

competition, either individual or team.¹⁴⁴ The same verb may be used with the addition of the causative suffix *-ji-*, as when instructing a child playing with toy trucks.¹⁴⁵

There are various ways of describing things 'in a line'. For example the verb stem *-yuwayina* 'follow each other' can describe trees in a stationary position as well as people following each other. In the case of people standing in line side by side, the verb used to describe this position includes *arnda* 'elbow'.¹⁴⁶

2.5 SPEED

Before the advent of modern technology, the concept of speed related to such things as the rate of movement of human beings on foot and of canoes, spears, fire, wind and water, animals, and the rate of growth of plant life. The skill of estimating speed, taking into account the natural forces which influence it, was and still is highly developed. Some examples have already been given in section 2.1 discussing estimation.

The basic terms relating to speed are *waranja* 'quickly' and *ambakilangwa* 'slowly'. The command 'Hurry up! Quickly' is *waranja!*

Waranju-bawiya also means 'quickly' but is used adverbially and includes the meaning of the English word 'early', as discussed in section 2.2.4.

Ambakilangwa has the extended meanings 'gently, carefully, little by little'.

The idiom *mekawajiya* 'make it (e.g. a bicycle) look good' is used with the meaning 'make it go fast'.

2.6 SPACE

The noun *angwurn.dikirra* 'space' is used for an area bounded on both sides by objects of any size. It is in common use for a strait, such as the strait between Groote Eylandt and Winchelsea Island. It is also used for the space between any objects such as rocks, houses etc., and refers especially to a narrow space.

The verb stem *-ngurrrkarrnga-jungwuna* 'be enclosed' is used to describe an area bounded on all sides by objects, making a confined space.¹⁴⁷

- 148 *marri-jinungkwa numulikenuma* it (road or vehicle) went straight on
yangungwa yarri-jinungkwa an eel doesn't have legs
darri-jinungkwa diriija a beltless dress or shift
alingabi-jinungkwa eka a tree having a straight trunk without branches or protuberances
numungkurrbi-jinungkwa a man who does not deviate to left or right, whose eyes are looking straight ahead
- 149 *mudirrbura mamurukwa* a straight path
dirrbura warjiyinga! stand up straight!
wu-dirrbura-kina akina eka! straighten that stick!
mawiyidi-kina makina mamurukwa! make that path straight!
wudirrburada! stand up straight!
- 150 *makarda numamurrkwulinamurra* the sea is calm (lies flat)
enungkwa namurrkwulinama the spear is lying on the ground
ajiringku-manja
enungkwa nuwalkayenama the spear is standing upright
ajiringku-manja
enungkwa nuwandilyinama eku-manja the spear is leaning against the tree
mijiyanga numilankwalyilyaduma the ship was leaning over
- 151 *aburrilangwa angalya nalawurradinama X-langwa*
their area it.a.returns X-from
'Their area goes as far as X.'

2.6.1 LINE SEGMENTS

In traditional Aboriginal society there was no need for arbitrary standards within spatial relationships. The concepts of lines and areas were only developed as far as they were needed, and in different ways from English. The following vocabulary items illustrate these concepts.

There is no Anindilyakwa word for 'a line', but there is a word to describe an object which has a straight line. The difference between a spear having a straight line and one with barbs, and between a tree with a straight trunk and one with branches, is significant. The concept of something having no obstruction is important and is therefore accounted for in the vocabulary. The concept 'without obstruction' is described by the root *-jinungkwa*. Prefixes must be added to elucidate precise meanings, some of which are listed.¹⁴⁸ (Another area of meaning was revealed when an old man with a bad cough was recording a story on tape for me. When I enquired about his cough he said *ningarri-jinungkwa*, meaning that he could keep on recording without stopping to cough.)

Two adjectives *adirrbura* and *awiyida* 'straight' describe the concept of straight lines whether horizontal or vertical. The adverbial forms are *dirrbura* and *awiyida*. The verb stems *-dirrbura-kina* and *-awiyidi-kina* 'straighten' are formed by adding the causative suffix *-kina* to these adverbs. The verb stem *-dirrbura-dina* 'become straight' is formed by adding the suffix *-dina* 'become' to the adverb *dirrbura* 'straight'.¹⁴⁹ However this suffix does not occur with *awiyida* which is not used as frequently as *dirrbura*.

Although there is no direct translation of 'horizontal', 'oblique' and 'vertical', the distinction between these positions is made by the verbs 'lying', 'leaning' and 'standing upright'.¹⁵⁰

The noun *angurrkwuruwura* 'corner' which is connected with the adjective *ayangkwuruwura* 'crooked' is used to describe a curve such as the bend in a river or road, and a bay on the coast.

When English speakers discuss geographical areas, it is said that a certain area extends 'from here to there'. The Anindilyakwa speaker takes a different point of view, thinking of the direction in terms of 'from there to here',¹⁵¹ as discussed in section 2.4.5.

| | | |
|-----|--|---|
| 152 | <i>mamukwurra mamulerrbirra</i> <i>amukwurra angalya</i> | the point of a hooked spear a point of land |
| 153 | <i>wungandingakina ena eka</i> | sharpen this stick (to a point) |
| 154 | <i>nara ar.darruma menba</i> <i>yimendi-langwa</i> | don't poke your finger in the turtle's eye |
| 155 | <i>aremberrbirra eka</i> <i>yangungwu-langwa mamudakba</i> <i>muremberrbirra</i> | a board (flat piece of wood) an eel's tail is flat |

2.6.2 POINTS

There is no Anindilyakwa word for the mark made by a pointed object, but the word *amukwurra* 'face' is used for the point of something sharp like a spear, and therefore also a pencil. The same word is used for a point of land.¹⁵² The action of making something pointed is much more significant than the concept of a point as such. Spears and digging sticks have to be sharpened to a point.¹⁵³

The action of poking with the finger at a point is described by the verb *-ar.dirrena* 'spear'.¹⁵⁴ It should be noted that an Anindilyakwa speaker does not use the finger to point. Instead he indicates a particular direction with movement of the chin and lips.

2.6.3 ANGLES

The noun *angurrkwuruwura* 'corner', already mentioned with the meaning of a curve, refers also to all sharp angles. The context elucidates whether the angle is a right-angle, acute or obtuse, since traditional Aboriginal culture was not concerned with abstractions out of context.

2.6.4 SHAPE

a) Planes

Aremberrbirra 'flat'

The adjective *aremberrbirra* 'flat' describes any flat object, such as a gramophone record, a slab of rock, and paper and books.¹⁵⁵

Rectangular, square

Pieces of bark for bark paintings are roughly rectangular when cut from the tree and left without trimming. Sails for canoes are the same rectangular shape. Before the introduction of ready-made cloth they were made without regard to the preciseness of the angles or the exact length of the sides.

Angarumungkwa 'concave'

The adjective *angarumungkwa* 'concave' describes an object which is shallow and only slightly concave, such as a saucer, and also deeper containers such as a bark coolamon, a boiler (for cooking),

na-mungeki-lyuwakenama aringka enilangwa

it-head-circles head his

'His head is spinning, he's giddy.'

akungwa nuw-aburringki-lyuwakenama nerrikbinumurru-manja malarra

water it-liquid-circles he.threw-at stone

'The water is going around in circles where he threw the stone.'

n-aburringki-lyuwaka-juwa diya

he-liquid-circle-cause tea

'He stirred the tea.'

ni-ringki-lyuwaka-juwa alikira

he-house-circle-caused house

'He went right around the house.'

ni-riki-lyuwaka-jungwunuma

he-foot-circle-reflexive

'He's going around and around in circles.'

yingarna ni-rreki-lyuwaka-jungwunuma

snake it-coiled.thing-circle-reflexive

'The snake has curled itself up.'

a copper (for washing) and a Macassan cooking pot. The same word applies to the deeply concave hull of a ship. The perimeter of these containers may be either circular or elliptical.

The notion of planes being convex is irrelevant to the Anindilyakwa speaker because it does not have any practical implications, being no more than a description of things concave seen from a different aspect. A roof is only of interest as a covering above people. However, see section 2.5.4 for a discussion of solids which are convex.

The absence of an Anindilyakwa one-to-one correspondence with the English word 'horizon' does not prevent an Anindilyakwa speaker from talking about land and boats on the horizon. The Anindilyakwa speaker talks about them being so far away that one can hardly see them.

Circular

The word *amamuwa* 'elliptical object, small round object' is also used for a circle drawn on bark. The precise differentiation between circular and elliptical in either case is irrelevant, and the differentiation between planes and solids is obvious in context.

When objects are arranged 'in a circle' the abstract noun 'circle' is used in English to designate a more or less exact shape. In Anindilyakwa a description is given in concrete terms of the objects forming the shape, but the shape is unnamed. The objects forming the shape are in focus, instead of the shape itself. The space created by those objects is also significant. In example 144 describing an enclosed space, the actual shape of the enclosed area could in fact be circular.

The verb stems *-lyuwakena* 'circle', *-lyuwaka-jina* 'encircle' and *-lyuwaka-jungwuna* 'form a circle' require a prefix representing a noun in addition to pronominal prefixation. They are in common use and occur idiomatically as well as literally.¹⁵⁶ It should be noted that movement is always involved.

| | | |
|-----|--|--|
| 157 | <i>amamuwa ayarrka</i> | finger (hand) |
| | <i>amamuwa alika</i> | toe (foot) |
| | <i>mamamuwa menba</i> | eye ball (eye) |
| | <i>am-amamuwa aninga</i> | fruit |
| 158 | <i>yinumamuwa</i> | eggs, particularly of <i>y</i> noun class creatures e.g. <i>yimenda</i> 'turtle' |
| | <i>dadumamuwa</i> | eggs of <i>d</i> noun class creature e.g. <i>dingarrbiya</i> 'crocodile' |
| 159 | <i>am-amamuwa duja</i> | battery (torch) |
| | <i>am-amamuwa awarnda</i> | coin (money) |
| | <i>am-amamuwa jinaba</i> | bullet (gun) |
| | <i>am-amamuwa mirrijina</i> | tablet (medicine) |
| | <i>mam-amamuwa</i> | marble |
| 160 | <i>m-embirrk-ambawura muninga</i> | a few cycad nuts |
| | <i>yimawura y-embirrk-aruma</i> | the full moon (literally 'big') |
| 161 | <i>yi-mungk-ababurna yinumukwena</i> | many heaps of cockles |
| | <i>ma-mungk-ambilyuma murungkwurra</i> | two heaps of round yams |
| 162 | <i>ni-rak-uwurra bajikala</i> | he threw the tin away |
| | <i>jinaba ni-rak-uwilyakama</i> | he was carrying a gun |
| | <i>a-rak-adirrunwarna dudija</i> | a length of big pipe |

b) Solids

Round, ovoid

The word *amamuwa* 'small elliptical object, sphere' was probably first used to describe fingers and toes and then extended to include other body parts, eggs and certain parts of plants. Various buds, fruits and pods are described as *am-amamuwa*.¹⁵⁷

The secondary meaning of *amamuwa* includes any small round object. The focus is on the spherical mass rather than the exact shape. Most eggs are oval, but the most sought after eggs are the round ones belonging to *yimenda* 'turtle'. Because turtle eggs are an important source of food it seems that *yinumamuwa* is used generally for any kind of egg, unless specifically stated.¹⁵⁸

Many introduced objects are called *amamuwa* and *mamamuwa*. The exact meaning is made clear by the context.¹⁵⁹

The fact that *amamuwa* can refer to both round and ovoid objects does not mean that a more precise definition of round is unavailable, when needed, although it is not used by children.

The prefix *-embirr-* represents the noun *andira* 'kidney' and also means 'round'. It is used by adults to describe such round things as introduced objects, pebbles, fruits, eggs and the round sting-ray.¹⁶⁰

By using prefixes describing particular characteristics, one can distinguish between round and ovoid eggs. The noun *amamuwa* 'small elliptical object' can take the prefix *-embirr-* 'round', with the appropriate noun class marker, to form a compound word. Thus *y-embirr-k-amamuwa yimendi-langwa* 'the round egg of the turtle'. The same prefix *-embirr-* 'round' added to the adjective root *-jirrirra-* 'long' produces a new adjective, 'ovoid', to describe the hen's egg *d-embirr-i-jirrirra dadumamuwa jukwujukwu-langwa*.

The prefix *-mungsk-* is used by adults for a collection of round things such as eggs, bush food, shellfish and round rays.¹⁶¹

The prefix *-yak-* representing the noun *yiraka* 'didjeridu' is used by adults to describe all round, hollow objects, such as bottles, tins, pipes, drums etc.¹⁶²

- 163 *ningenum-ebinga* by body (trunk only)
dadum-ebinga her body, body of crocodile etc.
yinum-ebinga body of bandicoot, wallaby etc.
nenum-ebinga his body
warnum-ebinga body of baby, dog etc.
- 164 *mamungina maliliyanga* nuts of the stringybark
yinumungina yinubarringinja nuts of the white gum
- 165 *a...yukwujiya ~ ayu...kwujiya₁* tiny (see Appendix 1)
ayukwujiye-ka very small
awank-iyukwujiya small
awank-ayukwujiya rather small
awank-aruma ~ awank-adirrunswana rather big
aruma ~ adirrunswana big
arume-ka ~ adirrunswarne-ka very big
awank-amakwulyumuda rather huge
amakwulyumuda huge
amakwulyumude-ka enormous
- 166 *ena awarnda awank-iyukwujiya* this stone is rather small
umba akina ayukwujiya but that one is (really) small
- 167 *wulalika ayukwayuwa-wiya umba wumiya ena arumu-dangwa*
leave small-plural but pick.up this big-emphasis
'Leave the small ones and pick up this big one.'

Ebinga 'body shape, ant-hill'

Ebinga 'ant-hill' is so called because of its likeness to the human body — *ningenum-ebinga* 'my body' describes the human body in the way that 'trunk' is used in English. With reference to human beings *ebinga* usually describes a large, thick-set body. With reference to animals, it describes those having a relatively large, solid body, such as the dog and bandicoot.¹⁶³

Amungina 'knob'

The word *amungina* is used for a 'knob'. It is used for the small bones such as knuckles, wrist bones and ankle bones, and for the joints of the fingers and toes. By extension of meaning it describes certain parts of plants having a similar appearance. The seed pods of plants and gumnuts are likened to these small bones.¹⁶⁴

Convex

The concept 'convex' as applied to solids is described by the verb *-dirralinga* 'heaped up'. The scrub hen piles up a large heap of leaves and earth for a nest in which to place its eggs to incubate them. This pile is *na-dirralinga* 'heaped up'. A tree having lumps which protrude from the trunk is *alinga-dirralinga* 'tall and lumpy'. See the description of thickness in section 2.7.2.

2.7 SIZE

The basic concept of size is expressed in three ways: *ayukwujiya* 'small', *aruma ~ adirrunswana* 'big' and *amawulyumuda* 'huge'.

In the ordering of size the prefix *awank-* 'rather' and the emphatic suffix *-ka* occur.¹⁶⁵ Comparison of size is expressed as indicated when discussing inequality, using *angwurra* 'more', *awank-* 'rather' and the emphatic suffix *-ka* (see section 1.2.4).¹⁶⁶

The emphatic suffix *-dangwa* occurs and singles out one from a group, e.g. *arumu-dangwa* 'the big one' and *ayukwujiyi-dangwa* 'the small one'.¹⁶⁷

| | | |
|-----|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| 168 | <i>arukwudarrbe-ka</i> | very short |
| | <i>awanki-rukwudarrba</i> | rather short |
| | <i>arukwudarrba</i> | short |
| | <i>awank-amurajirrirra</i> | rather high, rather long |
| | <i>amurajirrirra</i> | high, long |
| | <i>amurajirrirre-ka</i> | very high, very long |

2.7.1 HEIGHT, LENGTH AND DEPTH

The basic concepts of height and length are expressed by the same words *amurajirrirra* ~ *amurajirra* 'tall, long', and *arukwudarrba* ~ *adarrba* 'short'. In the past there was no need to differentiate between vertical and horizontal.

The adjective *adarrba* 'short' can occur alone but more frequently occurs with a prefix representing a noun. When the prefix *-ruk-* ~ *-rukw-* representing the noun *alika* 'foot' is added to *adarrba* 'short', the word *a-rukwu-darrba* is formed and used as an alternative for short in many contexts.

Depth is expressed by *angwujirira* ~ *angwujira* 'deep' and *abulala* 'shallow'.

The ordering of the concepts of height and length is listed opposite.¹⁶⁸ The concept of depth can be similarly ordered. The emphatic suffix *-dangwa* can be used to single out 'the long one'.

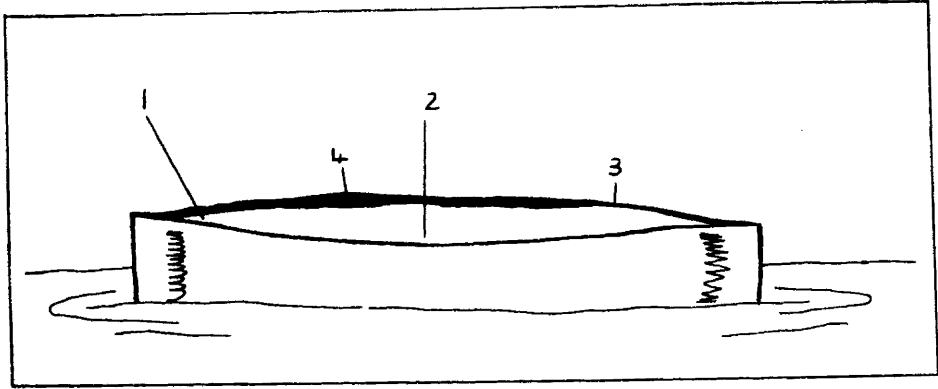
Comparison of these concepts is expressed as indicated when discussing inequality (see section 1.2.4).

2.7.2 THICKNESS AND WIDTH

There are various words in Anindilyakwa to describe the English terms 'fat' and 'thin', 'thick' and 'thin', and 'wide' and 'narrow'.

The adjectives *engmurra* 'fat' and *ayarrmiyarra* ~ *alarrkbulala* 'thin' qualify people, animals and also certain inanimate objects. Ordering and comparison are possible as indicated for height but are not generally used. The suffix *-dangwa* singles out one from a group.

Other words for thickness and width are complicated by the fact that the root cannot be used without a specific prefix representing a noun as well as the usual noun class marker. (See Appendix 2 regarding noun prefixation.)



169 *alinga-dirralinga eka*
 tall-lumpy tree
 'a tree with a protruding lump'

alinga-jamiyama eka
 tall-thin tree ~ stick
 'a tall thin tree ~ a long thin stick'

mirre-jamiyama merra
 long.flexible-thin string
 'a coil of thin string'

mungak-adirrunwarna makarda
 thigh.shape-big sea
 'rolling waves'

arra-jirrirra amukwurra
 forehead.shape-long face
 'a long peninsula'

170 *amukwurra awank-arra-jirrirra* a fairly long peninsula
amukwurra arra-jirrirre-ka a very long peninsula
amukwurra arra-jirrirri-dangwa the very long peninsula

The following adjective roots occur:

| | |
|--------------------|---|
| <i>-dilidila</i> | fat, thick (people, animals and things) |
| <i>-biyiya</i> | fat, thick (people, animals and things) |
| <i>-dirralinga</i> | thick (things), literally 'heaped, piled up', also 'lumpy' |
| <i>-jamiyama</i> | thin, narrow (people, animals and things) |
| <i>-kijuba</i> | thin, narrow (things) |
| <i>ebirra</i> | wide (things) |

The root *-kijuba* is not in common use among young people.

The root *-dirralinga* 'thick' has been discussed with reference to convex solids (see section 2.5.4).

The root *-ebirra* 'wide' also means 'spacious', 'roomy'. In this case width is not the only component of meaning.

The diagram opposite of a canoe illustrates four of the above terms. The prefix representing *malamukwa* 'canoe' is *-amba-* 'container' and that representing *eka* 'tree ~ wood' is *-arnda-*. *Malamukwa* 'canoe' is in the *m* noun class, and *eka* 'tree' is in the *a* noun class, but in this example 'thin wood' has the *m* noun class marker because the wood is part of the canoe.

1. *mamba-kijuba* ~ *mamba-jamiyama* 'narrow canoe ~ narrow part of canoe'
2. *mamb-ebirra* 'wide canoe ~ wide part of canoe'
3. *marnda-kijuba* ~ *marnda-jamiyama* 'thin wood (edge of canoe)'
4. *marnda-dilidila* ~ *marndak-biyiya* 'thick wood (edge of canoe)'

2.7.3 COMBINED CONCEPTS

Anindilyakwa has the potential for describing a combination of two concepts in one word. A few examples will suffice to show the remarkable flexibility of the language.¹⁶⁹ The prefix *awank-* 'rather' and the suffixes *-ka* 'very' and *-dangwa* 'emphasis' can occur.¹⁷⁰

- 171 *angwura alyikarrbarubara*
 firewood light.and.hollow
 'firewood that is light to carry because hollow, and so useless'
- angwala alyikarrbarubara*
 crab light.and.hollow
 'crabs that are not worth catching because they feel light, which indicates very little flesh inside the shell'
- dilyikarrbarubara dadiyuwangwa*
 light.and.hollow old.woman
 'an old woman who has lost weight from not eating and is therefore light to carry'
- 172 *awilyaba bajikala na-lyang-burrukunama*
 one tin it.a-head-disappears
 'One tin is full.'
- ni-lyangburrukwa bajikala yilyakwa*
 it.y-filled tin honey
 'The tin is full of honey.'
- numi-lyangburrukwa bajikala mangkarrkba arakba*
 it.m-filled tin plums now
 'The tin is full of plums now.'
- wi-lyangburrukwajina bajikala mamudangku-murra*
 it.a-fill tin sand-with
 'Fill the tin with sand!'
- yinguma-lyangburrukwajuwa mamudangkwa bajikalu-manja*
 she.it.m-filled sand tin-in
 'She filled the tin with sand.'
- 173 *nara ambaka aladuma* I haven't had enough to eat yet
- alyubarina kiladeni-yada*
 eat you.will.be.full-purpose
 'Eat so you will not be hungry.'

2.8 MASS

The basic words describing mass are *engkubarrngwarrngwa* 'heavy' and *ekilyarrba* 'light'.

The concepts of size and mass are not connected. Objects may be small and heavy or large and light. There is a special word *alyikarrbarubara* for things that are sometimes big but hollow and therefore light.¹⁷¹

The ordering and comparison of the terms 'heavy' and 'light' follow the same pattern as that for height (see section 2.7.1).

2.9 CAPACITY

Before the era of technology, baler shells were used to hold water, and containers made of bark were made by the women for the daily gathering of food. They were also useful for holding objects such as ochres. These containers were made from stringybark (Levitt 1981:18). Paperbark is still used as a temporary container when other containers are not available. This is not carefully made into a container like those from stringybark, as it is soon discarded.

As in English the concept of fullness refers to both liquids and solids. A container is full when the contents reach the top, so the adjective *alyang-burrukwa* 'full' is evidently connected with *-lyang-*, the prefix representing *aringka* 'head'. It is feasible that the root *-burrukw-* has some connection with the verb stem *-lyikarr-burrukwuna* meaning 'slip and fall over' and thus in some situations 'disappear from sight'. The inside of the container disappears as far as the top, or head, when full.

The verb stem *-lyang-burrukwuna* 'be filled', 'be full' refers to the contents and also to the container. The causative *-lyang-burrukwa-jina* 'fill' also refers to both contents and container.¹⁷²

Capacity with reference to eating is described by the verb stem *-ladena* 'be replete'.¹⁷³ This word is also used to refer to a full bladder. When a person has had enough to eat and is offered something more, instead of refusing the food the expression *ngawa* 'enough' is used, being the equivalent of 'no thank you, I've had enough'.

- 174 *kalyangburrukuna bajikala (ayarrka) akwa kakwarringina*
it.a.will.be.filled tin (hand) and it.a.will.break.in.two
 'a tinful (handful) and a half'
- 175 *mabun-debirra makarda* empty sea e.g. devoid of fish
murn.-debirra medirra empty cave e.g. without any
 paintings
arndi-debirra eka an empty tree e.g. without fruit
 or wild honey
marndi-debirra mangkarrkba empty plum tree
mamba-debirra malamukwa empty canoe
mal.debirra miyerriya empty nest
ama-debirra angalya empty camp
- 176 *narrumalarrkarnu-manja* when they sent hooked spears
mamulerrbirra angerriba across to the mainland they
ayangkwulyumuda-wa got stone from there
nuwarrangbina awarnda
yakwujina
- 177 *am-alyukwurra* paper money (from *alyukwurra*
 'paperbark')
amu-jurra paper money (from *jurra* 'paper')
am-amamuwa coinage (from *amamuwa* 'small
 round objects')
ambarrngarna awarnda? how much money?
aruma awarnda a lot of money

The concept 'half full' in Anindilyakwa is not exactly half but 'partly full'. The adjective *ekwarra* 'one part' is used to describe a partly filled container but reference is made to the contents and not to the container itself (see section 1.2.3). The amounts 'a tin and a half' and 'a handful and a half' are expressed idiomatically by verbs.¹⁷⁴

The concept 'empty' is described by the root *-debirra* which requires a prefix representing a noun. The concept has a wider area of meaning than the English. The use of the word focuses on the absence of what one might expect to find according to the context.¹⁷⁵

2.10 MONEY

Before the introduction of money, trading took place between the people of Groote Eylandt and the mainland tribes. Locally made hooked spears were traded on the mainland in exchange for a particular type of sharp stone used for spear heads¹⁷⁶ and also for a type of red ochre which was considered superior to the red ochre available on Groote Eylandt. Trading also took place between the clans on Groote Eylandt itself. Certain kinds of wood required for particular purposes were traded between the clans on Groote because the supply was greater in some clan areas than other. The Wurramarrba clan, for instance, traded rope for hardwood which abounded in the Jaragba clan territory.

The term used for buying and selling is a transliteration of the English, and there is no clear differentiation between the two types of transaction. When both 'buy' and 'pay' are transliterated, the result is the same, since both words in Anindilyakwa become the one form *-bayindena*. However the context usually clarifies the meaning adequately.

Today two words are used for money. One is *mani*, transliterated from the English 'money', and the other is *awarnda*, literally 'stones'. Although *awarnda* is a general term for sums of money, it refers more specifically to coinage. The examples show other adaptations that have been made for modern needs.¹⁷⁷

2.11 AGE

The concept of precise age was not recognised in traditional Aboriginal society. Although years were not counted in any way, people's ages were compared. Stages of development in small children were

| | | |
|-----|----------------------|------------------------------|
| 178 | <i>dangariya</i> | baby girl, toddler, infant |
| | <i>dadiyara</i> | young unmarried girl |
| | <i>didarringka</i> | female, woman, married woman |
| | <i>dadiyuwangkwa</i> | old woman |

noted and compared with much interest, and this is still so today.

Some 'age' terminology in Anindilyakwa is beyond the scope of this paper because the focus of such terminology is not on age but on marital status, parenthood, and ritual stages for men. For this reason such terminology is not parallel for both sexes. A few basic examples are given opposite.¹⁷⁸

The comparative age of children is less important than their size. In a group of young boys to be circumcised, age might vary more than size. More is expected of bigger boys than of others of the same age. Those children who are big for their age may have a hard time, while their contemporaries are let off lightly. When the ages of two boys are compared, there may be little difference between their dates of birth, but one boy is said to be *naruma* 'the big one' (older), and the other is *niyukwujiya* 'the small one' (younger). Exact ages are irrelevant.

When a new baby is talked about in a small community, the age is obviously not in focus but the sex is of great importance. Thus the answer to the question, 'Is the baby a boy or a girl?' is often *nenungwarba* 'male, man' or *didarringka* 'female, woman'. The adjective *amurrkbalya* 'soft' is also used for very young babies.

In a family the first born child is *numilyengma* or *nenungwur.dangmanja* if male, and *dumilyengma* or *dadungwur.dangmanja* if female. The last born child is *nenungwarijilangwa* or *nenikubarukwena* (male) and *dadungwarijilangwa* or *dadikubarukwena* (female). Every boy in the middle of the family is *neninguwilyarra*, and every girl is *dadinguwilyarra*.

Wurriyukwayuwa, the human plural form of the adjective 'small', has the special meaning 'children' when it is used alone but other pronominal prefixes can occur, e.g. *kirriyukwayuwa* 'you children'. The plural form with reduplication *wurriyukiyukwayuwa* is also used.

Wurrarumuruma, the human plural form of the adjective 'big' with partial reduplication, has the special meaning 'adults' when it is used alone, but the exact meaning depends on the context in which it is used. As well as meaning adults as opposed to children, it means older, more mature adults as opposed to young adults, and it is also used for ancestors. Another way of referring to ancestors is to use the term *wurrumurumurena* 'grand-fathers' with the adjective *warninungkwurakba* 'old'. By analogy the same term

- 179 *narumuda erriberribu-manja* he grew up in the bush
- 180 *yingin-arumurrkama* she brought up her older
diyabadikbu-langwa nangariya sister's baby boy
- 181 *kamakinama alawudawarra* I will tell you an old story
enungkwurakba
- ena alikira enikaduwa umba* this is a new house but the one
angaba enungkwurakba over there is old

wurumumurena with its reciprocal meaning 'grand-children' can be used with the adjective *warninikaduwa* 'new' to mean 'descendants'.

Age, size and importance of people are closely linked. *Niyukwujiya* means 'small, young and unimportant' (masculine). *Naruma ~ nadirrungwana* means 'big, old and important' (masculine). The word *wururumuruma* 'adults' thus carries the further meaning 'important people'.

The verb stem *-arumudina* 'become big' has the extended meaning 'grow up'.¹⁷⁹ The causative verb stem *-arumurrkina* 'make big' translates the English 'rear, bring up'.¹⁸⁰

The terms for the age of things are *enikaduwa* 'new' and *enungkwurakba* 'old'.¹⁸¹ See examples 75 and 127 for figurative uses of these words.

3. CONCLUSION

The foregoing description of Anindilyakwa concepts demonstrates that there is a wide variety of constructions to describe the basic concepts of beginning mathematics. Some terminology referring to these concepts is not inadequate, but it is unsuitable for young children because it involves sophisticated and complex language forms. The complexity of these forms shows the richness of the concepts in the language.

Adaptation has been taking place already in some of these areas and further adaptation and extension are foreseen.

APPENDIX 1

EXTENDED VOWELS AND CONSONANTS

Either a vowel or a consonant, if the consonant is a continuant, e.g. *m*, *n*, *r*, may be lengthened. This phenomenon is common in Australian Aboriginal languages. In Anindilyakwa it signals emphasis in adjectives and adverbs. It usually occurs in the first or second syllable of the word. It also occurs in the conjunction *biya* 'and then' signalling an interval of time. The tone is high on the first syllable and falling gradually throughout the word. This feature is symbolised by the insertion of a few dots in the extended syllable.

| | |
|---|-------------------------|
| <u>am...bakilangwa</u> | very slowly |
| <u>a...rakbawiya</u> ~ <u>ar...akbawiyà</u> | very long ago |
| <u>a...yukwujiyá</u> ~ <u>ayu...kwujiya</u> | very small |
| <u>e...ningaba</u> ~ <u>en...ingaba</u> | very good |
| <u>akwu...dangwa</u> | very close |
| <u>bi...yà</u> | and then, after a while |

APPENDIX 2

NOUN PREFIXATION

Noun prefixation describes a phenomenon that is possibly more extensive in Anindilyakwa than in many other Australian Aboriginal languages. Many nouns can be represented by a specific prefix as well as having a free form. The prefix which cannot be used alone is usually quite different from the free form, e.g.

| | | | |
|----------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|
| <i>aringka</i> | 'head' (free form) | <i>mamurukwa</i> | 'road' (free form) |
| <i>-lyang-</i> | 'head' (prefix) | <i>-lukw-</i> | 'road' (prefix) |

Noun prefixes occur in adjectives following the noun class marker. They are sometimes obligatory and sometimes optional, e.g.

| | |
|---------------------------|--------------|
| <i>a-lyang-mandukwuna</i> | (obligatory) |
| class.marker-head-true | |
| 'true, honest' | |

| | | | | |
|-----------------------|------------------|---|-----------------------------|------------------|
| <i>m-abiyakarbiya</i> | <i>mamurukwa</i> | ~ | <i>mu-lukw-abiyakarbiya</i> | <i>mamurukwa</i> |
| class.marker-three | road | | class.marker-road-three | road |
| 'three roads' | | | 'three roads' | |

Noun prefixes also occur in verbs following the subject + object pronominal prefixation. They are sometimes obligatory and sometimes optional, e.g.

| | |
|-----------------------------|--------------|
| <i>ning-eni-lyang-barra</i> | (obligatory) |
| l-him-head-hit | |
| 'I hit him on the head.' | |

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|---|------------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>ningi-lalika</i> | <i>amurndakijika</i> | ~ | <i>ningi-larrngki-lalika</i> | <i>amurndakijika</i> |
| l-left | things | | l-things-left | things |
| 'I left the things.' | | | 'I left the things.' | |

Nouns having a specific prefix as well as a free form include body parts, common nouns, generic terms and topographical features.

In some cases there is a prefix without a corresponding free form, as in the terminology describing shape, e.g.

yibilyubilya numindenama ~ *yibilyubilya ni-ngarning-mindenama*
lightning it.y.shines lightning it.y-long.rigid-shines
'the lightning shines' 'the forked lightning shines'

ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|------|--|
| emph | emphasis |
| excl | exclusive |
| fem | feminine |
| incl | inclusive |
| masc | masculine |
| sing | singular |
| plur | plural |
| ~ | alternating with |
| - | separating morphemes in Anindilyakwa and in English examples |
| . | separating English words |

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