Top left: Janbuyin (Hicky Hood)

Top right: Jaranajin (Blutcher)

Centre left: Munguj (Maudie)

Centre right: Wawul (Kitty)

— Photographs by F. Merlan 1978; G. Chaloupka 1977.

Bottom: Roper River Overland Telegraph Camp, 1871-72.

—Courtesy of State Library of South Australia.

'MAKING PEOPLE QUIET' IN THE PASTORAL NORTH: REMINISCENCES OF ELSEY STATION*

Francesca Merlan

Elsey Station has been a familiar name to most Australians since the 1908 publication of Jeannie Gunn's popular *We of the never-never*. She came to the Elsey in 1902 as the wife of the newly-appointed station manager Aeneas Gunn, and much of her narrative describes her rather uncommon situation as a woman in the man's world of the pastoral north. Her attitude toward the Aborigines who lived and worked at Elsey Station was plainly one of sympathy, and admiration for what she saw to be their good qualities, but *We of the never-never* and her 1905 story, *The little black princess*, show no profound concern for, or understanding of, the shattering impact of pastoral development on the Aborigines of this area.

A second book about Elsey Station was written by the pastoralist Harold E. Thonemann, who with E.H. Thonemann bought the Elsey leases together with the nearby Hodgson Downs property in 1914. His 1949 *Tell the white man*, based on the life history of an Aboriginal woman, conveys much more of the Aboriginal view of the pastoral occupation of their traditional lands, the disruption of their culture, and their own enforced dependence on the station.

'Making people quiet' is the vivid phrase that some present-day Elsey Aborigines use to describe the treatment of their ancestors in the early days of pastoral settlement, when Northern Territory Aborigines were generally regarded as a 'problem', a menace to stock and stockmen alike. The need to develop the north was generally accepted by Australians, and the 'Aboriginal question' was then phrased in terms of controlling Aborigines, keeping them from the cattle and, if possible, converting them into an economic asset.

The history of 'pacification' of the pastoral north is still fairly fragmentary, and researchers have only recently begun to make any extensive

*The linguistic research on which this paper is based has been supported by the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. Several months were spent gathering Manjari material in 1977 and work with the Jembere community at Elsey Station is continuing. Others who have worked at Elsey Station include anthropologists A.P. Elkin, John Bern and Jan Larbalestier, and linguist Margaret Sharpe. I am grateful to John Dymock for suggestions about the use of archival materials; to Dr F.H. Bauer, Field Director of the Australian National University's North Australia Research Unit for his kind permission to cite some of his field notes on pastoral history; to the staff at the Archives, State Library of South Australia, and to Dr James Urry of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies for assistance and advice.

Distribution of language groups and locations in the Elsey area.

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use of Aboriginal recollections for historical documentation.¹ The part that Aborigines themselves were forced and encouraged to play in subduing their countrymen and foreign tribesmen has been virtually unrecorded. This paper attempts to reconstruct some of the history of pre-pastoral contact and pastoral settlement, using documentary materials and Aboriginal oral accounts recorded by Elsey residents, descendants of Aborigines who settled at the station in the early years of pastoral occupation. The stories have been selected for their focus on the recruitment of Aborigines to assist in the process of pacification.

The traditional lands of two tribes,² the Maṇarayi and Yaṇman, lie partly within the Elsey property. The traditional lands of the Maṇarayi extend from the western headwaters of the Roper River around the present Mataranka, east along the river and other waterways including tributaries, billabongs and lagoons, to approximately Roper Valley and Hodgson Downs Stations (see Map 1). Maṇarayi country includes areas within the present Elsey, Goondooloo, Moroak, Roper Valley and Hodgson Downs leases.

Yaṇman country extends south along Elsey and Birdum Creeks and into the Dry River plateau. Inter-marriage between the Maṇarayi and Yaṇman has been extensive, but inquiry into the relation between patrilineal descent groups and ownership of land areas reveals a basic territorial distinctness between the two tribes. Maṇarayi belongs to a language group which includes Alawa, Mara and Wandaraṇ (now very close to linguistic extinction);³ Yaṇman to a group which includes Waḍaman (whose traditional lands lie within Willeroo, Delamere and Inniesvale Stations), Dagoman and on the basis of the small amount of information available, seemingly also Wagiman. The Maṇarayi and Yaṇman languages are not mutually intelligible, but by virtue of close association between the two groups in the Elsey Station area, most speakers of Maṇarayi are able to speak or at least understand Yaṇman, and the small number of fluent and semi-fluent Yaṇman speakers all have good proficiency in Maṇarayi.

¹ Among recent works based on Aboriginal accounts are *A view of the past: Aboriginal accounts of Northern Territory history* compiled by Jay and Peter Read for publication by the Curriculum and Research Branch, Northern Territory Division of the Department of Education; *My people's life* by Jack Mirritji (Milingimbi Literacy Centre 1976); and other books and literacy materials written by Aborigines at Yuendumu, Lajamanu and other settlements.

² 'Tribe' is here used to mean linguistic group and definable but not strictly bounded social group. This approximation of tribal territories rests on traditional principles of land ownership which cannot be outlined here.

³ A few people remain at Roper Valley Station and other Roper communities who have some knowledge of Wandaraṇ.

The Elsey Station homestead has been shifted several times. In the Gunns' time it was located at Galyag or Warloch Ponds, later it was moved to Narmingan or Red Lily Lagoon and a few Aborigines remember having helped as children to carry the iron and other materials on their backs to the new site. Today it is situated on the Roper River at McMinn's Bar (Guyangan). An Aboriginal camp has been associated with the station since the middle of the 1890s. Aboriginal labour was the mainstay of pastoral operations here as elsewhere, but after the granting of equal wages most stations were reluctant to continue supporting large numbers of workers and dependents. Following the 1971 Gibb Committee⁴ recommendation for excision of land areas from pastoral properties to establish Aboriginal communities independent of station control, the Elsey camp moved in 1974 to Jemberé, a few kilometres upriver from the homestead. By agreement with the station this land is to be excised from the Elsey lease, but excision is currently delayed because a survey had shown that Jemberé Community is located on a stock-route, where freehold title cannot legally be granted.

The population of Jemberé ranges from forty to about sixty-five depending on the season, availability of stock-work at Elsey and neighbouring stations and people's need and desire to travel or to visit other communities, mainly in the Roper area. The Maṇarayi constitute the core group at Jemberé and Maṇarayi is the community's primary Aboriginal language.

Throughout their history of station residence Maṇarayi people have continuously occupied some part of their traditional lands and kept in contact with other portions of it through seasonal 'walkabouts', shorter bush trips, and also through stockwork. Their feeling of association with their country is very much alive, and the older people especially have vast knowledge of the mythology governing traditional ownership and management of land areas. This continuous occupation contrasts with the fate of many groups removed to missions and settlements far from their home territories, but the traditional life-style of the Aboriginal population in the Elsey area has been altered by pastoral settlement, initiating a dependence on Europeans and European institutions which has both material and psychic aspects. The Jemberé people engage in subsistence hunting, fishing, and gathering only to a limited extent as availability of natural resources, transportation and other factors permit. For the most part they depend on European commodities. Their cash economy in 1978 relies on welfare benefits, since employment at any of the stations is now sporadic, involving only a few hands or domestic workers for limited periods of time. As these Aborigines have become

⁴ The Gibb Committee was appointed to investigate the situation of Aborigines on pastoral properties in the Northern Territory. Granting of award wages to Aborigines was recommended in 1966 by the Commonwealth Conciliation and Arbitration Commission.

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increasingly sedentary, visits to certain parts of their country have become less frequent and religious observances, maintenance measures and utilisation of resources in many places have been discontinued or are only sporadic. During a visit to Lududmiñi (Crescent Lagoon, Elsey Station), an important 'sickness place' and also a rainmaking site, the Maṅarayi were describing the now-lapsed practices of the jayway, the 'rainmakers' of the descent group which owns the area. One of the present owners of Lududmiñi remarked, 'I don't know how we get rain today. Must be we're just bludging the white man's rain'.

Early white exploration in the Elsey area resulted in minimal contact with the Aborigines. In 1856 the exploring party commanded by the surveyor A.C. Gregory passed through part of the area which was later to become Elsey Station. Gregory travelled up the Dry River and crossed to a waterway which he named Elsey Creek on 14 July 1856, in honour of Joseph Ravenscroft Elsey, the young surgeon, naturalist and meteorologist of the party.⁵ Gregory followed Elsey Creek to its junction with the Roper (already known from the Leichhardt expedition of 1844-45), and travelled along the river for a few miles before turning south towards the present Hodgson Downs. The sole encounter with Aborigines in this area is recorded in Gregory's journal of 19 July 1856, when several Aborigines who had approached the party unarmed during the day returned at night with spears. Gregory ordered a charge of shot to be fired at them which 'had the desired effect of compelling them to retreat'.⁶

In 1862 John McDouall Stuart's fifth exploring expedition crossed Gregory's track near the Roper. Stuart's report of the Roper region, praising its abundant water, rich soil and luxuriant native grasses, was one of the factors which encouraged the colonial government of South Australia, looking for ways to satisfy growing demands for new pastoral country, to annex the Northern Territory in 1863. The construction of the Overland Telegraph made the first significant impact on the tribes of the Roper region before pastoral occupation began in the early 1880s. Construction parties were preceded by a surveying expedition led by John Ross, appointed in 1870 by Charles Todd, Postmaster General and Superintendent of Telegraphs in Adelaide. He was accompanied by surveyor William Harvey, Alfred Giles and others. In 1870 the Government Resident in Palmerston (Darwin), Bloomfield Douglas, sent another party to assess the suitability of the Roper River as a secondary port for the landing of supplies by steamship; this resulted in the establishment of a supply depot and encampment at the Roper Landing.

⁵ Gregory 1884:159.

⁶ Gregory 1884:161.

Of the expeditions' various diarists, probably the most informative concerning Aborigines is Alfred Giles. His entries of 22, 23 and 24 July 1871 tell of an attempted attack on the surveying party by some Aborigines who had camped nearby, on the western Roper River. Giles made entries in his journal at intervals of several hours during those tense days:

---4 oclock---three natives have just come up bringing five other young men with them whom we have not before seen they gave us to understand that they had been a long way to find them to have a look at us. This however only strengthens my belief that they fully intend attempting attack upon us, and the fresh arrivals are portions of a reinforcement and the lubras [being?] sent away is a pretty sure sign that mischief is brewing. The circle of smoke is getting denser and denser as the night draws on I notice also that several large and hollow trees have been set fire to at about even distances on the east side of the camp to act as beacon lights I shall keep a sharp lookout tonight for the rascals everything is silent but the blazing trees night close a sultry...⁷

The Aborigines were forced back by rockets and rifle-fire, and Giles later recovered bundles of spears abandoned as they fled.

The more permanent encampments of the Overland Telegraph, like the Roper Landing depot, attracted Aborigines in large numbers. The journal of R.C. Patterson, the officer-in-charge of the government construction party based at the Roper Landing,⁸ records several incidents which illustrate the Aborigines' and Europeans' mutual lack of understanding of behaviour and motives. In his 1871-72 entries he tells of chaining two Aboriginal hostages during an attempt to 'smoke out' those who had stolen some clothes from the Europeans. Evidently the two men seized (one of whom came into the European camp voluntarily) were not the guilty parties, and Patterson remarks it was 'by no means clear that the natives understood the cause of their captivity'.⁹ The Aborigines attempted to appease their captors:

It transpired that our second captive was the son of the old chief--- the native Prince of Wales in fact--- they could not make themselves intelligible to us nor we to them. The young fellow kept bawling out to the lubras on the other side and at last the lubras jumped into the water to swim across--- It then became evident that our captives

⁷ Giles, Book 2.

⁸ The contract for the northern section of the overland cable (Darwin to Tennant Creek) had originally been let to the private Adelaide firm of Darwent and Dalwood. In 1871 this contract was cancelled due to unsatisfactory progress of the work, and a government construction party headed by R.C. Patterson was sent in July 1871 to continue work on the northern section.

⁹ Patterson 1871-72.

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wanted to propitiate the camp by sending for their women, but before they could land on this side we drove them back...¹⁰

Finally Patterson ordered the release of the hostages, since the clothes were clearly not going to be returned, and they were sent back to their camp after having been given a meal and some biscuits for their families. Patterson and other diarists record as a commonplace the use of rifle fire and rocketry to scatter Aborigines from the boats and European camp at the Landing.

The Aborigines quickly appreciated the usefulness of iron, leather, *bouilli* tins and other items of European material culture, salvaging what they could from abandoned camps and occasionally also stealing into occupied camps while the telegraph workers were absent. R.C. Patterson came upon two Aborigines extracting ironwork from a pair of shafts that a work party had left behind.¹¹ Tools left on the line overnight were promptly stolen.¹² Bullock drays bogged and abandoned at Red Lily Lagoon were cut up and carried away.¹³ Aborigines cut the buckles out of harness left by H. Packard close to Bitter Springs (near the present Mataranka) and cut up the leather.¹⁴

In some areas at least Aboriginal tribesmen attempted to institutionalize trading and protective relationships with telegraph workers after the native fashion. S.W. Herbert wrote of the Larakiya tribe south of Darwin:

... to speak of our experience in connection with the telegraph construction work, I should mention that the Larakeah will exchange names with a white man to whom he takes a special fancy, an act which implies protection, assistance in obtaining food, and warning against danger.¹⁵

Herbert also recorded a native assault on Number Two Depot ninety-seven miles south of Darwin.¹⁶ The Aborigines had at first been given bully-beef and damper by line-workers, but were refused rations as supplies ran low; they immediately attacked the depot but did not succeed in storming the workers' hut. As a result of this incident two mounted troopers were despatched to protect telegraph workers on the northern section of the line. One, trooper Messon, was stationed at Number Two Depot; the second, Sutton, was sent to Elsey Creek where R.C. Burton, one of the government overseers, was camped. This seems to have been the first police presence in the Elsey area.

A few native attacks which resulted in loss of European lives quickly became known at every camp along the line, and are mentioned in almost

¹⁰ Patterson 1871-72.

¹¹ Patterson 1871-72.

¹² Herbert, 1870-72:145.

¹³ Ashwin 1870-71:21.

¹⁴ Chalmers 1871-72:20.

¹⁵ Herbert 1870-72:27.

¹⁶ Herbert 1870-72:111.

every journal. One of the most frequently recorded incidents was the clubbing to death of John Millner at Attack Creek in the Centre in August 1871. He and his brother Ralph had left Port Augusta in 1870 in an attempt to overland stock (sheep, horses, goats and working bullocks) to Palmerston. After the death Ralph continued north, suffering heavy stock losses due to poisonous plants and other causes.¹⁷ Millner arrived at Red Lily Lagoon (Elsey Station) in late 1872, where the surviving stock, in poor condition, was purchased by Patterson to replenish the telegraph parties' supplies.

The death of his brother did not dispose Ralph Millner to leniency towards Aborigines. The vivid recollections of Arthur C. Ashwin, a member of Millner's party, are more candid than many of the journals which hint at violence towards Aborigines but omit details. Ashwin wrote of an incident on the western Roper River:

Whilst having dinner a big mob of niggers showed up about a quarter of a mile south on a range of hills. Three of the hard cases went away north and were taking a circuitous route endeavouring to work round behind the natives to give them a lesson. Before starting they asked Mr Packard not to allow a man to fire on them until they first heard a shot from the stalking party, but one of the silly fools fired without orders and away went the natives. The hard cases never fired a shot but returned and told Packard they would like to see the blacks raid the camp that night. It was at this spot the natives came to Packard and he gave them handkerchiefs, looking-glasses, combs and knives and a tomahawk, and the next night they attacked him on the Strangeways.¹⁸

Be kind to the wild native if you want trouble.

He mistakes kindness for fear all over Australia.¹⁹

Commenting on a later incident in which he and a companion shot some Aborigines farther east toward the Roper Bar Ashwin added:

This was the same tribe which stuck Packard up and other parties since at the same camping place. They attacked Joe Pettit, W. Banks and Tommy McBride at the camping place and waterhole. Joe Walker one of the party was too many for them and gave them a lesson. He rode a one-eyed horse and galloped at them and then after them revolver in hand. Tommy McBride told me all about that trip over from Cloncurry in 1872...²⁰

The guerilla warfare begun by the Aborigines on the Roper during the construction of the telegraph line was to become more intense and

¹⁷ Bauer 1964:105.

¹⁸ H. Packard's party was sent from Bitter Springs (near the present Mataranka) to the Roper Landing for rations. After the native assault his party retreated to Katherine.

¹⁹ Ashwin 1870-71:20-21.

²⁰ Ashwin 1870-71:30.

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unequal as the country was taken up for pastoral settlement.

Application for part of the area which later became Elsey Station was first made by Abraham Wallace in 1877.²¹ The original 'situation' of the station is given in the Register of Northern Territory Pastoral Leases as the 'All Saints' Well' which was sunk by R.C. Burton's telegraph party on Elsey Creek. The date of commencement of the original leases was January 1878, but it was not until 1880 that Wallace and a small party began their stocking drive from Sturt's Meadows Station in New South Wales,²² and 1882 before the property was declared stocked.²³ Wallace's droving party consisted of six men, and included his nephew J.H. Palmer, who became the first manager of Elsey upon arrival at their destination. Having reached the Roper Bar, the Wallace party passed by Mount McMinn, then went on to Duck Ponds, Mole Hill, the Strangways River and finally encamped at Crescent Lagoon (see the map) while a small advance party went on to Elsey Creek. There some friendly Aborigines gave them enough fish to make a meal, their own supplies having run out. The cattle were later brought to Elsey Creek via Red Lily Lagoon, and released.²⁴ Nearby Hodgson Downs was established in 1884 by Cyrew Mason and stocked with cattle driven from Queensland. The Elsey property changed hands a number of times: after the death of Abraham Wallace in 1888 the station was bought by W.S. Osmand; in 1901 the executor of the Osmand estate offered the position of manager to Aeneas Gunn, who arrived at Elsey early in 1902 and acquired a one-quarter share when Elsey was purchased by a partnership of Bennett, Gunn and Samuel Copley in November 1902. Following Gunn's death in 1903 the station was purchased by a large cattle syndicate, Eastern and African Cold Storage Co. Ltd.

The taking up of pastoral properties inevitably resulted in intensification of trouble with Aborigines. A telegram from Government Resident Edward Price to the Minister for Education in Adelaide reported the killing in mid-1882 of Duncan Campbell, Elsey Station's first head stockman:

Croker who has arrived at Elsey camp from Bush reports that a native informed him that Duncan Campbell who with two Queensland blacks has been five weeks away mustering cattle was murdered sixty (60) miles east of Elsey by native who is known at Elsey Camp that the two blacks were still alive but were to be murdered at Corroboree these natives are now supposed to be congregated at Moles Hill I have directed armed party with Corporal Montague and constable to start at once in pursuit. Most earnestly and respectfully recommend act to

²¹ N.T. Archives, Register of Pastoral Leases.

²² Wallace to the Minister for Education (SAA 790/1880/94).

²³ N.T. Archives, Register of Pastoral Leases.

²⁴ Palmer n.d.

be passed giving power to try natives for murder here and if guilty to execute them at scene of murder outrages by natives increasing they seem to think they can only be imprisoned.²⁵

A second telegram from Price in September 1882 reported the capture of a Queensland native, Paddy, who had been found with Campbell's gun and blanket. Paddy was said to have confessed to the murder, and to have been assisted by a Northern Territory Aboriginal, Charley, who was still being sought.²⁶

The people at Jembere tell of the spearing of a 'Chinaman' (for his swag and food) on the Strangways near Crescent Lagoon by Mululurun, a 'rainmaker' who was one of the owners of the Lagoon. According to their recollection, Mululurun was hanged at Crescent Lagoon and the remains of the tree may still be seen there today. Their forebears were brought to witness the hanging, were told not to grieve and were given gifts of tobacco, blankets and some food. The hanging of Mululurun occurred on 10 January 1895 according to the *Northern Territory Times* of 25 January 1895. On 9 April 1897 the *Times* reported another spearing at Elsey: 'whilst the manager and stockman were out on the run three blacks attacked the Chinaman cook (Ah Poy) and put two spears in his back and one through the lower part of his leg... Constable Burt has started for the Elsey to inquire into the matter'. Other incidents reported in the *Times* indicate that Elsey-area natives were involved in killings on the Hodgson and Roper rivers, and as far away as Willeroo Station.²⁷ In 1908 Mrs Gunn wrote of how to deal with the problem of cattle-spearing:

On stations in the Never-Never the blacks are supposed to camp either in the homesteads, where no man need go hungry or right outside the boundaries on waters beyond the cattle, travelling in or out as desired, on condition that they keep to the main traveller's tracks — blacks among the cattle have a scattering effect on the herd, apart from the fact that 'niggers in' generally means cattle-killing.

Of course no man ever hopes to keep his blacks absolutely obedient to this rule; but the judicious giving of an odd bullock at not too rare intervals, and always at corroboree times, the more judicious winking at cattle killing on the boundaries, where cattle scaring is not all disadvantage, and the even more judicious giving of a hint, when a hint is necessary, will do much to keep them fairly well in hand,

²⁵ Price to the Minister for Education (SAA 790/1882/412).

²⁶ Price to the Minister for Education (SAA 790/1882/571).

²⁷ See for instance Parsons to the Minister for Education, (SAA/790/1884/1008 and 790/1884/1084) for an incident on the Hodgson River, and *Northern Territory Times* of 11, 18, 25 August and 1 September 1905 for events at Willeroo Station involving an Elsey-area Aboriginal as chief suspect.

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anyway from openly harrying and defiantly killing, which in humanity is surely all any man should ask.²⁸

According to George Conway,²⁹ an all-round cattleman, drover and sometime station owner-manager who was for many years a resident of the Mataranka area, in the early years of this century chain gangs of from twenty to thirty Aborigines, sentenced to terms of three to six months for cattle-spearing, were walked to Pine Creek, then railed to Darwin and imprisoned in Fanny Bay Gaol. At first prisoners were released in Darwin upon completion of their sentences, but when this was found to result in trouble with local tribesmen they were taken back at least as far as Pine Creek and left to walk from there.

Aborigines were not the only cause of trouble to the developing pastoral industry: the overland stock route from Queensland ran through Elsey Station, making it difficult to control cattle diseases and stock loss, and bringing undesirable whites into the area. Darwin Police Inspector Paul Foelsche,³⁰ reporting to the Government Resident, had stressed the need for police protection as early as 1883:

...during the last twelve months the overland traffic from Queensland to Port Darwin has greatly increased especially in connection with the importation of cattle to stock runs in the Northern Territory and a good many of the criminal class from the back country of Queensland have found their way here, among them some who have served various terms of imprisonment in that colony for horse and cattle stealing, highway and mail robbery ... it is necessary that police protection should be extended beyond the goldfields and I would therefore respectfully recommend that a Police Camp be formed at the Elsey at or near Mr Wallaces Cattle Station about 135 miles south of the present farthest south police station at Pine Creek: and that two Mounted Constables be stationed there.

At this place the police would command both the Queensland and Adelaide Routes [sic] and will be a check on horse and cattle stealers, which I fear will be carried on before very long and for which the overland road to Queensland offers great facilities.

A police station at the Elsey would in my opinion also greatly lessen the troubles experienced every now and then with the natives in the Roper River country. In the recent murder case³¹ in that

²⁸ Gunn 1908:200; for another opinion on controlling the 'wild blacks' see editorial in the *Northern Territory Times*, 27 October 1905.

²⁹ George Conway, now deceased, was interviewed by Dr F.H. Bauer near Mataranka on 18 November 1957; all references to Conway's life below are from these notes. Conway came to the Territory in 1901 and at different times took up Urapunga (1907), Maryfield (1910), and Roper Valley Stations (1914).

³⁰ Foelsche, appointed Sub-Inspector of Police in the Northern Territory in 1869, took up his duties in 1870. See SAA Research Note No. 456 for information on Foelsche and the genesis of the Northern Territory police force.

³¹ Reference is probably to the murder of Duncan Campbell.

locality some of the Yam and Pine Creek police were away from their stations for two months, a very undesirable thing in a country where the natives are plentiful and at times very troublesome, and where the criminal class of Europeans are steadily increasing.^{3 2}

He recommended that a much-needed Chinese detective and interpreter be hired at Darwin; this would also free a constable who could be posted at Elsey Station. Subsequently Foelsche determined to create a native police force.

Foelsche's idea was to create a combined force of European constables and natives at the Elsey police camp, but there was obviously official hesitation about the nature of the proposed native force. Government Resident J.L. Parsons generally referred to the force in his correspondence as 'black trackers', while Foelsche himself frequently used the phrase 'Native Police'. Parsons wired the Minister for Justice and Education on 11 September 1884 regarding the need for police protection in the outlying districts, concluding:

Have conferred with Inspector [Foelsche], recommend that black trackers be connected with present police force. Black force on Queensland basis open to grave objections. Inspector strongly opposed to it.^{3 3}

In a letter of 14 October 1884 Parsons again strongly opposed the idea of a 'Native Police' and gave his opinion regarding the suitability of local Aborigines:

NT natives are unsuitable either for police or trackers because many of the tribes intermingle... . They will not discover their friends in addition they are poor trackers. Game is very plentiful and they are not made keen by hunger. My opinion is usual here we want trackers from Central Australia or Queensland. We do not want a black police for the Queensland black force goes out and disperses shoots natives. Mr McDonald who has been 16 yrs superintendent of the penal establishment at Moreton's Bay informs me the biggest scoundrels and the cause of most troubles with the blacks are the ex black troopers. For the Elsey I wanted two European constables and would place there two black trackers.^{3 4}

^{3 2} Foelsche to the Government Resident (SAA 790/1883/124). The problem of undesirables was a continuous one, especially with the periodic slumps in the pastoral industry. A leader in the *Northern Territory Times* (3 March 1905) later commented: 'What between the later drover Dunbar's men, men who were engaged in the droving of cattle from Wollogorang to Arafura, and a number of others who have trailed out into these fresh fields on their own, the country just at present is well supplied with-unemployed'. Gordon Kinross Dunbar, a Queensland drover, had been employed by the Eastern and African Cold Storage Co. Ltd. (see below) to transfer cattle from Hodgson Downs to the Blue Mud Bay area. He died of malaria in 1903 while working for the company.

^{3 3} Parsons to the Minister for Justice and Education (SAA 790/1884/842).

^{3 4} Parsons to the Minister for Justice and Education (SAA 790/1884/926).

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Pursuing the matter, Parsons' November 1884 telegram asserted that 'low rents for pastoral country will not enable us to give police all over Territory but station at Elsey appears urgent'.³⁵

The use of non-local Aborigines in police and tracking capacities was not unique to the Territory, indeed seems to have been preferred in many parts of Australia. The correspondence of E.L. Hamilton, Protector of Aborigines, indicates that three trackers were brought to the Territory from South Australia in 1881, but does not specify where they were stationed.³⁶

In a letter of October 1884 Foelsche reported the organizing of the native force, to be brought north from Alice Springs by Mounted Constable Willshire (notorious for his ferocity in exterminating Aborigines in the Centre):

I have communicated with the police at Alice Springs with the view of organizing a party of natives to be sent to the Northern Territory to act as a police patrol. As there may be some difficulty in getting a suitable white man to take charge of them until their arrival at their destination, I propose lending the Minister for Justice and Education the services of MC Willshire stationed at Alice Springs who is eminently qualified for the duty—to return to his station on the completion of his tasks.³⁷

Foelsche does not mention the provenience of the natives, but his correspondence of 1884 refers to the building of adequate quarters at Elsey for the natives and for the two European mounted constables who were to take command, Curtis and Power.

A letter from Foelsche to the Commissioner of Police in Adelaide announced the arrival of Willshire in Palmerston in January 1885, and the subsequent arrival of Curtis and the natives at Southport in early February. Foelsche added:

On the 9th Feb MC Willshire handed all the government property over to MC Power, who together with Curtis and the 6 trackers left for Pine Creek on the 16th ultimo, where the party will be stationed till the end of the wet season when I intend to remove them to the Elsey to patrol the Roper River country as a commencement of their regular routine...³⁸

A telegram from J.L. Parsons indicates that the native force left for Elsey in April 1885 after having been employed in the Pine Creek area assisting in the collection of fees for mining rights.³⁹ Upon reaching Elsey some of the natives, commanded by MC Power, were sent to assist

³⁵ Parsons to the Minister for Justice and Education (SAA 790/1884/1008).

³⁶ Hamilton to the Minister for Education (SAA 790/1881/262).

³⁷ Foelsche to the Minister for Justice and Education (SAA 790/1884/872).

³⁸ Foelsche to the Commissioner of Police (SAA 790/1885/388).

³⁹ Parsons (addressee unspecified) (SAA 790/1885/405).

in the apprehension of the native 'Charlie' who, it had been decided, was the real murderer of Duncan Campbell.⁴⁰

In January 1885 Foelsche had issued regulations for the guidance of the officer-in-charge of the 'Native Police' (as he called them in titling his communiqué):

He is to make himself acquainted with the favorite [sic] camping places of the natives in the neighborhood where the force for the time being is stationed and visit them occasionally especially when a large number of natives are assembled and give them to understand that if they commit depredations they will be brought to justice: and that for the purpose the force is travelling about the country: thus the natives may be deterred from murder and felony.⁴¹

Foelsche ordered that all native 'outrages' be reported to him at once, as well as any action taken by the police. Although he did not specify whether firearms were to be issued to the native police, he said that firearms could be used to secure the arrest of Aboriginal offenders, and in self defence, but 'it is to be borne in mind that the system termed "dispersing the natives" which simply means shooting them is not to be practiced and for this the officer in charge will be held strictly responsible.'⁴¹ Evidently Foelsche viewed this force as a special unit, for he instructed that they were to lend assistance to local police wherever required.

It is unfortunate that there seems to be little record of the activities of the native police while they were at Elsey. The force was disbanded after only a few months: on 20 May, 1886 Parsons advised the Minister for Education that Foelsche was in agreement with this dissolution. Parsons recommended the re-stationing of the 'trackers' at Borrooloola, Katherine, 'or if telegraph opened at Elsey there as occasion requires'.⁴³

In 1887 Foelsche informed Parsons of the desire of the remaining native trackers at Katherine and elsewhere to return to their own countries, adding: 'I may state they are all good and obedient men but very inferior trackers... I recommend that three really good trackers be procured from Queensland or the interior...'.⁴⁴ Very likely some never overcame their fear of local tribesmen and unknown country and thus were unable to work effectively.

Apparently this was not the last attempt to use imported Aborigines in a 'police' function. The Jemberé community includes a brother and sister whose elder brother Janbuyin is now living at Bamyili; Janbuyin,

⁴⁰ Parsons to the Minister for Justice and Education (SAA 790/1885/626). Queensland Paddy, originally apprehended as the murderer of Campbell, was committed for trial at Katherine in 1882 according to SAA 790/1882/571. I have not yet been able to find documents relating to the resolution of this case.

⁴¹ Foelsche to the Officer-in-Charge of Native Police (SAA 790/1885/174).

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Parsons to the Minister for Education (SAA 790/1886/438).

⁴⁴ Foelsche to the Government Resident (SAA 790/1887/13).

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now in his early seventies, had an elder sister, now deceased, by the same father, which probably means that it was in the late 1890s that their father was brought to the Elsey area. Their knowledge of his place of origin is vague; it is sometimes said to be the Kimberleys and sometimes the Victoria River area, but at any rate far to the west of Elsey. They were told that he was brought by a policeman, but it may have been someone who carried out what was thought to be a police function, that of 'making people quiet'. Janbuyin remembers his father saying that he travelled north to the Elsey area from Alice Springs, where he was engaged in black-shooting. The father, Gudir (Luganid), eventually married at Hodgson Downs and was thoroughly incorporated into local Aboriginal society: despite the fact that Gudir is known to have come from a foreign tribe, he is said to have been brought to the Elsey area by a 'wild wind', (locally the totemic property of the semi-moiety to which he belonged). It must be understood that the travels of mythological figures like 'wild wind' are timeless. Gudir's descendants speak both Maṇarayi and Alawa (as well as Yaṇman to some extent), but given their long residence at Elsey, identify themselves primarily as Maṇarayi. Janbuyin says of his father:^{4 5}

1. Nanjugu na-baga-ṇanju na-Luganid guruggurṇ-gana
my *M-father-mine* *M-Luganid* *whiteman-ABL*
 malam-gana-bayi Gudir na-baga ṇiṇa-ñ
Aboriginal-ABL-foc *Gudir* *M-father* *come-PP*
 Kajeran Briñ-gana, miṇiwuṇ-gana, ṇuṇali-wana,
Katherine *Bridge-ABL* *Miriwun-ABL* *Nunali-ABL*
 jaṇan-gana ṇiṇa-ni.
west-ABL *come-PC*
2. Na-guruggurug na-daymingan jaṇan-gana ṇiṇi
M-whiteman *M-policeman* *west-ABL* *bring PC*
 dayi jilwa ṇa-ga-n ṇi-ṇawu-bayi.
Neg *remember* *1Sg-AUX-pres* *name-his-foc*
3. Gana na-baga do? ma-ri-wa gayara, malam
well *M-father* *shoot* *AUX-PC-ps* *west* *Aborigine*
 bu-ni-wa, malga malga luḷiñ? Alice Spring-gana
kill-PC-ps *then* *then* *around* *Alice Springs-ABL*
 jina-bamgan jibma ju-yi-ni.
dir-towards speaker *descend* *AUX-Med-PC*
4. Yiyi-ji-ni do?+wañjin-gu na-guruggurug-gu, gana
fear-Med-PC *shooting-DAT* *DAT-whiteman* *so*
 man+bu-b, yum+bu-b na-ṇayaṇ-gan na-baṇam-gan.
run-PP *leave-PP* *LOC-other* *LOC-place/camp*

^{4 5} All texts and photographs are by permission of the story-tellers, and immediate kin where possible.

5. Malga Meñeri-lama ya-j yawa|
 then Hodgson Downs-ALL go-PP bludging
 na-gadugu-wu, Alawa naja-nañi, na-gungu.
 PURP-woman Alawa F-mother M-uncle (MB)
6. Naja-nañi naja-Jiryirmin, ja-ma
 F-mother F-wren (name) 3PresPos-say
 warwiyangajama warwiyangayawu nan-ma-ri
 dreaming-ALL dreaming-hers 1Sg/2Sg-tell-PC
 bala|aga, gana ni-ngayawu naja-Nurubadu,
 today but name-hers F-Nurubadu
 guruggurug-gana naja-Nelly.
 whiteman-ABL F-Nelly

TRANSLATION

1. My father, Luganid⁴⁶ in English (but) Gudir from the Aboriginal, my father came from the Katherine Bridge, from Miriwoon, Nunali, he came from the west.
2. A whiteman, a policeman brought him from the west, I don't remember his name.
3. Well, my father was shooting in the west, he was killing Aborigines, then he came down around towards this way from Alice Springs.
4. He was afraid of being shot by the whiteman, so he ran away, he left him in another place.
5. Then he went to Hodgson Downs 'bludging' for women, my mother and uncle are Alawa.
6. My mother is Jiryirmin, they call her that with reference to a dreaming,⁴⁷ I was telling you today about her dreaming, but her name was Nurubadu, Nelly in English.

Janbuyin is actually uncertain how his father got away from the white man, nor does he remember any details of the 'shootings in the west'.

In 1903 Elsey, Hodgson Downs and Wollgorang Stations were purchased by the newly-incorporated Eastern and African Cold Storage Co. Ltd. The precursor of this company had in 1899 leased nearly twenty thousand square miles with coastal frontage in the Blue Mud Bay region of Arnhem Land. The Company's intention was to stock this holding by transferring cattle from the Elsey-Hodgson area to what was thought to be rich pasturage along the northern coastal rivers, despite

⁴⁶ It is unclear what English name this may be.

⁴⁷ Jiryirmin means 'wren'. Reference is to the frightening of a wren by a goanna dreaming at Hodgson Downs. Note indefinite 'they call her' or 'one calls her' is expressed by a third person singular verb form.

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the fact that some holdings on the Goyder River had proven failures in the late 1880s and had been abandoned. This venture soon proved a failure also, because, as F.H. Bauer summarises: 'The cattle found the coarse native grasses entirely unpalatable and, worried by ticks and mosquitoes, speared by blacks, and eaten by crocodiles, it is small wonder that the remainder went wild'.⁴⁸ In 1908 the stock that could be mustered was returned to Hodgson Downs by contract musterers such as George Conway, and in 1909 a Notice of Special Resolution was issued which wound up the company.⁴⁹ In the six years of its operation the 'Eastern and African' engaged in what was apparently the most systematic extermination of Aborigines ever carried out on the Roper and in the company's Arnhem Land holdings:

It is commonly said that the blacks "hunted the cattle out". This was probably one of the few authenticated instances in which the aborigines were systematically hunted. For a time the company employed 2 gangs of 10 to 14 blacks headed by a white man or half caste to hunt and shoot the wild blacks on sight.⁵⁰

When interviewed in 1957⁵¹ George Conway mentioned that he had been hired to lead a hunting expedition into Arnhem Land in 1905 or 1906, and that his party had killed dozens of Aborigines. There are numerous references in the *Northern Territory Times* to the company's cattle-droving to the Arafura country, and of the 'outrages' perpetrated by the Aborigines whose lands were being occupied. It is likely that killings were carried out on the largest scale on the north Roper and in Arnhem Land, but much violence also occurred in the Elsey-Hodgson Downs area. Sorties were made in the Elsey area to exterminate the 'wild blacks' camped at the headwaters of the Roper (near the present Mataranka) and north-east along the river. The oldest Aborigines living at Jemberge today were small children during the Eastern and African period but some claim to have heard contemporary or nearly-contemporary stories of the shootings.

Aboriginal stockmen who worked at Elsey were used to help shoot out the 'wild blacks'. Many of these men lived on to old age and are fondly remembered, for despite the fact that Aborigines are said to have been the instigators of shooting sorties in a few instances, it is ultimately claimed that they were made to do what they did. The white man said to have been the principal organizer of the shootings around Elsey is remembered by the Aborigines as 'Miglinin'. He had been, they say, one of Mr Gunn's stockmen and was well-known in the area. Presumably he was the 'Sanguine Scot', John MacLennon, of *We of the never-never*. Mrs

⁴⁸ Bauer 1964:157.

⁴⁹ Records of the Eastern and African Cold Storage Co. Ltd. were obtained from the archives of the Department of Corporate Affairs, 25 Grenfell Centre, Adelaide.

⁵⁰ Bauer 1964:157.

⁵¹ See note 31.

Ira Nesdale summarises what is known of MacLennon:⁵² he was born of Scottish parents in Mawollock, Victoria, and had been the acting manager of Elsey Station for six years before Aeneas Gunn arrived. From 1902 he was briefly engaged in a contract loading project which proved unsuccessful, then went back to droving, working for a time for the Eastern and African company, and later tried his hand at peanut farming in the Elsey area. He died of malaria in 1932 and his body was eventually moved to the Elsey Cemetery near Warloch Ponds, where Aeneas Gunn is also buried. Despite the character references that Mrs Gunn gives most of her 'bush-folk', including MacLennon, it is hard to believe that he could have worked for so many years on the pastoral frontier without having participated in some of its violence. Mrs Nesdale quotes MacLennon's own summation of where he had been and his vocations, included in his obituary in the *Adelaide Chronicle* of 19 May 1932:

Well, hell, west, and crooked, as the cove says: droving mining, butchering, cooking in the stock camps, keeping stores and pubs here and there as far as Borrooloola on the gulf. I've taken 6,000 cattle in one mob overland to Sydney, and shifted stock out to the Arafura country, No Man's Land, and down on the Marranboy [sic] tinfield I could have died of blackwater fever if I had liked.⁵³

Interestingly, some of the shooting expeditions around Elsey are now said to have been instigated by settled Aborigines because of some quarrel among themselves or with nomadic tribesmen, but the Aborigines (today, at least) have little idea of the part Elsey Station was intended to play in the larger scheme of the Eastern and African company, and the motives supplied in their stories frequently stem from their own affairs. It is possible that whites may have seized upon disputes to do away with troublemakers. The following is the story of an Aboriginal stockman Dujgari (nicknamed 'Damba' because of his predilection for damper) who had worked for the Gunns and continued to work intermittently at the station after Mrs Gunn left the area. Dujgari was enraged by the attempt of his brother Warayanbuwa, also known at the station, to steal one of his wives. This story was told by Wawul (Kitty) with some comments added by Dingayg (Amy).⁵⁴

1. Na-Dujgari-?mingan ⁵⁴	ningi-wa	daran	bu-ni-wa,
M-Dujgari-mob	3SgObj-art	local	kill-PC-ps

⁵² Nesdale 1977:146-147.

⁵³ Nesdale 1977:147.

⁵⁴ -(?)mingan is suffixed to names to indicate one singled out for attention as the focal member of a group. In Pidgin English of the area the suffix has a convenient gloss derived from pastoral terminology, 'mob' as in 'Dujgari-mob'. Dujgari is mentioned by H.E. Thonemann (1949:171) as 'Dut'kari-Grand old man of the Yungman tribe. Great hunter and tracker. 6'2" in height'. Dujgari is remembered also as 'Old Kimberley' or 'Kimberley Jake', evidently because he worked for a time in the Kimberleys.

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- wu₁a-bu-ni-wa Yiwo₁ŋma-?mingan-bayi.
3PL-kill-PC-ps Yiwo₁ŋma-mob-foc
2. Na-Damba, na-Dujgari ni-nawu malam-gana,
M-Damba M-Dujgari name-his Aboriginal-ABL

na-mu₁gimura-nga na-ga₁ŋila guwa ŋa₁ŋgi, wu₁g
M-FF-yours 2Sg M-ga₁ŋila like you Sg work

ma-ri-wa na-jalbo₁ŋ-gan.
AUX-PC-ps LOC-station
3. Holiday dulul? wuyan-warag na-bo₁ŋ-bunya.
(Eng.) send 3Sg/3PL-AUX PP M-boss-theirs 3PL
4. Gi-nara-bayi na-Damba ŋaba₁awa wuyan-nidba-ri,
Ana-that-foc M-Damba three 3Sg/3PL-have-PC

ŋan-Bagur₁ŋiya, ŋan-Wa₁gbali, ŋan-Namana.
FObj-Bagur₁ŋiya FObj-Wa₁gbali FObj-Namana
5. Wa-ŋa₁a-yag, wu₁a-ma-ñ, wa-ŋa₁a-ba?+ma, mawuj
Irr-1InPL-go 3PL-say-PP Irr-1InPL-bogey tucker

ŋa₁a-wa-n.
1InPL-visit-Pres
6. Yowo, ŋa₁a-wa-n mawuj, ŋa₁a-ba?+ma+ba?+ma.
Yes 1InPL-visit-Pres tucker 1InPL-bogey Red
7. Ja₁ wu₁a-jaygi-ni-wa jina-bamgan,
return 3PL-AUX-PC-ps dir-towards speaker

wu₁a-mi-ñi-wa, na-ŋaya₁ŋayag mu₁b ŋi₁a-ñ
3PL-get-PC-ps M-some bunch come-PP

ni₁wa-bamgan, na-ŋaya₁ŋayag mawuj gawa-ri,
here-towards M-some tucker bury-PC

wu₁a-ba?+ma-ri.
3PL-bogey-PC
8. Niñjag na-wumbawa na-bug+bugbug wu₁a-gawa-ri
prohib M-one M-old person Red 3PL-bury-PC

mawuj wu₁a-ba? ma-ri yarayg ma₁ga
tucker 3PL-bogey-PC Aponogeton right up to

Na₁jig.
Mataranka Homestead
9. Na-Warayanbuwa nel? wa-ni, nel?+nel?
M-Warayanbuwa sneak up AUX-PC sneak up Red

ni₁a-ni-wa, jiwi-m-gu ŋan-ga₁gugu-nawu
come-PC-ps take away-PNeg-Int FObj-woman-his

ŋan-Bagur₁ŋiya.
FObj-Bagur₁ŋiya
10. Na-Damba ga₁ŋaw? wa-bu-b, gi-nara-bayi bugbug
M-Damba dive in Irr-AUX-PP Ana-that-foc old man

duy?+ma-ri na-Warayanbuwa-bayi, yagay ma-ri.
strike-PC M-Warayanbuwa-foc ow! say-PC

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11. Na-Warayanbuwa duy?+ma-ri-bayi, Damba gangaw?
M-Warayanbuwa strike-PC-foc Damba dive in

 bu-b nawuwa, yu?yu+ma-ri-wa jina-bamgan,
AUX-PP this side swim-PC-ps dir-towards speaker

 malga man+bu-b.
then run-PP

12. Nara-bayi wa-duy?+ma-ri naya-nañi naya-Bagurniya.
that-foc Irr-strike-PC PURP-mother PURP-Bagurniya

13. Nara-bayi na-Damba jag ja-j Galyan-gajama,
that-foc M-Damba return AUX-PP Warloch Ponds-ALL

 galij+ma-ñ boj-nawu.
report-PP boss-his

14. Na-ji wula-gar?min+ma-ri damayi-bayi,
INST-grease 3Pl-make good-PC rifle-foc

 garag-wa na-malam.
many-art M-Aboriginal

15. Baranali-nawu-bayi na-Wugmi, wadij na-Gondo,
father-in-law-his-foc M-Wugmi also M-Gondo

 na-Yibelgun bada-nawu-bayi na-gag-nanga-ngu,
M-Yibelgun father-his-foc GEN-MMB-yours 2Sg

 na-Yiwolnma, na-Wongaran, na-Bulminmin
M-Yiwolnma M-Wongaran M-Bulminmin

 na-jabjab-nayawu naya-ganji-nanga, stockboy-nawu
M-ME-hers GEN-MMBD-yours 2Sg (Eng.)-his

 na-Miglinin-gu garag, niñjag na-wumbawa.
GEN-Miglinin many prohib M-one

16. Na-ji wula-gar?min+ma-ri, do? wula-ma-ñ
INST-grease 3PI-make good-PC shoot 3PI-AUX-PP

 Najin-gana.
Mataranka Homestead-ABL

17. Nel? wuyan-wa-ni na-Miglinin, jibma
sneak up 3Sg/3Pl-AUX-PC M-Miglinin go down

 ju-yag, moler wari-wa na-jarbiñ.
AUX-Med PP cry out AUX PC-ps M-young man

18. Nel? wula-nina-ni-wa A! niyan-wa-jaga.
sneak up 3Pl-come-PC-ps ah! those-art-Ana

19. Do? wula-ma-ri-wa Najin-gana
shoot 3Pl-AUX-PC-ps Mataranka Homestead-ABL

 malga Gumja, Na-muriñja-yan
right up to Gumja LOC-Eucalyptus microtheca

 wadij.
also

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20. *Wan+gangij* *bug+bugbug* *yiram-ji-ni-wa*⁵⁵
children Red *old person Red* *cross over-Med-PC-ps*
liwu? *yi-ñi-wa,* *bab* *gad-ji-ni-wa*
jump in *AUX-PC-ps* *come out* *AUX-Med-PC-ps*
wuyirab, *mant+bu-ni-wa.*
other side *run-PC-ps*
21. *Na-gadugu-wu* *nan-Bagurniya* *Damba*
PURP-woman *FObj-Bagurniya* *Damba*
jiwi-j-bayi *nara* *na-Warayanbuwa.*
take away-PP-foc *that* *M-Warayanbuwa*
22. *Wula-mant+bu-ni-wa* *wan+gangij* *wula-yirab+ma-ri-wa,*
3PL-run-PC-ps *children Red* *3PL-make swim-PC-ps*
nawur+nawur *wuyanba-ga-ni-wa,* *nayanayag*
drown Red *3PL/3PL-AUX-PC-ps* *some*
mant+bu-ni-wa, *yu?yu+ma-ri-wa,* *wayi-ni-wa,*
run-PC-ps *swim-PC-ps* *fall Med-PC-ps*
jan?+jan? *ma-ri-wa* *nayanayag-bayi,*
die Red *AUX-PC-ps* *some-foc*
bolgej *wuyanba-bu-ni-wa* *ga+la!ugu.*
to strike on target *3PL/3PL-AUX-PC-ps* *poor things Red*
23. *Nayanayag* *gal?ma* *ni-wa* *nugu-wana,*
some *climb up* *AUX-ps* *water-ABL*
wula-mant+bu-ni-wa *bulula-lama.*
3PL-run-PC-ps *jungle-ALL*
24. *Wula-ga-ni?+ga-ni-wa* *boñ-bunya* *Miglinin.*
3PL-take-PC Red-ps *boss-theirs* *3PL Miglinin*
25. *Give it time la allabout,* *ma-ñ,* *letim allabout musterim*
(Pidgin English) *say-PP*
meself nother place, from that way too.
26. *Jad* *wula-jaygi-ni-wa* *Galyan-galama,* *dum*
return *3PL-AUX-PC-ps* *Warloch Ponds-ALL* *rest*
wula-mi-yi-ni-wa.
3PL-AUX-refl-PC-ps
27. *Na-larganda* *nara-bayi* *na-guruggurug* *na-Miglinin.*
M-cheeky *that-foc* *M-whiteman* *M-Miglinin*
28. *Stockboy-nawu* *wuyan-nidba-ri-wa,* *damayi*
(Eng.)-his *3Sg/3PL-have-PC-ps* *rifle*
wuyan-wu-ni-wa.
3Sg/3PL-give-PC-ps

⁵⁵ Note that indefinite, semantically plural subjects are very often cross-referenced in the Manarayi verbal pronominal prefixes as third person singulars, hence the (unwritten) zero third person prefix of this verb. Note also many such instances with subject *nayanayag* 'some' in the texts.

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29. Jigi-gala ñila-ñi, balañaga gayi miñiwa.
little-PL 1ExPL-AUX PC today Neg already

TRANSLATION

1. *Dujgari and his mob killed countrymen, Yiwolñma and his mob killed them.*
2. *Damba, Dujgari was his name from the Aboriginal, your father's father⁵⁶, gañila subsection like you, was working at the station.*
3. *Their boss sent them on holiday.*
4. *That same Damba had three (wives), Bagurñiya, Waqñbali and Ñamana.*
5. *Let's go, they said, let's bogey, we'll visit tucker (places).*
6. *Yes, let's visit tucker (places), we'll bogey-bogey.*
7. *They came back this way, they got it (tucker), some came in a bunch towards here, some buried (i.e. roasted) tucker, they bogeyed.*
8. *Not just one old person roasted tucker (i.e. they were many), they bogeyed for Aponogeton right up to Mataranka Homestead (its present name).*
9. *Warayanbiwa snuck up on him, he came on sneaking sneaking, he wanted to take away his wife Bagurñiya.*
10. *Damba is said to have⁵⁷ dived in, Warayanbiwa struck that same old man, he cried Ow!*
11. *Warayanbiwa struck him, Damba dived in on this side, he swam this way, then he ran away.*
12. *That one is said to have struck him on account of my mother (classificatory mother) Bagurñiya.*
13. *That Damba returned to Warloch Ponds, he reported to his boss.*
14. *They prepared rifles (greased them), a lot of Aborigines.*
15. *His (i.e. Damba's) father-in-law Wugmi, also Gondo, Yibelgun the father of your MMB, Yiwolñma, Wongarañ, Bulminmin the MF of your 'cousin', Miglinin's stockboys were many, not just one.*
16. *They greased up (rifles), they shot from Mataranka Homestead.*
17. *Miglinin snuck up on them, he went down, the young men were crying out.⁵⁸*

⁵⁶ Story-tellers frequently explain the (fictive or actual) genealogical relationship of the person being talked about to the hearer(s), in this case the writer. References to persons in terms of the hearer's relationship to those persons are very common in ordinary speech also.

⁵⁷ Note the value of Irrealis prefixation is often to give a reportative sense 'it is said that', i.e. the speaker cannot personally vouch for what is being said.

⁵⁸ It was later explained that they were grieving on account of previous shootings.

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18. *They came sneaking up, Ah! there they are.*
19. *They shot from Mataranka Homestead right up to Gunja (place), also at Namuriñjayan.*
20. *Children, old people crossed over, they jumped in, they came out on the other side, they ran.*
21. *(It was) on account of woman trouble, that Warayanbiwa took Bagurniya away from Damba.*
22. *The children ran, they made them swim, they drowned them, some ran, swam, fell, some died, they struck them right on target, poor things.*
23. *Some climbed out of the water, they ran to the 'jungle'.⁵⁹*
24. *They (always) took along their boss Miglinin.*
25. *Give them time, he said, let them muster up at another place, from that way too.*
26. *They turned to Warloch Ponds, they had a spell.*
27. *Cheeky, that whitefella Miglinin.*
28. *He had his stockboys, he gave them rifles.*
29. *We were little, today there is nothing (like that).*

On another occasion Miglinin and his stockboys came upon an Aboriginal cutting sugarbag up in a tree. The Aboriginal Monkey (spelled Mongi in the text below) is mentioned in Mrs Gunn's *The little black princess* as a troublemaker and cheeky fellow from Willeroo Station. Monkey defied his pursuers and managed to escape. The version of this story given here was told by a man Budu (Nugget), with comments from a few other people present.

1. Do? wu₁a-bu-b wagi₁ Mongi-bayi.
 shoot 3PL-AUX-PP also Monkey-foc
2. Na₁a-bayi na-Mongi na-janan-gana, na-ga₁nila,
 that-foc M-Monkey M-west-ABL M-ganila
 mun yawal ni₁na-ni na-ga₁dugu-wu, marambu
 only bludging come-PC PURP-woman wife stealer
 ni₁na-ni wa₁gaman-gana, nan-Warajwaraj ni₁dba-ri.
 come-PC wa₁gaman-ABL FObj-Warajwaraj have-PC
3. Mod mi-ni wab, na-landi-yan
 cut AUX-PC sugarbag LOC-tree

⁵⁹ 'Jungle' is the Pidgin English gloss for bulula; reference is to dense bulrush thickets at Red Lily Lagoon and elsewhere.

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gala+wu-yi-ni.
to be hanging-Med-PC

4. Nara-bayi bugbug war+ma-ñ bogodobogodob.
that-foc old man hear-PP (sound of horses)

5. Gay? wula-bu-b wara, bega
chase 3PL-AUX-PP reckon tobacco

wula-wu-yam-gu.
3PL/3Sg-give-PNeg-Int

6. Gegege:, gudgud+ma, daway-nanga,
(cry Monkey uttered) Imp fuck tail-yours 2Sg

nulyurt+wu, barigod-ji gabgab wilig
Imp be greedy tin-having guzzle (vulgar) swallow

war.
Imp AUX

7. Do? wula-bu-b, dangaw? bu-b Dendan,
shoot 3PL-AUX-PP dive in AUX-PP (place)

yiram-jag wuyirab
cross over-Med PP other side

na-galayar-an.
LOC-Eucalyptus microtheca

8. Gana ningi-nara bugbug do? wula-bu-b
Well 3SgObj-that old man shoot 3PL-AUX-PP

na-Miglinin-?mingan, malga bij
M-Miglinin-mob then like a shot

wuyan-wu-na muña-nawu, gar+gar
3Sg/3PL-give-PP excrement-his excrete violently Red

bu-ni galugu, do? wula-bu-b, gar
AUX-PC poor thing shoot 3PL-AUX-PP excrete violently

bu-b, malga wulul? wurg ya-j na-nanan-gan.
AUX-PP then woops! hide AUX-PP LOC-rock

9. Dar?ma warag gamurugmurug.
emerge AUX PP nighttime

10. Nanba-bu-b, ma-ñ, malga mantbu-b bulula-lama
3PL/1Sg-hit-PP say-PP then run-PP jungle-ALL

gari-jaga, malga dudula.
there-Ana then forever

11. Nanawa dar?ma warag na-Miglinin, mantbu-ni
from here emerge AUX-PP M-Miglinin run-PC

na-malam bulula.
M-Aborigine jungle

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TRANSLATION

1. They shot (at) Monkey too.
2. That Monkey was from the west, ganila subsection, he only came bludging for women, he came wife-stealing from the Wadaman (tribe at Willeroo Stn.), he had Warajwaraj (woman's name).
3. He was cutting sugarbag, he was hanging up in a tree.
4. That old man heard horses galloping.
5. He reckoned they were chasing him, they wanted to give him tobacco (evidently a ploy of some kind, or so Monkey thought).
6. Gegege: (Monkey cried), fuck it, your ass, be greedy, guzzle it up tin and all (supposedly what Monkey said to Miglinin about the tobacco tin offered him).
7. They shot (at) him, he dived in at Pendan (a place), he crossed over to the other side into a eucalypt.
8. Well, Miglinin's mob shot (at) that old man, then he shot his excrement at them, he fired it, poor thing, they shot (at) him, he fired, then woops! he hid in a rock. (Monkey evidently turned around and shat at them in a gesture of defiance.)
9. He came out at night.
10. They shot (at) me, he said, then he ran to the 'jungle' there again, forever.⁶⁰
11. Miglinin came out from here, the Aborigines ran into the 'jungle'.

Miglinin is also said to have shot two Aboriginal men, Meljarwuyi and Malamba, near Warloch Ponds, though it is not clear whether he did this while working for the station or later for the Eastern and African company. These two men had worked at the station and so their names are remembered (and borne by two of their descendants) today, although the names of nomadic Aborigines who were killed around this time have been forgotten.

Violence did not cease with the termination of the Eastern and African venture. Another woman, Maudie, tells the story of how she was left in a coolamon while her mother, mother's sister and other Aborigines fled from white pursuers, said to have been Miglinin and a man named Shadforth;⁶¹ it is not clear whether they were accompanied by

⁶⁰ *Dudula*, Pidgin English 'forever' or 'for good', is often used to mean only 'for a long time'.

⁶¹ Harry Shadforth was manager of Elsey Station from 1916 to 1920 (Thonemann 1949:177); it is likely this incident occurred within that time period. It is not clear from Maudie's story whether any shooting occurred on this occasion. It is also doubtful that Miglinin was at the station around this time.

any station Aborigines. The families were camped in the vicinity of Red Lily Lagoon and were probably considered a menace to the cattle. They ran further into the 'jungle' country east of Red Lily.

1. Na-madu-yan-ja nan-bab+namdag, nala-nañi
LOC-cooliman-emph *3Sg/1Sg-put PP* *F-mother*
duwud nan-namdag, nan-ga-ñiñ
carry in cooliman *3Sg/1Sg-AUX PP* *3Sg/1Sg-take-PP*
 waɭ?mingan.
 (place)
2. Waɭ?mingan ma-ri gana Bayiri yir wa-bu-b
 (place) do-PC but (place)
 nanba-bab+namdag.
 3PL/1Sg-put PP
3. Jinangu-ba wula-man+bu-ni, wula-yiram-ji-ni
that way-foc *3PL-run-PC* *3PL-cross over-Med-PC*
 Biraran-galama, nala-nañi yiram-ji-ni
 (place)-ALL *F-mother* *cross over-Med-PC*
 nan-yum+bu-b.
 3Sg/1Sg-leave-PP
4. Wula-yiyi-ji-ni na-gamayi-wu, galari-wa do?
3PL-fear-Med-PC *DAT-rifle* *they-art* *shoot*
 wa-ma-ri-wa,⁶² niyanyungun do? ma-ri-wa
Irr-AUX-PC-ps *ancestors* *shoot* *AUX-PC-ps*
 na-Miglinin ni-yaran-bayi na-Shadforth.
M-Miglinin *there-Du-foc* *M-Shadforth*
5. Maragay-wana nina-ni manaya, gari-yari-jaga.
Marakai-ABL *come-PC* *maybe* *there-somewhere-Ana.*
6. Nari-wa-ja na-laganda.
that-art-emph *M-cheeky*
7. Niñjag na-wumbawa wula-ni-wa na-bug+bugbug
prohib *M-one* *3PL-sit-ps* *M-old person Red*
 niyanyungun nanawa Mañjungan-gana malga
ancestors *from here* *(place)-ABL* *right up to*
 bulula, malga Gunguna yun jina-biya,
jungle *right up to* *(place)* *island* *dir-downriver*
 Nararambaran.
 (place)
8. Na-gayanayag man+bu-ni Nararambaran, na-gayanayag
M-some *run-PC* *(place)* *M-some*

⁶² Galariwa 'they' somewhat unusually is cross-referenced by third singular zero pronominal prefix in the verb.

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- man+bu-ni Gaman.
run-PC (place)
9. Nara-bayi Jirgijaji biya ḡala-yi-ñi, gana
that-foc (place) downriver 1InPl-go-PC well
- gawar Gaman.
upriver (place)
10. Jilwa ḡanba-ga-ḡiñ, ḡala-bugbug-ḡiga-bayi⁶³
remember 3Pl/1Sg-AUX-PP F-old woman-ours InDu-foc
- Jilwa ḡan-ga-ḡiñ, ḡi-yari
remember 3Sg/1Sg-AUX-PP there-somewhere
- ga-ḡa-baday?+ma ḡa-madu-yan, malga
-3PresPos-1Sg-squirm LOC-cooliman then
- ñuñuñu.
(imitative of swimming)
11. Wuḡa-war+ma-ñ miniwa ja-man+bu-n
3Pl-hear-PP already 3PresPos-run-Pres
- bododobododod, ḡanba-wa-b, warguj
(sound of horses) 3Pl/1Sg-visit/come to-PP pick up
- ḡanba-may, ḡala-bugbug-ḡiga-wur-bayi, malga
3Pl/1Sg-AUX PP F-old woman-ours InDu-Du-foc then
- jina-biya ḡila-man+bu-ni malga Gunguna.
dir-downriver 1ExPl-run-PC right up to (place)

TRANSLATION

1. She put me in a cooliman, my mother carried me in a cooliman, she took me to Wal?mingan.
2. She was making for Wal?mingan but they put me (down) at Bayiri yir wa-bub.
3. They were running that way, they crossed over to Biraran, my mother crossed over and left me.
4. They were afraid of rifles, they were shooting it is said, those two Miglinin and Shadforth shot old people (forebears).
5. Maybe he came from Marakai (Station), somewhere there again (reference is to Shadforth).
6. That one was a cheeky one.
7. Not just one old person, ancestor (i.e. there were many) was sitting down (living), from here, Mañjungan, right up to the jungle, right up to Gunguna, an island downriver, Nararambaran.

⁶³ Reference is to the speaker's mother. Speakers frequently use a InDu possessive, suffixed to a kin term (or human noun such as 'old man'), which refers from speaker's (not hearer's) point of view, e.g. 'our InDu auntie' when reference is to the speaker's auntie. This sort of usage contrasts with that mentioned in fn. 58; it has the effect of suggesting a close link between speaker and hearer.

8. *Some ran to Nararambaran, some ran to Gaman.*
9. *That Jirgijaji lowdown where we went, well Gaman is up-river.*
10. *They remembered me, our old woman (i.e. the speaker's mother) remembered me, there I am somewhere squirming in a cooliman in the bush, then away she swam (the speaker's mother).*
11. *They already heard horses galloping, they came to me, they picked me up, our two old women (i.e. the speaker's mother and mother's sister), then we ran lowdown right up to Gunguna.*

Luganid's son Janbuyin recounted another incident in which Aborigines acted against their fellows, but this occurred closer to Hodgson Downs. By this time Luganid had been in the area for a while and was returning to Hodgson Downs from St Vidgeon Station further east. According to Janbuyin's account Luganid was going to Hodgson to 'bludge' tobacco and was travelling with his brother-in-law Jaranajiñ, (now an old man living at Roper Valley Station). The two were given tobacco at Hodgson Downs but were followed toward LD Creek on the station by several Alawa men and one unidentified white man whose role in the pursuit party, whether as instigator or merely member, is not clear. He was speared by Luganid in the fight which ensued.

Jaranajiñ's remembrance of this occasion, though he indicates he was probably less than ten years old at the time, sheds some light on the Alawa men's part in it. It seems Luganid went to seek out a woman, possibly the sister of his first wife; the tobacco was perhaps only incidental. Jaranajiñ remembers the names of four of the Alawa men who gave chase and says there were about three others. He does not know the name of the white man speared by Luganid, though he confirms that detail. He recalls that a Queensland Aboriginal named Dick Nipper was at Hodgson around that time, and that the white 'boss' was probably George Stevens. If so, the incident must have occurred sometime after 1910; around 1914 George Conway, Tommy Sayles, and Jimmy Gibbs were partners with George Stevens in the management of Roper Valley and St Vidgeon Stations, and in 1914 Hodgson Downs was turned over to the Thonemanns by George Conway.

1. Bega-lama wur-yi-ñi ñabaranwa
 tobacco-ALL 3Du-go-PC two
 galñbam-yi ña-gungu ñanjugu
 spouse-having (dyadic kin term) M-uncle (MB) mine
 ña-baga.
 M-father

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2. Nanangana-bayi wa-wur-ya-j Meñeri-lama
from there-foc Irr-3Du-go-PP Hodgson Downs-ALL
 bega-wu.
tobacco-PURP

3. Nara-bayi Amargamawara, Shovel Hill ja-wula-ma
that-foc (place) Shovel Hill 3PresPos-3Pl-say
 guruggurug-gana gayañja-nawu, gana gayara
whiteman-ABL east-its well west
 Amargamawara-bayi wula-gala+wu-yi-ni.
(place)-foc 3Pl-to be hanging up-Med-FC

4. Wula-yiyi-ji-ni na-do?+wañjin-gu na-guruggurug-gu.
3Pl-fear-Med-FC DAT-shooting DAT-whiteman

5. Na-gungu Jarañajiñ-buyi,⁶⁴ na-baga wur-ya-j
M-uncle Jarañajiñ M-father 3Du-go-PP
 na-bega-wu yawal Meñeri-lama.
PURP-tobacco bludging Hodgson Downs-ALL

6. Wur-ya-j wuyanba-wu-na, na-guruggurug
3Du-go-PP 3Pl/3Du-give-PP M-whiteman
 na-Queensland-nunun wuran-wu-na.
M-Queensland-Orig 3Sg/3Du-give-PP

7. Bega, gabi wuran-wu-na, mayawa
tobacco plug tobacco 3Sg/3Du-give-PP now
 nur-yag, wur-ya-j.
2Du-Imp go 3Du-go-PP

8. Malga jad wa-wur-ja-ñ-gana gana
then return Irr-3Du-AUX-PP-ABL well
 wula-gar?min+ma-ri gamayi-bayi.
3Pl-make good-PC rifle-foc

9. Wawg wa-ñala-mi, wa-ñalawuran-bu-n
follow Irr-1InPl-AUX Irr-1InPl/3Du-kill-pres
 balayarg.
middle

10. Na-guruggurug wawg wuran-mi-ñi-wa,
M-whiteman follow 3Sg/3Du-AUX-PC-ps
 na-gabud+gabud+mayin wagij wula-ña-ni
M-black Red + quality also 3Pl-come-PC

⁶⁴ The Mañarayi suffix -wuyi~buyi is added to the place-name of an individual's (actual or close) father's father's death as one kind of naming procedure. Such a name means 'place where X's father's father died'. This sort of grandparental necronym is not the most intimate or personal kind of name each individual has. Such necronyms are sometimes shortened by dropping the suffix. The equivalent Yanman suffix is -buwa, as in the name Warayanbuwa given in an earlier story.

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- nan?nanwa, gay? wuyanba-bu-ni butyin-gu-bayi,
together chase 3PL/3Du-AUX-PC killing-PURP-foc
do?+wañjin-gu.
shooting-PURP
11. Wur-war+ma-ñ bodogbododob wur-yiri+wa-b
3Du-hear-PP (sound of horses) 3Du-see-PP
wur-barab+ma-ñ, galg+mi-ñji-yag.
3Du-look back-PP spear-refl-PP
12. Dangaw? wur-bu-b jina-bamgan na-Gulurga-wu
dive in 3Du-AUX-PP dir-towards speaker GEN-(place)
jadba-nawu.
river-its
13. Wuran-gay?+bu-b ja-wur-yu?yu+ma.
3Sg/3Du-chase-PP 3PresPos-3Du-swim
14. Dangaw?, wula-yiram-ji-ni na-nen+dendo-yi,
dive in 3PL-cross over-Med-PC M-horse Red-having
gal?ma wula-ni-ñ, yirij wula-gag-jag.
climb up 3PL-AUX-PP get out of water 3PL-AUX-Med PP
15. Gana luliñ? ya-j na-baga, wilmur nawur
Well around go-PP M-father wire spear submerge
ga-ñiñ na-ñugu-yan na-baga-bayi.
AUX-PP LOC-water M-father-foc
16. Ya-j, nan-bayi bab gag-jag bab+namdag
go-PP there-foc come out AUX-Med PP put PP
na-duyu-nawu-gan-bayi, gal bu-b, guruggugug
LOC-hole-its-foc hook up AUX-PP whiteman
galg+ma-ñ gayma-nawu, yagay, gabud+gabud+mayin
spear-PP arm-his ow! black Red + quality
mantbu-ni.
run-PC
17. Galg+ma-ñ wadij na-ñayag nina-n-gu,
spear-PP also M-another come-Pres-Int
mantbungam-gu.
run PNeg-Int
18. Lud ja-j na-malam-nawu-gan,
stuck AUX-PP LOC-body-his
na-yalarag-nawu-gan gulum+mi-ñji-ni.
LOC-lower arm-his get stuck-refl-PC
19. Deb namdag, ma-ñ ma-ñ, gayi.
seize AUX PP do-PP do-PP Neg
20. Belyen gar?ma warag.
red emerge AUX PP

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21. Mayawa Galawa wu₁a-man+bu-b, jad wu₁a-ja-j
 now Alawa 3PL-run-PP return 3PL-AUX-PP
 du₁du₁a na-Wa₁liburu, gal bu-b biwin-gana.
 forever M-Alawa hook up AUX-PP behind-ABL
22. Bega-bayi dayi jalug wur-yan-gab.
 tobacco-foc Neg forget 3Du-AUX-PNeg
23. Mayawa ngu₁gugu-yi wur-ga-ni bega,
 now water Red-having 3Du-take-PC tobacco
 barig ga-ni-war yungun, wur-ma-n.
 hang up -3PresPos-1InDu-AUX ahead 3Du-say-PP
24. Mob namdag gi-nara-bayi wiimur, yur?
 break AUX PP Ana-that-foc wire spear extract
 may manaya yungun.
 AUX PP maybe ahead

TRANSLATION

- Two brothers-in-law, my uncle and my father, were going to (i.e. for) tobacco.
- From there (another place referred to in a previous episode) they supposedly went to Hodgson Downs for tobacco.
- That Amargamawara, in English they call it Shovel Hill to the east of it, well west at Amargamawara they (i.e. Alawa) were hanging up (i.e. clinging to some rocks, or on the side of a hill).
- They were afraid of being shot by whitemen.
- My uncle Jaramajiñ and my father went bludging for tobacco to Hodgson Downs.
- They went, they gave it to them, a whiteman of Queens-land origin gave it them.
- He gave them tobacco, plug tobacco, now you two go, he said, and they went.
- Then as soon as they supposedly wanted to go back, well they were preparing rifles (i.e. the Alawa and whiteman).
- Let's follow, let's kill them on the way (supposedly what the Alawa and whiteman said).
- The whiteman followed them, blacks too, they came on together, they were chasing them to kill them, to shoot them.
- They heard the sound of horses, they looked, they looked back, he (the whiteman) had propped it (his rifle on his knee).
- They dived in this side of Gulurga, (on) the river.
- He chased them, they're swimming.
- Dive in, they were crossing over on horseback (the pursuit party), they climbed up, they got out of the water.

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15. *Well my father went around, he submerged his wire spear in the water, my father did.*
16. *He went, over there he came out, he put it in its hole, (that is) he hooked up (his spear), he speared the whiteman's arm, ow!, the blacks ran.*
17. *He also speared another one wanting to come up, he should have run away (probably means the Alawa man should have run).*
18. *It stuck in his body (i.e. the spear in the whiteman's body), in his lower arm, it stuck.*
19. *He grabbed it, tried, tried, nothing (the spear wouldn't come out).*
20. *Red (i.e. blood) came out.*
21. *Now the Alawa ran, the Alawa went back for good, he (Luganid) hooked up his spear from behind (as the Alawa fled).*
22. *They didn't forget the tobacco.*
23. *Now they were carrying it drenched with water, you and I will hang it up further on, they said.*
24. *He (the whiteman) broke that wire spear, maybe he pulled it out further on.*

There seems to have been no large-scale use of Aborigines as black-hunters or trackers after the Eastern and African period, but sporadic violence continued for some time. An episode remembered at Jembere is the shooting of two Aborigines in 1915 or 1916 near the Strangways River. J.K. Little (then manager of Elsey), accompanied by the Alawa man Galimbiri, is said to have followed, shot, and burned the bodies of the two men because they had refused to work for him. Little did not know that two other men heard the shots, later went to examine the charred bodies, and walked back to Red Lily to tell of the shootings. Little left Elsey in 1916 and the Aborigines believe he fled to escape police action. Galimbiri is not thought to have played an active part in the killings, but he suffered the consequences of having been present: he is said to have been tomahawked when he eventually returned to Hodgson Downs. Galimbiri was under a cloud already for having married a classificatory sister (belonging to the same subsection, Burala, as himself) but the Aborigines say he was killed for having accompanied Little, not for his improper marriage.

Detailed documentation of cattle station history would very likely reveal that Aborigines in many places were compelled by circumstances to participate in acts of violence towards their countrymen, as were Miglinin's stockboys at Elsey Station.

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APPENDIX 1: *Maṇarayi* Phonemes

Consonants:

	Labials	Apico-Alveolars	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Stops	b	d	<u>d</u>	j	g	ʔ
Nasals	m	n	<u>n</u>	ɲ	ŋ	
Laterals		l	<u>l</u>			
Rhotics		r	<u>ɽ</u>			
Glides	w			y		
Vowels	i, e, u, o, a					

Notes:

Glottal stop is predictable at certain morpheme boundaries. There is no contrast between apico-alveolar and retroflex consonants word-initially: the norm is retroflex. In addition, only a handful of morphemes have underlying initial apico-alveolars, all the rest are retroflex.

Following non-retroflex consonants, especially across word-internal as opposed to across-word boundaries, morpheme-initial retroflexion is completely, or almost completely, neutralized in favour of an apico-alveolar phonetic norm. So for example, the morpheme -*nawu* 'his, its' is written with initial apico-alveolar in a form like *bab-nawu* 'his head'. Occasionally at such boundaries a slight amount of retroflexion can be detected. Within morphemes there is never any contrast such as *bn* vs. *bn̥*, *gn* vs. *gn̥* or the like.

The orthography used in the texts prefers single symbols to digraphs, so that retroflex consonants are underlined instead of represented as *rC*, *j* is preferred to *dj*, *ŋ* to *ng*, and so on.

APPENDIX 2: ABBREVIATIONS

ABL	ablative case
ALL	allative case
Ana	anaphoric. Two affixes are so labelled. The prefix <i>gi-</i> refers to some person or object made clear in previous speech, 'that same one'. The suffix <i>-jaga</i> , also labelled Ana, is affixed principally to demonstrative adverbs and pronouns, and indicates a person or place known and clear in context but not necessarily mentioned in immediately preceding speech, e.g. <i>ni-jaga</i> , Pidgin English 'there again' (i.e. there, in that known place). <i>Jaga</i> is also used with verbs to mean 'like that', 'in that (known or demonstrated) way', e.g. Imperative <i>la-ma jaga</i> 'you Pl. do it like that!'
art	article suffix
AUX	auxiliary. The most common type of <i>Maṇarayi</i> verb phrase is composed of an uninflected particle and a separable AUX which carries pronominal prefixes and affixation for the various verbal categories. There are also many compound verbs with inseparable AUX, e.g. <i>-man+bu-</i> 'to run'.
DAT	dative case

dir	directional prefix jina-, used with certain adverbs which cannot be inflected with the usual local case affixes, usually in an Allative sense, e.g. biya 'downriver' LOC, jina-biya 'in the direction of/towards downriver'.
Du	dual number
Emph	emphatic suffix -ja, gives sense of 'indeed'.
Ex	exclusive pronominal category
F	feminine noun class
FF	father's father
foc	focus, suffix -bayi (sometimes shortened to -ba), which usually expresses the relative salience of a noun, but may also be suffixed to other parts of speech
GEN	genitive case
Imp	imperative verb form
In	inclusive pronominal category
INST	instrumental case
Int	intentional verb suffix
Irr	irrealis mood; see fn. 59.
LOC	locative case
M	masculine noun class
MB	mother's brother, uncle
Med	mediopassive verb
MMB	mother's mother's brother
MMBD	mother's mother's brother's daughter
Neg	negative particle, <i>dayi</i>
Obj	(transitive) object
Orig	originative, suffixed to place-names to indicate origin of persons
PC	past continuous
Pl	plural number
PNeg	past negative
PP	past punctual
Pres	present tense suffix. In some verbs the present suffix is zero and is not written.
PresPos	present positive 'conjugation marker', which precedes any pronominal prefixes. For third person intransitive subjects this marker is ja-, for non-third persons ga-, e.g. ja-yag 'he goes', ga-na-yag 'I go'.
prohib	prohibitive particle <i>niñjag</i> . With verbs this particle gives the meaning 'cannot', e.g. <i>niñjag yag</i> 'he cannot go' as opposed to <i>dayi yag</i> 'he is not going'. <i>Niñjag</i> is also used to deny qualities or attributions, e.g. <i>niñjag na-wumbawa</i> 'not one', that is, 'many'.
ps	past suffix -wa, very commonly used in narration, somewhat less frequently in ordinary speech, following past continuous verb forms. It seems to be a stylistic device and cannot be glossed.
PURP	purposive case
Red	reduplication (partial or complete), marked with +
Refl	reflexive (also reciprocal)
Sg	singular number

Note on case-marking:

Manjarayi case-marking is achieved by combinations of prefixes and suffixes, the required combinations varying with case-function and noun class. In given case forms either the prefix, the suffix, or both, may be zero. The two animate noun classes Masculine and Feminine, conform to an 'accusative' type case-marking system, i.e. for each noun class, transitive subject (TS) and intransitive subject (IS) are identically case-marked, while transitive object (TO) is distinguished. Thus Feminine singular TS/IS is marked by prefix *ñala-* and *-Ø* suffix, *ñala-gadugu* 'the woman', while TO is marked with prefix *ñan-* and *-Ø* suffix, *ñan-gadugu*. Masculine TS/IS prefix is *na-*

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with $-\emptyset$ suffix; Masculine TO is sometimes characterized by zero prefix and suffix, or alternatively (usually with kin terms) *nan-* and $-\emptyset$ suffix. Inanimate singular nouns conform to an 'ergative' case-marking system, i.e. IS and TO forms are identically marked (zero prefix and suffix), while Ergative/Instrumental is marked with prefix *na-* and $-\emptyset$ suffix, e.g. *na-wuḷulu* Erg/INST 'floodwater, rapidly flowing water'. In the texts zero affixes have not been written. For Masculine and Feminine nouns in TS/IS function the prefixes are simply labelled M and F respectively, and MObj or FObj for nouns in TO function.

Where a case-form is marked by overt prefix and suffix, a label is given only once, under the prefix. For example, Masculine and Inanimate Locatives are marked with prefix *na-* and suffix *-yan-gan*, e.g. *na-landi-yan* 'in the tree'.

LOC-tree

It is to be understood that the case-function is marked by the prefix-suffix combination.

The above remarks hold for singular nouns. There are no distinctive nonsingular case or noun class affixes, but overt case-marking is facultative in some nonsingular case-forms. Nonsingular inanimate objects are sometimes marked in the same way as nonsingular animate objects, i.e. the 'ergative' patterning of the inanimate class is not strict in non-singular forms, but there is no need here to discuss the complexities of number-and-case marking. Mixed-gender nonsingulars in TS/IS function may be marked with prefix *na-*; such instances are labelled M(asculine).

Note on labelling:

Reduplication is indicated by + as are some derivational boundaries, e.g. *do?+wañjin*, nominalization 'shooting'. Also inseparable AUXs are marked with +.

Not all possible boundaries within words are indicated. For example, *niyanyungun* 'ancestors' may actually be analyzed as composed of *ni-*, as a free form adverb 'there', collective element *-yan*, and *-yungun*, as a free form adverb 'before, ahead, further on'.

In some instances a boundary has not been indicated between verb root and tense-marker. For example, *-pama-*, which may function as separable or inseparable AUX, has PC form *-ṇamdi*, PP *-ṇamdag*. These forms are labelled, e.g. AUX PC or AUX PP.

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