

How Warumungu people express new concepts

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I. Introduction

Warumungu is a language spoken around Tennant Creek (1). It is spoken at Rockhampton Downs and Alroy Downs in the east, as far north as Elliott, and as far south as Ali Curung. Neighbouring languages include Alyawarra, Kaytej, Jingili, Mudbura, Wakaya, Wampaya, Warlmanpa and Warlpiri.

In the past, many of these groups met together for ceremonies and trade. There were also marriages between people of different language groups. People were promised to 'close family' from close countries. Many children would grow up with parents who could speak different languages. This still happens, and therefore many people are multi-lingual - they speak several languages. This often results in multi-lingual conversation. Sometimes one person will carry on their side of the conversation in Warumungu, while the other person talks only in Warlmanpa. Other times a person will use English, Warumungu, Alyawarra, Warlmanpa, and Warlpiri in a conversation, especially if different people take part in it.

The close contact between speakers of different languages shows in shared words. For example, many words for family-terms are shared by different languages. As Valda Napururla Shannon points out, Eastern Warlpiri ("wakirti" Warlpiri (1)) shares words with its neighbours, Warumungu and Warlmanpa, while Western Warlpiri shares words with its neighbours. Pintupi, Gurindji, Anmatyerre etc. In Eastern Warlpiri, Warlmanpa and Warumungu the word "kangkuya" is used for 'father's father' (or 'father's father's brother' or 'father's father's sister'). Sometimes words have different meanings. For instance in Warumungu "pirlipirli" is used for 'mother's mother's mother' (or 'mother's mother's mother's brother' or 'mother's mother's mother's sister'). But in Warlmanpa it is used for 'father's mother's mother' (or 'father's mother's brother' or 'father's mother's sister'). We do not know when these words first came into the languages.

Today, speakers of many different languages live together in Tennant Creek, and so have even more to do with each other.

Here are some examples of new shared words. Instead of saying the name of someone who has died, most Warumungu people say "kumunjayi". This word is used by Warlpiri and Warlmanpa people. Some old Warumungu people say that they did not hear this word until the 1930s, which was when the Warlpiri people came to live at the Tennant Creek Telegraph Station. Some Warumungu still say "winijipurtu" instead. "Wini" means 'name', and "jipurtu" is probably a form of the ending "kipurtu" which means 'without'. The Alyawarra use a word similar to "winijipurtu", according to Gavan Breen.

Another example of shared words are the words "kurdungurlu" and "kirda". Warlpiri people use these words to talk about people who hold country through their fathers ("kirda" means 'father' in 'father'), and people who work for the "kirda" and hold country through their mothers ("kurdungurlu" probably contains the word "kurdu" 'child of woman' in Warlpiri). So a Jangala might be "kirda" for his father Jampijinpa's country, and "kurdungurlu" for his mother Napangardi's country. A Japaljarri might be "kirda" for his father Jungarrayi's country and "kurdungurlu" for his mother Nangala's country.

These words are often used by lawyers and anthropologists working on land claims. When work started for land claims in the Tennant Creek area in 1979, many Warumungu people, especially women, did not know how to translate these words into Warumungu, because Warumungu talk about who owns country in a different way. But in 1985 most people now use these words when talking to lawyers and anthropologists about land-claims and sacred sites.

If people speak many languages, and new words keep coming in from other languages, how do people keep the languages separate? Perhaps part of the answer is that language is property. People talk of being able to speak such and such a language because it is their mother's language, or their father's language, or their grandparents' language. People recognise other people's languages and may change from speaking their own language to speaking another in conversations out of politeness to the other person. Sutton (1978) discusses many reasons why people switch from talking one language to another. One important thing about seeing language as property is that people feel they must keep straight which language is which. Otherwise they might be damaging other people's property.

Of people who have the right to speak a language, some people, those who know a lot about the language, have the right to teach it. Language is also a property of a group. This means that people don't feel they have the right to invent words. Some

people even prefer to have witnesses when they teach language, or talk about language, in case other people accuse them of inventing words. Sometimes people say of a particular word "I heard old people say it like this."

Sometimes a person will criticise another person for speaking Warumungu with too many words from other languages, or for not speaking it properly. I found when checking words with Warumungu people that they were quick to say if they thought a word was Warlpiri or Alyawarra, and not Warumungu. They would often say "that side", and point in the direction of the country of the language group concerned.

In fact it is not always easy to keep languages clear. Some old people have different ideas about which words are Warumungu. For instance, some people say that "yakkurla" 'spinifex wax found in antbeds' is a Warumungu word. Other people say that the Warumungu word is "wijjilpi", and that "yakkurla" is a Warlpiri word and not Warumungu. (The Eastern Warlpiri word is "yarrkurla".)

If a word is accepted as being Warumungu, and is the same as a Warlpiri word, people don't seem to say "It's Warlpiri, but we use it" or "We borrowed it from Warlpiri." Instead they say "Warlpiri, Warumungu, "yarntarnpa"" (i.e. 'still one', 'same').

Since the invasion of the Europeans, the Warumungu, like other Aborigines, have rapidly changed their way of life. In the last hundred years, they have changed from being hunter-gatherer people to being partly dependent on ration depots to working on pastoral properties, to living in mission and Government-run institutions, to living in town or on the edges of town. They have had to adapt to many new ideas.

Perhaps the most powerful and important new thing is the English language. Europeans usually don't speak Aboriginal languages. Therefore the Warumungu have had to learn English in order to cope with Europeans. There are many kinds of English spoken by Aborigines in Tennant Creek. Many speakers use different kinds depending on who they're talking to, whether an Aboriginal person of the same age, or a European, or an old Aboriginal person, or a child. The different kinds of English have different sounds. An old person might say /j/ for /s/ or /th/; so /jong/ would be 'song' or 'thong', whereas a young person might say 'song' and 'thong' when talking to a European.

People in Tennant Creek say they do not speak Roper River Kriol. Roper River Kriol sounds different in that it has a different intonation. But, with the exception of words that come from

Aboriginal languages in the Roper River area, almost all the words recorded in Sandefur and Sandefur's Ngukurr-Bamyili Creole Dictionary (1979) are heard in Tennant Creek. There are some words from Warumungu used in Tennant Creek Aboriginal English, e.g. "papulanyi" 'European', and there are some Warumungu endings used, e.g. the Warumungu possessor suffix /-kari/ is often used,

Who-kari mutika? Whose car?
Him-kari. His.

Nowadays, most young Warumungu speak Aboriginal English, and understand Warumungu.

As well as language, many new things, ideas and ways of classifying were introduced by Europeans. The Warumungu had different ways of expressing these. I will look first at words for new things and ideas. The methods the Warumungu use are similar to those which the Nyangumarta of Western Australia use. These were described by Geoffrey O'Grady (1960). He describes five methods which can be grouped into two types:

II. Ways of expressing new things and ideas

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1. Using Aboriginal languages

1.1 making new words by using Warumungu endings, or joining Warumungu words together

1.2 using onomatopoeia, that is, words which sound like the thing they mean.

1.3 'extending' Warumungu words to cover new things and ideas.

1.4 using words from other Aboriginal languages

2. Using English (or Aboriginal English) words

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About a quarter of the words for new things and ideas that O'Grady mentions come from English. About half the words in a collection I made of Warumungu words for new things come from

English. Many of the Warumungu words are used mostly by older people. Leeding (1980) says that some young Anindilyakwa people from Groote Eylandt also often use English words rather than Anindilyakwa words for new things and ideas. O'Grady also says that when he was working on Nyangumarta, he found that words for new ideas and things are easily lost or changed.

I will now look at words used by Warumungu for new ideas and things that are based on Aboriginal languages.

1.1 The most common way of making new words is to add Warumungu endings. The suffix /-kari/ which means 'belonging to' or associated with' is often used, e.g.

jina-kari	foot-belong	shoe
warli-kari	thigh-belong	trousers
yuwaji-kari	road-belong	road guide-pole
warna-kari	cold-belong	airconditioner

Some speakers add /-kari/ onto verbs to make new words:

wangkiji-kari	talking-belong	loudspeaker
apiji-kari	going-belong	road crossing sign
nyanjji-kari	seeing-belong	mirror
nyinjji-kari	sitting-belong	bicycle seat

Some older speakers use the ending /-alkki/ instead.

pirti-kari (nyinj(i)alkki)	chair
bottom-belong sitting-associated	
miyili-kari (nyanj(i)-alkki)	glasses
eye-belong seeing-associated	

Another suffix /-jangu/ 'having' is sometimes used:

kunapa-jangu	dog-having	Greyhound bus
purnu-jangu	coolamon-having	utility truck
winyal(-jangu)	smoke(-having)	jet plane

A suffix /yilppi/ meaning 'excessive' is sometimes used:

wangu-yilppi	alcohol-excessive	drunkard
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Sometimes words with endings are combined with other words to express new things:

kantirri-kari purnggu	baking powder
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bread-belonging powder

(kuyu-kari) warna
(meat-belonging) cold

fridge

liwanja/kuyu parrakurl-ngara
fish/meat tin-from

tinned fish/meat

kuyu wirntirri-jangu
meat stick-having

sate meat, shishkebob, meat
on skewers

kalyakalya-kupurtu wangarri
husband-without money

single mother's/widow's
pension

Warumungu has some compounding (joining words together), but it is mostly of words for animals, plants, insects etc., e.g.

ngurru jalkarra nose sharp beetle sp.

Words for some new things are made by joining words together:

kuwarta junmarn	ear long	rabbit
kuyu warlawarla	meat roll	rolled roast

Sometimes three words can be joined together:

kuwarta kumppu marapun	koala bear
ear big possum	

1.2 using onomatopoeia, that is, words which sound like the thing they mean.

"pututuk-pututuk"-kuranta run	noise of horse running
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"puu"-wangkan talk	noise of bullock
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"tarl"-ngarapunjjan throw	slam a door
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"tarl-tarl"-walpunjjan beat	beat drum, tambourine
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"tulkurr"-wangkan talk	to go bang, let off a (of guns, crackers, tyre blow-outs)
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"tulkurr"-wurunjjan shoot	to shoot a gun bang!
"tuut-tuut"-wangkan talk	noise made by motorbikes
"warurr"-wangkan talk	loud hissing of flood waters, snakes, wind and cars
"wurumpul"-janta stand	to whistle, of ducks, emu chicks and aeroplanes

1.3 There are many ways in which Warumungu words are 'extended' to cover new things and ideas. Sometimes words for traditional tools and gear are used for European tools that are used for the same or similar purposes:

warnanja	Aboriginal and European axe
murtinka	Aboriginal and European bag
majarti	cockrag, nappy
yimpili	half-coolamon used as shovel and for cooking oven, camp oven
jawarn	opening in humpy, door

Words for more abstract ideas sometimes also cover new ideas:

wurluju	light; electric light
karnkka	moon; month
jangalkki	spirit (of living person); Holy Ghost
pawumpawu	ghost, deceased person; recorded image (on audio-tape or film)
wanguwangu	dangerous, potent, medicine; European medicine, alcohol, drugs, petrol, oil

Sometimes a striking characteristic of the new idea or thing is used, for example:

☐olour☐	
wiringkirri	yellow; curry powder
pulyurrulyurru	red; Aboriginal with European ancestry

☐hape☐	
liwanja	fish; jet plane

☐ovement☐

pinjal-pinjal	flapping motion; thongs
karnanganja	emu; motorbike (because it moves fast)
jirriminmin	dragonfly; helicopter (because of the way its tail moves)
warlanjanta	dance, of women; disco dance (men or women)
pakanta	poke, spear; write, sew, wash clothes
minjja-jinta	go down (of boil); go down (of tyre)
wuruny-wuruny-janta	twist; disco-dance

Behaviour

kilipartta	angry, cheeky, on for fights; policeman
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Body-part

kuntala/kurntala	bull; (from /kunttu/ 'testicles')
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Sometimes English words or phrases are translated directly into Warumungu:

wumpurrarni, maru	black; Aboriginal, 'black'
karlkkurr	grass; marijuana, 'grass'
nyinjji-kari wangarri	unemployment benefits, 'sit-down money'
sitting-belong money	

ngattu warlungku-rninta	lose weight
body lose	

Sometimes, the way Warumungu use a Warumungu word for a new thing or idea tells us something about the meaning of the Warumungu word, or about the way the Warumungu see some new action. For instance, in English we 'swallow' tablets, we can't drink tablets, even if they are surrounded by liquids; we can only drink liquids. In Warumungu there is a word for 'swallow', /ngukunta/, but in fact people use the word for 'drink' /jalupunta/ for tablets. So, /jalupunta/ means something different from 'drink', because one can /jalupunta/ something solid which is contained in liquid, like a tablet.

Another example is the word /marntamarnta/. This often translates the English word 'dry'. Dried-up waterholes, dry clothes, dried plants are all /marnta-marnta/. But unlike English, fruit juice is sometimes said to be /marntamarnta/. Why? We add water to cordial to make a drink. We don't normally add water to fruit juice. Fruit juice is 'waterless' /marntamarnta/ (3).

Another example is the word /pakanta/.

Kartingki pakinyi maraji.

man-ERG speared hills kangaroo.
The man speared the hills kangaroo.

One might think from this sentence that /pakanta/ means 'poke a hole in something'. But now look at this sentence:

Kirriyintti pakinyi wawarta.
woman-ERG poked clothes.
The woman washed the clothes.

This is a new use for the word /pakanta/. It doesn't mean 'poke holes in the clothes'; it means 'wash the clothes', perhaps by poking them in water with a stick or with one's hands.

1.4 using words from other Aboriginal languages.

Sometimes the same new idea is expressed in the same way in several neighbouring Aboriginal languages, and even in other parts of Australia:

Alyawarra	ngkwarla	delicacy, sugarbag; alcohol
Warlpiri	pama	delicacy, sugarbag; alcohol
Warumungu	kurlppu	sugarbag, sugar; alcohol
(mainly Warlpiri and Alyawarra speakers use this)		
Warlpiri	purlu/pirli	rock, hill; money
Warlmanpa	pamarrpa	rock, hill; money
Warumungu	wangarri	rock, hill; money
	larrilarri	gravel; small change
Compare:		
Wik-Ngatha'na	kula	money, derived from 'stone' in Wik-Iiyanh, Kaanychu and Umpila
Kalkatungu	ntia	stone, pebble, money
Warumungu	purnu	coolamon; vehicle, (including Ark
Wakirti Warlpiri	ngami	big coolamon; truck, car
	martu	water-carrier; boat
Compare:		
Kalkatungu	curtu	coolamon; car
Nyangumarta	kapara	wooden winnowing dish; landing barge
Warlmanpa	pakarli	paperbark tree; paper, book
Warlpiri	pakarli	paperbark tree; paper, book
Warumungu	pakarla	paperbark tree; paper, book
Warlmanpa	warungka	mad, deaf; drunk

Warlpiri	warungka	mad, deaf; drunk
Warumungu	warungka	mad, deaf; drunk
Warlmanpa	lamanpa	hollow log; gun (compare Eng. barrel)
Warumungu	jurlupu	hollow log; gun

Sometimes words from other languages are used. For instance, /warraman/ is used for 'sheep' by older Warumungu. /yarraman/ is used for 'horse' in many other Australian languages. /timana/ is used for 'horse' in Warumungu, as well as Wakirti Warlpiri and Warlmanpa (4).

/murrkkarti/ is used for 'hat' in Warumungu, while other languages in Central Australia call 'hat' /mukarti/, (or /mukardi/ in Warlpiri). This word may have come from Kurna, a language that used to be spoken around Adelaide. In Kurna, the word for 'head' was /mokarta/, and the word for any covering of the head, including hats, was /mokartianna/. But because the word for 'head hair' in Warumungu is /murrkka/ it seems that the Warumungu may have changed the word by adding /rr/ to make the word closer to /murrkka/.

Another word is /wawarta/, the word for 'clothes' in Warumungu, Warlmanpa and Wakirti Warlpiri. This seems to have come from the Wakaya /wapa:parr(e)/ and the Bularnu /wapawapa/ for clothes.

We have looked at four ways of using words from Australian languages to express new things or ideas. People say that they don't make these up themselves. They say "We heard old people say it like this." Or sometimes they say "Kids say it like this" (for instance /liwanja/ 'jet'). Because language is the property of a group, a person can't change it himself by getting new words for new ideas. Only the group can do this.

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2. Using English or Aboriginal English words

If people aren't sure about how to express a new idea or thing in Warumungu, they often use English or Aboriginal English words. Using an English word does not change Warumungu. Using an English word rather than a Warlpiri or Alyawarra word is also sometimes easier, because using a Warlpiri or Alyawarra word to a Warumungu person in Warumungu country, such as Tennant Creek, might upset some Warumungu people.

When people, particularly old people, use English or Aboriginal

English words in Warumungu, they sometimes pronounce them like Warumungu words. For instance, Warumungu does not allow words of less than two syllables, unless the vowel is long (5). So, if Warumungu speakers are using one syllable English words, they can lengthen them: /jooop/ shop.

Some English words are repeated or 'reduplicated' in Warumungu. But usually the word is also reduplicated in Aboriginal English. Many of these, (mostly animals), have /i/ added (6), or /u/ if the vowel of the English word is /u/.

jipi-jipi	sheep (from Diyari /jipi/, NBK /jip/)
juku-juku	hen (compare Diyari /jukijuki/, FVK /jukjuk/, NBK /jukjuk/, Kalkatungu /cuku-cuku/)
kapi-kapi	calf (compare NBK /gabigabi/, FVK /kap/)
kiti-kiti	kid (compare NBK /gidigidi/)
nani-nani	nannygoat (childrens talk)
piki-piki	pig (compare Diyari /piki/, FVK /pikipiki/, NBK /bigibigi/)
pili-pili	billygoat (compare NBK /biligut/)
purrak-purrak	frog (compare NBK /frog/) (generic; also given as noise frog makes - seen as Warumungu word)
jupu-jupu	soup (compare FVK /supsup/, NBK /jupjup/, Nyan. /tyuptyup/)
niki-niki	tobacco
nipi-nipi	scissors (from Eng. 'snip')
muk-muk	mopoke (compare NBK /mukmuk/)

The words listed below are mostly used when talking to children.

doll-doll	doll (compare NBK /doli-doli/)
dak-dak	duck (compare NBK /dakdak/)
gee-gee	horse
loll-loll	sweet (compare NBK /loli/)
nyam-nyam	food
pujj-pujj	pussycat
pum-pum	car
pap-pap	puppy (compare Jingili/Mudbura: /pap-pap/, FVK /papap/, NBK /pappap/)

Compare some Warumungu babytalk reduplicated words:

jip-jip	duck (from Wru /jipilyaku/ duck)
paapa	water (Wru /ngappa/)

2.1 Using Warumungu endings on English words

When people use English or Aboriginal English words in Warumungu, they add Warumungu endings to the English words.

When English action words or verbs are used in Warumungu, the Warumungu ending /-ji/ is added if the verb is intransitive (has only one main person or group): /bog-jinta/ 'to get bogged', /drink-jinta/ 'to drink alcohol', /save-jinta/ 'to be saved (by Jesus)', /work-jinta/ 'work'.

CHANGE-ji-nyi-karn arni.
change-inch-PAST.PUNCT-now I
I changed (my life).

If the English word is combined with a preposition, such as 'ring up', 'think about', 'come out', then the Warumungu ending follows the preposition:

comeout-jinta	come out, emerge, of grub from root, spear from wound
ringupjinta	ring up (compare Diyari /r.ingama/)
sinkapat-jinta	think about

Sometimes the ending /-jinta/ can be added to English nouns or adjectives: /gardening-jinta/ 'to work in the garden', /wulkuman-jinta/ 'to become an old woman'.

SHY-ji-nta ajjul, manngara-ji-nta ajjul.
shy they, shame-inch-pRES they
They are shy, shamed.

The ending /-rni/ or /-mu/ is added if the verb is transitive (has two different persons or groups). (/rni/ also has the forms /-rnti/, /-rti/). Also the Aboriginal English ending /-im/ is added to the English word: /shiftim-rninta/ 'to move someone', /growim-rninta/ 'to grow (plants)', /followim-rninta/ 'to follow (Jesus)', /learnim-rtinta/ 'to teach'.

Wanngan-ta kuyu-kuna jarra-nta mulurru MAKIM-rninta.
Fly-ERG meat-ALL lay-PRES maggot make
Flies lay (eggs) in meat and make maggots.

Normally in Warumungu it seems that /-rni/ is used for actions whose effect is expected to last, while /-mu/ is used for actions whose effect may not last long. But many young speakers use /-mu/ (or /-mi/) for all English words: /helpimunta/ 'to help', /milkimunta/ 'to milk', /mintimunta/ 'to sew' (from Eng. 'mend'),

/wajimunta/ 'to wash', /hosiminta/ 'to spray water with hose',
/wetiminta/ 'to wet with water'.

Perhaps this is because the combination /-im+rni/ (or /-im+ti/ or /-im+rnti/) is hard to pronounce. Sometimes /-i/ is inserted between /-im/ and the ending.

If the English word is combined with a preposition, such as 'lock up', 'grow up', 'cut out', then the Warumungu ending follows the preposition, but the Aboriginal English ending /-im/ goes between the English word and the preposition.

lakimap(i)-rninta to lock someone up
katimat-rninta to cut out (e.g. bullock)

Ankku GROWIMUP-rti-yina olman-tta.
we-pl.ex grow.up-trans-PAST.CONT old.man-ERG
The old man grew us up.

Sometimes the English word /do/ is used as it is in English:
/doimunta washing/ 'to do the washing'.

2.2 Using English description words (adjectives)

In Warumungu, when a description word (adjective) is used, it normally has the same ending as the thing it describes:

Karti-"ngk(i)" kumpu-"ngku" ajju nyanyi.
man-ERGATIVE big-ERGATIVE me saw
The big man saw me.

In this sentence "kartti" 'man' and the adjective describing 'man', "kumppu" 'big', have the same ending, the ERGATIVE ending.

But when both the adjective and the thing it describes are English words and stand together, usually only the thing the adjective describes has a Warumungu ending:

hot waya-jangu-njju with a hot wire
having-ERGATIVE

2.3 Using English

People don't only use English words for new things or ideas when talking Warumungu. They often use them instead of Warumungu words: /born-jinta/ 'to be born', /finish-jinta/ 'to die', /know-

jinta/ 'to be knowledgeable', /learn-jinta/ 'to learn something',
/perish-jinta/ 'to die of thirst'.

alinyapparra GRINDIM-rti-yina grass-seed
that-where grind-trans-PAST.CONT grass-seed
the thing which they used to grind grass-seeds on.

III Expressing new ways of grouping things or ideas

When Europeans invaded Australia, they did not only bring new things or ideas. They also brought different ways of grouping or classifying things and ideas. The most obvious classification needed was one for Europeans and European things as opposed to Aborigines and Aboriginal things. The Warumungu call Europeans /papulanyi/, which seems to come from /papulu-warinyi/ 'house-dweller'. Europeans lived in /papulu/ 'houses, buildings' (7), whereas Aborigines lived in /nanttu/ 'shelters'. The word for English language was also adapted from /papulu/.

Papulu-ngara ama wangkan
house-from he talk
He's talking English.

But one of the main ways of distinguishing between Aboriginal and European things is between 'bush' things and non-bush things: 'bush well, bush name, bush string, bush welder, bush tucker, bush banana, bush tomato, bush turkey, bush potato, bush onion, bush medicine.'

People mostly use the English word 'bush', but sometimes they use the Warumungu word /muru/ 'scrub country, bush' (8), as in

kurlppu muru-warinyi native honey
Ngulya - muru-warinyi A soakage is a bush thing.

'Bush' things are sometimes contrasted to 'shop' things:

European potato	manaji shop-warinyi [yam, 'bush potato']
margarine	tiika shop-warinyi [fat]
grapes	marnukuju shop-warinyi [conkerberry]
peanuts	tartaji shop-warinyi ['bush peanut']

Sometimes 'bush' means 'wild', as opposed to 'tame'. For instance a bush pussycat is a wild cat, not an Aboriginal cat.

So, these ways of grouping European and Aboriginal things were a new system of grouping that had to be developed. However, the

use of the ending /-warinyi/ 'inhabitant' shows that it is partly based on an important existing system of grouping things. This is grouping things by where they are usually to be found. So, hill kangaroos, /maraji/, are /wangarri-warinyi/ 'hill-dweller'; some birds are /palamparr-warinyi/ 'sky-dwellers'; other birds are /ngappa-warinyi/ 'water-dwellers'. Europeans are usually to be found in buildings, so they are "papulanyi". European potatoes are bought from shops, not dug up out bush, and so they are "manaji shop-warinyi".

New forms of transport are also sometimes grouped according to where they are to be found; boats are /ngappa-warinyi/ 'water-dwellers'; aeroplanes are /palamparr-warinyi/ 'sky-dwellers', cars and trucks are /yuwaji-warinyi/ 'road-dwellers'; motorbikes are /karnanganja (yuwaji-warinyi)/ 'emus which inhabit roads'.

There are three existing ways of grouping things in Australian languages which seem to belong together. These are:

* grouping the 'actual' and the 'potential' (9). Warumungu call both 'fire' and 'firewood' /warlukun/, because firewood is potentially fire. 'Shade' and 'leaves' and 'tree' are all /marla/ (10), because leaves provide shade.

* grouping together the part and the whole. Using "marla" for 'leaf' and 'tree' is an example of this.

* grouping together the 'container' and 'thing contained'. So /ngamuna/ means 'woman's breast' and 'milk'.

When the English words 'tent' and 'calico' were introduced, they were both used in the actual/potential way. So 'tent' means not only 'tent', but also 'canvas'. And 'calico' (usually pronounced /kaluku/) can mean 'tent'. Similarly /kurupa/ can mean both 'crowbar' and 'iron bar from which a crowbar can be made'.

David Nash points out that an example of using the part for the whole is 'wire'. /waya/ can be used for 'wire', or 'fence' (something made partly of wire), or 'billycan' (something with a wire handle). The Warumungu word /wirntirri/ 'stick' is sometimes also used for 'fence'.

/Milki/ is also used for both 'milk' and 'container for milk'. /Patik/ is used for both 'paddock' and 'fence', the thing that contains a paddock.

An example which covers all three groupings is /wartiliki/ 'string'. It was used for 'telegraph line', but then became used

for 'telegram', and then for 'telephone'. It is now also used for 'microwave repeater tower' (as /kuwarta-kujjurr wartiliki/ 'ear-two string'). It is also used for 'cassette' or 'reel-tape', and the thing which contains a tape, 'tape-recorder'. By now it seems to mean 'something that can carry speech long distances'.

.cp 3

FOOTNOTES

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(2) Warlpiri has several dialects. People call the Warlpiri spoken at Ali Curung 'Wakirti Warlpiri', and when I want to talk just about Ali Curung Warlpiri I will use this word.

(3) The English word 'neat', as in 'The man drank neat whisky', means 'waterless'. but only about drinks, whereas /marntamarnta/ is a general word meaning 'waterless'.

(4) The word /timana/ may have come from the word /jumbuck/ for sheep, perhaps through a form such as /dimba/ in Jualrai for 'sheep', and then simplification of a nasal cluster /mb/ to /m/. (The meaning change of 'sheep' to 'horse' seems possible, since the reverse change 'horse' to 'sheep' is found in Warumungu for /warraman/). Probably the word /nantuwu/, used for 'horse' in Warlpiri comes from the word for 'kangaroo' in Kurna, /nantu/. See Reynolds (1982) for a discussion of the movement of /nantuwu/ from the south, /timana/ from the west, and /yarraman/ from the east. All three are known in the Tennant Creek area.

(5) In Warumungu there are a couple of one syllable words, but they have long vowels: /piyi/pii/ 'burnt country', /miyil/miil/ 'eye'.

(6) This /i/ may come from the English ending /i/ found in

'piggy, horsy, sheepy-baa, ducky' used when talking to children.

Abbreviations:

FVK Kriol spoken at Fitzroy River
NBK Kriol spoken at Ngukurr and Bamiyili
Nyan Nyangumarta
Wru Warumungu

(7) The word /papulu/ for 'house' may have come from /pappul-jinta/ 'to swell up'.

(8) Some older people use 'blackfellow' in the same way: blackfellow name, blackfellow dance. Compare Ngukurr-Bamiyili Kriol use of /wail/ (from /wild/): wail anyan, wail binana, wail dog, wail faul, wail juk, wail juga, wail kokonat, wail melin, wail piteta. See Nash (to appear) for discussion of the meaning of the word 'bush'.

(9) See O'Grady (1961).

(10) Tea, whether hot tea or tea-leaves, is also called /marla/, just as in Nyangumarta /walyaka/ 'leaf' is used for 'tea'.

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