spp. of *Hibiscus*.

50 Possibly *Abutilon* sp. (b/c) P ngar-golly *'Hibiscus divaricatus'*. However, this species has not been recorded for North Queensland.

51 *Abelmoschus ficulneus* (L.) W. & A. ex Wight (Malvaceae) (b/c) P coorunyan, cooreenyan, *'Hibiscus ficulneus'*.

52 *Ammania multiflora* Roxb. (Lythraceae) (b/c) P jerry-jerry

53 Possibly *Psoralea badocana* (Blanco) Blanco (Leguminosae) (b/c) P wommo, *'Psoralea archeri'*. This is not likely to be the species referred to and *P. badocana* is the most likely possibility

54 *Physalis minima* L. (Solanaceae) (b/c) P neen-gwan (f) SL, aEM (= Kk)

55 *Solanum esuriale* Lindl. (Solanaceae) (b/c) P oondooroo, oon-dooroo

56 *Cynanchum* sp. (Asclepiadaceae). Species unknown; only two species, *C. floribundum* R. Br. (see 44) and *C. erubescens* R. Br., have been recorded from the area. (b/c) PA winejul and mooloory, *'Cynanchum* sp. *(? pendiculatum)*.' Cf. 40.

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
J57	*tea bush*		muTa				
58	*peabush*		ngindjaRi				
59	*saltbush*		kuLuLumu				
60	*tubers of blue waterlily*		thiNDa				
61	*stalk of blue waterlily*		(thuLambul)				
62	*seed head of blue waterlily*		mili				
63	*lily sp.*		kuNkul				
64	*tuber* of 63		(thaNDu)				
65	*lily sp.*			(thaNDu)	ngaNDal		
66	*tuber of lily*			thuLambul	thuLambul		
67	*lily sp.*				thiNDa		
68	*sp. of aquatic plant (Polygonum)*		puRakuLa or puRakuRa				
69	*sp. of aquatic plant (Aponogeton)*		tharndu				
70	*small cucumber*		pumaRa				

J57 *Ocimum sanctum* L. (Labiatae) (b) P mooda

58 *Sesbania sesban* (L.) Merr. (Leguminosae) (b) P ngeen-jerry *'Sesbania aegyptiaca'*

59 *Enchylaena tomentosa* R. Br. (Chenopodiaceae) (b) PA kooloo-loomoo

60 The blue waterlily is usually identified as *Nymphaea gigantea* Hook. f. (Nymphaeaceae) though current studies show more than one blue-flowered species of *Nymphaea* native to the area. *N. violacea* Lehm. is the most common in this area. (b) P thindah (cf. 67)

61 (b) P thoolambool, but see 66

62 (b) P millee, mille cf. A6 *'eye'*. Cf. Kl mi<u>l</u>ti *'eye'*, also *'seed'*

63 (b) PA koonkoll

64 (b) PA thando, but see 65 (and note also 60 and 69)

65 (c) PA thandoo, but see 64 and note also 69 (d) R ŭn-dŭl; this lily is said to have a smooth-surfaced root.

66 (c) PA thoolambool (but see 61) (e) R too-lŭm-bool; the seed of 65

67 (e) R tĭn-dă, cf. 60. This lily has a hairy surface.

68 *Polygonum hydropiper* L. (Polygonaceae) (b/c) PA booragoolah, PR booragoorah

69 *Aponogeton* sp. (Aponogetonaceae). A few species of *Aponogeton* occur in the area. (b/c) P tharndoo (cf. 64, 65)

70 Probably a variety of *Cucumis trigonus* Roxb. (b/c) P boomarrah *'Cucumis pubescens'*. See note to next item.

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
J71	*small melon*		pindjipindji				
72	*yam vine*	thawun	thawun ?				
73	*herb with yam*		kutju		kutju		
74	*short-rooted yam*				maLaka		malika
75	*yam sp.*						yatikila
76	*yam sp.*				woLi		
77	*yam sp.*				ngaRakayaN		
78	*annual vine*		karrkurr				

J71 Probably a variety of *Cucumis trigonus* Roxb. (b/c) PR binjy binjy *'Cucumis melo?'* The two species named by Palmer are now united under *Cucumis melo*. However, this is an introduced species. Palmer's plants are probably of native species and forms of the variable *Cucumis trigonus* Roxb. (Cucurbitaceae)

72 Possibly *Trichosanthes* sp. (Cucurbitaceae) (b/c) P thowan *'Trichosanthes palmata'*. This is now known as *Trichosanthes tricuspidata* Lour., but it is doubtful whether this occurs in the area. It is not known what species is referred to.

73 *Boerhavia diffusa* L. (Nyctaginaceae) (Studies in progress outside Australia may show that the Australian plants differ from this.) (b/c) P goitcho (d) R koo-jō, RB ku-jo

74 Probably *Vigna lanceolata* Benth. (Leguminosae) (d) R mă-lă-gă, RB malaga (f) T mali:ka *'wild yam'*. The name to-e is mistakenly given in Bailey (1909:144) as an Aboriginal name from the Cloncurry district for *Vigna vexillata* (L.) A. Rich.; however, this was a clerical error and this name is not Mayi but Nggerikudi (Cape York) (see Roth 1901). *Vigna vexillata* does not grow in the Cloncurry area.

75 (f) SL *'long yam'*, aEM

76 (d) R wŏl-lĕ Long rooted, grows in sandy ground

77 (d) R ŭr-rŭk-kī-ŭn Grows in ranges

78 *Operculina turpethum* (L.) S. Manso (Convolvulaceae) (b/c) P kar-kor *'Ipomoea turpethum'*

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
J79	*pigweed*			thakawaRu ?	TaNkaRa TaLu	yamaRi	
80	*portulaca sp.*				kaRiTiLa		
81	*sp. of reed*			thapiN			
82	*sp. of reed*				kiNDi		
83	*wild rice*			kiNiya	mukumartu		
84	*umbrella grass, star grass*			thiNDil	thiNDil		
85	*grass sp.*			tjilkVRuwapaRi	tjilkVRuwapaRi		
86	*grass sp.*			yakapaRi			
87	*nut grass*				makurra		
88	*Mitchell grass*		kathalu				
89	*couch grass*		kapal				

J79 *Portulaca oleracea* L. (Portulacaceae) (b/c) PA thuk-ouro, PR thukouro (d) R tŭn-gă-ră, tăl-lō (e) R yă-mă-rĭ *'pigweed'*

80 Possibly *Portulaca napiformis* F. Muell. (d) R kă-rĕ-'dĭl-lă *'P. napiformis'*

81 (b/c) PA thubbin *'Cyperus* sp.' (cf. 21)

82 (d) R kĭn-dĭ

83 *Oryza australiensis* Domin (Gramineae) (b/c) P kineyah (d) R mō-kē-mŭr-dō, RB mokomurdo, cf. A59 and M5. Both *'Oryza sativa'*.

84 *Panicum decompositum* R. Br. (Gramineae) and very likely also *P. whitei* J. M. Black (b/c) P tindil *'umbrella grass, Panicum decompositum'* (d) R tĭn-dĭl, RB tindil *'star grass, Panicum decompositum'*

85 *Sporobolus actinocladus* (F. Muell.) F. Muell. (b/c) PA jil-crowa-berry *'S. actinocladus'*; PR jil-crow-a-berry *'S. indicus'* (d) R jĭl-groo-bŭr-ĭ, RB jĭlgrubari, *'S. indicus'*

86 *Sporobolus caroli* Mez (b/c) P yak-ka-berry *'Sporobolus lindleyii'*

87 Probably *Cyperus bulbosus* Vahl; possibly *C. esculentus* L. (d) R mă-kŏr-ă, RB makora, cf. Kl makura *'little onion'*

88 *Astrebla* spp. (b) M, cf. 90 (d) R kâ-târ, Mac kutther *'grass'* (e) R poon-jool. Both R words *'short meadow grass'*; cf. Kl kaṯir *'grass'*

89 Possibly *Cynodon dactylon* (L.) Pers. or *Brachyachne convergens* (F. Muell.) Stapf (b) M *'couch grass'* and *'grass'*; S, OH, see 90

		a Ngawun	b Mayi-Kulan	c Mayi-Yapi	d Mayi-Thakurti	e Wunumara	f Mayi-Kutuna
J90	*grass (gen. or spp.?)*	kiltjan yikala	kathirr	kathirr yalkuyn	kathirr	pundjul	kathirr yalkuyn
91	*burr, prickle*	kupulu	kupulu				
K1	*sky*	kukuru	wiyaLa	maRamaRa	maRamaRa		maRamaRa
2	*sun*	mandhaarra	pindjamu mandhaarra	pindjamu mandhaarra kamba	kamba	kamba	puRil
3	*moon*	wanatjunggari	wanatjunggari kurnukurnu (pirirruwa)	kakara	kurnukurnu ?	kakara	kakara parrkan?
4	*stars*	kuthi	kuthi	tjinbi	yuku	yuku	tjinbi purturungu (yaLi) (Tirrka ?)

J90 (b) P gutheer, S gabal (see 89), OH kapaṭ (see 89) (c) PA yalkoyne, PR yalkoine, An yalguin, MC kud-tha, B kajera (d) R kâ-târ, Mac kutther, MM kutthree, Du catha (e) R poon-jool cf. Kuwa (f) aEM kaṯir(i), Ar kadir, EC yal-goon, L katirr

91 (b) M kupulu, kupuṛu

K1 (b) PA weeallah *'heavens'* (c) PA marra-marra (d) MM murer murer (f) D murramurra. (c) and (f) were both given in answer to "Where does the Creator live?" Cf. Bularnu barabara, K1 manamana

2 (b) M pin^{y}t^{y}amu, PA binjammo, S yaṇu mayi mayi (possibly *'it's very hot'*, see M23), K [manǵá·ř̆a] (c) P binjammo, and see C15, muntharra, An pinjama, MC kum-ba, B binjamu (d) R kŭm-bă, Mac kaampa, MM kumba, Du comboo (e) R kŭm-bă (f) T 'po:rel, Ar burril, EC po-rill and see M23, D borii, L, Tu boorii

3 (b) M wanat^{y}uṇkaṛi, kuṇukuṇu, PA wannajungerry, S piṛiruwa (c) P kog arrah, kogarrah, An cockera, MC gug-a-ra, B kogara (d) R 'koo-nō 'koo-nō, Mac kurno-kurno, MM goonogoono, Du cheiimo (e) R kâ-kă-ră (f) N, EM kakaṛa, T 'kagara, Ar barngan, EC ge-ge-ra, D kagare, kagara, L kakarra, Tu bargun or pargun

4 (b) M, S, K kuṯi, PA jinbe; also jinbe booringo and jinbabora *'falling star'*, cf. S3 (c) P jinby; PA booringo jinbe *'falling star'*, cf. S3, An chinpee; MC mindee, see 36, B jinbi (d) R ū-kō, Mac yonko (misr. youko ?), MM ugo, Du ugoo, cf. A6 *'eye'* (e) R yō-kō (f) Ar yalli, cf. 32, EC chin-by; D bootroom, cf. K1, Y1 puṭuṛuṇu, L teirga (g) kuṯi

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
K5	*Milky Way*		punyu				wathu
6	*Southern Cross*						kanyikanyi kathuku ?
7	*Pleiades*		manggayn				
8	*Orion's Belt*		?				
9	*Evening Star*		yambi				pukarr
10	*Morning Star*		yapuRu				pukarr
11	*The Coal Sack*		tjungguparri				
12	*summer*		pupaRa	wulpaRi			
13	*winter*, see M24 *'cold'*						
14	*wet season*	kamupara	kamupara				
15	*day*			windja			mandja ? puRiia puLaNbuLaN

K5 (b) PA boonyo (f) Tu wadthoo

6 (f) Ar ganyi-ganyi, Tu gud-thu-goo

7 (b) PA numkine [same as] *'a maid or virgin'*, see B8

8 (b) PA marbarungal [same as] *'a blackfellow'* (B1)

9 (b) PA yumby [same as] *'a dog'*, see E4 (f) Ar boogar *'Venus'*

10 (b) PA yaboroo [same as] *'a bitch'*, see E8 (f) see 9

11 (b) PA junkerberry [same as] *'an emu'*. The word for *'emu'* is used as a name for this dark patch in the sky in Aboriginal English as well as in other languages, eg. Kk. See F4

12 (b) PA boobara (c) PA woolbarry

13 (b) PA koobinburrah, probably *'windy'*, see 20

14 From kamu *'water'* (b) M, O

15 (c) PC muntharra, see 2, An winja (d) MM kumba, Du coonbar, see 2 (f) Ar mandja, cf. M20 *'good'* and M23 *'heat'*; D boorida, poss. locative of sun, see 2; L neila, see W3 *'today'*, Tu boolun-boolun

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
K16	*night, dark*	karrpu	windha	waRaNka	kapitji	kapitji	waRaNka
			ngula	ngula	wakamaNGu		ngula
17	*light*			yuRa	tjiNuwil		wutja
				piRV	?		panbal
							(yaLaLayi malpaTa)
18	*dawn*						?
							?
19	*sunset*			pindjamu kalkingu			
20	*wind*	kupiyn	kupiyn	kupiyn	kupiyn		wandjarr
					(maripaNu)		kupiyn
							ngunbu
21	*whirlwind*						wirriwitji
22	*water*	kamu	kamu	yapu	yapu	(kunu)	yapu
				kamu			(kapiRI)
							(ngapiLa)
23	*sea*		kamu tjalka	yapu tjalka			yaputjalka
24	*lake*						ma(rr)kaN
							yap(ay)i

K16 (a) *'dark'* (b) M winta *'nighttime, evening'*, cf. 15, S ŋula *'light'* (c) PC warrunga *'light'*, ngoro-lo *'dark'* (= ŋula ?), An ngoola *'night, dark'*, MC wo-rang-a *'dark'* (d) R kâ-bǐ-jǐ *'night'*, Mac wokkomungo *'dark'*, MM kabajee *'dark'*, kabajing *'night'* (locative ?), Du cabbagee *'night time'* (e) R kâ-bǐ-jǐ *'night'* (f) Ar mulla *'dark'*, EC war-ran-ga *'dark'*, D moorla *'night'*, L waranga *'dark, night'*, Tu moola

17 (c) PC yurah, An pirre, MC ber-u (d) Mac tennouil, MM bertun and see 18 (f) Ar wudja; EC pir-in-girr, see W1 *'tomorrow'*; D yalalaie mulbada, cf. T1 *'know'*, L banbal, Tu woodya

18 (d) MM genool *'morning'*, see 17 (f) D burmuggiot, Tu oh-ah-bur-mut

19 (c) B binjamu kalgingu, cf. 2 and O10

20 (b) M, OH, PA koobeen (c) P koobeen, An copin, MC goo-bin (d) Mac kuppin; MM murlbunnoo, perhaps a verb (f) EM ŋunpu, T 'wa:ndjar, EC koo-bin, L koobin

21 (f) EM

22 (b) M, O, S, OH, PA kammo, K also pana (Pama lgs.) (c) P yappo, yappoo, An commo, MC yab-boo, B gāmu, gammai (d) R yŭp-pō, Mac yappo, MM yappo, Du yamboo (e) R koo-nō, = Y1, not accepted as W by LM (f) N [kapiɹi], aEM yapu, T 'jabo, Ar yabboo, EC ya-boo; L nabilla, see 28 and cf. Kok-Narr ŋapi(l) *'water'*

23 Cf. 22 (b) PA kammo gulcha (poss. mishearing, cf. (c) and (f)) (c) PA yappo julka (f) D yabajuega (misr.), Tu yalbajalka

24 (f) D margun, Tu yabie *'lake or lagoon'*

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
K25	*river*		(wurnitji)	thaRu pakurr	manggala WuLTu	manggala	mirramirra tjalaamba yambaRa or yalpaRa
26	*flood*	pirrparra pirrparriyn	tharrkirriyn		tharrkirriyn		
27	*swamp*						pa(rr)pal muN(D)imuNDi puLuNbuLuN
28	*rain*		wundjuN	wundjuN			tharti ? (ngapiLa)
29	*hail*		?				
30	*cloud*		winaNGu yarrarra (kalkirr)	wuRul	?		nguLamat
31	*mist*				poLuthopal		
32	*lightning, thunder*		yanbarri	pundjiLi yanbarri maNGaN ?	yanbarri rungga ?		yanbarri maNGaN (yaLi) (yurtuyu)

K25 (b) S; OH tarkirin, see 26 (c) An tharro *'creek'*, B bagur (d) R mŭng-kă-lă, Du mungalla, cf. 38, MM ooldo *'creek'* (e) R mŭng-gă-lă, cf. 38 (f) N miramira *'creek, river'*, aEM but not clear whether *'river'* or *'bank'*, T 'tjala:mba, D yambara, Tu yallburra or yalbura

26 (b) M [talkiri, tarkarin^{y}, tarkirin^{y}], OH see 25 (d) Du targarien

27 (f) D barbul, cf. 40 (a) and 17 (f); Tu moonnie-moondie and booloon-boolon, possibly place names

28 See also 22 (b) PA woonjune, woon jone, S, OH kamu (= *'water'*) (c) PA vindune, woonjone, PC oonjune, An commo culge, cf. 22 and 010 *'fall'*, MC yab-boo (= *'water'*) (d) MM yappo (= *'water'*); Du kalkigoo, see 010 (f) Ar kalga, see 010; EC na-bi la, cf. 22, D yaboo (= *'water'*); L kalginoonabilla, cf. 22 and 010

29 (b) PA oorg boogerry

30 (b) PA winango, S kalkir, OH yarara (c) PA worrool, An woorrool (d) MM ommugoo (?) (f) T 'ŋulama:t

31 (d) MM buloothupal

32 (b) PA yanburry *'lightning'*, barringo *'thunder'* (present tense of para *'to cry'*, see T10 and note to (c)) (c) PA boonchilly *'lightning'*, yanberry *'thunder'*; PC barry *'to make a noise or cry'*, given for *'thunder'* by Curr, see T10, An mungurn *'lightning'*, nooncup *'thunder'*, MC yun-bur-ri *'thunder'* (d) Mac yunburree *'thunder'*; MM roonga *'thunder'* and *'lightning'*, cf. Y1 ɾuŋka (f) aEM [yanbaɹi], EC yarn-ber-ri *'thunder'*, D mungun *'lightning'*; L yoordooyoo *'thunder'*, cf. G8, Tu mooloo or yali or nangan *'lightning'*, cf. 4. Cf. K1 yanpiri *'lightning'*

		a Ngawun	b Mayi-Kulan	c Mayi-Yapi	d Mayi-Thakurti	e Wunumara	f Mayi-Kutuna
K33	*rainbow*			tjinyurr	kantju ? ?		ngurlungurlu ?
34	*ground, land, country*	ngurra	ngurra	makiya	makiya		makiya
35	*plain*			wolnga	kunarri		
36	*stone*	mirndi	mirndi	mirndi	mirndi pukil	pukil	mirndi
37	*hill, mountain*		murrku (tjirrkarr)	mirndi	murrku pukil ?	pukil	wayiLa
38	*sand*	manggala	manggala (karirr)	manggala	makiNGu		
39	*dust*	thulngaru	thulngaru				thulngaru
40	*mud*	parrpai	manya				
41	*red ochre*				tjiRingiRi		
42	*yellow ochre*				parru muLumuLu		
43	*hole (in ground)*	karlu	karlu		kundja ?		

K33 (c) B jīnyūr, cf. *'snake'* Gl (d) MM kunjo, see notes to Bl and Q3, Du karveila (f) EM ŋuḷuŋuḷu, T 'ŋolo'ŋuru

34 See also D86 *'camp'* (b) M, O, S, PA ngoorah *'land'*, K yamba *'ground'* (Mari lgs.) (c) PA mug geer *'land'*; PC muggeer, An muggear, MC mug-air, *'ground'*, B magia *'the earth'* (d) Mac mukkeo *'ground'*, MM nargee *'country'* and *'ground'* (= makiya ?)

35 (c) An wolna (e) Du goonadee, cf. note to A3

36 (b) M, O, S, K, PA minde, OH minti (c) PA mindi *'stone, hill'*, PC mirndy, mindy, MC mirn-dee (d) R bō-gǐl, moor-kō, *'mountain, hill, rock, stone'*, Mac orringe (probably should be orrindi, see last item of 48 (f); conceivably miṇṭi) *'hill, stone'*, MM mindee, see also D64 and 65 (e) R bogil *'mountain, hill, rock, stone'* (f) N miṇṭi, EC mo-rin-gi; L wyeila, see 37

37 See also 36 (b) PA moorko *'hill'*, S tʸirkar *'mountain'* (c) PA see 36 (d) MM morjo *'hill'*, see note to Bl, Du muidie (misr.) *'mountain'* (f) T 'waila *'mountain'*, L wyeila *'hill'*

38 Cf. 25 (b) PA num kullo (misr.), S kaṛir (c) PA mun kallah, An munguila (d) Du magingu, cf. 34

39 (b) M ṯuiŋaṛu *'ashes, dust'* (f) SL ṯurŋaṛu (unsure)

40 (b) M

41 (d) R jǐ-rǐng-ĕr-ĭ

42 (d) R pâ-rō, 'moo-loo 'moo-loo, cf. Kl etc. paru

43 (b) K kalu (d) MM kornjar *'hole'*, see notes to Bl and Q3

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
K44	*lump*				Nambol		
45	*mark, scratch*				rukuRu		
46	*track*	tjana		tjana wuyaN	wathu tjana		tjina wuya
47	*shade, shadow*	kumurru		maNGu	MaNGu		
48	*place names* (see opposite for details)	kalman palamburr nguwartu warratangga kuparu palumbal tjapun	kuthukuthu kukunuka	thalmaN	yaRayaRa WuRuLu payimarra piLipanggal yaku(wi)N kaTakangandjiyingu laNDayurrkal kaRaLa	nguNDaRuNDu Wungul yaLakatji matjiRangiRal makapaRi yaRaRi kulyiya kalpuRu WuRindi ? kuRiTa	wuthurtu wankanari punba thaarri tjiringirri yaRiku ?

K44 (d) MM nambul

45 R See D56

46 See also A62 *'foot'; 'track'* is the same as *'foot'* in many lgs. (c) PC wean, An janna, MC d'janna (d) MM wathoo *'path'*, janner *'footmark'* (f) Ar wooya, EC chinna, L jeena

47 (c) An mimgo (misr.) (d) MM mungo

48 Assigned to the various communalects on the basis of locality rather than informant. (a) in order, *'Flinders River'*, *'Wilson River ("behind Woolgar")'*, *'Taldora'*, *'Iffley'*, *'Cambridge River' (?)*, *'Dutton River' (?)*, *'on Cambridge Downs'* (see B17(a)) (b) O, *'Broadwater (on Norman River approx. 10 miles north of junction of Yappar River)'*, *'near Vena Park'* (c) PA thalmun *'Dismal Creek'* (d) R 'yă-ră 'yă-ră *'Table Top Mt. (Cloncurry)'*, oo-'rō-lō, *'Black Mt. (Cloncurry)'*, pī-mŭr-ră *'Cloncurry River Hole'* (and see Mac and LM), bĭl-lĭ-'bŭng-gŭl *'Clonagh Stn.'*, yâ-kō-ĭn *'Dalgonally Stn.'*, kă-tă-gŭ-'ŭn-jĭ-ĭng-ō *'Devoncourt Stn.'* (in Kl country but seems to be a Mayi name), lŭn-'tā-oĭ-gŭl *'Fort Constantine'*, kă-ră-lă *'Williams River (now Corella River)'*, Mac piamurra *'Cloncurry River'*, LM payimara *'Cloncurry River'*, Du coorida *'station'* (e) R ŏn-dă-'roon-doo *'Eddington Stn.'*, woong-'ool *'Leilavale Stn.'*, yăl-lă-kŭd-yĕ *'McKinlay Township'*, mă-chĭ-'rŭng-ĭ-rŭl *'Ulolo Stn.'*, mă-kă-bŭ-rĭ *'Fullarton River'* (and see Mac), yâ-ră-rĭ, kŭl-yĕ-ă (both) *'McKinlay River'*, kŭl-poo-roo *'Williams River'* (note that the name for Boulia, in PP country, is kalpurru), Mac makapurre *'Fullarton River'*, oorinde (= *"stone"*, see 36) *'Williams River'* (the present Williams R.; contrast R's name above) (f) EM, all waterholes in the Leichhardt River, on the present Lorraine Stn., punpa *'in Top Paddock'*, ṯaari *'top end of Top Paddock'*, tʸiṛiṇiri *'Cassidy Yard'* (cf. D27); D Arago *'Ancestor's country and place of the first Bora'*, Tu Er-ee-geh or Ereeguh *'Place where Bungerdoo made marks on rocks'*, see also 27.

	a	b	c	d	e	f
	Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
L1 *one*	wangga	wangga	kuRuyn wangga	pikuNDal kuRuyn	yinirr ?	wanggari (Tinba ?) (muwarr ?)
2 *two*	pulakarra	pulakarra	pulakarra pula	kurrthu	kurrthu pulakarra	kurrpaya mathankurru (pulakarra)
3 *three*	kurrpara	kurrpara	kurrpara kurrpayi pulakarra kuRuyn pulakarra NuLa mathankurra	kurrthu kuRuyn	pulakarra yinirr	kurrpaya wanggari mathaT yilatjirr (kurrpayi)
4 *four*	pulakarra pulakarra			ngambikal?	pulakarra pulakarra	(pulakarra pulakarra)
5 *many*	martungu	yandjal kutjulu	yinkamu kutjulu	ngumin ? NuriuNuriu	panggu	yandjal murrku konbaLakaLa ?

L1 (b) PA wonka (c) P kooroi, goroine; An ingomar, see 5, MC goreen, B wanga, wan'ga (d) R pē-koon-dŭl, Mac kooroin, MM pigundul (e) R ē-nĕr (f) N waŋkaṛi, T 'waŋgari:, Ar wongarri, D yongarree, L deinba, moar, Tu wangarie or wangain

2 (b) M [pulákura, palákura], PA bullagarrah (c) P bullagarrah, pullagarra, pullagarrah, An blagura, MC bulla, B bulagara, bulagura, balaggara (d) R koor-tō, Mac kurto, MM gurtho (e) R koor-tō (f) N kurpaya; T 'maðan'goru, cf. 3 (c), Ar kurbayia, D goovarree, L blakarra, Tu coolbyu, coolbyn (misr.) (and note culbriadgee *'we two'*). See also 3 and 4.

3 (a),(b),(c), cf. 2(f) (b) M, PA goobarrah (c) PA mathingoolah, cf. 2 (f), PC pullagarrah goroine, pullgarra-goroine; An muda nuda, cf. 2 (f), blagura noola, MC bulla-go-go-run, B kurbai-i, goorbai (d) R ō-mĭn, see 5, Mac kurto kooroin, MM gurtho gurion (e) R 'plă-gă-ră-'ē-nĕr (f) N kurpaya waŋkaṛi, yilatʸir, Ar matta, D madart, L goordbye, Tu mathad

4 (b) PA bullargarrah, bullargarrah (c) PC inkammo, cf. 5; An cudgello *'four'*, *'plenty'*, *'any number over three'*, MC in-ca-moo *'four'*, *'plenty'*, see 5 (d) R ō-mĭn, see 5, MM umbigal, cf. Y9 (e) R plă-gă-ră plă-gă-ră (f) Ar murgoo, D moorgoo, see 5, L blakarra-blakarra; Tu mourgoo or moorigoo, see 5

5 (b) M yanʸtʸal, PA gootchalo *'a good many'* (c) PA gootcholoo *'a good many'*, PC yinkammo *'plenty'*, cf. 4, An see 1 and 4, MC see 4; B kujulu, goojooloo, kujulu-a, kunjulu, *'many'*, *'a lot'* (d) R ō-mĭn, cf. 3 and 4, Mac nurio-nurio and see X9 (e) R pŭng-gō (f) N yanʸtʸal, aEM, and see 3.5.1, Ar gunbalaga *'a good many'* and see 4, D murgoo and see 4, tranggoo *'five'*, L moorgoo *'plenty'*, Tu murgoo and see 4

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
L6	*any*						yi(yi)
7	*some*						(pilaRa)
8	*another*	wanggaru	wanggara				
M1	*black*	marrtjin	marrtjin	marrtjin	marrtjin		(wupilkupil ?)
2	*white*	punaru	punamu (or punaru ?)	pulpu punaru	punaru		(parala ?)
3	*red*		paRul	pathaRakuyn pathapathaRakuyn	kilkilkaRu ?		(wurtikurti ?)
4	*green*		kiltjan	kiltjan kuRikuN ?			
5	*big*	purritji	wanyirr wanyakurru	wanyirr yakuyn	martu	martu	pukarr ?
6	*small*	tjalu	tjalu(ngayila) tjalamala	tjalu (kaTa)	tjalu walkatjakatjakuRu (kurrpaya)	tjalu	tjalu ? ?
7	*long, tall*	mirtan	mirtan	nguRal	nguRamiN		

L6 (f) D yee

7 (f) D belarra, cf. 2

8 (b) M. Cf. 1.

M1 (b) PA marchin, *'black', 'blue'*; OH maḷtʸin *'black skin'* and see D94 *'charcoal'* (c) PA marchin, An maigin (d) MM margin (f) Tu see E24

2 (a) punaṛa, once punaṛu (b) PA boonammo (c) PA boolbo, An bonearrow (f) SL [baṛələ], cf. 3

3 (b) PA barroul; OH kapul, see A70 *'blood'* (c) PA batha batha rug gin, An putheragwine (d) MM cilcilgaroo (f) Tu see E24

4 (b) PA gilchun (c) PA gilchun, An cooregon. Cf. J90 *'grass'*.

5 (b) PA wine yeer, OH wanʸakuru (c) PA wine yeer *'big', 'strong'*, see also A71 *'fat'*, PC wineyeer; An yaggoon, cf. B1, MC wunyee (d) R mâ-dō, MM murdoo, cf. A34 *'thumb'* (e) R mŭr-dō (f) EM pukar, SL murka tʸaḷu (but tʸaḷu is *'small'*), also lira kuwikuwi (?) *'you're a big-mouthed bugger'* (lira *'mouth'*), L bookarr

6 (b) M kaṯaku, see B9 *'child'*, PA jallo, S tʸaḷu, tʸaḷuŋayila, OH tʸalamala (c) PA jallo *'small'*; PC kuddah, cf. B9, An challoo, MC djal-loo, *'little'* (d) CC tʸalu, R châ-lō; wŭl-kă-jă-kă-jă-koo-rō, cf. A33, A39; Mac kurpia, cf. L2, L3, MM churloo (also *'children'* and *'baby'*) (e) R châ-lō (f) SL tʸaḷu, EM tʸalu; Ar niun-niun, EC gar-noo, *'little'*, L challo

7 (b) PA meedun *'tall'* (c) PA ngural (d) MM ooramin

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
M8	*short*	tjartu	thaku	thaku	thamiN		(thaku)
9	*heavy*				Wulmai		
10	*light*				parrpul		
11	*fat*	thankupuna					
12	*thin*		yala(rr)tji				
13	*full*				watjilpungu		
14	*straight*				thurtuku		
15	*crooked*	kulkukulku			kaNGal		
16	*wrinkled*	piltjipiltji					
17	*round*		paLanbu				
18	*hard*	kundjurrkundjurr	(ngandingandi)				
19	*sharp*		(tjapurru)				
20	*good*	kultjin	kultjin	kultjin yathi	makal kamaNaRu	manyu	mandja mandjawari kuRu (makaRa)

M8 (b,c) PA thaggo, cf. Biri dagu (d) MM thamin (f) aEM but may not be MKt

9 (d) MM oolmul

10 (d) MM barple, cf. 35 *'weak'*

11 (a) Lit. *'fat-having'*, cf. A71

12 (b) PA yallarche (c) see 21

13 (d) MM waigillbongo, verb in present tense

14 (d) MM toortoojoo, cf. K1 tutuku and see note to B1

15 (d) MM kungul

16 (a) In terms of abuse, tati pilt^{y}ipilt^{y}i to a man, kunta pilt^{y}ipilt^{y}i to a woman, cf. A50, A53

17 (b) PA ballanbo (c) PA ngoordoo, cf. A51. Both *'a round ball'*.

18 (b) M (doubtful)

19 (b) M (borrowing from Eng?)

20 (b) M, PA gootchin (c) P ootchin, gooljin, An yathi, B kuljin (d) R mŭk-kŭl, Mac kammanurro, MM margul (also mugle *'right'*) (e) R mŭn-yō, cf. Yandruwandha man^{y}u (f) EM man^{y}t^{y}a, man^{y}t^{y}awari, Ar manja, also Mandja *'Good Spirit'*, EC myn-ga, D munga, L makarra, Tu goro; also mangah, mangarah, *'be good'*

		a Ngawun	b Mayi-Kulan	c Mayi-Yapi	d Mayi-Thakurti	e Wunumara	f Mayi-Kutuna
M21	*bad*	witjungurr	mathi mathiyanggan mathingurr	mathi mathingurr	mathi	mathi	murta kakay TuNDuRi
22	*wrong*				waRaparnu		
23	*hot, heat*		mayimayi	mayimayi muwiyn wurrparr	mandhaarra		TamuN mundja ? (wurrparr)
24	*cold*	katja	yirrnga	yirrnga	yirrnga		yirrnga
25	*raw*	kuwarru					
26	*rotten*	lurru	pukarn				
27	*sweet*				tjurrkulingu?		punggarri TambaN (paR(a)ku)
28	*bitter*						tjalka
29	*open (of mouth)*						(mulungu)
30	*hungry*	pupalamba	pulngi	pulngi(ngu)	pulngingu		(pulngingu)

M21 (a) ma̱tiṇur used also, but said in 1976 to be not Ng (b) M ma̱ti, ma̱tiyaŋkan, O ma̱ti(ṇur), PA mathee (c) PA mathee *'bad', 'weak', 'thin'*, PC madthee, An martingaro; B ngambi kuljin, ngambi kooljin, lit. *'not good'*, cf. 20 and Y9 (d) R mŭt-tĭ, Mac mattee, MM marthy (e) R mŭd-dĭ (f) SL milkira *'a bad one'*, cf. 50, Ar kakai, EC moor-da, D murda, L moorda, Tu doondoori

22 (d) MM waraburnu

23 (b) PA yang o mi mi *'heat'* (cf. D91 *'fire'*) (d) PA yang o mi mi *'heat'*, PC mow-een *'heat'*, An woodbarre *'heat'*, MC mow-ing *'heat'* (d) MM mundara, cf. K2 *'sun'* (f) Ar tammoon; EC por-rid, see K2; D moonja, cf. MY muwin^{y} - this may be a locative of that, i.e. muwin^{y}t^{y}a, L ooirbur; Tu coomrie, see D95 *'s ɔke'*

24 (b) PA yerrunga (c) P yerringe, yerringer, An yerrenge, MC ye-ring-a (d) Mac yernga, MM yeanga (f) Ar yirringa, EC yen-ga, L yeiranga

26 (b) M

27 (c) PC gooljin, see 20 (d) Mac jircallingo, MM churkulingu, verb in present tense (f) SL puŋkari, Ar tamban, L barragoo

28 (f) SL, EM

29 (f) SL *'open', 'never shut'*, aEM but doubted

30 (a) verb *'to be hungry'* (b) PA boolney (c) PA bool ngingo (verb in present tense), PC boolne, An pulngee, MC bulg-gnee (d) Mac bulningo, MM pulningoo (also bulninyu *'empty'*), verb in present tense (f) Ar yadda, see D98 *'food'*, L boolning

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
M31	*thirsty*		yurrpayi	yurrpayi	yurrpingu		(muTingu)
32	*alive*				kaLirr		
33	*strong*		wuRakirn ?		Nowa(rr)(kuTal)		
34	*vigorous*		wanggVR(V)				
35	*weak*		parrpul		Nowa(rr)kalangu		
36	*quick*				puLuN ?		
37	*slow*				NetjuNetju		
38	*sick*	yithipuna	miRi tjilka	tjiliNGi (or tjilingu?)			
39	*dead*	mutja	mutjan	mutji mutjan	mutjuyn mutjanu		murri murriyana (mutja) (tharrpulu)
40	*sore*, see A72						
41	*wounded*		thalkiri ?				

M31 (b) S yilpay, PA yurby (c) P yarpe, yourby, MC yur-be (d) Mac yoorpingo, MM urbingoo, verb in present tense (f) Ar yaddingayoo, see D98 *'food'* and X1 *'I'*, L mootingoo (verb in present tense)

32 (d) MM karlīr

33 (b) PA worragrin (d) MM nowargoodul, cf. 35 - presumably nowar means *'strength'*, and goodul could be a demonstrative kulan, cf. X10

34 (b) M [waŋkər̥] *"hard"* (= *'vigorously'*)

35 (b) PA barbul, cf. 10 *'light'* (d) MM nowarkulunga (probably *'strength-lacking'*, cf. 44 (d))

36 (d) MM bodlun

37 (d) MM niju niju

38 (a) yiṯi presumably *'sickness'*, attested only in yiṯipuna *'sick'*, yiṯimpa *'to be sick'*, see A75 (b) PA mirree, S tʸilkan *'was sick'* (d) PA jillinge, possibly verb, present tense, cf. (b) S

39 Also at U15. (a) *'to die'* (b) PA mootchon, S mutʸan *'died'* (c) PA mootche; PC mootchon, An mootchum, MC moo-gun, probably all verbs in past tense (d) Mac moochoin, possibly mutʸa plus nominaliser; MM mujanoo, = mutʸa plus past tense; Du moochingoo *'dead man'*, seems to be mutʸa + present tense (f) SL muriyana, aEM, Ar moriana, probably includes -ya *'inchoative'* and -na *'past tense'*, EC more, D mooree *'to die'*, L mokan; SL ṯarpulu in yaṇṯana ṯarpulu *"going to kill him right out"*, cf. Q1; Tu wogumbie *'to die'*, see N3

41 (b) M, doubtful

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
M42	*lame*	nguripa	liliNki or lilindji	lilindjingu			
43	*blind*	warramutju	warramutju milikundja	milmutju	warramutju		
44	*deaf, stupid*	thulukumbu	pinarrkundja (yalnga)	thirrpakumbu (poss. thulukumbu)	pinarrkalangu		
45	*mad*	wama		wama			
46	*drunk*		kamukamupuna				
47	*greedy*	kawathurra					
48	*lie, liar, nonsense*	katji katjiparri katjipuna		katjipuna or katjipunu(yn)			
49	*tired, lazy*	mundjamba kakamba	lirrki kakamba	lirrki	lirrki		
50	*cheeky, sulky*	milkirra			milkirra		milkirra
51	*pugnacious, angry*	tharrkunbuna	yila yilapuna	yula			
52	*frightened*	kawa	kawi murrun		kawi		thalkal

M42 (b) PA lillinke (c) PA lillin jingo (verb, present tense)

43 (b) PA warra, moocho; OH milikun^{y}t^{y}a, lit. *'eye-lacking'*, cf. A6 (c) An mitmojoo (d) MM waramugu

44 (a) *'deaf'* (b) PA yalnah *'deaf'*; OH pinaṯkun^{y}t^{y}a, lit. *'ear-lacking'*, cf. A10 (c) PA wammah *'deaf'*, cf. 45; An thirba-cumbo *'deaf, stupid'*, cf. (a) (d) MM pennekalunu, lit. *'ear-lacking'*, cf. 35 and A10

45 (c) PA see 44, An womma

46 (b) M, lit. *'grog-having'*, cf. D101

48 (a) kat^{y}i *'a lie'*, kat^{y}ipari and kat^{y}ipuna *'liar'* (c) An codjebunno *'a liar, nonsense'*, see 3.4.1

49 (a) both *'to be tired'* (b) M kakampa *'to be tired'*, PA lirke *'tired'* (c) PA lirreke *'tired'*, An lerike *'lazy'*; B lirgingu, līrgingu, lir'gingu, leerganoo, *'am tired'* (d) MM lergingu (verb, present tense)

50 (d) Du millgetta *'sulky woman'* (f) SL (see 21), aEM

51 (a) *"saucy"*, -puna *'having'* but ṯarkun alone not recognised (b) M yila *"growl"* (c) An eula, B in Gunu banjil kujulu yulambina *"hear* [sic, cf. X10] *a lot of men talking about and wanting to fight"*

52 (a) *'to be frightened'* (b) M (d) MM kowinjar, possibly locative kawiŋka or kawiŋa, see notes to B1 and Q3 (f) N ṯalkar (doubtful), EM ṯalkal

		a Ngawun	b Mayi-Kulan	c Mayi-Yapi	d Mayi-Thakurti	e Wunumara	f Mayi-Kutuna
M53	*jealous*	kunyin thara					
N1	*sit, stay*	yina	yina	yina	yina	(yinV)	yina
2	*stand*	thara	thara	patjV			
3	*lie, sleep*	kumina	wandji	wandji	wandji		wukamba
4	*dream,* same as *'totem'*, see D37						
5	*hide*		tjiltjV				(tjulurrma)
O1	*go, come, walk, hunt*	wapa	wapa (pangga)	wapa	wapa		yatji (pangga)

M53 (a) *'to be jealous'*, cf. A8 *'nose'* and N2 *'to stand'*

N1 Glossed *'sit'* except where noted (b) M, O, S, (M also wan^{y}t^{y}i but see 3), PA yeenah *'sitting down'* (c) PA yenne *'sitting down'*, PC yenni, An yinna (d) CC iniŋu (present tense), Mac yennia, MM yīnar (d/e) LM uses iniliŋu, meaning not clear (f) N, SL, L eeningoo (present tense)

2 (b) M, O, PA tharry tharry *'standing still'* (c) PA batchingo *'standing still'*

3 (b) M (c) PC waujilje (misr. wan-), An wongilgee, both purposive; MC wanjilbo, probably present tense (d) Mac wongelgee (purposive), MM wongil (f) N *'lie'*, aEM *'lie, sleep'*; SL, Ar woogamba, EC oo-kom-bi, L ookambirr, *'sleep'*, Tu see M39

5 (b) M (f) SL *'hiding'* (doubtful)

O1 (b) M paŋka (see 6), wapa *'go'*, O wapa *'go, walk about'*, PA wabbah *'walk'*, wobbi *'to hunt'*, S [waŋga] *'come' ('go'?)*, [bangan] *'come'*, [bangi] *'will go'*, [baŋan] *'come'*, [baŋga] *'climb'*, [wabiwabi] *'is coming'*, [waban] *'got'* (c) PA wabby *'walking'*; wobbi, wobba, wobbe, *'to hunt'*; see also W5 *'a long time ago'*; PC wabi, An jan muggear (lit. *'foot ground'*, see A62, K34), MC wabe, *'walk'*, B waba *'to go'* (d) Mac wapingo (present tense) *'walk'*, MM wobarloo *'go'*, woobar *'walk'* (f) N paŋka *'go'* (cf. 6), Ar kurrai (see 2), EC a-gi-la-gi, D yagee, L yadger, Tu h'r'dgi, *'walk'*. Note that some of the less competent informants in Bidjara used the verb *'run'* for *'go'*, as do M, S and N.

		a Ngawun	b Mayi-Kulan	c Mayi-Yapi	d Mayi-Thakurti	e Wunumara	f Mayi-Kutuna
02	*go, go home, go away, come*	kurra	kurra	kurra	kurra ?		kurra
3	*go away*	thala	thala				
4	*go in, dive*	thurrka	thurrka	thurrka			
5	*swim*	pima	pima	pima			
6	*run*	pangga	pangga	pangga (wangga ?) luRa	pangga		pangga
7	*jump*			purrkuTaLi ?			
8	*play, dance*	kanba	(kanba)				
9	*get up, climb*		waLa (wara)	waLa			
10	*fall* (incl. of rain), *set* (of sun)	kalka	kalka	kalka	kalka		kalka
11	*look for*	ngamba	ngamba				

02 (a) *'go', 'go home'* (b) O *'go away', 'come'* (c) An cooraboin *'go away'* (d) MM kowar *'come'* (may be /kura/ or may be /kawa/ *'come on'* as in YI, PP etc., cf. YI) (f) EM kuralkural *'going away'*, Ar see I, D coolingoora *'to go away'* and see YI, L see YI; Tu goroluigo miornie, also written gorolaigo-miornie, and gnor-, *'to go away'* (perhaps the aigo (~ uigo) is ŋayuku *'I'*, see XI)

3 (b) M, O (f) see 6

4 (b) PA thurkingo *'diving'* (d) PA thoorke *'diving'*

5 (b) PA beemingo *'swimming'*, beemi *'to swim'* (c) PA bimme *'swimming'*, beemi, beema, beemun

6 (a) cf. I (b) PA bunkah, bunki and see BI7 (c) PA wangalbo *'running'*, bunki, bunka, bunkun, An looran (d) MM banjar, see note to BI, Du bangingoo *'man running'* (f) SL [walandja]?, T paŋkai (also *'go away'*), D bonggiee, Tu bangaree

7 (c) An poorcoodalle

8 (b) O

9 (b) O waṛa, PA walli (c) PA walli, walla, wallun, An wollai

10 (b) M kalka (also walV, very doubtful) (c) An culgoe (misr. culgee) and see K28, B binjamu kalgingu *'sunset'* (d) MM kalganoo (past tense) (f) N; Ar, L, see K28

11 (b) M, O

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
P1	*take, get, bring*	marra mandja mandjirra kandja	(marra) (panda)		kurrV		wuka
2	*bring*	thalmirra			?		
3	*carry*	kurrirra kandjakandja			witjaRama ?		
4	*fetch*	purra					
5	*collect*	mandja marra					
6	*lift*				wulpaLama		
7	*put down, leave (trans.)*	yitja yitjirra	wanda	yitja			wanda + ?
8	*hold, touch*	nhanda	(nhanda)				miNDa nhanda
9	*give*	waka	(waka)	parlV	yumipa ?		waka
10	*steal*	pakarra	pakarra	pakarra			
11	*lose*	kuma					yinama
12	*give up*						
13	*throw*	yawa	lawa (yalkarru)	lawa			
Q1	*hit, belt, kill*	puwa pundja	pundja puwa	pundja kuwV ?	puwa		yarnda (nyinbi)

P1 (a) mara *'take'*, man^{y}+^{y}a *'take, get'*, man^{y}+^{y}irra *'get, bring'*, kan^{y}+^{y}a *'take, bring'*, and see 2 to 5 (b) M panta (doubtful), O marra *'get'* (d) MM gooreaiu *'take'*, cf. 3 (f) N *'give'*, *'get'*, *'bring'*, D voganuna

2 (d) MM buterain (a noun ?). Cf. 3(d); the root could be the same.

3 (a) cf. O2 (d) MM weejaramar, see note to B1

5 (a) as grass for a bed

6 (d) MM woolbalamar

7 (b) M (c) An idger-idger *'leave it alone'* (f) D wondiceaoo *'to release'*

8 (b) O (f) D mendiee, and see U7 *'feel'*

9 (b) O (c) An burly-burly (d) MM yumebain (f) D oogiee

10 (b) M (c) PA bagarribo

11 (f) D eenamiee

13 (b) M [lawal, lawul], O yawa, S yalkaru, PA lowi (c) PA lowi, lowa, lowen

Q1 (a) puwa *'hit, kill'*, pundja *'belt, kill'* (b) M pundja, O, S puwa (c) An bunge *'to kill'*, cowe (mishearing ?) *'to strike'* (d) MM booer *'strike'*, booanoo *'kill'* (past tense) (f) N n^{y}inpi *'hit'*, *'bite' (?)*, SL yanṭa *'hit'*

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
Q2	*kill with mangani* (see D40)				manda		
3	*fight*	pundjamba	pundjapV	pundjapV ?	pundjapV ?		
4	*spear*						(nyinbi)
5	*kick*	kunda					
6	*break*	kundja	kundja thawu		ToTawa (poss. thawa)		
7	*grind*		kundha				
8	*cut*	thaya	(thaya) (kumu)	paRiLa			
9	*prick*	pirrirra	(pirrirra)				
10	*scratch*			yaR(a)pa			
11	*bite*	patha	patha				
12	*shake*		(marrkurru)				
13	*burn (trans.)*	thindha					

Q2 (d) RB (Roth 1903:37) manda

3 Reciprocal of pun^{y}t^{y}a (see 1) in most items (b) O pun^{y}t^{y}ampa, PA boonchaby *'fighting'* (c) PA larra thulbo *'fighting'*, An boonjabbe (d) MM boonjabinju (present tense, note ŋ spelt nj also in U6 and perhaps other words), Du palveroo *'fight'*

4 (f) SL, cf. 1

6 (a) Also ṯaya, cf. 8 (b) M kun^{y}t^{y}a, cf. 7, thawu, PA thewi (d) MM tutawar

7 (b) PA gunthi

8 (b) O ṯaya, OH kumu in maḷu kumu *'finger cut off'* (not a verb ?) (c) An parrelun

9 (b) O

10 (c) An yarrabulbo

11 See also U8 *'eat'* (b) M, O (c) see U8 (d) see U8 (f) see 1 *'hit'*

12 (b) S

13 (f) D banum (Pidgin ?), Tu yangon-barra *'to burn with fire'*, cf. D91 *'fire'*

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
R1	*light (a fire)*	mandjirra					
2	*put out (fire)*	kultjirra					
3	*cook*	thindharra					
4	*make*	pa(rr)ma(rra)	piṛa and/or		piNi ?		pormV
		tjindamba	piya				
			(pamarra)				
			(mirringga)				
5	*dig*		waRa				
6	*cover*	kamburra					
7	*wet*	thuwa					
8	*wash*	warrtjima					
S1	*burn (intr.)*	yirrpa					
2	*shine*						mimbV
3	*run (of water or a shooting star)*	pura	pura	pura			
4	*burst*		(kunburr)				
5	*stick*			(pakuyn)			

R1 (a) cf. P1

4 (a) parmara, parma, pamara, pirma; in 1976 pamara (i.e. probably all four variants) was said to be MK1 (b) M piṛa, piya, cf. T8 *'sing'*; S [maga] (Pidgin ?), miriŋka, O see (a) (c) An jan-mugear, cf. O1 (d) MM pini (f) D burmi

5 (b) PA warri

7 (a) also heard ṯura

8 (a) from Pidgin (b) M ṯurka, see O4 *'go in, dive'*

S2 (f) D mimby

3 (a) of water (b) jinbe booringo *'falling star'* (c) PA booringo jinbe *'falling star'*

4 (b) PA goonbor *"when it [a falling star] bursts"*. May be a noun, *'explosion'*. Cf. K4 *'star'*

5 (c) An buggoin (may be a noun)

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
T1	*know*				Nandha		
2	*think*				Nandhawandjili		
3	*I don't know*			? ?	? ?		? ?
4	*talk, say, speak*	maya	maya yanpa	maya mayimirra	(maya)		maya
5	*tell*	mayimirra			mayinba ?		
6	*call out*	watha	(watha)				
7	*tell a lie*	katja					
8	*sing*	puwa	puwa piya (pirraku)	piya	piya		
9	*laugh*	yitjamba	tjiNkV	tjiNkV yitjamba	withama		
10	*cry*	parra	parra	parra	parra		

T1 (d) MM nunthanu (past tense) (f) D goolinamulbada, cf. 3, first part may be a demonstrative kulunY, see X10; ṇamalpata (*'see'* plus affixes, cf. U3), see 3.5.3; Tu says there is no word *'to know'*

2 (d) MM nunduanjilingu, present tense, cf. 1 and N3 (see also notes to B1 and Q3)

3 (c) PC wanthan kogool (answer to a *'where?'* question, but seems to contain the word *'where?'*, cf. X16), An unipeenummello (may contain ŋani *'what?'*, X15, and ṇama *'see'*, U3) (d) Mac nee kol, MM unugunarar (f) Ar yaddi galao, cf. Y9 *'no'*, D woolloomanbadda, cf. 1, U3, X12

4 See also D47 *'speech, language'* (b) O maya, S yanpa, PA myi *'to speak'* (c) An mi-hi-ya, B see D47 (d) see D47 (f) N, D mii, Tu mai-ai and see U5

5 (a) cf. D47 (c) (d) MM minbar

6 (b) O (c) PA see 10

7 (a) cf. M48

8 (a) = *'hit'* but has warma *'song'* as object; the verb *'to hit'* is also used for *'to sing'* in Wangkumara and Yandruwandha (b) M piraku (doubtful), piya, aM puwa (c) An pea-ai-e (d) MM piala

9 (b,c) PA jinke *'laughing'* (c) An idjambe (d) Du withamango (present tense)

10 (b) M, PA barry (c) PA barringo (also *'call out'*) and see K32, An parre *'to cry or weep'* (d) MM paringu, Du berringoo, present tense

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
T11	*ask*		(pandjV)				
12	*want, lack*		(makirr)				
13	*like*				?		
U1	*live*						TunDu maRa
2	*grow*				†janbeRV ?		
3	*see*	nhama	nhama	nhama	nhangama ?		nhama (wala)
4	*watch*	thandha thatha					
5	*hear*	ngangga			ngangga		
6	*smell*	nhuma			nhuma		
7	*feel*						nhanda (kundhiwaNDul)
8	*eat, drink*	mandha patha	patha	patha Nuka (pandhiputha)	patha		
9	*taste*	pambarra					
10	*vomit*			kulmi			
11	*urinate*		(kiparri)				

T11 (b) M, meaning doubtful

12 (b) S, meaning doubtful, does not seem to be a verb, cf. B11 (a)

13 (d) MM marinjerbuthalbu, may contain pa<u>t</u>a *'eat'*, U8, and see notes to B1 and Q3

U1 (f) D doondoo, Tu murrie

2 (d) MM janberingu (present tense), could contain †^{Y}an(a) *'foot'*, A62

3 (b) M, O, S nama (c) PC namalyee, An numilla (d) MM nungarmunu (f) SL walamba, D namiee, L wollomillebilda, cf. T3; Tu to barre, see A6 *'eye'*

4 (a) both used several times

5 (d) MM nungun (f) D narmiee, cf. 3; Tu myaa, cf. T4

6 (d) MM noomalbunju *'smell (noun)'* but clearly a verb in present tense, see note to Q3

7 (f) D nandieo, cf. P8 *'hold'*, Tu goonthi-wondool

8 See also Q11 *'bite'* (a) cf. D98; man<u>t</u>a *'food'* occurs in a number of languages (b) M *'eat'* (c) PA malla roongo *'to drink with the hand'* (= *'hand*-INST', cf. A31), PC bathalyee, An pattalge *'eat'*, nookalge *'drink'*, MC barndthe boodtha (d) Mac batalpo *'eat'*, batalgee *'drink'* (f) Ar yadda *'eat'*, see D98 *'food'*; L tangoola *'eat'*, see A12 *'mouth'*

10 (c) PA coolmee

11 (b) M, doubtful, cf. A54

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
UI2	*copulate*		thalpa				
I3	*marry*				ngathiya tjerrka?		
I4	*lay (an egg)*	thulma					
I5	*die*	mutja	mutja	mutja	mutja		murriya
VI	*north*	yanggal			yakupiRi		ngara
2	*south*	kulpila			maNDaba		kuwa
3	*east*	ngara			kunggaRi		purraala
4	*west*	kuwa			runggarri		
5	*north-east*				katjiII		
6	*north-west*				kulpila		
7	*hither*	wirrkandu	(wirrkandu)				
8	*close, near*		pirra	pirra			
9	*this side*			waLikol			

UI2 (b) M

I3 (d) MM nathierejergabu, presumably ŋa̱tiya *'spouse'* CI8 plus a verb (and see note to BI)

I5 See M39 *'dead'*

VI-4 Note the evidence for a 90° anticlockwise rotation in compass points as one goes from east to west (from Ng to MKt). This is paralleled by the same rotation in going from the Eastern to the Western dialect of Wagaya, and in going from Andegerebenha to the other (further west) dialects of the Aranda language.

I (d) R yŭk-koo-bĕ-rĭ (f) T 'ŋa:ra

2 (d) R mŭn-tă-bâ (f) T 'ko'adjiba

3 (d) R koong-gă-rĭ; kuŋkari and kuŋkaṛi (and similar forms) are widespread, meaning *'north'* or *'east'* (e.g. in Kk, Wangkumara, Gugu-Badhun) (f) T 'pu'ra:la, pura:ladjiba

4 (d) R roong-kă-rĭ, cf. KI ṛuŋkari

5 (d) R kŭd-yĭ-lĭ

6 (d) R kool-bĭl-lă, cf. 2

7 (a) dative form, nominative not attested (b) O

8 (b) M pirapira (not translated, in a sentence), PA beerah *'close up'* (c) PA beerha *'close up'*

9 (c) An wallegul

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
VI0	*the other side*			NaRakiya			
WI	*tomorrow*	puringgirr	piringgirr (puringgirr)	piringgirr	piringgirr wa(rr)kumaRa		piringgirr NuLaR-
2	*yesterday*	warralkul warranggul	pirikul (warralkul)	pirikul	pirikul kinulkul ?		piringga(rr)? ?
3	*today*			kuwal or nguwal ?	wuyal or nguwal ? kari ?		NiLa yaTaLi
4	*by and by, soon*	ngala	ngala ?	ngala	ngala ?		ngala (wuRu)
5	*a long time ago*		yatjaRa	(wuRu)			
XI	*I*	ngayu	ngayi	ngayi ngayiku (ngayu) (ngaya)	ngayiku (ngayikura)	(ngayikura)	ngayu ngayuku (ngayiku)
2	*you*	yundu	yundu yunduyn	yundu	yundu		yundu

VI0 (c) An narrakeia

WI (a) also *'this morning'* (b) M [pəri̯ŋkar], O [puri̯ŋkir], PA birringah (c) P birringah, birringeer, An pirrager, MC bering-a (d) Mac birrengar, MM wargumurra (f) N pi̯ri̯ŋkir, EC noo-la-ran, L noolar, see also 2

2 (b) O waralkuluŋku (Loc.), PA birregool (c) P birree gool, birregool, An pirregool, MC boo-ru-gul (d) Mac birrakol, MM genodljodl (misr. genoolgool ?, see note to BI) (f) Ar birringa, EC iriem, L bringar. Note possible formative -kul in (a),(b),(c),(d).

3 (c) PC kowal, An cowal, MC g'nowl (d) Mac wowyal; MM kuri, cf. PP ka̯ri (f) Ar nilla, EC ya-ta-li; L neilar, cf. KI5 *'day'* and note that a number of Mari dialects have n̪ilʸa or some such form (see for example Breen, forthcoming, Appendix I, item Y3)

4 (a) by and by (b) S ŋali *'soon'* (c) PC ngulla, MC ulla (d) Mac warla (f) Ar wurru, cf. 5(c), L nalla, *'by and by'*

5 (b) PA yatcharah (c) PA wooroo wooroo wabingo (wabingo is *'go*-PRES' and see 4 (f))

XI (b) M, S, O ŋayu, PA ngice (misr. ngiee) (c) P ngie, ngiego, An ngio, MC ngiego, B ngaia, ngai (in ngambungai, probably ŋampi ŋayi *'no I'*) (d) CC; Mac, MM nigo (misr. ngio) (d/e) LM ŋayiku̯ra (= ŋayi ku̯ra ?) (f) N ŋayu, ŋayuku, also [ŋay], SL ŋayu; Ar yundou, see 2; D moona, possibly ŋa̪ŋa *'me'*, L nyeegoo, Tu ni-u

2 M, O yuntu, O yuntunʸ (c) P yundo, An undoo, MC yundo, B yundu (d) CC [yundə̯ra], Mac yoondo, MM yundu (f) N, SL; Ar nayou, see I; EC nayoo, see I, L yooandoo, Tu yundu

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
X3	*he, she, it*	(warti)	nhulu (warti)	nhulu			nulu ? ?
4	*we (dual)*	ngali	ngali	ngali	ngali		ngali ngalindu
5	*you (dual)*	yipala	(yipala)				?
6	*they (dual)*	pala	(pala)				
7	*we (plural)*	ngana	ngana nganayirra	nganayirra ngala (=ngana?)	ngana		(ngana)
8	*you (plural)*	yarra	yarra	yarra			
9	*they (plural)*	thana	thana	thana			
10	*this, here*	kula kunu kuli	kula kunu kuluyn	kunu kunama kuluyn kula	kulan (kuṛa)	(kuṛa)	kutu kutuyn (kuluyn) (kulu-)

X3 (a) see 13 (b) M ṉulu, O waṭi; S tʸunu, see 11, PA nullo (c) PA nullo (f) SL nulu *'him'*; D yonggaringgr *'he'*, malanawrnoo *'his'*, unamubbada *'she'*, Tu gool-i-yed-ah, goolin-goolin, cf. 10 and T1; see 3.5.2

4 (b) O, aM (c) B ngali *'we two'*, *'we'* (d) LM ŋali, MM nulyindu *'we'*; unarar *'ours'*, see 7 (f) N ŋali, D nanaramoondamoo *'we'* and see 7; Tu culbriadgee, culbriadjie, cf. L2 *'two'* and O1 *'go'* and see 8

5 (b) M, O, S gives yipala as *'your (sing.)'* (f) D briee

6 (b) O (f) D yangadamoo *'these two'*, cf. 7, goolganawrnoo *'hers (two)'*

7 (b) M, S *'we'*, PA unaira (c) PA unaira; B ngala *'we many'*, *'we'* (d) LM ŋanaŋintapir, possibly allative, MM see 4 (f) D naleeyingdamoo *'our'*, see 4; Tu culbriadjie-murgoo, see 4 and L5 *'many'*

8 (b) O, aM, PA yarra (c) PA yarra (f) Tu nahlin-doo, cf. 4

9 (b) M *'they'* (b,c) PA thanna *'they'* (d) MM goonulnoorloo *'they'*, probably kulan Nuḷu *'this many'*, cf. 10 and L5 (f) D nana, cf. 7

10 (a) kula said to be Ng and kunu MK1, but kunu occurs more often than kula in the corpus. kuli is rare. (b) M, O, S, kula, kunu; PA golong in limbeen-jar-golong, see B16, Tu kuluŋ in the name 'Maikuluŋ (see 3.4.2) (c) PC golong as in (b) PA; An coona, ma (poss. coona-ma was intended); poss. kula in thoi-onga-goola, see B16, B gunu, written *'hear'* in the translation of a sentence, see M51 (d) R in lĭm-bĭ-jâ-koo-lŭn and tĕn-gŭl-â-goo-lŭn, see B16 (d/e) LM in ŋayikuṛa (f) N kutu, never translated, T kuduŋ in the name 'Maikuduŋ; L goodo, see 3.5.2 and see Y8; Tu see 3.5.2

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
XI1	*that, nearby*	tjunu tjila	tjunu		(tjunu)		tjiti
12	*that, far*	wulu	wulu	wulu			
13	*that (unmarked?)*	warti	(warti)		(warta)	(warta)	
14	*who?*	wanyu	wanyu		wanyu ?		(ngani)
15	*what?*	ngani	ngani	(ngani)	ngani		
16	*where?*	wandhi wandha	wandha	wandha ?	wandhu		
17	*how?*	wandha			nganinggu ?		
18	*when?*				nganipaRa ?		
Y1	*come on, come here*	kapi	kapi	kapi	kuyan		kapi
2	*question marker*	wayi					
3	*don't*	piya	patji				
4	*just*	yumirr					
5	*just, now*	nyal	(nyal)				

XI1 (b) M, O, S (d) used by CC but not translated (f) N, never translated, see 3.5.2

12 (b) PA woolo *'far away'* (c) PA woolloo *'far away'*

13 (b) O (d/e) LM, in a sentence, not translated

14 (b) M (d) MM urnu (f) N wanta, wantar, cf. 16; EM [ŋanikuru yirman] *"Who are you?"*, possibly ŋani kutu yirman *'Who is this man?'*, but see 15, note also Kl ŋani *'who?'*

15 (b) M, O (c) An, see 3.4.2 (d) MM uni, note also wondare *'why?'* which is normally (in Mayi and neighbouring languages) the dative of *'what?'* - here ŋanintu or ŋaniŋuntu would be expected.

16 (b) M (c) PC wantha, An wautra (misr.), nantra (misr.) (d) MM wundoo (in wundoo narjerar *'Where are the blacks?'*), wondu

17 (a) cf. 16 (d) MM unginju, see notes to B1 and Q3 and cf. 15; it may be an instrumental form of *'what?'*

18 (d) MM ungeebura, cf. 15 and 17

Y1 (b) M, O (c) PC cubbe, An cubbe, MC kub-bee (d) Mac kooyan (f) N, adEM; T kabi 'ŋaðara'kuda, cf. 3.5.2, Ar kabbiyao, EC kablo; D goora, L karrai, see Q2, Tu cabaijo

3 (b) M, O, S; O also [pati]

5 (b) O

		a	b	c	d	e	f
		Ngawun	Mayi-Kulan	Mayi-Yapi	Mayi-Thakurti	Wunumara	Mayi-Kutuna
Y6	*just, only*	yunggal wunggal	yinggal (yunggal)				
7	*marker of past tense*			(wil)			
8	*yes*	ngawiku		ngiya	ngiya		yiyu ? kaLiLi ? ?
9	*no*	walki	ngambi walki	ngambi	ngambi		yati (ngambi)

Y6 (b) S yiŋkal, O yuŋkal

7 (c) PA, see 3.4.3

8 (c) PC ngeah, An ngear, MC ngeea (d) Mac neea, MM ner (f) T iu:, Ar kulllll, EC ga-vi-a, L kooloogalia (may include a demonstrative, see X10)

9 (b) both M, O; S ŋampi (c) PC ngumpy, An umpee, MC n'gumbi, B ngambi *'no, none, not'* (d) Mac numbe, MM umbi (f) SL, T 'jadi, Ar yaddi, EC yad-di, L nambi

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