

Wulguru

**a salvage study of a language from
north-east Queensland, Australia**

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List of abbreviations

A, S and P, which are defined following Comrie (1978) as the most agent-like argument of a lexical predicate, the single argument of a monovalent verb, and the most patient-like argument of a lexical predicate, respectively. In addition, the following abbreviations have been used:

1, 2, 3	first, second and third person	INCH	inchoative
12	first+second person non-singular inclusive ('we')	INSTR	instrumental
ALL	allative	IRR	irrealis
C	consonant	LOC	locative
CONT	continuous	NSG	non-singular
DAT	dative	PAST	past
DON'T	negative imperative	PERF	perfective
DU	dual	PL	plural
ERG	ergative	PURP	purposive
EX	exclusive	SG	singular
GEN	genitive	STAT	stative
IMP	imperative	UNM	unmarked
IN	inclusive	V	vowel
		WAS.NOT	past negative copula
		WON'T	future/irrealis negative

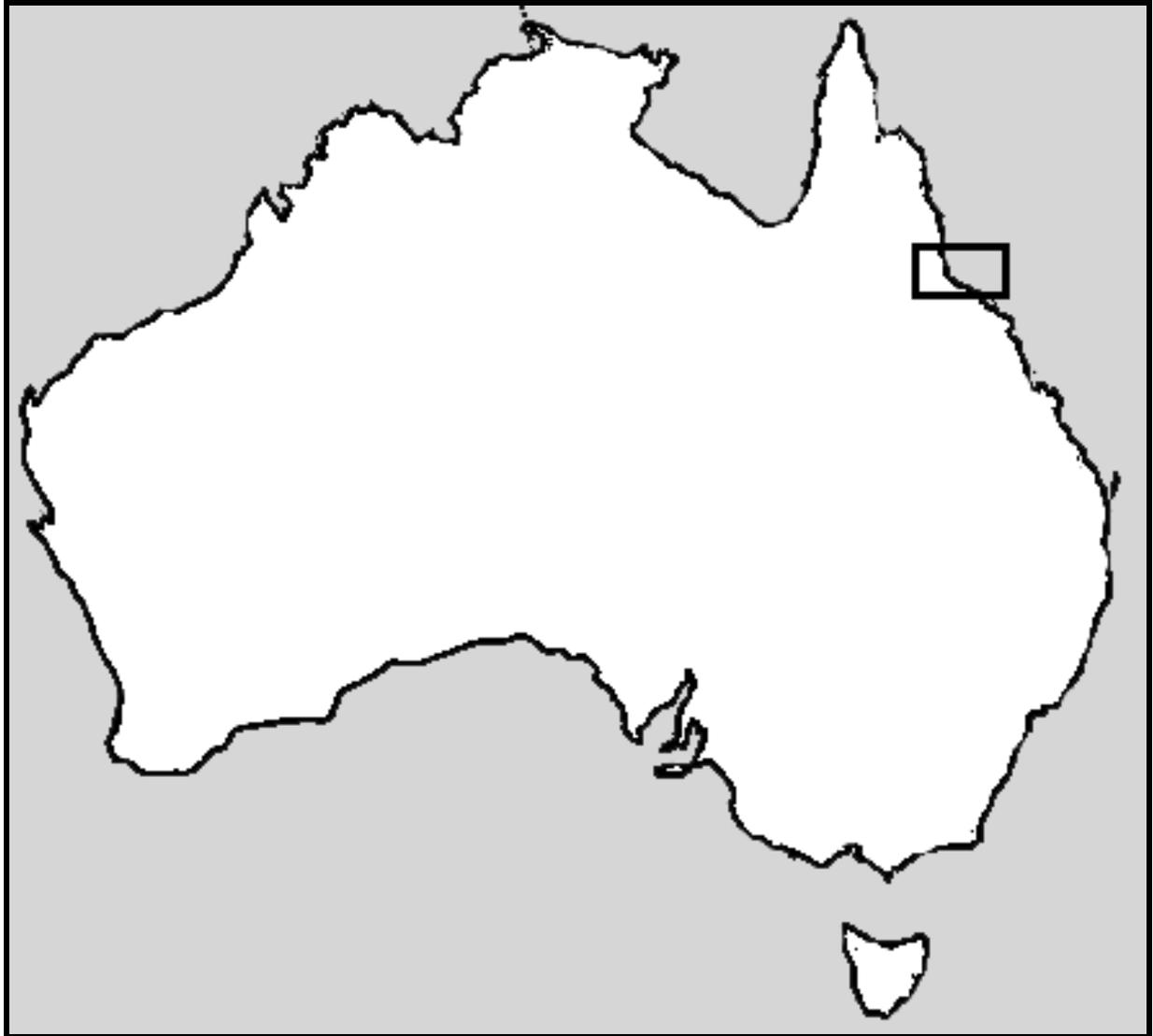
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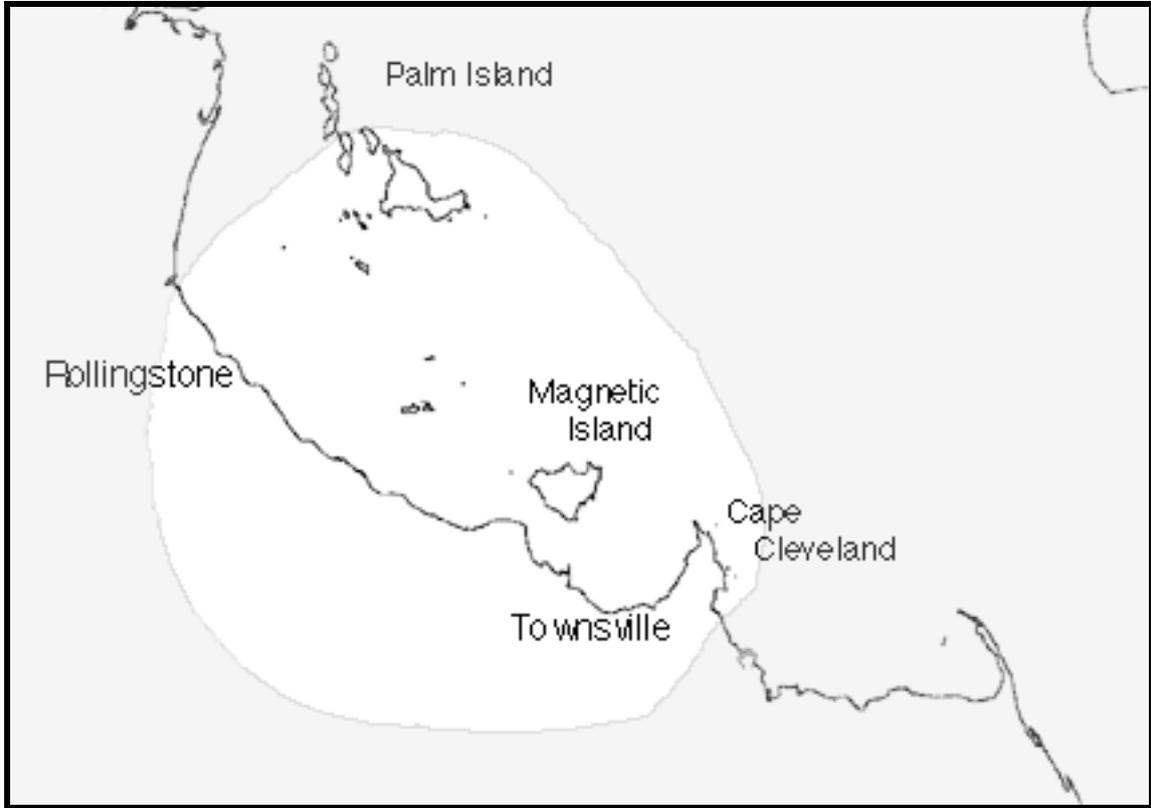
Maps

The following maps indicate the (very) approximate location of the language area for Wulguru, as well as some of the features referred to in the text.

Map 1. Location of Townsville and the Wulguru area within Australia



Map 2. The Wulguru region in north-east Queensland



1. Introduction

This is not a full grammar, nor even a sketch grammar, of a language in the normal sense. Rather, this is a salvage grammar of a fragment of a language. The language, here referred to as Wulguru, ceased to be spoken before it was properly documented, and certainly before a trained linguist managed to record significant portions of the lexicon or grammar. The sketch that is presented here has been assembled from what fragmentary data are available, recorded by non-linguists over a century ago; it does not involve any direct data collection on the part of the author. As such, many paradigms could not be checked, and a lot of questions can be asked, but not answered. While this cannot promise to be an even partially complete sketch grammar of Wulguru, with every aspect of the language's structure still a matter of conjecture, this does at least promise to be as good and complete a record of the language as we are likely to ever encounter.

1.1 Linguistic type

Wulguru appears to have been a Pama-Nyungan language typical of the sort found on the east coast of Australia. It was spoken in the area around present day Townsville, and also on the islands extending out to the Palm Island group, and displays phonological and morphological features that match both the languages to the north and from the languages to the south-west. Phonologically Wulguru lacks an attested contrast between laterals, has no evidence for a retroflex series, and permits word-final /y/s. Somewhat unusually for Australian languages, it also seems to have permitted final /m/ and /ŋ/ consonants and perhaps also final /w/s, although these may actually be reduced /wu/ sequences (the same might apply to final /y/s, these in fact representing a final /yi/ sequence). Further, it seems that there was a vowel length distinction in Wulguru and that vowels could begin words. There are some monosyllabic words, but whether or not they were phonetically a single mora in length, or lengthened into bimoraic syllables, cannot be determined.

1.2 Dialects

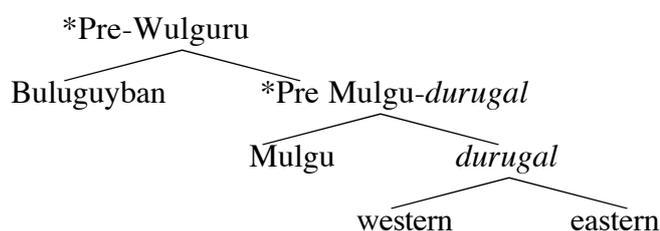
As the speakers of Wulguru were spread over such a range of areas, from various locations on the mainland of Australia to Palm Island, the language was naturally spoken in a series of differentiable dialects. On the Palm Island group, for instance, there were reportedly two different dialects spoken, *Mulgu* and *Buluguyban*. These two definitely differed to some lexical degree, but nothing can be said concerning grammatical differences due to the paucity of information. On the mainland, the language was spoken by several 'tribes' around Townsville, as far east as Cape Cleveland, and inland for about 30 kilometres. To the north the language was probably spoken as far as the southern limits of Nyawaygi territory, near Rollingstone. Within this area, the Aborigines were divided into several distinct social groups, but judging from the few reports we have it appears that they had frequent and friendly contact with each other and the few reports that we have indicate that they were generally able to understand each other's speech.

Concerning the mainland dialects, it seems that the Cape Cleveland people spoke a different dialect to that spoken by the other Wulguru groups to the west, in terms of some of the vocabulary items being assigned different meanings to those found in the western dialects or on Palm Island. Furthermore these eastern varieties show the most extreme application of those phonological processes which are typical of the mainland varieties of Wulguru (see 2.1). There

was not a sharp division between the mainland dialects on the one hand and the Palm Island dialects on the other, but it appears that a general cline described the lexical relationship of the different varieties, ranging from Buluguyban Island variety, through Mulgu Island variety to the western, and finally eastern mainland varieties. Many vocabulary items were shared in common between Mulgu and the mainland, but were not used in Buluguyban. For instance, for ‘water’, the Buluguyban word was *dhalmal*, whilst the mainland and Mulgu word was *gamu*; this last word is also found in Biri and the Hinchinbrook Island dialect of Wargamay. In the light of phonological innovations it appears that this pattern of shared vocabulary between the mainland Wulguru varieties and other non-Wulguru languages represents areal influence, rather than shared retentions.

The range of dialects of the Wulguru language known to have been spoken includes the two varieties mentioned from Palm Island, two dialects in the Cleveland Bay area, the varieties spoken by the Nhawalgaba / Gabilgara people, Wulgurugaba and Price’s Coonambella and Wombela ‘tribes’ from around Townsville and the areas to the west, and an additional group who inhabited Magnetic Island, but from whom there is no linguistic record. It appears that the most south-easterly dialects were the most innovative, involving the most extensive initial-dropping of all the dialects, and with cognate lexemes often showing different senses to those found in the other dialects. The most conservative of the dialects were those spoken on Palm Island (particularly Buluguyban), which involved almost none of the initial-dropping that typifies the mainland dialects. It seems likely that the evolution of the different dialects followed the course shown in the diagram below:

Figure 1. The divisions of the Wulguru language(s)



(the word *durugal* is a Wulguru word referring to the mainland of Australia)

By this tree I claim that the earliest split from the rest of the group was that of Buluguyban, which retains some vocabulary that is distinctively different to that found in the other dialects, or for that matter other mainland languages in close proximity to the Townsville/Palm Island area. Next to split off from the group was Mulgu, which shares many vocabulary similarities with the mainland dialects, but does not show the initial-dropping rule that characterises the phonology of the mainland group. Of the mainland dialects, the western ones seem to have changed the least, whilst the eastern ones have more innovative (= most likely borrowed) vocabulary and the more widespread application of phonological rules.

1.3 Surrounding languages

To the north of Wulguru lay Nyawaygi, Warrungu to the west (also called Gugu-Badhun when referring to the northern dialects), and to the immediate east various dialects of Biri, such as (immediately) Bindal and Juru (=Yuru). Inland to the south was another dialect of Biri, and another dialect of the same language was spoken in a large tract to the coast east of Juru. The coastal dialect shared more characteristics with Wulguru, such as dropping of a syllable-final /l/

(found in the south-easterly Cape Cleveland dialects). Wulguru is distinguished from Biri and the other Lower Burdekin languages by the phonological feature of initial-dropping, which occurs on several words that have cognates in other nearby languages. The tendency appears initially to have been to drop /y/ before /i/, /w/ before /u/ and /ŋ/ before /a/; these are the most widespread changes. We may hypothesise that, following this (roughly) phonetically-motivated stage these initial droppings became more widespread, so that /y/, /w/ and /ŋ/ could drop before any vowel. Furthermore, there are some cases of a word-initial /g/ or /b/ in a nearby language corresponding to word beginning with a vowel in Wulguru, probably through lenition first (/g/, /b/ > [w] / V__V) in running speech, and then generally. This last tendency is limited to the eastern dialects. A lexicostatistical comparison of the amount of shared vocabulary between Wulguru and the surrounding languages, based on 90 high-frequency lexical items that were reported for all the languages, revealed the following percentages for cognates of identical or near-identical form:

Wulguru-Biri	28%
Wulguru-Warungu	40%
Wulguru-Nyawaygi	58%

From these figures it would seem that, despite the phonological changes that distinguish Wulguru from its northern neighbours, such as the irregular initial dropping, the appearance of two series of laminals, and perhaps also the final /w/, despite the similarities in phonological structure between Wulguru and Warungu or Biri, and despite the presence, at least incipiently, of pronominal clitics in Wulguru (also found in Biri, but not in the languages to the north), the language is lexically closer to Nyawaygi than either of these two. A more detailed historical analysis of the Wulguru data remains to be carried out, and it is hoped that the wordlists presented in this volume will go some way towards making that possible through wider availability of the data.

1.4 Previous work and sources

Directed linguistic work done on Wulguru or one of its dialects started with the extensive journal kept by Charles Price, a resident of Townsville in the late 19th century. This journal is mainly taken up with an extensive wordlist – Price included words gathered from as many aborigines as he could, usually those who came to town. As such it does not contain data from any one language or even any one dialect of a language, and includes many synonyms of which one or more of the words listed may be traced to another nearby language. Despite this, he indicates that he is mainly concerned with the language as spoken by the ‘Coonambella’ people, whose ‘tribal lands’ are described as extending roughly from the Ross River that runs through Townsville to the Black River in the west. These people are said to have been on friendly terms with the ‘Wombela’ tribe to the immediate north and the ‘Woodstock’ tribe to the south, to the extent of trading extensively with both of these groups and even committing their old people to the care of the Wombela. These social facts suggest that, linguistically at least, the different groups just mentioned were very similar.

In Curr’s *The Australian Race*, there are two entries that appear to be of dialects of the Wulguru language, numbers 124a and 124b, both from Cleveland Bay. Finally, for the mainland dialects, there is the work done by Sutton in 1970 on Nhawalgaba and Tsunoda in 1972 on Gabilgaba, both from Townsville. The first work done on the Palm Island dialects was by two French collectors, Houze and Jacques, who noted, amongst a fairly extensive set of

anthropological data, some words and a few phrases. Following this we have Gribble's 1932 collection of words from the Manbara tribe, Sutton's 1970 collection of information on Buluguyban and Mulgu, and Tsunoda's 1974 transcription of Buluguyban. This study draws from all of these works and includes a large-scale analysis of Price's journal in an attempt to extract as much morphological and syntactic information as possible from the sentences preserved there which, whilst few in number, are rather well transcribed for an untrained person, and do represent the fullest list of words available to us and the only large set of sentences surviving from the period when the language was still actively spoken.

The different investigators did, of course, investigate different dialects of the language, with the exception of Price, whose work appears to contain material from several different dialects of the Wulguru language, and a few words from other nearby languages as well. In his (1972) thesis of Gugu-Badhun, Sutton talks about the different wordlists made from the Cleveland Bay area, but omits reference to Price or Houze and Jacques. It appears that Tindale's wordlist was taken from a speaker of a dialect congruent with Curr's 124a Cleveland Bay wordlist, with some admixture from the Palm Island dialects due to his living there. The other lists from Palm Island, with the exception of Sutton's Nhawalgaba, all appear to have been from the Palm Island dialects, not sharing so much with the Curr lists or Price as they do with each other. Houze and Jacques' list shares much more with Price than do the other Palm Island lists, but this may simply be a reflection of the larger corpus of words therein.

2. Phonology

2.1 Phonemes

The consonant and vowel system of Wulguru is somewhat difficult to infer from the data left to us, but combining these data with our knowledge of the structure of the languages of the region means that a phoneme inventory something like that shown in table 1 is probably close to the truth. The phonemes are represented here in the same orthography that will be employed elsewhere in this description, which conforms to general Australianist principles regarding the spelling of words. The phonetic correlates of these graphemes, where not obvious, will be explained following the table.

Table 1. Wulguru phoneme chart

	apico- alveolar	lamino- dental	palatal	peripheral velar	bilabial
Stops	d	dh	j	g (= k)	b
Nasals	n	nh	ny	ng	m
Laterals	l				
Rhotics	rr rh (r)				
Semi-vowels			y	w	
Vowels			i, ii	u, uu	
				a, aa	

The digraph *ng* represents the single segment of the velar nasal /ŋ/: a sequence of alveolar nasal + velar stop is represented by using the grapheme *k* to represent the /g/. In this manner, the word *gankany* ‘moon’ represents the non-homo-organic cluster: /gangaŋ/, [gangaŋj], and the (orthographic) sequence *ng* in the word *yangugan* ‘king of fresh-water turtles’ represents a single phoneme, the velar nasal, /jaŋugan/, [jaŋugan]. To represent a homo-organic velar nasal + stop cluster, I write the sequence *ngg*, as in the word *minggi* ‘fish hook’, /miŋgi/. It is clear from various transcriptions of the same word that the palatal nasal *j* induced high front off-glides in preceding vowels when syllable-final, such that /Vj/ emerges as [Vjɿ]. Other standard Australianist digraphs in use are *dh* and *nh* for a lamino-dental stop and nasal, respectively, and *ny* for a palatal nasal.

The digraph <rr> represent a trilled rhotic, and <rh> represents an approximate. The plain <r> on its own shows that I could not induce the manner of the articulation from the records left, and that the work done on the language in the early 1970s by Tsunoda and Sutton did not uncover the word in question, and so the manner of articulation remains a mystery. Where possible, I have included, in the lexicon, any possible cognates with languages spoken in the vicinity of Wulguru as possible clues as to how they were articulated. Thus, for instance, the entry *guridhala* ‘eaglehawk’ is followed by the note that in Biri, a language spoken to the south and east of Wulguru, that was used as a kind of lingua franca by the aborigines of the area after the initial European settling, the word for eaglehawk is *gurridhala*, with a trill. It thus may be reasonable to assume that the rhotic in the Wulgurugaba word is also a trill.

The other realisation of this orthographically indeterminate <r> is that following a vowel, it may indicate that the vowel, especially an /a/, is lengthened— that is, phonetically [a:], not [ar] or [aɿ]. In the word for ‘Great Barrier Reef’, Price has transcribed it as both “Moor’gar” and as

“Moo’ga”, suggesting that the actual pronunciation of the word might have been [mu:ga]. For ‘cook’, Price gives ‘agah’ for the verb without inflection, and ‘agargu’ for the purposive form of the verb. In these two examples from the same lexical item the length is indicated in two different ways, once with an ‘r’ and once without, with an ‘h’. It seems likely, therefore, that the actual forms were [aga:] and [aga:gu], and that the orthographic ‘r’ should not be taken to represent a rhotic phoneme. As a possible allophonic note to this, we should observe that the /u/ vowel seems to be lower than the English /u/ in most environments, indicated by the frequent transcription with ‘o’, ‘oh’ or ‘or’. The fact that, in words such as ‘Great Barrier Reef’ cited above, Price occasionally transcribed the sound with ‘oo’ and not ‘o’, suggests that length might have preserved the more extreme quality of the vowel. I have marked this vowel length with a doubling of the symbol for the vowel; ‘Great Barrier Reef’ would thus be written as *mugaa*.

Further evidence for the existence of a vowel length distinction comes from the large number of otherwise homophonous words that arise from even a brief look at the corpus, which often have cognates in neighbouring languages that are differentiated by the vowel length. Thus, for example, given that in Nyawaygi we have the distinction between /giba/ ‘stomach’ and /gi:ba/ ‘black bream’, it is reasonable to assume that a length distinction also existed to differentiate the Wulguru words *giba* ‘kind of fish’ and *giba* ‘liver’ (it is also more than passingly likely that the Wulguru *giba* fish was the black bream), or *gaba* ‘stomach’ and *gaba* ‘uncle’. Where I have been able to find likely cognates in the surrounding languages these have been noted in the lexicon in the same manner as the cognates for the rhotics.

For all of these phonemes the usual phonation appears to be voiceless when they are realised as a stop, and voiced when realised as a fricative. There further appears to be a strong tendency for a non-apical stop to be realised as a fricative when it appears intervocalically; thus, the interdental stop /dh/ commonly appears as an interdental fricative [ð] or [ð̪] between vowels, the /g/ appears as a [ɣ] or [w], and the /b/ as a [β] or [w].

In the Cape Cleveland dialects, there seems to have been a tendency to drop an /l/ at the end of a syllable, especially after the /u/ vowel. Whether this was a synchronic rule, applying to underlying forms that could still be posited for the language, or whether this represents the result of the irregular application of an historical process, cannot be determined.

The high vowels /i/ and /u/ both seem to be generally realised as significantly lowered to more like [e] or [ɛ] and [o] or [ɔ] respectively. The low vowel /a/ may appear as a schwa word-finally, and as [ɔ] after a /w/ or /g/, or after a syllable that had /u/ as its vowel.

The following rules summarise the environments that condition the different allophones of the phonemes:

1. Vowel lowering

V → [–high] / [stress]

(where stress is assumed, on areal typological grounds, to apply to the first syllable in a word)

Examples:

ngali ‘we (dual inclusive)’ recorded as <ng’ale>, presumably [ŋale]

banggi ‘blind’ recorded as both <bunggee> and <bung’geh>, presumably [baŋgi] ~ [baŋge]

balmbur ‘music stick’ recorded as both <bal’mbor>, presumably [balmbɔ:ɪ]

2. Roundedness spreading

/a/ → [ɔ] / w__

dawany ‘nullah nullah’ recorded as <dar-woin>, presumably [dawɔŋ]*wa(a)gan* ‘crow’ recorded as both <woggan> and <wah-gan>, presumably [wɔgan] ~ [wa:gan]*wandu* ‘hat’ recorded as <won-doo>, presumably [wɔndu]

3. Obstruent lenition

C (→ [+continuant] / V__V)
[-sonorant]
(→ [-voice])*abayi* ‘father’ recorded as <a-vigh>, presumably [aβaj(i)]*badubadu* ‘sharp, pointed’ recorded as <buddoo-wuddoo>, presumably [baduβadu]*ngadha* ‘I’ recorded as both <n’ga-tha> and <n’gutt’tha>, presumably [ŋa(d)ða]

4. Initial dropping

/y, w, ŋ/ (→ Ø / #__) Mainland dialects

/b, g/ (→ Ø / #__) Eastern dialects

This rule, which cannot be clearly ascertained to be diachronic or synchronic, is the source of many of the vowel-initial words found in the lexicon in section 6

5. Final dropping

/l/ (→ Ø / (a)__#, (a)__ \$) Eastern dialects (Cape Cleveland)

abal ‘different, foreign’ recorded as <a-bah> as well as with a final lateral

While this process, which again cannot be determined as definitely diachronic or synchronic, is found predominantly following the low vowel a, there are occasional occurrences following other vowels.

The () brackets in rules 3 – 5 indicate that the rule was sporadically applied, with the first of those such rules being most likely to apply, the last of them least likely.

A point of phonology that is at variance with its northern neighbours is in the area of laminal consonants. The other languages in the Cairns-Townsville strip have only one laminal series, which is realised predominantly as a palatal stop in Yidiny and Dyrbal, as a stop with both interdental and (occasional) palatal allophones in Nyawaygi. In Warungu to the west there are two sets of laminals that are in near-complementary distribution, and in Biri to the south, there are two sets of laminals. It appears that in Wulguru as well there were two sets of laminal stops. Paralleling the case of the two laminal sets in Biri, there does not appear to be a contrast work-initially for the stops, but from the consistency of Price’s transcriptions it is possible to infer that, word-internally at least, there was a contrast. From his work on Palm Island in 1972 Peter Sutton also concluded that there was a contrast between the two laminal series in non-initial position in the same fashion as Biri, and I have preserved this distinction in the orthography employed here, despite the relatively small occurrence of words with a /j/. Some examples of minimal and near-minimal pairs that exemplify this distinction may be found in the following pairs:

- (1) gajamali bread gadhara possum
 (2) gujirri big mountain wallaby gudhila bandicoot
 (3) muji sick mudhi milk

2.2 Phonotactics

The phonotactic system of Wulguru may be described as follows:

$$\text{Syllables: } \left(\begin{array}{c} \text{word} \rightarrow (C_1) \text{ V} \left(\begin{array}{c} C_2 (C_3) \\ (\{r, l, y\} (\{m, n\} b)) \\ (C_5) \end{array} \right)_0^1 \text{ V} \left(\begin{array}{c} C_2 (C_3) \\ (C_5) \end{array} \right)_1^3 \text{ V} \end{array} \right) (C_4)$$

That is, a word must have at least two syllables of length. After the initial syllable a second syllable may appear, in which there is a three-consonant cluster: these triconsonantal clusters have only been observed at the boundary of the second and third syllables, not in any subsequent position in the word. Following this there may be between none and three additional medial syllables; these medial syllables may have consonant clusters (C_2 and C_3), or may have a single consonant (C_5) in their onsets, both of which are also possible in the second syllable. The word is optionally closed with a final consonant, C_4 . Not all consonantal positions display the same membership, with various restrictions applying to different locations within the word. The different consonants in each category are:

Table 2. The different consonants permitted in different positions

C₁:	d	dh	(j)	g	b	C₂:	(dh)				
	n	nh		ng	m		n	nh	ny	ng	m
	rh						l				
			y	w			rr, rh		y	w	
C₃:	d	dh	j	g	b	C₄:			(g)		
	n	(nh)	ny	ng	m		n		ny	ng	m
	l						l				
	rr, rh		y	w			rr, (r)		y	w	
C₅:	d	dh		g	b						
	n	nh		ng	m						
	l										
	rr, rh		y	w							

As can be seen from the above, the possibilities allowed in C_2 and C_4 are almost identical: since ' C_2 ' is the coda in non-final syllables, and ' C_4 ' is the coda in word-final syllables, this effectively says that there is a single coda constraint in the language; the apparent lack of an nh word finally could well simply represent transcription confusion, and the occurrence of stops in coda positions are so rare as to possibly represent reduced syllables: the apparently final /g/, for instance, might well be the onset of a syllable which has been 'reduced' by vowel deletion. Similar remarks apply to C_1 and C_5 , the two onset positions (word-initial and word-internal,

respectively). Here we can see that slightly more phonemes are allowed with C₅ than with the word-initial C₁.

The actual frequencies of occurrence in the different positions are as follows, giving the percentage scores for the different phonemes, and for the different places of articulation (for consonants).

Table 3. Frequencies of consonants in different positions

	C ₁ / word initial	C ₂	C ₃	C ₄ / word final	C ₅
<i>d</i>	8.7		18.9		3.8
<i>dh</i>	4.7	0.6	2.4		2.7
<i>j</i>	0.4		2.6	2.2	
<i>g</i>	22.9		36.8		13.8
<i>b</i>	12.0		29.0		9.5
<i>n</i>	2.7	27.0	0.6	6.0	2.6
<i>nh</i>	0.6	1.4			8.1
<i>ny</i>		2.6	0.2	2.5	
<i>ng</i>	5.5	12.7	0.6	0.4	6.8
<i>m</i>	15.0	11.7	3.6	0.1	6.0
<i>r</i>	3.1	15.5	3.6	2.1	25.6
<i>l</i>		19.7	0.6	5.4	13.7
<i>y</i>	4.9	7.8	0.4	2.4	5.2
<i>w</i>	5.4	1.0	0.2	0.2	2.2
<i>i</i>	5.9	n/a	n/a	8.4	n/a
<i>a</i>	1.7	n/a	n/a	60.2	n/a
<i>u</i>	5.7	n/a	n/a	12.3	n/a
Total C:	86.7	(100)	(100)	18.6	(100)
Total B/G Cs:	71.0	25.0	70.0	3.4	38.4
Total D Cs:	16.8	62.2	23.5	70.1	51.2
Total DH/J Cs:	12.2	12.7	5.5	26.0	10.4

Examining the percentage figures given above, we can make some general statements about the phonological structure of Wulguru, as well as the phonotactics. For instance, looking at the figures of occurrence of the /r/ phoneme, in C₁, C₂, C₃ and C₄ positions the /r/ occurs to a fairly proportionate degree, roughly the same as other semivowel or liquid phonemes, although there are rather a lot of /r/s in C₃ position relative to the others. In C₅ position, however, the position denoting a single consonant in the middle of a word, /r/ occupies 25.6% of the total; the inference that may be made from this is that the strong suspicion that there were two rhotics in the language is confirmed – in the other C position, only one or other of the rhotics could occur, and so there was not a disproportionate weighting towards the rhotic. In C₅ position, on the other hand, both /rr/ and /rh/ may occur, and the under-differentiation of rhotics by (especially) Price is the reason that there is a skew towards rhotics here and not in the other positions.

We can also see that there is a strong disparity in representation of different phonemes in different positions. This is most apparent in word-initial position with the laminals, where *j* is found only 0.4% of the time (this representing only three words in the wordlist included at the

back of this sketch, *jingajinga* ‘black’, *jujara* ‘urine’, and *jigiyigi* ‘muddy’. Of these words, ‘black’ is recorded with three alternatives: *gurgul*, *midhamidha* and *ngumbi* are all recorded as meaning ‘black’, and both *mirila* and *ural* are listed alternatives for ‘urine’. It might be that these words are in fact mis-recordings, and do not represent ‘true’ Wulguru, but are admixtures from surrounding languages. The form listed for mud, *jigiyigi*, looks suspiciously like a reduplicated form, and might in fact be *yigiyigi*, with some friction accompanying the initial glide (the only semantically similar word in the lists is *dulbin* ‘mud’) (of course, the vagaries of transcription also provide an ‘out’ for this word, but this is invoking an altogether too-powerful genie, unless it is well constrained). (Price notes the lack of *j* word-initially.)

Word-internally, a sequence of vowels can be separated by either a single consonant, a pair of consonants or three consonants, as described earlier. The relative proportions for each of these categories are as follows:

C (stop)	22.5%	} All C: 70.2%
C (nasal)	14.9%	
C (liquid)	32.8%	
CC	29.4%	
CCC	0.5%	

The medial clusters, being those combinations of C_2 and C_3 , allow any nasal or liquid as their first member and any consonant as their second member, or the sequences /mb/ and /nb/, thus resulting in a triconsonantal sequence (CCC). There is a strong preference for a stop as the second member, and the division of the clusters into groups based on the kind of first and second elements they exhibit is best summarised in table 4, with the figures in each slot showing the percentage of the total number of clusters that showed that pattern.

Table 4. C_2 - C_3 clusters

		C ₃ :				Total
		Stop	Nasal	Liquid	<i>mb, nb</i>	
C ₂ :	Nasal	54.6	0.6	0.2	–	55.4
	Liquid	34.7	4.2	4.6	1.6	45.1
	Total	89.3	4.8	4.8	1.6	(100.5)

It may be seen that the total percentage of clusters involving a stop as the second element was 89.3%, and that if the second element was not a stop, it was very likely (93%) that the first element was not a nasal. So, the largest number of clusters involved nasal+stop sequences, of which 81% are recorded as being homo-organic.

The following additional occurrence restrictions can be noted:

Nasals: Second element may be (as well as a homo-organic stop, which is always allowed):

- n any non-laminal stop, a peripheral nasal
- nh (only the homoorganic *dh*)
- ny any peripheral stop, or the apical nasal
- ng (only the homoorganic *g*)
- m any non-laminal stop

- Liquids: Second element may be:
- l *mb/nb* or any non-apical stop or nasal
 - y *mb/nb* or any stop, nasal or liquid other than *dh*
 - w *ng* or *r*
 - r any non-laminal stop, or a semivowel

Examining the figures for place of articulation, it becomes clear that the favoured position to start a syllable is the peripheral series with 70% of each of C₁ and C₃; intervocalically, whilst the peripherals still take up nearly 40% of the positions, there are not 50% apicals in this position, mainly (40%) liquids. At the end of syllables the apicals occupy 60% of the positions, and word-finally the apical series takes up 70% of the consonant positions. The laminal series appear to bear a low functional load, but this may in part reflect the poor transcription used by untrained recorders. The degree to which even the intervocalic position does not display many occurrences of either of the laminal stops, however, might prompt us to say that the distinction between the two laminal series is a recent innovation in the language (perhaps from borrowing from languages to the south?) and had not yet, at the stage of Price's transcription, become a full phoneme, rather like the (nearby) case of Gugu-Badhun described by Sutton (1972).

The occurrences of word initial vowels cannot, it seems, be simply passed over as a phonetic realisation of a glide + vowel sequence (ie. [i] being /yi/, and [u] being /wu/) as has been done by another linguist in previous work on the language, as the greatest number of word-initial vowels are /a/s. Some of these may certainly be cases where a phonetically challenged transcriber wrote 'a' for an initial [ŋa] sequence, but the likelihood of this happening when there is an attested semivowel in cognates in nearby languages (such as the form /aŋal/ which is /waŋal/ in many of the surrounding languages, or /arra/ for /warra/) is low. The fact that often the same transcriber wrote two different versions for the same word is most likely an indication of dialectal differences, which have already been established through other reliable means.

3. Morphology

3.1 Word classes

Only limited information is available on morphological structure for Wulguru, as Price, the only person who had the opportunity to do much large-scale collecting, did not explicitly elicit grammatical forms and was not completely rigorous in his accurate recording of the contexts in which various forms appeared. As such, we cannot with absolute confidence assign individual words to particular word classes. Nevertheless, it is possible to infer much useful grammatical information from the materials left to us for nouns, and possible to make some fair guesses to the grammatical features of the verb morphology. The following discussion describes the characteristics of different word classes in general terms, admitting that there are doubtless many exceptions, which are now lost to us.

There is morphological evidence for the following word classes in Wulguru:

Nouns	}	Nominals
Adjectives	}	
Adverbs	}	
Verbs		
Deictics		
Aspect words		
Interjections – <i>yiaiy</i> , ‘yes’ , and the negation words (see 4.4)		

The nominals are all grouped together because they all may take the same set of case makings. The verbs have their own morphology, the deictics show evidence of a system of noun classes that have become incorporated into the same word as the deictic, and the rest of the part of speech listed do not display any morphological alternations.

The nominals do not display a count/mass distinction as evidenced from the following pair of phrases:

- (4) *agan* *dhargu*
 crow *many/much*
 ‘... many crows.’
- (5) *dhargu* *arhabi*
 many/much *firewood*
 ‘... much firewood.’

3.2 Pronominals

The pronominal forms given below are the result of sifting through as much data as possible in Price’s notes or the texts in House and Jacques; there are clearly many empty cells in the table, and we cannot know whether there were distinctive forms for these cells (and what these forms were), or if they were simply marked with one of the forms seen in other cells. The Genitive form requires some special explanation, and general comments follow.

Table 5. Pronouns

Person	Number	S, A	P	Dative	Genitive
1	sg	<i>ngadha</i>		<i>ngungga</i>	<i>ngagu</i>
	(du.)ex	<i>ngana</i>			
12	(du.)in	<i>ngali</i>			<i>ngali</i>
	pl	<i>ngaliling</i>		<i>nganang</i>	
2	sg	<i>nginda</i>	<i>ngina</i>	<i>ngana</i>	<i>nginu</i>
	pl / nsg	<i>yubala</i>			
3	sg	<i>ngaynu</i>			<i>nganu</i>

Unfortunately, Price appears to have been taught a sort of pidgin or simplified Wulguru, and his sentences probably do not fully reflect all of the complexities of the case system in Wulguru. This becomes apparent when faced with the same noun occurring in a range of core syntactic functions with the same inflection.

In table 5 particular suspicion must be attached to the form *yubala*, which might be a genuine pronoun in the language, but given the general difficulties in eliciting second person plural pronouns, and the similarity that this form has with forms encountered in Pacific Pidgins and creoles (*yupela* (Tok Pisin), *yufala* (Bislama), etc.), it must be suspect.

From a cross-linguistic perspective we must question the place of articulation of the nasal marking what appears to be the accusative case for the 2SG pronoun, *ngina*. It is more likely that the form was in fact *nginha*, given that a contrastive lamino-dental stop is attested in Wulguru.

3.3 Nominal morphology

As is typical of the Pama-Nyungan languages of Australia, Wulguru marked syntactic relations by means of case marking. Although the data set is minimal, the following marked morphological cases can be described with a high degree of confidence.

Table 6. Nominal case inflections

Ergative, Instrumental	ERG, INSTR	<i>-du, -lu, -nggu</i>
Purposive ~ Dative, Allative	PURP ~ DAT, ALL	<i>-gu</i>
Genitive	GEN	only observed on pronouns, no regular case suffix
Locative	LOC	<i>-nda, -la, -ngga</i>

Owing to the fact that there is so little grammatical information in any of the material that has been gathered on Wulguru, I have generalised as much as possible over the data that was available; for instance, there is only one case in the whole corpus of data in which the ergative marker *-du* appears, but I have assumed the *-du* marker to be a regular allomorph of the ergative case marker, and have tried to extract a plausible rule to account for its phonological form. Of course, typological considerations play a major part when trying to extrapolate from limited data such as this, and it may well have been the case that a totally different system operated in Wulguru, but this is the best that can be salvaged from the records left to us. In the explications

of the different cases given below, there is no mention of an unmarked ‘absolute case’ marking an S or P argument. Partly this reflects my reluctance to gloss something that is not there, and partly it is a result of trying to avoid clutter in the interlinear glosses.

The ergative/instrumental case is not recorded very much in Price’s (or anyone else’s) notes, but from the few examples of sentences in which it is used, we may deduce that the form of the suffix is similar to that which is common to many Pama-Nyungan languages. The instrumental form is used to indicate the manner in which something occurs, for instance in the sentence

- (6) Alma-na arhabi ngulu-nggu.
 carry-UNM firewood head-INSTR
 ‘(I) brought the firewood on my head.’

The instrumental marking in this example shows the manner in which the firewood was transported, by means of a head. This same suffix is probably responsible for the large number adverb-like forms that end in *-du*, for instance the following sentences.

- (7) Balbamu birban-du ya-na.
 female.wallaby fast-INSTR go-UNM
 ‘The wallaby is running away quickly.’
- (8) Abayi mulgan-du yaba-na.
 your.father profuse-INSTR speak-UNM
 ‘Your father talks very much.’

(*abayi* is elsewhere translated as ‘white person’, so the exact reference of this sentence remains obscure)

This indicates that marking adverbial properties of the clause is another function of the instrumental marker. It can, of course, be used in its more familiar role to mark an instrument with which an action was performed:

- (9) Anga-na mala ngu-lu.
 hurt-UNM hand axe-INSTR
 ‘(I) hurt (my) hand with the tomahawk.’

There are almost no cases of the ERG marker actually appearing in the recorded sentences, but the following form is suggestive of something approaching an ergative marker:

- (10) Ngan-du?
 who-ERG
 ‘Who did it?’

We can observe the following allomorphs for the ergative/instrumental suffix:

- du* → *-lu* / monosyllable vowel final
 → *--nggu* / polysyllable vowel final
 → *--du* / *n*-final

Presumably (based on a comparison with other Pama-Nyungan languages of Australia) other assimilatory processes were found with non-alvolar final consonants, such as (hypothesised) *-du* → *-bu* / *m__* were also a feature of the allomorphy of this suffix, but they are not attested in the data. The variation between *-lu* and *-nggu* is not phonetically driven, but is attested in many other languages, and so can be accepted as plausible.

The purposive/allative/dative is used in a fairly predictable way (for a language of this part of Queensland), to indicate either the purpose for which an action is being carried out or the direction of a verb of motion. In the case of its use in the ALL case, there are a couple of instances of it reducing in form, as shown:

...C₁V + *gu* → ...C₁u

That is, after a vowel the allative suffix may drop its /g/, presumably through the process of lenition that also occurs frequently in other places in the language (thus /gu/ → [ɣu]), and the preceding final vowel of the root then drops, leaving the /u/ of the allative marker as the final vowel of the new portmanteau form of the allative-marked noun. An example of this can be seen in the sentence

- (11) Alul gajin du-mi-na, bambarra wundu yana.
 rain gajin appear-CURRENT-UNM good inside:ALL go-UNM
 'It is spitting rain, we had better go inside.'

Speculatively, we might wonder whether the *g* is completely dropped, and whether we are perhaps dealing with an incomplete transcription, with the actual forms perhaps being closer to those below.

wunda + *gu* → *wundu* [(w)undəɣu?]
 inside + ALL inside:ALL

In other examples the appearance of the allative case on a predicative nominal obviates the need to overtly state the verb. The following example has simply an S,A pronoun and an allatively-marked destination; there is no verb.

- (12) Ngadha ngurra-gu.
 1SG.S/A camp-ALL
 'I'm going to the camp.'

In its purposive or dative use, the PURP marker attaches to nouns and can show the object of desires for a small set of low-transitive verbs. Unfortunately we do not have any examples with nominal Ss or As in these sorts of sentences, so we cannot judge whether or not the ergative case on a non-pronominal A is compatible with a dative NP in a clause line (11).

- (13) Bija muna-gu.
 want money-PURP
 '(I) want (some) money.'

- (14) Ngana agu ngadha.
 2SG.DAT love 1SG.S/A
 'I love you' (H and J)

This dative case may also be used with action predicates that are also attested with an ergative-absolutive case array, indicating that there is some fluid marking or reduced transitivity, with some verbs at least. This is a phenomenon that has also been described in other Australian languages ():

- (15) Aigur girma-yi gadhara-gu.
 go.about hunt-IRR possum-PURP
 'Go about hunting for possums.'

- (16) Ngaliling gadhara-gu.
 1PL.S/A possum-PURP
 ‘(Let) us (go) for possums.’

This, the only attested example of the form *ngaliling*, might be the 12.NSG.NOM pronoun *ngali* with a clitic *-nga* attached to it, mistranscribed by Price, and thus really representing something like [ŋaliŋ(ǎ)] or [ŋaliŋ(ǝ)]. If this hypothesis is true, then the table of pronouns in section 3.2 needs to remove the distinction between dual and plural, and we need to allow clitic pronouns to cooccur with free pronouns, with significant consequences for the interpretation of the pronominal status of these clitics, and the length of their grammaticalisation.

- (17) Na-ngai-gu dhiida-na abari nganang
 that-event-PURP be.in.mourning-UNM sister 1PL.GEN
 Guygalgi-ya yu-mi-na ngadha gumbi
 Guygalgi-1PL.GEN sleep/die-STST-UNM 1SG.S/A cousin
 ‘I put on mourning for Guygalgi on the occasion of their death (Guygalgi’s
 (and my) sister and cousin.’

It appears that for some (inalienable?) forms of possession, the genitive is formed by simple inclusion of both elements in the same Noun Phrase; thus, in the sentence:

- (18) Abu ngadha muji bay.
 father 1SG.S/A sick very
 ‘My father is very sick.’

The possession of *abu* ‘father’ by *ngadha* ‘me’ is shown simply by their appearance in the one clause with the same case marking.

The possessive function can also be shown by the inclusion of a suffix or clitic on the possessed noun – probably the historical result of the free genitive pronoun reducing in form, and then the predominantly VOS/OVS word order influencing the reinterpretation of the reduced pronoun as a suffix (as will also be seen on one or two verb forms). Some examples of this are:

- (19) Abu-nggu bala gugay-(y)a.
 father-1SG.GEN walk-UNM camp-2/3.GEN
 ‘My father is going to his (camp).’
- (20) Anda gugay-(y)a.
 where camp-2/3.GEN
 ‘Where is your camp?’ (Where do you live?)

There is one case in which the *-ya* suffix appears to have been lexicalised the noun to form a new lexeme. It seems that the word *ilgura* (‘person’) may take the suffix *-ya*, forming a new root *ilguraya*, glossed as ‘foreigner’, but analysable as ‘their person’. Since ‘foreigner’ would be synonymous with the expression *abal ngumbar* ‘different person’, we can infer that either *ilguraya* was a word current in another of the dialects of the language, confirming the impression that Price had recorded more than one dialect, or that there was at some time a taboo placed on one or the other of the expressions, presumably due to the death of a tribal member, forcing the other expression to gain currency. Alternatively, and not exclusive of either of these possibilities, there might have been some subtle semantic differences between the words that are not recorded in the basic word lists that have been assembled.

The locative case appears very rarely in Price’s work, perhaps indicating that another way of indicating the locative function was used, perhaps vowel length (as in Yidiny), which was not transcribed by Price. It does appear in a few phrases without context, so I cannot generalise

about its usage. In the first example, the word-final /l/ in *yunggul* is omitted before the *-nda*, (as /l/ is not phonotactically permitted before another apical consonant). In another instance degemination of adjacent nasals occurs.

- (21) Yunggu(l)-nda.
one-LOC
'At one place or time.'
- (22) Ngan-da?
Int.Deictic-LOC
'Where?'

3.4 Deictics

The system of deictics used in Wulguru has not been systematically recorded, and I can only comment with any degree of surety on the distal set, but what is preserved therein is very revealing about the language. The complete set of deictics recorded is:

Table 7. Deictics

na	there		
na-ngga	that person	mi-nga	that person (over there)
na-ba-gu	that person (related to the speaker)		
na-bin	that tree		
naba-gu	there (allative)		
naba-la	that direction (locative?)		
na-dha	that (inanimate object)		
ngan-da	where (locative)	an-da	what
ana-gu	to where (allative)		
anu	whose (genitive)		
wan-da	why (locative?)	mina	why
mina wari	how much		
mina wira	what else		
mina yi	what next	bay anda	what next
ngan-du	who (ergative)		

It seems that the distal deictic is basically *na-*, and then a system of noun classes operates to determine the suffix added to it. For instance, a simple use of a deictic in a sentence would be:

- (23) Abal ngumbar na-ngga.
different person that-human
'That man is a foreigner.'

The fact that these putative noun class markers may appear without the noun itself, however, points to the fact that they are more than just suffixes on the deictic marker and syntactically function as full noun phrases:

- (24) A-da wumira, na-ngga, gala nginda!
throw-UNM spear that-human look.out 2SG.S/A
'That person has thrown a spear, look out!'

- (25) Ana-(illegible) na-ngga, arra nhuga.
 drive.away-IMP that-human bad very
 ‘Drive him away, (he’s) a vile (fellow).’

Because of the nature of these embedded noun class markers, a deictic may function to make a sentence on its own, without any other arguments, in the same fashion as a full noun phrase:

- (26) Na-dha-gu.
 that-object-PURP
 ‘Go and fetch that thing.’
- (27) Burhi-ngga.
 fire-LOC
 ‘(Put it) in the fire.’

Although the textual evidence only suggests vowel initial forms for some cells, it seems extremely likely that, for instance ‘whose’ also had an initial velar nasal, [ŋanu], by analogy with the other interrogative forms.

3.5 Reduplication

The process of reduplication plays a role in the noun morphology of Wulguru, but in many cases the root from which the reduplicated form has been derived has not been preserved, so I shall limit myself to a listing of the forms, with possible matches of non-reduplicated roots given where they may be found (not all are obviously semantically plausible).

Table 8. Reduplicated forms compared to unreduplicated roots

Reduplicated form		Plain form		comments
adhaladhal	sand	adha	ground	
aganagan	large shade tree	agan	tiger ant	possible connection
badabada	end, finish			
badubadu	sharp, pointed, a point			
bangginbanggin	wild			
barambaram	shallow water			
birgalbirgal	orchid	birgal	beginning of summer	referring to an event that delimits the season?
bulunbulun	short boomerang	bulun	pelican	unlikely connection
bundibundi	good wind			
danggadangga	dropping (noun)			

dulbindulbin	wet				
dunggadungga	stone axe				
gaginkagin	warts				
madamada	smooth	mada	sea		
magurmagur	cloudy	magur	cloud		
mangamanga	kind of bean				
mangalmangal	kind of creepervine (poisonous?)	mangal	devil, sickness		possible connection
maramara	fear	mara	white person		
midhamidha	black	midha	ash		
mildhinmildhin	England	mildhin	(my) country		possibly an idiosyncratic innovation
minggamingga	stingray	minggi	fish hook		
miyumiyu	headdress made from human hair				
mubanymubany	burrs				
mudhamudha	sheet lightning				
mugurmugur	tired	mugur	shrimp		not an obvious connection
mujumuju	woman	muju	wife		
mulamula	kind of pigeon				
mundamunda	many	munda	white ant		
mundumundu	cow	mundu	fish net		unlikely connection
munggulmunggul	silence				
ngabinngabin	waves, sea spray				
ngayingayi	heavy rains				
ngayungayu	native oak tree				
umbumbu	cockleshell (vowel length?)				
uranggurangu	a long time ago (dreamtime?)				
wirawira	cool	wira	wind		

As can be seen, the reduplication produces other nouns, adjectives or nominals that may function as either, such as *badubadu*. Of course, lacking a definitive set of working criteria to separate adjectives from nouns means that this lexeme could simply be a nominal root that has been observed in a modificational function.

The reduplications here are all based on a disyllabic template, so we cannot comment strongly on the shape of reduplication with other word shapes. In all cases the original root structure is reduplicated completely.

3.6 Verbal morphology

The verbal morphology of Wulgure cannot be determined with certainty, as there is so little reliable information and very few examples of the same verb in different parts of its inflectional paradigm; indeed, there are very few actual sentences, or any context at all, provided for most of the verbs. However, it may be inferred that there were at least three different conjugational

patterns, most likely reflecting five or more different verbal conjugations (possibly more), with the different suffixes for four or five different verb-forms showing different tense-aspect-mood categories. The following suffixes are presented as a likely representation of the conjugation system, but cannot be said to be the last word on the Wulguru conjugation system. Since the scant sentence matter that there is to work from is often quite ambiguous as to the precise meaning of the verb-form used, due to the very rough translations provided, we cannot make any statement about the meanings of the ‘tenses’ listed: the labels should be taken as category labels only, and should not be taken to reflect too closely any particular semantic division.

Table 9. Verbal conjugations

	1	2	3	4	5	6
past						-na
imperative	-y	-ma	-na		-∅	
irrealis	-ma	-yi	-na		-na	
perfective	-y		-na	-(l, d, g)i		
unmarked	-na	-(na)		-(l, d, g)a	-∅	-gu

One of the biggest deficiencies in table 9 is the fact that it cannot account for the potential use of dental nasals or vowel length to distinguish one form from another. That is, there may well be a distinction in conjugation 3 between the imperative, irrealis and perfective cells, but the written materials do not distinguish them. The extremely frequent occurrence of the form recorded as *-na* appears to belong to different categories, and most likely does not simply reflect the form [na] in all cases, more likely being in fact some combination of at least [na], [na:], [ɲa] and [ɲa:]. We can also note that there is no overlap in the forms recorded for columns 3 and 6 in table 9; this might mean that they can be more profitably collapsed into one conjugation class.

One of the differences between the unmarked and irrealis forms is that the unmarked form extends to cover completed and uncompleted actions, whereas the irrealis form can only refer to uncompleted actions. Thus, in a complex sentence which involves two verbs in a cause-effect relationship, the second event will be marked by the irrealis form:

- (28) Ngumbar dabu waya-y wunda-na
 person trepang die-IRR eat-UNM
 ‘Eat the trepang and you will die.’

Here the sequence of events is shown by the different use of irrealis and unmarked forms, the irrealis occurring only as a result of the verb with ‘unmarked’ marking, and therefore more removed in time from the speaker.

3.7 Verbal derivation

Verbal derivation can take place with either of two verbal suffixes, *ma-na* or *mi-na*. (Since the meanings of the two suffixes are not incompatible, we might hypothesise that they are compatible with each other; without attested examples of this, however, we cannot confirm or deny this.) The verbaliser *ma-na* (first conjugation) converts any nominal into a verb associated with it: thus, for instance, *murgu* ‘seed’ + *ma-na* becomes ‘administer medicine’. If the nominal is an adjective, the meaning is ‘make something ADJECTIVE’ (that is, the derived form has a causative meaning). For example:

- (34) Alul gajin du-mina, bambarra wund<u> ya-na.
rain GAJIN appear-MINA good inside-ALL go-UNM
'It is spitting rain, we had better go inside.'

(wundu + wundu (inside) + gu (ALL/PURP))

- (35) Abu nginda urha wagama gajin
father 2SG.S/A now return-UNM GAJIN
'Your father has returned now.'

The particle *bay* has the same aspectual meaning as *gajin*, but also indicates intensity ('very'), and appears to be used only with adjectives.

- (36) Abu ngadha muji bay.
father 1SG.S/A sick BAY
'My father is very sick.'

- (37) Adha ngadha gajin muji.
lungs 1SG.S/A GAJIN sick
'My lungs are bad now.'

These sentences can also occur without the use of *gajin* or *bay*, as in the following example.

- (38) Muji ngadha.
sick 1SG.S/A
'I am sick.' (Houze and Jacques)

The other attested intensifying word, *nhuga*, is used with those adjectives that denote a more permanent state, rather than a (hopefully) temporary condition such as being sick or hurt.

To indicate a social obligation (ought to, is best to), the words *bambarra* or *dariburu* (glossed in the sources as 'good' and 'best' respectively) were used:

- (39) Bambarra nginda ya-na.
good 2SG.S/A go-UNM
'It is best for you to go.'

- (40) Bambarra-ma-Ø dariburu.
good-INCH-UNM best
'It is good to make it good.'

Possibly related to the nominal *dhargu* meaning 'many', there is the verbal suffix *-dhir* (Conjugation seven), with the meaning of 'continuously, at length'. The following two examples show the differences that are associated with the use of this suffix. Note that it occurs outside the perfective marking on the stem, but inside its own tense marking.

- (41) a. Ba-di b. ba-di-dhir-gu.
cry-PERF cry-PERF-CONT-UNM
'crying' 'cry unceasingly.'

3.9 S,A agreement

In some cases a suffix appears on a verb to show the person of the S or A argument. Given that in many recorded sentences there are no such suffixes (possibly originally clitics?) on the verb, we can only conclude that their use was optional. The following three sentences illustrate the different possibilities for coding the S,A-argument in a clause. In the first sentence we can see the A argument being present only through the verbal marking, with no free pronominal present. The second sentence shows the use of a free pronoun, overtly mentioning the A, though without

any agreement marking on the verb. Finally, given appropriate contexts, there is the possibility of not mentioning the S,A-argument at all, as in the last example.

(42) Alma-l-ma-dha birban-du gugay.
take-go-IRR-1SG fast-INSTR camp-ABS
'I will take it to the camp at once.'

(43) Alma buwin ngadha ngagu.
take-UNM NEG 1SG.S/A 1SG.DAT
'I didn't steal it.'

('I didn't take it for myself.' ?)

(44) Alu-nggu alma-na rhula.
head-INSTR take-PAST tree
'I brought the wood on my head.'

The fact that pronominal agreement of this sort has been incorporated into the verb can be seen in the next example, in which the purposive inflection appears outside the pronominal marking.

(45) Ba-la-nga-na gugay.
go.quickly-UNM-1PL-PURP camp
'We should hurry to the camp.'

The last example, number (45), also shows an example of the irrealis, *-na*, appearing following what we have been assuming is a clitic, the 1PL clitic *-nga*. This implies that the irrealis, and possibly other elements of the tense/aspect inflectional system as well, are clitics rather than suffixes. The irrealis here seems to have had the meaning of 'should, ought to, want to', and attaches on to the very end of the verb complex. Other examples of its use are:

(46) Bi-li-na ma-na yaraman na.
run-PERF-PURP catch-IMP horse that
'Run (your hardest) and catch that horse.'

(47) Bay anda namba-na nginda?
next what write-PURP 2SG.S/A
'What will you write next?'

4. Syntax

Given that most of the textual materials that we do have for Wulguru are in the form of a translated prayer, there is little that we can say with any confidence other than to express the lack of any firm data. The following notes are based on just a few sentences here and there that appear to be spontaneous utterances, not simply translations of the investigator's prompts.

4.1 Word order

We cannot state any fixed word orders in Wulguru, but can discuss preferences. The word order in intransitive sentences favours an initial predicate followed by the S, but this is not fixed. The tendency to drop overt expressions referring to NPs in context (due to topicality?) means that there are many instances of clauses, both transitive and intransitive, with no overt nominal S or A. It is more than passingly likely that this is related to the apparently optional presence of clitic pronouns for the S,A, for some persons at least, on the verb. In transitive clauses we observe the P of a sentence coming before the A more times than not; the preferred word orders appear to be VPA and PVA. These orders were, as mentioned above, by no means fixed, but there is a strong tendency for sentences to place the P and the V early in the sentence, with the A, if overtly mentioned, following later. As the inclusion of the S in the sentence is optional, the preferred word order can perhaps be best expressed as VP(A) or PV(A). For example, a fairly typical intransitive sentence would have the sort of structure seen in (48).

- (48) Adi-na gimiru gajin.
 flee-PAST cockatoo GAJIN
 ‘The cockatoos have fled away.’

A typical example of a transitive clause is the first clause of (49).

- (49) A-da wumira, na-ngga, gala nginda.
 throw-PAST spear that-human look.out 2SG.S/A
 ‘That person has thrown a spear, look out!’

It seems that this optionality of the S or A of a sentence is associated with the limited amount of productive suffixing that is found in the language, in the case of reduced forms of personal pronouns being incorporated onto the possessed noun in a genitive construction, or a reduced form of the pronoun attaching to the verb to show the S or A.

When they are part of the same noun phrase, all constituents take the same case marking. This can be seen in the following example, in which the allative case is found on both words with the same reference.

- (50) ... yunggul-gu gugay-gu.
 one-ALL camp-ALL
 ‘... to one camp.’

4.2 Equational sentences

The function in of a predicate nominal Wulguru seems to have most indicated a possession or existence most of the time:

- (51) Aguny na-bin nhuga, dhargu arhabi.
 mangrove.tree that-tree big much firewood
 ‘That mangrove tree is very big, it has much firewood.’

- (52) Balgan dhargu dumaburu.
house much cattle
'There are many cattle at the station.'
- (53) Bilu dubil nhuga rhula.
roots long big tree
'The roots are long in big trees.'

4.3 Syntactic pivot

The status of different arguments as pivots in a Wulguru sentence is not easily determined, though there is some evidence that an S,P pivot was allowed in conjoined clauses, at least when the referent is third person. This cannot count as evidence for a restriction of the pivot of conjoined clauses to a grouping of S or P, however, since there are numerous examples of zero anaphora under control from an S,A pivot when dealing with first or second person arguments. The third person S,P coordination is shown in (54).

- (54) Abal ngumbar bu-ma bu-ma, arra
different person kill-IMP kill-IMP bad
'Kill the foreigner, (he is a) vile (fellow).'

This sentence is essentially made up of two conjuncts. The first is the bivalent clause with 'foreigner' with a P role:

abal ngumbar buma buma
different person kill

and the second is an equational clause, with the foreigner functioning as the S of a monovalent adjectival (= nominal) clause:

[abal ngumbar / ngaynu] arra
different person / 3SG.S/P bad

The coordination is around these two clauses, with the S of the second (equational) clause being omitted under coreference with the identity of the P in the preceding clause.

An apparent instance of S,A pivot in a sentence involving a purposive clause with a pronominal can be seen in the following example.

- (55) Ba-la ngali, yaba-na abayi.
go-UNM 1PL.S/A ask-PURP white.person
'Let us go to ask the white man.'

In this sentence, we can see that the sentence is made up of two parts, a monovalent clause:

bala ngali
go 1PL.S/A

and a bivalent purposive clause:

yabana (ngali) abayi
ask 1PL.S/A white.person

When conjoined, the S argument of the first phrase is aligned with the A of the second, indicating an S,A pivot for this type of construction. There is not enough material available for use to decide whether the pronominal status of the S,A argument, or the purposive construction,

is the important factor here. Of course, this same evidence might also indicate that there are no constraints on syntactic pivots in conjoined clauses.

4.4 Negation

There is more than one way of expressing negation in Wulguru, depending on the syntactic environment that the negation occurs in. Examining the different negatives reveals the following patterns:

- 1) The negator *buwan* is the most general negative in the language, appearing before a nominal to negate it as a predicate of assert its absence (there is/are no *X*). It may appear before a verb marked for irrealis to negate the verb. As the irrealis form of the verb often appears to be used with the function of a derived nominal form of the verb, we might assume that this is the same functional environment, appearing before a nominal. An example of the use of *buwan* is:

(56) Abu nginda buwan muji.
 father 2SG.S/A NOT sick
 'Your father is not sick.'

- 2) *Ngaw* is used to negate a past action done in the past. It is not necessary to overtly mention a verb. For example:

(57) Ngaw ngadha.
 WAS.NOT 1SG.S/A
 'I didn't do it.' (possibly 'It wasn't me!')

- 3) With a verb in the imperative form, the negative is *mali*. This may appear either before or after the verb, and the verb inflects normally for the imperative:

(58) Mali rhuy-ma.
 DON'T swear-IMP
 'Don't swear!'

(59) Alma-Ø-mali.
 carry-IMP-DON'T
 'Don't steal it!'

- 4) To indicate that an action will not occur, not necessarily through any agency on the part of the speaker, the appropriate particle is *garay*:

(60) Ilgura garay ma-na.
 people WON'T take-UNM
 'People will not be taken.' (from the text)

The difference, if any, between *buwan* and *garay* is not known, but the existence of a separate irrealis negator *garay* is support for the idea that the negated 'verbs' that appear with *buwan* are in fact derived nominals, and the irrealis conditions that are found with that negator are less to do with irrealis mood than with a statement of genericity.

5. Texts

The only textual material was recorded by Price. He offers a translation of The Lord's Prayer in Wulguru, and a few short phrases, as well as the transcription of some songs. These are shown in the following sections, where I have preserved the original record with its idiosyncratic spelling and Price's gloss of its meaning, or description of the context it was used in, followed by a phonemicised and then, as far as possible, glossed and retranslated version. In most cases any drastic respelling has come about as a result of searches through the wordlist that was compiled.

5.1 Short extracts

5.1.1 Swimming

Price:

“Boo-ar-ang-go Ya-bal-ang-a-na
Ial-ghar-ee-ghang-go Boon-ghar-ee
Ma-thee Bar'ra

When you swim in the sea, never take the deep water, always keep well
in shore, or you will be drowned.”

Interpretation:

- (61) bura-nggu ya- bal- anga-na
quiet-INSTR go- go.away swim-UNM
(a) yalga riga-nggu dunggari
path / go-?? ??-INSTR people
mayi bara
far shallow
'Go carefully when you swim, (don't ?) go far (from) people, (stay where
it's) shallow.'

The interpretation of this extract is relatively uncomplicated, and seems to stick quite close to the meaning that Price ascribes to it. The sequences *ya-bal-anga-na* 'go away and swim' seems to be a concatenation of three verb roots with only one inflectional ending for all, a pattern which is reminiscent of serial verb constructions in other languages but which is not widely described for Australian languages.

5.1.2 Travelling to England

Price:

“Stee-mung-ga Goor-goona Bar-ing-go
Bool-go Bool-go In,ga,lang,go
Describing the progress of a Large Steamer on her voyage to England”

Interpretation:

- (62) Stima-ngga gurgun bari-nggu
steamer-LOC ??? oar-INSTR
bul-gu bul-gu inkalan-gu
country-ALL country-ALL England-ALL
'The steamer is [pulling its ?] oars, to its home, to its home, to England.'

Again, this extract provides few problems in interpretation. If ‘steamer’ in the first line is inflected with a locative, a more direct translation is probably something more like ‘[something happens] on the steamer because of the propulsion’, possibly referring to the steam. The word recorded as *Goor-goon* might in fact be *gurgul* ‘black’, referring to smoke. The repetition of *bulgu* in the second line is probably a stylistic device to indicate distance.

5.1.3 European living

Price:

“Win-dang-go Goo-loong-boor.ing-go

Wandeena

European People living high up in houses compared to flying foxes
crowded in trees”

Interpretation:

(63) bindal-ngga gulung burunggar
top-LOC tree.bark cold.in.the.head

wanda-na
why-UNM

‘The tree bark is on top, [you’ve got a] cold in your head. Why?’

The beginning of this extract might be referring to a bark-roofed house. The break to *burunggar* is abrupt, and is probably a comment on crowded living conditions in settlers’ towns.

5.1.4 Sea cucumbers I

Price:

“Boo’dee ra’ba noong gool woongal

moog-ghar moo-ghar

The song of Bêchelemer gathering or Bech-le-mer Corrobberie”

Interpretation:

(64) budi raba nunggul wunggal

mugar mugar

There are few, if any, recognisable words in this extract, and the best that can be done is to offer a tentative phonemicisation of the transcript.

5.1.5 Sea cucumbers II

Price:

“Oomba tabo why-ay woondana

If you eat Bêche-le-mer you will die.”

Interpretation:

(65) ngumbar dabu waya-y wunda-na
person trepang die-IRR eat-UNM

‘If you eat Bêche-le-mer you will die.’

The words in this text are easy to interpret, and the translation, for once, seems to be accurate and without elaboration.

5.1.6 Blind man

Price:

“Boomba mum,ma: min-o-go Io gone do Namola co’ro’bo’ro’mee

Win-an-a-me

A poor blind man walking by the aid of a stick about the camp”

Interpretation:

- (66) bumba mama-a minu gu[ɣ]ay-ugundu
 camp (?-ALL ?)
- namula gur[ɣ]urbi winanami
 blind.person old.person

Not much of this extract can be deciphered, with only a few words interpretable.

5.2 The Lord’s Prayer in Wulguru

The main text that we have for Wulguru is a translation of The Lord’s Prayer into Wulguru. It can be assumed that at least part of it represents reasonably idiomatic Wulguru, however, it becomes apparent (on reading the back-translation) that it was not Price himself who assembled the sentences, but probably a Wulgurugaba who was asked by Price.

The original text of the Wulguru prayer in Price’s original transcription is given below. The prayer as found in Price’s notebooks is repeated below using spelling that is as true to the original written conventions as possible.

Ab’boo N’gal’lee, n’gin’da wan’do cal’leen
 nin’na, da,ree,bo,ro rail n’gin,da, —
 Mil’ghin n’gin’no **n’goo’rang’a, Na’mul’mo**
 n’gin’no Kigh’ing’ga bam’ba’ra n’goom’bar
 goon’da’na, Yil’la’war’ra Cal’leen n’gung,ing ir’ree’igh’ee, o’ka
 boor’al gatch’in n’gal -
 lay’ling, bow’en n’gin’da ar’ria n’gal’lay
 Yel’la’wa’ra n’gal’lay n’ga’ho boo’ma tan’oo’ra n’gin’da n’gal’lay
 mal’lay ar’ra wan’gor al’ma’na oor’a wee’ra bam’ba’roo n’gin’o
 n’gal’lay boo’la da’ra’ro, an’no n’gin’no mil’ghin mool’ghan’do,
 el’goora ca’righ (m)in’ra, can’ghee’a’ra
 Kee’na mar’ghan dal’ma’ra yoo’kee
 oor’a Bay’ra

Phonemicising the spelling, we arrive at the following word-for-word translation, from which the freer translations can be made; at this point, I have kept the layout of lines as close to the original as possible, and only the spelling is changed and the English gloss for each word (when known) is added. Due to gaps in the source materials, not all of the words can be given a literal translation; these are indicated with a question mark underneath the original language word. I have avoided technical grammatical terminology, and glossed complex words with more than one English word where needed.

- (67) a. abu ngali, nginda wandu galin
father 1PL.IN you 'hat' heaven
- b. nhina, dariburu rhiil nginda,
sit best name you
- c. milgin nginu ngurra-ngga, namalmu
praise your camp-LOC ?
- d. nginu gayi-ngga bambarra ngumbar
your earth-LOC good people
- e. gunda-na, yila-urha-la galin ngangging
domain-LOC same correct-emphasis heaven enjoy
- f. iriyay, uga buril gajin ngal-
do give bread GAJIN 1PL.IN-
- g. lay-ing, buwan nginda ariya ngali
-(continuation) not 2SG be.bad.to-will 1PL.IN
- h. yila warha ngali ngaw buma danura nginda
same correct 1PL.IN NOT kill (others?) 2SG
- i. ngali mali arra wangu almana urha wirra
1PL.IN DON'T bad home bring now front
- j. bambarra nginu ngali bula dararu, anu
good your 1PL.IN lead! walk slow where
- k. nginu milgin mulgan-du, ilgura garay
your praise very.much-INSTR people won't
- l. mana minra, ganggay arra
take what(ever) 'they' bad
- m. gina ma(r)gan dalmara yugi
long time red (=blood) quietly sleep
- n. urha bayra
now enough

We are now in a position to offer a more idiomatic translation of the Wulguru text, based on the back-translation of the record that Price made, and then to speculate on the translation principles that are reflected in the different parts of the text. The back translation runs as follows:

- 1-2. Our father, you are in heaven your name
- 3-5. is praised. We should do your *namalmu* (will? intentions?) on earth (people's domain?) as is enjoyed in heaven.
6. Give bread to us,
7. (and) do not wrong us,
- 8-9. just as we do not hit (others?). Don't you wrong us, bring us to our homes now.
10. You should lead us [to] your good future where
- 11-12. by your great praise , [the] people shall not be taken, they have been bad [to us]
13. (for) so long, [shedding our] blood. Quietly sleep.
14. Enough now.

It is immediately apparent, judging from the content at the end of the text (lines 10-13) that the translation in this case had been made not by Price himself but by a Wulguru person, who used this opportunity of having his language recorded to preserve a cry against what had been happening to his people in that area, a cry that until this last decade has gone unheard. Further evidence that the translation of the prayer was not composed by Price lies in the fact that the text contains several words that cannot be found in the (extensive) wordlists compiled by Price, but which could be translated from other sources, such as the wordlists in Curr's *The Australian Race*; in short, the text contains words that are attested Wulguru words found in other sources, but which were unknown to Price. By far the most compelling reasons for thinking that the 'prayer' was not translated by Price lies in the content, which tells us chillingly about the nature of early settler-Aboriginal relations in the Townsville area. Here, it is apparent that Price has simply recorded the forms produced by a Wulguru speaker, without checking their accuracy as translation equivalents for the prayer.

The most significant differences between the two versions appear in lines 12 and 13, where the Wulguru version launches an appeal against the injustices wreaked on the Wulguru people by the white settlers in the 19th century. *Ganggay arra gina* "They have been bad for so long" says the translator, thinking of the events in the area since the white settlers arrived. The strongest damnation of the attitudes of the white settlers to the indigenous Aboriginal population is in line 13, continuing with: ... *gina margan* "... so long shedding our blood?". A half-century of oppression and massacre is summed up in these short words, a cry against the indignities and lack of power that had been forced on the Wulguru people.

5.2.1 Textual notes

In addition to the obvious changes to the prayer at the end, as already noted and discussed, there are several other interesting textual deviations from the original English. In order to compare them, an English version of the prayer (probably current with Price's 'translation') is given below:

Our father who art in heaven,
 Hallowed be thy name.
 Thy will be done, thy Kingdom come
 on earth as it is in heaven.
 Give us this day our daily bread,
 and forgive us our trespasses,
 as we forgive those who trespass against us.
 Lead us not into temptation,
 but deliver us from evil.
 For thine is the Kingdom, the Power and the Glory,
 Forever and ever,
 Amen.

As can be seen by comparing the two versions of the prayer, the first seven lines of the Wulguru version correspond closely to the English version, with only superficial changes. Lines six and seven in the Wulguru reveal a fundamental cultural difference, however, between the two

prayers; whilst the English version asks for divine assistance in the cancellation of the debt of sins, the Wulguru text seems to appeal to a potentially malignant being not to be bad to them, just as they do not ‘hit/kill’ others. With the majority of Aboriginal languages, the verb for ‘hit’ serves also to mean ‘kill’, and an attitude of belief in a closer and more immediate god is apparent in the appeal for direct intervention and non-intervention found in this text.

5.2.2 Translation notes

The use of ‘hat’ for *wandu* in line two is clearly inappropriate, and it is likely that the concept of hats was foreign to the Wulguru, and either the name of a particular type of ceremonial head-dress was given when Price elicited the word for hat. We can either suppose that the word *wandu* was used for the head-dress as a kind of metaphorical extension of a core meaning, or the *wandu* word is used in metaphorical extension to translate ‘above’, or else we are dealing with a bad translation choice.

In line four *ngura* ‘camp’ is used to translate ‘kingdom’. This is a clear case of cultural adaptation, with no local equivalent available for the very western European notion of a kingdom, and so the semantically closest word available, ‘camp; place of residence’ is used. Not only does the word appear to lack religious overtones, but in line five we encounter *gunda* ‘domain’, a larger unit; clearly the translation is rather haphazard, with inconsistent choice of translation words. It is likely that at this point Price himself is at least partly in command of the translation; we would not expect this degree of random variation from a Wulguru speaker.

In line eight the word *ngali* ‘we’ is used, when ‘us’ is the target of translation, so it is likely that at this point Price is still the translator, making non-native speaker mistakes. The use of *ngali*, a form that only refers to two people, instead of *ngaling* (which was used in line seven) to refer to more than two people, is another indication of non-native speaker translation. In line 12 the word (*m*)*in’ra* (original orthography) occurs in Price’s text, and no similar word appears in any of the sources used for the back-translation; I have translated it as ‘what(ever)’ because *mina / minha / minya* is a common word amongst languages of the area (and beyond – see Mushin 1995) for ‘what / whatever / anything’ (compare with Warrgamay *minya* (Dixon 1981: 83), and because it fits into the text very sensibly.

6. Lexicon

The lexicon contains all the words that were recorded for the language by any of the workers, with an indication (as explained below) of who recorded the word. Any cognates with surrounding languages have been listed similarly. Some of the entries contain speculative or explanatory comments.

The following abbreviations have been used in the entries:

Pr	from Price
P	from Sutton or Tsunoda's Palm Island lists
N	from Sutton or Tsunoda's 'Mainland' lists
H	from Houze and Jacques
S	from both Palm Island and the mainland in Sutton or Tsunoda's lists
Ts	from Tsunoda, but not recorded in Sutton
G	from Gribble
T	from Tindale
R	from Roth
a	from Johnstone's Cleveland Bay list (Curr 124(i))
b	from Curr's Cleveland Bay list (Curr 124 (ii))
(Bu)	Buluguyban dialect
(M)	Mulgu dialect
(D)	Durugal dialect
[Bi]	cognate from Biri
[Ny]	cognate with Nyawaygi
[W]	cognate with Warungu

First a general lexicon is presented, mainly nominals, followed by a list of verb forms that could be assembled. Following this is a reversal, from English to Wulguru. It is quite likely that the material represents more than one language variety, based on the great number of apparent homonyms found for some words. In the lexicons the *rr* vs *rh* distinction is not maintained in the headwords, because of the difficulty of obtaining data on this rfeature when it is in an onset position.

6.1 General lexicon

A a

a(r)gal: dry. – Pr

abal: foreign, different. – Pr

abal ngumbar: foreigner. – Pr

abari: sister. (b > β/V__V) – Pr H G R

abaya: present. – Pr

abayi: white person. (DAT?) – Pr

abi: cheek. – H

abu: father, father's brother. – Pr H R

ada: spear. – Pr

aday: laughter. – Pr

adgakadgak: sand. – Pr

adha: yes. – b

adhar: lungs. – Pr

adhargu: tomorrow. (PURP?) – Pr

adi: fly. – Pr

aga: mother. – R

aga: calf muscle. – a
 agal: crow. – Pr
 agan: crow. – T
 agan: tiger ant. – Pr
 aganagan: large shady tree. – Pr
 agany: wild plums. – Pr
 aguny: mangrove. [Ny] – Pr
 alana: behind. – Pr
 albar: roots of a small mangrove tree. – Pr
 alu: head. [Ny] – Pr T
 alul: rain. – Pr
 alun: little. – Pr
 ama: shield grip. – H
 amarigamda: white woman. – Pr
 ami: mother. – H
 ana: where. – Pr
 anagu: where-ALL. – Pr
 anda: what. – Pr
 andha: salt water. – a
 andhin: heavy flood. – Pr
 andu: ornament. – Pr
 angal: boomerang. [Ny] – Pr T a
 angang: mocking bird. – H
 angara: heat. – b
 angira: fun. – Pr
 anki: old. – Pr
 ankul: sore. – Pr
 anu: whose. – Pr
 anybara: heat. – a
 arangu: oyster flesh. – Pr
 arhabi: tree, wood, firewood. – Pr N b
 ariya: bad. – a
 arra: louse. – Pr
 arunda: sea water. – Pr
 aruny: soil. – a
 ayury: nasal rind. – H

B b

baba: shell. – Pr
 babara: boomerang engravings. – Pr
 babaral: small grey bird. – Pr

babi: mother's mother or son's daughter. –

R

babira: echidna. [W][Bi] – Pr
 babun ngumbar: cicatrice. – Pr
 badabada: an end, a finish e.g.
 'badabadama' 'finish!'. – Pr
 badaburga: flying fox. – Pr
 badalabul: ornaments. – Pr
 badhar: reed spear. – Pr b
 badhgigay: cicatrice. – Pr
 badhi: air. – Pr
 badubadu: sharp, a point. – Pr
 bagala: cousin, friend, a relative. – Pr
 bagalanga: possum. – Pr
 bagara: ribs. – Pr G
 bagaraga: star. – b
 bagariyan: salt water eel. – T
 bagur: sword. [Ny] – Pr
 bala: road. – Pr
 balaran: Rattlesnake Island. – Pr
 balay: kangaroo (sp.). – H
 balayminu: froth. – Pr
 balbamu: female wallaby. [Ny] – Pr
 balban: moon. – a
 balbiran: white kangaroo. – Pr
 balbun: louse. – Pr
 balgan: stone, house?. [Ny: stone, balgal] –
 Pr H
 balgangu: town. (house-ALL) [house,
 balgan] – H
 balgany: friend. – Pr
 balgila: stone axe. [Bi] – Pr G
 balgilaburu: Place name. – Pr
 bali: wallaby. – G T
 baliri: hut. – Pr
 baljin: brother in law. – R
 balmbur: music stick. [Ny] – Pr
 balur: sated, full. – Pr
 baluran gangara: croaking of frogs. – Pr
 bamalu: entrance to the Hunter River. – Pr
 bambarra: proper good, better, right to. – Pr

- bamuy: mussels. – Pr
 bandany: anus. – a
 bandhiur: big toe. – Pr
 banggal: bullock. – Pr
 banggan: temple. – Pr
 banggi: blind. – Pr
 bangginbanggin: wild. – Pr
 banggir: two sticks used to pull a fishing net
 taut. – Pr
 banggu: hole. – Pr
 banging: far. – Pr
 bangira: Black River. – Pr
 bangun: tribal marks. – Pr
 bangura: Gleeson's. a district – Pr
 banja: small. – b
 banuna: tomahawk. – b
 baragan: kangaroo (sp.). – H
 barambaram: shallow water. – Pr
 barangan: soap. – Pr
 barga: net. – Pr
 bargala: cockatoo. – P
 bargalanga: possum. – Pr
 barhbarha: wild bean. [Ny] – Pr
 barhu: back. [Bi] – Pr N
 baril: oar. – Pr a
 baringga bujana: summit. – Pr
 barri: stone, pebble, heap, pile. [Bi barhi]
 [W] – Pr P H G T b
 barugala: forest country. – T
 barunga(la): forest country. (LOC?) – Pr
 barur: mangrove tree. – Pr
 bawril: large corroboree. – Pr
 bawul: wallaby. [W] – P H
 bay: very, next. – Pr
 bayan: large branch of a tree. – Pr
 bayindaga: level. (listed as being an
 adjective) – Pr
 baylanbara: black goanna. – T
 bayra: enough. – Pr
 bida: banana skin. – Pr
 bidan: heavy. – Pr
 bidhil: bark (tree's). – Pr
 bigil: shield. [Ny][W] – Pr N H T
 bigunbarra: Black Goanna. – Pr N
 bija: back of. – Pr
 bijariga: hungry. – Pr
 bijarina: end (of a) dance. – Pr
 biji: small toe. – Pr
 bilbari: mountain. – Pr
 bilgurru: knife. – T
 bilu: bottom. – Pr P
 bilu: hips, root of a tree. (T) [Ny] – T
 bimur: woman's son in law. – R
 bina: leaf. – Pr G
 bina: ear. [Ny] – P H G T a
 bindal: top. – Pr
 bindal uba: midday. – Pr
 bindhidigana: lizard. (generic term) – Pr
 bindiri: tortoise. – Pr
 binga: anything used as a water bottle. – Pr
 bingali: death adder. – Pr
 bingalingil: flower. – Pr
 bingarur: sail, shirt. [Ny] – Pr
 bingil: crooked. – Pr
 bingunbura: Large Goanna. – Pr
 binhany: vagina. (Bu) – T
 binibira: spider. – Pr
 binu: leaf. – Pr
 bira: spider. – Pr
 bira: straight away. – Pr
 biradi: sheet iron. – Pr
 birana: talkative. – Pr
 birba: hawk. – Pr
 birbandu: quickly. (INSTR marking?) – Pr
 birbayandu: quickly. (INSTR marking?) –
 Pr
 birbini: quickly. – Pr
 birgalbirgal: orchid. – Pr
 birgil: West, head wind, beginning of
 summer. – Pr
 birubal: name. – Pr
 biyabiya: spirits. [Ny] – Pr

bu: not. – Pr
 buba: hawk. – Pr
 bubu: snake or lizard fat. – Pr
 buda: medicine. – Pr
 budalguru: dead. – Pr
 budari: English potato. (loan) – Pr
 budin: Herbert River. – Pr
 bugaburu: mountain. – Pr
 bugamu: forearm. – G
 bugan: grass. – b
 bugin: drunk. (verb form?) – Pr
 bugu: book. (loan) – Pr
 bugurga: sea-weed. – Pr
 bujaling: young bird. – Pr
 bujangga, bujan: bark crackle. (LOC?) – Pr
 bujari: good to, be. verb – Pr
 buji: dense scrub. – Pr
 bul: country. – Pr
 bulalgu: brothers. – Pr
 bulama: plums. – Pr
 bulari gundin: cripple. (Bulari = two people?) [bulari=2 W, bularu=2 Bi] – Pr
 bulban: moon. – H T
 bulgamu: wrist. – H a
 buli: kangaroo. – b
 bulu: eyebrows. – a
 bulu(n): pelican, ship. – Pr N b
 bulunbulun: short boomerang. [Ny] – Pr
 bulunggu: mother's sister. – R
 buluny: calm. – Pr
 bunarhu: sand. (Bu) – P T
 bunbal: splinter. – Pr
 bunbil: snake. – Pr
 bunda: young wallaby. – Pr
 bundarun: bags. [Bi bundu] – Pr
 bundibundi: fair wind. (from the south east) [Ny] – Pr
 bundumbu: shell. – Pr
 bunga: creek. – Pr

bunga gamu: drinkwater. (Price notes 'for tea') – Pr
 bungal: son. – Pr
 bunggaja: snake. – H
 bunkany: cousin. – Pr
 bunu: smoke. – Pr T a b
 bunu: small river. – Pr
 bunul: wasp, hornet. [Ny][W] – Pr
 bunyuru: drop of rain. – Pr
 bura: quiet. – Pr
 burabay: lazy. – Pr
 buramu: butterfly. [Ny] – Pr
 burba: clay. – Pr
 burbay: gutter. – Pr
 burbaya: an open place. – Pr
 burgamagadi: graves. – Pr
 burgan: dried wheat. – Pr
 burhi: fire. – Pr N H T a
 buriburi: matches. – Pr
 burinanday: Hinchinbrook Island. – Pr
 burrgu: forked stick. – Pr
 burrguman: Palm Island. [Ny][Bi] – Pr S H
 buru: high. – Pr
 burugada: wind. – Pr
 burul: tooth breaking ceremony. – Pr
 burungar: salt pans. – Pr
 burunggar: cold in the head. – Pr
 burungul: rotten. – Pr
 bururu: shark. – G
 buryay: heart. – Pr
 buwan: not. – Pr
 buwari: industrious. – Pr
 buwi: sore, wound. – Pr
 buy, bay: never, not. – Pr
 buybamu: ship's mast. – Pr

D d

daandu: young child. – G
 dabun: spear. – Pr
 daguy: left (hand). – H
 dalambaru: old man kangaroo. – Pr

- dalanygunu: calabash. – Pr
 dalara: devil devil. – Pr
 dalbanu: mangrove, shrub. – Pr
 dalburu: whisker. – Pr
 dalguru: meat. – H
 dalingginda: salt water. – Pr
 daljangga: forest, bush. – H
 dalmara: slowly, easily. – Pr
 dalmbana: edible tree. (only eaten as a last resort) – Pr
 dalnbu: brother. – Pr G
 dalun: dilly bag. – G
 dambun: large mob. – Pr
 damingga: bullock fat. – Pr
 danaru: another one. – Pr
 danaya: only one. – Pr
 danbaba: calabash shell. – Pr
 danggadangga: dropping. – Pr
 danka: young wallaby. – Pr
 dankuran: foreigner, mainlander. – Pr G
 danulagan: Magnetic Island. – Pr
 daragala: light wood. – H
 darbana: dilly bag. – Pr
 dargana: inside. – Pr
 daribara: best. [W] – Pr
 darral: half full. – Pr
 daru: woman's father in law. – R
 dawany: nullah nullah. – Pr
 dawingguru: billy can. – Pr
 dawnguru: bucket. – Pr
 digaru: long stemmed orchids. – Pr
 dilbara: little edible bulbs. – Pr
 dilgurari: red. (see guriguri) – Pr
 dilmarra: potato-like roots. – Pr
 dimala: lily. – Pr
 diminga: steamer. (loan) – Pr
 dinaamba: scrub. – Pr
 Dinambara: stiff. – Pr
 Dinda: steps cut in a tree in order to climb it. – Pr
 dindiburu: twisted hair. – Pr
 diyanggala: fish shells. – Pr
 diyari: corroboree. – Pr
 dubal: spear. – H
 dubil: long. – Pr
 dubilabi: square. – Pr
 dubu: most. – Pr
 dugala: wild grass. – Pr
 dugala: fire. – Pr
 dugaru: whale. – Pr
 dugul: navel. – a
 dugurwayri: long small shell . same word as duguwari? – Pr
 duguwari: kind of calabash. same word as dugurwayri? – Pr
 dujima: prickly. – Pr
 dujur: navel. – Pr H
 dula: nullah nullah. – Pr
 dulbar: motion. – Pr
 dulbin: mud. – :'
 dulbindulbin: wet. – Pr
 dulbuny: road or path. – Pr
 dulginburu: a district near the German Gardens. – Pr
 dulginda: small bush. – Pr
 dulgun: far. – Pr
 dulimbu: sheep. – H
 duljana: meaty bit of oysters. – Pr
 dulmbu: bone in the stingaree fish's tail. – Pr
 dulunggan: fresh water eel. – Pr T
 duluranga: grave. – Pr
 duluru: road. – Pr
 dumabury: meat. (Bu,T) – Pr N
 dumay: others. – Pr
 dumba: lime coral. – Pr
 dumbala: trepang. – Pr
 dunanga: small schooner. – Pr
 dunbala: trepang. – a
 dundaw: nail. – Pr
 dundu: inside. – Pr
 dunggadungga: stone axe. – Pr

dunggari: people. – Pr
 dunggindiriu: small mountain near Alligator
 Creek. – Pr
 dunggira: sweet. – Pr
 dunur: conversation. – Pr
 duraldural: mushroom coral. – Pr
 duranganin: strong. – Pr
 durba: pocket. – Pr
 durgal: small. – Pr
 durgalma: sharp. – Pr
 durginburu: a district between Townsville
 and Bohlee. – Pr
 durimagulgi: high.words. – Pr
 durimi: sculling boat. – Pr
 durugal: mainland (?). – H
 durun: cowrie shell. – Pr

Dh dh

dhaa: mouth. ('thar', 'tha'); (T) [W] – Pr S
 H T a b
 dhabana: weak. – Pr
 dhabar: chin. – b
 dhaga: food. (loan) – Pr
 dhagany: goanna. [Bi] – Pr N
 dhagida: doctor. (loan) – Pr
 dhagiragar: weak. – Pr
 dhagru: many pieces, plenty. – Pr H
 dhalag: tongue, language (?). (cf., Dj.
 dhaaruk) – H
 dhalan: wallaby. – a
 dhalany: tongue. [Bi][Ny][W] – Pr S G T a
 b
 dhalbana: vagina. – H
 dhalbar: chin. – H G T
 dhalgur: skin. [Ny] – Pr
 dhalmal: water (drinking). (Bu) – P H T
 dhalmal: overflow of water. (T) – Pr
 dhamba: vagina, (vulva). (Bu) [Ny] – P T
 dhambi: coral. – a
 dhambu: younger brother. [Ny] – R
 dhami: fat. [W] – Pr S b

dhanbul: book. – Pr
 dhandhi: small. [Ny] – Pr
 dhandi nuga: child. – Pr N
 dhanduru: mullet. – Pr
 dhanga: tongue. – P
 dhangal: sand. – Pr
 dhangguru: strangers. – Pr
 Dhanu mira: Palm Island group. – Pr
 dhanu: short. [W] – Pr
 dhanu: camp fire, firewood. (M) – P G
 dhanuyana: round. – Pr
 dhararu: trousers. (loan?) – Pr
 dhargumana: down. – Pr
 dharra: thigh. [W] (Bi dharha) – P H G a b
 dhidana: bottom. – Pr
 dhigurru: thunder. – b
 dhijur: three. – H T
 dhilbirra: shoulder. – G a
 dhilbuy: shoulder. – H
 dhiliny: penis. – T
 dhilma: plum. – Pr
 dhimbu: wave. – Ts
 dhina: foot. (T) (= jina (PI)) [Bi][Ny][W] –
 Pr S H T a b
 dhindaya: old racecourse. – Pr
 dhinggal: stock. – Pr
 dhirabany: new racecourse. – Pr
 dhirany: eyelashes. [Bi dhili, eye] – Pr T
 dhudhun: joints. – Pr
 dhugi: bone. [Ny] – Pr
 dhula: son. – G
 dhulbun: married. [Ny] – Pr
 dhulbunkay: married couple. – Pr
 dhulginy: mountain. – T
 dhulginybarra: Mount Louisa (Townsville).
 – N
 dhundu: finger, toe nail. – Pr
 dhunduga: early. – Pr
 dhuri: bone. – a
 dhuri: back. [Ny] – Pr H a

G g

ga(y)duburu: storm (= wind + high). – Pr
 ga:bau: war spear. (T) [Ny] – P H b
 gaal: rushes. – Pr
 gaba: belly. – Pr
 gaba: man's daughter in law, or man's
 sister's son or daughter. – R
 gaba bambara: satisfied. (proper stomach) –
 Pr
 gaba dhandhi: hungry. (small stomach) – Pr
 gaba nuga: fat, well fed. (also fierce, brave)
 (g > w /V__V) – Pr
 gabagan: aunt. [Ny] – Pr
 gabay: moon's departure. – Pr
 gabi: little toe, little finger. – Pr
 gabul: carpet snake. (T) [Bi][Ny] – S T
 gabur: Milton hill. – Pr
 gaburr: three. [Ny] – Pr G
 gaburr bay: very few. – Pr
 gadaragi: very strong. – Pr
 gadha: elder brother. [Ny] – H G R
 gadhal: penis. (Bu) – P
 gadhara: possum. (T) [Ny][W] – Pr S T b
 gadi: now, today, yes. – H
 gadil: high. –
 gadila: dry. [W] – Pr
 gaga: unsuitable for drinking. gaga gamu:
 salty/dirty water – Pr G
 gagalagal: Prickly Pear. – Pr
 gagali: shirt. – Pr
 gagandu: elbow, burr (?). – Pr
 gagany: new. [Ny] – Pr
 gagay: a long way. – Pr
 gabilagil: in between. – Pr
 gagin gagin: warts. – Pr
 gagi: nasal septum. – Pr
 gagu: wardress. (g > w/h/V-V) – Pr
 gagugu: kookaburra. – a
 gagugu: young fruit of the dambunu tree. –
 Pr

gajamali: bread. – H
 galambiri: loin cloth. – Pr
 galany: high water. – Pr
 galararu: edible shrub. – Pr
 galba: river. (M) – G
 galba biruru: small branches of a river. – Pr
 galbari: moon. – G
 galbaru: female white rock wallaby. – Pr
 galbay: brown wood. – H
 galbidira: Ross River. – Pr
 galburu: piebald. – Pr
 galgal: arm. – a
 galgalba: long way off. – Pr
 galgin ganku: new moon. – Pr
 galgira: small wood. – Pr
 galgun: porpoise. – Pr
 galin: dilly bag. – Pr
 galiny: heaven. – Pr
 galmuna: male wallaby. – Pr
 galngaba: clean. – Pr
 gama: whiskers. – Pr
 gambadala: shield. – G
 gambaginba: anchor. – Pr
 gambara: club, nullah. – H
 gambayu: mess mate. – Pr
 gambunu: elbow, burr (?). – Pr
 gamburu: Ironbark tree. – Pr
 gami: mother, father's sister (g > o/ ?).
 [Bi][W} – G R
 gamu: water. (M, T) [Bi][W] – Pr N G b
 gamuny: grand mother. – Pr
 gana: gutter. – Pr
 ganayga: alligator. – Pr
 ganbara: spear. – G
 ganburu: tree creeper's flower or seed. – Pr
 gandala: old man kangaroo. – H
 gandanu: thunder. – Pr
 gandar: porpoise. – Pr
 gandi: calf. – H
 gandil: hybis. – Pr
 gandu: boy. [Bi] – Pr

ganga: noise. – Pr
 gangara: cookies. – Pr
 ganggaba: dark colour. – Pr
 ganggara: hot weather, sunshine, heat. – Pr
 ganjagu: tomorrow. (PURP marker?) – H
 ganjara: time. – H
 ganji argu: next sunday. – Pr
 gankany: moon. – b
 garalagu: tomorrow. – b
 garanggan: large ant. – Pr
 garay: won't. – Pr
 garbari: finished. – Pr
 gari: hand (?). – Pr
 garia: spirit, ghost. – H
 garia: plains. – Pr
 garraramu: bottle. – Pr
 garun: footsteps, noise. – Pr
 gawa: uncle. [Ny] – Pr G
 gawru: lagoon. – Pr
 gawru: fresh water lily. [Ny] – Pr
 gaya: dilly bag. – Pr
 gayal: spear. – T
 gayanging: corroboree. – Pr
 gaydal: deck. – Pr
 gaydu: wind. – Pr
 gaygal: arm. – H
 gayi: dirt, earth. (T) gayingga gajin nuga
 gadila Earth-LOC PERF very dry – Pr
 b
 gayin: aunt, wife, sister-in-law. – Pr R
 gayja: spear grass. – Pr
 gaymarri: heavy nullah nullah. – Pr
 gi(i)ba: fish (black bream). [Ny] – N
 giba: track. – Pr
 giba: liver. [Ny] – P H T
 giba: stomach. [Ny] – a b
 gibangga: white paint. – Pr
 gibiya: wild duck. – Pr
 gidu: cold. [Ny][W] – Pr a b
 gigari: black cockatoo. – T
 gila nagal: Rabbit Island. – Pr

giliba: woomera. – G
 gima: shit. [Bi][Ny][W] – T b (expected
 guna, and the possibility of typographic
 error certainly exists, even though two
 separate sources offer this form)
 gimiru: white cockatoo. [W] – Pr N H T a b
 gimiwa: wooden sword. – b
 gina magan: long time. – Pr
 ginaygan: alligator. – Pr
 gira: shade. – Pr
 giralgara: bowels. – a
 giralju: brandy. – Pr
 giran giran: mushroom coral. – Pr
 giri: daughter. – R
 girunda: Cape Mal. – Pr
 gu(:)ga: neck. [Ny] – H
 guba: paternal grandfather. – R
 gubalaburu: Mount Luisa. – Pr
 guban: that side. – Pr
 gubarha: tomorrow. [Ny] – G
 gubayila: stars. – Pr
 gubi: little finger. – a
 gubiru: clam shell. – Pr
 gubiyal: mosquito. – b
 gubul: echidna. – T
 gubun: sugar bag. – b
 guburu: rough (of the sea). – Pr
 guburyugali: stars. – Pr
 gudar: milk, breast. – b
 gudargurugu: wood duck. – b
 gudhala: eaglehawk. (short or misheard for
 gurridhala?) – T
 gudhawru: goanna. [W] – Pr
 gudhay: black ant. – Pr
 gudhila: bandicoot. [Ny][W] – Pr
 gudhmany: banana. – Pr
 gudhna: dilly bag. – Pr
 gudi: shoulder tattoos. – H
 gudi gudi: feather headdress. – Pr
 gugagay: cockle shell. – Pr
 guganybany: saddle. – Pr

- gugay: hut, camp. [Bi] – Pr
 gugaydura: thirsty. – Pr
 gugi: flying fox. (T) [Ny][W] – N
 gugidura: thirsty. – Pr
 guginbin: seal. – Pr
 gugu ana: turtle egg. [W] – Pr
 guguburgu: spacious. – Pr
 gugulu: straight. – Pr
 gugurumu: big ant. – Pr
 gujirri: big mountain wallaby. – Pr
 gula: green bark. – Pr
 gula: woomera. – b
 gulambira: butterfly. – Pr
 gulaygan: sting ray. – Pr
 gulbadara: river. – Pr
 gulburu: emu. – Pr
 gulgay: plums. (l > o / (u,w)__\$) – Pr
 gulgu: wild turkey. – Pr
 guliman: Cape Cleveland. – Pr
 gulman: fear. – Pr
 gulman maru: young girl's fear of leaving
 her parents. – Pr
 gulu: food. – Pr
 gulubu: fair wind. – Pr
 gulula: old man. [Ny] – Pr
 gululu: old woman. – Pr
 gulumburu: tree with honey in it. – Pr
 gulung: bark of a tree. – Pr
 guluwi: heavy seas. – Pr
 guma: blood. [Bi][Ny][W] – N
 gumbay: speckled leaf. – Pr
 gumbayal: tree. – Pr
 gumbayi: wild ginger root. – Pr
 gumbi: thumb. – a
 gumbigi: arm marks for the dead. – Pr
 gumbu: father's mother. – R
 gumu: mosquito. – Pr
 gumul: ant hills. – Pr
 gumunbaygan: oyster. – H
 gunamburu: big rains. – Pr
 gunawa: long shield. [Ny] – Pr
 gunayi: Leichhardt tree. – Pr
 gunbana: blood. – b
 gunbili: yellow. – G
 gunbu: a complete cripple. – Pr
 gunburgan: orphan. – Pr
 gunda: humpy. – Pr
 gundalu: sand ridge. – Pr
 gundar: coal. – Pr
 gunday arra: bad(ly built) house. – Pr
 gundi: fright. – G
 gundil: native companion (brolga?). – b
 gundu: a 'close' space, with no wind. – Pr
 gundu: rump. – Pr
 gunduburu: thunder. [Ny] – Pr
 gundumbariny: plenty. – Pr
 gunduna: rainy season. – Pr
 gungalungal: star. – T
 gunggamu: white. – H
 gunggi: bad hips. – Pr
 gunggulu: emu. – T
 gungin: dead female spirit. [Ny] – Pr
 gungu: bend, angle. – Pr
 gunkay: damaged. (verbal form?) – Pr
 gunkula: black tree. – Pr
 gunkun: knot, trunk of a tree. – Pr
 gunkurunkuru: water fly – like a hornet. –
 Pr
 gunu: inside. – Pr
 gununu: wild. – T
 gunuwi: wooden sword. – T
 gur.gur: vegetable food. [Ny] – N
 gura: 'female muscle'. [Ny, burra] – Pr
 gura: woman. [Ny] – Pr
 gurambil: district north of Townsville. – Pr
 gurambilburu: Townsville. (gurambil +
 high) – Pr
 guramu: fly. – Pr
 gurbal: dry weather. – Pr
 gurbi: barrel. – Pr
 gurgu: old. – Pr
 gurgul: black. – Pr

gurgun (mana): anchor. (+ mana makes the verb of laying the anchor) – Pr
 gurgurbi: old person. – Pr
 gurgurbu: old now. – Pr
 guri: blood. – T
 guriguri: red. [Ny] – G
 gurindil: emu egg. – b
 gurra: testicles. – P T
 gurri: cousin. – G
 gurridhala: eaglehawk. [Bi] – N
 gurugaw: pipe. – Pr
 guruma: fly. – b
 gurumalu: coconut. – Pr
 guruny: No. – H T
 guwa: rain. – G b
 guwa: mother's brother. – R
 guwul jar: exposed bottom roots (after a flood). – Pr
 guwul mana: a flood spreading out. – Pr
 guya: fish. [Ny][W] – P
 guyan: snow, glass, quartz, ice, epsom salts. – Pr
 guyari: shield. – Pr
 guyman: fish that fall from the clouds. – Pr
 guymbirra: stomach tattoos. [W] – H
 guymu: morning star. – Pr
 guynbaru: eyebrow. – G
 guynbu: quiet. – Pr
 guynu: a tooth (?). – Pr
 guyrri (guyrri): shield. – H a
 guyruwa: bee. – H
 guyu: slippery, smooth. – Pr
 guyugal: wombat. – H
 guyurara: 6th island past Magnetic Island on the way to PI (Magazine Island ?). – Pr

'H h'

habunda: tea time. – Pr
 hagu: weak. – Pr
 hungaru: skin. [Ny] – Pr

hunggunda: one place, time, tribe. (one + LOC ?) – Pr

I i

ibiranga: all the same. – Pr
 iduru: hollow (tree). – Pr
 igan: clear, open space. – Pr
 ilgura: person. (M) – P H T a
 ilguraya: foreigner. (ilgura + ya ?) – Pr
 ilil: grass. –
 imbira: shade. – Pr
 imbira: Christmas. – Pr
 imi: mother. (my mother: imigu) – Pr
 inay: fear. – Pr
 indal: son. – R
 inki: sun. (T) – N
 irgay: water. – Pr

J j

jigiyigi: muddy. – Pr
 jingajinga: black. – G
 jujara: urine. (T) – N

M m

ma: hen. – Pr
 ma(r)gura: small tree with small pointed leaves (white eucalyptus tree). – Pr
 ma(y)ringga: every day. (LOC?) – Pr
 mabungana: big woman. – Pr
 mabunggara: little girl. – Pr
 mabura: child. – Pr
 mabura: woman. – b
 mabura: a constellation. – Pr
 mada: sea. – G
 madamada: smooth. – Pr
 madhal: orchids. – Pr
 madhana: sticky. – Pr
 madhay mana: handle of an axe or a knife. – Pr
 magan: red. – H
 magani: estuary. – Pr

- magayi: sweet potato. – Pr
magayra: red. – Pr
magul: lazy. [Ny] – Pr
maguli: work. – Pr
magur(i): cloud. [Ny] – Pr
magurmagur: overcast. – Pr
maguruny: cloudy. – Pr
mala: hand. [Bi][Ny][W] – P H G a
malangga: clasped hands. (hand-LOC?) – Pr
malaru: sated. – Pr
malgan: lightning. – G
mali: don't do/make a NOUN. [Ny] – Pr
mali dhirga: no more. – Pr
malmal: alive. – Pr
mambun: own nothing. – Pr
mana: arm. – Pr
manda: penis. – H
mandanyburu: rising sun district. – Pr
mandiganla: creek. – Pr
mandilgun: Mount Elliott. – Pr
mangal: sickness. – H
mangal: devil. – a
mangalmangal: kind of creeper vine. – Pr
mangamanga: kind of bean. – Pr
mangara: large rock wallaby. – Pr
manggal: white person. – Pr
manggar: dark. – b
mangu: handle of a wheelbarrow. [Ny] – Pr G
manggulanga: salt water, beach. – Pr
mangul margay: week. – H
mangungangirankagu: corroboree (???). – Pr
mangurara: sometimes. – Pr
mangurara: fortnight next Sunday. – Pr
manguru: 'loin areas'. – Pr
mankara: girl. – Pr
mannan: woman. (T) – Pr N H T a
many(a): corroboree. – Pr
manynungga: screech. – Pr
maramara: fear. – Pr
marga: games. – Pr
margara: boy. – Pr
marha(uba): dawn. (lit. white sun) – Pr
maria: a very crooked kind of boomerang. – Pr
mariga: corroboree. – a
marimigi: bag. – b
maringguma: best. – Pr
marra: white (person). – Pr N
marulanggu: yesterday. – b
may(r)a: red clay. – Pr
maybiya: crocodile. – H
mayi: far. – Pr
mayi: sugar cane. also mayi yila – Pr
mayingga: sugar bag. – Pr
mayl: door. – Pr
mayri, mari: every time. – Pr
mayringguma: quick, speedy. – Pr
mayru: nullah nullah. – Pr
mayrula: fence. (far wood ?) – Pr
mayulumu: roots, like parsnip. – Pr
midha: ashes. – Pr
midhamidha: coals. – Pr
midhamidha: black. [W, Bi midharra] – Pr
migilu: old man kangaroo. – H
miil: eye. – P H G T a
milbir: iron. – Pr
milbirara: lizard. – Pr
mildhin: my country, mine. – Pr H
mildhin gundayi: a friend's camp (same tribe). – Pr
mildhin yana: another tribe. – Pr
mildhinmildhin: England (?). – Pr
mildhinnga: one tribe. – Pr
milgir: honey. – Pr
milgira: speckled leaf. – Pr
miluran: harpoon. – Pr
mima ana: capsize. – Pr
mina: why, what for, what. – Pr
mina wari: how much. – Pr

- minan minan: possum yarn, wool. – Pr
 minayi: what next. – Pr
 mindiyarra: plenty. – b
 minga: that one . (D) (cf. nanga) – Pr
 minggamingga: stingray. – Pr
 minggayla: kind of grass. – Pr
 minggi: turtle shell. – Pr
 minggi: fish hook. [Bi][Ny] – Pr b
 miniyara: tears. – Pr
 mira: good ?. – Pr
 mirabira: rolling. – Pr
 mirgara: a poor path. – Pr
 mirhu: club. [Bi mirru], [Ny][W] – Pr
 mirila: urine ?. – Pr
 miringguma: quickly. – Pr
 miru: bridle. – Pr
 mirum: fish net. – Pr
 miyu miyu: a headdress made from human
 hair. – Pr
 miyuma: cask. – Pr
 mu(g)iyara: dead spirit. (g > [ɣ]/V-V) – Pr
 mu(u)gar: coral reef. – Pr
 muba: far. – Pr
 muba: farther, more far. (D) – Pr
 mubanyubany: burrs. – Pr
 mubay: all right. – Pr
 mubaygan: blind. – H
 mudhamudha: sheet lightning. – Pr
 mudhi: milk. [Ny] – Pr
 mudhuur: crab. – Pr
 mudun: right (handed). – H
 muga: big. – b
 mugadanu: white, dead. – Pr
 mugal: heel. – Pr H a
 mukan: sated. – Pr
 mugaru: cicatrices. – Pr
 mugaru: fish net. – Pr
 mugaay: father. – Pr
 mugina: blasting operations. – Pr
 mugu: water lily stak. – Pr
 mugu: knee. [Ny][W] – Pr P H G a
 mugubara: kind of grass. – Pr
 mugudanu: dead. – H
 mugulumu: edible creeper. – Pr
 mugun: cousin. – Pr
 mugunggo: kneeling. – Pr
 mugur: shrimp. – Pr
 mugurmugur: tired. – Pr
 muguru: tribal cicatrices. – Pr
 muji: sick. – Pr H a
 mujiru: back tattoos. – H
 muju: wife. – Pr G
 mujumuju: woman. (PI) [Ny] – Pr H G a
 mujuura: fish. – H
 mulamula: kind of pigeon. – Pr
 mulgal: too much. – Pr
 mulgan-du: very much. (INSTR used) – Pr
 mulgul: much. (same word as mulgal?) – Pr
 muliburu: forehead ornament. – Pr
 muliny: mouth. – G
 muliny: lips. [Ny] – Pr S H T
 mulma: plenty. – Pr
 mulnuy: neck. – Pr
 muluny: hair. – Pr G T a b
 muluramun: baby. – a
 munda: white ant. – Pr
 munda: underneath. – Pr
 munda munda: many. – H
 mundalgan: Mount Stewart. – Pr
 mundamu: warts. – Pr
 mundany yugima: a long time, one year. –
 Pr
 mundar: dry. – Pr
 mundiganka: orphan. – Pr
 mundu: fish net. – Pr
 mundumundu: cow. – H
 munga: sound. – Pr
 munggulmunggul: silence, silently. [Ny] –
 Pr
 munhuy: nape. [Ny] – Pr N H
 munmadhirgu: thin. – Pr
 murdaburhi: bushfire. – Pr

murgu: calabash. – Pr
 murgu: seed. (see verbs) – Pr
 murgun: blunt. – Pr
 murgundulu: pretty parrot. – Pr
 murha: harmless, quiet. mura nanga: quiet
 fellow [Ny] – Pr
 muri: shade tree. – Pr
 muriranjirilma: hand cuffs. – Pr
 murirun: Mount Louisa. – Pr
 muru: flea. – Pr
 muru: elbow. – Pr H a
 muruny: tomorrow. – b
 muun: bottom. – T a
 muyu: roots. – Pr
 myianga: Herbert River. – Pr

N n

na: deictic, that. D – Pr
 na banging ba: a long way away. – Pr
 nabagu: there-ALL. – Pr
 nabagu: that. (D) (human related deictic) –
 Pr
 nabala: that direction. (D) (b > v / V-V) – Pr
 nabin: that (tree). (D) – Pr
 nabu: rest, ease. – Pr
 nadhagu: fetch (for that ?). – Pr
 naguny: gum. – Pr
 nagyjabara: Wombala area. – Pr
 naji: mother's father. – R
 nalga: child. – H
 namula: blind person. – Pr
 namungga: yesterday. (LOC ?) – Pr
 namuru: sunset. – Pr
 nandan: light. – H
 nangga: that (person). – Pr
 nangur(a,u): O.K., that's good. – Pr
 nani (nani): grave. (= nhani ?) – Pr G
 nayjil: six weeks. – H
 nibu: a long grub. – Pr
 nilamburu: good boy. – H
 nina: newspaper. – Pr

ningarin: sneeze. – Pr
 ninji: sky. – Pr Ts
 nirbany: frog. – Pr
 nuruny: nostril, snot. – Pr

Ng ng

ngaba: soak in water. [Ny] – Pr
 ngabingala: low water. – Pr
 ngabinngabin: waves, sea spray. – Pr
 ngabul: cheek. – H
 ngadha: ground. – T
 ngadhi: dark, night, late. – Pr G b
 ngadibirba: kind of parrot. – Pr
 ngadil: sitting still. [Ny] – Pr
 ngadirgu: a long time, one year. – Pr
 ngalaragu: tomorrow. (PURP ?) – Pr
 ngalban: coconut tree's leaves. – Pr
 ngali: we two. – Pr
 ngambar: branches of a tree. – Pr
 ngamun: breast. [Bi][Ny] – P a b
 nganda: where. (LOC) [Bi] – N
 ngandha: salt water. (Bu) – T
 ngandu: who (did it). (who (an/ngan) +
 ERG?) – Pr
 nganduwa: weak. – Pr
 nganggi: button. – Pr
 nganybar: ice. – Pr
 nganyi: face, forehead. (Bu) [Ny][W] – Pr
 P
 nganyu: sharp. – Pr
 ngaraal: mesh of a net. – Pr
 ngarangar: last time. – Pr
 ngaw: no. – Pr N
 ngayay: oyster. – Pr
 ngayingayi: heavy rains. – Pr
 ngayman: heat, sweat. – Pr
 ngayungayu: native oak tree. – Pr
 nginkany: rain water. – Pr
 ngirana: lock-up. – Pr
 ngirrin: third finger. – Pr
 ngubur: "saucy". – Pr

ngujur: fish. (M, T) [Ny] – Pr N G b
 ngulu: head. – P T
 ngulu: forehead. – Pr N a
 ngulu: outside. – Pr
 ngulu: axe. (INSTR) [Ny] – Pr N
 ngulunggu: using the head. (INSTR) – Pr
 ngumar: cloud. – T
 ngumbar: mob. (Bu, T) – Pr
 ngumbar: person. (M) – P G
 ngumbaru: husband. – G
 ngumbi: black. – Pr
 ngunban: Indian shot (?). – Pr
 ngundan: lamp. – Pr
 ngunga: walking stick. – Pr
 ngungu: sneeze. – Pr
 ngura nhuga: every kind. – Pr
 ngural: fog. – Pr G
 ngurga(l,y): fat. – Pr
 ngurgul: banana skin. – Pr
 ngurha: name (?). – Pr
 ngurra: camp. – H G T
 ngurru: boat, canoe. – Pr H G
 nguru: tall tree with small berries. – Pr
 nguyambul: camp. – Pr

Nh nh

nhani: earth. [W][Bi] – Pr G
 nhubal: couple, pair. – Pr
 nhubala: married couple. – Pr
 nhuga: very. [Ny] – Pr

R r

rhagal: prickly pear. – Pr
 rhaginda: ship's hold. – Pr
 rhala: skeleton. – Pr
 rhala: noise. – Pr
 rhalbar: cowrie shell. – Pr
 rhalgayra: sprouts. – Pr
 rhali: chest, face. (Bu) [Ny] – Pr P a
 rhamba: calf muscle. – Pr H a
 rhamgin: sinew. – Pr

rhandal: hut. – Pr G
 rhankin: vein. – Pr
 rharha: fishing line. [Ny] – Pr
 rharu: medicine. – Pr
 rhi(:): name. [Ny] – Pr
 rhigabur: shade tree. – Pr
 rhingin: fire. – Pr
 rhirra: tooth. [Ny] – Pr S H G
 rhiwirin: toe. – G
 rhudi: younger brother. – H
 rhuga: throat. – a
 rhugubal: long calabash. – Pr
 rhugulugul: small cockle. – Pr
 rhula: tree, wood. – Pr H G
 rhulguny: small shark. – Pr G
 rhundungar: friend's hips. – Pr
 rhunggu gaybana: music. – Pr
 rhunggul: gammon, nonsense. – Pr
 rhungul: skin. – Pr
 rhunguny: spouse. – Pr
 rhura: water grub. – Pr
 rhurga: land breeze. – Pr
 rhurina: fat. – Pr
 rhuwa: trepang, sea cucumber. – Pr
 rhuwan: small water course. – Pr
 rhuyrhu: impenetrable scrub. – Pr
 rhuyrin: finger nails. – Pr
 rrarga(la): by and by. ([rra.ga]) – Pr b

U u

uba: sun. (T) – Pr P T a b
 ubanjila: star. – b
 ubara: rat. – Pr
 ubayi: early. – Pr
 ububi: rooster. – Pr
 ubwa: sun. – H
 udhal: centipede. – Pr
 udhul: 'small tall straight shrub with pears'.
 – Pr
 ug (V?): god. – Pr
 uga: white person. – Pr

ugara: finish. – Pr
 ugay: camp. (see gugay) – a
 ugul: bullfrog. – Pr
 ula: too far. – Pr
 ulan: axe. (a > [ɔ]/uC__) [Ny] – Pr
 ulba: red. – Pr
 ulbul: sky. – H
 ulgurru: canoe. [Ny] – H a
 ulnbugan: mountain. – P
 uma: bird's nest. – Pr
 umaburu: cow, bullock. – Pr
 umbal: dog. (Bu) – Pr H T
 umbar: person. (ng- ?) – Pr
 umbarbul: one person. – Pr
 umbumbu: cockle shell. – Pr
 unbal: rainbow. – Pr
 undunajin: yesterday. – H
 ungalungal: green frog. – Pr
 unggayru: menstruation. – Pr
 ungggi: flood tide. (+ mana = verb, tide rises)
 – Pr
 ungugu: German garden district. – Pr
 ungur: sound of wind in the telegraph wires.
 – Pr
 ungurra: place name. – Pr
 ura: all right. – Pr
 ura: camp. (see ngura) – a
 uradila: big flood. – Pr
 ural: urine. – a
 urandu: black duck. – b
 urangguranga: olden days long ago.
 (LOC) – Pr
 urayal: rain. – H a
 urayarga: foreign countries. – H
 urbala: snake. – Pr b
 urgulu: evening, dinner time. – Pr
 urha: now. [Ny] – Pr
 urhamba: scrub hen, egg. [Ny] – T a
 urhu: nose. [Ny] – T a b
 uri: side. (as in 'my side') [Ny] – Pr
 urungga: first time. – Pr

ururuny: kangaroo hair. – Pr
 uulguluburu: 6 1/4 mile railway station
 district. – Pr
 uyanda: son. – Pr
 uyay: small plant. – Pr
 uybulibal: cactus. – Pr
 uyu: dog. (T, M) – Pr N b
 uyulu: grass. – H a

W w

wa(:)gan: crow. (T) [Ny][W][Bi] – N
 [ogal]: crow. – b
 waangal: boomerang. (= [wɔŋɔl]) [Ny][Bi]
 – Pr N G
 waba: sun. – Ts
 waga: leg. (PI) [Ny] – G
 wagada: prickly. – Pr
 waguli: second finger. – Pr
 wagun: cockbird. – Pr
 waguru: knife. – Pr
 wala: strong. – Pr
 walama: alive (still strong). – Pr
 walga: male bee. – Pr
 walu: head. (PI) [Bi ear], [Ny] – P
 wama: deaf. – H
 wamangi: handkerchief. – Pr
 wanda: why, what for. – Pr
 wanda: loose. – Pr
 wandayindu: whereabouts. – Pr
 wandu: hat. – Pr
 wanga: home. – Pr
 wanga: a large blaze. (+ mana = verb) – Pr
 wangar: scent. – Pr
 wangara: large male rock wallaby. – Pr
 wangguna: hat made from a large leaf. – Pr
 wanguruga: an idiot. [Ny] – Pr
 wara (ngujur): a (fish's) tail. – Pr
 wargarra: calabash. – Pr
 wargi: tail. – Pr
 wargugil: corroboree. – Pr
 warhuny: ground. [Ny] – G

wariganda: Cape Malo. – Pr
 warina: a dance. – Pr
 warra: one (human deictic). [Bi warrba, one]
 – Pr
 way: blue colour. – Pr
 waybala: white people (loan). [Ny] – H
 wiminkil: man's mother in law. – R
 windunu: emu. – b
 winggal: chips. – Pr
 wira: front. – Pr
 wira: wind. – G T
 wira + gu = wiru: (front + ALL). – Pr
 wirawira: cool. – Pr b
 wiyalu: grass. – G
 wubuw ubu: the cry of the frog. – Pr
 wudhabagu: journey. – Pr
 wudhamgu: light house. – Pr
 wugadha: sharp, pointed. (g > h (ɣ) / V__V)
 – Pr
 wulbu (buduban): pheasant. – Pr
 wulganda: next time. – Pr
 wulgurru: canoe. (T) (PI, mulgu?) [Ny] – T
 wumarama: noise. – Pr
 wumba: poor. – Pr
 wumbalaru: morning star. – G
 wumbu: gum tree. – H
 wumira: spear. – Pr
 wunay: black wood. – H
 wunbugan: scrub. – T
 wunda: middle, inside. – Pr
 wunda + gu = wundu: . – Pr
 wunu: night. – H
 wurang: bad ?. – H
 wurhu: nose. (Bu) [Ny] – Pr P H
 wurru: canoe. – b
 wuru: bark used for pounding medicine. –
 Pr

Y y

yabagan: calabash. – Pr

yabaranga: conversational corroboree. (Price
 reports that there was no 'war'
 dancing) – Pr
 yaga: two. [Ny] – Pr H G T
 yagambul: breadfruit. – Pr
 yalamaw: grand, superb. – Pr
 yalana: dirt. – Ts
 yalga: path, road. [Bi][Ny][W] – Pr N b
 yama: all right. – Pr
 yamani: rainbow. [W] – N
 yamay: doctor. – Pr
 yamba: camp. (B, T) [Bi] – Pr N
 yambul: camp. – Pr
 yamun: dugong. – Pr
 yamuru: black duck. – b
 yandanygu: by and by. – Pr
 yandhanday: shy. – Pr
 yanggay: single. – Pr
 yanggulmara: four. – G
 yangugan: saltwater turtle. [Ny] – Pr N a
 yanuga: bush. – Pr
 yanura: tassel ornament. – Pr
 yarraman: horse. [Ny][Bi] – Pr
 yiay: yes. – Pr T
 yida: bird (generic). – Pr
 yila: same, more. – Pr
 yila muba: farther yet (muba, mayi: far). –
 Pr
 yilawara: all the same. (also yila warina) –
 Pr
 yinunda: yesterday. – Pr
 yirba: tongue, language. – Pr
 yubala: two persons. (pidgin ?) – Pr
 yubu: hand. – H
 yulbar: index finger. – Pr
 yuli: hard. – Pr
 yumina: hunt, camp, home. – Pr
 yunbanun: Magnetic Island. – Pr
 yunggul: one. [Ny][W] – Pr N H T
 yunggulgu gugayagu: one camp. (ALL ?) –
 Pr

yunggundal: every time. (is there a case
marker present?) – Pr

yuruna: maggot. – Pr

yuwangana: diver. – Pr

6.2 Verbal lexicon

The following verbal lexicon contains the verbal forms that have been recorded, mainly by Price.

A a

ada: throw. – Pr
 adara: place, put. – Pr
 adina: flee, fly (birds). – Pr
 adira: put to boil. – Pr
 adiramina gamu: boiling water. – Pr
 aga: cook. (long vowel: [aga:], for written ‘agah’) – Pr a
 agagu: cross over. – Pr
 agargu: cook-PURP. – Pr
 agaygay: come. – H
 agu: love. – H
 ala, albana: stand. – Pr
 almalma: take. – Pr
 almamadha: I will take. – Pr
 almana: bring, carry, take. [Ny] – Pr
 ana: drive away. – Pr
 ana: let go. [Ny] – a
 anana: throw away. (PERF) – Pr
 ananga: swim. – a
 andana: PAST. – Pr
 andayi: fall down-FUT. – Pr
 andayima: knock off. – Pr
 andimi: CONT. – Pr
 anga: cook. – Pr
 angana: hurt, cut. – Pr
 angirana: hold a corroboree. – Pr
 arruwa: whistle. – H
 aw: no, NEG. – b
 awga-dha: I don’t know. (aw (= ngaw) + ga (= know?) + dha (1SG)) – b

B b

badabalama: lost. – Pr
 badhabadha mayi: finish now. – Pr
 badi-dhiurga: weep incessantly. – Pr
 badi: weep. [Ny][Bi][W] – Pr G

bala: walk fast. – Pr
 balan: will go away. – Pr
 balay mina: froth. – Pr
 balay: leaking. – Pr
 balina: are running away. – Pr
 balmana: to fire sth.. – Pr
 balmayi: light up. – Pr
 balmbur: to beat time at a corroboree. – Pr
 bambara-ma: make good (good + trans. inch.). – Pr
 bambungga: resting in camp. – Pr
 banaba: give-IMP. – Pr H
 banana: break (bone, wood) broke. – Pr
 bandagu: cut wood. – Pr
 bangana: fix, mend. – Pr
 banja: rub wood to make a fire. – Pr
 barbara: run. – T
 bayalgu: sing. – G
 bayima: turn around. – Pr
 bigirina: get broken, broken. – Pr
 bigray: dream. – Pr
 bija: want-PERF. – Pr
 bijangga: hungry for food. – Pr
 bili: go fast. – Pr G
 bilina: run away. – Pr
 bilubirina: turn around. – Pr
 biluna: turn over. – Pr
 bina: hear. – Pr
 bingunggu: snore. – Pr
 bingili: going round and round. – Pr
 bini: quickly. – Pr
 birbamgadi: go quickly (quick + ?). – Pr
 birima: turn a canoe around. – Pr
 birimay: turn upside. – Pr
 biyamuma: rub. – Pr
 biyanu: chant. – Pr
 bubin mala: kill. – G
 budhnu: smoke. – H

bujana: eat/food. – Pr
 bulabay: conversation. – Pr
 bulama: search for. – Pr
 bulana: see, look at. – Pr
 buli: go away. – Pr
 bulu: strip. – Pr
 buma: hit, strike. [Ny] – Pr
 buma: plait. – Pr
 bumbana: cut, break. – Pr
 bumina: kill. – Pr
 buna maga: want to smoke. – Pr
 bunbi mana: beat with a stick. – Pr
 bundalanya: beat, hit. – H
 bundandi: twist (hair ?). – Pr
 bundima: throw IMP, hit, fight. – Pr G
 bunga: drink (also in a, bungagu, ‘thirsty’).
 – Pr H a
 bungirim: get broken, broke-PAST. – Pr
 bunguray: snore (PAST ?). – Pr
 bunjariny: torn. – Pr
 buray: do. – Pr
 burgama (gadi): open IMP (burga = bottle).
 – Pr
 burgaramu: rub. – Pr
 burmana: cut, break, divide. – Pr
 burubul: dive. – Pr
 buruna: knead. – Pr
 buura: wash (‘pooora’). – Pr
 buy: rest. – Pr
 buynana: blow it. [Ny] – Pr
 buyra: extinguish the fire. – Pr

D d

dabana: bring. – Pr
 dadhina: kick. – Pr
 dagayi: drowning. – Pr
 daguma: open. – Pr
 danggura: I do not know him. – Pr
 dara: broke. – Pr
 darangal: return. – Pr
 darangu: catch. – Pr

dararu: walk slowly. – a
 darayi: catch (PAST ?). – Pr
 darbargu: to fill. – Pr
 darganka: enter. – Pr
 dawngu: eating. – Pr
 didana: sit down. – Pr
 digigu: sit down. – G
 dinumbaru: to stretch after sleep. – Pr
 dugu: hold on. – Pr
 dulay: crouch. – Pr
 duldhina: take care. – Pr
 dulima: creep. – Pr
 duma: rise. – Pr
 dumina: fall of rain, of water levels,
 appearance of the sun. – Pr
 dundayi: make honey. – Pr
 dunya: spear. – Pr H
 durangu: make. – Pr
 durbana: setting of the sun. – Pr
 durgan: allow. – Pr

Dh dh

dhaga mana: lock(ed). [Bi] – Pr
 dhagamayi: destroyed, a wreck. [Ny] – Pr
 dhanday: throw. – Pr
 dhariga: cast off. – Pr
 dhugu: hear. – Pr N
 dhuwaliga: stand up / up-ALL. – P

G g

gabari: finished, no more. – Pr
 gadha: to know, realise (?). – Pr b
 gadhna: dig with a spear. – Pr
 gajin: perfective aspect. – Pr
 gala: look out!. – Pr
 gamanjuniya: set a fire. – H
 gambal: to dig a hole. – Pr
 ganja: spit. – H
 ganmana: meet someone. – Pr
 ganmayna: are surprised. – Pr
 ganur: cover. – Pr

garaju: drink. – Pr
 garanga: wash. – Pr
 garbaygu: cover or wrap with a blanket. [Bi]
 – Pr
 garingu: I came early. – Pr
 gibal, gira: rub. [W] – Pr
 gilmalma: find (irrealis ?). – Pr
 gindama: make. – Pr
 girana: to wash someone else. – Pr
 girmayi: find, hunt. – Pr
 gubinggin: cut. – Pr
 guda: breast feed. – Pr
 gudhna: behold. – Pr
 gugay: ripe. – Pr
 gulbayna: bail out a boat. – Pr
 gulmalmaraw: fear. – Pr
 gumburu: sit. – Pr
 gunabura: burn. – b
 gundana: eat. – Pr
 gundargu: light a fire. – Pr
 gunday: caught. – Pr
 gundilma, gunjalma: (will bite)) gunhdhana
 ? to bite. – Pr
 gundilma: blunt. – Pr
 gundima: shut. – Pr
 gundimina: burn. – a
 gundimina: burn. – Pr
 gundina: don't!. – Pr
 gunggana: bite. – a
 gunggana: eat grass. – Pr
 gunggul: eat. – a
 gunjana: bite). – Pr
 gunkay: damaged. – Pr
 gunki: finish. – Pr
 gurgamu: paint. – Pr
 guri: alive. – Pr G
 gurindal: keeping watch. – Pr
 guwagu: croak (of frogs). – Pr
 guwanyundhara: cross over. – Pr
 guyb(a,i)(na): burn. – Pr
 guyba: heave. [W] – Pr

guynburgay: (I) am very poor. – Pr

I i

ilankula: listen to. – Pr
 imbara: climb a tree. – Pr
 ingana: to hurt someone. – Pr
 inibili: run. – Pr
 inina: eat. – Pr
 inkilga: nearly finished. – Pr
 iragu: bathe. – Pr
 irbana: scrape, brush. – Pr
 irgarayma: to launch a boat. – Pr
 iriyay: fix, make, do something. – Pr
 irmba: cover. – Pr

L l

lala: wait-IMP. – Pr

M m

maguli: work. (INF/NOM)[Ny] – Pr H
 magunggi: a cut wing, cannot fly. – Pr
 malangu: make with hands. – Pr
 malmal: alive. – Pr
 mana: turn up, do (manu). [e.g. bambarra
 mana: It is done properly mira mana: to
 make good Ny][Bi] – Pr H
 manargu: buy (mana + PURP ?). – Pr
 manayru: handle. – Pr
 mandana: go up. – Pr
 mandima: catch hold. – Pr
 manggal, manggula: chant. – H
 manggay: do not want it. – Pr
 manu: take, catch, hold do. – Pr H
 marga: chant. – Pr H
 mayi: are going. – Pr
 mayl mana: open a door. – Pr
 mayl ranba: shut a door. – Pr
 maylinini: running away. – Pr
 mima: lean (?). – Pr
 mirankanka: smell. – Pr
 mubana: to hurt someone. – Pr

mubira: holding. – Pr
 mugadanu: dead. – Pr
 mugama: to pile in a heap. – Pr
 mun alma: put out the fire. – Pr
 mun mana: keep quiet. – Pr
 mundana: go down. – Pr
 mundayi: visiting. – Pr
 mundayma: to make clear. – Pr
 mungal: sleep. – Pr
 munguli: finish. – Pr
 mununa: sew. – Pr
 munur mana: rub out. – Pr
 murgu mana: to cure. (seed + mana) – Pr
 muri: sleep. – Pr
 muriga: sing. – a

N n

nagul: heard. – Pr
 namba: write. – Pr
 nambana: write-PURP. – Pr
 nambina: rub fat into the hair. – Pr
 nanga: go. (of a thrown boomerang) – Pr
 nangga: approach. – Pr
 numargu: to wash. (PURP ?) – Pr
 nundana: slide. – Pr
 nundayi: rolled. – Pr
 nundu: roll. – Pr

Ng ng

ngadhagu: fetch. – Pr
 ngaga: sit-IMP. – Pr a
 ngangirana: have fun. – Pr G
 ngaw: no, not. – Pr
 ngira: fasten. – Pr
 nguda: come. – Pr
 nguda: scratch. – Pr
 nguma: dive. – Pr
 ngungaw: go along. – Pr
 ngurany: come here. – P T
 nguyma: come-IMP. – Pr
 nguyna: enter. – Pr

Nh nh

nhagan mulgan: sight seeing. – Pr
 nhagi: see-INF. [Ny][Bi][W] – Pr
 nhagina: see-PAST. – Pr
 nhambanggu: dance. – Pr
 nhina: sitting, restisng. – Pr
 nhulamay: bring, fetch-IMP. – P

R r

rhana: roll. – Pr H
 rhana: throw. – a
 rhandima: throw. – Pr
 rharga: hold a corroboree. – Pr
 rhugana: to fish. – H
 rhunggunda: crying. – Pr
 rhuyama: swear-IMP. – Pr

U u

uba: untie. – Pr
 udama: rise. – Pr
 udana: take out. – Pr
 udara: pull. – Pr
 ugaga: give-PAST. [Ny] – Pr H
 ugima: give. – Pr
 ulana: drunk. – Pr
 ulany: hungry. [Ny] – Pr H a b
 ulanya: dead. [Ny][W] – a b
 ulayi: dead. – Pr
 ulma: pick up. – Pr
 uluguma: pull down. – Pr
 undimima: drowned. – Pr
 unga: sell. – Pr
 unggga: see someone. – Pr
 ungggay: confined-PERF. – Pr
 unggimana: tired. – Pr
 ungura: hunt. – Pr
 unya: give. – H
 uribina: lick. – Pr
 uriny: come, join. (IMP, PURP) (ngurany)
 – Pr H a b

uybil: whittle. – Pr

W w

wadi: laugh. [Ny] – G

wagama: return (UNM). – Pr

walagu: climb. – H

wandul: whistle. – Pr

wangga: cry. – Pr

warhi: fly. [Ny] – Pr

waya-y: die. – Pr

wayuna: distrust. – Pr

wiragu: cool. (cool + PURP) – Pr

wirragu: swim. – G

wulany(a): die. [Ny][Bi][W] – G

wumana: forget ('I forget'). -UNM, PERF
? – Pr

Y y

yaandu: come. – Pr

yaba: talk, ask. – Pr

yabana: talking, speaking. – Pr

yabayi: said. – Pr

yadhi: laugh. [W] – Pr

yalama: go away. (IMP ?) – Pr

yalbira: come around. – Pr

yambiri: split open. – Pr

yana: go, walk. [Ny][Bi][W] – Pr H T

yana: go-PURP. – Pr

yanalma: lose. – Pr

yanara: stay (a while longer). – Pr

yandayi: go away now. (IMP ?) – Pr

yandilma: he spoke to me. – Pr

yanggi: look out. – Pr

yani: have been. – Pr

yaniga: go. – G

yanyuga: sleep. – Pr

yiay: yes. – Pr T

yilama: received. – Pr

yuga: sleep. [Ny] – Pr

yugara: leave it-IMP. – Pr

yugi: to sleep. (g > [ɣ] / V-V) – Pr a

yugima: sleep-IMP. – Pr

yumina: lie down. – Pr

yungun: row, scull. – H

yura: to spit. – Pr

yurunggargu: chant for the sick. ('sick
person' + DAT ?) – Pr

6.3 English-Wulguru finderlist

The following list is not intended to be a full reversal of the wordlist above, but simply a finderlist. Most importantly the information on the sources has not been included in this section, nor any notes on the lexemes.

A a

air: badhi
 alive: guri, malmal
 alive (still strong): walama
 all right: mubay, ura, yama
 all the same: ibiranga,
 yilawara
 alligator: ganayga,
 ginaygan
 allow: durgan
 an idiot: wanguruga
 an open place: burbaya
 anchor: gambaginba,
 gurgun (mana)
 another one: danaru
 another tribe: mildhin yana
 ant hills: gumul
 ant, large: garanggan
 ant, white: munda
 anus: bandany
 approach: nangga
 arm: galgal, gaygal, mana
 arm marks for the dead:
 gumbigi
 ashes: midha
 aunt: gabagan
 aunt, wife, sister-in-law:
 gayin
 axe: ngulu, ulan

B b

baby: muluramun
 back: barhu, dhuri
 back of (something): bija
 bad: ariya, wurang
 bad hips: gunggi
 bad(ly built) house:
 gunday arra

bag: marimigi, bundarun
 bail out a boat: gulbayna
 banana: gudhmany
 banana skin: bida, ngurgul
 bandicoot: gudhila
 bark (tree's): bidhil,
 gulung
 bark cracle: bujangga,
 bujan
 bark used for pounding
 medicine: wuru
 barrel: gurbi
 bathe: iragu
 bean (species):
 mangamanga
 bean, wild: barhbarha
 beat time at a corroboree:
 balmbur
 beat with a stick: bunbi
 mana
 beat, hit: bundalanya
 bee: guyruwa
 bee, male: walga
 behind: alana
 behold: gudhna
 belly: gaba
 bend, angle: gungu
 best: daribara, maringguma
 big: muga
 big ant: gugurumu
 big flood: uradila
 big mountain wallaby:
 gujirri
 big rains: gunamburu
 big toe: bandhiur
 big woman: mabungana
 billy can: dawingguru
 bird (generic): yida
 bird's nest: uma

bite: gundilma, gunjalma,
 gunhdhana, gunggana,
 gunjana
 Black Goanna: bigunbarra
 Black River: bangira
 black: gurgul, jingajinga,
 midhamidha, ngumbi
 black ant: gudhay
 black cockatoo: gigari
 black duck: urandu,
 yamuru
 black goanna: baylanbara
 black tree: gunkula
 black wood: wunay
 blasting operations:
 mugina
 blaze, large: wanga
 blind: banggi, mubaygan
 blind person: namula
 blood: guma, gunbana,
 guri
 blow it: buynana
 blue colour: way
 blunt: gundilma, murgun
 boat, canoe: ngurru
 boiling water: adiramina
 gamu
 bone: dhugi, dhuri
 bone in the stingaree
 fish's tail: dulmbu
 book: bugu, dhanbul
 boomerang: angal, waangal
 boomerang engravings:
 babara
 boomerang, very crooked
 kind: maria
 bottle: garraramu
 bottle, anything used to
 hold water : binga
 bottom: bilu, dhidana

bottom: muun
 bowels: giralgara
 boy: gandu, margara
 branch of a tree, large:
 bayan
 branches of a tree:
 ngambar
 brandy: giralju
 bread: gajamali
 breadfruit: yagambul
 break (bone, wood) broke:
 banana
 breast: ngamun
 breast feed: guda
 bridle: miru
 bring: dabana
 bring, carry, take: almana,
 nhulamay
 broke: dara
 brother: dalnbu
 brother in law: baljin
 brother, younger: dhambu,
 rhudi
 brothers: bulalgu
 brown wood: galbay
 bucket: dawnguru
 bullfrog: ugul
 bullock: banggal
 bullock fat: damingga
 burn: gunabura,
 gundimina,
 guyb(a,i)(na)
 burrs: mubany mubany
 bush: yanuga
 bush, small: dulginda
 bushfire: murdaburhi
 butterfly: buramu,
 gulambira
 button: nganggi
 buy (mana + PURP?):
 manargu
 by and by: rrarga(la),
 yandanygu

C c

cactus: uybulibal
 calabash: dalanygunu,
 murgu, wargarra,
 yabagan
 calabash (kind): duguwari
 calabash shell: danbaba
 calabash, long: rhugubal
 calf: gandi
 calf muscle: aga, rhamba
 calm: buluny
 camp: ngurra, nguyambul,
 ugay, ura, yamba,
 yambul
 camp fire, firewood: dhanu
 canoe: ulgurru, wulgurru,
 wurru
 Cape Cleveland: guliman
 Cape Mal: girunda
 Cape Malo: wariganda
 capsize: mima ana
 carpet snake: gabul
 cask: miyuma
 cast off: dhariga
 catch: daranggu, darayi
 catch hold: mandima
 caught: gunday
 centipede: udhal
 chant: manggal, manggula,
 biyanu, marga
 chant for the sick:
 yurunggargu
 cheek: abi, ngabul
 chest, face: rhali
 child: dhandi nuga,
 mabura, nalga
 chin: dhabar, dhalbar
 chips: winggal
 Christmas: imbira
 cicatrice: babun ngumbar,
 badhgigay, mugaru
 clam shell: gubiru
 clasped hands: malangga

clay: burba
 clean: galngaba
 clear, open space: igan
 climb: walagu
 climb a tree: imbara
 close space, with no wind:
 gundu
 cloud: magur(i), ngumar
 cloudy: maguruny
 club, nullah: mirhu,
 gambara
 club, nullah nullah (heavy):
 gaymarri
 coal: gundar
 coals: midhamidha
 cockatoo: bargala
 cockatoo, white: gimiru
 cockbird: wagun
 cockle shell: gugagay,
 umbumbu
 cockle, small: rhugulugul
 coconut: gurumalu
 coconut tree's leaves:
 ngalban
 cold: gidu
 cold in the head:
 burunggar
 come: agaygay, nguda,
 yaandu, nguyma
 come around: yalbira
 come here: ngurany
 come, join: uriny
 complete cripple: gunbu
 confined: unggay
 constellation: mabura
 CONT: andimi
 conversation: bulabay,
 dunur
 conversational corroboree:
 yabaranga
 cook: aga, anga, agargu
 cookies: gangara
 cool: wiragu, wirawira
 coral: dhambi
 coral reef: mu(u)gar

corroboree: mariga, diyari,
 gayanging, many(a),
 wargugil,
 mangungangirankagu
 corroboree, large: bawril
 country: bul
 couple, pair: nhubal
 cousin: bunkany, gurri,
 mugun
 cousin, friend, a relative:
 bagala
 cover: ganur, irmba
 cover or wrap with a
 blanket: garbaygu
 cow: mundumundu
 cow, bullock: umaburu
 cowrie shell: durun,
 rhalbar
 crab: mudhuur
 creek: bunga, mandiganla
 creep: dulima
 creeper vine (kind):
 mangalmangal
 cripple: bulari gundin
 croak (of frogs): guwagu
 croaking of frogs: baluran
 gangara
 crocodile: maybiya
 crooked: bingil
 cross over: agagu,
 guwanyundhara
 crouch: dulay
 crow: agal, agan, wa(:)gan,
 [ogal]
 cry: wangga
 crying: rhunggunda
 cure: murgu mana
 cut: gubinggin
 cut wing, cannot fly:
 magunggi
 cut wood: bandagu
 cut, break: bumbana,
 burmana

D d

damaged: gunkay
 dance: warina,
 nhambanggu
 dark: manggar
 dark colour: ganggaba
 dark, night, late: ngadhi
 daughter: giri
 dawn: marha(uba)
 dead: mugadanu, ulanya,
 ulayi, budalguru,
 mugudanu
 dead female spirit: gungin
 dead spirit: mu(g)iyara
 deaf: wama
 death adder: bingali
 deck: gaydal
 deictic, that: na
 dense scrub: buji
 destroyed, a wreck:
 dhagamayi
 devil: mangal
 devil devil: dalara
 die: waya-y, wulany(a)
 dig a hole: gambal
 dig with a spear: gadhna
 dilly bag: dalun, darbana,
 galin, gaya, gudhna
 dirt, earth: gayi, yalana
 district between Townsville
 and Bohlee:
 durginburu
 district near the German
 Gardens: dulginburu
 district north of
 Townsville: gurambil
 distrust: wayuna
 dive: burubul, nguma
 diver: yuwangana
 do: buray
 do not want it: manggay
 doctor: dhagida, yamay
 dog: umbal, uyu

don't do/make a NOUN:

mali
 don't!: gundina
 door: mayl
 down: dhargumana
 dream: bigray
 dried wheat: burgan
 drink: bunga, garaju
 drink water: bunga gamu
 drive away: ana
 drop of rain: bunyuru
 dropping: danggadangga
 drowned: undimima
 drowning: dagayi
 drunk: ulana, bugin
 dry: a(r)gal, gadila, mundar
 dry weather: gurbal
 duck, wild: gibiya
 dugong: yamun

E e

eaglehawk: gudhala,
 gurridhala
 ear: bina
 early: dhunduga, ubayi
 earth: nhani
 eat: gunggul, inina,
 gundana, dawngu
 eat grass: gunggana
 eat/food: bujana
 echidna: babira, gubul
 edible bulbs, little: dilbara
 edible creeper: mugulumu
 edible shrub: galararu
 edible tree: dalmbana
 elbow: muru
 elbow, burr (?): gagandu,
 gambunu
 elder brother: gadha
 emu: gulburu, gunggulu,
 windunu
 emu egg: gurindil
 end (of a) dance: bijarina
 end, finish: badabada

England (?):
 mildhinmildhin
 English potato: budari
 enough: bayra
 enter: darganka, nguyna
 entrance to the Hunter
 River: bamalu
 estuary: magani
 evening, dinner time:
 urgulu
 every day: ma(y)ringga
 every kind: ngura nhuga
 every time: mayri, mari,
 yunggundal
 exposed bottom roots
 (after a flood): guwul
 jar
 extinguish the fire: buyra
 eye: miil
 eyebrow: bulu, guynbaru
 eyelashes: dhirany

F f

face, forehead: nganyi
 fair wind: bundibundi,
 gulubu
 fall down: andayi
 fall of rain, of water levels,
 appearance of the sun:
 dumina
 far: banging, dulgun, mayi,
 muba
 farther yet: yila muba
 fasten: ngira
 fat: dhami, ngurga(l,y),
 rhurina
 fat, well fed: gaba nuga
 father: mugaury
 father's mother: gumbu
 father, father's brother:
 abu
 fear: gulmalmaraw,
 gulman, inay,
 maramara

feather headdress: gudi
 gudi
 female muscle: gura
 female wallaby: balbamu
 female white rock wallaby:
 galbaru
 fence: mayrula
 fetch: ngadhagu
 fetch (for that?): nadhagu
 fill: darbargu
 find (irrealis?): gilmalma
 find, hunt: girmayi
 finger nails: rhuyrin
 finger, second: waguli
 finger, toe nail: dhundu
 finish: gunki, munguli,
 ugara
 finish now: badhabadha
 mayi
 finished: garbari, gabari
 fire: burhi, dugala, rhingin
 fire sth.: balmana
 first time: urungga
 fish: guya, mujuura,
 ngujur, rhugana
 fish (black bream): gi(i)ba
 fish hook: minggi
 fish net: mirum, mugaru,
 mundu
 fish shells: diyanggala
 fish that fall from the
 clouds: guyman
 fishing line: rharha
 fix, make, do something:
 iriyay
 fix, mend: bangana
 flea: muru
 flee, fly (birds): adina
 flood spreading out: guwul
 mana
 flood tide: unggu
 flower: bingalingil
 fly: warhi, adi, guramu,
 guruma

flying fox: badaburga,
 gugi
 fog: ngural
 food: dhaga, gulu
 foot : dhina
 footsteps, noise: garun
 forearm: bugamu
 forehead: ngulu
 forehead ornament:
 muliburu
 foreign countries: urayarga
 foreign, different: abal
 foreigner: abal ngumbar,
 ilguraya
 foreigner, mainlander:
 dankuran
 forest country: barugala,
 barunga(la)
 forest, bush: daljangga
 forget ('I forget'):
 wumana
 forked stick: burrgu
 fortnight next Sunday:
 mangurara
 four: yanggulmara
 fresh water eel: dulunggan
 fresh water lily: gawru
 friend: balgany
 friend's camp (same
 tribe): mildhin gundayi
 friend's hips: rhundungar
 fright: gundi
 frog: nirbany
 front: wira
 froth: balay mina,
 balayminu
 fun: angira

G g

games: marga
 gammon, nonsense:
 rhunggul
 German garden district:
 ungugu

get broken, broke: bungirim
 get broken, broken: bigirina
 ginger root, wild: gumbayi
 girl: mankara
 give: banaba, ugaga, ugima, unya
 Gleeson's: bangura
 go: nanga, yaniga
 go along: ngungaw
 go away: buli, yalama, yandayi
 go down: mundana
 go fast: bili
 go quickly (quick + ?): birbangadi
 go up: mandana
 go, walk: yana
 goanna: dhagany, gudhawru
 Goanna, large: bingunbura
 god: ug (V?)
 going: mayi
 going round and round: bingili
 good ?: mira
 good boy: nilamburu
 good to, be: bujari
 grand mother: gamuny
 grand, superb: yalamaw
 grass: bugan, ilil, uyulu, wiyalu
 grass (kind): minggayla
 grass (kind): mugubara
 grass, wild: dugala
 grave: burgamagadi, duluranga, nani
 green bark: gula
 green frog: ungalungal
 grey bird, small: babaral
 ground: ngadha, warhunyu
 grub, long: nibu
 gum: naguny
 gum tree: wumbu

gutter: burbay, gana

H h

hair: muluny
 half full: darral
 hand: mala, yubu, gari
 hand cuffs: muriranjirilma
 handkerchief: wamangi
 handle: manayru
 handle of a wheelbarrow: manggu
 handle of an axe or a knife: madhay mana
 hard: yuli
 harmless, quiet: murha
 harpoon: miluran
 hat: wandu
 hat made from a large leaf: wangguna
 have fun: ngangirana
 hawk: birba, buba
 he spoke to me: yandilma
 head: alu, ngulu, walu
 headdress made from human hair: miyu miyu
 hear: bina, dhugu
 heard: nagul
 heart: buryay
 heat: angara, anybara
 heat, sweat: ngayman
 heave: guyba
 heaven: galiny
 heavy: bidan
 heavy flood: andhin
 heavy rains: ngayingayi
 heavy seas: guluwi
 heel: mugal
 hen: ma
 Herbert River: budin, myianga
 high: buru, gadil
 high water: galany
 high words: durimagulgi

Hinchinbrook Island: burinanday

hips, root of a tree: bilu
 hit, strike: buma
 hold a corroboree: angirana, rharga
 hold on: dugu
 holding: mubira
 hole: banggu
 hollow (tree): iduru
 home: wanga
 honey: milgir
 horse: yarraman
 hot weather, sunshine, heat: ganggara
 how much: mina wari
 hungry: ulany, bijariga, gaba dhandhi, bijangga
 hunt: ungura
 hunt, camp, home: yumina
 hurt someone: ingana, mubana
 hurt, cut: angana
 husband: ngumbaru
 hut: baliri, gunda, rhandal
 hut, camp: gugay
 hybis: gandil

I i

I came early: garingu
 I do not know him: danggura
 I don't know : awga-dha
 I will take: almamadha
 ice: nganybar
 impenetrable scrub: rhuyrhu
 in between: gagilagil
 index finger: yulbar
 Indian shot (?): ngunban
 industrious: buwari
 inside: dargana, dundu, gunu
 iron: milbir

Ironbark tree: gamburu

J j

joints: dhudhun

journey: wudhabagu

K k

kangaroo: buli

kangaroo (sp.): balay

kangaroo (sp.): baragan

kangaroo hair: ururuny

kangaroo, white: balbiran

keep quiet: mun mana

keeping watch: gurindal

kick: dadhina

kill: bubin mala, bumina

knead: buruna

knee: mugu

kneeling: mugunggo

knife: bilgurru, waguru

knock off: andayima

knot, trunk of a tree:
gunkun

know, realise (?): gadha

kookaburra: gagugu

L l

lagoon: gawru

lamp: ngundan

land breeze: rhurga

last time: ngarangar

laugh: wadi, yadhi

laughter: aday

launch a boat: irgarayma

lazy: burabay, magul

leaf: bina, binu

leaking: balay

lean (?): mima

leave it: yugara

left (hand): daguy

leg: waga

Leichhardt tree: gunayi

let go: ana

level: bayindaga

lick: uribina

lie down: yumina

light: nandan

light a fire: gundargu

light house: wudhamgu

light up: balmayi

light wood: daragala

lightning: malgan

lily: dimala

lime coral: dumba

lips: muliny

listen to: ilankula

little: alun

little finger: gabi, gubi

little girl: mabunggara

liver: giba

lizard: bindhidigana,
milbirara

lock(ed): dhaga mana

lock-up: ngirana

loin areas: manguru

loin cloth: galambiri

long: dubil

long time: gina magan

long time, one year:
mundany yugima,
ngadirgu

long way: gagay

long way away: na
banging ba

long way off: galgalba

look out: yanggi, gala

loose: wanda

lose: yanalma

lost: badabalama

louse: arra, balbun

love: agu

low water: ngabingala

lungs: adhar

M m

maggot: yuruna

Magnetic Island:

danulagan, yunbanun

mainland (?): durugal

make: duranggu, gindama

make clear: mundayma

make good (good + trans.
inch.): bambara-ma

make honey: dundayi

make with hands: malangu

male rock wallaby, large:
wangara

man's daughter in law, or
man's sister's son or
daughter: gaba

man's mother in law:
wiminkil

mangrove: aguny

mangrove tree: barur

mangrove, shrub: dalbanu

many: munda munda

many pieces, plenty:
dhagru

married: dhulbun

married couple:

dhulbunkay, nhubala

matches: buriburi

meat: dalguru, dumabury

meaty bit of oysters:
duljana

medicine: buda, rharu

meet someone: ganmana

menstruation: unggayru

mesh of a net: ngaraal

mess mate: gambayu

midday: bindal uba

middle, inside: wunda

milk: mudhi

milk, breast: gudar

Milton hill: gabur

mob: ngumbar

mob, large: dambun

mocking bird: angang

moon: balban, bulban,
galbari, gankany

moon's departure: gabay

morning star: guymu,
 wumbalaru
 mosquito: gubiyal, gumu
 most: dubu
 mother: aga, ami, imi
 mother's brother: guwa
 mother's father: naji
 mother's mother or son's
 daughter: babi
 mother's sister: bulunggu
 mother, father's sister (g >
 o/ ?): gami
 motion: dulbar
 Mount Elliott: mandilgun
 Mount Louisa:
 dhulginybarra,
 gubalaburu, murirun
 Mount Stewart:
 mundalga
 mountain: bilbari,
 bugaburu, dhulginy,
 ulnbugan
 mountain (small) near
 Alligator Creek:
 dunggindiru
 mouth: dhaa
 much: mulgul
 mud: dulbin
 muddy: jigiyigi
 mullet: dhanduru
 mushroom coral:
 duraldural, girangiran
 music: rhunggu gaybana
 music stick: balmbur
 mussels: bamuy
 my country, mine: mildhin

N n

nail: dundaw
 name: birubal, rhi(:)l,
 ngurha
 nape: munhuy
 nasal rind: ayury
 nasal septum: gagiy

native companion
 (brolga?): gundil
 native oak tree:
 ngayungayu
 navel: dugul, dujur
 nearly finished: inkilga
 neck: gu(:)ga, mulnuy
 net: barga
 never, not: buy, bay
 new: gagany
 new moon: galgin ganku
 new racecourse: dhirabany
 newspaper: nina
 next sunday: ganji argu
 next time: wulganda
 night: wunu
 no: guruny, ngaw
 no more: mali dhirga
 noise: ganga, rhala,
 wumarama
 nose: urhu, wurhu
 nostril, snot: nuruny
 not: bu, buwan
 now: urha
 now, today, yes: gadi
 nullah nullah: dawany,
 dula, mayru

O o

O.K., that's good:
 nangur(a,u)
 oar: baril
 old: anki, gurgu
 old man: gulula
 old man kangaroo:
 dalambaru, gandala,
 migilu
 old now: gurgurbu
 old person: gurgurbi
 old racecourse: dhindaya
 old woman: gululu
 olden days long ago:
 uranggurangga
 one: yunggul

one (human deictic): warra
 one camp (All ?):
 yunggulgu gugayagu
 one person: umbarbul
 one place, time, tribe:
 hunggunda
 one tribe: mildhinnga
 only one: danaya
 open: daguma
 open (bottle): burgama
 (gadi)
 open a door: mayl mana
 orchid: birgalbirgal
 orchid, long stemmed:
 digaru
 orchids: madhal
 ornament: andu, badalabul
 orphan: gunburgan,
 mundiganka
 others: dumay
 outside: ngulu
 overcast: magurmagur
 overflow of water: dhalmaal
 own nothing: mambun
 oyster: gumunbaygan,
 ngayay
 oyster flesh: arangu

P p

paint: gurgamu
 paint, white: gibangga
 Palm Island: burrguman
 Palm Island group: Dhanu
 mira
 parrot (kind): ngadibirba
 PAST: andana
 paternal grandfather: guba
 path, road: yalga
 pelican, ship: bulu(n)
 penis: dhiliny, gadhal,
 manda
 people: dunggari
 perfective aspect: gajin

person: ilgura, ngumbar,
 umbar
 pheasant: wulbu
 (buduban)
 pick up: ulma
 piebald: galburu
 pigeon (kind): mulamula
 pile in a heap: mugama
 pipe: gurugaw
 place name: balgilaburu,
 ungurra
 place, put: adara
 plains: garia
 plait: buma
 plant, small: uyay
 plenty: gundumbariny,
 mindiyarra
 plenty: mulma
 plum: dhilma, bulama
 plums: gulgay
 plums, wild: agany
 pocket: durba
 poor: wumba
 poor path: mirgara
 poor, very: guynburgay
 porpoise: galgun, gandar
 possum: bagalanga,
 bargalanga, gadhara
 possum yarn, wool: minan
 minan
 potato-like roots: dilmarra
 present: abaya
 pretty parrot: murgundulu
 Prickly Pear: gagalagal
 prickly: dujima, wagada
 prickly pear: rhalgal
 proper good, better, right
 to: bambarra
 pull: udura
 pull down: uluguma
 put out the fire: mun alma
 put to boil: adira

Q q

quick, speedy:
 mayringguma
 quickly: bini, birbandu,
 birbayandu, birbini,
 miringguma
 quiet: bura, guynbu

R r

Rabbit Island: gila nagal
 rain: alul, guwa, urayal
 rain water: nginkany
 rainbow: unbal, yamani
 rainy season: gunduna
 rat: ubara
 Rattlesnake Island: balaran
 received: yilama
 red: dilgurari, guriguri,
 magan, magayra, ulba
 red clay: may(r)a
 reed spear: badhar
 rest: buy, nabu
 resting in camp:
 bambungga
 return: darangal
 return (UNM): wagama
 ribs: bagara
 right (handed): mudun
 ripe: gugay
 rise: duma, udama
 rising sun district:
 mandanyburu
 river: galba, gulbadara
 river, small: bunu
 road, path: bala, duluru,
 dulbuny
 rock wallaby, large:
 mangara
 roll: mirabira, nundayi,
 nundu, rhana
 rooster: ububi
 roots: muyu
 roots of a small mangrove
 tree: albar

roots, like parsnip:
 mayulumu
 Ross River: galbidira
 rotten: burungul
 rough (of the sea): guburu
 round: dhanuyana
 row, scull: yungun
 rub: biyamuma,
 burgaramu, gibal, gira
 rub fat into the hair:
 nambina
 rub out: munur mana
 rub wood to make a fire:
 banja
 rump: gundu
 run: barbara, inibili
 run away: bilina
 running away: balina,
 maylinini
 rushes: gaal

S s

saddle: guganybany
 said: yabayi
 sail, shirt: bingar
 salt pans: burungar
 salt water: andha,
 dalingginda, ngandha
 salt water eel: bagariyan
 salt water, beach:
 manggulanga
 saltwater turtle: yangungan
 same, more: yila
 sand: adgakadgak,
 bunarhu, dhangal
 sand ridge: gundalu
 sated, full: malaru, mugan,
 balur
 satisfied: gaba bambara
 “saucy”: ngubur
 scent: wangar
 schooner, small: dunanga
 scrape, brush: irbana
 scratch: nguda

screech: manynungga	shoulder: dhilbirra, dhilbuy	small toe: biji
scrub: dinaamba, wunbugan	shoulder tattoos: gudi	smell: mirankanka
scrub hen, egg: urhamba	shrimp: mugur	smoke: budhnu, bunu
sculling boat: durimi	shut: gundima	smooth: madamada
sea: mada	shut a door: mayl ranba	snake: bunbil, bunggaja, urbala
sea water: arunda	shy: yandhanday	snake or lizard fat: bubu
sea-weed: bugurga	sick: muji	sneeze: ngungu, ningarin
seal: guginbin	sickness: mangal	snore: binganggu, bunguray
search for: bulama	side: uri	snow, glass, quartz, ice, epsom salts: guyan
see someone: unggga	sight seeing: nhagan mulgan	soak in water: ngaba
see, look at: bulana, nhagi, nhagina	silence, silently: munggulmunggul	soap: barangan
seed: murgu	sinew: rhamgin	soil: aruny
sell: unga	sing: bayalgu, muriga	sometimes: mangurara
set a fire: gamanjuniya	single: yanggay	son: bungal, dhula, indal, uyanda
setting of the sun: durbana	sister: abari	sore: ankul
sew: mununa	sit: gumburu, didana, digigu, ngaga	sore, wound: buwi
shade: gira, imbira	sitting still: ngadil	sound: munga
shade tree: muri, rhigabur	sitting, restisng: nhina	sound of wind in the telegraph wires: ungur
shady tree, large: aganagan	six 1/4 mile railway station district: uulguluburu	spacious: guguburgu
shallow water: barambaram	six weeks: nayjil	spear: dunya, ada, dabun, dubal, ganbara, gayal, wumira
shark: bururu	sixth island past Magnetic Island on the way to PI (Magazine Island ?): guyurara	spear grass: gayja
shark, small: rhulguny	skeleton: rhala	speckled leaf: gumbay, milgira
sharp: durgalma, nganyu	skin: dhalgur, hungaru, rhungul	spider: binibira, bira
sharp, a point: badubadu, wugadha	sky: ninji, ulbul	spirit, ghost: garia, biyabiya
sheep: dulimbu	sleep: mungal, muri, yanyuga, yuga, yugima	spit: ganja, yura
sheet iron: biradi	sleep: yugi	splinter: bunbal
sheet lightning: mudhamudha	slide: nundana	split open: yambiri
shell: baba, bundumbu	slippery, smooth: guyu	spouse: rhunguny
shield: bigil, gambadala, guyari, guyrri (guyrri)	slowly, easily: dalmara	sprouts: rhalgayra
shield grip: ama	small: banja, dhandhi, durgal	square: dubilabi
shield, long: gunawa	small branches of a river: galba biruru	stand: ala, albana, dhuwaliga
ship's hold: rhaginda	small shell, long: dugurwayri	star: bagaraga, gungalungal, ubanjila, gubayila, guburyugali
ship's mast: buybamu		
shirt: gagali		
shit: gima		
short: dhanu		
short boomerang: bulunbulun		

stay (a while longer):
 yanara
 steamer: diminga
 steps cut in a tree in order
 to climb it: Dinda
 sticky: madhana
 stiff: Dinambara
 sting ray: gulaygan,
 minggamingga
 stock: dhinggal
 stomach: giba
 stomach tattoos:
 guymbirra
 stone axe: balgila,
 dunggadungga
 stone, house?: balgan
 stone, pebble, heap, pile:
 barri
 storm (= wind + high):
 ga(y)duburu
 straight: gugulu
 straight away: bira
 straight shrub with pears,
 small but tall : udhul
 strangers: dhangguru
 stretch after sleep:
 dinumbaru
 strip: bulu
 strong: duranganin, wala
 strong, very: gadaragi
 sugar bag: gubun,
 mayingga
 sugar cane: mayi
 summit: baringga bujana
 sun: inki, uba, ubwa, waba
 sunset: namuru
 surprised: ganmayna
 swear: rhuyama
 sweet: dunggira
 sweet potato: magayi
 swim: ananga, wirragu
 sword: bagur

T t

tail: wargi

tail (fish's): wara (ngujur)
 take: almalma
 take care: duldhina
 take out: udana
 take, catch, hold do: manu
 talk, ask: yaba, yabana
 talkative: birana
 tassel ornament: yanura
 tattoos on back: mujiru
 tea time: habunda
 tears: miniyara
 temple: banggan
 testicles: gurra
 that: nabagu
 that (person): nangga
 that (tree): nabin
 that direction: nabala
 that one : minga
 that side: guban
 the cry of the frog: wubuw
 ubu
 there: nabagu
 thigh: dharra
 thin: munmadhirgu
 third finger: ngirrin
 thirsty: gugaydura,
 gugidura
 three: dhijur, gaburr
 throat: rhuga
 throw: ada, dhanday, rhana,
 rhandima
 throw away: anana
 throw IMP, hit, fight:
 bundima
 thumb: gumbi
 thunder: dhigurru,
 gandanu, gunduburu
 tiger ant: agan
 time: ganjara
 tired: unggimana,
 mugurmugur
 toe: rhiwirin
 tomahawk: banuna

tomorrow: adhargu,
 ganjagu, garalagu,
 gubarha, muruny,
 ngalaragu
 tongue: dhalany, dhanga
 tongue, language: yirba,
 dhalag
 too far: ula
 too much: mulgal
 tooth: rhirra, guynu
 tooth breaking ceremony:
 burul
 top: bindal
 torn: bunjariny
 tortoise: bindiri
 town: balgangu
 Townsville: gurambilburu
 track: giba
 tree: gumbayal
 tree (small) with small
 pointed leaves (white
 eucalyptus tree):
 ma(r)gura
 tree creeper's flower or
 seed: ganburu
 tree with honey in it:
 gulumburu
 tree, tall with small berries:
 nguru
 tree, wood: rhula
 tree, wood, firewood:
 arhabi
 trepang: dumbala, dunbala,
 rhuwa
 tribal cicatrices: muguru
 tribal marks: bangun
 trousers: dhararu
 turkey, wild: gulgu
 turn a canoe around:
 birima
 turn around: bayima,
 bilubirina
 turn over: biluna
 turn up, do (manu): mana
 turn upside: birimay

turtle egg: gugu ana
 turtle shell: minggi
 twist (hair ?): bundandi
 twisted hair: dindiburu
 two: yaga
 two persons: yubala
 two sticks used to pull a
 fishing net taut:
 banggir

U u

uncle: gawa
 underneath: munda
 unsuitable for drinking:
 gaga
 untie: uba
 urine: jujara, mirila, ural
 using the head: ngulunggu

V v

vagina: binhany, dhalbana
 vagina, (vulva): dhamba
 vegetable food: gur.gur
 vein: rhankin
 very: nhuga
 very few: gaburr bay
 very much: mulgan-du
 very, next: bay
 visiting: mundayi

W w

wait: lala
 walk fast: bala
 walk slowly: dararu
 walking stick: ngunga
 wallaby: bali, bawul,
 dhalan
 wallaby, male: galmuna
 want to smoke: buna maga
 want: bija
 war spear: ga:bau
 wardress: gagu
 warts: gagin gagin,
 mundamu

wash: buura, garanga,
 numargu
 wash someone else: girana
 wasp, hornet: bunul
 water: gamu, irgay
 water (drinking): dhalmaal
 water course, small:
 rhuwan
 water fly – like a hornet:
 gunkurunkuru
 water grub: rhura
 water lily stak: mugu
 wave: dhimbu
 waves, sea spray:
 ngabinngabin
 we two: ngali
 weak: dhabana, dhagiragar,
 hagu, nganduwa
 week: mangul margay
 weep: badi
 weep incessantly: badi-
 dhiurga
 West, head wind,
 beginning of summer:
 birgil
 wet: dulbindulbin
 whale: dugaru
 what: anda
 what next: minayi
 where: ana, nganda
 where: anagu
 whereabouts: wandayindu
 whiskers: dalburu, gama
 whistle: arruwa, wandul
 white: gunggamu
 white (person): marra
 white people (loan):
 waybala
 white person: abayi,
 manggal, uga
 white woman: amarigamda
 white, dead: mugadanu
 whittle: uybil
 who (did it): ngandu
 whose: anu

why, what for, what: mina,
 wanda
 wife: muju
 wild: bangginbanggin,
 gununu
 will go away: balan
 wind: burugada, gaydu,
 wira
 woman: gura, mabura,
 manngan, mujumuju
 woman's father in law:
 daru
 woman's son in law: bimu
 Wombala area: nagyjabara
 wombat: guyugal
 won't: garay
 wood duck: gudargurugu
 wood, small: galgira
 wooden sword: gimiwa,
 gunuwi
 woomera: giliba, gula
 work: maguli
 wrist: bulgamu
 write: namba, nambana

Y y

yellow: gunbili
 yes: adha, yiay
 yesterday: marulanggu,
 namungga, undunajin
 yesterday: yinunda
 young bird: bujaling
 young child: daandu
 young fruit of the
 dambunu tree: gagugu
 young girl's fear of
 leaving her parents:
 gulman maru
 young wallaby, young:
 bunda, danka

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