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

Acknowledgments

I would like to thank Geraldine Triffitt of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies and Angela Terrill for the help that they has given in the preparation of this sketch. Furthermore, Margaret Hughes generously provided invaluable help, both organizational and in many other ways.
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 world-final /y/s. Somewhat unusually for Australian languages, it also seems to have permitted final /m/ and /n/ 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)](image)

(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 /ɪ/, /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 /ɡ/ or /b/ in a nearby language corresponding to word beginning with a vowel in Wulguru, probably through lenition first (/[ɡ]/, /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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language Pair</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wulguru-Biri</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wulguru-Warungu</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wulguru-Nyawaygi</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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: /gankaŋ/, [gankaŋ], 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 /ŋ/ induced high front off-glide in preceding vowels when syllable-final, such that /ŋp/ emerges as [VP]. 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>* represents 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 *guridhala*, 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 *[a]*. 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 [agargu], 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 Nywayyi 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 intervocally; thus, the interdental stop /dh/ commonly appears as an interdental fricative [ð] or [Ø] between vowels, the /g/ appears as a [ɥ] 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 [ɛ] or [e] and [o] or [o] 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
   \( V \rightarrow [\text{−high}] / \text{[stress]} \)
   (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 <bunglee> and <bung’geh>, presumably [baŋgi] ~ [baŋe]
- balmbur ‘music stick’ recorded as both <bal’mbor>, presumably [balmbɔː]
2. Roundedness spreading

/\a/ → [ɔ] / w_

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

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 [baduBadu]
ngadha ‘I’ recorded as both <n’ga-tha> and <n’gutt’tha>, presumably [ŋa(ŋ)ŋa]

4. Initial dropping

/y, w, η/ → 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 Dyirbal, 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-externally 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:
2.2 Phonotactics

The phonotactic system of Wulguru may be described as follows:

\[
\text{word} \rightarrow (C_1) \quad V \left( \{r, l, y\} \{m, n\} \begin{array}{l}
C_2 \\
(C_3)
\end{array} \right) \quad V \left( \begin{array}{l}
C_2 \\
(C_3)
\end{array} \right) \quad V \left( \begin{array}{l}
(C_5) \\
(C_5)
\end{array} \right) \quad V \left( \begin{array}{l}
(C_5) \\
(C_5)
\end{array} \right)
\]

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(C_1)</th>
<th>(C_2)</th>
<th>(C_3)</th>
<th>(C_4)</th>
<th>(C_5)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>(dh)</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>(g)</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dh</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>nh</td>
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<tr>
<td>(j)</td>
<td>ng</td>
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<td>ng</td>
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<tr>
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<td>m</td>
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<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rr, rh</td>
<td>rr, rh</td>
<td>rr, rh</td>
<td>rr, rh</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 reducted 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>C1 / word initial</th>
<th>C2</th>
<th>C3</th>
<th>C4 / word final</th>
<th>C5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dh</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td></td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td></td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td></td>
<td>29.0</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>27.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nh</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td></td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td></td>
<td>8.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ny</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>15.5</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>25.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>60.2</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>n/a</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>n/a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total C:</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>(100)</td>
<td>18.6</td>
<td>(100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total B/G Cs:</td>
<td>71.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>70.0</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>38.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total D Cs:</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>23.5</td>
<td>70.1</td>
<td>51.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total DH/J Cs:</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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/ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C (stop)</th>
<th>22.5%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>C (nasal)</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C (liquid)</td>
<td>32.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CC</td>
<td>29.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCC</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

All C: 70.2%

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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C₂</th>
<th>Stop</th>
<th>Nasal</th>
<th>Liquid</th>
<th>mb, nb</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>54.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>55.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liquid</td>
<td>34.7</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>45.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>89.3</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>(100.5)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

1. mb/nb or any non-apical stop or nasal
2. mb/nb or any stop, nasal or liquid other than dh
3. ng or r
4. 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; intervocically, 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 /anål/ 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 | Adjectives  
---|---
Adverbs  
Verbs  
Deictics  
Aspect words  
Interjections – *yiay*, ‘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

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Marking</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ergative, Instrumental</td>
<td>ERG, INSTR</td>
<td>-du, -lu, -nggu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposive ~ Dative, Allative</td>
<td>PURP ~ DAT, ALL</td>
<td>-gu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>GEN</td>
<td>only observed on pronouns, no regular case suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>-nda, -la, -ngga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 explanations
of the different cases given below, there is no mention of an unmarked ‘absolutive 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:

\[ \ldots C_1V + gu \rightarrow \ldots C_1u \]

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/ → [yu]), 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.

\[ \text{wunda} + gu \rightarrow \text{wundu} ((\text{w})\text{Und´Vu})? \]

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-trantive 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 gadharra-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 [galîn(â)] or [galîn(â)]. 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 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 suffic (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 ngumar ‘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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Deictic</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>na</td>
<td>there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-ngga</td>
<td>that person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-ba-gu</td>
<td>that person (related to the speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-bin</td>
<td>that tree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naba-gu</td>
<td>there (allative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naba-la</td>
<td>that direction (locative?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>na-dha</td>
<td>that (inanimate object)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngan-da</td>
<td>where (locative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ana-gu</td>
<td>to where (allative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anu</td>
<td>whose (genitive)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wan-da</td>
<td>why (locative?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mina wari</td>
<td>how much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mina wira</td>
<td>what else</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mina yi</td>
<td>what next</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngan-du</td>
<td>who (ergative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mi-nga</td>
<td>that person (over there)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-da</td>
<td>what</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7. Deictics

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, [janu], 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reduplicated form</th>
<th>Plain form</th>
<th>comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adhaladhal</td>
<td>sand</td>
<td>adha ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aganagan</td>
<td>large shade tree</td>
<td>agan tiger ant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badabada</td>
<td>end, finish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>badubadu</td>
<td>sharp, pointed, a point</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bangginbanggin</td>
<td>wild</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barambaram</td>
<td>shallow water</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>birgalbirgal</td>
<td>orchid</td>
<td>birgal beginning of summer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bulunbulun</td>
<td>short boomerang</td>
<td>bulun pelican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bundibundi</td>
<td>good wind</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>danggadangga</td>
<td>dropping (noun)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Word</td>
<td>Meaning</td>
<td>Word</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
<td>--------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dulbindulbin</td>
<td>wet</td>
<td>dunggadungga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaginkagin</td>
<td>warts</td>
<td>madamada</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mangamanga</td>
<td>kind of bean</td>
<td>mangalmangal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maramara</td>
<td>fear</td>
<td>midhamidha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mildhinmildhin</td>
<td>England</td>
<td>minggamingga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miyumiyu</td>
<td>headdress made from human hair</td>
<td>mubanymbany</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mugurmugur</td>
<td>tired</td>
<td>mujumuju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mundamunda</td>
<td>many</td>
<td>mundumundu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>munggulmunggul</td>
<td>silence</td>
<td>ngabinngabin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngayungayu</td>
<td>native oak tree</td>
<td>umbumbu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wirawira</td>
<td>cool</td>
<td>wira</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>past</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-na</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>imperative</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>irrealis</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perfective</td>
<td>-y</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-(l, d, g)i</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-(na)</td>
<td>-(l, d, g)a</td>
<td>-Ø</td>
<td>-gu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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], [naː], [na] and [naː]. 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) Ngumar daba 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:
(29) Gula urha ngurru bambarra-ma.
green.bark now canoe good-INCH-UNM
‘Green bark has made the canoe good.’

The other verbal suffix, *mi-na* (first conjugation), may be added to an existing verb to indicate that the action is not completed, ongoing and current. Thus, *yuga* (to sleep) may form a present continuous form *yu-mi-na* (sleeping), which may be used either as a verb (‘She is sleeping’) or as a relative clause modifying a Noun Phrase in the sentence. For example:

(30) Adi-ra gamu.
    put.to.boil-IMP water
    ‘You put cold water to boil!’

shows the use of a third+ conjugation verb in an imperative construction. The same verb (indeed, otherwise the same sentence entirely) using a *mina* construction is:

(31) Adi-ra-mi-na gamu.
    put.to.boil-UNM-CURRENT-UNM water
    ‘Boiling water.’

There is one example of a suffix that appears after the verb root and operates as an applicative (it also has the morphological effect of changing the inflectional conjugation of the verb to become first conjugation, from table 9). The form of this morpheme is -*l*, and the sentence containing it uses the verb *alma-na* ‘carry’, which is elsewhere attested as a third conjugation verb, for which we would expect -*na* as the irrealis marking.

    take-go-IRR-1SG fast-INSTR camp
    ‘I will take it to the camp at once.’

This example also illustrates the use of the pronominal clitics to mark subject. Here the 1SG clitic -*dha* (presumably related to the free nominative pronoun *ngadha*) appears following the first word in the clause to mark these features of the subject, which is not overtly mentioned in an NP. (Though dropping of elements from the clause, presumably under discourse conditions, is widely attested.)

3.8 Aspect

In addition to specifically verbal derivation, there are other independent lexical items that are semantically more associated with the verb and the predication as a whole than with any single nominal in the clause, marking aspect. These include the aspectual words *gajin* and *urha*, the ‘going’ suffix, and optional S,A agreement marking.

*Gajin* and *urha* are used with verbs and adjectives to indicate the same sort of aspectual information as is carried by *mina* (thus distinguishing nouns from adjectives syntactically). (It might be that mina is in fact morphologically complex, with the aspectual information being encoded by the -*mi*, and the following -*na* being a regular tense marker.) Gajin is used to indicate that an activity has already been started, and *urha* (independently meaning ‘now’) is used to show that an action has been started. There is, of course, some overlap in the function of these two, and they may co-occur:

(33) Gayi-ngga gajin njuga (= nhuga?) gadila.
    earth-LOC GAJIN very dry
    ‘The earth is very (hard and) dry now.’
(34) Alul gajin du-mina, bambarra wundu 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.


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:

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.’
There are many cattle at the station.

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).

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

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

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.

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

and a bivalent purposive clause:

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!’

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-away swim-UNM
(a) yalga riga-nggu dunggarri
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-goon 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 minus gu[\gamma]ay-ugundu
    camp (?-ALL ?)
    namula gur[\gamma]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’goor’rang’a, Na’mul’mo
n’gin’no Kigh’ing’ga bam’ba’ra n’goom’bar
goone’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.
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 lie 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 morgan* “… 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 headdress 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 is 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 feature when it is in an onset position.

### 6.1 General lexicon

**A a**

- a(rg)al: dry. – Pr
- abal: foreign, different. – Pr
- abal ngumbar: foreigner. – Pr
- abari: sister. (b > $\beta/V\_V$) – Pr
- abaya: present. – Pr
- abayi: white person. (DAT?) – Pr
- abi: cheek. – H

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Wulguru</th>
<th>Notes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>abu: father, father’s brother.</td>
<td>– Pr H R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ada: spear.</td>
<td>– Pr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aday: laughter.</td>
<td>– Pr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adgakadgak: sand.</td>
<td>– Pr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adha: yes.</td>
<td>– b</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adhar: lungs.</td>
<td>– Pr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adhargu: tomorrow.</td>
<td>(PURP?) – Pr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adi: fly.</td>
<td>– Pr</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>aga: mother.</td>
<td>– R</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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
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
badalabal: ornaments. – Pr
badhar: reed spear. – Pr b
badhigay: 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
barhu: back. [Bi] – Pr N
bari: ear. [Ny] – P H G T a
baringa 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
bijji: small toe. – Pr
bilbari: mountain. – Pr
bilgurru: knife. – T
bili: bottom. – Pr P
bilu: hips, root of a tree. (T) [Ny] – T
bimu: 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
bingaru: sail, shirt. [Ny] – Pr
bingil: crooked. – Pr
bingunburra: 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
bujiangga, bujan: bark cracle. (LOC?) – Pr
buji: dense scrub. – Pr
bul: country. – Pr
bulama: plums. – Pr
bulari gundin: cripple. (Bulari = two people?) [bulari=2 W, bularu=2 Bi] – Pr
bulban: moon. – H T
bulgamu: wrist. – Ha
buli: kangaroo. – b
bulu: eyebrows. – a
bulu(n): pelican, ship. – Pr Nb
bulunbulun: short boomerang. [Ny] – Pr
bulunggu: mother’s sister. – R
buluny: calm. – Pr
bunarhu: sand. (Bu) – PT
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
bungkany: cousin. – Pr
bunu: smoke. – Pr Ta 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
buryray: gutter. – Pr
burbaya: an open place. – Pr
burgamagadi: graves. – Pr
burgan: dried wheat. – Pr
Burhi: fire. – Pr NH Ta
Buriburi: matches. – Pr
Burinanday: Hinchinbrook Island. – Pr
Burgu: forked stick. – Pr
Burruguma: Palm Island. [Ny][Bi] – Pr SH
Bururu: high. – Pr
Burugada: wind. – Pr
Burulu: tooth breaking ceremony. – Pr
Burungar: salt pans. – Pr
Burunguru: 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
Dalamaru: old man kangaroo. – Pr
dalanygunu: calabash. – Pr
dalaru: devil devil. – Pr
dalbanu: mangrove, shrub. – Pr
dalburu: whisker. – Pr
dalguru: meat. – H
dalingginda: salt water. – Pr
daljangga: forest, bush. – H
dalmaru: slowly, easily. – Pr
dalmmbana: edible tree. (only eaten as a last resort) – Pr
dalnbru: 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 duguwarri? – Pr
duguwarri: 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
dulunggana: 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
dunggindiru: 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
dhangan: sand. – Pr
dhagguru: 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
dhilight: 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
dhulbin: 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
ga(y)duburu: storm (= wind + high). – Pr
ga:bau: war spear. (T) [Ny] – P H b
gaal: rushes. – Pr
ga: 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
gagilagil: in between. – Pr
gaginy: nasal septum. – Pr
gagi: dilly bag. – Pr
galgun: porpoise. – Pr
galmaru: edible shrub. – Pr
galmaru: female white rock wallaby. – Pr
galbay: brown wood. – H
galburu: piebald. – Pr
galgal: arm. – a
galgalba: long way off. – Pr
galgin ganku: new moon. – Pr
galgira: small wood. – Pr
galin: dilly bag. – Pr
galin-y: heaven. – Pr
galmuna: male wallaby. – Pr
galgaba: clean. – Pr
gama: whiskers. – Pr
gambadala: shield. – G
gambagina: 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
gandalu: thunder. – Pr
gandaru: 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
garbaru: 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. – b
ginaygan: alligator. – Pr
gira: shade. – Pr
giralgaral: 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
gugida: turtle egg. [W] – Pr

gugurumu: big ant. – Pr
guguburgu: spacious. – Pr
gugulu: straight. – Pr
gugulu: food. – Pr
guguburgu: spacious. – Pr
gugulu: food. – Pr
gugulumu: big ant. – Pr
gugululamu: business. – Pr
gugululumu: big ant. – Pr

gula: green bark. – Pr
gula: woomera. – b

gulambira: butterfly. – Pr
gulaygan: sting ray. – Pr
gulbadara: river. – Pr
gulbadara: river. – Pr
gulu: food. – Pr
guluna: food. – Pr
gulubu: emu. – Pr
gulgay: plums. (l > o / (u,w)__$) – Pr
gulgu: wild turkey. – Pr
gulman: Cape Cleveland. – Pr
gulman: fear. – Pr
gulman maru: young girl’s fear of leaving her parents. – Pr
gulman maru: young girl’s fear of leaving her parents. – Pr
gulman maru: young girl’s fear of leaving her parents. – Pr
gulubu: fair wind. – Pr
gula: woomera. – b

gulumbura: tree with honey in it. – Pr

gulu: food. – Pr

gululu: old man. [Ny] – Pr

gululu: old woman. – Pr

gulumburu: tree with honey in it. – Pr

gulung: bark of a tree. – Pr
gulung: bark of a tree. – Pr

gulwai: heavy seas. – Pr

guma: blood. [Bi][Ny][W] – N
gumbay: speckled leaf. – Pr
gumbay: tree. – Pr
gumbay: tree. – Pr
gumbay: tree. – 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

gunambu: big rains. – Pr

gunawa: long shield. [Ny] – Pr
gunayi: Leichhardt tree. – Pr

gunbana: blood. – b

gunbana: blood. – b

gunbil: yellow. – G

gunbu: a complete cripple. – Pr
gunburgan: orphan. – Pr
gunda: humpy. – Pr
gundalu: sand ridge. – Pr
gundar: coal. – Pr
gunday arra: badly 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

gungamau: 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
gunkur: knot, trunk of a tree. – Pr
gunkurunkuru: water fly – like a hornet. – Pr
gunu: inside. – Pr
gununu: wild. – T
gunuwi: wooden sword. – T
gur gum: vegetable food. [Ny] – N
gura: woman. [Ny] – Pr
gurambil: district north of Townsville. – Pr
gurambil: district north of Townsville. – Pr
gurambilburu: Townsville. (gurambil + high) – Pr

guramu: fly. – Pr
gubal: dry weather. – Pr
gurb: 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
guyamburu: 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

mabra: child. – Pr

mabra: woman. – b

mabra: 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
magai: sweet potato. – Pr
magayra: red. – Pr
magul: lazy. [Ny] – Pr
maguli: work. – Pr
magur(i): cloud. [Ny] – 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
mangara: large rock wallaby. – Pr
manggal: white person. – Pr
manggar: dark. – b
manggu: 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
manngan: woman. (T) – Pr N H T a
many(a): corroboree. – Pr
manyungga: 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 > [y]/V-V) – Pr
mu(u)gar: coral reef. – Pr
muba: far. – Pr
muba: farther, more far. (D) – Pr
mubanymubany: burrs. – Pr
mubaygan: blind. – H
mudhamudha: sheet lightning. – Pr
mudhi: milk. [Ny] – Pr
mudhuur: crab. – Pr
mudnuy: neck. – Pr
mulnuy: hair. – Pr G T a b
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
mulramun: 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
mundumunu: 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
muriranjirlma: hand cuffs. – Pr
murirun: Mount Louisa. – Pr
muru: elbow. – Pr
muruny: tomorrow. – b
muun: bottom. – T a
muyu: roots. – Pr
myianga: Herbert River. – Pr

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
nadagu: fetch (for that ?). – Pr
naguny: gum. – Pr
ngyjabara: 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
ningar: 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
ngabingin: 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
ngayayi: heavy rains. – Pr
ngawman: 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
gumbar: person. (M) – P G
gumbaru: husband. – G
ngumbi: black. – Pr
ngunban: Indian shot (?). – Pr
ngundan: lamp. – Pr
ngungu: 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
rhandal: hut. – Pr G
rhankin: vein. – Pr
rhara: fishing line. [Ny] – Pr
rharu: medicine. – Pr
rhi(:)l: name. [Ny] – Pr
rhigabur: shade tree. – Pr
rhingin: fire. – Pr
rirra: tooth. [Ny] – Pr S H G
riwirin: toe. – G
rhudi: younger brother. – H
rhuga: throat. – a
rhugualbal: 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
ruwa: trepang, sea cucumber. – Pr
ruwan: small water course. – Pr
ruyrhu: impenetrable scrub. – Pr
ruyrin: 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 > [3]/uC__) [Ny] – Pr
ulba: red. – Pr
ulbul: sky. – H
ulgurru: canoe. [Ny] – H a
ulnbagan: 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
unggi: 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
uranggurangga: 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 (γ) / V__V) – Pr
wulbu (buduban): pheasant. – Pr
wulganda: next time. – Pr
wulgurru: canoe. (T) (PI, mulgu?) [Ny] – T
wumarama: noise. – Pr
wumba: poor. – Pr
wumbaluru: 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
yungundal: 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 (ISG)) – 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
barbama: 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
bilana: run away. – Pr
bilubirina: turn around. – Pr
biluna: turn over. – Pr
bina: hear. – Pr
binganggu: 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
Burubul: dive. – Pr
Buruma: knead. – Pr
Buura: wash (‘pooora’). – Pr
Buy: rest. – Pr
Buyrana: blow it. [Ny] – Pr
Buyra: extinguish the fire. – 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
duranggu: make. – Pr
Durbana: setting of the sun. – Pr
durgan: allow. – Pr

Dh dh

dhaga mana: lock(ed). [Bi] – Pr
dhagamayi: destroyed, a wreak. [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. – H
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
guwagugu: croak (of frogs). – Pr
gwanyundhara: 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
iriay: 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

Nh nh

nhagan mulgan: sight seeing. – Pr
nhagi: see-INF. [Ny][Bi][W] – Pr
nhagina: see-PAST. – Pr
nhambanggu: dance. – Pr
nhina: sitting, resting. – 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
udura: 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
ungga: see someone. – Pr
unggay: 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

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
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  

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 > [γ] / 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: barbharba
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, maringguna
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, gurbana,
        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: giralgaral
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: mubanymubany
bush: yanuga
bush, small: dulginda
bushfire: madurubiri
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: ulguru, wulguru, wurr
Cape Cleveland: guliman
Cape Mal: girunda
Cape Malo: wariganda
capsize: gabe
catch: daranggu, darayi
catch hold: mandima
captured: 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, badhigay, mugaru
clam shell: gubiru
clapsed hands: malangga
clay: burba
clean: galngaba
clear, open space: igan
climb: walagu
climb a tree: imbarra
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: wagen
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: nguran
come, join: uriny
complete cripple: gunbu
confined: umgga
correlation: 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
England (?): mildhin
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
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: mugauy
father’s mother: gumbu
father, father’s brother: abu
fear: gulmalmaraw, gulman, inay, maramara
feather headdress: gudi
female muscle: gura
female wallaby: balbamu
female white rock wallaby: galbaru
fence: mayrula
fetch: ngadhaq
fetch (for that?): nadhagu
fill: darbargu
find (irrealis?): gilmalma
find, hunt: girmayi
finger nails: rhuyni
finger, second: waguli
finger, toe nail: dhundu
finish: gunki, munguli, ugaru
finish now: badhabadha mayi
finished: garbari, gabari
fire: burhi, dugala, rhingin
fire sth.: balmana
first time: urungga
fish: guya, mujura, 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: unggi
flower: bingalingil
fly: warhi, adi, guramu, guruma
flying fox: badaburaga, gugi
fog: ngural
food: dhaga, gulu
foot: dhina
footsteps, noise: garun
forearm: bugamu
forehead: nguula
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
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 +?):  
birbamgadi
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:  
ilamburu
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:  
ingalungal
grey bird, small:  
bbabaral
ground:  
ngadha, warhuny
grub, long:  
nibu
gum:  
naguny
gum tree:  
wumbu
gutter:  
burbay, gana

H h

hair:  
muluny
half full:  
darral
hand:  
mala, yubu, gari
hand cuffs:  
muriranjirrilm
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:  
gangirana
hawk:  
birba, buba
he spoke to me:  
yandilma
head:  
alu, ngulu, walu
headaddress made from  
human hair:  
miyu miyu
hear:  
bina, dhuugu
heard:  
nagul
heart:  
buryay
heat:  
angara, anybara
heat, sweat:  
gayman
heave:  
guyba
heaven:  
galiny
heavy:  
bidan
heavy flood:  
andhin
heavy rains:  
gayingayi
heavy seas:  
guluwi
heel:  
mugal
hen:  
ma
Herbert River:  
budin,  
miyang
high:  
buru, gadil
high water:  
galany
high.words:  
ndumagulgi

Hinchinbrook Island:  
burinanday
hips, root of a tree:  
bilu
hit, strike:  
buma
hold a corroboree:  
angirana, rharga
hold on:  
dugu
holding:  
mubira
home:  
wanga
honey:  
mligir
horse:  
yarraman
hot weather, sunshine,  
heat:  
ganggara
how much:  
mina wari
hungry:  
ulany, bijariga,  
gaba dhandhi, bijangga
hunt:  
ungsura
hunt, camp, home:  
rumina
hurt someone:  
ingana,  
mubana
hurt, cut:  
angana
husband:  
nungumburu
hut:  
birli, 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:  
ganybar
impenetrable scrub:  
rhuyrhu
in between:  
gagilagil
index finger:  
galgil
Indian shot (?):  
ngunban
industrious:  
bwari
inside:  
dargana, dundu,  
gunu
iron:  
milbir
Ironbark tree: gamburu

J

joints: dhudhun
journey: wudhabagu

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
keep it: yugara
left (hand): daguy
leg: waga
Leichhardt tree: gunayi

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

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

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: dalgury, dumabury
meaty bit of oysters: duljana
medicine: buda, rharu
meet someone: gammana
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 Elliot: mandilgun
Mount Louisa: dhulginybarra, gubalaburu, murirun
Mount Stewart: mundalgan
mountain: bilbari, bugaburu, dhulginy, ulnbugan
mountain (small) near Alligator Creek: dunggindiru
mouth: dhaa
much: mulgul
mud: dulbin
muddy: jigiyigi
mullet: dhanduru
mushroom coral: duradurla, girangirian
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:
 navel: dugul, djur
nearly finished: inkilga
neck: gu(:)ga, mulnuy
net: barg
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: gurunu, 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: gulu
old man kangaroo:
 dalamburu, gandala, migilu
old now: gurgurbu
old person: gurgurbu
old racecourse: dhindaya
old woman: gulu
olden days long ago:
 uranggurangga
one: yunggul

one (human deictic): warra
one person: umbarbul
one place, time, tribe:
hungunda
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: dhalmal
own nothing: mambun
oyster: gunumbaygan, 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: uay
plenty: gundumberiny, mindiyarra
plenty: mulma
plum: dhilma, bulama
plums: gulgay
plums, wild: agany
pocket: durba
poor: wumba
poor path: mirgara
poor, very: guynburgay
porpoise: galgun, gandaru
possum: bargalanga, gadhara
possum yarn, wool: minan
potato-like roots: dilmarra
present: abaya
pretty parrot: murgundulu
Prickly Pear: gagalagal
prickly: dujima, wagada
prickly pear: rhagal
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: barbarra, inibili
run away: bilana, maylinini
rushes: gaal

S s
saddle: guganybany
said: yabayi
sail, shirt: bingaru
salt pans: burungar
salt water: andha, dalingginda, ngandha
salt water eel: bagariyan
salt water, beach:
     manggulanga
saltwater turtle: yangugan
same, more: yila
sand: adgakadgak, bunarhu, dhangal
sand ridge: gundalu
sated, full: malaru, mangan, balur
satisfied: gaba bambara
“saucy”: ngubur
scent: wangar
schooner, small: dunanga
scrape, brush: irbana
scratch: nguda
screech: manynungga
scrub: dinaamba, wunbugan
scrub hen, egg: urhamba
sculling boat: durimi
sea: mada
sea water: arunda
sea-weed: bugurga
seal: guginbin
search for: bulama
see someone: ungga
see, look at: bulana, nhagi, nhagina
seed: murgu
sell: unga
set a fire: gamanjuniya
setting of the sun: durbana
sew: mununa
shade: gira, imbira
shade tree: muri, rhigabur
shady tree, large: aganagan
shallow water: barambaram
shark: bururu
shark, small: rhulguny
sharp: durgalma, nganyu
sharp, a point: badubadu, wugadha
sheep: dulimbu
sheet iron: biradi
sheet lightning: mudhamudha
shell: baba, bundumbu
shield: bigil, gambadala, guyari, guyrri (guyrri)
shield grip: ama
shield, long: gunawa
ship’s hold: rhaginda
ship’s mast: buybamu
shirt: gagali
shit: gima
short: dhany
short boomerang: bulumbulun
shoulder: dhilbirra, dhilbuy
shoulder tattoos: gudi
shrimp: mugur
shut: gundima
shut a door: mayl ranba
shy: yandhanday
sick: muji
sickness: mangal
side: uri
sight seeing: nhagan mulgan
silence, silently: munggulmunggul
sinew: rhamgin
sing: bayalgu, muriya
gle: yanggay
sister: abari
sit: gumbaru, didana, digigu, ngaga
sitting still: ngadil
sitting, resting: nhina
six 1/4 mile railway station district: uulguluburu
six weeks: nayjil
sixth island past Magnetic Island on the way to PI (Magazine Island?): guyurara
skeleton: rha
skin: dhalgur, hungaru, rhungul
sky: ninji, ulbul
sleep: mungal, muri, yanyuuga, yuga, yugima
sleep: yugi
slide: nundana
slippery, smooth: guyu
slowly, easily: dalmara
small: banja, dhandhi, durgal
small branches of a river: galba biruru
small shell, long: dugurwayri
small toe: biji
smell: mirankanka
smoke: budhnu, bunu
smooth: madamada
snake: bunbil, bunggaja, urbula
snake or lizard fat: bubu
snore: binganggu, bunguray
snow, glass, quartz, ice, epsom salts: guyan
soak in water: ngaba
soap: barangan
soil: aruny
sometimes: mangurara
son: bungal, dhula, indal, uyanda
sore: ankul
sore, wound: buwi
sound: munga
sound of wind in the telegraph wires: ungur
spacious: guguburgu
spear: dunya, ada, dabun, dubal, ganbara, gayal, wumira
spear grass: gayja
speckled leaf: gumbay, milgira
spider: binibira, bira
spirit, ghost: garia, biyabiya
spit: ganja, yura
splinter: bunbal
split open: yambiri
spouse: rhunguny
sprouts: rhalgayra
square: dubilabi
stand: ala, albana, dhuwaliga
star: bagaraga, gungalungal, ubanjila, gubayila, guburyugali
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, mingamingga
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: habundra
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: unngimana, mugurmugur
toe: rhirra
tomahawk: banana
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: gumbirra
tree, tall with small berries: nguru
tree, wood: rhula
tree, wood, firewood: arhabi
tre pang: dumbala, durbala, 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: gadin gadin,
     mundamu
wash: buura, garanga,
     numargu
wash someone else: girana
wasp, hornet: bunul
water: gamu, irgay
water (drinking): dhalmal
water course, small: rhuan
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 dumbenu tree: gagugu
young girl’s fear of leaving her parents: gulman maru
young wallaby, young: bunda, danka
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* September 25 Palm Island and other places in Queensland. AIATSIS ref # MS 709.

Houze and Jacques

John Ferres; Trübner & Co., Melbourne
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