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# THE MURUWARI LANGUAGE

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Dedicated

to the Muruwari people of north-western New South Wales  
and southern Queensland,

past and present,

and

to my children: Howard, Marcus, Elizabeth  
and especially Andrew, and their families.

Without their help and enthusiastic support  
I could not have completed this project.



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	vii
PREFACE	viii
ABBREVIATIONS	xi
PHOTOGRAPHS	xv-xxiii
MAP OF MURUWARI TERRITORY	xxiv
<b>CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1 Scope of this study	1
1.2 Muruwari territory and its neighbours	1
1.3 Sociolinguistic information	3
1.4 Previous publications on Muruwari	4
1.5 Language name	5
1.6 Linguistic features	6
1.7 Field techniques	7
<b>CHAPTER 2: PHONOLOGY</b>	<b>9</b>
2.1 Segmental phonemes	9
2.2 Consonants	10
2.3 Phonetic variations of consonant phonemes	24
2.4 Vowels	30
2.5 Syllabic structure	37
2.6 Stress and intonation	39
2.7 Morphophonemic changes	44
<b>CHAPTER 3: MORPHOLOGY: NOMINALS</b>	<b>48</b>
3.1 Nouns	49
3.2 Case system: nuclear cases	53
3.3 Case system: peripheral cases	69
3.4 Stem-forming suffixes	72
3.5 Other nominal suffixes	80
3.6 Adjectives	82
3.7 Demonstratives	84
3.8 Types of noun phrases	86

CHAPTER 4:	MORPHOLOGY: PRONOUNS	89
4.1	Regular free pronouns	89
4.2	Irregular free pronouns	100
4.3	Regular bound pronouns	106
4.4	Irregular bound pronouns	113
4.5	Concord in pronouns	115
4.6	Person and number	118
4.7	Interrogative pronouns	120
CHAPTER 5:	MORPHOLOGY: VERBS	126
5.1	Overview	126
5.2	Structure of verb stems	127
5.3	Realis	138
5.4	Voice	146
5.5	Tense/aspect	153
5.6	Pronoun suffixes	174
5.7	Other aspects	174
5.8	Imperative mood	182
5.9	Clause-marking suffixes	187
5.10	Affix transference	190
5.11	The verb phrase	192
CHAPTER 6:	ADVERBS, PARTICLES AND CLITICS	195
6.1	Adverbs	195
6.2	Particles	204
6.3	Clitics	209
CHAPTER 7:	SYNTAX	217
7.1	Verbless sentences	217
7.2	Simple sentences	218
7.3	Sentences containing subordinate clauses	222
CHAPTER 8:	TEXT MATERIAL: SONGS AND LEGENDS	227
8.1	Songs	227
8.2	Legends	233
CHAPTER 9:	DICTIONARY	285
9.1	Introduction	285
9.2	Muruwari-English dictionary – nouns in domains	286
9.3	Muruwari-English dictionary – other grammatical classes	334
9.4	English-Muruwari vocabulary	368
APPENDIX A:	Comparative word list	400
APPENDIX B:	Voice quality	409
BIBLIOGRAPHY		411

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I also acknowledge access to Ian Sim's hand-written comparative word lists of Yuwalyiyay, Guwamu and Muruwari, collected at Goodooga in 1955. I have included any of Sim's material that complements mine.

I have transcribed and used Janet Mathews' field tapes of Ruby Shillingsworth at Weilmoringle, and Mrs Horneville (Ornable) at Goodooga, as well as all the Barker linguistic tapes. I am also indebted to Janet Mathews for general information relating to the R.H. Mathews' material and the Muruwari area in general, and for some photographs.

I am grateful to many linguist friends, who have shared knowledge and given advice, particularly to Barbara Sayers and Robert Young of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, and to Joan and Murray Rule, for their perceptive insights and editorial help in the final stages of the write-up. I am also appreciative of the constructive comments and suggestions of Drs Peter Austin and Graham Scott (LaTrobe University), and Dr Luise Hercus (Australian National University) who read an early draft of the manuscript. Finally, I am deeply indebted to Drs Alan and Phyllis Healey (Summer Institute of Linguistics) for their painstaking editing of the final version of the manuscript.

Funding for this work has come from the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies. The Institute initiated the Muruwari project in 1973, funded field trips and financed research 1973-1976, and gave two further grants-in-aid in 1986 and 1987 to help finalise the writing of the grammar.

In describing the new Jerusalem, the book of Revelation says that 'the glory and honour of the nations' is to be an essential part of it. This book seeks to enshrine some little part of what was once 'the glory and the honour' of the Muruwari. It is my prayer that this halting attempt to capture the essence of the Muruwari language and culture may endure as a continuing memorial to them.

Lynette F. Oates,  
Barnawartha. 1988.

## PREFACE

Fifteen years ago the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies commissioned me to write a grammar of the Muruwari language from the tapes recorded by Jimmie Barker, Janet Mathews and Judy Trefry. Although these recordings have been used, the outline description of the Muruwari language here presented is largely based on the material I gathered personally from Mrs Emily Horneville (Ornable), Mr Robin Campbell and others.

Work on the language was suspended ten years ago, when the description was partially completed. It became possible in 1987-1988 to pick up the threads and to seek to complete an outline of the chief features of the language, even though there are many areas where insufficient data did not permit a conclusion.

In 1973 it was still possible to gather some material firsthand from the handful of old people who remembered the language they spoke in their youth. Today all these people are gone. But, ironically, now that the language is dead and the chance to hear it spoken is lost, the climate has changed. There is an interest in the language on the part of both some white people and some Muruwari people. Because of the interest by some members of the Aboriginal community who are keen to understand their past, this description seeks to minimise the use of technical terms and the discussion of matters of purely academic interest, so that it can be of use to people other than linguists. It contains a large number of examples for the interest of both scholars and laymen. Comparative data, of neighbouring languages, has been included in an appendix.

This book could not have been written without the cooperation and sheer hard work of the last speakers of the dialect, from whom it was possible to record the language before it was lost forever.

Foremost among these speakers was Jimmie Barker of Brewarrina. Janet Mathews met Jimmie in Brewarrina in 1968 when she was seeking to record any language remembered by Aboriginal speakers. Jimmie had learnt Muruwari from his mother and some of the old men when he was a little boy. But from the age of twelve to his old age he rarely spoke his mother tongue; not even his children were aware he knew it. After meeting Janet Mathews, however, Jimmie's imagination was fired to record as much as he could remember of his loved language and traditions before they disappeared forever. Janet arranged for the Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies to provide him with a tape recorder and tapes, and she and he worked together in closest harmony, Janet making suggestions as to what he should record, Jimmie working hard to remember back all those years. In one tape he talks of how, often in the dead of night, he recorded tapes of the language and of his memories of 'the old days' (having carefully recalled the material beforehand). The tapes were then sent to Janet month by month. Janet Mathews' much acclaimed book *The two worlds of Jimmie Barker* came into being as a direct result of their painstaking labours together.



Of the many tapes Jimmie recorded, ninety or more contained language material, much of it in small segments. Jimmie had an analytical mind, and strove to give a scientific explanation to many points of grammar. But he admits (Tape 54):

When it comes to putting the words together, it gets a bit difficult for me. I think back to the old men round the camp fire when I was a boy. I go back in imagination, and then a word will come.

It is a matter of deep regret to me that he died suddenly in April 1972, aged seventy-two years, only months before my field work began. To complete the work which he commenced has seemed like a debt which should be paid. Wherever possible, Jimmie's work has been included in this current study.

Jimmie Barker (Tape 52) says that by 1940 all the old people who had spoken the dialect continuously had died, but he estimates the traditional life had ceased by about 1910 (Tape 64), ten years before the neighbouring Ngiyambaa tribe had ceased to be viable. So that, when salvage work began on the language in the late sixties and early seventies, the language had virtually been dead for thirty years. It is against this background that the description of the language must be assessed. The frustration of not being able to check all data, or all permissible forms will be understood by every linguist.

But, given that the language was barely alive when serious research began in this century, it is indeed fortunate that there was the small group of people from whom the language was recorded: besides Jimmie Barker, there were the brothers, Bill and Robin Campbell; Shillin Jackson; Ruby Shillingsworth; May Cubby; a few words from Ruby Hooper; but most fully and accurately, hours and hours of tapes from Mrs Emily Margaret Homeville of Goodooga, known to her friends as Mrs Ornable.

It was a tremendous feat of memory, endurance and will power that enabled these handful of people, most of whom spoke the dialect only in their youth, to recall sufficient of it to be recorded for posterity. By doing so, they have helped realise Jimmie Barker's dream. Mrs Horneville once asked Jimmie during a consultation with her about the language, if he were recording the material for a book. He replied:

Yes, it is to be there, down below for all time. It's for the whites – they might use it, which would be a very good thing. (Tape 66)

In mid 1967, Mr Bill Campbell, then eighty-two years of age, and a patient in the Lidcombe Hospital, was recorded by linguist, Judy Trefry. Bill had suffered a stroke, and the material recorded is difficult to hear, but it is obvious he remembered the language well, and his contribution is a valuable corroborative source of information. I am grateful for Judy's tapes and transcriptions. Bill had been born on the Milroy Station, and he remembered the corroborees at Brewarrina when he was a lad. He was 'a Muruwari true'.

During the years of my investigation into the language, Bill Campbell's brother, Robin, was living mostly at Weilmoringle, but I made language recordings with him also in Goodooga and Brewarrina. He was always a willing and informative helper. Some of his sentences express an idiomatic exactness which greatly helped corroborate material gained from other sources. Though he became increasingly frail over the years of my field work, his mind seemed able to recall his language with greater ease and accuracy with the passing of the years. His death at Brewarrina in 1978 was a great loss. He was a full blood Muruwari who missed being initiated – to his life-long regret. To me he manifested all those almost courtly graces that distinguish some gentlemen of Aboriginal culture.

Shillin Jackson was another Muruwari speaker who contributed to this study. He moved around a lot to many places, so he was not always at hand when I visited the area. Though part of the Muruwari people, he had married a Guwamu-speaking wife, and often that was his language of first recall. But he was most helpful in coming out to the bush with me and sharing his knowledge of species of birds and trees as well as remembering vocabulary items and singing some songs (though he was unable to translate the latter). He is remembered for the softness and gentleness of his voice, as well as his undoubted intimate knowledge of his culture. He achieved some prominence, along with others, by being brought to Sydney and Melbourne during a drought by raincoat manufacturers to 'make rain' (very successfully, according to him) to advertise their particular brand of raincoats.

Most of my field recordings were done in Goodooga because that is where a number of Muruwari-speaking people were living. When she was able to do so, Mrs May Cubby recorded language with me, and Ruby Hooper shared her knowledge of Muruwari words on one occasion. But most material came from the lips of Mrs Emily Horneville, a fluent speaker with a sharp mind. The biographical details recorded in *Fighters and Singers* (Oates 1985:106-122) reveal that she escaped being forced to live on a Mission as a child, unlike Jimmie and so many others. Thus she was not forcibly restrained from speaking her language when young. Her first husband was a Muruwari, and they went about much of southern Queensland and north-western New South Wales, picking up jobs on stations, scalping rabbits, scouring wool, or in Emily's case, doing housework. They were free to visit aboriginal camps over all this area, thus Emily's knowledge of language and customs was intimate. Her mind remained keen to the end, so she recalled her language with assurance. Of all the speakers recorded, she was certainly the closest to her mother tongue; she was equally fluent in English. Consequently, most examples of the language are drawn from her speech. Her life had spanned almost a century when she died at Goodooga on February 22nd 1979.

I first visited Mrs Horneville briefly with Janet Mathews in 1973, and then paid her a more extended visit later that year. There were two short visits in 1974 and in 1975, and yearly visits in the years 1976-1978. In all, one hundred and fifteen tapes or cassettes were recorded as we chatted together – a tremendous amount being Mrs Horneville's answers to my questions about the language. In addition there are a number of tapes she recorded with Mrs Mathews.

During these often lengthy language sessions Mrs Horneville displayed an amazing patience and tolerance. She was bedridden, having sustained numerous falls, and her tiny home on the Goodooga Reserve was not an ideal language learning situation. Increasing deafness also added to the difficulties. But it is largely due to her that this description is as full as it is.

It should also be noted, that Janet Mathews recorded some Muruwari language and songs from Ruby Shillingsworth at Weilmoringle just before Ruby died in 1968. The people who lived on the Weilmoringle Station were the last cohesive group of Muruwaris, so that remnants of the traditional culture survived longer at Weilmoringle than elsewhere. That place was always 'home' to Robin Campbell.

To each of the above mentioned Muruwari speakers who contributed to the recording of their language for the interest and knowledge of future generations, this researcher and coming generations of both black and white races owe a deep debt of gratitude. But the 'pearls' of this language will only be found by searching:

Errors, like straws, upon the surface flow:  
He who would search for pearls must dive below.

Dryden

## ABBREVIATIONS

A	transitive subject as agent (function)
ABL	ablative (case)
ABS	absolute (case)
ACC	accusative (case: previously called objective case)
adj	adjective
AFFIRM	affirmative (particle)
ALL	allative (case)
AVOL	avolitional (verb suffix)
B	Jimmie Barker's taped material: as (54B)
BC	Bill Campbell: recorded by Judy Trefry
C	author's cassettes, as distinct from tapes (unmarked): as (EH.10C)
CA	Common Australian
CAUS	causative (deriving transitive verb from noun or adjective; also suggesting a causitive function)
C.EMP	contrastive emphasis ( <i>-puka</i> )
COMIT	comitative (nominal suffix 'having')
COMP	comparative (nominal affix)
COMPL	completed action, perfective (verbal suffix)
CONT	continuous action (verbal suffix) ( <i>-thirra, -mu</i> )
CO.ORD	co-ordinate clause (verb suffix)
DAT	dative (case)
DEF	definite article ( <i>ngara</i> )
DIM	diminutive (nominal suffix)
du	dual form (of pronoun)
DUBIT	dubitative (verb suffix and particle)
EH	Mrs Emily Homeville recorded by Jimmie Barker, Janet Mathews and author (unmarked or C): as (EH.15:1)
ELA	elative (case)
EMOT	emotive (aspect)
EMP	emphatic (clitic: attaches mostly to nominals)
ERG	ergative (case)
EUP	euphony (letter present for sound, not meaning)
EX	exclamatory (clitic)
EXCES	excessive (noun suffix)

F	future (of first person bound pronoun)
FAC	factive (aspect)
FOC	focus
FT	Foott (early collector)
FUT	future (tense)
gen.	generic
GEN	genitive (case)
HAB	habitual (verb suffix)
IMM	immediacy (clitic: mostly with nominals)
IMP	imperative (verb inflection)
INABL	inability (particle)
INCHO	inchoative (verb suffix)
INCOM	incompletive (aspect)
INSTR	instrumental (case)
INTEN	intensifier (clitic)
INTR	intransitive
INTS	intensifier (of nominals)
IRR	irrealis
iv, IV	intransitive verb
JB	Jimmie Barker recorded by Jimmie Barker and Janet Mathews: as (JB.33B)
JM	Janet Mathews
JT	Judy Trefry
KM	'Kiyam the Moon' transcriptions with sentence number: as (KM(6))
LCL	locational (verb suffix/clitic: both indicating location)
LOC	locative (case)
M	Janet Mathews' taped material: as (RS.34M)
N, n	noun
NECES	necessity (noun suffix)
NEG	negative
NOM	nominative (case)
NP	noun phrase
NS	nominaliser
O	object of a transitive verb (function)
OBF	object focus (verb suffix)
P	past (tense)
PER	personaliser (suffix)
pl	plural form (of pronoun)
PL	(clitic indicating specific 'place' of an action)
pn	pronoun
POTL	potential (verb suffix)
PR	present (tense)
PRE	prevent (suffix)
PROG	progressive forward movement (verbal suffix)

PURP	purposive (verb inflection)
P.DEC	past declarative (tense/aspect)
P.OPT	past operative (tense/aspect)
P.TR	past /punctiliar transitiviser (verb suffix)
P.TR.S	past tense of transitiviser <i>-li</i>
PR.DEC	present declarative (tense/aspect)
PR.OPT	present operative (tense/aspect)
QN	question (particle)
R	realis (markers in verbs)
RC	Robin Campbell recorded by Janet Mathews and author
REC	recurring movement (verb suffix)
RECIP	reciprocal (verb suffix)
REDUP	reduplicated (form)
REFL	reflexive (verb suffix)
RHM	R.H. Mathews
RS	Mrs Ruby Shillingsworth recorded by Janet Mathews
RT	returning action (verb aspect)
S	intransitive subject (function)
S	Sim's handwritten notes
SB	subordinate clause (marker)
sg	singular form (of pronoun)
SJ	Shillin Jackson recorded by the author
sp.	species of
SPEC	specifier (noun suffix)
STY	stationary (verb suffix: action without forward movement)
SUBORD	subordinate clause
TR	transitive
TRS	transitiviser
V, v	verb
VC	verb complex
VBS	verbaliser
VOL	volitional (aspect: action of the emotions or will)
SYMBOLS	
1	first person
2	second person
3	third person
+	indicates inherent additional meaning, such as tense
+/-	with or without
∅	zero morpheme or allomorph
( )	in English glosses indicate: author's inserts in free translation or peripheral items in clause or understood words not explicit or obvious in the Muruwari text
/	or

- ; or (in vocabulary)
- ... pause or links parts of long clauses in text or links syntactic nucleus to its most closely related item
- : in speaker reference, between tape number and page transcription number: as (EH.75:5)
- ?-/-(?) English gloss of Muruwari form unknown

## SPEAKERS AND COLLECTORS



1. Mrs Horneville (Ornable) (1880?-1979) in her home 1976, with Ruby Hooper, who was caring for her



2. Mrs Horneville's small home on the Goodooga Reserve where all the recording was done, showing window 'shuttered'

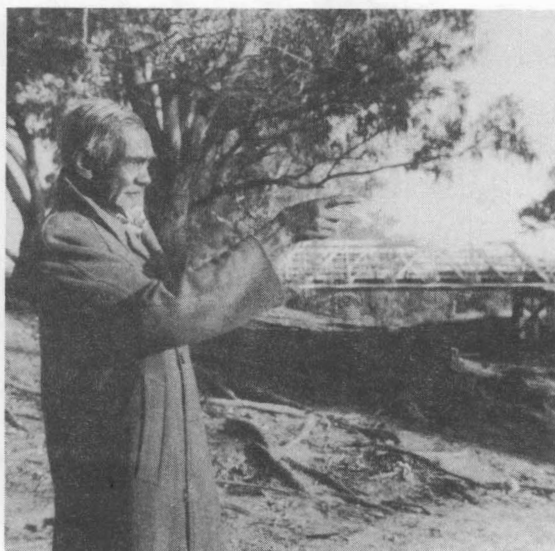
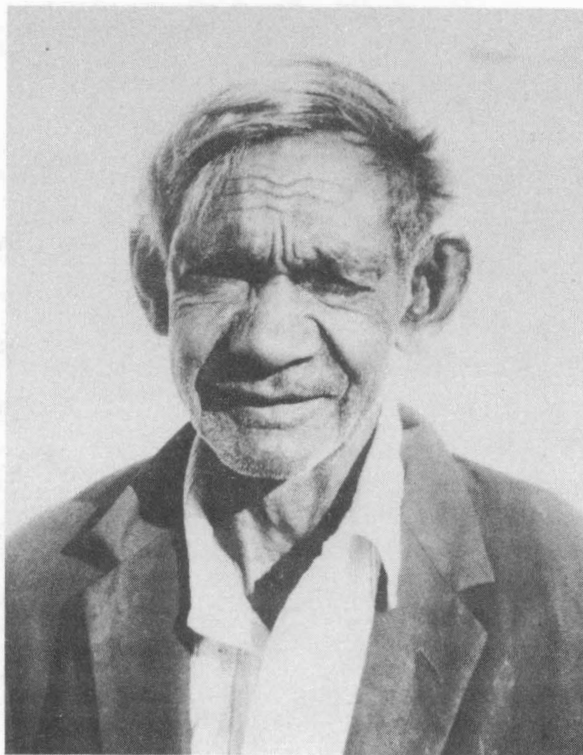


3. Jimmie Barker (1900-1974) in Bayview, Sydney 1970; the first 'modern' to tape record Muruwari (Photo J. Mathews)



4. Robin Campbell, a full Muruwari at Weilmoringle, 1975 with the author,





5. Shillin Jackson, noted rain-maker and singer, Goodooga 1976.  
He recorded some songs and other material in Muruwari and Guwamu



6. Janet Mathews, who collected much material from Jimmie Barker, Mrs Homeville, Robin Campbell and Ruby Shillingsworth

MURUWARI COUNTRY



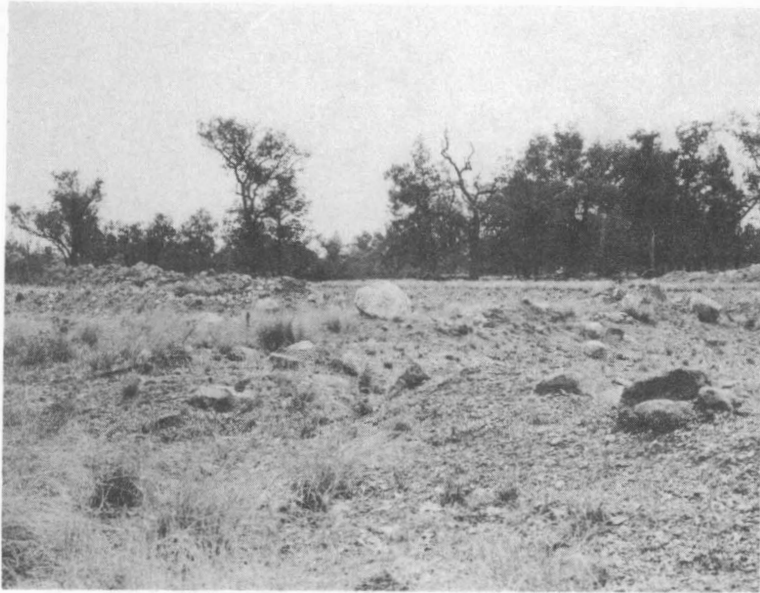
7. Part of Goodooga Aboriginal Reserve, 1976



8. Culgoa River, 'heart' of Muruwari territory, downstream from the bridge close to the Queensland border



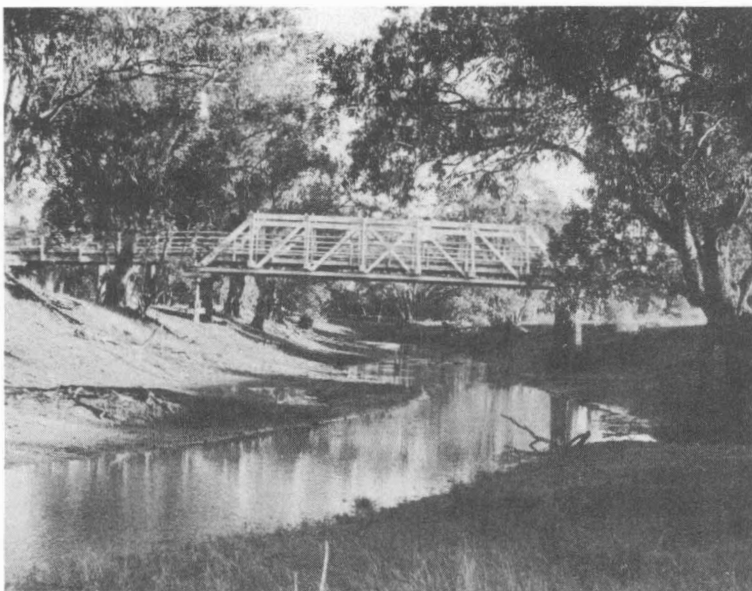
9. Aboriginal fisheries at Brewarrina (most southerly Muruwari boundary),  
shared with Ngiyambaa owners  
(Photo by H. King, courtesy of Australian Institute of Aboriginal Studies)



10. Stony ridges (*wurntunj pakulpira mayi*), a prominent feature of parts of Muruwari territory (Walgett Road)



11. Open plain (*pala*) and road to Weilmoringle during the 'wet'



12. Birrie River, looking upstream from the site of 'old' Goodooga



13. Brenda Station homestead  
(many Muruwari were once employed here)

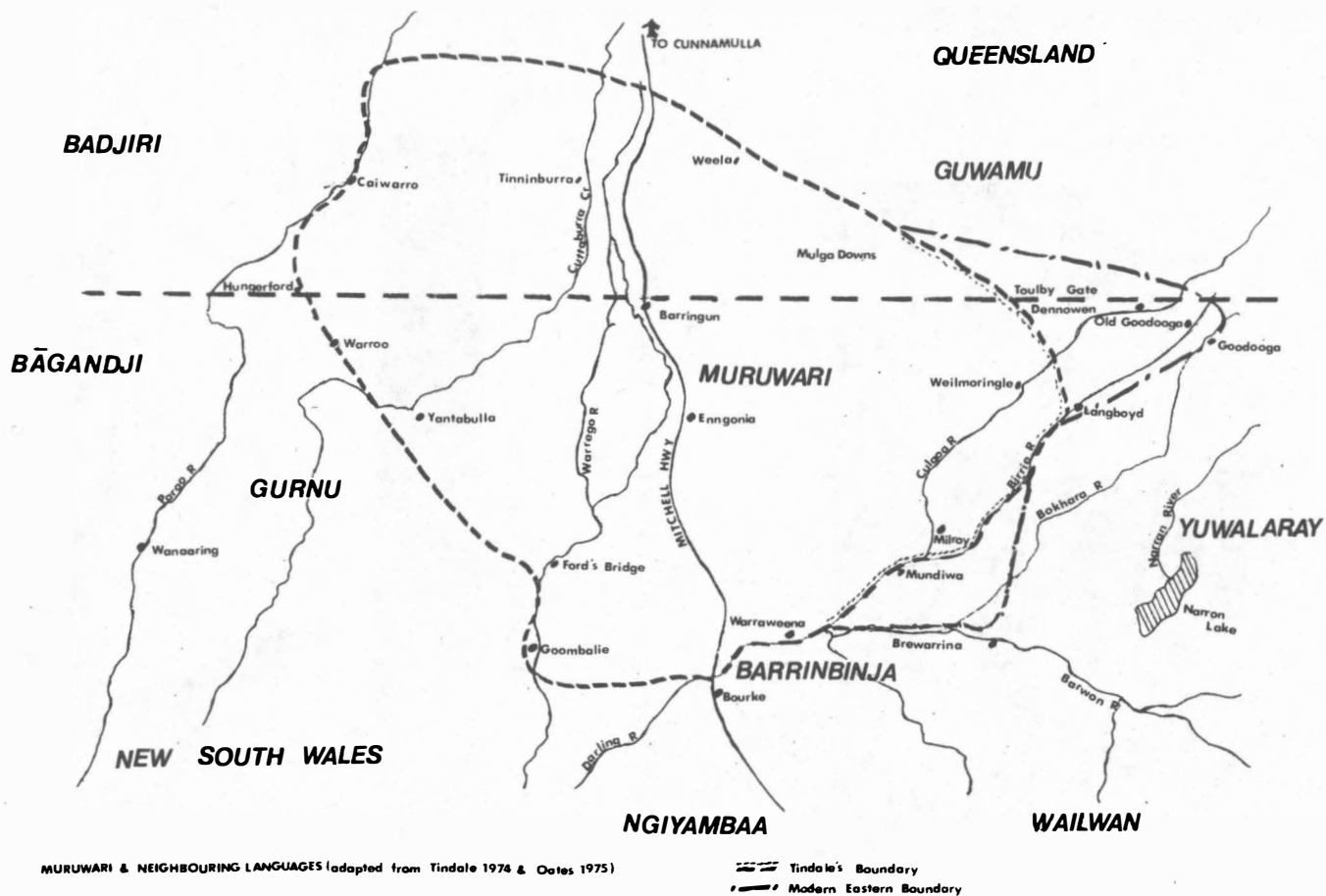


14. Native pine (*paayilinj*) amongst gums, Walgett Road

TRADITIONAL LIFE



15. Muruwari weapons crafted by Jimmie Barker for Janet Mathews;  
forefinger size, all exact reproductions



Map of Muruwari territory and surrounding languages  
 (drawn by E.R. Hymans)



## CHAPTER 1

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 SCOPE OF THIS STUDY

This study falls into three main categories:

- (1) **PHONOLOGY:** the setting up of an alphabet and practical orthography, a study of the sound patterns, fluctuations of some sounds, and a brief study of the intonation patterns of the language.
- (2) **AN OUTLINE GRAMMAR:** parts of speech, sentence types and the sketchy text of six legends from Mrs Horneville and one detailed legend by Jimmie Barker, supplemented by Mrs Horneville's version of the same legend.
- (3) **A VOCABULARY:** lists are in domains and grammatical classes – an arrangement which attempts to reflect associated ideas and categories, and also to maintain the convention employed by earlier investigators, including R.H. Mathews (whose words are included with the more recent entries). An English-Muruwari listing follows.

Throughout the study, the data source (name of speaker, tape number and collector, and page number of tape transcription) has been included wherever it was readily accessible.

#### 1.2 MURUWARI TERRITORY AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

There is evidence that the Muruwari were once a very populous and important group, extending over a wide stretch of country. It is extremely difficult today, however, to define the exact boundaries. For the few Muruwari speakers who survived into the second half of this century, the Culgoa River was the very heart of what they considered 'home'; over thirty names of waterholes and places of significance were recalled without effort. The Birrie and Bokhara Rivers, and to a lesser extent the Nebine and the Barwon were also spoken of with familiarity. It is highly probable that there was more than one dialect, and that an eastern dialect, centered round Weilmoringle, Goodooga and Brewarrina, was the last to disappear. Another group of Muruwari descendants lived at Enngonia.

The reason why this group survived longer here may possibly have been that most of them lived their lives on big stations where relationships between white employers and black employees seem to have been, generally speaking, happy ones. One evidence of this is the freedom allowed the small core of Muruwaris by the Gills, owners of Weilmoringle Station, to live there, on the banks of the Culgoa, in conditions similar to those they have known most of their lives.

At one time, in the thirties and forties, a big group lived at Dennonwen, north of Weilmoringle, almost exactly on the Queensland border. Here there was a store, post office, hotel, school, mission, and a tremendous sense of community. There was also a big group near the site of 'old Goodooga' on the banks of the Birrie River.

Both Mrs Horneville and Jimmie Barker were born on Milroy Station, and Jimmie lived there from eight years of age until he was twelve, so Milroy was home to them. (It is south of Weilmoringle, about halfway to Bourke.) Until he was eight years old Jimmie had lived at Mundiwa, on the banks of the Culgoa towards Brewarrina, where the people lived fairly much according to their traditional way of life. Today, nothing remains to mark the spot – at least Robin Campbell could find no traces when he took me there in 1977. The Mundiwa group broke up after the death of Jimmie Kerrigan, their leader and a noted 'clever man'. Custom required the camp to move and that began the group's social disintegration. Mrs Horneville too, left Milroy, following the death of her mother.

Thus it can be established that the rivers mentioned above, as far east as Goodooga (now on the banks of the Bokhara, but only a short distance from both the Birrie and the Culgoa) constituted the most easterly boundary of the tribe. R.H. Mathews says: 'The Murawarri (sic) occupy an extensive region on the southern frontier of Queensland between the Warrego and Culgoa Rivers, reaching also some distance into New South Wales.' (1903b:180). The Narran River, about thirty kilometres eastward, and the Narran Lake belong to Yuwaalaraay country. Austin's work on New South Wales languages (1980) confirms this boundary. Other sources seem to agree that in the west, Muruwari territory extended almost to the Warrego River, to about where Enngonia stands today, southward from there to north Bourke and northwards into Queensland to about twenty-five kilometres east of Cunnamulla. This is the western boundary given by Tindale (1974), and is approximately that which Jimmie Barker reckoned was the boundary line; he charted it as far west as the Paroo River. The Paroo north of the Queensland border is Badjiri country, and south of the border, Barundji, part of the Bāgandji language.

Though correct about the western boundary, Tindale's eastern boundary is not far enough east. The territory extended up the Culgoa into Queensland a little distance, possibly as far as Warraweena Station. East of the Culgoa the territory belonged to the Guwamu people. But it appears that Mulga Downs, about which all my language helpers spoke with familiarity, and Weela were also both included in Muruwari territory.

To the south, the boundary appears to have been from North Bourke to about twenty kilometres north of the Darling River, and to the Barwon at Brewarrina. All sources show Barranbinya to have extended along the Darling from Brewarrina to about Bourke. Mathews (1903a:57) says Barranbinya also comprised portions of the Bokhara, Bogan and the Culgoa Rivers for some distance above their respective junctions with the Darling. Tindale (1974) maps Barranbinya similarly, though he includes Collierina as a portion of the territory; my information would place Collierina in Muruwari territory.

Thus Muruwari is in a pocket, surrounded on all sides by languages that are very different to it. To the east, there is Yuwaaliyaay and Yuwaalaraay of the Wiradjuric group; immediately to the south, Barranbinya; and south of that again, Ngiyambaa, also of the Wiradjuric group. Neighbour contact, certainly in the more immediate past, was more to the south than to the east. Mrs Horneville learnt Barranbinya as a small child through continual contact, and was able to recall enough for a small sketch of the language. (See Oates forthcoming: 'Barranbinya: fragments of a N.S.W. Aboriginal language', *Papers in Australian linguistics*, No.17, *PL*, A-71.). To the north, Muruwari flanked Guwamu and other Maric languages, and to the west, Badjiri, part of the Ngura subgroup of the

Karnic languages, and Kurnu, part of the Darling group. Though Muruwari had constant contact eastwards with Guwamu, it appears to have been influenced much more by borrowings and affiliations with South Australian languages through to the Western Desert. Influences undoubtedly came from the Karnic languages through Badjiri into Muruwari.

Bidyara-Gungabula, though geographically removed from it, has a relatively high cognate count with Muruwari. (The Bidyara referred to here is not the language spoken in the Bulloo Downs area, but the language of the same name in the Blackall-Springsure area recorded by Breen (1973).)

Appendix A lists over a hundred general words (nominals and verbs) in eight neighbouring languages for the interest of comparative linguists.

### 1.3 SOCIOLINGUISTIC INFORMATION:

The social structure of New South Wales tribes and those of southern Queensland was that of one entity, apparently extending over a very wide area. The early researchers (Ridley for Gamilaraay, Howitt for Wiradjuri, Radcliffe-Brown and R.H.Mathews for Wangaybuwan, Ngiyambaa and Muruwari) outlined a four-section system with names consistent for the whole region, as follows:

MALE	FEMALE
<i>mariy</i>	<i>matha</i>
<i>kapi</i>	<i>kapitha</i>
<i>ipay</i>	<i>ipatha</i>
<i>kampu</i>	<i>putha</i>

The section of a child is determined by that of its mother in accordance with the following table:

MOTHER'S SECTION	CHILD'S SECTION
<i>ipatha</i>	<i>kampu</i> and <i>putha</i>
<i>kapitha</i>	<i>mariy</i> and <i>matha</i>
<i>matha</i>	<i>kapi</i> and <i>kapitha</i>
<i>putha</i>	<i>ipayi</i> and <i>ipatha</i>

(Radcliffe-Brown 1923:434)

Radcliffe-Brown says the relationship system of the Wangaybuwan was what he calls a Type 11 system, with essential features similar to the Aranda and Diyari systems to the west; another indication that social interaction came from the south-west.

The indications are, however, that ceremonies were more linked with Queensland, though this comment is based on slender evidence: chiefly comments of the remaining two Muruwari speakers who could look back on the last ceremonies. The last big corroboree was held at Tinninburra in 1920, when, according to Robin Campbell, tribes were present from a wide area of Queensland.

Movement of people in the Goodooga area during the period of my field work (1973-1979) was quite widespread. Sydney and Wee Waa were areas that attracted people for the purpose of finding work. Socially, there was a lot of coming and going between Goodooga, Brewarrina, and Weilmoringle, and on a wider scale, some interaction with Cherbourg, near Murgon in Queensland, and with Alice Springs where some families had intermarried. 'Correct' marriage laws were almost completely ignored; only a few married 'right' according to the old social laws. Strangely enough, however, though few people knew what subsection they belonged to, they almost all knew their totem ('meat').

## 1.4 PREVIOUS PUBLICATIONS ON MURUWARI

The study of the Muruwari language has not remained entirely neglected over the past hundred years. Curr's *Australian Race* (1886/87:328-329) has a brief vocabulary of ninety-one items entitled 'The Culgoa River' contributed by J.W. Foott. Of these items, nine were not recognised in the recent data. The orthography used in this list is an approximation of English symbols to the Aboriginal sounds. Word-initial velar nasal was not recognised and is transcribed either as *w*:

<i>woorin</i>	for	<i>ngurrunj</i>	'emu'
<i>wooroo</i>	for	<i>nguru</i>	'nose'

or as *n*:

<i>numma</i>	for	<i>ngama</i>	'breast'
<i>nappa</i>	for	<i>ngapa</i>	'water'
<i>noora</i>	for	<i>ngurra</i>	'camp'

Foott recognised length on vowels, interdental stops and trilled rhotics, but not retroflexion. He heard word-final *nj* (*ny*) and the high front on-glide which he wrote *-ine*. As usual in amateur collectors *u* is employed for the vowel *a*, and *oo* for the vowel *u*. Concerning the nine items that differ from the present corpus, they may represent a different dialect, misunderstanding of the meaning, poor transcription of a word, words gone from the language, or borrowings. These nine words are as follows;

ENGLISH	FOOTT'S WORD	MODERN MURUWARI
'mosquito'	<i>bothine</i>	<i>purarn</i>
'snake'	<i>kalin</i>	<i>kaan</i>
'pelican'	<i>yoolira</i>	<i>tulayita</i>
'young man'	<i>yarragoonya</i>	<i>kunhan-kunhan; yangkurr</i>
'hair of head'	<i>mulline</i>	<i>pampu</i>
'thunder'	<i>woolnoolno</i>	<i>ngulu-ngulu; thurlinjpira</i>
'war spear'	<i>millayra</i>	<i>kuliya</i>
'heat'	<i>wirrn</i>	<i>purrura; purruruwa</i>
'bark'	<i>toomgoon</i>	<i>murrinj</i>

Of particular interest is the word given for 'hair of head'; all modern informants gave the word *pampu*, the same as for 'head'.

Note also the following modern vocabulary items:

'body hair'	<i>marnar</i>
'boy at puberty'	<i>yarrkuntha</i>
'container' (often of bark)	<i>tungkun</i>

A much fuller and more ambitious attempt to record Muruwari language and customs was made by R.H. Mathews (1903a,b). His Muruwari ethnology (1908) describes initiation ceremonies and the kinship system, and his language material is quite extensive, given the general lack of interest and paucity of systematic recording of aboriginal languages in his day. His outline grammar covers: noun number, gender and case; a brief section on adjectives; a paradigm of nominative, objective and possessive pronouns (with singular, dual and plural numbers); a paradigm of the verb *bundhera* 'to

beat', showing indicative mood, present, past and future tense; and some imperative, conditional, reflexive and reciprocal forms of the same verb. Then follows a list of:

adverbs	(16)
prepositions (according to English definition)	(15)
numerals	(3)

A vocabulary of 286 items is appended, listed topically under:

family	(17)	reptiles	(9)
human body	(41)	invertebrates	(13)
natural objects	(48)	trees and plants	(11)
mammals	(10)	weapons	(11)
birds	(15)	adjectives	(35)
fish	(6)	verbs	(52)

Mathews' phonetics were good. He correctly understood the fluctuation between voiced and voiceless stops (he has *t* interchange with *d*, *p* with *b*, and *k* with *g*), and he heard and correctly recorded interdental stops and nasals (transcribing with *th*, *dh* and *nh*). He also recorded the alveopalatal stop and nasal, using the symbols *dy*, *ny* and *n*, though, like Foott, he frequently failed to hear these sounds word finally. He correctly recorded the velar nasal, and sometimes, but not always, retroflexion and length on vowels (he wrote a dieresis over *a* and *u* to indicate length). He wrote two *r* sounds, *r* and *rr*, though he spoke of only one, ('*r* has a rough trilled sound as in "hurrah"'). He did not mention a flapped *r* as distinct from a trilled one. Sometimes he used *u* for the shortened form of *a* (as found in the English word 'but'). Most importantly he gave three sentences which reveal the case system.

Muruwari was thus one of the best described languages of New South Wales, both in the quantity and quality of the recording.

Quite a lot of anthropological material was also collected by Mathews, Radcliffe-Brown and others. Radcliffe-Brown (1923) produced a fairly full description of Muruwari social structure, together with the words of one totem song and a legend about *kiwi*, the native cat, and *pintjalanj*, the bat – a legend known to Mrs Horneville and about which she gave a few extra interesting details. Radcliffe-Brown's work contains a good sprinkling of linguistic terms.

### 1.5 LANGUAGE NAME

Muruwari is phonetically [*muruwari*] or [*muruwari*]. A number of early investigators recorded the difference in the two rhotic resonants by spelling the word *Murawarri* (Mathews) or *Muruwurri* (collector unknown). The latter investigator correctly heard the second vowel as *u*; others have recorded it as *a*: *Murawari* (Radcliffe-Brown), *Marawari*, *Murawari* (Capell), *Marawari*, *Murawari* (Janet Mathews). The modern linguistic convention used in the spelling of Australian tribal names is for trilled, flapped and semivowel rhotic all to be represented by *r*, a convention followed in this work.

Jimmie Barker said the name meant 'to fell with fighting club'. Though none of the other last speakers recognised this as the meaning of their language name, it is possible Jimmie is correct, for *mur* is 'fighting club' and *-warra* is the root of the verb 'to fall'.

Whether this definition is correct or not, Muruwari differs from other linguistic groups in being a very definitive term for the language and people. In some other groups, numerous words are used, none of which are the name of the language or people; they are only terms by which a group or their neighbours identify a distinctive sociolinguistic unit. The fact that Muruwari remains a definitive term, even today, when almost all past culture and language is gone, is an indication that the Muruwari people were a distinctive and important group.

Jimmie Barker mentions that originally four of the five group names carried the suffix *-guri* meaning 'belonging to'. Radcliffe-Brown (1923:434) spells the suffix *-gari*; he mentions the first two of the following groups only, calling these local divisions 'sub-tribes' which probably spoke different dialects.

- Nuntuturi*: (almost certainly pronounced *Ngarntuguri*, after the word for the Culgoa River, *ngarntu*) – the lower Culgoa people
- Kungkakuri*: back country, west of the Culgoa River
- Kuntakuri*: (probably pronounced *kantakuri*: *kanta* means 'across the river') – the northern Culgoa people
- Thinuntu*: just north of the junction of the Culgoa and the Barwon Rivers
- Purukuri*: in the Wanaaring area.

It will be noted that four out of the five have the Culgoa River as their focal point; the fifth, positioned on the Paroo River, west of the Warrego, and some distance from the others, is questionable. But it may be evidence that the tribe did once extend west as far as the Paroo about Wanaaring. (Current positions Muruwari on the lower Paroo and Warrego Rivers.) Alternatively, this fifth section of the tribe as given by Jimmie Barker may be a Badjiri place name that survived in Muruwari because of frequent contact.

## 1.6 LINGUISTIC FEATURES

Muruwari falls within the far-flung Pama-Ngungan Family of Australian languages, as one group in the chain that stretches from south of the Kimberleys in Western Australia, through the Western Desert and South Australia to New South Wales, and thence on through Queensland and the Gulf country to north-eastern Arnhem Land. Phonologically the language is complex, partly because of the wide fluctuation in sounds, discussed elsewhere, and partly because of the difficulty in deciding between fine distinctions of both consonant and vowel phonemes influenced by the phoneme *y*. The phonemes and their distribution required much study before they were established with any degree of certainty. Tamsin Donaldson encountered similar problems in her study of Ngiyambaa (1980). The conclusions we arrived at are fairly similar, though our methods of analysis were different.

Muruwari has the maximum number of six stop-nasal distinctions, the two series of laminals being clearly though not strongly established in the language, as evidenced by the fact that they are found in the environment of all three vowels, though, as one would expect, more frequently in the environment of *i*.

An interesting feature is the close-knit nature of the homorganic stop-nasal clusters, operating so closely as a unit that they may be manifested by both members or either member of the cluster in a given utterance. (For further discussion on this point see 2.3.8.)

Much of the difficulty in determining the phonemes lies in deciding the status of [e] and [o] – the front and back open mid vowels – whose frequency of occurrence suggests they should perhaps be regarded as full phonemes. In varying environments they reflect the phoneme *a* or a slightly lowered variation of *i* or *u* respectively. Idiolectal fluctuations in pronunciation as well as stress and vowel length cloud the issue. Allied to this problem is that of determining the difference between length per se, and length that reflects a sequence of vowel-semivowel-vowel (*iyi*, *ayi*, *uwu*). Much fluctuation in the area of the rhotics, [r], [r̥] and [ɾ] has made the decision as to whether there are two or three rhotic phonemes difficult. The decision to postulate three – retroflexed *r*, trilled *rr*, and flapped *ɾ* – is discussed in 2.2.4.

Grammatically, the language is entirely suffixing, with a full case system of nominative, absolutive, ergative, locative, instrumental, dative, elative and allative cases. All the components of an NP do not always take case endings, though in some circumstances they may. The verbal system pivots round the transitive/intransitive dichotomy; there are four realis ‘class’ markers: *-y* and *-n* usually signalling an intransitive verb, *-l* and *-ng*, usually signalling a transitive verb. In the nominative case and sometimes in the accusative case, pronouns are cross-referenced in the verb, though pronominal suffixes are frequently omitted from the verb expression when there is no danger of ambiguity. What appears to happen is that a shortened form of the accusative pronoun is suffixed to the verb expression. Locative case is frequently employed to complete the thought conveyed by an intransitive verb. There appears to be great freedom of suffix transference, particularly of verbal suffixes occurring with other word classes.

## 1.7 FIELD TECHNIQUES

Originally, I was asked to work on the taped Muruwari material only. For obvious reasons I elected to gather further material in the field. I did so at first primarily to hear the language spoken first-hand so as to check the already extensive quantity of taped material, which contained little running narrative apart from Jimmie Barker's moon legend.

Once or twice I was able to go to the bush with Robin or Shillin where I could gather material in a cultural situation, but I never heard the language spoken with another Muruwari, so was unable to assess the social cues, so important in speech. All speakers had to reach far back in their memories, so no material was collected naturally; only with great effort, and with a sense of unreality because the language was so close to being dead. (It had not been spoken freely for several decades.)

Because Mrs Horneville was unable to leave her bed, all material collected from her was within the environment of her home. This sometimes made for difficulties when a sentence was asked about a hypothetical situation which she considered to be a real one. One might ask for: “The man went down to the waterhole”, and the reply would be (in English), “What waterhole?”, “Why was he going?” or, “No, he wouldn't do that; he'd sit at home and let his woman go.” Such hypothetical questions were, of course, seeking structural complexities which were often not obtained. But Mrs Horneville interpreted my questions in a manner that enabled her to give me something that she remembered of her language – frequently her answer reflected her own experience or that of someone she knew. It was often best to allow her to take the initiative in conversation and chat at will about her life and environment, often in English, but with sentences here and there in Muruwari offered when she was prompted to give them. In that way some degree of spontaneity of utterance was obtained.

Mrs Horneville at first denied any knowledge of legends, and would not allow me to check Jimmie Barker's 'Kiyarn the Moon' story. But gradually she admitted knowledge of it, and we checked quite a portion together, though not all of it, because she found the task too wearisome. The portions of the other legends she told me were spontaneously given, but more in English than in Muruwari.

One priority in field work was to check as much as possible of the earlier written recording (especially Mathews and Radcliffe-Brown) for both phonetic accuracy and meaning. All of this material was checked, as well as a list obtained by Ian Sim in 1955, and as much as possible of the Barker material. Here a problem arose because of the fragmentary nature of much of this material. If the form was other than a noun, often the utterance was not recognised in isolation, particularly if it was part of a verb phrase. The number of Jimmie Barker forms which Mrs Horneville failed to recognise makes one question whether one is dealing with two different dialects of the language, or whether Jimmie remembered words that came from other languages.

Jimmie Barker's speech was slow and deliberate; Mrs Horneville's speech would rate in the top bracket for speed; (she herself commented: "I can't speak slowly"). Accentuation is word initial, and suffixes were sometimes spoken so fast as to be indecipherable. Sentence stress on words often differs markedly from the stress when they are pronounced in isolation, particularly when a suffix is accented as if it were the first syllable of the following word instead of the last syllable of the preceding one. Elision is common. Richards (1903:164) writing about 'one section of the Marraa'Warree' (not Muruwari, but Muruwari has similar characteristics to those Richards describes) says:

'They are given to abbreviating their words by cutting off the verbal formatives...(examples given). They also drop the initial consonant and sometimes the whole syllable...(further examples), and it is probable all their words beginning with a vowel sound have been thus evolved.'

It should be obvious from the foregoing that attempts to speak the language with those who supplied the information were not very successful. Because Mrs Horneville became increasingly deaf, I had to shout to be heard, and she did not appreciate my attempts to make myself understood in Muruwari. She much preferred the mutually understood English.

All the speakers knew some songs, which indicates that singing held a high place in traditional life. Some of the songs recorded are corroboree songs, others are songs sung as they sat around the camp fire at night or lay in their blankets before sleep came. One day Mrs Horneville spontaneously broke into song, and admitted she often lay awake in the night singing. Though the general theme of a song was always well known, an exact translation of the words was often impossible to obtain, as is frequently the case in Aboriginal singing. Some of the words of the songs are undoubtedly archaic as is the norm in all folk music; some may also be words borrowed from other languages of songs known over a wide area. It is interesting to note that the problem of translation exists equally with songs of recent origin, about events the speakers remember.



## CHAPTER 2

### PHONOLOGY

#### 2.1 SEGMENTAL PHONEMES

The segmental phonemes as shown in Table 2.1 have been arranged in such a way as best illustrates the phonological patterning of Muruwari. The phonemes are expressed in the practical orthography which will be used in this work. Although previous publications, Mathews (1903a,b), Trefry (1971) and Oates (1976), have employed the voiced series of stops, this publication uses voiceless symbols to conform to those being used by other linguists currently working on New South Wales languages.

The table reveals a division of the phonemes into three significant areas: peripheral, central laminal and central apical. The stops and nasals fall neatly into these three categories. The semivowels plus retroflex *r* fall roughly into these same three positions: *w* closest to the peripheral, *y* to the laminal, and *r* to the apical. To a lesser degree, the table also shows a certain symmetry between the three vowels and the semivowels. This division reflects the phonological patterning of the language.

In common with many neighbouring languages, Muruwari differentiates six stop and nasal phonemes. As is usual in the vast majority of Australian languages, there is no contrast between voiced and voiceless stops. In Muruwari the voiceless stops, though they occur voiced, are most frequently without the voicing (a familiar characteristic of many Australian languages, which prompted Capell to term them 'devoiced').

The laminal split establishing both alveopalatal and interdental consonants is not strongly established, in spite of the fact that both sounds are found contiguous to all three vowels. In isolation, word-initial alveopalatals are few; interdentals occur most frequently in this position. The two sounds are frequently undifferentiated in a given utterance, when the pronunciation may fluctuate between either sound, irrespective of conditioning factors.

The establishing of three *r*-like or rhotic phonemes is discussed at length in 2.2.4. A significant gap in the distribution pattern is that these three phonemes, plus the retroflexed stop, nasal and lateral, do not occur in word-initial position.

An early draft of this chapter was written more than ten years ago, when the speaker and tape reference were not considered pertinent. But more recently it was thought that scholars may wish to research the data, particularly the wide differences in pronunciation. So, where possible to find, the speaker and the tape and page transcription numbers have been added, except for common or

unambiguous words. The only assumption to be made from the reference given is that, on the occasion quoted, a particular speaker used the form cited. Other speakers, or the same speaker on another occasion, may or may not have used the same or a variant form.

TABLE 2.1: SEGMENTAL PHONEMES						
	Peripheral		Central ††			
	Labial	Velar	Dental	Laminal Palatal	Alveolar	Apical Retroflex
Stops	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>tj</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>rt*</i>
Nasals	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>nj</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>m*</i>
Laterals					<i>l*</i>	<i>rl*</i>
Rhotics:						
Trill					<i>ɾ*</i>	
Flap					<i>ɾ*</i>	
Retroflex						<i>r*</i>
Semivowels	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		
Vowels:						
High				<i>i, ii</i>		<i>u, uu</i>
Low					<i>a, aa</i>	

††Central is used in the sense of 'medial' after Jakobson and Halle (1956:31)

All phonemes except those starred may be word initial.

## 2.2 CONSONANTS

Most Muruwari words begin with a consonant. The few beginning with the vowels *i* or *u* possess an underlying *y* or *w* respectively, occasionally pronounced, and indicated by brackets (as in (*y*)*intu* 'you (sg)'). Words beginning with *a* usually do so because the initial consonant has been dropped in a particular utterance. Forty percent of non-verbal words, particularly nouns in zero-marking absolutive case, end in a consonant, as do a few verbal forms. But most words end in a vowel because almost all suffixal forms are vowel final.

All consonants contrast word medially, and all except laterals, retroflexed consonants and rhotics contrast word initially; however alveopalatals in this position, as stated above, occur in only a few words.

In the examples in this section only, the full forms of the digraph clusters *nhth*, *njtj*, *rnrt* are given; elsewhere they appear in neater, shortened forms as *nth*, *ntj*, *rint*.

## 2.2.1 NON-PERIPHERAL CONSONANT CONTRASTS

## (a) Stops: initial and medial

Stops are voiceless word initially, and also intervocalically (but see 2.3.6 (4)); they are voiced following a nasal or in a cluster. Peripheral stops have voiced/voiceless fricative allophones (2.3.1) and labialised allophones in free fluctuation in some words (2.3.2).

<i>thali</i>	'chest'
<i>tali</i>	'yoke of egg'
<i>thinti</i>	'spark'
<i>tiin</i>	'hole in ground'
<i>tjinti-tjinti</i>	'wagtail'
<i>thurri</i>	'sun'
<i>turri</i>	'bowerbird'
<i>thurunj-thurunj</i>	'blue bonnet bird'
<i>turn-turn</i>	'kingfisher'
<i>tjurrku-thurrku</i>	'straight'
<i>kathi</i>	'mother's older brother'
<i>katji</i>	'fresh'
<i>karti</i>	'bitter'
<i>putha</i>	'ashes'
<i>kutu</i>	'codfish'
<i>kutjuru</i>	'throwing stick'
<i>purtu</i>	'rain'

Homorganic nasal-stop clusters contrast word medially:

<i>kunhthi</i>	'house'
<i>kunti-kunti</i>	'wife's mother'
<i>purrtu</i>	'buttocks'
<i>punhtha-punhtha</i>	'sp. of caterpillar'

## (b) Nasals: initial, medial and final

<i>nhinturl</i>	'sp. of duck'	
<i>nimpin</i>	'navel'	
<i>njintu</i>	'you (sg)'	(JB only)
<i>njinti-njinti</i>	'mouse'	
<i>nganha</i>	'me'	
<i>ngana</i>	'we'	
<i>kanja</i>	'humpy'	
<i>karna</i>	'liver'	
<i>mukunh</i>	'gum (of tree)'	(EH.44:3)
<i>mukunj</i>	'housefly'	(RC.1:1)
<i>tungkun</i>	'coolamon'	
<i>tungkunj</i>	'back of neck'	

Homorganic nasal-stop clusters are as follows:

<i>munhtha</i>	'smooth'
<i>kantil</i>	'mother's child'
<i>ngunjta</i>	'face'
<i>ngarntal</i>	'throat'

(c) Laterals: medial and final

<i>kuli-kuli</i>	'rain storm'
<i>kurli</i>	'humpy'
<i>pila</i>	'dillybag'
<i>pirla</i>	'backbone'
<i>kula-</i>	'to return'
<i>kurla-</i>	'to rise, climb'
<i>kulpa</i>	'corroboree'
<i>kurlpa</i>	'butcherbird'
<i>thinkal</i>	'knee'
<i>tangkarl</i>	'large mussel'
<i>mawal</i>	'wing feathers'
<i>ngawarl</i>	'tears'

(d) Rhotics: medial

<i>kuru-kuru</i>	'sp. of tree'	
<i>kurru-kurru</i>	'all, everyone'	(EH.37:5)
<i>mara</i>	'hand'	
<i>maara</i>	'take it!'	
<i>nhura</i>	'you (pl)'	
<i>nhura</i>	'there'	(JB.63)

### 2.2.2 LAMINAL CONTRASTS

The two series of laminal stops and nasals occur frequently, but frequently interchangeably, as already stated (2.1). In flowing speech, word-initial *th* becomes *tj* following word-final lamino-palatal nasals or *i*, which indicates a high degree of complementation. There is also limited contrast word initially in isolation.

Table 2.2 indicates the distribution of *th* and *tj* between vowels.

TABLE 2.2: DISTRIBUTION OF <i>th</i> AND <i>tj</i>		
	<i>th</i>	<i>tj</i>
Initial	xxx	x
Final	x	x
Medial		
<i>i</i> - <i>i</i>	0	xx
<i>i</i> - <i>u</i>	x	x
<i>i</i> - <i>a</i>	x	x
<i>u</i> - <i>u</i>	xx	xx
<i>u</i> - <i>i</i>	x	0
<i>u</i> - <i>a</i>	xxx	x
<i>a</i> - <i>a</i>	x	x
<i>a</i> - <i>i</i>	x	x
<i>a</i> - <i>u</i>	x	0
Clusters	xx	xxx

LEGEND: xxx frequent occurrence  
 xx infrequent occurrence  
 x rare occurrence  
 0 non occurrence

Examples of contrast between laminal stops follow. It will be noticed that contrast between *th* and *tj* is clearest between two high back vowels.

(a) Contrast between two high back vowels

<i>puthuul</i>	'blue crane'	
<i>kunhthun</i>	'stump'	
<i>yuthurra</i>	'initiation path'	(RHM)
<i>mutjura</i>	'liquor'	
<i>kutjuru</i>	'throwing stick'	

(b) Lack of contrast between two high front vowels, where only palatals occur

<i>titji</i>	'young of species'
<i>pitji</i>	'pegs to hold emu net'
<i>witji</i>	'meat'
<i>witji-witji</i>	'bird' (gen.)
<i>kitji-</i>	'to itch'
<i>mitjin</i>	'a lie'

(c) Of the other seven possible vowel environments, there is also no occurrence of *tj* between *u* and *i*, or between *a* and *u*.

(d) Dentals characteristically occur between *u* and *a*, but palatals rarely do

<i>putha</i>	'ashes'
<i>puthanj</i>	'heart'
<i>mutha</i>	'black soil'
<i>kuthara</i>	'child'
<i>kuthama</i>	'niece'
<i>wakutha</i>	'slow corroboree dance'
<i>puutjaa</i>	'thin person'

(e) A few dentals are found in the *a-u* environment, but no palatals

<i>ngathu</i>	'I'
<i>wathul</i>	'old person'
<i>mangka-pathu</i>	'bone pointing'

(f) Dentals occur between *u* and *i*, but not palatals

<i>kuthi</i>	'red ochre'
<i>punhthi</i>	'fighting stick'
<i>kunhthi</i>	'house'

(g) Both series occur between *a* and *i*, and between *a* and *a*

<i>kathi</i>	'mother's brother'
<i>pathi-</i>	'to smell'
<i>katji</i>	'fresh'
<i>watjiin</i>	'white woman'
<i>pathanj</i>	'father'
<i>mathaa</i>	'subsection name'
<i>matja</i>	'time past'
<i>watjala</i>	'dillybag'

(h) Contrast in the environment of *i-u* and *i-a* is established in the following words:

<i>withul</i>	'sp. of bird'
<i>kitju</i>	'small'
<i>pithal</i>	'eggshell'
<i>wiitja</i>	'firestick'

(i) In word-initial position, where dentals occur most frequently, they are followed fairly uniformly by all three vowels, with a slight preference for *a*, 37%, as against 32% for *i* and 31% for *u*.

<i>thawila</i>	'soon'
<i>thana-</i>	'to do, make'
<i>tjarrka-tjarrka</i>	'straight'
<i>thipunj</i>	'mistletoe'
<i>thika</i>	'my'
<i>tjiila</i>	'bandicoot'
<i>tjinti-tjinti</i>	'wagtail'
<i>thukan</i>	'pademelon'
<i>thuthi-</i>	'to break'
<i>thuurrpun</i>	'rain storm'

The evidence is thus sufficient to postulate that Muruwari has experienced the split from the original single series of Proto-Australian (Dixon 1970). Both series occur in all consonant positions, except that lamino-dental stops are only sub-phonemic in the word-final position, and nasals occur rarely in that position. Word-initial lamino-palatals seldom occur in words in isolation, though they occur frequently in text through assimilation as described earlier – indicative that the split is not strongly established. A further indication is that the interdental and alveopalatal nasals have been found to fluctuate between vowels as in:

*punha* / *punja* 'him' (EH.21:1)

Over 40% of words ending in a consonant end in a lamino-palatal nasal, which is often pronounced with a word-final homorganic stop following the nasal:

*mukinj* / *mukinjɲ* 'woman'  
*ngurrunj* / *ngurrunjɲ* 'emu'

A small percentage of words behave similarly with interdental nasal plus stop:

*wilanh* / *wilanhth* 'fleecy cloud'  
*yukanh* / *yukanhth* 'cloud' (gen.)

Word-final interdental nasals are difficult to establish with certainty unless carrying case suffixes.

### 2.2.3 APICAL CONSONANTS

The apical consonants, *t*, *rt*, *n*, *m*, *l* and *rl*, all contrast intervocally, but contrast word initially is restricted. Word finally, *l* and *rl* contrast (see 2.2.1 (3)).

(a) Single phoneme medial contrast

*pata-* 'to dig'  
*parta-* 'to punch'  
*kutu* 'cod'  
*kurti* 'angry'

(b) Contrast in medial homorganic clusters

*munta* 'dillybag'  
*murnta* 'cold'

(c) Contrast in heterogeneous clusters

Nasals with peripheral consonants:

*wanpi-* 'to wait'  
*marnpil* 'bronze-wing'  
*munki* 'slowly'  
*murnka* 'wrinkles'

Laterals with peripheral or central stops:

*wiilpanj* 'twigs'  
*murlpan* 'skin burn'  
*thalka* 'bumpy'  
*parlki* 'ankle'

<i>pultha</i>	'bark food dish'
<i>multjirra</i>	'initiation'
<i>thurltu</i>	'dust'

Rhotics with peripheral consonants:

<i>purɽpi-</i>	'to jump'
<i>kurpa</i>	'bobbies' (sp. of fish)
<i>pirrka</i>	'native tobacco'
<i>pirkunkuru</i>	'happy family bird'

Lateral or rhotic with peripheral nasal:

<i>yuralmara</i>	'bad'
<i>kurrmu</i>	'lice'

Retroflex alveolar with peripheral stop:

<i>katka</i>	'hip'
<i>ngartka</i>	'wallaroo'

(d) Word-final *l* and *ɽl* contrast (see also 2.2.1 (3))

<i>purral</i>	'dual'
<i>purɽurl</i>	'pollen'

(e) The alveolar stop *t* and flap rhotic *ɽ* fluctuate

<i>-ra/-ta</i>	'imperative' (verbal suffix)
<i>-yira/-yita</i>	'they' (verb suffix)
<i>-yira/-yita</i>	'having' (nominal suffix)

Since *-ra* 'imperative' and *-yira* 'they' are the most common forms of these two morphemes, it would appear that *ɽ* is the underlying phoneme, while the morpheme *-yita* 'having', which is most frequently pronounced with *t*, has *t* as the underlying phoneme.

Numerically, apical consonants are fewer than other consonant phonemes. The following percentages show the distribution of apicals within the consonant-final words (38% of total words):

<i>n</i>	12.6%	<i>ɽl</i>	1.5%
<i>l</i>	7.2%	<i>ɽt</i>	.6%
<i>ɽɽ</i>	2.0%	<i>ɽn</i>	.5%

#### 2.2.4 RHOTIC PHONEMES

In many words of frequent occurrence, flap, trill and retroflex rhotic forms fluctuate with each other. But there are a few common words that show no such fluctuation and are consistently heard with a flap:

<i>ngara</i>	'definite article'
<i>nhura</i>	'there'
<i>kara</i>	'how many'

It is difficult to establish contrast between the three rhotics, since contrast depends on some words having invariant forms. If the most frequent form of the word that fluctuates is a true reflection of its



underlying form as far as rhotics are concerned, then there are grounds for establishing three *r* phonemes (see also 2.2.1 (4)):

<i>mara</i>	'hand'
<i>maara</i>	'take it!'
<i>marrangkal</i>	'acacia bush'

In the intervocalic position, the rhotic phonemes are even more vulnerable to neutralising, and so to change. One can only suggest the probable underlying form. For instance, *kuru-kuru* 'sp. of tree' reflects an underlying retroflex form, and *kuru-kuru* 'all' an underlying trill which is also realised as a flap or retroflex.

Generally, one spelling has been decided for each word, but all pronunciations have been recorded in the data for a number of words, particularly those spelt with an *r* phoneme. If other spelling fluctuations are recorded, they reflect an acceptable alternative to the standard spelling.

Mathews (1903b:179) and others speak of the distinctiveness of the heavily rolled trill, *rr*. In this corpus the trill is most conspicuous intervocalically or in consonant clusters. In word-final position it tends to become voiceless and its pronunciation indistinct.

Blake experienced similar problems of fluctuating pronunciation in the rhotic area in Pitta-Pitta (1971:40-42). His solution, of assuming that 'lazy' flaps became glide-like and 'lazy' trills became flaps, has been rejected as a solution in the case of Muruwari because it does not fit the whole situation relating to fluctuation (see 2.2.5). Later, however, Blake clearly postulates three rhotic phonemes (1979:183).

## 2.2.5 FLUCTUATION OF CONSONANT PHONEMES

### (1) Fluctuation within the word

Certain factors at work in the Muruwari language caused large-scale acceptance of consonant phonemes other than the norm in given words and utterances, particularly in word-initial position. The tendency to pronounce certain words in several different ways is characteristic of all speakers. One aspect, the dropping of initial consonants (2.3.3), indicates Muruwari was moving linguistically in the same direction as the languages to the north and west, where initial dropping occurred. The optional dropping of word-initial consonants in Muruwari indicates the language was moving out of the first stage, fluctuation causing instability, into the phase of actual loss of word-initial consonants. The back vowel *u* may account for some of the changes (see 2.7.2 (2)).

Word-medial fluctuation also occurs, but it is not so frequent. The fact that fluctuation of a wide variety of phonemes is found in a repeated utterance suggests language disintegration, though it would provide an intriguing study to investigate why fluctuation should be so much more pronounced in the Muruwari language than in other languages faced with similar culturally destructive forces. Dialect mixing might be another possible explanation.

An interesting feature is that the range of possible substitutions for the norm extends beyond the mere neutralisation of contrasts. The impression given is that the speakers had a psychological reaction to three distinct phonological areas: peripheral, centre-front and centre-back. In a given utterance, as long as the sound fitted the approximate oral area of the 'correct' phoneme, and was unambiguous in context, speakers were not too worried about exactitude in pronunciation. Of course there is a

'correct' norm for each word, and if one repeated the fluctuant, 'non-correct' variety just uttered by the speaker, the latter would usually correct by giving the preferred pronunciation.

It is highly significant that similar fluctuation was also heard in the English speech, particularly of Mrs Horneville, who used, for example, 'bean' for 'means' and 'bight' for 'might'.

Consistent spelling of words whose pronunciation continually fluctuates is a problem because the data contains so many of them. Generally one spelling is adhered to, but alternative spellings of some words have been retained; the consistent gloss identifies them as the one word.

(a) Fluctuation between peripheral phonemes

Fluctuation was heard most frequently between peripheral phonemes (bilabial, velar and semivowel *w*), those sounds formed in the extreme front or back of the mouth. Table 2.3 depicts the types of peripheral fluctuation that occur throughout the corpus.

TABLE 2.3: PERIPHERAL FLUCTUATING PHONEMES						
Phoneme	Norm	Fluctuation to:				
		Bilabial	Velar	Semivowel	Bilabial	Velar
<i>p</i>					<i>m</i>	<i>k ng w</i>
	<i>m</i>				<i>p</i>	<i>ng w</i>
		<i>k</i>			<i>p</i>	<i>ng w</i>
			<i>ng</i>		<i>m</i>	<i>k w</i>
				<i>w</i>	<i>p m</i>	<i>k ng</i>

Examples of the fluctuation follow. All speakers were heard to speak the norm, but sometimes they spoke a variant form. This fluctuating alternative to the norm is given in square brackets, with the speaker's initials in round brackets:

*p > m*:

<i>pilkuyu</i>	[ <i>milkuyu</i> ]	(RC)	'I will dig'
<i>puka</i>	[ <i>muka</i> ]	(JB)	'his'
<i>tiiipuru</i>	[ <i>tiimuru</i> ]	(EH)	'sunshower'

*p > k/m*:

<i>punha</i>	[ <i>kunha</i> ]/[ <i>munha</i> ]	(JB)/(RC)	'him'
<i>thurrpan</i>	[ <i>thurrkan</i> ]	(SJ)	'light rain'

*p > w*:

<i>pampu</i>	[ <i>wampu</i> ]	(JB)	'hair, head'
<i>pinti-pinti</i>	[ <i>winti-pinti</i> ]	(RC)	'strong'

*m > p:*

<i>marnrtangu</i>	[ <i>parnrntungu</i> ]	(EH)	'from the cold'
<i>muuripu</i>	[ <i>puuripu</i> ]	(EH)	'it is cooked'
<i>kamimiyu</i>	[ <i>kapimiyu</i> ]	(EH)	'I'm going home'

*m > w:*

<i>mungki</i>	[ <i>wungki</i> ]	(BC)	'slowly'
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*k > p:*

<i>kirrinj</i>	[ <i>pirrinj</i> ]	(EH)	'husband'
<i>purral</i>	[ <i>kurral</i> ]	(EH)	'a pair'

*ng > m:*

<i>ngunjta</i>	[ <i>munjtja</i> ]	(JB)	'face'
<i>ngutha-</i>	[ <i>mutha-</i> ]	(EH)	'unable to do'

*ng > k:*

<i>nguwal</i>	[ <i>kuwal</i> ]	(RC)	'tears'
<i>nguuntaraa</i>	[ <i>kuuntaraa</i> ]	(JB)	'he gave it'

*ng > w:*

<i>ngartku</i>	[ <i>wartku</i> ]	(EH)	'wallaroo'
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*w > p:*

<i>warraapu</i>	[ <i>parraapu</i> ]	(RC)	'he fell'
<i>wathul</i>	[ <i>pathul</i> ]	(EH)	'old man'

*w > m:*

<i>witji-witji</i>	[ <i>mitji-mitji</i> ]	(JB)	'bird'
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(b) Fluctuation between front-central sounds

Fluctuation is not as pronounced in sounds made in the non-peripheral area of laminal and apical sounds. The following examples illustrate differing pronunciations of sounds made in the central area of the mouth:

*t > n:*

<i>tungkun</i>	[ <i>nungkun</i> ]	(JB)	'coolamon'
<i>tamiyaa</i>	[ <i>namiyaa</i> ]	(RC)	'tomahawk'

*n > t:*

<i>niilpurl</i>	[ <i>tiilpurl</i> ]	(EH)	'spring of water'
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*y > nj:*

<i>yurruun</i>	[ <i>njurruun</i> ]	(RC)	'pathway'
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*nj > y:* medially and finally (see also 2.3.4)

<i>minjan</i>	[ <i>miyan</i> ]	(EH)	'what'
<i>yarranj</i>	[ <i>yarray</i> ]	(BC)	'beard'

There is fluctuation between *t* and *th* word initially, but this is more in the nature of a neutralisation of contrast:

<i>thirra</i>	[ <i>tirra</i> ]	(JB)	'teeth'
<i>thali</i>	[ <i>tali</i> ]	(JB)	'chest'
<i>thurri</i>	[ <i>turri</i> ]	(EH)	'sun'

There are also examples of word-initial *th* and *t* being pronounced as *k* or *k* as *th*:

*th* > *k*:

<i>thayin</i>	[ <i>kayinj</i> ]	(EH)	'this way'
<i>thuntu</i>	[ <i>kuntu</i> ]	(EH)	'leg'

*k* > *th*:

<i>kirri<del>l</del>aa</i>	[ <i>thirri<del>l</del>aa</i> ]	(EH)	'while dancing'
<i>karra</i>	[ <i>tharra</i> ]	(JB)	'eagle'

*t* > *k*:

<i>tuwirti</i>	[ <i>kuwirti</i> ]	(EH)	'spirit'
<i>tangay</i>	[ <i>kangay</i> ]	(RC)	'daughter'
<i>tulayita</i>	[ <i>kulayita</i> ]	(JB)	'pelican'

(c) Fluctuation between back-central sounds

In the area of rhotics and laterals, fluctuation is frequent and is of three distinct kinds:

Between laterals and rhotics

<i>kurpu</i>	[ <i>kulpu</i> ]	(RC)	'corroboree'
<i>pulaka</i>	[ <i>puraka</i> ]	(EH)	'belonging to them (du)'
<i>ngalika</i>	[ <i>ngarrika</i> ]	(EH)	'belonging to us (du)'
<i>wala</i>	[ <i>wara</i> ]	(EH)	'not'
<i>karlanj</i>	[ <i>kalanj</i> ]	(EH)	'shoulder'
<i>ngara</i>	[ <i>ngala</i> ]	(EH)	'definite article'

Between rhotics and *t*

<i>thurltu-yira</i>	[ <i>thurltu-yita</i> ]	(JB;EH)	'dusty'
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Between all rhotics in all positions (see 2.2.4).

(2) Fluctuation within the sentence

Change of consonants within the sentence appears to have a partial explanation in a preference for a type of alliteration which gives emphasis to key words in the sentence by harmonising, for example, word-initial consonants with the consonant of the first word in the sentence.

Compare the pronunciation of the verb 'to blow' in the following sentences:

<i>puumpi-yi-pu</i>	<i>payu</i>
blow-PR-3sg	pipe-ABS
'He's smoking a pipe.' (EH.14:13)	

*wii-pa wuumpi-ya parri-ya*  
 fire-? blow-IMP burn-IMP  
 'Get down and blow him (the fire) up.'  
 (rekindle when almost dead) (EH.14:13)

In the second sentence *puumpi-* 'to blow' is given as *wuumpi-*, to harmonise with *wiipa* which precedes it.

This consonant harmony does not occur in all (or even most) utterances, nor does it always proceed from the sentence-initial word. The first of the following two sentences has no consonant harmony, but in the second sentence the verb dictates the harmony (*purral* 'dual' has become *kurral* to harmonise with the verb *kurranmipula*, possibly to emphasise the verb):

*yalu purral kurranmi-pula kunthi-ku*  
 there dual go-3du house-to  
 'Those two fellows are going back home.'

*yalu kurral kurranmi-pula kunthi-ku*  
 there dual go-3du house-to  
 'Those two fellows are going back home.'

### (3) Summary

Looking at the whole field of phoneme fluctuation, there is no single obvious explanation for so many widely differing changes in pronunciation. The changes may be merely stylistic – an unusual phenomenon which the Muruwari permitted and understood. This writer suggests, however, that here may be a linguistic expression of a cultural disorientation of considerable magnitude.

## 2.2.6 DISTRIBUTION OF CONSONANT PHONEMES

### (1) Distribution within the word

The distribution of consonant phonemes is limited by position within the phonological word as follows:

Word initial: all consonants except retroflex *rt* and *m*, and the rhotic phonemes

Between vowels: all consonants without restriction

First of cluster: all nasals, laterals, rhotics and *y*

Second of cluster: all stops and the peripheral nasals

Word final: non-peripheral nasals, laterals, rhotics, *y*, and a few occurrences of retroflex stop *rt* and *w*.

Table 2.4 itemises the distribution of each consonant and reveals a symmetry of distribution.

TABLE 2.4: CONSONANT DISTRIBUTION WITHIN THE WORD						
	Peripheral		Laminal		Apical	
Word	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>tj</i>		<i>t</i>
initial	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>nj</i>		<i>n</i>
	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>		
Between	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>tj</i>	<i>rt</i>	<i>t</i>
vowels	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>nj</i>	<i>rn</i>	<i>n</i>
					<i>rl</i>	<i>l</i>
	<i>w</i>			<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>rr, R</i>
First of	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>	<i>nh</i>	<i>nj</i>	<i>rn</i>	<i>n</i>
cluster					<i>rl</i>	<i>l</i>
				<i>y</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>rr</i>
Second of	<i>p</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>th</i>	<i>tj</i>	<i>rt</i>	<i>t</i>
cluster	<i>m</i>	<i>ng</i>				
Word					<i>(rt)*</i>	
final			<i>nh</i>	<i>nj</i>	<i>rn</i>	<i>n</i>
					<i>rl</i>	<i>l</i>
					<i>r</i>	<i>rr</i>
	<i>(w)**</i>			<i>y</i>		

\* *rt* occurs infrequently in word-final position.

\*\* *w* has been heard in a few words only, word finally, e.g. *paruw* 'sp. of bush' (EH.21:2) and the shortened form of *ngarrawan*, *ngarraw* 'sparrow'.

Consonant clusters occur in Muruwari within the word stem and intra-morphemically. Table 2.5 demonstrates the patterning of the clusters both within the word stem and across morpheme boundaries. (In Table 2.5 clusters are usually listed according to their first consonant, however, when the first consonant is followed by a diversity of second consonants, the cluster is listed according to the second consonant).

TABLE 2.5: CONSONANT CLUSTERS					
Within the Word			Between Morphemes		
Peripheral	Laminal	Apical	Peripheral	Laminal	Apical
<b>*Nasal + homorganic stop:</b>					
<i>mp, ngk</i>	<i>nth, ntj</i>	<i>rnt</i>	<i>m-p, ng-k</i>	<i>n-th, n-tj</i>	<i>n-t</i>
<b>**Nasal + heterorganic stop:</b>					
<i>np, nk</i>				<i>nj-p, nj-k</i>	<i>n-p</i>
<i>njp, njk</i>					<i>n-k</i>
<i>rnp, rnk</i>					
<b>**Nasal + nasal:</b>					
				<i>nj-m, nj-ng</i>	<i>n-m</i> <i>n-ng</i>
<b>**Lateral/rhotic + stop:</b>					
<i>lp, lk</i>	<i>ltj</i>				
<i>rlp, rlk</i>		<i>rlt</i>			<i>l-k</i>
<i>rp, rk</i>					
<i>rrp, rrk</i>					
<b>**Lateral/rhotic + nasal:</b>					
					<i>l-m</i> <i>rr-m</i>
<b>**Semivowel + stop:</b>					
<i>yp, yk</i>	<i>yth</i>	<i>yt</i>		<i>y-p</i> <i>y-k</i> <i>y-tj</i>	
<b>**Semivowel + nasal/lateral:</b>					
<i>ym</i>		<i>yn</i>		<i>y-nj</i> <i>y-l</i>	

\* demonstrates homorganic nasal-stop clusters, and

\*\* heterorganic clusters

Note: For simplicity, the sequences *njtj*, *nhth*, and *rnrt* are written *ntj*, *nth* and *rnt* respectively. They can be written this way because nasal-stop clusters are always homorganic so there is no ambiguity that they signify *n+th*, *n+tj* or *n+rt*. Thus, when a break between morphemes is shown as *n-th*, *n-tj* or *n-rt*, this is to be interpreted as the nasal being at the same point of articulation as the stop.

## (2) Distribution within the syllable

The distribution of syllable-initial consonants is unrestricted in word-medial position between vowels. Retroflex and rhotic consonants do not occur in word-initial position. Syllable-final consonants in word-final position lack peripheral stops and nasals, and in word-medial position there is a restriction of stops, *ɾ* and *w*.

## 2.3 PHONETIC VARIATIONS OF CONSONANT PHONEMES

## 2.3.1 FRICATIVES

Peripheral stops (bilabial and velar) have fricative allophones, more frequently heard as voiced than voiceless. These allophones occur sporadically, without any obvious reason for the variation. Most examples occur between vowels. Peripheral stops have also been recorded following a rhotic. There is one example of *th* (a non-peripheral stop) being fricativised. In longer words, the consonant beginning the last syllable is often fricativised. (In the following examples, symbols for voiced stops have been used for voiced fricatives, and *x* for voiceless velar fricative.)

## (a) Between vowels and word initial

<i>nupa</i>	[ <i>nuba</i> ]	(BC)	'wife'
<i>tiparu</i>	[ <i>tibaru</i> ]	(EH)	'fine rain'
<i>yakipal</i>	[ <i>yakibal</i> ]	(JB)	'stone axe'
<i>kiilakan</i>	[ <i>kiilagan</i> ]	(EH)	'elopement'
<i>Kulimukuka</i>	[ <i>Kulimukuga</i> ]	(JB)	'person's name'
<i>kipay/yipay/ipayi</i>	[ <i>xipai</i> ]	(JB)	'subsection name'
<i>wathul</i>	[ <i>wadul</i> ]	(RC)	'old man'

## (b) Following rhotics:

<i>murpan</i>	[ <i>murban</i> ]	'cicatrice'
<i>warrkan</i>	[ <i>warrgan</i> ]	'heavy'

## (c) Laterals

Laterals are sometimes fricativised following *i*, (the symbol *ɬ* indicates friction):

<i>paayilinj</i>	[ <i>paaiɬinj</i> ]	'pine tree'
<i>kilkay</i>	[ <i>kɪɬgai</i> ]	'puddle'

## 2.3.2 CONSONANT CLUSTERS

In fast speech, peripheral stops in stressed syllables may become labialised, palatalised or fricativised in certain contexts.

(a) Labialised stops may occur when the bilabial stop is followed by a back vowel, or the velar stop is followed by a front vowel:

<i>pumpu</i>	[ <i>pwumpu</i> ]	'head, hair'
<i>puntu</i>	[ <i>pwuntu</i> ]	'louse'
<i>kilata/wilata</i>	[ <i>kwilata</i> ]	'tomahawk'



(b) Palatalised stops may occur when a peripheral stop is followed by *iy* – the stop is palatalised because the vowel is dropped:

*piyanta*                      [*pyanta*]                      ‘on the dress’

(c) Fricativisation may occur when a syllable beginning with a stop (usually but not exclusively peripheral) is followed by a syllable beginning with *r* - the stop becomes fricativised and the first vowel is lost:

<i>pirri</i>	[ <i>prri</i> ]	(JB; EH)	‘acacia’; ‘Birrie R.’
<i>purri-purri</i>	[ <i>prri-prri</i> ]	(RC.39:1)	‘striped’
<i>thirri</i>	[ <i>thri</i> ]	(EH)	‘away from’
<i>kurrumpal</i>	[ <i>krumpal</i> ]		‘rosewood tree’
<i>kurrinj</i>	[ <i>krinj</i> ]		‘leopardwood tree’
<i>kurrukunh</i>	[ <i>krukunh</i> ]	(RC)	‘turtledove’

A medial labialised stop may occur as well as an initial cluster in:

*kurrukunh*                      [*krukwunh*]                      (RC.39:3)                      ‘turtledove’

In fast speech when an initial syllable is heavily accented, loss of a medial vowel in an unstressed syllable produces a word-medial consonant cluster.

<i>ngakuwa</i>	[ <i>ngakwa</i> ]		‘yes’
<i>kalkara</i>	[ <i>kalkra</i> ]		‘many’

### 2.3.3 LOSS OF CONSONANTS

The data shows that Muruwari was beginning to lose its word-initial consonants. Numerous Aboriginal languages, such as Uradhi (Hale 1976:23-25,45-46), lose velar consonants first. Such is the case in Muruwari, where pronunciation with or without the initial velar stop or nasal is acceptable but has only been observed before *a* and *u*. Loss of *y*, *w* and *th* may occur before any vowel. (Loss is symbolised by ‘.)

(a) Loss of word-initial *k*

<i>karra-ntayu</i>	[ <i>arra-nmiyinja</i> ]	(EH)	‘I’m going across the river’
<i>kunhthi-kunhthi</i>	[ <i>unhthi-unhthi</i> ]	(JB)	‘daughter-in-law’
<i>kamurl</i>	[ <i>amurl</i> ]	(SJ)	‘carpet snake’
<i>kunhthingka</i>	[ <i>unhthingka</i> ]	(EH)	‘in the house’

(b) Loss of word-initial *ng*

<i>nguniyilaa</i>	[ <i>uniyilaa</i> ]	(JB)	‘when he’s lying down’
<i>ngariya</i>	[ <i>ariya</i> ]	(EH)	‘that’
<i>nguunkuyu</i>	[ <i>uunkuyu</i> ]	(EH)	‘I will give’
<i>ngaangura</i>	[ <i>aangura</i> ]	(EH)	‘for me’

(c) Loss of word-initial *y* and *w*

As is usual in Australian languages, word-initial *y* and *w* are usually, but not always, silent before a following vowel of the same quality. They are assumed to be emically present because they are sometimes heard and because there is no clearly defined vowel-initial syllable, so they do not fit any

established pattern. The on-glide is expressed in brackets to indicate it is actually or potentially present in a given utterance:

(y)intu	'you (sg)'
(y)ipa	'slowly'
(w)utha	'short'
(w)urrul	'small grinding stone'

(d) Loss of word-initial *th*

The only other consonant that shows signs of disappearing is *th*:

<b>tharripu</b>	[ <i>'arripu</i> ]		'it is flying away'
<b>thanantu</b>	[ <i>'anantu</i> ]		'you are doing'
<b>thatharira</b>	[ <i>'atharira</i> ]	(EH)	'they had a good feed'
<b>miilka thika</b>	[ <i>miilka 'ika</i> ]	(RC.34:5)	'with my eyes'

(e) Loss of word-medial consonant

Occasionally the initial consonant of a reduplicated root is lost as in:

<b>yapal-yapal</b>	[ <i>yapal-'apal</i> ]	'topknot pigeon'
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### 2.3.4 CHANGE IN WORD-FINAL CONSONANT

Word final *nj* on a number of nouns, when unsuffixed, may be realised as *y*, which suggests that the *y* form is the underlying form of these words:

<b>puthalanj</b>	(SJ)	/	<b>puthalay</b>	(EH)	'throwing stick'
<b>thurrinj</b>	(JB)	/	<b>thurriy</b>	(EH)	'spinifex'
<b>kampaanj</b>	(EH)	/	<b>kampaay</b>	(RC)	'sweetheart'
<b>wampunj</b>	(JB)	/	<b>wampuy</b>	(JB)	'black kangaroo'

On the other hand, Muruwari realises a final *nj* in words where surrounding languages, particularly Ngiyambaa to the south, realise a final *y*.

MURUWARI	OTHER LANGUAGES	ENGLISH
<b>thalanj</b>	<b>thalay</b> (Ngiyambaa) <b>thaliy</b> (Gamilaray)	'tongue'
<b>yuranj</b>	<b>yulay</b> (Yuwalayay) <b>yulaay</b> (Ngiyambaa)	'skin'
<b>yarranj</b>	<b>yaray</b> (Ngiyambaa) <b>yariy</b> (Yuwalayay)	'beard'
<b>mayinj</b>	<b>mayiy</b> (Ngiyambaa, Wailwan)	'man'
<b>ngurrunj</b>	<b>ngurruuy</b> (Ngiyambaa)	'emu'

### 2.3.5 CONSONANT LENGTHENING

In common with neighbouring languages, Muruwari sometimes lengthens consonants at the end of the initial syllable, though the lengthening is not nearly as pronounced as in Barranbinya (Oates,

forthcoming) and Bāgandji (Hercus 1982:20-23). In modern speech, short and lengthened consonants fluctuate within a given word, though lengthened consonants were probably much more characteristic of the language once than they are today. They were clearly heard by R.H. Mathews who recorded numerous examples in his data (*ngubba* 'water', *buggul* 'stone', *kummul* 'carpet snake'; *millin* 'mud' etc.). There is no contrast between single and long consonants (though there is contrast between single and long vowels) so this is a sub-phonemic characteristic. The lengthening phenomenon within the word is restricted to stops and nasals (usually peripherals) and laterals:

<i>ngapa</i>	[ <i>ngappa</i> ]	'water'
<i>piki</i>	[ <i>pikki</i> ]	'upper arm'
<i>pama</i>	[ <i>pamma</i> ]	'Barwon River'
<i>pina</i>	[ <i>pinna</i> ]	'ear'
<i>pila</i>	[ <i>pilla</i> ]	'back'

Consonant length is heard less frequently, but quite as distinctively, across word boundaries, where the tendency exists to add a peripheral stop or nasal to the end of the previous word when that word ends in a vowel. (The added consonant is placed in square brackets.)

<i>thiku</i> [ <i>m</i> ]	<i>mukinj</i>	'young women'
<i>ngapa</i> [ <i>ng</i> ]	<i>ngaRa</i>	'the water'
<i>tumaa</i> [ <i>p</i> ]	<i>punha</i>	'he broke it'
<i>thirra</i> [ <i>y</i> ]	<i>yuruun</i>	'wide pathway'
<i>ngapa</i> [ <i>y</i> ]	<i>yanmiyu</i>	'I'm going (for) water'

### 2.3.6 VOICING

There is no voiced/voiceless contrast in Muruwari. Sounds fluctuate between voicelessness and a degree of voicing in most consonant positions. The degree of voicing frequently varies with individual speakers and with individual words.

(In the following examples *A* has been employed as the symbol for the mid central unrounded vocoid usually heard in unstressed syllables.)

(1) Stops tend to be voiced

(a) when they are in clusters of homorganic nasal plus stop, or *r* or *rl* plus stop

<i>thuntu</i>	[ <i>thundu</i> ]	'lower leg'
<i>kurlpa</i>	[ <i>gurlba</i> ]	(EH) 'pied butcherbird'

(b) word initially before a long vowel, or elsewhere following a long vowel

<i>paa</i>	[ <i>baa</i> ]	'seed'
<i>kaangki-</i>	[ <i>gaanggi-</i> ]	'to float'
<i>kaan</i>	[ <i>gaan</i> ]	'snake' (gen.)
<i>thaata</i>	[ <i>thaada</i> ]	'big'

(c) word initially before all vowels if a retroflex consonant follows the vowel

<i>karti</i>	[ <i>gardi</i> ]	'bitter'
<i>pama</i>	[ <i>barna/A</i> ]	'sand goanna'

(d) word initially, where there tends to be an onset of voicing of all stops except *th*. Though both voiced and voiceless stops occur if the following vowel is low central *a* or mid central [A], voiced stops are much less frequently observed if the vowel is *u* or *i*.

<i>palka-</i>	[ <i>balga-</i> ]	'to come'
<i>pulku</i>	[ <i>bulgu</i> ]	'mouse'
<i>kirra</i>	[ <i>girra/A</i> ]	'galah'

but:

<i>pathanj</i>	[ <i>pAthanj</i> ]	(JB.1)	'father'
<i>pata-</i>	[ <i>pada-</i> ]		'to dig'

(2) Voicelessness is observed

(a) when *th* occurs in word-initial position, or between vowels

<i>thuu</i>	[ <i>thuu</i> ]	'much'
<i>ngathu</i>	[ <i>ngathu</i> ]	'I'

(b) when stops occur between vowels

<i>ngapa</i>	[ <i>ngApA</i> ]	'water'
<i>witji</i>	[ <i>witji</i> ]	'meat'

(c) when *r* occurs in word-final position, where it is also often fricativised (the symbol used here for a fricative rhotic is *RR* – not to be confused with single *r* which is the phonemic symbol for the flap rhotic)

<i>mapurr</i>	[ <i>mapuRR</i> ]	'perspiration'
<i>kumpurr</i>	[ <i>kumbuRR</i> ]	'doe kangaroo'

(d) in a small number of words where stops, particularly *k*, are voiceless and strongly aspirated (*kh*, *tth*, *ph* and *tjh* symbolise aspirated stops); these words are aberrant to the system, but are not phonemically separate

<i>karral</i>	[ <i>khAɾɾA</i> ]	'upstream'
<i>kamiita</i>	[ <i>khAmiitA</i> ]	'death bird'
<i>puka</i>	[ <i>pukhA</i> ]	'rotten'
<i>tjaka</i>	[ <i>tjAkhA</i> ]	'also'
<i>patu</i>	[ <i>batthu</i> ]	'low down'
<i>kampi</i>	[ <i>kAmphi</i> ]	'spider'
<i>matja</i>	[ <i>mAtjhA</i> ]	'long ago'

### 2.3.7 RETROFLEXION

Retroflex consonants *ɾ*, *m* and *ɾl* are single unit phonemes, not a composite of retroflexion plus stop, nasal or lateral as in Tiwi (Oates 1972:36-41). Their distribution is more limited than other phonemes, but they contrast with other single unit phonemes medially between vowels and in clusters, and word finally (see 2.2.3). Informant reaction indicated that retroflex and alveolar consonants were often undifferentiated. Sharpe (1972:17) comments on the difficulty of both hearing and observing retroflexion in Alawa. Study of Muruwari indicates that retroflexion appeared to be

going through a period of instability. The following lists record words containing either a single retroflex consonant or a homorganic retroflex consonant cluster.

(a) Single phoneme

Retroflexion		No retroflexion		
<i>karna</i>	(EH)	<i>kana</i>	(JB)	'liver'
<i>pirla</i>	(EH)	<i>pila</i>	(JB)	'back'
<i>karlathari-</i>	(EH)	<i>kalathari-</i>	(JB)	'to hunt'
<i>kuurni</i>		<i>kuuni</i>		'louse'
<i>turirl</i>		<i>turil</i>		'bowerbird'
<i>wathurl</i>		<i>wathul</i>		'old man'
<i>kaarn</i>		<i>kaan</i>		'snake'
<i>pakurl</i>	(EH)	<i>pakul</i>	(JB & EH)	'stone'
<i>kiyarn</i>	(EH)	<i>kiyan</i>	(JB)	'moon'

(b) Cluster

<i>kurnta</i>		<i>kunta</i>	'yesterday'
<i>kirnti</i>	(EH)	<i>kinti</i>	'claypan'
<i>purntu</i>		<i>puntu</i>	'buttocks'

The absence of retroflexion in some cases appears to have been due to the forceful intrusion of English (basically lacking retroflexion) upon the speech of Aborigines who were compelled to learn and speak the 'foreign' tongue. This trend appears clearly in the speech of the last speakers who contributed to this study.

The data however appears to support the two underlying forms, *rl* and *r*. Sometimes the final *rl* of a root may reduce to *r* with suffixation, while at other times this change does not occur:

<i>kuntarl</i>			'dog'
<i>kuntarl-u</i>	/	<i>kuntar-u</i>	'dog-ERG'
<i>thangkarl</i>			'mussel'
<i>thangkarl-u</i>	/	<i>thangkar-u</i>	'mussel-INSTR'

### 2.3.8 CLOSE-KNIT UNITY OF HOMORGANIC NASAL-STOP CLUSTERS

A feature of homorganic nasal-stop series *mp*, *nhth*, *rnrt*, *njtj*, and *ngk* is the extremely flexible way they operate as a unity. They are almost unit phonemes which may be manifested by either or both components. Common suffixes like *-ngku* 'ergative/instrumental' or *-ngka* 'locative' usually occur with both stop and nasal, but they may be manifested as *-ku/-ka* or *-ngu/-nga*, even though *-ku* and *-ngu* are distinctive case markers, of the dative and ablative cases respectively. These varying pronunciations are recorded for the following words:

Underlying form	Variants		
<i>yang-kuna</i>	[ <i>ya-kuna/ya-nguna</i> ]	(RC)	'we will go'
<i>ngapa-ngka</i>	[ <i>ngapa-ka/ngapa-nga</i> ]	(EH)	'in the water'
<i>kunthiku</i>	[ <i>kuthiku</i> ]	(RC)	'to the house'

Another manifestation of this phenomenon allows for an addition rather than a reduction. Some words which consist of a single medial nasal may be manifested as a homorganic stop-nasal cluster, as *punha* 'him' being rendered *puntha*. There are many instances throughout the corpus where the language allows for flexibility of reduction or addition where stops and nasals are concerned, so that often three pronunciations are permissible.

## 2.4 VOWELS

### 2.4.1 VOWEL PHONEMES

Like adjoining Bāgandji (Hercus 1982) and Ngiyambaa (Donaldson 1980), Muruwari has three vowel phonemes plus phonemic length. The long vowels function as a unit not as a gemination, however they have been written here as digraphs:

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i, ii</i>		<i>u, uu</i>
Low		<i>a, aa</i>	

The considerable statistical frequency of the mid front sound [e] suggests it may have been in the process of acquiring phonemic status as happened with Gidabal (Geytenbeek 1971:3) and Alawa (Sharpe 1972:19).

The distinction in length is clearly marked on all three vowels (unlike Bāgandji and languages to the west, where it is only clearly marked on the low vowel). The low vowels *a* and *aa* contrast in word-final position as well as in the expected position of the stressed first syllable.

*a, aa* contrast:

<i>ya-</i>	'to walk, go'
<i>yaa-</i>	'to speak'
<i>manta</i>	'net bag'
<i>maantaa</i>	'he took it'
<i>kangku-</i>	'will take'
<i>kaangki-</i>	'is floating'
<i>tharra</i>	'thigh'
<i>tharraa</i>	'drunk'

*i, ii* contrast:

<i>kiwa</i>	'urine'
<i>kiiwa</i>	'deep'
<i>witji</i>	'meat'
<i>wiitja</i>	'firestick'
<i>kitju</i>	'small'
<i>kiiitja</i>	'shrimp'
<i>wirlu</i>	'curlew'
<i>wiirla</i>	'supplejack tree'

*u, uu* contrast in:

<i>pumpi-</i>	'to pick up'
<i>puumpi-</i>	'to blow'
<i>mukinj</i>	'woman'
<i>muukinj</i>	'serpent'
<i>purra</i>	'emu feather'
<i>puura</i>	'pluck it!'
<i>thumpa</i>	'sheep'
<i>thuumpa-</i>	'to point'

Phonemic length is thus well established in the language.

#### 2.4.2 VOWEL QUALITY AND CONDITIONING

##### (1) low central vowels *a, aa*

The low central vowel *a* tends to be higher and more central than the quality of *a* as in English 'father'.

<i>marli</i>	[ <i>marli</i> ]	'boomerang'
<i>partala</i>	[ <i>partala</i> ]	'morning'
<i>parna</i>	[ <i>parna</i> ]	'sand goanna'

In Muruwari, the quality of the long vowel *aa* remains unaffected by surrounding consonants. It is very low, and somewhat more back than its shorter form *a*. Initial and medial syllables containing *aa* carry the primary stress of a word; when a final syllable contains a long *aa*, that syllable carries secondary stress if the word is polysyllabic (primary stress falling on the first syllable).

<i>waan</i>	'tree'
<i>paangki-</i>	'to swim'
<i>thinaanipu</i>	'he is standing'
<i>palaa</i>	'plain'
<i>pariyaa</i>	'ripe'

##### (2) high front vowels *i, ii*

The high front vowel *i* is lower than the phonetic norm of a high vowel; it is more like the short vowel in the English 'fit'. It occurs in both stressed and unstressed syllables, and in the environment of all consonants.

<i>thirri</i>	'away from'
<i>piki</i>	'upper arm'
<i>witji</i>	'meat'
<i>kurli</i>	'bark humpy'

The long *ii* is higher than the short vowel *i* and more sustained. It is most prominent when it occurs in the initial syllable of a word, particularly in monosyllabic words, where it occurs in both open and closed syllables and with all word-final consonants. It may also occur in the second syllable of a word, often in a reduplicated syllable.

<i>wii</i>	'fire'
<i>kiin</i>	'algae'
<i>piirn</i>	'sinew'
<i>tiinj</i>	'hole'
<i>parniita</i>	'water weed'
<i>ngurrii</i>	'stranger'
<i>piinpiin</i>	'woodpecker'
<i>kiikii</i>	'bubble of froth'

(3) high back vowels *u*, *uu*

The short high back vowel *u* is lower and less rounded than the phonetic [u]; it is more like the vowel in the English word 'put'. It occurs in all vowel positions within the syllable (initial, medial and final) and in both stressed and unstressed syllables.

<i>utha/wutha</i>	'short'
<i>kupu</i>	'elbow'
<i>thurltu</i>	'dust'
<i>pulkuru</i>	'sp. of small lizard'

The long high back vowel *uu* is higher and more rounded than the short *u*. It occurs in both open and closed syllables and on the first or final syllable of a word, where it is always stressed.

<i>yuul</i>	'sandhill'
<i>puumpi-</i>	'to blow'
<i>kanuu</i>	'boat'
<i>thuurrpun</i>	'rain shower'
<i>yuruun</i>	'path, road'

## 2.4.3 PHONETIC VARIATIONS OF VOWEL PHONEMES

## (1) The sound [A]

The sound [A], a mid central unrounded vowel, is slightly higher in the mouth than *a*, the low central unrounded vowel. It is similar to the vowel sound in English 'but'. These two sounds occur in free variation in both stressed and unstressed syllables except contiguous to retroflexion, when the sound is consistently *a*.

<i>ngapa</i>	[ngApA]	'water'
<i>yaman</i>	[yAmAn]	'one'

## (2) The sounds [e], [ee]

As previously stated (2.4.1), the mid front open sound symbolised [e] occurs frequently, particularly across morpheme boundaries in the verb. Hercus (1982:34) comments that had Bāgandji been capable of being revived, *o* would have been used as part of the practical orthography, but its use would have obscured parts of the verbal system. Similarly, the [e] sound in Muruwari has such wide usage that it probably would have appeared in a modern orthography, but its use would have hidden some aspects of verb morphology at morpheme junctures.



The shortened form [e] occurs in free fluctuation with high front *i* when it occurs within the morpheme before rhotics or retroflex consonants:

<i>thirri</i>	[ <i>therri</i> ]	'sand'
<i>mitjiri</i>	[ <i>mitj<sup>er</sup>i</i> ]	'stringy-bark tree'
<i>mirti</i>	[ <i>m<sup>er</sup>ti</i> ]	'bush country'
<i>purlirli</i>	[ <i>p<sup>ur</sup>lerli</i> ]	'blowfly'

[e] also occurs in unstressed final open syllables:

<i>ngathuki</i>	[ <i>ngathuke</i> ]	'I' (emphatic)
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When [e] follows high front vowel *i* in a syllable of secondary stress it realises -*ya*, and when it precedes *i* it realises -*ay*:

<i>piniyayu</i>	[ <i>pinieyu</i> ]	'I heard'
<i>parriyal</i>	[ <i>parriel</i> ]	'rainbow'
<i>mayinj</i>	[ <i>meinj</i> ]	'man'
<i>mayi</i>	[ <i>mei</i> ]	'earth'

The long form [ee] expresses the following underlying sequences: *yi*, *ayi*, *iyi* and -*a ya*- according to differing phonological circumstances.

When [ee] occurs word initially in a stressed syllable it expresses *yi*:

<i>yilur<sup>ma</sup>-</i>	[ <i>eelur<sup>ma</sup>-</i> ]	'to lose'
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When [ee] follows a consonant in a stressed syllable in word-initial position it is interpreted as *ayi*:

<i>kayila</i>	[ <i>keela</i> ]	'affirmative'
<i>yayiri</i>	[ <i>yeeri</i> ]	'pull'

When [ee] occurs in the penultimate syllable of verbs, across morpheme boundaries, there is a contraction of *a* + -*yi* or *i* + -*yi* (usually in the third person plural suffix -*yita*/*-yira* or the homophonous nominal affix -*yita*/*-yira* 'having'). The [ee] thus realises -*ayi* or -*iyi*. Phonetic length may thus realise an underlying form that isn't vowel length as far as stress is concerned. (The penultimate syllable across morpheme boundaries carries secondary stress.)

<i>nhaarayira</i>	[ <i>nhaareera</i> ]	'they saw'
<i>pingkayira</i>	[ <i>pingkeera</i> ]	'they bit'
<i>kayinthiyita</i>	[ <i>kayintheeta</i> ]	'they are diving'
<i>pampiliyira</i>	[ <i>pampileera</i> ]	'they are fighting'

Across word boundaries, the same phenomenon may occur as within the word.

<i>partala yanmiyu</i>	[ <i>partaleenmiyu</i> ]	'I'll come tomorrow'
------------------------	--------------------------	----------------------

TABLE 2.6: OCCURRENCES OF [e] AND [ee]

Underlying form	Realisation	Environment
<i>e</i>	<i>i</i>	in fluctuation with <i>i</i> before rhotics and retroflex consonants (within the morpheme); in unstressed final syllables
<i>e</i>	<i>ya</i>	secondary stressed syllables word medially following <i>i</i>
<i>e</i>	<i>ay</i>	stressed syllables word medially preceding <i>i</i>
<i>ee</i>	<i>yi</i>	word initially in stressed syllables
<i>ee</i>	<i>ayi</i>	following a consonant in word-initial stressed syllables
<i>ee</i>	<i>ayi; iyi</i>	in penultimate syllables across verb morpheme boundaries
<i>ee</i>	<i>a ya</i>	across word boundaries

## (3) The sounds [o], [oo]

The [o] sound is a mid back closed rounded vowel that occurs in the environment of *w* where it is usually a variant of *a*, but is sometimes a variant of *u*. It is extremely difficult to differentiate:

<i>wukan</i>	[wokan]	'young kangaroo'
<i>wakan</i>	[wokan]	'crow'

They are not homophonous forms. Sayers (private conversation) experienced a similar problem in Wik-Mungkan where an archi-phoneme now exists in this environment.

When *a* occurs following or preceding *w* it is frequently raised and rounded to the [o] sound. Alternatively, it may be raised but not rounded, and heard as the short central unrounded vowel, [A].

<i>wala</i>	[wolA] / [wAlA]	'negative'
<i>wampa</i>	[wompA] / [wAmpA]	'mad'
<i>yawi</i>	[yowi] / [yAwi]	'grass'

When *u* occurs following peripheral stops and nasals, *r* or semivowels, it may be lowered to [o]:

<i>muwari</i>	[murowori]	'Muruwari'
<i>-pu</i>	[-po/-pu]	'he, she, it'
<i>mukinj</i>	[mokinj/mukinj]	'woman'
<i>nguma</i>	[ngoma/nguma]	'breast'
<i>kuruwa</i>	[korowa]	'gum tree'
<i>wakutha</i>	[wokotha]	'name of a dance'
<i>wurrunj</i>	[worrunj]	'crooked'
<i>-yu</i>	[-yo/-yu]	'I'
<i>yungki-</i>	[yongki-/yungki-]	'to sing'

When [o] occurs in a stressed syllable before *i* it is realising an underlying form *uw*:

<i>puwin</i>	[poin]	'older brother'
--------------	--------	-----------------

Long [oo] is the surface realisation of both *awa* and *uwa* in stressed syllables within the morpheme; *awa* occurs following bilabial consonants, and *uwa* occurs following velar consonants:

<i>pa warra</i>	[ <i>poorra</i> ]	'red kangaroo'
<i>mawarn</i>	[ <i>moorn</i> ]	'younger brother'
<i>ku warti</i>	[ <i>koorti</i> ]	'quondong'

## (4) Long [ii] at morpheme junctures

Long [ii] at morpheme junctures has a similar quality to *ii* within free morphemes, but in slower speech two vowels are discernable, the quality of the second lower and somewhat longer than the first – almost [ie]. Within the morpheme *ii* is heard as one long sustained vowel; across morpheme junctures [ii] is morphologically *iyi*:

<i>piki-yita</i>	[ <i>pigiidA</i> ]	'with the arm'
<i>purlili-yita</i>	[ <i>purliliitA</i> ]	'maggoty'

(5) Glides [ei], [oi], [ii] before *nj*

Before word-final alveopalatal *nj*, all vowels have a palatal off-glide:

<i>kampanj</i>	[ <i>kambainj</i> ]	'sweetheart'
<i>kapunj</i>	[ <i>kabuinj</i> ]	'egg'
<i>pilanj-pilanj</i>	[ <i>pileinj-pileinj</i> ]	'crimson-winged parrot'
<i>tungunj</i>	[ <i>tungoinj</i> ]	'back of neck'
<i>mukinj</i>	[ <i>mukiinj</i> ]	'woman'

## 2.4.4 GLIDES

Most glides in Muruwari involve the sequence *ai*. There are three possible ways of spelling such glides, as illustrated by the word for 'yam':

- (a) *kimai* (a + i)  
 (b) *kimay* (a + y)  
 (c) *kimayi* (a + y + i)

Each spelling has something to commend it.

(a) The first spelling, *kimai*, is admissible if the long vowels are considered to be a sequence of two vowels. But the data points to them having a quality of length, not a separateness of individual identity. Neighbouring languages recognise vowel length rather than gemination, and one would expect Muruwari to function similarly.

(b) The second spelling, *kimay*, sounds like a single vowel (glide) and best fits the phonetic constraints of the language. But when suffixed (as in *kimayngku* 'with yams') it gives a cluster of three consonants word medially, where the rest of the data allows only two.

(c) When *kimay* is suffixed, however, stress changes from the first to the second syllable of the root. When the *ai* glide falls on a stressed syllable, I have chosen to write it as *ayi*, except in those words that appear to have an underlying final *y* (see 2.3.4), and which are rarely found suffixed. This solution fits the rule that *-ngku/-ngka* 'ergative-instrumental/locative' follows a vowel (see 3.2.2 (1)), even though it suggests another syllable in suffixed words. This also fits the underlying pattern of the language which allows for only one vowel followed by one or two consonants.

I have termed the *y* in such sequences as *ayi* a 'hiatus' semivowel, as a convenient means of describing the behaviour of glides. This hiatus semivowel is found:

(a) as the medial component of stressed [ee], [oo], and [ii] at morpheme junctures as described in 2.4.3 (2)-(4) above

(b) between two contiguous vowel sounds which are a glide from one vowel to another, occurring within single morpheme words (as analysed above), and in such words as:

<i>mayi</i>	[ <i>mei</i> ]	'earth'
<i>kuliya</i>	[ <i>kulia</i> ]	'spear'

The semivowel *w* is postulated under similar circumstances, but occurs much more rarely:

<i>puwinj</i>	[ <i>boinj</i> ]	'older brother'
<i>kawun</i>	[ <i>kAun</i> ]	'raw'

(c) *y* is found across morpheme boundaries, usually involving junctures with bound morphemes *-yu* 'I', and *-yita/-yira* 'they', 'having':

<i>maari-yu</i>	[ <i>maariu</i> ]	'I am sick'
<i>thurlrtu-yita</i>	[ <i>thurlrtuidA</i> ]	'dusty'

The phonological structure of Muruwari requires words to be written with a semivowel between two vowels, even though there are several examples where this seemingly creates another syllable which is inaudible.

<i>tulayita</i>	[ <i>tulaita</i> ]	'turtle'
<i>mayi-ngka</i>	[ <i>mai-ngka</i> ]	'on the ground'

Such words are heard as three syllables, but written as four.

#### 2.4.5 THE DISTRIBUTION OF MEDIAL SEMIVOWELS

Medial semivowels *y* and *w* occur in most possible vowel environments. Only [*iwu*] has not been found. (Bāgandji has no occurrence of [*awu*] (Hercus 1982:39)). The occurrence of *ayu* is infrequent.

Retroflex *r* is a frictionless consonant, sometimes pronounced like *y* between vowels, so it has been included in Table 2.7.

The first vowel of a sequence involving a semivowel or *r* may be short or long, but the second is usually a short vowel; *tipayuu* 'whistling duck' is the only exception in the examples.

TABLE 2.7: MEDIAL SEMIVOWELS

<b>aya</b> <i>kaya</i>	‘mother’	<b>ayi</b> <i>mayi</i>	‘earth’	<b>ayu</b> <i>tipayuu</i>	‘whistling duck’
<b>iya</b> <i>kiyan</i>	‘moon’	<b>iyi</b> <i>thiyirl</i>	‘tail’	<b>iyu</b> <i>maariyu</i>	‘I am sick’
<b>uya</b> <i>kuya</i>	‘fish’	<b>uyi</b> <i>puyil</i>	‘wing feathers’	<b>uyu</b> <i>puyu</i>	‘bone marrow’
<b>awa</b> <i>wawarn</i>	‘bila tree’	<b>awi</b> <i>yawi</i>	‘grass’	<b>awu</b> <i>ngawarl</i>	‘echo’
<b>iwa</b> <i>kiwa</i>	‘urine’	<b>iwi</b> <i>kiwi</i>	‘native cat’		
<b>uwa</b> <i>nguwarl</i>	‘tears’	<b>uwi</b> <i>kuwinj</i>	‘ghost’	<b>uwu</b> <i>kuwa</i>	‘hot ground’
<b>ara</b> <i>bara</i>	‘cooking hole’	<b>ari</b> <i>ngaari</i>	‘meat ant’	<b>aru</b> <i>baru</i>	‘down low’
<b>ira</b> <i>wiraka</i>	‘quarrion’	<b>iri</b> <i>piiriku</i>	‘tobacco’	<b>iru</b> <i>piruwa</i>	‘turpentine bush’
<b>ura</b> <i>yural</i>	‘bad’	<b>uri</b> <i>yurika</i>	‘spirit-man’	<b>uru</b> <i>nguru</i>	‘nose’

## 2.5 SYLLABIC STRUCTURE

### 2.5.1 SINGLE ROOT FORMS

Single root forms of the phonological word have the following basic structure:

[CV(C)]<sup>n</sup>

where V is a short or long vowel, (C) an optional consonant and <sup>n</sup> stands for up to seven syllables.

The language is noted for the relatively high percentage of monosyllabic verb and noun roots. Disyllabic roots are the most favoured, though up to seven syllables have been recorded in words with reduplicated roots, e.g. *tharra-tharrang-tharraka* (EH) ‘plover’.

Noun roots show a slight preference for ending in a vowel (55%), over ending in a consonant (45%).

TABLE 2.8: SYLLABLE STRUCTURE

TABLE 2.8: SYLLABLE STRUCTURE					
NOUNS					
Monosyllabic:					
	CV	<i>paa</i>	'seed'	2%	
	CVC	<i>tiinj</i>	'hole'	2%	4%
Disyllabic:					
	CVCV	<i>pina</i>	'ear'	25%	
	CVCVC	<i>kirin</i>	'husband'	29%	
	CVCCV	<i>pampu</i>	'head'	10%	
	CVCCVC	<i>thinkal</i>	'knee'	9%	73%
Trisyllabic:					
	CVCVCV	<i>kiiyara</i>	'bustard'	10%	
	CVCVCVC	<i>kuriitjil</i>	'peewee'	3%	
	CVCCVCV	<i>thangkana</i>	'mussels'	4%	
	CVCVCCVC	<i>tithalanj</i>	'twig'	3%	20%
Polysyllabic:					
	CVCVCVCV	<i>kurukuwi</i>	'dove'	1.5%	
	CVCVCVCCVC	<i>kutikunkun</i>	'butcherbird'	1.5%	3%
VERBS					
Monosyllabic:					
	CV-	<i>ya-</i>	'to walk'		
		<i>yaa-</i>	'to talk'		10%
Disyllabic:					
	CVCV-	<i>warra-</i>	'to fall'	52%	
	CVCCV-	<i>palka-</i>	'to come'	29%	81%
Trisyllabic:					
	CVCVCV-	<i>thinama-</i>	'to send'	3%	
	CVCCVCV-	<i>thangkura-</i>	'to dream'	4%	
	CVCVCCV-	<i>pinampi-</i>	'to hear'	2%	9%

## 2.5.2 REDUPLICATED ROOTS

All monosyllabic and disyllabic patterns also occur with reduplicated noun roots, and to a lesser extent with reduplicated verb roots.

CV + CV:	<i>pa-pa</i>	'older sister'
	<i>pi-pi</i>	'baby' (not English)
	<i>tha-tha-</i>	'eating'

CVC + CVC:	<i>kurr-kurr</i> <i>tuurn-tuurn</i> <i>paanh-paanh</i>	'mopoke' 'pallid cuckoo' 'open foliage'
CVCV + CVCV:	<i>witji-witji</i> <i>kurru-kurru</i> <i>kitji-kitji-</i>	'bird' 'all' 'to tickle'
CVCVC + CVCVC:	<i>yapal-yapal</i> <i>ngaayirn-ngaayirn</i>	'topknot pigeon' 'hard breathing'
CVCCV + CVCCV	<i>parla-parla</i> <i>tjarrka-tjarrka</i> <i>puntha-puntha</i>	'beef wood tree' 'straight' 'bushy tree'

### 2.5.3 WORD LENGTH

In ordinary discourse, polymorphemic words are usually longer than monomorphemic ones. This is because nouns are inflected for case, possession and other modifications, and verbs carry up to five suffixes to mark tense, aspect, person and emphasis, and their roots attach a range of derivational affixes. Thus six seven or even eight syllables are common in verb forms, though, because of the large number of common verbs with monosyllabic roots, there are a sizeable number of verb forms with only four or five syllables.

## 2.6 STRESS AND INTONATION

Stress is non-phonemic in Muruwari, but its position is governed by rules which are related to both phonological and morphophonemic processes.

There are two significant units of stress, primary (marked by ' ) and secondary (marked by " ) which contrast with non-stress.

### 2.6.1 GENERAL RULES GOVERNING WORD STRESS

Rule 1 Stress normally falls on the first syllable of a word:

<i>'kaya</i>	'mother'
<i>'kiyan</i>	'moon'
<i>'kuthara</i>	'child'
<i>'kutjuru</i>	'waddy for emus'
<i>'kakalaranj</i>	'cockalarina'

Rule 2 Primary stress falls on a long vowel, wherever it occurs:

<i>'thaata</i>	'big'
<i>pa'laa</i>	'plain'
<i>pu'thuul</i>	'blue crane'
<i>pu'rraalka</i>	'brolga'
<i>thi'naanipu</i>	'he is standing'

Rule 3 Suffixation on nouns of two syllables causes primary stress to move from the first to the second syllable of the word:

'yawi	'grass'	but	ya'wingka	'on the grass'
'ngapa	'water'	but	nga'pangka	'in the water'
'mara	'hand'	but	ma'rangku	'with the hand'

There are two exceptions to Rule 3:

(a) if the first syllable of a disyllabic word contains a long vowel, stress remains word-initial:

'kiiwa	'deep water'	'kiiwangka	'in the deep water'
'thaata	'big'	'thaatangku	'the big one'(ERG)

(b) if the disyllabic word commences with an interdental consonant, and the first vowel is followed by a rhotic consonant, the stress remains on the first syllable, despite the addition of a suffix:

'thurri-ngu	'from the sun'
'nhurra-ki	'all of you!'
'tharrka-ra	'tell (him)!'

Rule 4 Suffixation of verbs and adjectives where vowels have coalesced at morpheme junctures as described in 2.4.3 (4) produces a second stress on the penultimate syllable of the word:

'thangkila"yira	'they are running'
'kurlkuri"yita	'strong'
'thirra"yita	'sharp'

These suffixed words, however, may be equally stressed or have the heavier stress on the penultimate syllable:

'panta'rantu	'you hit (him)'
'paangki'yayu	'I swam'

Rule 5 In polysyllabic words the tendency is for every alternate syllable to carry some form of stress (a pattern typical of many Australian languages). Thus in words of four syllables primary stress falls on the first syllable, secondary stress on the penultimate:

'ngurra"wara	'a flood'
'yuwal"ka-yu	'I lost it'
'purru"wangka	'in summer'

Rule 5 also applies to reduplicated roots which end in open syllables:

'piya-(m)"piya	'butterfly'
'kurru-"kurru	'all'

But if the final syllable of the reduplicated word is closed, stress falls evenly on the first syllable of both roots:

'piyal-'piyal	'soldier bird'
'ngukurr-'ngukurr	'ibis'



In words of more than four syllables, primary stress falls on the initial syllable, and secondary stress on the penultimate syllable:

<i>'karraka</i> "rranti	'mirage'
<i>'marnrtamarn</i> "rtangka	'in winter'

### 2.6.2 OTHER FACTORS INFLUENCING WORD STRESS

There are two main factors which work against the general rules, one phonological, the other morphological.

#### (1) The influence of rhotics and retroflexion

Primary stress may move from the first syllable to the second if that syllable begins with *rr* or to a lesser extent with *r*, *ɾ*, *rt*, *m*, or *rl*. The usual pronunciation of the following words is:

<i>'thurri</i>	'sun'
<i>'kirrinj</i>	'husband'

But the following is also acceptable:

<i>thu</i> 'ri	'sun'
<i>ki</i> 'rinj	'husband'
<i>ka</i> 'rranti	'gecko'
<i>pu</i> 'rlili	'maggot'

In words where the rhotic appears in the third syllable, it attracts secondary stress:

<i>'paku</i> "ra	'coolibah tree'
<i>'kuwu</i> "rinj	'swamp'

#### (2) CV patterning of root and suffixal morphemes

Stress patterns are different, according to whether the root or the suffixation is monosyllabic or disyllabic.

Monosyllabic root + disyllabic suffixation produces primary stress word-initially, with a light secondary stress on the final syllable:

<i>'yan-ti</i> "pu	'he is walking'
--------------------	-----------------

When the first syllable contains a long vowel, secondary stress is heard clearly on the second syllable:

<i>'maan</i> "ku-li	'we will take it'
<i>'puul</i> "ku-nja	'I will pull it down'

### 2.6.3 PHRASE AND SENTENCE STRESS

There are three areas where sentence stress falls in statement sentences:

(a) sentence initial – the first or second syllable of a sentence exhibit onset of weakest stress; it is marked \ preceding the syllable that is weakly stressed

(b) sentence medial – it is here that primary sentence stress falls; it is marked '

(c) sentence pre-final – secondary sentence stress usually falls on the penultimate syllable, and occasionally on the third last syllable; it is marked “.

In interrogative and shouted sentences, the major stress, linked with intonation (see 2.6.4), falls not sentence medially but at the end of a sentence.

Accentuation tends to fall evenly over the whole sentence, with stress occurring on every alternate syllable. (A full stop . in the phonetic transcription marks where a syllable or rhythmic break is heard.)

<i>ngathu</i>	<i>tumaa-nja</i>	<i>mathan</i>	<i>[ʌngathutu.'maanja."mathan]</i>
I	broke-I	stick	
'I broke the stick.'			

<i>puka</i>	<i>witji</i>	<i>purlili-yita</i>	<i>[pu\ga.wi'tjipurli"liita]</i>
bad	meat	maggots-having	
'rotten meat'			

The pressure to have a balance of stress within the short utterance may euphonicly divide the sentence in the middle of a word, particularly if the second syllable of that word contains a long vowel, as in:

<i>kuntarlu</i>	<i>yitaa</i>	<i>nganha</i>	<i>["kuntarluyi 'taa nganha]</i>
dog-ERG	bit	me	
'The dog bit me.'			

In the last example there are three unstressed syllables before the stressed one and two following. The tendency to have equal or nearly equal numbers of unstressed syllables before and after a stressed syllable is observed in the next example, where stress divides the sentence into three equally accented segments, each of three syllables:

<i>thawinj</i>	<i>thika</i>	<i>muku</i>	<i>yintipu</i>	<i>['thawinjti 'kamuku 'yintipu]</i>
tomahawk	my	blunt	is	
'My tomahawk is blunt.'				

Irrespective of word boundaries, sentence stresses usually fall so as to distribute the unstressed syllables as evenly as possible between the three sentence stress points. That is, the sentence is broken up into evenly timed segments.

<i>ngapa</i>	<i>piintja</i>	<i>nganha</i>	<i>[ʌngababi:n.'djanga"nha]</i>
water	ask	me	
'Ask me for water!'			

<i>pintja</i>	<i>kawi-yaa</i>	<i>yipa</i>	<i>kayila</i>	<i>[pindj.'gawiyayai."bagayila]</i>
only	call-P	slow	AFFIRM	
'He talked low (slowly).'				

Notice that the last example, and the following one, both have secondary stress on the third last syllable.

<i>minjan</i>	<i>piya-ntu</i>	<i>nganha</i>	<i>[ʌminjan.bi'yyanhu."nunganha]</i>
what	ask-you	me	
'What did you ask me?'			

#### 2.6.4 INTONATION

Three clear intonation patterns were discerned (pitches 1 to 4 are marked on each syllable to indicate the different levels). Intonation is closely tied to stress, and to a lesser degree to length, so that a co-occurrence of rise in pitch, increase in intensity and lengthening of syllable is the expected pattern. Pitch always rises to some degree on a stressed syllable.

Though observations on pitch are based largely on Mrs Horneville's speech, it appears that the pitch of the voice in Muruwari varies more widely than in Australian English. Of the six main people recorded it could be said that the timbre of their voices is lower than the Australian English norm. Mrs Horneville was the only person who exhibited a wide range, possibly because recordings were made with her in a slightly more natural language situation than with most of the other speakers. Her intonation in interrogative sentences rose to a higher pitch than in comparable English sentences. Sometimes the pitch of a shouted sentence was particularly high (and stressed).

In Muruwari, as in American English (see K.L. Pike 'Intonation of American English') there are four recognisable levels of pitch:

- (a) low – onset of speech and utterance final (Pitch 1). A fall from mid to low was observed at times, but the conditioning factor appears to be phonological (an unstressed syllable) rather than semantic
- (b) mid – utterance-medial statement or narrative (Pitch 2)
- (c) high – rise in pitch from mid to high to indicate question or surprise (Pitch 3)
- (d) very high – a rapid escalation of pitch from mid to very high for shouted or emotive speech (Pitch 4).

##### (1) Statement intonation

Statement intonation follows the usual stress patterns of the language, where most intensity falls utterance medial, often on a verb; the pitch then falls from high to mid on secondary stress and drops to low on the final unstressed syllable.

1 1	3 3-2 1
<i>ʋhayin</i>	<i>'pal" kayi-pu</i>
this.way	comes-he
'He's coming this way.'	

##### (2) Interrogative intonation

The general pitch of an interrogative sentence changes from mid to high, and primary stress occurs at the end of the sentence, with an up-glide to very high pitch. Thus it breaks the general rule for speech onset, and begins mid, so that the pattern is mid-high-very high.

2 2	2	2 2	3	3 4
<i>ʋhayin</i>	<i>"yang-ku-ntu</i>	<i>ngaa-'ngura</i>		
towards	go-will-you	me-with		
'Do you want to come with me?'				

##### (3) Shouted intonation

Shouted intonation is used when questions are asked, when commands or information are given over a long distance, or when emotion causes a sudden rise in pitch. Associated with shouted intonation is

a lengthening of the utterance-final vowel, together with a sharp rise in pitch usually from mid to very high, with major stress as well as pitch on the last syllable.

2 2	3 2	3 3	3 3 3	2 4-4-1
\kami"yaa-yu	kapu	kantarri	ku'yaay	
catch-1	two	take	fish	
'I caught two fish!'				

## 2.7 MORPHOPHONEMIC CHANGES

### 2.7.1 CONSONANT ASSIMILATION

(1) Stops assimilate to the point of articulation of the preceding nasal

The strong pressure of homorganic nasal-stop clusters acting as unit phonemes (2.3.8) is exemplified by morphophonemic changes observable across morpheme and word junctures.

(a) Across morpheme junctures

<i>piyan-ta</i>	dress-LOC	'on the dress'
<i>wilanh-tha</i>	cloud-LOC	'on the clouds'
<i>mukinj-tju</i>	woman-ERG/INST	'woman'(ERG)
<i>piirn-rtu</i>	sinew-ERG/INST	'with the sinew'

(b) Across word junctures

Across word junctures, the most common assimilation is where word-initial interdentals assimilate to alveopalatals, as described in the following paragraph.

(2) Palatalising influence of *nj*, *y* and *i*

(a) Morpheme-initial stops may be palatalised by the preceding alveopalatal nasal:

<i>kawanj</i> +	<i>-kil</i> >	<i>kawanj-tjil</i>	(RC:43:1)	'tasteless'
taste	lacking			

(b) Word final *nj* or *i* palatalises word-initial *th* and *nh*:

underlying form	>	phonetic form		
<i>parlki + thika</i>	>	<i>parlki tjika</i>	(BC)	'my ankle
<i>yuranj + thika</i>	>	<i>yuranj tjika</i>	(RC)	'my skin'
<i>kulay + thika</i>	>	<i>kulay tjika</i>	(EH)	'my fishing net'
<i>tiinj + tharraka</i>	>	<i>tiinj tjarraka</i>		'their hole'
<i>kurli + thanara</i>	>	<i>kurli tjanara</i>	(EH.32:2)	'he was building a humpy'
<i>yanmi + nhula</i>	>	<i>yanmi njula</i>		'you two are going'

Occasionally the assimilation is to the semivowel *y*:

*yaantili* + *tharrana* > *yaantili yarrana* 'Talk to them!'  
talk to them

(c) Medial consonants may be optionally palatalised in an *i-i* environment:

orthographic form		optional form		
<i>milkiri</i>	>	<i>miltjiri</i>	(RC)	'small black ant'
<i>tiki</i>	>	<i>titji</i>	(EH)	'young of a species'
<i>yintila</i>	>	<i>yinjila</i>	(JB)	'when it is...'

## 2.7.2 VOWEL ASSIMILATION

(1) Influence of semivowel *y*

Word-initial or morpheme-initial *y* may influence the final vowel *a* or *u* of the previous word or morpheme to assimilate to *i*:

*partala yungkuna* > *partali yungkuna*  
tomorrow we will go  
'We will go tomorrow.'

*kamilku* + *yu* is heard as *kamilkiyu*  
will return + I  
'I will return.'

(Sim records many examples of this type of assimilation.)

(2) Influence of *u*:

(a) Lenition of word-initial and word-medial peripheral stops to *w* is frequently experienced in the environment of *u*; (this may be one conditioning factor for the seemingly free fluctuation discussed in 2.2.5):

( <i>y</i> ) <i>intu</i>	<i>wantara-ntu</i>	(from <i>bantara-ntu</i> 'you killed')	
you	you killed		
	'You killed it.'		
<i>puthamaa</i>	>	<i>wuthamaa</i>	(JB) 'aunty'
<i>tukungka</i>	>	<i>tuwungka</i>	(RC) 'in the stomach'
<i>nupa</i>	>	<i>nuwa</i>	(EH) 'wife'
<i>wankinapu</i>	>	<i>wankinawu</i>	(JB) 'he is howling'
<i>skuulku</i>	>	<i>skuulwu</i>	(EH) 'to school'
<i>yukanh</i>	>	<i>yuwanh</i>	(BC) 'cloud'
<i>nhuntukantu</i>	>	<i>nhuntuwantu</i>	(EH) 'you are blocking the door'
<i>wartuku</i>	>	<i>wartuwu</i>	(EH.59:3) 'to the waterhole'

(b) Word-initial velar nasals may become *w* by assimilation to *u*:

*warramiyu warntu* (from *ngarntu* 'river')  
I fall river  
'I'm going down river.'

<i>pantaray</i>	<i>punha</i>	<i>mathantu</i>	<i>wartku</i>	(from <i>ngartku</i> )
I hit	him	with stick	wallaroo	
'I hit the wallaroo with a stick.'				

### 2.7.3 ELISION

Muruwari abounds in examples of elided speech. In fast or careless speech, individual words or utterances may occur in an altered form to that which occurs in 'correct' Muruwari. Speed of utterance is the main reason for the changed form. Besides the loss of word-initial consonants (2.3.3 (3)), and vowel elision which produces an initial or final consonant cluster (2.3.2), Muruwari frequently loses a vowel from a word or a sentence, and in the process may produce a triple consonant cluster:

<i>purin-purin</i>	>	<i>brn-brn</i>	'winding'
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#### (1) Elision within the word

Some words have lost a final syllable and exist in an acceptable shortened form:

<i>kutumpa</i>	>	<i>kutu</i>	'codfish'
<i>ngariya</i>	>	<i>ngari</i>	'that'

Others have lost a medial CV syllable. If a syllable begins with a semivowel, it is more likely to lose that CV. The following examples show the loss of *wa*, *wi*, *ya*, *yi* and *ku*:

<i>kuruwal</i>	>	<i>kurrul</i>	'blackcurrant'
<i>wirruwinj</i>	>	<i>wirrunj</i>	'budgerigar'
<i>piyankara</i>	>	<i>piinkara</i>	'asked'
<i>kuyinjpuru</i>	>	<i>kunjpuru</i>	'straight-leafed currant bush'
<i>kurrukuru</i>	>	<i>kurruru</i>	'native companion'

Sometimes the vowel of the previous syllable is lengthened as in the third example above.

#### (2) Elision within the sentence

Sentence elision occurs in rapid speech when two identical or similar sounds truncate at word boundaries and a whole syllable is lost. For example:

<i>yalanj yintiyu</i>	>	<i>ya'layntiyu</i>	(BC)	'I have a beard.'
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#### (3) Consonant reduction

Consonant reduction is a similar phenomenon. It too occurs across morpheme and word junctures when two like consonants or two consonants of similar articulation come together and the initial consonant of the second word is lost:

<i>yaman</i> + <i>ni</i>	>	<i>yamani</i>
one sit		
'one sitting'		
<i>thayin yan-ti-pu</i>	>	<i>thayin 'antipu</i>
towards come-is-he		
'He's coming this way.'		

#### 2.7.4 VOWEL LENGTHENING

When a disyllabic noun ending in *a* is suffixed by *-ku* ‘purposive’, ‘possessive’, ‘allative’, the final *a* is lengthened to *aa*.

<i>ngurra-ku</i> camp-ALL	>	<i>ngurraagu</i>	‘to camp’
<i>kuya-ku</i> fish-DAT	>	<i>guyaagu</i>	‘for fish’

Compare these sentences with a word suffixed by the locative which does not cause the final *a* of the stem to lengthen:

<i>ngurra-ngka</i> camp-LOC	>	<i>ngurrangga</i>	‘at the camp’
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#### 2.7.5 VOWEL HARMONY

Muruwari appears to favour vowel as well as consonant harmony (2.2.5 (2)). It is not clear under what conditions the harmony works, but both high vowels are affected. There is no influence of the high vowels or the semivowels to explain the change from, for example, *u* to *i*, as in the following example spoken in isolation:

*yantipi* (instead of the expected *yantipu*)  
‘He is going.’ (RC)

There are numerous other examples, often sentence medial, that cannot be accounted for phonologically or morphologically. One supposes that perhaps the final syllable has been affected by the vowel in the middle syllable of the word.





## 3.1 NOUNS

## 3.1.1 STRUCTURE OF NOUNS

Nouns may be suffixed for number, person, diminutive, possession and emphasis, as well as for case, the most significant of the modifications. In common with neighbouring languages, nouns consist of stem plus inflection (except that absolutive case is unmarked); stems consist of root plus one or more optional suffixes.

Noun suffixation is in the following order:

ROOT +/- Number, Person etc. + CASE +/- Emphasis or Personaliser

- 3.1 *pawarra-pu-∅-ki*  
kangaroo-3sg-ABS-EMP  
'the old man (red) kangaroo' (EH.24:7)
- 3.2 *tungkun-∅ wathul-kampaa-ku kaa-nga puka*  
billy-ABS old man-that-GEN carry-IMP 3sgGEN  
'Carry the old man's billy can.' (EH.4C)

[Note: -∅ to indicate absolutive case is not marked in the rest of the data.]

## 3.1.2 NUMBER, SPECIFIER AND GENDER

Most noun roots take the same form for singular as for plural:

<i>kuntarl</i>	'a dog, dogs'
<i>mayinj</i>	'a man, men'

There are, however, a number of suffixes which function as specifiers of number or persons: dual, plural, 'a number of', 'that specific one' etc. Some of these, like *purral* 'dual' and *kalkaa* 'many', also sometimes operate as free forms. The number specifier suffixes are:

<i>-purral</i> 'dual, two, a pair'			
(also a Kamilaraay suffix – Austin personal communication)			
<i>mukinj</i>	'woman'	<i>mukinj-purral</i>	'a pair of women'
<i>-kalkaa</i> 'many, all' (more than three)			
<i>kuthara</i>	'child'	<i>kuthara-kalkaa</i>	'all, many children'
<i>-(m)puwan</i> 'person'			
<i>mayinj</i>	'man'	<i>mayinj-puwan</i>	'he, male person'
<i>kuni</i>	'female'	<i>kuni-mpuwan</i>	'she, female person'
<i>-thana</i> 'several'			
<i>kula</i>	'kangaroo'	<i>kula-thana</i>	'several kangaroos' (JB.78B)
<i>-yira</i> 'plural, they'			
<i>milamila</i>	'pitiable'	<i>kuthara milamila-yira</i>	'poor little kids' (EH.37:5)

-*yira* also suffixes adjectives to derive nouns (see 3.6.1(a)).

-*pu* 'he, she, it' sentence 3.1 above.

The specifier suffix [-*kaampa/raampa* 'that particular one'] modifies nouns and adjectives (see also 3.6.1(b)):

Noun:

<i>kuwinj</i>	'white man'	
<i>kuwinj-kaampa</i>	'that particular white man'	
<i>kuni-kaampa-purral</i>	'(those) two girls'	(EH.27:1)

Adjective:

<i>kitji-kaampa waan</i>	'a small stick'
<i>wuta-raampa mayinj</i>	'a short man'

Number may also be indicated by:

(a) a partial or complete reduplication of some 'personal' noun roots:

<i>wathul</i>	'old man'	<i>wathul-wathul</i>	'old men'
<i>kuthara</i>	'child'	<i>kuthara-kuthara</i>	'children'
<i>kapal</i>	'old person'	<i>kapal-kapal</i>	'old people'

Notice also:

<i>mukinj</i>	'woman'	<i>mukatinj</i>	'women'
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(b) an NP in which the repeated noun is linked by *ngara* 'and'. (For evidence that *ngara* is a separate word see 6.2.)

<i>ngurrunj ngara ngurrunj</i>	'a lot of emus'	(JB)
<i>kula ngara kula</i>	'a lot of kangaroos'	(JB)
<i>kapunj ngara kapunj</i>	'a lot of eggs'	
<i>ngapa ngara ngapa</i>	'much water'	
<i>purtu ngara purtu</i>	'much rain'	

As outlined in 3.1.1, these number and specifier suffixes always precede case suffixation.

Gender is specified by the word for 'male' and 'female' being placed after the noun, as, for example, a female animal is specified by *kuni* following the species' name:

<i>kuntarl kuni</i>	'a female dog'
<i>kula kuni</i>	'a female kangaroo'

Mathews (1903b:180) quotes the male of animal species being expressed as:

<i>kuntarl thankur</i>	'a male dog'
------------------------	--------------

This term has not been encountered in the more recent data; *kuni* however, occurs with some frequency to refer to a girl or woman, as in: *kuni yantipu* 'A woman is going along.'

### 3.1.3 DIMINUTIVE

The suffix *-tji* on a noun suggests a quality of smallness, or a portion of, or a younger version of the thing named. It is probably derived from *pitji* meaning 'young ones'.

<i>ngurrunj</i>	'emu'	<i>ngurrunj-tji</i>	'a piece of emu'
<i>milinj</i>	'mud'	<i>milinj-tji</i>	'small humps of mud'
<i>wirruwinj</i>	'budgerigar'	<i>wirruwinj-tji</i>	'young budgerigars'
<i>pulkunj</i>	'belongings'	<i>pulkunj-tji</i>	'a number of (small) things'

In some instances, reduplication of a noun root can also signify the diminutive:

<i>ngantu</i>	'river'	<i>ngantu-ngantu</i>	'gutter, tributary'
<i>kantu</i>	'gully'	<i>kantu-kantu</i>	'a little gully'

### 3.1.4 POSSESSION

Nouns may show possession in several different ways. These are discussed under the genitive case of nouns and pronouns (3.2.4 (3) and 4.1.3 respectively). Dixon (1980:300,321) has suggested that possession (usually labelled genitive case) should be classed as a derivational suffix rather than an inflection, because it functions rather like a derived adjective. However, the genitive in Muruwari is clearly case. This is indicated by the formal marker *-ku* being part of the multi-faceted dative/allative/genitive case, and the distinctiveness of the genitive pronouns.

Muruwari has two main ways of showing possession:

- (a) with the possessive pronoun following the noun, as in: *munta puka* 'bag his' (discussed under pronouns, section 4.5)
- (b) with the suffix *-ku* attached to the possessor person or thing, followed by the thing that is possessed.

### 3.1.5 EMPHASIS

(see under clitics, section 6.3.1)

### 3.1.6 GENERAL COMMENTS ON NOUN SUFFIXATION

Further noun suffixation is considered below, according to the functional importance of the suffixes:

- the nuclear cases (3.2)
- the peripheral cases (3.3)
- the stem-forming suffixes (3.4)
- other nominal suffixes (3.5).

TABLE 3.1: NOUN SUFFIXES

NUCLEAR CASES:		
absolute		-∅
ergative/instrumental		-ngku, -thu, -tu, -tju, -u
locative		-ngka, -tha, -ta, -tja, -a
dative/allative/genitive		-ku
PERIPHERAL CASES:		
ablative (ABL)		-ngu, -mil
elative (ELA)		-nga
STEM-FORMING SUFFIXES		
comitatives:	'having'	-pira/-pita, -yira/-yita -thulu/-tjulu -puru -piil
abessive:	'lacking'	-kil, -til, -tjil
comparison:	'like'	-kala
	'very'	-paki
	excessive	-marri
	intensifiers	-tu, -ra -pilaa
OTHER NOMINAL SUFFIXES:		
	personalisers	-ka -nha
	nominalisers	-n/-nj -l

### 3.2 THE CASE SYSTEM: NUCLEAR CASES

The Muruwari case system holds few surprises for those who are familiar with Pama-Nyungan Aboriginal languages. Table 3.1 indicates the extent and form of case and other suffixation. It reveals that case markers may cover a range of functions (e.g. ergative/instrumental, dative/allative/genitive) and are the same forms as in a host of other languages. Locative case has been listed with the more obvious nuclear cases because of its widespread usage with intransitive verbs, frequently carrying a meaning beyond the semantics of 'location'. (This is what is implied in the term 'incongruent' case, Diagram B). The association of transitive verbs with absolutive/ergative case finds a parallel in the association of intransitive verbs with absolutive/locative case.

Nuclear cases carry the main syntactic functions of a sentence. Four cases perform these functions: the absolutive and ergative cases carry the weight of subject and object functions; dative case expresses indirect object and, as stated above, locative case carries some parallel functions in intransitive verbs to the cases associated with transitive verbs. Instrumental case has the same form as ergative, and its function as agent is closely associated with that of ergative as the subject of a transitive verb.

These cases are so important to Muruwari syntax that a noun marked for case may carry the full meaning of a sentence without a verb indicating the action. A verbless sentence may occur with any of the main cases:

- 3.3     *witji*        *ngara*     *wii-ngku*        *nganhu*  
 meat-ABS    DEF        fire-ERG/INSTR   lsgACC  
 'I'm (going to cook) meat.' (JB.35M:1)
- 3.4     *thawin-tu*        *ngara*     *mathan*  
 tomahawk-INSTR   DEF        branch-ABS  
 '(Cut) the branch with the tomahawk.'
- 3.5     *tira-ngka*     *ngara*     *mayinj*  
 where-LOC   DEF        man-ABS  
 'Where is the man (standing)?' (JB.2B)

See also examples 3.59 and 3.102.

The Muruwari nominal system is basically absolutive-ergative, that is, the intransitive subject and the object are both represented by a noun in unmarked absolutive case, but the transitive subject is in the ergative case. Dixon (1980:293ff) names the noun phrases (NPs) carrying these functions as follows:

intransitive subject:	function S (subject)
transitive subject:	function A (agent)
object:	function O (object)

These terms will be used throughout this grammar.

Diagrammatically the functions are:

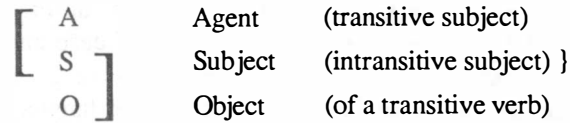


DIAGRAM A

Besides a grammatical, congruent case distinction, Muruwari, like many other Australian languages, makes a semantic, incongruent case distinction. It may be diagrammed like this:

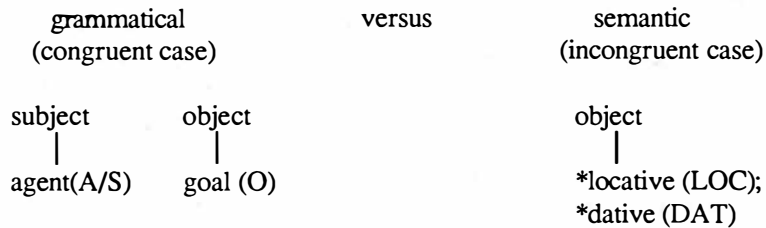


DIAGRAM B

\*From a European point of view, these case markings can only be understood as idiomatic expressions of the Muruwari life view.

The pronominal system, in contrast, is basically nominative-accusative, that is, both intransitive and transitive subjects are represented by nominative case pronouns, and the object by accusative case pronouns. Singular number, however, uses both nominal and pronominal systems (4.2.1).

TABLE 3.2: CASE NOUNS					
	'earth'	'man'	'limb'	'dog'	'cloud'
NUCLEAR CASES					
Abs:	<i>mayi</i>	<i>mayinj</i>	<i>mathan</i>	<i>kuntarl</i>	<i>yukanh</i>
Erg/ Inst:	<i>mayingku</i>	<i>mayintju</i>	<i>mathantu</i>	<i>kuntarlu</i>	<i>yukanthu</i>
Loc:	<i>mayinka</i>	<i>mayintja</i>	<i>mathanta</i>	<i>kuntarla</i>	<i>yukantha</i>
Dat/All/ Gen:	<i>mayiku</i>	<i>mayinjku</i>	<i>mathanku</i>	<i>kuntarlku</i>	<i>yukanku</i>
PERIPHERAL CASES					
Abl:	<i>mayingu</i>	<i>mayinjngu</i>	<i>mathanngu</i>	<i>kuntarlngu</i>	<i>yukanngu</i>
Ela:	<i>mayinga</i>	<i>mayinjnga</i>	<i>mathannga</i>	<i>kuntarlnga</i>	<i>yukannga</i>

## 3.2.1 ABSOLUTIVE CASE

## (1) Function

As with most Pama-Nyungan languages, the chief syntactic functions of a sentence are fulfilled by the absolutive and ergative cases. The absolutive case functions as:

- the subject of an intransitive verb
- the object of a transitive verb.

It is realised by a zero morpheme  $-\emptyset$ .

In contrast, the ergative/instrumental case functions with transitive verbs as:

- the animate/human agent, marking subject (ergative)
- the inanimate/non-human instrument (instrumental).

## INTRANSITIVE SUBJECT

- 3.6 *kurrukurru kuthara paangki-yira*  
 all-ABS child-ABS swim-3pl  
 'All the children are swimming.'

## TRANSITIVE SUBJECT

## TRANSITIVE OBJECT

- 3.7 *mayin-tju yima-pu-na pakul*  
 man-ERG stop-3sg-LCL rock-ABS  
 'The man stopped the rock (from rolling on us).'

- 3.8 *kuntarl-u yita-a mayinj*  
 dog-ERG bite-3sgP man-ABS  
 'The dog bit the man.'

## (2) Absolutive NPs

Absolutive NP functioning as subject consists of noun only, or adjective + noun, as in example 3.5 and in:

(ABS NP in S function)

- 3.9 *marri yinta-yita marrinj kuthara-kalkara*  
 good be-3pl good-ABS child-SPEC  
 'Those are good children.'

Frequently the subject is omitted because what is being referred to is known.

In object function, however, an absolutive NP is usually manifested by an object pronoun preceding the noun object, or divided from it by the verb (see section 3.8.3). The following example is typical:

(ABS NP in O function)

- 3.10 *purri-ta punha mathan*  
 chop-IMP 3sgACC tree-ABS  
 'Chop the tree down.' (lit. 'chop it tree')

## 3.2.2 ERGATIVE/INSTRUMENTAL CASE

## (1) Form

Ergative/instrumental case is manifested by the following allomorphs:

-*ngku* follows vowels and (apparent) semivowels:

<i>kuthara</i>	'child'	ERG:	<i>kuthara-ngku</i>
<i>kamay</i>	'yam'	INSTR:	<i>kamay(i)-ngku</i>

-*tu* follows alveolar and retroflex nasals:

<i>kaan</i>	'snake'	ERG:	<i>kaan-tu</i>
<i>muwarn</i>	'younger brother'	ERG:	<i>muwarn-tu</i>

-*thu* follows interdental nasals:

<i>wilanh</i>	'sp. of cloud'	ERG:	<i>wilan-thu</i>
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-*tju* follows alveopalatal nasals:

<i>mayinj</i>	'man'	ERG:	<i>mayin-tju</i>
---------------	-------	------	------------------

-*u* follows laterals and rhotics:

<i>kuntarl</i>	'dog'	ERG:	<i>kuntarl-u</i>
<i>kurlur</i>	'widow'	ERG:	<i>kurlur-u</i>

## (2) Ergative function

An ergative subject is always a person or other living creature who is the agent of the action of a transitive verb. A noun substitute (pronoun or adjective) functioning ergatively also carries the ergative case.

Sometimes a transitive sentence expresses a subject (A function) but not an object (O function), though an object is always implied in a transitive sentence. Absence of an expressed object occurs in two different situations:

(i) where the meaning is obvious because of the situation

- 3.11 *pili-tji-na kurru-kurru-ngku*  
 dig-INVOL-1pl all-REDUP-ERG  
 'We'll all dig (it, the hole). (EH.69:3)

(ii) where natural phenomena are concerned

- 3.12 *wangin-tju panti-pu wala ngara niya-ntu waan-ta*  
 lightning-ERG strike+PR-3sg NEG and so sit-2sg tree-LOC  
 'Lightning is striking; don't sit under a tree.'

- 3.13 *pali-n-ta-ka marnta-ngku*  
 die-R-P.OPT-CAUS cold-INSTR/ERG  
 'He's dead; the cold must have killed him.' (EH.63:1)

Dixon (1976:313) suggests such sentences dealing with natural phenomena use ergative case, but the suffix could just as easily be interpreted as being instrumental case; that is, the sentences could be



translated, 'it is striking with lightning' (3.12) and 'He was killed by the cold.' (3.13). These examples illustrate how close is the semantic as well as the formal tie between the instrumental and the ergative case.

In conversation, a single noun in ergative case is sufficient to indicate a full transitive sentence, as in the following question and reply:

- 3.14 *yintu pa-n-ta-ra-ntu kuntarl*  
 2sgNOM kill-R-P.OPT-COMPL-2sg dog-ABS  
 'Did you kill the dog?'  
*wala, kuwin-tju*  
 NEG white man-ERG  
 'No, the white man (did)!'

### (3) Transitive verb with unmarked subject

The fact that a transitive sentence seems sometimes to occur with an absolutive NP as subject suggests the presence of an antipassive construction. But the scarcity of absolutive NPs in S function in the whole corpus makes this theory very hard to substantiate, as does the fact that those sentences that might reflect the antipassive cannot now be checked. No clearly defined antipassive marker has been discovered in the verb, but some sentences carry NPs with cases (as genitive or locative) typical of an antipassive construction. The following examples are given for the interest of the linguist.

- 3.15 *pula-ku nhurra mukinj ngaa-n-ta*  
 dual-DAT/GEN this-ABS woman-ABS bear-R-P.OPT  
 'This woman has borne twins.'  
 3.16 *wathul tharrka-ta wala tuwi-n-tji-ra*  
 old man-ABS tell-P.OPT NEG move-R-INVOL-CO.ORD  
 'The old man told them not to move.'

### (4) Suffixation of ergative NPs

An ergative noun phrase consists of a head word and one or two other words. Phrases where a numeral plus a noun or nouns in apposition occur suffix each word, because either (as well as both) clearly indicates the agent of the action:

#### (a) numeral + noun

- 3.17 *kapu-ngku mayin-tju pa-n-ta-ra-pula punha*  
 two-ERG men-ERG kill-R-P.OPT-COMPL-3du 3sgACC  
 'Two men killed him.' (EH.24:7)

#### (b) nouns in apposition

- 3.18 *paka punha kula-ngku ngardku-ngku*  
 rip 3sgACC kangaroo-ERG wallaroo-ERG  
 'The wallaroo ripped him (the dog) apart.'

#### (c) adjective/demonstrative + noun

If the NP contains a word subordinate to the head (a demonstrative or adjective), usually the head noun only is marked for ergative:

- 3.19 *panti punha ngariya mayin-tju*  
strike+PR 3sgACC that man-ERG  
'That man is hitting him.' (EH.23:2)
- 3.20 *ngara kitju kula-ngku pili-ya tiinj*  
DEF small kangaroo-ERG dig-P.DEC hole-ABS  
'A small kangaroo is digging a hole.' (RC.8:1)

## (5) Instrumental function

The instrumental case functions in a parallel way to the ergative case except that the subject is always inanimate.

Instrumental case is usually translated 'with' (that is, with the tool used to perform the action). As with ergative case, nouns marked for instrumental case usually precede the verb in sentence-initial position. The sentence focus is thus on the instrument that performed the action.

## (a) implements or artifacts as instruments:

- 3.21 *thawin-tju purri-pu wii*  
tomahawk-INSTR chop-3sg fire-ABS  
'He's chopping firewood with a tomahawk.' (EH.40:1)
- 3.22 *mangka-ngku pa-ng-ka-ra nganha*  
bone-INSTR hit-R-CAUS-COMPL 1sgACC  
'He hit me with a bone.' (RC.72:3)
- 3.23 *kuliya-ngku pingka-nja ngapa thaa-li-ya*  
spear-INSTR pierce-1sgNOM+3sgACC water-ABS drink-TRS-P.OPT  
'I speared (the emu) while he was drinking.' (EH.17:12)

## (b) natural material as instrument:

- 3.24 *yawi-ngku kunkay-n-ma-ra wii*  
grass-INSTR cover-R-VBS-IMP fire-ABS  
'Cover the fire with grass.' (EH.12:9)

## (c) bodily parts as instrument:

Instrumental case is also used with body parts if they are passively involved, otherwise the ablative case is employed (see 3.3.1 (2)(e)):

- 3.25 *murntu-ngku niyaa-yu*  
buttocks-INSTR sit+P-1sg  
'I sat down on my behind.' (EH.40:4)

Instrumental case occasionally occurs on an NP in an intransitive sentence where the NP is regarded as the instrument of the verb, as:

- 3.26 *kami-la-ntu muruwari-ngku yaa-n-ku-ntu*  
return-when-2sg Muruwari-INSTR talk-R-FUT-2sg  
'When you return you will be able to speak Muruwari.' (EH.35:6)

## 3.2.3. LOCATIVE CASE

## (1) Form

Locative case allomorphs occur with noun root endings phonologically harmonious to them, patterning in a similar way to the ergative-instrumental suffixes, but with the vowel *a* in place of the vowel *u*.

<i>-ngka</i>	occurs with nouns ending in vowels or semivowels
<i>-tha</i>	occurs with nouns ending in interdental nasals
<i>-tja</i>	occurs with nouns ending in alveopalatals
<i>-ta</i>	occurs with nouns ending in alveolar or retroflex nasals
<i>-a</i>	occurs with nouns ending in liquids or rhotics

## (2) Function

The Aboriginal concept of time-location being a unity composed of two aspects is in Muruwari as in other languages. That is, time is measured as distance, and distance in terms of time. Though no clear evidence has established that Muruwari recognised three distances – close, mid and far – some morphemes seem to indicate that this was so. Such a view fits neatly into the time/location scheme of:

today	/	here
yesterday	/	there
tomorrow-and-beyond	/	further

Or we may speak of:

the present-ness of time or location
more distant time or location
far distant time or location

This is partially illustrated by the use of the locative suffix with nouns and adjectives to express the general time/location concept:

TIME		LOCATION	
<i>thuri-ngka</i> sun-LOC	‘today, daytime, all day, in the day’	<i>nhuu-ngka</i> this-LOC	‘here’
<i>yurrin-tja</i> night-LOC	‘tonight, night-time, all night, in the night’	<i>nhurran-ta</i> that-LOC	‘there’
		<i>nhungan-ta</i> there-LOC	‘there’
<i>partala-ngka</i> tomorrow-LOC	‘morning’	<i>tira-ngka</i> where-LOC	‘where’
<i>kun-ta</i> ?-LOC	‘yesterday’	<i>paru-ngka</i> down-LOC	‘down river’
<i>kun-ta-kun-ta</i> ?-LOC-REDUP	‘afternoon’	<i>karan-ta</i> across-LOC	‘across river’
<i>pimayi-ngka</i> ?-LOC	‘afternoon’ (EH)	<i>muku-ngka</i> stomach-LOC	‘inside’

<i>kiyarn-ta</i> moon-LOC	'in the moonlight' (at night)	<i>pala-ngka</i> plains-LOC	'outside'
		<i>pila-ngka</i> back-LOC	'behind'

## (3) Locative NP expressing specific position

The prime function of locative case on an NP is to express where an action happens in place and time. The case covers a wide range of positions: 'at', 'on', 'in', 'in through', 'up in', 'to', 'up to' a particular location in place or time.

The location expressed may be:

## (a) 'in' (ground level)

3.27 *niya-ra-yita ngurra-ngka*  
sit-COMPL-3pl camp-LOC  
'They are sitting down in camp.'

3.28 *warra-yu thinkal-ta*  
fall-1sg knee-LOC  
'I fell on my knees.'

## (b) 'in'/'into' (position down)

3.29 *muu-ri-yu para-ngka*  
cook-INCOM-1sg hole-LOC  
'I am cooking in the hole.' (EH.12:8)

## (c) 'onto' (position down)

3.30 *warra-a-pu mayi-ngka*  
fall-P-3sg ground-LOC  
'He fell to the ground.'

## (d) 'in'/'up to' (position up)

3.31 *kula-pu mathan-ta*  
climb-3sg tree-LOC  
'He's climbing the tree.'

3.32 *ngapa kan-ta mirrimirri-ngka*  
water high-LOC bank-LOC  
'The water (rose) high, level with the bank.' (EH.68:4)

## (e) 'in through' (position through)

3.33 *nhaa-yi-l thurri palka-la-a pantan-tja*  
see-PR-? sun-ABS come-when-3sg hole-LOC  
'I see the sun coming in through a hole (in the tin).' (EH.69:3)

## (4) Other functions of a locative case NP

## (a) Describing times and seasons

3.34 *taki-li-na pakin-ta yuurinj-tja*  
drive-HAB-1pl buggy-LOC night-LOC  
'We used to drive in the buggy at night.' (EH.19:1)

3.35 *kalathari-mu-ku-na yuurinj-tja kiyarn-ta*  
hunt-PROG-FUT-1pl night-LOC moon-LOC  
'We'll go hunting in the moonlight.'

3.36 *minjan-ta waanpi-ntu*  
what-LOC wait-2sg  
'What are you waiting for?' (EH.75:1)

## (b) Expressing desire for food and drink

In certain verbs, the semantic goal is marked by the locative case (see 3.2 Diagram B).

3.37 *ngapa-ngka pali-yu*  
water-LOC die-lsg  
'I'm thirsty.'

The locative case in the above example says 'dying IN water', meaning 'dying from lack of water'. Though 'water-LOC' suggests the presence of water, the expression actually means its absence. Barbara Sayers (private communication) says Wik-Muncan boasts a very similar expression. In Ngiyambaa also (Donaldson 1980:175-177), whatever is eaten or drunk occurs in the locative case.

3.38 *ya-n-mi-pu tha-tha-ri-mi-na-a ngurrun-tja*  
go-R-PROG-3sg eat-REDUP-INCOM-PROG-LCL-3sg emu-LOC  
'(That fellow) is going along eating emu.' (EH.145M:1)

3.39 *wanki-pu ngapa-ngka piya-n-tji-pu ngapa-ngka*  
cry-3sg water-LOC ask-R-DESIRE-3sg water-LOC  
'He's crying out for water; he's asking for water.'

3.40 *kanturl pali-yu pirru ngurrun-tja parna-ngka*  
hunger die-1sg very emu-LOC goanna-LOC  
'I'm very hungry for (a feed of) emu (and) goanna.'

This last sentence may also be expressed with the dative case form as the semantic goal of the verb (see 3.83).

## (c) Complement of an intransitive verb

Some other intransitive verbs have similar case marking in the locative. Locative case marks the complement of an intransitive verb when the verb focuses beyond the action. For instance, one sings or dances 'at' a corroboree, catches 'at' fish, listens or talks 'at' people, etc. These expressions suggest position within the circumstance of the action.

3.41 *kuntarl warluwi-pu mayin-tja*  
dog-ABS bark-3sg man-LOC  
'The dog is barking at the man.' (EH.84:1)

- 3.42 *yunki-n-tjira kurrka-ngka*  
sing-R-DESIRE corroboree song-LOC  
'He's going to sing a corroboree song.'
- 3.43 *kurrka-ngka kirri-ya-a yn!n!n!n!*  
corroboree-LOC dance-P.DEC-3sg, yn!n!n!  
'He danced a corroboree, yn!n!n!n!' (EH.14:3)
- 3.44 *nhaa-yi-li pungu kayipa-la-ntu kuya-ngka*  
see-PR.DEC-TRS 2sgACC catch-while-2sg fish-LOC  
'While you were catching fish, I was watching you.' (EH.11:6)
- 3.45 *pinathina-y mayinj-tja*  
listen-1sg man-LOC  
'I'm listening to the men.'
- 3.46 *pinathina-ni-pu ngariya yaa-li-pula-la mayinj-tja*  
listen-PR-3sg there talk-RECIP-3du-when men-LOC  
'He's listening to the two men talking.'
- 3.47 *kirrin puka pitara kalatharri-pu witji-ngka*  
husband-ABS 3sgGEN good-ABS hunt-3sg meat-LOC  
'Her husband is a good hunter.' (lit. 'hunts well for meat')

If the directional focus of an intransitive verb is towards people, animals or things, the NP occurs in the locative case:

- 3.48 *mukinj thanki-ya-a naypa-ku kirin-tja puka*  
woman-ABS ran-P-3sg knife-DAT husband-LOC 3sgGEN  
'The woman ran to her husband for the knife.'
- 3.49 *karra-y-ku-yu partala kuntarl-a*  
throw-R-FUT-1sg tomorrow dog-LOC  
'I will chuck it to the dogs tomorrow.' (EH.5C:3)
- 3.50 *kura-tjari-pu kuntarl-a puka*  
anger-VOL-3sg dog-LOC 3sgGEN  
'He gets angry with his dog.'
- 3.51 *kalatharri-pu wayan-ta*  
hunt-3sg honey-LOC  
'He is hunting for honey.' (EH.72:4)

In the last example, one would normally expect the NP to be in the dative case (see 3.62); the use of the locative here focuses on the honey as the object of the hunting.

#### (5) Locative NP

Locative case NPs appear to have greater freedom of suffixation than other cases. They may follow the pattern of ergative NPs, suffixing nouns in apposition; they may suffix both nouns, or mark either the head noun or the qualifying word.

(a) nouns in apposition – both words marked for case

3.52 *kula-mu-ka mathan-ta waan-ta*  
climb-PROG-IMP limb-LOC tree-LOC  
'Climb up the tree!' (EH.37:5)

3.53 *palka-a-ra ngarntu-ngka wartu-ngka*  
come-P-COMPL river-LOC hole-LOC  
'They came to a river (waterhole).' (EH.16:5)

(b) adjective + noun – both words marked for case

3.54 *ngurri-ya-a thaata-ngka ngapa-ngka*  
drown-P-3sg big-LOC water-LOC  
'He was drowned in a big lot of water.'

(c) adjective + noun – either word marked for case

3.55 *yuralmara ngurra-ngka*  
bad camp-LOC  
'in/at the bad camp' (JB)

3.56 *kitju-ngka kanta purlkuru-kalka-ra*  
small-LOC high knob-SPEC-PL  
'on little mounds' (EH.57:2)

(d) noun + noun – the first noun is marked for case, and may act, as in example 3.57, like an adjective qualifying the following noun:

3.57 *thinkal-a ngapa*  
knee-LOC water  
'knee-high water' (EH)

3.58 *pila-ngka murrinj*  
back-LOC bark  
'behind the bark' (JB)

### 3.2.4 THE DATIVE/ALLATIVE/GENITIVE CASE *-ku*

At surface level, dative, allative and genitive cases do not seem to be akin apart from the formal marker. The fact that the three cases are suffixed by *-ku* indicates that they are three different manifestations of the one structure. The data also evidences some semantic overlap; in a number of examples there is no clear indication whether the gloss is 'for' (dative), 'to' (allative) or 'possessing' (genitive).

#### (1) DATIVE CASE FUNCTION

Dative case has several grammatical and semantic functions. The general meaning of the dative is for a person or thing, or for the purpose of benefiting someone or obtaining something.

##### (a) Purpose

The purposive meaning is at the very heart of the dative case. Its significance is indicated by the fact that a noun marked with the dative may function as a verb expressing purpose as in:

- 3.59 *ngathu-ngku ngara kuliya-ku ngara mayinj*  
 1sg-ERG FOC spear-DAT FOC man-ABS  
 'I am going out to spear a man.' (JB.4B:5-6)

Example 3.59 is unusual. Examples of the usual purposive function of dative case are:

- 3.60 *puu-l-ku-yu mathan wayan-ku*  
 chop-R-FUT-1sg tree-ABS honey-DAT  
 'I'll chop the tree down for honey.' (EH.52:3)
- 3.61 *ngapa-ku ya-na*  
 water-DAT go-IMP  
 'Go for water!'
- 3.62 *palka-a witji-ku wayan-ku manu-ku*  
 come+P-3sgP meat-DAT honey-DAT roots-DAT  
 'He came for meat, honey and edible roots.'
- 3.63 *kuumpi-yita thankana-ku*  
 dive-3pl mussels-DAT  
 'They are diving for mussels.' (EH.20:1)

The purposive meaning in the NP becomes pronounced when the verb has the future *-ku* or the progressive *-mi*, both of which carry some sense of intent:

- 3.64 *ya-n-mi-yu mariyin-pita kula-ku*  
 go-R-PROG-1sg gun-COMIT kangaroo-DAT  
 'I'm going to shoot kangaroos.' (lit. 'going-I gun-having kangaroos-for') (RS.35M)
- 3.65 *waa-ku ya-n-mi-pu*  
 work-DAT go-R-PROG-3sg  
 'He's going for work.' (EH.17:7)
- 3.66 *pitangulu-ngku miil-ku ngara ngintu ngara*  
 Bidangulu-ERG eye-DAT DEF 2sgACC DEF  
 'God will see you.' (JB)

In example 3.66, the semantic link between the purposive *-ku* on nouns and the purposive *-ku* on verbs (5.9.3) is clearly discernible.

(b) Beneficiary

The dative sometimes marks the beneficiary of an action:

- 3.67 *maa-n-ta-a puka ngariya mayinj-ku*  
 take-R-P-3sgP 3sgGEN that-ABS man-DAT  
 'He took that thing for his man.'
- 3.68 *yimpi-ya-a ngariya-ku mukinj-ku kuthara-ku*  
 leave-P.DEC-3sgP that-DAT woman-DAT child-DAT  
*kurru-kurru pakul*  
 all-REDUP-ABS money-ABS  
 'He left all the money to that woman and those kids.' (EH.23:1)



- 3.69 *palanj-ku parta-ra-a nganha*  
 nothing-DAT punch-COMPL-3sgP 1sgACC  
 'He punched me for nothing.'
- 3.70 *yukanh kala-mi-pu purtu-ku*  
 cloud-ABS come up-PROG-3sg rain-DAT  
 'Cloud is coming up; it might rain.' (lit. 'for rain') (RC.5:7)

Jimmie Barker suffixes the dative to either the noun (3.71) or the pronoun (3.72) in phrases such as:

- 3.71 *telegrama-ku puka*  
 telegram-DAT 3sgDAT  
 'a telegram for him' (lit. 'his telegram')
- 3.72 *telegrama nganha-ku*  
 telegram 1sgACC-DAT  
 'a telegram for me'

Such mobility of suffixation is characteristic of the language.

(c) Indirect object of a transitive verb

The dative serves as the indirect object of a transitive verb where there is an agent and a direct object expressed or implied. It occurs immediately before or immediately after a direct object in absolutive case. Thus, when both a direct and an indirect object are expressed concurrently, a dative NP occurs in the sentence with an O NP.

- 3.73 *maa-n-ta-a ngariya kantu-ku*  
 take-R-P.OPT-3sgP that-ABS others-DAT  
 'He took it to/for the others.'
- 3.74 *miil maa-n-ta-a kitju mukinj-purral-ku*  
 eye-ABS take-R-P.OPT-3sgP small woman-two-DAT  
 'He had his eyes on two young women.' (EH.KM (34))
- 3.75 *wiya pakul-ku ngaa-n-ta-ra nganha*  
 QN stone-DAT ask-R-P.OPT-3pl 1sgACC  
 'Do they ask me for money?'

(d) Complement of an intransitive verb

The dative is used to mark the complement of intransitive verbs that focus their action on some person or thing. The NP expressing who is spoken or talked to, what is thrown or climbed (to mention some pertinent verbs) carries the dative case.

- 3.76 *thayin ya-na kuya-ku*  
 towards walk-IMP fish-DAT  
 'Come (and eat) the fish.' (RS.34M)
- 3.77 *tharrka-a ngara kurru-kurr-ku...*  
 say+P-3sgP DEF all-REDUP-DAT  
 'He said to all...' (JB.KM (15))

- 3.78 *marli-yita kuliya-yita kiyarn-ku ngara yang-ka-ra-yita*  
 boomerang-COMIT spear-COMIT moon-DAT DEF go-CAUS-COMPL-3pl  
 'With boomerangs and spears they went after the moon.' (JB.KM(136))
- 3.79 *ngaanka-yita punha yaman-ku ngara karrawi-ra*  
 ask+P-3pl 3sgACC one-DAT DEF throw-SUBORD  
 'They asked him to throw once more.'

## (e) Expression of emotion

The dative is also used with intransitive verbs which express the cause of, or reason for, emotions of desiring, gladness or crying:

- 3.80 *mukinj-purral marrin-tjarri-ya-pula ngapa-ku*  
 women-two-ABS happy-EMOT-P-3du water-DAT  
 'The women were real glad for the water.' (EH.see 8.2.4 sentence 17)
- 3.81 *marrin-tjarri-pu witji-ku*  
 happy-EMOT-3sg meat-DAT  
 'He's glad for the meat.'
- 3.82 *wanki-yi-pula-nji ngapa-ku*  
 cry-PR-3du-IMM water-DAT  
 'They two were crying out for water.' (EH.see 8.2.4 sentence 9)
- 3.83 *kanturl pali-yu ngurrunj-ku witji-ku*  
 hunger die-1sg emu-DAT meat-DAT  
 'I'm hungry for emu meat.' (EH.29:2)

## (2) ALLATIVE CASE FUNCTION:

## (a) 'to' a place

- 3.84 *palka-a-pu ngurra-ku*  
 come-3sgP-3sg camp-ALL  
 'He came to the camp.' (EH.59:3)
- 3.85 *yalu purral kula-n-mi-pula kunthi-ku*  
 those pair-ABS climb-R-PROG-2du house-ALL  
 'The other two are going up to the house.' (EH.17:7)
- 3.86 *ya-n-mi-yu wii-ku kami-mi-yu ngurra-ku*  
 go-R-PROG-1sg fire-ALL return-PROG-1sg camp-ALL  
 'I'm going to the fire; (then) I'm returning to camp.' (EH.29:5)
- 3.87 *ya-n-ta-a pukul-ku mayi-ku*  
 go-R-P-3sgP other-ALL ground-ALL  
 'He went to another place.' (JB.74)

## (b) 'to' a time

- 3.88 *yungki-yira yurrin-tja partala-ku thurri-ku thulu*  
 sing-3pl night-LOC morning-ALL sun-ALL again  
 'They sang all night till morning.' (EH.71:4)

- 3.89 (y)impi-ta-ra partala-ku  
leave-P.OPT-IMP morning-ALL  
'Leave it till (to) morning.' (EH.74:2)
- 3.90 paran kawi-yira yurrinj-ku  
mosquito-ABS call-3pl. night-ALL  
'The mosquitoes are singing out till night comes.' (EH.19:1)

### (3) GENITIVE CASE FUNCTION

When a noun is possessed by another noun, the relationship between the two is shown by *-ku* 'belonging to' being suffixed to the possessor noun, with the person or thing possessed immediately following:

- 3.91 parimaa-ku kapunj  
swan-GEN egg-ABS  
'the swan's egg'
- 3.92 yukarta-yukarta-ku mantuwii  
sorcerer-REDUP-GEN shoes-ABS  
'the sorcerer's shoes'
- 3.93 kuwinj-ku mangka  
goanna-GEN bones-ABS  
'the goanna's bones'
- 3.94 kula-ku titji  
kangaroo-GEN young-ABS  
'the young of a kangaroo'
- 3.95 thurran-ku ngurra  
smoke-GEN camp-ABS  
'a smoky camp' (JB.56B:5)

But there are examples of the order being reversed as in:

- 3.96 mangka kakarra-ku  
quills-ABS porcupine-GEN  
'the porcupine's quills' (JB)

If the possessive noun phrase contains nouns in apposition, both nouns are suffixed, as happens with other NPs:

- 3.97 wathul-ku mayinj-ku  
old man-GEN man-GEN  
'belonging to the old man'

In an expanded noun phrase, the genitive *-ku* occurs phrase finally, in which position it gives force and cohesion to the whole phrase.

- 3.98 piyiika tharraka mayinj-purral-ku  
tobacco-ABS 3plGEN man-two-GEN  
'This tobacco belongs to those two men.'

The genitive case marker may be omitted if two nouns are juxtaposed and the ownership is obvious, such as a whole-part relationship:

3.99 *kapunj pithal*  
egg-ABS shell-ABS  
'the shell of an egg'

3.100 *kukama yukanh*  
fog-ABS cloud-ABS  
'a cloud of fog' (EH.157M:7)

#### (4) DATIVE/ALLATIVE/GENITIVE NPS

Dative and allative NPs follow the pattern of ergative case in that:

Case may be on either head or subordinate word:

3.101 *nhuu ngarntu-ku*  
this-ABS river-ALL  
(They came) 'to this river' (EH.27:4)

3.102 *thaata-ku wi*  
big-GEN fire-ABS  
(He made) 'a big fire' (possessing bigness) (JB.74B)

Except that a dative NP may suffix all words in the phrase (thereby giving emphasis or prominence to the whole phrase):

3.103 *ngariya-ku mukinj-ku kuthara-ku*  
that-DAT woman-DAT child-DAT  
'for that woman and those kids' (EH)

Nouns in apposition are both suffixed (as with other cases):

3.104 *kanturl pali-yu ngurrunj-ku witji-ku*  
hungry die-1sg emu-DAT meat-DAT  
'I am hungry for some emu meat.' (EH)

Genitive case NPs differ in a number of respects from dative/allative NPs and are discussed under pronouns (4.1.3), not here, except to note that when a genitive NP occurs in function A as the subject of a transitive verb, the possessor noun is marked with the genitive, the possessed noun with the ergative:

3.105 *nguru pingka-a punha parna-ku mangka-ngku*  
nose-ABS prick-3sgP 3sgACC porcupine-GEN quills-ERG  
'Quills of the porcupine stuck in his (the dog's) nose.'

#### (5) SUMMARY OF DATIVE/ALLATIVE/GENITIVE CASE

The following examples indicate that originally the three cases were undifferentiated. The meaning of at least two, sometimes all three of the cases is latent in each sentence.

3.106 *yimpi-yi-yu kathi kunthi-ku*  
leave-PR.OPT-1sg uncle house-ALL/DAT  
'I'm leaving, uncle, for home.'

In example 3.106 *kunthi-ku* may mean 'to the house' (allative) or 'for the purpose of going home' (dative).

- 3.107 *wiya partaparta-ku-ntu*  
 QN morning-ALL/DAT-2sg  
 'Are you (coming) in the morning?'/ 'Do you purpose (to come) in the morning?'

The dative also occurs where bodily functions are involved as in:

- 3.108 *pa-n-ta-rri-ya-nji pampa puka kuwinj-ku*  
 hit-R-P-REFL-P-IMM head-ABS 3sgGEN blood-DAT  
 'He hit his head till it bled (to blood).'

In example 3.108, *kuwinj-ku* contains elements of all three cases: it could mean 'to blood' (allative), 'for the purpose of producing blood' (dative), or that the head 'possessed' blood (genitive).

On the other hand, the cases are differentiated in example 3.109, where the 'spirit song' is clearly genitive, though the second NP could be either 'for the bark' (dative) or 'to the bark' (allative).

- 3.109 *pitjiru-ku thirra yungki-ya-a murrinj-ku*  
 spirit-GEN song-ABS sing-P-3sgP bark-DAT/ALL  
 'He sang a spirit song to the bark.' (JB.KM (109))

An unusual dative occurs in example 3.110, where the unexpressed O NP is probably *yaan* 'language':

- 3.110 *matja ngunta-a-yita Muruwari-ku wathul-wathul-u*  
 long ago know-P-3sg Muruwari-DAT old people-ERG  
 'Long ago, the old people knew Muruwari.' (EH.13:3)

### 3.3 THE CASE SYSTEM: PERIPHERAL CASES

The peripheral cases do not carry the same heavy functional load that the nuclear cases carry.

#### 3.3.1 ABLATIVE CASE

##### (1) Form

The ablative case is marked by:

- ngu* suffixing nouns
- mil* suffixing adjectives, occasionally nouns, but most frequently pronouns (see 4.7)

and is generally translated 'from'.

##### (2) Function

As dative case *-ku* is linked with the verbal future/purposive *-ku*, so the ablative case is closely linked with the verbal potential aspect, which has the same form: *-ngu*. Frequently, if *-ngu* is part of the verb, the sentence will also carry a noun in the ablative case. (See section 5.7.5, examples 5.357-5.359). Both suffixes have an underlying suggestion of fear or dread of unknown or dangerous situations.

The ablative expresses a wide range of meanings, covering the following areas:

(a) Movement away from

The ablative is most commonly found to express 'from' or 'away from' some problem, place or thing:

- 3.111 *thayin kulawi-∅ nhurra-ngu*  
away return-IMP there-ABL  
'Come back from there.' (JB.81B:2)
- 3.112 *palka-a-pu-nji kunthi-ngu*  
come-P-3sg-IMM house-ABL  
'He came out from the house.' (EH.11:3)
- 3.113 *kuwinj purrpurpi-ya-a kanta-ngu*  
white man-ABS jump-P.DEC-3sgP high-ABL  
'The white man jumped from the sky (in a parachute).' (lit. 'on high')

(b) Prior time

The ablative is time oriented as well as place oriented in that it is used to express the idea of 'from a time in the past' – another indication of the unified view of time and place so characteristic of the Muruwari.

- 3.114 *wala payi-mi-pu matja-ngu*  
NEG do-PROG-3sg time-ABL  
'It hasn't been (raining) for a long time.' (JB.6B)
- 3.115 *partala-ngu marrinj yinti-yu*  
morning-ABL good-ABS be-1sg  
'In (from) the morning, I feel good.'

(c) Expression of fear or discomfort

The ablative most characteristically occurs on nouns that are the source of some fear, discomfort, provocation or possible trouble for man or animal.

- 3.116 *karra-yu thampa-ngu*  
fear-1sg snake-ABL  
'I'm afraid of snakes.' (Tom Kelly)
- 3.117 *nhunpi-ya-na marli-ngu muru-ngu*  
hide-P.DEC-1pl boomerang-ABL nullanulla-ABL  
'We used to plant (hide) from the boomerang and the nulla-nulla.' (EH.13:9)
- 3.118 *pali-ya-pu kaarn-ngu kuntarl*  
die-P.DEC-3sg snake-ABL dog-ABS  
'The dog (bitten) by (lit. from) the snake will die.' (EH.6C:3)
- 3.119 *wirru-nga-tharri-pu purlili-ngu kuntarl*  
scratch-P-REFL-3sg fleas-ABL dog-ABS  
'The dog is scratching himself from fleas.' (EH.6C:3)

3.120 *warra-a-yu mathan-ngu*  
 fall-P-1sg stick-ABL  
 'I tripped over a stick.' (EH.4C:3)

3.121 *purpurrpi-yu marnta-ngu*  
 shiver-1sg cold-ABL  
 'I'm shivering from cold.'

The underlying negative feeling of *-ngu* is illustrated in example 3.122, where the ablative instead of the instrumental is found because the smoke from the logs relates to the 'problem' of warding off mosquitoes:

3.122 *thurran tharra-nga-mi-na mathan-ngu-ki*  
 smoke-ABS fly-P-PROG-1pl logs-ABL-EMP  
 'We want to make smoke with the logs (to ward off mosquitoes).'

(d) Nouns relating to bodily problems

The ablative is used where a part of the body suffers a blow, thus covering a type of locative function. (Compare with the occurrence of the comitative suffix 'having' when a person has control over the use of those parts (3.148 and 3.149), and with the instrumental case (3.25) above.)

3.123 *yarraaman-tu kiki-ma punha karlpa-ngu*  
 horse-ERG kick-VB 3sgACC groin-ABL  
 'A horse kicked him in the groin.' (EH.4C:1)

3.124 *pa-ng-ka-ra punha pampu-ngu*  
 hit-R-CAUS-COMPL 3sgACC head-ABL  
 'He punched him on the top of his head.' (EH.82:3)

3.125 *ngarntul-ngu maa-n-ta punha*  
 throat-ABL take-R-P.OPT 3sgACC  
 'He took him by the throat.'

(e) Instrument function

In example 3.126, the body part is the instrument, not the sufferer, but the ablative appears on the verb as well as the noun, reinforcing the case meaning. The verb carries no aspectual meaning, so *-ngu* may be a repetition of case, similar to the case marking system in Turkish verbs.

3.126 *yaa-n-ti-ngu thaa-ngu*  
 talk-R-PR.OPT-ABL mouth-ABL  
 'I'm talking with my mouth.' (RS.34M)

(f) Ablative *-mil* with nouns

The ablative suffix *-mil* is usually a pronominal suffix, but it occurs occasionally with nouns as in:

3.127 *ngintin-mil pa-ra punha*  
 mucus-ABL take-IMP 3sgACC  
 'Wipe his nose.' (lit. 'take away the mucus')

3.3.2 ELATIVE CASE *-nga* 'out of'/'from'

The elative case is very similar in meaning and distribution to the ablative, though not nearly as widely used. Its meaning differs from the ablative in that it expresses movement 'out of' a specific place (compared to ablative that expresses movement 'away from' a place or circumstances, usually for safety reasons):

- 3.128 *kutu-nga thangka yan-mi-yu marrangkal-ku*  
 Goodooga-ELA run go-PROG-1sg Weilmoringle-ALL  
 'I'm going from (out of) Goodooga to Weilmoringle.' (EH.15:2)
- 3.129 *yanta-a ngurra-nga kura-ku ngarntu ngara wartu-ku*  
 came-3sgP camp-ELA across-ALL river-ABS DEF waterhole-ALL  
 'He came from the camp to the river (at the place of) the waterhole.' (EH.59:3)
- 3.130 *warra-ku-pu west-nga*  
 fall-FUT-3sg west-ELA  
 '(The sun) will set in (out of) the west.'
- 3.131 *wala karrawi-ta pakinj-nga ngapa*  
 NEG throw-IMP bucket-ELA water-ABS  
 'Don't throw the water out of the bucket!'
- 3.132 *yipa-pula punha ngapa-nga pampa*  
 pull-3du 3sgACC water-ELA head-ABS  
*paanta-pula-na kanta ngapa-nga*  
 lift-3du-LCL high water-ELA  
 'They pulled him out of the water; they lifted (his) head out of the water.'  
 (EH.KM (11-12))

Jimmie Barker uses the suffix meaning 'from out of' a place, similar to 'out of' the west (3.130 above) in:

- 3.133 *yanta-a nhurra-nga*  
 go+P-3sg there-ELA  
 'From there he went on.' (JB.KM (91))

## 3.4 STEM-FORMING SUFFIXES

## 3.4.1 COMITATIVES

3.4.1.1 *-pita/-pira, -yita/-yira* 'having'

The comitative implies the action is carried out in company or association with some person, implement or thing. It is usually translated 'with', and is closely linked semantically with the instrumental case; the suffixes are used interchangeably, for example:

- 3.134 *kuliya-yita kuliya-ngku*  
 spear-having spear-INSTR  
 'with spears'



## (1) Form

<i>-pita/-piRa</i>	follow stem-final consonants	
<i>-yita/-yiRa</i>	follow stem-final vowels	
<i>tiyirl-pita</i>	'having a tail'	
<i>tuku-yita</i>	'pregnant' (stomach-having)	(EH.2)

It is interesting to note that Ruby Shillingsworth, in her dialect, used *-pira* consistently in all environments:

<i>pakul-pira</i>	'having money'	
<i>kukura-pira</i>	'having a fishing line'	(RS.34M:2)

## (2) Function

## (a) Deriving adjectives from nouns

The most common usage of the comitative is to describe the characteristics of:

- (i) a place
- (ii) a person

to derive an adjective which normally precedes the noun (the usual adjectival position):

- (i) *yukanh-yira*  
cloud-having 'cloudy' (JB.65B:3)
- thurran-pita*  
smoke-having 'smoky' (JB.65B:3)
- thurltu-yita*  
dust-having 'dusty'
- thirra-yita*  
teeth-having 'sharp' (JB.61B)

- 3.135 *mayi parlkiki-yita*  
ground-ABS crack-having  
'The ground is cracked.'

- 3.136 *thuu kuya-yita wartu*  
much fish-having hole-ABS  
'The river has a lot of fish in it.' (EH.13:11)

- (ii) *yarranj-pira kuwinj*  
beard-having spirit 'a bearded white man'
- nupa-yita*  
wife-having 'a married man'
- kukalanj-pita*  
limp-having 'lame, a lame person' (EH.4C:2)
- wala piin-pita*  
NEG sinew-having 'weak'

## (b) Accompaniment

*-pita/-yita* in a similar fashion means accompanied by:

- (i) a person
- (ii) a thing

(i)

3.137 *kirrinj-pira niya-ni-pula mukinj puka*  
 husband-having sit-PR-3du woman-ABS 3sgGEN  
 'The man and woman are sitting down together.' (RC)

3.138 *ya-n-mi-naa nupa-yita*  
 walk-R-PROG-LCL wife-having  
 'A man and his wife are walking along together.'

3.139 *nhura yaa-n-thirra-a mayinj-kalkaa-yita*  
 there talk-R-CONT-3sgP man-many-having  
 'There he talked with all the people.' (JB.KM (93))

3.140 *thuu kuthara-yita*  
 many children-having  
 '(She had) too many children.' (EH.26:7)

(ii)

3.141 *kiyarn-tu kaa-n-ta-a munta puka murrinj-pita yaka-ya-a*  
 moon-ERG take-R-P-3sg bag-ABS 3sgGEN bark-having cut-P-3sgP  
 'The moon took his bag with the bark he had cut.' (JB.KM (102))

3.142 *kirrkima-yu pakirr pangka-y ngapa-yita*  
 kick-1sg bucket-ABS strike+P-1sg water-having  
 'I kicked the bucket with water in it.'

## (c) Negative accompaniment

A normal way to express a negative is:

*wala* + stem + *-yita/-pira*

3.143 *wala manu-yita wala witji-yita yi-n-ti-yu*  
 NEG bread-having NEG meat-having be-R-PR-1sg  
 'I have no bread or meat.' (JB.83:4)

3.144 *wala mathan-pira*  
 NEG limb-having  
 '(There are) no sticks.'

(A less-used alternative is to express in a 'positive' statement, using the particle *palanj* 'nothing' and the abessive suffix *-kil* 'lacking' (see section 3.4.2).)

## (d) Implements

The suffix also covers the use of materials used in man's activities, be they:

- (i) elements or
- (ii) artifacts

(i)

3.145 *thira-yita kungki-ta*  
sand-having cover-IMP  
'Cover it with sand!' (JB.65)

3.146 *kula-thana thuu \_panta-ra-yu karti-yita*  
kangaroo-pl-ABS many-ABS kill+P-COMPL-1sg poison-having  
'I killed a lot of kangaroos with poison.' (JB.78B)

(ii)

3.147 *mayinj ngara palka-a marli-yita*  
man-ABS DEF come+P-3sg boomerang-having  
'The man came with a boomerang.'

3.148 *kartu-kartu purrpi-ya-a thawinj-pira*  
quickly-REDUP jump-P.DEC-3sgP tomahawk-having  
'He jumped quickly with his tomahawk.'

## (e) Body parts

If body parts are involved, the comitative rather than the instrumental is used:

3.149 *yaman piki-yita yi-n-ti-pu*  
one arm-having be-R-PR-3sg  
'He has only one arm.' (JB.66B)

3.150 *ngathu panta-rru-yu marnku-yita*  
lsgNOM hit-REFL-1sg elbow-having  
'I hit myself with my elbow.'

3.4.1.2 *-thulu/-tjulu* 'having'

The suffix *-thulu* is another 'having' suffix but its function is limited to describing the properties or qualities of the noun which the derived stem/adjective qualifies, similar to the adjectival function of *-yira/pira*.

*mangka-thulu kuya*  
bone-having fish-ABS  
'bony fish' (EH.42:4)

*milinj-thulu ngapa*  
mud-having water-ABS  
'muddy water' (EH.20:7)

*parntin-thulu piyan*  
 dirt-having clothes-ABS  
 'dirty clothes' (RS.34M:3)

*kawanj-tin-thulu*  
 taste-?-having  
 'sweet smell'

*wala yukanh panta-tjulu*  
 not cloud sky-having  
 'a cloudless day'

*-thulu* may mean 'having only the properties of (the root word) and no others', as in:

- 3.151 *kiyira kapu-l-thulu*  
 turkey-ABS two-NS-having  
 'The turkey (has) only two children.' (EH.10:8)
- 3.152 *kapu-thulu nguni-pula*  
 two-only lie+PR-3du  
 '(There are) only two lying there.' (EH.64:2)
- 3.153 *ngana-thulu kuumpi-na*  
 1pl-only wash-1pl  
 'We only are bogeying (not you).' (EH.17:12)

#### 3.4.1.3 *-puru* 'having'

The suffix is found with only one adjective, *talanj/taranj* 'sharp'. It may mean 'having to excess' or 'very', and be the full form of the suffix recorded in 3.4.9 as *-rru* 'intensifier'. It is recorded in *taranj-puru thamiyaa* 'sharp tomahawk' (EH.33:2) and in the the following sentence (in which the word is repeated, the second time with the head of the NP following instead of before it).

- 3.154 *ngatku-ku pikanj thalanj-puru*  
 wallaroo-GEN claws-ABS sharp-having
- thalanj-puru pikanj puka*  
 sharp-having claw-ABS 3sgGEN  
 'the wallaroo's sharp claws' (EH.37:5)

#### 3.4.1.4 *-piil* 'having'

The suffix *-piil* refers to 'having' something tangible that can be seen and held. Unlike the other 'having' suffixes it never refers to qualities or situations:

- 3.155 *wala parri-tjarra-yu manu-piil witji-piil wingu-yira*  
 NEG cook-VOL-1sg bread-having meat-having trouble-having  
 'I don't like to cook with bread and meat, it's a nuisance.' (EH.37:3)
- 3.156 *yaman pang-ku nhurra punha yaman-piil*  
 one kill-FUT 2plNOM 3sgACC one-having  
 'I hope you get at least one (kangaroo).' (EH.52:2)

In the following sentence *-piil* is suffixed to the dubitative verb particle *warri* to express doubt as to 'having' (a shrimp).

- 3.157 *ngapa-ngka kumpi-pu nginturl*  
 water-LOC dive-3sg sp. of bird-ABS  
*maan-ta-na puka warri-piil kitjaa*  
 take-P.OPT-LCL 3sgGEN maybe-having shrimp-ABS  
 'The diver bird dives in to the water, he might be  
 catching a shrimp.' (RC.66:2)

### 3.4.2 ABESSIVE *-kil, -til, -tjil* 'lacking'

The abessive expresses the opposite of the comitative in that it signifies 'lacking' or 'being without' some person or thing:

- til* follows stem-final laterals
- tjil* follows stem-final alveopalatals
- kil* occurs elsewhere

*pakul-til*  
 money-lacking 'without money' (EH.14:10)

*mukin-tjil*  
 woman-lacking 'without women' (EH.20:7)

*thirra-kil*  
 teeth-lacking 'without teeth' (RC.40:1)

The suffix frequently occurs in a sentence with the verb *yi-* 'to be':

- 3.158 *ngapa-kil yi-n-ti-yu*  
 water-lacking be-R-PR.OPT-1sg  
 'I have no water.' (RS.34M)

- 3.159 *thirra-kil yi-n-ti-yu ngathu*  
 teeth-lacking be-R-PR-1sg lsgNOM  
 'I have no teeth.' (RC.40:1)

*-kil* is also often found with the particle *palanj* 'nothing':

- 3.160 *palanj yi-n-ti-pu piyan-kil mantuwii-kil palanj*  
 nothing be-R-PR.OPT-3sg clothes-lacking shoes-lacking nothing  
 'He has no clothes, no shoes, nothing... nothing.'

- 3.161 *palanj mathan-kil*  
 nothing limb-having  
 '(There are) no sticks.'

*-kil* may be used to express the lack of something in a positive statement as illustrated, though a more popular alternative is to express the same idea negatively, using the negative *wala* and the *-pira* 'having' suffix (see 3.4.1.1 (c)).

The 'lacking' and 'having' suffixes may occur together in an utterance:

- 3.162 *pinja pampa-ra-a nuwu wala mathan-pira palanj kuliya-kil*  
 only fight-COMPL-3sgP thus NEG stick-having nothing spear-lacking  
 ‘He fought without weapons, without spears.’ (EH.13:9)

A noun with *-kil* may take a pronominal suffix to mean ‘not have’:

- 3.163 *ngapa-kil-pu-n*  
 water-lacking-3sg-NS  
 ‘He has no water.’ (lit. ‘he-waterless’) (EH.20:7)
- 3.164 *kanturl pali-na witji-kil-na-nji*  
 hunger die-1pl meat-lacking-1pl-IMM  
 ‘We are hungry – we have no meat.’ (lit. ‘we-meatless’) (EH.43:4)

The addition of the suffix may form a derived word.

noun + *-kil*:

*kaya-kil*  
 mother-lacking ‘orphan’

adjective + *-tjil*:

*kawan-tjil*  
 taste-lacking ‘tasteless’

A further use of the suffix occurs in the next example which describes the Wollan River ‘lacking’ water because the river is flowing into the Culgoa.

- 3.165 *thangki-mi-lilil-pu walamu-kil ngarntu-ngka*  
 run-PROG-?-3sg Wollan-lacking Culgoa-LOC  
 ‘The Wollan River runs into the Culgoa.’ (EH.78:2)

#### 3.4.3 COMPARISON *-kala* ‘like’

The suffix *-kala* makes a comparison of one thing with another. Like the comitative it may derive adjectives:

- kuwinj-kala*  
 ghost-like ‘ghostly’ (JB.1B:2)
- ngapa-kala miil-inja*  
 water-like eye-? ‘a watery eye’ (JB.34B.4)
- 3.166 *kirri-mi-la-yu ngurrunj-kala*  
 dance-PROG-HAB-1sg emu-like  
 ‘I’m dancing like an emu.’ (EH.36:3)

Or *-kala* may occur in an idiomatic statement:

- 3.167 *thurri wii-kala*  
 sun-ABS fire-like  
 ‘The sun is getting hot.’ (RC.5:9)

3.4.4 *-pari* 'very'

This suffix was recorded by Mathews as *-bara* in *thatha-bara* 'very large' (1903b:181). The only other recording in the corpus is:

- 3.168 *thanti-pari mukinj*  
 fat-very woman-ABS  
 'a fat woman' (EH.60:2)

The change in vowel from Mathews' final *a* to *i* is possibly another case of vowel harmony.

3.4.5 *-marri* 'excessive'

There is only one occurrence of *-marri* in the corpus:

- 3.169 *thanti-marri kuthara*  
 fat-EXCES child-ABS  
 'The child is too fat.' (EH.157M:11)

## 3.4.6 INTENSIFIERS

3.4.6.1 *-rru*

The suffix *-rru* is found suffixed to a few words. Its meaning is not obvious, but it appears to express the meaning of 'the utmost to which (the adjective or noun) may go':

<i>pata</i>	'low down'	<i>pata-rru</i>	'as low as it is possible to go'
<i>pintal</i>	'straight'	<i>pinta-rru</i>	'truth'
<i>yumpu</i>	'sleep'	<i>yumpu-rru</i>	'very sleepy'

- 3.170 *purpi-ya-a mathan-ngu kanta-ngu paru-rru mayi-ku*  
 jump-P-3sgP branch-ABL high-ABL low-INTS ground-ALL  
 'He jumped off the tree right to the ground.' (EH.45:3)

3.4.6.2 *-ra*

The suffix *-ra* has a similar meaning to *-rru*. Some nominals (nouns, adjectives, pronouns and demonstratives) and particles may be suffixed by *-ra* to express an extra number or quality; the suffix extends or intensifies the meaning of the stem:

Noun:	<i>thirra</i>	'tooth'	<i>thirra-ra</i>	'teeth'	(JB)
Adj.:	<i>kalkaa</i>	'specific one'	<i>kalkaa-ra</i>	'specific ones'	(EH)
3.171	<i>pulkurru</i>	<i>kalkaa-ra</i>	<i>ngapa-ngka</i>	<i>ngarntu</i>	
	island-ABS	many-INTS	water-LOC	river-ABS	
	'There are many little islands in the river.' (EH.206M:4)				
Particle:	<i>ngara</i>	'that'	<i>ngara-ra</i>	'those'	(EH.17:7)
Pron.:	<i>tharraka</i>	'their'	<i>tharraka-ra</i>	'their'	(EH.KM.83)

*-ra* means an extension of size in:

- 3.172 *kurrka-ra yurrin-tja yi-n-ta-a*  
 corroboree-INTS night-LOC be-R-P-3sgP  
 'At night there was a big corroboree.' (EH.17:7)

### 3.4.6.3 *-pilaa*

*-pilaa* is found only in the Jimmie Barker data and appears to mean 'in excess of':

- thaata-pilaa* 'much bigger'  
*thaata-thaata-pilaa* 'extra big' (JB.63:6)

## 3.5 OTHER NOMINAL SUFFIXES

### 3.5.1 PERSONALISERS

#### 3.5.1.1 *-ka* 'the one'

The *-ka* suffix personalises a noun or adjective by identifying or particularising it as the one or quality in focus. It probably derives from *kaampa* 'a (specific) person' (3.1.2). *-ka* also appears to cover the same area of meaning as the suffix *-puwan* 'person' (also 3.1.2). It occurs more often in the speech of Jimmie Barker, and with personal names in absolutive case (often the object of a transitive verb).

(a) Specifying a person the suffix is found with:

- mayinj-ka*  
 man-PER 'male child' (to 15 years) (JB.3B:3)
- kuni-ka*  
 female-PER 'girl, female'

and on the specific names of people:

- 3.173 *Rosi-ka-ngku*  
 Rosy-PER-ERG  
 'Rosy did it.'
- 3.174 *tira-ngka ngara Jimmie Barker-ka*  
 where-LOC DEF Jimmie Barker-PER  
 'Where is Jimmie Barker?' (JB.2B)
- 3.175 *nha-ra-yu Bill Smith-ka Jimmie Barker-ka*  
 see-COMPL-1sg Bill Smith-PER Jimmie Barker-PER  
 'I saw Bill Smith and Jimmie Barker.'

Pronouns may also be suffixed:

- 3.176 *ngintu-ka ngara*  
 2sgNOM-PER that  
 'Oh yes, it's you!' (JB.4B:1)



- 3.177 *waampi-pu ngaan-ka warri*  
 wait-3sp who-PER DUBIT  
 'He's waiting for someone, I don't know who.'

(b) Specifying the qualities of a person

<i>wampa-ka</i> mad-PER	'a mad person'	(JB)
<i>marrinj-karna-ka</i> good-liver-PER	'a kind person'	(EH.20:10)

### 3.5.1.2 *-nha*

The function of the suffix *-nha* does not appear to be any different to that of the suffix *-ka*. It is also found on proper nouns, and in similar situations. There appears to be little semantic difference between the sentence 3.174 above: 'Where is Jimmie Barker?' and sentence 3.178: 'Where did Willy go?' unless *-nha* is really the locational *-na* usually suffixed to verbs. In examples 3.178-3.181, the proper noun is the subject of the sentence.

- 3.178 *tira-ngka ya-n-ta-a Willie-nha*  
 where-LOC go-R-P-3sgP Willie-PER  
 'Where did Willie go?' (EH.22:5)
- 3.179 *Tomi-nha karra-yi-pu marli-marli*  
 Tommy-PER throw-PR.DEC-3sg boomerang-ABS  
 'Tommy is throwing a boomerang.' (EH.11:6)
- 3.180 *ngara ni-pu wayamarrankul-a Robin-nha*  
 DEF live-3sg Weilmoringle-LOC Robin-PER  
 'Robin lives at Weilmoringle.' (EH)
- 3.181 *Jimmie-nha thayin palka*  
 Jimmie-PER towards come+P  
 'Jimmie came here.'

It is also found on a person noun in:

- 3.182 *ngara pipi-nha pangka ya-n-thirra*  
 DEF baby-PER 2sgGEN walk-R-CONT  
 'Can your baby walk?' (JB.54B:6)

## 3.5.2 Nominalisers

### 3.5.2.1 *-n/-nj*

Verb stems may be made into nouns or adjectives by the addition of *-n* or *-nj*.

<i>pathi-</i>	'to smell'	<i>pathi-n</i>	'a smell'
<i>paliya-</i>	'to die'	<i>paliya-n</i>	'death'
<i>mura-</i>	'to vomit'	<i>mura-n-mura-n</i>	'vomit'

<i>kayi-</i>	'to enter'	<i>kayi-n</i>	'an entrance'
<i>ngaa-</i>	'to breathe'	<i>ngaa-n</i>	'a breath'
		<i>ngaa-n-ngaa-n</i>	'a deep breath'
<i>palka-</i>	'to come'	<i>mangka-palka-nj</i>	'very thin person' (lit. 'bones coming out') (EH.206M:3)

### 3.5.2.2 -l

Inflected verbs may be nominalised by the suffix *-l*:

<i>yaki-pu</i>	'it cuts'	<i>yakipu-l</i>	'a knife' (JB.3:1)
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## 3.6 ADJECTIVES

After nouns, adjectives are the most common members of a noun phrase. Derived adjectives are discussed in sections 3.4 and 3.5 above. Single root adjectives are of several distinct types, discussed below.

### 3.6.1 COLOUR, SIZE AND QUALITY ADJECTIVES

R.H. Mathews states that 'Adjectives are placed after the nouns they qualify and are similarly declined for number and case.' (1903b:181). But modern data does not substantiate Mathews' statement. In this corpus adjectives usually occur before the noun and are uninflected; it is only if they follow the noun that they carry the case inflection for the whole phrase.

Adjectives are simple words, being two-syllable words or reduplicated forms of two-syllable roots. They express the usual range of descriptive functions:

#### Colour

<i>marrki</i>	'red'
<i>karta; karta-karta</i>	'black'
<i>puthan; puthan-puthan</i>	'white'

#### Size

<i>thaata</i>	'big'
<i>kitju</i>	'small'
<i>pintal</i>	'straight, long'
<i>wuta</i>	'short'

#### Qualities

<i>thanti</i>	'fat'
<i>thapun</i>	'soft'

<i>tingkal</i>	'hard'
<i>pitara</i>	'good, sweet'
<i>yural</i>	'bad'
<i>karti</i>	'bitter, sour'
<i>wampa</i>	'silly, stupid, mad'

## (a) Person inflection

Adjectives may be inflected to derive personal nouns, translated 'one' or 'ones'. The commonly occurring suffixes are *-yira/-yita* third person plural and *-kaampa* 'specific one(s)'.

*-yira* (3rd person plural):

<i>milamila-yita</i>	
pitiful-3pl	'poor little kids'
<i>kitju-yira</i>	
small-3pl	'children'
<i>titji-yira</i>	
young-3pl	'young ones, progeny'

*-kaampa* 'a specific person':

<i>milamila-kaampa</i>		
pitiful-person	'poor little one(s)'	(JB.1B:6)

(b) Comparative *-nja/-nju*

When a nominal is suffixed by *-nja/-nju*, a meaning similar to that of English '-er' or '-ly' is expressed; it is somewhat similar to a comparative degree. Vowel harmony may account for the differences in form.

- 3.183 *payi-pi-la*      *pirru-nju*      *purtu*  
do-CAUS-HAB    hard-COMP    rain-ABS  
'The rain was becoming harder and harder.' (EH.32:2)

(c) Comitative *-yita*

The comitative suffix *-yita* 'having' can occur on adjectives:

- 3.184 *kiyarn*      *ngara*      *thaata-yita*      *thawin*      *mara-ngka*      *yungki-ya-a*  
moon-ABS    DEF    big-having    tomahawk-ABS    hand-LOC    sing-P-3sgP  
'The moon-man sang with a big tomahawk in his hand.' (JB.KM)

## 3.6.2 NUMERICAL ADJECTIVES

These are a limited group and express number in the noun phrase. While it is possible to 'stretch' the numbering system as indicated, originally *yaman*, *kapu* and *purralayaman*, 'one, two, and three' were the only numbers in general use.

<i>yaman</i>	'one'	
<i>kapu</i>	'two'	
<i>purral*</i>	'a pair, two'	
<i>pula, pularinj</i>	'a pair'	
<i>purral-a-yaman,</i>	'three'	(EH.11:2)
<i>pula-kurra-yaman</i>	'three'	(EH.17:10)
<i>kapu-kapu</i>	'four'	(JB)
<i>mara-ngku</i>	'five' (lit. 'with hand')	(JB only)
<i>mara-ngku mara-ngku</i>	'ten'	(JB only)
<i>kalkaa*</i>	'several, more than three'	
<i>murapirri</i>	'several'	(RHM only)
<i>thuu</i>	'many, a lot'	
<i>wanpa</i>	'a big mob'	(Tom Kelly)

\* *purral* and *kalkaa* are listed in 3.1.2 as noun suffixes. When following a noun they occur as suffixes; when occurring as the only member of an NP, they function as a free form nominal. The other numerical adjectives have only been found in isolation.

### 3.7 DEMONSTRATIVES

#### (1) Form

Demonstratives are analysed as referring to three distances: close, mid, and far, a common Aboriginal viewpoint, which seems to fit the data, though not fully confirmed.

Close:	<i>nhuu</i>	'this', 'here'
Mid:	<i>nhurra</i>	'that', 'there'
	<i>narrana</i>	'that'
Far:	<i>yalu</i>	'that/those over there'
	<i>ngariya</i>	'that there'

R.H. Mathews recognised the demonstrative in his comment on how adjectives are compared: '...by using such phrases as, *thurda nhu, kittyu nūngga*, large this, small that.' (1903b:181).

- 3.185 *tharta nhuu kitja nhuu-ngka*  
 big this small this-LOC  
 'large this, small that' (data interpreted)

#### (2) Function

Demonstratives are multi-functional, sometimes behaving like adjectives with a demonstrative function, sometimes with adverbial overtones. Whichever emphasis they take, they are basically nominals, tied to the noun phrase, so are discussed with nominals.

Demonstratives may be inflected for person and case; a demonstrative frequently operates in the absolutive case as the object of a transitive verb, being the only member of the O NP. In this nominal position, the word functions as a demonstrative adjective ‘this’, ‘that’, ‘these’ or ‘those’.

When demonstratives occur with intransitive verbs, they function as adverbs of place/time ‘here’, ‘there’, ‘over there’. Sometimes they carry time and location simultaneously to express ‘this here’, ‘that there’, ‘here now’.

In example 3.185 *nhuu* is clearly functioning like a noun, as it also does in the next two examples:

3.186 (y)*ima-ra nhuu*  
hold-IMP this-ABS  
‘Hold this!’ (thing)

3.187 *ngu-wa-nha nhuu*  
give-IMP-1sgO this-ABS  
‘Give me that!’ (JB.64B:4)

Inflection for person occurs in a sentence such as:

3.188 *nhuu-mpu pakul-tu pang-ki-ya-a ngaanthi*  
this-3sg stone-ERG hit-CAUS-P.DEC-3sg 1sgGEN  
‘This stone (nearly) hit mine (house).’ (RC.43:2b)

The comitative suffix *-yita* ‘having’ can occur on demonstratives:

3.189 *nhuu-yita*  
this-having  
‘This fellow here.’ (answer to ‘Which one is your father?’)

### (3) Case inflections

#### (a) Absolutive

3.190 *nhurra-na niyaa-na-a*  
that-LCL-ABS sit-STY-3sg  
‘That one sitting down there (is the one I refer to).’

3.191 *nhunpa-ra puka-mil ngariya*  
hide-COMPL 3sg-ABL that-ABS  
‘You planted (hid) it from him.’ (EH.27:5)

The following additional examples indicate that *ngariya* is used when attention is being drawn to something, usually at some distance. This is particularly evident when the gloss is given as ‘Look at...’.

3.192 *ngariya parran*  
that-ABS other side-ABS  
‘Over there on the other side (of river).’ (EH.42:5)

3.193 *ngariya pungkurranj thana-na mayin-tju*  
that-ABS snores-ABS do-LCL man-ERG  
‘Look at the old man snoring.’ (EH.32)

- 3.194 *ngariya-kaampa kanturl purran pali-ngu-ra-a*  
 that-PERS-ABS hungry ?very die-POTL-COMPL-3sg  
 'That poor bloke was very hungry – he might have died.' (EH.33:2)
- 3.195 *ngariya mukinj-pathanj ya-n-mi-na-a*  
 that-ABS wife-husband-ABS come-R-PROG-LCL-3sg  
 'There's his woman coming now.' (EH.36:4)

## (b) Ergative

*ngariya* is the only one of the four demonstratives which ergative has been found on:

- 3.196 *ngariya-ngku kuntarl-u panta-ra-a ngurrunj*  
 that-ERG dog-ERG kill+P-COMPL-3sg emu-ABS  
 'Which (lit. that) dog killed the emu?' (EH.23:7)
- 3.197 *ngariya-ngku karta-karta*  
 that-ERG black-REDUP  
 'That black one over there (did it).' (EH.23:7)

## (c) Allative:

- 3.198 *thayin kaa-n-ta-ra-a nhuu-ku*  
 towards get-R-P.OPT-COMPL-3sg here-ALL  
 'He fetched it here (to this spot).' (EH.33:2)

## (d) Locative:

- 3.199 *nhurra-n-ta warra-ntu*  
 there-NS-LOC drop-2sg  
 'There is the place where you were born.' (EH)
- 3.200 *yalu-ngka palka-∅*  
 over there-LOC come-IMP  
 'Come out over there!' (JB.63B:1)
- 3.201 *wala ngara thayin palka-∅ nhuu-ngka*  
 NEG DEF towards come-IMP here-LOC  
 'Don't come out here (to this place).'
- 3.202 *ya-na nhurra*  
 go-IMP there  
 'Go there (to that place)!' (JB)
- 3.203 *yalu ngara mirrinj nhaa-thi-ntu*  
 over there that-ABS star-ABS see-PR.OPT-2sg  
 'See that star in the distance over there.' (lit. 'see that-over-there star') (JB.63)

## 3.8 TYPES OF NOUN PHRASES

Simple NPs have been discussed under case 3.2.1 (2), 3.2.2 (4), 3.2.3 (3)-(5) and 3.2.4 (4). NPs may be expanded in several ways.

## (1) Noun + two adjectives

A head noun may be qualified by an adjectival phrase consisting of two adjectives, in which case, both usually follow the noun:

- 3.204 *yurrun thuu thurlu-yita*  
road-ABS much dust-having  
'a very dusty track'

but they may precede the noun:

- 3.205 *pitara ngara ngapa*  
good that water  
'sweet water' (JB.3B:3)

- 3.206 *puumpili ngara wii*  
blowing that fire  
'a smoky fire' (JB.1B:2)

An adjective may be repeated as a form of emphasis, in which case the adjective occurs both before and following the noun:

- 3.207 *kira yurrun kira*  
wide track wide  
'a wide track'

## (2) Noun(s) + conjunction

Some NPs use a particle functioning as a linking word to join two nouns. The two particles thus employed are *tjaka* 'also' and *nga/ngara* 'and'. The latter forms have been heard to link two of a list of items, but never very distinctly. The form may be *ngara*, discussed under particles (6.2.1). They occur in phrases like the following:

NP: (n + n) + NP: (n + *tjaka*)

- 3.208 *wuta-kaampa kuyinj mayinj tjaka ya-n-mi-pula*  
short-person white man-ABS man-ABS also go-R-PROG-3du  
'The short white man, and the aboriginal man also are going along.' (EH.10C:1)

NP: (n + *nga* + n)

- 3.209 *nguu-wa tharra kanji witji nga manu*  
give-IM 3plACC now meat and bread  
'Give them bread and meat.' (EH.29:1)

NP: (n + *ngara* + adj + n)

- 3.210 *marli-ngku ngara kuru-kuru-ngku mathan*  
boomerang-INSTR and all-REDUP-INSTR weapon  
'with boomerangs and all weapons' (JB.KM (9))

## (3) Noun and pronoun in apposition, including 'split' NPs

NPs that are the object of verbs frequently include the pronoun before the noun, as 'he hit him, the dog', or 'he stopped it, the stone'.

NP: (pn + (n+pn))

---

- 3.211 *panta-ra-a*                      *punha*    *mukinj*    *puka*    *naypa-ngku*  
 hit+P-COMPL-3sgP    3sgACC    woman    3sgGEN    knife-INSTR  
 'He hit her, his wife, with a knife.' (EH.13:9)

These phrases are sometimes expressed with the noun preceding the verb and the pronoun following it, in a 'split' noun phrase. This kind of utterance characterised much of Emily Horneville's speech. With a noun phrase in any function (but especially those in O function) she would express one component either side of the verb:

- |       | N                             | (split)                      | pn                     |
|-------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------|
| 3.212 | <i>thuntu</i><br>leg-ABS      | <i>thuma-a</i><br>break-3sgP | <i>punha</i><br>3sgACC |
|       | 'He broke his leg.' (EH.38:2) |                              |                        |

In the following genitive phrase, *kuliya thika* 'my spear', the head noun, is separated from the pronoun by the verb *thuthiya*:

- |       | N                          | (split)                    | pn                     |
|-------|----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 3.213 | <i>kuliya</i><br>spear-ABS | <i>tuthi-ya</i><br>break-P | <i>thika</i><br>1sgGEN |
|       | 'I broke my spear.'        |                            |                        |

## (4) Complex NPs

Complex ideas are expressed in 'layered' NPs.

- LOC NP
- ```

graph TD
    A[LOC NP] --- B[POSS NP]
    A --- C[pangkal-a]
    B --- D[muku-ngka]
    B --- E[piipun-ku]
  
```
- 3.214 *muku-ngka*    *piipun-ku*                      *pangkal-a*  
 inside-LOC    cottonbush-GEN                      flower-LOC  
 'inside the cottonbush flower' (EH.20:9)



## CHAPTER 4

### PRONOUNS

Muruwari shares yet another feature in common with many other Australian languages in that while the case system of nouns is ergative-absolutive, the pronominal system is basically nominative-accusative.

However, a distinctive feature of the dual case system is that first and third person singular bound pronouns, and first, second and third person singular free pronouns follow the ergative-absolutive pattern as well as the nominative-accusative. That is, there is a 'split' system in singular number pronouns.

For this phenomenon to occur with bound pronouns is unusual. At first this analysis was considered unlikely and so it was dismissed as being an incorrect gloss or a failure of memory. But too many examples appeared for it to be dismissed in this way.

Another feature of a different kind is a distinctive set of dative case pronouns. Muruwari, like some other Australian languages (for example Bāgandji, Hercus 1982:105-107), has dative case pronouns. But they only occur with intransitive verbs. Transitive verbs use the genitive case pronouns where the dative would be expected. This suggests a form of inalienable possession of the noun object in these sentences.

For demonstratives, which function as demonstrative pronouns, see under nominals, section 3.7.

#### 4.1 REGULAR FREE PRONOUNS

Four of the distinctive cases of pronouns are listed in Table 4.1. A fifth, ablative, operates on a regular pattern (see section 4.1.5). On rare occasions, ergative *-ngku* and allative *-ku* are suffixed to nominative pronouns.

Part or all of the nominative case forms for the most part form the stems for the major declensions (ergative, accusative, genitive and dative). The genitive form is the stem for ablative pronouns. Each pronoun is marked for case by the addition of suffixes, except nominative which has a zero realisation. The suffixal forms are:

|                         |                                                  |
|-------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| <i>-nha/-nhu/-nga</i>   | accusative case (singular)                       |
| <i>-na</i>              | accusative case (dual and plural)                |
| <i>-nthi/-nta/-ngka</i> | genitive case (first and second person singular) |
| <i>-ka</i>              | genitive case (third person)                     |
| <i>-ngura</i>           | dative case                                      |
| <i>-mil</i>             | ablative case                                    |

In Table 4.1, morpheme breaks are marked between person/number and case. Some of these are not well supported and may seem somewhat arbitrary, but they have been included in this chapter to show the pattern. Elsewhere the person/number/case morpheme is shown only by the interlinear gloss.

|          | NOMINATIVE                        | ACCUSATIVE                                         | GENITIVE                                           | DATIVE               |
|----------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|----------------------|
|          | Root                              | Root-Suffix                                        | Root-Suffix                                        | Root-Suffix          |
| Singular |                                   |                                                    |                                                    |                      |
| 1.       | <i>ngathu</i><br>( <i>ngayi</i> ) | <i>nga-nha</i><br><i>nga-nhu</i><br><i>ngu-nha</i> | <i>nga-nthi</i><br><i>thi-ka</i><br><i>nga-nta</i> | <i>ngaa-ngura</i>    |
| 2.       | <i>yintu</i><br><i>ngintu</i>     | <i>pa-nga</i><br><i>pu-nga</i>                     | <i>yi-ngka</i><br><i>pu-ngka</i><br><i>pa-ngka</i> | <i>yi-ngura</i>      |
| 3.       | <i>nhumpu</i><br><i>nhampu</i>    | <i>pu-nha</i>                                      | <i>pu-ka</i>                                       | <i>nhumpu-ngura</i>  |
| Dual     |                                   |                                                    |                                                    |                      |
| 1.       | <i>ngali</i>                      | <i>ngali-na</i>                                    | <i>ngali-ka</i>                                    | <i>ngali-ngura*</i>  |
| 2.       | <i>nhula</i>                      | <i>nhula-na</i>                                    | <i>nhura-ka</i>                                    | <i>nhula-ngura*</i>  |
| 3.       | <i>pula</i><br><i>purral</i>      | <i>pula-na</i>                                     | <i>pura-ka</i>                                     | <i>purral-ngura</i>  |
| Plural   |                                   |                                                    |                                                    |                      |
| 1.       | <i>ngana</i>                      | <i>ngarra-na</i>                                   | <i>ngarra-ka</i>                                   | <i>ngarra-ngura*</i> |
| 2.       | <i>nhura</i>                      | <i>nhura-na</i>                                    | <i>nhura-ka</i>                                    | <i>nhura-ngura</i>   |
| 3.       | <i>thana</i>                      | <i>tharra-na</i>                                   | <i>tharra-ka</i>                                   | <i>thana-ngura</i>   |

\* postulated forms (not found in the corpus)

NOTE: In the dual and plural forms, medial *l*, *r*, and *rr* fluctuate considerably in most of the forms. The table gives what are considered the norms in the light of all the data. Other (irregular) forms are given in Table 4.2.

#### 4.1.1 NOMINATIVE PRONOUNS

Nominative pronouns are the subjects of both transitive and intransitive verbs. This is signified in the glosses by (A) agent and (S) subject respectively.

##### (a) First person

- 4.1 *ngathu wii puu-n-ti-yu*  
1sg-NOM(A) fire-ABS blow-R-PR-1sg(A)  
'I am blowing the fire.' (RC.5:6)
- 4.2 *mara-ta-yu warra-ra ngathu*  
slip-P-1sg fall-CO.ORD 1sg-NOM(S)  
'I slipped and fell.' (EH.21:4)
- 4.3 *ngathu maari-yu*  
1sg-NOM(S) sick-1sg  
'I'm sick.' (RC.1:1)
- 4.4 *ngali pung-ku-li pu-nha*  
1du-NOM(A) hit-FUT-1du 3sg-ACC  
'We two will hit him.'
- 4.5 *ya-n-mi-li-nji ngali*  
go-R-PROG-1du-IMM 1du-NOM(S)  
'We two are going!'

##### (b) Second person

- 4.6 *mukinj thana-yira yintu tharrka-ntu*  
woman-ABS do-3pl 2sg-NOM(A) tell-2sg  
'You told the women they did that.' (EH.16:4)
- 4.7 *kaarn ngara pa-ng-ka ngintu-ngku*  
snake-ABS DEF kill-R-IMP 2sg-NOM-ERG(A)  
'You kill the snake.' (JB.5B:2)
- 4.8 *wala yintu-ki, ngathu*  
NEG 2sg-NOM(S)-EMP 1sg-NOM(S)  
'No, not you, me!' (EH.7:9)
- 4.9 *ngantanj ngintu*  
blind 2sg-NOM(S)  
'You are blind.' (EH.7:7)

##### (c) Third person

- 4.10 *nhumpu wala thana-l-ku-pu*  
3sg-NOM(A) NEG do-R-FUT-3sgO  
'He will not do it.'

- 4.11 *yalu purral kula-n-mi-pula kunthi-ku*  
 there 3du-NOM(S) climb-R-PROG-3du house-ALL  
 'Those two fellows are going up to the house.' (EH.24:2)
- 4.12 *thana liki-ma-yira nga-nha*  
 3pl-NOM(A) like-VBS-3pl 1sg-ACC  
 'They like me.' (EH.10:1)
- 4.13 *thana yanti-yira*  
 3pl-NOM(S) go+PR-3pl  
 'They all are going.' (EH.22:4)

The form *purral* occurs as a noun suffix (3.1.1) but it also functions as a free pronoun or pronoun stem. It carries pronominal meaning, but is suffixed for case (unlike other dual and plural free pronouns):

- 4.14 *ngariya pu-n-tha-ra pu-nha ngariya purral-u*  
 there-ABS hit-R-P-COMPL 3sg-ACC there-ABS 3du-ERG  
 'Those two over there hit him.' (EH.24:5)

Two nominative case pronouns may occur together where there is focus on joint activity, as in:

- 4.15 *(y)intu ngali yungki-li*  
 2sg-NOM 1du-NOM(S) sing-1du  
 'We both are singing.' (EH.54:1)

In the next example, the same two forms occur, first in their full form, then in a single, elided form of the first syllable of both pronouns, *yin-(+i)+-nga*:

- 4.16 *yintu ngali yin-i-nga pumpa-rr-i-li*  
 2sg-NOM 1du-NOM 2sg-+-1du head-REFL-1du  
 'You and I have headaches.'

Jimmie Barker (55B:4) lists a number of other possibilities, but not in sentences. The suffixed form of the second pronoun in each utterance is the same as the accusative pronoun; whether this is a peculiar usage of the accusative, or *-na* is another morpheme meaning 'and' cannot be determined from the data:

|               |                  |               |                       |
|---------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------------|
| <i>nhumpu</i> | <i>nhu-la-na</i> |               |                       |
| 3sg-NOM       | 2du-ACC/?and     |               | 'he and you two'      |
| <i>nhumpu</i> | <i>nga-li-na</i> | <i>ngathu</i> |                       |
| 3sg-NOM       | 1du-ACC/?and     | 1sg-NOM       | 'he and I, we two'    |
| <i>nhumpu</i> | <i>nhu-la-na</i> | <i>ngintu</i> |                       |
| 3sg-NOM       | 2du-ACC/?and     | 2sg-NOM       | 'you and he, you two' |

See further discussion of person and number in section 4.6.1.

#### 4.1.2 ACCUSATIVE CASE

Accusative case pronouns are found as the objects of transitive verbs. When the object is expressed by a nominal in the absolutive case, its pronoun equivalent in the accusative case usually occurs in apposition in the object, though frequently noun and pronoun are not juxtaposed. The presence of

both noun and pronoun as objects of a transitive verb occurs most frequently with the third person singular pronoun *pu-nha*. Where the named object is prominent, the noun in accusative case occurs in sentence-initial position, otherwise the accusative pronoun will occur in that position.

## (a) First person

- 4.17 *yita-a nga-nha kuntarl-u*  
bite+P-3sg 1sg-ACC dog-ERG  
'The dog bit me.'
- 4.18 *nguu-n-ta-ra-a ngali-na*  
give-R-P.OPT-COMPL-3sg 1du-ACC  
'He gave it to the two of us.'

## (b) Second person

- 4.19 *pa-ng-ku-yu pa-nga*  
hit-R-FUT-1sg 2sg-ACC  
'I will hit you.'
- 4.20 *kawi-li-ya-yu pa-nga*  
call-TRS-P-1sg 2sg-ACC  
'I called you.' (EH.7:4)
- 4.21 *ngathu nhaayi-yu pa-nga*  
1sg-NOM(A) see+PR-1sg 2sg-ACC  
'I see you.' (EH.7:9; JB)

## (c) Third person

- 4.22 *panti pu-nha ngariya mayin-tju*  
hit+PR 3sg-ACC that man-ERG  
'That man is hitting him.'
- 4.23 *nguu-na pula-na*  
give-IMP 3du-ACC  
'Give it to the two of them.'
- 4.24 *kurru-kurru nguu-n-ta-ra-a ngarra-na*  
all-REDUP give-R-P.OPT-COMPL-3sg 1pl-ACC  
'He gave it to the whole lot of us.'
- 4.25 *wala nhaa-ra-y tharra-na*  
NEG see-COMPL-1sg 3pl-ACC  
'I did not see them.'
- 4.26 *ngathu mu-l-ku-yu tharra-na pulkuwin piyan*  
1sg-NOM burn-R-FUT-1sg 3pl-ACC old-ABS clothes-ABS  
'I will burn the rubbish.'
- 4.27 *yaraaman tinama-ra pu-nha*  
horse-ABS fetch-IMP 3sg-ACC  
'Fetch the horse!' (EH.35:1)

- 4.28 *pa-n-ta-ra-a*            *pu-nha*    *kuntarl*  
hit-R-P-COMPL-3sg    3sg-ACC    dog-ABS  
'He hit the dog.'
- 4.29 *ngu-wa*    *pu-nha*    *watjiin*  
give-IMP    3sg-ACC    white woman-ABS  
'Give it to the white woman.'
- 4.30 *ngu-n-ta-ra-a*            *tharra-na*  
give-R-P-COMPL-3sg    3pl-ACC  
'He gave (money) to them all.' (EH.17:9)

Sometimes third person plural accusative may be abbreviated from *tharrana* to *thana* (the nominative form).

#### 4.1.3 GENITIVE CASE

Genitive case shows possession. In a genitive NP, genitive pronouns usually follow the noun as described in 4.1.3 (3). Genitive NPs occur with intransitive and di-transitive verbs only.

##### (1) Alienable and inalienable possession

In isolation genitive pronouns occur both with nouns indicating alienable possession and with nouns indicating inalienable possession.

Alienable possession applies to things that are able to be separated from a person, as a weapon or an animal; inalienable possession applies to things unable to be separated from a person, as his body parts.

No distinction is made between the two types of possession when occurring with an intransitive verb.

Alienably possessed:

- 4.31 *pitarra*    *manu*            *ngarra-ka*  
good        food-ABS        1pl-GEN  
'Our food was tasty.'

Inalienably possessed:

- 4.32 *thuntu*    *thi-ka*    *kilya*    *payli-yu*    *niyaa-la-y*  
leg-ABS    1sg-GEN    tired    'die'-1sg    sit-HAB-1sg  
'My legs are tired from sitting.' (EH.15:3)

However transitive verbs express a type of inalienable possession because possession is indicated by the accusative pronoun, and not the genitive. The thought conveyed is that the action is done, not to one's possessions, but to one's very own self.

Inalienable possession:

- 4.33 *thuntu*    *tuma-a*            *pu-nha*  
leg-ABS    break-3sgP    3sg-ACC  
'He broke his leg.' (lit. 'he broke him leg')

- 4.34 *nguru pingka-a pu-nha kakarra-ku mangka-ngku*  
 nose-ABS prick-3sgP 3sg-ACC porcupine-GEN quill-ERG  
 'The porcupine's quills stuck in his (lit. him – the dog's) nose.'

Alienable possession:

- 4.35 *kuliya thuthi-ya thi-ka*  
 spear-ABS break-P.DEC 1sg-GEN  
 'I broke my spear.'

(2) First and second person singular forms

First and second person singular have two genitive forms:

| first singular  | second singular      |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| <i>thi-ka</i>   | <i>(y)i-ngka</i>     |
| <i>nga-nthi</i> | <i>pa-ngka/pa-ka</i> |

Both forms of each pronoun occur without limitation.

- 4.36 *pencil pa-ngka/i-ngka*  
 pencil 2sg-GEN  
 'your pencil' (EH.10C:1)

However, there is a tendency for the second of the forms listed *nga-nthi* and *pa-ngka/pa-ka*, to be found more frequently with di-transitive verbs. *(y)i-ngka* has been found only with intransitive verbs. In all probability *thi-ka* and *yi-ngka* were once associated with intransitive verbs, and *nga-nthi* and *pa-ngka/pa-ka* with transitive verbs. If this is so, then the ergative-absolutive system would have extended to singular number genitive pronouns also.

(3) Genitive case with intransitive verbs

(Examples include equational sentences where the verb 'to be' is assumed.)

(a) First person

- 4.37 *pinathina-∅ thi-ka watjiin*  
 listen-IMP 1sg-GEN white woman-ABS  
 'White woman, listen to me.' (EH.1:7)
- 4.38 *partala ya-n-ku-na pu-ka*  
 morning go-R-FUT-1pl 3sg-GEN  
 'In the morning we will go after him.' (EH.20:3)
- 4.39 *mantuwii thi-ka pulkuwin*  
 shoes-ABS 1sg-GEN old  
 'My shoes are old.' (EH.7:10)
- 4.40 *kurti-tja-l-tu thi-ka*  
 angry-INCHO-R-2sg 1sg-GEN  
 'Are you wild with me?'

## (b) Second person

4.41 *wala yi-ngka marli yi-n-ti*  
 NEG 2sg-GEN boomerang-ABS be-R-PR  
 'That's not your boomerang.' (EH.22:5)

4.42 *tirra kuliya pa-ka*  
 where spear-ABS 2sg-GEN  
 'Where is your spear?'

4.43 *nhurra-na ngara nhura-ka*  
 that-LCL DEF 2du-GEN  
 'That belongs to you two.'

4.44 *wiya pakurl pa-ngka*  
 QN money-ABS 2sg-GEN  
 'Have you money?' (EH.17:5)

## (c) Third person

4.45 *kuwanj wanti-na-a nguntja-ngka pu-ka*  
 blood-ABS lie+PR-LCL-3sg face-LOC 3sg-GEN  
 'There's blood on his face.'

4.46 *ngariya piyan paki-ya pu-ka*  
 that-ABS dress-ABS tear-P.DEC 3sg-GEN  
 'Her dress got torn.' (EH.17:10)

4.47 *kula ngara tharra-ka*  
 kangaroo-ABS DEF 3pl-GEN  
 'The kangaroo is theirs.'

## (4) Genitive case with di-transitive verbs

Pronouns that fall in an NP which functions as a second or indirect object are marked with a genitive rather than the expected dative or double object marker.

## (a) First person

4.48 *ngapa paa-ra thi-ka parri-yu*  
 water-ABS carry-IMP 1sg-GEN burn-1sg  
 'Fetch me water ; I'm parched!' (lit. 'Fetch my water;')

4.49 *maa-n-ta-a nga-nthi pu-ka*  
 take-R-P.OPT-3sg 1sg-GEN 3sg-GEN  
 'He took it for me and for him.'

## (b) Second person

4.50 *ngathu maa-n-ku pa-ngka*  
 1sg-NOM get-R-FUT 2sg-GEN  
 'I will get it for you.'

4.51 *kuya mu-l-ku-yu pa-ngka*  
 fish-ABS cook-R-FUT-1sg 2sg-GEN  
 'I will cook the fish for you.' (JB.52B:2)



## (c) Third person

- 4.52 *ngu-ku-wi pu-ka mani*  
 give-FUT-1sg 3sg-GEN money-ABS  
 'I'll give him money.' (lit. 'I'll give his money.') (EH.14:1)
- 4.53 *wala yimpi-ya-a pu-ka*  
 NEG leave-P-3sg 3sg-GEN  
 'He didn't leave him his (drop of water).'
- 4.54 *kaa-n-ta-ra-a witji tharra-ka*  
 get-R-P-COMPL-3sgP meat-ABS 3pl-GEN  
 'He got meat for them.'

## (5) Genitive noun phrases

Genitive NPs are distinctly different from other case NPs. The possessed noun has the case marking appropriate to its function in the clause, while the possessor is always genitive. Genitive noun phrases consist of several different types.

## (a) uninflected noun + genitive pronoun

Genitive pronouns usually follow the noun they possess:

- 4.55 *piyan tharra-ka*  
 clothes-ABS 3pl-GEN  
 'their clothes'
- 4.56 *munta pu-ka*  
 bag-ABS 3sg-GEN  
 'his bag'
- 4.57 *thawinj nga-nthi*  
 tomahawk-ABS 1sg-GEN  
 'my tomahawk'

It is not known why there are two forms for first person singular in the genitive case. There appears to be no restriction on either, nor any preference for one above the other. Both forms can apparently be used with all nouns. Mrs Horneville gave both the following forms spontaneously on the one occasion:

- 4.58 *wii thi-ka*  
 fire-ABS 1sg-GEN  
 'my fire' (EH.35:1)
- 4.59 *wii nga-nthi*  
 fire-ABS 1sg-GEN  
 'my fire' (EH.35:1)

## (b) inflected (genitive case) noun + genitive pronoun

- 4.60 *thirrara-ku pu-ka*  
 teeth-GEN 3sg-GEN  
 'his teeth' (JB.81B)

4.61 *pakurl-ku ngarra-ka*  
 money-GEN 1pl-GEN  
 'our money' (EH.17:11)

4.62 *kuntarl-ku thi-ka*  
 dog-GEN 1sg-GEN  
 'my dog' (JB.78:1)

(c) inflected noun (cases other than genitive) + genitive pronoun

4.63 *kupu-ngka pa-ngka*  
 elbow-LOC 2sg-GEN  
 'on your elbow'

4.64 *nguru-ngku pu-ka*  
 nose-INSTR 3sg-GEN  
 'with his nose'

4.65 *kuntarl-u pa-ngka*  
 dog-ERG/INSTR 2sg-GEN  
 'your dog(ERG)'/ 'with your dog'

(d) uninflected noun + genitive pronoun + inflected noun

4.66 *piyaaka tharra-ka mayinj-ku*  
 tobacco-ABS 3pl-GEN man-GEN  
 'the old men's tobacco'

#### 4.1.4 DATIVE CASE

Dative case occurs as the pronoun complement of an intransitive verb.

(a) First person

4.67 *pina-ni-pula ngaa-ngura*  
 listen-STY-3du 1sg-DAT  
 'These two men are listening to me.' (EH.11:7)

4.68 *wala yaa-n-ti-pu ngaa-ngura*  
 NEG speak-R-FAC-3sg 1sg-DAT  
 'She didn't speak to me.' (EH.38:2)

4.69 *thayin ya-na ngali-ngura*  
 towards come-IMP 1du-DAT  
 'Come here to us two.' (EH.29:6)

(b) Second person

4.70 *kilpi-mi-yu yi-ngura*  
 sneak-PROG-1sg 2sg-DAT  
 'I'm sneaking up on you.' (EH.52:3)

- 4.71 *yi-ngura ya-n-ta-a*  
2sg-DAT come-R-P.FAC-3sgP  
'She came to you.'
- 4.72 *thayin ya-n-ku-yu nhura-ngura*  
towards walk-R-FUT-1sg 2du-DAT  
'I will come to you two.'

## (c) Third person

- 4.73 *ngariya thirri ya-na-ntu pu-ngura*  
there away go-IMP-2sg 3sg-DAT  
'You go to her!' (EH.29:7)
- 4.74 *namaa-tharri-ya-a nhumpu-ngura*  
brush-REFL-P.DEC-3sgP 3sg-DAT  
'She brushed against him.' (EH.5:5)
- 4.75 *ngarrki-ya-a manu-ku thana-ngura*  
ask-P.DEC-3sgP bread-DAT 3pl-DAT  
'He asked them for bread.' (lit. 'He asked for bread for them.') (EH.75:3)
- 4.76 *kiyarn purrpi-ya-a ngapa-ngka purral-ngura*  
moon-ABS jump-P.DEC-3sg water-LOC both-DAT  
'The moon jumped into the water with them.' (EH.KM(3))

## 4.1.5 ABLATIVE CASE

The stem of ablative pronouns is the genitive pronoun, to which is suffixed *-mil*. It has already been shown (3.3.1(2) (f)) that *-mil* may suffix nominals in the ablative case. Frequently a noun in the ablative case will occur in a sentence together with a pronoun in the ablative case – another example of case concord.

Jimmie Barker (67B:6) has examples of pronominal phrases (not in a sentence) as follows:

- ngintu-ku thika-mil*  
2sg-ALL 1sgGEN-ABL 'from me to you'
- thana-ku thika-mil*  
3pl-ALL 1sgGEN-ABL 'from me to them'

## (a) First person

- 4.77 *nhumpi-ya-ntu thika-mil*  
hide-P-2sg 1sgGEN-ABL  
'You planted (hid) from me.' (EH 27:5)
- 4.78 *thirri ya-na thika-mil*  
away go-IMP 1sgGEN-ABL  
'Go away from me!' (JB.67B:6)
- 4.79 *kula thangka-purrpi-ya-a mirti-ngu ngarraka-mil*  
kangaroo-ABS run-jump-P-3sg bush-ABL 1plGEN-ABL  
'The kangaroo ran away from us in (from) the bush.'

## (b) Second person

- 4.80 *karra-yi-pu nga-nthi kuntarl yingka-mil*  
 fear-PR-3sg lsg-GEN dog-ABS 2sgGEN-ABL  
 'My dog is afraid of yours.'

## (c) Third person

- 4.81 *karra-yu puka-mil*  
 fear-lsg 3sgGEN-ABL  
 'I'm frightened of him.'

Example 4.82 is given for comparative purposes to illustrate that *-mil* may also suffix a nominal:

- 4.82 *ngathu karra-mil*  
 1sg-NOM fear-ABL  
 'I'm afraid (suffering from fear).' (EH.7:6)
- 4.83 *witji nhumpa-yu kuntarl-ngu puka-mil*  
 meat-ABS hide-1sg dog-ABL 3sgGEN-ABL  
 'I hid the meat from the dog.'

## 4.2 IRREGULAR FREE FORMS

## 4.2.1 CASE OVERLAP IN FREE PRONOUNS

Muruwari once differentiated ergative-accusative from nominative-accusative, at least in singular number pronouns. Jimmie Barker (who learnt the language just before its disintegration) suffixes the nominative pronoun with the ergative *-ngku* more frequently than the other speakers.

The data reveals an overlapping of the two systems. First, second and third person singular may occur in the three functions, A (agent of a transitive verb), S (subject of an intransitive verb), and O (object). (Jimmie Barker is the only speaker recorded who used second person singular for all three functions.)

The following table based on Dixon (1979:61) illustrates the overlap of these three pronouns.

| Case       | Function | Case       | 1sg                 | Form         | 2sg                 | 3sg           |
|------------|----------|------------|---------------------|--------------|---------------------|---------------|
| Nominative | A        | Ergative   | <i>ngathu</i>       | <i>yintu</i> | <i>ngintu-ngku*</i> | <i>nhumpu</i> |
|            |          |            | <i>ngathu-ngku*</i> |              |                     |               |
| Accusative | S        | Absolutive | <i>ngathu</i>       | <i>yintu</i> | <i>ngintu*</i>      | <i>nhumpu</i> |
|            |          |            | <i>ngantu</i>       |              |                     |               |
|            | O        |            | <i>ngathu</i>       | <i>panga</i> | <i>ngintu*</i>      | <i>nhumpu</i> |

\* Mostly Jimmie Barker corpus.

## (a) First person

## Ergative:

- 4.84 *ngathu mu-l-ku-nja*  
 1sg-NOM(A) cook-R-FUT-1sg  
 'I will cook it.'

## But also:

- 4.85 *ngathu-ngku ngara mu-l-ku-yu kula*  
 1sg-ERG(A) DEF cook-R-FUT-1sg kangaroo-ABS  
 'I will cook the kangaroo.' (EH. 13:3)

Jimmie Barker uses the ergative form of the pronoun when no object is overtly expressed, but the uninflected form when it is expressed.

- 4.86 *ngathu-ngku ngara mu-ku-yu*  
 1sg-ERG(A) DEF cook-FUT-1sg  
 'I am going to cook' (yams, emu etc. implied) (JB.13B:3)
- 4.87 *ngathu ngara mu-ku-yu kula ngara*  
 1sg-NOM(A) DEF cook-FUT-1sg kangaroo-ABS DEF  
 'I'm going to cook a kangaroo.' (JB.13B:3)
- 4.88 *wala ngathu-ngku*  
 NEG I-ERG(A)  
 'Not me, I didn't do it!' (in response to 'Who did it?')

## Nominative:

- 4.89 *ngathu paangki-yu*  
 1sg-NOM(S) swim-1sg  
 'I had a swim.' (EH.42:5)

## Accusative:

- 4.90 *pakul ngu-wa-nu ngathu*  
 money-ABS give-IMP-2sg 1sg-NOM(O)  
 'Give me back (my) money.' (EH.18:9)

(The form expected in example 4.90 is *nganthi* – the above form may have been given mistakenly.)

There is also very limited data on what appear to be two more first person forms, which could be the nominative and ergative in one of the dialects, or residual old forms. They are:

- nganta*  
*ngantu*
- 4.91 *paangki-ya nha-ka-na nganta nganta*  
 swim-DEC see-IMP-2sgS+1sgO 1sg-NOM(S) 1sg-NOM(S)  
 'Look at me, I'm swimming!' (EH.27:1)
- 4.92 *ngantu witji tha-l-ku-yu thapaa-ku*  
 1sg-NOM(A) meat-ABS eat-R-FUT-1sg supper-DAT  
 'I'll eat meat for supper.'

## (b) Second person

## Ergative:

- 4.93 *kaan ngara pa-ng-ka ngintu-ngku*  
 snake-ABS DEF kill-R-IMP 2sg-ERG(A)  
 'You kill the snake.' (JB.5B:2)

## Nominative:

- 4.94 *piru (y)intu paangki-ntu*  
 hard 2sg-NOM(S) swim-2sg  
 'You are swimming hard/strongly.'

- 4.95 *nganta-yi-nja ngintu*  
 blind-PR.DEC-EMP 2sg-NOM(S)  
 'You are blind!' (EH.7:7)

- 4.96 *ngintu (y)impi-ta*  
 2sg-NOM(S) leave-IMP  
 'You leave it alone!' (JB.25B:1)

## Accusative:

- 4.97 *tharrka-n-ta ngintu*  
 tell-R-P.OPT 2sg-NOM(O)  
 '(I) told you.' (JB)

## (c) Third person

## Ergative:

- 4.98 *nhumpu wala thana-l-ku-pu*  
 3sg-NOM(A) NEG do-R-FUT-3sg  
 'He won't do anything.' (RC.8:2)
- 4.99 *kuliya nhumpu karra-wa-y-pu*  
 spear-ABS 3sg-NOM(A) throw-RT-R-3sg  
 'He threw the spear.' (RC.39:2)

## Nominative:

- 4.100 *wala nhumpu kala-y-ku-pu*  
 NEG 3sg-NOM(S) climb-R-FUT-3sg  
 'He will not climb up.' (RC.9:4)

## Accusative:

- 4.101 *wala ngara pinampi-rrti-ti-yita nhumpu*  
 NEG DEF hear-REFL-PR.OPT-3pl 3sg-NOM(O)  
 'They did not hear him.' (JB.KM(62))

## 4.2.2 SECOND AND THIRD PERSON SINGULAR NOMINATIVE CASE

## (a) Second person

Table 4.2 lists two forms of second person singular:

*yintu*  
*ngintu*

Both forms appear widely in the data. Jimmie Barker uses *ngintu* (sometimes pronounced *njintu*) for both transitive and intransitive verbs. The other speakers use mostly *(y)intu*, and *ngintu* only occasionally. This evidence suggests the difference is dialectal.

But the evidence presented in 4.2.1 points to the possibility that originally *ngintu* was the ergative and *yintu* the absolutive form. These forms appear to have coalesced in recent times. Only sometimes do they appear to retain their distinctive function.

Their link with neighbouring languages can be gauged by the following list of second person singular pronouns:

|             |               |              |
|-------------|---------------|--------------|
| Ngiyambaa   | <i>ngintu</i> |              |
| Bāgandji    | <i>ngintu</i> | (ergative)   |
|             | <i>ngimpa</i> | (nominative) |
| Badjiri     | <i>yinta</i>  |              |
| Barranbinya | <i>yinta</i>  |              |

- 4.102 *wiya ya-mi-ra ngintu*  
QN go-PROG-?COMPL 2sg-NOM  
'Where are you going to?' (EH.9:6)

## (b) Third person

Two third person forms have been recorded:

*nhumpu*  
*nhampu*

The function of *nhumpu* as it relates to the overlapping of the two pronominal systems has already been illustrated in section 4.2.1. The alternative form *nhampu* does not occur as frequently in the data. It tends to occur with intransitive verbs. Thus it would appear that originally *nhumpu* was the ergative and *nhampu* the absolutive form, but, as with second person, the functions have become blurred (both forms occur in transitive and intransitive sentences).

*nhampu*:

- 4.103 *nhampu niyi-ni-pu pama-ngka*  
3sg-NOM(S) live-STY-3sg Barwon-LOC  
'He's living at Brewarrina.' (lit. 'on the Barwon')
- 4.104 *nhampu karra-pu*  
3sg-NOM(S) fear-3sg  
'He is frightened.' (EH.21:1)
- 4.105 *palkaa-pu kinta-la nhampu*  
come+P-3sg laugh-HAB 3sg-NOM(S)  
'She came out laughing.' (EH.15:5)

- 4.106 *mukarr-a nhunpa-ra nhampu*  
 roly-poly-LOC hide-COMPL 3sg-NOM(S)  
 'She planted (hid) in the roly-poly.'
- 4.107 *ngariya mani waaka-a nhunpa-ra nhampu*  
 that-ABS money-ABS drop-3sg hide-COMPL 3sg-NOM(A)  
 'He lost his money; he still had it planted (hidden).' (EH.20:8)
- 4.108 *kuthara warra-pu ngapa-ngka palanj murri-ra nhampu*  
 child-ABS fall-3sg water-LOC almost drown-CO.ORD 3sg-NOM(S)  
 'The child fell into the water and nearly drowned.' (EH.35:6)

*nhumpu* in an intransitive sentence:

- 4.109 *nhumpu pali-ya matja kayila*  
 3sg-NOM(S) die-P.DEC time AFFIRM  
 'He died long ago.' (RC.39:2)

#### 4.2.3 FIRST AND SECOND PERSON SINGULAR ACCUSATIVE CASE

First and second person singular accusative case is found in these alternate forms:

| PERSON | REGULAR FORM  | IRREGULAR FORM                 |
|--------|---------------|--------------------------------|
| 1sg    | <i>nganha</i> | <i>nganhu</i><br><i>ngunha</i> |
| 2sg    | <i>panga</i>  | <i>punga</i><br><i>pangu</i>   |

The irregular forms appear to reflect the realis/irrealis dichotomy. The pronouns indicate the irrealis by substituting *u* for the medial or final vowel of the realis (or usual) form of the pronoun. This is illustrated most clearly in first person accusative where it does not appear to matter which vowel is substituted; both are attested, but the final one is preferred. The irrealis form of the pronoun occurs when the speaker suggests doubt or uncertainty, otherwise the usual form of the pronoun is used.

(a) First person

- 4.110 *yitaa-tha-na nga-nhu*  
 bite-P.TR-LCL 1sg-ACC  
 'Something bit me (I don't know what).'
- 4.111 *nhaa-nta-li-pu ngu-nha/nga-nhu\* ngurrun-tju*  
 look-P-TRS-3sg 1sg-ACC/1sg-ACC emu-ERG  
 'The emu (stood there) looking at me.' (EH.11:9)  
 \*both forms recorded
- 4.112 *pawarn-ki yi-ku ngu-nha*  
 mosquito-EMP bite-FUT 1sg-ACC  
 'Mosquitoes will bite me!' (EH.12:4)
- 4.113 *yingka-a ngu-nha*  
 leave+P-3sg 1sg-ACC  
 'The horse left me there (after tossing me off).' (RC.8:5)



- 4.114 *ngathu pinwinki-yu ngu-nha*  
 1sg-NOM observe-1sg 2sg-ACC  
 'I'll see what you can give me.' (RC.9:3)

Compare the uncertainty with which the emu would have 'stood there looking' (4.117) with the certainty of the mosquito bite in:

- 4.115 *puwarn-tu (y)i-ta-pu nga-nha*  
 mosquito-ERG bite-P-3sg 1sg-ACC  
 'A mosquito bit me.' (EH.11:9)

(b) Second person

It appears that *punga* is the irrealis form of the regular *panga*. It occurs whenever the situation is of an uncertain nature.

- 4.116 *yimpi-yu pu-nga*  
 leave-1sg 2sg-ACC  
 'I'm leaving you, going away soon.' (EH.21:3)
- 4.117 *karra pu-nga-mil kuntarl-ngu yi-ngu-pu*  
 fear 2sg-ACC-ABL dog-ABL bite-might-3sg  
 'I'm frightened of your dog; it might bite me.'

Compare the above examples with the more usual:

- 4.118 *pinathina-∅ tharrka-thirra-y pa-nga*  
 listen-IMP tell-CONT-1sg 2sg-ACC  
 'Listen to what I'm telling you.' (EH.2:2)

Also see (4.17).

#### 4.2.4 FIRST AND SECOND PERSON SINGULAR GENITIVE CASE

(a) First person

There are two first person genitive case pronouns:

*thi-ka*  
*nga-nthi*

It will be noted that the root of *thika*, *thi-*, is the suffix *-thi* of *nga-nthi* (and it also appears as the bound form of the first person). The composite forms are derived from two different sources, the second one having the common first person root, *nga-*.

Both forms are well established in the language. Both indicate the genitive case of any NP in isolation:

*kuliya thika* 'my spear'  
*kuliya nganthe* 'my spear'

But *nganthe* occurs with transitive and di-transitive verbs, and *thika* with intransitive. (For other examples see section 4.3.)

- 4.119 *kuntarl-u pintju-wa-a nga-nha mara nga-nthi*  
 dog-ERG lick-RT-3sg lsg-ACC hand-ABS 1sg-GEN  
 'The dog licked my hand.' (RC.39:1)

(b) Second person

The second person genitive/dative forms *pangka/pungka* are very close phonetically to the accusative *panga/punga*, particularly in view of the fact that homorganic nasal-stop clusters may be pronounced with each or both members of the cluster. However these two sets of pronouns are pronounced clearly; in any case, context decides which of the two is spoken.

- 4.120 *niya-ku-yu waanpi-ra pu-ngka tilkarra-ngka*  
 sit-FUT-1sg wait-CO.ORD 2sg-GEN wilga-LOC  
 'I'll sit and wait for you (yours) by the wilga tree.' (EH.21:1)
- 4.121 *partala yima-n-ti-y pa-ngka*  
 morning get-R-PR.OPT-1sg 2sg-GEN  
 'I'll get it for you in the morning.' (EH.17:5)

### 4.3 REGULAR BOUND PRONOUNS

#### 4.3.1 NOMINATIVE CASE BOUND PRONOUNS

The basic forms of the bound pronominal suffixes express the subject of both intransitive and transitive verbs. Like the free forms, they are basically nominative-accusative. Bound forms are not obligatory. They are omitted when the meaning is unambiguous. Sometimes they are abbreviated:

|     |       |   |     |
|-----|-------|---|-----|
| 1sg | -yu   | > | -y  |
| 2sg | -ntu  | > | -nu |
| 3du | -pula | > | -la |
| 3pl | -yita | > | -ta |
|     | -yira | > | -ra |

TABLE 4.3  
BOUND PRONOUNS

|            | Singular           | Dual       | Plural               |
|------------|--------------------|------------|----------------------|
| 1st person | -yu/-y, -yi<br>-wi | -li        | -na                  |
| 2nd person | -ntu/-nu, -nta     | -nhula     | -nhura               |
| 3rd person | -pu; -a; -pi       | -pula /-la | -yira/-Ra, -yita/-ta |

## (a) Singular

- 4.122 *kumpi-yu ngapa-ngka*  
wash-1sgNOM water-LOC  
'I will swim in the creek.' (BC)
- 4.123 *wala kinta-ntu*  
NEG laugh-2sgNOM  
'You are not laughing.' (BC)
- 4.124 *minja nhaa-ra-ntu*  
what-ABS see-COMPL-2sgNOM  
'What did you see?' (EH.7:7)
- 4.125 *wani wani-pu karn-ta*  
close close-3sgNOM snake-LOC  
'He is close to the snake.' (BC)
- 4.126 *ngama tha-ta-a*  
milk-ABS drink-P.DEC-3sgNOM  
'He drank the milk.'

## (b) Dual

- 4.127 *yaman-pil pa-ng-ku-li*  
one-having-ABS kill-R-FUT-1duNOM  
'I hope we'll get one (kangaroo).' (RC.8:1)
- 4.128 *kapu mayinj niyi-pula ngapa-ku warri waam-piri-mpula/-pu*  
two-ABS men-ABS sit-3duNOM water-DAT DUBIT tree-under-3duNOM/3sgNOM  
'The two men sitting under the tree are thirsty also.' (RC.8:1)

## (c) Plural

- 4.129 *thuu kula purrpi-n-mi-yita*  
many-ABS kangaroo-ABS jump-R-PROG-3plNOM  
'A mob of kangaroos hopping along over there.' (RC.8:1)
- 4.130 *minjan-ku ya-ri-yira*  
what-DAT go-INCOM-3plNOM  
'What did they go for?'

## 4.3.2 ACCUSATIVE CASE BOUND PRONOUNS

Bound accusative case pronouns are of two types:

- (a) those where the suffix indicates subject person and number as well as object;  
(b) those that indicate object only – the bound subject suffix may or may not precede them.

The effect of the accusative suffixes is to eliminate an expressed object at clause level. This is demonstrated by comparing the next two sentences:

4.131 *wala karranj-mi-pu nga-nha*  
 NEG answer-PROG-3sgNOM lsg-ACC  
 'He won't answer me.'

4.132 *wala yaanti-li-pu-nja*  
 NEG talk+PR-TRS-3sgNOM-1sgO  
 'He won't answer me.'

(1) Fused accusative forms *-nja*, *-na* and *-punh*

These pronouns are called fused because they imply a subject implicit within the accusative suffix. Evidence suggests the subject suffix was expressed in dual and plural numbers (see *-punh* (d) this section), though not in singular number. The suffixes appear to mean 'subject-object of a transitive verb'.

There are three fused accusative case bound pronouns, *-nja*, *-na* and *-punh*. They operate according to the person of both the subject and object of a transitive or di-transitive verb. They are found in singular number only.

| TABLE 4.4<br>SPECIAL BOUND TRANSITIVE VERB PRONOUNS |        |                           |            |                            |
|-----------------------------------------------------|--------|---------------------------|------------|----------------------------|
|                                                     | Person | OBJECT<br>1               | 2          | 3                          |
| SUBJECT                                             | 1      | —                         | -          | <i>-nja</i>                |
|                                                     | 2      | <i>-na</i><br><i>-nja</i> | —          | <i>-na</i><br><i>-punh</i> |
|                                                     | 3      | <i>-nja</i>               | <i>-na</i> | <i>-na</i><br><i>-punh</i> |

The table indicates the following occurrences of singular pronominal suffixes *-nja*, *-na* and *-punh*.

- nja* occurs when the subject is first person and the object is third person, or when the object is first person, and the subject third person.
- na* occurs when either the subject or object is second person and the other item is third person, or when the subject is second person and the object first person.
- punh* occurs on some transitive verbs when subject is second or third person and object is third person singular.

No bound form has been found for first person subject with second person object; always in these cases the accusative or genitive free pronoun occurs as in:

4.133 *ngu-n-ku-wi pu-ka mani*  
 give-R-FUT-1sg 2sg-GEN money-ABS  
 'I'll give you the money.' (EH.14:1)

- 4.134 *nhaa-ra-y pa-nga kirri-la-ntu*  
 see-COMPL-1sg 2sg-ACC dance-when-2sg  
 'I saw you dancing.' (EH.14:19)

(a) Examples of *-nja* (first person subject (A))

- 4.135 *pumpi-li-ya-nja nhuu-ki*  
 pick up-TRS-P.DEC-1sgA+3sgO this-EMP-ABS  
 'I picked it up.' (EH.32:1)
- 4.136 *witji ngunta-ra-yi-nja Ruby-ngka*  
 meat-ABS give+P-COMPL-PR.DEC-1sgA Ruby-LOC  
 'I gave Ruby some meat.' (EH.15:2)
- 4.137 *pa-ng-ku-yi-nja*  
 hit-R-FUT-DEC-1sgA+3sgO  
 'I will hit him.' (EH.23:2)
- 4.138 *pa-n-ta-ra-a-nja*  
 hit-R-P-COMPL-3sg-1sgA+3sgO  
 'I killed it.'
- 4.139 *ngathu mu-l-ku-nja*  
 1sgNOM cook-R-FUT-1sgA+3sgO  
 'I will cook it.'
- 4.140 *thuma-a-nja pulayi*  
 break-P-1sgA plate-ABS  
 'I broke a plate.'
- 4.141 *pulu-l-ku-nja*  
 flog-R-FUT-1sgA+3sgO  
 'I will flog him.'

It may occur with a collective noun which clearly functions as a singular number:

- 4.142 *pingka-ku-nja mawal*  
 pluck-FUT-1sgA feathers-ABS  
 'I will pluck the emu feathers.' (EH.21:1)

(b) Examples of *-nja* (first person singular object (O))

*-nja* signals first person singular object if the subject is also singular (you...me, he...me). The subject may be expressed or unexpressed, but the suffix usually occurs when an intransitive verb root is transitivised by *-li*. *-nja* then means 'me', 'to/at/of me'; that is, it expresses the direct or indirect object pronoun of the verb. It is thus part of the di-transitive function of the verb.

- 4.143 *pinampi-li-nja*  
 think-TRS-1sgO  
 'You are thinking of me.'
- 4.144 *wala yaa-n-ti-li-pu-nja*  
 NEG speak-R-PR-TRS-3sg-1sgO  
 'He won't answer me.'

- 4.145 *mani thayin nguu-Ø-nja*  
 money-ABS towards give-IMP-1sgO  
 'Give me money.'

See also section 4.4.1.

(c) Examples of *-na* (second & third person singular object)

When the subject is second or third person singular (you, he/she/it) and the object is third person singular, the subject suffix is usually unexpressed for second person, or indicated by a lengthened vowel for third person, especially in past tense. The free-form object pronoun usually follows. Alternatively, the subject-object may be expressed by the fused form *-na*:

- 4.146 *yita-a-na*  
 bite-3sg-2sgO  
 'He bites you.'
- 4.147 *pa-n-ti-na*  
 hit-R-PR-3sgO  
 'He is hitting him.'
- 4.148 *nhumpa-ra-ka-na*  
 hide-IMP-IMP-3sgO  
 'You hide it.'
- 4.149 *wala ngarrpa-ra-na*  
 NEG snatch-IMP-3sgO  
 'Don't snatch it.'

(d) Examples of *-punh* (third person singular subject-object)

- 4.150 *payinti-n-li-ra-punh*  
 find-R-TRS-COMPL-3plA+3sgO  
 'They found him.' (EH.19:5)

The pronoun subject may be expressed if it is third person dual or plural (but see example 4.150).

- 4.151 *kapu-ngku mayin-tju nhaa-ra-pula-punh*  
 two-ERG men-ERG see-COMPL-3duA-3sgO  
 'Two men saw (a star fall).' (EH.19:6)

(2) Elided accusative bound pronouns

Transitive verbs may also suffix a shortened form of the accusative free pronoun following the subject suffix to express both subject and object in the same word. Example 4.151 with *-pula-punh* is an example of this. The following shortened forms have been observed:

| ACCUSATIVE FREE FORM | ELIDED FORM    |                |
|----------------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>nganha</i>        | <i>-ngan</i>   | 'me'           |
| <i>punha</i>         | <i>-pu</i>     | 'him, her, it' |
| <i>ngali-na</i>      | <i>-li</i>     | 'us two'       |
| <i>tharra-na</i>     | <i>-tharra</i> |                |
|                      | <i>-yana</i>   | 'them'         |

- 4.152 *wathul kuntarl-u yi-ta-ngan*  
old man dog-ERG bite-P-1sgO  
'The old man's dog bit me.'
- 4.153 *yilurr-ma-yu-pu mirti-ngka*  
lose-VBS-1sgA-3sgO bush-LOC  
'I lost it in the bush.'
- 4.154 *payinti-li-ta-pu yaraaman-thi*  
find-TRS-3plA-3sgO horse-1sgGEN  
'They found my horse.' (EH.19:5)
- 4.155 *(y)ita-a-pu*  
bite-3sgA-3sgO  
'He bit him.' (EH.22:6)
- 4.156 *yimpi-ra-li-nji*  
leave-IMP-1duO-IMM  
'Leave us alone!'
- 4.157 *nhumpu-Ø-tharra*  
hide-1sgA-3plO  
'(I've) planted (hidden) them.'
- 4.158 *mani ngu-ku-pu-tharra maatu-ngku tharra-ka*  
money-ABS give-FUT-3sgA-3plO boss-ERG 3pl-GEN  
'The boss will give them their money.' (EH.14:1)
- 4.159 *ngarri-li-yana*  
joke-TRS-3plO  
'(He) was joking with them.'

This form of suffixation is not very common.

### 4.3.3 GENITIVE CASE BOUND FORMS

Muruwari apparently once had a series of possessive suffixes similar to Southern Bāgandji, Barundji and Bandjigali (Hercus 1982:87). There is little trace of these today, though a few examples of each of the singular bound forms appear in the data. In second and third person these differ from those recorded by R.H. Mathews (1903a:54) as the following table reveals:

| TABLE 4.5<br>BOUND GENITIVE PRONOUNS |               |              |
|--------------------------------------|---------------|--------------|
| Person                               | Mathews' form | Modern form  |
| 1sg                                  | <i>-dhi</i>   | <i>-thi</i>  |
| 2sg                                  | <i>-nu</i>    | <i>-luku</i> |
| 3sg                                  | <i>-lugu</i>  | <i>-pu</i>   |

Mathews recorded these three utterances:

|                   |            |
|-------------------|------------|
| <i>ngura-dhi</i>  | 'my camp'  |
| <i>ngura-nu</i>   | 'thy camp' |
| <i>ngura-lugu</i> | 'his camp' |

(a) First person form *-thi*

*-thi* has been recorded in such expressions as:

|                       |                 |          |
|-----------------------|-----------------|----------|
| <i>mirr-thi</i>       | 'my friend'     |          |
| <i>mirr-kalka-thi</i> | 'all my people' | (JB.22B) |
| <i>kuntarl-thi</i>    | 'my dog'        |          |
| <i>kunthi-thi</i>     | 'my house'      |          |
| <i>kapunti-thi</i>    | 'my hat'        |          |

These forms are heard in fast or colloquial speech when the first syllable of the genitive pronoun becomes suffixed to the noun stem and the remainder of the pronoun is lost.

- 4.160 *nhurra-thi maa-ku-yu mayi-ngka*  
 this-1sgGEN put-FUT-1sg ground-LOC  
 'I'll put it (mine) there on the ground.' (EH.32:5b)

(b) Second person form *-luku*

*-luku*, (recorded by Mathews as third person) is an uncharacteristic suffix. It occurs twice in sentences of similar construction in the Barker data as second person:

- 4.161 *tirra-ngka ngara kunthi-luku*  
 where-LOC DEF house-2sgGEN  
 'Where is your house?' (JB.24B:4)
- 4.162 *tirra-ngka ngara kurli-luku*  
 where-LOC DEF humpy-2sgGEN  
 'Where is your place?' (JB.24B:4)

Mathews' second person *-nu* resembles the nominative bound form *-ntu*, but not the genitive free form *pangka*.

(c) Third person form *-pu*

*-pu* appears in recent data – undoubtedly an abbreviation of third person genitive *puka*, as in:

- thali-pu* rather than *thali puka* 'his chest' (EH.32:2)
- 4.163 *mani-pu yuwa-l-ka-yu school ya-n-mi-la-a*  
 money-3sgGEN lose-R-P-1sg school go-R-PROG-SB-3sg  
 'He lost his money on the way to school.' (EH.207M)



4.3.4 CONTRASTIVE EMPHASIS *-puka*

From just one example, it appears that pronouns may express a kind of contrastive emphasis (labelled C.EMP) with the suffix *-puka* attaching to the accusative form of the pronoun:

- 4.164 *nganha-puka ngaarri-li tharra-na*  
 1sgACC-C.EMP joke-TRS 3pl-ACC  
 'I myself joked with them.' (EH.5:6)

## 4.4 IRREGULAR BOUND PRONOUNS

## 4.4.1 CASE OVERLAP

Bound forms manifest a similar functional overlap to that of the free forms described in 4.2. But the phenomenon of ergative-absolutive case along with the nominative-accusative case marking in bound pronouns is limited to the first and third person singular. In the second person singular, and the first, second and third person dual and plural, only the nominative-accusative system occurs.

Diagrammatically it is seen like this:

| Case       | Function | Case       | Pronouns    |               |
|------------|----------|------------|-------------|---------------|
|            |          |            | 1sg         | 3sg           |
| Nominative | [ A      | Ergative   | <i>-nja</i> | <i>-pu/-∅</i> |
|            |          |            | <i>-yu</i>  |               |
|            | S        | Absolutive | <i>-yu</i>  | <i>-pu/-∅</i> |
| Accusative | O ]      |            | <i>-nja</i> | <i>-pu/-∅</i> |

In the first and third person singular, the systems seem to overlap and the functions interchange. This interchange of function is most fully seen in the third person with *-pu*, which occurs as ergative (A), absolutive (S) and accusative (O):

(a) Ergative *-pu*

- 4.165 *wala yaa-n-ti-li-pu-nja*  
 NEG talk-R-PR.OPT-TRS-3sgA-1sgO  
 'He won't talk to me.'

(b) Absolutive *-pu*

- 4.166 *yarrka palka-y-pu*  
 wind-ABS come-R-3sgS  
 'There's a storm coming.'

(c) Accusative *-pu*

4.167 *wala ngara kungki-ta-pu*  
 NEG DEF cover-IMP-3sgO  
 'Don't cover him up.' (JB.33B)

4.168 *njintu karrawi-ra-pu*  
 2sgNOM throw-IMP-3sgO  
 'You throw it!' (JB)

In the first person, the two suffixes *-nja* and *-yu* both have two functions. In each case one of these is ergative (A), but with *-nja* the second function is accusative (O), while with *-yu* it is absolutive (S).

(d) Ergative *-nja*

4.169 *ngathu pu-n-ta-ra-nja*  
 1sgNOM hit-R-P.OPT-COMPL-1sgA+3sgO  
 'I hit him.'

(e) Absolutive *-nja*

4.170 *wala kinta-li-nja*  
 NEG laugh-TRS-1sgO  
 'Don't laugh at me.'

(f) Ergative *-yu*

4.171 *yimpa-ya-yu-pu palaa-ngka*  
 leave-P-1sgA-3sgO plain-LOC  
 'I left him on the plain.'

(g) Absolutive *-yu*

4.172 *marrinj yinthi-ya-yu*  
 well-ABS be+PR-DEC-1sgNOM(S)  
 'I am well.'

The choice of bound forms seems to be related to the choice of free form pronouns.

## 4.4.2 BOUND AND FREE FORMS OCCURRING AS ROOTS

It is possible for a bound form to function as a root, rather than a suffix – at least as far as third person singular *-pu* is concerned. In the following sentences the comitative suffix *-yita* 'having' occurs on the pronouns in the same way as on nominals (see section 3.4.1.1).

4.173 *piyi-n-ya pula-na ngari ya-n-ti-l pu-yita nhumpu*  
 ask-R-P 3du-ACC DEF go-R-PR-O 3sg-having 3sgNOM(A)  
 'He asked the two of them to go with him.' (EH.14:6)

- 4.174 *kiyarn-tu ngaanga-a tiku mukinj-purral*  
 moon-ERG ask-3sgP young woman-du-ABS  
*ngara thanki-n-thirra-ku nhumpu-yita*  
 DEF run-R-CONT-PURP 3sg-having  
 ‘The moon asked the two young women to run away with him.’ (JB.KM(36))

#### 4.5 CONCORD IN PRONOUNS

Pronominal concord is evident in two areas. Evidence has been shown already that pronouns harmonise with case. They also show a degree of tense concord.

##### 4.5.1 TENSE CONCORD IN BOUND PRONOUNS

The bound singular suffixes express tense in an irregular way.

|               | Present          | Past               | Future           |
|---------------|------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| First person  | - <i>yu, -yi</i> | - <i>yu, -y</i>    | - <i>yu, -wi</i> |
| Second person | - <i>ntu</i>     | - <i>ntu, -nta</i> | - <i>ntu</i>     |
| Third person  | - <i>pu</i>      | - <i>a, -a-pu</i>  | - <i>pu</i>      |

##### (1) First person

The first person suffix is frequently omitted from utterances because the situation makes it obvious the speaker is referring to himself. The four variant forms listed above can only be partially accounted for.

- (a) -*yi* may be accounted for in terms of both vowel and semantic harmony; -*yi* instead of -*yu* sometimes reflects the sense of ‘nowness’ in a particular utterance – it is possibly a type of emphasis or focus.
- (b) -*yi* often occurs before a semivowel or other alveo palatal consonant; it also appears to occur at whim – the next two examples were given at the same time:

4.175 *ta-ku-yi witji parray*  
 eat-FUT-1sg meat-ABS bye and bye

4.176 *ta-ku-yu witji parray*  
 eat-FUT-1sg meat-ABS bye and bye  
 ‘I’ll have a feed bye and bye.’ (EH)

(c) the shortened form *-y* occurs optionally, usually with the past tense:

4.177 *panta-ra-y pu-nha*  
hit-COMPL-1sg 3sg-ACC  
'I hit him.'

4.178 *ya-n-mu-ra-y kunta-y-ka*  
go-R-PROG-COMPL-1sg yesterday-1sg-?  
'I went yesterday.' (EH.14:4)

(d) *-wi* occurs following *-ku* 'future', possibly when the verb carries particular suggestions of doubt (but no clear reason for the occurrence of *-ku-wi*, rather than the usual *-ku-yu* 'I will', was found). The meaning may have something to do with hypothetical/conditional in contrast to a real/definite intention. *-wi* is usually verb final and occurs with first person singular, dual and plural, though the usual pronominal forms following *-ku* (*ku-yu*, *ku-li*, *ku-na*) also occur. Examples 4.179 and 4.180 show the contrast:

4.179 *walkat-ku ya-ngku-wi kutuka-nga*  
Walgett-ALL go-FUT-1sg Goodooga-ELA  
'I'm going from Goodooga to Walgett.' (EH.15:3)

4.180 *ya-ngku-yu partala*  
go-FUT-1sg tomorrow  
'I will go tomorrow.'

4.181 *ngaa-n-ku-wi kuntarl pu-ka*  
know-R-FUT-1sgF dog-ABS 3sg-GEN  
'I don't know whose dog it is.'

4.182 *pa-ng-ku-wi pa-nga*  
hit-R-FUT-1sgF 2sg-ACC  
'I'll give you a smack.'

4.183 *nupa-l-ku-wi panga-ku-yu ya-n-mi-la-ntu*  
miss-R-FUT-1sgF tear-FUT-1sg go-R-PROG-when-2sg  
'I will miss you when you go.'

The next three examples, illustrate the use of *-wi* in the plural; in 4.185 *-na* '1pl' is also added (unless this is the locational *-na*):

4.184 *yural-ku-wi*  
bad-FUT-1plF  
'We might lose him.' (i.e. 'he might die')

4.185 *ngari ya-ng-ku-wi-na*  
DEF go-R-FUT-1plF-1pl/LCL  
'We will return there.'

4.186 *pa-rra-ka-a muu-l-ku-wi thurri warra-ka-ra-ku-na*  
'do'-REFL+P-CAUS-3sg burn-R-FUT-1plF sun-ABS fall-CAUS-COMPL-FUT-LCL  
'When the sun goes down (lit. will have been made to fall there) we will burn it (the rubbish).'

- 4.187 *kuwarri ngali ya-n-mi-ku-li*  
 far 1duNOM go-R-PROG-FUT-1du  
 'You and I are going somewhere, a long way away.' (EH.22:4)

(2) Second person

*-nta* occurs rarely, and always with the past tense, as in:

- 4.188 *pura-a-nta*  
 across-P-2sg  
 'You went across the river.'

In the last sentence the form *-nta* harmonises with and reflects the meaning of past tense *-a*. In the next sentence *-nu* appears to be an elided form of *-ntu*:

- 4.189 *karra-nta-wi ya-n-mi-nu*  
 across-LOC-EMP go-R-PROG-2sg  
 'You are going across the river.' (EH.11:1)

(3) Third person

In past tense the lengthening of stem-final *-a* of the verb or suffix is characteristic of third person singular verbs. *-pu* may also follow *a* for emphasis (repetition of function). This *-a* suffix often has the double function of indicating past tense and third person (in which case it is glossed '3sgP').

Third person plural past tense usually abbreviates the suffix *-yita/-yira* to *-ta* or *-ra*.

In narrative particularly, but not exclusively, the bound form of the third person plural nominative is used when the subject is dual (see Jimmie Barker's *Kiyarn* story, sentences 55, 83, 84). Whether this indicates that the dual form was fading from use, or whether it was a stylistic device cannot be ascertained.

#### 4.5.2 CASE CONCORD

Case concord sometimes occurs when pronouns are suffixed for case to harmonise with the case of a noun in the sentence. Such harmony is not related to grammatical function, but to semantics. Examples involves genitive, allative and ablative cases.

(1) Genitive case concord

*-ka* is the distinguishing genitive pronoun suffix. It may be suffixed to a noun to emphasise possession:

- 4.190 *kuntarl-ka thi-ka*  
 dog-GEN 1sg-GEN  
 'my dog' (JB.78B:1)

The more usual form is:

- 4.191 *kuntarl thi-ka*  
 dog-ABS 1sg-GEN  
 'my dog' (JB.78B:1)

## (2) Allative case concord

- 4.192 *ngathu-ku ya-n-ta-yu Brewarrina-ku Lightning Ridge-ngu*  
 lsgNOM-ALL go-R-P-lsg Brewarrina-ALL Lightning Ridge-ABL  
 'I went to Brewarrina from Lightning Ridge.'

## (3) Ablative case concord

- 4.193 *karra pungamil kuntarl-ngu yi-ngu-pu nga-nhu*  
 fear 2sg-ABL dog-ABL bite-might-2sg 1sg-ACC  
 'I'm frightened of your dog; he might bite me.' (EH.83:4)

## 4.6 PERSON AND NUMBER

## 4.6.1 MATHEWS' INCLUSIVE

The data already presented shows that Muruwari recognises first, second and third person, singular, dual and plural. Unlike some Australian languages, no distinction is made between the inclusive (where the one addressed is included) and the exclusive (where the one addressed is excluded), though Mathews (1903a:55) claims there is this distinction:

'There are inclusive and exclusive forms for the dual and plural of the first person'.

Mathews' assumption was doubtless based on his experience of other languages. The two forms he lists for the first person dual and plural are not differentiated, as the following table shows.

| TABLE 4.8<br>MATHEWS' INCLUSIVE AND EXCLUSIVE FORMS |                                      |                                         |                                           |
|-----------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
|                                                     | Nominative                           | Genitive                                | Accusative                                |
| Dual:                                               | <i>ngulli</i><br><i>ngullinyumbo</i> | <i>ngulliga</i><br><i>ngulligilunna</i> | <i>ngullinya</i><br><i>ngullinyanumba</i> |
| Plural:                                             | <i>nginna</i><br><i>nginnadyula</i>  | <i>nginnaga</i><br><i>nginnagadyula</i> | <i>ngurrana</i><br><i>ngurranadyula</i>   |

The first of the above two forms is the only form recognised in the corpus. Written in modern orthography the forms appear as:

|         |              |                |                 |
|---------|--------------|----------------|-----------------|
| Dual:   | <i>ngali</i> | <i>ngalika</i> | <i>ngalina</i>  |
| Plural: | <i>ngana</i> | <i>nganaka</i> | <i>ngarrana</i> |

Mathews' *-nyumba* and *-numba* are the free forms *nhumpu* and *nhampu* third person singular, and thus his forms mean 'we two and she/he'. The suffix *-lunna* in the genitive can't be identified. *-dyula* in the plural of each case may be identified as the particle *thulu* 'only' which occur in utterances like:

- 4.194 *ngana-thulu kuumpi-na*  
1plNOM-only wash-1pl  
'Us lot are bogeying (but not you).' (EH.17:8)
- 4.195 *thii ngali-ka... ngali-ka-thulu*  
tea-ABS 1du-GEN 1du-GEN-only  
'The tea belongs to us two only.' (EH.17:10)
- 4.196 *kapu-thulu nguni-pula*  
two-only lie-3du  
'Only (they) two are lying there.' (EH.64:2)

If it is necessary to indicate inclusive, an additional (qualifying) pronoun (4.197, 4.198) or numeral (4.199) is used.

- 4.197 *ngali njintu yang-ku-li*  
1duNOM 2sgNOM go-FUT-1du  
'Me and you will go.' (RC.8:6)
- 4.198 *ngathu purrel-ki*  
1sgNOM 3du-EMP  
'I'm going too!' (lit. 'I both', i.e. 'me and them two')
- 4.199 *kinta-li kapu kayila*  
laugh-1du two-ABS AFFIRM  
'You and I are laughing together.' (EH.14:4)

The reduplication of *-pula* third person dual, indicates a type of inclusive which involves reciprocal action of two people:

- 4.200 *niya-pula-y-pula*  
live-3du-EUP-3du  
'They two are living together.'
- 4.201 *maa-n-pula-pula*  
take-R-3du-3du  
'They are starting to live together.' (lit. 'they two have taken they two', i.e. 'they have taken each other')

#### 4.6.2 NEUTRALISATION OF NUMBER

Two cases of the blurring of the three numbers have been observed.

##### (1) Second person with imperative mood

If the free form subject pronoun is expressed with imperative mood, it always takes the plural form irrespective of the number of persons being addressed; the singular form, (*y*)*intu* is never heard in a command sentence. All examples are in S function.

- 4.202 *nhura* *thina-∅*  
2plNOM(S) stand-IMP  
'You stand now!' (EH.15:4)
- 4.203 *thayin ya-na nhura nhuu wartu-ku*  
towards come-IMP 2plNOM(S) this-ABS waterhole-ALL  
'You (two), come in to the water!' (EH.16:5)
- 4.204 *nhura niya-∅-nura*  
2plNOM(S) sit-IMP-2pl  
'You two fellows stop home!' (EH.17:7)
- 4.205 *thirri ya-na nhura*  
away go-IMP 2plNOM(S)  
'(You all) go away!' (EH.12:7)

## (2) Third person in narrative text

In the Barker *Kiyarn* text there is quite a deal of discrepancy in the form used and the gloss given in third person pronouns, both bound and free.

In bound and free forms, Jimmie often uses the plural *-yira* when speaking about the two women when *-pula* is expected, or when speaking about the moon-man when *-pu* is expected. In the following example the verb should be suffixed with *-pu* and the genitive pronoun should be dual.

- 4.206 *mara pu-ka niya-na-ra-yita pila-ngka tharra*  
hand-ABS 3sg-GEN rest-STY-COMPL-3pl back-LOC 3pl(GEN)  
'His hands rested on their backs.' (JB.KM(55))

Jimmie likewise uses singular number when referring to two or more. A similar inconsistency is observed in other free pronouns. Failure to define number in third person accurately was observed in data of a non-narrative nature, but not so widely. The phenomenon may have been yet another evidence of language deterioration, an evidence of memory failure or a stylistic feature.

## 4.7 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

### 4.7.1 CASE IN PRONOUNS

The three main interrogative pronouns, *minjan* 'what', *tirra* 'where' and *ngaan-* 'who, which', are declined for case within the semantic constraints of the language. Only *wantanj* 'when' does not take any suffixes. Interrogatives are usually sentence initial, though they may be repeated sentence finally for emphasis, or to include the case marker omitted at the beginning of the sentence. They may also occur in a non-interrogative function as conjunctions in subordinate sentences.



TABLE 4.9  
INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

| Case              | what, why, how    | where                                            | who, which       | when                      |
|-------------------|-------------------|--------------------------------------------------|------------------|---------------------------|
| Absolutive:       | <i>minjan</i>     | <i>tirra</i>                                     | <i>ngaana</i>    | <i>wantanj<br/>wanthu</i> |
| Ergative:         | <i>minjan-tu</i>  | <i>tirra-ngku</i>                                | <i>ngaan-tu</i>  |                           |
| Locative:         |                   | <i>tirra-ngka<br/>tirra-nta<br/>tirra-nganta</i> |                  |                           |
| Ablative:         | <i>minjan-ngu</i> | <i>tirra-ngu</i>                                 | <i>ngaan-ngu</i> |                           |
| Dative/Purposive: | <i>minjan-ku</i>  | <i>tirra-ku</i>                                  |                  |                           |
| Genitive:         |                   | <i>tirra-ku</i>                                  | <i>ngaan-ku</i>  |                           |
| Elative:          |                   | <i>tirra-nga</i>                                 |                  |                           |

#### 4.7.2 *minjan* ‘what’, ‘why’, ‘how’

The form *minja* is the word for ‘what’ over a wide area of eastern Australia, as in Wargamay (Dixon 1981:11), Ngiyambaa (Donaldson 1980), Bāgandji (Hercus 1982:169). The ablative form of the pronoun is related to the emotions and the will, and it occurs with verbs such as laughing, crying, fearing. *minjan* is widely used in a number of common sayings and frequently occurs to express uncertainty as in:

4.207 *minjan wanga-yi-pu*  
 what chase-PR-3sg  
 ‘I don’t know what he’s chasing.’ (lit. ‘What’s he chasing?’)

##### (1) Absolutive *minjan*

4.208 *minjan tuwi-pu ngariya-ki*  
 what-ABS move-3sg that-EMP  
 ‘What’s that moving?’

4.209 *minjan wala ya-ti-ntu*  
 what-ABS NEG go-PR-2sg  
 ‘Why didn’t you go?’ (JM.145:5)

##### (2) Ergative *minjan-tu*

4.210 *minjan-tu yaa-n-ti-ntu*  
 what-ERG talk-R-PR-2sg  
 ‘What are you talking about?’

(3) Ablative *minjan-ngu*

- 4.211 *minjan-ngu minjan-ngu wanki-yi-ntu*  
 what-ABL what-ABL cry-PR-2sg  
 'What's the matter? What are you crying for?'

(4) Dative *minjan-ku*

Compare the next example with 4.209 above.

- 4.212 *minjan-ku ya-n-ti-ntu*  
 what-DAT go-R-PR-2sg  
 'What do you want to go for?'

*minjan* is the only interrogative pronoun that carries noun suffixes like *-karra* 'many' and *-kala* 'like'. The following occur in the data:

- 4.213 *minjan-karra maa-n-thara-ntu*  
 what-number get-R-NECES-2sg  
 'How many did you get?'
- 4.214 *minjan-kala*  
 what-like  
 'What (is it) like?'

For other examples of *-kala* see section 3.4.3.

4.7.3 *tirra* 'where', 'what', 'which'(1) Locative *tirra-ngka*, *tirra-nta*, *tirra-nganta*

In contrast to *minjan* which expresses no locative case, the locative meaning of *tirra* 'where' is emphasised by three locative suffixes:

- ngka*: the usual locative for a word ending in a vowel
- n-ta*: where the nominaliser *-n* is added to the pronoun and then the locative *-ta*
- nga-n-ta*: where the suffix *-nga*, of unknown meaning, is added before *-n-ta*

There do not appear to be any rules governing the use of these three forms. A possible explanation is that they signify close, far or farther distance from the speaker.

- 4.215 *tirra-ngka maa-n-ta-ntu*  
 where-LOC get-R-P-2sg  
 'Where did you get that?'
- 4.216 *tirra-ngka yi-n-thirri-pu*  
 where-LOC be-R-PR-3sg  
 'Whereabouts is he?' (JB.67B:1)
- 4.217 *tirra-n-ta Bilbil nguna-na-a*  
 where-NS-LOC Bilbil-ABS lie-LCL-3sg  
 'Where is Bilbil (the cat)?' (EH.29:3)

- 4.218 *tirra-nga-n-ta thana-na wii*  
 where-?-NS-LOC make-1pl fire-ABS  
 ‘Where shall we make a fire?’ (EH.58:7)

(2) Absolutive *tirra*

- 4.219 *tirra ya-n-ta-a*  
 where-ABS go-R-P.OPT-3sg  
 ‘Where has she gone?’

*tirra* may be used to refer to a person when alluding to ‘where’ that person ‘is’ sitting, standing, doing etc.

- 4.220 *tirra pathay tiya-ri pu-ngka*  
 where-ABS father-ABS turn-REFL 2sg-GEN  
 ‘Which one is your father?’ (lit. ‘Where does your father turn himself?’)

(3) Ergative *tirra-ngku*

- 4.221 *tirra-ngku kuntarl-u yita-a pa-nga*  
 what-ERG dog-ERG bite-3sgP 2sg-ACC  
 ‘What/which dog bit you?’
- 4.222 *tirra-ngku piyan-tu kayi-n-ku-yu*  
 which-ERG dress-ERG enter-R-FUT-1sg  
 ‘Which dress will I put on?’ (EH.23:7)
- 4.223 *tirra-ngku mayin-tju panta-ra-a ngurrunj*  
 which-ERG man-ERG kill-COMPL-3sg emu-ABS  
 ‘Which man killed the emu?’

(4) Ablative *tirra-ngu*

- 4.224 *tirra-ngu palka-ntu*  
 where-ABL come-2sg  
 ‘Where do you come from?’
- 4.225 *tirra-ngu warri palka-y-pu*  
 where-ABL DUBIT come-R-3sg  
 ‘I don’t know where he comes from.’ (EH.39:4)

(5) Dative *tirra-ku*

- 4.226 *tirra-ku thangka-pu*  
 where-ALL run-3sg  
 ‘Where’s he running to?’ (EH.29:3)

4.7.4 *ngaan*- ‘who’, ‘which’

*ngaan*- is a commonly used form for inquiries concerning people and animals. It is also the interrogative pronoun used to express what Dixon (1977:183) entitles the ‘indefinite’, encompassed by the English ‘someone’ or ‘something’. In such instances, the ablative case is used, often with the indefinite *warri* ‘I don’t know who (or what)’.

Examples of its occurrence in the various cases follow.

(1) Absolutive *ngaana*

4.227 *ngaana mukinj*  
 who-ABS woman-ABS  
 'Who is that woman?'

4.228 *ngaana niya-ni-pu*  
 who-ABS sit-STY-3sg  
 'Whose (paddock) is that?' (EH)

(2) Ergative *ngaan-tu*

4.229 *ngaan-tu witji tha-ra-a*  
 who-ERG meat-ABS eat-COMPL-3sg  
 'Who ate the meat?'

(3) Ablative *ngaan-ngu*

4.230 *ngaan-ngu kapul-kapul*  
 who-ABL old people-REDUP-ABS  
 'Where are you old people from?' (i.e. 'What is your origin?')

4.231 *palka-pu ngaan-ngu warri*  
 come-3sg who-ABL DUBIT  
 'Someone is coming (I don't know who).'

(4) Genitive *ngaan-ku*

4.232 *ngaan-ku-wi kuntarl pu-ka*  
 who-GEN-IRR dog-ABS 3sg-GEN  
 'Whose dog is it?' (EH.37:5)

4.7.5 *wantanj, wanthu* 'when'

Two forms translated 'when', *wantanj* (used by Emily Horneville) and *wanthu* (used by Jimmie Barker), occur rarely. They are never marked for case, and are most likely a transliteration of the English 'what time'. *wantanj* may be used as an interrogative or a conjunction 'when'. It is uninflected, so is apart from the other interrogatives.

4.233 *wantanj ngari kuthara ngaa-ng-ka-pu Margaret-ku*  
 when DEF child-ABS born-R-CAUS-3sg Margaret-GEN  
 'When will Margaret's baby be born?' (EH)

4.234 *wantanj kula-y-ku-ntu*  
 when climb-R-FUT-2sg  
 'When will you return?' (EH.53:1)

4.7.6 NUMBER AND PERSON SUFFIXES ON INTERROGATIVES

Number and person are not usually expressed on the interrogative pronouns, except that sometimes second person and, less frequently, third person occur.

(a) *tirra* is sometimes suffixed by:

|           |            |
|-----------|------------|
| -mpu      | 'he'       |
| -mpula    | 'they two' |
| -mpu-yira | 'they all' |

4.235 *tirra-mpu-yira kurru-kurru ya-n-ti-yira*  
 where-3sg-3pl all-REDUP go-R-PR-3pl  
 'Where are all the mob going?'

(b) *minjan* may also carry second person singular pronominal suffix:

4.236 *minjan-tu karra-ri-tu minjan maari-ntu*  
 what-2sg fear-REFL-2sg what-ABS sick-2sg  
 'What are you moaning for? Are you sick?' (EH.21:4)

(c) personaliser -ka:

4.237 *waanpi-pu ngaan-ka warri*  
 wait+PR-3sg who-PER DUBIT  
 'He's waiting for someone, I don't know who.' (EH.15:1)

## CHAPTER 5

### MORPHOLOGY: VERBS

#### 5.1 OVERVIEW

##### 5.1.1 GENERAL COMMENTS

Muruwari verb morphology is complex. At its most basic it involves an intransitive verb root only (when person and tense are understood). But at its most complex it involves a number of suffixes, not always in the preferred order, whose meaning is not clearly discernible from the glosses provided.

The socially destructive forces already referred to, which in all probability account for phoneme fluctuation and possibly for unusual pronominal features, manifest themselves even more markedly in the verb morphology. While some patterns emerge clearly, others are obscured by inadequate or conflicting glosses, or by unclear and fluctuating forms. Further, the usual suffixal order is not always adhered to, and the practice of inflecting nouns with verbal suffixes appears to occur in a haphazard manner.

This chapter seeks to present verb structure as unambiguously and simply as possible. Without being able to check individual sentences in a linguistically viable situation (or even to have obtained them in such a situation in the first place), it is impossible to give the meaning of some suffixes with certainty, but 'educated' guesses have been made. Numerous examples have been given in an attempt to demonstrate the range of usage.

##### 5.1.2 RANGE OF VERB INFLECTIONS

The verb construction has five *basic* slots. Transitive verbs must include at least one of the following bracketed items, which in a majority of instances come in the order as follows:

STEM      (REALIS)      (VOICE)      (TENSE/ASPECT)      (PRONOUN)

Optional items are in brackets. Sometimes the realis marker follows the tense/aspect suffix, but the most common position is between the verb root/stem and the tense/aspect suffix. Sometimes it occurs in both these places. Two realis allomorphs may co-occur, or the same allomorph may be repeated in a given utterance. The reason for this is not known – perhaps it is evidence of embedding.

The following examples are selected from among those given later in this chapter. They illustrate the suffixal order and some of the more usual co-occurrences of suffixes with basic verb forms. (Translations are listed beneath the chart.)

|    | STEM                                        | (REALIS)   | (VOICE)      | (TENSE/ASPECT) | (PRONOUN)    |
|----|---------------------------------------------|------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1. | <i>thangki</i>                              |            |              |                |              |
| 2. | <i>pinampi</i>                              | <i>-l</i>  |              |                |              |
| 3. | <i>pathi</i>                                |            | <i>-li</i>   |                | <i>-ntu</i>  |
| 4. | <i>karra</i>                                | <i>-ng</i> |              | <i>-ku</i>     | <i>-yu</i>   |
| 5. | <i>kura</i>                                 | <i>-l</i>  | <i>-para</i> | <i>-yi</i>     | <i>-pula</i> |
| 1. | 'Run!' or '(He) runs/ran.'                  |            |              |                |              |
| 2. | '(I'm) thinking (about someone/something).' |            |              |                |              |
| 3. | 'You smell it.'                             |            |              |                |              |
| 4. | 'I will throw it.'                          |            |              |                |              |
| 5. | 'They two are patting each other.'          |            |              |                |              |

The following short paradigm of a typical intransitive verb illustrates the functioning of some of the most common tense/aspect morphemes:

|                    |              |                                       |
|--------------------|--------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>ya-n-ti-yu</i>  | 'I am going' | (statement of fact)                   |
| <i>ya-n-mi-yu</i>  | 'I am going' | (action proceeding)                   |
| <i>ya-n-ta-yu</i>  | 'I went'     | (action concluded)                    |
| <i>ya-ng-ku-yu</i> | 'I will go'  | (statement of purpose or possibility) |

### 5.1.3 CLITICS

In addition to the five basic slots given above, four clitics may be suffixed to the verb construction to denote varying degrees of attention drawing, namely:

|             |                                 |
|-------------|---------------------------------|
| <i>-ki</i>  | emphatic                        |
| <i>-nji</i> | immediacy – at this moment      |
| <i>-na</i>  | locational – at this/that place |
| <i>-nja</i> | intensifier                     |

These are discussed in Chapter 6 (6.3.1-6.3.4), though *-na* is more fully dealt with in this chapter in 5.5.4 (2).

## 5.2 STRUCTURE OF VERB STEMS

The majority of verb stems are composed of a root alone. The verb roots listed below illustrate three distinct syllable patterns: CV, CVCV and CVCCV.

### 5.2.1 MONOSYLLABIC ROOTS: CV

Many common roots are monosyllabic. They encompass a wide range of common verbs (mostly transitive) and comprise roots containing both short and long vowels.

## TRANSITIVE ROOTS

|            |                   |
|------------|-------------------|
| <i>muu</i> | 'to cook'         |
| <i>tha</i> | 'to eat'          |
| <i>pa</i>  | 'to hit'          |
| <i>maa</i> | 'to hold in hand' |
| <i>ngu</i> | 'to give'         |
| <i>ka</i>  | 'to bring'        |
| <i>nha</i> | 'to see'          |

## INTRANSITIVE ROOTS

|            |               |
|------------|---------------|
| <i>ya</i>  | 'to go, walk' |
| <i>yaa</i> | 'to talk'     |
| <i>yi</i>  | 'to be'       |
| <i>tha</i> | 'to arise'    |

## 5.2.2 DISYLLABIC ROOTS: CVCV, CVCCV

Disyllabic roots are of CV.CV, CVC.CV or CV.CCV patterning (a period (.) indicates the end of a syllable).

CV.CV roots:

|               |            |               |                  |
|---------------|------------|---------------|------------------|
| <i>ka.yi</i>  | 'to enter' | <i>pa.rrī</i> | 'to tie'         |
| <i>yi.rru</i> | 'to flow'  | <i>pu.ra</i>  | 'to cross river' |
| <i>wu.lu</i>  | 'to bark'  | <i>ya.ki</i>  | 'to cut'         |
| <i>pi.yi</i>  | 'to ask'   | <i>ku.wi</i>  | 'to whistle'     |

CVC.CV roots:

|                 |            |               |            |
|-----------------|------------|---------------|------------|
| <i>tharr.ka</i> | 'to speak' | <i>pal.ka</i> | 'to come'  |
| <i>ngarr.pa</i> | 'to steal' | <i>pil.pa</i> | 'to bleed' |
| <i>purr.pi</i>  | 'to jump'  |               |            |

CV.(C)CV roots:

Other disyllabic verbs consist of a basic CV syllable such as the above plus a CCV or CV syllable of the same form as most stem-forming suffixes. CCV suffixes consist of a prenasalised stop, or a liquid plus stop, followed by a vowel. CV patterns consist of any consonant plus stop.

Evidence suggests that proto-Muruwari verb roots were largely monosyllabic, but in the process of time certain derivational suffixes on some monosyllabic roots petrified.

The forms listed here are termed root forms since the verbs have not been recorded other than with this form.

| CV + (m)pa/(m)pi | CV + (n)ta/(n)ti | CV + (ng)ka/(ng)ki |             |                 |             |
|------------------|------------------|--------------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
| <i>paa.mpa</i>   | 'to restrain'    | <i>ki.nta</i>      | 'to laugh'  | <i>nga.ngka</i> | 'to swear'  |
| <i>tu.mpa</i>    | 'to scold'       | <i>wu.ta</i>       | 'to go to'  | <i>paa.ngki</i> | 'to swim'   |
| <i>wa.mpa</i>    | 'to forget'      | <i>wa.nti</i>      | 'to sit on' | <i>yu.ngki</i>  | 'to sing'   |
| <i>yi.mpi</i>    | 'to leave'       |                    |             | <i>puu.ngki</i> | 'to ignite' |
| <i>pu.mpi</i>    | 'to pick up'     |                    |             | <i>kaa.ngki</i> | 'to float'  |
| <i>puu.mpi</i>   | 'to blow'        |                    |             | <i>ku.ngki</i>  | 'to cover'  |



### 5.2.3 REDUPLICATED VERB ROOTS

In common with most other Australian languages, verb roots may be reduplicated, especially to suggest repeated action:

|               |        |                     |                    |
|---------------|--------|---------------------|--------------------|
| <i>purri-</i> | 'jump' | <i>purri-purri-</i> | 'jump up and down' |
| <i>yaki-</i>  | 'cut'  | <i>yaki-yaki-</i>   | 'keep cutting'     |

### 5.2.4 STEMS CONSISTING OF ROOT PLUS SUFFIX

There are four stem-forming suffixes:

|                          |                                     |
|--------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| <i>-ma/-mi</i>           | 'verbaliser'                        |
| <i>-ta/-ti/-tha/-thi</i> | 'factive'                           |
| <i>-(m)pa/-(m)pi</i>     | 'causative'                         |
| <i>-ka/-ki</i>           | 'causative (or possibly purposive)' |

Three of these suffixes may relate to CA forms, for which Capell (1956:70) suggests the following meanings:

|              |                 |
|--------------|-----------------|
| *- <i>ma</i> | making, causing |
| *- <i>pa</i> | action as such  |
| *- <i>ka</i> | being as such   |

Only the meaning for *-ma*, the widely attested CA verbaliser, \*-*ma*, equates clearly with modern Muruwari. The other three morphemes are those that help form many common disyllabic roots discussed in 5.2.2. It is impossible to give precise meanings to these morphemes when they are part of a petrified form. It is also difficult to assign precise meanings to them when they function as modern stem-forming suffixes.

These four verbalising suffixes attach to a verb root to form a verb stem which carries some aspectual or semantic meaning different from the root. All but the *-ta* set sometimes suggest causation (in which case they are glossed CAUS), and sometimes function as verbalisers glossed VBS).

There are a small number of roots, like *pa* 'to hit', *ya* 'to go' and *yaa* 'to talk', which rarely occur without a stem-forming suffix except in imperative mood. Most other roots may attract one of these suffixes only if required to do so to signal a change or extension of meaning. For example, note the difference between these roots in isolation and when combined with stem-forming suffixes:

*pa/pu* 'to strike'

|                |                         |                            |
|----------------|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>pa-nti</i>  | 'hitting'               | (statement of fact)        |
| <i>pa-mpa</i>  | 'fighting'              | (causing to hit or be hit) |
| <i>pa-ngka</i> | 'catching fish or game' |                            |
| <i>pu-ngka</i> | 'to kill'               |                            |

*yaa* 'to talk'

|                |           |                                    |
|----------------|-----------|------------------------------------|
| <i>yaa-nti</i> | 'talking' | (statement of the fact)            |
| <i>yaa-mpi</i> | 'talking' | (possibly, being required to talk) |

*ngaa* 'to breathe'

|                 |                    |                         |
|-----------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>ngaa-nta</i> | 'to bear children' | (the basic action)      |
| <i>ngaa-nka</i> | 'to be born'       | (the result of bearing) |

*maa* 'to get'

|                |                          |                                              |
|----------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| <i>maa-nta</i> | 'to get'                 | (action of obtaining by going for something) |
| <i>maa-npa</i> | 'to pull down'           | (to cause to be got)                         |
| <i>maa-nga</i> | 'to take something away' |                                              |

Additionally, stem-forming suffixes are found suffixed to roots complete in themselves. That is, the suffix does not create a new stem or modify an existing one. Its function in these cases appears to be an expression of aspect/tense.

5.1 *thulpu-n-ta pencil thika*  
drop-R-FAC pencil-ABS 1sgGEN  
'I dropped my pencil.' (EH.10:1)

5.2 *yarraaman pingku-l-pi-na-nja kuliya-ngku*  
horse-ABS pierce-R-CAUS-LCL-1sgA+3sgO spear-INSTR  
'I threw my spear at the horse.' (lit. 'pierced with spear') (EH.145M)

5.3 *pali-pa-ku-nji*  
die-CAUS-FUT-IMM  
'He's going to die.'

5.4 *puumpi-ti-yira*  
blow-FAC-3pl  
'Smoke is blowing past.'

(1) The verbaliser suffix *-ma/-mi*

*-ma* is widely found in Australian languages as a verbaliser; for example, in Kalkatungu (Blake 1969), Pitta-Pitta (Blake 1979), Bāgandji (Hercus 1982). In Muruwari, it is suffixed to both nominal and verb roots, and performs a similar function with both. It creates verbs from nominal roots, but with verbs it extends their meanings to suggest conscious 'making', 'performing' or 'causing' an action to be performed. It has usually been glossed 'verbaliser' (VBS) unless it strongly suggests 'causative' (CAUS) when it has been so glossed.

*-mi* occurs very rarely. It appears to be used when a non-complete action is implied. This is parallel to the tense suffixes in which *i* represents present and *a* past tense (5.5.1 (2)).

(a) Nominal + *-ma*

*-ma* verbalises both nouns and adjectives, but it does not occur widely in this function.

| NOUN                  |           | VERB                        |                    |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------------------------|--------------------|
| <i>thangkuray</i>     | 'a dream' | <i>thangkuray-ma</i>        | 'to dream'         |
| <i>karray/karranj</i> | 'fear'    | <i>karray-ma/karranj-ma</i> | 'to make afraid'   |
| <i>kanturl</i>        | 'hunger'  | <i>kantarl-ma</i>           | 'to become hungry' |
| <i>thina</i>          | 'foot'    | <i>thina-ma</i>             | 'to send'          |

## ADJECTIVE

- |  |                    |            |                       |                  |
|--|--------------------|------------|-----------------------|------------------|
|  | <i>marnta</i>      | 'cold'     | <i>marnta-ma</i>      | 'to become cold' |
|  | <i>kitji-kitji</i> | 'ticklish' | <i>kitji-kitji-ma</i> | 'to tickle'      |
- 5.5 *yintu karranj-ma-ntu nganha*  
2sgNOM fear-VBS-2sg 1sgACC  
'You frightened me.' (EH.48:3, 72:1)
- 5.6 *tharran-ta thina-ma-ra punha*  
smoke-LOC foot-VBS-IMP 3sgACC  
'Put (i.e. stand) him in the smoke.' (EH.44:3)
- 5.7 *thangkuray-ma-yu kanji yurrin-tja*  
dream-VBS-1sg now night-LOC  
'I dreamed last night.' (EH.35:5)
- 5.8 *njirri-ma-a nganha*  
cheeky-VBS-3sg 1sgACC  
'He was cheeky to me.' (EH.16C:1)
- 5.9 *kiyarn-tu kitji-kitji-ma-pu kuni-purral*  
moonman-ERG tickle-REDUP-VBS-3sg girl-dual-ABS  
'The moonman tickled the two girls.' (JB.KM (56))

(b) Secondary verb formed by *-ma*

*-ma* suffixes verb roots to produce secondary verbs, usually transitive, as in many Australian languages, for example Warrgamay (Dixon 1980:435). In Muruwari, a number of roots involve actions performed by the hands. (Some of these roots have not been found without this *-ma* suffix.)

- |  |                  |                                                             |
|--|------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|
|  | <i>parrima</i>   | 'to tie up'                                                 |
|  | <i>thina-ma</i>  | 'to send, cause to stand' ( <i>thina</i> 'foot' 'to stand') |
|  | <i>thuumma</i>   | 'to break'                                                  |
|  | <i>kayama</i>    | 'to go fishing' ( <i>kuya</i> 'a fish')                     |
|  | <i>nhi-ma</i>    | 'to pick up, hold down'                                     |
|  | <i>wunama</i>    | 'to put down upon' ( <i>wuna</i> 'to lie')                  |
|  | <i>partima</i>   | 'to wind up'                                                |
|  | <i>kiinki-ma</i> | 'to belt, hit'                                              |
- 5.10 *yaan thina-ma-y puka*  
talk stand-VBS-1sg 3sgGEN  
'I sent him a letter.' (EH.30:3)
- 5.11 *tirra-ka kurli thina-ma-ntu*  
how-LOC humpy-ABS stand-CAUS-2sg  
'How do you put up the humpy?' (EH.47:6)
- 5.12 *mankarr wuna-ma-li-yira punha*  
bag-ABS lie-CAUS-TRS-3pl 3sgACC  
'They laid him on a blanket.'

- 5.13 *nguna-ma-pula punha pali-ya-na kanta-nji*  
 lie-CAUS-3du 3sgACC dead-P.DEC-LCL high-IMM  
 'They left him (caused him to lie) there for dead.' (EH.KM (13))
- 5.14 *parti-ma-yi-pu mathan-ta*  
 wind-CAUS-PR.DEC-3sg stick-LOC  
 '(The sinew) is being wound up round a stick.' (EH.6C:3)

*-ma* is usually suffixed directly to the verb root. Occasionally it may follow a realis marker as shown in the examples below.

- 5.15 *ya-n-ma-ku-na kuya-ku*  
 go-R-CAUS-FUT-1pl fish-DAT  
 'We are going for fish.'
- 5.16 *ngaa-ntu ngara witji tha-n-ma-a*  
 who-ERG DEF meat-ABS eat-R-CAUS-3sg  
 'Who ate (caused to be eaten) the meat?' (JB.17B:1)
- 5.17 *njirri-n-ma-nja taraangu*  
 tease-R-VBS-1sgA+3sgO tiger snake-ABS  
 'I was tormenting (teasing) a tiger snake.'

(c) Verbaliser of English roots

*-ma* may be used to verbalise any concept that otherwise eludes the speaker, including English words.

|                 |           |
|-----------------|-----------|
| <i>lusi-ma</i>  | 'to lose' |
| <i>savi-ma</i>  | 'to save' |
| <i>palit-ma</i> | 'to find' |
| <i>wanti-ma</i> | 'to want' |

Neighbouring Bāgandji also uses *wanti-ma-* for 'to want' (Hercus 1982:180).

The following roots sound like their English counterparts, but they may be genuine Muruwari roots:

|                         |           |
|-------------------------|-----------|
| <i>kiki-ma/kirrk-ma</i> | 'to kick' |
| <i>yilurr-ma</i>        | 'to lose' |

- 5.18 *minjan wanti-ma-y-pu*  
 what-ABS want-VBS-R-3sg  
 'What did he want?'
- 5.19 *savi-ma-ra punha*  
 save-VBS-COMPL 3sgACC  
 'He saved him.'

(d) The rare form *-mi*

The form *-mi* occurs rarely and signifies incompleteness. Compare 5.20 and 5.21:

- 5.20 *marnta-mi-yu*  
 cold-VBS-1sg  
 'I'm getting cold.'

- 5.21 *marnta-ma-yu*  
cold-VBS-1sg  
'I'm cold.'
- 5.22 *njirrinj-njirrinj-mi-la-a*  
cheeky-REDUP-VBS-when-3sg  
'When he's getting cheeky.' (EH.14:8)

(Because *-mi* verbalises adjective roots, it is regarded as the present tense form of the verbaliser *-ma*, as the *-mi* 'progressive' morpheme which the gloss 'getting' suggests (cf. section 5.5.5(1)).)

(2) The 'factive' verbaliser suffix *-ta/-ti/-tha/-thi*

These four verbalisers occur with verbs of motion or speech. They have been labelled 'factive' because they indicate that the speaker regards the action as a statement of fact. They are variously glossed, according to their import within an utterance:

|        |                   |
|--------|-------------------|
| P.OPT  | past operative    |
| PR.OPT | present operative |
| P      | past              |
| PR     | present           |
| FAC    | factive           |

The distribution of the four forms is:

|                             |                                         |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| <i>-ta</i> and <i>-ti</i>   | generally occur with intransitive verbs |
| <i>-tha</i> and <i>-thi</i> | generally occur with transitive verbs   |
| <i>-ta</i> and <i>-tha</i>  | incorporate a punctiliar or past sense  |
| <i>-ti</i> and <i>-thi</i>  | indicate a continuous or present sense  |

This can be more easily seen as follows:

|                    |             |              |
|--------------------|-------------|--------------|
|                    | transitive  | intransitive |
| punctiliar/past    | <i>-tha</i> | <i>-ta</i>   |
| continuous/present | <i>-thi</i> | <i>-ti</i>   |

The transitive/intransitive difference is an expression of the fact that *-ta/-ti* appear to focus the meaning internally upon the verb; *-tha/-thi* appear to direct attention outside the verb towards the object NP. The factive suffix by its very nature requires the presence of a realis marker (see section 5.3). This is almost always *-n*, which occurs between the root and the factive marker.

- 5.23 *kunta ya-n-ta-a*  
yesterday go-R-P.OPT-3sgP  
'He went yesterday.'
- 5.24 *pa-n-tha-ra-a kuntarl*  
hit-R-P.OPT-COMPL-3sgP dog-ABS  
'He hit the dog.'
- 5.25 *ya-n-ti-pu*  
go-R-PR.OPT-3sg  
'He is going along.'

- 5.26 *pa-n-thi-pu*            *nganha*  
hit-R-PR.OPT-3sg lsgACC  
'He is hitting me.' (focus on 'me')
- 5.27 *wampa-wampa*    *yaa-n-ti-ntu*  
silly-REDUP        talk-R-PR.OPT-2sg  
'You are talking stupidly.' (focus on the talking)
- 5.28 *pathi-n-ti-pu*            *puka*  
smell-R-PR.OPT-3sg rotten  
'It stinks.' (focus on the smelling)
- 5.29 *ya-n-ta-a*                *ngurra-ku*  
go-R-P.OPT-3sgP camp-ALL  
'He went to the camp.' (focus on the going)
- 5.30 *minjan*        *pa-n-tha-ra-ntu*  
what-ABS    kill-R-P.OPT-COMPL-2sg  
'What did you kill?' (focus on what was killed)

Occasionally both intransitive *-ti/-ta* and transitive *-thi/-tha* occur with the same verb root. This may be attributed to language disintegration or to some undiscovered constraint, perhaps relating to intent, direction or emphasis.

- 5.31 *ya-n-ti-yu/ya-n-thi-yu*    *kunthi-ku*    *nganthi*  
go-R-PR.OPT-lsg                house-ALL    lsgGEN  
'I'm going home.' (focus on where going)

(3) The 'causative' verbaliser *-(m)pa/- (m)pi*

*-pa* occurs with both transitive and intransitive verb roots. It most commonly occurs in the *-pa* form. When it occurs as *-pi*, it appears to incorporate a continuous sense. When *n* precedes this marker, the *n* has been analysed as a realis marker. When *m* occurs, it has been regarded as part of the verbaliser (as simple prenasalisation).

The basic meaning appears to be 'to cause to happen'. *-pa* functions very similarly to *-ma*, 'verbaliser', 5.2.4 (1). Most characteristically it modifies the form of an existing simple verb. It is less common for it to create a new verb from a nominal. One difference between *-ma* and *-pa* is that *-pa* more clearly carries causative overtones – causing something to happen by deliberate planning or action, as in the following example where the old man 'causing himself to walk' is translated 'walking slowly'.

- 5.32 *ya-n-pa-rr-i-mi-na-a*                                *wathul-kaampa*  
walk-R-CAUS-REFL-PROG-LCL-3sg    old man-PER  
'The old man is walking slowly along.'    (EH.71:1)

(a) Verb root + *-(m)pa/- (m)pi*

The suffix is found on different verb roots to those suffixed by the verbaliser *-ma*. A number of these roots carry a latent idea of the action 'entering into' somebody or something. Hence *-pa* may suggest a hidden action, or one performed outside the capacity of the recipient to initiate it.

- 5.33 *marnta-ngka ngapa-ngka mara kayi-mpa punha*  
 cold-LOC water-LOC hand-ABS enter-CAUS 3sgACC  
 ‘(The doctor) put my hand in cold water.’
- 5.34 *kayi-n-pa-ra thaa-ngka*  
 enter-R-CAUS-IMP mouth-LOC  
 ‘Put it in your mouth.’ (EH.72:2)
- 5.35 *ngunthi-pa-a kupi*  
 know-CAUS-3sg doctor-ABS  
 ‘He is a clever witchdoctor.’ (lit. ‘has been caused/made to know’)
- 5.36 *mangka kaa-mpi-pu*  
 bone-ABS take-CAUS-3sg  
 ‘He’s got (taken possession) of the bone now.’
- 5.37 *paru kayi-mpi-yu nhurra witji*  
 hole-ABS enter-CAUS-1sg that-ABS meat-ABS  
 ‘I put the meat in a deep hole.’

(b) Nominal + *-(m)pa/- (m)pi*

The data yields the following verbs derived from nominals:

|      | Nominal                          |                               | Verb                  |                                                  |
|------|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
|      | <i>mitjin</i>                    | ‘a lie’                       | <i>mitjin-pi</i>      | ‘to tell a lie’                                  |
|      | <i>ngurra</i>                    | ‘a camp’                      | <i>ngurra-mpi</i>     | ‘to visit’                                       |
|      | <i>kuliya</i>                    | ‘a spear’                     | <i>kuliya-pa</i>      | ‘to spear’                                       |
|      | <i>kurti</i>                     | ‘anger’                       | <i>kurti-mpa</i>      | ‘to be angry’                                    |
|      | <i>parri</i>                     | ‘hot’                         | <i>parri-parri-pa</i> | ‘to burn’                                        |
|      | <i>palanj</i>                    | ‘shiny’                       | <i>palanj-pi</i>      | ‘to shine’                                       |
|      | <i>paru</i>                      | ‘down low’                    | <i>paru-pa</i>        | ‘to bury’                                        |
| 5.38 | <i>kuliya-n-pa-a puka nhampu</i> | spear-R-VBS-3sg 3sgGEN 3sgNOM |                       | ‘He speared him to death.’                       |
| 5.39 | <i>ngari parri-parri-pa</i>      | DEF burn-REDUP-VBS            |                       | ‘He’s very hot.’ (lit. ‘he’s been made to burn’) |
| 5.40 | <i>paru-pa-a witji puka</i>      | down-VBS-3sgP meat-ABS 3sgGEN |                       | ‘(The dog) buried his bone.’ (EH.31:3)           |
| 5.41 | <i>ngurra-mpi-ntu</i>            | camp-VBS-2sg                  |                       | ‘You came to my place.’                          |
| 5.42 | <i>karra-karra-mpi-yu miil</i>   | sting-REDUP-VBS-1sg eye-ABS   |                       | ‘My eyes are smarting.’                          |

- 5.43 *mirrinj parlanj-pi-na-a*  
 star-ABS gleam-VBS-there-3pl  
 'The stars are shining over there.'

(4) The verbaliser *-ka/-ki*

Like *-ma* and *-pa*, the verbaliser *-ka/-ki* suggests causation, but often with the extra sense of purpose. It appears to be linked functionally and semantically with the future/purposive *-ku*; on some stems, *-ka*, *-ki* and *-ku* are mutually substitutable. But to call it 'purposive' appears to be too simple. It appears that *-ka/-ki* may do three things to verbs:

- (i) intransitive root plus *-ka* produces a transitive verb
- (ii) transitive root plus *-ka* produces an intransitive/passive construction
- (iii) verbaliser meaning of *-ka* indicates a more extreme or extensive kind of action.

The causative force of the suffix may be gauged by comparing:

|                 |        |                           |
|-----------------|--------|---------------------------|
| <i>warra</i>    | (INTR) | 'to fall'                 |
| <i>warra-ka</i> | (TR)   | 'to drop' (cause to fall) |

This causative verbaliser usually occurs in its past or punctiliar form *-ka*. The suffix *-ki* functions as the present or continuous form.

(a) Verb root + *-ka/-ki*

*-ka* occurs with both intransitive and transitive verb roots, many times following realis.

|               |               |                  |                    |
|---------------|---------------|------------------|--------------------|
| <i>ya</i>     | 'to go, walk' | <i>ya-ka</i>     | 'to go after'      |
| <i>thaa</i>   | 'to eat'      | <i>thaa-ka</i>   | 'to be eaten'      |
| <i>yuwi</i>   | 'to lose'     | <i>yuwi-ka</i>   | 'to be lost'       |
| <i>nhaa</i>   | 'to see'      | <i>nhaa-ka</i>   | 'to be seen'       |
| <i>karra</i>  | 'to throw'    | <i>karra-ka</i>  | 'to spill'         |
| <i>wirru</i>  | 'to scratch'  | <i>wirru-ka</i>  | 'to be scratched'  |
| <i>tha</i>    | 'to arise'    | <i>tha-ka</i>    | 'to fly about'     |
| <i>pa</i>     | 'to hit'      | <i>pa-ka</i>     | 'to rip apart'     |
| <i>tawi</i>   | 'to open'     | <i>tawi-ka</i>   | 'to open up'       |
| <i>thulpu</i> | 'to drop'     | <i>thulpu-ka</i> | 'to cause to drop' |

- 5.44 *ngapa karra-l-ka*  
 water-ABS throw-R-CAUS  
 'The water spilt.'
- 5.45 *ngurrun-tju payi-l-ka-a kitju-kitju*  
 emu-ERG produce-R-CAUS-3sg small-REDUP-ABS  
 'The emu brought the little ones out.' (RC.74:3)
- 5.46 *kiyarn-ku ya-ng-ka-ra-yita*  
 moon-DAT go-R-CAUS-COMPL-3pl  
 'They went after the moon.'
- 5.47 *wala ngaa-n-ka ngurrun-tju narrana wangka*  
 NEG bear-R-CAUS emu-ERG that nest-ABS  
 'The emu won't lay in that nest again.'



- 5.48 *thurran tha-ka-nji*  
smoke-ABS arise-CAUS-IMM  
'The smoke is flying now.'
- 5.49 *minjan ngara nhaa-ka-ntu*  
what-ABS DEF see-CAUS-2sg  
'What are you looking at?'
- 5.50 *nuntu-ka-yira paayar-u*  
close-CAUS-3pl wax-INSTR  
'They closed it up with wax.' (EH.72:4)
- 5.51 *tawi-n-ka-yira wangka*  
open-R-CAUS-3pl nest-ABS  
'They opened up the nest.' (EH.72:4)
- 5.52 *wantanj ngari kuthara ngaa-n-ka-pu Margaret-ku*  
when DEF child-ABS bear-R-CAUS-3sg Margaret-GEN  
'When will Margaret's baby be born?'
- 5.53 *ka-ng-ki-yu nu-yita piyaka*  
get-R-CAUS-1sg 2sg-COMIT tobacco-ABS  
'I'm taking your tobacco.' (RC)
- 5.54 *purrpi-ki-yu*  
jump-CAUS-1sg  
'I'll jump off something.' (EH.20:10)
- 5.55 *witji muu-ki-yu*  
meat-ABS cook-CAUS-1sg  
'I'm cooking meat.' (EH.19:6)
- 5.56 *muu-ki-yu parri-ya manu*  
cook-CAUS-1sg burn-P.DEC bread-ABS  
'I burnt the bread.' (EH.21:2)

(b) Nominal + *-ka*

When suffixed to nouns or adjectives, *-ka* has an inchoative function, translated 'to become'. It occurs infrequently.

- 5.57 *kuri-ka-rri-ya-pula*  
anger-CAUS-REFL-P.DEC-3du  
'They two became angry.'
- 5.58 *mukara kuwinj-ka-yi-pu yi-ng-ka-pu-ki*  
burr-ABS lizard-CAUS-PR.DEC-3sg be-R-CAUS-3sg-EMP  
'The frill neck lizard became full of burrs.'

### 5.2.5 VERBALISING INFLECTED VERBS

While the normal position for stem-forming suffixes is immediately following the verb root, stem-forming suffixes are also found following other suffixes, particularly following voice and *-mi*. It

would appear that a root plus some inflectional suffixes may also be verbalised to form a new stem. This structure could be analysed as embedding or layering.

(SF = 'stem-forming' in the next three examples only.)

5.59 *pitara yaa-n-pi-rr-i-n-ti-pu*  
well speak-R-SF-REFL-R-SF-3sg  
'He speaks very well.' (EH)

5.60 *tuurri-mi-pi-ya-a*  
grow-PROG-SF-P.DEC-3sg  
'He was growing (bigger).' (EH)

5.61 *kupi-ngku numpi-ya-ka-nja*  
doctor-ERG shut-P.DEC-SF-INTEN  
'The doctor (clever man) closed the hole up.'

### 5.3 REALIS

#### 5.3.1 THE REALIS/IRREALIS DISTINCTION

Realis allomorphs are as follows:

|               |                         |
|---------------|-------------------------|
| <i>-l/-ng</i> | with transitive stems   |
| <i>-n/-y</i>  | with intransitive stems |

There is a clear dichotomy between realis and irrealis in Muruwari verbs. The basis for establishing this morphological category as realis (R) is that wherever the marker is present there appears to be a definiteness about the action being described. When absent, the gloss denotes an indefiniteness: 'maybe', 'must' (but might not), 'thought' (but didn't act), 'could' (but may not), 'should', and reported actions, frequently considered irrealis (IRR). Statements about misfortune also appear to encompass the irrealis. (See section 5.5.7 for comments on future realis/irrealis.) Though there are some exceptions to this in the glosses given, in the mind of the speaker there can always be some reservation or doubt which does not appear in the gloss.

In consequence, it is not always possible to predict the use or non-use of realis markers. As well as the hidden cultural perspectives, it appears that certain verbs do not take the realis marker, even though they are used in realis situations: to think, remember, stand, sit, sleep, lie, return, leave, all occur without the realis in situations where one would expect it. The following rule covers most cases:

If the realis morpheme is absent, it signifies either that it is not relevant or that the meaning is irrealis.

It may be possible to analyse the realis markers as class markers, as this is obviously their historical origin. These four consonants are familiar conjugation markers in Pama-Nyungan languages over a wide area of Australia from the Western Desert to north Queensland. They closely correspond to the conjugation markers in Yidinj and Ngawaygi, as recorded by Dixon (1980) and in Ngiyambaa as recorded by Donaldson (1980).

In Muruwari, however, their analysis as class markers has not been convenient for a variety of reasons:

- (i) the allomorphs are to some extent phonologically determined (see section 5.3.2)

- (ii) some stems are able to take more than one allomorph, for example:
- 5.62 *muu-l-ku-yu*  
*muu-ng-ku-yu* 'I will cook'
- 5.63 *ngaa-n-ku-* 'will give birth'  
*ngaa-ng-ku-* 'will be born'
- 5.64 *kami-l-ku-yu* 'I will take it home'  
*kami-y-ku-yu* 'I will return (to the house)'
- (iii) future tense (section 5.5.7) and imperative mood (5.8) verbs fall into four groups as in a class system, but with other tenses and aspects there is no such clearly defined grouping
- (iv) realis allomorphs are extremely similar to aspectual allomorphs yet to be described (section 5.5).

### 5.3.2 PHONOLOGICAL PRESSURES ON REALIS ALLOMORPHS

There appears to be considerable phonological pressure determining the form the morpheme takes. The following rules apply:

- (i) before suffixes commencing with *t*, *th* or *tj*, only *-n* may occur (in homorganic form *-n*, *-nh* or *-nj*)
- (ii) before a suffix beginning with *p*, the choice is limited to either *-l* or *-n* (the *m* prenasalisation which occurs with *p* is considered a homorganic assimilation of *-n*)
- (iii) before a suffix beginning with *m*, *-l* or *-n* are preferred, but occasionally *-y* occurs
- (iv) preceding suffixes which commence with *k*, however, there are approximately the same number of examples with each realisation.

There are also some examples where alternative allomorphs occur with the same verb where there does not appear to be any phonological reason for the choice of form.

### 5.3.3 REALIS AND TRANSITIVITY

There is a strong bias for *-l* and *-ng* to indicate transitivity and *-n* and *-y* to indicate intransitivity; that is, in realis sentences, where *-l* and *-ng* occur an object is expressed or implied, but where *-n* and *-y* occur no object is present or implied. Compare the next two sentences:

- 5.65 *kami-l-ku-yu*  
 return-R-FUT-1sg  
 'I will take it home.'
- 5.66 *ya-n-ta-a kunta*  
 go-R-P-3sg yesterday  
 'He went yesterday.'

## (1) Characteristics of transitivity

Roots that are innately transitive are associated with *-l* and *-ng* realis allomorphs; these roots usually end in *a*, with a few roots ending in *i* or *u*.

allomorph *-l*:

|                |                  |
|----------------|------------------|
| <i>muu-l</i>   | 'to cook'        |
| <i>tha-l</i>   | 'to eat'         |
| <i>thana-l</i> | 'to do'          |
| <i>kami-l</i>  | 'to return home' |

5.67 *muu-l-ku-yu* *witji*  
 cook-R-FUT-1sg meat-ABS  
 'I will cook the meat.'

5.68 *puu-l-ku-yu* *mathan* *wayan-ku*  
 chop-R-FUT-1sg tree-ABS honey-DAT  
 'I will chop the tree down for honey.'

allomorph *-ng*:

|                  |                        |
|------------------|------------------------|
| <i>pa-ng</i>     | 'to strike, kill, hit' |
| <i>kaa-ng</i>    | 'to take'              |
| <i>ngaa-ng</i>   | 'to give birth to'     |
| <i>thulpu-ng</i> | 'to drop'              |

5.69 *pa-ng-ku-nja*  
 hit-R-FUT-1sgA+3sgO  
 'I will hit him.'

5.70 *kaa-ng-ku-pu* *witji*  
 take-R-FUT-3sg meat-ABS  
 'He will take the meat.'

5.71 *kuthara* *ngaa-ng-ka-pu*  
 child-ABS born-R-CAUS-3sg  
 'She's going to have a baby.' (RC.5:8)

5.72 *thulpu-ng-ka-yu* *pakal*  
 drop-R-CAUS-1sg money-ABS  
 'I dropped the money.' (EH.30:3)

However, some transitive verbs manifest the *-n* realis morpheme:

|              |                        |
|--------------|------------------------|
| <i>maa-n</i> | 'to hold, bring, take' |
| <i>ngu-n</i> | 'to give'              |

5.73 *maa-n-ku-li* *kuya*  
 take-R-FUT-1du fish-ABS  
 'We will take the fish.' (EH.21:3)

5.74 *ngu-n-ku-yu* *puka* *mani*  
 give-R-FUT-1sg 3sgGEN money-ABS  
 'I will give him money.' (EH.14:1)

The transitiviser morphemes *-li/-la* and *-nga* (see sections 5.4.1 and 5.4.2) have both formal and functional affinity with the realis markers *-l* and *-ng*.

The realis allomorph *-l* also suffixes intransitive verbs in a semi-transitive construction implying an indirect object. The suffix is at the end of the verb, after the personal pronoun if one is expressed. The associated NP is usually dative case:

5.75 *pinampi-l piku*  
 think-R hard  
 'I'm thinking hard about something.' (EH.10:4)

5.76 *thumpa-ku ya-n-mi-l*  
 sheep-DAT go-R-PROG-R  
 'I'm going after sheep.' (RS.35M:3)

5.77 *ngara waaku-ntu-l minjan-ku*  
 DEF drop-2sg-R what-DAT  
 'What did you drop that for?'

## (2) Characteristics of intransitivity

Most intrinsically intransitive verb roots are associated with the realis markers *-y* or *-n*, and are characterised by root-final *-i*. (A few roots end in *a*, fewer still in *u*).

*-i-y:*

|                 |                      |
|-----------------|----------------------|
| <i>tharri-y</i> | 'to fly'             |
| <i>wanki-y</i>  | 'to cry'             |
| <i>tuwi-y</i>   | 'to move'            |
| <i>yungki-y</i> | 'to sing, sorcerise' |
| <i>kirri-y</i>  | 'to dance'           |

*-i-n:*

|               |            |
|---------------|------------|
| <i>yi-n</i>   | 'to be'    |
| <i>puwi-n</i> | 'to rest'  |
| <i>kayi-n</i> | 'to enter' |

*-a-y:*

|                |                          |
|----------------|--------------------------|
| <i>thina-y</i> | 'to stand'               |
| <i>warra-y</i> | 'to fall'                |
| <i>kura-y</i>  | 'to go across the river' |

*-a-n:*

|                |               |
|----------------|---------------|
| <i>ya-n</i>    | 'to walk'     |
| <i>yaa-n</i>   | 'to talk'     |
| <i>nguna-n</i> | 'to lie down' |

Intrinsically transitive verbs can be rendered intransitive by the *-n* realis marker which always appears to direct attention internally on to some aspect of the action:

5.78 *muu-n-mi-ku-yu*  
 cook-R-PROG-FUT-1sg  
 'I will do the cooking.' (EH.5:19)

Verb roots that are intrinsically transitive may become intransitive when suffixed by a stem-forming suffix that neutralises their transitivity, as:

transitive *pa-n-ta-* 'to hit' may become  
intransitive *pa-mpa-* 'to fight'

5.79 *pa-mpa-la-pula* *mayinj-purral* *mathan-tu*  
hit-CAUS-RECIP-3du men-two-ABS stick-INSTR  
'The two men fought each other with sticks.' (EH.13:9)

(Also see examples in section 5.3.6.)

### (3) Degrees of transitivity

Muruwari verbs manifest five degrees of transitivity ranging from the fully transitive verb through to the fully intransitive verb. These degrees are illustrated in Table 5.1.

| TABLE 5.1<br>DEGREES OF TRANSITIVITY |                |             |            |              |           |           |             |      |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|-------------|------------|--------------|-----------|-----------|-------------|------|
|                                      | RM             | TRS<br>suff | TR<br>suff | INTR<br>suff | S<br>pron | A<br>pron | A-O<br>pron | Cl O |
| 1                                    | <i>-l, -ng</i> |             | x          |              |           | x         | (x)         | x    |
| 2                                    |                |             | x          |              |           | x         |             | (x)  |
| 3                                    |                |             | x          | x            |           | x         |             | (x)  |
| 4                                    | <i>-n</i>      | x           |            | x            |           |           | x           | (x)  |
| 5                                    | <i>-y</i>      |             |            | x            | x         |           |             |      |

#### LEGEND:

|        |                                               |
|--------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1      | fully transitive                              |
| 2      | almost fully transitive                       |
| 3      | semi-transitive A (transitive root)           |
| 4      | semi-transitive B (intransitive root)         |
| 5      | fully intransitive                            |
| RM     | realis marker                                 |
| TRS    | transitivising                                |
| suff   | suffix                                        |
| TR     | transitive                                    |
| INTR   | intransitive                                  |
| S pron | pronoun subject of an intransitive verb       |
| A pron | pronoun subject of a transitive verb          |
| O pron | pronoun object of a transitive verb           |
| A-O    | fused subject-object of a transitive verb     |
| Cl O   | object at clause level                        |
| x      | obligatory or usual                           |
| (x)    | optionally present within certain constraints |

This table seeks to explain the extreme mobility in Muruwari suffixes where degrees of transitivity constantly change, depending upon which realis and other suffixes co-occur. The verbs manifest a great deal of fluidity in this area. Because pronouns exhibit nominative/ergative as well as

nominative/accusative distinctions, the transitivity of the verb is often obscured, especially when other distinguishing factors such as an object are implied but not expressed.

Notice that the next three examples express realis, but the others do not.

- 5.80 *pa-n-ta-ra-a* *kuntarl*  
hit-R-P.OPT-COMPL-3sgP dog-ABS  
'He hit the dog.'
- 5.81 *pa-n-ta-ra-nja*  
hit-R-P.OPT-COMPL-1sgA+3sgO  
'I killed him.'
- 5.82 *ngarlu* *kami-l-mi-yu*  
again return-R-PROG-1sg  
'I'm going over back home again now.' (EH.6C:2)
- 5.83 *warrawi-li-ntu*  
return-TRS-2sg  
'When you return home.'
- 5.84 *kawi-li-ya-ntu* *nganha*  
call-TRS-P.DEC-2sg 1sgACC  
'Did you call me?'
- 5.85 *kawi-yira* *tinti*  
call+PR-3pl bees-ABS  
'The bees are buzzing.'

#### 5.3.4 REALIS AND TENSE/ASPECT/VOICE

Table 5.2 suggests how realis markers may be linked with tense/aspect and voice markers. In this table, *i* and *a* are seen to denote present and past tense respectively, with the preceding consonant denoting aspect or voice. Although this is not the complete list of aspect and voice morphemes, one can nevertheless see links between realis markers and these suffixes – the links are obviously historical, but have been obscured by more recent developments.

| TABLE 5.2<br>REALIS AND SOME TENSE/ASPECT/VOICE SUFFIXES |            |             |                               |
|----------------------------------------------------------|------------|-------------|-------------------------------|
| Realis                                                   | Present    | Past        | Aspectual Gloss               |
| <i>-n</i>                                                | <i>-ni</i> | <i>-na</i>  | stationary aspect             |
| <i>-y</i>                                                | <i>-yi</i> | <i>-ya</i>  | declarative aspect            |
| <i>-l</i>                                                | <i>-li</i> | <i>-la</i>  | transitiviser (voice)         |
| <i>-ng</i>                                               |            | <i>-nga</i> | special transitiviser (voice) |

## 5.3.5 REALIS AND FUTURE TENSE

Although we have seen that verb roots may occur with more than one of the realis markers, each verb root has a preferred association with only one of them. This is most evident when it occurs with the future morpheme *-ku*. The following lists underscore again that roots which take *-l* and *-ng* are mostly transitive verbs; those which take *-n* and *-y* are usually intransitive.

|                   |               |                      |                  |
|-------------------|---------------|----------------------|------------------|
|                   | <i>-l</i>     |                      | <i>-ng</i>       |
| <i>tana-l-ku</i>  | 'will make'   | <i>kaa-ng-ku</i>     | 'will take'      |
| <i>muu-l-ku</i>   | 'will cook'   | <i>pa-ng-ku</i>      | 'will hit'       |
| <i>tha-l-ku</i>   | 'will do'     | <i>ngu-ng-ku</i>     | 'will give'      |
| <i>karra-l-ku</i> | 'will throw'  |                      |                  |
| <i>wanga-l-ku</i> | 'will chase'  |                      |                  |
| <i>kami-l-ku</i>  | 'will return' |                      |                  |
|                   | <i>-n</i>     |                      | <i>-y</i>        |
| <i>yaa-n-ku</i>   | 'will talk'   | <i>paanki-(y)-ku</i> | 'will swim'      |
| <i>puwi-n-ku</i>  | 'will rest'   | <i>kura-y-ku</i>     | 'will go across' |
| <i>kayi-n-ku</i>  | 'will enter'  | <i>tharri-(y)-ku</i> | 'will fly'       |
| <i>muu-n-ku</i>   | 'will cook'   | <i>kula-y-ku</i>     | 'will climb'     |
| <i>maa-n-ku</i>   | 'will hold'   | <i>thina-y-ku</i>    | 'will stand'     |
| <i>ngaa-n-ku</i>  | 'will lay'    | <i>kuumpi-(y)-ku</i> | 'will wash'      |

## 5.3.6 EXAMPLES

## (a) Different realis markers with the same verb root

These examples illustrate the fact that a change of realis marker indicates change of meaning, frequently relating to transitive or intransitive status.

- 5.86 *nguna-y-pu-nji*  
lie-R-3sg-IMM  
'He is asleep/is sleeping (now).'
- 5.87 *nguna-n-thara-yu-ku*  
lie-R-NECES-1sg-PURP  
'I'll be going to sleep.' (lit. 'I intend to lie (because I need to sleep).') (EH.17:2)
- 5.88 *nhuu piyan nguna-ng-ku-wi yingka*  
here dress-ABS lie-R-FUT-1sg 2sgGEN  
'I'll put (lie) your dress here.'
- 5.89 *wala thana-l-ku-pu*  
NEG do-R-FUT-3sg  
'He won't do anything.'
- 5.90 *kurli thana-l-ku-yu*  
humpy-ABS make-R-FUT-1sg  
'I will make the humpy.'



- 5.91 *pinka-ku thana-y-la-a pinka-ngku*  
 spark-DAT make-R-HAB-3sg pinewood-INSTR  
 'One (gathers) pinewood for making fire.' (EH.37:1)
- 5.92 *kanji ngari warra-y-ka-pu*  
 soon now fall-R-CAUS-3sg  
 'Soon it will be born.' (RC.5:8)
- 5.93 *warra-n-ka-yi-pu*  
 fall-R-CAUS-PR.DEC-3sg  
 'She's scratching around looking for something.' (lit. 'it has dropped') (EH.86:1)

## (b) Examples on different roots:

- 5.94 *paangki-y-ku-yu ngapa-ngka*  
 swim-R-FUT-1sg water-LOC  
 'I'll swim in the river.'
- 5.95 *kuumpi-n-tjira-ntu*  
 wash-R-VOL-2sg  
 'Do you want to have a bogey (wash)?'
- 5.96 *mu-l-ti-yu witji manu thaka*  
 cook-R-PR.OPT-1sg meat-ABS bread-ABS also  
 'I'll do it.' (lit. 'cook meat and bread also')
- 5.97 *thulpu-ng-ka-yu pakul*  
 drop-R-CAUS-1sg money-ABS  
 'I dropped the money.' (EH.30:3)
- 5.98 *mayi-ngka niya-n-tha-a-pu*  
 ground-LOC live-R-P.OPT-3sgP-3sg  
 'He lived on the ground.' (JB.KM (2))

## (c) Examples of co-occurrence of realis markers

- 5.99 *mirrinj kanta palka-n-yi-n-ti-la-yita*  
 star-ABS high come-R-PR.DEC-R-FAC-when-3pl  
 'When the stars come out.' (JB.52B)
- 5.100 *ya-n-mi-yu tha-rri-n-tha-rri-n-tju-yu*  
 go-R-PROG-1sg eat-?REFL-R-eat-?REFL-R-AVOL-1sg  
 'I'm going to eat.' (EH)

## (d) Examples of Irrealis

- 5.101 *wala niya-ku-nji tampa tuku kula-yi-nji*  
 NEG sit-FUT-IMM again stomach-ABS climb-PR.DEC-IMM  
 'I can't sit down again because I'm full.' (EH.66:3)
- 5.102 *kayila tha-ku-ntu*  
 AFFIRM eat-FUT-2sg  
 'You must eat it.' (EH.53:3)

- 5.103 *pali-ku-pu*  
die-FUT-3sg  
'He might die.' (RC.5:8)
- 5.104 *yukanh kala-mi-pu purtu-ku*  
cloud-ABS come-PROG-3sg rain-DAT.PURP  
'Cloud coming, it might rain.' (RC.5:7)

Literally, (5.104) says 'Clouds are coming for rain.' (dative case). The translation 'it might rain' suggests the purposive suffix *-ku*, hence both glosses are given.

- 5.105 *wala pinampu-thirri-yu*  
NEG think-CONT-1sg  
'I never thought another word about it.'
- 5.106 *niyu-mu-ku-la-nji*  
live-PROG-FUT-3du-IMM  
'Let them live together.'

In the last two sentences the final root vowels have become *u* (changing from *pinampi-* and *niya-*). This vowel is associated with future tense and the irrealis concept, so its presence in these two examples is compatible with the total meaning. Such change does not occur consistently; it may be stylistic, or the change may add emphasis or direction to the irrealis or negative intent.

#### 5.4 VOICE

The term 'voice' has been used to cover functions of the verb that change or strongly mark its transitivity or intransitivity. In Muruwari, voice manifests itself in a number of suffixes, each functioning in a distinctive fashion. They are:

|                      |                       |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| <i>-li, -la</i>      | transitiviser         |
| <i>-nga</i>          | special transitiviser |
| <i>-tha</i>          | object focus          |
| <i>-rri, -tharri</i> | reflexive             |
| <i>-la, -para</i>    | reciprocal            |

Two of the above morphemes, *-li* 'transitiviser' and *-rri* 'reflexive' function bi-valently. At times both function as stem-forming suffixes, and at other times fulfil their primary functions: *-li/-la* changing the transitivity of a verb, and *-rri* indicating reflexive action.

##### 5.4.1 TRANSITIVISER *-li, -la*

*-li* is the usual form of the suffix. Most intransitive verbs may be made transitive by *-li* (TRS) or *-la* (P.TRS) but some choose the special transitiviser *-nga* (see section 5.4.2).

The following list illustrates how intransitive roots become transitive stems:

| INTRANSITIVE ROOT |               | TRANSITIVE STEM  |                      |
|-------------------|---------------|------------------|----------------------|
| <i>kinta</i>      | 'to laugh'    | <i>kinta-li</i>  | 'to laugh at         |
| <i>ngaaki</i>     | 'to play'     | <i>ngaaki-li</i> | 'to joke with'       |
| <i>pathi</i>      | 'to smell'    | <i>pathi-li</i>  | 'to smell something' |
| <i>muthi</i>      | 'to kiss'     | <i>muthi-li</i>  | 'to kiss someone'    |
| <i>kawi</i>       | 'to sing out' | <i>kawi-li</i>   | 'to call someone'    |

Compare the following two pairs of sentences. The first in each pair is intransitive, the second has been transitivised by *-li*.

- 5.107 *kinta-y-pu*  
laugh-R-3sg  
'He is laughing.'
- 5.108 *kinta-y-li-yu panga*  
laugh-R-TRS-1sg 2sgACC  
'I am laughing at you.'
- 5.109 *yaa-n-ti-yu*  
talk-R-PR-1sg  
'I am talking.'
- 5.110 *yaa-n-ti-li-nja nhuu mukintj*  
talk-R-PR-TRS-1sgA+3sgO this-ABS woman-ABS  
'I am talking with this woman.'

Some further examples of *-li*:

- 5.111 *wiya pathi-li-ntu punha*  
QN smell-TRS-2sg 3sgACC  
'Do you smell it?'
- 5.112 *ngurrunj thangka-li-yu kitju-yira witji*  
emu-ABS run-TRS-1sg small-COMIT meat-ABS  
'I'm getting away with a bit of emu meat.'
- 5.113 *kuthara thika pinampi-li-yi-nja*  
child-ABS 1sgGEN think-TRS-PR.DEC-1sgA+3sgO  
'I'm thinking about my son.'
- 5.114 *yarrka-ngku kaanti-li-ya-a*  
wind-ERG get-TRS-P.DEC-3sg  
'The wind blew it away' (lit. 'got to it').
- 5.115 *kinta-li-pu panga*  
laugh-TRS-3sg 2sgACC  
'He is laughing at you.'
- 5.116 *panta-li-ya-a*  
hit+P-TRS-P.DEC-3sgP  
'He hit him.'

The more usual form of 5.116 is:

- 5.117 *panta-ra-a*                      *punha*  
hit+P-COMPL-3sgP    3sgACC  
'He hit him.'

The next examples appear to indicate that *-li* has a punctiliar form *-la* which occurs when the action looks back to a past time. Sometimes the translation is expressed as past perfect. For example compare 5.118 with 5.115.

- 5.118 *kinta-la-nji*                      *kiyiira*  
laugh-P.TRS-IMM    turkey-ABS  
'She laughed at the turkey.' (EH.26:9)
- 5.119 *yaa-n-ti-la-a*                      *tharrana*    *kurru-kurru*  
talk-R-PR.OPT-P.TRS-3sg    3plACC    all-REDUP-ABS  
'He talked to them all.' (JB.74B)
- 5.120 *tangkura-ma-yu*    *yukarta-yukarta*                      *wanga-la-a*                      *nga-nha*  
dream-VBS-1sg    sorcerer-REDUP-ABS    chase-P.TRS-3sg    1sgACC  
'I dreamed a sorcerer was chasing me.' (EH.35:6)
- 5.121 *muka-la-a*                      *puntha*    *kuthara*  
nurse-P.TRS-3sg    3sgACC    child-ABS  
'She nursed the boy.' (EH.5:4)
- 5.122 *wanti-la-ntu*                      *yarraaman*  
astride-P.TRS-2sg    horse-ABS  
'Did you ride the horse?' (EH.25:13)

#### 5.4.2 SPECIAL TRANSITIVISER *-nga*

*-nga* is a transitive suffix, which attaches to intransitive verb roots to derive a transitive verb of an associated, though different, meaning to that of the intransitive root. As described above, verbs are usually transitivised by *-li*. *-nga* fulfils a similar function on a limited range of verb roots, always in punctiliar form, hence its abbreviated gloss as P.TR.

| INTRANSITIVE ROOT |             | TRANSITIVE FORM    |                         |
|-------------------|-------------|--------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>tha-</i>       | 'arise'     | <i>tha-nga</i>     | 'awaken someone'        |
|                   |             | (cf. <i>tha-ri</i> | 'fly')                  |
| <i>wirru-</i>     | 'scratch'   | <i>wirru-nga</i>   | 'scratch someone/thing' |
| <i>kuumpi-</i>    | 'wash'      | <i>kuumpi-nga</i>  | 'paint something'       |
| <i>nguna-</i>     | 'lie'       | <i>ngunaa-nga</i>  | 'put something down'    |
| <i>maanpa-</i>    | 'pull down' | <i>maanpa-nga</i>  | 'pull something down'   |
| <i>purra-</i>     | 'sew'       | <i>purra-nga</i>   | 'sew something'         |
| <i>kaa-</i>       | 'take'      | <i>kaa-nga</i>     | 'take something away'   |

*-nga* almost always occurs with an object at clause level. It acts as a transitiviser occurring only in punctiliar form.

*-nga* has not been analysed as a stem-forming suffix since it may follow other stem-forming suffixes, such as *-pa*, as seen in example 5.125 below.

- 5.123 *kaa-nga punha kuthara mayin-tju wayil*  
take-P.TR 3sgACC child-ABS man-ERG AFFIRM  
'The man took the child away.' (EH.20:3)
- 5.124 *kuumpi-nga-a nganha karti-ngku*  
wash-P.TR-3sg 1sgACC poison-INSTR  
'She painted me with poison.'
- 5.125 *mangkarr maa-n-pa-nga-yu*  
blanket-ABS hold-R-CAUS-P.TR-1sg  
'I pulled the blanket down.' (EH.70:5)
- 5.126 *ya-n-ta-a thaa-nga-ra-punh*  
go-R-P.OPT-3sg arise-P.TR-CO.ORD-3sgS+3sgO  
'She went and woke him up.'
- 5.127 *ngathu piyan thika purra-nga-yu*  
1sg-NOM dress-ABS 1sgGEN sew-P.TR-1sg  
'I'm sewing up my dress.'

*-nga* infrequently occurs with a transitive root, for which an object at clause level is not obligatory:

- 5.128 *tha-ra-nga-ntu*  
eat-COMPL-P.TR-2sg  
'You have eaten (your dinner – implied).'
- 5.129 *murra-li-ya-ntu yalaali tha-ra-nga-ntu*  
vomit-TRS-P.DEC-2sg lollies-ABS eat-COMPL-P.TR-2sg  
'You spewed when you had a feed of lollies.'
- 5.130 *thaata pa-nga-y-ngu-li kuya thaata*  
big hit-P.TR-R-POTL-1du fish-ABS big  
'We might catch a big fish today.' (EH)

*-nga* and *-li* may occur together to transitivise the same verb root:

- 5.131 *nguutha-nga-li-ya punha*  
annoy-P.TR-TRS-P.DEC 3sgACC  
'(They) were annoyed with him.'

One of the problems with this analysis is that it appears that *-nga* may also verbalise a nominal root.

|                |         |                    |                             |
|----------------|---------|--------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>kunkanj</i> | 'cover' | <i>kunkanj-nga</i> | 'to cover up someone/thing' |
| <i>yampuru</i> | 'sleep' | <i>yampuru-nga</i> | 'to put someone to sleep'   |

- 5.132 *kunkanj-nga-yira nganha pulayinkin-tu*  
cover-P.TR-3pl 1sgACC blanket-INSTR  
'They covered me up with a blanket.'

#### 5.4.3 OBJECT FOCUS *-tha*

*-tha* (OBF) is usually verb final immediately before an object; it functions very differently from all other verbal suffixes. Its function appears to be that of adding another dimension of transitivity to a

transitive verb by highlighting the object that follows. It is found with the past tense or imperative form of a verb:

- 5.133 *nhaa-tha punha*  
look-OBF 3sgACC  
'Look at him!' (EH.31:6)
- 5.134 *ngumpu-pa-tha pantanj kupi-ngku*  
block-CAUS-OBF hole-ABS doctor-ERG  
'The doctor closed up the hole.'
- 5.135 *panta-ra-tha pampu*  
hit+P-COMPL-OBF head-ABS  
'He got hit on the head.' (JB.65B)
- 5.136 *yitaa-tha nganha*  
bite+P-OBF 1sgACC  
'Something bit me.' (EH.22:5)
- 5.137 *minjan ngara nhaa-tha*  
what FOC see-OBF  
'What did you see?' (EH)
- 5.138 *wu-tha-a wilata*  
carry-OBF-3sg tomahawk-ABS  
'He carried (his) tomahawk.'
- 5.139 *wii-ngka muu-tha-yira manu*  
fire-LOC cook-OBF-3pl bread-ABS  
'They cooked (your) bread on the fire.'
- 5.140 *palka-pu ngaa-nguri nhaa-tha-ra nganha*  
come-3sg 1sg-DAT see-OBF-CO.ORD 1sgACC  
'Someone came out and saw me.' (EH.20:3)
- 5.141 *yima-tha-ra punha pakul*  
hold-OBF-CO.ORD 3sgACC stone-ABS  
'to stop the rock (from rolling)'

#### 5.4.4 REFLEXIVES *-rri*, *-tharri*

The reflexive suffixes are innately intransitive by the very nature of the action reflecting back upon itself. Whereas *-tharri* conveys the reflexive (REFL) meaning fairly consistently, *-rri* seems to carry several different meanings and the reflexive idea is often difficult to discern.

##### (1) Weak reflexive *-rri*

A number of common verbs appear to regard actions generated from the body as a type of reflexive:

|                 |                             |
|-----------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>tha-rri</i>  | 'to arise – get oneself up' |
| <i>pa-rri</i>   | 'to burn itself out' (fire) |
| <i>tiyi-rri</i> | 'to twist itself'           |

- tu-ri* 'to grow'  
*pu-ri* 'to cut oneself'
- 5.142 *wala tha-ri-pu*  
 NEG arise-REFL-3sg  
 'He won't get up.'
- 5.143 *wii pa-ri-pu*  
 fire-ABS burn-REFL-3sg  
 'The fire has gone out.' (EH)
- 5.144 *pina-li-ri-yu*  
 hear-TRS-REFL-1sg  
 'I am hearing myself (what I am saying).'
- 5.145 *kamala tha-ri-pu nhumpu-thulu*  
 alone eat-REFL-3sg 3sg-only  
 'He ate it (by) himself.' (EH.80:1)

When *-ri* is suffixed to other verb roots, with some the reflexive sense is clear, with other roots it is very shadowy, and with yet others *-ri* seems to be a transitiviser (despite its 'innate' intransitivity) and conveys no reflexive sense at all. *-ri* occurs on these less-likely roots:

- |                |           |                   |                         |
|----------------|-----------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>ya</i>      | 'to walk' | <i>ya-ri</i>      | 'to bring oneself back' |
| <i>thangki</i> | 'to run   | <i>thangki-ri</i> | 'to run away'           |
| <i>palka</i>   | 'to come' | <i>palka-ri</i>   | 'to get at someone      |
| <i>niya</i>    | 'to sit'  | <i>niyi-ri</i>    | 'to sit oneself down'   |
| <i>nha</i>     | 'to see'  | <i>nha-ri</i>     | 'to appear like'        |
- 5.146 *waan niyi-ri-pu wayil*  
 tree-ABS sit-REFL-3sg long time  
 'He's been sitting under the tree all day.' (EH.40:2)
- 5.147 *karrakarranti nha-ri-pu ngapa kayila palanj*  
 mirage-ABS see-REFL-3sg water-ABS AFFIRM shining  
 'The mirage appears shining like water.' (EH.71:1)
- 5.148 *thirri thangki-ri taa-ngu*  
 away run-REFL door-ABL  
 'Get away from my door!' (EH.84:7)
- 5.149 *pala-ri-ya-yu milin-tja*  
 slip-REFL-P.DEC-1sg mud-LOC  
 'I slipped in the mud.' (EH)
- 5.150 *panta-ri-nja partala*  
 strike+P-REFL-INTEN morning  
 'They came down next morning.' (JB.KM)

*-ri* also appears to function as a verbaliser in deriving verbs from nominals (compare *-nga* above):

|              |           |                 |                                    |
|--------------|-----------|-----------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>tuku</i>  | 'stomach' | <i>tuku-ri</i>  | 'to expand stomach (in pregnancy)' |
| <i>pampu</i> | 'head'    | <i>pampu-ri</i> | 'to have a headache'               |

|               |           |                    |                   |
|---------------|-----------|--------------------|-------------------|
| <i>kuka</i>   | ‘crooked’ | <i>kuka-rrri</i>   | ‘to be lame’      |
| <i>kurika</i> | ‘angry’   | <i>kurika-rrri</i> | ‘to become angry’ |

- 5.151 *pampu-rrri-yi-yu*  
head-REFL-PR.DEC-1sg  
‘I’ve got a headache.’ (EH.13:14)
- 5.152 *kurika-rrri-ya-pula-nji*  
angry-REFL-P.DEC-3du-IMM  
‘They two became angry.’ (EH.KM)
- 5.153 *kuka-rrri-pu*  
crooked-REFL-3sg  
‘(The man) is lame.’

(2) Strong reflexive *-tharri*

The full reflexive *-tharri/-tharra* is also known to derive a verb from an adjective as in:

|              |         |                      |             |
|--------------|---------|----------------------|-------------|
| <i>wampa</i> | ‘silly’ | <i>wampa-tharri-</i> | ‘to forget’ |
|--------------|---------|----------------------|-------------|

- 5.154 *pakul wampa-tharri-yi-yu*  
money-ABS forgot-REFL-PR.DEC-1sg  
‘I forgot the money.’ (EH.31:6)

*-tharri* expresses the usual action of a reflexive verb of ‘doing to itself or oneself’. The longer form of the suffix seems to occur on verbs which are strongly reflexive, *-rrri* on those where the reflexive meaning is not so obvious.

- 5.155 *pusi yarraka-tharri-pu*  
cat-ABS stretch-REFL-3sg  
‘The cat is stretching himself.’ (EH.69:2)
- 5.156 *mara pinjuwa-tharri-yu*  
finger-ABS suck-REFL-1sg  
‘I am sucking my finger.’ (RC.72:2)
- 5.157 *wirrunga-tharri-pu purlili-ngu kuntarl*  
scratch-REFL-3sg fleas-ABL dog-ABS  
‘The dog is scratching himself for (from) fleas. (EH.6C:3)
- 5.158 *nanka-tharri-pu ngarriya-na mayinj*  
swear-REFL-3sg that-LCL man-ABS  
‘That man over there is swearing to himself.’ (EH.30:1)
- 5.159 *purri-tharri-ya-yu*  
cut-REFL-P.DEC-1sg  
‘I cut myself.’

As with other suffixes, *-tharri* may manifest itself in a past tense form *-tharra*:

- 5.160 *yaka-tharra-yu naypu-ngku mara thika*  
cut-REFL+P-1sg knife-INSTR hand-ABS 1sgGEN  
‘I cut myself (my hand) with a knife.’ (EH.14:5)



The following example indicates how an intransitive root may be transitivised (by *-nga*) and then intransitivised again (by *-tharri*) so that the final expression is intransitive:

- 5.161 *wirru-nga-tharri-ka-yu*  
 scratch-P.TR-REFL-CAUS-1sg  
 'I scratched myself.'

In this example, *-ka*, usually stem forming, has been removed from the root by *-nga* and *-tharri*, both of which have taken priority – see also under *-mi* 5.5.5 (c).

#### 5.4.5 RECIPROCAL *-la*, *-para*

##### (1) *-la*

The reciprocal (RECIP) form *-la* (not to be confused with the transitiviser *-la*) is found with only two stems: *pampa* 'to fight' and *ya* 'to go':

- 5.162 *pampa-la-yi-yira*                    *mayinj*    *mukinj*  
 fight-RECIP-PR.DEC-3pl    man-ABS    woman-ABS  
 'The man and the woman had a fight.'

- 5.163 *yanti-la-pula*                    *karrka*  
 go+PR-RECIP-3du    together  
 'They are courting.' (going with each other)

##### (2) *-para*

*-para* expresses reciprocal action with verbs other than the two suffixed by *-la*. It is usually prefixed by the *-l* realis marker, which perhaps reflects a sense of 'objectivity' extended outside the verb to each participant of the action.

- 5.164 *yaanti-l-para*  
 talk-R-RECIP  
 'Yarning together.' (EH.13:7)
- 5.165 *kura-l-para-yi-pula*  
 pat-R-RECIP-PR.DEC-3du  
 'They are patting each other.'
- 5.166 *yaa-n-ti-para-ku*                    *ngara*  
 talk-R-PR-RECIP-PURP    DEF  
 'to have a talk' (JB)
- 5.167 *muthi-para-yi-pula*  
 kiss-RECIP-PR.DEC-3du  
 'They two are kissing each other.' (EH.30:5)

## 5.5 TENSE/ASPECT

### 5.5.1 GENERAL DISCUSSION

Though discussed separately, tense and aspect are so intertwined that they function as facets of a complex concept. In this regard they are considered to be a unit.

## (1) Tense concept

While the threefold concept of time as present, past and future is clearly demonstrated by linguistic features in Muruwari, the Muruwari concept and time-frame is entirely different from that of English. In Muruwari the major tense dichotomy seems to be future-nonfuture, where the future is clearly marked (by *-ku*), but the nonfuture (present and past) is often less carefully delineated. It appears that present and past tense morphemes may be omitted when not particularly relevant. In the following three sentences, the English glosses do not clearly reflect the meaning of the tense/aspect morpheme:

5.168 *wala yaa-n-ti-pu*  
NEG talk-R-PR-3sg  
'He won't talk.'

5.169 *wala ya-n-ku-pu*  
NEG go-R-FUT-3sg  
'He won't go away.'

5.170 *karta-karta muu-ri-ntu kuya*  
black-REDUP cook-INCOM+PR-2sg fish-ABS  
'You cooked the fish black.' (RC.74:1)

The important thing appears to be not the time the action takes place, but the fact that it takes place. If time of action is important to meaning, it will be marked by a definitive tense morpheme as described next.

## (2) The tense morphemes

The three short vowels are central to the tense system. Each one inherently signals one of the three tenses:

|           |                              |
|-----------|------------------------------|
| <i>-i</i> | present or contemporary time |
| <i>-a</i> | past time                    |
| <i>-u</i> | future time                  |

These three vowels dominate the entire verbal system. They never occur without a consonant which carries aspectual meaning. The full range of aspects occurs only with present and past tense. Future tense occurs only in the form *-ku*.

## (3) The 'aspect' morphemes

Consonants in isolation apparently signal aspect, but it has not been possible to pin down clearly definable semantic differences for each of them. One can only suggest what appear to be the semantic overtones of the consonants that occur with *-i* 'present tense' and *-a* 'past tense' throughout the corpus. (Of course, each consonant has wider usage within the verb than the glosses in Table 5.3 describe.)

| Consonant    | Lexical/functional nuance        |
|--------------|----------------------------------|
| <i>m</i>     | movement forward                 |
| <i>n</i>     | locational, stationary           |
| <i>w</i>     | intermittent, reverse, recurring |
| <i>r</i>     | degree of completeness           |
| <i>y</i>     | declarative, indicative          |
| <i>t, th</i> | factive, operative               |
| <i>tj</i>    | volitional                       |
| <i>k</i>     | future, purposive                |

Two of the above, *n* and *y*, are also realis allomorphs, which adds to the difficulty of describing their aspectual function in isolation. Thus, the aspect morphemes are presented linked with tense morphemes, as a tense/aspect unit in Table 5.4.

Although it is possible to describe aspect and tense as separate entities, with the consonant representing aspect and the vowel representing tense, alternatively, the consonant plus *i* vowel could be considered as aspect, leaving present tense unmarked. Past tense would then simply replace the vowel.

The full list of tense/aspect morphemes is in Table 5.4.

| Present    | TENSE      |            | ASPECT                          |
|------------|------------|------------|---------------------------------|
|            | Past       | Future     |                                 |
| <i>-ri</i> | <i>-ra</i> |            | declarative (transitive bias)   |
| <i>-yi</i> | <i>-ya</i> |            | declarative (intransitive bias) |
| <i>-ni</i> | <i>-na</i> |            | stationary action               |
| <i>-mi</i> | <i>-ma</i> |            | progressive movement            |
| <i>-wi</i> | <i>-wa</i> |            | returning/reversal movement     |
|            |            | <i>-ku</i> | (future)                        |

These morphemes, central to the verb expression, do not fit a system of verb classes. Rather, they are characterised by the following:

- (i) potentially may occur with a wide variety of roots
- (ii) may suffix both transitive and intransitive verbs (though each suffix has its own bias to one or the other)
- (iii) each carries a distinctive lexical meaning which may be connected to the companion present or past tense form, but the meaning is seldom exactly parallel in both forms

- (iv) each has its own position in the ordering of verbal suffixes which may be, but are not always, mutually substitutable (two of them may occur together where there is a preferred order)
- (v) in more complex verbal words, *-yi* and *-ya* are pushed to a position immediately before the pronominal suffix.

### 5.5.2 THE DECLARATIVE ASPECTS *-ri*, *-ra*

#### (1) 'Incompletive' *-ri* :

*-ri* occurs infrequently in the data, almost always with transitive verbs. It suggests the action is 'proceeding', and thus of an incompletive (INCOM) nature; past tense form *-ra* is also declarative, but is completed (COMPL).

- 5.171 *mu-ri-yu manu*  
cook-INCOM-1sg bread-ABS  
'I am cooking bread.'
- 5.172 *nha-ri-yu panga*  
see-INCOM-1sg 2sgACC  
'I see (am seeing) you.'
- 5.173 *tha-tha-ri-yu witji*  
eat-REDUP-INCOM-1sg meat-ABS  
'I'm having a feed of meat.'
- 5.174 *kunthi thana-ri yawi-ngu*  
house-ABS make-INCOM grass-ABL  
'(This) house is made from grass.' (EH.19:2)
- 5.175 *pina-li-ri-yu*  
hear-TRS-INCOM-1sg  
'I am hearing you.'

#### (2) 'Completed' *-ra*:

The past tense form *-ra* 'completed' (COMPL) action, like *-ri*, occurs mostly with transitive verbs:

- 5.176 *wiya muu-ra-ntu witji*  
QN cook-COMPL-2sg meat-ABS  
'Did you cook the meat?' (EH.74:4)
- 5.177 *minjan-ku ngara parta-ra-ntu punha*  
what-DAT DEF punch-COMPL-2sg 3sgACC  
'Why did you punch him?' (JB.54)
- 5.178 *thana-ra-a-pu kitju pulku-kala*  
make-COMPL-3sgP-3sgO small shield-like-ABS  
'He made it into a little shield.' (JB.KM)
- 5.179 *tuku tha-ra-yu kurrukurru*  
stomach-ABS eat-COMPL-1sg all-ABS  
'(My) stomach is full.' (lit. 'I ate all (into) stomach') (EH.66:3)

- 5.180 *marrin-tharri-yu palka-ra-ntu*  
glad-REFL-1sg come-COMPL-2sg  
'I'm glad you came.'
- 5.181 *ngara kiyarn-ta kawi-ra-yita*  
DEF moon-LOC call-COMPL-3pl  
'They called (to) the moon-man.' (JB.KM)

But Jimmie Barker uses *kawi-* transitively in:

- 5.182 *kiyarn-tu kawi-ra...*  
moon-ERG call-COMPL  
'The moon-man called out...' (JB.KM)

A very common occurrence of *-ra* is following stems comprised of root plus *-ta*, such as *panta*, 'hit', *maanta*, 'hold', *kaanta* 'take':

- 5.183 *kaanta-ra-yira kunthi-ku*  
take+P-COMPL-3pl house-ALL  
'(The boys) took me to the hospital.' (EH.70:6)

*-ra* occurs frequently in narrative, and this may be its most common usage.

### 5.5.3 THE DECLARATIVE ASPECTS *-yi*, *-ya*

#### (1) Present declarative *-yi*

The differences between *-ri/-ra* and *-yi/-ya* are not clear-cut. *-yi* most characteristically (but not exclusively) occurs with intransitive verbs of action, describing a state of present activity (PR.DEC). It points to the fact the action is occurring and makes a comment about the action which conveys 'it is a fact', for example 'the rain is falling', 'the moon is rising'.

When the morpheme occurs with other aspectual suffixes its thrust appears to be to confirm or underscore what the other suffixes declare. In the simple examples cited below, the present tense meaning is apparent, but this is not the case in more complex utterances illustrated in (c).

#### (a) Intransitive stem + *-yi*

- 5.184 *purtu pa-yi-pu*  
rain-ABS 'do'-PR.DEC-3sg  
'It is raining.'
- 5.185 *kula-yi-pu-nji*  
climb-PR.DEC-3sg-IMM  
'He's climbing up now.'
- 5.186 *mirrinj kanta palka-yi-pu*  
star-ABS high come-PR.DEC-3sg  
'The star is rising.'
- 5.187 *karra-yi-pu*  
fear-PR.DEC-3sg  
'He is frightened.'

- 5.188 *puran kuwanj-ku ngara thika wanki-yi thana*  
 mosquitos-ABS blood-DAT DEF 1sgGEN cry-PR.DEC 3plNOM  
 'The mosquitos are singing out for my blood.' (JB.57)

(b) Transitive stem + *-yi*

- 5.189 *Tomi-ngku karra-yi-pu ngariya marli*  
 Tommy-ERG throw-PR.DEC-3sg that boomerang-ABS  
 'Tommy is throwing a boomerang.' (JB)
- 5.190 *minjan-ku ngara parti-yi-ntu punha*  
 what-DAT DEF punch-PR.DEC-2sg 3sgACC  
 'Why are you punching him?' (JB.54)
- 5.191 *ngathu nha-yi-yu panga*  
 1sg-NOM see-PR.DEC-1sg 2sgACC  
 'I see you.' (EH)
- 5.192 *God-u nha-yi panga*  
 God-ERG see-PR.DEC 2sgACC  
 'God sees you.' (EH.31:6)
- 5.193 *muu-l-yi-na wii-ngku*  
 burn-R-PR.DEC-1pl fire-INSTR  
 'We will burn it.' (EH.36:13)

*-yi* has a present perfect meaning in:

- 5.194 *payinti maanta-yi-n-yu*  
 find+PR hold-PR.DEC-R-1sg  
 'I have found it.' (EH.29:3)

(c) Other suffixes + *-yi*

These next examples show *-yi* preceded by both present, past and future tense, and some aspectual morphemes, usually with a present tense gloss. Why these morphemes co-occur is not plain. In several examples, the locational *-na* replaces the pronoun following *-yi*.

- 5.195 *nhaa-n-ti-yi-yu partala-ngka*  
 see-R-PR.OPT-PR.DEC-1sg morning-LOC  
 'I'll see you in the morning.' (JB.51B:6)
- 5.196 *thampa piki thu-thi-yi-na*  
 again arm-ABS break-PR.OPT-PR.DEC-LCL  
 'He got his arm broken again.' (EH.48:6)
- 5.197 *purtu warra-n-ta-yi-pu*  
 rain-ABS fall-R-P.OPT-PR.DEC-3sg  
 'Rain is falling.'
- 5.198 *pa-ng-ku-yi-nja*  
 hit-R-FUT-PR.DEC-1sgA+3sgO  
 'I'll hit him!' (EH.23:3)

5.199 *mirrinj palka-n-thirra-yi-na*  
stars-ABS come-R-CONT-PR.DEC-LCL  
'The stars are rising.' (JB.52B)

5.200 *kura-mi-yi-na*  
across-PROG-PR.DEC-LCL  
'(I'm) going across (the river).' (EH.50:1)

(2) Past declarative *-ya*

*-ya*, like *-ra*, clearly indicates past tense when suffixed directly to stems. The difference in meaning between *-ya* and the other morphemes expressing past time appears to be that *-ya* is more definitive; it acts like a pointer to the past action. Also, its bias appears to be towards intransitivity.

In its simplest usage *-ya* suffixes directly to the verb root, occurring with most intransitive verbs ending in *i* and some in *u*, as well as with all stems transitivised by *-li* or suffixed by *-wi*. (There appears to be a close affinity between stem or suffix final *i* and the following *-ya* suffix.) Some transitive verbs also take the *-ya* declarative suffix.

(a) Stem + *-ya*

5.201 *purpi-ya-a*            *thanki-ya-a*            *kirri-ya-a*  
jump-P.DEC-3sgP    run-P.DEC-3sg    dance-P.DEC-3sg  
'He jumped, he ran, he danced.' (JB)

5.202 *nhurra murri-ya-a*  
there    drown-P.DEC-3sg  
'There he drowned.' (JB.KM)

5.203 *purpi-ya-a*            *ngapa-ngka*  
jump-P.DEC-3sg    water-LOC  
'He jumped over the puddle.'

5.204 *panpi-ya-a*            *wiyarr*  
catch-P.DEC-3sg    magic stone-ABS  
'She caught the magic stone.' (EH.50:4)

5.205 *thuuli-ya-a...*            *beard*    *thika*            *munki*            *yarranj*  
grow-P.DEC-3sg    beard    1sgGEN    slow            beard-ABS  
'My beard grew slowly.' (BC.1:1)

5.206 *kinta-ya-a*  
laugh-P.DEC-3sg  
'He laughed.' (EH)

5.207 *kunta*            *purru-ya-yu*            *mathan*  
yesterday    chop-P.DEC-1sg    wood-ABS  
'Yesterday I chopped wood.'

Sometimes the morpheme carries a present continuous meaning as in:

5.208 *wala wii*            *pitara*            *parri-ya-pu*  
NEG    fire-ABS    well            burn-P.DEC-3sg  
'The fire is not burning properly.' (EH.148M)

Or it carries a perfect tense meaning as in:

- 5.209 *watjiin* *kami-ya*  
white woman-ABS return-P.DEC  
'The white woman has come.'

(b) Other morphemes + *-ya*

- 5.210 *ngawi-li-ya-a*  
swallow-TRS-P.DEC-3sg  
'He swallowed it (the medicine).'
- 5.211 *kawi-li-ya-ntu* *nganha*  
call-TRS-P.DEC-2sg 1sgACC  
'Did you call me?'
- 5.212 *parla-rri-ya-a* *thirri* *kaan*  
slip-REFL-P.DEC-3sg away snake-ABS  
'The snake slipped away that way.' (EH).
- 5.213 *kurru-kurru* *panta-rri-ya-na*  
all-REDUP-ABS hit-REFL-P.DEC-1pl  
'We all hit ourselves.'
- 5.214 *yaman* *pura-wi-ya-a* *mayinj*  
one-ABS cross-RT-P.DEC-3sg man-ABS  
'Only one man returned.' (EH.10:5)
- 5.215 *karra-wi-ya-a* *ngapa*  
throw-RT-P.DEC-3sg water-ABS  
'He threw the water out.'

(c) *-ya* in transitive sentences

- 5.216 *milanj* *wanki-ya-a* *tharrana*  
sorrow cry-P.DEC-3sg 3plACC  
'He got sorry for the lot of them.' (EH.51:1)
- 5.217 *panta-ya-ta* *kuya*  
strike-P.DEC-3pl fish-ABS  
'They caught fish.' (EH)
- 5.218 *tharrki-tha-ya-yu* *thana*  
tell-P.TRS-P.DEC-1sg 3plACC  
'I told them' (JB)

#### 5.5.4 THE STATIONARY ASPECTS *-ni*, *-na*

There are three 'movement' morphemes: *-ni/-na* indicates lack of movement, hence the two glosses, stationary (STY) and locational (LCL); *-mi/-ma* indicates forward movement; and *-wi/-wa* marks reversal or redirection of movement.



(1) The *-ni* morpheme

*-ni* usually occurs with intransitive verbs and has a number of meanings:

- (i) spatial: non-movement, performed 'at rest', in a particular place
- (ii) temporal: a state of being 'continuously present', or actions being performed over an indefinite period of time
- (iii) possibly actions performed within the sight or hearing of the speaker.

*-ni* is glossed 'stationary' because this term most succinctly covers its meaning. It also indicates an obvious contrast with the progressive movement suffix *-mi* (5.5.5).

The sense of the suffix is given by comparing the next two sentences; the first, with root only, is transitive, the second, carrying *-ni*, intransitive; that is, *-ni* has intransitivised a transitive verb.

5.219 *wiya pinathini-ntu witji-witji*  
 QN hear+PR-2sg bird-REDUP-ABS  
 'Do you hear the bird?'

5.220 *pinathina-ni-pula yingura*  
 listen-STY-3du 2sgDAT  
 'They are both listening to you.' (EH.71:3)

*-ni* is often omitted from an utterance. The following example shows two equally acceptable forms:

5.221 *wanti-ni-pu waan-ta / wanti-pu waan-ta*  
 astride-STY-3sg tree-LOC / astride-3sg tree-LOC  
 'He's on the tree.' (i.e. he's sitting on a limb)

(a) *-ni* 'stationary/here'

The 'stationary' meaning of *-ni* is most clearly demonstrated when it occurs with intransitive verbs of rest:

|               |                  |
|---------------|------------------|
| <i>thina-</i> | 'to stand'       |
| <i>niya-</i>  | 'to sit'         |
| <i>nguna-</i> | 'to sleep'       |
| <i>wuna-</i>  | 'to lie'         |
| <i>wanti-</i> | 'to sit astride' |

5.222 *mirrinj thuu wanti-ni-yita*  
 stars-ABS many astride-STY-3pl  
 'There are a lot of stars.' (RC.43:2a)

5.223 *kuwarti thinaa-ni-pu ngapa-ngka*  
 gum-ABS stand-STY-3sg water-LOC  
 'The ghost gum is standing in the water.' (RC.1:3)

5.224 *niyaa-ni-yu*  
 sit-STY-1sg  
 'I am sitting down.'

- 5.225 *kanta wanti-ni-yu*  
high astride-STY-1sg  
'I'm on the top.' (i.e. I'm astride a bough)

Sometimes *-ni* carries some sense of location:

- 5.226 *minjan kinta-ni-yira*  
what-ABS laugh-STY-3pl  
'What are all those fellows over there laughing about?' (EH)
- 5.227 *kawi-ni-yita yurrin-tja thantayi*  
call-STY-3pl night-LOC frogs-ABS  
'The frogs are singing out at night.' (RC)

(b) *-ni* 'continuously'

The temporal meaning of *-ni* indicates a continuity of time, frequently translated 'all the time' or 'now'.

- 5.228 *ngunaa-ni-pu yampuru*  
lie-STY-3sg sleep  
'He's sleeping all the day.' (EH.22:6)
- 5.229 *kapun-tja walu nhaa-ni-pu*  
egg-LOC ?constantly look-STY-3sg  
'All the time he's looking for emu eggs.' (EH.22:6)
- 5.230 *paangki-ni-pu ngapa-ngka wartu*  
swim-STY-3sg water-LOC waterhole  
'He's swimming all the time, every day.' (EH.22:6)
- 5.231 *waanpi-ni-yu*  
wait-STY-1sg  
'I'm waiting now.'
- 5.232 *wayil ngari-na wanki-ni-pu*  
time now-LCL cry-STY-3sg  
'He's been crying out all the day.' (RC)

The time concept is obliquely present in:

- 5.233 *ngathu kuwi-ni-yu*  
1sg-NOM whistle-STY-1sg  
'I am whistling (now).' (EH.21:3)
- 5.234 *wayil-wi miil paki-ni-pu*  
right-EMP eye-ABS open-STY-3sg  
'(He's still alive) his eyes are still half open.' (RC.19:9)

(c) *-ni* with transitive verbs

Occasionally the suffix occurs in a transitive construction where it conveys the meaning of the action being performed 'at rest':

- 5.235 *nhurra ngara maa-ni-yu*  
 this-ABS DEF hold-STY-1sg  
 'I'm holding this.' (RC.1:1)

Or it may use a transitive root intransitively to indicate an action performed seated or in a non-movement situation:

- 5.236 *mankita tha-ni-pu*  
 slowly eat-STY-3sg  
 'He's eating slowly.'

- 5.237 *yimpi-ya-ni-ra wala-nja pampa-la-yira*  
 leave-P.DEC-STY-3pl NEG-INTEN fight-RECIP-3pl  
 'They have stopped fighting (and are now sitting or standing).'

A problem may exist with this analysis in that *-ni* has been recorded a number of times with the verb *ya* 'to go', which is obviously at variance with stationary meaning. It is probable, however, that the stationary concept is extended to indicate that the action happens at a given place or time (cf. a similar function of *-mi* (section 5.5.5)).

- 5.238 *yanti-ni-yira*  
 walk-STY-3pl  
 'They are walking all over the place.' (EH.145M:7)

- 5.239 *kula ya-ni-pu wani*  
 kangaroo-ABS walk-STY-3sg close  
 'The kangaroo comes closer.' (RC.74:2)

## (2) The *-na* morpheme

*-na* appears to occupy two distinct places in the verbal word, sometimes simultaneously in the one utterance. It seems the one closest to the stem is a past tense form of *-ni*, and the one furthest from the stem is the clitic-like suffix manifested widely throughout the corpus (see section 6.2.3):

- 5.240 *pilkil pura-na-na punha*  
 bark-ABS lift-STY+P-LCL 3sgACC  
 '(The stick) lifted the bark.' (EH.4C:5)

It is difficult to separate the two occurrences, since both *-na* forms carry some sense of specific location and immediacy. This fact suggests they are two facets of the one morpheme, and their co-occurrence is another instance of reduplication.

### (a) Past tense *-na*

*-na* appears to express the past tense of *-ni* in the following sentences, but does not seem to have the strong bias to intransitivity that *-ni* does. It is found with both transitive and intransitive stems.

- 5.241 *thanaa-na-pu kayila wilata*  
 make-STY+P-3sg AFFIRM tomahawk-ABS  
 'He made a stone tomahawk.' (EH.22:3)

- 5.242 *pampal thuu tha-na-pula*  
 orange-ABS many eat-STY+P-3du  
 'They two had eaten too many wild oranges.'

- 5.243 *mara puka niya-na-ra-yita pila-ngka tharra*  
 hand-ABS 3sgGEN sit-STY+P-COMPL-3pl back-LOC 3plGEN  
 ‘His hands rested on their backs.’ (JB.KM)

(b) Locational *-na*

‘Locational’ encompasses location in time (as in the next two examples) as well as in place. The verb has a present continuous meaning. *-na* is also discussed under clitics in section 6.3.3 where it appears to belong structurally, but examples are also given here because the suffix is so strongly verbal in nature.

- 5.244 *kawi-pu yurrin-tja thantayi ngara kawi-na-a*  
 call-3sg night-LOC frog-ABS DEF call-LCL-3sg  
 ‘The frogs are singing out at night.’ (EH)
- 5.245 *yapi-yi-na-a kaan*  
 spring-PR.DEC-LCL-3sg snake-ABS  
 ‘Snakes come out in the Spring.’ (EH.13:13)
- 5.246 *thayin tiyaw-mi-na-a mayi-ngka*  
 towards turn-PROG-LCL-3sg ground-LOC  
 ‘It came back (to fall) on the ground.’
- 5.247 *wurrunj-mi-na-a-nji kanta pampu-ngka*  
 circle-PROG-LCL-3sg-IMM high head-LOC  
 ‘It went circling high overhead.’ (JB.KM(19))
- 5.248 *tirra-na i-n-ti-pu*  
 where-LCL be-R-PR-3sg  
 ‘Where is he?’
- 5.249 *ngari thinaa-na-a kuwinj palaa-ngka ngariya*  
 there stand-LCL-3sg man-ABS plain-LOC there  
 ‘There’s a (white) man standing on the plain over there.’ (EH. 65:2)
- 5.250 *ngara ngurrunj ya-n-mi-na-a*  
 there emu-ABS go-R-PROG-LCL-3sg  
 ‘There’s an emu in the far distance.’ (JB.51B:2)
- 5.251 *kumpi-kumpi thangka-na-a*  
 spider-REDUP-ABS run-LCL-3sg  
 ‘The spider is running.’
- 5.252 *purrpi-mi-na-a-pu witji-witji*  
 jump-PROG-LCL-3sg-3sg bird-REDUP-ABS  
 ‘The bird is hopping along (there).’ (EH.4C:2)
- 5.253 *mirrinj warra-na-a*  
 star-ABS fall-LCL-3sg  
 ‘(Look there) a falling star.’
- 5.254 *kawi-na-a witji-witji*  
 call-LCL-3sg bird-REDUP-ABS  
 ‘The bird is singing out (over there).’

- 5.255 *thali-pu muu-na-a wii-ngku ngurrunj*  
 chest-3sgGEN burn-LCL-3sg fire-INSTR emu-ABS  
 'The emu has a burnt chest.' ('is burnt there on his chest')

### 5.5.5 THE PROGRESSIVE ASPECT *-mi/-ma*

#### (1) Present progressive *-mi*

##### (a) Form and function

*-mi* is the form that the progressive aspect (PROG) suffix usually takes. The vowel changes to *u* when the morpheme occurs with past or future tense or is in imperative mood. (It also has the form *-ma* which occurs on rare occasions to express past tense.)

*-mi* expresses present tense movement in three closely related ways:

- (i) movement of 'going forward', often towards the speaker; it is found with verbs of motion like 'run', 'walk', 'go', 'come' etc.
- (ii) the continuative often progressive processes of the natural world, where an action begins and gathers momentum, such as a storm brewing, a pregnancy progressing, moon and stars rising and falling, a fire dying out
- (iii) continuous movement, sometimes of static verbs like talking, where the idea expressed is very similar to that of the *-thirra* 'continuous/processive' suffix (section 5.7.1) with which *-mi* is mutually substitutable.

*-mi* is thus semantically contrastive to the stationary meaning of the *-ni* suffix (5.5.4). Semantically it is also close to verbaliser *-mi*, as examples 5.15 and 5.17 illustrate. Perhaps both originally came from the same underlying form.

*-mi* occurs widely with intransitive stems, and occasionally with transitive ones. It is almost always translated with a present participle.

- 5.256 *palka-l-mi-pu yarrka-yita*  
 come-R-PROG-3sg wind-having  
 'There's a dust storm coming.' (RC.2:7)

- 5.257 *thayin ya-n-mi-pu*  
 towards walk-R-PROG-3sg  
 'He's coming this way.'

- 5.258 *wala tharrka-n-mi panga*  
 NEG say-R-PROG 2sgACC  
 'I'm not telling you now.' (EH.24:5)

- 5.259 *kinta-n-mi-pula*  
 laugh-R-PROG-3du  
 'They two are still laughing.' (EH.31:6)

- 5.260 *kula-mi-pu*  
 climb-PROG-3sg  
 'He's going upstream.'

- 5.261 *kami-mi-yu kunthi-ku*  
return-PROG-1sg house-ALL  
'I am returning to the house.'
- 5.262 *pirru palka-mi-pu yarrka*  
strong come-PROG-3sg wind-ABS  
'The wind is blowing hard.' (i.e. a storm is coming)
- 5.263 *matja niya-n-mi-yu*  
time live-R-PROG-1sg  
'I'm getting old.' (EH.59:5)
- 5.264 *kalu-l-mi-yu*  
hunger-R-PROG-1sg  
'I'm (growing) hungry!'
- 5.265 *pali-mi-pu mayinj*  
dead-PROG-3sg man-ABS  
'The man is dying.'
- 5.266 *karra-mi-pu kaan-ngu*  
fear-PROG-3sg snake-ABL  
'He's getting frightened of the snake.'
- 5.267 *ya-n-mi-na-a pitjalanj-pita*  
walk-R-PROG-LCL-3sg stick-COMIT  
'He's walking along with a walking stick.' (EH.4C:2)
- 5.268 *purrpi-y-mi-na-a-pu witji-witji*  
jump-R-PROG-LCL-3sg-3sg bird-REDUP-ABS  
'The bird hops along now.' (EH.4C:2)
- 5.269 *kilpi-mi-na-ntu yuralmara ngurra-ngka*  
sneak-PROG-LCL-2sg bad camp-LOC  
'You are sneaking up close to the bad camp.' (EH.69:2)

The last three examples illustrate the fact that *-mi* frequently occurs with *-na*.

(b) Occurrence with non-motion verbs

The strength and meaning of the suffix is seen in those constructions where it is incorporated as a suffix in the main action of the sentence, when the sense is that one is 'progressing' or 'doing' something at the same time as the main action, usually a verb of passive or non-motion action. (Tiwí has something similar in what Osborne (1974:42) calls the durative aspect.) This is similar to the way *-ni* functions with action verbs – see 5.5.4 (1)(c).

- 5.270 *yaa-n-mi-pula*  
talk-R-PROG-3du  
'The two of them are going away talking.'
- 5.271 *kurrka yungku-li-mi-pu*  
song-ABS sing-TRS-PROG-3sg  
'He's going along humming a tune.'

- 5.272 *nanka-mi-pu tharrana kurru-kurra*  
 swear-PROG-3sg 3plACC all-REDUP  
 'He's going along swearing at everyone.'

(c) Change of order

*-mi* usually occurs suffixed directly to the stem or the realis marker, but the order is not fixed. Other suffixes may cause it to be further removed from the stem, taking precedence (perhaps because of being more strongly in focus). For example, *-mi* follows the reflexive in the next example:

- 5.273 *kuntarl yarraka-tharri-mi-pu*  
 dog-ABS stretch-REFL-PROG-3sg  
 'The dog is stretching himself.'

Though it is clearly separate from *-thirra* 'continuous', there are times when *-mi* is used in a purely continuous sense:

- 5.274 *kirri-mi-la-yu ngurrunj-kala*  
 dance-PROG-HAB-1sg emu-like  
 'I'm dancing like an emu.'

- 5.275 *thi-n-mi-na-a*  
 stand-R-PROG-LCL-3sg  
 'He is staying there.'

(2) *-mi* becomes *-mu*

*-mu* is the future tense form of *-mi*, and also the imperfective, occurring before *-ku* 'future', *-ra* 'completed', *-li* 'transitiviser' and in all imperative mood forms that carry a continuous meaning.

An example when *-mi* has assumed its *-mu* form occurs in:

- 5.276 *kawi-mu-ka-nji*  
 call-CONT-CAUS-IMM  
 'He's singing out going along.' (EH.64:6)

(a) *-mu-ku* 'continuous future'

- 5.277 *kala-tharri-mu-ku-na yurrin-tja kiyarn-ta*  
 hunt-REFL-CONT-FUT-1pl night-LOC moon-LOC  
 'We will go hunting in the moonlight.'

- 5.278 *ya-n-mu-ku nhula nhula-ku-la*  
 go-R-PROG-FUT 2duNOM 2duNOM-FUT-2du  
 'You two may go.' (EH.24:4)

(b) *-mu-ra* 'continuous past'

- 5.279 *ya-n-mu-ra-pula yawuru mukinj-purral pampal-ku*  
 go-R-CONT-COMPL-3du owl-ABS women-two-ABS orange-DAT  
 'The two yellow-mouth owl-women went hunting for wild oranges.' (EH)

- 5.280 *kapunj kami-l-mu-ra-y ngurra-ku*  
 eggs-ABS return-R-PROG-COMPL-EX camp-ALL  
 'Take the eggs home to camp!' (EH.23:1)

(c) *-mu-li* ‘continuous transitive’

5.281 *wutha-mu-li-la-a*  
 carry-PROG-TRS-HAB-3pl  
 ‘They used to carry it.’

(d) *-mu* with imperative mood – see 5.8.5 (1).

(3) Past tense progressive *-ma*

*-ma* very occasionally expresses the past tense of *-mi*, but has only been found with *ya* ‘to walk’:

5.282 *ya-n-ma-ra-li* *yaa-n-ti-para* *ngali*  
 walk-R-PROG-COMPL-1du talk-R-PR.OPT-RECIP 1duNOM  
 ‘We (two) walked along and talked together.’ (EH.19:3)

5.283 *narra-ngka wala ngara njintu ya-n-ma-ntu*  
 there-LOC NEG DEF 2sg-NOM go-R-PROG-2sg  
 ‘You are not going there.’

#### 5.5.6 THE RETURNING MOVEMENT ASPECTS *-wi/-wa*

The corpus has two forms, *-wi* and *-wa*, expressing what appear to be linked concepts of recurring or returning movement and sound. *-wi* is the present tense form, *-wa* the past tense, and *-wu* appears to be a euphonic variation of *-wa* in tune with vowel harmony, though its gloss is not certain.

*-wi* signals an action where the movement or the sound fluctuates in intensity or direction. When the suffix is on a verb involving movement, it implies ‘going and coming again’, hence it has been glossed ‘recurring’ (REC) or ‘returning’ (RT). It fills a similar function to the other movement suffixes, *-ni* (STY) and *-mi* (PROG).

When the suffix is on a verb involving sound, it is usually a kind of sound that comes in bursts (and so is recurring), as with the barking of a dog or the sound of a returning boomerang.

(1) *-wi/-wa* expressing movement

Verb stems suffixed by *-wi* that indicate returning or reversal of movement are:

|              |            |                 |                         |
|--------------|------------|-----------------|-------------------------|
| <i>warra</i> | ‘to fall’  | <i>warra-wi</i> | ‘to return’ (fall back) |
| <i>kula</i>  | ‘to climb’ | <i>kula-wi</i>  | ‘to climb back’         |
| <i>kura</i>  | ‘to go’    | <i>kura-wi</i>  | ‘to go back again’      |
| <i>karra</i> | ‘to throw’ | <i>karra-wi</i> | ‘to throw out’          |
| <i>tiya</i>  | ‘to turn’  | <i>tiya-wi</i>  | ‘to twist’              |

The suffix also occurs on verbs that detail a forwards and backwards movement, like *pinju-wi* ‘to lick’ and *thinaa-wi* ‘to dive’ (go into the water and come up again – lit. ‘stand-again’).

5.284 *marli* *karra-wi-ya-a*  
 boomerang-ABS throw-REC-P.DEC-3sgP  
 ‘He threw the boomerang.’

5.285 *yaman* *kura-wi-ya-a* *mukinj*  
 one go-RT-P.DEC-3sgP woman-ABS  
 ‘One woman returned.’



- 5.286 *warra-wi-pu-nji ngapa*  
fall-RT-3sg-IMM water-ABS  
'The water began to fall.'
- 5.287 *warra-wi-la-ntu*  
fall-RT-when-2sg  
'When you return.' (lit. 'fall back to')
- 5.288 *wani thurri warraa-la-wi*  
just sun-ABS fall+P-HAB-RT  
'just sundown' (i.e. when the sun had re-fallen) (EH.47:1)
- 5.289 *kula-wi-ku-li*  
climb-RT-FUT-1du  
'Let's go back.'

The meaning is not quite so obvious in:

- 5.290 *pampu tiyi-wi-yu*  
head-ABS turn-RT-1sg  
'I've got a headache.'

But the thought is akin to the English idiom of a 'spinning' head where sensations of pain or dizziness come and go.

The form *-wa* occasionally occurs as past tense of the *-wi* suffix.

- 5.291 *kuntarl-u pinju-wa-a nganha mara nganti*  
dog-ERG lick-RT-3sgP 1sgACC hand-ABS 1sgGEN  
'The dog licked my hand.' (RC.38:1)

The verb in example 5.291 is an abbreviated form of that given in example 5.292.

- 5.292 *kuntarl-u pinju-wi-ya-a nganha mara*  
dog-ERG lick-RT-P.DEC-3sgP 1sgACC hand-ABS  
'The dog licked my hand.' (EH.38:1)
- 5.293 *warra-wa-yi-yira punha*  
fall-REC-PR.DEC-3sg 3sgACC  
'They are searching for her.'
- 5.294 *nguntu-wa-ka-na-a tiinj*  
shut-RT-CAUS-LCL-3sg hole-ABS  
'He filled up the hole.' (EH.37:4)

(2) *-wi/-wa* expressing sound

*-wi* occurs in the following oral/aural verbs:

|                 |                    |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| <i>ka-wi -</i>  | 'to call, cry out' |
| <i>ku-wi -</i>  | 'to whistle'       |
| <i>nga-wi -</i> | 'to swallow'       |

*-wi* relating to sound appears to be the same morpheme as *-wi* 'returning movement' morpheme, but with an extended meaning. It occurs in the word *tha-wi-naa* glossed as 'loudly' in the sentence:

- 5.295 *thawinaa walu-wi-pu kuntarl*  
 loudly bark-REC-3sg dog-ABS  
 'The dog is barking loudly.'

It occurs also in:

- 5.296 *pu-ng-ka-a-la nhu-wi-pu pinathini-pu*  
 strike-R-CAUS-3sg-SB this-RT-3sg hear+PR-3sg  
 'He hears a dog barking.' (lit. 'He hears when noise is made to strike.')

Sounds like a returning boomerang suggest both movement and sound, while with others, like a dog barking, sound predominates.

-*wa* occurs in:

- 5.297 *warlu-wa-tharri-yira kurru-kurru kuntarl*  
 bark-REC-REFL-3pl all-REDUP dog-ABS  
 'A lot of dogs barked.'

### 5.5.7 The future tense -*ku*

The form of the future tense is always -*ku*. -*ku* is mutually substitutable in simple sentences with present and past tense morphemes. It is not to be confused with -*ku* 'purposive' (5.9.3), to which it is closely tied lexically, but from which it is functionally distinct. In both verbal functions, -*ku* shows affinity with the nominal -*ku*, particularly in its dative case manifestation. This affinity is very obvious when -*ku* suffixes both a verb and a noun in the one sentence – one of several indications of fine interaction between verbal and nominal suffixes.

The importance of the future tense morpheme in the morphological determination of the realis has already been discussed in section 5.3.

The future tense gloss (FUT) covers a wide area of meaning. Besides future events, -*ku* defines actions that lie in the range of events indefinite, possible or probable. It expresses intention, possibility, persuasion, doubt, ability. The suffix also carries the hortatory meaning 'let us'.

Examples which follow in (a) and (b) express the realis, because the intention or expectation of performance is firm. Examples in (c) - (e) mostly do not have realis markers because they express varying elements of doubt and are thus irrealis.

#### (a) Future time/intention

- 5.298 *wii thana-l-ku-yu*  
 fire-ABS make-R-FUT-1sg  
 'I will make a fire.'
- 5.299 *ngu-ng-ku-yu panga mani*  
 give-R-FUT-1sg 2sgACC money-ABS  
 'I will give you money.'
- 5.300 *partala karra-l-ku-yu marli*  
 tomorrow throw-R-FUT-1sg boomerang-ABS  
 'I'll throw the boomerang tomorrow.' (EH.14:3)

- 5.301 *kanji ya-n-mi-ku-yu*  
soon go-R-PROG-FUT-1sg  
'I'll go soon.'

## (b) Intention-purpose

- 5.302 *puu-l-ku-yu mathan wayan-ku*  
chop-R-FUT-1sg limb-ABS honey-DAT  
'I will chop down the tree for honey.'
- 5.303 *kuya-ku ya-n-ku-yu*  
fish-DAT go-R-FUT-1sg  
'I'm going fishing.'
- 5.304 *yimpi-l-ku-yu waa*  
leave-R-FUT-1sg work-ABS  
'I am going to leave the job.'
- 5.305 *thaa-wii kaa-ng-ku-yu*  
tongue-fire-ABS carry-R-FUT-1sg  
'I will carry the firestick.' (RC.5:8)
- 5.306 *wala tha-l-ku-yu*  
NEG eat-R-FUT-1sg  
'I will not eat.' (EH.42:2)
- 5.307 *ya-n-mi-ku-yu ngapa maa-n-mi-ra*  
go-R-PROG-FUT-1sg water-ABS get-R-PROG-CO.ORD  
'I'm going to fetch water.' (RC.72:1)

## (c) Possibility

*-ku* is translated 'might' in situations where the potential *-ngu* (see potential aspect section 5.7.5) could be expected to occur, but *-ku* occurs instead – when the situation is non-threatening.

- 5.308 *purtu payi-payi-ku-pu yurrin-tja*  
rain 'do'-REDUP-FUT-3sg night-LOC  
'It might rain tonight.'
- 5.309 *thuu warri palka-ku-yita*  
many DUBIT come-FUT-3sg  
'A whole mob might come.'
- 5.310 *wala tha-ku-yu*  
NEG eat-FUT-1sg  
'I mightn't eat it.'
- 5.311 *wiya kuthara kuumpi-ku-pu*  
QN child-ABS wash-FUT-3sg  
'Might the little fellow have a bogey?'
- 5.312 *partala karra-ku-yu marli*  
tomorrow throw-FUT-1sg boomerang-ABS  
'Maybe I'll throw the boomerang tomorrow.'

## (d) Ability

- 5.313 *tharrka-a paanki-ku-na-a kaampi-ku-na-a*  
say-3sg swim-FUT-LCL-3sg float-FUT-LCL-3sg  
'He said he could swim and float.'
- 3.314 *wiya ngapa ya-n-ma-ku*  
QN water-ABS go-R-PROG-FUT  
'Can I go to the water hole?'
- 5.315 *nhu-wita pakul pa-ngku ngari maa-n-ku-yu*  
this-COMIT stone-ABS hit-FUT that hold-R-FUT-lsg  
'I can't pick up that stone.'

## (e) Hortatory

- 5.316 *thanki-ku-na kuthara-ngu*  
run-FUT-1pl boy-ABL  
'Let us run away from the boy!'
- 5.317 *kurru-kurru niyaa-ku-na yaa-n-ti-l-para*  
all-REDUP-ABS sit-FUT-1pl talk-R-PR.OPT-R-RECIP  
'How about we all sit down and have a yarn.' (EH.24:2)

In first person, *-ku* sometimes is followed by *-wi* instead of the usual first person bound pronouns – see section 4.7.

## 5.5.8 FURTHER COMMENTS ON TENSE

## (1) Tense relating to the three vowels

Verb roots/stems, stem-forming suffixes and aspectual suffixes all may reflect either present or past time simply by changing the final vowel of the root/suffix. As suggested earlier, the basic verb stem may manifest a stem-final *i* which changes to *a* for past tense. The vowel *u* expresses future, potential and purposive meaning.

The three vowels carry suggestions of tense in much of the data. As a general overview, it is true to state that:

- (i) most verbal suffixes ending in *i* suggest a contemporary time, a state or a stance of 'nowness'
- (ii) most suffixes ending in *a* indicate a past, completed or punctiliar action, or a non-contemporary time
- (iii) suffixes ending in *u* cover a future, dubitive, indefinite, purposive meaning, or a non-present/past time

## (2) Tense reflected in verb roots

Additionally, the final vowel of the root/stem, particularly if tense/aspect morphemes are absent, frequently reflects present and past, and occasionally a future or irrealis emphasis.

(a) Some CV roots demonstrate present time with a short vowel, but lengthen the vowel with past tense suffixes. For example:

## PRESENT TENSE ROOT

*ka-*  
*nha-*  
*mu-*  
*ngu-*

## PAST TENSE ROOT

*kaa-*  
*nhaa-*  
*muu-*  
*nguu-*

'to get'  
'to see'  
'to cook'  
'to give'

(b) Some disyllabic roots ending in *a* lengthen the final vowel in third person singular where the length reflects both tense and person:

5.318 *kula-a-pu mathan-ta*  
climb-3sgP-3sg tree-LOC  
'He went climbing.'

5.319 *palka-a thirri*  
come-3sgP away  
'He went away.'

Compare examples 5.318 and 5.319 with the present tense forms of the same verbs:

5.320 *kula-pu*  
climb-3sg  
'He's climbing up now.'

5.321 *palka-pu*  
come-3sg  
'It (a storm) is coming.'

(c) Roots ending in *i* may express present and past tense without suffixation; context alone decides the tense:

5.322 *witji-witji tharri-yira*  
bird-REDUP-ABS fly-3pl  
'The birds flew away.'

3.323 *kangki-yita nganha*  
cover-3pl 1sgACC  
'They covered me up.' (JB)

5.324 *kitju-kaampa wanki-pu*  
small-one-ABS cry-3sg  
'The baby is crying.' (RS.35M)

5.325 *wanti-na-a*  
astride-LCL-3sg  
'It is sitting there.'

(d) Some verb roots that usually have stem-final *a*, change that vowel to *i* to indicate present tense:

5.326 *thini-pu*  
stand+PR-3sg  
'He is standing.'

5.327 *niyi-yu*  
sit+PR-1sg  
'I am sitting down.'

5.328 *nguni-pula*  
sleep+PR-3du  
'They two are sleeping.'

(e) These same roots lengthen the final *a* when aspect and tense morphemes are added, as in:

5.329 *niyaa-ni-pu*  
sit-STY-3sg  
'He is sitting.'

## 5.6 PRONOUN SUFFIXES

As discussed in Chapter 4, bound pronouns express nominative, ergative and accusative case. Some pronouns may be abbreviated, and some appear to express tense. The bound pronouns are listed without comment.

### Singular

1. *-yu* (variants: *-yi*, *-y*, *-nja*)
2. *-ntu* (variants: *-nu*, *-nta*)
3. *-pu* (variants: *-a*,  $\emptyset$ )

### Dual

1. *-li*
2. *-nhula*
3. *-pula* (variant: *-la*)

### Plural

1. *-na*
2. *-nhura*
3. *-yita* (variants: *-yira*, *-yira*, *-ta*, *-ra*)

One irregularity in pronoun usage is that in text material, and sometimes in isolated sentences, third person plural occurs when the subject is dual. Sometimes a third person singular is used when the gloss given is third person plural. It would appear that singular, dual and plural distinctions in the pronouns were beginning to disappear, at least in third person. Jimmie Barker, a stickler for the 'correct' usage, was comfortable using the plural form when just two and not three or more people were indicated. There are numerous instances of this throughout the moon legend text.

## 5.7 OTHER ASPECTS

The following morphemes indicate other aspectual distinctions in the verb. Except for *-thirra* 'continuous', these do not change for tense. They are:

- |                                     |                              |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>-thirra/i</i> , <i>-tjirra/i</i> | continuous/processive (CONT) |
| <i>-tjira</i>                       | volitional (VOL)             |
| <i>-thara</i>                       | necessity (NECESS)           |

|                            |                                        |
|----------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| - <i>tji</i> , <i>tja</i>  | avolitional (AVOL); inchoative (INCHO) |
| - <i>ngu</i> ; - <i>wa</i> | potential (POTL)                       |
| - <i>la</i>                | habitual (HAB)                         |
| - <i>ru</i>                | prevent (PRE); excessive (EXCES)       |
| - <i>kuri</i>              | constantly (CON)                       |

The realis mode is expressed by *-n* preceding each of the first four aspects listed. *-thirra* occurs with the non-present form of the verb. These aspects occur on both transitive and intransitive verbs, but more commonly on the latter.

### 5.7.1 CONTINUOUS/PROGRESSIVE *-thirra*

The form:

|                 |                                                            |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| - <i>thirra</i> | occurs on non-present tense forms of the verb              |
| - <i>thirri</i> | signifies present tense                                    |
| - <i>tjirra</i> | occurs following <i>i</i> or <i>nj</i> (non-present tense) |
| - <i>tjirri</i> | occurs following <i>i</i> or <i>nj</i> (present tense)     |

*-thirra* describes actions that are of a continuous nature (CONT) or are a process, with meaning akin to English present continuous. The suffix occurs with actions that are evenly repetitive, as distinct from those that are performed intermittently (see *-wi*, section 5.5.6 (1)). The verb may describe an action like 'running' or 'coming', and is most characteristically found with the following verbs:

|                        |                     |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>tha-thirra-</i>     | 'eating'            |
| <i>thini-thirra-</i>   | 'standing'          |
| <i>muu-thirra-</i>     | 'cooking'           |
| <i>tharrka-thirra-</i> | 'telling'           |
| <i>nguna-n-thirra-</i> | 'sleeping'          |
| <i>nhaa-n-thirra-</i>  | 'seeing', 'hearing' |
| <i>yaa-n-thirra-</i>   | 'talking'           |
| <i>kaa-n-thirra-</i>   | 'taking away'       |

It is more usual for *-mi* to occur with verbs of motion and for *-thirra* to occur with verbs of non-motion when describing an action of a continuing nature.

5.330 *palka-n-thirri-pu*  
 come-R-CONT-3sg  
 'He is coming.'

The same sentence may be expressed:

5.331 *palka-n-mi-pu*  
 come-R-PROG-3sg  
 'He is coming.'

- 5.332 *thanki-n-thirri-yi-yu*  
run-R-CONT-PR.DEC-1sg  
'I am running.' (Sim data)
- 5.333 *tharrka-n-thirri-pu murrinj*  
tell-R-CONT-3sg bark-ABS  
'He tells it to the bark.' (JB.74B)
- 5.334 *minjan tha-thirra*  
what-ABS eat-CONT  
'What are (they) eating?' (EH.54:6; JB.51B:3)
- 5.335 *pinathi-na tharrka-thirra-y panga*  
listen-IMP say-CONT-1sg 2sgACC  
'Listen to what I am telling (told) you.' (EH.2:3; 20:2)
- 5.336 *thurran-ta thi-na-thirra-yita*  
smoke-LOC stand-IMP-CONT-3pl  
'Let them stand (be standing) in the smoke.'
- 5.337 *kaa-n-thirra-ntu ngapa thirri*  
take-R-CONT-2sg water-ABS away  
'Take the water away!' (EH.10:2)

### 5.7.2 VOLITIONAL ASPECT *-tjira*

The suffix *-tjira* reflects an attitude of will or emotion (VOL).

(a) desire

- 5.338 *yintu kuumpi-n-tjira-ntu*  
2sgNOM wash-R-VOL-2sg  
'Do you want to have a bogey (wash)?'
- 5.339 *waanpi-ni ya-n-mi-n-tjira-yu kartu-kartu*  
wait-STY go-R-PROG-R-VOL-1sg quick-REDUP  
'I'm waiting now, I want to get away quickly.'
- 5.340 *ngapa tha-tjira-yu*  
water-ABS drink-VOL-1sg  
'I want a drink of water.' (BC.1:2)
- 5.341 *maa-n-tjira-ntu kuwarti*  
get-R-VOL-2sg quandong-ABS  
'Do you want some quandong?'

(b) wish

- 5.342 *ngurrun-tji tha-tha-rri-n-tjira-yu*  
emu-DIM-ABS eat-REDUP-REFL-R-VOL-1sg  
'I'd like to be eating a piece of emu.'



(c) gladness, enjoyment

- 5.343 *yaa-n-tjira-yu muruwari-ngku*  
talk-R-VOL-1sg Muruwari-INSTR  
'I like to talk in Muruwari.'
- 5.344 *kami-mi-yu nhayi-n-tjira-yu panga*  
return-PROG-1sg see-R-VOL-1sg 2sgACC  
'I returned and was glad to see you.'
- 5.345 *yalaali tha-tjira-yu*  
lollies-ABS eat-VOL-1sg  
'I like chewing lollies.' (EH.72:1)

(d) need

- 5.346 *puyi-n-tjira-yu*  
rest-R-VOL-1sg  
'I'm going over to have a rest.' (i.e. I need rest)

### 5.7.3 NECESSITY *-thara*

The suffix *-thara* does not occur frequently in the corpus. It is semantically very close to *-tjira* (VOL), but there seems to be a differentiation between the wish or desire to do something, *-tjira*, and the necessity (NECES) of doing it, *-thara*.

- 5.347 *kiwa kurra-n-thara-yu*  
urine-ABS ?do-R-NECES-1sg  
'I need to urinate.'
- 5.348 *wii pa-rr-i-yu muu-thara-y kimay*  
fire-ABS make-REFL-1sg cook-NECES-1sg yam-ABS  
'I (myself) make a fire (because I need) to cook yams.'
- 5.349 *yarraaman niya-n-thara kurli-kurli-ngka*  
horse-ABS sit-R-NECES shade-REDUP-LOC  
'The horses are lying in the shade of the trees.' (for needed shelter from the heat)
- 5.350 *ya-n-mi-li-nji yaa-n-thara ngara*  
walk-R-PROG-1du-IMM talk-R-NECES DEF  
'We were walking along and talking.' (EH.145M:5)

The suffix also occurs as a derivational affix on *kala-thari* 'to hunt' stressing the necessity for that activity.

### 5.7.4 AVOLITIONAL INCHOATIVE ASPECT *-tji/-tja*

*-tji* occurs with verb roots or stems ending in *i*; it usually means present time.

*-tja* occurs with verb roots or stems ending in *a* or *u*; it usually means past time (unless the verb carries a present tense marker).

This aspect covers two general areas of meaning: avolitional and inchoative.

## (1) Avolitional aspect

When *-tji/-tja* is suffixed to the verb, it conveys the meaning that the action of the verb is prompted by some compulsion, often outside the will or command of the speaker. It encompasses natural forces such as the sun rising, the emu marking her egg, the need for warmth. There is also a sense of completeness or finality, perhaps even inevitability. All these areas suggest an avolitional meaning (AVOL), in contrast to the volitional meaning of *-tjira* where desires and wants are perceived and acted upon. Rarely is the suffix found on a transitive verb; almost all examples are on intransitive verbs, usually preceded by the *-n-* realis marker.

- 5.351 *thangki-n-tji-yi-ntu*  
run-R-AVOL-PR.DEC-2sg  
'You've got to run away.' (EH.65:2)
- 5.352 *thurri pa-tja-yi-pu*  
sun-ABS 'do'-AVOL-PR.DEC-3sg  
'The sun is coming up.'
- 5.353 *kiyarn pa-tja-ra-yi*  
moon-ABS 'do'-AVOL-COMPL-PR.DEC  
'The moon has come up.'
- 5.354 *ya-n-mi-n-tji-li*  
go-R-PROG-R-AVOL-1du  
'We'll go away.' (because we have no choice) (EH.64:5)
- 5.355 *thayin yanta-a kunthi-ngu wiyi-ku yapi-n-thi-ra*  
towards walk-3sgP house-ABL fire-ALL warm-R-AVOL-CO.ORD  
'He came from the house to warm at the fire.' (EH.20:3)

## (2) Inchoative aspect

In this use of the suffix (INCHO), an intransitive verb is derived from a nominal, often an adjective. 'Becomes' or 'becoming' capture the sense fairly well.

- |             |          |                 |                      |
|-------------|----------|-----------------|----------------------|
| <i>puka</i> | 'rotten' | <i>puka-tji</i> | 'to become stinking' |
| <i>kuri</i> | 'anger'  | <i>kuri-tja</i> | 'to become angry'    |
| <i>pa-</i>  | 'to act' | <i>pa-tja</i>   | 'to arise' (sun)     |
- 5.356 *maamaru puka-tji-n-mi-yira*  
crayfish-ABS rotten-INCHO-R-PROG-3pl  
'The crayfish are getting stinking.' (EH.25:8)
- 5.357 *karti-tji-rriyu*  
anger-INCHO-REFL-1sg  
'I'm becoming angry.'
- 5.358 *wanpi-ra niya-pi-ta ninakurri-tja-rry-ntu*  
wait-IMP sit-CAUS-IMP sulk-INCHO-REFL-2sg  
'Stop sulking!' (EH.22:3)
- 5.359 *karra-y-tja-pula nganha mayin-tju purral-u*  
fear-R-INCHO-3du 1sgACC men-ERG dual-ERG  
'Those two men frightened me.' (EH.72:1)

5.7.5 POTENTIAL ASPECT *-ngu*; *-wa*

The potential aspect is expressed by two suffixes: *-ngu* and *-wa*.

(1) *-ngu*

As has already been stated, the verbal suffix *-ngu* is closely linked with the nominal (ablative case) *-ngu* (3.3.1). The verbal suffix means ‘might’ (mostly potential danger) and has been glossed ‘potential’ (POTL). Dixon (1980:380) names a similar inflection in Yidiny ‘apprehensional’, semantically equivalent to what he calls the ‘aversion’ inflection on nominals.

As with the bivalent *-ku* where both verb and nominal may carry the suffix in the one sentence, so *-ngu* may occur as potential on a verb and as ablative on a noun in the one utterance.

5.360 *murri-ngu-pu puu-ra punha ngapa-ngu*  
drown-POTL-3sg pull-IMP 3sgACC water-ABL  
‘He might drown, pull him out of the water!’

5.361 *thayin ya-na wiyi-ngu parri-ngu-ntu*  
towards go-IMP fire-ABL burn-POTL-2sg  
‘Keep away from the fire, you might get burnt!’

5.362 *warra-ngu-ntu mathan-ngu*  
fall-POTL-2sg tree-ABL  
‘You might fall out of the tree.’

When this occurs, the potential refers to a possible mishap. If the possibility is benign, then usually the inflection is *-ku* rather than *-ngu*. In the next example, however, *-ngu* expresses a happy possibility, and the suffix is on a transitive verb; in most cases potential aspect occurs only with intransitive verbs.

5.363 *thaata panga-y-ngu-li kuya thaata thurri-ngka*  
big catch-R-POTL-1du fish-ABS big sun-LOC  
‘We might catch a big fish today.’

(2) *-wa*

In some cases *-wa* appears to be a little like the ‘lest’ clauses in Diyari (Austin 1978), though there appears to be little difference between the two potential suffixes, as evidenced by either being acceptable in a sentence such as:

5.364 *purtu payi-wa-pu / payi-mi-ngu-pu*  
rain ‘do’-POTL-3sg ‘do’-PROG-POTL-3sg  
‘It might rain.’

*-wa* mostly occurs with intransitive stems:

5.365 *ya-n-mi-wa-ntu partala*  
go-R-PROG-POTL-2sg tomorrow  
‘You might go tomorrow.’

5.366 *(y)intu warri ya-n-wa-ntu*  
2sgNOM DUBIT go-R-POTL-2sg  
‘You might go.’ (RC.39:2)

- 5.367 *murri-la-pu kantju-wa*  
 drown-SB-3sg float-POTL  
 'If he drowned he would float.'

But *-wa* also occurs in transitive sentences:

- 5.368 *nuwa tuma-n-wa-ntu pulayi*  
 look! break-R-POTL-2sg plate-ABS  
 'Be careful, you might break a plate!' (EH.47:5)
- 5.369 *wala tiya-nga-ra piki thika tuma-wa-ntu*  
 NEG twist-P.TR-IMP arm-ABS 1sgGEN break-POTL-2sg  
 'Don't twist my arm, you might break it.' (RC.74:5)
- 5.370 *witji ngarrpa-wa-ra punha kuntarl-u*  
 meat-ABS steal-POTL-IMP 3sgACC dog-ERG  
 '(Get) the meat (away) from the dog; he might steal it.' (EH.74:5)

### 5.7.6 HABITUAL *-la*

The *-la* suffix refers to any action that is constantly recurring because of natural forces (as the movement of heavenly bodies) or customary human activity. It is frequently glossed 'used to' or 'when doing', and is followed by a bound pronominal suffix. *-la* 'habitual' (HAB) is the same form as *-la* subordinate clause marker (see section 5.9.2), and its occurrence is very similar except that in the latter case *-la* is suffixed to a subordinate verb glossed with one of several conjunctions. There are many examples of both these functions in the corpus. All the following examples are of single verb sentences:

- 5.371 *waki-l-pa-la-yira / waki-l-ma-la-yira*  
 wash-R-CAUS-HAB-3pl wash-R-VBS-HAB-3pl  
 'They used to wash (the wool).' (EH.25:1)
- 5.372 *muka-la-a punha kuthara*  
 nurse-HAB-3sg 3sgACC child-ABS  
 'She was nursing the child.'
- 5.373 *yapinj-yapinj-tja nguta-la-na*  
 spring-REDUP-LOC 'do'-HAB-LCL  
 '(The goanna) comes out to sun himself.' (EH.13:13)
- 5.374 *thurran thana-la-na*  
 smoke-ABS make-HAB-1pl  
 'We made a smoke.' (EH.79:4)
- 5.375 *minjan warri tha-la-yita witji-witji*  
 what DUBIT eat-HAB-3pl bird-REDUP-ABS  
 'I don't know what the birds are eating.' (EH.70:4)
- 5.376 *mirrinj palan-pi-yi-la-a*  
 star-ABS shine-CAUS-PR.DEC-HAB-3sg  
 'The stars are shining.' (JB.52B:2)

- 5.377 *paruwartu*                    *nhumpi-n-thi-la-a*  
Southern.Cross-ABS    hide-R-PR.OPT-HAB-3sg  
'The Southern Cross is invisible.' (JB.52B:1)
- 5.378 *paruwartu*                    *nhumpa*    *palka-n-tha-la-a*  
Southern.Cross-ABS    3sgNOM    come-R-P.OPT-HAB-3sg  
'The Southern Cross is ascending.'
- 5.379 *thurri*    *warra-n-mi-la-a*  
sun-ABS    fall-R-PROG-HAB-3sg  
'When the sun is setting.'
- 5.380 *thultu-thi-la-a*                    *pala*  
dust-PR.OPT-HAB-3sg    plain-ABS  
'a dusty plain' (JB.57:5)

### 5.7.7 PREVENT, EXCESSIVE *-rru*

#### (a) Prevent

The main thrust of *-rru* is to nullify or prevent (PRE) an action. Compare the next two sentences:

- 5.381 *wii*                    *pa-ra*  
fire-ABS    'do'-IMP  
'Light the fire!'
- 5.382 *piya*                    *pa-rru-n-ka-ra*  
flames-ABS    'do'-PRE-R-CAUS-IMP  
'Put the fire out!'

Notice the difference between:

- kiingku-*                                    'to sneeze'
- kiingku-rru-ngu*  
sneeze-PRE-ABL                        'to stop from sneezing'

#### (b) Excessive

Implied in most occurrences of the morpheme is that the action is excessive (EXCES), so needs to be checked.

- 5.383 *kiinki-ma*    *punha*    *kuntarl*    *warlu-rru-n-ta*  
kick-VBS    3sgACC    dog-ABS    bark-EXCES-R-P.OPT  
'He kicks the dog because he barks too much.' (EH.42:3)
- 5.384 *ngapa*                    *tiya-wi-rru-nj*  
water-ABS    twist-RT-EXCES-NOM  
'swirling water'
- 5.385 *ya,*    *yumpu-rru*    *yi-n-mi-yu*  
EX    sleep-EXCES    be-R-PROG-lsg  
'Oh, I'm sleepy!' (JB.51B:6)

5.7.8 CONSTANT *-kuri*

The suffix *-kuri* (CON) occurs rarely in the data. It is in the order of aspectual suffixes closest to the stem.

- 5.386 *niyi-n-kuri-tjirri-pu wayil*  
 sit-R-CON-CONT-3sg time  
 'He's been sitting for a long time.' (EH.15:1)

## 5.8 IMPERATIVE MOOD

## 5.8.1 GENERAL COMMENTS

The imperative mood is the only mood apart from the indicative which applies to all verbs. The imperative verbal word is the most basic verbal form apart from elided indicative forms (observed when suffixes are implied but not expressed, as in *kinta* '(I) laughed'). Imperative mood may exist in an elided form leaving only the root as the verbal word:

- 5.387 *nguu-∅ tharana*  
 give-IMP 3plACC  
 'Give (it) to them.'
- 5.388 *wala pa-∅ nganha kaya*  
 NEG hit-IMP 1sgACC mother-ABS  
 'Don't hit me, mother.' (EH.67:2)
- 5.389 *tharri-∅, tharri-∅ wala pulangkirr niya-ta*  
 get up-IMP get up-IMP NEG rug-ABS sit-IMP  
 'Get up! Don't sit on my rug!' (EH.67:2)

Unlike imperative mood in many languages (which allow suffixation of an imperative morpheme only), in Muruwari the imperative expresses most of the verbal functions of non-imperative forms such as aspect, transitivity, and subject and object pronouns.

Imperative morphemes fall into four groups, based on the four realis allomorphs, which do not occur in imperative mood (unless aspect is also expressed). Table 5.5 lists the four groups of allomorphs in a pattern which strongly suggests they originally indicated four verb classes.

Muruwari *-ka* (the CA imperative *\*-ga* postulated by Dixon (1980:381)), appears with both transitive and intransitive verbs. Imperative *-ka* has possible semantic links with *-ka* attached to proper nouns. There is no obvious semantic link with the causative inflection *-ka* unless suggested by such phrases as the following, where possibly 'cause yourself to' may be implied:

- 5.390 *nhaa-ka*  
 see-IMP/CAUS  
 'Look!'
- 5.391 *munki-ka / munki-ka-ya*  
 quiet-IMP/CAUS quiet-CAUS-IMP  
 'Be quiet!'

## 5.8.2 THE FOUR SETS OF IMPERATIVE MOOD ALLOMORPHS

As with tense, the imperative mood allomorphs are conditioned by the final vowel of the verb root.

| Realis    | Root ending | Imperative mood                   |
|-----------|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>l</i>  | <i>a, u</i> | <i>-ra</i>                        |
|           | <i>i</i>    | <i>-ta</i>                        |
| <i>ng</i> | <i>a</i>    | <i>-nga</i>                       |
|           | <i>i, u</i> | <i>-ra/-kara</i>                  |
| <i>n*</i> | <i>a, i</i> | <i>-na</i>                        |
|           | <i>u</i>    | $\emptyset$                       |
| <i>y</i>  | <i>i</i>    | <i>-ya/<math>\emptyset</math></i> |
|           | <i>a</i>    | <i>-ya/-kaya</i>                  |

\*There are some exceptions

As a general rule, *-ra*, occurring with both *-l* and *-ng* indicates imperative transitive, and *-ya* indicates imperative intransitive. Both *-ra* and *-ya* may be preceded by the general CA imperative marker *-ka*.

The *-ra* suffix (like the transitisers *-li* (5.4.1) and *-nga* (5.4.2)) may transitive a verb. Compare:

|                   |                 |
|-------------------|-----------------|
| <i>tharrka-</i>   | ‘Speak!’ (INTR) |
| <i>tharrka-ra</i> | ‘Tell it!’ (TR) |

There are some exceptions in each class. Though *-ta* generally occurs with stems ending in *i*, and *-ra* with stems ending in *a* or *u*, there is some fluctuation, such as:

*piyi-ta / piyi-ra* ‘dig it!’

But *-ta* never occurs following *-aa*, and seldom following *-a*. Verbs ending in *i* indicate imperative mood with *-y*, (abbreviated) or *-ya/-yi* (full) forms. *-yi* occurs before a word commencing with *y* or *i*.

Other intransitive verbs, almost exclusively those ending in *a* or *u*, carry *-na* or  $\emptyset$  to indicate the imperative.

## 5.8.3 IMPERATIVE MOOD OF SOME VERBS

The following lists show the imperative mood of some common verbs.

## Transitive verbs:

Suffixed by *-ta*

|                   |                  |      |
|-------------------|------------------|------|
| <i>karrawi-ta</i> | 'throw it away'  |      |
| <i>puumpi-ta</i>  | 'blow it' (fire) |      |
| <i>panpi-ta</i>   | 'catch it'       | also |
| <i>ngaawi-ta</i>  | 'swallow it'     |      |
| <i>yimpi-ta</i>   | 'stop it'        |      |
| <i>kunti-ta</i>   | 'cover it'       |      |
| <i>nhumpi-ta</i>  | 'hide it'        |      |

Suffixed by *-nga*

|                |            |
|----------------|------------|
| <i>pa-nga</i>  | 'hit it'   |
| <i>tha-nga</i> | 'do it'    |
| <i>kaa-nga</i> | 'carry it' |

Suffixed by *-ra*

|                   |               |
|-------------------|---------------|
| <i>tharrka-ra</i> | 'tell it'     |
| <i>pingka-ra</i>  | 'cough it up' |
| <i>panpi-ra</i>   | 'catch it'    |
| <i>maa-ra</i>     | 'put it down' |
| <i>thampa-ra</i>  | 'point at it' |
| <i>paa-ra</i>     | 'make fire'   |
| <i>nhaa-ra</i>    | 'see it'      |

## Irregular suffixes

|               |           |
|---------------|-----------|
| <i>ngu-wa</i> | 'give it' |
| <i>tha-la</i> | 'eat it'  |

## Mostly intransitive verbs:

Suffixed by *-y* (or  $\emptyset$ )

|                    |               |
|--------------------|---------------|
| <i>thanki-y/∅</i>  | 'run'         |
| <i>ngaaki-y/∅</i>  | 'play'        |
| <i>paangki-y/∅</i> | 'swim'        |
| <i>tiyawiy-y/∅</i> | 'turn around' |
| <i>kirri-y/∅</i>   | 'dance'       |
| <i>wangki-y/∅</i>  | 'cry out'     |

Suffixed by *-na*

|                   |              |
|-------------------|--------------|
| <i>ya-na</i>      | 'go'         |
| <i>maa-na</i>     | 'hold'       |
| <i>ngu-na</i>     | 'lie down'   |
| <i>wu-na</i>      | 'lie down'   |
| <i>thi-na</i>     | 'stand'      |
| <i>tharrka-na</i> | 'tell (him)' |

Suffixed by *-ya*

|                   |             |
|-------------------|-------------|
| <i>ni-ya</i>      | 'sit'       |
| <i>purri-ya</i>   | 'chop'      |
| <i>kaangki-ya</i> | 'float'     |
| <i>yungki-ya</i>  | 'sing'      |
| <i>pali-ya</i>    | 'die'       |
| <i>yapi-ya</i>    | 'warm self' |

Suffixed by  $\emptyset$ 

|                  |               |
|------------------|---------------|
| <i>kinkuru-∅</i> | 'sneeze'      |
| <i>yumpuru-∅</i> | 'go to sleep' |
| <i>palka-∅</i>   | 'come'        |
| <i>kula-∅</i>    | 'climb'       |
| <i>kinta-∅</i>   | 'laugh'       |
| <i>parta-∅</i>   | 'punch (him)' |

Compare the following transitive sentences which illustrate how some verbs mark imperative clearly, while others do not. Most do not indicate subject/object person and number, but it may occur:

- 5.392 *kaa-nga*  
carry-P./TR/IMP  
'Carry it!'
- 5.393 *pa-nga*  
hit-P./TR/IMP  
'Hit it!'
- 5.394 *wala tiya-nga-ra*  
NEG turn-P.TR-IMP  
'Don't twist it.'



- 5.395 *wala tha-nga-ra*  
NEG arise-P.TR-IMP  
'Don't wake him up.'
- 5.396 *wirru-nga-ra-nha*  
scratch-P.TR-IMP-2sgA+1sgO  
'Scratch me.'
- 5.397 *kunkanj-nga-ra*  
cover-P.TR-IMP  
'Cover him up.'

#### 5.8.4 PRONOMINAL SUFFIXATION OF IMPERATIVE FORMS

If subject person and number is expressed, second person singular *-ntu* may be suffixed to the imperative form. This is to draw the attention of the person directly addressed:

- 5.398 *yungki-ya-ntu*  
sing-IMP-2sg  
'You sing!'
- 5.399 *yimpi-ta-ntu*  
leave-IMP-2sg  
'(You) leave it alone!'

More frequently, object pronominal forms are expressed:

- 5.400 *tharrka-ra-nha*            *Muruwari-ngka*  
talk-IMP-2sgS+1sgO    Muruwari-LOC  
'Teach me Muruwari!'
- 5.401 *wala kuri thana-n-ka-nha*            *ngaangura*  
NEG angry do-R-CAUS/IMP-2sgS+1sgO    1sgDAT  
'Don't get angry with me!' (EH.74:2)

#### 5.8.5 OTHER SUFFIXATION OF IMPERATIVE FORMS

##### (1) Progressive *-mu-ka*

As indicated in 5.5.5 (2) the progressive (PROG) form *-mi* in imperative mood is *-mu*. It occurs with intransitive verbs, suffixed before the imperative intransitive suffix *-ka*, to describe a continuing forward-going action in the imperative mood. Because *-mu* is an aspect suffix, it carries the realis marker when the verb makes a realis comment.

|                              |                     |
|------------------------------|---------------------|
| <i>paangki-y-mu-ka</i>       | 'keep on swimming!' |
| <i>thangki-y-mu-ka</i>       | 'keep on running!'  |
| <i>tharri-y-mu-ka thirri</i> | 'fly away!'         |
| <i>tha-n-mu-ka</i>           | 'keep on eating'    |
| <i>tharrka-n-mu-ka</i>       | 'keep on teaching!' |

(2) Continuous *-thirra*

*-thirra* 'continuous/processive' (CONT) also occurs with the imperative and expresses realis where it is applicable.

5.402 *thina-∅-n-thirra nhura*  
stand-IMP-R-CONT there  
'Stand over there (and continue standing)!'

5.403 *wala ya-na-n-thirra*  
NEG go-IMP-R-CONT  
'Don't go walking again!'

5.404 *wala pa-n-thirra-ntu*  
NEG hit-R-CONT-2sg  
'Don't keep on hitting (him)!'

(3) Transitivity *-li*

*-li* acts as a transitiviser to intransitive roots in imperative mood in the same way as it does in the indicative mood.

| INTRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE |                 | TRANSITIVISED IMPERATIVE |                        |
|-------------------------|-----------------|--------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>kawi-yi</i>          | 'Sing out!'     | <i>kawi-yi-li</i>        | 'Call out to him!'     |
| <i>pathi-yi</i>         | 'Take a sniff!' | <i>pathi-yi-li</i>       | 'Smell it!'            |
| <i>yaa-ra yipa</i>      | 'Talk slowly!'  | <i>yaanti-li-nha</i>     | 'Speak to me!'         |
| <i>yungki-yi</i>        | '(You) sing!'   | <i>yungki-yi-li</i>      | 'Sing him!'            |
|                         |                 |                          | (i.e. 'sorcerise him') |

(4) Object focus *-tha*

The imperative *-ra* may occur following *-tha* 'object focus' (though usually *-tha* is word final). Or a zero allomorph may follow *-tha*, as in example 5.406.

5.405 *ti-tjina maa-tha-ra tapa-ku*  
billy-ABS put-OBF-IMP supper-DAT  
'Put the billy on for supper.' (EH.14:17)

5.406 *ngapa-ku yan-ti ngapa kaa-tha-∅*  
water-DAT go-IMP water take-OBF-IMP  
'Go and get water and have a drink.' (RS.34M)

## 5.8.6 DOUBLE MARKING OF IMPERATIVE

It is not uncommon for the imperative to be expressed more than once in the one verb form, once on the root, and once or more on the verbal suffix.

5.407 *wii pa-ra-n-ka-ra*  
fire-ABS do-IMP-R-CAUS/IMP-IMP  
'Put the fire out!'

- 5.408 *ya-na-ka-ya*  
go-IMP-CAUS/IMP-IMP  
'Go away!'
- 5.409 *pina-na-mu-ka-ya*  
listen-IMP-PROG-CAUS/IMP-IMP  
'Keep on listening!'

The multiple occurrence of the imperative shows the language working in the opposite direction to those occasions where the imperative suffix is omitted, and situation and context reveal that the utterance is a command.

### 5.8.7 NEGATIVE IMPERATIVE

When a negative command is given, the imperative is the same form as the positive command; the only difference is that, as with other negatives, the negative particle *wala* precedes the verb.

- 5.410 *wala muku-∅*  
NEG move-IMP  
'Don't move!'
- 5.411 *wala ya-na*  
NEG go-IMP  
'Don't go!'

### 5.9 CLAUSE-MARKING SUFFIXES

Clause-marking suffixes occur on subordinate verbs, whose construction is secondary to the main verb. They are in verb-final position and replace the bound subject pronoun to indicate one of three subordinate clause types. These are discussed here for their morphology, and in Chapter 7 in relation to syntax. The suffixes are:

|            |                           |
|------------|---------------------------|
| <i>-ra</i> | co-ordinate clause marker |
| <i>-la</i> | subordinate clause marker |
| <i>-ku</i> | purposive clause marker   |

#### 5.9.1 CO-ORDINATE CLAUSE MARKER *-ra*

*-ra* co-ordinate clause marker (CO.ORD) always occurs on the secondary verb in a sentence. In sentences of two linked ideas, the main clause carries the main suffixation, the other verb consists of the root plus *-ra*. That verb is almost always the second verb in a sentence.

The suffix may be translated 'to' or 'and'. The function of *-ra* is to express any additional or complementary action to that of the first verb.

- 5.412 *ngapa yan-mi-yu maa-ra*  
water-ABS go-PROG-1sg carry-CO.ORD  
'I am going to fetch water.' (EH.13:10)

- 5.413 *tharri-ya-a thangka-ra nhumpu*  
 arise-P.DEC-3sg run-CO.ORD 3sgNOM  
 'He got up and ran away.' (EH.14:9)
- 5.414 *yan-mi-na wayalmarrangkal-ku kanji kunta kampi-ra thayin*  
 go-PROG-1pl Weilmoringle-ALL now tomorrow return-CO.ORD towards  
 'We are going to Weilmoringle, and will return tomorrow.' (EH.36:3)
- 5.415 *ya-n-mu-ka ngapa-ngka kuumpi-ra*  
 go-R-PROG-IMP water-LOC swim-CO.ORD  
 'You go down and have a swim in the water.' (RC.1:5)

### 5.9.2 SUBORDINATE CLAUSE MARKER *-la*

The *-la* subordinate (SB) suffix operates at clause level on a subordinate verb to indicate an action that is happening contemporaneously with the main action of the sentence. It may be translated 'when', 'if', 'as', 'because', 'while'.

- 5.416 *marnta yi-n-ti-la purrpi-thirra-la-yu*  
 cold-ABS be-R-STY-SB jump-CONT-HAB-1sg  
 'When it is cold I shiver.' (lit. 'jump about')
- 5.417 *ngari ya-n-mi-la-a mayinj yaa-n-ti-l-para friend*  
 that walk-R-PROG-SB-3sg man-ABS talk-R-PR.OPT-R-RECIP friend  
*puka pakal-a mayin-tja*  
 3sgGEN another-LOC man-LOC  
 'While that man was walking along, he was talking to his friend, another man.' (EH.30:7)
- 5.418 *purri-la-yita mathan kununj maa-ku-yu*  
 chop-SB-3pl wood-ABS coals-ABS put-FUT-1sg  
 'When wood is chopped I'll put it on the fire.'
- 5.419 *wiya pinapi-ntu kitju yintu-la-ntu minjan ta-ra-ntu*  
 QN remember-2sg small be-SB-2sg what do-COMPL-2sg  
 'Do you remember what you did when you were little?'
- 5.420 *wala nha-yi-ntu nganha kawila-yu*  
 NEG hear-PR.DEC-2sg 1sgACC call-SB-1sg  
 'Didn't you hear me sing out?' (EH.37:6)
- 5.421 *kawila-yu thangkura-yu*  
 call-SB-1sg dream-1sg  
 'I call out in my sleep.' (lit. 'when I call out I am dreaming')
- 5.422 *(y)impi-ya-nja palaa-ngka ngunaa-la-a*  
 leave-P.DEC-1sgA+3sgO plain-LOC lie-SB-3sg  
 'I left him (while he was) lying on the plain.' (EH.48:18)
- 5.423 *thuu tharri-la-y tuku maari-ku-yu*  
 much eat-SB-1sg stomach-ABS sick-FUT-1sg  
 'If I eat too much, I'll get a pain in the stomach.'

The next example illustrates the over-lapping functions of *-la*, expressing both ‘habitual’ (HAB) (5.7.6) and ‘subordinate’ (SB) meanings:

- 5.424 *nhaa-n-ta-ra pampa-ta-la-yita*  
 see-R-P-COMPL fight-P-HAB+SB-3pl  
 ‘(I) used to watch them fight.’ (lit. ‘watched them while they fought’)

### 5.9.3 PURPOSIVE CLAUSE MARKER *-ku*

*-ku* purposive clause marker (PURP) covers a very similar area of meaning to its dative function on nominals, only the purposive meaning embraces the whole sentence. It is often glossed ‘to’ meaning ‘in order to’.

It is distinct from *-ku* ‘future’ (section 5.5.7) in that:

- (i) it carries only the purposive meaning, not a range of meanings like the future tense carries
- (ii) it is always verb final (*-ku* ‘future’ is always followed by a pronoun and/or clitic).

- 5.425 *kaan nhaa-n-ku palaa-ngka*  
 snake-ABS look-R-PURP outside-LOC  
 ‘Watch out for snakes lying on the ground.’ (EH. 18:8)

- 5.426 *kunaa-ku*  
 defecate-PURP  
 ‘wanting to defecate’ (EH.10C:1)

Such an utterance as 5.426 covers the same area of meaning as the verb form carrying the suffix *-tjira* ‘volitional’, in an expression like:

- 5.427 *kuna-kuna-tjira-yu*  
 faeces-REDUP-VOL-1sg  
 ‘I want to defecate’ (expressed as ‘have a poop’) (EH.10C:1)

The purposive *-ku* occurs occasionally following volitional *-tjira* or *-ra* ‘completed’, and more frequently following *-thirra* ‘continuous’.

- 5.428 *ya-n-mi-n-tjira-na-ku*  
 go-R-PROG-R-VOL-1pl-PURP  
 ‘We want to go.’ (EH.67:1)
- 5.429 *ya-n-mi-yi-yu maa-ra tha-tha-ra-ku ngara*  
 go-R-PROG-PR.DEC-1sg fetch-CO.ORD drink-REDUP-COMPL-PURP DEF  
 ‘I’m going to get a drink.’ (JB.54B:1)
- 5.430 *ngurra-ku thika ya-n-mi-yu nguna-n-thirra-ku*  
 camp-ALL 1sgGEN go-R-PROG-1sg lie-R-CONT-PURP  
 ‘I’m going to my camp to sleep.’ (JB.51B:6, EH.17:2)
- 5.431 *minjan tha-thirra-ku ngali*  
 what-ABS drink-CONT-PURP 1duNOM  
 ‘What have we to drink?’ (JB.61B:3)

- 5.432 *ya-n-ta-yu*      *nhaa-n-thirra-ya-yu-ku*      *yarraaman*  
 go-R-P.OPT-1sg    see-R-CONT-P.DEC-1sg-PURP    horse-ABS  
*thangki-n-thirra-la-yita*  
 run-R-CONT-SB-3sg  
 ‘I went to see the horses run.’

## 5.10 AFFIX TRANSFERENCE

### 5.10.1 GENERAL COMMENTS

Muruwari is one of those Aboriginal languages that shows extreme flexibility with affixes traditionally assigned to the verb, particularly tense, aspect and person. Capell labelled them ‘affix transferring’. Donaldson, in discussing Wurm’s use of the term ‘affix transferring’ in Guwamu, queries it when discussing examples in Ngiyambaa. Whatever theoretical niceties are involved, it is convenient to retain the label ‘affix transferring’ because it most simply accounts for the fact that verbal suffixes may attach to other parts of speech, such as nouns, adjectives and adverbs, and convey the same meanings as when they are attached to verbs.

Additionally, some suffixes show their independence by operating as word roots in a similar way to the independent operation of case suffixes.

- 5.433 *Tommy-ka ku ngara Sydney-ku*  
 Tommy-PER FUT DEF Sydney-ALL  
 ‘Tommy is going to Sydney.’ (JB)

Table 5.6 lists the word classes and types of verbal suffixation illustrated in section 5.10.

(Table is to be read downwards only, not across.)

| TABLE 5.6<br>AFFIX-TRANSFERRING MORPHEMES |                          |                 |                    |                     |
|-------------------------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| Word Classes<br>suffixed                  | Stem-forming<br>suffixes | Tense<br>suffix | Aspect<br>suffixes | Pronoun<br>suffixes |
| noun                                      | <i>-pi</i>               | <i>-ku</i>      | <i>-yi</i>         | <i>-yu</i>          |
| adjective                                 | <i>-nga</i>              |                 | <i>-la</i>         | <i>-ntu</i>         |
| demonstrative                             | <i>-ka</i>               |                 | <i>-mi</i>         | <i>-pu/-a</i>       |
| pronoun                                   | <i>-ma</i>               |                 | <i>-na</i>         | <i>-mpula</i>       |
| verb modifier                             |                          |                 | <i>-ra</i>         | <i>-nja</i>         |
| adverb                                    |                          |                 | <i>-li</i>         |                     |
| interrogative                             |                          |                 |                    |                     |

### 5.10.2 VERBAL SUFFIXATION OF NOUNS

- 5.434 *wiya parta-parta-ku-ntu*  
 QN morning-REDUP-FUT-2sg  
 ‘Are you coming in the morning?’ (EH.9:7)

- 5.435 *kapu mayinj niyi-pula ngapa-ku warri waam-piri-mpula*  
two-ABS men-ABS sit-3du water-DAT DUBIT tree-under-3du  
'The two men sitting under the tree are thirsty too.' (RC.8:1)
- 5.436 *panta-ra-la pawurra-pu-ki kapu-ngku mayinj-ngku*  
kill-COMPL-3du kangaroo-3sgO-EMP two-ERG men-ERG  
'The two men killed the old man kangaroo.'
- 5.437 *tirra-mpu ya-n-ta-a ngurra-ku-pu warri kunthi-ku warri*  
where-3sg go-R-P-3sg camp-ALL-3sg DUBIT house-ALL DUBIT  
'Where has he gone? Might be to his camp or to (his) house.'
- 5.438 *thintuwa-yi mukinj-yi*  
track-PR.DEC woman-PR.DEC  
'Tracking the woman.'
- 5.439 *yan-mu-ra-y kunta-yi-ka*  
walk-PROG-COMPL-lsg yesterday-PR.DEC-?CAUS  
'I went yesterday.'
- 5.440 *palaa-ntu wanti-na-a mathan-ta*  
outside-2sg astride-LCL-3sg branch-LOC  
'(See the bird) on the branch outside.' (EH.11:5)

The transitiviser *-li* appears to focus attention on the importance of that noun (or pronoun) to the action of the verb:

- 5.441 *nhaara kuntarl-yi-li wipu maa-n-pi-tharra-la*  
see dog-PR.DEC-TRS whip-ABS get-R-VBS-NECES-SB  
'When I see a dog coming I get my whip.' (EH.16:9)
- 5.442 *thirri tiyi-ya puka-li kunparta-ngu*  
away turn-IMP 3sgGEN-TRS log-ABL  
'Go around that log.' (EH.85:1)

### 5.10.3 VERBAL SUFFIXATION OF OTHER PARTS OF SPEECH

#### (a) Adjectives

- 5.443 *maa-n-ku-yu thaata-pi-la-a ngarntu-ngka*  
get-R-FUT-lsg big-VBS-when-3sg river-LOC  
'I'm going to get a big one (yellow belly) in the river.'

#### (b) Demonstratives

- 5.444 *wala nhuu-mi-pu yan-ta-a*  
NEG here-PROG-3sg go-P-3sg  
'He is not here; he has gone.'
- 5.445 *ya-ng-ku-na ngara-ku-na mayi-ku*  
go-R-FUT-1pl DEF-FUT-1pl ground-ALL  
'We will go to that place.' (EH.15:4)

## (c) Verb modifiers

- 5.446 *wala warri-yi-yu parta*  
 NEG DUBIT-PR-1sg tomorrow  
 'I may (do it) tomorrow.'
- 5.447 *wala warri-yi-yu yanta-a*  
 NEG DUBIT-DEC-1sg go+P-3sgP  
 'I am doubtful if he went.' (JB.33B)
- 5.448 *pinja-ra-nja ni-yu pinja Muruwari tharrka-ku-yu*  
 only-COMPL-1sgA+2sgO sit-1sg only Muruwari teach-FUT-1sg  
 'I'm teaching you Muruwari.'

## (d) Adverbs

- 5.449 *pa-n-ti-pula ngahna ngarlu-la-nja*  
 hit-R-PR.OPT-3du 1sgACC again-HAB-1sgO  
 'The two (men) are hitting me back again.'

## (e) Interrogatives

In the following sentence, to emphasise the transitivising of the intransitive root *nguna-* with *-nga*, that suffix is restated in the question particle, together with the bound pronoun:

- 5.450 *tirra-nga-ntu ngunaa-nga-ntu kapunj-ki*  
 where-P.TR-2sg lie+P-P.TR-2sg egg-ABS-EMP  
 'Where did you put those eggs?'

## (f) Pronouns

- 5.451 *kuntarl wuluwi-pu pinathini puka-ma-yu-na*  
 dog-ABS bark+PR-3sg hear+PR 3sgDAT-VBS-1sg-LCL  
 'I hear a dog barking.' (EH.1:8)

5.451 is a particularly interesting example since the word *puka-ma-yu-na* carries the dative pronoun (the case required by the verb *pinathini*) as its root.

## 5.11 THE VERB PHRASE

The verbal concept sometimes requires two words to convey the action of a sentence, where the first word carries the meaning and the second is an auxiliary type of construction, expressing the grammatical functions of the verb.

There are two intransitive verb roots that function with a variety of nouns or adjectives to form a verb phrase. They are:

|            |                       |
|------------|-----------------------|
| <i>pa-</i> | 'to act, do, perform' |
| <i>yi-</i> | 'to be, have'         |

(a) Nominal + *pa-*

The verb root *pa-* relates to the action or 'doing' of natural forces; it covers a wide variety of natural occurrences such as:



|                    |                      |                    |
|--------------------|----------------------|--------------------|
| <i>putu pa-</i>    | 'to rain'            | (lit. rain 'do')   |
| <i>kanturl pa-</i> | 'to be hungry'       | (lit. hunger 'do') |
| <i>thurri pa-</i>  | 'sun to rise or set' | (lit. sun 'do')    |
| <i>wiyi pa-</i>    | 'to light a fire'    | (lit. fire 'do')   |
| <i>pinjuwi pa-</i> | 'to lick'            | (lit. lick 'do')   |

- 5.452 *putu pa-yi-pu*  
rain-ABS 'do'-PR.DEC-3sg  
'It is raining.'
- 5.453 *wii pa-ra*  
fire-ABS 'do'-IMP  
'Light the fire!'
- 5.454 *ngathu kunturl pa-rri-yu thuu*  
lsgNOM hunger 'do'-REFL-lsg much  
'I am very hungry.'

(b) adjective + *yi-*

A very common type of utterance is one in which *yi-* occurs with an adjective to form a minimum type of phrase.

- 5.455 *marrinj yi-n-ti-yu*  
well be-R-PR.OPT-1sg  
'I am well.'
- 5.456 *thaata yi-n-mi-pu*  
big be-R-PROG-3sg  
'He became big.'

Alternatively, the same idea may be expressed by verbalising the adjective or noun root with *ma-*.

- 5.457 *marnta yi-n-ta-yu / marnta-ma-yu*  
cold be-R-P-1sg cold-VBS-1sg  
'I was cold.'

(c) Noun + *yi-*

A similar verb phrase, where the head word is a noun, though not as common as the adjectival type, is also permissible.

- 5.458 *muku miil yi-n-thirri-pu*  
blunt eyes-ABS be-R-CONT-3sg  
'He is blind.'
- 5.459 *ngarntanj yi-n-ta-a*  
blind be-R-P.OPT-3sg  
'He was blind.'

An unusual use of this construction occurs in:

- 5.460 *milinj yura-ngki (y)i-n-ti-pu*  
sorrow bad-? be-R-PR.OPT-3sg  
'He is sorry.'

This may also be expressed as:

5.461 *milinj yura-ngki-ya-yu ngara*  
sorrow bad-?-P.DEC-1sg DEF  
'I was sorry.' (JB)

## CHAPTER 6

### ADVERBS, PARTICLES AND CLITICS

#### 6.1 ADVERBS

Adverbs are those words which modify the action of a verb in any of several ways. Adverbs usually come before verbs, often sentence initial, but for emphasis or euphony they may occur following the verb.

##### 6.1.1 DIRECTIONAL ADVERBS *thayin*, *thirri*

The two directional adverbs indicate whether the action is taking place towards or away from the speaker or the situation.

###### (1) *thayin/thayi* 'towards'

Direction towards is indicated by *thayin*, or its shortened form *thayi*. It occurs most frequently with *ya-* 'to go' and other motion verbs, but also occurs in any situation which indicates action happening 'towards' someone or something.

6.1     *thayin ya-na*  
          towards go-IMP  
          'Come here!'

6.2     *thayin kanta-ra-a           nhuu-ku*  
          towards get+P-COMPL-3sg here-ALL  
          'He fetched it here.' (EH.33:2)

The independent nature and breadth of meaning are indicated in the following sentences, which, in context, show the clear though diverse function of *thayin* indicating action towards some particular person or place:

6.3     *wathul kinti-li   punha kuthara-ngku karrawi-yira pakul*  
          old man laugh-TRS 3sgACC children-ERG throw-3pl stone-ABS  
  
          *thayin kunthi*  
          towards house-ABS  
          'The old man laughed at him; the children threw stones at his house.'

6.4     *thuu       watjiin       kuwinj   yanti-yira kurru-kurru thayin*  
          many-ABS women-ABS men-ABS go-3pl all-ABS towards  
          'All the white women and men are coming together.'

- 6.5 *yurriin-tja tangkura-ma-yu yan-ti-la-ntu*  
 night-LOC dream-VBS-1sg go-PR.OPT-HAB-2sg  
*thayin ngaangura*  
 towards 1sgDAT  
 'I dreamed last night you were coming over to see me.'

For emphasis the particle may be repeated after the verb:

- 6.6 *thayin kaa-nga thayin*  
 towards take-IMP towards  
 'Bring it here!' (EH.2:2)

(2) *thirri* 'away from'

Direction away from is indicated by *thirri*. Its function and behaviour follows that of *thayin*, but it describes an action that takes place away from the speaker or the situation being described.

- 6.7 *thirri ya-na*  
 away from go-IMP  
 'Go away!'
- 6.8 *palka-a-pu thirri ya-n-ti-na*  
 come-P-3sg away go-R-PR.OPT-LCL  
 'He went away now.' (EH.11:5)
- 6.9 *ngapa-ngka thaki-ya-a thirri kanuu*  
 water-LOC float-P.DEC-3sg away from boat-ABS  
 'The boat went through the water.' (EH.11:4)

In the next example, the meaning of *thirri* is extended to express 'distance away from':

- 6.10 *maapu yungku-yita thirri ngara*  
 mob-ABS sing-3pl away DEF  
 'All the mob are singing a long way away.' (RC.9:3)

Both particles may be used in the one sentence to express a 'to and fro' meaning:

- 6.11 *purpi-la-a thirri thayin*  
 jump-HAB-3sg away towards  
 'He was jumping back and forth.' (EH.21:3)

### 6.1.2 ADVERBIAL PARTICLES

Adverbial particles are a special group of words that modify the action of the verb in an aspectual manner. They usually, but not exclusively, occur before the verb. Often, like the directionals, they are found at the beginning of a sentence.

#### (1) The negative

Muruwari has several particles that express different aspects of both the negative and the affirmative aspect of a verb's function.

(a) Negative *wala* 'not, no'

A straight negative (NEG) is expressed by *wala* which always occurs sentence initially.

- 6.12 *wala kinti-pu*  
 NEG laugh-3sg  
 'He is not laughing.'

Compare the affirmative statement where *wala* is absent:

- 6.13 *kinti-pu*  
 laugh-3sg  
 'He is laughing.'

In sentences where *yi-* 'to be' takes a complement, *wala* negates whatever is the focus of the sentence – noun, pronoun or adjective.

noun:

- 6.14 *wala yarrka yi-n-ti-pu*  
 NEG wind-ABS be-R-PR.OPT-3sg  
 'There is no wind.'

pronoun:

- 6.15 *wala yingka marli yi-n-ti*  
 NEG 2sgGEN boomerang-ABS be-R-PR.OPT  
 'That is not your boomerang.'

adjective:

- 6.16 *wala pantara nuwa kura yi-n-ti-pu*  
 NEG long-ABS that string-ABS be-R-PR.OPT-3sg  
 'That string isn't long enough.'

Where there is an unspecified subject, *wala* negates the bound pronominal suffix to mean the impersonal 'no-one' or 'no person'.

- 6.17 *wala tharrka-ku-yira punha*  
 NEG tell-FUT-3pl 3sgACC  
 '(There was) no one to tell him.' (EH.57:1)

*wala* also occurs with other adverbs such as *wani* 'close', *warri* 'might' (see (b) below) and *ngutha* 'unable to do' (see (c) below):

- 6.18 *yita-a nganha wala wani ya-n-ku-yu kuntarl-a*  
 bite-3sgP 1sgACC NEG close go-R-FUT-1sg dog-ERG  
 'He bit me; I won't go near that dog anymore.'

(b) Dubitative *warri* 'might'

Doubt (DUBIT) as to a possible action is expressed by *warri* which usually occurs before the verb, with the future tense form of the verb:

- 6.19 *thuu warri palka-ku-yita*  
 many-ABS DUBIT come-FUT-3pl  
 'All the mob might come.'

- 6.20 *wala warri pa-ng-ku-yi-ntu*  
 NEG DUBIT hit-R-FUT-PR.DEC-2sg  
 'I don't think I'll hit you.' (JB.18B:2)

*warri* occurs before the question pronouns *minjan* 'why', *tirra* 'where' and *ngaan-* 'who', 'which', to express doubt, frequently translated by 'I don't know':

- 6.21 *minjan-ku warri ya-n-ta-ntu*  
 why-DAT DUBIT go-R-P.OPT-2sg  
 'I don't know why you went.'
- 6.22 *warra-pu minjan-ngu warri*  
 fall-3sg where-ABL DUBIT  
 'I don't know where it fell from.' (EH.76:3)
- 6.23 *tirra-ngu warri palka-yi-pu*  
 where-ABL DUBIT come-PR.DEC-3sg  
 'I don't know where he comes from.' (EH.84:3)
- 6.24 *waa-ka tirra warri pakul puka*  
 fall-CAUS where-ABS DUBIT money-ABS 3sgGEN  
 'Don't know where he dropped his money.' (EH.207M)
- 6.25 *warri waanpi-pu ngaan-ka warri*  
 DUBIT wait-3sg who-PER DUBIT  
 'He's waiting for someone, I don't know who.' (EH.15:1)
- 6.26 *ngara kuntarl wulu-na-a ... ngaan-ka warri*  
 there dog-ABS bark-LCL-3sg who-PER DUBIT  
 '(I hear) a dog barking; I don't know whose dog it is.' (EH.37:5)

*warri* may occur in a no-verb conversational sentence with nouns:

- 6.27 *piyika-ku warri manu-ku warri*  
 tobacco-DAT might bread-DAT might  
 'Might be tobacco or bread (you brought for me).' (RC.9:3)

*warri* is another word which may be abbreviated and suffixed, rather than appearing as a free form: *ngaan-ku warri* 'I don't know whose' becomes *ngaan-ku-wi* in the following sentence fragment:

- 6.28 *ngaan-ku-wi kuntarl puka*  
 who-GEN-DUBIT dog-ABS 3sgGEN  
 'I don't know whose dog it is.'

(c) Inability *ngutha* 'unable to'

Inability (INABL) is expressed by *ngutha*, which may be preceded by the negative *wala*. Both particles occur before the verb.

- 6.29 *wala ngutha nhaa-ra-yu mani thika*  
 NEG INABL see-COMPL-lsg money-ABS lsgGEN  
 'I couldn't find my money.'

(d) Negation *parlanj* ‘nothing’, ‘nearly’

The particle *parlanj* covers a similar, though broader area than *wala* ‘not’. The meaning indicates a complete or almost complete absence of, or a failure to perform, rather than a lack of. It is usually translated ‘nothing’.

- 6.30 *parlanj ya-n-mi-yi-yu*  
 nothing go-R-PROG-PR.DEC-lsg  
 ‘I go with nothing.’ (JB:33)

*parlanj* is glossed ‘nearly’ in:

- 6.31 *kuthara warra-pu ngapa-ngka parlanj mirri-ra nhampu*  
 child-ABS fall-3sg water-LOC nearly drown-CO.ORD 3sgNOM  
 ‘The child fell in to the water and he nearly drowned.’

It may mean ‘no people’ as well as no thing as in:

- 6.32 *parlanj niya-n-ta-pu mirti-ngka*  
 nothing live-R-P.OPT-3sg bush-LOC  
 ‘He lived alone in the bush.’

## (2) The affirmative

Muruwari affirms an action by either of two particles which emphasise that the action has really taken place.

(a) Affirmative *kayila* ‘for sure’, ‘yes’

The particle *kayila* occurs frequently, affirming not only the action of the verb, but also any part of speech that is in focus. Jimmie Barker glosses *kayila* as ‘yes’.

- 6.33 *thinampi-ya kayila Muruwari*  
 remember-P.DEC AFFIRM Muruwari  
 ‘I (certainly) remember Muruwari.’ (EH.9:8)
- 6.34 *thina-ni-pu nhuu kayila*  
 stand-STY+PR-3sg here AFFIRM  
 ‘He’s standing up right here.’ (EH.31:4)
- 6.35 *wampa (y)i-n-ti-ntu kitju kayila*  
 deaf be-R-PR.OPT-2sg small AFFIRM  
 ‘Are you deaf?’ ‘A little bit, not much.’
- 6.36 *partala ya-ng-ku-ntu wayalmarrangkal-ku kayila ya-ng-ku-yu*  
 morning go-R-FUT-2sg Weilmoringle-ALL AFFIRM go-R-FUT-lsg  
 ‘If you are going to Weilmoringle in the morning I will come.’
- 6.37 *kunta pa-ya-a kitju kayila*  
 yesterday rain-P.DEC-3sg small AFFIRM  
 ‘Yesterday it rained a little.’

(b) Affirmation *wayil*, *wayil nari* 'surely', 'certainly'

*wayil* expresses the idea of doing something with thorough-going application in effort and time; it appears to have a time idea as one of its nuances. It carries the force of emphatically affirming a fact, expressed by the English 'surely, certainly'.

- 6.38 *pirru waa yi-n-ti-li wayil*  
hard-ABS work-ABS be-R-PR.OPT-1du AFFIRM  
'We two are certainly working hard.'
- 6.39 *pinatina-ku-yu pangka wayil*  
listen-FUT-1sg 2sgDAT AFFIRM  
'I will surely listen to you all the time.'
- 6.40 *kaa-nga punha kuthara mayin-tju wayil mukinj*  
take-P.TR 3sgACC child-ABS man-ERG AFFIRM woman-ABS  
'The man took the child and the woman away.'
- 6.41 *tumpa-l-pula-yira wayil*  
quarrel-R-3du-3pl AFFIRM  
'They were quarrelling all the time.' (EH.58:2)

The particle follows the verb unless used with strong emphasis, as in:

- 6.42 *wayil wayil ngathu ngara wala ngara njintu ya-na*  
AFFIRM AFFIRM 1sgNOM DEF NEG DEF 2sgNOM go-IMP  
'No, no, I (say), you don't go!' (JB)

The time aspect of *wayil* is further emphasised when followed by *nari* 'time, all the time, long time':

- 6.43 *ya-n-mi-yira wayil nari*  
go-R-PROG-3pl AFFIRM time  
'They are going away for a long time.' (EH.57:3)
- 6.44 *wayil nari-na wanki-ni-pu*  
AFFIRM time-LCL cry-STY-3sg  
'He's crying out all the day.'
- 6.45 *nhumpu panta-ra-a minjan-ku warri wayil nari*  
3sgERG hit+P-COMPL-3sg what-DAT DUBIT AFFIRM time  
'What's he hitting his (dog) for? Maybe it's (annoying him) all the time.' (EH.57:3)

### 6.1.3 LOCATIONAL ADVERBS

Locational adverbs signify direction or position:

*kuwarri* 'afar', 'long distance'

- 6.46 *kuwarri palka-a*  
afar come+P-3sgP  
'He came from afar.'



*yala* 'that way'

- 6.47 *yala ya-n-ta-a*  
 that way walk-R-P.OPT-3sgP  
 'He went that way ... and that way' (pointing to a person going in different directions)  
 (EH.31:4)

*ngarra* 'over there' (long way)

- 6.48 *ngarra ya-n-mi-na-a*  
 over there walk-R-PROG-LCL-3sg  
 'He's going away!' (long way implied) (EH.31:3)

*wani* 'close'

- 6.49 *wani ya-na thayin ngaangura*  
 close walk-IMP towards lsgDAT  
 'Come here close to me.' (EH.7:9)

The following is a modernised and revised version of the list given by R.H. Mathews (1903a:54) of what he named prepositions; some are locational adverbs and some are nouns in locative case:

|                   |                |                    |                |
|-------------------|----------------|--------------------|----------------|
| <i>karrpu</i>     | 'in front'     | <i>pila-ngka</i>   | 'behind'       |
| <i>turru-ngka</i> | 'in the rear'  | <i>muku-ngka</i>   | 'inside'       |
| <i>pala-ngka</i>  | 'outside'      | <i>karrka-ngka</i> | 'beside'       |
| <i>thanu-ngka</i> | 'between'      | <i>paru-ngka</i>   | 'down'         |
| <i>kanta</i>      | 'up'           | <i>karran-tha</i>  | 'over, across' |
| <i>nhuparanj</i>  | 'this side of' |                    |                |

These locational adverbs and nouns indicate the spatial position of an action. They may occur with stems only, but frequently carry the locative case markers:

- |                       |               |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| <i>muku/muku-ngka</i> | 'inside'      |
| <i>karrpu-karrpu</i>  | 'in front of' |
- 6.50 *wuli-Ø-ntu karrpu-karrpu*  
 walk ahead-IMP-2sg in front of-REDUP  
 'You go ahead (of me).' (EH.42:1)

Besides carrying nominal case inflection, locational adverbs may carry verbal inflections of aspect, tense and pronoun, particularly second person with imperative mood:

- 6.51 *turru-ntu ya-na ngaangura*  
 behind-2sg walk-IMP lsgDAT  
 'You walk behind me!'
- 6.52 *karrka-mi-ya-li*  
 together-PROG-P.DEC-1du  
 'We two are sitting together.' (EH.21:5)

## 6.1.4 TEMPORAL ADVERBS

There are a few adverbs that signify time.

(a) *kanji* 'now', 'soon'

*kanji* carries a sense of immediacy, and is a frequently occurring adverb. From it is derived the clitic *-nji* 'immediacy' (6.3.2) which is usually suffixed to verbs. As with the clitic, the adverb can mean 'now' in past and future as well as present time; it is the immediacy of the situation that is of importance, not just of the time. As discussed elsewhere, in common with other Aboriginal languages Muruwari has little clear definition between the immediate past, the immediate future and the present.

6.53 *kanji kayila*  
now AFFIRM  
'today'

6.54 *kanji ya-ng-ku-yu*  
soon go-R-FUT-1sg  
'I'll come soon.' (EH.37:5)

6.55 *kanji thurri warra-ku-pu*  
now sun-ABS fall-FUT-3sg  
'The sun will be down directly.'

6.56 *paangki-yi kuthara-purral kanji yurrin-tja*  
swim-PR.DEC child-pair now night-LOC  
'Last night the two boys went swimming.'

(b) *parray* 'bye and bye' (near future)

The force of the particle *parray* is to indicate that an event is shortly to take place. As with other particles, it may occur with a verb form unmarked for tense, the particle being sufficient to indicate the tense.

6.57 *parray nguu-yu panga*  
bye and bye give-1sg 2sgACC  
'Bye and bye I'll give it to you.' (EH.14:1)

## 6.1.5 ADVERBS OF MANNER

Adverbs of manner are fairly numerous. They are obviously adverbial in that they clearly extend the action of the verb. Adverbs of manner usually carry no suffixes, though *ngarlu* 'again' is an exception (see example 6.59 below). There is a small group of adverbs of manner which qualify the action of the verb. These include:

*puranj* 'almost'

6.58 *puranj pali-ya-a*  
almost die-P.DEC-3sgP  
'She almost died.'

*ngarlu* 'again'

- 6.59 *panti-pula nganha ngarlu-la-nja*  
hit+PR-3du 1sgACC again-RECIP-1sgO  
'Those two hit me back again.'

Reciprocal *tharrul*

- 6.60 *yaanti-li-ya-nja wala yaanti-li-la-a tharrul*  
talk+PR-TRS-P.DEC-1sgO+3sgS NEG talk+PR-TRS-RECIP-3sg RECIP  
'I spoke to him, but he wouldn't talk back.' (EH.38:1)

*karrka* 'together'

- 6.61 *yan-ti-la-pula karrka*  
go-PR-HAB-3du together  
'When two people are going along together.'

*kamala* 'alone' (one's self)

- 6.62 *tha-thirra-a kamala*  
eat-CONT-3sg alone  
'He'll eat it on his own.' (EH.36:1)
- 6.63 *nguna-mu-ka kamala*  
lie-PROG-IMP alone  
'You have a sleep yourself!' (EH. 36:3)

*pira* 'much' (exceedingly)

*pira* covers a range of meanings from 'much', 'very', to 'excessive':

- 6.64 *pira yaanti-pu pitara*  
much talk-3sg good  
'He talks very well.' (EH.157M)
- 6.65 *pinampi pira*  
think much  
'You think about it a lot.'
- 6.66 *kula-pu mathan-ta piru kula-pu mathan-ta*  
climb-3sg tree-LOC much climb-3sg tree-LOC  
'He's climbing trees too much.' (EH.35:2)

*purrul* 'quietly'

- 6.67 *purrul niya*  
quietly sit-EMP  
'Sit down quietly!' (EH.36:2)

*thampa* 'again', 'more'

- 6.68 *thampa kayila warra-a-pu-na*  
again AFFIRM fall-3sg-P-3sg-LCL  
'He fell down again.' (EH.48:6)

- 6.69 *wanti-ma-yu thampa*  
 want-VBS-1sg more  
 'I don't want any more.' (EH.37:1)

Other adverbs of manner more traditionally describe how the action is done:

- |      |                                   |  |           |
|------|-----------------------------------|--|-----------|
|      | <i>yipa</i>                       |  | 'slowly'  |
|      | <i>kartu/kartu-kartu</i>          |  | 'quickly' |
| 6.70 | <i>yipa yaa-ra</i>                |  |           |
|      | slowly talk-IMP                   |  |           |
|      | 'Talk slowly.'                    |  |           |
| 6.71 | <i>kartu-kartu paangki-y-muka</i> |  |           |
|      | quick-REDUP swim-R-IMP            |  |           |
|      | 'Swim quickly.'                   |  |           |

#### 6.1.6 ORDER OF ADVERBS

Two adverbs may occur together in a sentence, the one carrying the chief semantic load coming first.

- 6.72 *kartu-nja kanta purpi-ya-a murrin-tja*  
 quick-INTS high jump-P.DEC-3sgP bark-LOC  
 'He jumped quickly on the bark.' (JB.KM(141))

## 6.2 PARTICLES

Particles are a small group of words that relate equally to nominals and verbs. The precise meaning of some cannot be defined. The particles *ngara*, *ngari*, *(y)aani/(y)aanji* and *nuwa* are in many ways akin to the demonstratives except that they do not inflect. Sometimes they operate like demonstratives or definite articles, at other times like focus upon a particular part of speech. Each of these four carries distinctive differences, though it is not always clear why one is chosen in preference to the others.

### 6.2.1 DEFINITE ARTICLE, FOCUS *ngara* 'the/that'

*ngara* occurs most widely, relating to nouns and the noun phrase, though it also appears to extend the verb function in intransitive verb sentences. One major function of *ngara* is to give focus to a nominal, and is often so glossed (FOC). But it frequently functions like a demonstrative, when it is glossed 'that' or DEF for 'definite article'. It may occur before but is usually after the noun, and it is found in any position within the sentence.

The Jimmie Barker corpus is peppered with the word *ngara*, though it occurs much less frequently in the remainder of the data. Mathews did not mention it. Jimmie Barker, more than others, uses *ngara* conjunctively. The conjunctive uses are:

- as a ligature between subject and complement in a verbless clause it is glossed DEF (see (e) and (f) below)
- joining the quotes formula ('he said') to the quote, glossed DEF (8.2.1, examples 38, 71, 100, 104)

- joining clauses within a sentence, and glossed variously as DEF, ‘and’, ‘there’ (8.2.1, examples 68, 75, 97, 106)
- joining sentences together in discourse (8.2.1, examples 10, 12, 19, 22, 29, 46, 50, 59, 79, 101, 105, 110, 138, 139). In this instance, *ngara* is usually glossed ‘and’, ‘now’, ‘then’, ‘and then’. It often accompanies conjunctive recapitulation (tail-head linkage)

*ngara* has many properties of a clitic. Very often it appears to be a suffix rather than a free form because it is pronounced as if phonetically tied to the preceding noun with no sign of a break between the two words. This close phonetic tie also occurs with the negative particle *wala* and the interrogative pronouns. Following *wala* at the beginning of a sentence, it seems to mean ‘but (unexpected)’ (see 8.2.1, examples 113, 116). It can occur following verbs as well as nominals, and it can occur more than once in a sentence in the Jimmie Barker data; it has thus been treated as a free form.

An analysis of the Jimmie Barker data shows he used *ngara* in the following functions:

(a) as a definite article following a noun

6.73 *parta ngara maa-n-thirra-na manu*  
 morning-ABS DEF get-R-CONT-1pl bread-ABS  
 ‘Tomorrow (on the morrow) we’ll get bread.’ (JB.67B:5)

6.74 *kula ngara thini-na*  
 kangaroo-ABS DEF stand-LCL  
 ‘There’s a kangaroo standing there.’

6.75 *manu ngara ngu-wa-na*  
 bread-ABS DEF give-IMP-2sgS+3sgO  
 ‘Give me some bread.’ (JB.3B:4)

6.76 *mara-ngku ngara*  
 hand-INSTR DEF  
 ‘with the hand’ (JB.2B:1)

(b) as focus on a nominal

6.77 *ngapa ngara*  
 water-ABS FOC  
 ‘Water!’ (when one cries out for a drink) (JB.3B:2)

6.78 *ngurrunj-ku kapunj ngara*  
 emu-DAT+GEN eggs-ABS FOC  
 ‘for emu’s eggs’ (JB.3B:5)

6.79 *pirntal ngara tharrka-yu ngathungku*  
 straight-ABS FOC tell-1sg lsgERG  
 ‘I’m telling you the truth.’ (JB.4B:8)

(c) as focus on a verb

6.80 *yarrka puumpi-ya ngara-na*  
 wind-ABS blow-P.DEC FOC-LCL  
 ‘The wind is blowing.’ (BC.1 JT transcription)

- 6.81 *pirntal tharrku-∅ ngara*  
 straight-ABS throw-IMP FOC  
 ‘Throw straight!’ (JB.4B:8)

(d) as focus on a particle

- 6.82 *ngara-ngka wala ngara njintu yan-mi*  
 there-LOC NEG FOC 2sgNOM go-PROG  
 ‘You are not going there!’ (JB.1B)

(e) as a ligature in a verbless sentence

- 6.83 *kuthara ngara ngama-ngka*  
 child-ABS DEF breast-LOC  
 ‘The child is on the breast.’ (JB.3B:3)

- 6.84 *thurri-ngka ngara pampu-ngka*  
 sun-LOC DEF head-LOC  
 ‘The sun is overhead.’ (JB.3B:4)

(f) as a ligature between noun and adjective

- 6.85 *milin-tju ngara ngapa*  
 mud-INSTR DEF water-ABS  
 ‘The water is muddy.’ (JB.3B:4)

*nga* may be an abbreviated form of *ngara*. It occurs seldom in the corpus, and always as a ligature between two nouns. Usually no such connective is required because the juxtaposition of two lexically unconnected nouns is sufficient to indicate ‘and’.

- 6.86 *tikin-tja muu-thirra-a manu nga witji*  
 coals-LOC cook-CONT-3sgP bread-ABS and meat-ABS  
 ‘She cooked bread and meat on the coals.’ (EH.19:5)

- 6.87 *maa-ra muru nga kuliya*  
 take-COMPL fighting club-ABS and spears-ABS  
 ‘He took the fighting club and spears.’ (EH.79:4)

### 6.2.2 *ngari* ‘now’, ‘here’

Like *-nji* (6.3.2), *ngari* focuses on what is close in time or position, but it relates more to a state of ‘now-ness’ or ‘here-ness’ (temporal focus) than to a concrete object as *ngara* does.

In many places, *ngari* and *ngara* are mutually substitutable. Because *ngari* reflects the ‘now-here’ aspect, its meaning tends to be adverbial. As is to be expected, it often occurs with a verb in the present tense.

(1) Temporal focus

- 6.88 *mayinj marrinj ngari yi-n-ti-pu*  
 man-ABS well-ABS now be-R-PR.OPT-3sg  
 ‘The man's got better now.’ (RC.5:9)

- 6.89 *ngari ya-ng-ku-li kuli-kuli-ku*  
 now come-R-FUT-TRS storm-ALL  
 'It's coming up rain.' (RC.8:6)
- 6.90 *mirrinj ngari warra-mi-na*  
 star-ABS now fall-PROG-LCL  
 'falling stars' (RC.5:9)

In many respects, Robin Campbell's use of *ngari* parallels Jimmie Barker's use of *ngara*, even to using *ngari* following *wala* in *wala ngari* 'negative', in place of Jimmie Barker's *wala ngara*:

- 6.91 *wala ngari kiyarn wanti-pu*  
 NEG yet moon-ABS astride-3sg  
 'The moon is not on (risen).' (RC.5:7)
- 6.92 *kiyarn ngari wanti-pu / kiyarn wanti-pu ngari*  
 moon-ABS now astride-3sg moon-ABS now astride-3sg  
 'The moon is just on (risen).' (RC.5:7)

Since most of the occurrences of *ngari* are spoken by Robin Campbell, the difference between *ngara* and *ngari* might be dialectal.

The use of *ngari* is idiomatic in (6.93) dealing with bone pointing, as frequently happens in sentences relating to magic:

- 6.93 *kupi-ka ngari warri pali-ya-a*  
 doctor-PER now DUBIT die-P.DEC-3sg  
 'The doctor might have pointed the bone.' (RC.5:8)

## (2) Locational focus

The focus is more on place than on time in the following examples:

- 6.94 *kurr-kurr ngari palka-yi-pu*  
 mopoke-ABS here come-PR.DEC-3sg  
 'The mopoke is coming here to me.' (RC.43:1)
- 6.95 *kirra nhirri-nhirri yi-n-ta-a ngari thina-ni-pu*  
 galah-ABS cheeky-REDUP be-R-P.OPT-P-3sg there stand-STY+PR-3sg  
 'The galah's a cheeky bird; he's standing there.' (EH.21)

### 6.2.3 SPECIFIER (*y*)*aani*/*(y)aanji*, 'that thing'

*yaani* is found following consonants, but the *y* is sometimes lost after a vowel. *aanji* is an acceptable alternate pronunciation, sometimes heard.

Over much of the data (*y*)*aani*, like *ngara*, behaves more like a suffix than a free word because it, too, is phonologically linked to the word it follows (nominals, pronouns, particles, as well as verbs). It appears mostly in the Jimmie Barker corpus, but the Emily Horneville examples following a verb clearly show the word is independent (Jimmie Barker spoke of it in isolation several times).

The actual meaning of (*y*)*aani* is unclear. It seems to be another mechanism for indicating specifically what is being focused upon, thus the term 'specifier' (SPEC).

## (a) following nominals

- 6.96 *tayip yaani ngara wala pantara kayila*  
 tape-ABS SPEC DEF NEG long AFFIRM  
 'The tape is not long enough.' (JB.94B:3)
- 6.97 *wala ngara piya ngapa aani*  
 NEG FOC beer-ABS water-ABS SPEC  
 'There is no beer, only water.' (JB.55B:1)
- 6.98 *nha-ka-tu ngurumpiri aani*  
 see-IMP-2sg nose bone-ABS SPEC  
 'Look at the fellow, he's wearing a nose bone.' (EH)

## (b) following pronouns

- 6.99 *ngathu aani*  
 1sgNOM SPEC  
 'I did!' (in answer to, 'Who did it?')

## (c) following demonstratives and interrogatives

- 6.100 *minjan yaani*  
 what SPEC  
 'What is that?'
- 6.101 *nhurra-na yaani*  
 that-LCL SPEC  
 'That is it.' (JB.34B)
- 6.102 *nhurra-na aani pencil*  
 that-LCL SPEC pencil  
 'that pencil'
- 6.103 *pintja aani*  
 true SPEC  
 'It is just so.' (JB.34B)

## (d) following verbs

- 6.104 *pingka-∅ aani*  
 dig-IMP SPEC  
 'Dig here somewhere.' (JB.2B)
- 6.105 *yilurr-ma-yu yaani / pulu-ka ngathu aani*  
 lose-VBS-1sg SPEC / lose-CAUS 1sgNOM SPEC  
 'I lost it.' / 'I lost it.' (JB)
- 6.106 *puran kawi-li-yira puran*  
 mosquitoes-ABS call-TRS-3pl mosquitoes-ABS  
*kawi-mi-yi aanji pururrwa-ngka*  
 call-PROG-3pl SPEC summer-LOC  
 'In summertime the mosquitoes sing out.' (EH.36:3)



- 6.107 *nganti piyan-ki ngari yapi-ni-yi aanji*  
 1sgGEN clothes-EMP-ABS now sun-STY-3pl SPEC  
 'My clothes, you see them sunning, hanging there now.' (EH.36:3)

#### 6.2.4 *nuwa* '(look) here'

*nuwa* '(look) here', like (*y*)*aani* 'that thing', indicates things that are directly pointed to. *nuwa* is not a common word in the corpus.

- 6.108 *nuwa kantjiwa*  
 here policeman-ABS  
 'Look, here comes a policeman!' (RS.34M)
- 6.109 *wala pantara nuwa kura yi-n-ti-pu*  
 NEG long-ABS here string-ABS be-R-PR-3sg  
 'The string is not long enough.'

#### 6.2.5 QUESTION PARTICLE *wiya*

The question (QN) particle *wiya* is always clause initial. It is found in interrogative sentences that do not have an interrogative pronoun or question intonation to signal interrogative.

- 6.110 *wiya pinampi-ntu*  
 QN think-2sg  
 'Are you thinking of anything?'
- 6.111 *wiya pakul-ku ngaa-n-ta-ra nganha*  
 QN money-DAT ask-R-P-3pl 1sgACC  
 'Do they ask me for money?' (EH.17:5)
- 6.112 *wiya kwiya pa-n-ti-yira*  
 QN fish-ABS hit-R-PR-3pl  
 'Are they catching any fish?' (RC.9:1)
- 6.113 *wiya kawi-li-yira puwarn*  
 QN call-TRS-3pl mosquitoes-ABS  
 'Do you hear the mosquitoes?' (EH.27:9)

*wiya* may be found in a sentence fragment with a noun only as:

- 6.114 *wiya ngapa*  
 QN water-ABS  
 'Is there any water?'

### 6.3 CLITICS

Clitics are suffixed to more than one class of words. Some clitics, like *-na* 'locational', carry meaning for the whole sentence. Others, notably *-ki*, usually focus meaning on the words to which they are suffixed.

They always occur as the word-final suffix, very frequently in the sentence-final position where they carry most weight.

Muruwari has five clitics: *-ki*, *-na*, *-nji*, *-nja* and *-y*.

### 6.3.1 EMPHATIC *-ki*

The clitic *-ki* is best glossed 'emphatic' (EMP) since it underlines the meaning of a particular part of the sentence by focusing upon it and contrasting it with something else actually or implicitly in the sentence, nicely demonstrated in:

- 6.115 *yinka pampu-l pinal ngaanti-ki pitara minti-minti*  
 2sgGEN hair-EUP straight 1sgGEN-EMP nice curly-REDUP  
 'Your hair is straight, but *mine* is nice and curly.'

In 6.115 contrast is explicit; in 6.117-6.119, 6.121, 6.123-6.125, (and maybe in 6.124-6.125), the element of comparison is implicit, but quite strong. Though *-ki* is non-discriminatory, suffixing nominals, verbs and adverbs, it most commonly occurs with nouns. The sentence emphasis most frequently falls on the subject or object NP, which attracts the emphatic *-ki*. But it may also refer back to the noun of the previous clause, as in example 6.116. It seldom occurs with any case other than absolutive.

(a) with a noun

- 6.116 *ngaawi-ya-nji yalali-ki*  
 swallow-P.DEC-IMM lolly-ABS-EMP  
 'I swallowed that lolly.' (in reply to: 'What did you do with that lolly?')
- 6.117 *kula-thi-pu kanta-nji ngapa-ki*  
 climb-PR.OPT-3sg high-IMM water-EMP  
 'The water is rising!'

(b) with a free pronoun

nominative:

- 6.118 *wala yintu-ki*  
 NEG 2sgNOM-EMP  
 'That's not yours!' (EH.29:2)

genitive:

- 6.119 *panta-ra-yu kurru-kurru ngaanti-ki*  
 kill-COMPL-1sg all-ABS 1sgGEN-EMP  
 'I killed all mine! (my kids).' (now you kill yours) (EH.10:8)

interrogative:

- 6.120 *tirra-ki (y)inti-yira pama-ngka*  
 how-EMP be+PR-3pl Barwon-LOC  
 '(Just) *how are* things on the Barwon?' (JB)

(c) with a demonstrative

6.121 *wala wunima-nu ngurra nhuu-ki*  
 NEG possess-2sg camp-ABS this-ABS-EMP  
 'You don't own this camp!' (its ours)

6.122 *ngaana nhuu-ki*  
 which-ABS this-ABS-EMP  
 'Which one is *this*?' (EH. 29:2)

(d) with an adverb

temporal:

6.123 *mukinj inti-la-a ngurrunj matja-ki*  
 woman-ABS be-HAB-3sgP emu-ABS time-EMP  
 'Long ago, the emu was a woman.' (not a bird) (EH.26:7)

6.124 *purruwa (y)i-ng-ku-pu kanji-ki*  
 hot be-R-FUT-3sg now-EMP  
 'It's going to be hot today!' (compared to yesterday)

locational:

6.125 *ma-ra kanta-ki*  
 hold-IMP high-EMP  
 'Hold it high!' (not down there!)

(e) with a verb

Only on very rare occasions does the clitic *-ki* occur on a verb, and then usually on one in the imperative.

6.126 *wala kawi-mu-ka-ki*  
 NEG call-CONT-IMP-EMP  
 'Don't call out loud!' (i.e. speak softly)

### 6.3.2 IMMEDIACY *-nji*

The widely used clitic *-nji* carries a sense of immediacy (IMM) or happening now. It is derived from the temporal adverb *kanji* and is also translated 'now'. Free form and clitic quite frequently occur in the same sentence. It may refer to 'now' as the moment spoken, or that spoken about. Like *-ki* it is always postposed, usually to the last word of the sentence, whatever it is. It occurs most frequently on verbs, and often in a sentence that carries the emphatic *-ki*. When this happens, *-ki* takes precedence over *-nji* in being utterance final.

Though *-nji* occurs most often with the verb, it may occur with all other parts of speech.

(a) with verbs

present tense:

Most characteristically, *-nji* occurs on present tense verb forms:

- 6.127 *thini-pu-nji*  
stand-3sg-IMM  
'He's standing up now.'
- 6.128 *kuumpi-rrri-nji*  
wash-REFL-IMM  
'I'm washing myself.'
- 6.129 *ngurrun-tji*      *tha-ri-nji*  
emu-DIM-ABS eat-INCOM-IMM  
'I'm eating a piece of emu.'
- 6.130 *ngapa*      *warra-wi-pu-nji*  
water-ABS fall-RT-3sg-IMM  
'The water began to fall.' (EH.74:5)
- 6.131 *niya-ra-pula-nji*      *mirrimirri-ngka*  
sit-COMPL-3du-IMM river bank-LOC  
'They were sitting on the river bank.' (EH.74:10)
- 6.132 *kurla-mi-ntu-nji*      *kunthi-ku*  
return-PROG-2sg-IMM house-ALL  
'Are you going home?'
- 6.133 *wangki-yi-pula-nji*      *ngapa-ku*  
cry-PR.DEC-3du-IMM water-DAT  
'They two were crying out for water.'

However, because in story telling focus may be on the 'now' of the action, when the story is recounted in the past or future tense the suffix may occur with other tenses.

past tense:

- 6.134 *murri-ya-a-nji*  
drown-P.DEC-3sgP-IMM  
'Then he drowned.' (EH.KM(45))
- 6.135 *nha-ra-pula-nji*      *pampal*      *thuu*  
see-COMPL-3du-IMM orange-ABS many-ABS  
'They saw a lot of wild oranges.' (EH.74:3)

future tense:

- 6.136 *kami-ku-pula-nji*      *partala-ku*  
return-FUT-3du-IMM tomorrow-ALL  
'They two would return tomorrow.' (EH.KM(18A))

## (b) with nouns

- 6.137 *tharrka-ra nhulu kantu-nji*  
tell-IMP 2duERG others-IMM  
'You two, go and tell the others now.' (EH.24:2)
- 6.138 *pathaanj-nji*  
wet-IMM  
'I'm getting wet.' (EH)
- 6.139 *kuthara-nji maarri-ya-ra*  
children-IMM sick-P.DEC-3pl  
'The kids will get sick.' (EH.1C)
- 6.140 *ngari yarraaman thanki-mi-ni-ra mirti-mirti-nji*  
now horse-ABS run-PROG-STY+PR-3pl scrub-REDUP-IMM  
'The horses are galloping off into the scrub.' (EH.42:5)
- 6.141 *kurla-mi-pu kunthi-ku-nji*  
climb-PROG-3sg house-ALL-IMM  
'He's going up to town now.'

## (c) with pronouns

- 6.142 *wani ya-na ngaangura-nji*  
close walk-IMP 1sgDAT-IMM  
'Walk beside me.' (EH.42:1)

## (d) with adjectives

- 6.143 *thaata-nji miil*  
big-IMM eyes-ABS  
'His eyes were (now) big.' (EH.KM(84B))

## (e) with numerals

- 6.144 *puthul-u ngura-a ngarrana kurru-kurru-nji*  
crane-ERG gave-3sg 1plACC all-REDUP-IMM  
'The blue crane gave us all (names).' (EH.3:34)

## (f) with adverbs

- 6.145 *tuwi-mu-ra thirri-nji*  
move-PROG-COMPL away from-IMM  
'He moved along.' (EH.33:1)
- 6.146 *kula-thi-pu kanta-nji ngapa-ki*  
climb-PR.OPT-3sg high-IMM water-EMP  
'The water is rising higher.' (EH.19:1)

## (g) with locatives

- 6.147 *pura-mi-yu karran-ta-nji*  
go over-PROG-1sg across-LOC-IMM  
'I'm going across the river now!' (EH.12:10)

(h) with demonstratives

- 6.148 *wayil ngari-nji yan-ti-pu*  
 AFFIRM DEM-IMM go-PR-3sg  
 ‘There he goes’ (RC.Spoonbill Song)

(i) with particles

- 6.149 *kayila-nji pa-n-thira-ntu punha*  
 AFFIRM-IMM hit-R-CONT-2sg 3sgACC  
 ‘You have hit him enough.’

### 6.3.3 LOCATIONAL *-na*

The specific location of a place or time is indicated in the verb or adverb by the clitic *-na* ‘locational’ (LCL). Its occurrence with verbs has been discussed in section 5.5.4 (2).

This clitic is often also suffixed to demonstratives like *nhurra* ‘here/that’ and *nhurra-na* ‘this/that place’:

- 6.150 *nhurra-na ngurra-ku puka yan-ta-a*  
 that-LCL camp-ALL 3sgGEN go-P.OPT-3sg  
 ‘He went to his camp.’

It may also be suffixed to adverbs such as *karrpu* ‘in front of’:

- 6.151 *ngurrunj thina-a karrpu-na kiyiira*  
 emu-ABS stood-3sgP in front of-LCL turkey-ABS  
 ‘The emu stood in front of the turkey.’ (EH.61:7)

### 6.3.4 INTENSIFIER *-nja*

The meaning of the clitic *-nja* ‘intensifier’ (INTEN) is difficult to pin down. It appears to have some overtones of both the other clitics, with some of the emphasis of *-nji* and some of the locational meaning of *-na*.

(a) with adverbs

When *-nja* is suffixed to adverbs, it seems to intensify the adverbial meaning:

|              |           |                  |                          |
|--------------|-----------|------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>yipa</i>  | ‘slowly’  | <i>yipa-nja</i>  | ‘very slowly’/‘slower’   |
| <i>kartu</i> | ‘quickly’ | <i>kartu-nja</i> | ‘very quickly’/‘quicker’ |
| <i>karlu</i> | ‘closely’ | <i>karlu-nja</i> | ‘closer’                 |

- 6.152 *yipa-nja pampu tuwi-li-ya-a yipa piki nga thuntu*  
 slow-INTEN head-ABS move-TRS-P.DEC-3sg slow arm-ABS and leg-ABS  
 ‘Slowly he moved his head, arms and legs.’ (EH section 8.2.2 (2) sentence 56)

(b) with verbs

*-nja* ‘intensifier’ (not to be confused with the fused first person pronoun *-nja*) occurs mostly with the past tense of the verb:

- 6.153 *marrinj tharri-ya-nja thampa-ki puka*  
 husband-ABS run-P.DEC-INTEN track-EMP 3sgGEN  
 'The husband got her tracks.' (EH section 8.2.6 sentence 18)
- 6.154 *nhaa-ra-y tiyaa-ma-la-nja kanta-ki*  
 see-COMPL-1sg turn-VBS-HAB-INTEN high-EMP  
 'I saw it spinning in the air.' (EH section 8.2.5 sentence 8)
- 6.155 *thangki-ya-a-nja murrinj-ku...*  
 run-P.DEC-3sg-INTEN bark-ALL  
 'He ran back to the bark.' (EH section 8.2.2 (2) sentence 81)

*-nji* and *-nja* may be allomorphs of the same morpheme, but no satisfactory conditioning features were discovered, except to note that in the corpus *-nji* occurs mostly with intransitive verbs of non-perambulatory movement (stand, wash, eat, fall, sit, cry) and *-nja* with verbs of more vigorous movement (run, spin), but there is insufficient material to discover whether this is of any real significance.

### 6.3.5 EXCLAMATORY *-y*

There are numerous examples scattered throughout the data of *-y* occurring as the final morpheme of a word, usually a verb, and usually following *a*. Very often it is accompanied by rising intonation, and appears to focus attention on the word in an exclamatory (EX) sense:

- 6.156 *manja-ma-ra-y punha*  
 tease-VB-COMPL-EX 3sgACC  
 'They were tormenting him!'
- 6.157 *piki nhaa-ki-ra-y*  
 arm-ABS see-PR-COMPL-EX  
 'He sees his wings (cut off)!'

## 6.4 INTERJECTIONS

The only interjections in the corpus are found in the Jimmie Barker material. These interjections appear to be of two kinds and are difficult to evaluate.

### 6.4.1 INTERJECTION OF EMOTION

The five forms listed below appear to be modifications of the one exclamation, minimally changed in phonetic shape, according to the emotion expressed, but possibly clearly differentiated by strong intonation:

|             |                                               |
|-------------|-----------------------------------------------|
| <i>ya</i>   | exclamation of reprimand                      |
| <i>yay</i>  | exclamation of command                        |
| <i>yaa</i>  | exclamation to get attention, or of agreement |
| <i>yaay</i> | exclamation of fright                         |
| <i>yaaw</i> | exclamation of joy or approval                |

- 6.158 *yaa pintja nhuwa tharrka-n-ta-yi-yu yintu*  
 oh just that tell-R-P.OPT-PR.DEC-1sg 2sgACC  
 'Oh, I just told you so!' (JB.53B:3)

#### 6.4.2 INTERJECTION OF COMMAND

The particle *wan* 'hey!' occurs occasionally in the corpus before an imperative sentence. It seems the interjection is to grasp the hearer's attention before a command is given:

- 6.159 *wan witji tha-n-muka*  
 hey! meat-ABS eat-R-CONT+IMP  
 'Eat your meat!' (EH.2:3)
- 6.160 *wan puumpi-ta wii*  
 hey! blow-IMP fire-ABS  
 'Hey you, blow the fire up!' (EH.2:3)



## CHAPTER 7

### SYNTAX

#### 7.1 VERBLESS SENTENCES

The following abbreviations are used only in this chapter (with the given meaning):

|      |                 |      |            |
|------|-----------------|------|------------|
| COMP | complement      | OBJ  | object     |
| IO   | indirect object | pn   | pronoun    |
| LOC  | location        | SUBJ | subject    |
| MAN  | manner          | sub  | substitute |

##### 7.1.1 THE ADJECTIVAL EQUATIONAL CLAUSE

As with most Aboriginal languages, a noun phrase can function as a full statement. Most verbless sentences are equational, the uninflected noun of the NP function acting as the subject of the sentence, the adjective or inflected nominal as its complement:

|     |                                                    |              |   |
|-----|----------------------------------------------------|--------------|---|
|     | COMP: adj                                          | SUBJ: n      |   |
|     | .....                                              | .....        |   |
|     | :                                                  | :            | : |
| 7.1 | <i>milin-tjulu</i>                                 | <i>ngapa</i> |   |
|     | mud-having                                         | water        |   |
|     | 'The water is muddy.' (or 'muddy water') (EH.20:7) |              |   |

|     |                                |                    |   |
|-----|--------------------------------|--------------------|---|
|     | COMP: adj                      | SUBJ: POSS NP      |   |
|     | .....                          | .....              |   |
|     | :                              | :                  | : |
| 7.2 | <i>pantin-pita</i>             | <i>piyan thika</i> |   |
|     | dirt-having                    | dress 1sgGEN       |   |
|     | 'My dress is dirty.' (EH.49:3) |                    |   |

##### 7.1.2 THE INTERROGATIVE EQUATIONAL CLAUSE

The question sentence is often verbless. It consists of an interrogative pronoun followed by a noun or NP, and is thus a type of adjectival equational clause.

|     |                      |               |
|-----|----------------------|---------------|
|     | COMP: QN             | SUBJ: n       |
|     | .....                | .....         |
|     | :                    | :             |
| 7.3 | <i>ngaana</i>        | <i>mukinj</i> |
|     | who-ABS              | woman-ABS     |
|     | 'Who is that woman?' |               |

|     |                      |                     |
|-----|----------------------|---------------------|
|     | COMP: QN             | SUBJ: POSS NP       |
|     | .....                | .....               |
|     | :                    | :                   |
| 7.4 | <i>ngaan-ku-wi</i>   | <i>kuntarl puka</i> |
|     | who-GEN-EMP          | dog-ABS 3sgGEN      |
|     | 'Whose dog is that?' |                     |

|     |                     |          |
|-----|---------------------|----------|
|     | COMP: QN            | SUBJ: n  |
|     | .....               | .....    |
|     | :                   | :        |
| 7.5 | <i>minjan kurri</i> |          |
|     | what-ABS            | name-ABS |
|     | 'What's his name?'  |          |

### 7.1.3 THE DEMONSTRATIVE-POSSESSIVE EQUATIONAL CLAUSE

The equational clause that points to possession frequently has no verb.

|     |                                                                     |                   |
|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
|     | SUBJ: POSS NP                                                       | COMP: POSS NP     |
|     | .....                                                               | .....             |
|     | :                                                                   | :                 |
| 7.6 | <i>nhura mukinj-ku</i>                                              | <i>witji puka</i> |
|     | that woman-GEN                                                      | meat-ABS 3sg-GEN  |
|     | 'That meat belongs to her.' (lit. 'that woman's her meat') (EH.7:8) |                   |

### 7.1.4 THE CASE-INFLECTION SENTENCE FRAGMENT

Case inflection may carry the force of a verb, such as ergative signalling the action of a transitive verb, and *-ku* 'dative/purposive' the intention of the verb.

|     |                                  |                        |              |
|-----|----------------------------------|------------------------|--------------|
|     | TR SUBJ: pn                      | TR V sub: NP           | OBJ: n       |
|     | .....                            | .....                  | .....        |
|     | :                                | :                      | :            |
| 7.7 | <i>ngathungku</i>                | <i>ngara kuliya-ku</i> | <i>kula</i>  |
|     | 1sgERG                           | that spear-PURP        | kangaroo-ABS |
|     | 'I'm going to spear a kangaroo.' |                        |              |

## 7.2 SIMPLE SENTENCES

Muruwari recognises two types of simple sentences revolving round the transitive/intransitive dichotomy. Each of these has essential obligatory elements centred at the most basic level in the

verb. While there is a degree of freedom in word order within Muruwari sentences, there is at the same time a very distinctive ordering for each syntactic slot within the clause. Taking the verb as the central point, other syntactic elements occur either before or after it, according to a strict pattern of preference, radiating outwards from the centre.

Sentence word order is shown diagrammatically in sections 7.2.1 and 7.2.2.

### 7.2.1 TRANSITIVE SENTENCES

(Note: peripheral elements are given in brackets)

#### (1) Ordering within transitive sentences

|       |        |                |               |        |       |
|-------|--------|----------------|---------------|--------|-------|
| (LOC) | (SUBJ) | (IO)--OBJ...TR | V...OBJ--(IO) | (SUBJ) | (LOC) |
| 4     | 3      | 2 1            | 1 2           | 3      | 4     |

This diagram illustrates that a transitive clause has as its nucleus a transitive verb. The object is also nuclear. When the object is overt, it may occur either before or after the verb, or in the case of a 'split' NP (see 3.8.3), both before and after it. The nuclear elements of a transitive sentence are kept indissolubly together (as ... indicates).

When an indirect object occurs with the object, it must be beyond whichever position the object has chosen, that is, preceding the direct object if it occurs before the verb, or following it if it follows the verb (-- indicates the fixed position of these two elements).

If the subject is expressed overtly at clause level, it may occur either before or after the object, but never between the object and the verb.

Difference in word order represents a difference in focus.

#### (2) Minimal constructions of transitive sentences

There are five basic types of transitive sentences, listed according to the class of words used in the main functions of subject and object:

|    | SUBJECT  | OBJECT                                        |
|----|----------|-----------------------------------------------|
| 1  | Noun     | Noun                                          |
| 2* | Noun     | Pronoun                                       |
| 3  | Noun     | NP (pronoun + noun)/split NP (noun – pronoun) |
| 4* | -pronoun | Pronoun                                       |
| 5  |          | Noun/pronoun/NP<br>(subordinate clause only)  |

\* Types 2 and 4 occur with greatest frequency within the text.

Transitive sentences do not normally use a free pronoun as the subject of a sentence, but use the bound form. In the Jimmie Barker data only, *ngathu-ngku* '1sg-ERG' occurs on rare occasions, but never in Emily Horneville's material. If the subject has been stated previously or is understood, it is indicated by the pronominal bound form on the verb; if the subject is not clear it is specified by a nominal.

Sometimes an object is implied but not expressed; the presence of a noun in the ergative case is sufficient to imply the object. Usually a free pronoun or an appositional NP (see section 3.8(3)) express the object.

|      | SUBJECT                                                            | TR VERB                           | OBJECT: ABS n/NP/ACC pn          |                           |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 7.8  | <i>tomi-ngu</i><br>Tommy-ERG<br>'Tommy is throwing the boomerang.' | <i>karray-pu</i><br>throw-3sg     | <i>ngariya</i><br>that           | <i>marli</i><br>boomerang |
| 7.9  | <i>kuntarl-u</i><br>dog-ERG<br>'The dog bit me.'                   | (y) <i>ita-a</i><br>bite-3sg      | <i>nganha</i><br>1sg             |                           |
| 7.10 | <i>ngurrun-tju</i><br>emu-ERG<br>'The emu laughed at the turkey.'  | <i>kintiliya-a</i><br>laugh-3sg   | <i>punha</i><br>3sg              | <i>kiyara</i><br>turkey   |
|      |                                                                    | OBJECT                            | TR VERB                          | OBJECT: pn                |
| 7.11 |                                                                    | <i>mukinj</i><br>women            | <i>nhayniya-a</i><br>look at-3sg | <i>pula</i><br>3du        |
|      |                                                                    | 'He was looking at the two gins.' |                                  |                           |
| 7.12 |                                                                    | <i>tharrka-ra</i><br>told-CO.ORD  | <i>tharrana</i><br>3pl           |                           |
|      |                                                                    | '...and (he) told them...'        |                                  |                           |

### (3) The adverbial construction

Place, time and manner functions occur furthest from the verb-object core:

|      | LOC: n                         | TR V                                | OBJ                     |
|------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------|
|      | .....                          | .....                               | .....                   |
|      | :                              | :                                   | :                       |
| 7.13 | <i>thurran-ta</i><br>smoke-LOC | <i>tina-ma-ra</i><br>stand-CAUS-IMP | <i>punha</i><br>3sgACC  |
|      |                                |                                     | 'Put him in the smoke.' |

### 7.2.2 INTRANSITIVE SENTENCES

#### (1) Ordering within intransitive sentences

|       |        |       |         |        |         |       |        |       |        |
|-------|--------|-------|---------|--------|---------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| (LOC) | (TIME) | (MAN) | (S VBJ) | INTR V | (S VBJ) | (MAN) | (TIME) | (LOC) | (COMP) |
| 4     | 3      | 2     | 1       |        | 1       | 2     | 3      | 4     | 5      |

Because the only nuclear element of an intransitive clause is the verb, the order is more flexible than that of a transitive clause except that if there is a complement it occurs clause final (though a rare case has been found of a clause-initial complement). The preferred order is for the subject to occur before the verb in a more rigid way than is the case with transitive subjects (though even there the preference is probably more for pre-verb than post-verb position). Because locative case is so closely bound to the intransitive verb construction, it occurs with great frequency. The other adverbial slots of time

and manner occur more rarely, but never the three together. Time and manner preferably follow the verb, but if either is present with a locative, the locative is always furthest from the verb.

(2) The minimal construction

At its most basic, an intransitive sentence consists of a verb only:

7.14 *paanki-yita*  
swim-3pl  
'They are swimming.'

7.15 *thangki-pu*  
run-3sg  
'He is running.'

7.16 *tha-tharri-yu*  
eat-REFL-1sg  
'I'm having a feed.'

To this basic form, a clause-level subject may clarify the performer of the action, being expressed either before or after the verb:

|      | INTR VERB                          | SUBJECT                                |
|------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| 7.17 | <i>paangki-yita</i><br>swim-3pl    | <i>kuthara-kalka</i><br>child-some-ABS |
|      | 'Some children are having a swim.' |                                        |

|      | SUBJECT                | INTR VERB                    |
|------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| 7.18 | <i>kuni</i><br>fem-ABS | <i>thangki-pu</i><br>run-3sg |
|      | 'The girl is running.' |                              |

|      |                         |                                      |
|------|-------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| 7.19 | <i>ngathu</i><br>lsgNOM | <i>tha-tharri-yu</i><br>eat-REFL-lsg |
|      | 'I'm having a feed.'    |                                      |

(3) The complement construction

In clauses taking either locative or dative forms which realise the complement of an intransitive verb, the complement is clause final.

|      | INTR VERB                                  | MANNER                    | COMPLEMENT                      |
|------|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 7.20 | <i>kantarl</i><br>hunger                   | <i>pali-yu</i><br>die-1sg | <i>piru</i><br>hard             |
|      | 'I'm hungry for a feed of emu and goanna.' |                           | <i>ngurrun-tja</i><br>emu-LOC   |
|      |                                            |                           | <i>parna-ngka</i><br>goanna-LOC |
|      |                                            |                           | (EH.KM(30))                     |

|      | TIME                               | INTR VERB                       | COMPLEMENT            |
|------|------------------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 7.21 | <i>partala</i><br>morning          | <i>yang-ku-na</i><br>go-FUT-1pl | <i>puka</i><br>3sgDAT |
|      | 'We'll go after him next morning.' |                                 |                       |

## (4) The locative construction

The intransitive construction most characteristically expresses the location for the action:

|      |                                     |                                            |                                       |                                |
|------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
|      |                                     | INTR VERB                                  | SUBJECT                               | LOC                            |
| 7.22 |                                     | <i>paangki-yita</i><br>swim-3pl            | <i>kuthara-kalkaa</i><br>children-all | <i>ngapa-ngka</i><br>water-LOC |
|      |                                     | 'Some children are swimming in the water.' |                                       |                                |
|      | SUBJECT                             | INTR VERB                                  |                                       | LOC                            |
| 7.23 | <i>kuni</i><br>girl                 | <i>thangki-pu</i><br>run-3sg               |                                       | <i>kunthi-ku</i><br>house-LOC  |
|      | 'The girl is running to the house.' |                                            |                                       |                                |
| 7.24 | <i>ngathu</i><br>1sgNOM             | <i>yanmi-yu</i><br>going-1sg               |                                       | <i>ngurra-ngu</i><br>camp-LOC  |
|      | 'I am going away from camp.'        |                                            |                                       |                                |

The sentence is further expanded by expressing the concept of time:

|      |                                |                                          |                                    |                                         |
|------|--------------------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
|      |                                | INTR VERB                                | SUBJECT                            | TIME                                    |
| 7.25 |                                | <i>paangkiyi</i><br>swim                 | <i>kuthara-purral</i><br>child-two | <i>kanji yurrin-tja</i><br>now night-to |
|      |                                | 'Last night the two boys went swimming.' |                                    |                                         |
|      | TIME                           | INTR VERB                                |                                    |                                         |
| 7.26 | <i>kanji</i><br>now            | <i>thangki-ntji-ntu</i><br>run-ought-2sg |                                    |                                         |
|      | 'You ought to run (home) now.' |                                          |                                    |                                         |

## 7.3 SENTENCES CONTAINING SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

As already discussed (5.9) there are three types of subordinate clauses marked as follows:

- ra* 'subsequent action' to that of the main verb
- la* 'simultaneous action' with that of the main verb
- ku* 'purposive action' resulting from the main verb

-*ra* and -*ku* always occur verb finally; -*la* frequently, but not exclusively, does also.

7.3.1 SENTENCES WITH -*ra* 'CO-ORDINATE' CLAUSE

The co-ordinate action sentence consists of:

main clause + -*ra* clause

This order rarely varies.

The meaning of the subordinate clause always relates to an action following that of the main clause, either immediately or some time later. The suffix encompasses the meaning of ‘and’, ‘in order to’, ‘until’, ‘if’, or just ‘to’ do some other action and is glossed CO.ORD.

|      | MAIN CLAUSE                                     |                                 | SUBORDINATE CLAUSE                                                                                                                                                         |
|------|-------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 7.27 | <i>ngapa</i><br>water-ABS                       | <i>yan-mi-yu</i><br>go-PROG-lsg | <i>paa-ra</i><br>carry-CO.ORD<br>'I'm going to fetch water.' (EH.13:10)                                                                                                    |
| 7.28 | <i>thangki-ra-yi-na</i><br>run-COMPL-PR.DEC-lpl |                                 | <i>nhuumpi-ra</i><br>hide-CO.ORD<br>'We used to run away and hide.' (EH.13:9)                                                                                              |
| 7.29 | <i>pakul</i><br>stone-ABS                       | <i>wuna-na-a</i><br>lie-LCL-3sg |                                                                                                                                                                            |
|      | <i>maa-ra</i><br>take-IMP                       | <i>punha</i><br>3sgACC          | <i>thayin kaa-nga-ra</i><br>to bring-IMP-CO.ORD<br>'There's a stone over there; pick it up and fetch it to me.' (EH.14:7)                                                  |
| 7.30 | <i>niya-ku-yu</i><br>sit-FUT-lsg                |                                 | <i>waanpi-ra</i> <i>pungka</i><br>wait-CO.ORD 2sgACC<br><br><i>tilkarra-ngka</i><br>wilga-LOC<br>'I will sit and wait for you by the wilga tree.'                          |
| 7.31 | <i>wirrunga-tharri-yu</i><br>scratch-REFL-lsg   |                                 | <i>kuwanj</i> <i>palka-ra</i><br>blood-ABS come-CO.ORD<br><br><i>marnku-ngu</i><br>arm-ABL<br>'I scratch myself till my arm bleeds.' (lit. 'to/till blood comes from arm') |

The subordinate clause in example 7.31 illustrates an ‘inalienable possession’ construction, consisting of an intransitive verb in a transitive-like construction, somewhat similar to that in Wargamay described by Dixon (1981:64).

An unusual use of the *-ra* clause occurs in:

|      |                                                        |                       |              |                     |
|------|--------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| 7.32 | <i>wala</i>                                            | <i>tharrka-ku-ntu</i> | <i>punha</i> | <i>piyi-n-ka-ra</i> |
|      | NEG                                                    | talk-FUT-2sg          | 3sgACC       | ask-R-IMP-CO.ORD    |
|      | 'If he asks you, do not tell him anything.' (EH.14:10) |                       |              |                     |

### 7.3.2 SENTENCES WITH *-ku* ‘PURPOSIVE’ CLAUSE

This sentence consists of:

main clause + *-ku* subordinate clause

These clauses are in the same fixed order as the sentences with *-ra* in the subordinate clause. Like *-ra*, *-ku* occurs on the root of a verb in a subordinate clause, and that clause follows the main clause (although occasionally a subordinate clause will occur before the main clause for the sake of

emphasis). Semantically, the action of the main clause is performed 'so that' the action of the subordinate clause may follow.

- |      | MAIN CLAUSE                                                                                          |  | SUBORDINATE CLAUSE                                             |
|------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|----------------------------------------------------------------|
| 7.33 | <i>kitju thangka-ya-a...</i><br>small run-P.DEC-3sg                                                  |  |                                                                |
|      | <i>paray-ku thirra</i><br>east-ALL away                                                              |  | <i>ngara marli karrawi-ku</i><br>DEF boomerang throw-to        |
|      | 'He ran a short distance to the east to throw (so that he could throw) the boomerang.'<br>(JB.74B:4) |  |                                                                |
| 7.34 | <i>thalu-ngka palkaa-pu...</i><br>day-in come-he                                                     |  |                                                                |
|      | <i>ngurra-ku ngara</i><br>camp-to DEF                                                                |  | <i>mayinj nhuu-yita kalathara-ku</i><br>men those-with hunt-to |
|      | 'Each day he came to the camp (in order) to hunt with the men.' (JB.74B:8)                           |  |                                                                |
| 7.35 | <i>mayinj-kalkaa palka-yita</i><br>men-all come-they                                                 |  | <i>yaanthi-la-ku</i><br>talk-together-for                      |
|      |                                                                                                      |  | <i>ngara nhumpu-yita</i><br>DEF 3sgNOM-with                    |
|      | 'The people came and talked with him.' (came for the purpose of talking)                             |  |                                                                |

### 7.3.3 SENTENCES WITH *-la* 'SUBORDINATE' CLAUSE

*-la* is distinctively different to the other two subordinate class markers: it may attract pronominal suffixes, and the subordinate clause may come either before or after the main clause (though it is more common for it to be the second clause). Thus the structure of the sentence is:

main clause + *-la* subordinate clause (preferred)

or:

*-la* subordinate clause + main clause

Subordinate clauses of simultaneous action expressed by *-la* (SB) indicate two actions proceeding simultaneously, e.g. 'I saw you while you were doing such and such', or 'when you did' or 'as you were doing such and such', which covers a wide area of usage.

*-la* may express the immediate consequence of an action:

- 7.36 *kilya payli-la-a yinti-ka warra-a-pu*  
tired be-SB-3sg be-CAUS fall-3sgP-3sg  
'He fell because he was tired.' (EH.11:6)

A gerund-like function operates in sentences like:

- 7.37 *nhaa-ra-pula palanj-pi-la milinj*  
see-COMPL-3du bright-VBS-SB mud-ABS  
'They two looked up to see the mud shining.' (EH.26:4)



Or *-la* may introduce a relative clause (see 7.3.5(1)).

It is usual for *-la* sentences to have a common subject that may be expressed by an NP or by the pronominal suffix, but some have a different subject or object in each clause.

(a) Same subject

In example 7.38, the subject is the same for both the main and the subordinate clauses:

- 7.38 *kami-la-ntu muruwari-tji yaan-ku-ntu*  
 return-SB-2sg Muruwari-DIM talk-FUT-2sg  
 'When you return home you will be able to talk some Muruwari.'

(b) Different subjects

The *-la* suffix frequently occurs in sentences where the NP functions as object of a transitive verb in the main clause, and subject of an intransitive verb in the subordinate clause. The main clause will obviously have a different subject from the subordinate clause.

- 7.39 *nhaa-ra-y panga kirri-la-ntu*  
 see-COMPL-1sg 2sgACC dance-SB-2sg  
 'I saw you dancing.' (EH.11:6)
- 7.40 *kuthara yimpi-ya pulana palaa-nka wanki-tha-la-pula*  
 child-ABS leave-P.DEC 3duACC plain-LOC cry-P.OPT-SB-3du  
 'Both children were crying when I left them on the plain.'
- 7.41 *thangkarna muu-ri ngathu pital paki-la-a*  
 mussel-ABS cook-INCOM 1sgNOM shell-ABS open-SB-3sg  
 'When I cook mussels, the shells open.' (EH.206M:5)

### 7.3.4 SENTENCES WITH *-na* SUBORDINATE CLAUSE

The locational clitic *-na* may function in a similar way to *-la* when a subordinate clause indicates 'the place where'. In such circumstances the subordinate clause is suffixed by *-na* + bound pronoun.

- 7.42 *ngara nhuunpa-na-pu tharra ya-n-ta-a*  
 there hide-LCL-3sg 3plACC go-R-P.OPT-3sg  
 '(The emu) went to the place where she planted them.' (EH.26:9)

### 7.3.5 SENTENCES WITH RELATIVE CLAUSES

The question of how relative clauses are expressed in Aboriginal languages is a vexed one. There are very few examples of what may be termed 'relative' clauses in this corpus but Muruwari appears to have three ways of expressing relativity.

(1) *-la* relative clause

*-la* may indicate a relative clause:

- 7.43 *thangkura-ma-yu yukarta-yukarta wanga-la-a nganha*  
 dream-VBS-1sg sorcerer-REDUP chase-TRS+P-3sg 1sgACC  
 'I dreamed (that) a sorcerer was chasing me.'

## (2) Genitive pronoun relative clause

A genitive pronoun that refers equally to two clauses may indicate a relative clause:

- 7.44 *kirrkima-yu pakirr pangka ngapa-yita*  
 kick-1sg bucket-ABS 3sgGEN water-having  
 'I kicked the bucket which had (that one having) water in it.' (EH)

## (3) Juxtaposition

A third method of indicating a relative clause involves the juxtaposition of two primary verbs:

- 7.45 *yanta nhaa-ra-nj kiyarn niyaa-la mirti-ngka*  
 come+P see-COMPL-NS moon-ABS sit-HAB bush-LOC  
 '(Someone) came who'd seen the moon-man (while he was) sitting in the bush.'
- 7.46 *waa-ka-nja thuthi-na-a*  
 fall-CAUS-1sgS+3sgO break-LCL-1sg  
 'What I dropped was broken.'

## CHAPTER 8

### TEXT MATERIAL: SONGS AND LEGENDS

#### 8.1 SONGS

These few songs, recorded on tape, have been difficult to transcribe and to translate. The singers had a general idea of their meaning, but were unable to give meanings for specific words. This is usual in areas of major white contact, ethno-musicologist Alice Moyle informed me. Often the sung words are elided or truncated forms of spoken speech. Where the spoken form is known, it is given separately.

##### 8.1.1 KURRKURR: MOPOKE SONG

(Robin Campbell: Tape 43a)

Text says:

The mopoke is coming towards me with a throwing stick in his hand.

As sung:

*kurrkurr*      *nga*    *paka-pu*  
mopoke-ABS    here    come-3sg

*kurrkurr*      *nga*    *paka-pu*  
mopoke-ABS    here    come-3sg

*puni*            *puni*            *puka*            *mara-ngka*    *nga*  
waddy-ABS    waddy-ABS    3sgGEN    hand-LOC    here

*kurrkurr*      *nga*    *paka-pu*  
mopoke-ABS    here    come-3sg

*kurrkurr*      *nga*    *paka-pu*  
mopoke-ABS    here    come-3sg

*paa-pu*    *kurr*      *ngaa*      *paka-pu*  
come-3sg    mopoke    here      come-3sg

*puni*            *puni*            *nha*            *mara-ngka*  
waddy-ABS    waddy-ABS    3sgGEN    hand-LOC

As spoken:

*kurrkurr ngari palkaypu*  
*kurrkurr ngari palkaypu*  
*punti punta punha marangka*

'Mopoke, he's coming here to me,  
 With a waddy (throwing stick) in his hand.'

### 8.1.2 SPOONBILL SONG

(Robin Campbell: Tape 43a)

Text says:

(The spoonbill) has been away a long time now. He's looking round a bend in the river, looking for shrimp or crawfish.

As sung:

*Ah, waala-nji ya-n-ti-pu (or nantipu)*  
 Oh, long time-IMM go-R-PR-3sg

*waalari-nji nanti-pu*  
 long time-IMM go-3sg

*waalari-nji nanti-pu*  
 long time-IMM go-3sg

*waa \* paapaa-nji tawi-pu*  
 long time bend in river-IMM look-3sg

*paapaa-nji tawi-pu*  
 bend in river-IMM look-3sg

*paapaa-nji tawi-pu*  
 bend in river-IMM look-3sg

*paapaa-nji tawi-pu*  
 bend in river-IMM look-3sg

*waalari-nji nanti-pu*  
 long time-IMM go-3sg

\* *paapaa* 'he's looking round a bend in the river'

As spoken:

*wayil (ng)ari-nji nanti-pu*  
 long time here-indeed go-3sg

## 8.1.3 CHINESE GARDENER SONG

(Jimmie Barker: Tape 86Bb)

Jimmie says this song was composed by 'my old friend, Hippy, on the Culgoa at Milroy'. Jimmie says the song was composed about 1909 or 1910, and was one he used to sing a lot as a boy.

*thaniman thaniman pungku-ma-li-pi-n thaa*  
 Chinaman Chinaman closed-VBS-TRS-VBS-NS mouth-ABS  
 Chinaman, Chinaman, with closed mouth,

*waa-ng-ki-na-a waa-ng-ki-na-a*  
 work-R-CAUS+PR-LCL-3sg work-R-CAUS+PR-LCL-3sg  
 He works there, he works there,

*thurri-ngka waa-ng-ki-na-a*  
 sun-LOC work-R-CAUS+PR-LCL-3sg  
 He works there in the sun.

*wala-na-nja yaa-n-thi-na-a*  
 NEG-?-INTEN talk-R-PR-LCL-3sg  
 He cannot talk.

*kunthi-ku kaparr kaa-n-thi-na-a*  
 house-ALL cabbage-ABS take-R-PR-LCL-3sg  
 He takes cabbage to the house.

*kanji kayila yaa-n-thi-na-a*  
 now AFFIRM talk-R-PR-LCL-3sg  
 Now he talks.

*thikipan-u tjilin nguwa-na-nha*  
 sixpence-or shilling give-IMP-1sgO  
 'Give me sixpence or a shilling.'

*kurli-ku puka ya-n-mi-na-a*  
 humpy-ALL 3sgGEN go-R-PROG-LCL-3sg  
 Then he goes to his place.

*partala-ngka waa-ng-ku-na-a*  
 tomorrow-LOC work-R-FUT-LCL-3sg  
 Tomorrow he will go to work.

*thurri-ngka-nji waa-ng-ku-na-a*  
 sun-LOC-IMM work-R-FUT-LCL-3sg  
 He will work in the sun.

*wala-nji-nji yaa-n-thi-na-a*  
 NEG-IMM-REDUP talk-R-PR-LCL-3sg  
 He does not talk.

## 8.1.4 PRAYER FOR RAIN

(Jimmie Barker: Tape 86B)

This is a prayer to the Muruwari's Supreme Being known as *Pitangulu*. It was sung softly, and according to Jimmie, during times of plenty as well as in times of want.

*purtu ngu-wa ngana*  
rain give-IMP 1plACC  
Give us rain.

*mayi ngara thulu-kala*  
ground DEF dust-like  
The ground is like dust.

*wala yural than-u ngana*  
NEG bad do-2sgO 1plNOM  
We have done you no wrong.

*purtu ngu-wa ngana*  
rain give-IMP 1plACC  
Give us rain.

*manu ngu-wa ngana*  
bread give-IMP 1plACC  
Give us bread.

## 8.1.5 THE HORSEMAN'S SONG

(Ruby Shillingsworth: Tape 34M, 1968)

Recorded by Janet Mathews, at Weilmoringle, with a number of other songs fluently sung, but without enough English to attempt a translation.

Mrs Shillingsworth says the song tells of a horseman riding a horse, stock breaking. He tickles the horse on his flank and makes it buck. The following is part of the song.

*wan-tjirra wan-tjirra*  
astride-CONT astride-CONT  
(He) is riding, he is riding.

*yina-ta nali mara-ngku mara puka mani-pu*  
be-?P ? hand-INSTR hand 3sgGEN ?buck-3sg  
With his hand he (makes the horse) buck.

## 8.1.6 LULLABY

(Jimmie Barker: Tape 38B)

*nguna-n-thirra nguna-n-thirra pipi nganthi*  
sleep-IMP-CONT sleep-IMP-CONT baby-ABS 1sgGEN  
Sleep, sleep, my baby.

*partala-ngka ngara yan-mi-nti-li*  
 tomorrow-LOC DEF go-PROG-PR-1du  
 Tomorrow we will be going

*ngara-ngka ngara ngaaki-yi-ntu*  
 where-LOC DEF play-PR.DEC-2sg  
 where you will play.

*nhurra-ngka ngara kunpul, kunpul pingka-nti-li*  
 there-LOC DEF berry-ABS berry-ABS pluck-PR-1du  
 There we will pick berries.

*pitara ngara pitara ngara kunpal*  
 sweet-ABS DEF sweet-ABS DEF berry-ABS  
 Sweet, sweet berries,

*pingka-nti-li*  
 pluck-PR-1du  
 we will pick.

*nguna- $\emptyset$ -nthirra nguna- $\emptyset$ -nthirra pipi nganthi*  
 sleep-IMP-CONT sleep-IMP-CONT baby-ABS 1sgGEN  
 Sleep, sleep, baby mine,

*nguna- $\emptyset$ -nthirra*  
 sleep-IMP-CONT  
 sleep.

(mostly J. Trefry's transcription)

### 8.1.7 WHITE WOMAN RIDING ASTRIDE

(Jimmie Barker: Tape 25B)

Jimmie says the song was another composed by Hippay, from whom Jimmie learnt it. Jimmie comments that a white woman straddling a saddle was unheard of in those days.

*watjiin-tu ngara thay-ngu yan-mi-pu*  
 white woman-ERG DEF towards-ABL go-PROG-3sg  
 A white woman went away

*yarraaman-tu ngara*  
 horse-INSTR DEF  
 with (her) horse.

*thay-ngu yan-mi-pu mayinj-kala ngara*  
 towards-ABL go-PROG-3sg man-like DEF  
 She went away like a man.

*wanti-mi-pu thuntu, wanti-mi-pu thuntu*  
 astride-PROG-3sg legs-ABS astride-PROG-3sg leg-ABS  
 (Her) legs straddling (the saddle).

*yarraaman kitju karra-nti-pu*  
 horse-ABS small fear-PR-3sg  
 The horse is a little bit frightened.

*thikiya-ngku ngara pingka-nti-pu*  
 spur-INSTR DEF prick-PR-3sg  
 She pricks (him) with (her) spur.

*ngathu wantupayi(?) miil-ngku*  
 lsgNOM ? eye-INSTR  
 Oh my, I see her (?).

*kartu wanti-li-pu mirti-ngka wala karra-nti-pu*  
 quick ride-TRS-3sg scrub-LOC NEG fear-PR-3sg  
 She's racing through the scrub, she is not afraid.

*wala warra-nti-pu*  
 NEG fall-PR-3sg  
 She has not fallen.

*ya marrinj kayila yinti-pu*  
 oh, good-ABS AFFIRM be+PR-3sg  
 Oh, she's all right again.

*yurrun-ta ngara (y)ipu wanti-mi-pu*  
 road-LOC DEF slowly ride-PROG-3sg  
 She's riding slowly along the road now.

*mayinj-kala ngara thuntu wanti-mi-pu*  
 man-like DEF legs-ABS ride-PROG-3sg  
 She's riding like a man (straddling the saddle).

(adaptation of J. Trefry's transcription)

### 8.1.8 LOVE SONG

(Jimmie Barker: Tape 36B)

This is a song that Jimmie learnt from Peter Flood.

There was a chap who had his eye on a girl, but he did not have enough courage to go and see her and tell her what he thought of her. So he got his friend to do the talking, and his friend's girl friend was to speak to the girl. The two girls are known only by their sub-section names, Yipitha and Putha.

*ya kala mirr-thi ya-na-ntu nhaa-nti*  
 oh ?like friend-1sgGEN go-there-2sg see-PR

*(y)intu ngintu-ka yipitha-nha*  
 2sgNOM 2sgNOM-PER yipitha-PER  
 Oh my friend, when you go to see your Yipitha,



*tharrka punha tharrka-ngi-nji putha-nha*  
 tell-IMP 3sgACC tell-?-IMM putha-PER  
 tell her that (her) Putha said,

*ngathu muthi-l-pa-na-pu*  
 1sgNOM kiss-R-VBS-LCL-3sgO  
 I love her.

*wala-nji-nji kala mirr-thi*  
 NEG-IMM-IMM ?like friend-1sgGEN  
 If not, my friend,

*ngintu tharrka punha*  
 2sgNOM tell-IMP 3sgACC  
 you tell her,

*tharrka punha nhuu yima-pu ngathu kala-pu*  
 tell-IMP 3sgACC this-ABS hold-3sgO 1sgNOM ?like-3sgO  
 tell her this, I'd like to hold her,

*thi-thi-ma ngama punha kitju-kitju-ma*  
 tease-REDUP-VBS breast-ABS 3sgACC tickle-REDUP-VBS  
 to tease her and tickle her breasts.

(mostly J. Trefry's transcription)

### 8.1.9 THE MOON SONG

(Jimmie Barker: Tape 75B)

See the song given in the legend, 8.2.1 (2) sentence 123.

### 8.2 LEGENDS

The only full length legend extant in the dialect is that of *Kiyan/Kiyarn* (the moonman) recorded by Jimmie Barker. In the recording as Jimmie gave it, there are places where his memory failed him, especially in differentiating third person singular, dual and plural (imprecision here may have been tolerated), but Jimmie also frequently confused the key ergative/instrumental suffixes with locative ones. In an attempt to make the language understandable to white people he sometimes used English rather than Muruwari idioms. Nevertheless he has captured some of the flavour of the original. The legend is given substantially as Jimmie gave it, only the most obvious errors being corrected. Those places where a form has not been understood or is thought to be grammatically incorrect have been marked with a query. Mrs Horneville gave her version of parts of the legend, which is appended for comparative purposes.

The dialect versions of the other legends are fragmentary. When Mrs Horneville finally admitted to knowing some legends, she agreed to give their English versions, but unwillingly gave the scattered Muruwari sentences I was able to record. Consequently, with all these legends I have first given the English translations of the stories, then the dialect versions.

## 8.2.1 KIYARN: THE MOON LEGEND (as told by Jimmie Barker)

(Jimmie Barker: Tapes 74B, 75B, recorded at Brewarrina 1971)

This story was told to Jimmie Barker by a great-great-uncle, Jimmy Kerrigan, a noted Muruwari story teller.

## (1) Translation

Long ago, the moon was a man. He lived on the ground as we people live today, but he lived alone in the bush; no man knew him. Bye and bye, he came to a camp where a lot of people lived. He made his camp away from them all. Bye and bye, people came and they talked to him. From then on he went to all the camps. He talked with men, women and children. He told the people he was good and very clever with spears, boomerangs and all weapons.

Then a man came with a boomerang. He said to the moon, 'Throw this boomerang'.

The moon laughed and said to him, 'You throw it!'.

The man threw his boomerang. It did not go far, and came back and hit the ground far from the man.

The moon laughed, and took from his bag a big boomerang, and said, 'I want all to see this'.

He ran a short distance towards the east and threw the boomerang. The boomerang went 'ku ku ku ku ku', up, up into the sky. The moon rested on the ground.

The people stood like trees when there is no breeze. As they talked they saw the boomerang come back. When the boomerang came back from the west, circling overhead, it stayed circling in the sky. Then it came down, circling closer and closer and closer to the ground. Then it circled slower and slower and slower. Yay, yay, yay, yay, yay, yay, it rested on the ground, right at the moon's feet.

All the people told him he was good and clever. They asked him to throw it once more.

He said, 'No, I may tomorrow'. At that, he went to his camp to rest.

When he went the women teased, laughed and made jokes of their men. They said, 'Where is the man to beat him?'

[Jimmie Barker comments: 'Here part of the story ends. We are not told what happened the following day. But the story continues quite some time later.']

The moon lived far away from the people's camp. Each day he came to their camp to go hunting with the men for meat, honey and edible roots. At night he told of how he could swim and dive. Oh, he talked a lot about himself only.

He had eyes on two young women. In the night there was a big corroboree. While the men danced, the moon asked the two young women if they would run away with him. They said, 'Yes, we'll go'.

The moon pointed and said, 'You know that big tree away across there? You two be there tomorrow night when my fire is low.'

Tomorrow night came. The women did as the moon told them. The moon met them at the tree.

From there they went quickly. They walked and walked. They came to a river. The women went in to the water. They called the moon that he would come in to the water. The moon stood in the mud close to the water's edge.

'Hurry, hurry and swim', said the women.

Then and there the moon told them that he could not swim. 'It was just a lie when I told them all back up at camp that I could swim.'

The women said, 'Get between us. Rest your hands on our backs and we will swim you across.'

Here the women swam frog-like. Yay, yay, yay, yay (using the movement of their arms). The moon floated between them, his hands resting on their backs. Near the middle of the still water, the moon began to tickle the girls.

'Don't, don't do that', said the two girls. But the moon, he had his way and tickled them a lot more. At that the women both dived down low.

The moon called out, 'I'm drowning!'. But the girls did not hear him, they had dived so low down.

The moon went down. There he drowned.

The women came up to the surface of the water and did not see the moon anywhere. They said, 'Oh, he has gone to the bottom'. Then they swam back and made their way back to camp. They got back just at sunrise, then they had a deep sleep.

That day the people there asked, 'Where did the moon go? Why he went one does not know.' The two women said nothing.

The moon lay deep in water for two days, then floated to the top. The wind blew him across the camp site. The moon lay in the mud and ants came and crawled all over him. They bit him and they stung him. Then the moon slowly moved his head, his arms and his legs, and he slowly sat up. Then he stood up, then he jumped about, here, there and everywhere, killing ants from himself.

When he had done this, he went from there a long way up river. There he lived in the bush for some time. His beard grew long, down below his belly, his eyes were big and red like fire. He became a spirit-man witchdoctor, and he carried a big tomahawk.

One day he left his camp and made his way to the big camp where the women had come from. On his way, from a tree he cut a small bark. He made it like a little shield. He put this in his bag.

From there, he travelled with much more vigour, in a hearty way. The sun was low when he came to the camp. There he talked with the people. The people did not recognise his face; it was not the same as before.

Next day, in the morning, the moon told the people to gather a lot of firewood to make a big fire that night for them to see him dance and hear him sing.

The moon said, 'Come all, come all, big and small. I don't want any to be away tonight.'

All came, big and small, and they made a big fire. The moon came to the fire and told the people to sit on the ground together, knee to knee, in front of the fire, and he told them not to move.

Kiyarn then took his bag, with the bark he had cut, away back from the fire, away from the people, where they could not see him. He got the bark from his bag, lay it on the ground and said, 'Get big! Get big!'. He then went back to the people to sing and dance for them. He made them all laugh, right into the middle of the night.

When not singing and dancing, he ran behind the fire, away from the people, to pull the bark closer towards the fire. When doing this, he sang a spirit song to the bark, before going back to the people. He sang, he danced.

By this time, he had got the bark very close to the fire. He stood the bark up. It was high and big. The people could not see it, for the fire was very big.

The moon then went and said to the people, 'This will be my last song. It is a spirit song you do not know. I want all eyes closed and all heads down low.'

They did as he said. Kiyarn, with a big tomahawk in his hand, danced a fast moving dance, the *wakatha*. The people did not know he was singing a magic song to the bark. Suddenly it became big and flat.

Now here is the song:

yipi pi pi pi, hurry and be big,  
I want you to fall, to fall on all. Yay!

When he gave this 'Yay!' he ran quickly behind the bark. He gave the bark a push. It fell flat over the fire and all the people. Fire and coals went everywhere. Kiyarn, with his big tomahawk in his hand quickly jumped upon the bark. There he stood. When he saw a head come from under the bark, he hit it with his tomahawk.

Two men, who were travelling from afar to the camp that night, saw what Kiyarn was doing. They ran quickly away from there, far away to another camp. They went from camp to camp. They told what Kiyarn had done.

Men came. They saw the place. All had burned away. With boomerangs and spears they went after Kiyarn. They saw him in the open plain. There they circled around him. He ran here, he ran there. Men came in the circle towards him. The men came closer and closer in a circle to block his way out.

Kiyarn, being a clever witchdoctor, saw there was only one way out for him. He ran around in a small circle, and from there he jumped up into the sky to hide, to come out, a little at a time, crossing the sky. Crossing the sky to the east, there he becomes big and flat. He looks down and laughs at all the people on the ground. He does this from moon to moon.

The story of the moon ends with this reminder: when we see a big circle around the moon it tells us the size of the bark, the ground covered by it and the moon standing in the middle with his tomahawk.

(2) Text

1      *matja*      *matja*      *kayila*      *kiyarn*      *ngara*      *mayinj*      *yi-n-ta-a*  
long time   long time   AFFIRM   moon-ABS   DEF   man-ABS   be-R-P-3sg

Long, long ago, the moon was a man.

2      *mayi-ngka*      *niya-n-tha-a-pu*      *mayinj-kalka*      *ngana*      *thalu*  
ground-LOC   live-R-P-3sg-3sg   man-all-ABS   1plNOM   today

He lived on the ground as we people do today.

3      *ngara*      *paalanj*      *niya-n-tha-a-pu*      *mirti-ngka*  
and then   alone   live-R-P-3sg-3sg   bush-LOC

*wala ngara ngu-n-ta-a punha*  
NEG FOC know-R-P-3sg 3sgACC

But he lived alone in the bush; no man knew him.

4 *kanji ngurra-ku palka-a-pu nhuu-ku ngara*  
soon camp-ALL come-3sg-3sg here-ALL DEF

*mayinj-kalkaa niya-n-tha-la-yita thuu*  
man-all-ABS live-R-P-HAB-3pl many

*mayinj-kalkaa niya-n-thirra-la-yita*  
man-many-ABS live-R-CONT-HAB-3pl

Bye and bye he came to a camp where a lot of people lived.

5 *thirra ngurra puka thana-a kurru-kurru-ngu*  
away from camp-ABS 3sgGEN make-3sgP all-REDUP-ABL

He made his camp away from them all.

6 *kanji mayinj-kalkaa palka-yita yaa-n-thi-la-ku*  
soon man-many-ABS come-3pl talk-R-PR-HAB-PURP

*ngara nhumpuku*  
DEF 3sgDAT

Bye and bye, people came and they talked to him.

7 *nurana-pu thirra ya-n-ta-a kurru-kurru-nga*  
then-3sg away from go-R-P-3sg all-REDUP-ALL

*ngara ngurra-ku*  
DEF camp-ALL

From then on he went to all the camps.

8 *mayinj-pira yaa-n-tha-a-pu mukatinj ngara*  
man-COMIT talk-R-P-3sg-3sg women-ABS DEF

*kuthara-kalkaa*  
child-many-ABS

He talked with men, women and children.

9 *tharrka-a mayinj-kalkaa marrinj ngara*  
tell-3sgP man-all-ABS good DEF

*muntipaa yi-n-ta-a kuliya-ngku marli-ngku*  
clever-ABS be-R-P-3sg spear-INSTR boomerang-INSTR

*ngara kurru-kurru-ngku mathan*  
DEF all-REDUP-INSTR weapons

He told the people he was good and very clever with the spear, the boomerang and all weapons.

- 10 *ngara mayinj ngara palka-a-pu marli-yita*  
 DEF man-ABS DEF come-3sgP-3sg boomerang-COMIT

Then a man came with a boomerang.

- 11 *kiyarn-ku ngara tharrka-a karrawi-ra nhuu marli*  
 moon-DAT DEF say-3sgP throw-IMP this boomerang-ABS

He said to the moon, 'Throw this boomerang'.

- 12 *ngara kiyarn kinta-a-pu ngara tharrka-a*  
 then moon-ABS laugh-3sgP-3sg and say-3sgP

*punha njintu karrawi-ra-pu*  
 3sgACC 2sgNOM throw-IMP-3sgO

The moon laughed and said to him, 'You throw it'.

- 13 *mayin-tju ngara nhumpuku marli thurrku*  
 man-ERG DEF 3sgGEN boomerang-ABS threw

The man threw his boomerang.

- 14 *ya-n-ta-a wala kuwarri ngara palka-a-pu*  
 go-R-P-3sgP NEG far but come-3sgP-3sg
- pila mayi ngara pa-n-ta-a kuwari mayinj-ngu*  
 back ground-ABS and hit-R-P-3sg far man-ABL

It didn't go far; came back and hit the ground far from the man.

- 15 *kiyarn nuwa kinta-a-pu manta-ngu puka*  
 moon-ABS then laugh-3sgP-3sg bag-ABL 3sgGEN

*maa-n-ta thaata ngara marli tharrka-a*  
 take-R-P big DEF boomerang-ABS say-3sgP

*ngara kurrukurru-ku*  
 DEF all-DAT

Then the moon laughed; he took from his bag a big boomerang and said to all (the people),

- 16 *wanthi-yu nhaa-n-thirra-ku nhuu*  
 want-1sg see-R-CONT-PURP this

'I want you all to see this.'

- 17 *karlu kitju thangka-ya-a paray-ku thirra ngara*  
 distance small ran-P.DEC-3sgP east-ALL from DEF

*marli tharrku ya-n-ta-a-pu marli...*  
 boomerang-ABS throw go-R-P-3sgP-3sg boomerang-ABS

*ku ku ku ku ku kanta-nji kanta-nji kanta-nji panta-ngka*  
 high-IMM high-IMM high-IMM sky-LOC

He ran a short distance towards the east and threw the boomerang. The boomerang went ku ku ku ku ku, up, up, up into the sky.

- 18 *kiyarn mayi-ngka niya-mpu mayinj-kalkaa*  
 moon-ABS ground-LOC sit-3sg men-all-ABS  
*ngara waan-kala thina-ra-yita wala ngara*  
 DEF tree-like stand-COMPL-3pl NEG DEF  
*yarrka yi-n-ti-la-a*  
 wind-ABS be-R-PR.OPT-HAB-3sg  
 The moon rested on the ground; the people stood like trees when there is no breeze (implying surprise).
- 19 *ngara yaa-n-ta-la-yita nhaa-n-ta-yita*  
 then talk-R-P-HAB-3pl see-R-P-3pl  
*marli ngara pila-ngu palka-n-tha-la-a*  
 boomerang-ABS DEF back-ABL come-R-P-HAB-3sg  
*pataru-ngu wurrunj-mi-na-a-nji kanta pampu-ngka*  
 west-ABS circle-PROG-LCL-3sgP-IMM high head-LOC  
 As they talked they saw the boomerang coming back from the west circling high overhead.
- 20 *thina-a-pu wurrunj-mi-na-a-nji panta-ngka*  
 stand-3sgP-3sg circle-PROG-PL-3sgP-IMM sky-LOC  
 It stayed circling in the sky.
- 21 *nalu bara palka-a-pu wurrinj-mi-na-a-nji*  
 then down come-3sgP-3sg circle-PROG-PL-3sg-IMM  
*kaarlu-nja kaarlu-nja... kaarlu-nja mayi-ngka*  
 close-INTEN close-INTEN close-INTEN ground-LOC  
 Then it came down circling, closer, and closer, and closer to the ground.
- 22 *ngara yipa-rr-nji yipa-rr-nji yipa-rr-nji*  
 then slow-?INTS-IMM slow-?INTS-IMM slow-?INTS-IMM  
*wurrunj-mi-na-ni-pu*  
 circle-PROG-PL-STY-3sg  
 Then slower, and slower, and slower it circled,
- 23 *yay yay yay yay nalu mayi-ngka niya-a-mpu*  
 (imitating whirring) then ground-LOC stay-3sgP-3sg  
 yay yay yay yay yay...yi...yay, then it rested on the ground,
- 24 *kiyarn-ku ngara kayila thina-purr-al-ku puka*  
 moon-GEN DEF right foot-pair-GEN 3plGEN  
 right at the moon's feet.
- 25 *kurrukurru-ngku mayinj-kalkaa tharrka-yita*  
 all-ERG man-all tell-3pl

*punha marrinj muntipaa yi-n-ta-a*  
3sgACC good clever be-R-P-3sgP

All the people told him that he was good and clever.

26 *ngaanka-yita punha yaman-ku ngara karrawi-ra*  
ask-3pl 3sgACC once-DAT DEF throw-CO.ORD

They asked him to throw once more.

27 *wala tharrka-a wala wari yi-yu parta*  
NEG say-3sgP NEG maybe be-1sg tomorrow

He said, 'No. Maybe I will tomorrow.'

28 *nhurrana-na ngurra-ku puka ya-n-ta-a niya-mu-ku*  
that-LCL camp-ALL 3sgGEN go-R-P-3sgP sit-PROG-PURP

At that he went to his camp to rest.

29 *ngara ya-n-ti-la-a mukatin-tju ngara*  
DEF go-R-PR.OPT-HAB-3sg women-ERG DEF  
*thithi-ma-y kinta-ya manja-ma-ra mayinj*  
tease-VBS-3pl laugh-P.DEC joke-VBS-COMPL man-ABS  
*ngara tharraka tharrka*  
DEF 3plGEN say

When he went, the women teased, laughed at and joked about their men saying,

30 *tirra-ngka mayinj pa-n-thi-ra punha*  
where-LOC man-ABS hit-R-PR.OPT-CO.ORD 3sgACC

'Where is the man to beat him?'

31 *kuwarri thirra kiyarn niya-a-pu*  
far away from moon-ABS sit-3sgP-3sg  
*mayinj-kalkaa-ku ngurra*  
man-many-GEN camp-ABS

The moon lived far away from the people's camp.

32 *thalu-ngka palka-a-pu ngurra-ku tharra*  
day-LOC come-3sgP-3sg camp-ALL 3plGEN  
*mayinj nhuu-yita kala-thirra-ku yana*  
man-ABS this-having hunt-CONT-PURP go  
*witji-ku wayan-ku manu-ku*  
meat-DAT honey-DAT edible roots-DAT

Each day he came to their camp to go hunting with the men for meat, honey and edible roots.

33 *yurrin-tja tharrka-a tirra-ku ngara*  
night-LOC say-3sgP how-DAT DEF



*paanki-thirra-la-pu ngara kayin-tjira yaat*  
swim-CONT-HAB-3sg DEF enter-CONT oh

*thuu ngara yaa-n-tha-a nhumpu-yani nhuu*  
much DEF talk-R-P-3sgP 3sg-only this

At night, he told how he could swim and dive; oh, he talked a lot about himself only.

34 *miil maa-n-ta-a kitju mukinj-purral-ku*  
eye-ABS hold-R-P-3sgP small women-pair-DAT

He had (his) eyes on two young women.

35 *yurrin-tja thaata ngara yi-n-ta-a nhura thangkurrmarra*  
night-LOC big DEF be-R-P-3sgP there corroboree-ABS

In the night there was a big corroboree.

36 *nhura ngula mayin-tju kirri-yita kiyarn-tu*  
there 2duNOM men-?ERG<sup>1</sup> dance-3pl moon-ERG

*ngaanka-a kitju mukinj-purral ngara*  
ask-3sgP small women-pair DEF

*thangki-n-thirra-ku nhumpu-yita*  
run-R-CONT-PURP 3sgNOM-COMIT

While the men danced, the moon asked the two young women to run away with him.

37 *tharrka-pula ngaa ngaa ya-n-ku ngali*  
say-3du yes yes go-R-FUT 1duNOM

They two said, 'Yes, yes, we will go'.

38 *thampa-ra-a kiyarn-tu tharrka-a ngara thaata*  
point-COMPL-3sgP moon-ERG say-3sgP DEF big

*thaata nhurra-na waan ngunti-ntu yalu*  
big that-LCL tree-ABS know+PR-2sg there

*thirra nhurra*  
away that-ABS

The moon pointed and said, 'You know that big tree away across there?'

39 *nhurra thina-n-tha-ra nhula yurrin-tja*  
there sit-R-?P.OPT-IMP 2duNOM night-LOC

*parta parta-rru wii thika yi-n-ti-la-a*  
tomorrow low-INTS fire-ABS lsgGEN be-R-PR.OPT-HAB-3sg

You two be there tomorrow night when my fire is low.'

<sup>1</sup>? indicates doubt that the form was correctly recorded or glossed, besides also indicating what is unknown.

- 40 *parta yurrinj yi-n-ta-a kanji partala*  
 tomorrow night be-R-P-3sgP now tomorrow  
*yurrinj pakara thurri-ngka*  
 night another sun-LOC

Tomorrow night came (was) (after) another sun (set).

- 41 *mukatin-tju thana-yita<sup>2</sup> kiyarn-tu ngara*  
 women-ERG do-3pl moon-ERG DEF  
*tharrka-a thana<sup>2</sup>*  
 say-3sgP 3plACC

The women did as the moon told them.

- 42 *kiyarn-tu thingka-li thana<sup>2</sup> waarn-ta ngara*  
 moon-ERG met-TRS 3plACC tree-LOC DEF

The moon met them at the tree.

- 43 *kartu-kartu ya-n-ta-yita ngurra-ngu*  
 quick-REDUP go-R-P-3pl camp-ABL

From there (their camp) they walked quickly.

- 44 *yay nalu ngura tungkun-ta palka-yita*  
 EX then there hollow-LOC come+P-3pl

Then they came to a river.

- 45 *mukinj-purral ngara ngapa-ngka ya-n-ta-yita*  
 women-two-ABS DEM water-LOC go-R-P-3pl

The two women went into the water.

- 46 *ngara kiyarn-ta kawira-yita<sup>2</sup> ngapa-ngka*  
 then moon-LOC call-COMPL-3pl water-LOC  
*palka-n-thirra-ra*  
 come-R-CONT-CO.ORD

They called to the moon to come into the water.

- 47 *kiyarn ngara milin-tja thina-pu*  
 moon-ABS DEF mud-LOC stand+P-3sg  
*karlu ngara ngapa-ngka-wa*  
 close DEF water-LOC-?

The moon stood in the mud close to the water's edge.

- 48 *kartu kartu ngara paangki tharrka-ta-la-yita<sup>2</sup>*  
 quick quick DEF swim-IMP say-P-SB-3pl

<sup>2</sup>Here and below mark the places where Jimmie Barker has used third person plural *-yita* or *thana*, instead of the dual forms *-pula* and *pulana* and also one case (sentence 52) where third person singular *-a* occurs when the meaning is dual, others where the meaning is plural.

- mukinj purral*  
women-ABS two  
'Hurry, hurry and swim', the women said.
- 49 *nhurran-ku-nhuna puran-?thin kiyarn-tu*  
there-ALL-then ? moon-ERG  
*tharrka-a thana<sup>2</sup> wala ngara paangki-n-thirra-la-a-ku*  
say-3sg 3plACC NEG DEF swim-R-CONT-SB-3sg-PURP  
There and then the moon told them he could not swim.
- 50 *ngara pinja mitjin nhuu (y)i-n-ta-a*  
now only lie-ABS this be-R-P-3sg  
'This was just a lie.
- 51 *kurru-kurru tharrka-n-thirra-yi-yu ngara*  
all-ABS tell-R-CONT-PR.DEC-1sg DEF  
*ngurra-ngka pila paangki-n-thirra-yi-yu-ku*  
camp-LOC back-ABS swim-R-CONT-PR.DEC-1sg-PURP  
I told all back at camp I could swim.'
- 52 *tharrka-a<sup>2</sup> mukinj-purral maa-n-ta thanu-ngka*  
say+P-3sgP women-two-ABS take-R-IMP between-LOC  
*ngali pila-ngka ngalika*  
lduACC back-LOC 1duGEN  
The women said, 'Get between us, on our backs'.
- 53 *nhuu-ngka mukinj-purral paangki-yita<sup>2</sup> thantay-kala*  
here-LOC women-two-ABS swim-3pl frog-like  
Here the women swam frog-like,
- 54 *kiyarn kangki-thirra-la-a thanu-ngka*  
moon-ABS float-CONT-SB-3sg between-LOC  
while the moon floated between them.
- 55 *mara puka niya-na-ra-yita<sup>2</sup> pila-ngka tharra<sup>2</sup>*  
hand-ABS 3sgGEN sit-STY-COMPL-3pl back-LOC 3plGEN  
His hands rested on their backs.
- 56 *karlu thanu-ngka ngara partal ngapa-ngka*  
near middle-LOC DEF still water-LOC  
*kiyarn-tu kitji-kitji-ma-pu kuni-purral*  
moon-ERG tickle-REDUP-VBS-3sg girl-two-ABS  
Near the middle of the quiet water the moon tickled the two girls.
- 57 *wala ngara wala ngara tha-ngu nhura-ngka*  
NEG DEF NEG DEF do-IMP that-LOC

*tharrka-a*<sup>2</sup> *kuni-purral* *tharrka-a*<sup>2</sup>  
say+P-3sgP girl-two-ABS say+P-3sgP

'No, no, don't do that', the two girls said.

58 *thira* *kiyarn-tu* *ngara* *pirru* *maa-n-ta-ra* *puka*  
way-ABS moon-ERG DEF hard took-R-P-COMPL 3sgGEN

But the moon had his way.

59 *ngara* *kitji-kitji-ma-pu* *thana*<sup>2</sup>  
then tickle-REDUP-VBS-3sg 3plACC

He tickled them a lot more.

60 *nhurran-ku* *ngara* *mukatin-tju* *parta-rru*  
that-DAT DEF women-ERG low-INTS

*kayi-n-tha-yita*<sup>2</sup> *purral*  
enter-R-P-3pl two-ABS

At that the women both dived down low.

61 *kiyarn-tu* *kawi-ra* *murru-yi-yu* *murru-yi-yu*  
moon-ERG call-COMPL drown-PR.DEC-1sg drown-PR.DEC-1sg

The moon called out, 'I'm drowning, I'm drowning'.

62 *wala* *ngara* *pinampi-rrti-ti-yita*<sup>2</sup> *nhumpu*  
NEG DEF hear-REFL-PR-3pl 3sgACC

They did not hear him.

63 *partu-rru-ngka* *ngara* *kayi-n-ta-yita*<sup>2</sup>  
low-INTS-LOC DEF enter-R-P-3pl

They had dived down so low.

64 *kiyarn-?tu*<sup>3</sup> *yan-ta-a* *nhura* *murri-ya-a*  
moon-?ERG go-P-3sg there drown-P.DEC-3sg

The moon went down and there he drowned.

65 *mukinj-purral* *yanta-ngka* *ngapa* *palka-yita*<sup>2</sup>  
women-two-ABS surface-LOC water come-3pl

The women came to the surface of the water.

66 *wala* *ngara* *nhaa-n-ta-ra-yita*<sup>2</sup> *kiyarn*  
NEG DEF see-R-P-COMP-3pl moon-ABS

*nhura-ngka* *yalu*  
that-LOC there

They could not see the moon anywhere there.

<sup>3</sup>Shows 'seeming grammatical mistake'.

- 67 *tharrka-yita*<sup>2</sup> *yaart* *partarru-ngka*  
say-3pl EX bottom-LOC  
They said, 'Oh, he's gone to the bottom'.
- 68 *kartu-nja* *paangki-yita*<sup>2</sup> *pila...* *ngara*  
quick-ly swim-3pl back DEF  
*thanu-l-ma-y* *thira* *tharrakaku*<sup>2</sup> *ngurra*  
do-R-VBS-R way-ABS 3plGEN camp-ABS  
Quickly they swam and made their way back to camp.
- 69 *maa-n-ta-l-ya* *pinja* *thurri* *palka-n-thirra-la*  
get-R-P-R-P.DEC just sun-ABS come-R-CONT-SB  
They got back just at sunrise.
- 70 *ya-n-ta-yita*<sup>2</sup> *nguna-n-thirra-ku*  
go-R-P-3pl lie-R-CONT-PURP  
They went and had a good sleep.
- 71 *nhurra* *mayinj-kalka-ngku* *nganka-ra* *tirra-ngka*  
those men-all-ERG ask-COMPL where-LOC  
*ngara* *kiyarn* *ya-n-ta-a*  
DEF moon-ABS go-R-P-3sg  
All the people asked where the moon had gone.
- 72 *minjan-ku* *ngara* *ya-n-ta-pu*  
what-DAT DEF go-R-P-3sg  
'Why did he go?'
- 73 *wala* *yaman* *ngunta-a*  
NEG one know-3sgP  
No one knew.
- 74 *mukatin-tju* *purral* *parlanj* *tharrka-yita*<sup>2</sup>  
women-ERG two nothing say-3pl  
The two women said nothing.
- 75 *kiyarn-?tu*<sup>3</sup> *partu* *ngara* *partu* *nguna-a*  
moon-?ERG low and low lie+P-3sg  
*ngapa-ngka* *kapu* *thala-ngka* *ngara* *kaangki-ya-pu* *kanta*  
water-LOC two day-LOC there float-P.DEC-3sg high  
The moon lay deep in the water for two days, then floated to the top.
- 76 *yarrka-ngku* *puumpi-ya-a* *ngurra-ku-la* *karran-ta*  
wind-INSTR blow-P.DEC-3sg camp-ALL-?LCL across-LOC  
He was blown by the wind across the camp.

- 77 *kiyarn milin-thu*<sup>3</sup> *ngurna-a milkiri palka-a*<sup>2</sup>  
 moon-ABS mud-LOC lie-3sgP ants-ABS come-P  
*ngara karran nginta-yita (y)ita-a*<sup>2</sup> *thanu punha*  
 and across crawl-3pl bite-3sgP 3plA 3sgACC  
*ngara pingka-a*<sup>2</sup>  
 there prick-3sgP

The moon lay in the mud; ants came and crawled all over him, they bit him and stung him.

- 78 *nhuu-nji-nji kiyarn-tu (y)ipa nganji*  
 this-IMM-REDUP moon-ERG slow now  
*mukaa-pu pampu puka marnku-purral puka*  
 move-3sg head 3sgGEN arm-two 3sgGEN  
*ngara thuntu-purral puka*  
 and leg-two 3sgGEN

At this time the moon slowly moved his head, and both his arms and his legs.

- 79 *ngara (y)ipa kanta niyaa-pu nhuu-nji-nji*  
 then slow high sit-3sg this-IMM-REDUP  
*kanta thinaa-pu purrpi-ya-a-nji*  
 high stand-3sg jump-P.DEC-3sgP-IMM

Then he slowly sat up, then stood up, then he began to jump about.

- 80 *purrpi-ya-a nhuu-ngka yalu nhurra-ngka*  
 jump-P.DEC-3sgP here-LOC there there-LOC  
*yalu-ngka milkiri ngara panta-ra-a-la*  
 there-LOC ants-ABS there kill-COMPL-3sg-SB  
*nhumpu-ngu yana (?yaani)*  
 3sgNOM-ABL ?

He jumped here and there, killing ants from himself.

- 81 *nhurra-ngka yana ngara nhuu thana-a*  
 there-LOC ? DEF this-ABS do-3sg  
*nhurra-ngka thirra kuwarri ngara ya-n-ta-a*  
 there-LOC away afar DEF go-R-P-3sg  
*kanta tungkun-ta*  
 high hollow-LOC

When he had done this, he went from there a long way up river.

- 82 *nhurra niyaa-pu mirti-ngka matja kayila*  
 there live-3sg bush-LOC time AFFIRM

There he lived in the bush for some time.

- 83 *yarranj puka pantara palka-yita<sup>2</sup>*  
 beard-ABS 3sgGEN long come-3pl  
*parta-rru tuku-ngka puka*  
 low-INTS belly-LOC 3sgGEN  
 His beard grew long, down below his belly.
- 84 *thaata-nji miil puka (y)i-n-ta-yita<sup>2</sup>*  
 big-IMM eye-ABS 3sgGEN be-R-P-3pl  
*marrki-marrki ngara wii-kala*  
 red-REDUP DEF fire-like  
 His eyes were big and red like fire.
- 85 *pitjuru mayinj kupi (y)i-n-tha-ra-a*  
 spirit-ABS man-ABS doctor-ABS be-R-P-COMPL-3sgP  
 He became a spirit-man witchdoctor.
- 86 *thaata ngara thawinj kaa-n-ta-ra-a*  
 big and tomahawk-ABS take-R-P-COMPL-3sgP  
 And he carried a big tomahawk.
- 87 *yaman thalu-ngku ngurra-ku-ngu puka*  
 one day-LOC camp-GEN-ABL 3sgGEN  
*ya-ta-pu thaata ngurra-ngka tirra-ngu kapu*  
 go-P-3sg big camp-LOC where-ABL two  
*mukinj-purral maa-n-ta-ra-a*  
 women-two-ABS take-R-P-COMPL-3sg  
 One day (he left) his camp and came to the big camp from where he had taken the two women.
- 88 *thirra yurrun-ta puka waan-ngu ngara*  
 away path-LOC 3sgGEN tree-ABL that  
*kitju murrinj yaki-ya-a*  
 small bark-ABS cut-P.DEC-3sg  
 On his way he cut a small bark from a tree.
- 89 *thana-la-a-pu kitju pulku-kala*  
 make-TRS-3sgP-3sg small shield-like  
 He made it into a little shield.
- 90 *kurri ma-a-pu nhuu munta-ngka puka*  
 ? put+P-3sgP-3sg this-ABS bag-LOC 3sgGEN  
 He put this into his bag.

- 91     *yay ya-n-ta-a nhurra-nga*  
 EX    go-R-P-3sg        here-ELA  
 From there he went on.
- 92     *parta-rru ngara turri (y)i-n-ta-a ngurra-ku*  
 low-INTS DEF    sun-ABS be-R-P-3sg camp-ALL  
*ngara palka-n-thirra-la-a-pu*  
 that    come-R-CONT-SB-3sgP-3sg  
 The sun was setting when he came to the camp.
- 93     *nhurra yaa-n-thirra-a mayinj-kalkaa-yita*  
 there talk-R-CONT-3sg        man-all-COMIT  
 There he talked with all the people.
- 94     *wala ngara ngungta-yita nguntja puka*  
 NEG DEF    know-3pl        face        3sgGEN  
 They did not recognise his face.
- 95     *wala-yala kayila (y)i-n-ta-a matja kayila-ngka*  
 NEG-like AFFIRM be-R-P-3sg time    AFFIRM-LOC  
 He was not the same as before.
- 96     *partala-ngka kiyarn-tu tharrka-a mayinj-kalkaa*  
 morning-LOC moon-ERG told-3sg men-all-ABS  
*thuu wii mathan maa-n-thirra-yita*  
 many fire-ABS branch-ABS take-R-CONT-3pl  
*thaata ngara wii thana-l-ku yurrin-tja*  
 big that fire-ABS make-R-FUT night-LOC  
 In the morning he told the people to gather a lot of firewood to make a big fire at night,
- 97     *nhaaka-yita-ku thana wakurr thana-la*  
 see-3pl-PURP 3plACC dance-ABS do-SB  
*ngara pinampi yungki-la-a*  
 (and) hear sing-SB-3sg  
 in order to see him when he danced the *wakurr* and to hear him when he sang.
- 98     *kiyarn-tu tharrka-a kurru-kurru palka-∅ thaata*  
 moon-ERG said-3sg all-REDUP come-IMP big  
*ngara kitju wala ngara yaman thirra*  
 and small NEG DEF one away  
*wanti-yi-yu yurrinj nhurrana kurru-kurru*  
 want-PR.DEC-lsg night-ABS that all-REDUP



*palka-Ø thaata ngara kitju*  
 come-IMP big and little

The moon said, 'All come, big and little. I don't want anyone to be away that night. All come, big and little.'

99 *thaata wii thana-l-yita*  
 big fire-ABS make-R-3pl

They made a big fire.

100 *kiyarn-?tu<sup>3</sup> palkaa-pu wii-ngka tharrka-a*  
 moon-ERG came-3sg fire-LOC tell-3sg  
*mayinj-kalkaa ngara mayi-ngka niya-n-thi-ra*  
 men-many DEF ground-LOC sit-R-PR.OPT-CO.ORD  
*thinkal-ku thinkal-pita wii-ngka kapu*  
 knee-GEN knee-COMIT fire-LOC front

The moon came to the fire; he told all the people to sit on the ground knee to knee in front of the fire.

101 *ngara tharrka-a thana wala muku-n-thirra-yita*  
 and tell-3sg 3plACC NEG move-R-CONT-3pl

And he told them they are not to move.

102 *kiyarn-tu kaa-n-tha-a munta puka murrinj-pita*  
 moon-ERG take-R-P-3sg bag-ABS 3sgGEN bark-COMIT  
*yaki-ya-a wiyi pila-ngu thirra thirra thirra*  
 cut-P.DEC-3sg fire-ABS back-ABL away away away  
*mayinj-kalka-ngu tirra wala nhaa-n-thirra-yita*  
 men-all-ABL where NEG see-R-CONT-3pl

The moon took his bag with the bark he had cut (and moved it) right away from the fire and from all the people where they could not see.

103 *munta-ku puka maa-n-ta-a murrinj ngara*  
 bag-GEN 3sgGEN take-R-P.OPT-3sg bark-ABS DEF

He took the bark from his bag,

104 *mayi-ngka ngunaa-pu nhuu tharrka-a ngara*  
 ground-LOC lie+P-3sg this said-3sg DEF  
*thaata (y)i-n-thi-ra*  
 big be-R-PR.OPT-IMP

put it on the ground, and said, 'Get big!'

105 *ngara pila ya-n-ta-a mayinj-kalkaa*  
 then back go-R-P.OPT-3sg men-all-ABS  
*yungki-ku ngara purrpi-tjirra-ku thana*  
 sing-PURP and jump-CONT-PURP 3plACC

Then he went back to the people to sing and dance for them.

- 106 *yungki-ya-a purrpi-tjirra-a ngara kinta-y*  
 sing-P.DEC-3sg dance-CONT-3sg and laugh-R  
*thana thanu-ngka yurrinj*  
 3sgACC middle-LOC night-ABS

He sang and danced and made them all laugh to the middle of the night.

- 107 *wala ngara yungki-la-a ngara kirri*  
 NEG DEF sing-HAB-3sg and dance  
*(y)i-n-ti-la-a pila-ngka wii*  
 be-R-PR.OPT-SB-3sg back-LOC fire-ABS  
*thangki-ya-a*  
 ran-P.DEC-3sg

When not singing and dancing, he ran behind the fire,

- 108 *thirra mayinj-kalkaa-?lku (?-ngu) waru-ma-ku*  
 away men-all-?(?ABL) pull-VBS-PURP  
*murinj karlu-karlu thay wii-ku*  
 bark-ABS close-REDUP towards fire-ALL

to pull the bark away from the people closer to the fire.

- 109 *thanu-la-a nhuu pitjiru-ku thira*  
 do-SB-3sg this spirit-GEN song-ABS  
*yungki-ya-a murrinj-ku*  
 sing-P.DEC-3sg bark-all

While he was doing this he sang a spirit song to the bark.

- 110 *ngara kula-na pila ya-n-ta-la-a*  
 then climb-LCL back go-R-P.OPT-SB-3sgP  
*mayinj-kalkaa-ku yungki-ya-a purrpi pitjaraa*  
 men-all-ALL sing-P.DEC-3sg dance spirit dance

Before going back to the people, he sang and danced a spirit dance.

- 111 *matja nhuu-ngka murrinj maa-n-ta-pu*  
 time this-LOC bark-ABS take-R-P.OPT-3sg

By this time he had got very close to the bark.

- 112 *murrinj kanta thina-n-tha-a-pu kanta*  
 bark-ABS high stand-R-P.OPT-3sgP-3sgO high  
*thaata (y)i-n-thirra-pu*  
 big be-R-CONT-3sg

He stood the bark up; it was high and big.

- 113 *wala ngara mayinj-kalkaa-ngku nhaa-ka-pu*  
 NEG DEF men-all-ERG see-CAUS-3sgO  
 The people couldn't see it,
- 114 *wii thaata kayila (y)i-n-ta-a*  
 fire-ABS big AFFIRM be-R-P-3sg  
 for the fire was very big.
- 115 *kiyarn-tu ngara ya-n-ta-a tharrka-a*  
 moon-ERG DEF go-R-P-3sgP say-3sgP  
*mayinj-kalkaa yaman thirra thika nhuu*  
 men-all one song-ABS 1sgGEN this  
*(y)i-n-thirra-ku*  
 be-R-CONT-PURP  
 The moon then said to the people, 'This will be my last song'.
- 116 *pitjura-ku thirra (y)i-n-thirri-pu*  
 spirit-GEN song-ABS be-R-CONT-3sg  
*thirra-rra-ngka wala ngara ngunta-n thanu-ntu*  
 word-pl-LOC NEG DEF know-R do-2sg  
 It is a spirit song you do not know.
- 117 *wanta-yi-yu kurru-kurru miil muku ngara*  
 want-PR.DEC-1sg all-REDUP eye-ABS blunt and  
*patu-rru pampa kurru-kurru patu-nja*  
 down-INTS head-ABS all-REDUP low-ly  
*patu-nja tharrka-a*  
 low-ly say+P-3sgP  
 'I want all eyes closed and all heads bowed down very low,' he said.
- 118 *thana-yita tharrka-na-na-a*  
 do-3pl say+P-STY-LCL-3sgP  
 They did as he said.
- 119 *kiyarn ngara thaata-yita thawinj*  
 moon-ABS DEF big-COMIT tomahawk-ABS  
*mara-ngka puka ngara yungki-ya-a ngara*  
 hand-LOC 3sgGEN then sing-P.DEC-3sgP and  
*wakathaa kirri-ya-a*  
*wakathaa-ABS dance-P.DEC-3sgP*  
 With a tomahawk in his hand, the moon then sang and danced the (fast moving) *wakathaa* dance.
- 120 *mayinj-kalkaa wala ngunta-n-tha nhuu*  
 people-all NEG know-R-OBF this-ABS

*yungki-n-thi-la-a ngara kurriya thirra-rra murrinj-ku*  
sing-R-PR-SB-3sg FOC magic word-pl bark-ALL

The people did not know he was singing magic words to the bark,

121 *kartu palka-n-thirra-la-a-ku thaata ngara mantha*  
quick come-R-CONT-SB-3sg-PURP big and flat

so that it suddenly became big and flat.

122 *kanji nhuu-ngka thirra-rra mururi-ngka ingkiliirr*  
now this-LOC word-pl Muruwari-LOC English

Now here are the words in Muruwari (and) English.

123 *ipiy, piy, piy, pi,*  
*ipiy, piy, piy, pi,*  
*ipiy, piy, piy, pi*

(a little chant introduction given before singing a new song.)

*kartu kartu ngara thaata yi-n-thirri-ntu*  
quick quick DEF big be-R-CONT-2sg

*kartu kartu ngara thaata yi-n-thirri-ntu*  
quick quick DEF big be-R-CONT-2sg

*warra-n-thirri-ntu warra-n-thirri-ntu*  
fall-R-CONT-2sg fall-R-CONT-2sg

*wanta-thi-yu warra-n-thirri-ntu*  
want-PR-1sg fall-R-CONT-2sg

*kurru-kurru-ngka warra-n-thirri-ntu*  
all-REDUP-LOC fall-R-CONT-2sg

*kurru-kurr-ngka warra-n-thirri-ntu*  
all-REDUP-LOC fall-R-CONT-2sg

*yay*  
EX

YAY! (closing shout at end of corroboree song)

Hurry, hurry, and grow big,  
You are to fall,  
I want you to fall  
On all (the people).  
YAY!

124 *?ngapun nhuu yay kartu thangka-ya-a*  
? this yay quick run-P.DEC-3sg

*pila-ngka murrinj*  
back-LOC bark-ABS

When he gave this 'yay!' he ran quickly behind the bark.

- 125 *kanji kayila (y)i-n-ta-a murrinj ngara*  
 now AFFIRM be-R-P-3sgP bark-ABS DEF  
*thaata ngara mantha*  
 big (and) flat  
 The bark was now big and flat.
- 126 *yalkaa-pu murrinj mantha warra-a-pu wii*  
 push-3sg bark-ABS flat fall+P-3sgP-3sg fire-ABS  
*yala-ngka ngara kurru-kurru mayinj-kalkaa-ngka*  
 there-LOC DEF all-REDUP people-all-LOC  
 He gave the bark a push and it fell flat on the fire and all the people.
- 127 *kurrurrinj ngara wii thirra-ngka thirra ya-n-ta-a*  
 coals-ABS DEF fire-ABS away-LOC away go-R-P-3sgP  
 Fire coals went everywhere.
- 128 *kiyarn ngara taata ngara thawinj-pita*  
 moon-ABS DEF big DEF tomahawk-COMIT  
*mara-ngku puka kartu-nja kanta*  
 hand-INSTR 3sgGEN quick-ly high  
*purupi-ya-a murrin-tja*  
 jump-P.DEC-3sg bark-LOC  
 The moon, with his big tomahawk in his hand, jumped on the bark.
- 129 *nhurra thinaa-pu pampu nhaa-ka-y*  
 there stand-3sg head-ABS see-CAUS-EUP  
*(y)i-n-~~n~~-la-a palka-n-tha-la-a partu-rru-ngka*  
 be-R-PR-SB-3sg come-R-P.OPT-SB-3sg low-INTS-LOC  
*murrinj-ku thawin-tju puka pa-n-ta-ra-a*  
 bark-DAT tomahawk-ERG 3sgGEN hit-R-P.OPT-COMPL-3sg  
 There he stood. When he saw a head coming out from under the bark, he hit it with his tomahawk.
- 130 *mayinj-purral ngaantu<sup>3</sup> kuwarri-ngu*  
 men-two-ABS who-?ERG afar-ABL  
*ya-n-ka-na-yi-na ngurra-ku*  
 go-R-CAUS-STY(?+P)-PR.DEC-LCL camp-ALL  
*yurrinj nhuu-na*  
 night-ABS that-LCL  
 Two men who had come from afar to the camp that night,
- 131 *nhaa-n-tha-yita minjan ngara kiyarn-tu thana-ra-a*  
 see-R-P.OPT-3pl what DEF moon-ERG do-COMPL-3sg  
 saw what the moon was doing.

- 132 *kartu nhurra-ngu thirra thangka-yita kuwarra*  
 quick there-ABL away ran-3pl far  
*ngara thangka-yita ngara palka-yita ngurra-l-ku*  
 and ran-3pl DEF come-3pl camp-<sup>3</sup>-ALL  
 They ran quickly away from there and came to another camp.
- 133 *ngurra-l-ku ngurra ya-n-tha-yita*  
 camp-<sup>3</sup>-ALL camp-ABS go-R-P-3pl  
 They went from camp to camp.
- 134 *nuwa tharrka-yita minjan-ku kiyarn-tu thana-na-a*  
 there told-3pl what-DAT moon-ERG do-LCL-3sgP  
 There they told what the moon had done.
- 135 *palka-a mayinj maal ngaaka-yita*  
 come-3sgP man-ABS place-ABS saw-3pl  
*kurru-kurru parri-ya-a thirra*  
 all-REDUP-ABS burn-P.DEC-3sgP away  
 Men came; they saw the place; all had burned away.
- 136 *marli-yita kuliya-yita kiyarn-ku ngara ya-ng-ka-ra-yita*  
 boomerang-COMIT spear-COMIT moon-DAT DEF go-R-CAUS-COMPL-3pl  
 With boomerangs and spears they went after the moon.
- 137 *pala-angka nhaa-ka-yita thana punha*  
 plain-LOC see-CAUS-3pl 3plNOM 3sgACC  
 They saw him on the open plain.
- 138 *ngara wurrinj-ma-na thana punha nhurra*  
 then circle-VBS-LCL 3plNOM 3sgACC there  
 There they circled round him.
- 139 *ngara thangka-ya-a nhuu-ngka ngura*  
 then ran-P.DEC-3sgP here-LOC there  
 He ran here, he ran there.
- 140 *mayinj ngara palka-n-tha-yita wurrinj-ma-na*  
 men-ABS DEF come-R-P.OPT-3pl circle-VBS-LCL  
*thay nhumpuku*  
 towards 3sgDAT  
 Men came in a circle towards him.
- 141 *karlu-rrri-nja karlu-rrri-nja ya-n-ta-yita*  
 close-?REFL-ly close-?REFL-ly go-R-P-3pl

*mayinj ngara wurrinj-ma-na*  
men-ABS DEF circle-VBS-LCL

The men came closer and closer in a circle,

- 142 *paampa-ra-ku thirra palka-n-tha-ku puka*  
block-CO.ORD-PURP way-ABS come-R-P.OPT-PURP 3sgGEN

to block his way out.

- 143 *kiyarn munthipaa ngara kupi (y)i-n-ta-la-a*  
moon-ABS clever DEF doctor-ABS be-R-P-HAB-3sgP

The moon was a very clever doctor.

- 145 *nhaa-ka-pu yaman nuwa (y)i-n-ti-la-a*  
saw-CAUS-3sg one-ABS only be-R-PR-SB-3sg

*nhurra palka-n-thirra-ku punha*  
way-ABS come-R-CONT-PURP 3sgACC

He saw there was only one way out for him (that he could purpose to come.)

- 146 *kitju wurrinj-wurrinj thangka-ya-a*  
small circle-REDUP-ABS run-P.DEC-3sgP

He ran around in a little circle,

- 147 *kanta panta-ngka purrpi-ya-a nhumpi-ku*  
high sky-LOC jump-P.DEC-3sg hide-PURP

and jumped up in to the sky to hide;

- 148 *palka-n-thirra-la-a-ku kitju-la-na*  
come-R-CONT-SB-3sg-PURP small-?-LCL

*kitju-la-na-ku ngara*  
small-?-LCL-PURP DEF

to come out a little at a time,

- 149 *panta karra-n-thi-la parrari-ku*  
sky-ABS go across-R-PR-HAB east-ALL

crossing the sky to the east.

- 150 *nhurra thaata ngara mantha (y)i-n-thirri-pu*  
there big and flat be-R-CONT-3sg

There he becomes big and flat.

- 151 *nhurra-nga pataru nhaa-n-tharri-yi-pu*  
there-LOC west look-R-REFL-PR.DEC-3sg

*ngara kinta-y-tjirra-la kurru-kurru*  
then laugh-R-EMOT-HAB all-REDUP

*mayinj-kalkaa* ?*kanta* *mayi-ngka*  
 people-all ?high ground-LOC

From there he looks down and laughs at all the people on the ground.

152 *thana-l-thi-pu* *kiyarn-tu* *kiyarn-tu*<sup>4</sup>  
 do-R-PR-3sg moon-ERG/INSTR moon-ERG/INSTR

He does this from moon to moon<sup>4</sup>.

153 *kiyarn-tu* *wurrinj-wurrinj* *thaata* *ngara*  
 moon-INSTR circle-REDUP big-ABS that

*nhaaka-n-thirra* *ngana* *tharrka-n-thirri-pu*  
 see-R-CONT 1plNOM tell-R-CONT-3sg

*murrinj* *ngara* *i-n-tha-ra-a* *ngara*  
 bark-ABS DEF be-R-P.OPT-COMPL-3sg that

*mayi-ngka* *kunkaa-pu* *kiyarn-tu?* *thanu-ngka*  
 ground-LOC cover-3sg moon-ERG middle-LOC

*thini-n-thirri-pu* *thawinj-pita* *puka*  
 stand-R-CONT-3sg tomahawk-COMIT 3sgGEN

When we see a big circle around the moon, it tells us the size of the bark and the ground covered by it, the moon standing in the middle with his tomahawk.

## 8.2.2 KIYARN: THE MOON LEGEND (as told by Mrs Homeville)

(Mrs Homeville: Tapes 20, 22, 28, 29, Goodooga 1974)

Mrs Homeville's version of the legend contains interesting differences in detail to Jimmie Barker's. Extract A is her own spontaneous version of the latter part of the story. Extract B is how she expressed in Muruwari parts of Jimmie's version as I fed it to her sentence by sentence. It is significant that she recounts the story from the viewpoint of the two women, while Jimmie's stance is always that of the Moon-man.

### (1) EXTRACT A

(Mrs Homeville's version of the moon legend: Tape 20)

1 *mukinj-pural* *katjintu-pural* *ngapa-ngka* *namayi*  
 women-two-ABS sisters-two-ABS water-LOC Namoi

Two young women who were sisters were down at the Namoi River.

2 *kuntakunta* *kartu* *wani* *thurri* *warra-n-mi-la-a*  
 afternoon quick near sun-ABS fall-R-PROG-HAB-3sg

It was late in the afternoon, nearly sundown.

<sup>4</sup>*kiyarntu* *kiyarntu* means 'a lunar month'



- 3     *kiyarn     purpi-ya-a     ngapa-ngka     pural-ngura*  
 moon-ABS   jump-P.DEC-3sg   water-LOC   both-DAT  
 The moon jumped in to the water with them.
- 4     *ngaaki-li-ya-a     pural*  
 play-TRS-P.DEC-3sg   two-ABS  
 He was playing about with the girls.
- 5     *kurri-ka-rri-ya-pula-nji*  
 anger-CAUS-REFL-P.DEC-3du-IMM  
 They became angry.
- 6     *panta-ra-pula     punha     mathan-tu*  
 hit-COMPL-3du   3sgACC   stick-INSTR  
 They started belting him with a stick.
- 7     *pirru     pulu-pula     punha*  
 hard   flog-3du   3sgACC  
 They gave him a big hiding.
- 8     *pampu     maa-n-ta-pula     punha     ngapa-ngka     kanmarranj*  
 head-ABS   hold-R-P-3du   3sgACC   water-LOC   under  
 They held his head under the water.
- 9     *parlanj     warri     muuli-ya-pula     punha*  
 nothing   DUBIT   drown-P.DEC-3du   3sgACC  
 They almost drowned him.
- 10    *pinampi     wartu-ngka     muuli-ya-na     kanta*  
 think   hole-LOC   drown-P.DEC-LCL   high  
 They thought they really had drowned him.
- 11    *thaata     yi-n-ta-a     yiya-pula     punha     ngapa-nga*  
 big   be-R-P-3sg   pull-3du   3sgACC   water-ELA  
 He was a big man, (but) they pulled him out of the water.
- 12    *pampu     paata-pula-na     kanta     ngapa-nga*  
 head-ABS   lift-3du-LCL   high   water-ELA  
 They lifted his head out of the water.
- 13    *nguna-ma-pula     punha     pali-ya-a-na     kanta-nji*  
 lie-VBS-3du   3sgACC   die-P.DEC-3sg-LCL   high-IMM  
 And they left him there for dead.
- 14    *kuwarri     ya-n-ta-a     tharrka-ra     tharrana     mayinj     ngurra-ngka*  
 long way   go-R-P-3sg   tell-CO.ORD   3plACC   men-ABS   camp-LOC  
 They went a long way back and told the men in camp.

- 15     *parray*     *ya-n-ta-yita*     *mayinj*     *wartu-ku*  
 bye and bye    go-R-P-3pl    men-ABS    hole-ALL  
 Bye and bye the men came to the water hole.
- 16     *wala*     *nhaa-ra-yita*     *punha*     *kiyarn*  
 NEG    see-COMPL-3pl    3sgACC    moon-ABS  
 But they couldn't find Kiyarn.
- 17     *kuumpi-yita*     *pinampi*     *murri-ya-na-a*  
 dive-3pl        think        drown-P.DEC-LCL-3sg  
 They started diving (for him); they thought he had drowned.
- 18     *wani*     *thurri*     *warra-la-a*     *kami-ku-pula-nji*     *partala-ku*  
 near   sun-ABS   fall-HAB-3sg   return-FUT-3du-IMM   tomorrow-ALL  
 It was getting late; they would return tomorrow.
- 19     *ngurra-ku*     *kami-yira*  
 camp-ALL   return-3pl  
 So they started back for camp.
- 20     *partala*     *ya-ng-ku-na*  
 tomorrow   go-R-FUT-1pl  
 'We'll come back tomorrow.'
- 21     *panta-rrin-ja*     *partala*  
 return-REFL-LCL   morning  
 So they came back next morning.
- 22     *wala*     *nhaara-yita*     *punha*  
 NEG   see-3pl        3sgACC  
 But they couldn't find him anywhere.
- 23     *murri-la-pu*     *kangki-ku-wa*     *ngapa-ngka*     *kanta*  
 drown-SB-3sg   float-FUT-DUBIT   water-LOC   high  
 (Someone said), 'If he drowned, he would float on top of the water'.
- 24     *ngunta-y-pu*     *thuu*     *muntipaa*     *kupi*  
 know-R-3sg   much   clever   doctor-ABS  
  
*yi-n-ti-pu*     *panta-ku-pu*     *kanji*  
 be-R-PR-3sg   return-FUT-3sg   bye and bye  
 (But others said), 'He knows too much; he's a clever witchdoctor. He'll come back to life again.'
- 25     *wala*     *nhaa-ra-y*     *punha*     *wala*     *yaya-ka-na*  
 NEG   see-COMPL-EX   3sgACC   NEG   find-CAUS-LCL  
 (In following days) they did not see him! They could not find him.

- 26 *kiyarn nhaa-ra-yita niyaa-la mirti-ngka*  
 moon-ABS see-COMPL-3pl sit-SB bush-LOC  
 (Later on) some people came (who said) they'd seen Kiyarn sitting in the bush.
- 27 *nguutha pinampi-la-ra-yita mayinj mukinj*  
 annoyed think-TRS-COMPL-3pl men-ABS women-ABS  
*kuthara ?warriya thana-a nguutha-nga-li-ya*  
 child-ABS ? do+P-3sgP annoyed-P.TR-TRS-P  
 People were still annoyed when they thought about what he had done.
- 28 *partala ya-n-ku-na puka*  
 morning go-R-FUT-1pl 3sg-DAT  
 'We will go after him in the morning.'
- 29 *yurriin-tja mirrinj warraa-pa mirri-mirri thuma-ra*  
 night-LOC star-ABS fall-CAUS bank-REDUP break-CO.ORD  
 But that night a (great fire ball) star fell and broke (part of) the river bank.  
 [It was just at the place where Kiyarn was supposed to have drowned.]
- 30 *mirrin-tju pa-nga-ra tharrana kurru-kurru*  
 star-ERG kill-P.TR-COMPL 3plACC all-REDUP-ABS  
 The star (came rolling over the camp site and) killed all the people.
- 31 *palka-a-pu ngaana-rri nhaa-tha-ra punha*  
 come-3sgP-3sg who-?REFL see-OBF-COMPL 3sgACC  
 Someone came out and saw what had happened.(?)
- 32 *thulpa-ka-y thana-yita punha kiyarn*  
 ?chase-CAUS-?R 3pl-COMIT 3sgACC moon-ABS  
 (They got a lot of people together) with their weapons and went after Kiyarn.
- 33 *kanji nhaa-ra-yita punha*  
 bye and bye see-COMPL-3pl 3sgACC  
 Later they found him.
- 34 *kuliya-n-pa puka nhampu*  
 spear-R-CAUS 3sgGEN 3sgNOM  
 They speared him to death (he was speared).
- 35 *pu-nga-a punha ...pu-ka-a-pu*  
 kill-OBF-3sp 3sgACC kill-CAUS-3sgP-3sg  
 They got him; they killed him.
- 36 *kuwanj wanti-na-a nguntja-ngka*  
 blood-ABS lie-STY-3sg face-LOC  
 There were blood stains on his face.

37 *yurrinj-tja yurrinj yili-la-a*  
 night-LOC night-ABS show-HAB-3sg

*ngunku-ki-la nhaa-ra-y-ta-pun palaa-ngka*  
 hide-CAUS-HAB look-COMPL-R-P.OPT-3sgO open-LOC

At night, when the night is blacked out, the moon looks through.

38 *marrki-marrki thaa-na yili-ya punha*  
 red-REDUP mouth-LCL show-P 3sgACC

The moon shows a red face (lit. mouth).

(2) EXTRACT B

(Mrs Horneville retelling Jimmie Barker's moon story: Tapes 14, 22)

The numbers in square brackets [ ] relate to the equivalent sentences in the Jimmie Barker story.

1 *niyaa-ni-pu kurru-kurru niyaa-yita* [?3]  
 sit-STY-3sg all-REDUP sit-3pl

He (the moon-man) is sitting on the ground; all the people are sitting too.

2 *(kiyarn-tu) marli karrawi-ya-a* [13]  
 (moon-ERG) boomerang-ABS throw-P.DEC-3sgP

(The moon) threw the boomerang.

3 *purraa-pu-nji mayi-ngka* [14]  
 descend-3sg-IMM ground-LOC

4 *tiyaw-i-mi-na-a marli tiyaw-i-mi-na-a*  
 twist-PROG-LCL-3sg boomerang-ABS twist-PROG-LCL-3sg

*thayin ... thayin ya-rii thayin* [20]  
 towards towards go-REFL towards

The boomerang circles and twists, coming back to us.

5 *thayin tiyaw-i-mi-na-a mayi-ngka*  
 towards twist-PROG-LCL-3sg ground-LOC

*?ku warra nhumpa* [21]  
 ? fall 3sgNOM

It's coming back to fall on the ground.

6 *partala karra-l-ku-yu marli*  
 tomorrow throw-R-FUT-1sg boomerang-ABS

'Maybe I'll throw the boomerang tomorrow.'

7 *puyi-n-tjirra-yu* [28]  
 rest-R-VOL-1sg

'I'm going over to have a spell.'

- 8      *manja-ma-ra-y*      *punha*      [29]  
 joke-VBS-COMPL-EX 3sgACC  
 They were tormenting him.
- 9      *kuwarri*   *niyaa-pu*   *ngurra-ngu*   *kiyarn-ki*      [31]  
 far      live-3sg      camp-ABL      moon-ABS-EMP  
 The moon lived far from camp.
- 10     *kiyarn*      *palkaa-pu*   *ngurra-ku*   *tharra*      [32]  
 moon-ABS      come+P-3sg      camp-ALL      3plGEN  
*kalatha-ra*   *nhu(m)pu*   *maap-a...*   *thuu-ngka*   *mayin-tja*  
 hunt-CO.ORD 3sgNOM      mob-LOC      all-LOC      men-LOC  
 The moon came to the camp and went hunting with all the men
- 11     *pirrikal-ku*   *witji-ku*   *wayan-ku*      [33]  
 roots-DAT      meat-DAT      honey-DAT  
 for edible roots, meat and honey.
- 12     *tharrka-a*   *thana*      *paangki-ku-na-a*   *pitara*  
 tell-3sgP      3plACC      swim-FUT-LCL-3sg      well  
*kuumpi-n-tjirra-pu*   *tharrka-a*   *thana*  
 dive-R-VOL-3sp      tell-3sgP      3plACC  
*kaampi-ku-na-a*   *nhumpu*   *thaka*  
 float-FUT-LCL-3sg      3sgNOM      also  
 He told them he could swim and liked to dive, and he told them that he could float also.
- 13     *tharrka*   *kurriya*      *nhumpu-ku*   *kaman-kara*  
 tell      ?totem-ABS      3sg-GEN      one-only  
 He talked a lot about himself.
- 14     *mukinj*      *nhaa-y-li-ya-a*      *nhaa-ra-ka*  
 women-ABS      look-R-TRS-P.DEC-3sg      see-COMPL-CAUS  
*katjinpu-purral*      [34]  
 young woman-two-ABS  
 But he was looking at two young gins.
- 15     *yurrin-tja*   *yi-n-ta-a*      *kurrka-rra*      [35]  
 night-LOC      be-R-P.OPT-3sg      corroboree-INTS  
 That night there was a big corroboree.
- 16     *thangki-rrin-n-tjirra-pula-na*   *kayila*  
 run-REFL-R-VOL-3du-LCL      AFFIRM

*mukinj-purral* [36]  
woman-two-ABS

That night the two women decided to run away with him.

17 *yii ya-ng-ku-li kuwa*  
EX go-R-FUT-1du yes

'Yes, we will go!'

18 *yimpi-li punha nuwa* [37]  
leave-1du 3sgACC there

'We will meet him there' (?)

19 *thuungka-a punha wiya nhaa-yi-ntu mathan* [38]  
point-3sg 3sgACC QN see-PR.DEC-2sg tree-ABS

(The moon) pointed at it (tree) (and said), 'Do you see that tree?'

20 *partala yi-n-ku nhurra nhula*  
tomorrow be-R-FUT there 2duNOM  
*kaya-mi-ntu thangku-ngka partala*  
return-PROG-2sg butt-LOC tomorrow

*niyaa-ku-n-ta-ra pata-rru nhurra thangku-ngka* [39]  
sit-?-?R-?IMP-?IMP low-INTS this butt-LOC

'You two girls, be there tomorrow night at the butt of the tree. Come back to the butt of this tree.'

21 *kitju ngara wii pa-ri-la-a yurrinj*  
small DEF fire-ABS burn-INCOM+PR-HAB-3sg night-ABS

*yi-n-ti-la-a*  
be-R-PR-HAB-3sg

In the night he had a small fire burning.

22 *partala paru-ki ya-ng-ku ngara* [40]  
tomorrow low-EMP go-R-FUT DEF

When it came tomorrow night the two girls did what the moon said.

23 *purpa-y ya-n punha-yita mathan-ta*  
?meet-?R go-R 3sgACC-COMIT tree-LOC

*thangku-ngka*  
butt-LOC

They met him at the butt of the tree. (?)

24 *palka-li-ya-a pulana kami-la-pula*  
come-TRS-P.DEC-3sg 3duACC go-TRS+P-3du

*mayin-tja kartu-kartu ya-n-ta-yira*  
man-LOC quick-REDUP go-R-P-3pl

- purrakulayaman* [42-43]  
three-ABS  
He came to them; they two went with the man; the three of them went away quickly.
- 25 *ya-n-ta-ra-y ya-n-ta-ra-yira*  
walk-R-P-COMPL-EX walk-P-COMPL-3pl  
*ngarri-nju palka-ra ngarntu-ku* [44]  
?that? come-CO.ORD river-ALL  
They walked and walked until they came to a river.
- 26 *kawi-li-ya-pula punha ngapa kayi-n-tjira* [47]  
call-TRS-P.DEC-3du 3sgACC water-ABS enter-R-VOL  
The two girls called him to come in to the water.
- 27 *milin-tha thinaa-pu mirri-mirri-ngka paru*  
mud-LOC stand-3sg bank-REDUP-LOC low  
(The moon) stood in the mud close to the water's edge.
- 28 *kartu-wu-rrri paanki-ra tharrka nhula* [48]  
quick?-REFL swim-IMP said 2duNOM  
'Hurry up and swim', you two said.
- 29 *paanti-ni-li-na-a*  
unable to swim-STY-TRS-LCL-3sg  
He couldn't swim!
- 30 *milinj tharrka milinj tharrka*  
lies-ABS tell lies-ABS tell  
*nhurrana paanti-ni-li-na-yu* [50]  
2duACC unable to swim-STY-TRS-LCL-1sg  
'I told you lies, I told you lies, I can't swim!'
- 31 *maa-ra piya-ka-ra pangkal-a thika yalu* [52]  
put-IMP rest-CAUS-IMP shoulder-LOC 1sgGEN here  
'Rest on my shoulders here.
- 32 *paangki-li-ku-yu pangka karran-ta-ku-nji*  
swim-TRS-FUT-1sg 2sgACC across-LOC-ALL-IMM  
I will swim you across to the other side.'
- 33 *thantay-kala paangki-yita* [53]  
frog-like swim-3pl  
They swam like fish (lit. frogs).
- 34 *thangki-ya-a purra-nga-ra thanu-ngka*  
float-P.DEC-3sgP ?-P.TR-CO.ORD middle-LOC  
The moon floated between them,

- 35 *piki-purral puraka pangkal-a* [55]  
arm-two-ABS 3duGEN shoulder-LOC  
both arms on their two shoulders.
- 36 *ngara pintin-tja ngapa-ngka yipa* [56]  
then middle-LOC water-LOC slow  
*thangki-na-a thangkipinj kitji-kitji-ma-ra*  
run-LCL-3sg tranquil tickle-REDUP-VBS-CO.ORD  
There, in the middle of the slow running, tranquil water, he began to tickle them.
- 37 *yimpi-ra-li-nji yimpi-ra-li-nji*  
leave-IMP-TRS-IMM leave-IMP-TRS-IMM  
'Leave us alone, leave us alone!'
- 38 *wala kitji-kitji-mpi-n-mi-la* [57]  
NEG tickle-REDUP-VBS-R-PROG-HAB  
'Don't keep on tickling us all the time!'
- 39 *kuumpi-ra purra-ka-mil pawini* [60]  
dive-3plP go-CAUS-ABL ?down  
And (the women) dived down low.
- 40 *kawi-ya-a kiyarn-ki wala muurri-n-tjira-yu* [61]  
call-P.DEC-3sgP moon-EMP NEG drown-R-VOL-1sg  
The moon called out, 'I don't want to drown!'
- 41 *muurri-yi-yu muurri-yi-yu ... paru*  
drown-PR.DEC-1sg drown-PR.DEC-1sg down  
'I'm drowning, I'm drowning.'
- 42 *wala nhaa-ra-pula punha* [62]  
NEG see-COMPL-3du 3sgACC  
They two did not hear him.
- 43 *kuumpi-ya-pula ... thinaa-wi-ya-pula* [63]  
dive-P.DEC-3du stand-RT-P.DEC-3du  
They two dived straight down.
- 44 *paru-nji kiyarn purra-ra-pu*  
down-IMM moon-ABS descend-COMPL-3sg  
The moon was sinking right down.
- 45 *muurri-ya-a-nji* [64]  
drown-P.DEC-3sg-IMM  
Then he was drowned.



- 46 *kartu ya-n-ta-pula ngurra-ku-nji mukinj-purral* [68]  
 quick go-R-P-3du camp-ALL-IMM woman-two-ABS  
 Quickly the two women went back to camp.
- 47 *thurri parra-mi-la-a-nji ngunaa-pula-nji* [69-70]  
 sun-ABS burn-PROG-HAB-3sg-IMM lie-3du-IMM  
 At sunrise the two young women went to sleep.
- 48 *tirra yan-ta-a kiyarn*  
 where go-P-3sg moon-ABS  
 Where did the moon go?
- 49 *minjan-ngu ... minjan-ku yan-ta-a* [72]  
 what-ABL what-DAT go-P-3sg  
 What was up with him? Why did he go?
- 50 *wala nguntaa-ta kantu-ngku* [73]  
 NEG know-3pl other-ERG  
 The other fellows didn't know.
- 51 *wayil wuni-ya-a puwi-pu paru mayi-ngka* [75]  
 indeed lie-P.DEC-3sg rest-3sg low ground-LOC  
*kapu thurri*  
 two-ABS sun-ABS  
 He was lying in the mud on the bottom two days.
- 52 *muu-la-pu-nji kanta kapu kaa-n-pi-nu (?-pu)*  
 cook-SB-3sg-IMM high two take-R-CAUS-3sg  
*putja-l-ku-la-pu*  
 swell-R-FUT-SB-3sg  
 When he was swelling up, it took two days for that to happen.
- 53 *ngara kaa-n-pi-li-pu ngurra-ku-nji ...* [76]  
 then take-R-CAUS-TRS-3sg camp-ALL-IMM  
*ngurra purray yalu yarrka-ngku*  
 camp-ABS across there wind-ERG  
*kaa-n-ti-li punha*  
 take-R-PR-TRS 3sgACC  
 Then the wind blew him across the camp.
- 54 *ngarnta-li-ya punha milkiri-ngku ngarri-ngku*  
 crawl-TRS-P.DEC 3sgACC black ant-ERG ant-ERG  
 Ants crawled all over him.

- 55     *thana-yita punha-nji yita punha* [77]  
 3pl-COMIT 3sgACC-IMM bite+P 3sgACC  
 They had a feed of him!
- 56     *yipa-nja pampu tuwi-li-ya-a yipa*  
 slowly head-ABS move-TRS-P.DEC-3sg slow  
*piki nga thuntu*  
 arm-ABS and leg-ABS  
 Slowly he moved his head, arms and legs.
- 57     *tharri-ya pintja pinta-l-ni-yira*<sup>2</sup> [79]  
 arise-P.DEC just straight-R-STY-3pl  
 He got up, stood upright,
- 58     *purpi-ya-nji purpi-ya*  
 jump-P.DEC-IMM jump-P.DEC  
 He jumped about,
- 59     *ngarri-wi milkiri waaka-a tharrana* [80]  
 ants-ABS-EMP ants-ABS brush-3sg 3plACC  
 brushing ants off.
- 60     *kuwarri yan-ta-a ngarntu-ngka milkiri*  
 far go-P-3sg river-LOC ants-ABS  
*waaka-na-a mayinj-ngu puka*  
 brush-LCL-3sg man-ABL 3sgGEN  
 He brushed the ants off himself ('from his man'), and then went up the river.
- 61     *wayil niyaa-ni-ya-a mirti-ngka* [82]  
 certainly live-STY-P.DEC-3sg bush-LOC  
 He lived in the bush a long time.
- 62     *yarranj tuu-rrri-ya-a pantara tuku-ngka*  
 beard-ABS grow-REFL-P.DEC-3sg long belly-LOC  
*puka murru*  
 3sgGEN ?down  
 His beard grew right down to his belly.
- 63     *marrki-marrki-nji miil-ki thaata tuwiti puka* [84]  
 red-REDUP-IMM eye-EMP big spirit-ABS 3sgGEN  
 His eyes became big and red and he (became) a spirit man.
- 64     *thawinj thana-ya-a thurri-ngka puka* [86]  
 tomahawk-ABS make-P.DEC-3sg sun-LOC 3sgGEN

- wilata thanaa-na-pu kayila wutha-a*  
tomahawk-ABS make-STY-3sg AFFIRM carry-3sgP  
One day he made a stone tomahawk, and he carried it.
- 65 *yimpi-ya-a-nja ... yimpi-la-pu* [87]  
leave-P.DEC-3sg-PL leave-SB-3sg  
*ngurra-pu-ngu-wi ya-n-ta thaata-ku*  
camp-3sg-ABL-EMP go-R-P big-ALL  
*ngurra-ku mukinj niyaa-na-pula*  
camp-ALL women-ABS sit-STY-3du  
He left and went from his camp to the big camp, where the women were sitting down.
- 66 *kurri-ya-a kami-ku-la-a murrinj kitju-kampaa* [88]  
cut-P.DEC-3sg go-FUT-SB-3sg bark-ABS small-one  
On his way (whilst coming) he cut a small piece of bark.
- 67 *purru-kurla thana-a purru-kurla* [89]  
shield-? make-3sgP shield-?  
He made a shield.
- 68 *mangkal-a kayimpa-a* [90]  
net bag-LOC put in-3sg  
He put it in to his net bag.
- 69 *thampa-ri-ri ya-n-ta-a thirri* [91]  
again-?-? go-R-P-3sg away  
He went on his way.
- 70 *kurru-nji thurri ya-n-ta-a* [92]  
all-IMM sun-ABS go-R-P-3sg  
*warra-warra-n-mi-ya-a ngurra-ngka*  
fall-REDUP-R-PROG-P.DEC-3sgP camp-LOC  
The sun was setting when he came to the camp.
- 71 *yaanti-li-ya-a kurru-kurru mayinj* [93]  
talk-TRS-P.DEC-3sg all-REDUP people-ABS  
There he talked with the people.
- 72 *wala ngara mayin-tju ngunta-a punha* [94]  
NEG DEF men-ERG know-3sg 3sgACC  
The people did not know him.
- 73 *wala ngunta-yira punha puka yala* [95]  
NEG know-3pl 3sgACC 3sgGEN different

*nguntjililaa*  
features-ABS

No one knew him (because) his features were changed.

- 74 *thaata-ku wii pa-l-ku-yu kanji yurrin-tja* [96]  
big-GEN fire-ABS make-R-FUT-1sg now night-LOC

'I'm going to make a big fire tonight.'

- 75 *murrinj maa mayi-ngka warri*  
bark-ABS put ground-LOC DUBIT  
*nhayi-n-ki-ra-yita mayinj-ki mukinj*  
see-R-?unable-COMPL-3pl men-ABS-EMP women-ABS

He put the bark on the ground where all the people couldn't see it.

- 76 *tuurri tuurri thaata-nj-mu-ka thaata-nj-mu-ka* [104]  
grow grow big-NS-PROG-IMP big-NS-PROG-IMP

'Get big, get big!' (he said to the bark)

- 77 *kulawi-ya-nja ngara tharrka-ra yungki-kuna-a*  
return-P.DEC-PL DEF speak-CO.ORD sing-?-3sg  
*yungki-ra-kuna-a*  
sing-COMPL-?-3sg

He ran back to talk (and) ?to sing.

- 78 *yungki-n-tjirra-a kurrka-ngka* [105]  
sing-R-VOL-3sg corroboree-LOC

He wants to sing a corroboree song.

- 79 *kurru-kurru kintaa-ya-a... kinti-n-ta-a tharrana* [106]  
all-REDUP-ABS laugh-P.DEC-3sg laugh-R-P-3sg 3plACC

He made all the people laugh.

- 80 *kirri-ya-a yungki-ya-a thanu-mpu-ku* [106]  
dance-P.DEC-3sgP sing-P.DEC-3sgP middle-3sg-ALL

He sang and danced till the middle of the night.

- 81 *thangki-ya-a-nja murrinj-ku yima-ra pu-nha* [108]  
ran-P.DEC-3sg-PL bark-ALL pull-CO.ORD 3sg-ACC

*wani wii-ku yiya-ra punha*  
close fire-ALL pull-CO.ORD 3sgACC

He ran to the bark and pulled it closer to the fire.

### 8.2.3 THE BLUE CRANE LEGEND

(How people obtained fire)

(Mrs Horneville: Tapes 25, 26, 77, Goodooga 1974)

This is a very important legend because it explains how the Muruwari were given their tribal section names: *marriy*, *mathaa*, *kapiy*, *yipay*, *yipatha*, *kapitha*, *putha* and *kampu*. It relates right back to the time of the dreaming, and it explains the ordering of the birds and the animals as well as humans.

An abbreviated version, in English, as given to me by Mrs Horneville is given first, then some scattered sentences in the language.

(1) Translation

The little blue crane was once a woman. She used to sneak away from the others, dodge them. They didn't know where she used to go.

She used to make a big fire, but without the smoke rising to show where it was. She used to catch bags and bags of crayfish, and she would cook them in this fire she had made.

She would put the crayfish in a big hole, cook them there with the fire, then take them out and eat them. Then she would cover the fire up and 'sing' it, so that nobody would see anything showing – no ashes, no charcoal, no evidence of fire.

There were two men who saw her eating the crayfish and said, 'These look as if they've been cooked. We'll have to watch that old woman.' (As yet no one else knew how to make and use fire.)

The two blokes slipped around while she was getting ready to go, and went in different directions. They ran right around the lagoon where she caught her crayfish, and climbed a tree. They were sitting in a tree not far from where she had the fire.

These two blokes were the budgerigar and the quarrion, smart fellows. They were waiting to cheat that woman there of her knowledge of fire.

'Sit quiet there, and watch', they said.

She went and made a fire, then went down to the big, long lagoon, gathered a lot of crayfish, came back, and began to cook them.

After a while she took them out, put them in her possumskin bag, covered the fire up so there was no evidence of it, and away she went back home.

When she got out of sight in the scrub, these two fellows got down out of the tree and ran in different directions. They ran right around the lagoon and home again.

She was walking along with the load of crayfish, poor thing. She got home, and all the people were coming round getting crayfish from her.

In the night, her old husband, the bronzewing, said to her, 'Where you get that crayfish like that, old lady (*mankunj*)?'

And she said, 'I put them out in the sun. You ought to do that too. The sun cooked them. Put yours out and make them red. Then we can make a corroboree.'

But they had watched the old lady and observed that she kept the 'spark' (*piinka*) with which to ignite the fire in a little bag. But she used to 'plant' (hide) it.

The people had a meeting, and it was planned that the sparrowhawk snatch this bag from the blue crane so that they could find out where and how she was getting the fire.

They then held a corroboree. The blue crane was laughing and corroborreeing, corroboreeing, getting glad, rolling around. Her husband, this old bronzewing, came alongside of her. Then the sparrowhawk came up. He rolled her over, tore the bag from her and raced away.

And when she got up to her feet, the sparrowhawk set fire to all the camp. So everyone was able to capture the 'spark', and people all then had the use of fire.

The blue crane got up and went away, and they never saw her any more, poor old thing!

(2) Text

- 1        *mukinj*        *yi-n-ta-a*    *matja*        *mukinj*        *puthuul*  
 woman-ABS    be-R-P-3sg    long time    woman-ABS    blue crane-ABS

Long ago, the blue crane was a woman.

- 2        *witjiwitji-ngka*    *makuntharra-ra*    *kumpi-yira*  
 bird-LOC        ochre-ABS        paint-3pl  
  
*makuntharra-ra*    *witjiwitji-kalkaa*  
 ochre-ABS        bird-all-ABS

In the beginning (the time of the birds), all the birds were painted.

- 3        *mukinj*        *yi-n-ti-la-a*        *kakuru-ku*    *maamarru-ku*  
 woman-ABS    be-R-PR-HAB-3sg    lagoon-ALL    crayfish-DAT

When she used to be a woman, she used to go down to the lagoon for crayfish.

- 4        *yiti-la-a*        *kakurru-ku*  
 dodge-HAB-3sg    lagoon-ALL

She used to dodge them (to go) to the lagoon.

- 5        *piti-la-a*        *maamarru*        *pangka-ra*    *kayimpa-a*    *kalinj*  
 dig-HAB-3sg    crayfish-ABS    kill-CO.ORD    put in-3sg    possumskin bag-ABS

She would go digging along for crayfish, kill it, and put it in her possumskin bag.

- 6        *maamarru*        *thana-la-a*        *murra-ka-mpu*    *para-ngka*  
 crayfish-ABS    do-HAB-3sg    cook-CAUS-3sg    hole-LOC

Collecting crayfish, she used to cook (steam) them in a (big) cooking hole.

- 7        *piinka*        *wutha-ra-a*        *kuntuwu-ngka*  
 spark-ABS    carry-COMPL-3sg    needlewood-LOC

She carried a spark (of fire) in a needlewood stick.

- 8        *kurnunj...*        *muu-thi-li-ra...*        *maamarru*  
 hot coals-ABS    cook-PR.OPT-TRS-COMPL    crayfish-ABS

- muu-thi-la-a*                      *para-ngka*  
 cook-PR.OPT-HAB-3sg    hole-LOC  
 When the hot coals (break up) she would cook the crayfish in the hole.
- 9      *kunkay-n-ma-ra*              *nhampu*    *putha-ngku*    *mayi-ngku*  
 cover-R-VBS-COMPL    3sg(O)    ashes-INSTR    earth-INSTR  
 She covered it (hole) with ashes and dirt.  
 [Story continued in English for some way]
- 10     *kurru-kurru-ngku*    *mayin-tju*    *mukin-tju*  
 all-REDUP-ERG            man-ERG    woman-ERG  
  
*kuthara-ngku*    *kawanj*    *tha-li-la-yira*  
 child-ERG            raw            eat-TRS-HAB-3pl  
 Everyone used to eat raw (meat).
- 11     *wala*    *maa-n-ti-la-yira*    *piinka*  
 NEG    hold-R-PR-HAB-3pl    spark-ABS  
 They didn't have anything with which to make fire. (or They didn't hold the spark.)
- 12     *thurri-ngka*    *muu-l-ku-pu*  
 sun-LOC            cook-R-FUT-3sg  
 (The blue crane would say,) 'It will cook in the sun'.
- 13     *kayila*    *ngutha*    *thana-la-yira*  
 AFFIRM    ability            do-HAB-3pl  
 They used to try and do that.
- 14     *wutha-mu-li-ra*              *thurri-ngku*  
 carry-PROG-TRS-IMP    sun-ERG  
 'Carry it out into the sun; the sun will cook it for you', (the old woman would say).
- 15     *maamaru*    *puka-tji-n-mi-yira*  
 crayfish-ABS    rotten-INCHO-R-PROG-3pl  
 The crayfish became stinking (when the people did this).
- 16     *wala*    *muu-li-na*              *tharrana*  
 NEG    cook-TRS-LCL    3plACC  
 The sun didn't cook them!
- 17     *minjan*    *kayila*    *maa-n-ti-pu*  
 what            AFFIRM    hold-R-PR-3sg  
 'She must have something', (the people said).
- 18     *mangkunj/mankunj*    *nhaka-mpi*    *punha*  
 old woman-ABS            see-CAUS    3sgACC  
 'We'll have to watch that old woman.'

- 19 *nhaaka-na punha ngarriya ngali ya-n-ku-li*  
 watch-LCL 3sgACC that lduNOM go-R-FUT-2du  
 (Two fellows said, 'Yes,') we'll go over and watch that old woman'.
- 20 *tharri-ya-pula yurrin-tjala wirruwinj nga wiraka*  
 arise-P.DEC-3du night-like budgerigar-ABS and quarrion-ABS  
 Those two, the budgerigar and the quarrion got up very early (when it was like night).
- 21 *thangki-ya-pula-nji*  
 run-P.DEC-3du-IMM  
 They two slipped around (ran) then (to the lagoon).
- 22 *ngara mathan-ku kula-ra-pula maami-ku-nji*  
 then tree-ALL climb-COMPL-3du old woman-DAT-IMM  
*mukinj-ku maami-ku-nji mukinj-ku*  
 woman-DAT old woman-DAT-IMM woman-DAT  
 Then they climbed a tree (to wait for) the old woman.
- 23 *nha-ri ya-n-mi-na-a yalu*  
 see-INCOM go-R-PROG-LCL-3sg over there  
 They saw her coming.
- 24 *wirrinj-nji wirrinj*  
 quiet-IMM quiet  
 'Quiet. Keep quiet', (they said).
- 25 *nhurra maa mangkarr puka mayi-ngka*  
 there put dillybag-ABS 3sgGEN ground-LOC  
 She put her dillybag down.
- 26 *nhaa-ya-nji puuta-a piyan puka*  
 look-P.DEC-IMM take off-3sg dress-ABS 3sgGEN  
 She looked around, (then) took off her dress.
- 27 *thurra-la-a ngapa-ngka*  
 throw-HAB-3sgP water-LOC  
 She went into the water.  
 [Story continued in English for some way]
- 28 *kirrin-ku-pu mukinj-ku marnpil*  
 husband-GEN-3sg woman-GEN bronzewing-ABS  
 That old husband of hers was a bronzewing.
- 29 *tirra-ntu maa-n-ti tirra-ntu mangkunj*  
 where-2sg hold-R-PR where-2sg old woman-ABS  
 (He said,) 'Where you get that, old woman?'



- 30 *ngathu maa-ti ngathu thurri-ngka*  
1sgNOM get-PR lsgNOM sun-LOC  
*muu-li-na tharrana thurri-ngku*  
cook-TRS-LCL 3plACC sun-ERG  
'I get it myself. I (put them) in the sun; the sun will cook them.'
- 31 *minja-ntu-na tharrana mitjin yaa-n-ti*  
what-2sg-LCL 3plACC lies-ABS talk-R-PR  
*ngaangura minja-ntu*  
1sgDAT what-2sg  
'What's the matter, you talking those lies to me?'
- 32 *kaa-ntu kawanj... pitara kawanj*  
get-2sg raw good raw  
'You fetch (the crayfish) good raw (meat).'
- 33 *kawanj tha-rrina ngurrunj kula*  
raw eat-REFL-1pl emu-ABS kangaroo-ABS  
*kakara parna tha-rrina*  
porcupine-ABS goanna-ABS eat-REFL-1pl  
'We eat raw emu, kangaroo, porcupine, goanna.'
- 34 *kama-la-ka-na nhurra palaa-ngka*  
spread-HAB-?-1pl that outside-LOC  
'Some of us used to spread it out in the sun.'  
[Story continued in English for some way]
- 35 *puthul-u murriyaan ngu-ra-a*  
blue crane-ERG name-ABS give-COMPL-3sg  
*ngarra-na kurru-kurru-nji puthaa, yipathaa,*  
1pl-ACC all-REDUP-IMM  
*kapithaa, marriy, yipay...*  
The blue crane gave us all the names then, *puthaa, yipathaa, kapithaa, marriy, yipay...*

#### 8.2.4 THE STORY OF THE TWO YELLOW-MOUTH OWLS

(Mrs Homeville: Tape 26)

##### (1) Translation

At one time the yellow-mouth owl was a woman. There were two of these yellow-mouth owl women who went hunting one day. They must have been mates.

As they were hunting along, they saw a whole lot of wild oranges and they 'into' (ate voraciously) them! They ate and ate and ate. They ate so many that their mouths became dry.

So they went to the lagoon looking for water. But the people of the camp had taken all the water with them – had drained the lagoon dry, so that all that was left was mud.

The women didn't know what to do. They were sitting down on the bank of the river when two kookaburras came along.

'What's the matter?', they said.

'There is no water', the owls said, 'we are perishing for a drink. We have eaten too many wild oranges.'

They looked up to see the mud shining.

'Right-oh', the kookaburras said, and they started to 'sing' (sorcerise) the lagoon (making magic to cause the water to come). '*ka, ka, ka, ka, ko, ko, ko, ko, ko*', they sang. And the water came back into the lagoon in a flood.

The two women jumped for joy to see the water, and they drank, and drank, and drank, and the water came like a flood.

(2) Text

YAWURU-PURRAL (THE TWO YELLOW-MOUTH OWLS)

- 1        *ya-n-mu-ra-pula*            *yawuru*    *mukinj-purral*    *pampal-ku*  
           go-R-PROG-COMPL-3du   owl-ABS   woman-two-ABS   orange-DAT

The two yellow-mouth owl women went hunting for wild oranges.

- 2        *mirri-pula-ri*  
           mates-3du-?

They must have been mates.

- 3        *nhaa-ra-pula-nji*            *pampal*            *thuu*  
           see-COMPL-3du-IMM   oranges-ABS   many

They saw a whole lot of wild oranges.

- 4        *pirru*    *tha-tha-pula*  
           hard    eat-REDUP-3du

They ate and ate them.

- 5        *thaa*            *puka-ki*  
           mouth-ABS   rotten-EMP

(So that) their mouths became parched.

- 6        *ngapa*            *warra-wi-pu-nji*    *karuru*  
           water-ABS   fall-RT-3sg-IMM   lagoon-ABS

The water in the lagoon began to fall.

- 7        *kami-ya-yira*            *ngurra-ku*    *kurru-kurru*  
           return-P.DEC-3pl   camp-ALL   all-REDUP-ABS

- maa-n-ti-yira ngapa tharra-ngura*  
take-R-PR-3pl water-ABS 3pl-DAT  
When the people returned to camp they took all the water with them.
- 8 *milinj niyaa-ni-pu*  
mud-ABS sit-STY-3sg  
Only mud remained.
- 9 *wangki-yi-pula-nji ngapa-ku*  
cry-PR.DEC-3du-IMM water-DAT  
Then they two are crying out for water.
- 10 *mukinj-purral maamikama purral*  
women-two-ABS replete two-ABS  
The two women were now both full of food (had a gut full).
- 11 *pampal thuu tha-na-pula*  
oranges-ABS many eat-STY-3du  
They had eaten too many wild oranges.
- 12 *niyaa-na-pula-nji mirri-mirri-ngka thayin*  
sit-STY-2du-IMM bank-REDUP-LOC towards  
*ya-n-mu-ra-pula karawaka mayinj-purral*  
go-R-PROG-COMPL-3du kookaburra-ABS man-two-ABS  
They were sitting down on the river bank when two men kookaburras came along.
- 13 *piya-n-ka-ra-pula minjan-ku-ay*  
ask-R-CAUS-COMPL-3du what-DAT-EMP  
They asked them, 'What's the matter?'
- 14 *wala ngapa wala ngapa pampul*  
NEG water-ABS NEG water-ABS orange-ABS  
*tha-ra-li thuu matja tha-ra-li*  
eat-COMPL-1du much time eat-COMPL-1du  
'No water, no water; we're perishing for drink. We've been eating too many wild oranges.'
- 15 *nhaa-ra-pula palanj-pi-la milinj*  
see-COMPL-3du shine-CAUS-HAB mud-ABS  
They looked up to see the mud shining.
- 16 *yungki-li-ya-pula karawaka ka ka ka ka ko ko ko ko*  
'sing'-TRS-P.DEC-3du lagoon-ABS  
*thangki-mi-la-a ngapa*  
run-PROG-SB-3sg water-ABS

*ngurawarra kakuru-ngka*  
flood-ABS lagoon-LOC

The two (kookaburras) 'sang' the lagoon, 'ka, ka, ka, ka, ko, ko, ko, ko', making the water flood into the lagoon again.

17 *mukinj-purral marrin-tjari-ya-pula ngapa-ku*  
woman-two-ABS glad-EMOT-P.DEC-3du water-DAT

The two women were real glad for the water.

18 *tha-tha-rrri-ya-pula kayila*  
drink-REDUP-REFL-P.DEC-3du AFFIRM

They drank and drank heartily.

19 *thuu ngapa palka nguruwarra*  
much water-ABS came flood-ABS

Much water came flooding in.

#### 8.2.5 THE STORY OF THE GALAH AND THE CROW

(Why the galah has pink feathers)

(Mrs Horneville: Tape 71a)

This legend is very sketchily told in both English and the language. Only the legend relating to how the galah comes to have pink (red) feathers is told, not the remainder relating to how the crow has black feathers.

##### KIRRA NGA WAKAN

1 *kirra (y)i-n-ta-a mayinj matja kayila*  
galah-ABS be-R-P-3sg man-ABS time AFFIRM

The galah was once a man.

2 *nhuu thinaa-pu nhuu*  
here stand+P-3sg here

He stood here.

3 *nga thirri tjina yarran-tju*  
EX away stand-IMP return boomerang-ERG

*pa-ngu-ntu pungu pampu*  
hit-DUBIT-2sg 3sgACC head-ABS

'Look out! Stand aside! The return boomerang might hit you on the head', (the crow said to the galah).

4 *wala thana-ku wala*  
NEG do-FUT NEG

'No, that won't happen!', (the galah replied).

- 5        *marli*                *wala*    *warra-ku-pu*    *nganha*,  
boomerang-ABS NEG fall-FUT-3sg lsgACC  
  
*warra-ku-pu*    *mayi-ngka*  
fall-FUT-3sg ground-LOC  
‘The boomerang will not fall on me; it will fall on the ground.’
- 6        *kirra*                *nhirri-nhirri*    *yi-n-ta-a*    *ngari*    *thinaa-ni-pu*  
galah-ABS cheeky-REDUP be-R-P-3sg there stand-STY-3sg  
The galah is a cheeky little fellow; he just kept on standing there.
- 7        *karrawi-ya-a*                *yarranj*                                *wakan-tu*  
throw-P.DEC-3sg return boomerang-ABS crow-ERG  
The crow threw the boomerang.
- 8        *nhaa-ra-y*                *tiyaa-ma-la-nja*                *kanta-ki*    *ee, ee, ee, ee, ee*  
see-COMPL-1sg turn-VBS-TRS-INTEN high-EMP  
(The galah said,) ‘I see it spinning high up in the air, ee, ee, ee, ee, ee.’ (possibly imitating the whirring sound)
- 9        *thirri*    *thina*  
away stand-IMP  
‘Stand back!’, (the crow yelled).
- 10       *wala*  
NEG  
‘No!’, (the galah replied).
- 11       *warraa-pu*    *kirra-ku*    *pampa-ngka*  
fall+P-3sg galah-GEN head-LOC  
It (the boomerang) fell on the galah's head (and busted it).
- 12       *pampu*    *kuwanj*    *pilpa-ra-pu*                *pampa-ngka...*  
head-ABS blood-ABS ?flow-COMPL-3sg head-LOC  
  
*kawanj*    *pampu-ngu*    *kalkara*    *kuwanj*  
blood-ABS head-ABL much blood-ABS  
His head was bleeding; much blood flowed (?) from his head.
- 13       *mawal*                *marrki-marrki*    *yi-n-mu-ra*  
feathers-ABS red-REDUP be-R-PROG-COMPL  
His feathers became red.
- 14       *kuwan-tji-li-nji*                *yi-n-mu-ra*                                *kuwanj*    *kirra*  
blood-INCHO-TRS-IMM be-R-PROG-COMPL blood-ABS galah-ABS  
The galah became stained with blood. (?)

## 8.2.6. THE STORY OF THE EMU AND THE FRILL-NECKED LIZARD

(Why the emu has a bare chest and the frill-necked lizard a rough skin)

(Mrs Horneville: Tapes 32, 69)

This is another well known legend explaining why the emu has a bare chest and why the frill-necked lizard has prickly skin. The story is given first in English, then in Muruwari, as told by Mrs Horneville.

## (1) Translation

A long time ago the emu was a man, and his wife was a frill-necked lizard. He was a lazy fellow and used to lie down in his humpy all day long while his wife did the work. He also used to tease his wife by kicking a hole in the humpy just where she had put fresh grass on it to patch it up.

When he kicked a hole she would go and get more grass to fill up the hole so the rain wouldn't get in. But he would kick another hole so she would have to go and fetch more grass to fill the hole, but he would open it up once again.

She called out to him, 'What are you doing that for, kicking a hole in the humpy? I'm getting wet outside in the rain, and you'll get wet too, for the rain will come in through the hole.'

But he took no notice of her, just lay on his back and kicked. Then she got mad. She had an idea. She got a piece of bark scooped out like a shovel, went to the fire and shovelled in a whole lot of hot coals. Then she chucked them in the hole of the humpy and they landed right on the emu's chest as he lay on his back. He rolled over fast to get the hot coals off his chest, but it was too late, they had burnt all his feathers off.

As soon as she had chucked in the coals, the frill-necked (lizard) ran off for her life. She ran and ran, and hid under a roly-poly burr. The emu ran after her, as it had stopped raining by this, and he started to track just where she had gone. He tracked her all the way to the bindi-eye burr. But he couldn't get at her because of the prickles. So he went and got some fire and set the bindi-eye alight. She tried to come out, but he knocked her back into the fire, poor thing! She was half cooked. But she got off and then the emu grabbed her and rolled her in another bindi-eye, and those prickles got all over her. So that's why the frill-necked is burry today, and why the emu has a burnt chest.

## (2) Text

*NGURRUNJ NGA KUWINJ*

1        *mayinj*     *yi-n-ta-a*     *matja*     *kuwinj*  
man-ABS    be-R-P-3sg    long time    frill-necked-ABS

The frill-necked lizard was once a man.

2        *thali-pu*     *muu-ra-na-a*                     *wii-ngku*     *ngurrunj*  
chest-3sg    burn-COMPL-LCL-3sg    fire-INST    emu-ABS

The emu has a bare chest (was burnt there with fire).

3        *mukinj*             *puka*             *kuwinj*  
woman-ABS    3sgGEN        frill-necked-ABS

The frill-necked lizard is his wife.

- 4     *kuwin-tju           kurli           tjana-ra-a*  
frill-necked-ERG humpy-ABS make-COMPL-3sg  
The frill-necked was making a humpy.
- 5     *thiri   ya-n-ti-la-a           ngurrun-tju*  
away go-R-PR-HAB-3sg emu-ERG  
*open-ma-ta-li-ya-a-ra                           yawu*  
open-VBS-P-TRS-P.DEC-3sg-CO.ORD grass-ABS  
When she went away, the emu made an opening in the grass.
- 6     *palaa-ngka   palka-ra           kilya-ma-ra           thina-ngku   puka*  
opening-LOC come-CO.ORD kick-VBS-COMPL foot-INSTR 3sgGEN  
He kicked with his foot to make an opening come.
- 7     *kuwinj           tiyawu-la-a   thampa-ta*  
frill-necked-ABS turn-SB-3sg another-LOC  
*ngara   tiyawu-la-a   ngurrun-tju   thana-la*  
DEF   turn-SB-3sg emu-ERG do-HAB  
When the frill-necked turned around, the emu was making another (hole).
- 8     *paypi-la-a   pirru-nju   purtu*  
rain-HAB-3sg hard-COMP rain-ABS  
The rain was getting harder and harder.
- 9     *yan-ta-a   mukin-tju   katji-ma-ra           punha*  
go-P-3sg woman-ERG catch-VBS-CO.ORD 3sgACC  
*thana-la   palaa-ngka   thina-ngku           puka*  
do-HAB opening-LOC foot-INSTR 3sgGEN  
The woman went and caught him making an opening (in the humpy) with his foot.
- 10    *thini-ntu   thana-ntu   yintu*  
kick+PR-2sg do-2sg 2sgNOM  
(She said to him), 'You are doing that kicking'.
- 11    *wala   ngathu*  
NEG 1sgNOM  
'No, not me!', (he replied).
- 12    *mana-yi-yu*  
?close-P.DEC-1sg  
'I thought I closed that hole up.'
- 13    *wala*  
NEG  
'No', (he replied).

- 14 *pathaanj yi-n-mi-l pathaanj-nji*  
 wet be-R-PROG-R wet-IMM  
 'I'm getting wet', (she said).
- 15 *patha yi-n-mi-yu*  
 wet be-R-PROG-1sg  
 'I'm getting wet too!', (he said).
- 16 *kurnunj yalu maa-n-ta-a tikinj*  
 coals-ABS those take-R-P.OPT-3sg ashes-ABS  
*karrawi-ta thali-ngka puka*  
 throw-P chest-LOC 3sgGEN  
 She took some hot coals and threw them on his chest.
- 17 *thangki-ya-a-nji kuwinj-ki makarra-ngka*  
 run-P.DEC-3sgP-IMM frill-necked-EMP burr-LOC  
*nhumpa-ra nhampu*  
 hide-CO.ORD 3sgNOM  
 Then the frill-necked ran and 'planted' herself in the bindi-eye burr.
- 18 *marinj tharri-ya-nja tampa-ki pata*  
 husband-ABS run-P.DEC-INTEN track-EMP down  
 The husband got her tracks.
- 19 *thinatuwa-ya mokin-tji*  
 track-P.DEC woman-DIM  
 He tracked the (small) woman.
- 20 *thinatuwa pata mukarra*  
 track under burr-ABS  
 He tracked her (to) under the bindi-eye.
- 21 *muu-l-ta-nja mukarra muu-l-ta-a*  
 burn-R-P-PL burr-ABS burn-R-P-3sg  
 He set fire to the bindi-eye.
- 22 *purtu ya-n-mi-pu-nji kawarri*  
 rain-ABS go-R-PROG-3sg-IMM far  
 The rain is going away now.
- 23 *mukarra kuwinj purriinj-ka-y-pu*  
 burr-ABS frill-necked ?-CAUS-R-3sg  
*mukarra-yita (y)i-ng-ka-pu-ki mukarra-yita*  
 burr-COMIT be-R-CAUS-3sg-EMP burr-COMIT  
 That is why the frill-necked is all burr-like.



## 8.2.7 STORY OF THE TURKEY AND THE EMU

(Why the emu doesn't fly; why the turkey lays only two eggs)

(Mrs Horneville: Tape 26)

This is the widely told story of why the emu has many children and the turkey has only two, and why the emu has no wings to fly with but the turkey has. Each deprived the other by trickery. The story is very similar to that told by the Kamilaroi in Austin and Tindale (1985). (They did not include the Muruwari in their distribution of the legend.)

The story was told to me in English by Robin Campbell, and Mrs Horneville gave an outline sketch of it in Muruwari and English as follows:

*KIYIIRA NGURRUNJ*

- 1      *kiiira      mukinj      yi-n-ti-la      ngurrunj      matja-ki*  
turkey-ABS   woman-ABS   be-R-PR-HAB   emu-ABS   time-EMP

Long ago the turkey and the emu were women.

- 2      *thuu      kuthara      yi-n-ta-pula*  
many   child-ABS   be-R-P-3du

They both had a lot of children.

- 3      *kapu      kayila      winku-yita      thuu      kuthara      yi-n-ti-yita*  
two   AFFIRM   nuisance-COMIT   many   child-ABS   be-R-PR-3pl

Two is enough. Many children are a nuisance.

- 4      *kalatharri-ya-pula-nji      thuu      kuthara-yita*  
hunt-P.DEC-3du-IMM   many   child-COMIT

Now they both went hunting with their many children.

- 5      *ngurrunj      thina-a      karrpu-na      kiiira*  
emu-ABS   stand-3sg   front-LCL   turkey-ABS

The emu stood in front of the turkey.

- 6      *minjan-ku      wala...      wala      wiiji      manu*  
what-DAT   NEG   NEG   meat-ABS   bread-ABS

*maa-n-ti-li      tharraka*  
get-R-PR-1du   3plACC

'What's the matter? (or 'We have a problem). We cannot get food for all of them (children).'

[The story continues in English of the emu's plan to entice the turkey to get rid of some of her children, so there would be more food for hers.]

- 7      *nhuunpa-a      kuthara      mirti-ngka*  
hide-3sg   child-ABS   scrub-LOC

She (the emu) hid her children in the scrub.

8      *nga panta-ra-a      thana      pampu-ngka      kukaa-ku*  
and hit-COMPL-3sg 3plACC head-LOC      ?-ALL

*kurru-kurru      kapu-thulu*  
all-REDUP-ABS      two-only

And she (turkey) was knocking them (her children) on the head, all of them till there were only two left.

9      *kapu      niya-li-ya-a      pampu      nhunpa-ra      kamala*  
two      sit-TRS-P.DEC-3sg head-ABS hide-CO.ORD alone

She sat the two children down and hid them.

10      *kiyiira      yaa-n-pu      tirra      kuthara*  
turkey-ABS      say-R-3sg where child-ABS

The turkey said (to the emu), 'Where are your children?'

11      *panta-ra-yu      tharranu*  
kill-COMPL-1sg 3plACC

(The emu said), 'I killed them.

12      *tiya-yita      kuthara      panta-y      ya-n-ti-yira*  
turn-3pl child-ABS kill-1sg go-R-PR-3pl

I couldn't feed them all so I killed them.

13      *(y)intu      wara      (y)intu      muku      tharrana*  
2sgNOM ought 2sgNOM blunt 3plACC

You ought to do the same.

14      *thangki-la-y      karrpu-karrpu*  
run-HAB-1sg front-REDUP

I'll run in front (of them).'

15      *ngara      nhuunpa-na-pu      tharra      ya-n-ta-a*  
then hide-LCL-3sg 3plACC run-R-P-3sg

She ran to the place where she had planted them.

16      *maa-n-tha-a      tharrana      mirti-ngu*  
take-R-P-3sg 3plACC scrub-ABL

She brought them out from the scrub.

17      *thangki-yira      karlku-karlku*  
run-3pl back-REDUP

They ran back.

18      *kinta-la-a-nji      kinta-la-a      karriya-li*  
laugh-TRS-3sg-IMM laugh-TRS-3sg ?-TRS

Then she laughed at (the turkey).

- 19 *kapu kapunj ngurrunj thuu*  
two eggs-ABS emu-ABS many  
(The turkey has) two eggs; the emu many.
- 20 *kapu ngaa-n-ti-pu kiyiira-ngku kanji*  
two lay-R-PR-3sg turkey-ERG now  
(That is why) today the turkey lays only two eggs.
- 21 *ya-n-ta-a-nji tharrka-ra kanji*  
go-R-P-3sg-IMM say-CO.ORD now  
(The turkey) went away, then (came back) and said (to the emu),
- 22 *thika piki palkurl ngaanthi-ki*  
1sgGEN arm-ABS ?wrist-ABS 1sgGEN-EMP  
'My arm, oh, my ?wrist!'
- 23 *thu-ma panga*  
break-CAUS 2sgGEN  
'Did you break it?' (lit. cause to break yours)
- 24 *ngathu pu-rru-yu*  
1sgNOM cut-REFL-1sg  
'I cut myself.'
- 25 *minjan-ngu*  
what-ABL  
'How?' (what from)
- 26 *pu-rru-ya-a-nji piki puka*  
cut-REFL-P.DEC-3sg-IMM arm-ABS 3sgGEN  
He cut his arm.
- 27 *ya-n-yu pu-rru thika... pu-rra-yu*  
go-R-1sg cut-REFL 1sgGEN cut-REFL-1sg  
'I went and cut my (arm). I chopped it.
- 28 *ngathu wara yala thangka-n-tjarrinki-ntu*  
1sgNOM ought like run-R-fly-2sg  
'Why don't you be like me? You should start to fly them (the arms).'
- 29 *piki thu-nga-a talayinkurl-u pakul-u*  
arm-ABS cut-P.TR-3sg sharp-INSTR stone-INSTR  
(The emu) cut his arms off with a sharp stone.
- 30 *kiyiira piki yapi-la-a piki-kala*  
turkey-ABS arm-ABS spread-TRS+P-3sg wing-like  
The turkey spread out his (arms like) wings.

31 *piki* *nhaa-ki-ra-y*  
arm-ABS see-CAUS-COMPL-EX

(The other fellow) sees his wings.

32 *tharri-ya-a-n* *ya-ra*  
fly-P.DEC-3sg-?EUP go-CO.ORD

He flew away (and was gone).

33 *ngaana-ki* *wala* *maa-n-ku* *nganha* *tharri-ku-yu*  
who-EMP NEG take-R-FUT lsgACC fly-FUT-1sg

'If anyone comes up bye and bye, they won't catch me; I will fly away!'

CHAPTER 9  
DICTIONARY

9.1 INTRODUCTION

The dictionary has been arranged in domains, following Mathews (1903a). In many respects a domains dictionary more clearly reveals the language than does a dictionary listed in alphabetical sequence. (The English-Muruwari part of the dictionary, is, of course, alphabetically listed.)

Since no speakers remain to check the dictionary for spelling accuracy, and since the corpus yielded many fluctuations in pronunciation, more than one spelling is given when deemed necessary. The most likely spelling is given first, then other possibilities.

Scientific names of birds and fauna have been appended in square brackets where it was possible to research them. Several tree and bird species have been given different English names by different informants. Each has been listed and the speaker identified.

Anthropological detail gleaned from early sources (Mathews and Radcliffe-Brown (R-B)), as well as a wealth of detail obtained from Jimmie Barker, Emily Homeville and Robin Campbell has been included. Some entries make little sense without it. The material has been included to preserve knowledge of Muruwari customs and beliefs, some (perhaps most) of which has already been lost to present day Muruwari people. It is hoped that such details will help clothe what is now a lost language with interest and dynamic.

Finally, where examples have been easily accessed, illustrative sentences have been included. Examples of how the words were used in everyday sentences lifts the language from the realm of a dry grammar to pulsate with some of its original vitality.

Domains and categories with page number are as follows:

|       |                         |     |
|-------|-------------------------|-----|
| 9.2   | NOUNS IN DOMAINS        |     |
| 9.2.1 | The human body          | 286 |
| 9.2.2 | The natural world       | 291 |
| 9.2.3 | Animals – mammals       | 301 |
| 9.2.4 | Animals – fish species  | 303 |
| 9.2.5 | Animals – reptiles      | 304 |
| 9.2.6 | Animals – invertebrates | 305 |
| 9.2.7 | Birds                   | 307 |
| 9.2.8 | Arboreal                | 312 |
| 9.2.9 | The human family        | 318 |

|        |                        |     |
|--------|------------------------|-----|
| 9.2.10 | Material possessions   | 322 |
| 9.2.11 | Beliefs and language   | 329 |
| 9.3    | GRAMMATICAL CATEGORIES |     |
| 9.3.1  | Adjectives             | 334 |
| 9.3.2  | Demonstratives         | 339 |
| 9.3.3  | Pronouns               | 339 |
| 9.3.4  | Verbs                  | 341 |
| 9.3.5  | Adverbs                | 360 |
| 9.3.6  | Particles              | 362 |
| 9.3.7  | Suffixes               | 364 |

## 9.2 MURUWARI TO ENGLISH DICTIONARY IN DOMAINS AND CLASSES

### NOUNS IN DOMAINS

#### 9.2.1 THE HUMAN BODY

##### 9.2.1.1 THE HEAD

|                                           |                            |
|-------------------------------------------|----------------------------|
| <i>miil</i> (RHM: <i>mil</i> )            | eye                        |
| <i>miil tuku miil</i>                     | pupil of eye (JB)          |
| <i>miil maarilaa</i>                      | weak eyes (JB)             |
| <i>ngartanj</i>                           | roof of mouth              |
| <i>ngatunj</i>                            | ear lobe (EH)              |
| <i>ngulu</i> (RHM: <i>ngulu</i> )         | forehead                   |
| <i>ngumunj</i> (RHM: <i>ngumunj</i> )     | cheek; face                |
| <i>ngunjililaa</i>                        | features (of face)         |
| <i>nguntja; muntja; wintja</i>            | face                       |
| <i>nguru</i> (RHM: <i>nguru</i> )         | nose                       |
| <i>pampu</i> (RHM: <i>bumpo</i> )         | head; hair of head         |
| <i>minti-minti pampu</i>                  | curly hair                 |
| <i>tjulku-tjulku pampu</i>                | straight hair              |
| <i>piku</i>                               | eyelid; eyebrow (JB)       |
| <i>pina</i> (RHM: <i>binna</i> )          | ear                        |
| <i>papun-pina</i>                         | earlobe (JB)               |
| <i>tiinj-pina</i>                         | inside ear (lit. ear-hole) |
| <i>puu; puwu</i>                          | chin (BC)                  |
| <i>thaa</i> (RHM: <i>dha</i> )            | mouth; lips; beak of bird  |
| <i>thalanj</i> (RHM: <i>thallunj</i> )    | tongue                     |
| <i>thirra; tirra</i> (RHM: <i>tirra</i> ) | tooth                      |
| <i>thirrara</i>                           | teeth                      |

|                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|-------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>tii-nguru</i>                                            | nostril (lit. nose-hole) (EH)                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>tuwinj-tuwinj</i>                                        | temple                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>yankanj</i>                                              | chin (JB; EH.10:10)                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>yarranj</i> (EH: <i>yarranja</i> ) (RHM: <i>yerran</i> ) | beard (BC); whiskers                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <br>                                                        |                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| 9.2.1.2 THE BODY – EXTERNAL PARTS                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>kalun; kalunj</i>                                        | left hand                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>kapart; kaparr</i> (RHM: <i>burranj</i> )                | armpit                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>karlanj-karlanj</i>                                      | shoulder (possibly back portion of shoulders)<br>(EH.62:4)                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>karlpa</i>                                               | groin                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>kartka</i>                                               | hip                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>kini</i> (RHM: <i>kinni</i> )                            | vulva                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>kirrpay</i>                                              | (1) skin, usually of an animal, but may also refer to human skin as in: <i>kirrpay parriyu wiingka tharraa</i> 'I (my skin) got burnt in the fire (because I was) drunk.' (RC.1:3)<br>(2) kangaroo skin rug (EH.47:5) |
| <i>kitji-kitjimpi</i>                                       | itch                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>kitji</i>                                                | itchy                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>pina kitjiki</i>                                         | 'My ear is itchy.'                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>kulkay</i>                                               | pimples; rash; pus (JB.66B:3)                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>kunanj; kungiyunh</i>                                    | ribs                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>kupu</i> (RHM: <i>gubu</i> )                             | elbow                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>kupungka</i>                                             | beside                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>yana kupungka thika</i>                                  | 'Walk beside me (at my elbow).' (JB.14B:2)                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>mankurr</i>                                              | wrist (EH.13:3)                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>mara</i> (RHM: <i>murra</i> )                            | hand; thumb; finger                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>marayinj mara</i>                                        | right hand                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>kalunj mara</i>                                          | left hand                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>tiki mara</i>                                            | little finger                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>tuku mara</i>                                            | palm of hand                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>marnar</i>                                               | body hair; fur                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>marnku</i> (RHM: <i>murngu arm</i> )                     | lower arm; wrist                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>marnta</i>                                               | lap (BC)                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>muranj</i>                                               | waist (EH.18:2)                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>murlpan; murlpunh</i>                                    | skin burn; pus-sore, boil                                                                                                                                                                                             |

|                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                       |
|------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>murnka</i>                                              | wrinkled skin                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>murntu; purntu</i>                                      | buttocks (EH.12:5, 7:8)                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>murrpanh</i>                                            | catrache made in the skin with possom's teeth<br>[designs were carved on the arms, chest and back]                                                                    |
| <i>muurla</i>                                              | mole on skin                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>ngama</i>                                               | breast                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>ngarntul; nganturl</i> (RHM: <i>ngandul</i> )           | throat; Adam's apple (EH.13:3), front of neck                                                                                                                         |
| <i>ngayin</i>                                              | body; waist                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>ngii</i>                                                | anus; buttocks (SJ.2:1)                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>nimpinj</i>                                             | navel; umbilical cord                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>pangkal</i> (RHM: <i>bunggul</i> )                      | shoulder; shin (EH.7C:1)                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>parlu</i>                                               | heel                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>parlu thina</i>                                         | heel of foot                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>parranggal</i> (RHM: <i>burrunggal</i> )                | ankle                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>parrki</i>                                              | ankle                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>pikanj</i>                                              | claw; fingernail; toenail                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>piki</i>                                                | upper arm; wing; branch of a river; large gutter<br>coming in to a river; small storm away from the<br>main storm of rain (i.e. the small 'arm' of a larger<br>storm) |
| <i>pila; pirla</i> (RHM: <i>billa</i> )                    | back; backbone (EH.16:5)                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>pilangka</i>                                            | behind                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>yana ngara pilangka thika</i>                           | 'Go behind me!' (JB.14B:2)                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>puntu-puntu</i>                                         | lower portion of back; (sometimes) behind                                                                                                                             |
| <i>purla; pura; puula</i>                                  | calf of leg; behind knee                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>thali</i>                                               | chest; brisket; collarbone                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>ngathu maarrimiyu thalingka</i>                         | 'My chest is paining me.'                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>thana</i>                                               | fist; knuckle                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>thanangka puta punha</i>                                | 'He hit him with his knuckles.' (EH.29:3)                                                                                                                             |
| <i>thanthu</i> (JB: <i>thuntu</i> ) (RHM: <i>dhundhu</i> ) | skin [either a borrowing from another language or<br>a second, more unusual word for 'skin' ( <i>yuranj</i> ,<br>the more common word)]                               |
| <i>tharra</i> (RHM: <i>thurra</i> )                        | thigh                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>thawin-piki</i>                                         | shoulder blade (arm shaped, like a tomahawk)<br>(JB.59B:1)                                                                                                            |
| <i>thilin</i> (RHM: <i>dhillin</i> )                       | nymphae (RHM); menses (JB)                                                                                                                                            |



|                                                |                                                   |
|------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| <i>thina</i> (RHM: <i>dhinna</i> )             | foot; toe                                         |
| <i>ngupunj thina</i>                           | instep                                            |
| <i>thinkal</i> (RHM: <i>thin-gal</i> )         | knee                                              |
| <i>thuku</i> (RHM: <i>dhugu</i> ); <i>tuku</i> | stomach, belly; replete (stomach full) (JB.28B:2) |
| <i>thuku thina</i>                             | sole of the foot                                  |
| <i>thuka mara</i>                              | palm of the hand                                  |
| <i>thuku miil</i>                              | pupil of the eye                                  |
| <i>tiki kayintjiraa tukungka puka tungkun</i>  | 'The young one jumped into his pouch.'            |
| <i>thuliti</i>                                 | vein (JB.66B:1)                                   |
| <i>thun</i> (RHM: <i>dhun</i> )                | penis; tail                                       |
| <i>thunthara</i>                               | erection (RHM)                                    |
| <i>thunpira mirrinj</i>                        | comet (star having tail)                          |
| <i>thuntu</i>                                  | lower leg (knee to ankle)                         |
| <i>thuwi</i>                                   | pubic hair                                        |
| <i>tungunj</i>                                 | back of neck, nape (EH.62:4)                      |
| <i>waangkiri</i>                               | underarm hair                                     |
| <i>yuranj</i>                                  | human skin (EH)                                   |

### 9.2.1.3 THE BODY – INTERNAL PARTS

|                                               |                                                  |
|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kapunj-kapunj</i>                          | brains                                           |
| <i>karlu</i>                                  | testicles                                        |
| <i>karna</i>                                  | liver                                            |
| <i>kita-kita; kira-kira</i>                   | tripe; intestines                                |
| <i>kiwa</i> (RHM: <i>kiwa</i> )               | urine                                            |
| <i>kurlkuri</i>                               | muscles; strong                                  |
| <i>wala kurlkuriyita</i>                      | '(He's) weak.' (lit. has no muscles)             |
| <i>kuwanj</i> (RHN: <i>goanj</i> )            | blood                                            |
| <i>mangka</i> (RHM: <i>mungga</i> )           | bone; spine                                      |
| <i>muntarra</i>                               | placenta, afterbirth                             |
| <i>murrunjuna; murunjuna</i>                  | guts, inside of stomach                          |
| <i>murunjuna puultanja kulangu</i>            | 'I pulled the guts from the kangaroo.' (EH.49:3) |
| <i>paliputharran</i>                          | lungs                                            |
| <i>parninj</i> (RHM: <i>parnin</i> testicles) | scrotum (EH.47:4)                                |
| <i>parranj</i>                                | ribs, possibly rib cage                          |
| <i>piin; piirn</i>                            | sinew (JB.66B:1)                                 |

|                                                 |                                                 |
|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| <i>puthanj</i>                                  | heart                                           |
| <i>puyu</i>                                     | bone marrow                                     |
| <i>thiparr; tiilpart</i>                        | kidney (EH.7C:1)                                |
| <i>tuku</i>                                     | stomach, belly; pouch                           |
| <i>tuku thina</i>                               | sole of the foot                                |
| <i>tuku miil</i>                                | centre of the eye                               |
| <i>tuliti</i>                                   | vein                                            |
| <i>turlun</i>                                   | pulse                                           |
| <i>turlun purrpiyu</i>                          | 'The pulse is beating.' (lit. jumping)          |
| <i>warranj</i>                                  | womb (EH.10:6), from <i>warra-</i> 'to fall'    |
| <br>                                            |                                                 |
| 9.2.1.4 BODILY PRODUCTS AND FUNCTIONS           |                                                 |
| <i>kangkul; kangkurr</i> (RHM: <i>kanggul</i> ) | phlegm; saliva, spittle                         |
| <i>kangkul karrawita punha</i>                  | 'Spit it out!' (lit. throw the spit away)       |
| <i>kankurriyipu nguwita mayinj</i>              | 'That man is spitting.' (RC.9:4)                |
| <i>kawayira</i> (RHM: <i>kauaira</i> )          | venereal disease                                |
| <i>kawili</i>                                   | body warmth                                     |
| <i>yuurintja kawili ngathu yintayu</i>          | 'Last night I was warm all night.'              |
| <i>kiingkuru; kingkuru</i>                      | sneeze                                          |
| <i>kiingkuru palkayu</i>                        | 'I sneezed.'                                    |
| <i>kuna</i> (RHM: <i>guna</i> )                 | excrement                                       |
| <i>kuwarringura</i>                             | menstruation (lit. far camp)                    |
| <i>maapu</i>                                    | mole (Eng.)                                     |
| <i>mapurr</i>                                   | perspiration (EH)                               |
| <i>mapurr palkayi parri-parriyu</i>             | 'I'm hot and sweating.' (EH.59:5)               |
| <i>marapatarri</i>                              | masturbation (JB)                               |
| (RHM: <i>guddhu-guddhumbadhurri</i> )           |                                                 |
| <i>marri</i>                                    | sickness                                        |
| <i>marrinjpu niyaani Shillin hospitala</i>      | 'Shillin is (sick) in hospital.'                |
| <i>marrki-marrki marrinji miilki thaata</i>     | 'His eyes became (sick and big and ) red.'      |
| <i>milanj</i>                                   | sorrow                                          |
| <i>mirrinj</i>                                  | body sore; bite on skin or healed sore (EH.4:2) |
| <i>mirrinj ngara marangka</i>                   | a sore on the hand (JB.63B:8)                   |
| <i>mukanj</i>                                   | ear wax                                         |
| <i>murranj-murranj</i>                          | vomit                                           |
| <i>muthil; muthi-</i>                           | kiss                                            |
| <i>muthil palaku</i>                            | to kiss (JB)                                    |

|                                                        |                                                                                                          |
|--------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ngaayirn-ngaayirn</i>                               | emission of wind, fart; panting                                                                          |
| <i>ngaayirn-ngaayirn puurripu</i>                      | passing wind (EH.46:6)                                                                                   |
| <i>ngatangara</i>                                      | breath                                                                                                   |
| <i>ngintin</i>                                         | mucus (EH.49:3)                                                                                          |
| <i>nguwal; ngawarl</i> (RHM: <i>ngulgunj</i> )         | tears (EH.14:2)                                                                                          |
| <i>nhathanj</i> (RHM: <i>nuddhunj</i> )                | sexual desire                                                                                            |
| <i>nhathanj-nhathanj</i>                               | flirt, promiscuous woman                                                                                 |
| <i>nunta</i> (RHM: <i>nundur</i> )                     | perspiration (JB)                                                                                        |
| <i>punu</i>                                            | bruise                                                                                                   |
| <i>purraanh</i>                                        | ringworm (EH.44:4)                                                                                       |
| <i>putinj</i> (RHM: <i>burdinj</i> )                   | semen                                                                                                    |
| <br>                                                   |                                                                                                          |
| 9.2.2 THE NATURAL WORLD                                |                                                                                                          |
| 9.2.2.1 RELATING TO THE EARTH                          |                                                                                                          |
| <i>karuwi; karrawir</i> (RHM: <i>Kurrawir</i> )        | river sand                                                                                               |
| <i>kunmuru</i>                                         | ochre (S)                                                                                                |
| <i>kurrkurrama</i> (RHM: <i>gumbugun</i> 'small hill') | hill                                                                                                     |
| <i>ngariyaku yanmi kurrkurrama thirriya</i>            | 'I'm going there over that hill.' (EH.10:6)                                                              |
| <i>kurti</i>                                           | red earth (S)                                                                                            |
| <i>kuthi</i> (RHM: <i>gudhi</i> )                      | red ochre                                                                                                |
| <i>makuntharra</i> (RHM: <i>mugguundhurra</i> )        | pipe clay (kopi)                                                                                         |
| <i>mayi</i> (RHM: <i>mee</i> )                         | earth, ground, soil; the 'run' or territory of a horde which had descent in the male line (R-B.1923:433) |
| <br>                                                   |                                                                                                          |
| <i>milinj</i> (RHM: <i>millin</i> )                    | mud                                                                                                      |
| <i>thuu milinjpira ngapa ngathu wala thalkuyu</i>      | 'The water is muddy, I won't drink it.'                                                                  |
| <i>mingka</i>                                          | grave; tunnel; cave (JB)                                                                                 |
| <i>mutha</i>                                           | black ground or soil                                                                                     |
| <i>naypa puka payintinmaa ngariya</i>                  |                                                                                                          |
| <i>ngunaala muthangka</i>                              | 'He found his knife lying on the black ground.' (EH.207)                                                 |
| <br>                                                   |                                                                                                          |
| <i>pakul; pakurl</i> (RHM: <i>buggul</i> )             | any stony substance, stone, pebble, rock etc.; also used for 'money'                                     |
| <i>pakul mayi</i>                                      | stony country                                                                                            |
| <i>pakulpira mayi</i>                                  | stony country                                                                                            |
| <i>pakul-wii</i>                                       | opal (lit. fire-stone)                                                                                   |

|                                                               |                                                                    |
|---------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>palkiri</i>                                                | cracks in dried-up ground (EH.157M:9)                              |
| <i>parntin</i><br><i>parntinthulu kuthara yintiyita</i>       | dirt<br>'They are dirty children.'                                 |
| <i>parriikin</i>                                              | claypan (EH.206:4)                                                 |
| <i>parrin</i>                                                 | burnt, blackened soil (S)                                          |
| <i>pingkul-tiinj</i>                                          | burrow (lit. a pierced (dug out) hole)                             |
| <i>thirri</i> (RHM: <i>dhirri</i> 'sand')                     | river sand; sandy ground                                           |
| <i>thurltu</i><br><i>thurltumilayaa</i><br><i>thurltuyira</i> | dust<br>a dust storm (lit. when it is dusting) (JB.54B:6)<br>dusty |

## 9.2.2.2 RELATING TO FIRE

|                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kurnunj</i> (RHM: <i>gurnunj</i> )<br><i>puka kurnunj paliyaa</i><br><br><i>kurnuntja muthiray witji</i> | red hot coals (EH.10:3)<br>charcoal, dead coals (lit. hot coals have died, are decayed)<br>'The meat is being cooked on the coals.'<br>(EH.27:4) |
| <i>piya</i>                                                                                                 | flames, blaze of fire (poss. Eng.)                                                                                                               |
| <i>putha</i>                                                                                                | ashes                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>thaawii</i>                                                                                              | firestick (lit. mouth of fire) (JB;RC)                                                                                                           |
| <i>thinti</i>                                                                                               | spark                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>thununj</i>                                                                                              | smouldering fire                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>thurran</i> (RHM: <i>thuran</i> )                                                                        | smoke                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>tikinj</i><br><i>muurru tikintja</i>                                                                     | hot ashes<br>to cook in hot ashes (EH.12:9)                                                                                                      |
| <i>wii</i> (RHM: <i>wi</i> )<br><br><i>wiitja</i><br><i>wiitja kaangkuyu</i>                                | fire<br>firestick<br>'I will carry the firestick.' (RC.5:8)                                                                                      |

## 9.2.2.3 RELATING TO WATER AND RIVERS

|                                               |                                            |
|-----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| <i>kakuru</i><br><i>punkinj kakuru yintaa</i> | lagoon (EH.10:9b)<br>'The lagoon was dry.' |
| <i>karlinj</i>                                | a deep waterhole on Culgoa River           |
| <i>kawarin</i>                                | large swamp (EH.10:9b)                     |
| <i>kii-kii</i>                                | bubble of froth (S)                        |

|                                    |                                                                                                                               |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kiirn</i>                       | algae, a hair-like bright green substance found on rocks and snags in clear streams (JB.1B:6)                                 |
| <i>kitjupukuniwi</i>               | Culgoa River waterhole at Cartlands                                                                                           |
| <i>kurumin</i>                     | name of a big swamp                                                                                                           |
| <i>kuthinmathinj</i>               | last waterhole on the Culgoa 'the other side' from Weilmoringle                                                               |
| <i>kuwalwirla</i>                  | name of waterhole on Culgoa 'up Johnson's way'                                                                                |
| <i>kuwariinj</i>                   | name of 'the far away' swamp (EH.60:3)                                                                                        |
| <i>maaranj</i>                     | shallow water (EH.83:7)                                                                                                       |
| <i>milpiri</i>                     | Culgoa River waterhole two miles downstream from Mandawal Station                                                             |
| <i>mirri-mirri</i>                 | river bank                                                                                                                    |
| <i>mirri-mirringka</i>             | on the river bank (EH.44:1)                                                                                                   |
| <i>mirrintjina</i>                 | Culgoa River waterhole straight downstream from Dennowen                                                                      |
| <i>mirriwukula</i>                 | a waterhole on the Culgoa at Weilmoringle                                                                                     |
| <i>murru; muurru</i>               | Culgoa River waterhole at Mandawal Station or deep waterhole near Mundiwa                                                     |
| <i>murukulka</i>                   | Culgoa River waterhole with spring in it that never went dry                                                                  |
| <i>ngamaa-kirra</i>                | swamp name (lit. big breasts) (RC.112M)                                                                                       |
| <i>ngapa</i> (RHM: <i>ngubba</i> ) | water                                                                                                                         |
| <i>ngapa-wartu</i>                 | waterhole (EH)                                                                                                                |
| <i>ngarntu</i>                     | water-filled hollow; river; Culgoa River                                                                                      |
| <i>ngarntu-ngarntu</i>             | creek; small hollow                                                                                                           |
| <i>ngukilaa</i>                    | junction of Birrie and Bokhara rivers [Mogila Station (north of Goodooga on Queensland border) is an adaptation of this name] |
| <i>ngurruwarta</i>                 | flood                                                                                                                         |
| <i>nhamayi</i>                     | Namoi River                                                                                                                   |
| <i>nhamun</i>                      | waterhole at Dennowen                                                                                                         |
| <i>nhirrpurl; niilpurl</i>         | spring of water                                                                                                               |
| <i>paarntum</i>                    | Culgoa River waterhole near Bunida                                                                                            |
| <i>pakunj</i>                      | name of Culgoa waterhole at place where Mundiwa camp was                                                                      |
| <i>papama</i>                      | Culgoa River waterhole near Milroy bridge                                                                                     |

|                                                                              |                                                                     |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>parru</i>                                                                 | river, creek (borrowed from Guwamu) (RC.1:3)                        |
| <i>payawanj</i>                                                              | Culgoa waterhole up from Mundiwa                                    |
| <i>payira</i>                                                                | waterhole between Weilmoringle and Bark Creek junction              |
| <i>pilipampu</i>                                                             | Culgoa waterhole at old Baal's place                                |
| <i>pirinti; pirrinti</i>                                                     | anabranh of river (JB.66B:4); tributary; small creek                |
| <i>pultinuwina</i>                                                           | waterhole where Bark Creek joins the Culgoa                         |
| <i>puramaringkal</i>                                                         | Culgoa River waterhole known to RC                                  |
| <i>purringapa</i>                                                            | Culgoa River waterhole past Johnson's place                         |
| <i>purrungkalpita</i>                                                        | deep hole on the Culgoa near Weilmoringle                           |
| <i>puthin-puthi</i>                                                          | waterhole near Weilmoringle                                         |
| <i>puuthinawina</i>                                                          | Culgoa River waterhole between Cartlands and Yuri Point             |
| <i>talaari</i>                                                               | Culgoa River waterhole far down river                               |
| <i>tanpiyira</i> (RHM: <i>burdulngubba</i> 'still water'<br>lit. rain water) | still, motionless                                                   |
| <i>tanpiyira ngapa</i>                                                       | still water                                                         |
| <i>thangkipintj</i>                                                          | stagnant water                                                      |
| <i>tharinpira</i>                                                            | Culgoa River waterhole at Irving Grange                             |
| <i>thurnaamanj</i>                                                           | Culgoa River waterhole at Mike Johnson's place                      |
| <i>tiiliil</i>                                                               | water bubble                                                        |
| <i>wantinira ngapangka tiiliil ngara, look!</i>                              | '(There are) bubbles on the top of the water, look!' (EH.145)       |
| <i>tukumungurra</i>                                                          | waterhole on Culgoa at Yuri Point homestead                         |
| <i>tungulpita</i>                                                            | waterhole at Wilara (Matheral's place)                              |
| <i>walamu</i>                                                                | Wollan River                                                        |
| <i>wamparinj</i>                                                             | waterhole at Weilmoringle camp                                      |
| <i>warrampuurr</i>                                                           | waterhole where initiations took place (JB.59B:4)                   |
| <i>witji-puripayina</i>                                                      | Culgoa River waterhole at Karingle (lit. (kangaroo meat) jumped up) |
| <i>yaarri</i>                                                                | deep hole past Kaweel on Culgoa River                               |
| <i>yanpayilmaal</i>                                                          | place on the Culgoa where the legendary moon-man was resurrected    |
| <i>yiriyita</i>                                                              | Grogan's Hole waterhole on Culgoa River                             |

*yirrinj* (RHM: *nguruwurruru* 'running water') flowing water

#### 9.2.2.4 NATURAL OBJECTS

*kamangkarra* (RHM: *kummunggurra*  
'shadow of man')

person's shadow

*kampuka; kampukan* (RHM: *gumbugun*  
'small hill')

ridge; small hill

*kapunthi*

white ant mound; any lid or cap, particularly one that can be easily knocked off; the cap or lid on top of the pulp bark cocoon of the *pirrika* moth; the lid of a trap-door spider's nest; the cap on the top of berries and nuts (as on a gumnut); the top of a white ant mound; hat; a head covering made of skin or emu feathers stuck together with gum (JB.78B:5)

*karraa*

place where bees collect nectar

*kawinj; kawinj-kawinj*  
*yaw pitarra kawinj pitarra*  
*parna pitarra kawinj-kawinj*

smell, odour; taste  
'It is indeed sweet smelling.' (EH.29:6)  
'Goannas are good eating.'

*kayi* (RHM: *kai*)

pathway, footpath

*kilkay*

puddle (EH.10:12)

*kirnti*

claypan, whitish coloured (EH.12:4); hard, smooth, windswept area often in places of red soil (JB); open area, sparse of trees and herbage; hard cleared ground

*kukuma* (RHM: *guguma*)

fog, fog clouds

*kulayi*

*kulayingka kurraykuyu*  
*kulayi thirrakuyu nurraangu*

fallen log across river  
'I'm going across the river on this log.' (RC.8:5)  
'I'm putting a log across (so we can cross the river).' (RC.8:6)

*kuli-kuli*

rainstorm (JB; RC.8:6)

*kumpukun* (RHM: *gumbugun*)

small hill (RHM only)

*kuntja*

*kuntjanka puka*

stain  
'There's a stain on him.' (EH.20:4)

*kuntjuu*

scrub country (S)

*kurl-kurl*

bank which crabs dig in (EH.206:5)

*kurli-kurli* (RHM: *kuliguli*)

shadow of a tree

*kurlkay*

pus (EH.206:3)

|                                                                  |                                                                                                                         |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>maal</i>                                                      | place, spot; natural feature (JB.89B:5)                                                                                 |
| <i>mirti</i> (RHM: <i>mirdi</i> 'scrubby place')                 | bush country, scrub                                                                                                     |
| <i>muka</i>                                                      | corner (JB)                                                                                                             |
| <i>ngawurl; ngawurlu</i><br><i>ngawurlu yanmipu</i>              | echo<br>'The echo is coming back.' (lit. walking) (EH.9:6)                                                              |
| <i>ngurra</i> (RHM: <i>Ngura</i> )                               | camp                                                                                                                    |
| <i>ngurumpita; malampiri; malampiri</i>                          | spider's web, gossamer (JB)                                                                                             |
| <i>nhuruunguway</i>                                              | ground white with hail                                                                                                  |
| <i>paa-paa</i><br><i>wayil paa-paanji tuwipu</i>                 | bend in river<br>'He's looking round a bend in the river.'<br>(RC.43:1)                                                 |
| <i>paayil; paayar</i>                                            | putty made from native beeswax used to block up<br>holes in tins, billy cans etc. [it sets hard like tar]<br>(EH.15:10) |
| <i>palaa</i> (RHM: <i>bullaa</i> 'open plain')                   | any open, bare or cleared place                                                                                         |
| <i>kuwarri yanmipu palaangak</i>                                 | (1) unforested, grass-covered plain<br>'He's going a long way on the plains.' (RC.1:4)                                  |
| <i>palaa wantinaa mathanta kurlpu</i>                            | (2) outside<br>'The butcherbird lived on the tree outside.'<br>(EH.29:5)                                                |
| <i>palaangka</i>                                                 | outside, open or clear sky                                                                                              |
| <i>palaa pampu</i>                                               | (3) bare; bald<br>bald (lit. bare head)                                                                                 |
| <i>pantanj; parntanj</i>                                         | hole; opening (as through the trees), in or through<br>a substance                                                      |
| <i>parti</i><br><i>partiyita</i><br><i>mathan thuu partiyita</i> | knot<br>knotty<br>'The limb has many knots in it.'                                                                      |
| <i>paru-wartu</i>                                                | cliff (lit. deep hollow) (EH.206:4)                                                                                     |
| <i>pathinh</i>                                                   | scent, smell                                                                                                            |
| <i>pirrkil</i>                                                   | small piece of some substance as a chip of wood,<br>piece of bread                                                      |
| <i>pithal</i>                                                    | any outer covering, as shell of an egg or mussel,<br>bark                                                               |
| <i>pulkurru</i> (RHM: <i>bulguru</i> )                           | highest point in the surrounding land as hill,<br>mountain, island, mound, river bank (EH.157M:4)                       |
| <i>taa</i>                                                       | entrance to a hive, nest, house (does not appear to<br>be a transliteration of Eng. 'door')                             |
| <i>tali</i>                                                      | yoke of egg                                                                                                             |



|                                                |                                                                                                                                     |
|------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>talingka</i>                                | sleeping, in hibernation                                                                                                            |
| <i>parna talingka ngunira</i>                  | 'The goanna is asleep (hibernating).'                                                                                               |
| <i>thalu</i>                                   | day                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>thalungka</i>                               | today                                                                                                                               |
| <i>tiin; tiinj</i>                             | cave, hole, any cavity (usually in ground)                                                                                          |
| <i>tiintja kayintjira kaan</i>                 | 'The snake went into the hole.' (EH.12:10)                                                                                          |
| <i>tiin pina</i>                               | inside ear                                                                                                                          |
| <i>titji</i>                                   | young of species                                                                                                                    |
| <i>titjiyira</i>                               | the young ones                                                                                                                      |
| <i>wapu</i>                                    | bend in the river (EH.157M:6)                                                                                                       |
| <i>wapungka</i>                                | in a bend in the river (EH.83:7)                                                                                                    |
| <i>wartu</i>                                   | any sort of depression or hollowed out space                                                                                        |
|                                                | (1) waterhole; river; hollow                                                                                                        |
| <i>wakamara piyan wartungka</i>                | 'We'll wash clothes in the river.' (EH.13:11)                                                                                       |
|                                                | (2) hollowed out cooking hole made round the fire, in which to cook a large animal such as emu, kangaroo, porcupine (EH.12:2, 66:3) |
| <i>wirrunj</i>                                 | circle (JB)                                                                                                                         |
| <i>wuntunj; wuntuwunj</i>                      | ridge stones (pl) (EH.13:11)                                                                                                        |
| <i>yaarra</i>                                  | tree covered plain (EH.148M:19, 84:2)                                                                                               |
| <i>yarrka</i>                                  | wind                                                                                                                                |
| <i>yarrkayita</i>                              | a dust storm (RC.2:7)                                                                                                               |
| <i>yurrinj</i> (RHM: <i>yurinj</i> 'darkness') | night, darkness, a dark moonless night                                                                                              |
| <i>yurrinja</i>                                | last night                                                                                                                          |
| <i>yuuwurrinj</i>                              | dark night                                                                                                                          |
| <i>yurun; yuruun</i>                           | pathway; road                                                                                                                       |
| <i>thultuyita yurun</i>                        | a dusty pad (EH.26:19)                                                                                                              |
| <i>yuul; yuu</i>                               | large sandhill (BC; JB.65B:2)                                                                                                       |

#### 9.2.2.5 GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES AND PLACE NAMES

|                                          |                                                      |
|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kalpin</i>                            | place name for part of Culgoa River                  |
| <i>kampuka</i>                           | ?ridge                                               |
| <i>wanginj-kampuka</i>                   | JB's name for Lightning Ridge                        |
| <i>kanka; kangka</i>                     | the 'outback'                                        |
| <i>thuu niyiyira kanka</i>               | 'Many live in the outback.'                          |
| <i>kawarringu yantapula kangkangu</i>    | 'Two came from afar in the outback.' (EH.274)        |
| <i>karanj</i>                            | this side of the river                               |
| <i>nhuu karanj ngathu yintu karranta</i> | 'I'm this side, you are across the river.' (EH.13:5) |

|                                                        |                                                                                                                                                            |
|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>karral</i>                                          | upstream; north (EH.12:13)                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>karranta</i><br><i>purami karranta kunpartangka</i> | across the river; the other side<br>'I'm going across the river on a log.'                                                                                 |
| <i>kuri</i><br><i>ngintu ngara kurigu yana</i>         | place<br>'You go to your place.' (JB.1)                                                                                                                    |
| <i>kurrungka</i>                                       | Kurrunga Peak, a place not far from Baruk where Ngiyambaa initiations were carried out (JB.59B:5)                                                          |
| <i>miiyaay</i>                                         | name of a narrow, deep creek carrying much water, situated between Angeldool and Hebel – an area where once 'people knew every inch of the land' (EH.47:1) |
| <i>ngurrampa</i><br><i>nganti ngurrampa</i>            | birth place<br>'That's my birth place.'                                                                                                                    |
| <i>paankirr</i>                                        | Bangate Station                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>palkanthinipu</i>                                   | place on Culgoa River where the <i>palkan</i> trees are                                                                                                    |
| <i>pama</i>                                            | Barwon River (RC; JB.65B:2)                                                                                                                                |
| <i>paniyita</i>                                        | place name                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>para</i><br><i>paraku ngathu partala yankuwi</i>    | name for Dennowen<br>'I'm going to Dennowen tomorrow.'                                                                                                     |
| <i>paray; parrari</i>                                  | east                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>parranj</i><br><i>ngariya parranj</i>               | side of river<br>that other side (EH.42:5)                                                                                                                 |
| <i>pintinj</i><br><i>ngara pintintja ngapangka</i>     | middle of<br>in the middle of the river (water) (EH.22:1)                                                                                                  |
| <i>thiralutha</i>                                      | name for Mundiwa (JB)                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>warti</i>                                           | outback, out in the bush (EH.81:1)                                                                                                                         |
| <i>wayilmarrangkal</i>                                 | Weilmoringle Station; name of waterhole there                                                                                                              |
| <i>wirurru</i>                                         | name for Enngonia                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>withu-marti</i>                                     | place name of a camp where North Bourke now is (JB.2B:2)                                                                                                   |
| <i>yanta-yanta</i>                                     | place name where corroboree performed (JB.59B:5)                                                                                                           |

#### 9.2.2.6 CELESTIAL FEATURES

*kamparl-kamparl* (RHM: *kumbul-kumbul*  
'Pleiades')

Pleiades; young girls (associated with the legend of the Seven Sisters)

|                                                       |                                                                                                                                                |
|-------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kiyan; kiyam</i> (RHM: <i>gian</i> )               | moon                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>kunhan-kunhan</i>                                  | young boys; stars in the Milky Way (EH.53:4)                                                                                                   |
| <i>kurrinpita</i>                                     | rolls of thunder (EH.12:2)                                                                                                                     |
| <i>mirrinj</i> (RHM: <i>mirrinj</i> )                 | star                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>ngangkurrkinj; ngangkurlkiin</i>                   | dawn light; morning light before sunrise (EH.60:3)<br>Southern Aurora (JB.66:10)                                                               |
| <i>ngiitji-kintawa</i>                                | Morning Star (lit. laughing at her buttocks)<br>from a legend which tells of an old woman being<br>laughed at for her bare buttocks (EH.26:14) |
| <i>ngulu-ngulu</i>                                    | thunder (S)                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>nuriyan</i>                                        | name of a particular star (JB.52B:1)                                                                                                           |
| <i>panta</i>                                          | sky; horizon                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>pantangka-wii</i>                                  | lightning (lit. fire in the sky) [a rarely used term]<br>(JB.1B:3)                                                                             |
| <i>parriyal</i> (RHM: <i>gurierrina</i> )             | rainbow                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>paruwartu</i>                                      | the Milky Way, the galaxy (JB.52:1)                                                                                                            |
| <i>mirrinj ngara paruwartungka</i>                    | stars in the Milky Way (JB.52B:1)                                                                                                              |
| <i>paruwartu-nuumpa</i>                               | the Southern Cross                                                                                                                             |
| <i>paruwartu-nuumpa kantangka</i>                     | 'The Southern Cross is at its highest point.'<br>(JB.52B:1)                                                                                    |
| <i>piyampir</i>                                       | name of a star (JB)                                                                                                                            |
| <i>tawayarru-tungkun</i>                              | cumulus clouds [called 'swifts' boats' since swifts<br>are known as rain makers] (EH.14:14d)                                                   |
| <i>thaamarrinmipu</i>                                 | half moon [the elided form of <i>thaata ngari</i><br><i>yinmipu</i> 'It is becoming bigger.'] (RC.5:7)                                         |
| <i>thurlinjpira</i>                                   | thunder                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>kulamipu thurlinjpira</i>                          | 'A thunderstorm is coming.' (RC.8:3)                                                                                                           |
| <i>thurri; thuri</i> (RHM: <i>dhuri</i> )             | sun; day                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>kapu thurri</i>                                    | two days                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>thurringka</i>                                     | midday, at the sun's peak                                                                                                                      |
| <i>thurri kulayipu</i>                                | sunrise (the sun is climbing)                                                                                                                  |
| <i>thurri warrayipu</i>                               | sunset (the sun is falling)                                                                                                                    |
| <i>wanginj</i> (RHM: <i>wung-inj</i> )                | lightning                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>wangintju pantipu</i>                              | lightning strikes (RC)                                                                                                                         |
| <i>wilanh</i>                                         | stratus clouds (EH.14:14)                                                                                                                      |
| <i>yantipu</i> (RHM: <i>yandibu</i> lit. 'he speaks') | thunder                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>yukanh</i>                                         | clouds (gen.) (EH.14:14)                                                                                                                       |
| <i>yukanhpira</i>                                     | cloudy day                                                                                                                                     |

## 9.2.2.7 WEATHER

|                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                          |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kiwanj</i>                                                                                                                               | dew [associated with the star legend of the Seven Sisters – part of the Milky Way – urinating on the earth, it falling as dew] (EH.27:8) |
| <i>marnta</i> (RHM: <i>murndamiu</i> ‘cold’; <i>murnda</i> ‘frost’)                                                                         | cold; cold weather; frost; wintertime                                                                                                    |
| <i>mukari</i> (RHM: <i>mugari</i> )<br><i>mukuriyita</i>                                                                                    | hail<br>hail clouds                                                                                                                      |
| <i>palpanj</i>                                                                                                                              | hailstone (S)                                                                                                                            |
| <i>pulpuranj</i>                                                                                                                            | whirlwind (EH.7:2; JB.26B:3; S)                                                                                                          |
| <i>purruwura</i> ; <i>pururuwa</i> (RHM: <i>burriu</i> ‘heat’)<br><i>pururuwangka</i><br>[ <i>purruwa</i> and <i>puttura</i> also recorded] | heat; summer; hot day<br>in the heat                                                                                                     |
| <i>puttu</i> (RHM: <i>burdu</i> )<br><i>puttu-ngapa</i>                                                                                     | rain<br>rainwater                                                                                                                        |
| <i>talay</i>                                                                                                                                | wintertime; the dormant season                                                                                                           |
| <i>taringara</i> ; <i>tawingira</i><br><i>yukanh nhaaka ngariya taringara</i>                                                               | storm; ‘woolpack’ clouds<br>‘See the storm clouds.’ (EH.7:8)                                                                             |
| <i>thalay</i>                                                                                                                               | dew; frost; cold weather                                                                                                                 |
| <i>thali</i> (RHM: <i>dhulle</i> )                                                                                                          | dew                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>thalingapa</i>                                                                                                                           | shower of rain (RC)                                                                                                                      |
| <i>tharra</i>                                                                                                                               | rain shower [refers to a local shower, or to ‘an arm of clouds’] (JB.59B:1)                                                              |
| <i>tharringara</i>                                                                                                                          | storm clouds (probably from <i>tharri-</i> ‘to fly’)                                                                                     |
| <i>thurpunj</i>                                                                                                                             | light, soft rain (SJ)                                                                                                                    |
| <i>tiipuru</i>                                                                                                                              | sunshower (EH)                                                                                                                           |
| <i>tirrkay</i>                                                                                                                              | dust storm (RC.2:7)                                                                                                                      |
| <i>yarti-yarti</i>                                                                                                                          | (1) cyclone (EH.7:8), violent storm (esp. a wind storm)<br>‘There’s a bad storm coming.’<br>a bad dust storm<br>a violent hailstorm      |
| <i>yarti-yarti yarrka palkanthipu</i><br><i>thultu yarti-yarti</i><br><i>mukari yarti-yarti</i>                                             | (2) celestial being with cyclonic powers                                                                                                 |

## 9.2.2.8 TIMES AND SEASONS

|                                               |           |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------|
| <i>kurnta</i> (RHM: <i>gunda-gunda</i> ‘day’) | yesterday |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------|

|                                               |                                                         |
|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>nankurtanj</i>                             | bright moonlit night (EH.10C)                           |
| <i>pakin</i>                                  | twilight                                                |
| <i>parta; partala</i> (RHM: <i>Burrulla</i> ) | morning; next day; tomorrow                             |
| <i>partalangka</i>                            | in the morning, tomorrow                                |
| <i>pimayi</i>                                 | evening                                                 |
| <i>pimayingka</i>                             | in the evening (JB.69B:4)                               |
| <i>wiyingkal</i>                              | daytime (BC)                                            |
| <i>yapinj; yapinj-yapinj</i>                  | springtime; warmth; coming out of hibernation (EH.13:3) |

### 9.2.3 ANIMALS – MAMMALS

#### 9.2.3.1 GENERAL TERMS RELATING TO ANIMALS

|                            |                                   |
|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>mayinjka</i>            | male of species                   |
| <i>thiyil; thiyirl</i>     | tail                              |
| <i>thiyirlpiri mirrinj</i> | comet (star having a tail)        |
| <i>turrunj; turunh</i>     | young of species, as young goanna |

#### 9.2.3.2 NATIVE ANIMALS

|                                      |                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kakara</i> (RHM: <i>kuggara</i> ) | echidna                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>kiiwii</i>                        | native cat [probably mythological, since EH comments: 'never seen, only heard about'; is the main character in the 'Bat and Native Cat' legend recorded in English by Radcliffe-Brown] |
| <i>kirala</i> (RHM: <i>Geala</i> )   | sp. of bandicoot (JB)                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>kukay</i> (RHM: <i>kugai</i> )    | possum                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>kula</i> (RHM: <i>gula</i> )      | kangaroo (gen.)                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>kumparr</i>                       | doe of red kangaroo                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>kuntarl</i> (RHM: <i>gundul</i> ) | tame dog                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>mirriwulu</i>                     | dingo (JB)                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>ngartku</i>                       | grey scrubber kangaroo; wallaroo                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>nimpi-nimpi; nhimpi-nhimpi</i>    | marsupial mouse                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>pawarra</i>                       | male red kangaroo                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>pikipila</i>                      | echidna                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>pilpa</i> (RHM: <i>bilba</i> )    | kangaroo rat                                                                                                                                                                           |

|                                                                 |                                                                                                                           |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>pingku</i>                                                   | sp. of bandicoot with bluish coat; anything of bluish hue                                                                 |
| <i>pulku</i>                                                    | sp. of mouse                                                                                                              |
| <i>purkiyan</i> (RHM: <i>burbur</i> )                           | native cat                                                                                                                |
| <i>puuyi</i> (RHM: <i>booi</i> )                                | kangaroo rat                                                                                                              |
| <i>thanguku</i>                                                 | bilby (sp. of rabbit-eared bandicoot)                                                                                     |
| <i>thirtanj</i>                                                 | koala (S)                                                                                                                 |
| <i>thukan</i>                                                   | pademelon                                                                                                                 |
| <i>tjiila</i> (RHM: <i>geeala</i> )                             | bandicoot (JB)                                                                                                            |
| <i>tukunj</i> (RHM: <i>duggunj</i> )                            | pademelon (small marsupial animal) (EH)                                                                                   |
| <i>wampay</i>                                                   | black kangaroo                                                                                                            |
| <i>wararuu</i>                                                  | scrubber kangaroo (EH.13:14)                                                                                              |
| <i>waya</i>                                                     | small animal like a pademelon [EH recognised the tracks of one, but had never caught one; now probably extinct] (EH.18:5) |
| <i>wirti</i>                                                    | bandicoot; totem of kapi subsection                                                                                       |
| <i>witji-ngapa</i> (RHM: <i>widdyi-ngubba</i> )                 | water-rat                                                                                                                 |
| <i>wukan</i>                                                    | joey, young kangaroo                                                                                                      |
| <i>yagun</i> (RHM: <i>Boi</i> , or <i>bilba</i> 'kangaroo rat') | kangaroo rat (S)                                                                                                          |
| <i>yuki</i> (RHM: <i>yugi</i> 'wild dog')                       | dingo; wild dog                                                                                                           |

### 9.2.3.3 INTRODUCED ANIMALS

|                                                        |                                                                  |
|--------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kital; kiyatal</i>                                  | cattle (Eng.)                                                    |
| <i>kital tharriyaa milintju</i>                        | 'The cattle muddied the waterhole (made the mud fly).' (EH.42:4) |
| <i>thaata ngurruwarta tharrana paangkiyira kiyatal</i> | 'The cattle swam across the big flood.' (EH.10:1)                |
| <i>milimpuray</i>                                      | cow (lit. milk having) (Eng.)                                    |
| <i>nanikurr</i>                                        | goat (Eng.)                                                      |
| <i>piki-piki</i>                                       | pig (Eng.)                                                       |
| <i>pitjikat</i>                                        | pussy cat (Eng.)                                                 |
| <i>pumpay</i>                                          | puppy (Eng.)                                                     |
| <i>thumpa</i>                                          | sheep (from Eng. 'jumbuck'; <i>thimpa</i> in other languages)    |
| <i>thunku</i>                                          | bull, bullock                                                    |

|                                              |                                                              |
|----------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>yaraaman; yarraman; yarraaman</i>         | horse                                                        |
| <i>yaraamu; yalaamu</i>                      | lamb (Eng.)                                                  |
| <i>yarrapirr</i>                             | rabbit (Eng.)                                                |
| 9.2.4 ANIMALS – FISH SPECIES                 |                                                              |
| <i>kawira; kawiita</i> (RHM: <i>kawira</i> ) | yellow-belly or golden perch                                 |
| <i>pantarayu kuya kawira</i>                 | 'I caught a yellow-belly fish.' (EH.1:6)                     |
| <i>kirranji</i>                              | fully grown Murray cod (EH.78:1)                             |
| <i>kurnturn</i>                              | sp. of shrimp (EH)                                           |
| <i>kurpa</i>                                 | bobbies (very small fish)                                    |
| <i>kutu</i> (RHM: <i>gudu</i> )              | Murray cod; half grown Murray cod (RC)                       |
| <i>kutumpa</i>                               | Murray cod (gen.) (RC.38:2)                                  |
| <i>kuya; kwiya</i>                           | fish (gen.)                                                  |
| <i>maamura</i> (RHM: <i>mamura</i> )         | crayfish                                                     |
| <i>marnta</i>                                | sp. of large crayfish (JB)                                   |
| <i>murruku</i>                               | rainbow cod (JB)                                             |
| <i>muurla</i>                                | fish scales                                                  |
| <i>palakula</i>                              | sp. of fish (RC)                                             |
| <i>panngala</i> (RHM: <i>bunngulla</i> )     | black bream, totem of <i>kampu</i> subsection                |
| <i>papuuray</i> (RHM: <i>thunggur</i> )      | catfish (S)                                                  |
| <i>purkinj</i>                               | sp. of crab (EH.24:10)                                       |
| <i>tangkarl</i>                              | large river mussels (EH.13:8)                                |
| <i>thangkarna</i> (RHM: <i>thungunna</i> )   | mussels (gen.) [mostly referring to small mussels] (EH.13:8) |
| <i>thangkuru</i> (RHM: <i>thunggur</i> )     | catfish [see also <i>papuuray</i> ]                          |
| <i>thirkanj</i> (RHM: <i>pirngi</i> )        | bony bream                                                   |
| <i>thuunpara</i>                             | leech (EH.24:9)                                              |
| <i>yiikaa</i>                                | shrimp used for catching fish (EH.3:7)                       |
| <i>yiliy</i>                                 | fish gills                                                   |

## 9.2.5 ANIMALS – REPTILES

## 9.2.5.1 SNAKES

|                                                                  |                                                                                                                 |
|------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kaan; kaarn</i> (RHM: <i>kaan</i> 'brown snake')              | snake (gen.)                                                                                                    |
| <i>mathankala nhaariyira kaarn nguniyila</i>                     | 'Snakes look like a stick when lying down.'<br>(EH.10:4)                                                        |
| <i>kamul</i> (RHM: <i>kummul</i> )                               | carpet snake [ <i>Morellia spilotes variegata</i> ]<br>[totem of the <i>mariy</i> subsection and SJ's totem]    |
| <i>kantikay</i> (RHM: <i>kundage</i> )                           | death adder [ <i>Acanthophis antarcticus</i> ] (EH.5:1)                                                         |
| <i>kapulu-kaan</i>                                               | rainbow serpent                                                                                                 |
| <i>kurl-kurl</i>                                                 | death adder                                                                                                     |
| <i>kurliti; kurlirti</i>                                         | tiger snake (EH)                                                                                                |
| <i>kurlpi</i>                                                    | yellow and white ring snake (EH.58:1)                                                                           |
| <i>kurpi</i>                                                     | diamond snake (S)                                                                                               |
| <i>pamparra</i> (RHM: <i>bumburra</i> )                          | red-bellied black snake                                                                                         |
| <i>paruru</i>                                                    | brown or grey snake [EH's totem]                                                                                |
| <i>payarra; payirra; payira; payara</i><br>(RHM: <i>baiara</i> ) | whip snake, probably common tree snake<br>[ <i>Dendrelaphis punctulatus</i> ] or common black snake             |
| <i>pumpara</i>                                                   | common black snake [ <i>Pseudechis porphyraecus</i> ]                                                           |
| <i>purutu; paruru</i>                                            | brown snake [ <i>Pseudonaja textilis</i> ] (S)                                                                  |
| 9.2.5.2 LIZARDS, GOANNAS ETC.                                    |                                                                                                                 |
| <i>kaani</i>                                                     | lizard (gen.), jew lizard (JB.35M)                                                                              |
| <i>kalki</i>                                                     | sp. of small black tree goanna (JB.1B:5)                                                                        |
| <i>kalumpa; kaluumpaa</i>                                        | sp. of small water lizard that lives under dry logs,<br>roots and holes along most of the inland rivers<br>(JB) |
| <i>karay</i>                                                     | long-necked turtle                                                                                              |
| <i>karranti</i>                                                  | gecko; river lizard which EH found very good<br>eating                                                          |
| <i>kukar; kukart</i>                                             | large tree goanna [ <i>Varanus giganteus</i> ]                                                                  |
| <i>kurlampakin</i>                                               | sp. of lizard                                                                                                   |
| <i>kuwinj</i>                                                    | frill-necked lizard (EH.4:2)                                                                                    |
| <i>maparanj</i>                                                  | sp. of small jew lizard (S)                                                                                     |



|                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
|--------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ngaparr; ngapart</i>                          | sp. of large frog (EH)                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>ngaparr milintja niyapu</i>                   | 'The big frog lives in the mud.' (RC.8:4)                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>palkurru</i>                                  | sp. of small lizard (EH.77:1)                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>panta-panta</i>                               | house lizard                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>papanj</i>                                    | jew lizard (S)                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>parna</i> (RHM: <i>burna</i> 'ground iguana') | sand goanna [ <i>Varanus gouldii</i> ]                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>parriyita</i>                                 | pineapple lizard                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>pirriira</i> (RHM: <i>birrira</i> )           | shingleback (stump-tailed skink)                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>pulkuru</i>                                   | sp. of small lizard                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>pumpanj</i>                                   | sp. of small frog (size of twenty cent piece)<br>[called 'Southern Cross' because of a cross on<br>their backs; they live in the dirt and emerge after<br>rain when they are slimy to touch] (EH.29:9) |
| <i>taraangu</i>                                  | tiger snake                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>thakarla</i>                                  | edible grey frog, now rare (EH.27:9)                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>thalkiri</i>                                  | sp. of very small frill-necked lizard                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>thantay</i>                                   | frog (RC.2:5; EH.29:9)                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>thumanj</i>                                   | blue-tongue lizard (EH.1:11)                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>tirin</i>                                     | sand lizard                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>turnnanj</i>                                  | sp. of black-tongued lizard (EH.207:10)                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>warlumpakin</i>                               | grey tree lizard (S)                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>warruy</i> (RHM: <i>wurru</i> )               | piebald tree goanna [ <i>Varanus Odatria timorensis similis</i> ]                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>wayampa</i> (RHM: <i>waiamba</i> 'turtle')    | short-necked turtle                                                                                                                                                                                    |

#### 9.2.6 ANIMALS – INVERTEBRATES

|                                          |                                            |
|------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------|
| <i>kaawa</i>                             | insects; worms; maggots; caterpillars (JB) |
| <i>kaawa-tiin</i>                        | cemetery, burial ground (JB)               |
| <i>kampi; kampi-kampi</i>                | spider (gen.)                              |
| <i>kapul; kapuul</i> (RHM: <i>muni</i> ) | head lice on humans                        |
| <i>kaartanj</i>                          | sp. of ant (S; EH.22:1)                    |
| <i>kiitjaa</i>                           | shrimp (JB.1B:3)                           |
| <i>kuna</i> (RHM: <i>guna</i> )          | scorpion                                   |
| <i>kurlakuwa</i>                         | hornet                                     |
| <i>kurri-kurri</i>                       | sandfly (EH.10:10)                         |
| <i>kurriya</i>                           | queen of native bee (EH.15:10)             |

|                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|-----------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kuurni</i>                                 | head lice; lice found in human hair, kangaroo fur, emu feathers etc.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>kuwa</i>                                   | insect (gen.) (RC.2:5)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>malampiri; malampiri</i>                   | spider's web (EH.26:16)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>marringali</i>                             | white ant (S)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>matharanj</i>                              | bogan flea (RC.72:2)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>matjam</i>                                 | bat                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>milkiri</i>                                | ant (gen.) (EH); small black ant (RC.5:7);<br>corroboree dance of the ant (the legs were bowed, the knees bent, arms akimbo, and legs trembling at a rapid rate; a boomerang was held in the right hand, and a shield in the left) (JB.59B:5)                                                                    |
| <i>mukunj</i>                                 | housefly (RC.1:1)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>murranj-murranj</i>                        | termites                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>mutun</i>                                  | green-headed ant (S)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>muukinj</i>                                | scorpion (JB)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>muunturr</i>                               | large bull ant                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>ngaari; ngari</i>                          | red meat ant (EH.22:1)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>panta-panta</i> (RHM: <i>bunda-bunda</i> ) | grasshopper                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>pantirr</i>                                | spitfire bug which appears in droves (EH.22:2)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>parra</i> (RHM: <i>burra</i> )             | common ant                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>parrangka</i> (RHM: <i>burrungga</i> )     | bulldog ant                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>pilkaa</i>                                 | edible grub (EH.56:2)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>pinam-pinam</i>                            | butterfly (see also <i>piyimpir</i> )                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>pintjalanj</i>                             | bat [one of the characters in the legend of the bat and the native cat recorded by R-B]                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>pirika; pirrika</i>                        | edible grub (JB); large ground-boring moth                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>pirrii-pirrii</i>                          | sandflies (EH.59:1)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>piyimpir</i>                               | butterfly                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>puntarranj</i>                             | bull ant (EH.12:1)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>puntha-puntha</i>                          | sp. of hairy caterpillar [lives in a large silky bag (also called <i>puntha-puntha</i> ) that hangs from the branches of a tree. These bags are kept full of the caterpillars' excreta in which they burrow during the day. They come out at night to feed on the leaves. Witchdoctors made a potent poison from |

|                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|---------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>puntu</i>                                            | dried crushed caterpillars, certain herbs and plants, and pulpy balls containing the young of other insects. The powder was subtly dropped in honey or the drink of the victim and caused violent death within hours. The secret of the poison (also called <i>puntha-puntha</i> ) was revealed to certain chief elders only at a bora ceremony] (JB.1B:3, 43B) |
| <i>puran; purarn</i> (RHM; <i>born</i> )                | louse                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>puran yuralmara</i>                                  | mosquito (EH.54:1)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>purarntu yitaa nganha</i>                            | ‘The mosquitoes are very bad.’                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>purlili; purlirli</i> (RHM: <i>mugunj</i> )          | ‘A mosquito bit me.’ (EH.4:2)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>purliliyita</i>                                      | blowfly (RC.5:9), maggot                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>purliyi</i>                                          | maggoty                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>purppi-purppi</i> (RHM: <i>burbi-burbi</i> )         | lice on animals                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>puwanj</i>                                           | jumper ant                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>thinil</i> (RHM: <i>thinnil</i> )                    | sugar ant (EH.22:2)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>thinti</i>                                           | nit of louse                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>thiriti</i>                                          | native bee                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>thiritiku ngamankala</i>                             | insect (JB.53), baby bees                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|                                                         | ‘The baby bees are milky white (like breast milk).’ (EH.15:10)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>thirriminmin; tirriminmin</i>                        | locust; cicada (JB.24B:2)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>thunul</i> (RHM: <i>thunul</i> )                     | shrimp                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>thurlili</i> (RHM: <i>dhuliri</i> ); <i>thurliti</i> | centipede; grub                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>tipintjin; tipintjiri</i>                            | snail                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>yukaakiri</i>                                        | chrysalis (EH.47:5)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>yuumpaa</i>                                          | wax carried on the feet of native bees and left near the hole in the bark of a tree behind which the honey is stored [its presence is a clue to finding the stored honey] (EH.15:10)                                                                                                                                                                            |

## 9.2.7 BIRDS

### 9.2.7.1 GENERAL TERMS RELATING TO BIRDS

|                                    |                  |
|------------------------------------|------------------|
| <i>kapunj</i> (RHM: <i>kubon</i> ) | egg              |
| <i>kawiy-kawiy</i>                 | cockatoo feather |
| <i>mawal</i>                       | wing feathers    |

|                       |                              |
|-----------------------|------------------------------|
| <i>purra</i>          | emu feather                  |
| <i>puyil</i>          | breast feathers (gen.)       |
| <i>tapun puyil</i>    | soft feather                 |
| <i>wangka</i>         | nest                         |
| <i>yama</i>           | webbed foot                  |
| <i>yamayita thina</i> | having webbed feet (EH.66:2) |

## 9.2.7.2 BIRD SPECIES

|                                                                            |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kakalaranj</i>                                                          | cockalarina (pink cockatoo)                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>kamiita</i>                                                             | bird, grey in colour [known as the 'death' bird because the Muruwari believed its presence indicated someone's death]                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>kankarta</i>                                                            | three birds' names have been recorded, probably because the same word names different birds in different dialects: blue martin [ <i>Artamus personatus</i> ]; starling [ <i>Sturnus vulgaris</i> ] (EH); kite hawk (probably <i>Milvus migrans</i> ) (S) |
| <i>karaaka</i> (RHM: <i>gurraga</i> 'crane')                               | white-necked crane [ <i>Notophox pacifica</i> ]                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>karang-karang-kaku</i>                                                  | plover                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>karawakan</i>                                                           | yellow miner (JB)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>karaykin</i>                                                            | sp. of small hawk                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>karikuwinj-kuwinj</i>                                                   | grey butcherbird [their call is 'kwin kwin kwin' (imitating <i>kuwinj</i> 'ghost'); they hop about graves and are associated with death]                                                                                                                 |
| <i>karra</i> (RHM: <i>kurra</i> 'eaglehawk')                               | whistling eagle [ <i>Haliastur sphenurus</i> ]                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>karrawakan</i>                                                          | small crow (JB)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>karrikan</i>                                                            | sp. of dove (JB as recorded by JT)                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>karrikunkun</i>                                                         | sp. of bird, probably butcherbird (RC)                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>karrintakarra</i>                                                       | sp. of plover (JB)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>karuru; kurruru;</i> (JB: <i>kurru-kurru</i> )<br>(RHM: <i>gururu</i> ) | native companion [ <i>Grus rubicunda</i> ]                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>karuwaka</i> (RHM: <i>kuguburra</i><br>'laughing jackass')              | kookaburra [ <i>Dacelo gigas</i> ]                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>karuwuka</i>                                                            | white-crested diver bird                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>kaway-kaway</i>                                                         | mosquito bird                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>kawilanj</i>                                                            | waterhen                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |

|                                                      |                                                                                                                         |
|------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kawurru</i>                                       | emu chick                                                                                                               |
| <i>kawurru warray kitjuyira</i>                      | '(The mother emu) hatched a lot of chicks.'<br>(EH.42:4)                                                                |
| <i>kiiyara</i>                                       | bustard, plains turkey [ <i>Eupodotid australis</i> ]                                                                   |
| <i>kirra; kila</i> (RHM: <i>gilla</i> )              | galah [ <i>Kakatoe roseicapilla</i> ]                                                                                   |
| <i>kukakakal</i>                                     | another (onomatopoeic) name for the blue-winged<br>kookaburra (blue jackass) [ <i>Dacelo leachi</i> ]                   |
| <i>kumunj</i>                                        | brown hawk [ <i>Falco berigora</i> ] (EH.3:7)                                                                           |
| <i>kuntunkal</i> (RHM: <i>gundungal</i> )            | black duck [ <i>Anas superciliosa</i> ]                                                                                 |
| <i>kunumanu</i>                                      | musk duck                                                                                                               |
| <i>kupatha</i>                                       | sp. of dove                                                                                                             |
| <i>kuritjil</i> (S: <i>kud:gil</i> )                 | white-winged chough; black jay, or<br>black magpie (S)                                                                  |
| <i>kurlpu</i> (RHM: <i>gulbu</i> 'common magpie')    | pied or black-throated butcherbird; or organ bird<br>[ <i>Cracticus nigrogularis</i> ]                                  |
| <i>kurr-kurr</i>                                     | mopoke (tawny frogmouth) [ <i>Podargus strigoides</i> ]                                                                 |
| <i>kurriitjil</i>                                    | peewee [? <i>Grallina cyanoleuca</i> ]                                                                                  |
| <i>kurrukunh</i>                                     | sp. of turtledove                                                                                                       |
| <i>kurukuwin</i>                                     | sp. of dove [ <i>Geopelia placida</i> ] (EH)                                                                            |
| <i>kutuuku</i>                                       | small birds whose call is like the sound of the<br>word [abundant in the area and from which<br>Goodooga gets its name] |
| <i>kuwaythana</i> (RHM: <i>kwaidhuna</i> )           | large fish-hawk                                                                                                         |
| <i>kuyilpil; kuyulpirra</i>                          | black shag                                                                                                              |
| <i>maliyan</i>                                       | eaglehawk [ <i>Hamirostra melanosterna</i> ]                                                                            |
| <i>marinjantal</i>                                   | blue-winged kookaburra (blue jackass) [ <i>Dacelo<br/>leachi</i> ]                                                      |
| <i>marnpil</i>                                       | sp. of bronzewing pigeon (probably <i>Histriophaps<br/>histrionica</i> )                                                |
| <i>milintju-milintju</i>                             | sp. of swallow (from <i>milinj</i> 'mud' because they<br>make a mud nest)                                               |
| <i>mirringara</i>                                    | duck (gen.)                                                                                                             |
| <i>murrku-murrku</i>                                 | royal (black) spoonbill (JB)                                                                                            |
| <i>ngarrawan</i> (RHM: <i>Gulbu</i> 'common magpie') | magpie [ <i>Gymnorhina tibicen</i> ]                                                                                    |
| <i>nginturl</i>                                      | black diver or darter bird [ <i>Anhinga<br/>novae-hollandae</i> ]                                                       |

|                                                   |                                                                                                       |
|---------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ngukurr-ngukurr</i>                            | sp. of ibis                                                                                           |
| <i>ngurrunj</i> (RHM: <i>ngurunj</i> )            | emu [ <i>Dromaius novae-hollandiae</i> ]                                                              |
| <i>nhinturl</i>                                   | diver bird (RC.70:4) [a kind of small duck that builds its nest on water]                             |
| <i>nirin</i>                                      | sp. of owl                                                                                            |
| <i>pakuu-pakuu</i>                                | bellbird [ <i>Manorina melanophrys</i> ]                                                              |
| <i>parantala</i> (RHM: <i>burandalla</i> )        | peewee [ <i>Grallina cyanoleuca</i> ]                                                                 |
| <i>parrima</i> (RHM: <i>burrema</i> )             | swan                                                                                                  |
| <i>parrimaaku kapunj</i>                          | a swan's egg                                                                                          |
| <i>parrka-parrka; pakarr-pakarr</i>               | wood duck, maned goose [ <i>Chenonetta jubata</i> ]                                                   |
| <i>piin-piian</i>                                 | woodpecker; sp. of treecreeper (JB)                                                                   |
| <i>pilanj-pilanj</i>                              | crimson-winged parrot [ <i>Aprosmictus erythropterus</i> ]                                            |
| <i>pintitaaru</i>                                 | twelve apostles bird [ <i>Struthidea cinerea</i> ]                                                    |
| <i>pipartal</i>                                   | white-winged chough, black jay or black magpie [ <i>Corcorax melanorhamphus</i> ] 'razor grinder' (S) |
| <i>pirkunkuru</i>                                 | bee-eater; happy family bird                                                                          |
| <i>pirrimpirru</i>                                | sp. of sandpiper (JB)                                                                                 |
| <i>piyal-piyal</i>                                | soldier bird                                                                                          |
| <i>pulun</i>                                      | sp. of bird (RC.70:4)                                                                                 |
| <i>purlanj-purlanj</i>                            | green parrot [ <i>Neophema bourki</i> ]                                                               |
| <i>purraaka</i>                                   | brolga, native companion [ <i>Grus rubicunda</i> ] (EH)                                               |
| <i>purrun</i>                                     | white spoonbill                                                                                       |
| <i>purruupirra</i>                                | blue bonnet bird (RC.72:2)                                                                            |
| <i>puthuul</i> (RHM: <i>buthul</i> 'small crane') | blue crane [ <i>Notophox novae-hollandiae</i> ]                                                       |
| <i>puuluun</i>                                    | white crane [ <i>Egretta alba</i> ]                                                                   |
| <i>tangkara</i>                                   | seagull                                                                                               |
| <i>tarrawaya</i>                                  | sp. of teal                                                                                           |
| <i>tartuun</i>                                    | pallid cuckoo (S) [ <i>Cuculus pallidus</i> ]                                                         |
| <i>tarunj</i>                                     | messenger bird                                                                                        |
| <i>tawayarru; tawayarruy</i>                      | sp. of swift, known as the rain-making bird                                                           |
| <i>thakuway</i>                                   | leatherhead bird                                                                                      |
| <i>thalimarrki-marrki</i>                         | robin redbreast                                                                                       |
| <i>thartun</i>                                    | spotted nightjar [ <i>Caprimulgus guttatus</i> ]                                                      |

|                                          |                                                                                                                           |
|------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>thawara</i>                           | starling (JB)                                                                                                             |
| <i>thikarri</i>                          | white or river cockatoo, yellow topknot cockatoo<br>[ <i>Kakatoe galerita</i> ]                                           |
| <i>thipayku; thipayuu; (RC: tipaayu)</i> | whistling duck [ <i>Dendrocygna arcuata</i> ]                                                                             |
| <i>thipirr; (S: dhibirru)</i>            | small whistler                                                                                                            |
| <i>thirran</i>                           | black cockatoo [ <i>Calyptorhynchus banksi</i> ]                                                                          |
| <i>thirtun</i>                           | spotted night jar (probably <i>Caprimulgus guttatus</i> )                                                                 |
| <i>thukalipanj</i>                       | spoonbill [ <i>Platalea flavipes</i> ]                                                                                    |
| <i>thurn-thurn</i>                       | sp. of kingfisher                                                                                                         |
| <i>thurrunj-thurrunj</i>                 | blue bonnet bird                                                                                                          |
| <i>thuthuwathanj</i>                     | woodpecker (EH.18:6); mistletoe bird [noted for building a beautiful nest, and for its edible flesh and white chest] (JB) |
| <i>thuuwil; thuwil</i>                   | blue wren [ <i>Malurus cyaneus</i> ]                                                                                      |
| <i>tikuru</i>                            | brown-crested mountain duck                                                                                               |
| <i>tintiriinj</i>                        | happy family bird                                                                                                         |
| <i>tjinti-tjinti</i>                     | willy wagtail                                                                                                             |
| <i>tjuki-tjuki</i>                       | fowl, 'chook' (Eng.)                                                                                                      |
| <i>tulayita (RHM: thulaida)</i>          | pelican [ <i>Pelecanus conspicillatus</i> ]                                                                               |
| <i>turn-turn; turrr-turrr</i>            | pallid cuckoo [ <i>Cuculus pallidus</i> ]                                                                                 |
| <i>turntu; tuurntuu</i>                  | sp. of kingfisher [ <i>Halcyon</i> ]                                                                                      |
| <i>turrl; turrl</i>                      | bowerbird (probably <i>Chamydera maculata</i> )                                                                           |
| <i>wakan (RHM: wagon)</i>                | sp. of crow [ <i>Corvus cecilo</i> ]                                                                                      |
| <i>wakunh</i>                            | sp. of small owl (probably <i>Aegotheles cristata</i> )<br>[they were considered good eating] (EH.7:3)                    |
| <i>wingkakarrayman</i>                   | black and white spoonbill                                                                                                 |
| <i>winthunj</i>                          | mudlark or sandpiper                                                                                                      |
| <i>wiraka</i>                            | quarrion, cockatiel [ <i>Leptolophus hollandicus</i> ]                                                                    |
| <i>wirlu; wilu (RHM: wilu)</i>           | curlew [ <i>Numenius madagascariensis</i> ]                                                                               |
| <i>wirruwinj</i>                         | budgerigar                                                                                                                |
| <i>withul</i>                            | sp. of bird                                                                                                               |
| <i>witji-witji (JT: mitji-mitji)</i>     | bird (gen.)                                                                                                               |
| <i>yapal-yapal</i>                       | grey topknot pigeon [ <i>Ocyphaps lophotes</i> ]<br>[plentiful in the area, and good eating]                              |

|                                         |                                                                                                                                                      |
|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>yawurul</i>                          | yellow-mouth owl                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>yuyil-yuyil; yurriyal</i>            | chicken-hawk                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>yuyilmarl</i>                        | nighthawk                                                                                                                                            |
| 9.2.8 ARBOREAL                          |                                                                                                                                                      |
| 9.2.8.1 GENERAL TERMS RELATING TO TREES |                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>karntu</i>                           | hollow tree or log                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>karntuyita yintipu kunparta</i>      | 'That log's hollow.' (EH.5:7)                                                                                                                        |
| <i>kiingku</i>                          | spike (probably short, small branch) on limb of tree                                                                                                 |
| <i>piilkara punha wanpangka</i>         |                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>kiingkuanka</i>                      | 'Hang on to the spike of the limb of a tree.'                                                                                                        |
| <i>kulungkulu</i>                       | pith                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>kulungkuluyita mathan</i>            | a pithy log (EH.48:4)                                                                                                                                |
| <i>kunparta</i>                         | log                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>kunthun, kurntun</i>                 | stump                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>mathan</i>                           | branch, limb of a tree; tree itself                                                                                                                  |
| <i>mukunj</i>                           | gum in trees [the gum of gidgee, wattle, ironwood, leopardwood, whitewood, was soaked in water, and sugar was added to make a tasty treat] (EH.44:3) |
| <i>murral</i>                           | dead branch of a tree (RC.39:1); kindling wood; twigs, sticks                                                                                        |
| <i>murral maankuntu nganti</i>          | 'Get me some sticks off the ground.' (RC.71:5)                                                                                                       |
| <i>murrinj</i>                          | bark of a tree                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>ngurru</i>                           | gidgee tree blossom [the flowers are yolk-coloured yellow when first in bloom; this indicates that the emu is starting to lay]                       |
| <i>paa</i>                              | seeds, particularly grass seed                                                                                                                       |
| <i>paan-paan; paarn-paarn</i>           | tree with open foliage                                                                                                                               |
| <i>paka</i>                             | individual leaf                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>paka paliya</i>                      | dead leaf                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>patha paka</i>                       | green leaf                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>thii-paka</i>                        | tea leaf (RC)                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>pakaram</i>                          | leaves (RC)                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>pali</i>                             | any sort of leaf (possibly alt. to <i>paka</i> ) (EH.59:3)                                                                                           |



|                                                                                       |                                                                               |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>pali-mukanj</i>                                                                    | honey-like substance sucked from the leaves of coolibah trees (EH.61:2)       |
| <i>pinjarinj</i>                                                                      | rough outer bark (RC.8:3)                                                     |
| <i>pirra</i>                                                                          | leaf                                                                          |
| <i>pirru</i>                                                                          | berry (Eng.)                                                                  |
| <i>pithal</i>                                                                         | bark of tree                                                                  |
| <i>pungkil</i>                                                                        | flower (gen.)                                                                 |
| <i>partiliyu pungkilku</i>                                                            | 'I smell the flowers.' (EH.10:9b)                                             |
| <i>puntha-puntha</i>                                                                  | bushy tree                                                                    |
| <i>puntiri; purmtiri</i> (RHM: <i>bundhirri</i><br>'any leaning tree')                | a hanging limb; small limb or branch off a tree                               |
| <i>purri</i>                                                                          | branches, bushes with leaves stripped off (EH.59:3)                           |
| <i>purrkarr</i>                                                                       | large piece of bark apparently used in curative processes (EH.5:4)            |
| <i>puura</i>                                                                          | berry (gen.)                                                                  |
| <i>tangku</i><br><i>niyaanipu tangkunga parna</i>                                     | butt of a tree<br>'The goanna is sitting at the butt of a tree.'<br>(EH.13:5) |
| <i>tarran; thanaa</i>                                                                 | root of a tree                                                                |
| <i>thanumaart</i>                                                                     | core of a tree from which spears are made (RC.86:1)                           |
| <i>thawinj</i>                                                                        | fungus                                                                        |
| <i>thii-paka</i>                                                                      | tea-leaf                                                                      |
| <i>thipunj</i>                                                                        | mistletoe [ <i>Loranthus exocarpus</i> ]                                      |
| <i>thulpunj</i>                                                                       | tree top (EH.61:3)                                                            |
| <i>thurrumpurrinj</i>                                                                 | pine blossoms, and pollen dust created by them                                |
| <i>tirra</i>                                                                          | seed of any sort (EH.46:4)                                                    |
| <i>tithalanj</i>                                                                      | a twig, its thin leaves (EH.157:4)                                            |
| <i>waan</i><br><i>witji-witji tharripu waanta waanta</i><br><i>waanta ngara pampu</i> | tree (gen.)<br>'The bird is flying from tree to tree.'<br>the top of a tree   |
| <i>waarnpaa; warnpa</i>                                                               | seed of coolibah tree (EH.26:11; JB.56B:2)                                    |
| <i>wanpa</i><br><i>wanpayita waan thinipu</i>                                         | fork of a tree; a connecting link<br>'The tree has a forked limb.'            |
| <i>warrinj-warrinj</i>                                                                | crooked tree                                                                  |

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| <i>wii-mathan</i>                             | firewood                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>wilpanj; wiilpanj</i>                      | stick; a straight length from a tree such as one would use to hit a dog; twigs, bushy sticks<br>'The kids are dragging a small log.' (EH.157:4)                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>kuthara yanminiri yikiyira wilpanj</i>     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>wuntha-wuntha</i>                          | bushy tree (alt. to <i>puntha-puntha</i> )                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>yirral</i> (RHM: <i>yirral</i> )           | leaf of tree or bush                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>yirralka</i>                               | tea leaf                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 9.2.8.2 TREE SPECIES                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>kalpa; karlpay</i> (RHM: <i>kulbai</i> )   | brigalow tree                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>kampal-kampal</i>                          | tree similar to wild orange bearing small inedible yellow fruit                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>karnpil; kurrumpal</i>                     | rosewood tree [ <i>Eucalyptus grandis</i> ;<br><i>Heterodendrum oleifolium</i> ]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>karti-puntu</i>                            | quinine tree (from <i>karti</i> 'bitter')                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>kayalanj</i>                               | carbine tree                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>kulurr</i>                                 | sp. of large tree                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>kuntuwa</i>                                | needlewood tree [wood was used to make spears, shields and other artifacts; the trees are scarce today]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>kuraltirrarl</i>                           | course-leafed black box tree                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>kurinj</i>                                 | leopard wood tree [ <i>Flindersia maculosa</i> ] (EH.13:3)<br>[a bark solution of this tree was used as a cure for toothache – bark would be soaked overnight or boiled in water and the concentrated solution held in the mouth till the toothache eased, when the hole would be plugged with beeswax; JB used the cure frequently because it was so effective] (JB.53B:2) |
| <i>kuru-kuru</i>                              | gambayn tree (sp. found in sandhills) [it has dark leaves with pale and dark pink flowers and a yellow orange-like fruit]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>kuruman; kuruman; kuumpa</i>               | ironbark tree [grows in the sandhills] (EH.207M)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>kuruwa</i> (RHM: <i>guraua</i> 'gum tree') | ghost gum [ <i>Eucalyptus microtheca</i> ]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>kuwaaru</i>                                | gruie, sour plum tree, emu apple [ <i>Owenia acidula</i> ] (EH.56:3)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>kuwarti; kuwartiin</i>                     | quondong, blue fig tree [ <i>Elaeocarpis grandis</i> ]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>maangki</i>                                | wattle tree                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |

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| <i>malanj; marlanj</i>                      | round-leaved box tree [branches were used for making bough-shed shelters]                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>malpara</i> (JB); (EH: <i>mariparl</i> ) | wild lemon (JB's word unknown to EH)                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>marlpal</i>                              | wild lime tree                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>milara</i> (RHM: <i>maial</i> )          | myall tree                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>mitjiri</i>                              | stringy-bark tree                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>murukaru; muwurru</i>                    | gidgee tree [the leaves are edible] (EH.56:3)                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>muunu</i>                                | fine-leaved kurrajong tree                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>paayilinj</i> (RHM: <i>bailinj</i> )     | native pine tree [ <i>Callitris spp.</i> ] [JB says the name is derived from <i>paayili</i> - 'to burst forth', so named from the sparks exploding when a pine tree is fired]                                                              |
| <i>pakura</i> (RHM: <i>buggura</i> )        | coolibah tree [ <i>Eucalyptus papuana</i> ]                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>palkan; palkin</i>                       | whitewood tree                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>parla-parla</i> (RHM: <i>mumbo</i> )     | beefwood tree (JB.65)                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>payara</i>                               | butterwood tree [ <i>Pittosporum phillyraeoides</i> ]                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>pingku-pingku</i>                        | small shrub-like tree [bark-stripped branches were used to make dillybags, fish-nets, carrying baskets etc.; it grows only in red sandy soil, to a height of one and a half to two metres, and has fragile, pencil-thick limbs] (RC.19:10) |
| <i>piri; pirri</i>                          | acacia tree                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>piriwarinaa</i>                          | the place of the (thick clumps of) acacia trees, Brewarrina                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>pirrawa</i> (RHM: <i>buddhar</i> )       | sandalwood tree [ <i>Eremophila sturta</i> ]                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>pirril; pirriy</i>                       | mulga tree                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>puntiy</i>                               | sp. of small tree                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>pupala</i>                               | fine-leaved black box tree (EH.73:2)                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>purtpal</i> (RHM: <i>burbul</i> )        | whitewood tree                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>purrunskar</i>                           | sp. of tree like coolibah                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>tarranganj</i>                           | coarse-leaved kurrajong tree                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>tilkara</i>                              | wilga tree [leaves were boiled and the mixture drunk as a cure for colds] (EH.17:11)                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>tumul; tuumurl</i>                       | sp. of wattle                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>wawurn</i>                               | bila tree [ <i>Casuarina glauca</i> ]                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>wiirla</i>                               | supplejack tree                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |

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| <i>wirrara</i>          | lignum tree [ <i>Muehlenbeckia cunninghamii</i> ]<br>(EH.60:3)                                         |
| <i>wirrpil; wirlpil</i> | dogwood [the leaves of this tree were boiled and the mixture drunk as a cure for colds and other ills] |
| <i>yumu</i>             | white-leaved wattle (JB.24B:2)                                                                         |

## 9.2.8.3 BUSHES, BERRIES AND PLANTS

|                           |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
|---------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kiirpan</i>            | wild potato (EH)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>kilankiraa</i>         | sp. of blue flower (EH.10C:1)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>kumuru-kumuru</i>      | bush with white bell flowers (EH.20:8)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>kunpuru</i>            | currant bush [used to camouflage men when attracting emus into a trap] (JB.52)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>kurra</i>              | blackcurrant bush [has leaves like the salt bush and grows on the Culgoa]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>kurra-kurra</i>        | shamrock leaves [abundant in the swamps in a good season; originally part of the diet; EH used to eat it] (EH.44:3)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>kuwirnpulu</i>         | emu or straight-leaved currant bush [has medicinal properties for curing such complaints as measles, chickenpox, Barcoo rot, sores. The bush is burnt in a container and the ashes mixed with enough water to make a paste. This is painted liberally all over the body. EH details two occasions during childhood, once when she was very ill with chickenpox, another time with measles, when she was cured overnight with the emu bush plaster (EH.18:3-5). Boils were cured by making a brew out of stewed emu bush branches and bathing the affected part in the bitter solution. There used to be emu bush round Goodooga, but it has now been destroyed.] |
| <i>marrangkal</i>         | acacia bush                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>mukiyala; mukiyalu</i> | Christmas bush [has tiny pink and black fruit which JB calls 'bianberries' and Christmas berries]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>muntilin</i>           | wild banana (JB)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>ngarra-ngarranta</i>   | bulrushes (JB.1B:3)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>nhumpa</i>             | sp. of plant (RC.73:2)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>paral; pararl</i>      | blueberry bush                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |

|                                   |                                                                                                                                                        |
|-----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>paruw</i>                      | small mint-like bush [its leaves are boiled and the water drunk as a cure for colds] (EH.21:2)                                                         |
| <i>pawyil</i>                     | sp. of bush [emus feed on it] (RC.76:2)                                                                                                                |
| <i>piipu</i>                      | cottonbush [has white flowers spotted inside]                                                                                                          |
| <i>piirika; pirrka</i>            | native tobacco                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>piruwa; piruwa</i>             | turpentine bush [so called because it smells like turpentine; it grows in the sandhills, has pink and purple bell-like flowers which bloom in October] |
| <i>thirin; tirrinj</i>            | hop bush [grows on sandy soil, used to make beer]                                                                                                      |
| <i>wampila</i>                    | paddymelon                                                                                                                                             |
| <br>                              |                                                                                                                                                        |
| 9.2.8.4 GRASSES                   |                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>kaaya-yawi</i>                 | turkey grass                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>kurru purra</i>                | waterweed                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>matharranj</i>                 | sp. of burr                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>matharranj thinangka thika</i> | 'There's a burr in my foot.' (EH)                                                                                                                      |
| <i>mukarra</i>                    | bindi-eye burr                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>mukarrana</i>                  | 'Brenda Station' (the place of bindi-eye burrs)                                                                                                        |
| <i>ngarran</i>                    | weeds                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>nhiirilinh</i>                 | bushy sandhill grass (EH.66:6)                                                                                                                         |
| <i>palampa</i>                    | milk thistle                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>parniita; parriniita</i>       | waterweed (RC)                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>purra-purra</i>                | duckweed [it floats on the river] (EH.10:11)                                                                                                           |
| <i>purranpuru</i>                 | wild onion [has large underground bulb and was used as a cure for ringworm] (EH.22:3)                                                                  |
| <i>thawinj-thawinj</i>            | nardoo grass                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>thirrinj; thirriy; turri</i>   | spinifex grass (EH.12:3)                                                                                                                               |
| <i>thirrinj mayi</i>              | spinifex country (JB.65)                                                                                                                               |
| <i>thurral</i>                    | pigweed                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>thuwinj-thuwinj</i>            | nardoo grass [described by JB (65B) as 'little shamrock things like nardoos']                                                                          |
| <i>tili</i>                       | roly-poly                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>wama-wama</i>                  | crawfoot [the leaves were chewed for their juices and the residue spat out] (EH.44:3)                                                                  |
| <i>warntu</i>                     | ring of grass (EH.55:1)                                                                                                                                |

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| <i>wirruwinj</i>                                           | budgerigar grass                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>wupalkara; upalkara</i>                                 | swamp grass                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>wuranpurru; uranpurru</i>                               | waterlily [parts of them were eaten but the taste is bitter] (EH.44:3)                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>yarran</i>                                              | bulrushes                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>yawi</i> (RHM: <i>yau</i> )                             | grass (gen.)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| 9.2.9 THE HUMAN FAMILY                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| 9.2.9.1 FAMILY AND HUMAN TERMS                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>kaapunta</i>                                            | carpenter (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>kamantjara</i>                                          | right marriage partner (?for a woman)                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>kantjipul; kantjukal</i>                                | constable (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>kantu</i>                                               | others, the other lot                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>wala nguntaa kantungku</i>                              | 'The other fellows didn't know.' (EH.22:1)                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>kaantaraa ngariya kantuku</i>                           | 'He took it to the other lot.'                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>kapal-kapal</i>                                         | old people                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>ngaanu kapal-kapal</i>                                  | 'Where are your old people?' (EH.20:9)                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>katjinpa</i>                                            | unmarried girl; young woman (EH.22:1)                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>kaya</i> (RHM: <i>kaia</i> )                            | mother                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>kayakil</i>                                             | orphan (lit. mother-less)                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>kiilakan</i>                                            | elopement; one who elopes (EH)                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>kiwa-kiway</i>                                          | licentious man                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>kukalanj</i>                                            | lame person                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>kulur</i>                                               | widow; widower                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>kumuru</i>                                              | unmarried man                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>kuni</i> (RHM: <i>guni</i> )                            | female; young girl up to age of 15 years                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>kupi</i> (RHM: <i>kubi</i> )                            | clever man, doctor [who practised magic and healing with magic charms, potions and sleight-of-hand 'operations']                                                                                                                                |
| <i>kurayita</i>                                            | policeman (lit. having rope)                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>kurru-kurru</i>                                         | all, everyone                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>kuthara</i> (RHM: <i>guthera</i> 'child of either sex') | son, child, off-spring, baby, esp. a boy 'applied by a man to his sons and his brother's sons' (R-B 1923:436) [The term is used more generally today to cover all babies and young children, though still also used referring specifically to a |

|                                                  |                                                                                                           |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kuthara kalkara</i>                           | male child]                                                                                               |
| <i>kuthara kuni</i>                              | many children, family (RHM)                                                                               |
| <i>kutharayita</i>                               | baby girl                                                                                                 |
| <i>kuthara-kuni</i> (RHM: <i>gutheraguni</i> )   | parent (lit. having child)                                                                                |
| <i>maami</i>                                     | pre-adolescent girl                                                                                       |
| <i>maathaa</i>                                   | old woman                                                                                                 |
| <i>manganj</i>                                   | master (Eng.)                                                                                             |
| <i>mangkunj</i>                                  | girl at puberty                                                                                           |
| <i>marlakan</i>                                  | woman who has lost her son                                                                                |
| <i>mayinj</i> (RHM: <i>main</i> )                | unmarried, adolescent girl                                                                                |
| <i>mayintju wakan marlingku pantaraa</i>         | general word for adult male, people etc.<br>'The man hit a crow with his boomerang.'                      |
| <i>mirr; mirri</i>                               | mate                                                                                                      |
| <i>mukinj</i>                                    | aboriginal woman                                                                                          |
| <i>mukatinj, mukinj-mukinj,</i>                  |                                                                                                           |
| <i>muki-mukinj</i>                               | women                                                                                                     |
| <i>mura; murra</i>                               | an older person [usually an old 'aunty' who acted<br>as a kind of chaperon for a young girl]<br>(EH.80:3) |
| <i>muraakunj</i>                                 | greedy person (EH.63:1)                                                                                   |
| <i>murnka; mungka</i>                            | wrinkles, face falling away with old age                                                                  |
| <i>murnkanji nguntja thika</i>                   | 'My face is wrinkled.'                                                                                    |
| <i>muthipapa</i>                                 | eldest of three (JB)                                                                                      |
| <i>muthunj</i>                                   | youngest child                                                                                            |
| <i>ngurri; muurri</i>                            | stranger                                                                                                  |
| <i>ngurri wathiin</i>                            | a stranger white woman (EH.157M:12)                                                                       |
| <i>muurri kuthara</i>                            | a child stranger                                                                                          |
| <i>muurri mukinj</i>                             | a stranger black woman (EH.14:6)                                                                          |
| <i>ngaantu kulpa thanaa...ngurringku</i>         |                                                                                                           |
| <i>mayintju</i>                                  | 'Who made the corroboree? A stranger?'<br>(EH.5:3)                                                        |
| <i>nupa</i> (RHM: <i>nubabuga</i> lit. his wife) | wife                                                                                                      |
| <i>nupayita</i>                                  | married man (lit. wife having)                                                                            |
| <i>palitman</i>                                  | policeman (Eng.)                                                                                          |
| <i>parraka</i> (RHM: <i>burraka</i> )            | old woman (word largely obsolete)                                                                         |
| <i>path</i>                                      | boss (Eng.)                                                                                               |
| <i>pintara</i>                                   | right marriage partner (?for a man)                                                                       |
| <i>pipi</i>                                      | baby (not Eng.)                                                                                           |

|                                            |                                                                                                                                                              |
|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>pulaangurr</i>                          | twins (EH.75:7)                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>pulay</i>                               | son (BC)                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>purriman</i>                            | swagman (probably Eng.)                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>thiniman</i>                            | Chinaman (Eng.)                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>thuntinh</i>                            | one promised in marriage                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>wanka</i>                               | girl friend (JB.1B:7)                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>wankutu</i>                             | unmarried woman                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>wapukaa</i>                             | incest (EH.20:5)                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>warrkukaa</i>                           | promiscuous man                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>wathul</i>                              | old man                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>wathul-wathul</i>                       | old men                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>watjiin</i>                             | white woman (from Eng. 'white gin')                                                                                                                          |
| <i>yangkurr</i>                            | uninitiated boy                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>palaangka ngaraylata kutharakalka</i>   | 'The kids, two girls and a boy, are playing                                                                                                                  |
| <i>kunikaampa purral yangkurrkaampa</i>    | outside.'                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>yangkurr-yangkurr</i>                   | a lot of boys (EH.48:1)                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>kuthara yanminiyi yangkurr-yangkurr</i> | 'All the boys are going out.' (EH.52:3)                                                                                                                      |
| <i>yapu</i>                                | father (EH.20:9)                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>yarrguntha</i>                          | boy at puberty                                                                                                                                               |
| <br>                                       |                                                                                                                                                              |
| 9.2.9.2 KINSHIP TERMS                      |                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>kamay</i>                               | daughter (RC.70:3)                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>kampanj; kampaanj</i>                   | term of endearment for a close or valued<br>relative; sister-in-law (husband's eldest sister);<br>sweetheart, lover (JB); elder sister, close cousin<br>(EH) |
| <i>nhuna kampaanj thika nhuna</i>          | 'That's my mother's aunty ( <i>muki-muki</i> ).'<br>(EH referring to Mrs Duncan Ferguson)                                                                    |
| <i>kamparta</i>                            | husband (BC)                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>kampu</i>                               | one of male tribal sections whose totem was a<br>black bream <i>panngala</i> (JB.59)                                                                         |
| <i>kantil</i>                              | son/daughter (woman speaking)                                                                                                                                |
| <i>kapitha; kapithaa</i>                   | one of the four female tribal sections; daughter<br>(man speaking)                                                                                           |
| <i>kapiy</i>                               | one of male tribal sections whose totem was a grey<br>or red kangaroo                                                                                        |



|                                           |                                                                                                                                                                       |
|-------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>karrampanj</i>                         | father's brothers                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>karurinj</i>                           | wrong marriage partner                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>karuwalanj; karruranj</i>              | son-in-law (daughter's husband); mother's brother; wife's mother's brother (R-B); a person a woman's daughter is eligible to marry (R-B); sister's daughter (EH.29:6) |
| <i>kathi</i>                              | mother's older brother (RC); daughter's husband (R-B); sister's children (EH)                                                                                         |
| <i>kathi-kathi</i>                        | sister's sons (if older than speaker)                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>kathi-ngara</i>                        | sister's sons (if younger than speaker) (JB)                                                                                                                          |
| <i>kirrinj</i> (RHM: <i>girrinbirra</i> ) | husband (EH); brother-in-law (term for a man's sister's husband or his wife's brother) (R-B)                                                                          |
| <i>kunthi-kunthi</i>                      | mother-in-law (wife's mother) [a man is eligible to marry the daughters of his <i>kunti-kunti</i> ]; daughter-in-law                                                  |
| <i>kurampanj; kurrampaanj</i>             | husband; husband's older brother                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>kuthama</i>                            | niece (sister's daughter)                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>kuwira</i>                             | younger sister                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>marriy</i>                             | one of the four male subsections whose totem was the carpet snake                                                                                                     |
| <i>matha; mathaa</i>                      | one of the four female subsections                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>muki-muki</i>                          | aunt (father's sister) (R-B)                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>mukutul</i>                            | grandmother (RS.34:3)                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>muwarn</i> (RHM: <i>gidyummo-an</i> )  | younger brother                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>napu-napu</i>                          | daughters of my father's sister [a man may not marry his <i>napu</i> (R-B)]                                                                                           |
| <i>ngamanj</i>                            | father's sister's son (R-B)                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>ngamanj-ngamanj; ngama</i> (abbrev.)   | grandfather (mother's father) and his brothers                                                                                                                        |
| <i>ngamanjnira</i>                        | grandson (daughter's son); brother's daughter's son (R-B)                                                                                                             |
| <i>palay</i>                              | son (BC)                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>papa</i>                               | elder sister; wife's elder sister                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>matja papa</i>                         | a much older sister                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>papatu</i>                             | father's father; mother's mother                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>pathanj</i> (RHM: <i>buddhunj</i> )    | father; uncle; term for a man's own father or his father's brothers                                                                                                   |
| <i>putha; puthaa</i>                      | one of the four female subsection names                                                                                                                               |

|                                               |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>puthama; wuthama</i>                       | aunt, mother's sister                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>puwin-puwin; puwan-puwan</i>               | great uncle (father's father's brother); a brother who is considerably older (R-B)                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>puwin; puwan</i> (RHM: <i>mudyabauin</i> ) | older brother; father's brother's sons (R-B)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>tangay</i>                                 | daughter (RC)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>yipatha; ipatha; ipathaa</i>               | one of the four female subsection names                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>yipay; ipay</i>                            | one of the four male subsection names                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <br>                                          |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 9.2.10 MATERIAL POSSESSIONS                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| 9.2.10.1 INDIGENOUS ARTIFACTS                 |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>kalinj</i>                                 | possumskin bag; container; a pelican's beak when holding fish                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>minja ngara kaantintu kalintju</i>         | 'What have you got in the bag?' (lit. are holding with the bag)                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>kalku</i> (RHM: <i>gulgo</i> 'koolamin')   | koolamon                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>kanay</i> (RHM: <i>gunnai</i> )            | yamstick (alt. to <i>karray</i> ) (EH.12:6)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>kanja</i>                                  | humpy (possibly borrowed word)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>kanuu</i>                                  | boat (does not appear to be from Eng. 'canoe')                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>karnpaka</i>                               | headband used by old men and women (EH)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>karray; kayi</i> (abbrev.)                 | yamstick (alt. to <i>kanay</i> )                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>pitilina kayingku</i>                      | 'We dig with a yamstick.'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>kayimpilay</i>                             | fishing line (EH.70:5)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>kayinta</i>                                | waddy [a small piece of hardwood with rounded point similar to a garden hand trowel; it was used for knocking out the stub quills of an echidna after the animal had been held over a fire; in later years the points of old hand shear blades were rounded and used as <i>kayinta</i> ] (JB) |
| <i>kipa</i>                                   | grinding stone [a large hollowed out stone on which nardoo seeds and leaves were ground; also used as grinder for a tomahawk]                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>warul thanalaa tikiyayira kipangka</i>     | 'They used a <i>warul</i> stone to grind with on the grinding stone.'                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>kulay</i> (RHM: <i>kule</i> 'fish net')    | net bag for carrying [made by taking the cleaned sinew from the leg of an animal, twisting it, soaking it and drying it repeatedly till it is soft. It is then rolled on the thigh into a length of                                                                                           |

|                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
|----------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|                                                                | string and used for fishing lines or made into net bags (EH.157M:5)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>kuliya</i> (RHM: <i>gulia</i> )                             | spear                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>kunthi</i>                                                  | shelter of some permanence, house; town                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>kurliwaan; kurli</i> (abbrev.)<br>(RHM: <i>gurli</i> 'hut') | bough shed, summer hut, bush humpy made of bark or bush saplings, a more temporary dwelling than a <i>kunthi</i> (more widely used word than <i>kanja</i> ) (lit. tree humpy)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>kurmu; kurrmu; kuurmu</i><br><i>kuurmu maankuntu thika</i>  | lice; lice comb<br>'Will you get my comb?' (EH.52:1)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>kurramin</i>                                                | basin-shaped bark water container made from the bark of a bent limb of a tree; water bag                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>kurrinj-thawin; kuninj-thawin</i>                           | stone-headed axe (RC.2:7)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>KURURA</i>                                                  | saucer-shaped hard wood disc                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>kutjuru</i>                                                 | waddy or stick used to knock emus on the head when caught in the noose trap set for them (RC); the name of the stick (approx. two thirds of a metre long with bulbous head tapering into a handle) used in a game [it was thrown from some distance at a two metre length of soft wood, <i>pangki</i> , lying crossways, causing it to bounce off and travel a hundred metres or more] (RC.19:9)                                |
| <i>maangingara</i>                                             | bark canoe (JB.35B:4)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>mangkanj</i>                                                | bag, blanket to be laid on the ground for sleeping on (EH.6:2)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>mankarr</i>                                                 | blanket, body covering when sleeping                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>mantal</i><br><i>mantala kayimpaa</i>                       | net bag<br>'He put it in his net bag.' (EH.22:1)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>mantuwii</i>                                                | moccasins made from kangaroo or possum skin, the fur against the wearer's skin to ankle height [sometimes they were made of emu feathers. They were used a lot on the Culgoa, especially when the burrs and prickles were bad; sometimes they were used for hunting, or by the <i>yukarta-yukarta</i> who could sneak up to their victim and leave no incriminating footprints. Today the term is used for 'boots'.] (JB.51B:2) |
| <i>marli</i> (RHM: <i>murli</i> )                              | boomerang (gen.)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>mumunh</i>                                                  | especially large spear for emus (EH.4:5)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |

|                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>murra</i>                                                                | a trap for emus [made in the form of a sort of nest in which the hunters sat blowing their horns. In the trap was a noose which the men tightened as soon as the inquisitive emu stuck his neck into it; they then quickly jumped out and killed the emu with a <i>punti</i> or some other stick] (JB.52B:6) |
| <i>murru; murru</i>                                                         | nulla nulla                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>ngarrpa</i>                                                              | water-bag                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>ngapa ngara ngarrpangka</i>                                              | '(There is) water in the water bag.'                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>ngurumpiti</i>                                                           | nose bone (EH)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>nhaypa</i>                                                               | small stone knife, not more than five centimetres long with tapered sharp cutting edge (JB)                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>pangki</i>                                                               | a two metre length of soft wood off which was spun the <i>kutjuru</i> stick                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>pila</i>                                                                 | women's dillybag                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>pitjalin</i>                                                             | walking stick                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>yanminaa pitjalinpita</i>                                                | 'He's going along with a walking stick.'<br>(EH.4C:2)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>pitjili; pitji</i>                                                       | pegs used to hold in place the <i>murrkarr</i> net (for trapping emus) (JB.52)                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>piyan; piyarn</i>                                                        | skins used for clothes; any item of clothing                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>pukinj</i>                                                               | instrument for attracting emus [made from a hollow log which was blown through to make a low drone to entice the curious emu into a trap] (JB's pronunciation sounds like <i>purrtjpa</i> – 52B:5)                                                                                                           |
| <i>pultha</i> (RHM: <i>bultha</i> ); <i>purtha</i><br>(RHM: <i>burdha</i> ) | pieces of bark serving as plates [nardoo paste was placed on them and handed to the novices in an initiation ceremony] (RHM)                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>punti</i>                                                                | fighting stick, waddy                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>purlkunj</i>                                                             | (1) load                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>purlkunj pirlangka thika</i>                                             | 'There's a load on my back.' (JB.14B:2)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>purlkunj wantimara yarraamanta</i>                                       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>pilangka</i>                                                             | 'Put a load on the horse's back (EH)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>purрку</i> (RHM: <i>burgu</i> )                                          | (2) things (EH.78:3)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>tara</i>                                                                 | spear shield                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>thamiyaa</i>                                                             | bark cradle (EH)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
|                                                                             | tomahawk; steel axe (from Eng. 'tomahawk'<br>(JB.57B:1))                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>thayi nguwa thamiyaa thaata</i>                                          | 'Give (me) the big axe.' (RC.8:4)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |

*thartuupira; thaartupira*

*thawin*

club (lit. having bigness) (S)

a very well known special stone axe [made of very hard stone which JB said appears to be volcanic – he did not know where the stone came from as all local stone he knew of was soft] (JB.57B:1-3)

*thikiya*

spur, bone, needle (EH.63:5)

*thintawa*

steps cut out of tree so as to be able to climb it  
'I climbed a straight tree.'

*kaliya kulay thintuwangka*

*tungkun*

container (hollowed out) capable of holding something; river bed; koolamon; tin dish or can (JB.54) [usually made by cutting a piece of rounded bark from a tree. One use was to catch native honey drained from its source behind the bark of trees.] (EH)

*wakanharra; wakanara*

(RHM: *wugganhurra*)

stone axe similar to the *thawin* (JB.57B:1);  
wooden club, later a tomahawk (JB.68B:4)

*warlu-warlu*

windbreak [type of humpy made on the spot]  
(JB.66B:1)

*warul; warurl*

small grinding stone for sharpening tools  
(EH.12:3)

*watjala*

dilly bag [made from the sinew and tissue of emus' legs] (EH)

*wukara; ukara*

fishing line

*yaantamakatja* (RHM: *yantamakaddyu*)

bullroarer

*yakipal*

wooden knife [made from gidgee or mulga wood, sharpened with stone and hardened in the fire; knives were used in fights as well as for cutting things] (JB.57B:3-4)

*yirranj; yarranj; yaran*

return boomerang

#### 9.2.10.2 INTRODUCED ARTIFACTS

*kaliku*

calico sheet (Eng.)

*kapu*

cup (Eng.)

*kartan*

cotton (Eng.)

*kilarr*

glass (Eng.)

*kitja*

kitchen (Eng.)

|                                    |                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kumpatha</i>                    | iron (EH); any machine such as a bike, sewing machine etc. (JB.4B:5)                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>kurr</i>                        | coat (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>maatjirr</i>                    | matches (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>mani</i>                        | money (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>marrkin</i>                     | gun                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>marrkintu pantina marrkintu</i> | 'He's shooting you with a gun.' (EH.30:6)                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>munta</i> (RHM: <i>munda</i> )  | dilly bag for carrying babies and articles, [made from the branches of the <i>pinku-pinku</i> tree] (RC.19:10)                                                                                                        |
| <i>kurimaapu nhuu muntangka</i>    | 'He put this thing in his net bag.' (JB.75B)                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>mutukaa</i>                     | motor car (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>nhalka-nhalka</i>               | cow horn (EH.22:2)                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>nitur; nitul</i>                | needle (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>paatal; paatarl</i>             | bottle (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>paatjin</i>                     | poison (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>paayu; paaypu</i>               | pipe (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>paki</i>                        | box; case; container (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>pakin</i>                       | buggy (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>pakirr</i>                      | bucket; pocket (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>panikan</i>                     | pannikin; pint container (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>patal</i>                       | bottle (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>pawata</i>                      | powder (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>piipa</i>                       | paper; letter (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>piiraypul</i>                   | pea-rifle (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>pirritjal</i>                   | revolver (lit. a shooter) (JB.5B:1; EH.30:6)                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>pulaayinkin</i>                 | blanket (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>pulay; pulirr</i>               | plate (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>pulir</i>                       | bullet (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>pulir ngara marrkinku</i>       | a bullet for the gun (JB.5B:6)                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>puplikaa</i>                    | hotel, pub (public house) (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>puthalay</i>                    | throwing stick [about sixty centimetres long, four centimetres in circumference, tapering to cigarette size; it was grasped by the thin end and thrown to glance off a bush and travel for long distances] (RC.19:10) |

|                                  |                                                  |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| <i>talay</i>                     | sheet of iron on roof (EH.29:6)                  |
| <i>tankart</i>                   | tin (S)                                          |
| <i>tawa</i>                      | store (Eng.)                                     |
| <i>tharawita</i>                 | trousers (Eng.)                                  |
| <i>thilikra</i>                  | telegraph (Eng.)                                 |
| <i>thilikrama</i>                | telegram (Eng.)                                  |
| <i>thilipunthu</i>               | telephone (Eng.)                                 |
| <i>thilipunthu yaanthirayuku</i> | 'I'm going to talk on the telephone.' (JB.52B:2) |
| <i>thintiiyin</i>                | china plate or dish (Eng.) (RC.70:3)             |
| <i>thitjina</i>                  | billy can (Eng.)                                 |
| <i>thuupu</i>                    | soap (Eng.)                                      |
| <i>tikipaanu</i>                 | sixpence (Eng.)                                  |
| <i>turraaru</i>                  | trousers (Eng.) (RC.70:2)                        |
| <i>wilparr</i>                   | horse drawn vehicle                              |
| <i>wipu</i>                      | whip (Eng.)                                      |
| <i>wupi; upi</i>                 | hook (Eng.)                                      |
| <i>yangkitja</i>                 | handkerchief; scarf (Eng.) (EH.30:5)             |

### 9.2.10.3 RELATING TO FOOD, DRINK AND COOKING

|                                                  |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kapirr</i>                                    | cabbage (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>kimay</i>                                     | fine-leaved yam (EH.66:5)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>kurlparra</i>                                 | pigweed [EH used to eat it after cooking it in the ashes, roots and all. Her mother laughed at her taste, so it was evidently not generally eaten.]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>manu</i> (RHM: <i>munnu</i> 'vegetable food') | a creeper vine used extensively for food in pre-European times. [It was plentiful in a good season. The leaves were boiled or steamed in the <i>para</i> cooking hole from which the ashes had been removed and the vegetable would be protected underneath and above with grasses, and water added to create steam. (EH.12:8) The word came to be used for all non-meat food, particularly bread.] |
| <i>milan</i>                                     | melon (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>milkin; milki</i>                             | milk (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>milkin kuntirr</i>                            | condensed milk                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |

|                              |                                                                                                                                                                       |
|------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>mutjura</i>               | liquor                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>ngarruunh; narruun</i>    | paddymelon (EH.207M:1) [similar to passion fruit] (RC.73:3)                                                                                                           |
| <i>pampul</i>                | wild orange [ <i>Capparis mitchelli</i> ] [a much prized edible fruit; when pine dust pollen began to fall, it was an indication the wild oranges out bush were ripe] |
| <i>yanmura pula pampulka</i> | 'They two went out hunting for wild oranges.' (EH.26:4)                                                                                                               |
| <i>pampulkala</i>            | green (lit. like the wild orange – which turned shiny green when ripe) (JB.55B:1)                                                                                     |
| <i>pangkapaa</i>             | methylated spirits; grog                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>para</i>                  | shallow hole dug out for the cooking of yams and other vegetable foods (EH.12:2)                                                                                      |
| <i>parimanu</i>              | wild potato (RC)                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>parta</i>                 | butter (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>patita</i>                | potato (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>pirrikal; pilikal</i>     | carbine vine, a plant that grows in black soil and spreads all over the ground [it has edible carrot-like roots which were cooked in the ashes]                       |
| <i>piya</i>                  | beer (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>pulumpurr; pulampurr</i>  | wild cherry, [ <i>Exocarpus spp.</i> ] [a tree with edible fruit and leaves like a tomato]                                                                            |
| <i>puluwu</i>                | flour (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>purra</i>                 | salt bush [has edible leaves and grows in the sandhills]                                                                                                              |
| <i>purrul</i>                | pollen called 'bee bread' [the yellow pollen gathered by native bees, which they stack into little round balls] (JB.57B:5)                                            |
| <i>tal</i>                   | salt (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>talpira ngapa</i>         | salty water                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>tampa</i>                 | damper (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>thalimukanj</i>           | mannan, a sweet gum-like substance found on the leaves of coolibah trees [tastes like bread and honey] (SJ; EH.61:4)                                                  |
| <i>thii</i>                  | brewed tea                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>thukakaa</i>              | wild fruit like a banana that grows broad leaves                                                                                                                      |



|                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |
|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>tiimpuru</i>                   | a burry plant with fruit about as big as grapes, that smells a little like rock melon [The fruit had to be prised off the plant by burning it with a firestick. They ripened in the spring, and were found especially round Dirranbandi.] |
| <i>tina</i>                       | dinner (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>tuukuu; thuka</i>              | sugar (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>warukaa</i>                    | a type of plant with a succulent leaf whose stalks were eaten (RC)                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>waruway</i>                    | bush, sixty to ninety centimetres high with edible fruit (EH.63:1)                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>wayan</i> (RHM: <i>wean</i> )  | native honey                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>witji</i> (RHM: <i>widyi</i> ) | animal food; meat                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>yalaali</i>                    | lolly (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>yapil; kaapil</i>              | apple (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>yirrimu</i>                    | wild parsnip (EH.30:4)                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>yuraamu</i>                    | rum; any sort of grog (Eng.)                                                                                                                                                                                                              |

## 9.2.11 BELIEFS AND LANGUAGE

### 9.2.11.1 RELATING TO CUSTOM, RELIGION AND MAGIC

|                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kampirl-kampirl</i>                         | spirit women of the bush [these women were said to entice people in to the bush and lead them to their doom]                                                                                                                 |
| <i>kampirl-kampirltu thirri kaangku pangka</i> | 'The spirit women will take you away.'<br>(JB.68B:5)                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>karrampara</i>                              | name of corroboree dance where legs are shaken in a continuous tremulous movement [bushes are tied round the ankles, above the knees, and carried in the hand, to create a swishing noise during the dance] (RC.9:1; EH.5:5) |
| <i>karrkaa</i>                                 | corroboree song (EH.17:14)                                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>katitja</i>                                 | evil witchdoctor [performed the same 'bad' magic as the <i>yukarta-yukarta</i> ; JB recognises <i>katitja</i> as 'well known throughout the land' (78B:6), but almost obsolete in his day] (JB.51B:3)                        |
| <i>kulpi</i> (RHM: <i>gulpi</i> )              | large horseshoe-shaped bough yard [erected in the main initiation ground to house the women and children overnight; it was open at one end] (RHM)                                                                            |

- kunja* (RHM: *kunya*)  
phallic emblem [they were humps made of sticks covered with loose earth from the centre of which came a stick resembling a human phallus of prodigious proportions] (RHM)
- kura; kurra*  
*kurayita*  
string or rope (originally 'magic string' JB.25B)  
policeman (i.e. one who binds the hands/feet with cords)  
*kura maana kulay tjanarayu*  
'Give me string to make a net.' (EH.47:6)
- kuriyata; kuriyarra*  
bone pointing [long distance magic performed by witchdoctor causing the victim to see something unusual in a dream, feel a sudden fear or see a form; the affected victim was said to be caught by 'kuriyata magic'] (JB.1B)
- kurlapulinja* (RHM: *gurlabullinja*)  
name of an initiation ordeal [when blazing sticks, coals and ashes are thrown at initiates sheltering in a *kurli* hut] (RHM)
- kurmpu; kurmpul*  
corroboree ground (EH.13:12)
- kurrka*  
*yungkintjiraa kurrkangka*  
corroboree  
'He wants to sing a corroboree song.'
- kuuwa*  
a piece of hollowed out ground made hot by a fire being lit and then the ashes and top dirt raked away [Following the birth of a child, the mother is placed in the hot hollow and steam supplied by water being sprinkled. This helped in the removal of the placenta. EH told how this treatment, administered by her mother, helped save her life after the birth of her only child]
- kuwa-tiin*  
burial ground, cemetery (lit. maggot hole) [children were not allowed in this place] (JB.68B:5)
- kuwarri-ngurra*  
menstruation (lit. far camp)
- kuwinj*  
*kuwintju ngara thirra yungkiyaa*  
*ngaangura yurrintja*  
ghost; dead man's spirit; white man  
'The spirit sang a song to me in the night.' (JB.64B:1)
- kuwinj-mangka*  
poisoned bone (i.e. the bones of a dead person used in sorcery) (EH.86:1)
- manampi*  
grave, cemetery (EH.10:6)
- mangka-pathu*  
bone pointing
- miraaku*  
spirit who sneaks about at night; a person who sneaks about like the spirit

|                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
|---------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>mirriyula</i>                                  | ghost dog (JB)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>multjirra</i> (RHM: <i>multyerra</i> )         | initiation ceremony                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>multjirra-kara</i> (RHM: <i>multyeragara</i> ) | a cleared level circular piece of ground about twenty five metres in diameter [where the <i>multjirra</i> initiation took place] (RHM)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>ngurnukala</i> (RHM: <i>ngurnugulla</i> )      | private meeting place of the initiated men (RHM)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>nguwiyarr</i>                                  | magic stones, usually quartz [belonging to tribal elders or witchdoctors as part of their stock-in-trade. They were kept hidden in bags. JB once saw a magic stone belonging to Jimmy Kerrighan hanging on the end of a spear, and the owner was angry the stone had been observed. JB thinks this magic stone must have been buried with Jimmy Kerrighan in the sandhills of the Culgoa in 1907] (JB.68B:5) |
| <i>nuntu</i>                                      | crescent-shaped bough shelter [made in the bush to house initiates and their guardians] (RHM)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>paaliithaa; paaliyitaa</i>                     | corroboree or song name (RC.112M)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>pakitaa; parurta</i>                           | a slow-moving corroboree dance                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>paliyinaa</i>                                  | name of a corroboree                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>pathuwalu</i> (RHM: <i>butthuwillu</i> )       | patch of cleared ground close to the women's camp [where mothers and sisters of novices repaired every evening during initiation ceremonies to sing the customary songs] (RHM)                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>payami</i>                                     | name for the Great Spirit of the Ngiyambaa people, <i>Baiame</i> or <i>Bayami</i> [the legend is associated with the Brewarrina Fisheries where the Spirit's giant footstep may be observed in the rocks of the river when the water is low enough, even to his joints, according to Les Darcy of Brewarrina]                                                                                                |
| <i>pinaarti</i>                                   | spirit; ghost                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>pitangulu</i>                                  | God, the Great Spirit [JB remarks that the Muruwari believed in a great creator Spirit whom they addressed when hunting or fishing, asking that they would be directed to where the game was (JB.65B;5a). JB comments the Ngiyambaa equivalent was called <i>Bayami</i> ]                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>pitjaru; pitjarru; pitjula</i>                 | totem name of animal or bird associated with each of the four tribal subsections                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>kula pitjarru</i>                              | the kangaroo tribe                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |

- kaarn pitjarru*  
*minjan witji pitjarru ngintu*  
*kamul pitjula*
- pitjuru-mayinj*
- pulkinja* (RHM: *pulkinya*)
- pungkaarri*
- purli* (RHM: *burli*)
- puṛn-puṛn*
- purriman*
- puruki*
- purumpira* (RHM: *borumbera*)
- puwura*
- thina-kuntha*
- thuntharra* (RHM: *dhundhurra*)
- tipurl-tipurl*  
*karrathaninipu nganta warri*  
*tipurl-tipurl warri*
- tuwirti; tuwiti*  
*wala tuwirti tharrka thangkuranguyu*
- wakathanj; wakutha*
- the snake tribe (JB.26B:2; EH.7:5)  
‘What “meat” totem are you?’ (JB.90B:3)  
‘I’m a snake totem.’ (SJ.178M) [EH and RC were  
*kaan pitjuru* (snake tribe) and JB was *kula*  
*pitjuru* (kangaroo tribe)]  
a spirit-man
- second levelled circular initiation ground,  
connected by a pathway to the first, but out of  
sight, about three hundred to four hundred metres  
away (RHM)
- place which was smoked following the death of a  
person there (EH.21:2)
- secret initiation name for star (RHM) (cp. Gurnu  
*buli* ‘star’)
- dangerous place; place of the dead
- sorcerer, kadaitja man (JB.78B:6) (another name  
for the *yukarta-yukarta*, the witchdoctor whose  
magic is malignant)
- messengers sent to neighbouring tribes to inform  
them of a forthcoming initiation ceremony (RHM)
- name of songs sung by novices’ mothers and  
sisters during their initiation (RHM)
- initiation or bora ceremony (EH.61:4)
- evil spirits that come out at night, taking the form  
of a bird (e.g. emu) or an animal (e.g. kangaroo)  
[if an emu came running up to a person, it would  
not be killed because of the belief it was actually a  
*thina-kuntha* of a recent dream] (JB.68B:5)
- initiation instructors [a band of men selected from  
every tribe present to take charge of part of  
initiation ceremonies]
- devil (probably Eng.)
- ‘Somebody’s knocking, it might be a devil.’  
(RC.9:4)
- spirit; spirit-man  
‘Don’t talk about the *tuwirti* spirit, I might dream  
(about it).’ (EH.60:1)
- a slow moving corroboree dance (RC.9:1) (JB  
records the dance as *wakutha*)

|                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
|-----------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>wilpapalka</i> (RHM: <i>wilpabulka</i> )         | men's belt worn by the <i>puruki</i> messengers to summon people to an initiation ceremony (RHM)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>wilyarunga</i> (RHM: <i>wilyarunga</i> )         | camp site set apart for the novices during an initiation ceremony                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>wirlata; kwilata</i>                             | stone tomahawk with magical powers [belonged to specially initiated men who ranked with the witchdoctors. It was supposed to be given by the spirits together with a magical chant that was sung while the tomahawk was being used. The chant was so effective, it made the chopping much quicker and easier; for example, only one blow with the axe was needed to kill a possum or a porcupine. The axes were buried with their owners; a curse of illness or death would fall on anyone who took illegal possession of the axe] (JB.68B:4) |
| <i>wIRU-wIRU; wIRU-wURU; wURU-wIRI</i>              | bullroarer (JB.65B; EH)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>wiyarr</i>                                       | witchdoctor's magic stone used in curative medicine (EH.5:4)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>yawa</i>                                         | person's ghost (EH.81:16)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>yukarta-yukarta</i>                              | evil witchdoctor or sorcerer [came at night wearing shoes made of emu feathers or possum skins; he sneaked up upon the sleeping victim to sorcerise him (JB.51B:4). JB (78B:6) says this is a Ngiyambaa word, the equivalent of <i>purriman</i> and <i>katitja</i> ]                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>nhurra yukarta-yukartaku ngara maanku pangka</i> | 'The spirits will get you there.' (JB.68B:5)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>yuralmu</i>                                      | bad luck                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>yurika</i>                                       | spirit man (JB)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>yuthuru; yuthurra</i> (RHM: <i>yutthuru</i> )    | narrow pathway leading from the first ( <i>multjarrakara</i> ) to the second ( <i>pulkinja</i> ) initiation circle (RHM)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |

#### 9.2.11.2 RELATING TO LANGUAGE AND IDEAS

|                                               |                                                         |
|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kurnu</i>                                  | Wilcannia language, Gurnu                               |
| <i>kurri</i>                                  | name                                                    |
| <i>minjan kurri</i>                           | 'What's his name?'                                      |
| <i>kurri yaanmuraa ngarrana</i>               | ('The blue crane) gave us all the names: <i>putha</i> , |
| <i>kurru-kurrunji...putha,</i>                | <i>(y)iipatha, kapiy, marriy, (y)iipay...</i>           |
| <i>(y)iipatha, kapiy, marriy, (y)iipay...</i> | (EH.26:1)                                               |

|                                               |                                             |
|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------|
| <i>mitjin</i> (RHM: <i>middyin</i> 'pretend') | lie, falsehood                              |
| <i>pintanj</i>                                | truth (JB.34B)                              |
| <i>pirrinj</i>                                | shame                                       |
| <i>thangkuray</i>                             | dream                                       |
| <i>thirra; thira</i>                          | song (JB.52)                                |
| <i>yaan</i>                                   | speech, talk, word, news, message           |
| <i>pitara yaan Muruwariki</i>                 | 'Muruwari is a good, sweet talk.' (EH.50:1) |
| <i>yuralmara yaan</i>                         | bad news                                    |
| <i>yaaru</i>                                  | truth, a true word (EH.63:1)                |
| <i>yuwalaray; yuwaali</i>                     | Yuwalaray language name (JB.55B:3)          |

## OTHER GRAMMATICAL CLASSES

## 9.3.1 ADJECTIVES

## 9.3.1.1 ADJECTIVES OF NUMBER

|                                            |                                       |
|--------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>kalkara</i>                             | many                                  |
| <i>kapu</i>                                | two                                   |
| <i>kapungka</i>                            | twice                                 |
| <i>kapulanta</i>                           | four (JB)                             |
| <i>kapulanta kapulanta</i>                 | eight (JB)                            |
| <i>kapu-yaman</i>                          | three (JB)                            |
| <i>marangka</i>                            | five                                  |
| <i>marangka kapu</i>                       | seven                                 |
| <i>marangka kapulanta</i>                  | nine                                  |
| <i>marangka marangka</i>                   | ten                                   |
| <i>maranguwa</i>                           | six                                   |
| <i>pakal</i>                               | another                               |
| <i>yantapu pakalku mayi</i> or             | 'He went to another place.' (EH.29:5) |
| <i>pakalku mayiku yantaa</i>               | 'I'm singing too!'                    |
| <i>kayila ngathu yungkiyu ngathu pakal</i> | day after tomorrow                    |
| <i>pakarangana thurringka</i>              |                                       |
| <i>purrakulayaman</i>                      | three (EH)                            |
| <i>purral</i>                              | a pair                                |
| <i>thuu</i>                                | much                                  |
| <i>yaman</i>                               | (1) one                               |
| <i>pantaranja yaman</i>                    | 'I killed one (kangaroo).'            |

*yamantu kuntaru yitaa nganha pakal* (2) same  
 'The same dog bit me also.' (EH.69:3)

### 9.3.1.2 ADJECTIVES OF COLOUR

*karta; karta-karta* black  
*kartangka* in the dark (JB.55B:1)

*kurnan-kurnan* yellow  
*kurnan-kurnan pungkil thuulmiyita*  
*palaangka* 'There are yellow flowers growing on the plain.'

*marrki-marrki* red  
*marrki-marrki pungkil yintiyita* 'The flowers are red.'

*mumunj* yellow (JB.55B:1)

*palum* green

*puki* grey (JB.1B)

*pulam-pulam* white

*puluw* blue (Eng.)

*puthal* pink (JB.55B:1)

*puthan-puthan* white  
*puthan-puthan tuuka* white sugar (RC.72:2)

### 9.3.1.3 GENERAL ADJECTIVES

*kalki* in a wild, agitated mood (JB)

*karra-karrampi* smarting; stinging (EH.44:3)

*karrayinki* savage  
*murnturr karrayinki* 'Homets are savage.' (EH.22:1)

*karrinj; karinj* alive  
*ngaa, karrinj yintipu* 'Oh yes, he's still alive.'

*karti* (1) bitter  
*karti ngara ngapa* 'The water is bitter.'  
*karti ngapa* whiskey (bitter water)  
 (2) poisonous  
*wala thala karti!* 'Don't eat it! Poison!'

*katji* fresh; newly or first born  
*nhuu (y)intipu kuthara katji* 'This is (the cat's) first kitten.'  
*katji witji* fresh meat (EH.157)

*kawun* raw  
*kawan witji* raw meat

|                                       |                                                              |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>kiiwa</i>                          | deep                                                         |
| <i>kiiwangka</i>                      | very deep hole – out of depth (EH.83:7)                      |
| <i>kintjara</i>                       | clear                                                        |
| <i>kintjara ngapa</i>                 | clear water                                                  |
| <i>kitju</i>                          | small                                                        |
| <i>kukalanjpira; kukarri</i>          | lame                                                         |
| <i>kukalanjpira kuwanjkaampa</i>      |                                                              |
| <i>kukaylimibu</i>                    | ‘That white man is lame.’ (EH.4C:2)                          |
| <i>kukarripu</i>                      | ‘He is lame.’                                                |
| <i>kumilkin</i>                       | half ripe (EH; JB.66)                                        |
| <i>kumungilaa</i>                     | jealous (don't like anyone else giving you things) (EH.30:5) |
| <i>kuntjarra</i>                      | thin                                                         |
| <i>kurriyita</i>                      | selfish                                                      |
| <i>kurti</i>                          | angry                                                        |
| <i>mantha; marnta</i>                 | flat                                                         |
| <i>kurmpu marnta mayingka pitarra</i> | ‘The corroboree ground was nice and flat.’ (EH.13:12)        |
| <i>marrinj</i>                        | good                                                         |
| <i>marrinjku</i>                      | in good time                                                 |
| <i>kaatayira nganha marrinjku</i>     | ‘They took me up (to the hospital) in good time.’ (EH.70:6)  |
| <i>marrinjtja ngara</i>               | ‘Do it good now!’                                            |
| <i>marrki</i>                         | false; lying                                                 |
| <i>marrki (y)intirriku</i>            | to tell a lie (lit. to be false) (JB)                        |
| <i>marrki tharrkayipu</i>             | ‘He's telling a lie.’                                        |
| <i>marrki (y)intaapu</i>              | ‘He was lying.’ (JB.69:1)                                    |
| <i>marta-marta; matha-matha</i>       | rough, bumpy (EH)                                            |
| <i>mila-mila</i>                      | pathetic                                                     |
| <i>mila-milakaampa</i>                | poor little thing, pathetic person                           |
| <i>minti-minti</i>                    | curly, twisted                                               |
| <i>muku</i>                           | (1) blunt                                                    |
| <i>muku yakipal</i>                   | blunt knife                                                  |
|                                       | (2) solid                                                    |
| <i>muku pakul</i>                     | solid stone                                                  |
| <i>muku waan</i>                      | solid tree                                                   |
|                                       | (3) closed                                                   |
| <i>muku tiinj</i>                     | closed hole                                                  |
| <i>muku pina</i>                      | deaf (closed ear)                                            |



|                                             |                                                    |
|---------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| <i>muku miil</i>                            | blind                                              |
| <i>muku thaa</i>                            | dumb                                               |
| <i>munanj-munanj</i>                        | hairy (SJ.60:1)                                    |
| <i>muntha; mutha</i>                        | smooth; fine                                       |
| <i>ngantanj</i>                             | blind                                              |
| <i>ngantanj yintintu</i>                    | 'You are blind.' (EH.7:2)                          |
| <i>ngumpu</i>                               | narrow                                             |
| <i>ngumpukapu yuruun yintipu</i>            | 'The path is narrow.' (EH.22:3)                    |
| <i>njirri-njirri</i>                        | cheeky                                             |
| <i>njirri-njirri intaa ngaanura kuthara</i> | 'The boy was cheeky to me.' (EH.20C:1)             |
| <i>njirrinmarapula nganha</i>               | 'Those two cheeked (were cheeky to) me.'           |
| <i>nungu</i>                                | void; nothing                                      |
| <i>tuku nunguyita</i>                       | 'There's nothing in my stomach.' (EH.71:1)         |
| <i>paka</i>                                 | previously                                         |
| <i>paka yurrintja</i>                       | the night before                                   |
| <i>palanj</i>                               | shining, bright                                    |
| <i>palanjpita ngapa</i>                     | shining water (EH.26:6)                            |
| <i>pangku</i>                               | bent, crooked                                      |
| <i>pangku ngara mathan</i>                  | a bent or crooked stick (JB.4B:8)                  |
| <i>pantarra</i>                             | long; straight; tall                               |
| <i>wangka tharraka kanta-kanta</i>          |                                                    |
| <i>pantarrangka mathanta</i>                | 'Their nest was high in a tall tree.' (EH.84:4)    |
| <i>pariyaa</i>                              | ripe                                               |
| <i>paru; patu</i>                           | (1) low down                                       |
| <i>paru thurri yinmipu, paru thurri</i>     |                                                    |
| <i>warramipu</i>                            | 'When the sun is low.' (EH.29:3)                   |
| <i>parunji</i>                              | 'It's low now.'                                    |
| <i>patarru</i>                              | low down, low to the horizon, in the west          |
| <i>patarru pantangka</i>                    | on the horizon (lit. low in the sky)               |
|                                             | (2) downstream                                     |
| <i>paruuma</i>                              | ?speedily                                          |
| <i>thangkiniyita paruuma yaraaman</i>       | 'The horses are galloping.'                        |
| <i>patha</i>                                | (1) green; living                                  |
| <i>patha waan</i>                           | a green tree                                       |
|                                             | (2) unripe; undried [refers to growth that is not  |
|                                             | fully matured, so is still green, wet, unfinished] |
|                                             | wet clothes                                        |
| <i>patha piyan</i>                          |                                                    |
| <i>pintal; pirntal</i>                      | true; straight                                     |
| <i>pirntal ngara tharrkayu ngathungku</i>   | 'I'm telling you straight.' 'I'm telling you the   |
|                                             | truth.' (JB.4B:8)                                  |

|                                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                               |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>pinti-pinti</i>                                                                                                                          | thick; stong                                                                                                  |
| <i>pirru; piru</i><br><i>pirru nhaara nganha pirru</i>                                                                                      | (1) hard; strong<br>'He's looking at me real hard.' (EH.145M:1)                                               |
| <i>piru tharayi tikal</i>                                                                                                                   | (2) tough<br>'(This old emu) is tough – it takes a lot of chewing.' (EH.72:1)                                 |
| <i>pitarra; pitara; pirra</i> (abbrev.)<br><i>pitarra mara</i><br><i>pitarra ngapa</i>                                                      | good; right; nice; attractive<br>right hand<br>sweet water                                                    |
| <i>piyaa</i><br><i>kuthara piyaa nga piyaa miil piyaangku</i>                                                                               | sharp<br>'The little boy with sharp eyes (found the money).'                                                  |
| <i>puka</i>                                                                                                                                 | (EH.19:4)                                                                                                     |
| <i>punkinj</i> (RHM: <i>bunginj</i> 'any dead tree')<br><i>punkinj waan</i><br><i>ngunturl punkinj yintiyu</i><br><i>punkinj nhura mayi</i> | rotten, decayed<br>dry<br>a dry (dead) tree<br>'My throat is dry.'<br>'The ground here is dry.'" (EH.157M:12) |
| <i>purtil-purtil</i>                                                                                                                        | striped                                                                                                       |
| <i>puutjaa</i>                                                                                                                              | thin person                                                                                                   |
| <i>tapun</i>                                                                                                                                | soft                                                                                                          |
| <i>thaata</i> (RHM: <i>dharda</i> )<br><i>thaatapara mirrinj</i><br><i>thaatapara mirrinj palanjilaa</i><br>(RHM: <i>tharda</i> 'Venus')    | anything big; big child; big star<br>Venus (lit. big bright star)<br><br>'Venus shines brightly.'             |
| <i>thalka</i><br><i>thalka yuurun</i>                                                                                                       | rough; bumpy<br>a rough track (RC)                                                                            |
| <i>thanti</i> (RHM: <i>thunde</i> )                                                                                                         | fat                                                                                                           |
| <i>thantu</i><br><i>thantu witji</i>                                                                                                        | fresh, not stale or rotten<br>fresh meat                                                                      |
| <i>tharraa</i>                                                                                                                              | drunk                                                                                                         |
| <i>tharrampurl</i><br><i>tharrampurlu pakulu</i>                                                                                            | sharp<br>with sharp stones (EH.26:15)                                                                         |
| <i>thirrarra; thirrayira</i><br><i>thirrarra pakul</i><br><i>thirrayira thawin</i>                                                          | sharp; (lit. having teeth)<br>a sharp stone<br>'The tomahawk is sharp.' (JB.61B:2)                            |
| <i>thurрпи</i>                                                                                                                              | clumsy (JB)                                                                                                   |
| <i>tikal</i><br><i>tikal yuranj</i>                                                                                                         | hard, tough<br>hard skin                                                                                      |

|                                    |                                                                             |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>tirintjal</i>                   | numb, tingling, limb that is 'asleep' through lack of circulation (EH.61:3) |
| <i>tiyawirrunj</i>                 | encircling                                                                  |
| <i>tjarrka-tjarrka</i>             | straight                                                                    |
| <i>walkan</i>                      | heavy (JB)                                                                  |
| <i>wampa</i>                       | mad; deaf; silly                                                            |
| <i>wampa-pina</i>                  | deaf in one ear                                                             |
| <i>wampa-wampa</i>                 | completely deaf or mad                                                      |
| <i>warrkan</i>                     | heavy                                                                       |
| <i>wirri-wirri</i>                 | sexually roused                                                             |
| <i>wirri-wirriyu</i>               | 'I want sex.' (EH.63:1)                                                     |
| <i>wirrinj</i>                     | silent, quality of quiet [frequently used as a command]                     |
| <i>wirrinj!</i>                    | 'Don't talk now!'                                                           |
| <i>wurrunj</i>                     | crooked                                                                     |
| <i>wutha</i>                       | short                                                                       |
| <i>wuthakaampa</i>                 | a short man                                                                 |
| <i>yantha</i>                      | lazy                                                                        |
| <i>yirrinj</i>                     | teasing; one who teases                                                     |
| <i>yumpu</i>                       | soft                                                                        |
| <i>yural; yuralmara; yuralmara</i> | bad; dangerous; wrong                                                       |

### 9.3.2 DEMONSTRATIVES

|                                         |                                                   |
|-----------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------|
| <i>ngariya</i>                          | over there                                        |
| <i>ngariya yaanmiyira mayinj mukinj</i> | 'There are some black people talking over there.' |
| <i>nhurra; nhurrana</i>                 | that, that there                                  |
| <i>minjan ngara nhurrana</i>            | 'What's that there?'                              |
| <i>nguwana nhurra watjiin</i>           | 'Give it to that white woman.' (JB)               |
| <i>nhuu</i>                             | this                                              |
| <i>yalu</i>                             | over there, across there                          |
| <i>yalu nhura yanminaa</i>              | 'He's moving across there.' (JB.63:1)             |
| <i>yalu ngara mirrinj</i>               | 'That star over there.'                           |
| <i>puluka ngara yalungka</i>            | 'I lost something over there.' (JB.54B:3)         |

### 9.3.3 PRONOUNS

#### 9.3.3.1 NOMINATIVE PRONOUNS

|              |         |
|--------------|---------|
| <i>ngana</i> | we (pl) |
|--------------|---------|

|                       |                      |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| <i>ngathu</i>         | I                    |
| <i>ngintu; njintu</i> | you (sg) (mostly JB) |
| <i>nhula</i>          | you (du)             |
| <i>nhumpu; nhampu</i> | he, she, it          |
| <i>nhura</i>          | you (pl)             |
| <i>pula; purral</i>   | they (du)            |
| <i>thana</i>          | they (pl)            |
| <i>yintu</i>          | you (sg)             |

## 9.3.3.2 ACCUSATIVE PRONOUNS

|                          |                      |
|--------------------------|----------------------|
| <i>ngalina</i>           | us (du)              |
| <i>nganha</i>            | me                   |
| <i>ngarrana</i>          | us (pl)              |
| <i>nhulana</i>           | you (du)             |
| <i>nhurana</i>           | you (pl)             |
| <i>panga</i>             | you (sg)             |
| <i>waampikuyu panga</i>  | 'I'll wait for you.' |
| <i>pulana</i>            | them (du)            |
| <i>punha</i>             | him, her, it         |
| <i>tharrana; thana</i>   | them                 |
| <i>pantarayita thana</i> | 'They hit them.'     |

## 9.3.3.3 GENITIVE PRONOUNS

|                                       |                        |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------|
| <i>ngalika</i>                        | our, ours (du)         |
| <i>nganthi; nganta</i>                | my, mine               |
| <i>ngarraka</i>                       | our, ours (pl)         |
| <i>nhuraka</i>                        | your, yours (du, pl)   |
| <i>nhuraka</i>                        | their, theirs          |
| <i>puka</i>                           | his, her, hers, its    |
| <i>puraka</i>                         | their, theirs (du)     |
| <i>tharraka</i>                       | their, theirs (pl)     |
| <i>yarraaman tharraka thangkiyita</i> | 'Their horses bolted.' |
| <i>thika; tjika</i>                   | my, mine               |
| <i>yuwalkuyu mantuwii tjika</i>       | 'I've lost my shoes.'  |

*yingka; (pungka; pangka)* your, yours (sg)

#### 9.3.3.4 DATIVE PRONOUNS

*ngaangura* to/for me  
*than yanmipula ngaangura* 'You two come here to me.' (RC.2:5)

*ngalingura* for/to us (du)

*ngarrangura* for/to us (pl)

*nhulangura* to/for you (du)

*nhumpungura* to/for/against him, her, it  
*namaa tharriyaa nhumpungura* 'She brushed against him.' (EH.5:5)

*nhurangura* to/for you (pl)

*purralngura* to/for them (du)

*thanangura* to/for them (pl)

*yingura* to/for you (sg)

#### 9.3.3.5 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

*minjan* what  
*minjan thanantu* 'What are you doing?'

*ngaana* who; which

*tirra; thirra* where  
*thirra kapunj wunantu tharrana* 'Where did you put those eggs?' (EH.48:6)

*wantanj* when  
*wantanj kulaarrikuntu Mrs Mathews* 'When are you coming back, Mrs Mathews?' (EH.206M:3)

*wanthu* when (JB only)  
*wanthu ngara yanmintu* 'When are you going?' (JB.69B:4)

#### 9.3.4 VERBS

##### 9.3.4.1 TRANSITIVE VERBS

*kaa-* (RHM: *thankanga* 'bring') to hold; to bring; to carry; to take  
*nhinturl minjan warri thaangka kaamipu* 'Don't know what the diver bird has (is carrying) in his mouth.' (RC.70:4)

*thaata ngara thawin kaantaraa* 'He carried a big tomahawk.'  
*kaantaraa nganha kurayitangku*

*kunthiku* 'The policeman took me to the hospital.' (EH)

*kaali-* to grind

|                                                                                             |                                                                                                 |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>karima-; karima-<br/>wala karingmaa nganha</i>                                           | to answer<br>'He didn't answer me.' (EH.38:2)                                                   |
| <i>karrawi- (RHM: kurrawirra 'throw')<br/>karrawiyaa ngapa<br/>taal karrawira witjingka</i> | to throw away, throw out; to toss<br>'He threw the water out!'<br>'Put salt on the meat.'       |
| <i>karrka-<br/>ngapa karrkalkapu<br/>intu thi karrkaltu tiipulta</i>                        | to spill<br>'He spilt the water.'<br>'You spilt tea on the table.' (RC.71:5)                    |
| <i>katji-<br/>kutuma katjimanju kwiya</i>                                                   | to catch (Eng.)<br>'I caught a codfish.' (EH.9:6)                                               |
| <i>kawarri-<br/>ngapa kawarriiyu</i>                                                        | to sprinkle<br>'I sprinkle a little water (into the cooking hole).'<br>(EH.12:9)                |
| <i>kayama-<br/>kuya kayamipu<br/>nharayu puka kayamatharrantu</i>                           | to fish<br>'He's going fishing.'<br>'I saw you fishing.'                                        |
| <i>kiirru-<br/>ngathu kiirrukuyu</i>                                                        | to scale fish<br>'I will scale the fish.' (EH.78:2)                                             |
| <i>kikima-<br/>kirrki-<br/>kirrkimayu pakirr pangkay ngapayita</i>                          | to kick (possibly Eng.)<br>to kick<br>'I kicked the bucket which had water in it.'<br>(EH.56:2) |
| <i>kitji-kitji-<br/>yipira punha wala kitji-kitjimpapa<br/>punha</i>                        | to tickle; to molest; to annoy<br>'Leave him alone; don't tickle him!'                          |
| <i>kituwa-<br/>kuya thika kituware</i>                                                      | to scale fish<br>'Scale my fish!'                                                               |
| <i>kumu<br/>lusitmay mani thika...kumunkayiyu</i>                                           | to drop accidentally<br>'I lost my money – dropped it somewhere.'<br>(EH.14:14)                 |
| <i>kunki-<br/>kunkita punha mankarra<br/>kunkalkuyu pipina</i>                              | cover up or over<br>'Cover him up with a blanket.'<br>'I will cover the baby up.'               |
| <i>kurta-<br/>ngunakupu pukaa warri; kurtara<br/>punhay</i>                                 | to feel<br>'He might be lying dead; you feel him.' (EH.63:1)                                    |
| <i>kuumpi-<br/>Mrs Baker kuumpingaa nganha<br/>kartingku</i>                                | to paint<br>'Mrs Baker painted me with (bitter) medicine.'<br>(EH.70:6)                         |

|                                                                                                                              |                                                                                                              |
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| <i>maa</i> (RHM: <i>mara</i> )<br><i>maantaayu punha yakipal</i>                                                             | to take; to get<br>'I took the knife.' (EH.59:3)                                                             |
| <i>manja-</i><br><i>kaarn manjamaray puha</i>                                                                                | to torment, joke with, tease<br>'He was tormenting the snake.'                                               |
| <i>mipa-</i><br><i>nguru mipara punha nguru</i>                                                                              | to wipe<br>'Wipe the kid's nose!' (EH.52:2)                                                                  |
| <i>muu-</i> (RHM: <i>mulguyu</i> )<br><i>muulkuyu witji</i>                                                                  | (1) to cook<br>'I'll cook the meat.'                                                                         |
| <i>muulkuyu mathan</i>                                                                                                       | (2) to burn<br>'I will burn the wood.'                                                                       |
| <i>muuka-</i><br><i>muukalaa punha kuthara</i>                                                                               | to nurse in the arms<br>'He's nursing the baby.' (EH.64:1)                                                   |
| <i>nayinjama-</i><br><i>wala nayinjama (?punha)</i>                                                                          | to ridicule, poke fun at<br>'Don't poke fun at it.' (JB.5B:3)                                                |
| <i>ngaanki-</i><br><i>ngaankayita punha</i>                                                                                  | to ask<br>'They asked him.'                                                                                  |
| <i>ngaanta-</i><br><i>thuu ngurruntju kapunj ngaantaa</i>                                                                    | to lay eggs; to give birth to<br>'The emu lays a lot of eggs.' (EH.27:10)                                    |
| <i>ngaarri-</i><br><i>ngaarriliyu tharrana</i>                                                                               | to joke with<br>'I have a joke with them.' (EH.5:6)                                                          |
| <i>ngama tha-</i> (RHM: <i>ngummadhadhira</i> )<br>'suck as a child'<br><i>kuthara ngama thathirra</i>                       | to suck (lit. eat breast)<br>'The baby is sucking at his mother's breast.' (JB)                              |
| <i>ngarpa-; ngarrpa-</i> (RHM: <i>ngarba</i> )<br><i>wala ngarparana</i>                                                     | to steal; to snap, grab, bite (JB); to snatch or take<br>forcibly from<br>'Don't take it off me!' (EH.56:2)  |
| <i>ngawi-</i><br><i>ngawira punha karti</i><br><i>minjan ngara ngawilalapu</i>                                               | to swallow<br>'Swallow the medicine.' (EH.30:4)<br>'What did he swallow?'                                    |
| <i>ngu-</i> (RHM: <i>ngua</i> 'request')<br><i>nguwana</i><br><i>ngumintu tharrana</i><br><i>nhuwanha kapupil kapu pakul</i> | to give<br>'Give it to me!'<br>'You are giving it away to them.'<br>'Give me two bob (shillings).' (EH.27:7) |
| <i>ngumpa-</i><br><i>ngumpathaa pantanj kupingku</i>                                                                         | to fill in; to block up (as a hole in tin)<br>'The doctor blocked that hole up.'                             |
| <i>ngunta-; nginti-</i><br><i>nguntayu punha</i>                                                                             | to know<br>'I know him.'                                                                                     |

|                                                       |                                                     |
|-------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| <i>nha-</i> (RHM: <i>naga</i> 'observe')              | (1) to see, look at, observe                        |
| <i>nharay panga</i>                                   | 'I see you.'                                        |
| <i>yarraaman nhayinipu ngariya mayinjku</i>           | 'He sees the man's horse.'                          |
| <i>Robin yantipu thayin nhayintjira panga</i>         | 'Robin is coming over to see you.'                  |
| <i>nhaarapula</i>                                     | 'They two looked up.'                               |
| <i>nhayinipu puka yarraaman</i>                       | 'He's looking at his horse.' (EH.29:4)              |
|                                                       | (2) to hear                                         |
| <i>wala nhaarayita nganha</i>                         | 'They didn't hear me.' (EH.16:6)                    |
| <i>wiya nhaantu witji-witji</i>                       | 'Do you hear the birds singing?' (EH.19:6)          |
| <i>nhanja-</i>                                        | to torment; to scold                                |
| <i>milamila wala nhanjamara punha</i>                 | 'Poor little fellow, don't scold him!' (EH.30:4)    |
| <i>nhanka-</i>                                        | to swear at someone                                 |
| <i>nhankaa nganha</i>                                 | 'He swore at me.'                                   |
| <i>nhankatharripu ngariyana mayinj</i>                | 'That man over there is swearing to himself.'       |
|                                                       | (EH.30:1)                                           |
| <i>nhima-</i>                                         | to hold                                             |
| <i>nhima anji nganha</i>                              | holding me (JB.34B:1)                               |
| <i>nhunpi-</i> (RHM: <i>nunbi</i> 'conceal')          | to hide                                             |
| <i>nhumpikuna kuyinjngu nhunganta</i>                 | 'We'll plant (hide) here in the scrub from the      |
| <i>mirtingka</i>                                      | white man.' (EH.29:5)                               |
| <i>ngariya ngathu nhunpalantu panga</i>               | 'I watched you hide it.' (EH.41:3)                  |
| <i>nhunpalkuyu witji thika</i>                        | 'I'm going to plant my meat.'                       |
| <i>nhuntu-; nuntu-</i>                                | to block an entrance, close off or shut an          |
| <i>taa nhuntuwakanta</i>                              | opening                                             |
| <i>nuntutkayira paayara</i>                           | 'Do you want to shut the door?'                     |
| <i>thurltu kulayipu thayin kunthipatha</i>            | 'They (bees) closed it (hole in bark) up with wax.' |
| <i>nuntuwara</i>                                      | 'A dust storm is coming; shut the place up.'        |
| <i>nhurra-</i>                                        | to rub together, grind; to stamp on                 |
| <i>nhurrangkunja</i>                                  | 'I will stamp on it.' (RHM)                         |
| <i>nhaypa nhurrangara punha pakura</i>                | 'Grind the knife on the stone.' (EH.81:3)           |
| <i>niringma; yirrinjma-</i>                           | to tease                                            |
| <i>wala niringmara punha putji</i>                    | 'Don't tease my cat.' (EH.30:2)                     |
| <i>yirrinjmayita parna mathantu</i>                   | '(The kids) are teasing the goanna with a stick.'   |
|                                                       | (RC.9:4)                                            |
| <i>nurranga-</i> (RHM: <i>nurrunggunya</i> )          | to stamp on                                         |
| <i>pa-(n)</i> (RHM: <i>bundhira</i> 'strike or beat') | to hit, beat, strike; to spear; to kill             |
| <i>pankuyu panga</i>                                  | 'I'm going to hit you.'                             |
| <i>minjan kala pantarantu kuya</i>                    | 'How many fish did you catch?'                      |
| <i>pantarayu punha mathantu ngartkara</i>             | 'I knocked a wallaroo down with a stick.'           |



|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>paampa-</i><br><i>kurrurrinja, kurrurrinja yantayita</i><br><i>mayinj ngara warrinj maanangka</i><br><i>paamparaku thirra palkantaaku puka</i>                                                                                                                                 | to stop, block, check, balk at, hold back<br><br>'The men came closer and closer in a circle to block his way out.' (JB.75B:309)<br>'You are stopping me.'<br>'I will stop it.' (JB.34B:1)            |
| <i>paampirintu nganha</i><br><i>paamparayiyupu</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>paantima-</i><br><i>yaman wangka paantimaa</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | to find<br>'He found one nest.'                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>paki-; waki-</i><br><i>partala pakilmikuyu piyan</i><br><i>wakilpaa piyan thika</i>                                                                                                                                                                                            | to wash clothes<br>'I'll wash the clothes tomorrow.' (EH.59:3)<br>'I washed my clothes.'                                                                                                              |
| <i>pana-</i><br><i>panampiya wii</i><br><i>panangkiyaa (?panampiyaa) milkiri</i><br><i>punha</i>                                                                                                                                                                                  | cover over<br>covering over the fire<br><br>'Ants crawled all over him (so as to completely cover him).' (EH.22:1)                                                                                    |
| <i>panga-</i><br><i>pangayiyu piyan thika mathantu</i><br><br><i>wala pangara</i>                                                                                                                                                                                                 | to tear<br>'I tore my dress on the branch of a tree.' (EH.56:2)<br>'Don't tear it!'                                                                                                                   |
| <i>panpi-</i><br><i>panpira</i><br><i>mayintju panpiyaa naypu wirrungarala</i><br><i>mara</i>                                                                                                                                                                                     | to catch, grab, grasp<br>'Catch it!'<br><br>'The man grabbed the knife, scratching my hand.'                                                                                                          |
| <i>pari-; parrima-; partima-</i><br><i>parimiyira mara thika</i><br><i>maantayita punha parrimayita punha</i><br><i>mara puka</i><br><i>partimathaa partimaray lace mantuwii</i><br><i>pangka</i><br><i>partimalkuyu yarraaman kurangku</i><br><i>partimayita punha mara puka</i> | to tie up<br>'They tied my hands up.'<br><br>'The police brought him in with his hands tied.'<br><br>'Tie your shoe laces.'<br>'I will tie up the horse with some rope.'<br>'They tied his hands up.' |
| <i>parru-; parrupa-</i><br><i>ngathu ngapa parruyu</i><br><i>parrupanga ngapa, parrupanga kapngka</i><br><i>parrupanga</i>                                                                                                                                                        | to pour out; to spill<br>'I spill the water (poured it out).' (RC)<br><br>'Pour the water out, pour it in to the cup.' (EH.30:3)                                                                      |
| <i>parta-</i><br><i>palanjku partarayu punha</i><br><i>ngathu partakuyu yingura</i><br><i>minjanku partiyintu</i>                                                                                                                                                                 | to punch<br>'I punched him for nothing.' (JB.54)<br>'I'm going to punch you.'<br>'Why did you punch him?'                                                                                             |

|                                                                                                                                                                |                                                                                                                                                               |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>paru-</i><br><i>wala piya parungara</i>                                                                                                                     | to extinguish<br>'Don't put the fire out!'                                                                                                                    |
| <i>pata-</i>                                                                                                                                                   | to pick up                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>payinti-</i><br><i>payintimanja</i>                                                                                                                         | to find (Eng.)<br>'I found it.' (EH.21C)                                                                                                                      |
| <i>pinampi-</i> (RHM: <i>binnambi</i> 'hear')<br><i>pinampiya kayila Muruwari</i>                                                                              | (1) to remember<br>'I remember Muruwari.'<br>(2) to think about (probably what one has heard, from <i>pina</i> 'ear')<br>'He thought of the child.'           |
| <i>pinampiliyaa kuthara</i>                                                                                                                                    |                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>pingka-</i> (RHM: <i>bingga</i> )<br><i>kimay pingkalkuyu</i><br><i>mukara ngara thinangka ngathungku</i><br><i>pingkara ngara mukara</i>                   | to prick, stab, pierce; to pick out<br>'I'm going to dig a yam.' (RC.9:3)<br><br>'I have a burr in my foot; pick the burr out.'<br>(JB.5B:4/JT transcription) |
| <i>pintjuwi-</i> (RHM: <i>bindyau</i> 'suck as<br>a wound')<br><i>pintjuwipu yalaali ngara</i>                                                                 | to suck<br>'He's sucking a lolly.' (JB.34B)                                                                                                                   |
| <i>piti-; pitji-</i><br><i>pitira parangka wartungka</i><br><i>thayin yana kimay pitjiyintu</i><br><i>wartu pitjina tiinj</i>                                  | to dig<br>'Dig a pit for steaming food.'<br>'Come and dig yams.'<br>'We'll dig a burrow.'                                                                     |
| <i>piya; pii-</i> (abbrev.)<br><i>Shillinnga piyanthayu punha</i>                                                                                              | to ask<br>'I'll ask Shillin about it.'                                                                                                                        |
| <i>piyaka-</i><br><i>piyikatharrananji piyinka tharrana</i>                                                                                                    | to ask in marriage<br>'When they ask if they can live together.'                                                                                              |
| <i>pu-</i> (RHM: <i>bungirra</i> 'hit by throwing')<br><i>minjan puntantu</i><br><i>thanangku puta punha</i><br><i>putharrira marlingku</i><br><i>pumayipu</i> | to hit; to kill<br>'What did you kill him for?'<br>'He hit him with his knuckles.'<br>'He was hit by a boomerang.'<br>in order to hit (JB.1B:6)               |
| <i>pulta-</i><br><i>pultanja pakurla</i>                                                                                                                       | to ask (probably to beg)<br>'I asked you for money.'                                                                                                          |
| <i>pulu-</i><br><i>pululkunja</i>                                                                                                                              | to flog, beat a person<br>'I will flog him!'                                                                                                                  |
| <i>puluka-</i><br><i>pulukaayayu</i>                                                                                                                           | to lose<br>'I lost it.' (JB.54B)                                                                                                                              |
| <i>pumpi-</i><br><i>pumpliyanja nhuuki</i>                                                                                                                     | to pick something up<br>'I picked it up.' (EH.32:1)                                                                                                           |
| <i>puri-</i> (RHM: <i>burira</i> 'chop (with axe)')<br><i>purira punha mathan wiiku</i>                                                                        | to chop<br>'Chop the limb off the tree for firewood.'                                                                                                         |

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| <i>purra-</i><br><i>ngathu piyarn thika purrangayu</i>                                                                                                                                         | to sew<br>'I'm sewing myself a dress.' (EH.30:5)                                                                                           |
| <i>puthaa-</i><br><i>puthaara punha paka punha kulanku</i><br><i>ngartkungku</i>                                                                                                               | to rip apart<br><br>'The wallaroo ripped him (the dog) apart.'<br>(EH.13:14)                                                               |
| <i>puu-</i><br><i>pithal puurayira murrinj</i>                                                                                                                                                 | to pull or strip off<br>'They stripped the bark off the tree.' (EH.26:12)                                                                  |
| <i>pumpi-</i> (RHM: <i>bumbira</i> 'blow with<br>breath')<br><i>puumpira wii</i><br><br><i>puumpitjirayu paypu</i>                                                                             | (1) to blow up or out; to blaze up (of fire)<br>'Blow up the fire!'<br>(2) to smoke<br>'I want to smoke a pipe.'                           |
| <i>puungki-</i><br><i>puungkipu mirti</i>                                                                                                                                                      | to set alight<br>'He set fire to the scrub.' (EH.30:6)                                                                                     |
| <i>puuta-</i><br><i>mangkarr puutayu</i>                                                                                                                                                       | to take down from a height<br>'I took my bag down (from the tree). (EH.70:5)                                                               |
| <i>tanpi-</i><br><i>wala tanpintu ngapa wiingka</i><br><i>tanpiykuyu ngapa panikanta</i>                                                                                                       | to pour over<br>'Don't pour water on the fire!'<br>'I'll pour water into the mug.' (RC.9:2)                                                |
| <i>tatuma-</i><br><i>wala tatungmaranga putji</i><br><i>yimpira punha</i>                                                                                                                      | to prod, poke<br><br>'Don't poke the cat – leave him alone!'                                                                               |
| <i>tha-</i> (RHM: <i>thaddhira</i> 'eat';<br><i>ngubba-thaddhira</i> 'drink')<br><i>kartukartu thala</i><br><i>ngama thathirra kuthara</i><br><i>thatharri</i><br><i>thaanku ngara yanmiyu</i> | to eat; to drink; to suck<br>'Eat fast!'<br>'The child is nursing at the breast.'<br>'Get up and have a feed.'<br>'I'm going to eat.' (JB) |
| <i>thi-thi</i><br><i>mukutintju thithimayi punha</i>                                                                                                                                           | to tease, pester, annoy<br>'The women teased him.'                                                                                         |
| <i>thinama-</i> (RHM: <i>dinnamara</i> )<br><i>yaan thinamara punha</i><br><br><i>tirraaka kurli thinamantu</i>                                                                                | (1) to send<br>'Send him a message.'<br>(2) to erect, construct<br>'How do you put up a humpy?'                                            |
| <i>thingki-</i><br><i>kiyantu thinkgil thana</i>                                                                                                                                               | to meet<br>'The moon met them.' (JB.74)                                                                                                    |
| <i>thintuwa-</i><br><i>thintuwayi punha</i>                                                                                                                                                    | to track some one or thing<br>'(He was) tracking it (the kangaroo).'                                                                       |
| <i>thipi-</i><br><i>thipilma ngutintu parranta</i>                                                                                                                                             | (1) to sweep<br>'Can you sweep the veranda?'                                                                                               |

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| <i>tukulmara thana thipungara</i>                   | (2) to pick up<br>'When they drop it, pick it up!' (EH.22:3) |
| <i>thulka-</i>                                      | to cut                                                       |
| <i>thulkalkuyu</i>                                  | 'I will cut it.' (S)                                         |
| <i>thulkaltharriiyu</i>                             | 'I cut myself.' (S)                                          |
| <i>thulpu-</i>                                      | to drop                                                      |
| <i>thulpukayi palayiki</i>                          | 'I dropped the plate!'                                       |
| <i>thuma-</i> (RHM: <i>dhudhia</i> )                | to break                                                     |
| <i>thumaanja pulayi</i>                             | 'I broke a plate.'                                           |
| <i>minjan thumanmintu punha</i>                     | 'What are you breaking now?' (EH.29:4)                       |
| <i>thumpa-</i>                                      | to scold, rouse upon, chastise                               |
| <i>thumpalkuyu punka</i>                            | 'I will scold him.' (S)                                      |
| <i>thumpaala kuthara puka tharraangu</i>            |                                                              |
| <i>tharra yintaa</i>                                | 'The man who was drunk was rousing on his kids.' (EH.30:4)   |
| <i>thunma-</i>                                      | to squeeze                                                   |
| <i>thunmayu punha</i>                               | 'I squeezed it.'                                             |
| <i>thuumpa-</i> (RHM: <i>thumbarra</i> )            | to point at                                                  |
| <i>putji thuumpayita kurru-kurrungku</i>            | 'They all pointed at the cat.'                               |
| <i>tunga-</i>                                       | to cut (as tear skin)                                        |
| <i>piki tungaa minyantu pakulu</i>                  | 'Why did you cut your arm with a sharp stone?' (EH.26:10)    |
| <i>wanga-</i>                                       | to chase                                                     |
| <i>wangalkuyu punha</i>                             | 'I will chase him.' (EH.30:4)                                |
| <i>yukarta-yukarta wangalaa nganha</i>              | 'The <i>yukarta-yukarta</i> chased me.' (EH.35:6)            |
| <i>wanti</i>                                        | to want (Eng.)                                               |
| <i>minjan wantimantu</i>                            | 'What do you want?' (EH.10:6)                                |
| <i>warra-; waa-</i> (RHM: <i>wurra</i> 'fall down') | (1) to fall, drop                                            |
| <i>kurayitangku palanj waaka nganha</i>             | 'The policeman nearly dropped me.'                           |
| <i>warrilayu wiingka parriyu</i>                    | 'If I fall in to the fire, I get burnt.' (RC.4:2)            |
| <i>ngapaku kula warrayita wartuku</i>               | (2) to go or travel 'down' to a place                        |
| <i>warraapu Sydneyku</i>                            | 'The kangaroos came down to the water for a drink.'          |
| <i>kurnta warray ngurraku</i>                       | 'He went down to Sydney.' (JB.24B:2)                         |
| <i>watuwa-; warrawa-</i> (RHM: <i>wurrawa</i> )     | 'I was down in camp yesterday.'                              |
| <i>watuwanmiyira punha</i>                          | to search for                                                |
| <i>wirru-</i> (RHM: <i>wirrungurra</i> )            | 'They are searching for her.' (EH.19:4)                      |
| <i>putjikat wirrungaku panga</i>                    | to scratch                                                   |
| <i>ngariya wirrukarana puliya kuntarl...</i>        | 'That cat will scratch you.' (EH.29:5)                       |
| <i>kurni</i>                                        | 'Look at the dog scratching fleas.' (EH.29:5)                |

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| <i>wuna-</i><br><i>wunay; pingkaala wunayipu</i>                                                                                                              | to spear<br>'He stuck the spear in him.' (EH.157:2)                                                                                                                             |
| <i>wutha-</i><br><i>wuthaa wilata</i>                                                                                                                         | to carry<br>'He carried the tomahawk.'                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>yala-</i><br><i>yalakara</i>                                                                                                                               | to push<br>'Push it!'                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>yilurrma-</i>                                                                                                                                              | to lose something                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>yima-</i><br><i>mathantu yimathara punha pakal</i>                                                                                                         | to hold, prevent from moving<br>'The stick stopped the stone from rolling.'                                                                                                     |
| <i>yimpi-</i><br><i>kunthingka (y)impiyu purlkunj thika</i><br><i>impiyayu Briwarrina</i><br><i>yimpiyaa nganha mayangka</i><br><i>yimpita nhura yimpiray</i> | to leave<br>'I left my things in a house in town.'<br>'I left Brewarrina.' (JB.25B:2)<br>'He left me on the ground.'<br>'Leave it alone!' (EH.2:3)                              |
| <i>yinpa-</i><br><i>yinpayira</i>                                                                                                                             | to ignore; to be of no significance<br>'Never mind it!'                                                                                                                         |
| <i>yita-</i><br><i>kampi-kampingku yitalyaa panga</i><br><i>poisonmipu panga</i>                                                                              | to bite<br><br>'When a spider bites you, he poisons you.'<br>(EH.70:6)                                                                                                          |
| <i>yiya-</i><br><i>yiwalkuyu</i>                                                                                                                              | to push aside<br>'I will push it aside.'                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>yuwa-</i><br><i>yuwanka pakul puka</i><br><i>yuwalkiyaa</i><br><i>yuwalkaaya naypa puka</i>                                                                | to lose<br>'He lost his money.'<br>'He became lost.' (EH.19:4)<br>'He lost his knife.' (EH.207M)                                                                                |
| <b>9.3.4.2 INTRANSITIVE VERBS</b>                                                                                                                             |                                                                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>kaangki-</i><br><i>kaangkipu ngapangka</i><br><i>kanuu karanta yapina ngapangka</i><br><i>kaangkimipu</i><br><i>ngara kaangkiyaapu kanta ngapangka</i>     | to float, go across water<br>'It is floating on the water.' (RC.9:2)<br><br>'They took the boat away in the water.' (EH.29:5)<br>'Then he floated on top of the water.' (JB.KM) |
| <i>kaanti-</i><br><i>ngapa kaantiminaa</i>                                                                                                                    | to flow<br>'Water is flowing in the river.'                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>kalathari-; kalatharri-</i><br><i>kalatharimukuna yuurintja kiyanta</i><br><i>kuwarri yantaa kalatharriya</i>                                              | to hunt<br>'We'll go hunting in the moonlight.'<br>'He's away hunting.' (EH.30:3)                                                                                               |
| <i>kami-</i><br><i>kamimiyu ngurraku thika</i>                                                                                                                | (1) to return home<br>'I'm returning to my camp.'                                                                                                                               |

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| <i>kamimuka niya nhurranganta<br/>kamilaa</i>                                                                                                                                                        | (2) to come beside a person<br>'Come and sit with us.' (EH.29:7)<br>going home (SJ)                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>kampi-<br/>ngathu piyan kampilkuyu piyan<br/>puplikaaku ngari yankuyu</i>                                                                                                                         | to dress<br><br>'I'm getting dressed to go to the pub.' (RC.8:5)                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>kanturl; kanturl pa-; kalu- (abbrev.)<br/>kanturl paliyu pirru parna ngara<br/>kanturl paliyu ngurrunjku witjiku<br/>kalulmiyu</i>                                                                | to be hungry<br>'I'm hungry for goanna.' (EH.13:14)<br>'I'm hungry for emu meat.' (EH.29:2)<br>'I am hungry.'                                                                                                               |
| <i>karra-<br/>karrayu kaanngu</i>                                                                                                                                                                    | to be afraid<br>'I'm afraid of snakes.'                                                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>karrarri-<br/>minyanu karrarrintu minyan maarrintu</i>                                                                                                                                            | to moan<br>'What are you moaning for? Are you sick?'<br>(EH.21:4)                                                                                                                                                           |
| <i>kawi-<br/><br/>kawiyiyira tinti<br/>purarn kawiminyiri yaanminiyiri<br/>purarn<br/><br/>kawiliyu pulana</i>                                                                                       | to call, sing out (of birds and animals as well as<br>humans calling each other)<br>'The native bees are buzzing.'<br><br>'The mosquitoes are starting to sing out now.'<br>(EH.27:8)<br>'I sang out to those two fellows.' |
| <i>kayamparr-<br/>kayamparrkuyu</i>                                                                                                                                                                  | to clothe oneself<br>'I'll put my clothes on myself.' (EH.64:2)                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>kayi (RHM: kaimburra 'fill'; kaindyera<br/>'dive')<br/>kayinthira tiintja kaanki<br/>nhuungka kayimpaa ngara<br/>paturrungka nguwa ngara kayinthayita<br/>ngathu kayinkuyu ngapangka piringka</i> | to go through, enter; to dive (JB.61)<br>'The snake is going into its hole.'<br>'It went through here.' (JB.61B:5)<br>'They dived so low.'<br>'I will dive into the waters of the Birrie Creek.'<br>(RC.9:2)                |
| <i>kayimpa- (RHM: gaimburra)</i>                                                                                                                                                                     | to fill; to put into                                                                                                                                                                                                        |
| <i>kilpi-<br/>kilya pa-<br/>wiya kilya paylintu</i>                                                                                                                                                  | to sneak up on someone<br><br>to be tired<br>'Are you tired?'                                                                                                                                                               |
| <i>kinta (RHM: kinda)<br/>kintaytjarila kalkaka mayinjka</i>                                                                                                                                         | to laugh<br>'He laughs at all the people.'                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>kirrawi-<br/>kirrawilkiyu</i>                                                                                                                                                                     | to scrape<br>'I am scraping the wood.' (S)                                                                                                                                                                                  |
| <i>kirri- (RHM: burbiddhyera-kirrira<br/>(lit. to jump about)</i>                                                                                                                                    | to dance or corroboree                                                                                                                                                                                                      |

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| <i>wakatha kirriyaa</i><br><i>kirrilayira</i>                                                                   | 'He danced the <i>wagatha</i> corroboree.'<br>when they are corroboreeing                                                                                      |
| <i>kiwa kurra-</i><br><i>kiwa kurrathara ngapa</i>                                                              | to urinate<br>'(The cattle) dirty the water.' (EH.53:1)                                                                                                        |
| <i>kuka-</i><br><i>kukaylimipu</i><br><i>wala kukanga</i>                                                       | to limp<br>'He's limping.' (EH.4C:2)<br>'Don't limp!'                                                                                                          |
| <i>kula-; kurla</i><br><i>wantanj kulaykuntu</i><br><i>ngara kulawiguli ngara pantarana</i><br><i>piki-piki</i> | (1) to return to a place, go again<br>'When will you return?'<br><br>'Let's go back to the place where we killed the pig.' (EH.11:7)                           |
| <i>kulamipu ngurraku</i>                                                                                        | 'He was returning to camp.'                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>kurlanmiyu waantili</i>                                                                                      | (2) to climb, ascend<br>'We (I with you) are going up for work.'<br>(EH.17:7)                                                                                  |
| <i>kurlayipu mathanta</i><br><i>kulathipu kantanji ngapaki</i><br><i>kukay mathanta kulaapu</i>                 | 'He's climbing the tree.'<br>'The water is rising.' (EH.19:1)<br>'The possum climbed the tree.'                                                                |
| <i>kulka-</i><br><i>kulkathanaa</i>                                                                             | to dance a corroboree<br>'He was corroboreeing.' (EH.14:5)                                                                                                     |
| <i>kumaa-</i><br><i>kumaayu ngathu</i>                                                                          | to go 'through' (i.e. missing)<br>'I went through/missing.' (JB.61B:5)                                                                                         |
| <i>kumpi-</i><br><i>kumpitjaniyu</i>                                                                            | to paint oneself<br>'I painted myself.' (S)                                                                                                                    |
| <i>kunu-</i><br><i>kununtingathu</i>                                                                            | to sneak along<br>'When he's sneaking along this way.' (EH.157:5)                                                                                              |
| <i>kurluwi-; kuruwi-</i>                                                                                        | to bend down; to walk with body stooped down so<br>as to prevent one's shadow from falling across<br>another person [a sign of disrespect if this<br>happened] |
| <i>kuruwiyu maara ngathu</i>                                                                                    | 'I bent down to pick up (sticks).' (EH.21:4)                                                                                                                   |
| <i>kurtitjari-</i>                                                                                              | to become angry                                                                                                                                                |
| <i>kuumpi-</i><br><i>wiya kuthara kuumpiykupu</i>                                                               | (1) to wash<br>'Will the child have a bogey (wash)?' (EH.1:9)                                                                                                  |
| <i>kuumpirra ngapangka</i>                                                                                      | (2) to dive<br>'Dive into the water.' (EH.70:6)                                                                                                                |
| <i>kuwi- (RHM: kui)</i>                                                                                         | to whistle                                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>maari-; maarri</i><br><i>thuu tharilayu tuku maarikuyu</i><br><i>ngathu maarriyu thalingka</i>               | to hurt, pain, be sick<br>'If I eat too much I get a pain in a stomach.'<br>'I have a pain in my chest.' (RC.70:2)                                             |

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| <i>makulni-</i><br><i>ngariya makulnimina kanta mathanta</i>                                                                        | to shin up a tree<br>'Look at (the boy) shinning up a tree.' (EH.30:1)                                                    |
| <i>mara-</i><br><i>maratayu warrara ngathu</i>                                                                                      | to slip<br>'I slipped and fell.' (EH.21:4)                                                                                |
| <i>marntu-</i><br><i>marntulayina ngurrunj wangkangka</i>                                                                           | to drum (sound made by emus)<br>'The emu is drumming on his nest.'<br>(EH.157M:10)                                        |
| <i>milin yura-</i><br><i>milin yurangkiyu</i>                                                                                       | to be sorry<br>'I am sorry.' (JB)                                                                                         |
| <i>murra-</i> (RHM: <i>muralli</i> )<br><i>murraywila</i><br><i>murraliyiyu</i>                                                     | to vomit<br>'when he vomited' (RC.39:2)<br>'I vomited.' (JB.59:5)                                                         |
| <i>murri-</i><br><i>murriyanji</i>                                                                                                  | to drown<br>'He got drowned.'                                                                                             |
| <i>muthi-</i> (RHM: <i>mudhil</i> )                                                                                                 | to kiss                                                                                                                   |
| <i>nawa-</i><br><i>kukunkuyu ngariya ngathu</i><br><i>nawangkuyu yingura</i>                                                        | to lie, tell untruth<br><br>'I lied to you.' (RC.8:5)                                                                     |
| <i>ngaa-</i><br><i>ngaara</i>                                                                                                       | to breathe<br>'(The doctor says,) "Breathe in!"' (EH.57:4)                                                                |
| <i>ngaaki-; ngaa-</i> (abbrev.)<br><i>minjan warri ngaankiliyira</i><br><br><i>thuu ngaakingiyita bingo</i>                         | to play<br>'I don't know what kind of games they are playing.'<br>'They are all playing bingo.' (RC.9:1)                  |
| <i>ngarnta-</i><br><i>ngarntaliya punha milkiringka</i><br><i>ngaaringka</i><br><br><i>nguna-</i> (RHM: <i>ngunandhira</i> 'sleep') | to crawl<br><br>'Ants crawled all over him.'                                                                              |
| <i>nguri-</i><br><br><i>miil thika nguriyu</i>                                                                                      | to lie down, lie upon, rest, sleep                                                                                        |
| <i>ngurrki-</i><br><i>ngurrkiyaa manuku nganura</i>                                                                                 | to be blinded by the sun (?funny in your eye when the sun gets in your eyes)<br>when you (get) funny in the eye (EH.27:3) |
| <i>nhanti-</i><br><i>nhantiyira</i>                                                                                                 | to ask for something<br>'He asked me for some bread.' (EH.10:7)                                                           |
| <i>niya-</i> (RHM: <i>nia</i> )<br><i>kartu-kartu niyantaapu mayinj</i><br><i>niya paru</i>                                         | to go away from camp<br>'They all left the camp.' (EH.40:1)                                                               |
|                                                                                                                                     | sit<br>'The man sat down quickly.' (EH.29:6)<br>'Sit down on the ground.'                                                 |



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| <i>nupa-</i><br><i>nupalkuwi pangakuyu yanmilantu<br/>mila-milakaampa</i>                                                                  | to be lonely for, miss the presence of<br><br>'I'll miss you when you go, poor girl!' (EH.22:3)                                                                                 |
| <i>nurra-</i><br><i>nurrangira</i>                                                                                                         | to rub<br>'When you rub something.' (EH.70:5)                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>pa-; paa-</i><br><br><i>kampa wii paara<br/>purtu payipu<br/>purtu patjayipu</i>                                                        | to do, cause to happen [used in relation to natural happenings as the ignition of fire, or the act of rain]<br>'Light the fire again.'<br>'It is raining.'<br>'Rain is coming.' |
| <i>paangki-</i> (RHM: <i>banggi</i> )<br><i>kurrukuru kuthara paangkiyita<br/>ngarntungka<br/>yarraman paangkiminaa</i>                    | to swim<br><br>'All the children are swimming in the river.'<br>'Look, there's a horse swimming over there.'<br>(EH.29:4)                                                       |
| <i>paanti-</i><br><i>paantinilinaa</i>                                                                                                     | to be unable to swim<br>'He couldn't swim.'                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>paayi-</i>                                                                                                                              | to burst forth (JB)                                                                                                                                                             |
| <i>paka-</i><br><i>wayilki miil pakinipu</i><br><br><i>pungkil pakayira</i><br><br><i>ngariya piyan pakiyaa</i>                            | (1) to open<br>'His eyes are still open.'<br>(2) to bloom<br>'The flowers are blooming.'<br>(3) to be torn<br>'Her dress got torn.'                                             |
| <i>pakuu niya-</i>                                                                                                                         | to sit with legs folded                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>pala-</i> (RHM: <i>bullambi</i> )<br><i>mirrinj palanpiyila</i>                                                                         | to shine<br>'The stars are shining.'                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>pali</i> (RHM: <i>bullindyira</i> )<br><i>paliyaa</i>                                                                                   | to die<br>'He died.'                                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>palka-</i><br><i>palkaa ngurraku yaman mayinj<br/>palkalmimpu tirrkaya<br/>palkaypu kunthingu<br/>wala ngara thayin palkanthirrintu</i> | to come, proceed from; to blow (wind)<br>'One man came to the camp.'<br>'A dust storm is blowing up.'<br>'He comes out from his house.'<br>'You are not to come out.'           |
| <i>pampa-</i><br><i>nhantaara ngathu pampatalayita</i>                                                                                     | to fight<br>'I used to watch them fight.' (EH.13:9)                                                                                                                             |
| <i>para-</i><br><i>kuwanj paralaa pumpungu</i>                                                                                             | to flow; to bleed<br>'Blood was flowing out of my head.'                                                                                                                        |
| <i>pari-</i><br><i>parimipunji ngapa</i>                                                                                                   | to lower position or level of<br>'The river is falling.' (EH.72:1)                                                                                                              |

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| <i>parla-</i><br><i>milinjuyita parlaykuntu</i><br><i>parlariya kantangu mathanngu</i>                                                    | to slip, slide<br>'You will slip in the mud.'<br>'He slid down the tree.' (EH.30:1)                                         |
| <i>parnanga-</i><br><i>thirriya parnanganmipu</i>                                                                                         | roll away<br>'It (pencil) is rolling away (from me).'                                                                       |
| <i>parra-</i><br><i>thurri parramilaanji ngunaapulanji</i>                                                                                | to ascend; to arise<br>'At sunrise (lit. when the sun was rising) the two (women) went to sleep.'                           |
| <i>parri-</i><br><i>parriyu</i>                                                                                                           | (1) to be hot<br>'I am hot.'                                                                                                |
| <i>kurru-kurru parriyita</i>                                                                                                              | (2) to drink (when thirsty from heat)<br>'They drink all the water.' (EH.48:2)                                              |
| <i>manu parrakaa</i><br><i>manu thika mukiyu parriya manu</i>                                                                             | (3) to burn<br>'He burnt the bread.'<br>'I burnt (cooked to overheat) the damper.'                                          |
| <i>parriyaa wiingku</i><br><i>wala wii pirra parriyapu</i>                                                                                | (EH.21:4)<br>'He got burnt in the fire.' (EH.18:7)<br>'The fire is not burning properly.'                                   |
| <i>parriyaa witji</i>                                                                                                                     | (4) be cooked<br>'The meat is cooked.'                                                                                      |
| <i>partikula-</i><br><i>partikulayipu</i>                                                                                                 | jealous<br>'He is jealous.'                                                                                                 |
| <i>pata-</i><br><i>pathi- (RHM: buddhe)</i><br><i>thayin yantapula pathiyita</i>                                                          | to dig<br>to smell, sniff<br>'Two (dogs) came sniffing around.'                                                             |
| <i>piira-</i><br><i>marangka piirantiyu</i>                                                                                               | to have possession of<br>'I've got it in my hand.'                                                                          |
| <i>pilpa-</i><br><i>kuwanj pilparapu pumpungka</i>                                                                                        | to bleed<br>'His head was bleeding.'                                                                                        |
| <i>pinathina-</i><br><i>pinathinanipula yingura</i><br><i>pinathinamukaya</i>                                                             | to hear; to listen to<br>'They are both listening to you.' (EH.71:3)<br>'Keep on listening!'                                |
| <i>pinayuwalkuwi (RHM: binnayualgui)</i>                                                                                                  | to forget (lit. lose one's ear)                                                                                             |
| <i>pingki-</i><br><i>nguwita mukinj pingkimipu ngaanura</i>                                                                               | to sneak up on<br>'That women is sneaking up on me.'                                                                        |
| <i>pinka- kangkurl</i><br><i>wala pinkara kangkurl</i>                                                                                    | to cough<br>'Don't cough!'                                                                                                  |
| <i>pintju-; pintju pa-</i><br><i>Bilbil pinthuwitjarripu</i><br><i>pintjuwi paanipu putjikaat</i><br><i>mara thika pintjuwiya kuntarl</i> | to lick<br>'Bilbil (cat's name) is licking himself.'<br>'The cat is licking itself.' (EH.29:6)<br>'The dog licked my hand.' |

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| <i>pira pa-</i><br><i>kuthara pira pariyiyita</i>                                                              | to recover from sickness<br>'The children are right (better) now.'                                          |
| <i>puka-</i><br><i>puka warranguntu mathanngu</i><br><i>pukata kirrpayingka</i>                                | to get off, move from<br>'Get off the tree; you might fall.'<br>'Get off my kangaroo skin rug!' (EH.47:5)   |
| <i>puku-</i><br><i>piki thika pukulipu</i><br><i>pukulina pinangka</i>                                         | to swell<br>'My arm was swelling up.'<br>'It swelled up behind the ear.' (EH.30:1)                          |
| <i>pula-</i><br><i>tirra pulantintu</i>                                                                        | to move, travel, go<br>'Where are you going to?'                                                            |
| <i>puli-</i><br><i>kuntarl puliyira</i>                                                                        | to be hungry<br>'The dogs are hungry.'                                                                      |
| <i>punangki-</i><br><i>kuthara punangkipu</i><br><i>thayin punangki</i>                                        | to crawl<br>'The child is crawling.'<br>'Crawl to me!' (EH.30:1)                                            |
| <i>pura-</i><br><i>tirra purathiraku kurru-kurru</i><br><i>karanta puramiyu</i><br><i>puranmiyu karantanji</i> | to go<br>'Where did all that mob go?'<br>'I'm going across the river.'<br>'I'm going across the river now.' |
| <i>purl-purl-</i><br><i>purlpurlriyu marntangu</i>                                                             | to shake<br>'I'm shaking from the cold.'                                                                    |
| <i>purlul niya-</i><br><i>purlul niya</i>                                                                      | to behave properly<br>'Behave yourself!' (lit. sit down quiet) (EH.10:1,<br>12:3, 50:1)                     |
| <i>purra-</i><br><i>purraawiya marlingka</i>                                                                   | to descend<br>'The boomerang came down on the ground.'                                                      |
| <i>purri-</i><br><i>purriira nganti</i><br><i>purritjalayiyu thawintju thuntu</i>                              | to chop<br>'Chop (wood) for me!'<br>'When I was chopping wood I cut my shin.'                               |
| <i>purtpa-</i><br><i>purtpay yanpunji mathanta</i>                                                             | to meet<br>'He met them by the tree.'                                                                       |
| <i>purtpi-</i><br><i>purtpirripu marntangu</i>                                                                 | to jump about; to shiver, shake<br>'He's shivering from the cold.'                                          |
| <i>puuli-</i><br><i>puuliyita milintja</i>                                                                     | to burrow<br>'They burrow in the mud.'                                                                      |
| <i>puuta-</i><br><i>puutaa piyarn puka</i>                                                                     | to undress<br>'She took her dress off.'                                                                     |
| <i>puyi-; puu- (abbrev.)</i><br><i>ngunakuyinji puyira</i>                                                     | to have a rest<br>'I'm going to lie down for a rest now.'                                                   |

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| <i>taki-</i>                                              | to ride, drive                                                                   |
| <i>takilina pakinta yuurintja</i>                         | 'We drove in the buggy at night.' (EH.19:1)                                      |
| <i>tawi-</i>                                              | to re-open a nest in springtime                                                  |
| <i>taaki tawintiyira</i>                                  | 'They (some birds) re-open their nests (in the springtime).'                     |
| <i>tha-; thaa-</i> (RHM: <i>thanthirra</i> 'copulation')  | to copulate                                                                      |
| <i>thaanmuka</i>                                          | '?Continue to copulate.' (EH)                                                    |
| <i>thaanga-</i>                                           | to awaken, arouse                                                                |
| <i>thaangara punha</i>                                    | 'Wake him up!' (EH.63:3)                                                         |
| <i>thaki-</i>                                             | to drag, pull, go through water, to sail or go across water                      |
| <i>kanuu ngapangka thakiyaa thirri kaanthira punha</i>    | 'The boat came through the water, (then) he took it away.'                       |
| <i>thana-</i> (RHM: <i>thunnulgu</i> 'make')              | (1) to make                                                                      |
| <i>thanalkuyu kapu kuliya</i>                             | 'I will make two spears.'                                                        |
| <i>thirra ngurra puka thanaa kurrukurrungu</i>            | 'He's made his camp away from them all.'                                         |
| <i>minjan thanayu</i>                                     | (2) to do                                                                        |
|                                                           | 'What did I do?'                                                                 |
| <i>thangki-</i> (RHM: <i>thunggira</i> 'run')             | to run, bolt; to flow                                                            |
| <i>karlu kitju thangkuyaa</i>                             | 'He ran a short distance.' (JB.KM(36))                                           |
| <i>yaraaman thangkipu</i>                                 | 'The horse bolted.' (RC.8:5)                                                     |
| <i>ngapa thangkipu</i>                                    | 'The river's running.'                                                           |
| <i>thangkurayma-</i>                                      | to dream                                                                         |
| <i>thangkurruma-</i>                                      | to corroboree, dance (introduced word, possibly from Ngiyambaa)                  |
| <i>tharri-</i> (RHM: <i>dhurria</i> )                     | (1) to arise; to fly                                                             |
| <i>tharripu witjiwitji</i>                                | 'The birds are flying about.'                                                    |
| <i>tharriyaa ngurra palkalkunji</i>                       | (2) to move from one place to another [to move camp, get up off the ground etc.] |
| <i>ngaanyaan puka thariyinaa kuntarl</i>                  | 'They moved to another camp.'                                                    |
| <i>tharrka-</i> (RHM: <i>thurgurra</i> 'tell')            | (3) to pant (breath flying)                                                      |
| <i>tharrkaa mayinjkalkaa marrinj ngara muntipaa intaa</i> | 'The dog was panting heavily.' (EH.22:4)                                         |
| <i>ngathu ngara wala ngara mitjin</i>                     | (1) to tell                                                                      |
| <i>tharrkayu</i>                                          | 'He told all the people he was good and clever.' (JB.KM.(16))                    |
| <i>tharrkantintu</i>                                      | 'I'm not telling you a lie.' (JB.4B:8)                                           |
|                                                           | (2) to say                                                                       |
|                                                           | 'You are saying something?'                                                      |

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| <i>tharrkaranha Muruwari</i>                                                                                                        | (3) to teach<br>'Teach me Muruwari!'                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>tharrku-</i><br><i>pintal tharrku ngara</i>                                                                                      | to throw<br>'Throw straight.' (JB.4B:8)                                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>thina-</i> (RHM: <i>thinnandhira</i> 'stand')<br><i>kanta thinaapu</i><br><i>mayinjalka ngara waankala</i><br><i>thinarayita</i> | (1) to stand<br>'He stood up.'<br><br>'The people stood like trees.'                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>wala ngara thinipu</i><br><i>ngapa thinipu paatarla</i>                                                                          | (2) to stay without moving<br>'He's not moving.'<br>'There is water in the bottle.'                                                                                                                        |
| <i>yanmiyu yaraan thinina</i><br><i>kurruwa ngapangka thinaanipu</i>                                                                | (3) to be situated, be growing (of plants)<br>'I'm going where the reeds are.' (EH.27:13)<br>'The ghost gum is standing in the water.'                                                                     |
| <i>thinatharri-</i><br><i>thinatharri thinara</i>                                                                                   | to stand up<br>'Stand up!' (EH.30:2)                                                                                                                                                                       |
| <i>thirra-</i><br><i>kulayi thirrakuyu nhurrangu</i><br><i>kungkarrangu</i>                                                         | to put across<br><br>'I'm making a bridge across the river with just one log.'                                                                                                                             |
| <i>thurli-</i><br><i>thurliminaa</i>                                                                                                | to thunder<br>'It is thundering now.'                                                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>thuthi-</i><br><i>thuntu thuthiyaa</i>                                                                                           | to be broken<br>'He broke his leg.' (lit. his leg was broken)                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>tiilpi-</i><br><i>tiilpimiyintu thika</i>                                                                                        | to sneak up on<br>'You are sneaking up on me.' (EH.10:1)                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>tiki-</i><br><i>wurul thanalaa tikiyayira</i>                                                                                    | to grind<br>'They used to grind with a grinding stone.'                                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>tipu-</i><br><i>tipunmara</i><br><i>tukulmara thana tipunkayira</i>                                                              | to sweep up; to pick up, tidy up<br>'Sweep the floor!'<br>'When they'd dropped them, they'd pick them up again.' (EH.22:3)                                                                                 |
| <i>tiyi-</i><br><i>tiyiwiminaa thayin marli</i><br><i>kayila tiyawiyu</i><br><i>pampu tiyiwiyu</i><br><i>tiyagara punha tampa</i>   | to turn round, twist, spin, circle<br>'The boomerang twists and circles, coming back.'<br>'Yes, I'm turning now.' (EH.29:4)<br>'I've got a headache.' (head spinning)<br>'Turn the damper over!' (EH.29:4) |
| <i>turri-; tuu-</i><br><i>pantarra turripu</i><br><i>yarranj turriyaa pantarra</i><br><i>turrilmiyita yawi</i>                      | to grow<br>'He's grown!'<br>'His beard grew long.'<br>'The grasses are growing.'                                                                                                                           |

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| <i>thuu kimay turrallita</i><br><i>kuthara tuulmiyata</i>                                                  | 'There are a lot of yams grown.'<br>'The children are growing up.' (EH.59:1)                                                                                    |
| <i>tuwi-</i><br><i>minjanya tuwinipu</i><br><i>yipanja pampu tuwiniyaa yipa</i>                            | (1) to move about<br>'What's that moving?'<br>'Slowly he moved his head.'                                                                                       |
| <i>parunji kiyarn tuwaraapu</i>                                                                            | (2) to sink, slowly fall<br>'The moon was sinking down.'                                                                                                        |
| <i>wayil paapaanji tuwipu</i>                                                                              | (3) to look past some object<br>'He's looking round a bend in the river.' (RC)                                                                                  |
| <i>waa yi-</i><br><i>wala waa yintipu</i>                                                                  | to work (Eng.)<br>'He doesn't work.' (EH.5:1)                                                                                                                   |
| <i>waka-</i><br><br><i>wakara punha kuthara</i>                                                            | to lift up, pick up; to carry away, move off with;<br>to hold in one place<br>'Pick up the little child.' (JB.59B:3)                                            |
| <i>walu-</i><br><i>kuntarl waluwipu</i><br><i>waluwatharriyata kurru-kurru kuntarl</i><br><i>yurrintja</i> | to bark<br>'The dog is barking.'                                                                                                                                |
| <i>wanpatharri-</i><br><i>wampatharriyiyu</i>                                                              | 'Last night a lot of dogs barked.' (EH.1:8)<br>to forget<br>'I forget.' (EH.10:4)                                                                               |
| <i>wanki-</i> (RHM: <i>wun-gepu</i> 'weep')<br><i>wankinawu yuki wangipu kuthara</i>                       | to cry, weep, howl (of both man and animal)<br>'A dingo howls and a little child cries out.'<br>(EH.5:3)                                                        |
| <i>wanpi-</i>                                                                                              | to wait                                                                                                                                                         |
| <i>wanta-</i><br><i>wantayiyu kurru-kurru miil muku</i>                                                    | to want (Eng.)<br>'I want all eyes closed.' (JB.75B:8)                                                                                                          |
| <i>wanti-</i><br><i>kampi-kampi wantilaa mangkarr</i><br><i>kukay wantinipu waanta</i>                     | (1) to lie, sit, rest upon<br>'The spider was on the bag.' (EH.70:5)<br>'The possum is sitting in the tree.' (RC.2:6)                                           |
| <i>ngari kuwinj wantiminaa yarraamanta</i><br><i>wala ngari kiyan wantipu</i>                              | (2) to ride on (as a horse, or moon in the sky)<br>'The white man is riding a horse.' (EH.5:2)<br>'(There is) no moon.' (lit. it is not yet riding)<br>(RC.5:7) |
| <i>warraka-</i><br><i>thaata ngari tuku yinmipu muginj,</i><br><i>kanji kanji ngari warraykapu</i>         | to be born<br><br>'The woman is growing bigger, she's having a baby soon.'                                                                                      |
| <i>winku-</i><br><i>thirri yana winkuthariyu</i><br><i>winkipu</i>                                         | to be unacceptable, unwanted<br>'Go away, I don't want to see you.' (EH.157M:6)<br>'It is a nuisance.' (EH.157M:7)                                              |

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| <i>wira-</i>                                                                               | to make string by rolling emu sinew, twine, etc. on the upper leg                                  |
| <i>wirri-</i><br><i>wirri-<br/>wirri-<br/>wirri-<br/>wirri-</i>                            | to be silent, to 'shut-up'<br>'Don't talk to me!' (EH.30:2)                                        |
| <i>wirrimpi-</i><br><i>wirrimpipu kuntarl</i>                                              | to wag a tail<br>'The dog is wagging its tail (because it is pleased to see its owner).' (EH.30:2) |
| <i>wuki-; -uki</i><br><i>nguntja wukilmatharri ngampangka</i>                              | wash body<br>'Wash your face with water.' (EH.51:3)                                                |
| <i>wuluta-</i><br><i>kapuntja wulutani-<br/>wuluta-</i>                                    | to search, look for<br>'All the time he's looking for emu eggs.'                                   |
| <i>wuna-</i><br><i>wala mathan wunamara</i>                                                | to lie down, put down, place<br>'Don't lie the stick there.'                                       |
| <i>ya- (RHM: yandhira)</i>                                                                 | to go, walk                                                                                        |
| <i>yaa- (RHM: yaan)</i><br><i>yaantilaa punha mukinj</i>                                   | to talk, speak<br>a man who is constantly talking about women (EH.6:6)                             |
| <i>yaaka-</i><br><i>yaakaray</i>                                                           | to be in pain<br>'He's in pain.' (EH.77:1)                                                         |
| <i>yampu-</i><br><i>ngunamuka yampura ngunamuka</i>                                        | to sleep<br>'(Lie down and) go to sleep!' (EH.30:1)                                                |
| <i>yanyula-</i>                                                                            | to be sorry for                                                                                    |
| <i>yapi-</i><br><i>yapiyayu yurrintja wiingka</i>                                          | to warm oneself<br>'Last night I (sat and) warmed myself at the fire.' (EH.11:4)                   |
| <i>yarraka-</i><br><i>ngathu thinaykuyu yarrkatharri narri</i>                             | to stretch the body<br>'I will stand and stretch myself.'                                          |
| <i>yi-; i-</i><br><i>yuralmara waa (y)intipu</i><br><i>pitjuru-mayinj kupi (y)intharra</i> | to be, become<br>'He is working badly.'<br>'He became a spirit-man witchdoctor.' (JB.KM)           |
| <i>yinpa; inpa-</i><br><i>yinpayra</i>                                                     | to ignore, take no notice of<br>'Never mind it!' (EH.47:1)                                         |
| <i>yungki- (RHM: yuunggi)</i><br><i>yungkipu kurrkangka</i><br><i>yungki thika</i>         | to sing; to sorcerise<br>'He's singing a corroboree song.' (EH.29:6)<br>'You sing to me.'          |
| <i>yurranj pa-</i><br><i>yurranj pakiyu</i>                                                | to be ashamed<br>'I will feel ashamed.' (EH.29:43)                                                 |
| <i>yuurri-</i>                                                                             | to become dark                                                                                     |

## 9.3.5 ADVERBS

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| <i>kalyana</i><br><i>kalyana ngarrikuntu</i>                                                                                                                                                | soon, directly<br>'You will be playing about directly.'                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>kamala</i><br><i>kamala yanmiyu</i><br><i>kamala niyakayipu kuntingka kamala</i>                                                                                                         | alone<br>'I'm going by myself.'<br>'He is living on his own.' (EH.27:1)                                                                                                                     |
| <i>kanji; katji</i><br><i>kanji palkayita</i><br><i>thangkuraymayu kanji yuurinj-tha</i><br><i>kanji thurri warrakupu</i><br><i>kanji-kanji</i><br><i>kanji-kanji ngari warrakapu kantu</i> | now, today; soon, directly; the immediate past<br>'They came today.'<br>'I had a dream last night.'<br>'It's sundown directly.' (EH.29:3)<br>soon<br>'She's having a baby soon.' (RC)       |
| <i>kanta</i><br><i>thurri kantangka</i><br><br><i>kanta thina</i><br><br><i>wala kanta yaara, yipa yaara</i>                                                                                | (1) up high<br>'The sun is overhead.'<br>(2) on top<br>instep, top of foot<br>(3) with speed<br>'Don't talk so fast, talk slowly.' (EH.29:4)                                                |
| <i>karrka</i><br><i>wani yana ngaanura karrka</i><br><i>karrka yantili</i>                                                                                                                  | together<br>'Walk close together with me.'<br>'We two will walk together.'                                                                                                                  |
| <i>karrpu-karrpu</i><br><br><i>karrul</i><br><i>Ruby witji nguntilayanja karrul</i>                                                                                                         | in front of<br>again (reciprocal action)<br>'Ruby gave me some meat back again.'                                                                                                            |
| <i>kartu-kartu</i><br><i>kartu-kartu ngapa thangkipu</i><br><i>muku kartu-kartu</i><br><i>kambu kartu thayin yana</i>                                                                       | quickly, fast<br>'The water is flowing swiftly.'<br>'Move quickly!'<br>'Kambu, come here quickly.'                                                                                          |
| <i>kuwarri</i><br><br><i>mankita</i><br><i>mankita thanipu</i>                                                                                                                              | far, afar<br>slowly<br>'He's eating slowly.' (EH.72:1)                                                                                                                                      |
| <i>munki</i><br><br><i>narri</i><br><i>nhinturl palkaapu narri nhumpu</i>                                                                                                                   | slowly<br>over there<br>'The diver bird gets up (flies) over there.'<br>(RC.70:4)                                                                                                           |
| <i>ngara</i><br><i>ngara nhumpu</i><br><br><i>ngara palaangka mayi nhaanyu warri</i>                                                                                                        | over there some distance away<br>'It is some distance away.' (as from the Goodooga Reserve to the township)<br>'I see something, I don't know what, way over there on the plain.' (EH.12:1) |



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| <i>ngarlu</i>                             | (1) again                                                        |
| <i>ngathu pantaraanja ngarlu</i>          | 'I hit him back again.' (EH.20C:1)                               |
|                                           | (2) close                                                        |
| <i>ngarlu ngara wiingka</i>               | close by the fire (JB.4B:4)                                      |
| <i>ngarlu ngara ngarlu</i>                | a close shot (i.e. just off the mark)                            |
| <i>ngutha</i>                             | inability, unable to (perform an action)                         |
| <i>thuu thurran ngutha ngaa thanayu</i>   | 'There was so much smoke I was unable to breathe.' (EH.70:6)     |
| <i>ngutha katjimayu</i>                   | 'I couldn't catch him.'                                          |
| <i>nhari; nharu</i>                       | now (present time)                                               |
| <i>purtu nhari payipu</i>                 | 'It is raining now.'                                             |
| <i>nhura</i>                              | there                                                            |
| <i>pakuun</i>                             | squat down position                                              |
| <i>pakuun niya</i>                        | 'Squat down – double your legs.' (lit. sit on folded legs)       |
| <i>parray</i>                             | bye and bye, soon                                                |
| <i>partanj</i>                            | almost                                                           |
| <i>partanj murriyapula punha</i>          | 'The two of them almost drowned him.'                            |
| <i>pintja</i>                             | just, only                                                       |
| <i>pintja nhurrana</i>                    | 'Just that.' (JB.53)                                             |
| <i>pintja nhuwa</i>                       | 'Just so.'                                                       |
| <i>pira</i>                               | much                                                             |
| <i>pukul; purrul</i>                      | quietly                                                          |
| <i>pukul niya</i>                         | 'Sit down quietly.' (EH.7:5)                                     |
| <i>purray</i>                             | across                                                           |
| <i>ngurra purray yalu yarrkangku</i>      |                                                                  |
| <i>kaantili punha</i>                     | 'The wind blew him across the camp.'                             |
| <i>tal</i>                                | over there (JB)                                                  |
| <i>talwi</i>                              | not yet                                                          |
| <i>wala ngara nhaaranja partala talwi</i> |                                                                  |
| <i>puka</i>                               | 'I haven't seen it yet, but will in the morning.' (EH.30:3)      |
| <i>tampa</i>                              | more, again (repeated action)                                    |
| <i>wantimayu tampa</i>                    | 'I don't want any more.' (EH.37:1)                               |
| <i>thanu</i>                              | middle, in between, half (that divided in the middle)            |
| <i>kiyarn kangkiyaa purral ngara</i>      |                                                                  |
| <i>thanungka</i>                          | 'The moon man floated in between the two of them.' (JB.KM.(136)) |
| <i>thanumpu</i>                           | the middle of the night                                          |

|                                                                                         |                                                                                                                                                                                   |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>thawila</i><br><i>thawila kanji kamimipu</i>                                         | soon, directly<br>'He is returning home shortly.'                                                                                                                                 |
| <i>thawinaa</i><br><i>thawinaa kuntarl waluwipu</i>                                     | loudly<br>'The dog is barking loudly.'                                                                                                                                            |
| <i>thayin; thayi</i><br><i>thayin yana!</i>                                             | towards, to speaker, this way<br>'Come here!'                                                                                                                                     |
| <i>thirri</i><br><i>thirri yana!</i>                                                    | (1) movement away from<br>'Go away!'                                                                                                                                              |
| <i>kayintjiraa thantirr thirri thuntungka</i><br><i>pura</i>                            | (2) movement through<br>'(The spear) went right through the flesh in his leg.'                                                                                                    |
| <i>thirri-tjayin</i><br><i>purripiya thirritjayin</i>                                   | back and forth<br>'He was jumping backwards and forwards.'                                                                                                                        |
| <i>turrungka</i><br><i>mukintja turrungka puka</i>                                      | behind<br>'He has his woman with him.' (lit. his woman behind) (EH.157:5)                                                                                                         |
| <i>wani</i><br><i>wani yantipu</i>                                                      | close, near<br>'He is coming close.' (EH.44:1)                                                                                                                                    |
| <i>watha</i><br><i>wala wangara punha watha</i>                                         | now, at the moment<br>'Don't chase him now.' (EH.30:4)                                                                                                                            |
| <i>wiiyal</i><br><i>paangkimuka wiiyal</i>                                              | long way out, further away<br>'Keep on swimming further away.' (EH.1:5)                                                                                                           |
| <i>yala</i>                                                                             | that way                                                                                                                                                                          |
| <i>yipa</i>                                                                             | slowly                                                                                                                                                                            |
| <br>9.3.6 PARTICLES                                                                     |                                                                                                                                                                                   |
| <i>kayila</i>                                                                           | yes, right now, all right (affirmation of a statement) [used in answer to such a question as <i>wiya pakul panga</i> 'Have you any money?' <i>kayila</i> 'Yes, I have.'](EH.17:5) |
| <i>purru patipu kayila</i><br><i>kayilanji kayilanji paangkiyayu</i>                    | 'It is raining right now.' (RC)<br>'Again and again I swam.' (JB.76B)                                                                                                             |
| <i>matja</i><br><i>matja kayila</i><br><i>matja matja kayila</i><br><i>matja-mukinj</i> | past time, usually long past<br>long ago<br>a very long time ago<br>very old woman; also sometimes used of the not-so-distant past                                                |
| <i>matja wii paliyaa</i><br><i>matja niyanmiyu</i>                                      | 'I have already put the fire out.' (RC)<br>'I'm getting old.' (lit. been sitting for a long time) (EH.59:5)                                                                       |

|                                                      |                                                                        |
|------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>murru</i>                                         | fully extended                                                         |
| <i>yarranj turriyaa pantarra tukungka puka murra</i> | 'His beard grew long, right down to his waist (stomach).'              |
| <i>nari</i>                                          | time                                                                   |
| <i>ngaa; ngakuwa</i>                                 | yes                                                                    |
| <i>ngara</i>                                         | the, a, that, then                                                     |
| <i>ngari</i>                                         | now, here                                                              |
| <i>nhuwa</i>                                         | so, thus                                                               |
| <i>kartu-kartu yantapu nhuwa</i>                     | 'It went so quickly.' (JB)                                             |
| <i>nhuwa tumanwantu pulayi</i>                       | 'Be careful, you might break a plate.' (EH)                            |
| <i>nuwa</i>                                          | look here!                                                             |
| <i>palanj; paranj</i>                                | lacking, without; nothing; naked; alone                                |
| <i>palanj yintiyu palanj</i>                         | 'I have nothing!'                                                      |
| <i>wala ngara palanj yanthintu mirtingka</i>         | 'You are not to go alone in the bush.' (JB.68B:5)                      |
| <i>palanj yintipu</i>                                | 'He is dead (nothing).' (JB.24B:2)                                     |
| <i>thaka</i>                                         | also                                                                   |
| <i>kurrukurru manu ngumintu tharrana</i>             | 'Give all the tucker away.' (lit. give them bread and meat also)       |
| <i>witji thaka</i>                                   | 'Eat your meat now, your bread also.'                                  |
| <i>witji thanmuka thirru manu thaka</i>              |                                                                        |
| <i>thulu</i>                                         | only, just, exclusive (i.e. excluding persons spoken to)               |
| <i>ngana thuluki</i>                                 | 'Only us lot!'                                                         |
| <i>nagana thulu kumpina</i>                          | 'We are bogeying but not you.' (EH.17:8)                               |
| <i>thii ngalika...ngalika thulu</i>                  | 'The tea belongs only to us.'                                          |
| <i>ngathuki thakuyu manu thulu</i>                   | 'I'm only going to eat a bit of bread for dinner.'                     |
| <i>yuurintja partalaku thulu</i>                     | 'All night till (just) morning.'                                       |
| <i>wala</i>                                          | no, not                                                                |
| <i>warri</i>                                         | perhaps, maybe, might, in doubt (frequently translated 'I don't know') |
| <i>minjan warri thananipu</i>                        | 'He's doing something, I don't know what it is.'                       |
| <i>kaan warri parna warri</i>                        | 'It might be a snake or a goanna.' (EH.47:4)                           |
| <i>warri muurriyapula punha</i>                      | 'They two might drown him.'                                            |
| <i>wayal, wayil</i>                                  | (1) present time                                                       |
| <i>wayal purtu paymipu</i>                           | 'It is raining.'                                                       |
|                                                      | (2) all the time                                                       |
| <i>tumpalbulayira wayal</i>                          | 'They are quarrelling all the time.'                                   |
| <i>niyikarritjiripu wayil</i>                        | 'He's been sitting a long time.'                                       |
| <i>wayalnari</i>                                     | going away for good (EH.57:3)                                          |

|                                         |                                                                                                        |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| <i>wiya</i>                             | question particle                                                                                      |
| <i>wiya ngapa yanmaku</i>               | 'Can I go to the waterhole?'                                                                           |
| <i>wiya marntamintu</i>                 | 'Are you cold?' (EH.5:1)                                                                               |
| <i>ya</i>                               | exclamation of reprimand expressing 'Be quiet! Don't move!' when game sighted during hunting (JB.51:2) |
| <i>yaa</i>                              | exclamation to gain attention                                                                          |
| <i>yaa kampu karta yana</i>             | 'Oh Kampu, come over here quickly.' (JB.51B:2)                                                         |
| <i>yaaw</i>                             | exclamation of joy or approval [as when informed of an animal within range of capture] (JB.51B:2)      |
| <i>yaay</i>                             | exclamation of fright (EH.48:3)                                                                        |
| <i>yani; yaani; aani</i>                | (1) something previously referred to                                                                   |
| <i>tiinj ngara parta tungkunta yani</i> | 'Punch a hole in that container.' (JB.54B:3)                                                           |
| <i>puluka ngathu aani</i>               | 'I lost it.'                                                                                           |
| <i>ngathu aani</i>                      | (2) alone, only                                                                                        |
| <i>ngathu aani</i>                      | 'It is only me.'                                                                                       |
| <i>yinwarri</i>                         | expression of doubt ('I don't know what it is')                                                        |
| (EH.12:1)                               |                                                                                                        |

### 9.3.7 SUFFIXES

#### 9.3.7.1 NOMINAL SUFFIXES

|                                  |                                       |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| <i>-a</i>                        | locative case allomorph               |
| <i>-ka</i>                       | personaliser                          |
| <i>-kaampa; -raampa</i>          | specifier                             |
| <i>-kala</i>                     | comparison 'like'                     |
| <i>-kil</i>                      | abessive 'lacking'                    |
| <i>-ku</i>                       | dative case 'for'                     |
| <i>kalathariyayu kulaku</i>      | 'I hunted for kangaroos.' (JB.67B:1)  |
| <i>-ku</i>                       | genitive case 'belonging to'          |
| <i>-ku</i>                       | allative case 'to'                    |
| <i>yanmiyu wayilmarrangkalku</i> | 'I'm going to Weilmoringle.' (EH.7:7) |
| <i>-marri</i>                    | excessive 'very'                      |
| <i>-n; -nj</i>                   | nominaliser                           |
| <i>-nga</i>                      | elative case 'out from'               |
| <i>-ngka</i>                     | locative case allomorph               |
| <i>-ngku</i>                     | ergative/instrumental allomorph       |
| <i>-nha</i>                      | personaliser                          |

|                                                                                                      |                                                                                                                              |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| - <i>para</i>                                                                                        | reciprocal                                                                                                                   |
| - <i>piil</i>                                                                                        | comitative 'with'                                                                                                            |
| - <i>pita</i> ; - <i>pira</i><br><i>piirnpita</i><br><i>kirrinjpita</i><br><i>mirrinj thiyirpira</i> | comitative 'with, having'<br>sinewy (with sinews) (EH.63:2)<br>husband (husband having)<br>comet (star tail having) (RC.8:2) |
| - <i>pu</i> ; - <i>pi</i>                                                                            | third person singular NOM & ACC                                                                                              |
| - <i>ta</i>                                                                                          | locative case allomorph                                                                                                      |
| - <i>thi</i>                                                                                         | first person genitive case 'my'                                                                                              |
| - <i>thu</i> ; - <i>tju</i> ; - <i>tu</i>                                                            | ergative/instrumental case                                                                                                   |
| - <i>thulu</i> ; - <i>tjulu</i>                                                                      | 'having, only'                                                                                                               |
| - <i>u</i>                                                                                           | ergative/instrumental case                                                                                                   |
| - <i>yita</i> ; - <i>yira</i><br><i>mukinj mayinj kutharayita yintipula</i>                          | comitative allomorphs 'with, having'<br>'The children have both mother and father.'<br>(RC.2:6)                              |

### 9.3.7.2 VERBAL SUFFIXES

|                          |                                              |
|--------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| - <i>a</i>               | past tense                                   |
| - <i>i</i> present tense |                                              |
| - <i>ka</i>              | verbaliser, causative                        |
| - <i>ki</i>              | present tense of - <i>ka</i> 'verbaliser'    |
| - <i>ki</i>              | emphatic clitic                              |
| - <i>ku</i>              | future tense                                 |
| - <i>ku</i>              | purposive clause marker                      |
| - <i>kuwi</i>            | future irrealis with first person sg, du, pl |
| - <i>l</i>               | realis allomorph                             |
| - <i>la</i>              | habitual aspect                              |
| - <i>la</i>              | past tense of - <i>li</i> 'transitiviser'    |
| - <i>la</i>              | subordinate clause marker                    |
| - <i>la</i>              | abbrev. of - <i>pula</i> '3du'               |
| - <i>li</i>              | transitiviser                                |
| - <i>li</i>              | first person dual                            |
| - <i>ma</i>              | verbaliser                                   |
| - <i>ma</i>              | past tense of - <i>mi</i> 'progressive'      |

|                        |                                              |
|------------------------|----------------------------------------------|
| <i>-mpa; -mpi</i>      | causative allomorphs                         |
| <i>-mu</i>             | future imperfect of <i>-mi</i> 'progressive' |
| <i>-n; -ng</i>         | realis allomorphs                            |
| <i>-na</i>             | locational clitic                            |
| <i>-na</i>             | past tense of <i>-ni</i> 'stationary'        |
| <i>-na; -nga</i>       | imperative mood allomorphs                   |
| <i>-na</i>             | first person plural                          |
| <i>-nga</i>            | special transitiviser                        |
| <i>-ngu</i>            | potential aspect                             |
| <i>-nhula</i>          | second person du                             |
| <i>-nhura</i>          | second person pl                             |
| <i>-ni</i>             | stationary aspect                            |
| <i>-nja</i>            | intensifier clitic                           |
| <i>-nja; -na</i>       | 'fused' accusative pronoun                   |
| <i>-nji</i>            | immediacy clitic                             |
| <i>-ntu; -nta; -nu</i> | second person sg                             |
| <i>-pa</i>             | causative                                    |
| <i>-para</i>           | reciprocal                                   |
| <i>-pi</i>             | present tense of <i>-pa</i> 'causative'      |
| <i>-pula</i>           | third person dual                            |
| <i>-punh</i>           | fused accusative pronoun                     |
| <i>-ra</i>             | imperative mood allomorph                    |
| <i>-ra</i>             | co-ordinate clause marker                    |
| <i>-ra</i>             | completed declarative tense/aspect           |
| <i>-ra; -ra</i>        | variants of <i>-yita</i> '3pl'               |
| <i>-ri</i>             | incompletive declarative tense/aspect        |
| <i>-ri</i>             | reflexive (weak)                             |
| <i>-ru</i>             | prevent, excessive aspect                    |
| <i>-ta; -tha</i>       | factive (past operative) aspect              |
| <i>-ta</i>             | imperative mood allomorph                    |
| <i>-ta</i>             | variant of <i>-yita</i> '3pl'                |
| <i>-tha</i>            | object focus                                 |
| <i>-thara</i>          | necessity aspect                             |

|                                               |                                       |
|-----------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| - <i>tharri</i>                               | reflexive (strong)                    |
| - <i>thi</i> ; - <i>ti</i>                    | factive (present operative) aspect    |
| - <i>thirra</i> ; <i>thirri</i>               | continuous, processive aspect         |
| - <i>tji</i>                                  | avolitional aspect; inchoative        |
| - <i>thira</i>                                | volitional aspect                     |
| - <i>wa</i>                                   | potential aspect                      |
| - <i>wa</i>                                   | past tense of - <i>wi</i> 'returning' |
| - <i>wi</i>                                   | returning, reversal aspect            |
| - <i>y</i>                                    | realis allomorph                      |
| - <i>ya</i>                                   | past declarative tense/aspect         |
| - <i>ya</i>                                   | imperative mood allomorph             |
| - <i>yi</i>                                   | present declarative tense/aspect      |
| - <i>yita</i> ; - <i>yira</i> ; - <i>yira</i> | third person pl                       |
| - <i>yu</i> ; - <i>y</i> ( <i>abbrev.</i> )   | first person sg                       |

### 9.3.7.3 CLITICS

|                            |             |
|----------------------------|-------------|
| - <i>ki</i>                | emphatic    |
| - <i>na</i> ; - <i>nja</i> | locational  |
| - <i>nji</i>               | immediacy   |
| - <i>y</i>                 | exclamatory |

## 9.4 ENGLISH TO MURUWARI

|                                       |                                        |
|---------------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| abessive 'lacking'                    | <i>-kil</i>                            |
| ablative case on pronouns and nouns   | <i>-mil</i>                            |
| across                                | <i>purray</i>                          |
| across the river                      | <i>karranta</i>                        |
| affirmation                           | <i>kayila</i>                          |
| again, close                          | <i>ngarlu</i>                          |
| alcohol (bitter)                      | <i>karti</i>                           |
| algae                                 | <i>kiirn</i>                           |
| alive                                 | <i>karrinj; karinj</i>                 |
| all, everyone                         | <i>kurru-kurru; kuru-kuru</i>          |
| allative case 'to'                    | <i>-ku</i>                             |
| allomorph of <i>-ka</i> causative     | <i>-ki</i>                             |
| allomorph of <i>-mi</i> progressive   | <i>-mu; -ma</i>                        |
| allomorph of <i>-pa</i> causative     | <i>-pi; -mpa; -mpi</i>                 |
| almost                                | <i>partanj</i>                         |
| alone                                 | <i>kamala</i>                          |
| also                                  | <i>thaka</i>                           |
| anabranh of river                     | <i>pirinti; pirrinti</i>               |
| angry                                 | <i>kurti</i>                           |
| ankle                                 | <i>parrki; parranggal</i>              |
| another                               | <i>pakal</i>                           |
| answer                                | <i>karima-; karima-</i>                |
| ANTS:                                 |                                        |
| ant (gen.); black ant; ant corroboree | <i>milhiri</i>                         |
| ant, sp. of (S)                       | <i>kartanj</i>                         |
| common                                | <i>parra</i>                           |
| bulldog (RHM)                         | <i>parrangka</i>                       |
| green headed (S)                      | <i>mutun</i>                           |
| jumping                               | <i>purppi-purppi</i>                   |
| red meat                              | <i>ngaari; ngari</i>                   |
| anus, buttocks                        | <i>ngii</i>                            |
| apple (Eng.)                          | <i>yapil; kaapil</i>                   |
| arise, fly, move about, pant          | <i>tharri-</i>                         |
| arm (lower), wrist                    | <i>marnku</i>                          |
| arm (upper), wing, branch of river    | <i>piki</i>                            |
| armpit                                | <i>kapart; kaparr</i>                  |
| ascend, arise                         | <i>parra-</i>                          |
| ashes; white                          | <i>putha</i>                           |
| ask                                   | <i>ngaanki-; piya-; pii-</i> (abbrev.) |
| ask for                               | <i>ngurrki-</i>                        |
| ask for, ?beg                         | <i>pulta-</i>                          |
| ask in marriage                       | <i>piyaka-</i>                         |
| aunt                                  | <i>muki-muki</i>                       |
| aunt, mother's sister                 | <i>puthama; wuthama</i>                |
| avolitional aspect                    | <i>-tji; -tja</i>                      |



awaken, arouse  
 baby  
 back and forth  
 back, backbone (EH.16:5)  
 back, lower portion of  
 bad luck  
 bad, dangerous, wrong  
 bag, groundsheet blanket  
 bandicoot  
 bandicoot, sp. of  
 bandicoot bluish coloured  
 Bangate Station  
 bank which crabs dig in  
 bark  
 bark canoe  
 bark cradle (EH)  
 bark of a tree  
 bark plate; bark food dish (RHM)  
 bark used for cures  
 bark water container; water bag  
 bark, rough outer  
 Barwon River  
 bat  
 be a nuisance  
 be afraid  
 be ashamed  
 be born  
 be broken  
 be hot, thirsty, burn, cook  
 be hungry  
 be in pain  
 be jealous  
 be lonely for, miss presence of  
 be silent  
 be sorry  
 be sorry for  
 be tired  
 be, become  
 beard (BC), whiskers  
 become angry  
 become dark  
 beer (Eng.)  
 behave properly  
 behind, in rear  
 belly, stomach, pouch  
 belonging to us (du)

*thaanga-*  
*pipi*  
*thirri-tjayin*  
*pila; pirla*  
*puntu-puntu*  
*yuralmu*  
*yural; yuralmara; yuralmara*  
*mangkanj*  
*wirti*  
*kirala; tjiila*  
*pingku*  
*paankirr*  
*kurl-kurl*  
*walu-*  
*maangingara*  
*tara*  
*murrinj; pithal*  
*purtha; pultha*  
*purrkarr*  
*kurramin*  
*pinjarinj*  
*pama*  
*matjam; pintjаланj*  
*winku-*  
*karra-*  
*yurranj pa-*  
*warraka-*  
*thuthi-*  
*parri-*  
*kanturl; kanturl pa-; puli-*  
*yaaka-*  
*partikula-*  
*nupa-*  
*wirri-*  
*milin yura-*  
*yanyula-*  
*kilya pa-*  
*yi-; i-*  
*yarranj*  
*kurtitjari-*  
*yuurri-*  
*piya*  
*purlul niya-*  
*turrungka*  
*tuku*  
*ngalika*

belt worn for initiation

bend down

bend in river

bent, crooked

berry (Eng.)

berry (gen.)

big

bilby

billy can (Eng.)

bindi-eye burr

**BIRDS:**

bird (gen.)

bee-eater

bellbird

black and white spoonbill

black diver (darter)

black duck

black shag

black spoonbill (JB)

blue bonnet

blue bonnet (RC)

blue crane

blue kookaburra

blue martin, starling (EH)

blue-winged kookaburra

blue wren

bower bird sp.

brolga, native companion (EH)

bronzewing pigeon

brown-crested mountain duck

brown hawk

budgerigar

butcherbird (RC)

chicken-hawk

cockatoo, black

cockalarina (pink topknot parrot)

crimson-winged parrot

crow

crow, small (JB)

curlew

'death' bird

dove

dove (EH)

dove (JB)

duck (gen.)

eaglehawk

fish-hawk (large)

*wilpapalka*

*kuru-*

*paa-paa; wapu*

*pangku*

*pirru*

*puura*

*thaata*

*thangku*

*thitjina*

*mukarra*

*witji-witji*

*pirkunkuru*

*pakuu-pakuu*

*wingkakarrayman*

*nginturl*

*kuntunkal*

*kuyilpil; kuyulpirra*

*murrku-murrku*

*thurrunj-thurrunj*

*purruupirra*

*puthuul*

*kukakakal*

*kankarta*

*marinjantal*

*thuuwil; thuwil*

*turri; turri*

*purraaka*

*marnpil*

*tikuru*

*kumunj*

*wirruwinj*

*karrikunkun*

*yuyil-yuyil; yurriyal*

*thirran*

*kakalaranj*

*pilanj-pilanj*

*wakan*

*karrawakan*

*wirlu; wilu*

*kamiita*

*kupatha*

*kurukuwin*

*karrikan*

*mirringara*

*maliyan*

*kuwaythana*

galah  
 green parrot  
 grey butcherbird  
 grey topknot pigeon  
 happy family  
 hawk, small  
 ibis  
 kind unknown  
 kind unknown  
 kind unknown (RC)  
 kingfisher  
 kookaburra  
 leatherhead  
 magpie  
 messenger  
 mopoke (tawny frogmouth)  
 mosquito  
 mudlark, sandpiper  
 musk duck  
 native companion  
 native companion (JB)  
 nighthawk (JB)  
 nightjar  
 owl, small  
 owl, sp. of  
 owl, yellow-mouth  
 pallid cuckoo  
 pallid cuckoo (S)  
 peewee  
 pelican (JB)  
 pied butcherbird, organ bird  
 plains turkey (bustard)  
 plover  
 plover (JB)  
 quarrion (cockatiel)  
 robin redbreast  
 sandpiper (JB)  
 seagull  
 soldier  
 spoonbill (EH.18:6)  
 spotted nightjar (S)  
 starling  
 swallow  
 swan  
 swift  
 teal  
 turtledove

*kirra; kila*  
*purlanj-purlanj*  
*karikuwinj-kuwinj*  
*yapal-yapal*  
*tintiriinj*  
*karaykin*  
*ngukurr-ngukurr*  
*kutuuku*  
*withul*  
*pulun*  
*thurn-thurn; turntu; tuurntuu*  
*karuwaka*  
*thakuway*  
*ngarrawan*  
*tarunj*  
*kurr-kurr*  
*kaway-kaway*  
*winthunj*  
*kunumanu*  
*karuru; kurruru*  
*kurru-kurru*  
*yuyilmarl*  
*thirtun*  
*wakunh*  
*nirin*  
*yawurul*  
*turn-turn; turrn-turrn*  
*tartuun*  
*kurritjil; parantala*  
*tulayita*  
*kurlpu*  
*kiiyara*  
*karang-karang-kaku*  
*karrintakarra*  
*wiraka*  
*thalimarrki-marrki*  
*pirrimpirru*  
*tangkara*  
*piyal-piyal*  
*thukalipan*  
*thartun* (see palid cuckoo)  
*thawara*  
*milintju-milintju*  
*parrima*  
*tawayarru; tawayarryu*  
*tarrowaya*  
*kurrukunh*

|                                    |                                     |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| twelve apostles                    | <i>pintitaaru</i>                   |
| waterhen                           | <i>kawilanj</i>                     |
| whistler, small                    | <i>thipirr</i>                      |
| whistling duck                     | <i>thipayku; thipayuu</i>           |
| whistling duck (RC)                | <i>tipaayu</i>                      |
| whistling eagle                    | <i>karra</i>                        |
| white chough (or black jay)        | <i>kuritjil</i>                     |
| white chough; magpie, jay (S)      | <i>pipartal</i>                     |
| white crane                        | <i>puuluun</i>                      |
| white-crested diver                | <i>karuwuka</i>                     |
| white-necked crane                 | <i>karaaka</i>                      |
| white or river cockatoo            | <i>thikarri</i>                     |
| white spoonbill                    | <i>purrun</i>                       |
| willy wagtail                      | <i>tjinti-tjinti</i>                |
| wood duck                          | <i>pakarr-pakarr; parrka-parrka</i> |
| woodpecker (EH); mistletoe         | <i>thuthuwuthanj</i>                |
| woodpecker (JB)                    | <i>piin-piin</i>                    |
| yellow miner (JB)                  | <i>karawakan</i>                    |
| birth place                        | <i>ngurrampa</i>                    |
| bite                               | <i>yita-</i>                        |
| bitter, poisonous                  | <i>karti</i>                        |
| black                              | <i>karta; karta-karta</i>           |
| blanket (Eng.)                     | <i>pulaayinkin</i>                  |
| blanket, covering                  | <i>mankarr</i>                      |
| bleed                              | <i>pilpa-</i>                       |
| blind                              | <i>ngantanj</i>                     |
| block entrance, close off, shut    | <i>nhuntu-</i>                      |
| blood                              | <i>kuwanj</i>                       |
| blow up or out, smoke              | <i>puumpi-</i>                      |
| blowfly, maggot                    | <i>purlili; purlirli</i>            |
| blue (Eng.)                        | <i>puluw</i>                        |
| blunt, solid, closed               | <i>muku</i>                         |
| boat                               | <i>kanuu</i>                        |
| body hair, fur                     | <i>mamar</i>                        |
| body sore                          | <i>mirrinj</i>                      |
| body warmth                        | <i>kawili</i>                       |
| body, waist                        | <i>ngayin</i>                       |
| bogan flea                         | <i>matharanj</i>                    |
| bone marrow                        | <i>puyu</i>                         |
| bone pointing                      | <i>mangka-pathu</i>                 |
| bone pointing; long distance magic | <i>kuriyata; kuriyarra</i>          |
| bone, spine                        | <i>mangka</i>                       |
| boomerang (gen.)                   | <i>marli</i>                        |
| boomerang (return)                 | <i>yan; -yirranj; yarranj</i>       |
| boss (Eng.)                        | <i>path</i>                         |
| bottle (Eng.)                      | <i>paatal; paatarl; patal</i>       |
| bough shed, summer shed            | <i>kurliwaan</i>                    |

bough yard for women (RHM)  
 box, case, container (Eng.)  
 boy at puberty  
 boys (young), stars in Milky Way  
 brains  
 branch, limb of tree, tree  
 bread  
 break  
 breast  
 breath  
 breathe  
 brewed tea  
 bright moonlit night  
 brother (older)  
 brother (younger)  
 brother-in-law  
 bruise  
 bubble of froth (S)  
 bubble of water  
 bucket, pocket (Eng.)  
 budgerigar grass  
 buggy (Eng.)  
 bull, bullock  
 bull ant  
 bull ant (large)  
 bullet (Eng.)  
 bullroarer (JB)  
 bullroarer (RHM)  
 bulrushes  
 bulrushes (JB)  
 burial ground, cemetery (JB)  
 burnt, blackened soil (S)  
 burr, sp. of  
 burrow  
 burst forth (JB)  
 bush country, scrub  
 bush which emus feed on  
 bush growing edible fruit  
 bush humpy, hut  
 bush with white bell flowers  
 bush (small mint-like)

## BUSHES:

acacia  
 blackcurrant  
 blueberry  
 cottonbush  
 currant

*kulpi*  
*paki*  
*yarrguntha*  
*kunhan-kunhan*  
*kapunj-kapunj*  
*mathan*  
*manu*  
*thuma-*  
*ngama*  
*ngatangara*  
*ngaa-*  
*thii*  
*nankurtanj*  
*puwin; puwan*  
*muwarn*  
*kurrampaanj*  
*punu*  
*kii-kii*  
*tiiliil*  
*pakirr*  
*wirruwinj*  
*pakin*  
*thunku*  
*puntarranj*  
*muunturr*  
*pulir*  
*wIRU-wIRU; wIRU-wURU; wURU-wIRI*  
*yaantamakatja*  
*ngarra-ngarranta*  
*yarran*  
*kuwa-tiin*  
*parrin*  
*matharranj*  
*pingkul-tiinj; puuli-*  
*paayi-*  
*mirti*  
*pawyil*  
*waruway*  
*kurli*  
*kumuru-kumuru*  
*paruw*  
  
*marrangkal*  
*kurra*  
*paral; pararl*  
*piipu*  
*kunpuru*

|                            |                                     |
|----------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| emu, currant               | <i>kuwirnpulu</i>                   |
| hop                        | <i>thirin; tirrinj</i>              |
| bushy tree                 | <i>puntha-puntha; wuntha-wuntha</i> |
| butt of a tree             | <i>tangku</i>                       |
| butter (Eng.)              | <i>parta</i>                        |
| butterfly                  | <i>pinam-pinam; piyimpir</i>        |
| buttocks                   | <i>murntu; purntu</i>               |
| bye and bye, soon          | <i>parray</i>                       |
| cabbage (Eng.)             | <i>kapirr</i>                       |
| calf of leg                | <i>purla; pura; puula</i>           |
| calico sheet (Eng.)        | <i>kaliku</i>                       |
| call, sing out             | <i>kawi-</i>                        |
| camp                       | <i>ngurra</i>                       |
| carbine vine               | <i>pirrikal; pilikal;</i>           |
| carpenter (Eng.)           | <i>kaapunta</i>                     |
| carpet snake               | <i>kamul</i>                        |
| carry                      | <i>wutha-</i>                       |
| catch (Eng.)               | <i>katji-</i>                       |
| catch, grasp               | <i>panpi-</i>                       |
| caterpillar, potent poison | <i>puntha-puntha</i>                |
| catfish (S)                | <i>papuurray</i>                    |
| cattle (Eng.)              | <i>kital; kiyatal</i>               |
| causative verbal suffix    | <i>-ka</i>                          |
| causitive verbaliser       | <i>-pa</i>                          |
| cave, hole, any cavity     | <i>tiin; tiinj</i>                  |
| centipede                  | <i>thurlili</i>                     |
| chaperon                   | <i>mura; murra</i>                  |
| chase                      | <i>wanga-</i>                       |
| cheek                      | <i>ngumunj</i>                      |
| cheeky                     | <i>njirri-njirri</i>                |
| chest, brisket, collarbone | <i>thali</i>                        |
| chin (BC)                  | <i>puu; puwu</i>                    |
| chin (JB, EH)              | <i>yankanj</i>                      |
| china plate or dish (Eng.) | <i>thintiiyin</i>                   |
| Chinaman (Eng.)            | <i>thiniman</i>                     |
| chop                       | <i>puri-; purri-</i>                |
| Christmas bush             | <i>mukiyala; mukiyalu</i>           |
| chrysalis                  | <i>yukaakiri</i>                    |
| cicada                     | <i>tirriminmin</i>                  |
| cicatrice                  | <i>murrpanh</i>                     |
| circle                     | <i>wirrunj</i>                      |
| claw, fingernail, toenail  | <i>pikanj</i>                       |
| claypan                    | <i>parriikin; kirnti</i>            |
| clear                      | <i>kintjara</i>                     |
| clever man, doctor         | <i>kupi</i>                         |
| cliff                      | <i>paru-wartu</i>                   |

close, hear  
 clothe oneself  
 CLOUDS:  
   clouds (gen.)  
   cumulus  
   stratus  
 club (S)  
 clumsy (JB only)  
 co-ordinate clause marker 'and'  
 coals, red hot  
 coat (Eng.)  
 cockatoo feather  
 cold, frost, wintertime  
 come  
 comitative 'having, with'  
 comitative 'with'  
 comitative allomorphs 'with, having'  
 comparison 'like'  
 completed tense/aspect  
 constable (Eng.)  
 constantly  
 container (JB.54), coolamon  
 continuous, processive  
 cook, burn  
 cooking hole for vegetables  
 coolamon (RHM)  
 coolibah tree leaf honey  
 copulate  
 core of a tree (RC)  
 corner  
 CORROBOREE:  
   corroboree or song name (RC)  
   dance  
   dance (leg shaking)  
   dance (slow moving)  
   dance (slow moving)  
   ground  
   name (RC)  
   place name  
   song  
 cotton (Eng.)  
 cough  
 cousin (female)  
 cousin (male)  
 cover over  
 cover up or over  
 cow (Eng.)

*wani*  
*kayamparr-*  
  
*yukanh*  
*tawayarru-tungkun*  
*wilanh*  
*thartuupira; thaartupira*  
*thurpi*  
 -*ra*  
*kurnunj*  
*kurr*  
*kawiy-kawiy*  
*marnta*  
*palka-*  
 -*pita; pira*  
 -*piil*  
 -*yita; -yira*  
 -*kala*  
 -*ra*  
*kantjipul; kantjukal*  
 -*kuri*  
*tungkun*  
 -*thirra; -thirri*  
*muu-; parri*  
*para*  
*kalku*  
*pali-mukanj*  
*tha-; thaa-*  
*thanumaart*  
*muka*  
  
*paaliithaa; paaliyitaa*  
*kurrka; thangkurruma-*  
*karrampara*  
*wakathanj; wakutha*  
*pakitaa; parurta*  
*kurmpu; kurmpul*  
*paliyinaa*  
*yanta-yanta*  
*karrkaa*  
*kartan*  
*pinka-kangkurl*  
*napu-napu*  
*ngamanj*  
*pana-*  
*kunki-*  
*milimpuray*

|                                    |                                     |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| cow horn (EH.22:2)                 | <i>nhalka-nhalka</i>                |
| crab sp.                           | <i>purrkinj</i>                     |
| cracks in dried-up ground          | <i>palkiri; parlkiki</i>            |
| crawfoot                           | <i>wama-wama</i>                    |
| crawl                              | <i>punangki</i>                     |
| crawl (EH)                         | <i>ngarnta-</i>                     |
| crayfish                           | <i>maamura</i>                      |
| crayfish, sp. of large (JB)        | <i>marnta</i>                       |
| creek, small hollow                | <i>ngarntu-ngarntu</i>              |
| crooked                            | <i>wurrunj</i>                      |
| crooked tree                       | <i>warrinj-warrinj</i>              |
| cry, weep, howl                    | <i>wanki-</i>                       |
| cup (Eng.)                         | <i>kapu</i>                         |
| curly, twisted                     | <i>minti-minti</i>                  |
| cut                                | <i>thulka-</i>                      |
| cut (as tear skin)                 | <i>tunga-</i>                       |
| cyclone, celestial being           | <i>yarti-yarti</i>                  |
| damper (Eng.)                      | <i>tampa</i>                        |
| dance a corroboree                 | <i>kulka-</i>                       |
| dance, corroboree                  | <i>kirri-</i>                       |
| dangerous place, place of the dead | <i>purn-purn</i>                    |
| dative case 'for'                  | <i>-ku</i>                          |
| daughter (RC)                      | <i>kamay; tangay</i>                |
| dawn light, Aurora                 | <i>ngangkurrkinj; ngangkurlkiin</i> |
| day                                | <i>thalu</i>                        |
| daytime (BC)                       | <i>wiyingkal</i>                    |
| dead branch of a tree, twigs       | <i>murral</i>                       |
| deep                               | <i>kiiwa</i>                        |
| Dennowen place name                | <i>para</i>                         |
| descend                            | <i>purra-</i>                       |
| devil (prob. Eng.)                 | <i>tipurl-tipurl</i>                |
| dew                                | <i>kiwanj; thali</i>                |
| dew, frost, cold weather           | <i>thalay</i>                       |
| die                                | <i>pali-</i>                        |
| dig                                | <i>pata-; piti-; pitji-</i>         |
| dillybag                           | <i>munta; watjala</i>               |
| dillybag (women's)                 | <i>pila</i>                         |
| diminutive                         | <i>-tji</i>                         |
| dingo                              | <i>mirriwulu</i>                    |
| dingo, wild dog                    | <i>yuki</i>                         |
| dinner (Eng.)                      | <i>tina</i>                         |
| dirt                               | <i>parntin</i>                      |
| do, cause to happen                | <i>pa-; paa-</i>                    |
| dog (tame)                         | <i>kuntarl</i>                      |
| drag, pull, go through water       | <i>thaki-</i>                       |
| dream                              | <i>thangkuray; thangkurayma-</i>    |



|                                 |                                   |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| dress                           | <i>kampi-</i>                     |
| drop                            | <i>thulpu-</i>                    |
| drop accidentally               | <i>kumu-</i>                      |
| drown                           | <i>murri-</i>                     |
| drum sound (made by emus)       | <i>marntu-</i>                    |
| drunk                           | <i>tharraa</i>                    |
| dry                             | <i>punkinj</i>                    |
| duckweed                        | <i>purra-purra</i>                |
| dust                            | <i>thurltu</i>                    |
| dust storm (RC)                 | <i>tirkay</i>                     |
| ear                             | <i>pina</i>                       |
| earlobe (EH)                    | <i>ngatunj</i>                    |
| earwax                          | <i>mukanj</i>                     |
| earth, horde territory          | <i>mayi</i>                       |
| east                            | <i>paray; parrari</i>             |
| eat, drink, suck                | <i>tha-</i>                       |
| echidna                         | <i>kakara</i>                     |
| echidna (JB.59)                 | <i>pikipila</i>                   |
| echo                            | <i>ngawurl; ngawurlu</i>          |
| edible grub                     | <i>pilkaa; pirika</i>             |
| egg                             | <i>kapunj</i>                     |
| elative case 'out from'         | <i>-nga</i>                       |
| elbow                           | <i>kupu</i>                       |
| eldest of three (JB)            | <i>muthipapa</i>                  |
| elopement; one who elopes       | <i>kiilakan</i>                   |
| emission of wind, fart, panting | <i>ngaayirn-ngaayirn</i>          |
| emphatic clitic                 | <i>-ki</i>                        |
| emu                             | <i>ngurrunj</i>                   |
| emu chick                       | <i>kawurru</i>                    |
| encircling                      | <i>tiyawirrunj</i>                |
| enter, go through, dive         | <i>kayi-</i>                      |
| entrance to a hive, nest, house | <i>taa</i>                        |
| ergative/instrumental case      | <i>-ngku; -tju; -thu; -tu; -u</i> |
| evening                         | <i>pimayi</i>                     |
| evil spirits                    | <i>thina-kuntha</i>               |
| evil witchdoctor                | <i>katitja</i>                    |
| evil witchdoctor, sorcerer      | <i>yukarta-yukarta</i>            |
| excessive 'very'                | <i>-marri</i>                     |
| exclamation of fright           | <i>yaay</i>                       |
| exclamation of joy or approval  | <i>yaaw</i>                       |
| exclamation of reprimand        | <i>ya</i>                         |
| exclamation to get attention    | <i>yaa</i>                        |
| exclamatory clitic              | <i>-y</i>                         |
| excrement                       | <i>kuna</i>                       |
| expression of doubt             | <i>yinwarrri</i>                  |
| extinguish                      | <i>paru-</i>                      |

|                                     |                                          |
|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------------|
| eye                                 | <i>miil</i>                              |
| eyelid, eyebrow                     | <i>piku</i>                              |
| face                                | <i>nguntja; muntja; wintja</i>           |
| fall, drop, travel down             | <i>warra-; waa-</i>                      |
| false, lying                        | <i>marrki</i>                            |
| far, afar                           | <i>kuwarri</i>                           |
| fat                                 | <i>thanti</i>                            |
| father                              | <i>pathanj; yapu</i>                     |
| father's brothers                   | <i>karrampanj</i>                        |
| feather, (emu)                      | <i>purra</i>                             |
| feathers (breast) (gen.)            | <i>puyil</i>                             |
| feathers (wing)                     | <i>mawal</i>                             |
| features (of face)                  | <i>ngunjililaa</i>                       |
| feel                                | <i>kurta-</i>                            |
| female                              | <i>kuni</i>                              |
| fight                               | <i>pampa-</i>                            |
| fighting stick (EH.157M:11)         | <i>punti</i>                             |
| fill in, block up                   | <i>ngumpa-</i>                           |
| fill, put into                      | <i>kayimpa-</i>                          |
| find (Eng.)                         | <i>payinti-</i>                          |
| find (prob. Eng.)                   | <i>paantima-</i>                         |
| fire                                | <i>wii</i>                               |
| firestick                           | <i>wiitja; thaawii</i>                   |
| firewood                            | <i>wii-mathan</i>                        |
| first person (du) pronominal suffix | <i>-li</i>                               |
| first person genitive case 'my'     | <i>-thi</i>                              |
| first person pronominal suffix      | <i>-na</i>                               |
| first person (sg) (abbrev.)         | <i>-y</i>                                |
| first person (sg) pronominal suffix | <i>-yu; -yi</i>                          |
| first person with future tense      | <i>-wi</i>                               |
| fish scales                         | <i>muurla</i>                            |
| FISHES:                             |                                          |
| fish                                | <i>kayama-</i>                           |
| fish, sp. of (RC)                   | <i>palakula</i>                          |
| fish (gen.)                         | <i>kuya; kwiya</i>                       |
| black bream                         | <i>panngala</i>                          |
| bobbies                             | <i>kurpa</i>                             |
| bony bream                          | <i>thirkanj</i>                          |
| catfish                             | <i>thangkuru</i>                         |
| cod                                 | <i>kutu</i>                              |
| golden perch (yellow-belly)         | <i>kawira; kawiiita</i>                  |
| Murray cod (gen.)                   | <i>kutumpa</i>                           |
| Murray cod (fully grown)            | <i>kirranji</i>                          |
| rainbow cod                         | <i>murruku</i>                           |
| fish gills                          | <i>yiliy</i>                             |
| fishing line                        | <i>kayimpilay; kukura; wukara; ukara</i> |

fist, knuckle  
 five (JB)  
 flames, blaze of fire  
 flat  
 fleas  
 float, go across water  
 flog  
 flood  
 flour (Eng.)  
 flow  
 flow, bleed  
 flower (gen.)  
 flower (blue)  
 fly, housefly  
 fog, fog clouds  
 foot, toe  
 for/to us (pl)  
 for/to us (du)  
 forehead  
 forget  
 fork of tree, connecting link  
 four (JB)  
 fowl (Eng.)  
 fresh, newly or first born  
 fresh, not stale or rotten  
 FROGS:  
     frog  
     edible grey sp.  
     large sp.  
     small sp.  
 fully extended (?)  
 fungus (JB)  
 future tense  
  
 games throwing stick (RC)  
 gecko, river lizard  
 genitive case 'belonging to'  
 get off, move from  
 ghost dog  
 ghost of a person  
 ghost, dead man's spirit, white man  
 gidgee tree  
 gidgee tree blossom  
 girl friend  
 girl (at puberty)  
 girl (pre-adolescent)  
 girl (unmarried) (EH.157M:11)

*thana*  
*marangka*  
*piya*  
*mantha; marnta*  
*purlili*  
*kaangki-*  
*pulu-*  
*ngurruwarta*  
*puluwu*  
*kaanti-*  
*para-*  
*pungkil*  
*kilangkiraa*  
*mukunj*  
*kukuma*  
*thina*  
*ngarrangura*  
*ngalingura*  
*ngulu*  
*pinayuwalkuwi; wampatharri-*  
*wanpa*  
*kapulanta*  
*tjuki-tjuki*  
*katji*  
*thantu*  
  
*thantay*  
*thakarla*  
*ngaparr; ngapart*  
*pumpanj*  
*murru*  
*thawinj*  
*-ku*  
  
*puthalay*  
*karranti*  
*-ku*  
*puka-*  
*mirriyula*  
*yawa*  
*kuwinj*  
*murukaru*  
*ngurru*  
*wanka*  
*manganj*  
*kuthara-kuni*  
*marlakan*

|                                        |                                         |
|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|
| give                                   | <i>ngu-</i>                             |
| glass (Eng.)                           | <i>kilarr</i>                           |
| go                                     | <i>pura-; ya-</i>                       |
| go 'through' (i.e. 'missing')          | <i>kumaa-</i>                           |
| go away from camp                      | <i>nhanti-</i>                          |
| GOANNAS:                               |                                         |
| large tree sp.                         | <i>kukar; kukart</i>                    |
| piebald tree sp.                       | <i>warryy</i>                           |
| sand                                   | <i>parna</i>                            |
| small black tree (JB)                  | <i>kalki</i>                            |
| goat (Eng.)                            | <i>nanikurr</i>                         |
| God, the Great Spirit (JB)             | <i>pitangulu</i>                        |
| going away for good                    | <i>wayalnari</i>                        |
| good                                   | <i>marrinj</i>                          |
| good, right                            | <i>pitarra; pitara; pirra (abbrev.)</i> |
| grandfather (m.f.)                     | <i>ngamanj-ngamanj; ngama</i>           |
| grandfather (f.f.), grandmother (m.m.) | <i>papatu</i>                           |
| grandmother                            | <i>mukutul</i>                          |
| grandson                               | <i>ngamanjnira</i>                      |
| grass (gen.)                           | <i>yawi</i>                             |
| grass on sandhills                     | <i>nhiirilinh</i>                       |
| grasshopper                            | <i>panta-panta</i>                      |
| grave, cemetery (EH.10:6)              | <i>manampi</i>                          |
| grave, tunnel, cave                    | <i>mingka</i>                           |
| Great Spirit of Ngiyambaa people       | <i>payami</i>                           |
| great uncle (f.f.br.)                  | <i>puwin-puwin; puwan-puwan</i>         |
| greedy person                          | <i>muraakunj</i>                        |
| green (JB.55:1)                        | <i>palum</i>                            |
| green, living, unripe, undried         | <i>patha</i>                            |
| grey (JB.1B)                           | <i>puki</i>                             |
| grind                                  | <i>kaali-; tiki-</i>                    |
| grinding stone                         | <i>kipa; warul; warul</i>               |
| groin                                  | <i>karlpa</i>                           |
| ground white with hail                 | <i>nhuruunguway</i>                     |
| ground, black                          | <i>mutha</i>                            |
| grow                                   | <i>turri-; tuu-</i>                     |
| grub                                   | <i>thurliti</i>                         |
| gum in trees                           | <i>mukunj</i>                           |
| gun                                    | <i>marrkin</i>                          |
| Gurnu language                         | <i>kurnu</i>                            |
| guts                                   | <i>murrunkuna; murunkuna</i>            |
| habitual aspect                        | <i>-la</i>                              |
| hail                                   | <i>mukari</i>                           |
| hailstone (S)                          | <i>palpanj</i>                          |
| hair, underarm                         | <i>waangkiri</i>                        |
| hairy                                  | <i>munanj-munanj</i>                    |

|                                         |                                |
|-----------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| half moon                               | <i>thaamarrinmipu</i>          |
| half ripe (EH; JB.66)                   | <i>kumilkin</i>                |
| hand, thumb, finger                     | <i>mara</i>                    |
| handkerchief, scarf (Eng.)              | <i>yangkitja</i>               |
| hanging limb                            | <i>puntiri; purntiri</i>       |
| hard (JB.66)                            | <i>tikal</i>                   |
| hard, strong, tough                     | <i>pirru; piru</i>             |
| have a rest                             | <i>puyi-; puu-</i>             |
| have possession of                      | <i>piira-</i>                  |
| he, she, it                             | <i>nhumpu; nhampu</i>          |
| head lice                               | <i>kuurni</i>                  |
| head lice (on humans)                   | <i>kapul; kapuul</i>           |
| head, hair                              | <i>pampu</i>                   |
| headband                                | <i>karnpaka</i>                |
| hear, listen to                         | <i>pinathina-</i>              |
| heart                                   | <i>puthanj</i>                 |
| heat, summer                            | <i>purruwura; pururuwa</i>     |
| heavy                                   | <i>walkan; warrkan</i>         |
| heel                                    | <i>parlu</i>                   |
| hibernation                             | <i>thalingka</i>               |
| hide                                    | <i>nhunpi-</i>                 |
| high place, hill                        | <i>pulkurru</i>                |
| hill (EH)                               | <i>kurkurrama</i>              |
| him, her, it                            | <i>punha</i>                   |
| hip                                     | <i>kartka</i>                  |
| his, her, hers, its                     | <i>puka</i>                    |
| hit, kill                               | <i>pa-; pu-</i>                |
| hold                                    | <i>nhima-</i>                  |
| hold, bring, carry, take                | <i>kaa-</i>                    |
| hold, prevent from moving               | <i>yima-</i>                   |
| hole in or through a substance, opening | <i>parntanj; pantanj</i>       |
| hollow tree or log                      | <i>karntu</i>                  |
| honey (native)                          | <i>wayan</i>                   |
| hook (Eng.)                             | <i>wupi; upi</i>               |
| hornet                                  | <i>kurlakuwa</i>               |
| horse                                   | <i>yaraaman; yarraman</i>      |
| horse-drawn vehicle (JB)                | <i>wilparr</i>                 |
| hot ashes                               | <i>tikinj</i>                  |
| hot hollowed out ground                 | <i>kuuwa</i>                   |
| hotel, pub (Eng.)                       | <i>puplikaa</i>                |
| house, shelter of some permanence, town | <i>kunthi</i>                  |
| humpy (poss. a borrowing)               | <i>kanja</i>                   |
| hunt                                    | <i>kalathari-; kalatharri-</i> |
| hurt, pain, be sick                     | <i>maari-; maari-</i>          |
| husband (BC)                            | <i>kamparta</i>                |
| husband (EH), brother-in-law            | <i>kirrinj</i>                 |
| husband; husband's older brother        | <i>kurampanj; kurrampaanj</i>  |

## I

ignore, not to mind  
 immediacy clitic  
 imperative allomorphs  
 in a wild agitated mood (JB)  
 in front of  
 inability  
 incest  
 initiates ordeal by fire  
 initiates ordeal by fire (RHM)  
 initiates shelter  
 initiation camp site (RHM)  
 initiation ceremony (RHM)  
 initiation ground  
 initiation ground, second circle  
 initiation instructors (RHM)  
 initiation or bora ceremony  
 initiation path (RHM)  
 initiation songs  
 insect (gen.)  
 insect, baby bees  
 insect, worms, maggots  
 instrument for attracting emus  
 iron (EH), machinery (JB)  
 island  
 itch  
 jealous  
 joey  
 joke with  
 jump, shake, shiver  
 jumper ant (RHM)  
 junction of Birrie and Bokhara Rs  
 just, only

## KANGAROOS:

kangaroo (gen.)  
 black  
 grey scrubber, wallaroo  
 red (doe)  
 red (male)  
 scrubber  
 kangaroo rat  
 kangaroo rat (S)  
 kick  
 kick (poss. Eng.)  
 kidney  
 kill, hit

*ngathu*  
*yinpa-*; *inpa-*  
*-nji*  
*-nga*; *-ka*; *-ra*; *-ta*  
*kalki*  
*karrpu-karrpu*  
*ngutha*  
*wapukaa*  
*kurlapurlinja*  
*kurlapulinja*  
*nuntu*  
*wilyarunga*  
*multjirra*  
*multjirra-kara*  
*pulkinja*  
*thuntharra*  
*puwura*  
*yuthuru*; *yuthurra*  
*purumpira*  
*kuwa*  
*thiriti*  
*kaawa*  
*pukinj*  
*kumpatha*  
*pulkurru*  
*kitji-kitjimpi*  
*kumungilaa*; *partikula-*  
*wukan*  
*ngaarri-*  
*purppi-*  
*purppi-purppi*  
*ngukilaa*  
*pintja*

*kula*  
*wampay*  
*ngartku*  
*kumparr*  
*pawarra*  
*wararuu*  
*puuyi*; *pilpa*  
*yagun*  
*kirrk-*  
*kikima-*  
*thiparr*; *tiilpart*  
*pu-*

|                                 |                                        |
|---------------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| kiss                            | <i>muthi-; muthil</i>                  |
| kitchen (Eng.)                  | <i>kitja</i>                           |
| knee                            | <i>thinkal</i>                         |
| knife                           | <i>nhaypa</i>                          |
| knot                            | <i>parti</i>                           |
| know                            | <i>ngunta-; nginti-</i>                |
| koala (S)                       | <i>thirtanj</i>                        |
| Kurrunga Peak                   | <i>kurrungka</i>                       |
| lagoon                          | <i>kakuru</i>                          |
| lamb (Eng.)                     | <i>yaraamu; yalaamu</i>                |
| lame                            | <i>kukalanjpira; kukarri; kukalanj</i> |
| lap (BC)                        | <i>marnta</i>                          |
| laugh                           | <i>kinta-</i>                          |
| lay egg, give birth to          | <i>ngaanta-</i>                        |
| lazy                            | <i>yantha</i>                          |
| leaf                            | <i>paka; pali; pirra</i>               |
| leave                           | <i>yimpi-</i>                          |
| leaves of tree or bush          | <i>yirral</i>                          |
| leech                           | <i>thuunpara</i>                       |
| left hand                       | <i>kalun; kalunj</i>                   |
| leg (lower portion)             | <i>thuntu</i>                          |
| lice on animals                 | <i>purliyi</i>                         |
| lice, lice comb                 | <i>kurmu; kurrmu; kuurmu</i>           |
| licentious man                  | <i>kiwa-kiway</i>                      |
| lick                            | <i>pintju-; pintju pa-</i>             |
| lid, cap, hat; white ant mound  | <i>kapunthi</i>                        |
| lie, tell untruth               | <i>nawa-</i>                           |
| lie down, rest, sleep           | <i>nguna-</i>                          |
| lie, falsehood                  | <i>mitjin</i>                          |
| lie, put down                   | <i>wuna-</i>                           |
| lie, rest on, ride              | <i>wanti-</i>                          |
| lift up, pick up, move off with | <i>waka-</i>                           |
| light, soft rain (SJ)           | <i>thurrpunj</i>                       |
| lightning                       | <i>wanginj</i>                         |
| lightning (JB)                  | <i>pantangka-wii</i>                   |
| limp                            | <i>kuka-</i>                           |
| liquor                          | <i>mutjura</i>                         |
| liver                           | <i>karna</i>                           |
| LIZARDS:                        |                                        |
| lizard (gen.)                   | <i>kaani</i>                           |
| lizard, kind unknown            | <i>kurlampakin</i>                     |
| black tongued                   | <i>turrnanj</i>                        |
| blue-tongue                     | <i>thumanj</i>                         |
| frill-necked                    | <i>kuwinj</i>                          |
| grey tree sp. (S)               | <i>warlumpakin</i>                     |
| house                           | <i>panta-panta</i>                     |

jew (S)  
 pineapple  
 sand  
 shingleback  
 small kind  
 small jew  
 small water (JB)  
 very small frill-necked  
 load, things  
 locational clitic  
 locative case allomorphs  
 locust (EH), cicada (JB)  
 log  
 log bridge  
 lolly (Eng.)  
 long way out; further away  
 long, straight, tall  
 look here!  
 lose  
 loudly  
 louse  
 low down, downstream  
 lower  
 lungs  
  
 mad, deaf, silly  
 magic stone of the witchdoctor  
 magic stones  
 make string  
 make, do, create, stay  
 male of species  
 man (aboriginal); people  
 manna (SJ)  
 many  
 married man  
 marsupial mouse  
 master (Eng.)  
 masturbation (JB)  
 matches (Eng.)  
 mate  
 me  
 meat, animal food  
 meet  
 meet (JB.74)  
 meeting place of initiated men  
 melon (Eng.)  
 menstruation

*papanj*  
*parriyita*  
*tirin*  
*pirriira*  
*pulkuru; palkurru*  
*maparanj*  
*kalumpa; kaluumpaa*  
*thalkiri*  
*purlkunj*  
*-na*  
*-ngka; -tha; -tja; ta; a*  
*thirriminmin*  
*kunparta*  
*kulayi*  
*yalaali*  
*wiiyal*  
*pantarra*  
*nuwa*  
*puluka-; yilurrma; yuwa-*  
*thawinaa*  
*puntu*  
*paru; patu*  
*pari-*  
*paliputharran*  
  
*wampa*  
*wiyarr*  
*nguwiyarr*  
*wira-*  
*thana-*  
*mayinjka*  
*mayinj*  
*thalimukanj*  
*kalkara*  
*nupayita*  
*nimpi-nimpi; nhimpi-nhimpi*  
*maathaa*  
*marapatarrri*  
*maatjirr*  
*mirr, mirri*  
*nganha*  
*wiiji*  
*purrrpa-*  
*thingki-*  
*ngurnukala*  
*milan*  
*kuwarri-ngurra*



messengers of an initiation ceremony  
 methylated spirits, grog (JB)  
 middle of  
 middle, in between, half  
 milk (Eng.)  
 Milky Way, the galaxy  
 mistletoe  
 moan  
 moccasins; boots  
 mole (Eng.)  
 mole on skin  
 money (Eng.)  
 moon  
 more, again  
 Morning Star  
 mosquito  
 moth (large, ground boring)  
 mother  
 mother's older brother  
 mother-in-law; daughter-in-law  
 motor car (Eng.)  
 mouse  
 mouth, lips, beak of bird  
 move about, sink, look past something  
 move, travel, go  
 movement away from, into  
 much  
 mucus  
 mud  
 muscles, strong  
 mussels (gen.)  
 mussels (large river kind)  
 my, mine  
 name  
 NAMES:  
     for Enngonia  
     for Mundiwa  
     of a big swamp  
     of a small deep creek  
     of camp at North Bourke  
     of Namoi River  
     place name  
     place name for part of Culgoa River  
     place of death  
     place on Culgoa River  
     place where bees collect nectar  
 nardoo grass

*puruki*  
*pangkapaa*  
*pintinj*  
*thanu*  
*milkin; milki*  
*paruwartu*  
*thipunj*  
*karrarri-*  
*mantuwii*  
*maapu*  
*muurla*  
*mani*  
*kiyan; kiyarn*  
*tampa*  
*ngiitji-kintawa*  
*puran; purarn*  
*pirrika*  
*kaya*  
*kathi*  
*kunthi-kunthi*  
*mutukaa*  
*pulka*  
*thaa*  
*tuwi-*  
*pula-*  
*thirri*  
*pira; thuu*  
*ngintin*  
*milinj*  
*kurlkuri*  
*thangkarna*  
*rangkarl*  
*nganthi; nganta; thika*  
*kurri*  
  
*wirruru*  
*thiralutha*  
*kurumin*  
*miiyaay*  
*withu-marti*  
*nhamayi*  
*paniyita*  
*kalpin*  
*pungkaarri*  
*palkanthinipu*  
*karraa*  
*thawinj-thawinj; thuwinj-thuwinj*

|                               |                                    |
|-------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| narrow                        | <i>ngumpu</i>                      |
| native bee                    | <i>thinti</i>                      |
| native bee queen              | <i>kurriya</i>                     |
| native cat                    | <i>kiiwii; purkiyan</i>            |
| navel, umbilical cord         | <i>nimpinj</i>                     |
| necessity (aspect)            | <i>-thara</i>                      |
| neck (back of), nape          | <i>tungunj</i>                     |
| needle (Eng.)                 | <i>nitur; nitul</i>                |
| nest                          | <i>wangka</i>                      |
| net bag                       | <i>kulay; manta</i>                |
| niece                         | <i>kuthama</i>                     |
| night, darkness               | <i>yurrinj</i>                     |
| nine (JB)                     | <i>marangka kapulanta</i>          |
| nit of louse (RHM)            | <i>thinil</i>                      |
| no, not                       | <i>wala</i>                        |
| nominaliser                   | <i>-n; -nj</i>                     |
| nose                          | <i>nguru</i>                       |
| nose bone                     | <i>ngurumpiti</i>                  |
| nostril (lit. nose hole)      | <i>tii-nguru</i>                   |
| not yet                       | <i>taluwii</i>                     |
| nothing, naked, alone, almost | <i>parlanj; paranj</i>             |
| now                           | <i>nhari; nharu</i>                |
| now, at the moment            | <i>watha</i>                       |
| now, here                     | <i>ngari</i>                       |
| now, the immediate past       | <i>kanji; katji</i>                |
| nulla nulla                   | <i>murru; murru</i>                |
| numb, tingling, 'asleep'      | <i>tirintjal</i>                   |
| nurse in the arms             | <i>muuka-</i>                      |
| nymphae (RHM); menses (JB)    | <i>thilin</i>                      |
| object focus                  | <i>-tha</i>                        |
| ochre (S)                     | <i>kunmuru</i>                     |
| old man                       | <i>wathul</i>                      |
| old people                    | <i>kapal-kapal</i>                 |
| one, same                     | <i>yaman</i>                       |
| only, just                    | <i>thulu</i>                       |
| open, bloom, be torn          | <i>paka-</i>                       |
| orphan                        | <i>kayakil</i>                     |
| others                        | <i>kantu</i>                       |
| our, ours (pl)                | <i>ngarraka</i>                    |
| outback                       | <i>kanka; kangka</i>               |
| outback, out in the bush      | <i>warti</i>                       |
| outer covering, shell, bark   | <i>pithal</i>                      |
| over there                    | <i>narri; ngariya; talu</i>        |
| over there some distance away | <i>ngara</i>                       |
| over there, across there      | <i>yalu</i>                        |
| paddymelon                    | <i>wampila; ngarruunh; narruun</i> |

|                                        |                           |
|----------------------------------------|---------------------------|
| pademelon                              | <i>thukan; tukunj</i>     |
| paint                                  | <i>kuumpi-</i>            |
| paint oneself (S)                      | <i>kumpi-</i>             |
| pair                                   | <i>purral</i>             |
| pannikin, pint container (Eng.)        | <i>panikan</i>            |
| paper, letter (Eng.)                   | <i>piipa</i>              |
| past declarative                       | <i>-ya</i>                |
| past operative allomorphs              | <i>-ta; -tha</i>          |
| past tense                             | <i>-a</i>                 |
| past tense of <i>-li</i> transitiviser | <i>-la</i>                |
| past time, old                         | <i>matja</i>              |
| path, road                             | <i>yurun; yuruun</i>      |
| pathetic                               | <i>mila-mila</i>          |
| pathway, footpath                      | <i>kayi</i>               |
| pea-rifle (Eng.)                       | <i>piiraypul</i>          |
| pegs to hold emu net                   | <i>pitjili; pitji</i>     |
| penis, tail                            | <i>thun</i>               |
| perhaps, might                         | <i>warri</i>              |
| person promised in marriage            | <i>thuntinh</i>           |
| personaliser                           | <i>-ka; -nha</i>          |
| perspiration (EH)                      | <i>mapurr</i>             |
| perspiration (JB)                      | <i>nunta</i>              |
| phallic emblem                         | <i>kunja</i>              |
| phlegm, saliva, spittle                | <i>kangkul; kangkurr</i>  |
| pick up                                | <i>pata-; pumpi-</i>      |
| pig (Eng.)                             | <i>piki-piki</i>          |
| pigweed                                | <i>kurlparra; thurral</i> |
| pimples, rash                          | <i>kulkay</i>             |
| pine blossoms and pollen dust          | <i>thurrumpurrinj</i>     |
| pink (JB)                              | <i>puthal</i>             |
| pipe (Eng.)                            | <i>paayu; paaypu</i>      |
| pipe clay (kopi, white gypsum powder)  | <i>makuntharra</i>        |
| pith                                   | <i>kulungkulu</i>         |
| place                                  | <i>kuri</i>               |
| place, spot, natural feature           | <i>maal</i>               |
| placenta, afterbirth                   | <i>muntarra</i>           |
| plain, outside, bare place             | <i>palaa</i>              |
| plain (tree covered)                   | <i>yaarra</i>             |
| plant (kind unknown)                   | <i>nhumpa</i>             |
| plant with grape-like fruit            | <i>tiimpuru</i>           |
| plant with succulent leaf              | <i>warukaa</i>            |
| plate (Eng.)                           | <i>pulay; pulirr</i>      |
| play                                   | <i>ngaaki-; ngaa-</i>     |
| Pleiades; young girls                  | <i>kamparl-kamparl</i>    |
| point at                               | <i>thuumpa-</i>           |
| poison (Eng.)                          | <i>paatjin</i>            |
| poisoned bone                          | <i>kuwinj-mangka</i>      |

|                                    |                         |
|------------------------------------|-------------------------|
| policeman                          | <i>kurayita</i>         |
| policeman (Eng.)                   | <i>palitman</i>         |
| pollen called 'bee bread'          | <i>purrul</i>           |
| possum                             | <i>kukay</i>            |
| possumskin bag; container          | <i>kalinj</i>           |
| potato (Eng.)                      | <i>patita</i>           |
| potential aspect                   | <i>-ngu; -wa</i>        |
| pour out, spill                    | <i>parru-; parrupa-</i> |
| pour over                          | <i>tanpi-</i>           |
| powder (Eng.)                      | <i>pawata</i>           |
| present declarative-               | <i>-yi</i>              |
| present operative allomorphs       | <i>-ti; -thi</i>        |
| present time, all the time         | <i>wayal; wayil</i>     |
| prevent; excessive                 | <i>-ru</i>              |
| previously                         | <i>paka</i>             |
| prick, stab, pierce, pick out, dig | <i>pingka-</i>          |
| prod, poke                         | <i>tatuma-</i>          |
| progressive aspect                 | <i>-mi; ma</i>          |
| promiscuous man                    | <i>warrkukaa</i>        |
| pubic hair                         | <i>thuwi</i>            |
| puddle                             | <i>kilkay</i>           |
| pull, strip                        | <i>puu-</i>             |
| pulse                              | <i>turlun</i>           |
| punch                              | <i>parta-</i>           |
| puppy (Eng.)                       | <i>pumpay</i>           |
| purposive clause marker            | <i>-ku</i>              |
| pus                                | <i>kurlkay</i>          |
| push                               | <i>yala-</i>            |
| push aside                         | <i>yiya-</i>            |
| pussy cat (Eng.)                   | <i>pitjikat</i>         |
| put across                         | <i>thirra-</i>          |
| putty of native beeswax            | <i>paayil; paayar</i>   |
| question particle                  | <i>wiya</i>             |
| quickly, fast                      | <i>kartu-kartu</i>      |
| quietly                            | <i>pukul; purrul</i>    |
| quinine tree                       | <i>karti-puntu</i>      |
| rabbit (Eng.)                      | <i>yarrapirr</i>        |
| rain                               | <i>purtu</i>            |
| rain shower                        | <i>tharra</i>           |
| rainbow                            | <i>pariyal</i>          |
| rainstorm (RC)                     | <i>kuli-kuli</i>        |
| raw                                | <i>kawun</i>            |
| re-open a nest                     | <i>tawi-</i>            |
| realis marker allomorphs           | <i>-l; -n; ng; -y</i>   |
| reciprocal                         | <i>-para</i>            |
| reciprocal action, again           | <i>karrul</i>           |

|                                       |                                   |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| recover from sickness                 | <i>pira pa-</i>                   |
| red                                   | <i>marrki-marrki</i>              |
| red earth, red ochre                  | <i>kurti; kuthi</i>               |
| reflexive (strong)                    | <i>-tharri; -tharra</i>           |
| reflexive (weak)                      | <i>-ṯi</i>                        |
| remember, think about                 | <i>pinampi-</i>                   |
| return home, come beside              | <i>kami-</i>                      |
| return, go again, climb, ascent       | <i>kula-; kurla</i>               |
| returning or recurring aspect         | <i>-wi; -wa</i>                   |
| revolver                              | <i>pirritjal</i>                  |
| ribs                                  | <i>kunanj; kungiyunh; parranj</i> |
| ride, drive                           | <i>taki-</i>                      |
| ridge stones                          | <i>wuntunj; wuntuwunj</i>         |
| ridge, small hill                     | <i>kampuka; kampukan</i>          |
| ridicule, poke fun at                 | <i>nayinjama-</i>                 |
| right marriage partner (?for a woman) | <i>kamantjara</i>                 |
| right marriage partner (?man's)       | <i>pintara</i>                    |
| ring of grass                         | <i>warntu</i>                     |
| ringworm                              | <i>purraanh</i>                   |
| rip apart                             | <i>puthaa-</i>                    |
| ripe                                  | <i>pariyaa</i>                    |
| river bank                            | <i>mirri-mirri</i>                |
| river, creek (from Guwamu)            | <i>parru</i>                      |
| river, esp. Culgoa                    | <i>ngarntu</i>                    |
| roll away                             | <i>parnanga-</i>                  |
| roly-poly                             | <i>tili</i>                       |
| roof of mouth                         | <i>ngartanj</i>                   |
| root of a tree                        | <i>tarran; thanaa</i>             |
| rotten, decayed                       | <i>puka</i>                       |
| rough, bumpy (EH)                     | <i>marta-marta; matha-matha</i>   |
| rough, bumpy (RC)                     | <i>thalka</i>                     |
| rub                                   | <i>nurra-</i>                     |
| rub together, grind, stamp on         | <i>nhurra-</i>                    |
| rum, any sort of grog (Eng.)          | <i>yuraamu</i>                    |
| run, bolt, flow of water              | <i>thangki-</i>                   |
| sail, go through water                | <i>thaki-</i>                     |
| salt (Eng.)                           | <i>tal</i>                        |
| saltbush                              | <i>purra</i>                      |
| sand                                  | <i>thirri</i>                     |
| sandfly                               | <i>kurri-kurri</i>                |
| sand of river (JB)                    | <i>karuwi; karrawir</i>           |
| sandflies                             | <i>pirrii-pirrii</i>              |
| sandhill, large                       | <i>yuul; yuu</i>                  |
| saucer-shaped hard wood disc          | <i>KURURA</i>                     |
| savage                                | <i>karrayinki</i>                 |
| scale fish                            | <i>kiirru-; kituwa-</i>           |

|                                      |                                                  |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------|
| scent, smell                         | <i>pathinh</i>                                   |
| scold, rouse on, chastise            | <i>thumpa-</i>                                   |
| scorpion                             | <i>kuna</i>                                      |
| scorpion (JB)                        | <i>muukinj</i>                                   |
| scrape (S)                           | <i>kirrawi-</i>                                  |
| scratch                              | <i>wirru-</i>                                    |
| scrub country (S)                    | <i>kuntjuu</i>                                   |
| search for, look for                 | <i>watuwa-; warrawa-; wuluta-</i>                |
| second person (du) pronominal suffix | <i>-nhula</i>                                    |
| second person (pl) pronominal suffix | <i>-nhura</i>                                    |
| see, look at, observe, hear          | <i>nha-</i>                                      |
| seed (gen.)                          | <i>paa; tirra</i>                                |
| seed of coolibah tree                | <i>waarnpaa; warnpa</i>                          |
| selfish                              | <i>kurriyita</i>                                 |
| semen                                | <i>purтинj</i>                                   |
| send, construct                      | <i>thinama-</i>                                  |
| set alight                           | <i>puungki-</i>                                  |
| seven (JB)                           | <i>marangka kapu</i>                             |
| sew                                  | <i>purra-</i>                                    |
| sexual desire                        | <i>nhathanj</i>                                  |
| sexually roused                      | <i>wirri-wirri</i>                               |
| shadow of man                        | <i>kamangkarra</i>                               |
| shadow of tree                       | <i>kurli-kurli</i>                               |
| shake                                | <i>purl-purl-</i>                                |
| shallow water                        | <i>maaranj</i>                                   |
| shame                                | <i>pirrinj</i>                                   |
| shamrock leaves                      | <i>kurra-kurra</i>                               |
| sharp                                | <i>piyaa; tharrampurl; thirrarra; thirrayira</i> |
| sheep                                | <i>thumpa</i>                                    |
| sheet of iron on roof                | <i>talay</i>                                     |
| shield                               | <i>purrrku</i>                                   |
| shin up a tree                       | <i>makulni-</i>                                  |
| shine                                | <i>pala-</i>                                     |
| shiny, bright                        | <i>palanj</i>                                    |
| short                                | <i>wutha</i>                                     |
| shoulder (EH)                        | <i>karlanj-karlanj</i>                           |
| shoulder blade                       | <i>thawin-piki</i>                               |
| shoulder, shin                       | <i>pangkal</i>                                   |
| shower of rain                       | <i>thalingapa</i>                                |
| SHRIMP:                              |                                                  |
| shrimp                               | <i>kiitjaa</i>                                   |
| shrimp (RHM)                         | <i>thunul</i>                                    |
| shrimp sp. (EH)                      | <i>kurnturn</i>                                  |
| shrimp used for catching fish        | <i>yiikaa</i>                                    |
| shut, close up                       | <i>nuntu-</i>                                    |
| sickness                             | <i>marri</i>                                     |
| side of river                        | <i>parranj</i>                                   |

silent  
 sinew  
 sing  
 sister (elder)  
 sister (younger)  
 sit  
 sit with legs folded  
 six (JB)  
 sixpence (Eng.)  
 skin (EH)  
 skin (JB.33B)  
 skin burn, pus-sore, boil  
 skin, kangaroo skin rug  
 skins used for clothes  
 sky, horizon  
 sleep  
 sleeping, in hibernation  
 slip  
 slip, slide  
 slowly  
 small  
 small animal like a pademelon  
 small hill (RHM)  
 small piece of something  
 smarting, stinging  
 smell, odour, taste  
 smell, sniff  
 smoke  
 smooth, fine  
 smouldering fire  
 snail  
 SNAKES:  
   snake (gen.)  
   brown or grey  
   brown (S)  
   common black  
   death adder  
   diamond (S)  
   rainbow serpent  
   red-bellied black  
   ring  
   tiger  
   whip or black  
   whip-like water snake  
 snatch, take forcibly from  
 sneak along  
 sneak up on

*wirinj*  
*piin; piirn*  
*yungki-*  
*papa*  
*kuwira*  
*niya-*  
*pakuu niya-*  
*maranguwa*  
*tikipaanu*  
*yuranj*  
*thanthu*  
*murlpan; murlpunh*  
*kirrpay*  
*piyan; piyarn*  
*panta*  
*yampu-*  
*talingka*  
*mara-*  
*parla-*  
*mankita; munki; yipa*  
*kitju*  
*waya*  
*kumpukun*  
*pirrkil*  
*karra-karrampi*  
*kawinj; kawinj-kawinj*  
*pathi-*  
*thurran*  
*muntha; mutha*  
*thununj*  
*tipintjin; tipintjiri*  
  
*kaan; kaarn*  
*paruru;*  
*purutu; paruru*  
*pumpara*  
*kantikay; kurl-kurl*  
*kurpi*  
*kapulu-kaan*  
*pamparra*  
*kurlpi*  
*kurliti; kurlirti; taraangu*  
*payarra; payirra*  
*payira; payara*  
*ngarpa-; ngarrpa-*  
*kunu-*  
*pingki-; kilpi-; tiilpi-*

sneeze  
 so, thus  
 soap (Eng.)  
 soft  
 son (BC)  
 son, child  
 son-in-law; mother's brother  
 son/daughter (woman speaking)  
 song (JB)  
 soon, directly  
 sorcerer, kadaicha (JB)  
 sorrow  
 Southern Cross (JB)  
 spark  
 spear  
 spear for emus  
 special transitiviser  
 specifier  
 specifier, thing referred to  
 speech, word, talk, news  
 speedily  
 spider (gen.)  
 spider's web (EH)  
 spider's web, gossamer (JB)  
 spike on limb of tree  
 spill  
 spinifex grass  
 spinifex grass (EH)  
 spirit (sneaks about at night)  
 spirit-man  
 spirit-women of the bush (JB)  
 spirit, ghost  
 spirit, spirit-man (EH)  
 spirit dance  
 spitfire bug  
 spring of water  
 springtime warmth  
 sprinkle  
 spur, bone, needle  
 squat  
 squeeze (S)  
 stain  
 stamp on  
 stand up  
 stand, stay, live, lie in, grow  
 STARS:  
 star

*kiingkuru; kingkuru*  
*nhuwa*  
*thuupu*  
*tapun; yumpu*  
*palay; pulay*  
*kuthara*  
*karuwalanj; karruranj*  
*kantil*  
*thirra; thira*  
*kalyana; thawila*  
*purriman*  
*milanj*  
*paruwartu-nuumpa*  
*thinti*  
*kuliya; wuna-*  
*mumunh*  
*-nga*  
*-kaampa; -raampa*  
*yani; yaani; aani*  
*yaan*  
*paruuma*  
*kampi; kampi-kampi*  
*malampiri; malampiri*  
*ngurumpita*  
*kiingku*  
*karrka-*  
*thirrinj; thirriy*  
*turri*  
*miraaku*  
*yurika*  
*kampirl-kampirl*  
*pinaarti*  
*tuwirti; tuwiti*  
*pitjaraa*  
*pantirr*  
*nhirrpurl; niilpurl*  
*yapinj; yapinj-yapinj*  
*kawarri-*  
*thikiya*  
*pakuun*  
*thunma-*  
*kuntja*  
*nurranga-*  
*thina-tharri-*  
*thina-*  
  
*mirrinj*



star name  
 star, a particular one (JB)  
 star, secret name (RHM)

stationary aspect  
 stationary aspect, past tense  
 steps cut in tree trunk  
 stick used in game  
 stick, twigs, small log  
 still, of water  
 stomach, belly, replete  
 stone axe  
 stone tomahawk with magical powers  
 stone tomahawk, wooden club  
 stone, money  
 stone-headed axe (RC)  
 stop, block, check, baulk at  
 store (Eng.)  
 storm clouds  
 straight  
 stranger  
 stretch the body  
 string or rope  
 striped  
 stripped branches or bushes  
 stump

SUB-SECTION NAMES:

female  
 female  
 female  
 female  
 male  
 male  
 male  
 male  
 suck  
 sugar (Eng.)  
 sugar ant  
 sun shower  
 sun, day  
 sun blinded  
 swagman (prob. Eng.)  
 swallow  
 swamp 'far away'  
 swamp grass  
 swamp (large)  
 swamp name  
 swear

*piyampir*  
*nuriyan*  
*purli*  
*-ni*  
*-na*  
*thintawa*  
*pangki*  
*wilpanj; wiilpanj*  
*tanpiyira*  
*thuku*  
*thawin*  
*wirlata; kwilata*  
*wakanharra; wakanara*  
*pakul; pakurl*  
*purrij-thawin; kuninj-thawin*  
*paampa-*  
*tawa*  
*taringara; tawingira; tharringara*  
*tjarrka-tjarrka*  
*ngurri; muurri*  
*yarraka-*  
*kura; kurra*  
*purrij-purrij*  
*purri*  
*kunthun, kurntun*  
  
*kapitha; kapithaa*  
*matha; mathaa*  
*putha; puthaa*  
*yipatha; ipatha; ipathaa*  
*kampu*  
*kapi; kapiy*  
*mariy*  
*yipay; ipay*  
*ngama tha-; pintjuwi-*  
*tuukuu; thuka*  
*puwanj*  
*tiipuru*  
*thurri; thuri*  
*nguri*  
*purriman*  
*ngawi-*  
*kuwariinj*  
*wupalkara; upalkara*  
*kukarri*  
*ngamaa-kirra*  
*nhanka-*

|                                   |                              |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|
| sweep up, pick up, tidy up        | <i>tipu-; thipi-</i>         |
| swell                             | <i>puku-</i>                 |
| swim                              | <i>paangki-</i>              |
| tail                              | <i>thiyil; thiyirl</i>       |
| take down from a height           | <i>puuta-</i>                |
| take, get                         | <i>maa-</i>                  |
| talk, speak                       | <i>yaa-</i>                  |
| tea leaf                          | <i>thii-paka; yirralka</i>   |
| tear                              | <i>panga-</i>                |
| tears (RC)                        | <i>nguwal</i>                |
| tease                             | <i>niringma-; yirrinjma-</i> |
| tease, pester, annoy              | <i>thi-thi-</i>              |
| teasing                           | <i>yirrinj</i>               |
| telegram (Eng.)                   | <i>thilikrama</i>            |
| telegraph (Eng.)                  | <i>thilikra</i>              |
| telephone (Eng.)                  | <i>thilipunthu</i>           |
| tell, say, teach                  | <i>tharrka-</i>              |
| temple                            | <i>tuwinj-tuwinj</i>         |
| ten (JB)                          | <i>marangka marangka</i>     |
| term of endearment                | <i>kampanj; kampaanj</i>     |
| termites                          | <i>murranj-murranj</i>       |
| testicles                         | <i>karlu</i>                 |
| testicles, scrotum                | <i>parninj</i>               |
| that way                          | <i>yala</i>                  |
| that, that there                  | <i>nhurra; nhurrana</i>      |
| the, a, that, then                | <i>ngara</i>                 |
| their, theirs (pl)                | <i>tharraka; nhuraka</i>     |
| their, theirs (du)                | <i>pulaka</i>                |
| them (pl)                         | <i>tharrana</i>              |
| them (du)                         | <i>pulana</i>                |
| there                             | <i>nhura</i>                 |
| they (du)                         | <i>purral; pula</i>          |
| they (pl)                         | <i>thana</i>                 |
| thick, strong                     | <i>pinti-pinti</i>           |
| thigh                             | <i>tharra</i>                |
| thin                              | <i>kuntjarra</i>             |
| thin person                       | <i>puutjaa</i>               |
| third person sg.nom & acc         | <i>-pu; -pi</i>              |
| third person pl (abbrev.)         | <i>-ra; -ta</i>              |
| third person pl pronominal        | <i>-pula</i>                 |
| third person pl pronominal suffix | <i>-yita; yira</i>           |
| third person sg past tense        | <i>-a</i>                    |
| this                              | <i>nhuu</i>                  |
| this side of the river            | <i>karanj</i>                |
| this way, towards, to speaker     | <i>thayin; thayi</i>         |
| thistle, milk                     | <i>palampa</i>               |

three (EH)  
 three (JB)  
 throat; Adam's apple  
 throw  
 throw away, toss  
 thunder  
 thunder (S)  
 thunder rolls  
 tickle, molest, annoy  
 tie  
 tie up  
 time  
 tin (S)  
 to, for me  
 to, for, against him, her, it  
 to, for them (pl)  
 to, for they two (du)  
 to, for you (sg)  
 to, for you all (pl)  
 to, for you two (du)  
 tobacco (native)  
 together  
 tomahawk, steel axe  
 tomorrow, morning, next day  
 tongue  
 tooth  
 torment, joke with  
 torment, scold  
 totem or 'tribe'  
 track  
 transitiviser  
 trap for emus

## TREES:

tree (gen.)  
 acacia (small)  
 beefwood  
 bila (SJ)  
 brigalow (JB)  
 butterwood  
 carbine  
 coarse-leafed box  
 course-leafed kurrajong  
 coolibah  
 dogwood  
 fine-leafed box  
 fine-leafed kurrajong  
 gambayn

*purrakulayaman*  
*kapuyaman*  
*ngarntul; nganturl*  
*tharrku-*  
*karrawi-*  
*thurli-; thurlinpira; yantipu*  
*ngulu-ngulu*  
*kurrinpita*  
*kitji-kitji-*  
*parrima-*  
*pari-; partima-*  
*nari*  
*tankart*  
*ngaangura*  
*nhumpangura*  
*thanangura*  
*purralngura*  
*yingura*  
*nhurangura*  
*nhulangura*  
*piirika; pirrka*  
*karrka*  
*thamiyaa*  
*parta; partala*  
*thalanj*  
*thirra; tirra*  
*manja-*  
*nhanja-*  
*pitjaru; pitjaru; pitjula*  
*thintuwa-*  
*-li*  
*murra*

*waan*  
*piri; pirri*  
*parla-parla*  
*wawurn*  
*kalpa; karlpay*  
*payara*  
*kayalanj*  
*kuraltirrarl*  
*tarranganj*  
*pakura*  
*wirrpil; wirlpil*  
*pupala*  
*muunu*  
*kuru-kuru*

ghost gum  
gidgee  
gruie or sour plum (EH)  
ironbark  
leopard wood  
lignum  
mulga  
myall  
native pine  
needlewood  
quondong or blue fig  
rosewood  
round-leafed box  
sandalwood  
shrub-like tree (unidentified)  
small (kind unknown)  
stringybark  
supplejack  
tree similar to wild orange  
tree with open foliage  
tree, large (kind unknown)  
tree like coolibah  
wattle  
wattle sp.  
white-leafed wattle  
whitewood (JB)  
whitewood (RC)  
wild cherry  
wild lime  
wilga  
tree top  
tripe, intestines  
trousers (Eng.)  
true, straight  
truth  
truth, a true word  
turkey grass  
turn round, twist, spin, circle  
turpentine bush  
turtle (long-necked)  
    turtle (short-necked)  
twig  
twilight  
twins  
two  
unable to swim

*kuruwa*  
*muwurru*  
*kuwaaru*  
*kuruman; kuruman; kuumpa*  
*kurinj*  
*wirrara*  
*pirril; pirriy*  
*milara*  
*paayilinj*  
*kuntuwa*  
*kuwarti*  
*karnpil; kurrumpal*  
*malanj; marlanj*  
*pirrawa*  
*pingku-pingku*  
*puntiy*  
*mitjiri*  
*wiirla*  
*kampal-kampal*  
*paan-paan; paarn-paarn*  
*kulurr*  
*purrungkar*  
*maangki*  
*tumul; tuumurl*  
*yumu*  
*palkan; palkin*  
*purtpal*  
*pulumpurr; pulampurr*  
*marlpal*  
*tilkara*  
*thulpunj*  
*kita-kita; kira-kira*  
*tharawita; turraaru*  
*pintal; pirntal*  
*pintanj*  
*yaaru*  
*kaaya-yawi*  
*tiyi-*  
*piruwa; piruwa*  
*kaya*  
*wayampa*  
*tithalanj*  
*pakin*  
*pulaangurr*  
*kapu*  
*paanti-*

undress  
 uninitiated boy  
 unmarried girl, young woman  
 unmarried man  
 up high, on top, with speed  
 upstream, north  
 urinate  
 urine  
 us (du)  
 us (pl)

vegetable food, creeper vine, bread  
 vein  
 venereal disease  
 verbaliser  
 void, nothing  
 volitional aspect  
 vomit  
 vulva

waddy for echidna quills  
 waddy for emus (JB; RC)  
 wag tail  
 waist (EH)  
 wait  
 walk stooped down  
 walk, go  
 walking stick  
 want (Eng.)  
 warm oneself  
 wash body  
 wash clothes  
 wash, dive  
 water  
 water (flowing)  
 water (stagnant)  
 waterbag  
 water-rat

WATERHOLES:

waterhole (EH)  
 at Baal's place  
 at Bark Creek  
 at Cartlands  
 at Dennowen  
 at Grogan's Hole  
 at Irving Grange  
 at Johnson's  
 at Karingle

*puuta-*  
*yangkurr*  
*katjinpa*  
*kumuru*  
*kanta*  
*karral*  
*kiwa kurra-*  
*kiwa*  
*ngalina*  
*ngarrana*

*manu*  
*thuliti; tuliti*  
*kawayira*  
*-ma*  
*nungu*  
*-tjira*  
*murra-; murranj-murranj*  
*kini*

*kayinta*  
*kutjuru*  
*wirrimpi-*  
*muranj*  
*wanpi-*  
*kurluwi-*  
*ya-*  
*pitjalin*  
*wanta-; wanti-*  
*yapi-*  
*wuki-; -uki*  
*paki-; waki-*  
*kuumpi-*  
*ngapa*  
*yirrinj*  
*thangkipintj*  
*ngarrpa*  
*witji-ngapa*

*ngapa-wartu*  
*pilipampu*  
*pultinuwina*  
*kitjupukuniwi*  
*nhamun*  
*yiriyita*  
*tharinpira*  
*thurnaamanj*  
*witji-purrrayina*

at Mandawal  
 at Mundiwa  
 at Weilmoringle  
 at Weilmoringle camp  
 at Wilara  
 at Yuri Point  
 concerning moon legend  
 'down river'  
 from a spring  
 known to RC  
 named by RC  
 near Bark creek  
 near Bunida  
 near Dennowen  
 near Johnson's  
 near Johnson's  
 near Mandawal  
 near Milroy  
 near Mundiwa  
 near Weilmoringle  
 near Yuri Point  
 on Culgoa (EH)  
 past Kaweel  
 past Weilmoringle  
 place of initiation  
 up from Mundiwa  
 waterhole, hollow, cooking hole  
 waterlily  
 waterweed  
 waterweed (RC)  
 wax carried by native bees  
 we (pl)  
 webbed foot  
 weeds  
 Weilmoringle Station  
 what?  
 when?  
 when? (JB)  
 where?  
 whip (Eng.)  
 whirlwind  
 whistle  
 white  
 white ant (S)  
 white woman  
 who?/which?  
 widow, widower

*muru  
 pakunj  
 mirriwukula  
 wamparinj  
 tungulpita  
 tukumungurra  
 yanpayilmaal  
 talaari  
 murukulka  
 puramaringkal  
 puramaringkal  
 payira  
 paarntum  
 mirrintjina  
 kuwalwirla  
 purringapa  
 milpiri  
 papama  
 muurru;  
 purrungkalpita; puthin-puthi  
 puuthinawina  
 karlinj  
 yaarri  
 kuthinmathinj  
 warrampuurr  
 payawanj  
 wartu  
 wuranpurru; uranpurru  
 kurrupurra  
 parniita; parriniita  
 yuumpaa  
 ngana  
 yama  
 ngarran  
 wayilmarrangkal  
 minjan  
 wantanj  
 wanthu  
 tirra; thirra  
 wipu  
 pulpuranj  
 kuwi-  
 pulam-pulam; puthan-puthan  
 maringali  
 watjiin  
 ngaana  
 kulur*

|                                        |                                |
|----------------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| wife                                   | <i>nupa</i>                    |
| wild banana (JB)                       | <i>muntilin</i>                |
| wild fruit                             | <i>thukakaa</i>                |
| wild lemon (JB)                        | <i>malpara</i>                 |
| wild lemon (EH)                        | <i>mariparl</i>                |
| wild onion                             | <i>purranpuru</i>              |
| wild orange                            | <i>pampul</i>                  |
| wild parsnip                           | <i>yirrimu</i>                 |
| wild potato (EH)                       | <i>kiirpan</i>                 |
| wild potato (RC)                       | <i>parimanu</i>                |
| wind                                   | <i>yarrka</i>                  |
| windbreak                              | <i>warlu-warlu</i>             |
| wintertime                             | <i>talay</i>                   |
| wipe                                   | <i>mipa-</i>                   |
| Wollan River                           | <i>walamu</i>                  |
| woman (aboriginal)                     | <i>mukinj</i>                  |
| woman who has lost her son             | <i>mangkunj</i>                |
| woman, old                             | <i>maami; parraka</i>          |
| woman (unmarried)                      | <i>wankutu</i>                 |
| womb                                   | <i>warranj</i>                 |
| women                                  | <i>mukatinj</i>                |
| women's ground during initiation (RHM) | <i>pathuwalu</i>               |
| wooden knife                           | <i>yakipal</i>                 |
| work (Eng.)                            | <i>waa yi-</i>                 |
| wrinkles, aged face                    | <i>murnka; mungka</i>          |
| wrist                                  | <i>mankurr</i>                 |
| wrong marriage partner                 | <i>karurinj</i>                |
| yam: fine-leafed                       | <i>kimay</i>                   |
| yamstick                               | <i>kanay; karray; kayi</i>     |
| yellow                                 | <i>kurnan-kurnan</i>           |
| yellow (JB)                            | <i>mumunj</i>                  |
| yes                                    | <i>ngaa; ngakuwa</i>           |
| yesterday                              | <i>kurnta</i>                  |
| yoke of egg                            | <i>tali</i>                    |
| you (acc du)                           | <i>nhulana</i>                 |
| you (acc pl)                           | <i>nhurana</i>                 |
| you (acc sg)                           | <i>panga</i>                   |
| you (du)                               | <i>nhula</i>                   |
| you (pl)                               | <i>nhura</i>                   |
| you (sg)                               | <i>yintu; ngintu; njintu</i>   |
| young of species                       | <i>titji; turrunj; turunh</i>  |
| youngest child                         | <i>muthunj</i>                 |
| your two (du)                          | <i>nhulaka; nhuraka</i>        |
| your, yours (sg)                       | <i>yingka (pungka; pangka)</i> |
| Yuwalaray language name                | <i>yuwalaray; yuwaali</i>      |

## APPENDIX A

### COMPARATIVE WORD LIST

The following comparative word list of approximately one hundred common nominals and verbs in neighbouring languages to the north, south, east and west of Muruwari has been compiled from old sources (mainly Mathews and Curr), and modern research: Guwamu (my own and Sim's field notes), Yuwaalaraay (my field notes, Sim and Williams), Ngiyambaa (Donaldson), Bāgandji (Hercus), Bidyara-Gungabula (Breen), Gamilaraay and Wiradjuri (Austin and Wurm unpublished lists). Comparison with the immediate southern neighbour, Barranbinya, has not been included since it is in the forthcoming *Papers in Australian Linguistics*, No.17.

For ease of comparison, the lists, including Muruwari, are spelt with voiced consonants, the spelling in vogue when these lists were compiled in the 1970s. Long vowels are indicated by :, a symbol used by Hercus and other linguists.

The abbreviations for these languages are:

|       |                   |      |             |
|-------|-------------------|------|-------------|
| [Bā]  | Bāgandji          | [Ng] | Ngiyambaa   |
| [B-G] | Bidyara-Gungabula | [W]  | Wiradjuri   |
| [Ga]  | Gamilaraay        | [Ww] | Wailwan     |
| [Gn]  | Gurnu             | [Yr] | Yuwaalaraay |
| [Gw]  | Guwamu            | [Yy] | Yuwaaliyaay |
| [M]   | Muruwari          |      |             |

Where the source is of interest, it is given in brackets as follows:

|      |                                                                                               |
|------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (M)  | R.H. Mathews                                                                                  |
| (S)  | Ian Sim's handwritten lists                                                                   |
| (D)  | Tamsin Donaldson (some words from unpublished data)                                           |
| (W)  | Wurm's unpublished data transcribed by Austin                                                 |
| (A)  | Austin's unpublished Gamilaraay transcriptions                                                |
| (CW) | Corrine Williams' Yuwaalaraay-Yuwaaliyaay unpublished word list made available to the writer. |

The cognate count with neighbouring languages is not high. The accompanying chart of figures derived from a comparison of the following short list of 100+ words reveals that Guwamu has the



highest mutual vocabulary with Muruwari (41%), and Bāgandji the lowest (16%). Ngiyambaa-Wailwan (37%) and Gamilaraay (37.5%) are the second highest. The three other languages show a very similar percentage of language overlap: Yuwaalaraay-Yuwaaliyaay and Bidyara-Gungabula 33%; and Wiradjuri (whose boundary does not impinge on Muruwari territory) 32.5%.

| LANGUAGE | NO. OF WORDS<br>COMPARED WITH MURUWARI | NO. OF MURUWARI<br>COGNATES | % COGNATE |
|----------|----------------------------------------|-----------------------------|-----------|
| [Gw]     | 114                                    | 47                          | 41%       |
| [Ga]     | 96                                     | 36                          | 37.5%     |
| [Ng-Ww]  | 102                                    | 38                          | 37%       |
| [Yr-Yy]  | 106                                    | 35                          | 33%       |
| [B-G]    | 105                                    | 35                          | 33%       |
| [W]      | 80                                     | 26                          | 32.5%     |
| [Bā]     | 96                                     | 16                          | 16%       |

| Gloss               | Muruwari                             | Guwamu            | Bidjara-<br>Gungabula        | Ngiyambaa-<br>Wailwan | Gamilaraay                          | Wiradjuri          | Yuwaalaraay-<br>Yuwaaliyaay | Bāgandji                      |
|---------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 1 ankle             | <i>bargi</i><br><i>barunggal</i> (M) |                   | <i>bargu</i>                 | <i>mar gun</i>        |                                     |                    | <i>baranggal</i>            | <i>girli</i>                  |
| 2 arm<br>(lower)    | <i>marngu</i>                        | <i>marngun</i>    | <i>dhuru</i>                 | <i>bi:</i>            | <i>wurur</i>                        | <i>bargur</i> (M)  | <i>bungun</i>               | <i>marngu</i>                 |
| 3 armpit            | <i>gabard</i>                        | <i>gabard</i>     | <i>gabard</i>                | <i>gilgin</i>         |                                     |                    |                             | <i>dhininja</i>               |
| 4 ashes             | <i>budha</i>                         | <i>budhara</i>    | <i>budha</i>                 |                       | <i>giran</i> (A)                    |                    |                             | <i>balba</i>                  |
| 5 bark (of<br>tree) | <i>murinj</i>                        | <i>bithal</i>     | <i>bithal</i>                | <i>walu:</i>          | <i>dhura</i>                        | <i>dhurang</i>     | <i>bidjal</i> (S)           | <i>baldha</i>                 |
| 6 beard             | <i>yananj</i>                        | <i>nganga</i>     | <i>yananj</i>                | <i>yananj</i>         | <i>yaray</i>                        | <i>yananj</i>      | <i>yananj</i>               | <i>waga-bulgi</i>             |
| 7 belly             | <i>dugu</i>                          | <i>bandjurd</i>   | <i>guna</i>                  | <i>burbi</i>          | <i>mubal</i> (M)                    | <i>burbinj</i> (D) | <i>mubal</i> (S)            | <i>gananja</i>                |
| 8 bird              | <i>widji</i>                         | <i>dhibinj</i>    | <i>dhibininj</i>             | <i>dhiniN</i>         | <i>budjan</i><br><i>dhigara</i> (W) | <i>djibinj</i>     | <i>dhigaya</i> (M)          |                               |
| 9 bite              | <i>yida-</i>                         | <i>badha-</i>     |                              | <i>gadhi-</i>         | <i>yi:-</i> (W)                     |                    | <i>yi:-</i>                 | <i>barda-</i>                 |
| 10 black            | <i>gardagarda</i>                    | <i>banja</i>      | <i>wudja</i>                 | <i>buluy</i>          | <i>buluwi:</i>                      |                    | <i>buluwi:</i>              | <i>gugiriga</i>               |
| 11 blood            | <i>guwanj</i>                        | <i>guma</i>       | <i>guma</i>                  | <i>guway</i>          | <i>guway</i>                        | <i>guwanj</i>      | <i>guway</i>                | <i>gandara</i>                |
| 12 bone             | <i>mangga</i>                        | <i>ngagu</i>      | <i>ngagu</i><br><i>yarun</i> | <i>ngimbi</i>         | <i>bura</i>                         |                    | <i>bura</i>                 | <i>birnha</i>                 |
| 13 boomerang        | <i>marli</i>                         | <i>wangal</i> (J) | <i>wangal</i>                | <i>balga:</i>         | <i>bardan</i> (W)                   |                    | <i>barran</i>               | <i>gadhiri</i><br><i>wana</i> |
| 14 breast           | <i>ngama</i>                         | <i>ngamun</i>     | <i>ngamun</i>                | <i>ngamuN</i>         | <i>ngamu</i> (A)                    |                    | <i>ngamu</i>                | <i>ngama</i>                  |
| 15 bring            | <i>ga-</i>                           | <i>ga-</i>        | <i>wugu-</i>                 | <i>ga:N-y</i>         | <i>ga:-</i> (W)                     |                    | <i>ga:-</i>                 |                               |
| 16 camp             | <i>ngura</i>                         | <i>yamba</i>      | <i>yamba</i>                 | <i>ngura</i>          | <i>walay</i> (W)                    |                    | <i>walay</i>                | <i>yabara</i>                 |

|    |                 |                 |                   |                                 |                                  |                                         |                 |                                       |
|----|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------------|
| 17 | carpet<br>snake | <i>gamul</i>    | <i>ga:bul</i>     | <i>gabul</i>                    | <i>yaba</i> (M)                  |                                         | <i>yiba:</i>    | <i>garuwari</i>                       |
| 18 | carry           | <i>wanga-</i>   | <i>bunda-</i>     | <i>bundha</i>                   |                                  |                                         | <i>wamba-</i>   | <i>walba-</i>                         |
| 19 | chest           | <i>dhali</i>    | <i>wanga</i>      | <i>wanga</i>                    |                                  | <i>biri</i>                             | <i>birinj</i>   | <i>bi:</i>                            |
| 20 | child           | <i>guthara</i>  | <i>gandunu</i>    | <i>gandu</i>                    | <i>bura:y</i>                    | <i>gandjal</i> (A)                      | <i>birrali</i>  | <i>mu:rba</i>                         |
| 21 | climb           | <i>gurla-</i>   | <i>waga-</i>      | <i>waga-</i>                    |                                  |                                         |                 | <i>binha-</i>                         |
| 22 | cloud           | <i>yuganh</i>   | <i>dharingara</i> | <i>yugan</i>                    | <i>gu:wa</i>                     | <i>yuru</i>                             | <i>yurung</i>   | <i>gunda:</i>                         |
| 23 | codfish         | <i>gudu</i>     | <i>gudumba</i>    | <i>wabalgan</i>                 |                                  | <i>gudu</i>                             | <i>gudu:</i>    | <i>barndu</i>                         |
| 24 | cook            | <i>mu:-</i>     | <i>watha-</i>     | <i>wathu-</i>                   | <i>dhanba-</i>                   | <i>dhawmali-</i>                        | <i>yilama-</i>  | <i>giy-</i>                           |
| 25 | dog             | <i>gundarl</i>  | <i>nguran</i>     | <i>ngura(n)</i>                 | <i>miri</i>                      | <i>buruma</i><br><i>miri</i> (A)        | <i>miri</i>     | <i>ma:da:y</i>                        |
| 26 | eaglehawk       | <i>garra</i>    | <i>gudhala</i>    | <i>gudhala</i>                  | <i>gudhala</i><br><i>maliyan</i> | <i>diril</i>                            | <i>maliyan</i>  | <i>maliyan</i>                        |
| 27 | ear             | <i>bina</i>     | <i>manga</i>      | <i>manga</i>                    | <i>bina</i>                      | <i>bina</i><br><i>manga</i>             | <i>wudha</i>    | <i>bina</i> [Yr]<br><i>wudha</i> [Yy] |
| 28 | eat             | <i>dha-</i>     | <i>dha-</i>       | <i>yuga-</i>                    | <i>dha-</i>                      | <i>dhali-</i>                           | <i>dha-</i>     | <i>dhayi-</i>                         |
| 29 | egg             | <i>gabunj</i>   | <i>gabunj</i>     | <i>gabunj</i>                   | <i>gabu</i>                      | <i>gu:</i>                              | <i>gabunj</i>   | <i>gawu</i>                           |
| 30 | elbow           | <i>gubu</i>     | <i>yu:du:</i>     | <i>yurdu</i>                    | <i>munu:ga</i>                   |                                         | <i>ngunuga:</i> | <i>gubu</i>                           |
| 31 | emu             | <i>ngurrunj</i> | <i>dinawan</i>    | <i>gulbari</i><br><i>gulbay</i> | <i>nguruy</i>                    | <i>nguri</i> (A)<br><i>dhinawan</i> (A) | <i>ngurunj</i>  | <i>dinawan</i>                        |
| 32 | excrement       | <i>guna</i>     | <i>guna</i>       | <i>guna</i>                     | <i>guna</i>                      | <i>guna</i>                             | <i>guna</i>     | <i>guna</i>                           |
| 33 | eye             | <i>mi:l</i>     | <i>dhili</i>      | <i>dhili</i>                    | <i>mil</i>                       | <i>mil</i>                              | <i>mil</i>      | <i>mi:gi</i>                          |
| 34 | fall            | <i>warra-</i>   | <i>banbu-</i>     | <i>warda-</i>                   | <i>dhuwa-</i>                    |                                         | <i>bunda-</i>   | <i>ba:nga-</i>                        |
| 35 | fat             | <i>dhandi</i>   | <i>dhami</i>      | <i>dhami</i>                    | <i>gundhal</i>                   | <i>wamu</i>                             | <i>wamu</i>     | <i>wamu</i>                           |
| 36 | father          | <i>badanj</i>   | <i>ngambadja</i>  | <i>yabu</i>                     | <i>ba:ba:</i>                    | <i>badjar</i> (W)                       | <i>buwadjar</i> | <i>gambidja</i>                       |

| Gloss              | Muruwari          | Guwamu                   | Bidjara-<br>Gungabula   | Ngiyambaa-<br>Wailwan | Gamilaraay                       | Wiradjuri           | Yuwaalaraay-<br>Yuwaaliyaay      | Bāgandji                  |
|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 37 fingernail      | <i>biganj</i>     | <i>biganj</i>            | <i>miru<br/>bindunj</i> | <i>yulu</i>           |                                  | <i>yulu</i>         | <i>yulu</i>                      | <i>mili</i>               |
| 38 fire            | <i>wi:</i>        | <i>burdi</i>             | <i>burdi</i>            | <i>wi:</i>            | <i>wi:</i>                       | <i>winj</i>         | <i>wi: [Yr]<br/>du: [Yy]</i>     | <i>guniga</i>             |
| 39 fish            | <i>guya</i>       | <i>guyu</i>              | <i>guya</i>             | <i>guya</i>           | <i>gwiya</i>                     | <i>guya</i>         | <i>nga:lu:r</i>                  |                           |
| 40 fly<br>(insect) | <i>mugunj</i>     | <i>nhimanj</i>           | <i>nhimun</i>           |                       |                                  |                     | <i>banha:yal</i>                 | <i>winguru</i>            |
| 41 food            | <i>manu</i>       | <i>dhuyar</i>            | <i>mandha</i>           | <i>yuwan</i>          | <i>mundha (A)<br/>gundal (A)</i> | <i>mandha</i>       | <i>dhuwar</i>                    | <i>manhu</i>              |
| 42 foot            | <i>dhina</i>      | <i>dhina</i>             | <i>dhina</i>            | <i>dhina</i>          | <i>dhina</i>                     | <i>dhinang</i>      | <i>dhina [Yr]<br/>babur [Yy]</i> | <i>dhina</i>              |
| 43 forehead        | <i>ngulu</i>      | <i>balga</i>             | <i>balga</i>            | <i>ngulu</i>          |                                  |                     | <i>nguyu</i>                     | <i>bigu</i>               |
| 44 get             | <i>ma:-</i>       | <i>mara-</i>             | <i>mara-</i>            |                       |                                  |                     |                                  |                           |
| 45 give            | <i>nguwa-</i>     | <i>wa:-</i>              | <i>gumba-</i>           | <i>ngu-</i>           | <i>wuni-</i>                     |                     | <i>wu:-</i>                      | <i>nguga-</i>             |
| 46 go, walk        | <i>ya-</i>        | <i>wada-</i>             | <i>wadja-</i>           | <i>yana-</i>          | <i>yana-</i>                     |                     | <i>yina:-</i>                    | <i>bari-</i>              |
| 47 ground          | <i>mayi</i>       | <i>dandhi</i>            | <i>nhandhi</i>          | <i>dhagun</i>         | <i>dhawun</i>                    | <i>dhagun</i>       | <i>dhaymar</i>                   | <i>marndi</i>             |
| 48 hand            | <i>mara</i>       | <i>marda</i>             | <i>marda</i>            | <i>ma:</i>            | <i>mara</i>                      | <i>mara</i>         | <i>ma:</i>                       | <i>mara</i>               |
| 49 he              | <i>nhumbu</i>     | <i>nhulu</i>             |                         | <i>ngilu [Ww]</i>     | <i>nguru</i>                     | <i>ngagwa</i>       |                                  | <i>ngadhu</i>             |
| 50 head            | <i>bambu</i>      | <i>barngun</i>           | <i>dhungu</i>           | <i>bala</i>           | <i>guga</i>                      | <i>balang</i>       | <i>dhaygal</i>                   | <i>dhardu</i>             |
| 51 hear            | <i>binadhina-</i> | <i>yimba-</i>            | <i>yimba-</i>           | <i>winanga- (M)</i>   | <i>winanga- (M)</i>              | <i>winanga- (M)</i> | <i>winanga-</i>                  | <i>dhaldi-<br/>ba:ri-</i> |
| 52 heart           | <i>badhanj</i>    | <i>budhanj<br/>yulgu</i> | <i>yulgu</i>            | <i>gi:</i>            | <i>gi:</i>                       | <i>ginj</i>         | <i>gi:</i>                       | <i>burlu</i>              |

|    |                |                              |                               |                              |                                          |                                    |                |                                       |                                   |
|----|----------------|------------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------|---------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 53 | hit with hand  | ba-                          | bara-                         | guni-                        | buma- [Ng]<br>guma- [Ww]                 | buma- (M)                          | buma- (M)      | buma-                                 | balga-                            |
| 54 | hungry         | <i>gandul</i>                | <i>gabinj</i>                 | <i>bunggard</i>              | <i>yaragin</i> (M)                       | <i>yulngin</i>                     | <i>giragul</i> | <i>yu:lngin</i>                       | <i>wilga-</i>                     |
| 55 | I              | <i>ngadhu</i>                | <i>ngaya</i>                  | <i>ngaya</i>                 | <i>ngadhu</i>                            | <i>ngaya</i>                       | <i>ngadhu</i>  |                                       | <i>nga:ba*</i>                    |
| 56 | kangaroo       | <i>gula</i>                  | <i>gula</i>                   | <i>dhumba</i>                | <i>girbadja</i>                          | <i>bundar</i>                      | <i>bundar</i>  | <i>bandar</i>                         | <i>girbadja</i>                   |
| 57 | knee           | <i>dhin-gal</i>              | <i>dhinbin</i>                | <i>mugu</i>                  | <i>bunda:y</i>                           | <i>dhinbir</i>                     | <i>bungang</i> | <i>dhinbir</i>                        | <i>dhin-gi</i>                    |
| 58 | laugh          | <i>ginda-</i>                | <i>ginda-</i>                 | <i>yathi-</i>                | <i>ginda-</i>                            | <i>ginda-</i>                      | <i>gindi-</i>  | <i>gindama-</i>                       | <i>gi:nda-</i>                    |
| 59 | liver          | <i>gana/ganha</i>            | <i>dhiba</i>                  | <i>dhiba</i>                 | <i>garalu</i>                            | <i>gana</i>                        | <i>ganang</i>  | <i>ganha</i>                          | <i>dhanggunja</i>                 |
| 60 | louse          | <i>munhi</i>                 | <i>gulinj</i>                 | <i>muna</i>                  | <i>gabul</i>                             | <i>muni/munhi</i>                  |                | <i>munhi</i>                          |                                   |
| 61 | mad            | <i>wamba</i>                 | <i>wamba</i>                  | <i>wamba</i>                 | <i>bulawaray</i> (M)                     | <i>wamba</i>                       |                | <i>wamba</i>                          | <i>dhardu-</i><br><i>balgarli</i> |
| 62 | man<br>(abor.) | <i>mayinj</i>                | <i>mardi</i>                  | <i>mardi</i>                 | <i>mayi</i><br><i>dhu:r</i>              | <i>mari</i>                        | <i>mayinj</i>  | <i>dhayin</i>                         | <i>wimbadja</i>                   |
| 63 | many           | <i>dhu:</i>                  | <i>dhu:</i>                   | <i>gudhu</i><br><i>wudja</i> | <i>bunggu</i><br><i>madu</i>             | <i>budi:la</i> (M)                 | <i>mudhu</i>   | <i>burula:</i>                        | <i>dhuluru</i>                    |
| 64 | meat           | <i>widji</i>                 | <i>yuri</i>                   | <i>yurdi</i>                 | <i>dhingga:</i>                          | <i>dhi:</i><br><i>dhingga:</i> (A) | <i>wigi</i>    | <i>dhingga:</i>                       |                                   |
| 65 | moon           | <i>giyam</i>                 | <i>dhilgan</i>                | <i>gagardu</i>               | <i>gabada:</i>                           | <i>giwang</i><br><i>gilay</i> (W)  | <i>giwang</i>  | <i>gilay</i>                          | <i>ba:djuga</i>                   |
| 66 | mother         | <i>gaya</i>                  | <i>yanga</i>                  | <i>yanga</i>                 | <i>guni:</i>                             | <i>ma:mi</i>                       | <i>guni</i>    | <i>gunidjir</i>                       | <i>ngamaga</i>                    |
| 67 | mouth          | <i>dha:</i>                  | <i>dha:</i>                   | <i>dha:</i>                  | <i>ngandal</i>                           | <i>nga:y</i>                       | <i>nganj</i>   | <i>nga:y</i>                          | <i>yalga</i>                      |
| 68 | nulla-nulla    | <i>muru</i>                  | <i>muru</i><br><i>bingunj</i> | <i>miru</i>                  | <i>yulu</i>                              | <i>bundi</i>                       |                | <i>bundi</i>                          | <i>bundi</i>                      |
| 69 | net bag        | <i>gulay</i><br><i>munda</i> | <i>munda</i>                  | <i>budja</i>                 | <i>gulay</i>                             |                                    | <i>galban</i>  | <i>gulay</i>                          | <i>malga</i>                      |
| 70 | no             | <i>wala</i>                  | <i>garda</i>                  | <i>garda</i>                 | <i>wanga:y</i> [Ng]<br><i>wayil</i> [Ww] | <i>gAmil</i> (M)                   | <i>wiray</i>   | <i>walay</i> [Yy]<br><i>wa:l</i> [Yy] | <i>gila</i>                       |

| Gloss      | Muruwari        | Guwamu          | Bidjara-<br>Gungabula             | Ngiyambaa-<br>Wailwan | Gamilaraay                        | Wiradjuri          | Yuwaalaraay-<br>Yuwaaliyaay             | Bāgandji                           |
|------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 71 nose    | <i>nguru</i>    | <i>ngu:</i>     | <i>guwu</i>                       | <i>murū</i>           | <i>murū</i>                       | <i>murung</i>      | <i>muyu</i>                             | <i>minda-ulu</i>                   |
| 72 old man | <i>wadhul</i>   | <i>wadhul</i>   | <i>wadhuranj</i>                  | <i>gugayanggay</i>    | <i>wayama</i>                     | <i>diribung</i>    | <i>wiyama:</i>                          | <i>wirdu</i>                       |
| 73 one     | <i>yaman</i>    | <i>wanggara</i> |                                   | <i>magu:</i>          | <i>ngay</i> (W)                   |                    | <i>bi:r</i> [Yr]<br><i>milan</i> [Yy]   | <i>ngidja</i>                      |
| 74 possum  | <i>gugay</i>    | <i>gudhird</i>  | <i>dan-gurd</i>                   | <i>guragay</i>        | <i>mudi</i>                       | <i>wiling</i>      | <i>mudhay</i>                           | <i>bilda</i>                       |
| 75 rain    | <i>burdu</i>    | <i>yugan</i>    | <i>gamu</i>                       | <i>yuru</i>           | <i>yuru</i>                       | <i>yurung</i>      | <i>yuyu</i>                             | <i>magara</i>                      |
| 76 rib     | <i>baranj</i>   |                 |                                   | <i>bara:n</i>         |                                   |                    | <i>nhamun</i>                           | <i>gu:gura</i><br><i>dhirgigi</i>  |
| 77 rotten  | <i>buga</i>     | <i>ga:ga</i>    | <i>gadja</i>                      | <i>buga</i>           | <i>nuwi</i>                       | <i>buga</i>        |                                         | <i>nhumba-la</i>                   |
| 78 run     | <i>dhanggi-</i> | <i>waga-</i>    | <i>wagani-</i><br><i>dhungga-</i> | <i>bibuwa-</i>        | <i>banaga-</i> (M)                | <i>banaga-</i> (M) | <i>banaga-</i>                          | <i>galja-</i>                      |
| 79 see     | <i>nha:-</i>    | <i>nhaga-</i>   | <i>ngaga-</i> (M)                 | <i>nga:-</i>          | <i>ngana-</i>                     | <i>ngara-</i>      | <i>ngara-</i>                           | <i>bami-</i>                       |
| 80 shield  | <i>burgu</i>    | <i>burgu</i>    | <i>murga</i>                      |                       | <i>burri:n</i> (W)                | <i>marga</i>       | <i>huri:n</i> (S)                       | <i>mangaru</i>                     |
| 81 shrimp  | <i>gi:dja:</i>  | <i>gi:dja:</i>  | <i>ngundhay</i>                   |                       |                                   | <i>gi:dja:</i>     | <i>gi:dja:</i>                          | <i>widhi</i>                       |
| 82 sit     | <i>niya-</i>    | <i>binda-</i>   | <i>binda-</i>                     | <i>wi:-</i>           | <i>winja-</i>                     | <i>nguri-</i>      | <i>winja-</i><br><i>wilawa-</i> (CW)    | <i>(ng)i:n-ga-</i>                 |
| 83 skin    | <i>yulanj</i>   | <i>?yuman</i>   | <i>numan</i>                      | <i>yulay</i>          | <i>yulay</i>                      | <i>yulanj</i>      | <i>yulay</i>                            | <i>baldha</i><br><i>yurni</i> [Gn] |
| 84 sky     | <i>banda</i>    | <i>bandarda</i> | <i>bandarda</i>                   | <i>balima</i>         | <i>gunagala</i>                   | <i>gunagala</i>    | <i>gunagula</i>                         | <i>garganja</i><br><i>galgara</i>  |
| 85 small   | <i>gidju</i>    | <i>ga:mba</i>   | <i>garumaranj</i>                 |                       | <i>ga:nmara</i>                   | <i>bubadjul</i>    | <i>bubuy</i> [Yr]<br><i>badjin</i> [Yy] | <i>gadgilugu</i>                   |
| 86 smoke   | <i>dhuran</i>   | <i>dhuga</i>    | <i>dhuga</i>                      | <i>budhu</i>          | <i>dhu:</i><br><i>bu:bili</i> (A) | <i>gudhal</i>      | <i>dhu:</i>                             | <i>bundu</i>                       |

|     |                   |                     |                     |                   |                      |                    |                   |                                     |                               |
|-----|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|-------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 87  | snake             | <i>ga:n</i>         | <i>dhuwaru</i>      |                   | <i>dhuru</i>         | <i>nuray</i>       | <i>dhurung</i>    | <i>dhu:yu: (S)</i>                  | <i>dhuru</i>                  |
| 88  | speak             | <i>dharga-</i>      | <i>ngalga-</i>      | <i>ngalga-</i>    | <i>ngiyara- (M)</i>  | <i>gura-</i>       |                   |                                     | <i>gulda-</i>                 |
| 89  | spear             | <i>guliya</i>       | <i>guli:ra</i>      | <i>dhandja</i>    | <i>mura</i>          | <i>bila:r (W)</i>  | <i>dhulu</i>      | <i>bila:r (S)</i>                   | <i>galguru</i>                |
| 90  | stand             | <i>dhina-</i>       | <i>dhana-</i>       | <i>dhana-</i>     | <i>wara-</i>         | <i>wara- (M)</i>   | <i>wara- (M)</i>  | <i>wara-</i>                        | <i>dhalba-</i>                |
| 91  | star              | <i>mirinj</i>       | <i>dhandura</i>     | <i>dhandur</i>    | <i>girala</i>        | <i>miri</i>        | <i>giralang</i>   | <i>gutaray (S)</i>                  | <i>burli</i>                  |
| 92  | stone             | <i>bagul</i>        | <i>banggu</i>       | <i>banggu</i>     | <i>garul</i>         | <i>yaral (M)</i>   | <i>walang</i>     | <i>mayama</i>                       | <i>garna</i>                  |
| 93  | sun               | <i>dhuri</i>        | <i>dhurdi</i>       |                   | <i>dhuni</i>         | <i>duri</i>        | <i>yiri</i>       | <i>duni [Yr]</i><br><i>yay [Yy]</i> | <i>yugu</i>                   |
| 94  | teeth             | <i>dira</i>         | <i>dira</i>         |                   |                      | <i>ira (A)</i>     |                   | <i>yiya</i>                         |                               |
| 95  | thigh             | <i>dhara</i>        | <i>dhara</i>        | <i>dhara</i>      | <i>dhara</i>         | <i>dhara</i>       | <i>dharang</i>    | <i>dhara</i>                        | <i>garga</i><br><i>garaya</i> |
| 96  | this way          | <i>dhayin</i>       | <i>dhari</i>        | <i>wugu</i>       | <i>dha:yN</i>        | <i>dha:y</i>       | <i>dhanj</i>      | <i>dha:y</i>                        | <i>giga-mari</i>              |
| 97  | throat            | <i>ngarndul</i>     | <i>minggun</i>      |                   | <i>gaday</i>         | <i>wu:nguy (M)</i> | <i>gaday</i>      | <i>wuyu</i>                         |                               |
| 98  | throwing<br>stick | <i>bundi</i>        | <i>bundi</i>        | <i>bundi</i>      | <i>bundi</i>         |                    | <i>bundi</i>      | <i>bundi</i>                        | <i>bira</i><br><i>bundi</i>   |
| 99  | they              | <i>dhana</i>        | <i>dhanga</i>       | <i>dhana</i>      | <i>ngilagula (M)</i> |                    |                   |                                     |                               |
| 100 | tongue            | <i>dhalanj</i>      | <i>dhalanj</i>      | <i>dhalanj</i>    | <i>dhalay</i>        | <i>dhalay</i>      | <i>dhalanj</i>    | <i>dhalay</i>                       | <i>dharlinja</i>              |
| 101 | tree              | <i>wa:n</i>         | <i>baga</i>         | <i>baga</i>       | <i>gugur</i>         | <i>yudil (M)</i>   | <i>gigal</i>      | <i>mu:ya:n (S)</i>                  | <i>yara</i>                   |
| 102 | turtle            | <i>wayamba</i>      | <i>wugabara</i>     | <i>nindjiman</i>  | <i>waramba</i>       | <i>waramba</i>     | <i>guduman</i>    | <i>maliyan</i>                      | <i>bumala-buga</i>            |
| 103 | two               | <i>gabu</i>         | <i>bala:rdi:</i>    | <i>balardu</i>    | <i>bulagar</i>       | <i>bular</i>       | <i>bula</i>       | <i>bula:r</i>                       | <i>bargula</i>                |
| 104 | urine             | <i>giwa</i>         | <i>dudha:rd</i>     | <i>dhudard</i>    | <i>gi:l</i>          | <i>gil</i>         | <i>gi:l</i>       | <i>gi:l</i>                         | <i>gibara</i>                 |
| 105 | wagtail           | <i>djindidjindi</i> | <i>djindidjindi</i> | <i>djiridjiri</i> | <i>djiridjiri</i>    | <i>djiridjiri</i>  | <i>djiridjiri</i> | <i>dhiridhiri</i>                   | <i>dhiridjiri</i>             |
| 106 | water             | <i>ngaba</i>        | <i>gamu</i>         | <i>gamu</i>       | <i>gali</i>          | <i>gali</i>        | <i>galing</i>     | <i>gungan (S)</i>                   | <i>ngugu</i>                  |
| 107 | we                | <i>ngana</i>        | <i>ngana</i>        | <i>ngana</i>      | <i>ngiyani</i>       | <i>ngiyana</i>     | <i>ngiyana</i>    | <i>ngi:yanay</i>                    | <i>ngina*</i>                 |
| 108 | we two            | <i>ngali</i>        | <i>ngali</i>        | <i>ngali</i>      | <i>ngali</i>         | <i>ngali</i>       | <i>ngali</i>      | <i>ngali</i>                        | <i>ngali*</i>                 |

| Gloss                | Muruwari                      | Guwamu<br>Gungabula | Bidjara-<br>Wailwan | Ngiyambaa-                               | Gamilaraay       | Wiradjuri<br>Yuwaaliyaay | Yuwaalaraay-                            | Bägandji       |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|------------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------|-----------------------------------------|----------------|
| 109 what             | <i>minjan</i>                 | <i>ngani</i>        | <i>ngani</i>        | <i>minja</i>                             | <i>minja</i>     | <i>minjang</i>           | <i>mi</i>                               | <i>minha</i>   |
| 110 wife             | <i>nuba</i>                   | <i>guwi:ra</i>      |                     | <i>budung</i> [Ng]<br><i>nguwan</i> [Ww] | <i>guliran</i>   |                          | <i>gulir</i>                            | <i>gumbaga</i> |
| 111 wind             | <i>yarga</i>                  | <i>yarga</i>        | <i>yarga</i>        | <i>mi:r</i>                              | <i>yambi</i>     | <i>girrar</i>            | <i>mayra:</i> (CW)<br><i>yarrga</i> (S) | <i>yardu</i>   |
| 112 woman<br>(abor.) | <i>muginj</i>                 | <i>gambi</i>        |                     | <i>winar</i>                             | <i>yinar</i>     | <i>yinar</i>             | <i>yinar</i>                            | <i>nhunggu</i> |
| 113 yam              | <i>gimayi</i>                 | <i>guwugan</i>      | <i>guwalguwu</i>    |                                          | <i>waray</i> (W) |                          | <i>giban</i><br><i>mila:n</i>           |                |
| 114 yamstick         | <i>ganay</i>                  | <i>gana</i>         | <i>gana</i>         | <i>ganay</i>                             | <i>ganay</i>     | <i>ganay</i>             | <i>dhi:nba:y</i>                        | <i>garnga</i>  |
| 115 you (sg)         | <i>yindu</i><br><i>ngindu</i> | <i>yinda</i>        | <i>yinda</i>        | <i>ngindu</i>                            | <i>nginda</i>    | <i>ngindu</i>            | <i>nginda</i>                           | <i>ngimba*</i> |

\* Basic Bägandji pronominal form – see Hercus (1982:122)



## APPENDIX B

### VOICE QUALITY

#### ARTICULATORY CHARACTERISTICS

Because most of the corpus is that of two speakers (Emily Horneville and Jimmie Barker), comments are based mostly on their speech. However there is enough material recorded from five other speakers (Bill and Robin Campbell, Shillin Jackson, Ruby Shillingsworth and May Cubby) to indicate that the following observations are true of the dialect as it survived into the seventies.

What was observed by Sharpe of Alawa (1972:13) concerning the manner in which the articulatory organs operated, is also true of Muruwari. Lips are comparatively relaxed, at times so much so that bilabial sounds, both word initial and word medial, are frequently blurred and fricativised. This characteristic has been observed in all speakers. The tongue tip most characteristically rests on the lower teeth, and the fronted stop and nasal, *th* and *nh*, are therefore much more dental than interdental in terms of the actual tongue position. In Emily Horneville's speech it was often difficult to differentiate between them and the alveolar segments *t* and *n*. In Jimmie Barker's speech, it was clear there were times when his memory failed him as to which of these two fronted series was the correct one in a given word; his pronunciation fluctuated a lot, but his preference tended always towards the interdental series.

Sharpe attributes the difficulty of distinguishing between alveolar and retroflexed consonants in Alawa to the more widely open jaw. The same problem exists in Muruwari, particularly following a lengthened low vowel, where the lengthening of the vowel tends to conceal or militate against the hearing of a quality of retroflexion in the vowel (transmitted to it by the following retroflexed consonant).

The fluctuation of consonants in Muruwari seems to be abnormally high. While most examples are taken from Emily Horneville's speech, similar fluctuations of pronunciation occur with all speakers, often in an utterance immediately repeated, where the first utterance is pronounced with one phoneme, the second with a different, fluctuating phoneme. At times one was given the impression that the repeated utterance was a correction of the first, but much more often it appeared to be just an acceptable alternative.

One was given the impression that the speakers reacted to the sound system of their language by being psychologically conscious of three specific areas of articulation: peripheral (the extreme front and back of the mouth encompassing bilabial and velar sounds), the central front of the mouth

(encompassing dental, alveolar and alveolar sounds) and domal or the central back area (encompassing retroflex, vibrant and lateral sounds). These three areas are those in which most fluctuation occurred. It almost seemed that in a given utterance, as long as the sound fitted the approximate oral area of the correct phoneme and was unambiguous in context, speakers were not too worried about exactitude in pronunciation. Of course there is a 'correct' pronunciation for every word, and if one repeated the 'non-correct' fluctuant variety just given by the informant, the latter would usually correct by giving the normal pronunciation. One hesitates to account for the phenomena by memory lapse through long disuse of the language, since the types of fluctuation in all speakers were similar. Thus, whether this characteristic was evidence of language disintegration, or a characteristic peculiar to Muruwari, will possibly never be determined.

Difficulty has been experienced in distinguishing the retroflex series. (Blake (1971:41) had a similar problem in Pitta Pitta. His solution of assuming that 'lazy' flaps became glide-like and 'lazy' trills became flaps, while possibly applying in some instances to the Muruwari situation, is too simplistic an explanation to apply to the whole of Muruwari. This is because the fluctuation also extends to laterals and the stop *t*. Also, in its most usual form, a heavy trill is an alternative pronunciation for a retroflexed sound (or glide). However, it is generally true, especially in fast speech, that the specific phonetic quality of all the rhotics (trill, flap and slightly retroflexed semivowel *ɾ*, *ɽ* and *r*), and the alveolar and retroflex laterals, *l* and *ɭ*, tends to be obscured. Thus what is recorded is frequently one of the sounds in the retroflex-alveolar area, not necessarily the 'exact' one.

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No. 176 David Turbayne, James Lawlor, and G. Myles, Dumaresque or Upper  
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No. 177 W.H. Looker, W.R. Conn, L.M. Playfair and J. Hollingsworth, Paroo and  
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No. 182 J.W. Foott, The Culgoa River.  
No. 183 The Bench of Magistrates at Brewarrina, The Wailwun language. Book 16  
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