

REDUPLICATION IN MURINBATA

Chester S. Street

0. ORTHOGRAPHIC SYMBOLS

The language spelling used throughout this paper is the literacy orthography, which is explained more fully in the following tables.

Table 1
VOWELS

	Front	Non-front
High	i	u
Non-high	e	a

Table 2
CONSONANTS

	Labial	Apico- alveolar	Retro- flexed	Lamino- a-pal.	Velar
Voiceless Obstruents	p	t	rt	th	k
Voiced Obstruents *	b	d	rd	dh	g
Nasals	m	n	rn	nh	ng
Laterals		l	rl	ly	
Medians	w	rr	r	y	

*dh is a fricative, b, d, rd and g are stops.

The Lamino alveo-palatal voiceless obstruent, voiced obstruent and nasal each have two allophones as follows. The dental allophones [t, d, n] only precede the non-front vowels a and u. The Lamino alveo-palatal allophones [t̪, d̪, ñ] only precede the front vowels i and e.

Examples of the voiceless obstruent allophones:

thapak	[t̪apak]	'fog/dew'
thimu	[t̪imu]	'nose'
madhalnu	[maɬalnu]	'I'll open it.'
dhekdhek	[d̪ekd̪ek]	'to play'
punhu	[p̪unu]	'liver'
kanhi	[kañi]	'this/here'

0.1. ABBREVIATIONS

a-pal.	alveo-palatal
C	consonant
du.	dual (i.e. two)
f.	female (i.e. a group of whom at least one is a female)
HA	habitual aspect
IO	indirect object
m.	male (i.e. a total male group)
NC	noun class
neg.	negative
pc.	paucal (i.e. a group numbering from three to approximately fifteen)
pl.	plural
R	reduplicated
sb.	siblings (i.e. brothers, sisters, or brothers and sisters)
sg.	singular
t.	tense
V	vowel

1. INTRODUCTION

"Reduplication is a morphological process that consists of the repetition of all or part of a root, stem or word in order to fulfil a specific semantic or syntactic function." (Johnston 1977:1) Or as described by Gerson (1969:59) in his useful little book on grammatical terms, "Reduplication is the repetition of the whole, or part, of a word, in order to form a derivative or inflected form."

This paper is an attempt to show the semantic function and phonological conditioning of reduplication in Murinbata¹.

2. THE NATURE OF REDUPLICATION IN VARIOUS LANGUAGES

Johnston's (1977:2,3) recent research has surveyed functions of reduplication in a number of languages as reported in the literature.

Berlin's (1963) work on the Tenejapa dialect of Tzeltal concluded that:

...the semantic features of augmentation, continuation, intensification (...), and to some extent onomatopoeia (as in the case of particles) are accomplished by the morphological process of reduplication.

Berlin lists the following kinds of intensification:

- (i) Quantity (i.e. substantival);
- (ii) Process (i.e. verbal);
- (iii) Quality (i.e. adjectival).

Key (1965) surveyed reduplication in 47 languages, mainly meso-American, and, according largely with Berlin, concluded that "Reduplication functions in many languages to indicate emphasis, or some shade of plurality or augmentative."

¹ Murinbata belongs to the Garaman language family which is a member of the Australian Macro-phylum family (Voegelin and Voegelin, 1977:135). It is spoken by approximately 900 people, the majority of whom live at Port Keats, N.T., 250 kilometres to the southwest of Darwin. A small number live on nearby cattle stations, with the largest groups at Auvergne Station N.T. and Kununurra, W.A.

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Early work surveying reduplication in Oceanic Austronesian languages was descriptive in character and was concentrated on Melanesia (Codrington 1885; Ray 1907; Capell 1937-39).

Codrington (1885:147, 191) found that reduplication applied to nouns and verbs, indicating for nouns qualities of plurality, magnification, and depreciation, and for verbs, qualities of repetition, continuation, and emphasis. Ray (1907:445ff, 461), reporting on southeastern Papua, found the same functions for reduplication in languages of that region, as Codrington had found in island Melanesia.

Capell (1937-39:770) also surveyed reduplication in south-eastern Papua, listing a number of functions of reduplication: (i) Intensification (ii) diminution (iii) formation of nouns from verbs (iv) marking of plurality and the collective function in nouns (v) the formation of adjectives (vi) the formation of the continuous tense in verbs (vii) the formation of nouns of instrument (according to Capell this is rare in Papua) (viii) the formation of a special form of the verb for use with the negative (which feature he attests only in Dobuan).

For Australian languages, Tryon (1970:13, 50) in his study of the Daly River languages, has discovered the wide usage of reduplication in these languages. In his analysis on one of these languages, Maranungku, he reports that reduplication of adjectives and verbs is a means of stressing plurality.

Also on Australian languages, Douglas (1964:78, 80) reports that, "Reduplication of adjectives may indicate an increased intensity of the state, or that the description covers a plural subject." He also shows how an adjective is formed by the reduplication of a noun stem.

3. THE NATURE OF REDUPLICATION IN MURINBATA

The discoveries made by the researchers mentioned above form a valuable introductory background to reduplication, as well as providing an introduction to the nature of reduplication in Murinbata.

The function of reduplication in Murinbata verbs, nouns and adjectives is:

VERBS: 1) plurality, repetition, (habitual aspect)
 ii) the formation of nouns
 iii) the formation of adjectives

NOUNS: plurality, emphasis

ADJECTIVES: plurality, augmentation

In concluding this section, it can be seen from above that a characteristic of reduplication in Murinbata is the distinctive division of function between verbs, nouns and adjectives, which is particularly noticable between verbs and nouns/adjectives.

4. REDUPLICATION IN VERBS

4.1. PLURALITY, REPETITION, (HABITUAL ASPECT)

When a verb root is reduplicated, either totally or partially, it signals either plurality of object or repetition of action, depending upon the verb being transitive or intransitive (Street 1977). Another factor also to take into consideration is whether or not the verb is marked to show some sort of plurality by incorporated object affixes. This complex set of affixes, if incorporated can slightly change the meaning of the reduplicated form. The meanings therefore, of reduplicated verb roots are seen to be as follows:

INTRANSITIVE VERBS: repetitive action (this is in contrast to a continuous action which is shown by a continuous aspect marker. Aspect markers are not covered in this paper.)

TRANSITIVE VERBS - without incorporated object affixation: plurality (i.e. more than one) of object

TRANSITIVE VERBS - with incorporated object affixation: a repetitive action towards the object(s)

It has been observed that the incorporated object affixes, used with the transitive verbs to indicate plurality, are normally only used when the object is human, or sometimes, as a matter of interest, if the object is a dog. (Dogs are put on a higher status than other animals, and are also included into the kinship system - see example 9.) Other animate and inanimate objects can be pluralised by the use of object affixation, but generally this is only done for emphasis or focus on that particular object(s). (See Appendix 1 for a complete paradigm of incorporated object affixes.)

At this point it needs to be said that not all verb roots can be reduplicated, either totally or partially, and there appears to be no logical explanation for this, either phonological or semantic. For a non-exhaustive list of verb roots which can be reduplicated, either totally or partially, see Appendix II.

Although not particularly related to the topic of this paper, Appendix III has a non-exhaustive list of verb roots that do not reduplicate, but rather substitute for another verb root to convey the

meaning of plurality or repetitive action.

4.1.1. Reduplication and Aspect

"Aspect shows the way the action was thought of or looked at by the speaker." (Gerson 1969:9)

Although aspect is not a productive function of reduplication, it has been included here because it is particularly relevant to the habitual aspect, in which the verb root in the reduplicated form, either totally or partially, is always used. This will be discussed more fully in a forthcoming paper on Tense, Mood and Aspect in Murinbata. See examples 2b, 6b, 7b and 17b.

EXAMPLES:

(1a) thamul ngu-dal-nu ngarra thay
spear I(sg.)-stand against-t. at tree
'I'll stand the spear against the tree.'

(1b) thamul ngu-dadal-nu ngarra thay
spear I(sg.)-stand against(R)-t. at tree
'I'll stand the spears against the tree.'

(2a) thelput ba-n-pak
house he(sg.)-t.-put
'He put (built) a house.'

(2b) thelput ba-n-pakpak wurran
house he(sg.)-t.-put(R) HA
'He always puts (builds) houses.'

(3a) ku ngalmungkirr mere yungi-purl-dha
 NC *pied goose neg. he(sg.)-pluck-t.*
'He didn't pluck the pied goose.'

(3b) ku ngalmungkirr mere yungi-wurlpurl-dha
 NC *pied goose neg. he(sg.)-pluck(R)-t.*
'He didn't pluck the pied geese.'

(4a) ku menti ba-rde-nu
 NC *turtle I(sg.)-hit-t.*
'I'll hit the turtle.' (i.e. to kill it)

(4b) ku menti ba-rderde-nu
 NC *turtle I(sg.)-hit(R)-t.*
'I'll hit the turtles.' (i.e. to kill them)

(5a) ku were pirra-ngarl-nu
 NC *dog he(sg.)-bark-t.*
'The dog will bark.'

- (5b) ku were pirra-ngarlngarl-nu
 NC dog he(sg.)-bark(R)-t.
'The dog will repeatedly bark.'
- (6a) nakurl nge-wirnturt-nu
 after I(sg.)-arise-t.
'I'll get up later.'
- (6b) nakurl nge-wirnturturt-nu ngurru
 after I(sg.)-arise(R)-t. HA
'Later I'll always be getting up.'
- (7a) nanthi yi ma-m-kale ngarra thay
 NC dilly bag she(sg.)-t.-hang in tree
'She hung the dilly bag in the tree.'
- (7b) nanthi yi ma-m-kalele wurran ngarra thay
 NC dilly bag she(sg.)-t.-hang(R) HA in tree
'She always hangs the dilly bag(s) in the tree.'
- (8a) ma-m-ngan-karlay
 he(sg.)-t.-we(pl.)-wave
'He waved to us.'
- (8b) ma-m-ngan-karlarlay
 he(sg.)-t.-we(pl.)-wave(R)
'He repeatedly waved to us.'
- (9a) ku were thu-rte-nu
 NC dog you(sg.)-remove-t.
'You will remove the dog.'
- (9b) ku were thu-n-rte-nu
 NC dog you(sg.)-they(pl.)-remove-t.
'You will remove the dogs.'
- (9c) ku were thu-n-rterte-nu
 NC dog you(sg.)-they(pl.)-remove(R)-t.
'You will repeatedly remove the dogs.'
- (10a) kunginire nganthi-n-punku-thut
 yesterday I(sg.)-t.-they(du.sb.)-descend
'Yesterday I took the two siblings down.'
- (10b) kunginire nganthi-n-punku-dhutthutthut
 yesterday I(sg.)-t.-they(du.sb.)-descend(R)
'Yesterday I repeatedly took the two siblings down.'

NOTE: This verb is actually a unique retriPLICATION of the verb root, rather than a reduplication.

4.2. THE FORMATION OF NOUNS

A large number of verb roots can be reduplicated, either totally or partially, to form a free form noun.

The following list gives a good sample of this particular function of reduplication.

English of Verb	Verb Root	Formed Noun	English of Noun
<i>to vomit</i>	be	bebe	<i>vomit</i>
<i>to shower/cool off</i>	dhuth	thudhuth*	<i>a shower (place)</i>
<i>to cross a river</i>	kath	kathkath	<i>a bridge</i>
<i>to wade</i>	kubuk	kubukubuk	<i>swampy area</i>
<i>to sharpen</i>	kurrk	kurrkurrk	<i>sharpening tool (a file)</i>
<i>to paint</i>	pak	pakpak	<i>a paint brush</i>
<i>to comb</i>	pek	pekpek	<i>a comb</i>
<i>to wash</i>	purl	purlpurl	<i>a washing place</i>
<i>to sweep</i>	puth	puthputh	<i>a broom</i>
<i>to paint on spots</i>	thak	thakthak	<i>a spot(s)</i>
<i>to dive</i>	thurrk	thurrthurrk	<i>a diving place</i>
<i>to rake</i>	werr	werrwerr	<i>a rake</i>
<i>to smoke</i>	wi	wiwi	<i>a cigarette</i>
<i>to sit</i>	wup	wupup	<i>a seat/chair</i>

*The voiced dh is replaced by its voiceless counterpart th because dh never occurs word initial.

4.3. THE FORMATION OF ADJECTIVES

A small number of verb roots can also be reduplicated, either totally or partially, to form a free form adjective.

Some adjectives thus formed also take the adjectival affix -mam- (as do some other adjectives) and some do not take it. There is no apparent reason for this.

The list below gives a sample of this particular function of reduplication.

English of Verb	Verb Root	Formed Adjective	English of Adjective
<i>to be cool</i>	burr	burrburr	<i>cold</i>
<i>to be bogged/stuck</i>	dharrkat	tharrkat- [*] tharrkatmam	<i>boggy (ground)</i>
<i>to stick</i>	let	letetmam	<i>sticky</i>
<i>to move fast</i>	puyut	puyutpuyut	<i>fast</i>
<i>to abuse/swear</i>	thelk	thelkthelk	<i>abusive/swear (word)</i>
<i>to smooth</i>	tidhal	tidhaltidhalmam	<i>smooth/slippery</i>
<i>to dry</i>	tum	tumtum	<i>dry</i>
<i>to open eyes wide</i>	walngka	walwalmamka	<i>wide opened (eyes)</i>

*The voiced dh is replaced by its voiceless counterpart th because dh never occurs word initial.

5. REDUPLICATION IN NOUNS

Plurality, Emphasis

The basic function of reduplication in nouns is that of plurality; and secondary to this emphasis which is used only in kinship terminology to indicate actual relationships in contrast to the extended meaning of the kinship terminology.

The reduplicating process with nouns is that of total reduplication.

Within a clause, noun reduplication is not always strictly adhered to to express plurality. It becomes somewhat redundant in its function of indicating plurality because of the use of verb root reduplication and its function of indicating plurality, (see examples 1b, 2b, 3b, 4b, 16b, 19b, 20b) and also the fact that subject and/or object are shown in the verb indicating singularity or various degrees of plurality (see examples 9b, 9c).

EXAMPLES:

- (11) kale '*mother (sg.)*'
 kalekale '*mothers (pl.)*' or '*mother (actual)*'
- (12) mangka '*father's mother (sg.)*'
 mangkamangka '*father's mothers (pl.)*' or '*father's mother (actual)*'
- (13) ku were '*dog*'
 ku werewere '*dogs*'

6. REDUPLICATION IN ADJECTIVES

Plurality, Augmentation

The basic function of reduplication in adjectives is that of plurality; and secondary to this, to only some adjectives, a function of augmentation has been observed.

The reduplicating process with adjectives is that of total reduplication.

As with the reduplicated nouns, the reduplication of adjectives within a clause is not usually adhered to to express plurality. It becomes somewhat redundant in its function of indicating plurality because of the use of verb root reduplication and its function of indicating plurality, and also the fact that subject and/or object are shown in the verb indicating singularity or various degrees of plurality.

EXAMPLES:

(14a) ku nintu ngala
 NC horse big
 'A big horse.'

(14b) ku nintu ngalangala
 NC horse big(R)
 'Many big horses.'

(15a) ngalthe
 narrow
 'Narrow.'

(15b) ngalthengalthe
 narrow(R)
 'Very narrow/close.'

NOTE: When a modified noun phrase is expressed in the plural, only the adjective is reduplicated, not the noun and the adjective. For example, ku nintunintu ngalangala is not acceptable.

7. PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING OF REDUPLICATION IN VERBS

The phonological conditioning of reduplicating, either totally or partially, the verb root, differs slightly depending upon its function. That is, whether the reduplicated form is:

- (a) remaining as a verb root conveying the meaning of plurality or repetition, or
- (b) being formed into a noun or adjective.

Total reduplication is the norm in Murinbata, but there are also many cases where only partial reduplication occurs. In such cases reduplication is reduced to either the verb root plus the initial CV

of the verb root in the preceding position, or the verb root plus the final VC of the verb root in the following position. That is: CVCVC or CVCVC (the verb root, CVC in this case, has been underlined for clarity).

A survey of reduplicated verb roots in Murinbata revealed that, in the case of (a) above, 53% of the verb roots were totally reduplicated, 20% were reduplicated using the final VC of the verb root, and 27% were reduplicated using the initial CV of the verb root.

In the case of (b) above, 92% of the verb roots were totally reduplicated, 4% were reduplicated using the final VC of the verb root, and 4% were reduplicated using the initial CV of the verb root.

There appear to be no hard and fast rules why some verb roots are totally reduplicated and others are only partially reduplicated, but the following observations have been made:

1. Verb roots with a CV or combination of CV patterns (i.e. CVCV, CVCVCV, etc.) are always totally reduplicated.

EXAMPLES:

(16a) thay ngani-la-nu
tree I(sg.)-climb-t.
'I'll climb the tree.'

(16b) thay ngani-lala-nu
tree I(sg.)-climb(R)-t.
'I'll climb the trees.'

(17a) ma-m-nintha-wiye
(3rd p.)-t.-du.m.-err
'Those two men did it wrong.'

(17b) ma-m-nintha-wiyewiye kanam
(3rd p.)-t.-du.m.-err(R) HA
'Those two men always do it wrong.'

2. Closed syllable verb roots, of any pattern, where the initial and final C's are obstruents, nasals, or combination obstruent/nasal, nasal/obstruent, are in most cases, totally reduplicated.

EXAMPLES:

(18a) ngunga pani-num-nu
sun he-set-t.
'The sun will set.'

(18b) ngunga pani-numnum-nu purru
sun he-set(R)-t. HA
'The sun will always set.'

- (19a) mi yidi nga-mpa-mut-nu
 NC wild apple I(sg.)-you(sg.-IO)-give-t.
 'I'll give you a wild apple.'
- (19b) mi yidi nga-mpa-mutmut-nu
 NC wild apple I(sg.)-you(sg.-IO)-give(R)-t.
 'I'll give you many wild apples.'
- (20a) nanthi ngila-tum-nu
 NC I(sg.)-dry-t.
 'I'll dry the thing.'
- (20b) nanthi ngila-tumtum-nu
 NC I(sg.)-dry(R)-t.
 'I'll dry many things.'
- (21a) ku lawarnka punu-kert-nu
 NC wallaby he(sg.)-hop-t.
 'The wallaby will hop (once).'
- (21b) ku lawarnka punu-kertkert-nu
 NC wallaby he(sg.)-hop(R)-t.
 'The wallaby will repeatedly hop.'

3. Verb roots, other than those accounted for in 1. and 2. above, are normally partially reduplicated, by either using the initial CV of the verb root in the preceding position, or the verb root plus the final VC of the verb root in the following position.

EXAMPLE USING THE INITIAL CV OF THE VERB ROOT:

- (22a) mi ma-larr-nu
 NC I(sg.)-wrap-t.
 'I'll wrap the food.'
- (22b) mi ma-lalarr-nu
 NC I(sg.)-wrap(R)-t.
 'I'll wrap all the food.'

EXAMPLE USING THE FINAL VC OF THE VERB ROOT:

- (23a) ku thithay ma-rlart-nu
 NC sugarbag I(sg.)-extract-t.
 'I'll extract the sugarbag.'
- (23b) ku thithay ma-rlartart-nu
 NC sugarbag I(sg.)-extract(R)-t.
 'I'll extract all the sugarbag.'

7.1. EXCEPTIONS

Two exceptions need to be pointed out here.

- 1) Some verb roots when reduplicated to form a noun or adjective, for some unknown reason, take the prefix *ni-*.

EXAMPLES:

Verb Root

<i>ye</i>	<i>niyeniye</i>	<i>'a promise'</i>
<i>yith</i>	<i>niyithniyith</i>	<i>'a story'</i>
<i>ngke</i>	<i>ningkeningke</i>	<i>'jealous'</i>

- 2) When a verb root is made up from more than one morpheme, only the last morpheme of the root is reduplicated, either totally or partially. This reduplicated part is then positioned immediately preceding the last morpheme.

EXAMPLES:

The verb root in the following example is made from the morphemes *ti + birl = tibirl*.

- (24a) *da-n-tibirl*
he(sg.)-t.-light
'He lit (the fire).'

- (24b) *da-n-tirlbirl*
he(sg.)-t.-light(R)
'He lit (the fires).'

The verb root in the following example is made from the morphemes *winhi + marda + pak = winhimardapak*.

- (25a) *ngarra tin kura patha pa-winhimardapak-nu*
in tin water good he(sg.)-pour into-t.
'He'll pour the fresh water into the tin.'

- (25b) *ngarra tin kura patha pa-winhimardakpak-nu*
in tin water good he(sg.)-pour into(R)-t.
'He'll pour the fresh water into the tins.'

NOTE: The reduplicated part of the verb in these examples is *irl* and *ak* respectively. However, because there are no VV clusters in the language the vowels have been deleted in both instances.

APPENDIX 1

PARADIGM OF INCORPORATED OBJECT AFFIXES

A complete paradigm of incorporated object affixes are here given using the verb *'to wave'*. The incorporated subject prefix *'he'* (third person singular) has been used in these examples.

verb root is -ngkarlay-

subject prefix is ma-

tense (future) is -nu-

In this paradigm the incorporated object affixes are in upper-case for clarity.

ma-NGI-ngkarlay-nu	<i>'He will wave to ME.'</i>
ma-NGANKU-ngkarlay-nu-NINTHA	<i>'He will wave to US.'</i> (dual male)
ma-NGANKU-ngkarlay-nu-NGINTHA	<i>'He will wave to US.'</i> (dual female)
ma-NGANKU-ngkarlay-nu	<i>'He will wave to US.'</i> (dual sibling)
ma-NGANKU-ngkarlay-nu-NEME	<i>'He will wave to US.'</i> (paucal male)
ma-NGANKU-ngkarlay-nu-NGIME	<i>'He will wave to US.'</i> (paucal female)
ma-NGAN-karlay-nu	<i>'He will wave to US.'</i> (paucal sibling and plural)
ma-NHE-ngkarlay-nu	<i>'He will wave to US.'</i> (dual inclusive)
ma-NHE-ngkarlay-nu-NEME	<i>'He will wave to US.'</i> (paucal male inclusive)
ma-NHE-ngkarlay-nu-NGIME	<i>'He will wave to US.'</i> (paucal female inclusive)
ma-NHI-ngkarlay-nu	<i>'He will wave to YOU.'</i> (singular)
ma-NANKU-ngkarlay-nu-NINTHA	<i>'He will wave to YOU.'</i> (dual male)
ma-NANKU-ngkarlay-nu-NGINTHA	<i>'He will wave to YOU.'</i> (dual female)
ma-NANKU-ngkarlay-nu	<i>'He will wave to YOU.'</i> (dual sibling)
ma-NANKU-ngkarlay-nu-NEME	<i>'He will wave to YOU.'</i> (paucal male)
ma-NANKU-ngkarlay-nu-NGIME	<i>'He will wave to YOU.'</i> (paucal female)
ma-NAN-karlay-nu	<i>'He will wave to YOU.'</i> (paucal sibling and plural)

ma-Ø-ngkarlay-nu	'He will wave to HIM/HER.'
ma-NKU-ngkarlay-nu-NINTHA	'He will wave to THEM.' (dual male)
ma-NKU-ngkarlay-nu-NGINTHA	'He will wave to THEM.' (dual female)
ma-NKU-ngkarlay-nu	'He will wave to THEM.' (dual sibling)
ma-NKU-ngkarlay-nu-NEME	'He will wave to THEM.' (paucal male)
ma-NKU-ngkarlay-nu-NGIME	'He will wave to THEM.' (paucal female)
ma-N-karlay-nu	'He will wave to THEM.' (paucal sibling and plural)

For third person only, the incorporated object affixes in the perfect tense (Street 1975:24-6), have a different form from the imperfect incorporated object affixes shown above. This remaining paradigm is given below. (The perfect tense is marked by -m-.)

ma-m-Ø-karlay	'He waved to HIM/HER.'
ma-m-PUNKU-ngkarlay-NINTHA	'He waved to THEM.' (dual male)
ma-m-PUNKU-ngkarlay-NGINTHA	'He waved to THEM.' (dual female)
ma-m-PUNKU-ngkarlay	'He waved to THEM.' (dual sibling)
ma-m-PUNKU-ngkarlay-NEME	'He waved to THEM.' (paucal male)
ma-m-PUNKU-ngkarlay-NGIME	'He waved to THEM.' (paucal female)
ma-m-PUN-karlay	'He waved to THEM.' (paucal sibling and plural)

REDUPLICATION IN MURINBATA

APPENDIX II

LIST OF VERB ROOTS THAT REDUPLICATE

Below is a non-exhaustive list of verb roots that can be reduplicated, either totally or partially.

English of Verb	Verb Root	Reduplicated Verb Verb Root
<i>to throw/shoot</i>	bat	batbat
<i>to fail</i>	bay	baybay
<i>to vomit</i>	be	bebe
<i>to bark (dog)</i>	bek	bekbek
<i>to plant/bury</i>	birr	birrbirr
<i>to drink</i>	guduk	guduguduk
<i>to call out</i>	kay	kaykay
<i>to hop</i>	kert	kertkert
<i>to collect</i>	kut	kutkut
<i>to climb</i>	la	lala
<i>to give</i>	mut	mutmut
<i>to bark (dog)</i>	ngarl	ngarlngarl
<i>to set (sun)</i>	num	numnum
<i>to yell</i>	pa	papa
<i>to put</i>	pak	pakpak
<i>to be frightened</i>	part	partpart
<i>to take off</i>	pit	pitpit
<i>to pluck (bird)</i>	purl	purlpurl
<i>to remove</i>	puth	puthputh
<i>to hit</i>	rde	rderde
<i>to enter</i>	rdi	rdurdi
<i>to remove (dog)</i>	rte	rterte

<i>to undo</i>	tereth	terethtereth
<i>to tighten</i>	te	tete
<i>to blow didjeridu</i>	thu	thuthu
<i>to send</i>	thuk	dhukthuk
<i>to descend</i>	thut	dhutthutthut
<i>to dry</i>	tum	tumtum
<i>to roll up</i>	wekarl	wekarlwekarl
<i>to err</i>	wiye	wiyewiye
<i>to turn off</i>	wuteth	wutethwuteth
<i>to rain</i>	yel	yelyel
<i>to turn head around</i>	birl	bibirl
<i>to stand against</i>	dal	dadal
<i>to fill up</i>	dhalet	dhaletet
<i>to light (tobacco)</i>	dhawibu	dhawibubu
<i>to fold</i>	guruk	guguruk
<i>to wrap</i>	larr	lalarr
<i>to stick</i>	let	letet
<i>to hang up</i>	ngkale	ngkalele
<i>to wave</i>	ngkarlay	ngkarlarlay
<i>to go early</i>	pap	pawap
<i>to lay (tr.)</i>	pup	puwup
<i>to find</i>	rdurt	rdurturt
<i>to turn over</i>	rduy	rdurduy
<i>to extract</i>	rlart	rlartart
<i>to cut</i>	rtal	rtartal
<i>to pull</i>	rurr	rurrurr
<i>to touch</i>	thap	dhadhap
<i>to drag (net)</i>	tuth	tututh
<i>to dig</i>	tuy	tutuy
<i>to lay (egg)</i>	wak	wawak
<i>to pour into</i>	winhimardapak	winhimardapak
<i>to pour/spill</i>	winhipak	winhepak
<i>to whistle</i>	winh	winhin
<i>to arise</i>	wirnturt	wirnturturt
<i>to erase</i>	yerrarr	yerrarrarr

REDUPLICATION IN MURINBATA

APPENDIX III

LIST OF VERB ROOTS THAT DO NOT REDUPLICATE

Below is a non-exhaustive list of verb roots that do not reduplicate but rather substitute for another verb root to convey the meaning of plurality or repetitive action.

English of Verb	Verb Root	Verb Root conveying Plurality or Repetition
<i>to fall</i>	bat	wat
<i>to take/bring</i>	bath	ngkadhuk
<i>to shut</i>	dhap	dhawup
<i>to open</i>	dhal	dhalul
<i>to be bogged/stuck</i>	dharrkat	dharrarr
<i>to cut hair</i>	kat	yerrarr
<i>to cross river</i>	kath	kawurrk
<i>to get into</i>	mardap	mardapup
<i>to extinguish fire</i>	ngkan	ngkarrarr
<i>to replace</i>	ngkarl	ngkalath
<i>to provoke</i>	ngurru	ngurrath
<i>to tear</i>	ngurruduk	ngurrurduk
<i>to get</i>	rt	kut
<i>to catch</i>	rta	ngawurt
<i>to jump</i>	wal	lal
<i>to fit handle</i>	wengkay	wengkawurr
<i>to pick up</i>	winterl	winterlparl
<i>to sleep</i>	wit	rrit
<i>to turn on</i>	wum	mum
<i>to sit</i>	wup	pup

<i>to get water</i>	wurl	lurl
<i>to exit</i>	wuy	wurr
<i>to drop</i>	yegarl	yimpurr
<i>to listen</i>	yepup	yewup
<i>to look out</i>	yerr	yelerr
<i>to go</i>	ø	wat

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