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PACIFIC LINGUISTICS
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Research School of Pacific Studies
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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
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION 1
  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
CHAPTER 2: PHONOLOGY 9
  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
CHAPTER 3: MORPHOLOGY: NOMINALS 48
  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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CHAPTER 4: MORPHOLOGY: PRONOUNS</th>
<th>89</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Regular free pronouns</td>
<td>89</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Irregular free pronouns</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Regular bound pronouns</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4 Irregular bound pronouns</td>
<td>113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5 Concord in pronouns</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6 Person and number</td>
<td>118</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7 Interrogative pronouns</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 5: MORPHOLOGY: VERBS</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Overview</td>
<td>126</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Structure of verb stems</td>
<td>127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Realis</td>
<td>138</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 Voice</td>
<td>146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.5 Tense/aspect</td>
<td>153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.6 Pronoun suffixes</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.7 Other aspects</td>
<td>174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.8 Imperative mood</td>
<td>182</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.9 Clause-marking suffixes</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.10 Affix transference</td>
<td>190</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.11 The verb phrase</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 6: ADVERBS, PARTICLES AND CLITICS</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.1 Adverbs</td>
<td>195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.2 Particles</td>
<td>204</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.3 Clitics</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 7: SYNTAX</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.1 Verbless sentences</td>
<td>217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.2 Simple sentences</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.3 Sentences containing subordinate clauses</td>
<td>222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 8: TEXT MATERIAL: SONGS AND LEGENDS</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.1 Songs</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.2 Legends</td>
<td>233</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CHAPTER 9: DICTIONARY</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.1 Introduction</td>
<td>285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.2 Muruwari-English dictionary -- nouns in domains</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.3 Muruwari-English dictionary -- other grammatical classes</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.4 English-Muruwari vocabulary</td>
<td>368</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX A: Comparative word list</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>APPENDIX B: Voice quality</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BIBLIOGRAPHY</td>
<td>411</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Besides the major contribution made by speakers of Muruwari detailed in the preface, I wish to acknowledge the work of Judy Trefry in transcribing Jimmie Barker's tapes, and her own material collected from Bill Campbell in the Lidcombe Hospital.

I also acknowledge access to Ian Sim's hand-written comparative word lists of Yuwaliyay, 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 (Ornble) 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,
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 (Ornoble), 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 Nginyambaa 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 Horneville 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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>transitive subject as agent (function)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABL</td>
<td>ablativa (case)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ABS</td>
<td>absolutive (case)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACC</td>
<td>accusativa (case: previously called objective case)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adj</td>
<td>adjective</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFFIRM</td>
<td>affirmativa (particle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ALL</td>
<td>allativa (case)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AVOL</td>
<td>avolitional (verb suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Jimmie Barker’s taped material: as (54B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BC</td>
<td>Bill Campbell: recorded by Judy Trefry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>author’s cassettes, as distinct from tapes (unmarked): as (EH.10C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CA</td>
<td>Common Australian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CAUS</td>
<td>causativa (deriving transitive verb from noun or adjective; also suggesting a causitive function)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C.EMP</td>
<td>contrastive emphasis (-puka)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMIT</td>
<td>comitative (nominal suffix ‘having’)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMP</td>
<td>comparative (nominal affix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPL</td>
<td>completed action, perfective (verbal suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CONT</td>
<td>continuous action (verbal suffix) (-thirra, -mu)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO.ORD</td>
<td>co-ordinate clause (verb suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DAT</td>
<td>dative (case)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DEF</td>
<td>definite article (ngara)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DIM</td>
<td>diminutive (nominal suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>du</td>
<td>dual form (of pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DUBIT</td>
<td>dubitative (verb suffix and particle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EH</td>
<td>Mrs Emily Homeville recorded by Jimmie Barker, Janet Mathews and author (unmarked or C): as (EH.15:1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ELA</td>
<td>elative (case)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMOT</td>
<td>emotive (aspect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EMP</td>
<td>emphatic (clitic: attaches mostly to nominals)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ERG</td>
<td>ergative (case)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUP</td>
<td>euphony (letter present for sound, not meaning)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EX</td>
<td>exclamatory (clitic)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCES</td>
<td>excessive (noun suffix)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
future (of first person bound pronoun)
factive (aspect)
focus
Foque (early collector)
future (tense)
gen.
generic
genitive (case)
habitual (verb suffix)
immediacy (clitic: mostly with nominals)
imperative (verb inflection)
inability (particle)
inchoative (verb suffix)
incompletive (aspect)
instrumental (case)
intransitive
intransitive
intensifier (of nominals)
irrealis
intransitive verb
Jimmie Barker recorded by Jimmie Barker and Janet Mathews: as (JB.33B)
Janet Mathews
Judy Trefry
‘Kiyam the Moon’ transcriptions with sentence number: as (KM(6))
locational (verb suffix/clitic: both indicating location)
locative (case)
Janet Mathews’ taped material: as (RS.34M)
noun
necessity (noun suffix)
negative
nominative (case)
noun phrase
nominaliser
object of a transitive verb (function)
object focus (verb suffix)
past (tense)
personaliser (suffix)
plural form (of pronoun)
(clitic indicating specific ‘place’ of an action)
pronoun
potential (verb suffix)
present (tense)
prevent (suffix)
progressive forward movement (verbal suffix)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PURP</td>
<td>purposive (verb inflection)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.DEC</td>
<td>past declarative (tense/aspect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.OPT</td>
<td>past operative (tense/aspect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.TR</td>
<td>past /punctiliar transitiviser (verb suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P.TRS</td>
<td>past tense of transitiviser -( \text{-}l)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR.DEC</td>
<td>present declarative (tense/aspect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PR.OPT</td>
<td>present operative (tense/aspect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QN</td>
<td>question (particle)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>R</td>
<td>realis (markers in verbs)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RC</td>
<td>Robin Campbell recorded by Janet Mathews and author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REC</td>
<td>recurring movement (verb suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RECIP</td>
<td>reciprocal (verb suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REDUP</td>
<td>reduplicated (form)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFL</td>
<td>reflexive (verb suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RHM</td>
<td>R.H. Mathews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RS</td>
<td>Mrs Ruby Shillingsworth recorded by Janet Mathews</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RT</td>
<td>returning action (verb aspect)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>intransitive subject (function)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SB</td>
<td>Sim's handwritten notes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sg</td>
<td>singular form (of pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SJ</td>
<td>Shillin Jackson recorded by the author</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sp.</td>
<td>species of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SPEC</td>
<td>specifier (noun suffix)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STY</td>
<td>stationary (verb suffix: action without forward movement)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBORD</td>
<td>subordinate clause</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TR</td>
<td>transitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TRS</td>
<td>transitiviser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V, v</td>
<td>verb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VC</td>
<td>verb complex</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VBS</td>
<td>verbaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VOL</td>
<td>volitional (aspect: action of the emotions or will)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SYMBOLS**

1, 2, 3  
first person  
second person  
third person  
+  
indicates inherent additional meaning, such as tense  
+/-  
with or without  
\( \emptyset \)  
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
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
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 pakulpika mayi*), a prominent feature of parts of Muruwarri territory (Walgett Road)

11. Open plain (*palaa*) 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 Dennowen, 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 Bägandji 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 Collerina as a portion of the territory; my information would place Collerina 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MALE</th>
<th>FEMALE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>marriy</td>
<td>matha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapi</td>
<td>kapitha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipay</td>
<td>ipatha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kampu</td>
<td>putha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MOTHER'S SECTION</th>
<th>CHILD'S SECTION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ipatha</td>
<td>kampu and putha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapitha</td>
<td>marriy and matha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matha</td>
<td>kapi and kapitha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putha</td>
<td>ipayi and ipatha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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*:

- **woorin** for **ngurrunj** ‘emu’
- **wooroo** for **nguru** ‘nose’

or as *n*:

- **numma** for **ngama** ‘breast’
- **nappa** for **ngapa** ‘water’
- **noora** for **ngurra** ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>FOOTT’S WORD</th>
<th>MODERN MURUWARI</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘mosquito’</td>
<td><em>bothine</em></td>
<td><em>purarn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘snake’</td>
<td><em>kalin</em></td>
<td><em>kaan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘pelican’</td>
<td><em>yoolira</em></td>
<td><em>tulayita</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘young man’</td>
<td><em>yarragoonya</em></td>
<td><em>kunhan-kunhan</em>; <em>yangkurr</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘hair of head’</td>
<td><em>mulline</em></td>
<td><em>pampu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘thunder’</td>
<td><em>woolnoolno</em></td>
<td><em>ngulu-ngulu</em>; <em>thurlinjpisa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘war spear’</td>
<td><em>millayra</em></td>
<td><em>kuliya</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘heat’</td>
<td><em>wirrn</em></td>
<td><em>purrura</em>; <em>purruruwa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘bark’</td>
<td><em>toomgoon</em></td>
<td><em>murrinj</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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’      | *marnar*       |
- ‘boy at puberty’ | *yarrkuntha*   |
- ‘container’ (often of bark) | *tungkun* |

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 items
- **prepositions (according to English definition)**: 15 items
- **numerals**: 3 items

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

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

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 *[muruwarri]* 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 *muru* 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.

\textit{Nuntukuri}: (almost certainly pronounced \textit{Ngarntuguri}, after the word for the Culgoa River, \textit{ngarntu}) – the lower Culgoa people

\textit{Kungkakuri}: back country, west of the Culgoa River

\textit{Kuntakuri}: (probably pronounced \textit{kantakuri}; \textit{kanta} means ‘across the river’) – the northern Culgoa people

\textit{Thinuntu}: just north of the junction of the Culgoa and the Barwon Rivers

\textit{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. (Curr 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 \textit{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 \textit{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, \([r], [rr]\) and \([R]\) 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 \(R\) – is discussed in 2.2.4.

Grammatically, the language is entirely suffixing, with a full case system of nominative, absolute, 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.
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Peripheral</th>
<th>Central ††</th>
<th>Apical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labial</td>
<td>Velar</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stops</td>
<td>$p$</td>
<td>$k$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasals</td>
<td>$m$</td>
<td>$ng$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laterals</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rhotics:
- Trill: $rr^*$
- Flap: $r^*$
- Retroflex:

Semivowels: $w$, $y$

Vowels:
- High: $i, ii$
- Low: $a, aa$

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 $nth, ntj, rnt$. 
2.2.1 NON-PERIPHERAL CONSONANT CONTRASTS

(a) Stops: initial and medial

Stops are voiceless word initially, and also intervocally (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).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{thali} & \quad \text{'chest'} \\
\text{tali} & \quad \text{'yoke of egg'} \\
\text{thinti} & \quad \text{'spark'} \\
\text{tiin} & \quad \text{'hole in ground'} \\
\text{tjinti-tjinti} & \quad \text{'wagtail'} \\
\text{thurri} & \quad \text{‘sun’} \\
\text{turri} & \quad \text{‘bowerbird’} \\
\text{thurunj-thurunj} & \quad \text{‘blue bonnet bird’} \\
\text{turn-turn} & \quad \text{'kingfisher'} \\
\text{tjurrku-thurrku} & \quad \text{‘straight’} \\
\text{kathi} & \quad \text{‘mother’s older brother’} \\
\text{katji} & \quad \text{‘fresh’} \\
\text{karti} & \quad \text{‘bitter’} \\
\text{putha} & \quad \text{‘ashes’} \\
\text{kutu} & \quad \text{‘codfish’} \\
\text{kutjuru} & \quad \text{‘throwing stick’} \\
\text{putu} & \quad \text{‘rain’}
\end{align*}
\]

Homorganic nasal-stop clusters contrast word medially:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kunthi} & \quad \text{‘house’} \\
\text{kunti-kunti} & \quad \text{‘wife’s mother’} \\
\text{purnrtu} & \quad \text{‘buttocks’} \\
\text{punhtha-punhtha} & \quad \text{‘sp. of caterpillar’}
\end{align*}
\]

(b) Nasals: initial, medial and final

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nhinturl} & \quad \text{‘sp. of duck’} \\
\text{nimpin} & \quad \text{‘navel’} \\
\text{njintu} & \quad \text{‘you (sg)’} \\
\text{njinti-njinti} & \quad \text{‘mouse’} \\
\text{nganha} & \quad \text{‘me’} \\
\text{ngana} & \quad \text{‘we’} \\
\text{kanja} & \quad \text{‘humpy’} \\
\text{karna} & \quad \text{‘liver’} \\
\text{mukunh} & \quad \text{‘gum (of tree)’} \\
\text{mukunj} & \quad \text{‘housefly’} \\
\text{tungkun} & \quad \text{‘coolamon’} \\
\text{tungkunj} & \quad \text{‘back of neck’}
\end{align*}
\]

\[(JB \text{ only}) \quad \text{(EH.44:3)} \quad \text{(RC.1:1)}\]
Homorganic nasal-stop clusters are as follows:

- **munhtha** 'smooth'
- **kantil** 'mother's child'
- **ngunjtja** 'face'
- **ngarnrtal** 'throat'

(c) Laterals: medial and final

- **kuli-kuli** 'rain storm'
- **kurli** 'humpy'
- **pila** 'dillybag'
- **pirla** 'backbone'
- **kula-**
- **kurla-**
- **kulpa** 'corroboree'
- **kurlpa** 'butcherbird'
- **thinkal** 'knee'
- **tangkarl** 'large mussel'
- **mawal**
- **ngawarl** 'tears'

(d) Rhotics: medial

- **kuru-kuru** 'sp. of tree'
- **kurru-kurru** 'all, everyone' (EH.37:5)
- **mara** 'hand'
- **maara** 'take it!'
- **nhura** 'you (pl)'
- **nhura** '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 th AND tj**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>th</th>
<th>tj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Initial</td>
<td>xxx</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i - i</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>xx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i - u</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i - a</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u - u</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xx</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u - i</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a - a</td>
<td>xxx</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a - i</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a - u</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clusters</td>
<td>xx</td>
<td>xxx</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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

- **puthuul** ‘blue crane’
- **ku nthun** ‘stump’
- **yuthurra** ‘initiation path’ (RHM)
- **mutjura** ‘liquor’
- **kutjuru** ‘throwing stick’

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

- **titji** ‘young of species’
- **pitji** ‘pegs to hold emu net’
- **witji** ‘meat’
- **witji-witji** ‘bird’ (gen.)
- **kitji** ‘to itch’
- **mitjin** ‘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

- \(\text{putha}\) — ‘ashes’
- \(\text{puthanj}\) — ‘heart’
- \(\text{mutha}\) — ‘black soil’
- \(\text{kuthara}\) — ‘child’
- \(\text{kuthama}\) — ‘niece’
- \(\text{wakutha}\) — ‘slow corroboree dance’
- \(\text{puutja}\) — ‘thin person’

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

- \(\text{ngathu}\) — ‘I’
- \(\text{wathul}\) — ‘old person’
- \(\text{mangka-pathu}\) — ‘bone pointing’

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

- \(\text{kuthi}\) — ‘red ochre’
- \(\text{punthhi}\) — ‘fighting stick’
- \(\text{kunthhi}\) — ‘house’

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

- \(\text{kathi}\) — ‘mother’s brother’
- \(\text{pathi-}\) — ‘to smell’
- \(\text{katji}\) — ‘fresh’
- \(\text{watiin}\) — ‘white woman’
- \(\text{pathanj}\) — ‘father’
- \(\text{mathaa}\) — ‘subsection name’
- \(\text{matja}\) — ‘time past’
- \(\text{watjala}\) — ‘dillybag’

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

- \(\text{withul}\) — ‘sp. of bird’
- \(\text{kitju}\) — ‘small’
- \(\text{pithal}\) — ‘eggshell’
- \(\text{wiitja}\) — ‘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 \(u\).

- \(\text{thawila}\) — ‘soon’
- \(\text{thana-}\) — ‘to do, make’
- \(\text{tjarrka-tjarrka}\) — ‘straight’
- \(\text{thipunj}\) — ‘mistletoe’
- \(\text{thika}\) — ‘my’
- \(\text{ttiila}\) — ‘bandicoot’
- \(\text{tjinti-tjinti}\) — ‘wagtail’
- \(\text{thukan}\) — ‘pademelon’
- \(\text{thuthi-}\) — ‘to break’
- \(\text{thuurrpun}\) — ‘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:

\[ \text{punba} / \text{punja} \text{ ‘him’ (EH.21:1)} \]

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:

\[ \text{mukinj} / \text{mukinjtj} \text{ ‘woman’} \]
\[ \text{ngurunj} / \text{ngurrunjttj} \text{ ‘emu’} \]

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

\[ \text{wilanh} / \text{wilanhth} \text{ ‘fleecy cloud’} \]
\[ \text{yukanh} / \text{yukanhth} \text{ ‘cloud’ (gen.)} \]

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

\[ \text{pata-} \text{ ‘to dig’} \]
\[ \text{parta-} \text{ ‘to punch’} \]
\[ \text{kutu} \text{ ‘cod’} \]
\[ \text{kurti} \text{ ‘angry’} \]

(b) Contrast in medial homorganic clusters

\[ \text{munta} \text{ ‘dillybag’} \]
\[ \text{murnrta} \text{ ‘cold’} \]

(c) Contrast in heterogeneous clusters

Nasals with peripheral consonants:

\[ \text{wanpi-} \text{ ‘to wait’} \]
\[ \text{marpil} \text{ ‘bronze-wing’} \]
\[ \text{munki} \text{ ‘slowly’} \]
\[ \text{murnka} \text{ ‘wrinkles’} \]

Laterals with peripheral or central stops:

\[ \text{wiilpanj} \text{ ‘twigs’} \]
\[ \text{murlpan} \text{ ‘skin burn’} \]
\[ \text{thalka} \text{ ‘bumpy’} \]
\[ \text{parlki} \text{ ‘ankle’} \]
Rhotics with peripheral consonants:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>purrpi-</td>
<td>'to jump'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurpa</td>
<td>'bobbies' (sp. of fish)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pirrka</td>
<td>'native tobacco'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pirkunkuru</td>
<td>'happy family bird'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lateral or rhotic with peripheral nasal:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yuralmara</td>
<td>'bad'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurrmu</td>
<td>'lice'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Retroflex alveolar with peripheral stop:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>katka</td>
<td>'hip'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngartka</td>
<td>'wallaroo'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) Word-final /l and /r/ contrast (see also 2.2.1 (3))

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>purral</td>
<td>'dual'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pururl</td>
<td>'pollen'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) The alveolar stop /t/ and flap rhotic /r/ fluctuate

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

Since /ra/ 'imperative' and /yira/ 'they' are the most common forms of these two morphemes, it would appear that /r/ 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):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/n/</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/l/</td>
<td>7.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rr/</td>
<td>2.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rl/</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rt/</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/rn/</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngara</td>
<td>'definite article'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhura</td>
<td>'there'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kara</td>
<td>'how many'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)):

\[
\begin{align*}
mara & \quad \text{‘hand’} \\
maara & \quad \text{‘take it!’} \\
marrangkal & \quad \text{‘acacia bush’}
\end{align*}
\]

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, \textit{kuru-kuru} ‘sp. of tree’ reflects an underlying retroflex form, and \textit{kurru-kurru} ‘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 intervocally 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Phoneme</th>
<th>Norm</th>
<th>Fluctuation to:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bilabial</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>p m k ng w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ng w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>ng w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>m k</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>p m k ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

\( p > m: \)

- pilkuyu: \([milkuyu]\) (RC) 'I will dig'
- puka: \([muka]\) (JB) 'his'
- tiipuru: \([tiimuru]\) (EH) 'sunshower'

\( p > k/m: \)

- punha: \([kunha]/[munha]\) (JB)/(RC) 'him'
- thurrpan: \([thurran]\) (SJ) 'light rain'

\( p > w: \)

- pampu: \([wampu]\) (JB) 'hair, head'
- pinti-pinti: \([winti-pinti]\) (RC) 'strong'
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
t &> n: \\
tungkun &\quad [nungkun] \quad \text{(JB)} \quad \text{‘coolamon’} \\
tamiyaa &\quad [namiyaa] \quad \text{(RC)} \quad \text{‘tomahawk’} \\
n &> t: \\
niilpurl &\quad [tiilpurl] \quad \text{(EH)} \quad \text{‘spring of water’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
y &> nj: \\
yurruun &\quad [njurruun] \quad \text{(RC)} \quad \text{‘pathway’} \\
\end{align*}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
nj &> y: \text{medially and finally (see also 2.3.4)} \\
minjan &\quad [miyan] \quad \text{(EH)} \quad \text{‘what’} \\
yarranj &\quad [yarray] \quad \text{(BC)} \quad \text{‘beard’} \\
\end{align*}
\]
There is fluctuation between *t* and *th* word initially, but this is more in the nature of a neutralisation of contrast:

| thirra | [tirra] | (JB) | ‘teeth’ |
| thali | [tali] | (JB) | ‘chest’ |
| thurri | [turri] | (EH) | ‘sun’ |

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

**th > k:**

| thayin | [kayinj] | (EH) | ‘this way’ |
| thuntu | [kuntu] | (EH) | ‘leg’ |

**k > th:**

| kirrilaa | [thirrilaa] | (EH) | ‘while dancing’ |
| karra | [tharra] | (JB) | ‘eagle’ |

**t > k:**

| tuwirti | [kuwirti] | (EH) | ‘spirit’ |
| tangay | [kangay] | (RC) | ‘daughter’ |
| tulayita | [kulayita] | (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

| kurrpu | [kulpu] | (RC) | ‘corroboree’ |
| pulaka | [puraka] | (EH) | ‘belonging to them (du)’ |
| ngalika | [ngarrika] | (EH) | ‘belonging to us (du)’ |
| wala | [wara] | (EH) | ‘not’ |
| karlanj | [kalanj] | (EH) | ‘shoulder’ |
| ngara | [ngala] | (EH) | ‘definite article’ |

Between rhotics and *t*

| thurltu-yira | [thurltu-yita] | (JB;EH) | ‘dusty’ |

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:

| puumpi-yi-pu | payu |
| blow-PR-3sg | pipe-ABS |
| ‘He’s smoking a pipe.’ | (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):

\[
\text{yalu purral kurranmi-pula kunthi-ku} \\
\text{there dual go-3du house-to} \\
\text{‘Those two fellows are going back home.’}
\]

\[
\text{yalu kurral kurranmi-pula kunthi-ku} \\
\text{there dual go-3du house-to} \\
\text{‘Those two fellows are going back home.’}
\]

(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 \(rn\), 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Peripheral</th>
<th>Laminal</th>
<th>Apical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Word initial</strong></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>nh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Between vowels</strong></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>nh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>First of cluster</strong></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>nh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Second of cluster</strong></td>
<td>p</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>th</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>m</td>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Word final</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>nh</td>
<td>nj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rl</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* *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**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Within the Word</th>
<th>Between Morphemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Peripheral</td>
<td>Laminal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Nasal + homorganic stop:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Nasal + homorganic stop:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Nasal + nasalph</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**Laterallrhotic + stop:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>**Semivowel + stop:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* demonstrates homorganic nasal-stop clusters, and
** heterorganic clusters

Note: For simplicity, the sequences njtj, nthh, and rnrn 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.
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, $r$ 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nupa</td>
<td>[nuba]</td>
<td>(BC)</td>
<td>'wife'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiparu</td>
<td>[tibaru]</td>
<td>(EH)</td>
<td>'fine rain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakipal</td>
<td>[yakibal]</td>
<td>(JB)</td>
<td>'stone axe'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilakan</td>
<td>[kiilagan]</td>
<td>(EH)</td>
<td>'elopement'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kulimukuka</td>
<td>[Kulimukuga]</td>
<td>(JB)</td>
<td>'person's name'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kipay/yipay/ipayi</td>
<td>[xipai]</td>
<td>(JB)</td>
<td>'subsection name'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wathul</td>
<td>[wadul]</td>
<td>(RC)</td>
<td>'old man'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Following rhotics:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>murpan</td>
<td>[murban]</td>
<td></td>
<td>'cicatrice'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>warrkan</td>
<td>[warrgan]</td>
<td></td>
<td>'heavy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) Laterals

Laterals are sometimes fricativised following $i$, (the symbol $+$ indicates friction):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paayilinj</td>
<td>[paaihinj]</td>
<td></td>
<td>'pine tree'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilkay</td>
<td>[kilgai]</td>
<td></td>
<td>'puddle'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Pronunciation</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>pumpu</td>
<td>[pwumpu]</td>
<td></td>
<td>'head, hair'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puntu</td>
<td>[pwuntu]</td>
<td></td>
<td>'louse'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kilata/wilata</td>
<td>[kwilata]</td>
<td></td>
<td>'tomahawk'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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 $ir$ - the stop becomes fricativised and the first vowel is lost:

- **pirri** $[pirri]$ (JB; EH) ‘acacia’; ‘Birrie R.’
- **purril-purril** $[purril-purril]$ (RC.39:1) ‘striped’
- **thirri** $[thirri]$ (EH) ‘away from’
- **kurrumpal** $[kurrumpal]$ ‘rosewood tree’
- **kurrinj** $[kurrinj]$ ‘leopardwood tree’
- **kurrukunh** $[kurrukunh]$ (RC) ‘turtledove’

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

- **kurrukunh** $[kurrukwunh]$ (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.

- **ngakuwa** $[ngakwa]$ ‘yes’
- **kalkara** $[kalkra]$ ‘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 $k$

- **karra-natyu** $[\text{\'arra-nmiyinja}]$ (EH) ‘I’m going across the river’
- **kunhthi-kunhthi** $[\text{\'unhthi-\'unhthi}]$ (JB) ‘daughter-in-law’
- **kamurli** $[\text{\'amurl}]$ (SJ) ‘carpet snake’
- **kunhthingka** $[\text{\'unhthingka}]$ (EH) ‘in the house’

(b) Loss of word-initial $ng$

- **nguniyila** $[\text{\'uniyila}]$ (JB) ‘when he’s lying down’
- **ngariya** $[\text{\'ariya}]$ (EH) ‘that’
- **nguunkuyu** $[\text{\'uunkuyu}]$ (EH) ‘I will give’
- **ngaangura** $[\text{\'aangura}]$ (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:

tharripu ['arripu] 'it is flying away'
thanantu ['anantu] 'you are doing'
thathairka ['arthairka] (EH) 'they had a good feed'
miilka thika [miilka 'ika] (RC:34:5) 'with my eyes'

(e) Loss of word-medial consonant
Occasionally the initial consonant of a reduplicated root is lost as in:

yapal-yapal [yapal-'apal] 'topknot pigeon'

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MURUWARI</th>
<th>OTHER LANGUAGES</th>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>puthalanj (SJ)</td>
<td>puthalay (EH)</td>
<td>'throwing stick'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>therrinj (JB)</td>
<td>thurriy (EH)</td>
<td>'spinning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kampaanj (EH)</td>
<td>kampaay (RC)</td>
<td>'sweetheart'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wampunj (JB)</td>
<td>wampuy (JB)</td>
<td>'black kangaroo'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ngapa</th>
<th>ngappa</th>
<th>‘water’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>piki</td>
<td>pikki</td>
<td>‘upper arm’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pama</td>
<td>pamma</td>
<td>‘Barwon River’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pina</td>
<td>pinna</td>
<td>‘ear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pila</td>
<td>pilla</td>
<td>‘back’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.)

| thiku[ m] | mukinj | ‘young women’ |
| ngapa[ ng] | ngaRa | ‘the water’ |
| tuma[ p] | punha | ‘he broke it’ |
| thirra[ y] | yuruun | ‘wide pathway’ |
| ngapa[ y] | yanmiyu | ‘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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>thuntu</th>
<th>thundu</th>
<th>‘lower leg’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kurlpa</td>
<td>gurlba</td>
<td>(EH) ‘pied butcherbird’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>paa</th>
<th>baa</th>
<th>‘seed’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kaangki-</td>
<td>gaanggi-</td>
<td>‘to float’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaan</td>
<td>gaan</td>
<td>‘snake’ (gen.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thaata</td>
<td>thaada</td>
<td>‘big’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>karti</th>
<th>gardi</th>
<th>‘bitter’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parna</td>
<td>barna/A</td>
<td>‘sand goanna’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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*.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{palka-} & \text{[balga-]} \\
pulku & \text{[bulgu]} \\
kirra & \text{[girra/A]} \\
\end{array}
\]

but:

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
pathanj & \text{[pAthanj]} \\
pata- & \text{[pada-]} \\
\end{array}
\]

(JB.1)

(2) Voicelessness is observed

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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{thuu} & \text{[thuu]} \\
ngathu & \text{[ngathu]} \\
\end{array}
\]

(b) when stops occur between vowels

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
ngapa & \text{[ngApA]} \\
witji & \text{[witji]} \\
\end{array}
\]

(c) when *rr* 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)

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{mapurr} & \text{[mapuRR]} \\
kumpurr & \text{[kumbuRR]} \\
\end{array}
\]

(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

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
karral & \text{[khArrAl]} \\
kamiita & \text{[khAmiitA]} \\
puka & \text{[pukhA]} \\
tjaka & \text{[tjAkhA]} \\
patu & \text{[batthu]} \\
kampi & \text{[kAmphi]} \\
matja & \text{[mAtjhA]} \\
\end{array}
\]

2.3.7 RETROFLEXION

Retroflex consonants *rt*, *rn* and *rl* 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Retroflexion</th>
<th>No retroflexion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>karna</strong> (EH)</td>
<td><strong>kana</strong> (JB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pirla</strong> (EH)</td>
<td><strong>pila</strong> (JB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>karlathari-</strong> (EH)</td>
<td><strong>kalathari-</strong> (JB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kuurni</strong></td>
<td><strong>kuuni</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>tusirl</strong> (EH)</td>
<td><strong>turil</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>wathurl</strong> (EH)</td>
<td><strong>wathul</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kaarn</strong> (EH)</td>
<td><strong>kaan</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>pakurl</strong> (EH)</td>
<td><strong>pakul</strong> (JB &amp; EH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kiyarn</strong> (EH)</td>
<td><strong>kiyan</strong> (JB)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Cluster

| **kurnta** (EH) | **kunta** | ‘yesterday’ |
| **kirnti** (EH) | **kinti** | ‘claypan’ |
| **purntu** | **puntu** | ‘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:

| **kunta** | ‘dog’ |
| **kuntarl-u** / **kuntar-u** | ‘dog-ERG’ |
| **thangkarl** | ‘mussel’ |
| **thangkarl-u** / **thangkar-u** | ‘mussel-INSTR’ |

2.3.8 CLOSE-KNIT UNITY OF HOMORGANIC NASAL-STOP CLUSTERS

A feature of homorganic nasal-stop series *mp, nhth, rrt, 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Underlying form</th>
<th>Variants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>yang-kuna</strong> ([ya-kuna/ya-nguna]) (RC)</td>
<td>‘we will go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>ngapa-ngka</strong> ([ngapa-ka/ngapa-nga]) (EH)</td>
<td>‘in the water’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>kunthiku</strong> ([kuthiku]) (RC)</td>
<td>‘to the house’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td><em>i, ii</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>u, uu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>a, aa</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

- *ya-* ‘to walk, go’
- *yaa-* ‘to speak’
- *manta* ‘net bag’
- *maantaa* ‘he took it’
- *kangku-* ‘will take’
- *kaangki-* ‘is floating’
- *tharra* ‘thigh’
- *tharraa* ‘drunk’

*i, ii* contrast:

- *kiwa* ‘urine’
- *kiiwa* ‘deep’
- *witji* ‘meat’
- *wiitja* ‘firestick’
- *kitju* ‘small’
- *kiitja* ‘shrimp’
- *wirlu* ‘curlew’
- *wiirla* ‘supplejack tree’
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'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Marli</th>
<th>[marli]</th>
<th>'boomerang'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Partala</td>
<td>[partala]</td>
<td>'morning'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parna</td>
<td>[parna]</td>
<td>'sand goanna'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Waan</th>
<th>'tree'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Paangki-</td>
<td>'to swim'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thinaanipu</td>
<td>'he is standing'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palaa</td>
<td>'plain'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pariyaa</td>
<td>'ripe'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thirri</th>
<th>'away from'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Piki</td>
<td>'upper arm'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Witiyi</td>
<td>'meat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurli</td>
<td>'bark humpy'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.
wii  ‘fire’
kiin  ‘algae’
piriin  ‘sinew’
tiinj  ‘hole’
parniita  ‘water weed’
ngurii  ‘stranger’
piinpiin  ‘woodpecker’
kiikii  ‘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.

utha/wutha  ‘short’
kupu  ‘elbow’
thurltu  ‘dust’
pulkuru  ‘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.

yuul  ‘sandhill’
puumpi-  ‘to blow’
kanuu  ‘boat’
thuurrpun  ‘rain shower’
yuruun  ‘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.

ngapa  [ngApA]  ‘water’
yaman  [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 Bägandji 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:

- **thirri** [therri] 'sand'
- **mitjiri** [mitjeri] 'stringy-bark tree'
- **mirti** [merti] 'bush country'
- **purlirli** [purlerli] 'blowfly'

[e] also occurs in unstressed final open syllables:

- **ngathuki** [ngathuke] 'I' (emphatic)

When [e] follows high front vowel i in a syllable of secondary stress it realises -ya, and when it precedes i it realises -ay:

- **piniyayu** [pinieyu] 'I heard'
- **parriyal** [parriel] 'rainbow'
- **mayinj** [meinj] 'man'
- **mayi** [mei] '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:

- **yilurma** [eelurrma-] 'to lose'

When [ee] follows a consonant in a stressed syllable in word-initial position it is interpreted as ayi:

- **kayila** [keela] 'affirmative'
- **yayiri** [yeeri] '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.)

- **nhaarayira** [nhaareera] 'they saw'
- **pingkayira** [pingkeera] 'they bit'
- **kayinthiyita** [kayintheeta] 'they are diving'
- **pampiliyira** [pampileera] 'they are fighting'

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

- **partala yanmiyu** [partaleenmiyu] 'I'll come tomorrow'
TABLE 2.6: OCCURRENCES OF [e] AND [ee]

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

(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:

- `wukan` [wokan] 'young kangaroo'
- `wakan` [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].

- `wala` [wolA] / [wAlA] 'negative'
- `wampa` [wompA] / [wAmA] 'mad'
- `yawi` [yowi] / [yAwi] 'grass'

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

- `muruwar` [murowar] 'Muruwar'
- `-pu` [-pu/-pu] 'he, she, it'
- `mukinj` [mokinj/mukinj] 'woman'
- `nguma` [ngoma/nguma] 'breast'
- `kuruwa` [korowa] 'gum tree'
- `wakutha` [wokotha] 'name of a dance'
- `wurrunj` [worrunj] 'crooked'
- `-yu` [-yu/-yu] 'I'
- `yungki-` [yongki/-yungki-] 'to sing'

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

- `puwin` [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:
pa warra  [poorra]  ‘red kangaroo’
mawarn  [moorn]  ‘younger brother’
kuwarti  [koorti]  ‘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:

piki-yita  [pigiidA]  ‘with the arm’
purlili-yita  [purliliitA]  ‘maggoty’

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

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

kampanj  [kambainj]  ‘sweetheart’
kapunj  [kabuinj]  ‘egg’
pilanj-pilanj  [pileinj-pileinj]  ‘crimson-winged parrot’
tungunj  [tungoinj]  ‘back of neck’
mukinj  [mukiinj]  ‘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:

- **mayi** [mei] 'earth'
- **kuliya** [kulia] 'spear'

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

- **puwinj** [boinj] 'older brother'
- **kawun** [kAun] 'raw'

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

- **maari-yu** [maariu] 'I am sick'
- **thurlrtu-yita** [thurlrtuidA] '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.

- **tulayita** [tulaita] 'turtle'
- **mayi-ngka** [mai-ngka] '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. (Bagandji 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.
2.5 SYLLABIC STRUCTURE

2.5.1 SINGLE ROOT FORMS

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

\[(CV(C))^n\]

where V is a short or long vowel, (C) an optional consonant and \(^n\) 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. \(\text{tharra-tharrang-tharraka} \) (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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUNS</th>
<th>Monosyllabic:</th>
<th>CVC</th>
<th>paa</th>
<th>‘seed’</th>
<th>2%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>tiiij</td>
<td>‘hole’</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Disyllabic:</td>
<td>CVCCV</td>
<td>pina</td>
<td>‘ear’</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CVCVC</td>
<td>kirin</td>
<td>‘husband’</td>
<td>29%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CVCCCV</td>
<td>pampu</td>
<td>‘head’</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CVCCCCV</td>
<td>thinkal</td>
<td>‘knee’</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>73%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trisyllabic:</td>
<td>CVCCCV</td>
<td>kiiyasa</td>
<td>‘bustard’</td>
<td>10%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CVCCVCV</td>
<td>kuritjil</td>
<td>‘peewee’</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CVCCCVV</td>
<td>thangkana</td>
<td>‘mussels’</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CVCCVVCCV</td>
<td>tithalanj</td>
<td>‘twig’</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Polysyllabic:</td>
<td>CVCCVCVCCVC</td>
<td>kurukuwi</td>
<td>‘dove’</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CVCCVCVCCVC</td>
<td>kutikunkun</td>
<td>‘butcherbird’</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| VERBS          | Monosyllabic: | CV-  | ya-   | ‘to walk’ | 10% |
|                |               | yaa- | ‘to talk’ |      |
|                | Disyllabic:   | CVCCV- | warra- | ‘to fall’ | 52% |
|                |               | CVCCCV- | palka- | ‘to come’ | 29% | 81% |
|                | Trisyllabic:  | CVCCCV- | thinama- | ‘to send’ | 3% |
|                |               | CVCCCV- | thangkura- | ‘to dream’ | 4% |
|                |               | CVCCVVCCV- | pinampi- | ‘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:  
- **pa-pa**  
- **pi-pi**  
- **tha-tha-**

‘older sister’
‘baby’ (not English)
‘eating’
CVC + CVC:  
- *kurr-kurr* 'mopoke'
- *tuurn-tuurn* 'pallid cuckoo'
- *paanh-paanh* 'open foliage'

CVCV + CVCV:  
- *witji-witji* 'bird'
- *kurru-kurru* 'all'
- *kitji-kitji-* 'to tickle'

CVCVC + CVCVC:  
- *yapal-yapal* 'topknot pigeon'
- *ngaayirn-ngaayirn* 'hard breathing'

CVCCV + CVCCV:  
- *parla-parla* 'beefwood tree'
- *tjarrka-tjarrka* 'straight'
- *puntha-puntha* '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:

- *'kaya* 'mother'
- *'kiyan* 'moon'
- *'kuthara* 'child'
- *'kutjuru* 'waddy for emus'
- *'kakalaranj* 'cockalarina'

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

- *'thaata* 'big'
- *pa'laa* 'plain'
- *pu'thuul* 'blue crane'
- *pu'rraalka* 'brolga'
- *thi'naanipu* '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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Resulting Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'yawi</td>
<td>'grass'</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>ya'wingka</td>
<td>'on the grass'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ngapa</td>
<td>'water'</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>nga'pangka</td>
<td>'in the water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'maru'</td>
<td>'hand'</td>
<td>but</td>
<td>ma'rangku</td>
<td>'with the hand'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are two exceptions to Rule 3:

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Resulting Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'kiiwa'</td>
<td>'deep water'</td>
<td>'kiiwangka'</td>
<td>'in the deep water'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'thaata'</td>
<td>'big'</td>
<td>'thaatangku'</td>
<td>'the big one' (ERG)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'thurri-ngu'</td>
<td>'from the sun'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'nhurra-ki'</td>
<td>'all of you!'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'tharrka-ra'</td>
<td>'tell (him)!'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'thangkila''yika'</td>
<td>'they are running'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kurlkuri''yita'</td>
<td>'strong'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'thirra''yita'</td>
<td>'sharp'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'panta'rantu</td>
<td>'you hit (him)'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'paangki'yayu</td>
<td>'I swam'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'ngurra''wara'</td>
<td>'a flood'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'yuwal''kayu'</td>
<td>'I lost it'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'purru''wangka'</td>
<td>'in summer'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'piya-(m)''piya'</td>
<td>'butterfly'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'kurru-''kurru'</td>
<td>'all'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'piyal-''piyal'</td>
<td>'soldier bird'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ngukurr-''ngukurr'</td>
<td>'ibis'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In words of more than four syllables, primary stress falls on the initial syllable, and secondary stress on the penultimate syllable:

'karraka"rranti 'mirage'
'marnrtamarn"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 rho tics 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, r, rt, rn, or rl. The usual pronunciation of the following words is:

'thurri 'sun'
'kirrinj 'husband'

But the following is also acceptable:

thu'rrri 'sun'
ki'rrrinj 'husband'
ka'rranti 'gecko'
pu'rili 'maggot'

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

'paku"ra 'coolibah tree'
'kuwu"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:

'yan-ti"pu 'he is walking'

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

'maan"ku-li 'we will take it'
'puul"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.)

- ngathu tumaa-nja mathan [\ngathutu.'maanja."mathan] I broke-I stick
  ‘I broke the stick.’

- puka witji purlili-yita [pu\ga.wi'tjipurli"liita] bad meat maggots-having
  ‘rotten meat’

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

- kuntarlu yitaa nganha ["kuntarluyi 'taa nganha] 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:

- thawinj thika muku yintipu [’thawinjtji 'kamuku 'yintipu] 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.

- ngapa piintja nganha [\ngababi.n.'djanga"nha] water ask me
  ‘Ask me for water!’

- pintja kawi-yaa yipa kayila [\pindj.'gawiyaayi."bagayila] 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.

- minjan piya-ntu nganha [\minjan.bi'yanhu."nunganha] 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.

\( \text{hayin 'pal'kayi-pu} \)
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.

\( \text{hayin "yang-ku-ntu ngaa-'ngura} \)
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.

\[ \text{kami"yaa-}y u \ k a p u \ k a n t a r r i \ k u ^{'} y a a y \]  
\text{catch-I 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

\text{piyan-ta}  
dress-LOC  
'on the dress'

\text{wilanh-tha}  
cloud-LOC  
'on the clouds'

\text{mukinj-tju}  
woman-ERG/INST  
'woman'(ERG)

\text{piirn-rtu}  
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 \text{n}j, \text{y} and \text{i}

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

\text{kawanj + -kil > kawanj-tjil} (RC:43:1)  
taste lacking  
'tasteless'

(b) Word final \text{n}j or \text{i} palatalises word-initial \text{th} and \text{nh}:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>underlying form</th>
<th>phonetic form</th>
<th>translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>parlki + thika</td>
<td>parlki tjika</td>
<td>'my ankle'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuranj + thika</td>
<td>yuranj tjika</td>
<td>'my skin'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kulay + thika</td>
<td>kulay tjika</td>
<td>'my fishing net'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiinj + tharraka</td>
<td>tiinj tjarraka</td>
<td>'their hole'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurli + thanara</td>
<td>kurli tjana ra</td>
<td>'he was building a humpy'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yanmi + nhula</td>
<td>yanmi njula</td>
<td>'you two are going'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Occasionally the assimilation is to the semivowel y:

\[
\text{yaantili + tharrana } \rightarrow \text{yaantili yarrana}
\]

'talk to them'

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Orthographic form</th>
<th>Optional form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>milkiri</td>
<td>miltjiri</td>
<td>'small black ant'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiki</td>
<td>titji</td>
<td>'young of a species'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yintila</td>
<td>yinjila</td>
<td>'when it is...'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

\[
\text{partala yungkuna } \rightarrow \text{partali yungkuna}
\]

tomorrow we will go

'We will go tomorrow.'

\[
\text{kamilku } + \text{yu } \rightarrow \text{kamilkiyu}
\]

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):

\[
(y)\text{intu wantara-ntu } \rightarrow \text{wuthamaa}
\]

you you killed

'You killed it.'

\[
\text{puthamaa } \rightarrow \text{wuthamaa}
\]

(JB) 'aunty'

\[
\text{tukungka } \rightarrow \text{tuwungka}
\]

(RC) 'in the stomach'

\[
\text{nupa } \rightarrow \text{nuwa}
\]

(EH) 'wife'

\[
\text{wankinapu } \rightarrow \text{wankinawu}
\]

(JB) 'he is howling'

\[
\text{skuulku } \rightarrow \text{skuulwu}
\]

(EH) 'to school'

\[
\text{yukanh } \rightarrow \text{yuwanh}
\]

(BC) 'cloud'

\[
\text{nhuntukantu } \rightarrow \text{nhuntuwantu}
\]

(EH) 'you are blocking the door'

\[
\text{wartuku } \rightarrow \text{wartuwu}
\]

(EH.59:3) 'to the waterhole'

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

\[
\text{warramiyu wantu } \rightarrow \text{warramiyu warntu}
\]

I fall river

'I'm going down river.'
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:

\[ \textit{purrin-purrin} \rightarrow \textit{brn-brn} \quad \text{‘winding’} \]

(1) Elision within the word

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

- \textit{kutumpa} \rightarrow \textit{kutu} \quad \text{‘codfish’}
- \textit{ngariya} \rightarrow \textit{ngari} \quad \text{‘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 \textit{wa}, \textit{wi}, \textit{ya}, \textit{yi} and \textit{ku}:

- \textit{kurruwal} \rightarrow \textit{kurrul} \quad \text{‘blackcurrant’}
- \textit{wirruwinj} \rightarrow \textit{wirrunj} \quad \text{‘budgerigar’}
- \textit{piyankara} \rightarrow \textit{piinkara} \quad \text{‘asked’}
- \textit{kuyinjpuru} \rightarrow \textit{kunjpuru} \quad \text{‘straight-leafed currant bush’}
- \textit{kurrukuru} \rightarrow \textit{kurrurru} \quad \text{‘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:

\[ \textit{yalanj yintiyu} \rightarrow \textit{ya’layntiyu} \quad \text{‘I have a beard.’} \]

(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:

\[ \textit{yaman} + \textit{ni} \rightarrow \textit{yamani} \quad \text{‘one sitting’} \]

\[ \textit{thayin yan-ti-pu} \rightarrow \textit{thayin ‘antipu} \quad \text{‘He’s coming this way.’} \]
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 \(aa\).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngurra-} & \quad \text{camp-ALL} \\
\text{ngurra} & \quad > \quad \text{ngurraagu} \quad \text{\textquoteleft to camp\textquoteright} \\
\text{kuya-} & \quad \text{fish-DAT} \\
\text{guya} & \quad > \quad \text{guyaagu} \quad \text{\textquoteleft for fish\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

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

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngurra-} & \quad \text{camp-LOC} \\
\text{ngurrangga} & \quad > \quad \text{ngurrangga} \quad \text{\textquoteleft at the camp\textquoteright}
\end{align*}
\]

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:

\[
yantipi \quad \text{(instead of the expected \textit{yantipu})}
\]

\[
\text{\textquoteleft He is going.\textquoteright} \quad \text{(RC)}
\]

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  
\textit{pawarra-pu-0-ki}  
kangaroo-3sg-ABS-EMP  
‘the old man (red) kangaroo’ (EH.24:7)

3.2  
\textit{tungkun-0 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: -\textit{0} 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:

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{kuntarl} & ‘a dog, dogs’ \\
\textit{mayinj} & ‘a man, men’ \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

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 \textit{purral} ‘dual’ and \textit{kalkaa} ‘many’, also sometimes operate as free forms. The number specifier suffixes are:

-\textit{purral} ‘dual, two, a pair’  
(also a Kamilaraay suffix – Austin personal communication)

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{mukinj} & ‘woman’ \\
mukinj-\textit{purral} & ‘a pair of women’ \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

-\textit{kalkaa} ‘many, all’ (more than three)

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{kuthara} & ‘child’ \\
kuthara-\textit{kalkaa} & ‘all, many children’ \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

-\textit{(m)puwan} ‘person’

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{mayinj} & ‘man’ \\
mayinj-\textit{puwan} & ‘he, male person’ \\
\textit{kuni} & ‘female’ \\
kuni-\textit{mpuwan} & ‘she, female person’ \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

-\textit{thana} ‘several’

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{kula} & ‘kangaroo’ \\
kula-\textit{thana} & ‘several kangaroos’ \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

(JB.78B)

-\textit{yira} ‘plural, they’

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{milamila} & ‘pitiabl’ \\
kuthara \textit{milamila-yira} & ‘poor little kids’ \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

(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:

- kuwinj
- kuwinj-kaampa
- kuni-kaampa-purral

- ‘white man’
- ‘that particular white man’
- ‘(those) two girls’

(HE.27:1)

Adjective:

- kitji-kaampa waan
- wuta-raampa mayinj

- ‘a small stick’
- ‘a short man’

Number may also be indicated by:

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

- wathul
- wathul-wathul

- ‘old man’
- ‘old men’

- kuthara
- kuthara-kuthara

- ‘child’
- ‘children’

- kapal
- kapal-kapal

- ‘old person’
- ‘old people’

(b) an NP in which the repeated noun is linked by ngaRa ‘and’. (For evidence that ngaRa is a separate word see 6.2.)

- ngurrunj ngaRa ngurrunj
- kula ngaRa kula
- kapunj ngaRa kapunj
- ngapa ngaRa ngapa
- purtu ngaRa purtu

- ‘a lot of emus’
- ‘a lot of kangaroos’
- ‘a lot of eggs’
- ‘much water’
- ‘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:

- kuntarl kuni
- kul a kuni

- ‘a female dog’
- ‘a female kangaroo’

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

- kuntarl thankur

- ‘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’.

- **ngurrunj** 'emu' → **ngurrunj-tji** 'a piece of emu'
- **milinj** 'mud' → **milinj-tji** 'small humps of mud'
- **wirruwinj** 'budgerigar' → **wirruwinj-tji** 'young budgerigars'
- **pulkunj** 'belongings' → **pulkunj-tji** 'a number of (small) things'

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

- **ngantu** 'river' → **ngantu-ngantu** 'gutter, tributary'
- **kantu** 'gully' → **kantu-kantu** '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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 3.1: NOUN SUFFIXES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NUCLEAR CASES:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>absolutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ergative/instrumental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>locative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dative/allative/genitive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERIPHERAL CASES:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ablative (ABL)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elative (ELA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>STEM-FORMING SUFFIXES</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comitatives: 'having'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abessive: 'lacking'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>comparison: 'like'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'very'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>excessive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>intensifiers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>OTHER NOMINAL SUFFIXES:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>personalisers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nominalisers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
A & \text{Agent (transitive subject)} & \text{Subject (intransitive subject)} \\
S & \text{Object (of a transitive verb)} & \\
O & & \\
\end{array}
\]

**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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>grammatical (congruent case)</th>
<th>versus</th>
<th>semantic (incongruent case)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>subject</td>
<td>object</td>
<td>object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>agent(A/S)</td>
<td>goal (O)</td>
<td>*locative (LOC); *dative (DAT)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 3.2: CASE NOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘earth’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NUCLEAR CASES</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abs:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg/ Inst:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dat/All/ Gen:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERIPHERAL CASES</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ela:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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 -Ø.

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 *kurrukurrurru 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:
  
  - **kuthara** 'child'  ERG: *kuthara-ngku*
  - **kamay** 'yam'  INSTR: *kamay(i)-ngku*

- *tu* follows alveolar and retroflex nasals:
  
  - **kaan** 'snake'  ERG: *kaan-tu*
  - **muwarn** 'younger brother'  ERG: *muwarn-tu*

- *thu* follows interdental nasals:
  
  - **wilanh** 'sp. of cloud'  ERG: *wilan-thu*

- *tju* follows alveopalatal nasals:
  
  - **mayinj** 'man'  ERG: *mayin-tju*

- *u* follows laterals and rhotics:
  
  - **kuntarl** 'dog'  ERG: *kuntarl-u*
  - **kurlur** 'widow'  ERG: *kurlur-u*

(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-INVL-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-ru 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 marnata-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:
58

3.19 \textit{panti} \textit{punha} \textit{ngariya} \textit{mayin-tju}  
\text{strike+PR 3sgACC that man-ERG}  
\textit{That man is hitting him.} \ (EH.23:2)

3.20 \textit{ngaaka} \textit{kitju} \textit{kula-ngku} \textit{pili-ya} \textit{tiinj}  
\text{DEF small kangaroo-ERG dig-P.DEC hole-ABS}  
\textit{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 \textit{thawin-tju} \textit{purri-pu} \textit{wii}  
\text{tomahawk-INSTR chop-3sg fire-ABS}  
\textit{He's chopping firewood with a tomahawk.} \ (EH.40:1)

3.22 \textit{mangka-ngku} \textit{pa-ng-ka-ra} \textit{nganha}  
\text{bone-INSTR hit-R-CAUS-COMPL lsgACC}  
\textit{He hit me with a bone.} \ (RC.72:3)

3.23 \textit{kuliya-ngku} \textit{pingka-nja} \textit{ngapa} \textit{thaa-li-ya}  
\text{spear-INSTR pierce-lsgNOM+3sgACC water-ABS drink-TRS-P.OPT}  
\textit{I speared (the emu) while he was drinking.} \ (EH.17:12)

(b) natural material as instrument:

3.24 \textit{yawi-ngku} \textit{kunkay-n-ma-ra} \textit{wii}  
\text{grass-INSTR cover-R-VBS-IMP fire-ABS}  
\textit{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 \textit{muruwu-ngku} \textit{niyaa-yu}  
\text{buttocks-INSTR sit+P-1sg}  
\textit{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 \textit{kami-la-ntu} \textit{murwuari-ngku} \textit{yaa-n-ku-ntu}  
\text{return-when-2sg Muruwari-INSTR talk-R-FUT-2sg}  
\textit{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 $u$.

- $-ngka$ occurs with nouns ending in vowels or semivowels
- $-tha$ occurs with nouns ending in interdental nasals
- $-tja$ occurs with nouns ending in alveopalatals
- $-ta$ occurs with nouns ending in alveolar or retroflex nasals
- $-a$ 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>/ here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yesterday</td>
<td>/ there</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomorrow-and-beyond</td>
<td>/ further</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>LOCATION</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$thuri$-$ngka$</td>
<td>$nhuu$-$ngka$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun-LOC</td>
<td>this-LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$yurrin$-$tja$</td>
<td>$nhurran$-$ta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>night-LOC</td>
<td>that-LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$partala$-$ngka$</td>
<td>$nhungan$-$ta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomorrow-LOC</td>
<td>there-LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kun$-$ta$</td>
<td>$paru$-$ngka$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$?$-LOC</td>
<td>down-LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$kun$-$ta$-$kun$-$ta$</td>
<td>$karan$-$ta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$?$-LOC-REDUP</td>
<td>across-LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$pimayi$-$ngka$</td>
<td>$muku$-$ngka$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$?$-LOC</td>
<td>stomach-LOC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'today, daytime, all day, in the day'
'tonight, night-time, all night, in the night'
'morning'
'yesterday'
'afternoon'
'afternoon' (EH)
'here'
'there'
'there'
'there'
'where'
'down river'
'across river'
'inside'
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>moon-LOC</td>
<td>kiyarn-ta</td>
<td>'in the moonlight'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plains-LOC</td>
<td>palaa-ngka</td>
<td>'outside'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>back-LOC</td>
<td>pila-ngka</td>
<td>'behind'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (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-lthurri 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-Isg
   ‘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-Munkan boasts a very similar expression. In Nginyambaa 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.DECSG, yn!n!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.DECSG-TRSG 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 mayin-tja*
listen-PR-3SG there talk-RECIP-3DU-when man-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:
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 lsgACC-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 lsgACC
‘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 thuri-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  parima-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 wai
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-1s 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-t a-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 purpurri-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.DECL-1pl boomerang-ABL nulla-nulla-ABL
'We used to plant (hide) from the boomerang and the nulla-nulla.' (EH.13:9)

3.118  *pali-ya-pu kaarn-ngu kuntarI*
die-P.DECL-3sg snake-ABL dog-ABS
'The dog (bitten) by (lit. from) the snake will die.' (EH.6C:3)

3.119  *wirru-nga-tharri-pu purlii-ngu kuntarI*
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 purrupurpi-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 ngarn tul-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 thangki 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

-\textit{pita/-\piRa} follow stem-final consonants
-\textit{yita/-\yiRa} follow stem-final vowels
\textit{tiyirl-pita} ‘having a tail’
\textit{tuku-yita} ‘pregnant’ (stomach-having) \hspace{1cm} (EH.2)

It is interesting to note that Ruby Shillingsworth, in her dialect, used -\textit{pira} consistently in all environments:

\textit{pakul-pira} ‘having money’
\textit{kukura-pira} ‘having a fishing line’ \hspace{1cm} (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)
\textit{yukanh-yira} cloud-having ‘cloudy’ \hspace{1cm} (JB.65B:3)
\textit{thurran-pita} smoke-having ‘smoky’ \hspace{1cm} (JB.65B:3)
\textit{thurltu-yita} dust-having ‘dusty’
\textit{thirra-yita} teeth-having ‘sharp’ \hspace{1cm} (JB.61B)

3.135 \textit{mayi parlkiki-yita} ground-ABS crack-having ‘The ground is cracked.’

3.136 \textit{thuu kuya-yita wantu} much fish-having hole-ABS ‘The river has a lot of fish in it.’ \hspace{1cm} (EH.13:11)

(ii)
\textit{yarranj-pira kuwinj} beard-having spirit ‘a bearded white man’
\textit{nupa-yita} wife-having ‘a married man’
\textit{kukalanj-pita} limp-having ‘lame, a lame person’ \hspace{1cm} (EH.4C:2)
\textit{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-pika 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-CNT-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/-pita

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

3.144 wala mathan-pika
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 purri-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-rri-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 -ru ‘intensifier’. It is recorded in
taranj-puru thamiya ‘sharp tomahawk’ (EH.33:2) and in 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 kitja
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, -tji1 ‘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
-tji1 follows stem-final alveopalatals
-kil occurs elsewhere

pakul-til
money-lacking ‘without money’ (EH.14:10)
mukin-tji1
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-pixa 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-barra ‘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’:

- pata ‘low down’ pata-rru ‘as low as it is possible to go’
- pintal ‘straight’ pinta-rru ‘truth’
- yumpu ‘sleep’ yumpu-rru ‘very sleepy’

3.170 purrpi-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: thirra ‘tooth’ thirra-ra ‘teeth’ (JB)
Adj.: kalkaa ‘specific one’ kalkaa-ra ‘specific ones’ (EH)

3.171 pulkurru kalkaa-ra ngapa-ngka ngarntu
    island-ABS many-INTS water-LOC river-ABS
    ‘There are many little islands in the river.’ (EH.206M:4)

Particle: ngara ‘that’ ngara-ra ‘those’ (EH.17:7)
Pron.: tharraka ‘their’ tharraka-ra ‘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’:

thetaa-pilaa 'much bigger'
thetaa-thaa ta-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:

\[\text{mayinj-ka}\]
man-PER 'male child' (to 15 years) (JB.3B:3)

\[\text{kuni-ka}\]
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

wampa-ka
mad-PER
‘a mad person’ (JB)

marrinj-karna-ka
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 wayamarrangkul-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.

pathi- ‘to smell’ pathi-n ‘a smell’
paliya- ‘to die’ paliya-n ‘death’
mura- ‘to vomit’ mura-n-mura-n ‘vomit’
Inflected verbs may be nominalised by the suffix -l:

\[
yaki-pu \quad \text{‘it cuts’} \quad \text{yakipu-}l \quad \text{‘a knife’ (JB.3:1)}
\]

### 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**

- **marrki** ‘red’
- **karta; karta-karta** ‘black’
- **puthan; puthan-puthan** ‘white’

**Size**

- **thaata** ‘big’
- **kitju** ‘small’
- **pintal** ‘straight, long’
- **wuta** ‘short’

**Qualities**

- **thanti** ‘fat’
- **thapun** ‘soft’
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)’.

(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):

- milamila-yita
  -pitiful-3pl
  ‘poor little kids’
- kitju-yira
  -small-3pl
  ‘children’
- titji-yira
  -young-3pl
  ‘young ones, progeny’

-kaampa ‘a specific person’:

- milamila-kaampa
  -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.
yaman 'one'
kapu 'two'
purral* 'a pair, two'
pula, pularinj 'a pair'
purral-a-yaman, 'three' (EH.11:2)
pula-kurra-yaman 'three' (EH.17:10)
kapu-kapu 'four' (JB)
mara-ngku 'five' (lit. 'with hand') (JB only)
mara-ngku mara-ngku 'ten' (JB only)
kalkaa* 'several, more than three'
murapirri 'several' (RHM only)
Thuu 'many, a lot'
wanpa '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: nhuu 'this', 'here'
Mid: nhurra 'that', 'there'
narrana 'that'
Far: yalu 'that/those over there'
ngariya 'that there'

R.H. Mathews recognised the demonstrative in his comment on how adjectives are compared: '...by using such phrases as, thurda nhu, kittyu nûngga, large this, small that.' (1903b:181).

3.185 thaarta nhuu kiija 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 + nga + adj + n)

3.210 *marli-ngku ngara kurru-kurru-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’.

\[
\text{NP: (pn + (n+pn))}
\]

3.211 \textit{panta-ra-a} \textit{punha} \textit{mukinj} \textit{puka} \textit{naypa-ngku}  
\text{hit+P-COMPL-3sgP 3sgACC woman 3sgGEN knife-INSTR}  
\text{‘He hit her, his wife, with a knife.’} \quad \text{(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:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{N} & \text{(split)} & \text{pn} \\
\end{array}
\]

3.212 \textit{thuntu} \textit{thuma-a} \textit{punha}  
\text{leg-ABS break-3sgP 3sgACC}  
\text{‘He broke his leg.’} \quad \text{(EH.38:2)}

In the following genitive phrase, \textit{kuliya thika} ‘my spear’, the head noun, is separated from the
pronoun by the verb \textit{thuthiya}:

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{N} & \text{(split)} & \text{pn} \\
\end{array}
\]

3.213 \textit{kuliya} \textit{tuthi-ya} \textit{thika}  
\text{spear-ABS break-P 1sgGEN}  
\text{‘I broke my spear.’}

(4) Complex NPs

Complex ideas are expressed in ‘layered’ NPs.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{LOC NP} \\
\text{POSS NP} \\
\end{array}
\]

3.214 \textit{muku-ngka} \textit{piipun-ku} \textit{pangkal-a}  
\text{inside-LOC cottonbush-GEN flower-LOC}  
\text{‘inside the cottonbush flower’} \quad \text{(EH.20:9)}
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 Bägandji, 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:
-nha/-nhu/-nga  
-nga  
-genitive case (first and second person singular)  
-thi/-nta/-ngka  
-ka  
-genitive case (third person)  
-nga  
-dative case  
-mil  
-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 4.1</th>
<th>ANALYTICAL TABLE OF FREE PRONOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NOMINATIVE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Root</td>
<td>Root-Suffix</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ngathu (ngayi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>nga-nhu</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngu-nha</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>yintu</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngintu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>nhumpu nhampu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dual</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ngali</td>
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<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>nhula</td>
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<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>pula purral</td>
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<tr>
<td>Plural</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>ngana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>nhura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>thana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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-ka* *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 ldu-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 *kaarm* *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-rri-li**

2sg-NOM 1du-NOM 2sg-+-1du head-REFL-1du

'You and I have headaches.'

Jimmie Barker (SSB: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:

- **nhumpu nhu-la-na**
  3sg-NOM 2du-ACC/and
  'he and you two'

- **nhumpu nga-li-na ngathu**
  3sg-NOM 1du-ACC/and 1sg-NOM
  'he and I, we two'

- **nhumpu nhu-la-na ngintu**
  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 *punha*. 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  lsg-ACC  dog-ERG

'The dog bit me.'

4.18  
nguu-n-ta-ra-a  ngali-na  
give-R-P.OPT-COMPL-3sg  ldu-ACC

'He gave it to the two of us.'

(b) Second person

4.19  
apa-ngu-ku-yu  pa-nnga  
hit-R-FUT-1sg  2sg-ACC

'I will hit you.'

4.20  
kawi-li-ya-yu  pa-nnga  
call-TRS-P-1sg  2sg-ACC

'I called you.' (EH.7:4)

4.21  
gathu  kinda-yu  pa-nnga  
1sg-NOM(A)  see+PR-1sg  2sg-ACC

'I see you.' (EH.7:9; JB)

(c) Third person

4.22  
pungi  pu-nha  ngariya  mayin-tju  
hit+PR  3sg-ACC  that  man-ERG

'That man is hitting him.'

4.23  
guuu-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  ngaa-ry- y  tharra-na  
NEG  see-COMPL-1sg  3pl-ACC

'I did not see them.'

4.26  
gathu  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-ka  pu-nha  
horse-ABS  fetch-IMP  3sg-ACC

'Fetch the horse!' (EH.35:1)
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>first singular</th>
<th>second singular</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thi-ka</td>
<td>(y)i-ngka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nga-nthi</td>
<td>pa-ngka/pa-ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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  
\begin{align*}
\text{wala} & \quad \text{yi-ngka} & \quad \text{marli} & \quad \text{yi-n-ti} \\
\text{NEG} & \quad 2\text{sg-GEN} & \quad \text{boomerang-ABS} & \quad \text{be-R-PR} \\
\end{align*}

‘That’s not your boomerang.’ (EH.22:5)

4.42  
\begin{align*}
\text{tirra} & \quad \text{kuliya} & \quad \text{pa-ka} \\
\text{where} & \quad \text{spear-ABS} & \quad 2\text{sg-GEN} \\
\end{align*}

‘Where is your spear?’

4.43  
\begin{align*}
\text{nhurra-na} & \quad \text{ngara} & \quad \text{nhura-ka} \\
\text{that-LCL} & \quad \text{DEF} & \quad 2\text{du-GEN} \\
\end{align*}

‘That belongs to you two.’

4.44  
\begin{align*}
\text{wiya} & \quad \text{pakurl} & \quad \text{pa-ngka} \\
\text{QN} & \quad \text{money-ABS} & \quad 2\text{sg-GEN} \\
\end{align*}

‘Have you money?’ (EH.17:5)

(c) Third person

4.45  
\begin{align*}
\text{kuwanj} & \quad \text{wanti-na-a} & \quad \text{nguntja-ngka} & \quad \text{pu-ka} \\
\text{blood-ABS} & \quad \text{lie+PR-LCL-3sg} & \quad \text{face-LOC} & \quad 3\text{sg-GEN} \\
\end{align*}

‘There’s blood on his face.’

4.46  
\begin{align*}
\text{ngariya} & \quad \text{piyan} & \quad \text{paki-ya} & \quad \text{pu-ka} \\
\text{that-ABS} & \quad \text{dress-ABS} & \quad \text{tear-P.DEC} & \quad 3\text{sg-GEN} \\
\end{align*}

‘Her dress got torn.’ (EH.17:10)

4.47  
\begin{align*}
\text{kula} & \quad \text{ngara} & \quad \text{tharra-ka} \\
\text{kangaroo-ABS} & \quad \text{DEF} & \quad 3\text{pl-GEN} \\
\end{align*}

‘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  
\begin{align*}
\text{ngapa} & \quad \text{paa-ra} & \quad \text{thi-ka} & \quad \text{parri-yu} \\
\text{water-ABS} & \quad \text{carry-IMP} & \quad 1\text{sg-GEN} & \quad \text{burn-1sg} \\
\end{align*}

‘Fetch me water; I’m parched!’ (lit. ‘Fetch my water;’)

4.49  
\begin{align*}
\text{maa-n-ta-a} & \quad \text{nga nthi} & \quad \text{pu-ka} \\
\text{take-R-P.OPT-3sg} & \quad 1\text{sg-GEN} & \quad 3\text{sg-GEN} \\
\end{align*}

‘He took it for me and for him.’

(b) Second person

4.50  
\begin{align*}
\text{ngathu} & \quad \text{maa-n-ku} & \quad \text{pa-ngka} \\
1\text{sg-NOM} & \quad \text{get-R-FUT} & \quad 2\text{sg-GEN} \\
\end{align*}

‘I will get it for you.’

4.51  
\begin{align*}
\text{kuya} & \quad \text{mu-l-ku-yu} & \quad \text{pa-ngka} \\
\text{fish-ABS} & \quad \text{cook-R-FUT-1sg} & \quad 2\text{sg-GEN} \\
\end{align*}

‘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)._x000D_

4.54 *kaa-n-ta-ra-a witji tharra-ka*
get-R-P-COMPL-3sgP meat-ABS 3pl-GEN
'He got meat for them._x000D_

(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-nt hi*
tomahawk-ABS Is g-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 Homeville gave both the following forms spontaneously on the one occasion:

4.58 *wii thi-ka*
fire-ABS lsg-GEN
'my fire' (EH.35:1)

4.59 *wii nga-nthi*
fire-ABS lsg-GEN
'my fire' (EH.35:1)

(b) inflected (genitive case) noun + genitive pronoun

4.60 *thirra-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 thiri 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-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 lsgGEN-ABL
'You planted (hid) from me.' (EH 27:5)

4.78 *thiri ya-na thika-mil*
away go-IMP 1sgGEN-ABL
'Go away from me!' (JB.67B:6)

4.79 *kula thangki-purrpi-ya-a mirti-ngu ngarraka-mil*
kangaroo-ABS run-jump-P-3sg bush-ABL lplGEN-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 1sg-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Function</th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td><em>ngathu-ngku</em></td>
<td><em>yintu-ngintu-ngku</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ngathu</em></td>
<td><em>yintu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td><em>ngathu</em></td>
<td><em>yintu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ngantu</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>O</td>
<td><em>ngathu</em></td>
<td><em>panga</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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  1-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  lsg-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-2sg+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 \textit{kaan ngaRa pa-ng-ka ngintu-ngku}
\begin{align*}
\text{snake-ABS DEF kill-R-IMP 2sg-ERG(A)}
\end{align*}
\text{‘You kill the snake.’ (JB.5B:2)}

Nominative:

4.94 \textit{piru (y)intu paangki-ntu}
\begin{align*}
\text{hard 2sg-NOM(S) swim-2sg}
\end{align*}
\text{‘You are swimming hard/strongly.’}

4.95 \textit{nganta-yi-nja ngintu}
\begin{align*}
\text{blind-PR.DEC-EMP 2sg-NOM(S)}
\end{align*}
\text{‘You are blind!’ (EH.7:7)}

4.96 \textit{ngintu (y)impi-ta}
\begin{align*}
\text{2sg-NOM(S) leave-IMP}
\end{align*}
\text{‘You leave it alone!’ (JB.25B:1)}

Accusative:

4.97 \textit{tharrka-n-ta ngintu}
\begin{align*}
\text{tell-R-P.OPT 2sg-NOM(O)}
\end{align*}
\text{‘(I) told you.’ (JB)}

(c) Third person

Ergative:

4.98 \textit{nhumpu wala thana-l-ku-pu}
\begin{align*}
\text{3sg-NOM(A) NEG do-R-FUT-3sg}
\end{align*}
\text{‘He won't do anything.’ (RC.8:2)}

4.99 \textit{kuliya nhumpu karra-wa-y-pu}
\begin{align*}
\text{spear-ABS 3sg-NOM(A) throw-RT-R-3sg}
\end{align*}
\text{‘He threw the spear.’ (RC.39:2)}

Nominative:

4.100 \textit{wala nhumpu kala-y-ku-pu}
\begin{align*}
\text{NEG 3sg-NOM(S) climb-R-FUT-3sg}
\end{align*}
\text{‘He will not climb up.’ (RC.9:4)}

Accusative:

4.101 \textit{wala ngaRa pinampi-rri-ti-yita nhumpu}
\begin{align*}
\text{NEG DEF hear-REFL-PR.OPT-3pl 3sg-NOM(O)}
\end{align*}
\text{‘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:

\[
\begin{align*}
yintu \\
ngintu
\end{align*}
\]

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Form 1</th>
<th>Form 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ngiambaa</td>
<td>ngintu</td>
<td>(ergative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bagandji</td>
<td>ngintu</td>
<td>ngimpa (nominative)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badjiri</td>
<td>yinta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Barranbinya</td>
<td>yinta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

\[
\begin{align*}
nhumpu \\
nhampu
\end{align*}
\]

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-yā 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERSON</th>
<th>REGULAR FORM</th>
<th>IRREGULAR FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>nganha</td>
<td>nganhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>panga</td>
<td>punga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 lsg-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**
lsg-NOM observe-lsg 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-lsg 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-Ø tharrka-thirra-y pa-nga**
listen-IMP tell-CONT-lsg 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 nganithi ‘my spear’

But **nganithi** 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 4.3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOUND PRONOUNS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(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-yiwa*
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 |
| SPECIAL BOUND TRANSITIVE VERB PRONOUNS |
|           |
| Person    | OBJECT |
| 1         | -na    |
| 2         | -nja   |
| 3         | -nja   |

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+3sg0 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+3sg0
'I will hit him.' (EH.23:2)

4.138  *pa-n-ta-ra-a-nja*
hit-R-P-COMPL-3sg-1sgA+3sg0
'I killed it.'

4.139  *ngathu mu-l-ku-nja*
1sgNOM cook-R-FUT-1sgA+3sg0
'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+3sg0
'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 ngu-Ø-na*
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ACCUSATIVE FREE FORM</th>
<th>ELIDED FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>nganha</em></td>
<td><em>-ngan</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>punha</em></td>
<td><em>-pu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngali-na</em></td>
<td><em>-li</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>tharra-na</em></td>
<td><em>-tharra</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘me’
‘him, her, it’
‘us two’
‘them’
4.152 *wathul kunarl-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-0-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*
joy-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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person</th>
<th>Mathews' form</th>
<th>Modern form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sg</td>
<td>-dhi</td>
<td>-thi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sg</td>
<td>-nu</td>
<td>-luku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sg</td>
<td>-lugu</td>
<td>-pu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mathews recorded these three utterances:

\begin{verbatim}
ngura-dhi
ngura-nu
ngura-lugu
\end{verbatim}

(a) First person form \textit{-thi}

\textit{-thi} has been recorded in such expressions as:

\begin{verbatim}
mirr-thi
mirr-kalka-thi
kuntarl-thi
kunthi-thi
kapunti-thi
\end{verbatim}

'\textit{my friend}'

'\textit{all my people}' (JB.22B)

'\textit{my dog}'

'\textit{my house}'

'\textit{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.

(b) Second person form \textit{-luku}

\textit{-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:

4.160 \textit{nhurra-thi} maa-\textit{ku-yu} mayi-ngka

\begin{verbatim}
this-1sgGEN put-FUT-1sg ground-LOC
\end{verbatim}

'I'll put it (mine) there on the ground.' (EH.32:5b)

(b) Second person form \textit{-luku}

\textit{-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:

4.160 \textit{nhurra-thi} maa-\textit{ku-yu} mayi-ngka

\begin{verbatim}
this-1sgGEN put-FUT-1sg ground-LOC
\end{verbatim}

'I'll put it (mine) there on the ground.' (EH.32:5b)

(b) Second person form \textit{-luku}

\textit{-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 \textit{tirra-ngka} ngara kunthi-luku

\begin{verbatim}
where-LOC DEF house-2sgGEN
\end{verbatim}

'Where is your house?' (JB.24B:4)

4.162 \textit{tirra-ngka} ngara kurli-luku

\begin{verbatim}
where-LOC DEF humpy-2sgGEN
\end{verbatim}

'Where is your place?' (JB.24B:4)

Mathews' second person \textit{-nu} resembles the nominative bound form \textit{-ntu}, but not the genitive free form \textit{pangka}.

(c) Third person form \textit{-pu}

\textit{-pu} appears in recent data — undoubtedly an abbreviation of third person genitive \textit{puka}, as in:

4.163 \textit{mani-pu} yuwa-l-\textit{ka-yu} school ya-n-mi-la-a

\begin{verbatim}
money-3sgGEN lose-R-P-1sg school go-R-PROG-SB-3sg
\end{verbatim}

'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
lsgACC-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.6 NOMINATIVE-ERGATIVE-ACCUSATIVE OVERLAP IN BOUND PRONOUNS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Case</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nominative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-lsgO
'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.'
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
lsgNOM 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First person</td>
<td>-yu, -yi</td>
<td>-yu, -y</td>
<td>-yu, -wi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second person</td>
<td>-ntu</td>
<td>-ntu, -nta</td>
<td>-ntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third person</td>
<td>-pu</td>
<td>-a, -a-pu</td>
<td>-pu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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)
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  YANGKU-WI  KUTUKA-NGA  
Walgett-ALL  go-FUT-1sg  Goodooga-ELA  
'I'm going from Goodooga to Walgett.'  (EH.15:3)

4.180  
YANGKU-YU  PARTALA  
go-FUT-1sg  tomorrow  
'I will go tomorrow.'

4.181  
NGAA-N-KU-WI  KUNTAL  PU-KA  
know-R-FUT-1sgF  dog-ABS  3sg-GEN  
'I don't know whose dog it is.'

4.182  
PANG-KU-WI  PANGA  
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-N-KU-WI-NA  
DEF  go-R-FUT-1plF-1pl/LCL  
'We will return there.'

4.186  
PARRA-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     lduNOM  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 punga-mil 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 MATTHEWS’ 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Genitive</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngulli</td>
<td>ngulliga</td>
<td>ngullinya</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngullinyumbo</td>
<td>ngulligilunna</td>
<td>ngullinyanumba</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The first of the above two forms is the only form recognised in the corpus. Written in modern orthography the forms appear as:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngalika</td>
<td>nganaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngalina</td>
<td>ngarrana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 purral-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-Ø
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-Ø-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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>what, why, how</th>
<th>where</th>
<th>who, which</th>
<th>when</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive:</td>
<td>minjan</td>
<td>tirra</td>
<td>ngaana</td>
<td>wantanj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wanthu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative:</td>
<td>minjan-tu</td>
<td>tirra-ngku</td>
<td>ngaan-tu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative:</td>
<td>tirra-ngka</td>
<td>tirra-nta</td>
<td>tirra-nganta</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative:</td>
<td>minjan-ngu</td>
<td>tirra-ngu</td>
<td>ngaan-ngu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative/Purposive:</td>
<td>minjan-ku</td>
<td>tirra-ku</td>
<td>ngaan-ku</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive:</td>
<td>tirra-ku</td>
<td>ngaan-ku</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elative:</td>
<td>tirra-nga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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), Bâgandji (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-nti-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-nta: where the nominaliser -n is added to the pronoun and then the locative -ta
-nga-n-nta: where the suffix -nga, of unknown meaning, is added before -n-nta

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-nta-ntu
where-LOC  get-R-P-2sg
‘Where did you get that?’

4.216 tirra-ngka  yi-n-thirri-p1.l
where-LOC  be-R-PR-3sg
‘Whereabouts is he?’ (JB.67B:1)

4.217 tirra-nta  Bilbil  nguna-na-a
where-NS-LOC  Bilbil-ABS  lie-LCL-3sg
‘Where is Bilbil (the cat)?’ (EH.29:3)
4.218 *tiirra-na-ng-ta thana-n-wi*
  where-ABS make-1sg fire-ABS
  ‘Where shall we make a fire?’ (EH.58:7)

(2) Absolutive *tiirra*

4.219 *tiirra ya-n-ta-a*
  where-ABS go-R-P.OPT-3sg
  ‘Where has she gone?’

*tiirra* may be used to refer to a person when alluding to ‘where’ that person ‘is’ sitting, standing, doing etc.

4.220 *tiirra pathay tiya-rri pu-ngka*
  where-ABS father-ABS turn-REFL 2sg-GEN
  ‘Which one is your father?’ (lit. ‘Where does your father turn himself?’)

(3) Ergative *tiirra-ngku*

4.221 *tiirra-ngku kuntarl-u yita-a pa-nga*
  what-ERG dog-ERG bite-3sgP 2sg-ACC
  ‘What/which dog bit you?’

4.222 *tiirra-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 *tiirra-ngku mayin-tju panta-ra-a ngurrunj*
  which-ERG man-ERG kill-COMPL-3sg emu-ABS
  ‘Which man killed the emu?’

(4) Ablative *tiirra-ngu*

4.224 *tiirra-ngu palka-ntu*
  where-ABL come-2sg
  ‘Where do you come from?’

4.225 *tiirra-ngu warri palka-y-pu*
  where-ABL DUBIT come-R-3sg
  ‘I don’t know where he comes from.’ (EH.39:4)

(5) Dative *tiirra-ku*

4.226 *tiirra-ku thangki-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 ngaxi 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-kurrur 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-rrri-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.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STEM</th>
<th>(REALIS)</th>
<th>(VOICE)</th>
<th>(TENSE/ASPECT)</th>
<th>(PRONOUN)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thangki</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pinampi</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pathi</td>
<td>-li</td>
<td></td>
<td>-ntu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karra</td>
<td>-ng</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>-yu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kura</td>
<td>-l</td>
<td>-pula</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. 'Run!' or '(He) runs/ran.'
2. '(I'm) thinking (about someone/something).'</n
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:

- ya-n-ti-yu  'I am going' (statement of fact)
- ya-n-mi-yu  'I am going' (action proceeding)
- ya-n-ta-yu  'I went' (action concluded)
- ya-ng-ku-yu '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:

-ki  emphatic
-nji  immediacy – at this moment
-na  locational – at this/that place
-nja  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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muu</td>
<td>'to cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tha</td>
<td>'to eat'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>'to hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maa</td>
<td>'to hold in hand'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngu</td>
<td>'to give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ka</td>
<td>'to bring'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nha</td>
<td>'to see'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

INTRANSITIVE ROOTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>'to go, walk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaa</td>
<td>'to talk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi</td>
<td>'to be'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tha</td>
<td>'to arise'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

- **ka.yi** ‘to enter’
- **yirru** ‘to flow’
- **wu.lu** ‘to bark’
- **pi.yi** ‘to ask’

CVC.CV roots:

- **tharr.ka** ‘to speak’
- **ngarr.pa** ‘to steal’
- **purr.pi** ‘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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CV + (m)pa/(m)pi</th>
<th>CV + (n)ta/(n)ti</th>
<th>CV + (ng)ka/(ng)ki</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paa.mpa</td>
<td>ki.nta</td>
<td>nga.ngka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tu.mpa</td>
<td>wu.ta</td>
<td>paa.ngki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa.mpa</td>
<td>wa.nti</td>
<td>yu.ngki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yi.mpi</td>
<td>'to leave'</td>
<td>puu.ngki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pu.mpi</td>
<td>'to pick up'</td>
<td>kaa.ngki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puu.mpi</td>
<td>'to blow'</td>
<td>ku.ngki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'to mock'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>'to petrify'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.2.3 REDUPLICATED VERB ROOTS

In common with most other Australian languages, verb roots may be reduplicated, especially to suggest repeated action:

- **purrpi-** 'jump'
- **yaki-** 'cut'
- **purrpi-purrpi-** 'jump up and down'
- **yaki-yaki-** 'keep cutting'

5.2.4 STEMS CONSISTING OF ROOT PLUS SUFFIX

There are four stem-forming suffixes:

- **-ma/-mi** 'verbaliser'
- **-ta/-ti/-tha/-thi** 'factive'
- **-(m)pa/-(m)pi** 'causative'
- **-ka/-ki** 'causative (or possibly purposive)'

Three of these suffixes may relate to CA forms, for which Capell (1956:70) suggests the following meanings:

- ***-ma** making, causing
- ***-pa** action as such
- ***-ka** 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'
  - **pa-nti** 'hitting' (statement of fact)
  - **pa-mpi** 'fighting' (causing to hit or be hit)
  - **pa-ngka** 'catching fish or game'
  - **pu-ngka** 'to kill'

- **yaa** 'to talk'
  - **yaa-nti** 'talking' (statement of the fact)
  - **yaa-mpi** 'talking' (possibly, being required to talk)
ngaa ‘to breathe’
  ngaa-nta  ‘to bear children’  (the basic action)
  ngaa-nka  ‘to be born’  (the result of bearing)

maa ‘to get’
  maa-nta  ‘to get’  (action of obtaining by going for something)
  maa-npa  ‘to pull down’  (to cause to be got)
  maa-nga  ‘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), Bágandji (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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUN</th>
<th>VERB</th>
<th>VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thangkuray</td>
<td>‘a dream’</td>
<td>thangkuray-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karray/karranj</td>
<td>‘fear’</td>
<td>karray-ma/karranj-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanturl</td>
<td>‘hunger’</td>
<td>kantarl-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thina</td>
<td>‘foot’</td>
<td>thina-ma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to dream’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to make afraid’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to become hungry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>‘to send’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ADJECTIVE
marnta 'cold' marnta-ma 'to become cold'
kiji-kitji 'ticklish' kiji-kitji-ma '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 kiji-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.)

parri-ma 'to tie up'
thina-ma 'to send, cause to stand' (thina 'foot' 'to stand')
thuu-ma 'to break'
kaya-ma 'to go fishing' (kuya 'a fish')
nhi-ma 'to pick up, hold down'
wuna-ma 'to put down upon' (wuna 'to lie')
parti-ma 'to wind up'
kiinki-ma '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-F UT-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-na-nja taraangu*
tease-R-VBS-1sgA+3sgV 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.

- *lusi-ma* ‘to lose’
- *savi-ma* ‘to save’
- *palit-ma* ‘to find’
- *wanti-ma* ‘to want’

Neighbouring Bägandji 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:

- *kiki-ma/kirrki-ma* ‘to kick’
- *yilurr-ma* ‘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:

- **-ta** and **-ti** generally occur with intransitive verbs
- **-tha** and **-thi** generally occur with transitive verbs
- **-ta** and **-tha** incorporate a punctiliar or past sense
- **-ti** and **-thi** indicate a continuous or present sense

This can be more easily seen as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>transitive</th>
<th>intransitive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>punctiliar/past</td>
<td><strong>-tha</strong></td>
<td><strong>-ta</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuous/present</td>
<td><strong>-thi</strong></td>
<td><strong>-ti</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 nganthing
go-R-PROPT-lsgP camp-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-rrri-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-ka tha-ngka
enter-R-CAUS-IMP mouth-LOC
'Put it in your mouth.' (EH.72:2)

5.35 ngunthi-pa-a kubip
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mitjin</td>
<td>'a lie'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngurra</td>
<td>'a camp'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuliya</td>
<td>'a spear'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurti</td>
<td>'anger'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parri</td>
<td>'hot'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palanj</td>
<td>'shiny'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paru</td>
<td>'down low'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.38 kuliya-n-pa- a puka nhampu
spear-R-VBS-3sg 3sgGEN 3sgNOM
'He speared him to death.'

5.39 ngari parri-parri- pa
DEF burn-REDUP-VBS
'He's very hot.' (lit. 'he's been made to burn')

5.40 paru-pa-a witji puka
down-VBS-3sgP meat-ABS 3sgGEN
'(The dog) buried his bone.' (EH.31:3)

5.41 ngurra-mpi-ntu
camp-VBS-2sg
'You came to my place.'

5.42 karra-karra-mpi- yu miil
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{warra} & \quad \text{(INTR)} & \text{warra-ka} & \quad \text{(TR)} & \text{warra-ka} & \quad \text{‘to fall’} \\
& & & & \text{‘to drop’} & \text{(cause to fall)}
\end{align*}
\]

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb root</th>
<th>-ka meaning</th>
<th>-ka-ka meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>'to go, walk'</td>
<td>ya-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thaa</td>
<td>'to eat'</td>
<td>thaa-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yuwi</td>
<td>'to lose'</td>
<td>yuwi-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhaa</td>
<td>'to see'</td>
<td>nhaa-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karra</td>
<td>'to throw'</td>
<td>karra-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wirru</td>
<td>'to scratch'</td>
<td>wirru-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tha</td>
<td>'to arise'</td>
<td>tha-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pa</td>
<td>'to hit'</td>
<td>pa-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tawi</td>
<td>'to open'</td>
<td>tawi-ka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thulpu</td>
<td>'to drop'</td>
<td>thulpu-ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.'

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-yīra* *paayar-u*
close-CAUS-3pl wax-INSTR
'They closed it up with wax.' (EH.72:4)

5.51 *tawi-n-ka-yīra* *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 *purripi-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-ri-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:

- *-/l/ ng* with transitive stems
- *-/n/-y* 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  
\[ \text{muu-}l\text{-ku-yu} \]
\[ \text{muu-ng-}k\text{-yu} \]
'I will cook'

5.63  
\[ \text{ngaa-}n\text{-ku-} \]
\[ \text{ngaa-ng-}k\text{-u-} \]
'will give birth'
'will be born'

5.64  
\[ \text{kami-}l\text{-ku-yu} \]
\[ \text{kami-y-}k\text{-u-yu} \]
'I will take it home'
'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 aspe ctual 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  
\[ \text{kami-}l\text{-ku-yu} \]
\[ \text{return-R-FUT-1sg} \]
'I will take it home.'

5.66  
\[ \text{ya-}n\text{-ta-a kunta} \]
\[ \text{go-R-P-3sg yesterday} \]
'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:

- muu-l: 'to cook'
- tha-l: 'to eat'
- thana-l: 'to do'
- kami-l: '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:

- pa-ng: 'to strike, kill, hit'
- kaa-ng: 'to take'
- ngaa-ng: 'to give birth to'
- thul pu-ng: 'to drop'

5.69 pa-ng-ku-nja
hit-R-FUT-lsgA+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 thul pu-ng-ka-yu pakal
drop-R-CAUS-lsg money-ABS
'I dropped the money.'  (EH.30:3)

However, some transitive verbs manifest the -n realis morpheme:

- maa-n: 'to hold, bring, take'
- ngu-n: '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 -i and -ng.

The realis allomorph -i 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*-i *piru*
think-R hard
'I'm thinking hard about something.'  (EH.10:4)

5.76  *thumpa-ku*  *ya-n-mi*-i
sheep-DAT  go-R-PROG-R
'I'm going after sheep.'  (RS.35M:3)

5.77  *ngara*  *waaku-ntu*-i  *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).

-\text{-i-y:}\n*tharri*-y  'to fly'
*wanki*-y  'to cry'
*tuwi*-y  'to move'
*yungki*-y  'to sing, sorcerise'
*kirri*-y  'to dance'

-\text{-i-n:}\n*yi*-n  'to be'
*puwi*-n  'to rest'
*kayi*-n  'to enter'

-\text{-a-y:}\n*thina*-y  'to stand'
*warra*-y  'to fall'
*kura*-y  'to go across the river'

-\text{-a-n:}\n*ya*-n  'to walk'
*yaa*-n  'to talk'
*nguna*-n  '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-INST
'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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 5.1</th>
<th>DEGREES OF TRANSITIVITY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>RM</td>
<td>TRS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>suff</td>
<td>suff</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-l, -ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>-n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>-y</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**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
CI 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 kun tar1
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-yika 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Realis</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Aspectual Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-n</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>stationary aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-y</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>declarative aspect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-l</td>
<td>-li</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>transitiiviser (voice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ng</td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td></td>
<td>special transitiiviser (voice)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-l</th>
<th></th>
<th>-ng</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tana-l-ku</td>
<td>'will make'</td>
<td>kaa-ng-ku</td>
<td>'will take'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muu-l-ku</td>
<td>'will cook'</td>
<td>pa-ng-ku</td>
<td>'will hit'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tha-l-ku</td>
<td>'will do'</td>
<td>ngu-ng-ku</td>
<td>'will give'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karra-l-ku</td>
<td>'will throw'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wanga-l-ku</td>
<td>'will chase'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kami-l-ku</td>
<td>'will return'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- n

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-y</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yaa-n-ku</td>
<td>'will talk'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>puwi-n-ku</td>
<td>'will rest'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kayi-n-ku</td>
<td>'will enter'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muu-n-ku</td>
<td>'will cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maa-n-ku</td>
<td>'will hold'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaa-n-ku</td>
<td>'will lay'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-thaka-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-rrri-n-tha-rrri-n-tju-yu
go-R-PROG-1sg eat?-REFL-R-eat?-REFL-R-VOL-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  *wa1a 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:

- *-li, -la*  
  transitive
- *-nga*  
  special transitiviser
- *-tha*  
  object focus
- *-rri, -tharri*  
  reflexive
- *-la, -para*  
  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
---|---
kinta  | kinta-li
ngaa ki  | ngaaki-li
pathi  | pathi-li
muthi  | muthi-li
kawi  | kawi-li

'kinta'  | 'to laugh'
'ngaaki'  | 'to play'
'pathi'  | 'to smell'
'muthi'  | 'to kiss'
'kawi'  | 'to sing out'

'kinta-li'  | 'to laugh at'
'ngaaki-li'  | 'to joke with'
'pathi-li'  | 'to smell something'
'muthi-li'  | 'to kiss someone'
'kawi-li'  | '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  
klinta-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 thangki-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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTRANSITIVE ROOT</th>
<th>TRANSITIVE FORM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>tha-</em> ‘arise’</td>
<td><em>thangi</em> ‘awaken someone’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>wirru-</em> ‘scratch’</td>
<td><em>wirru-nga</em> ‘scratch someone/thing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kuumpi-</em> ‘wash’</td>
<td><em>kuumpi-nga</em> ‘paint something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nguna-</em> ‘lie’</td>
<td><em>nguna-nga</em> ‘put something down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>maanpa-</em> ‘pull down’</td>
<td><em>maanpa-nga</em> ‘pull something down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>purra-</em> ‘sew’</td>
<td><em>purra-nga</em> ‘sew something’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>kaa-</em> ‘take’</td>
<td><em>kaa-nga</em> ‘take something away’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

-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-PO TL-lu 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.

  kunkanj ‘cover’ kunkanj-nga ‘to cover up someone/thing’
  yampuru ‘sleep’ yampuru-nga ‘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 *yita-ta nganha*
bite+P-OBF 1s gACC
‘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-yika 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 lsg-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:

*tharri* ‘to arise – get oneself up’
*pa-rri* ‘to burn itself out’ (fire)
*tiiyi-rri* ‘to twist itself’
tu-\textit{rri} \quad \textit{to grow}
pu-\textit{rri} \quad \textit{to cut oneself}

\textbf{5.142} \quad \textbf{wala} \quad \textbf{tha-\textit{rri-\textit{pu}}}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
NEG & \textit{arise-REFL-3sg} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
'He won't get up.'
\end{tabular}

\textbf{5.143} \quad \textbf{wii} \quad \textbf{pa-\textit{rri-\textit{pu}}}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
fire-ABS & \textit{burn-REFL-3sg} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
'The fire has gone out.' \quad (EH)
\end{tabular}

\textbf{5.144} \quad \textbf{\textit{pina-li-rri-yu}}
\begin{tabular}{l}
hear-\textit{TRS-REFL-lsg}
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
'I am hearing myself (what I am saying).'
\end{tabular}

\textbf{5.145} \quad \textbf{\textit{kamala} \text{tha-\textit{rri-\textit{pu}}}} \quad \textbf{\textit{nhumpu-thulu}}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
alone & \textit{eat-REFL-3sg} \\
3sg-only & \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
'He ate it (by) himself.' \quad (EH.80:1)
\end{tabular}

When -\textit{rri} is suffixed to other verb roots, with some the reflexive sense is clear, with other roots it is very shadowy, and with yet others -\textit{rri} seems to be a transitiviser (despite its 'innate' intransitivity) and conveys no reflexive sense at all. -\textit{rri} occurs on these less-likely roots:

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{ya} & \textit{to walk} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{ya-\textit{rri}} & \textit{to bring oneself back} \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{thangki} & \textit{to run} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{thangki-\textit{rri}} & \textit{to run away} \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{palka} & \textit{to come} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{palka-\textit{rri}} & \textit{to get at someone} \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{niya} & \textit{to sit} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{niyi-\textit{rri}} & \textit{to sit oneself down} \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{nha} & \textit{to see} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{nha-\textit{rri}} & \textit{to appear like} \\
\end{tabular}

\textbf{5.146} \quad \textbf{waan} \quad \textbf{niyi-\textit{rri-\textit{pu}} \quad \textit{wayil}}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
tree-ABS & \textit{sit-REFL-3sg} \\
3sg-long time & \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
'He's been sitting under the tree all day.' \quad (EH.40:2)
\end{tabular}

\textbf{5.147} \quad \textbf{\textit{karrakarranti} \text{nhai-\textit{rri-\textit{pu}}}} \quad \textbf{\textit{ngapa} \textit{\textit{kayila} \textit{\textit{palanj}}}}
\begin{tabular}{lllll}
mirage-ABS & see-REFL-3sg & water-ABS & AFFIRM & shining \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
'The mirage appears shining like water.' \quad (EH.71:1)
\end{tabular}

\textbf{5.148} \quad \textbf{\textit{thirri} \text{thangki-\textit{rri}} \text{taa-\textit{ngu}}}
\begin{tabular}{llll}
away & run-REFL & door-ABL & \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
'Get away from my door!' \quad (EH.84:7)
\end{tabular}

\textbf{5.149} \quad \textbf{\textit{pala-\textit{rri-ya-\textit{yu}}}} \quad \textbf{milin-\textit{tja}}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
slip-REFL-P.DEC-1sg & mud-LOC \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
'I slipped in the mud.' \quad (EH)
\end{tabular}

\textbf{5.150} \quad \textbf{\textit{panta-\textit{rri-nja}} \quad \textbf{partala}}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
strike+P-REFL-INTEN & morning & \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{l}
'They came down next morning.' \quad (JB.KM)
\end{tabular}

-\textit{rri} also appears to function as a verbaliser in deriving verbs from nominals (compare -\textit{nga} above):

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{tuku} & \textit{stomach} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{tuku-\textit{rri}} & \textit{to expand stomach (in pregnancy)} \\
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{pampu} & \textit{head} \\
\end{tabular}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textit{pampu-\textit{rri}} & \textit{to have a headache} \\
\end{tabular}
kuka 'crooked'  
kurika 'angry'  
kuka-rii 'to be lame'  
kurika-rii 'to become angry'

5.151 pampu-rii-yi-yu
head-REFL-PR.DEC-1sg
'I've got a headache.' (EH.13:14)

5.152 kurika-rii-ya-pula-nji
angry-REFL-P.DEC-3du-IMM
'They two became angry.' (EH.KM)

5.153 kuka-rii-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:

wampa 'silly'  
wampa-tharri- 'to forget'

5.154 pakul  
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, -rii 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 kuntarJ
scratch-REFL-3sg fleas-ABL dog-ABS
'The dog is scratching himself for (from) fleas. (EH.6C:3)

5.158 nanka-tharri-pu  
garriya-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  
maynu-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 RECIPROCALS -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*  present or contemporary time
- *-a*  past time
- *-u*  future time

These three vowels dominate the entire verbal system. They never occur without a consonant which carries aspecual 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.)
TABLE 5.3
ASPECTUAL CONSONANT SIGNALS WITHIN THE VERB

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Consonant</th>
<th>Lexical/functional nuance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>movement forward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>locational, stationary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>intermittent, reverse, recurring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>degree of completeness</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>declarative, indicative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t, th</td>
<td>factive, operative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tj</td>
<td>volitional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>future, purposive</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

TABLE 5.4
TENSE/ASPECT SUFFIXES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>TENSE</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>ASPECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>-ri</td>
<td>declarative (transitive bias)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>declarative (intransitive bias)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-ni</td>
<td>stationary action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>progressive movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wi</td>
<td>-wi</td>
<td>-wa</td>
<td>-wi</td>
<td>returning/reversal movement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ku (future)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-lsg  bread-ABS
'I am cooking bread.'

5.172 nha-ri-yu panga
see-INCOM-lsg  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 nga ra 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 kurrurruru
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 *ngakak 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 *purru 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 kuwan-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 suffices 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  *purri-ya-a thanki-ya-a kirri-ya-a*
jump-P.DEC-3sg 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  *purri-ya-a ngapa-ngka*
jump-P.DEC-3sg water-LOC
'He jumped over the puddle.'

5.204  *panpi-ya-a wiyrarr*
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.DE.C
      ‘The white woman has come.’

(b) Other morphemes + -ya

5.210  *ngawi-li-ya-a*
      swallow-TRS-P.DE.C-3sg
      ‘He swallowed it (the medicine).’

5.211  *kawi-li-ya-ntu nganha*
      call-TRS-P.DE.C-2sg 1sgACC
      ‘Did you call me?’

5.212  *parla-rrri-ya-a thirri kaan*
      slip-REFL-P.DE.C-3sg away snake-ABS
      ‘The snake slipped away that way.’ (EH).

5.213  *kurru-kurru panta-rrri-ya-na*
      all-REDUP-ABS hit-REFL-P.DE.C-1pl
      ‘We all hit ourselves.’

5.214  *yaman pura-wi-ya-a mayinj*
      one-ABS cross-RT-P.DE.C-3sg man-ABS
      ‘Only one man returned.’ (EH.10:5)

5.215  *karra-wi-ya-a ngapa*
      throw-RT-P.DE.C-3sg water-ABS
      ‘He threw the water out.’

(c) -ya in transitive sentences

5.216  *milanj wanki-ya-a tharrana*
      sorrow cry-P.DE.C-3sg 3plACC
      ‘He got sorry for the lot of them.’ (EH.51:1)

5.217  *panta-ya-ta kuya*
      strike-P.DE.C-3pl fish-ABS
      ‘They caught fish.’ (EH)

5.218  *tharrki-tha-ya-yu thana*
      tell-P.TR.S-P.DE.C-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 -wil/-wa marks reversal or redirection of movement.
(1) The -ni morpheme

-\textit{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.

-\textit{ni} is glossed 'stationary' because this term most succinctly covers its meaning. It also indicates an obvious contrast with the progressive movement suffix -\textit{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 -\textit{ni}, intransitive; that is, -\textit{ni} has intransitivised a transitive verb.

5.219 \textit{wiya pinathini-ntu witji-witji} \\
\textit{QN hear+PR-2sg bird-REDUP-ABS} \\
'Do you hear the bird?'

5.220 \textit{pinathina-ni-pula yingura} \\
\textit{listen-STY-3du 2sgDAT} \\
'They are both listening to you.' (EH.71:3)

-\textit{ni} is often omitted from an utterance. The following example shows two equally acceptable forms:

5.221 \textit{wanti-ni-\textit{pu} waan-\textit{ta} / wanti-\textit{pu} waan-\textit{ta}} \\
\textit{astride-STY-3sg tree-LOC / astride-3sg tree-LOC} \\
'He's on the tree.' (i.e. he's sitting on a limb)

(a) -\textit{ni} 'stationary/here'

The 'stationary' meaning of -\textit{ni} is most clearly demonstrated when it occurs with intransitive verbs of rest:

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{thina-} 'to stand'
  \item \textit{niya-} 'to sit'
  \item \textit{nguna-} 'to sleep'
  \item \textit{wuna-} 'to lie'
  \item \textit{wanti-} 'to sit astride'
\end{itemize}

5.222 \textit{mirrinj thuu wanti-ni-\textit{yita}} \\
\textit{stars-ABS many astride-STY-3pl} \\
'There are a lot of stars.' (RC.43:2a)

5.223 \textit{kuwarti thinaa-ni-\textit{pu ngapa-ngka}} \\
\textit{gum-ABS stand-STY-3sg water-LOC} \\
'The ghost gum is standing in the water.' (RC.1:3)

5.224 \textit{niyaa-ni-\textit{yu}} \\
\textit{sit-STY-lsg} \\
'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 \textit{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 \textit{mankita tha-ni-pu} \\
slowly eat-STY-3sg \\
‘He’s eating slowly.’

5.237 \textit{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 \textit{-ni} has been recorded a number of times with the verb \textit{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 \textit{-mi} (section 5.5.5)).

5.238 \textit{yanti-ni-yira} \\
walk-STY-3pl \\
‘They are walking all over the place.’ (EH.145M:7)

5.239 \textit{kula ya-ni-pu wani} \\
kangaroo-ABS walk-STY-3sg close \\
‘The kangaroo comes closer.’ (RC.74:2)

(2) The \textit{-na} morpheme

\textit{-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 \textit{-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 \textit{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 \textit{-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 \textit{-na}

\textit{-na} appears to express the past tense of \textit{-ni} in the following sentences, but does not seem to have the strong bias to intransitivity that \textit{-ni} does. It is found with both transitive and intransitive stems.

5.241 \textit{thanaa-na-pu kayila wilata} \\
make-STY+P-3sg AFFIRM tomahawk-ABS \\
‘He made a stone tomahawk.’ (EH.22:3)

5.242 \textit{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 tiyawi-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 thangki-na-a*
spider-REDUP-ABS run-LCL-3sg
‘The spider is running.’

5.252 *purri-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 yarra-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*
death-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 yuralma 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. (Tiwi 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.’
(c) Change of order

-\textit{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, -\textit{mi} follows the reflexive in the next example:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{5.273} \textit{kuntarl yarraka-tharri-mi-pu}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item dog-ABS stretch-REFL-PROG-3sg
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item 'The dog is stretching himself.'
\end{itemize}

Though it is clearly separate from -\textit{thirra} ‘continuous’, there are times when -\textit{mi} is used in a purely continuous sense:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{5.274} \textit{kirri-mi-la-yu ngurrunj-kala}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item dance-PROG-HAB-lsg emu-like
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item 'I'm dancing like an emu.'
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{5.275} \textit{thi-n-mi-na-a}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item stand-R-PROG-LCL-3sg
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item 'He is staying there.'
\end{itemize}

(2) -\textit{mi} becomes -\textit{mu}

-\textit{mu} is the future tense form of -\textit{mi}, and also the imperfective, occurring before -\textit{ku} ‘future’, -\textit{ra} ‘completed’, -\textit{li} ‘transitiviser’ and in all imperative mood forms that carry a continuous meaning.

An example when -\textit{mi} has assumed its -\textit{mu} form occurs in:

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{5.276} \textit{kawi-mu-ka-nji}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item call-CONT-CAUS-IMM
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item 'He's singing out going along.' (EH.64:6)
\end{itemize}

(a) -\textit{mu-ku} ‘continuous future’

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{5.277} \textit{kala-tharri-mu-ku-na yurrin-tja kiyarn-ta}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item hunt-REFL-CONT-FUT-lpl night-LOC moon-LOC
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item 'We will go hunting in the moonlight.'
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{5.278} \textit{ya-n-mu-ku nhula nhula-ku-la}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item go-R-PROG-FUT 2duNOM 2duNOM-FUT-2du
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item 'You two may go.' (EH.24:4)
\end{itemize}

(b) -\textit{mu-ra} ‘continuous past’

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{5.279} \textit{ya-n-mu-ra-pula yawuru mukinj-purrral pampal-ku}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item go-R-CONT-COMPL-3du owl-ABS women-two-ABS orange-DAT
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item 'The two yellow-mouth owl-women went hunting for wild oranges.' (EH)
\end{itemize}

\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{5.280} \textit{kapunj kami-l-mu-ra-y ngurra-ku}
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item eggs-ABS return-R-PROG-COMPL-EX camp-ALL
\end{itemize}
\begin{itemize}
\item 'Take the eggs home to camp!' (EH.23:1)
\end{itemize}
(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-RECIPI lduNOM
     ‘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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb Stem</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>-wi</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>warra</td>
<td>‘to fall’</td>
<td>warra-wi</td>
<td>‘to return’ (fall back)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kula</td>
<td>‘to climb’</td>
<td>kula-wi</td>
<td>‘to climb back’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kura</td>
<td>‘to go’</td>
<td>kura-wi</td>
<td>‘to go back again’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karra</td>
<td>‘to throw’</td>
<td>karra-wi</td>
<td>‘to throw out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tiya</td>
<td>‘to turn’</td>
<td>tiya-wi</td>
<td>‘to twist’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.DECC-3sgP
       ‘He threw the boomerang.’

5.285  yaman    kura-wi-ya-a  mukinj
       one      go-RT-P.DECC-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:

  ka-wi -  ‘to call, cry out’
  ku-wi -  ‘to whistle’
  nga-wi -  ‘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 kurrur-kurrur 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-lsg 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 ngasi 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-lpl boy-ABL
‘Let us run away from the boy!’

5.317 kurrur-kurrur niyaa-ku-na yaa-n-ti-l-para
all-REDUP-ABS sit-FUT-lpl talk-R-PR.OPT-R-RECIP
‘How about we all sit down and have a yam.’ (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:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present Tense Root</th>
<th>Past Tense Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ka-</em></td>
<td><em>kaa-</em></td>
<td>'to get'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>nha-</em></td>
<td><em>nhaa-</em></td>
<td>'to see'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>mu-</em></td>
<td><em>muu-</em></td>
<td>'to cook'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ngu-</em></td>
<td><em>nguu-</em></td>
<td>'to give'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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-yika*
bird-REDUP-ABS fly-3pl
'The birds flew away.'

5.323 *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, -Ø)

**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:

- *-thirra/i, -tjirra/i*  continuous/processive (CONT)
- *-tjira*  volitional (VOL)
- *-thasa*  necessity (NECESS)
-tji, tja  avolitional (AVOL); inchoative (INCHO)
-ngu; -wa  potential (POTL)
-la  habitual (HAB)
-rru  prevent (PRE); excessive (EXCES)
-kuri  constantly (CON)

The realis mode is expressed by -n preceeding 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/PROCESSIVE -thirra

The form:

- thirra  occurs on non-present tense forms of the verb
- thirri  signifies present tense
- tjirra  occurs following i or nj (non-present tense)
- tjiirri  occurs following i or nj (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:

tha-thirra-  ‘eating’
thini-thirra-  ‘standing’
muu-thirra-  ‘cooking’
tharrka-thirra-  ‘telling’
nguna-n-thirra-  ‘sleeping’
nhaa-n-thirra-  ‘seeing’, ‘hearing’
yaa-n-thirra-  ‘talking’
kaa-n-thirra-  ‘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)ʹ?

5.339  *waanpi-ni ya-n-mi-n-tjira-yu kartu-kartu*
wait-STY go-R-PROG-R-VOL-lsg 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?ʹ

(b) wish

5.342  *ngurrun-tji tha-tha-rrri-n-tjira-yu*
emu-DIM-ABS eat-REDUP-REFL-R-VOL-lsg
'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-ri-yu muu-thara-y kimay
fire-ABS make-REFL-lsg 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-ldu-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-\text{n-tji-yi-ntu} 
run-R-AVOL-PR.DEC-2sg  
‘You’ve got to run away.’ (EH.65:2)

5.352thurri 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-\text{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.

\textbf{puka} ‘rotten’ \textbf{puka-tji} ‘to become stinking’
\textbf{kuri} ‘anger’ \textbf{kuri-tja} ‘to become angry’
\textbf{pa-} ‘to act’ \textbf{pa-tja} ‘to arise’ (sun)

5.356 maamaru puka-tji-\text{n-mi-yi}ka 
crayfish-ABS rotten-INCHO-R-PROG-3pl  
‘The crayfish are getting stinking.’ (EH.25:8)

5.357 karti-tji-rri-\text{yu} 
anger-INCHO-REFL-lsg  
‘I’m becoming angry.’

5.358 wanpi-ra niya-pi-ta ninakurri-tja-rri-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 lsgACC 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-ldu 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)
murri-la-pu kantju-wa
drown-SB-3sg float-POTL
‘If he drowned he would float.’

But -wa also occurs in transitive sentences:

nuwa tuma-n-wa-ntu pulayi
look! break-R-POTL-2sg plate-ABS
‘Be careful, you might break a plate!’ (EH.47:5)

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)

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:

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)

muka-la-a punha kuthara
nurse-HAB-3sg 3sgACC child-ABS
‘She was nursing the child.’

yapinj-yapin-tja nguta-la-na
spring-REDUP-LOC ‘do’-HAB-LCL
‘(The goanna) comes out to sun himself.’ (EH.13:13)

thurran thana-la-na
smoke-ABS make-HAB-1pl
‘We made a smoke.’ (EH.79:4)

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)

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-PR.OPT-HAB-3sg
'The Southern Cross is ascending.'

5.379 thuri  warra-n-mi-la-a
sun-ABS  fall-R-PROG-HAB-3sg
'When the sun is setting.'

5.380 thultu-thi-la-a  palaa
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-PR.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-1sg
'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-$\emptyset$ tharana
give-IMP 3plACC
‘Give (it) to them.’

5.388  wala pa-$\emptyset$ nganha kaya
NEG hit-IMP 1sgACC mother-ABS
‘Don't hit me, mother.’ (EH.67:2)

5.389  tharri-$\emptyset$, tharri-$\emptyset$ 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE 5.5</th>
<th>IMPERATIVE MOOD SUFFIXES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Realis</strong></td>
<td><strong>Root ending</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>a, u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>i, u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n*</td>
<td>a, i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*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 transitivisers -li (5.4.1) and -nga (5.4.2)) may transitivise a verb. Compare:

- tharrka-tharrka-Ra 'Speak!' (INTR)
- tharrka-Ra '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 Ø 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ta</td>
<td><em>karrawi</em></td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td><em>tharrka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘throw it away’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘tell it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta</td>
<td><em>puumpi</em></td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td><em>pingka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘blow it’ (fire)</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘cough it up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta</td>
<td><em>panpi</em></td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td><em>panpi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘catch it’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘catch it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta</td>
<td><em>ngaawi</em></td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td><em>maa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘swallow it’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘put it down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta</td>
<td><em>yimpi</em></td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td><em>thampa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘stop it’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘point at it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta</td>
<td><em>kunti</em></td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td><em>paa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘cover it’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘make fire’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ta</td>
<td><em>nhumpi</em></td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td><em>nhaa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘hide it’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘see it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nga</td>
<td><em>pa</em></td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td><em>ngu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘hit it’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘give it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nga</td>
<td><em>tha</em></td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td><em>tha</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘do it’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘eat it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nga</td>
<td><em>kaa</em></td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td><em>ngu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘carry it’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘give it’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mostly intransitive verbs:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-y</td>
<td><em>thanki</em></td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ Ø</td>
<td>‘run’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-y</td>
<td><em>ngaaki</em></td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td><em>purri</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ Ø</td>
<td>‘play’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘chop’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-y</td>
<td><em>paangki</em></td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td><em>kaangki</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ Ø</td>
<td>‘swim’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘float’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-y</td>
<td><em>tiyawi</em></td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td><em>yungki</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ Ø</td>
<td>‘turn around’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘sing’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-y</td>
<td><em>kiri</em></td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td><em>pali</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ Ø</td>
<td>‘dance’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘die’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-y</td>
<td><em>wangki</em></td>
<td>-ya</td>
<td><em>yapi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ Ø</td>
<td>‘cry out’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘warm self’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td><em>ya</em></td>
<td>-na</td>
<td><em>kinkuru</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘sneeze’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td><em>maa</em></td>
<td>-na</td>
<td><em>yumpuru</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘hold’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘go to sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td><em>ngu</em></td>
<td>-na</td>
<td><em>palka</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘lie down’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘come’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td><em>wu</em></td>
<td>-na</td>
<td><em>kula</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘lie down’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘climb’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td><em>thi</em></td>
<td>-na</td>
<td><em>kinta</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘stand’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘laugh’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-na</td>
<td><em>tharrka</em></td>
<td>-na</td>
<td><em>parta</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘tell (him)’</td>
<td></td>
<td>‘punch (him)’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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-ng*-
*nga*-
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.

*paangki-y-*mu-*ka*  ‘keep on swimming!’
*thangki-y-*mu-*ka*  ‘keep on running!’
*tharri-y-*mu-*ka*  *thirri*  ‘fly away!’
*tha-n-*mu-*ka*  ‘keep on eating’
*tharrka-n-*mu-*ka*  ‘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-θ-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) Transitiviser -li

-li acts as a transitiviser to intransitive roots in imperative mood in the same way as it does in the indicative mood.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTRANSITIVE IMPERATIVE</th>
<th>TRANSITIVISED IMPERATIVE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kawi-yi</td>
<td>kawi-yi-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pathi-yi</td>
<td>pathi-yi-li</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaa-ra yipa</td>
<td>yaanti-li-nha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yungki-yi</td>
<td>yungki-yi-li</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(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-θ
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-Ø
        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:

- ra  co-ordinate clause marker
- la  subordinate clause marker
- ku  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 thangki-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 Weilmoringe-ALL now tomorrow return-CO.ORD towards 'We are going to Weilmoringe, 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 maymJ walk-R-PROG-IMP man-ABS talk-R-PR.OPT-R-RECIP friend 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 kawi-la-yu NEG hear-PR.DEC-2sg ls gACC call-SB-1sg 'Didn't you hear me sing out?' (EH.37:6)

5.421 kawi-la-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  ngrura-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)
5.10 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>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word Classes</th>
<th>Stem-forming suffixes</th>
<th>Tense suffix</th>
<th>Aspect suffixes</th>
<th>Pronoun suffixes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>noun</td>
<td>-pi</td>
<td>-ku</td>
<td>-yi</td>
<td>-yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjective</td>
<td>-nga</td>
<td></td>
<td>-la</td>
<td>-ntu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstrative</td>
<td>-ka</td>
<td></td>
<td>-mi</td>
<td>-pu/-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pronoun</td>
<td>-ma</td>
<td></td>
<td>-na</td>
<td>-mpula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>verb modifier</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-ra</td>
<td>-nja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-li</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interrogative</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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)
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-DEC-TRRS  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-TRRS  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-3sg  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  
\[\text{wala  warri-yi-yu  parta}\]  
\[
\text{NEG DUBIT-PR-1sg  tomorrow}\]  
'I may (do it) tomorrow.'

5.447  
\[\text{wala  warri-yi-yu  yanta-a}\]  
\[
\text{NEG DUBIT-DEC-1sg  go+P-3sgP}\]  
'I am doubtful if he went.'  
\[(\text{JB.33B})\]

5.448  
\[\text{pinja-ra-nja  ni-yu  pinja  Muruwari  tharrka-ku-yu}\]  
\[
\text{only-COMPL-1sgA+2sg0  sit-1sg  only  Muruwari  teach-FUT-1sg}\]  
'I'm teaching you Muruwari.'

(d) Adverbs

5.449  
\[\text{pa-n-ti-pula  ngahna  ngarlu-la-nja}\]  
\[
\text{hit-R-PR.OPT-3du  lsgACC  again-HAB-lsgO}\]  
'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  
\[\text{tirra-nga-ntu  ngunaa-nga-ntu  kapunj-ki}\]  
\[
\text{where-P.TR-2sg  lie+P-P.TR-2sg  egg-ABS-EMP}\]  
'Where did you put those eggs?'

(f) Pronouns

5.451  
\[\text{kuntarl  wuluwi-pu  pinathini  puka-ma-yu-na}\]  
\[
\text{dog-ABS  bark+PR-3sg  hear+PR  3sgDAT-VBS-1sg-LCL}\]  
'I hear a dog barking.'  
\[(\text{EH.1:8})\]

5.451 is a particularly interesting example since the word puka-ma-yu-na carries the dative pronoun \((\text{the case required by the verb pinathini})\) 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:

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{pa-}  \\
\text{yi-}
\end{array}
\]

'\text{to act, do, perform}'

'\text{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:
purtu pa- 'to rain' (lit. rain 'do')
kan turf pa- 'to be hungry' (lit. hunger 'do')
thurri pa- 'sun to rise or set' (lit. sun 'do')
wiyi pa- 'to light a fire' (lit. fire 'do')
pinjuwi pa- 'to lick' (lit. lick 'do')

5.452 purtu 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
IsgNOM 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)
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.’
I dreamed last night you were coming over to see me.’

For emphasis the particle may be repeated after the verb:

‘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.

‘Go away!’

‘He went away now.’ (EH.11:5)

‘The boat went through the water.’ (EH.11:4)

In the next example, the meaning of thirri is extended to express ‘distance away from’:

‘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:

‘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 \text{wala} \ kinti-pu
\begin{tabular}{ll}
NEG & laughing-3sg \\
\end{tabular}

‘He is not laughing.’

Compare the affirmative statement where wala is absent:

6.13 \text{kinti-pu}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
laugh-3sg \\
\end{tabular}

‘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 \text{wala} \ yarrka \ yi-n-ti-pu
\begin{tabular}{ll}
NEG & wind-ABS be-R-PR.OPT-3sg \\
\end{tabular}

‘There is no wind.’

pronoun:

6.15 \text{wala} \ yingka \ marli \ yi-n-ti
\begin{tabular}{ll}
NEG & 2sgGEN boomerang-ABS be-R-PR.OPT \\
\end{tabular}

‘That is not your boomerang.’

adjective:

6.16 \text{wala} \ pantara \ nuwa \ kura \ yi-n-ti-pu
\begin{tabular}{ll}
NEG & long-ABS that string-ABS be-R-PR.OPT-3sg \\
\end{tabular}

‘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 \text{wala} \ tharrka-ku-yiRa \ punha
\begin{tabular}{ll}
NEG & tell-FUT-3pl 3sgACC \\
\end{tabular}

‘(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 \ \text{nganha} \ wala \ wani \ ya-n-ku-yu \ \text{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 \text{thuu} \ warri \ \text{palka-ku-yita}
\begin{tabular}{ll}
many-ABS DUBIT come-FUT-3pl \\
\end{tabular}

‘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 *ngaara kunarl 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 kunarl 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* *wara-pu* *ngapa-ngka* *parlanj* *mirri-ra* *nhampu*
child-ABS fall-3sg water-LOC nearly drown-CO.ORO 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* *mirri-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*  *nuhu*  *kayila*
stand-STY+PR-3sg here AFFIRM
‘He's standing up right here.’ (EH.31:4)

6.35  *wampa*  *yi-n-ti-nu*  *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  piri  wa  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 mukan
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-yika 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 ngasa wala ngasa 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-ni-yika 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.’
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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Locational Adverb/Noun</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>karrpu</td>
<td>‘in front’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pila-ngka</td>
<td>‘behind’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turru-ngka</td>
<td>‘in the rear’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muku-ngka</td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palaa-ngka</td>
<td>‘outside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karrka-ngka</td>
<td>‘beside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thanu-ngka</td>
<td>‘between’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paru-ngka</td>
<td>‘down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kanta</td>
<td>‘up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karran-tha</td>
<td>‘over, across’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhuparanj</td>
<td>‘this side of’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Markers</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>muku/muku-ngka</td>
<td>‘inside’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karrpu-karrpu</td>
<td>‘in front of’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6.50 wuli-ŋ-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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Inflection</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>turru-ŋ-tu ya-na ngaangura</td>
<td>behind-2sg walk-IMP lsgDAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karrka-mi-ŋ-li</td>
<td>together-PROG-P.DEC-1du</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘You walk behind me!’
‘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*  *kanji*  *kanji*
       *kayila*  AFFIRM
       now	'today'

6.54  *kanji*  *ya-ng-ku-yu*
       'I'll come soon.' (EH.37:5)

6.55  *kanji*  *thurri*  *warra-ku-pu*
       'The sun will be down directly.'

6.56  *paangki-yi*  *kuthara-purral*  *kanji*  *yurrin-tja*
       '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 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*
       'She almost died.'
ngarlu ‘again’

6.59 panti-pula nganha ngarlu-la-nja
hit+PR-3du 1sgACC again-RECIP-lsgO
‘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 piku 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:

- **yipa** 'slowly'
- **kartu/kartu-kartu** 'quickly'

6.70 yipa yaa-ra
slowly talk-IMP
'Talk slowly.'

6.71 kartu-kartu paangki-y-muka
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 purrpi-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)aanj 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, \textit{ngara} is usually glossed 'and', 'now', 'then', 'and then'. It often accompanies conjunctive recapitulation (tail-head linkage)

\textit{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 \textit{wala} and the interrogative pronouns. Following \textit{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 \textit{ngara} in the following functions:

(a) as a definite article following a noun
6.73  \textit{parta ngara maa-n-thirra-na manu}  
\textit{moming-ABS DEF get-R-CONT-1pl bread-ABS}  
‘Tomorrow (on the morrow) we’ll get bread.’ (JB.67B:5)

6.74  \textit{kula ngara thini-na}  
\textit{kangaroo-ABS DEF stand-LCL}  
‘There’s a kangaroo standing there.’

6.75  \textit{manu ngara ngu-wa-na}  
\textit{bread-ABS DEF give-IMP-2sgS+3sgO}  
‘Give me some bread.’ (JB.3B:4)

6.76  \textit{mara-ngku ngara}  
\textit{hand-INST DEF}  
‘with the hand’ (JB.2B:1)

(b) as focus on a nominal
6.77  \textit{ngapa ngara}  
\textit{water-ABS FOC}  
‘Water!’ (when one cries out for a drink) (JB.3B:2)

6.78  \textit{ngurrunj-ku kapunj ngara}  
\textit{emu-DAT+GEN eggs-ABS FOC}  
‘for emu’s eggs’ (JB.3B:5)

6.79  \textit{pirntal ngara tharrka-yu ngathungku}  
\textit{straight-ABS FOC tell-lsg lsgERG}  
‘I’m telling you the truth.’ (JB.4B:8)

(c) as focus on a verb
6.80  \textit{yarrka puumpi-ya ngara-na}  
\textit{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 *-njii* (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’

*yaaani* 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-Ø  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-yika  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 lsgACC
‘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 pintal 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

nominate:

6.118 wala yintu-ki
NEG 2sgNOM-EMP
‘That’s not yours!’ (EH.29:2)

genitive:

6.119 panta-ra-yu kurrur-kurrur 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-yika 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 *(yi)-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-rri-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  
\[ \text{wayil ngaRi-nji yan-ti-pu} \]
\text{AFFIRM DEM-IMM go-PR-3sg}
\text{‘There he goes’ (RC.Spoonbill Song)}

(i) with particles

6.149  
\[ \text{kayila-nji pa-n-thira-ntu punha} \]
\text{AFFIRM-IMM hit-R-CONT-2sg 3sgACC}
\text{‘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 \text{nhurra ‘here/that’} and \text{nhurra-na ‘this/that place’}:

6.150  
\[ \text{nhurra-na ngurra-ku puka yan-ta-a} \]
\text{that-LCL camp-ALL 3sgGEN go-P.OPT-3sg}
\text{‘He went to his camp.’}

It may also be suffixed to adverbs such as \text{karrpu ‘in front of’}:

6.151  
\[ \text{ngurrunj thina-a karrpu-na kiyiiRa} \]
\text{emu-ABS stood-3sgP in front of-LCL turkey-ABS}
\text{‘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:

\text{yipa} ‘slowly’  \quad \text{yipa-nja} ‘very slowly’/‘slower’
\text{kartu} ‘quickly’  \quad \text{kartu-nja} ‘very quickly’/‘quicker’
\text{karlu} ‘closely’  \quad \text{karlu-nja} ‘closer’

6.152  
\[ \text{yipa-nja pampu tuwi-li-ya-a yipa piki nga thuntu} \]
\text{slow-INTEN head-ABS move-TRS-P.DEC-3sg slow arm-ABS and leg-ABS}
\text{‘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:
6.15 3 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)

6.15 4 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)

6.15 5 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ya</td>
<td>exclamation of reprimand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yay</td>
<td>exclamation of command</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaa</td>
<td>exclamation to get attention, or of agreement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaay</td>
<td>exclamation of fright</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaaw</td>
<td>exclamation of joy or approval</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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)
7.1 VERBLESS SENTENCES

The following abbreviations are used only in this chapter (with the given meaning):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMP</th>
<th>complement</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>object</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IO</td>
<td>indirect object</td>
<td>pn</td>
<td>pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOC</td>
<td>location</td>
<td>SUBJ</td>
<td>subject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAN</td>
<td>manner</td>
<td>sub</td>
<td>substitute</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
mud-tjulu    ngapa
mud-having    water
‘The water is muddy.’ (or ‘muddy water’)  (EH.20:7)

COMP: adj    SUBJ: POSS NP

7.2 pantin-pita    piyan    thika
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 ngaana  mukinj
who-ABS  woman-ABS
‘Who is that woman?’

COMP: QN  SUBJ: POSS NP

7.4 ngaan-ku-wi  kuntarli  puka
who-GEN-EMP  dog-ABS  3sgGEN
‘Whose dog is that?’

COMP: QN  SUBJ: n

7.5 minjan  kurri
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 nhura  mukinj-ku  witji  puka
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 ngathungku  ngara  kuliya-ku  kula
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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(LOC)</th>
<th>(SUBJ)</th>
<th>(IO)</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>TR</th>
<th>V</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
<th>(IO)</th>
<th>(SUBJ)</th>
<th>(LOC)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>OBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2*</td>
<td>Noun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Pronoun</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4*</td>
<td>NP (pronoun + noun)/split NP (noun – pronoun)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Noun/pronoun/INP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>TR VERB</th>
<th>OBJECT: ABS n/NP/ACC pn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.8   tomi-ngu</td>
<td>karray-pu</td>
<td>ngariya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tommy-ERG</td>
<td>throw-3sg</td>
<td>marli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>boomerang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘Tommy is throwing the boomerang.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>TR VERB</th>
<th>OBJECT: pn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.9   kuntarl-u</td>
<td>(y)ita-a</td>
<td>nganha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog-ERG</td>
<td>bite-3sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1sg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The dog bit me.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>TR VERB</th>
<th>OBJECT: pn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.10  ngurrutj</td>
<td>kintiliya-a</td>
<td>punha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emu-ERG</td>
<td>laugh-3sg</td>
<td>kiyara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘The emu laughed at the turkey.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>TR VERB</th>
<th>OBJECT: pn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.11  mukinj</td>
<td>nhayniya-a</td>
<td>pula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>women</td>
<td>look at-3sg</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3du</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘He was looking at the two gins.’

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>TR VERB</th>
<th>OBJECT: pn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.12  tharrkara</td>
<td>tharrana</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>told-CO.ORD</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3pl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

‘...and (he) told them...’

(3) The adverbial construction

Place, time and manner functions occur furthest from the verb-object core:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LOC: n</th>
<th>TR V</th>
<th>OBJ</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>......</td>
<td>......</td>
<td>.....</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>:</td>
<td>:</td>
<td>:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 7.13   thurrant-a | tina-mara | punha |
| smoke-LOC | stand-CAUS-IMP | 3sgACC |

‘Put him in the smoke.’

7.2.2 INTRANSITIVE SENTENCES

(1) Ordering within intransitive sentences

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(LOC)</th>
<th>(TIME)</th>
<th>(MAN)</th>
<th>(S VBJ)</th>
<th>INTR V</th>
<th>(S VBJ)</th>
<th>(MAN)</th>
<th>(TIME)</th>
<th>(LOC)</th>
<th>(COMP)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sentence</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.14 paanki-yita</td>
<td>They are swimming.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.15 thangki-pu</td>
<td>He is running.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.16 tha-tharri-yu</td>
<td>I'm having a feed.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To this basic form, a clause-level subject may clarify the performer of the action, being expressed either before or after the verb:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTR VERB</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paangki-yita</td>
<td>kuthara-kalka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swim-3pl</td>
<td>child-some-ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Some children are having a swim.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>INTR VERB</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuni</td>
<td>thangki-pu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fem-ABS</td>
<td>run-3sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'The girl is running.'</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| ngathu | tha-tharri-yu |
| lsgNOM | 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTR VERB</th>
<th>MANNER</th>
<th>COMPLEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kantarl</td>
<td>pali-yu</td>
<td>pisu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunger</td>
<td>die-1sg</td>
<td>hard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'I'm hungry for a feed of emu and goanna.' (EH.KM(30))</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TIME</th>
<th>INTR VERB</th>
<th>COMPLEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>partala</td>
<td>yang-ku-na</td>
<td>puka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>morning</td>
<td>go-FUT-1pl</td>
<td>3sgDAT</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'We'll go after him next morning.'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(4) The locative construction

The intransitive construction most characteristically expresses the location for the action:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTR VERB</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>LOC</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paangki-yita</td>
<td>kuthara-kalkaa</td>
<td>ngapa-ngka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swim-3pl</td>
<td>children-all</td>
<td>water-LOC</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Some children are swimming in the water.'

The sentence is further expanded by expressing the concept of time:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INTR VERB</th>
<th>SUBJECT</th>
<th>TIME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>paangkiyi</td>
<td>kuthara-purral</td>
<td>kanji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>swim</td>
<td>child-two</td>
<td>yurrin-tja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Last night the two boys went swimming.'

7.23 kunthi-ku

'Last night the two boys went swimming.'

7.26 kanji thangki-ntji-ntu

'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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAIN CLAUSE</th>
<th>SUBORDINATE CLAUSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngapa</td>
<td>paa-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water-ABS</td>
<td>carry-CO.ORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yan-mi-yu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I’m going to fetch water.’ (EH.13:10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thangki-ra-yi-na</td>
<td>nhuumpi-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>run-COMPL-PR.DEC-lpl</td>
<td>hide-CO.ORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘We used to run away and hide.’ (EH.13:9)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakul</td>
<td>wuna-na-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stone-ABS</td>
<td>lie-LCL-3sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maa-ra</td>
<td>thayin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punha</td>
<td>kaa-nga-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>take-IMP</td>
<td>to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgACC</td>
<td>bring-IMP-CO.ORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘There’s a stone over there; pick it up and fetch it to me.’ (EH.14:7)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niya-ku-yu</td>
<td>waanpi-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit-FUT-lsg</td>
<td>pungka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wait-CO.ORD    2sgACC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tilkarra-ngka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>wilga-LOC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘I will sit and wait for you by the wilga tree.’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wirrunga-tharri-yu</td>
<td>kuwanj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>scratch-REFL-lsg</td>
<td>palka-ra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>blood-ABS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>come-CO.ORD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>marnku-ngu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>arm-ABL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| ‘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:

| wala tharrka-ku-ntu | punha piyi-n-ka-ra |
| 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MAIN CLAUSE</th>
<th>SUBORDINATE CLAUSE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>7.33</td>
<td>kitju thangki-ya-a...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>small run-P.DEC-3sg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>paray-ku thirra</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngara marli</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>karrawi-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>east-ALL away DEF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>boomerang throw-to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘He ran a short distance to the east to throw (so that he could throw) the boomerang.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(JB.74B:4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.34</td>
<td>thalu-ngka palkaa-pu...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>day-in come-he</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngurra-ku ngara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>mayinj nhuu-yita kalathara-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>camp-to DEF men those-with hunt-to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘Each day he came to the camp (in order) to hunt with the men.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(JB.74B:8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.35</td>
<td>mayinj-kalkaa palka-yita yaanthi-la-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>men-all come-they talk-together-for</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngara nhumpu-yita DEF 3sgNOM-with</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘The people came and talked with him.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(came for the purpose of talking)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 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 kiila payli-la-a yinti-ka warra-a-pu
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>tired</th>
<th>be-SB-3sg</th>
<th>be-CAUS</th>
<th>fall-3sgP-3sg</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘He fell because he was tired.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(EH.11:6)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A gerund-like function operates in sentences like:

7.37 nhaa-ra-pula palanj-pi-la milinj
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>see-COMPL-3du</th>
<th>bright-VBS-SB</th>
<th>mud-ABS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘They two looked up to see the mud shining.’</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(EH.26:4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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  
\[ \text{kami-la-ntu muruwar-tji yaan-ku-ntu} \]
\[ \text{return-SB-2sg Muruwari-DIM talk-FUT-2sg} \]
\[ \text{‘When you return home you will be able to talk some Muruwari.’} \]

(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  
\[ \text{nhaa-ra-y panga kirri-la-ntu} \]
\[ \text{see-COMPL-1sg 2sgACC dance-SB-2sg} \]
\[ \text{‘I saw you dancing.’ (EH.11:6)} \]

7.40  
\[ \text{kuthara yimpi-ya pulana palaa-nka wanki-tha-la-pula} \]
\[ \text{child-ABS leave-P.DEC 3duACC plain-LOC cry-P.OPT-SB-3du} \]
\[ \text{‘Both children were crying when I left them on the plain.’} \]

7.41  
\[ \text{thangkarna muu-ri ngathu pital paki-la-a} \]
\[ \text{mussel-ABS cook-INCOM 1sgNOM shell-ABS open-SB-3sg} \]
\[ \text{‘When I cook mussels, the shells open.’ (EH.206M:5)} \]

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  
\[ \text{ngara nhuunpa-na-pu tharra ya-n-ta-a} \]
\[ \text{there hide-LCL-3sg 3plACC go-R-P.OPT-3sg} \]
\[ \text{‘(The emu) went to the place where she planted them.’ (EH.26:9)} \]

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  
\[ \text{thangkura-ma-yu yukarta-yukarta wanga-la-a nganha} \]
\[ \text{dream-VBS-1sg sorcerer-REDUP chase-TRS+P-3sg 1sgACC} \]
\[ \text{‘I dreamed (that) a sorcerer was chasing me.’} \]
(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-vita
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.'
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:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{kurrkurr} & \quad \text{nga} & \quad \text{paka-pu} \\
\text{mopoke-ABS} & \quad \text{here} & \quad \text{come-3sg} \\
\text{kurrkurr} & \quad \text{nga} & \quad \text{paka-pu} \\
\text{mopoke-ABS} & \quad \text{here} & \quad \text{come-3sg} \\
\text{puni} & \quad \text{puni} & \quad \text{puka} & \quad \text{mara-ngka} & \quad \text{nga} \\
\text{waddy-ABS} & \quad \text{waddy-ABS} & \quad \text{3sgGEN} & \quad \text{hand-LOC} & \quad \text{here} \\
\text{kurrkurr} & \quad \text{nga} & \quad \text{paka-pu} \\
\text{mopoke-ABS} & \quad \text{here} & \quad \text{come-3sg} \\
\text{kurrkurr} & \quad \text{nga} & \quad \text{paka-pu} \\
\text{mopoke-ABS} & \quad \text{here} & \quad \text{come-3sg} \\
\text{paa-pu} & \quad \text{kurr} & \quad \text{ngaa} & \quad \text{paka-pu} \\
\text{come-3sg} & \quad \text{mopoke} & \quad \text{here} & \quad \text{come-3sg} \\
\text{puni} & \quad \text{puni} & \quad \text{nha} & \quad \text{mara-ngka} \\
\text{waddy-ABS} & \quad \text{waddy-ABS} & \quad \text{3sgGEN} & \quad \text{hand-LOC}
\end{align*}
\]
As spoken:

\[
\begin{align*}
  &\text{kurrkurr} \quad \text{ngari} \quad \text{palkaypu} \\
  &\text{kurrkurr} \quad \text{ngari} \quad \text{palkaypu} \\
  &\text{punti} \quad \text{punti} \quad \text{punha} \quad \text{marangka}
\end{align*}
\]

‘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:

\[
\begin{align*}
  &\text{Ah, waala-nji} \quad \text{ya-n-ti-pu} \quad \text{(or nantipu)} \\
  &\text{Oh, long time-IMM go-R-PR-3sg} \\
  &\text{waalarri-nji} \quad \text{nanti-pu} \\
  &\text{long time-IMM go-3sg} \\
  &\text{waalarri-nji} \quad \text{nanti-pu} \\
  &\text{long time-IMM go-3sg} \\
  &\text{waa} \quad \text{* paapaa-nji} \quad \text{tawi-pu} \\
  &\text{long time bend in river-IMM look-3sg} \\
  &\text{paapaa-nji} \quad \text{tawi-pu} \\
  &\text{bend in river-IMM look-3sg} \\
  &\text{paapaa-nji} \quad \text{tawi-pu} \\
  &\text{bend in river-IMM look-3sg} \\
  &\text{paapaa-nji} \quad \text{tawi-pu} \\
  &\text{bend in river-IMM look-3sg} \\
  &\text{waalarri-nji} \quad \text{nanti-pu} \\
  &\text{long time-IMM go-3sg} \\
  &\text{* paapaa ‘he's looking round a bend in the river’}
\end{align*}
\]

As spoken:

\[
\begin{align*}
  &\text{wayil} \quad \text{(ng)ari-nji} \quad \text{nanti-pu} \\
  &\text{long time here-indeed go-3sg}
\end{align*}
\]
8.1.3 CHINESE GARDENER SONG

(Jimmie Barker: Tape 86Bb)

Jimmie says this song was composed by ‘my old friend, Hippay, 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.

\[\text{purtu ngu-wa ngana} \]
\[\text{rain give-IMP 1plACC} \]
\[\text{Give us rain.} \]

\[\text{mayi ngara thulu-kala} \]
\[\text{ground DEF dust-like} \]
\[\text{The ground is like dust.} \]

\[\text{wala yural than-u ngana} \]
\[\text{NEG bad do-2sgO 1plNOM} \]
\[\text{We have done you no wrong.} \]

\[\text{purpu ngu-wa ngana} \]
\[\text{rain give-IMP 1plACC} \]
\[\text{Give us rain.} \]

\[\text{manu ngu-wa ngana} \]
\[\text{bread give-IMP 1plACC} \]
\[\text{Give us bread.} \]

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.

\[\text{wan-tjirra wan-tjirra} \]
\[\text{astride-CONT astride-CONT} \]
\[\text{(He) is riding, he is riding.} \]

\[\text{yina-ta nali mara-ngku mara puka mani-pu} \]
\[\text{be-?P ? hand-INSTR hand 3sgGEN ?buck-3sg} \]
\[\text{With his hand he (makes the horse) buck.} \]

8.1.6 LULLABY

(Jimmie Barker: Tape 38B)

\[\text{nguna-n-thirra nguna-n-thirra pipi nganithi} \]
\[\text{sleep-IMP-CONT sleep-IMP-CONT baby-ABS lsgGEN} \]
\[\text{Sleep, sleep, my baby.} \]
Tomorrow we will be going

where you will play.

There we will pick berries.

Sweet, sweet berries,

we will pick.

Sleep, sleep, baby mine,

sleep.

(8.1.7 WHITE WOMAN RIDING ASTRIDE)

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.

A white woman went away

with (her) horse.

She went away like a man.

(Her) legs straddling (the saddle).

mostly J. Trefry's transcription)
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 Yipatha,
tharrka punha tharrka-nji-nji putha-nha
tell-IMP 3sgACC tell-?-IMM putha-PER
tell her that (her) Putha said,

ngathu muthi-l-pana-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
But he lived alone in the bush; no man knew him.

4. *kanji ngurra-ku palka-a-pu nhu-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.


*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.
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 didn't go far; came back and hit the ground far from the man.

Then the moon laughed; he took from his bag a big boomerang and said to all (the people),

'I want you all to see this.'

He ran a short distance towards the east and threw the boomerang. The boomerang went ku ku ku ku, up, up, up into the sky.
The moon rested on the ground; the people stood like trees when there is no breeze (implying surprise).

As they talked they saw the boomerang coming back from the west circling high overhead.

It stayed circling in the sky.

Then it came down circling, closer, and closer, and closer to the ground.

Then slower, and slower, and slower it circled,

(imitating whirring) then it rested on the ground,

right at the moon's feet.
All the people told him that he was good and clever.

They asked him to throw once more.

He said, 'No. Maybe I will tomorrow.'

At that he went to his camp to rest.

When he went, the women teased, laughed at and joked about their men saying,

'Where is the man to beat him?'.

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.

night-LOC say-3sgP how-DAT DEF
At night, he told how he could swim and dive; oh, he talked a lot about himself only.

He had (his) eyes on two young women.

In the night there was a big corroboree.

While the men danced, the moon asked the two young women to run away with him.

The moon pointed and said, ‘You know that big tree away across there?’

% indicates doubt that the form was correctly recorded or glossed, besides also indicating what is unknown.
parta yurrinj yi-n-ta-a kanji partala
tomorrow night be-R-P-3sgP now tomorrow
yurrinj pakra thuri-ngka
night another sun-LOC

Tomorrow night came (was) (after) another sun (set).
mukatin-tju thana-yita² kiyarn-tu ngara
women-ERG do-3pl moon-ERG DEF

The women came (was) (after) the moon.
kiyarn-tu thingka-li thana² waarn-ta ngara
moon-ERG met-TRS 3plACC tree-LOC DEF

The moon met them at the tree.

kartu-kartu ya-n-ta-yita ngurra-ngu
quick-REDUP go-R-P-3pl camp-ABL
From there (their camp) they walked quickly.
yay nalu ngura tungkun-ta palka-yita
EX then there hollow-LOC come+P-3pl
Then they came to a river.
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.

ngara kiyarn-ta kawi-ra-yita² ngapa-ngka
then moon-LOC call-COMPL-3pl water-LOC

They called to the moon to come into the water.

kiyarn ngara milin-tja thina-pu
moon-ABS DEF mud-LOC stand+P-3sg

The moon stood in the mud close to the water's edge.
kartu kartu ngara paangki tharrka-ta-la-yita²
quick quick DEF swim-IMP say-P-SB-3pl

²Here 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.
women-ABS two

‘Hurry, hurry and swim’, the women said.

There and then the moon told them he could not swim.

I told all back at camp I could swim.’

The women said, ‘Get between us, on our backs’.

Here the women swam frog-like,

while the moon floated between them.

His hands rested on their backs.

Near the middle of the quiet water the moon tickled the two girls.
No, no, don't do that', the two girls said.

But the moon had his way.

He tickled them a lot more.

At that the women both dived down low.

The moon called out, 'I'm drowning, I'm drowning'.

They did not hear him.

They had dived down so low.

The moon went down and there he drowned.

The women came to the surface of the water.

They could not see the moon anywhere there.

3 Shows 'seeming grammatical mistake'.
They said, 'Oh, he's gone to the bottom'.

Quickly they swam and made their way back to camp.

They got back just at sunrise.

They went and had a good sleep.

All the people asked where the moon had gone.

'Why did he go?'

No one knew.

The two women said nothing.

The moon lay deep in the water for two days, then floated to the top.

He was blown by the wind across the camp.
The moon lay in the mud; ants came and crawled all over him, they bit him and stung him.

At this time the moon slowly moved his head, and both his arms and his legs.

Then he slowly sat up, then stood up, then he began to jump about.

He jumped here and there, 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 came to the big camp from where he had taken the two women.

On his way he cut a small bark from a tree.

He made it into a little shield.

He put this into his bag.
From there he went on.

The sun was setting when he came to the camp.

There he talked with all the people.

They did not recognise his face.

He was not the same as before.

In the morning he told the people to gather a lot of firewood to make a big fire at night,

in order to see him when he danced the wakurr and to hear him when he sang.

and small NEG DEF one away

want-PR.DEC-lsg night-ABS that all-REDUP
The moon said, 'All come, big and little. I don't want anyone to be away that night. All come, big and little.'

They made a big fire.

The moon came to the fire; he told all the people to sit on the ground knee to knee in front of the fire.

And he told them they are not to move.

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.

He took the bark from his bag,

put it on the ground, and said, 'Get big!'.

Then he went back to the people to sing and dance for them.
He sang and danced and made them all laugh to the middle of the night.

When not singing and dancing, he ran behind the fire,

Before going back to the people, he sang and danced a spirit dance.

By this time he had got very close to the bark.

He stood the bark up; it was high and big.
The people couldn't see it,

for the fire was very big.

The moon then 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 bowed down very low,' he said.

They did as he said.

With a tomahawk in his hand, the moon then sang and danced the (fast moving) wakathaa dance.
The people did not know he was singing magic words to the bark,

so that it suddenly became big and flat.

Now here are the words in Muruwari (and) English.

(a little chant introduction given before singing a new song.)

Hurry, hurry, and grow big,
You are to fall,
I want you to fall
On all (the people).
YAY!

When he gave this 'yay!' he ran quickly behind the bark.
The bark was now big and flat.

He gave the bark a push and it fell flat on the fire and all the people.

Fire coals went everywhere.

The moon, with his big tomahawk in his hand, jumped on the bark.

There he stood. When he saw a head coming out from under the bark, he hit it with his tomahawk.

Two men who had come from afar to the camp that night,

saw what the moon was doing.
They ran quickly away from there and came to another camp.

They went from camp to camp.

There they told what the moon had done.

Men came; they saw the place; all had burned away.

With boomerangs and spears they went after the moon.

They saw him on the open plain.

They ran here, he ran there.

Men came in a circle towards him.

They told-3pl what-DAT moon-ERG do-LCL-3sgP

Men came; they saw the place; all had burned away.

With boomerangs and spears they went after the moon.

They saw him on the open plain.

There they circled round him.

Men came in a circle towards him.
The men came closer and closer in a circle,

The men came closer and closer in a circle, block-CO.ORD-PURP way-ABS come-R-P.OPT-PURP 3sgGEN to block his way out.

The men came closer and closer in a circle, block-CO.ORD-PURP way-ABS come-R-P.OPT-PURP 3sgGEN to block his way out.

The moon was a very clever doctor.

The moon was a very clever doctor. saw-CAUS-3sg one-ABS only be-R-PR-SB-3sg

He saw there was only one way out for him (that he could purpose to come.)

He saw there was only one way out for him (that he could purpose to come.)

He ran around in a little circle,

He ran around in a little circle, high sky-LOC jump-P.DEC-3sg hide-PURP

and jumped up in to the sky to hide;

and jumped up in to the sky to hide;

come-R-CONT-PURP 3sgACC

He saw there was only one way out for him (that he could purpose to come.)

He saw there was only one way out for him (that he could purpose to come.)

He ran around in a little circle,

He ran around in a little circle, high sky-LOC jump-P.DEC-3sg hide-PURP

and jumped up in to the sky to hide;

and jumped up in to the sky to hide;

come-R-CONT-SB-3sg-PURP small?-LCL

He saw there was only one way out for him (that he could purpose to come.)

He saw there was only one way out for him (that he could purpose to come.)

He ran around in a little circle,

He ran around in a little circle, high sky-LOC jump-P.DEC-3sg hide-PURP

and jumped up in to the sky to hide;

and jumped up in to the sky to hide;

come-R-CONT-SB-3sg-PURP small?-LCL

He saw there was only one way out for him (that he could purpose to come.)

He saw there was only one way out for him (that he could purpose to come.)

He ran around in a little circle,

He ran around in a little circle, high sky-LOC jump-P.DEC-3sg hide-PURP

and jumped up in to the sky to hide;

and jumped up in to the sky to hide;

come-R-CONT-SB-3sg-PURP small?-LCL

He saw there was only one way out for him (that he could purpose to come.)

He saw there was only one way out for him (that he could purpose to come.)

He ran around in a little circle,

He ran around in a little circle, high sky-LOC jump-P.DEC-3sg hide-PURP

and jumped up in to the sky to hide;

and jumped up in to the sky to hide;

come-R-CONT-SB-3sg-PURP small?-LCL

He saw there was only one way out for him (that he could purpose to come.)

He saw there was only one way out for him (that he could purpose to come.)

He ran around in a little circle,
From there he looks down and laughs at all the people on the ground.

He does this from moon to moon.

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 Horneville)

(Mrs Horneville: Tapes 20, 22, 28, 29, Goodooga 1974)

Mrs Horneville'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 Horneville'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.

4kiyarnu kiyarnu means 'a lunar month'
The moon jumped in to the water with them.

He was playing about with the girls.

They became angry.

They started belting him with a stick.

They gave him a big hiding.

They held his head under the water.

They almost drowned him.

They thought they really had drowned him.

He was a big man, (but) they pulled him out of the water.

They lifted his head out of the water.

And they left him there for dead.

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 ngura-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-rrii-nja 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 kopi
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.
(Later on) some people came (who said) they'd seen Kiyarn sitting in the bush.

People were still annoyed when they thought about what he had done.

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.]

The star (came rolling over the camp site and) killed all the people.

(They got a lot of people together) with their weapons and went after Kiyarn.

They speared him to death (he was speared). They got him; they killed him.

There were blood stains on his face.
At night, when the night is blacked out, the moon looks through.

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 kurr-kurr ru niyaa-yita
   sit-STY-3sg all-REDUP sit-3pl
   He (the moon-man) is sitting on the ground; all the people are sitting too.

2. thayin ... thayin ya-rri thayin
   towards towards go-REFL towards
   The boomerang circles and twists, coming back to us.

3. purraa-pu-nji mayi-ngka
   descend-3sg-IMM ground-LOC

4. tiyawi-mi-na-a marli tiyawi-mi-na-a
   twist-PROG-LCL-3sg boomerang-ABS twist-PROG-LCL-3sg
   ... thayin ya-rri thayin

5. ?ku warra nhumpa
   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
   rest-R-VOL-1sg
   'I'm going over to have a spell.'
They were tormenting him.

The moon lived far from camp.

The moon came to the camp and went hunting with all the men.

He told them he could swim and liked to dive, and he told them that he could float also.

He talked a lot about himself.

But he was looking at two young gins.

That night there was a big corroboree.

He told them he could swim and liked to dive, and he told them that he could float also.
That night the two women decided to run away with him.

'Yes, we will go!'

'We will meet him there' (?)

(The moon) pointed at it (tree) (and said), 'Do you see that tree?'

You two girls, be there tomorrow night at the butt of the tree. Come back to the butt of this tree.'

In the night he had a small fire burning.

When it came tomorrow night the two girls did what the moon said.

They met him at the butt of the tree. (?)
purrakulayaman
three-ABS
He came to them; they two went with the man; the three of them went away quickly.

ya-n-ta-ra-y  ya-n-ta-ra-yi-ra
walk-R-P-COMPL-EX  walk-P-COMPL-3pl

ngarri-nju  palka-ra  ngarntu-ku
?that-?  come-CO.ORD  river-ALL
They walked and walked until they came to a river.

kawi-li-ya-pula  punha  ngapa  kayi-n-tjira
call-TRS-P.DEC-3du  3sgACC  water-ABS  enter-R-VOL
The two girls called him to come in to the water.

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.

kartu-wu-rri  paanki-ra  tharrka  nhula
quick-?-REFL  swim-IMP  said  2duNOM
‘Hurry up and swim’, you two said.

paanti-ni-li-na-a
unable to swim-STY-TRS-LCL-3sg
He couldn't swim!

milinj  tharrka  milinj  tharrka
lies-ABS  tell  lies-ABS  tell

nhurrana  paanti-ni-li-na-yu
2duACC  unable to swim-STY-TRS-LCL-1sg
‘I told you lies, I told you lies, I can't swim!’

maa-ra  piya-ka-ra  pangkal-a  thika  yalu
put-IMP  rest-CAUS-IMP  shoulder-LOC  1sgGEN  here
‘Rest on my shoulders here.

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.’

thantay-kala  paangki-yita
frog-like  swim-3pl
They swam like fish (lit. frogs).

thangki-ya-a  purra-nga-ra  thanu-ngka
float-P.DEC-3sgP  ?-P.TR-CO.ORD  middle-LOC
The moon floated between them,
There, in the middle of the slow running, tranquil water, he began to tickle them.

'Leave us alone, leave us alone!

'Don't keep on tickling us all the time!'

And (the women) dived down low.

The moon called out, 'I don't want to drown!'

'I'm drowning, I'm drowning.'

They two did not hear him.

They two dived straight down.

The moon was sinking right down.

Then he was drowned.
46 kartu ya-n-ta-pula ngurra-ku-nji mukinj-purral
   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
   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
   what-ABL what-DAT go-P-3sg
   What was up with him? Why did he go?

50 wala nguntaa-ta kantu-ngku
   NEG know-3pl other-ERG
   The other fellows didn't know.

51 wayil wuni-ya-a puwi-pu paru mayi-ngka
   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 ngaxa kaa-n-pi-li-pu ngurra-ku-nji ...
   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.
They had a feed of him!

Slowly he moved his head, arms and legs.

He got up, stood upright,

He jumped about,

He brushed the ants off himself (‘from his man’), and then went up the river.

He lived in the bush a long time.

His beard grew right down to his belly.

His eyes became big and red and he (became) a spirit man.
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-kampa [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 purrku-kurla thana-a purrku-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 kuru-kurrumayinj [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-yika punha puka yala [95]
NEG know-3pl 3sgACC 3sgGEN different
Nguntjilila
features-ABS
No one knew him (because) his features were changed.

thaata-ku wii pa-l-ku-yu kanji yurrin-tja
big-GEN fire-ABS make-R-FUT-1sg now night-LOC
'I'm going to make a big fire tonight.'

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.

tuurri tuurri thaata-nj-mu-ka thaata-nj-mu-ka
grow grow big-NS-PROG-IMP big-NS-PROG-IMP
'Get big, get big!' (he said to the bark)

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.

yungki-n-tjirra-a kurrka-ngka
sing-R-VOL-3sg corroboree-LOC
He wants to sing a corroboree song.

kurrri-kurrri kintaa-ya-a... kinti-n-ta-a tharrana
all-REDUP-ABS laugh-P.DEC-3sg laugh-R-P-3sg 3plACC
He made all the people laugh.

kirri-ya-a yungki-ya-a thanu-mpu-ku
dance-P.DEC-3sgP sing-P.DEC-3sgP middle-3sg-ALL
He sang and danced till the middle of the night.

thangki-ya-a-nja murrinj-ku yima-ra pu-nha
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 corroboreeing, 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. *witjjiwitji-ngka makuntharra-ra kumpi-yiR*
   
   bird-LOC ochre-ABS paint-3pl
   
   *makuntharra-ra witjjiwitji-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-H AB-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
When the hot coals (break up) she would cook the crayfish in the hole.

She covered it (hole) with ashes and dirt.

[Story continued in English for some way]

Everyone used to eat raw (meat).

They didn't have anything with which to make fire. (or They didn't hold the spark.)

(The blue crane would say,) 'It will cook in the sun'.

They used to try and do that.

'Carry it out into the sun; the sun will cook it for you', (the old woman would say).

The crayfish became stinking (when the people did this).

The sun didn't cook them!

'She must have something', (the people said).

'We'll have to watch that old woman.'
(Two fellows said, ‘Yes,) we'll go over and watch that old woman’.

Those two, the budgerigar and the quarrion got up very early (when it was like night).

They two slipped around (ran) then (to the lagoon).

Then they climbed a tree (to wait for) the old woman.

They saw her coming.

‘Quiet. Keep quiet’, (they said).

She put her dillybag down.

She looked around, (then) took off her dress.

She went into the water.

[Story continued in English for some way]

That old husband of hers was a bronzewing.

(He said,) ‘Where you get that, old woman?’
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’, 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

**YA WURU-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-AB S 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. tha 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 kurrur-kurru
   return-P.DEC-3pl camp-ALL all-REDUP-ABS
When the people returned to camp they took all the water with them.

Only mud remained.

Then they two are crying out for water.

The two women were now both full of food (had a gut full).

They had eaten too many wild oranges.

They were sitting down on the river bank when two men kookaburras came along.

They asked them, "What's the matter?"

'No water, no water; we're perishing for drink. We've been eating too many wild oranges.'

They looked up to see the mud shining.

"sing"-TRS-P.DEC-3du lagoon-ABS

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-ri-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 Homeville: 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  (yi)-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).
‘The boomerang will not fall on me; it will fall on the ground.’

The galah is a cheeky little fellow; he just kept on standing there.

(The galah said,) ‘I see it spinning high up in the air, ee, ee, ee, ee, ee.’ (possibly imitating the whirring sound)

‘Stand back!’ (the crow yelled).

‘No!’ (the galah replied).

It (the boomerang) fell on the galah's head (and busted it).

His head was bleeding; much blood flowed (?) from his head.

His feathers became red.

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-INSTR 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.
The frill-necked was making a humpy.

When she went away, the emu made an opening in the grass.

He kicked with his foot to make an opening come.

When the frill-necked turned around, the emu was making another (hole).

The rain was getting harder and harder.

The woman went and caught him making an opening (in the humpy) with his foot.

(She said to him), ‘You are doing that kicking’.

‘No, not me!’ , (he replied).

‘I thought I closed that hole up.’

‘No’, (he replied).
'I'm getting wet', (she said).

'I'm getting wet too!', (he said).

She took some hot coals and threw them on his chest.

Then the frill-necked ran and 'planted' herself in the bindi-eye burr.

The husband got her tracks.

He tracked the (small) woman.

He tracked her (to) under the bindi-eye.

He set fire to the bindi-eye.

The rain is going away now.

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:

KIIYIIRA NGUURRUNJ

1 kiiyira 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 kiiyira
   emu-ABS stand-3sg front-LCL turkey-ABS
   The emu stood in front of the turkey.

6 minjan-ku wala... wala witji 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.
And she (turkey) was knocking them (her children) on the head, all of them till there were only two left.

She sat the two children down and hid them.

The turkey said (to the emu), 'Where are your children?'

I couldn't feed them all so I killed them.

You ought to do the same.

I'll run in front (of them).'

She ran to the place where she had planted them.

She brought them out from the scrub.

They ran back.

Then she laughed at (the turkey).
(The turkey has) two eggs; the emu many.

(That is why) today the turkey lays only two eggs.

(The turkey) went away, then (came back) and said (to the emu),

'My arm, oh, my wrist!'

'Did you break it?' (lit. cause to break yours)

'I cut myself.'

'How?' (what from)

He cut his arm.

'I went and cut my (arm). I chopped it.

'Why don't you be like me? You should start to fly them (the arms).'

(The emu) cut his arms off with a sharp stone.

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 Horneville 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
  - 9.2.2 The natural world
  - 9.2.3 Animals – mammals
  - 9.2.4 Animals – fish species
  - 9.2.5 Animals – reptiles
  - 9.2.6 Animals – invertebrates
  - 9.2.7 Birds
  - 9.2.8 Arboreal
  - 9.2.9 The human family

285
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

miil (RHM: miil)
  miil tuku miil
  miil maarilaa

ngartanj

ngatunj

ngulu (RHM: ngulu)

ngumunj (RHM: ngumunj)

ngunjililaa

nguntja; muntja; wintja

nguru (RHM: nguru)

pampu (RHM: bumpo)
  minti-minti pampu
  tjulku-tjulku pampu

piku

pina (RHM: binna)
  papun-pina
  tiinj-pina

puu; puwu

thaa (RHM: dha)

thalanj (RHM: thallunj)

thirra; tirra (RHM: tirra)
  thirrara

eye
  pupil of eye (JB)
  weak eyes (JB)

roof of mouth

ear lobe (EH)

forehead

cheek; face

features (of face)

face

nose

head; hair of head
  curly hair
  straight hair

eyelid; eyebrow (JB)

ear

earlobe (JB)
inside ear (lit. ear-hole)

chin (BC)

mouth; lips; beak of bird

tongue

tooth

teeth
tii-nguru

nostril (lit. nose-hole) (EH)

tuwinj-tuwinj

temple

yankanj

chin (JB; EH.10:10)

yarranj  (EH: yarranja) (RHM: yerran)

beard (BC); whiskers

9.2.1.2 THE BODY – EXTERNAL PARTS

kalunj; kalunj

left hand

kapart; kaparr  (RHM: burranj)

armpit

karlanj-karlanj

shoulder (possibly back portion of shoulders)

(EH.62:4)

karlpa

groin

kartka

hip

kini  (RHM: kinni)

vulva

kirrpay

(1) skin, usually of an animal, but may also refer
to human skin as in: kirrpay parriyu wiingka
tharraa ‘I (my skin) got burnt in the fire (because
I was) drunk.’ (RC.1:3)

(2) kangaroo skin rug (EH.47:5)

kitji-kitjimpi

itch

kitji

itchy

‘My ear is itchy.’

pina kitjiki

pimples; rash; pus (JB.66B:3)

kulkay

ribs

kunanj; kungiyunh

elbow

kupungka

beside

‘Walk beside me (at my elbow).’ (JB.14B:2)

yana kupungka thika

wrist (EH.13:3)

mankurr

hand; thumb; finger

mara  (RHM: murra)

right hand

marayinj mara

left hand

kalunj mara

little finger

tiki mara

palm of hand

tuku mara

body hair; fur

marnar

lower arm; wrist

marnku  (RHM: murngu arm)
lap (BC)

marnta

waist (EH.18:2)

muranj

skin burn; pus-sore, boil

murlpan; murlpunh
wrinkled skin
buttocks (EH.12:5, 7:8)
cicatrice made in the skin with possum's teeth
[designs were carved on the arms, chest and back]
mole on skin
breast
throat; Adam's apple (EH.13:3), front of neck
body; waist
anus; buttocks (SJ.2:1)
navel; umbilical cord
shoulder; shin (EH.7C:1)
heel
heel of foot
ankle
claw; fingernail; toenail
upper arm; wing; branch of a river; large gutter
coming in to a river; small storm away from the
main storm of rain (i.e. the small 'arm' of a larger
storm)
back; backbone (EH.16:5)
behind
'Go behind me!' (JB.14B:2)
lower portion of back; (sometimes) behind
calf of leg; behind knee
chest; brisket; collarbone
'My chest is paining me.'
fist; knuckle
'He hit him with his knuckles.' (EH.29:3)
skin [either a borrowing from another language or
a second, more unusual word for 'skin' (yuranj,
the more common word)]
thigh
shoulder blade (arm shaped, like a tomahawk)
(JB.59B:1)
nympheae (RHM); menses (JB)
thina (RHM: dhinna)
   ngupunj thina
thinkal (RHM: thin-gal)
thuku (RHM: dhugu); tuku
   thuku thina
   thuka mara
   thuku miil
   tiki kayintjirraa tukungka puka tungkun
thuliti
thun (RHM: dhun)
   thunthara
   thunpika mirrinj
thuntu
thuwi
tungunj
waangkiri
yuranj

9.2.1.3 THE BODY – INTERNAL PARTS
kapunj-kapunj
karlu
karna
kita-kita; kira-kira
kiwa (RHM: kiwa)
kurlkuri
   wala kurlkuriyita
kuwanj (RHN: goanj)
mangka (RHM: mungga)
muntarra
murrunjkuna; murrunjkuna
   murrunjkuna puultanja kulangu
paliputharran
parninj (RHM: purnin testicles)
parranj
piin; piirn

foot; toe
instep
knee
stomach, belly; replete (stomach full) (JB.28B:2)
sole of the foot
palm of the hand
pupil of the eye
‘The young one jumped into his pouch.’
vein (JB.66B:1)
penis; tail
errection (RHM)
comet (star having tail)
lower leg (knee to ankle)
pubic hair
back of neck, nape (EH.62:4)
underarm hair
human skin (EH)

brains
testicles
liver
tripc; intestines
urine
muscles; strong
‘(He’s) weak.’ (lit. has no muscles)
blood
bone; spine
placenta, afterbirth
guts, inside of stomach
‘I pulled the guts from the kangaroo.’ (EH.49:3)
lungs
scrotum (EH.47:4)
ribs, possibly rib cage
sinew (JB.66B:1)
9.2.1.4 BODILY PRODUCTS AND FUNCTIONS

**Bodily Products**

- **Heart**: phlegm; saliva, spittle
- **Kidney**: ‘Spit it out!’ (lit. throw the spit away)
- **Spleen**: ‘That man is spitting.’ (RC.9:4)
- **Womb**: venereal disease
- **Phlegm**: body warmth
- **Sneezing**: ‘Last night I was warm all night.’
- **Excrement**: sneeze
- **Masturbation**: ‘I sneezed.’
- **Menstruation**: excrement
- **Sickness**: menstruation (lit. far camp)
- **Perspiration**: mole (Eng.)
- **Sweating**: perspiration (EH)
- **Masturbation**: ‘I’m hot and sweating.’ (EH.59:5)
- **Sorrow**: masturbation (JB)
- **Body Sore**: sickness
- **Ear Wax**: ‘Shillin is (sick) in hospital.’
- **Vomit**: ‘His eyes became (sick and big and ) red.’
- **Kiss**: sorrow
- **Kissing**: body sore; bite on skin or healed sore (EH.4:2)

**Body Functions**

- **Heart**: heart
- **Bone Marrow**: phlegm; saliva, spittle
- **Kidney**: ‘Spit it out!’ (lit. throw the spit away)
- **Spleen**: ‘That man is spitting.’ (RC.9:4)
- **Womb**: venereal disease
- **Excrement**: body warmth
- **Menstruation**: sneeze
- **Sick**: excrement
- **Sulphur**: menstruation (lit. far camp)
- **Sweat**: mole (Eng.)
- **Sweaty**: perspiration (EH)
- **Sweating**: ‘I’m hot and sweating.’ (EH.59:5)
- **Sick**: masturbation (JB)
- **Body Sore**: sickness
- **Ear Wax**: ‘Shillin is (sick) in hospital.’
- **Vomit**: ‘His eyes became (sick and big and ) red.’
- **Kiss**: sorrow
- **Kissing**: body sore; bite on skin or healed sore (EH.4:2)
- **On the Hand**: ear wax
- **Vomit**: vomit
- **Kiss**: kiss (JB)
**ngaayirn-ngaayirn**  
**ngaayirn-ngaayirn puurripu**  
emission of wind, fart; panting  
**ngatangara**  
**ngintin**  
**nguwal; ngawarl** (RHM: *ngulgunj*)  
**nhathanj** (RHM: *nuddhunj*)  
**nhathanj-nhathanj**  
**nunta** (RHM: *nundur*)  
**punu**  
**purraanh**  
**purtinj** (RHM: *burdinj*)  

9.2.2 THE NATURAL WORLD  
9.2.2.1 RELATING TO THE EARTH  
**karuwi; karrawir** (RHM: *Kurrawir*)  
**kunmuru**  
**kurrkurrama** (RHM: *gumbugun ‘small hill’*)  
**ngariyaku yanmi kurrkurrama thirriya**  
**kurti**  
**kuthi** (RHM: *gudhi*)  
**makuntharra** (RHM: *mugguundhurra*)  
**mayi** (RHM: *me*)  

**milinj** (RHM: *millin*)  
**thuu milinjpika ngapa ngathu wala thalkuyu**  
**mingka**  
**mutha**  
**naypa puka payintinmaa ngariya ngunaala muthangka**  
**pakul; pakurl** (RHM: *bugbul*)  
**pakul mayi**  
**pakulpiska mayi**  
**pakul-wii**  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngaayirn-ngaayirn</td>
<td>emission of wind, fart; panting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaayirn-ngaayirn puurripu</td>
<td>passing wind (EH.46:6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngatangara</td>
<td>breath</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngintin</td>
<td>mucus (EH.49:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nguwal; ngawarl</td>
<td>tears (EH.14:2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhathanj (RHM: <em>nuddhunj</em>)</td>
<td>sexual desire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nhathanj-nhathanj</td>
<td>flirt, promiscuous woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nunta (RHM: <em>nundur</em>)</td>
<td>perspiration (JB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>punu</td>
<td>bruise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purraanh</td>
<td>ringworm (EH.44:4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purtinj (RHM: <em>burdinj</em>)</td>
<td>semen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karuwi; karrawir</td>
<td>river sand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunmuru</td>
<td>ochre (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurrkurrama</td>
<td>hill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngariyaku yanmi kurrkurrama thirriya</td>
<td>‘I’m going there over that hill.’ (EH.10:6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurti</td>
<td>red earth (S)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuthi (RHM: <em>gudhi</em>)</td>
<td>red ochre</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makuntharra (RHM: <em>mugguundhurra</em>)</td>
<td>pipe clay (kopi)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayi (RHM: <em>me</em>)</td>
<td>earth, ground, soil; the ‘run’ or territory of a horde which had descent in the male line (R-B.1923:433)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>milinj (RHM: <em>millin</em>)</td>
<td>mud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thuu milinjpika ngapa ngathu wala thalkuyu</td>
<td>‘The water is muddy, I won’t drink it.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mingka</td>
<td>grave; tunnel; cave (JB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutha</td>
<td>black ground or soil</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>naypa puka payintinmaa ngariya ngunaala muthangka</td>
<td>‘He found his knife lying on the black ground.’ (EH.207)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakul; pakurl (RHM: <em>bugbul</em>)</td>
<td>any stony substance, stone, pebble, rock etc.; also used for ‘money’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakul mayi</td>
<td>stony country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakulpisma mayi</td>
<td>stony country</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakul-wii</td>
<td>opal (lit. fire-stone)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
palkiri
parntin  
  parntinthulu kuthara yintiyita
parriikin
parrin
pingkul-tiinj
thiri (RHM: dhirri ‘sand’)
thurltu  
  thurltumilayaa  
  thurltuyira

9.2.2.2 RELATING TO FIRE
kurnunj (RHM: gurnunj)
puka kurnunj paliyaa  
  kurnuntja muthiray witji
piya
putha
thaawii
thinti
thununj
thurran (RHM: thuran)
tikinj  
  muurru tikintja
wii (RHM: wi)  
  wiitja  
  wiitja kaangkuyu

9.2.2.3 RELATING TO WATER AND RIVERS
kakuru  
  punkinj kakuru yintaa
karlinj
kawarin
kii-kii

cracks in dried-up ground (EH.157M:9)
dirt
‘They are dirty children.’
claypan (EH.206:4)
burnt, blackened soil (S)
burrow (lit. a pierced (dug out) hole)
river sand; sandy ground
dust
a dust storm (lit. when it is dusting) (JB.54B:6)
dusty
red hot coals (EH.10:3)
carbon, dead coals (lit. hot coals have died, are decayed)
‘The meat is being cooked on the coals.’
(EH.27:4)
flames, blaze of fire (poss. Eng.)
ashes
firestick (lit. mouth of fire) (JB;RC)
spark
smouldering fire
smoke
hot ashes
to cook in hot ashes (EH.12:9)
fire
firestick
‘I will carry the firestick.’ (RC.5:8)
lagoon (EH.10:9b)
‘The lagoon was dry.’
a deep waterhole on Culgoa River
large swamp (EH.10:9b)
bubble of froth (S)
Kiirn

Kitjupukuniwi

Kurumin

Kuthinmathinj

Kuwalwirla

Kuwariinj

Maaranj

Milpiri

Mirri-mirri

Mirri-mirringka

Mirrintjina

Mirriwukula

Muru; Muurru

Murukulka

Ngamaa-kirra

Ngapa (RHM: Ngubba)

Ngapa-wartu

Ngartnu

Ngartnu-ngartnu

Ngukilaa

Ngurruwarta

Nhamayi

Nhamun

Nhirrpurl; Niilpurl

Paarntum

Pakunj

Papama

Kiirn

Kitjupukuniwi

Kurumin

Kuthinmathinj

Kuwalwirla

Kuwariinj

Maaranj

Milpiri

Mirri-mirri

Mirri-mirringka

Mirrintjina

Mirriwukula

Muru; Muurru

Murukulka

Ngamaa-kirra

Ngapa (RHM: Ngubba)

Ngapa-wartu

Ngartnu

Ngartnu-ngartnu

Ngukilaa

Ngurruwarta

Nhamayi

Nhamun

Nhirrpurl; Niilpurl

Paarntum

Pakunj

Papama

Algae, a hair-like bright green substance found on rocks and snags in clear streams (JB.1B:6)

Culgoa River waterhole at Cartlands

Name of a big swamp

Last waterhole on the Culgoa 'the other side' from Weilmoringle

Name of waterhole on Culgoa 'up Johnson's way'

Name of 'the far away' swamp (EH.60:3)

Shallow water (EH.83:7)

Culgoa River waterhole two miles downstream from Mandawal Station

River bank

On the river bank (EH.44:1)

Culgoa River waterhole straight downstream from Dennowen

A waterhole on the Culgoa at Weilmoringle

Culgoa River waterhole at Mandawal Station or deep waterhole near Mundiwa

Culgoa River waterhole with spring in it that never went dry

Swamp name (lit. big breasts) (RC.112M)

Water

Waterhole (EH)

Water-filled hollow; river; Culgoa River

Creek; small hollow

Junction of Birrie and Bokhara rivers [Mogila Station (north of Goodooga on Queensland border) is an adaptation of this name]

Flood

Namoi River

Waterhole at Dennowen

Spring of water

Culgoa River waterhole near Bunida

Name of Culgoa waterhole at place where Mundiwa camp was

Culgoa River waterhole near Milroy bridge
parru
payawanj
payira
pilipampu
pirinti; pirrinti
pultinuwina
puramaringkal
purringapa
purrungkalpita
puthin-puthi
puuthinawina
talaari
tanpiyika (RHM: burduNgubba 'still water'
lit. rain water)	tanpiyika ngapa
thangkipintj
tharinpiixa
thurnaamanj
tiiliil
wantinira ngapangka tiiliil ngara, look!
tukumungurra
tungulpita
walamu
wamparinj
warrampuurr
witji-purrpayina
yaarri
yanpayilmaal
yiriyita

river, creek (borrowed from Guwamu) (RC.1:3)
Culgoa waterhole up from Mundiwa
waterhole between Weilmoringle and Bark Creek junction
Culgoa waterhole at old Baal's place
anabranch of river (JB.66B:4); tributary; small creek
waterhole where Bark Creek joins the Culgoa
Culgoa River waterhole known to RC
Culgoa River waterhole past Johnson's place
deep hole on the Culgoa near Weilmoringle
waterhole near Weilmoringle
Culgoa River waterhole between Cartlands and Yuri Point
Culgoa River waterhole far down river
still, motionless
still water
stagnant water
Culgoa River waterhole at Irving Grange
Culgoa River waterhole at Mike Johnson's place
water bubble
‘(There are) bubbles on the top of the water, look!’ (EH.145)
waterhole on Culgoa at Yuri Point homestead
waterhole at Wilara (Matheral's place)
Wollan River
waterhole at Weilmoringle camp
waterhole where initiations took place (JB.59B:4)
Culgoa River waterhole at Karingle (lit. (kangaroo meat) jumped up)
deep hole past Kaweel on Culgoa River
place on the Culgoa where the legendary moonman was resurrected
Grogan's Hole waterhole on Culgoa River
**yirrinj** (RHM: *nguruwrurru* ‘running water’)  
flowing water

### 9.2.2.4 NATURAL OBJECTS

**kamangkarra** (RHM: *kummunggurra* ‘shadow of man’)

**kampuka; kampukan** (RHM: *gumbun* ‘small hill’)

**kapunthi**

---

**karraa**

**kawinj; kawinj-kawinj**

*yaw pitarra kawinj pitarra*

**parna pitarra kawinj-kawinj**

**kayi** (RHM: *kai*)

**kilkay**

**kirnti**

---

**kukuma** (RHM: *guguma*)

**kulayi**

**kulayingka kurraykuyu**

**kulayi thirralkuyu nurraangu**

**kuli-kuli**

**kumpukun** (RHM: *gumbun*)

**kuntja**

**kuntjangka puka**

**kuntjuu**

**kurl-kurl**

**kurli-kurli** (RHM: *kuliguli*)

**kurlkay**

---

person's shadow

ridge; small hill

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)

place where bees collect nectar

smell, odour; taste

'It is indeed sweet smelling.' (EH.29:6)

'Goannas are good eating.'

pathway, footpath

puddle (EH.10:12)

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

fog, fog clouds

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)

rainstorm (JB; RC.8:6)

small hill (RHM only)

stain

'There's a stain on him.' (EH.20:4)

scrub country (S)

bank which crabs dig in (EH.206:5)

shadow of a tree

pus (EH.206:3)
maal
mirti  (RHM: mirdi ‘scrubby place’)
muka
ngawurl; ngawurlu
ngawurlu yanmipu
ngurra  (RHM: Ngura)
ngurumpita; malampiri; malampiri
nhuruunguway
paa-paa
   wayil paa-paanji tuwipu
paayil; paayar

palaa  (RHM: bullaa ‘open plain’)
   kuwarri yanmipu palaangak
   palaa wantinaa mathanta kurlpu
   palaangka
   palaa pampu
pantanj; parntanj

parti
   partiyita
      mathan thuu partiyita
paru-wartu
pathinh
pirrkil
pithal

pulkurru  (RHM: bulguru)
taa
tali

place, spot; natural feature (JB.89B:5)
bush country, scrub
corner (JB)
echo
‘The echo is coming back.’ (lit. walking) (EH.9:6)
camp
spider’s web, gossamer (JB)
ground white with hail
bend in river
‘He’s looking round a bend in the river.’
   (RC.43:1)
putty made from native beeswax used to block up
holes in tins, billy cans etc. [it sets hard like tar]
   (EH.15:10)
any open, bare or cleared place
   (1) unforested, grass-covered plain
   ‘He’s going a long way on the plains.’  (RC.1:4)
   (2) outside
   ‘The butcherbird lived on the tree outside.’
   (EH.29:S)
outside, open or clear sky
   (3) bare; bald
   bald (lit. bare head)
hole; opening (as through the trees), in or through
a substance
knot
knotty
‘The limb has many knots in it.’
cliff (lit. deep hollow) (EH.206:4)
scent, smell
small piece of some substance as a chip of wood,
piece of bread
any outer covering, as shell of an egg or mussel,
bark
highest point in the surrounding land as hill,
mountain, island, mound, river bank (EH.157M:4)
entrance to a hive, nest, house (does not appear to
be a transliteration of Eng. ‘door’)
yoke of egg
talingka
parna talingka ngunira

"The goanna is asleep (hibernating)."

thalu
thalungka

day
today
cave, hole, any cavity (usually in ground)
'The snake went into the hole.' (EH.12:10)
inside ear

tiin; tiinj
tiintja kayintjira kaan
tiin pina

young of species
day
the young ones

titji
titiyira

bend in the river (EH.157M:6)
in a bend in the river (EH.83:7)

wapu
wapungka

any sort of depression or hollowed out space
(1) waterhole; river; hollow
(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)

wartu

circle (JB)

wakamara piyan wartungka

ridge stones (pl) (EH.13:11)
tree covered plain (EH.148M:19, 84:2)

wirunj

wind

wuntunj; wuntuwunj

night, darkness, a dark moonless night
last night
dark night

yaarra

pathway; road

yarrka

large sandhill (BC; JB.65B:2)
yarrkayita

3.2.2.5 GEOGRAPHIC FEATURES AND PLACE NAMES

yurrijn (RHM: yurinj 'darkness')
yurrinja

yuuwurrinj

yurun; yuruun

thultuyita yurun

yuul; yuu

place name for part of Culgoa River

kalpin

?ridge

kampuka

JB's name for Lightning Ridge

wanginj-kampuka

the 'outback'

kanka; kangka

'Many live in the outback.'

thuu niyiyira kanka

'Two came from afar in the outback.' (EH.274)

kawarringu yantapula kangkangu

this side of the river

karanj

'I'm this side, you are across the river.' (EH.13:5)

nhuu karanj ngathu yintu karranta

large sandhill (BC; JB.65B:2)
karral
karranta
purami karranta kunpartangka
kuri
ngintu ngara kurigu yana
kurrungka
miiyaay

ngurrampa
nganti ngurrampa
paankirr
palkanthinipu
pama
paniyita
para
paraku ngathu partala yankuwi
paray; parrari
parranj
ngariya parranj
pintinj
ngara pintintja ngapangka
thiralutha
warti
wayilmarrangkal
wirurruru
withu-marti
yanta-yanta

upstream; north (EH.12:13)
across the river; the other side
‘I’m going across the river on a log.’
place
‘You go to your place.’ (JB.1)
Kurrunga Peak, a place not far from Baruk where
Ngiyambaa initiations were carried out (JB.59B:5)
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)
birth place
‘That’s my birth place.’

Bangate Station

place on Culgoa River where the palkan trees are
Barwon River (RC; JB.65B:2)

name for Dennowen
‘I’m going to Dennowen tomorrow.’

east
side of river
that other side (EH.42:5)
middle of
in the middle of the river (water) (EH.22:1)

name for Mundiwa (JB)

outback, out in the bush (EH.81:1)

Weilmoringle Station; name of waterhole there

name for Enngonia

place name of a camp where North Bourke now is
(JB.2B:2)

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)
kiyan; kiyarn (RHM: gian)

kunhan-kunhan

kurripita

mirrinj (RHM: mirrinj)

ngangkurrkinj; ngangkurlkiin

ngiitji-kintawa

ngulu-ngulu

nuriyan

panta

pantangka-wii

parriyal (RHM: gurierrina)

paruwartu

mirrinj ngara paruwartungka

paruwartu-nuumpa

paruwartu-nuumpa kantangka

piyampir

tawayarru-tungkun

thamarrinmipu

thurlinjpira

kulamipu thurlinjpira

thurri; thuri (RHM: dhuri)

kapu thuri

thurringka

thuri kulayipu

thuri warrayipu

wanginj (RHM: wung-inj)

wangintju pantipu

wilanh

yantipu (RHM: yandibu lit. 'he speaks')

yukanh

yukanhpira

moon

young boys; stars in the Milky Way (EH.53:4)

rolls of thunder (EH.12:2)

star

dawn light; morning light before sunrise (EH.60:3)

Southern Aurora (JB.66:10)

Morning Star (lit. laughing at her buttocks)

from a legend which tells of an old woman being

laughed at for her bare buttocks (EH.26:14)

thunder (S)

name of a particular star (JB.52B:1)

sky; horizon

lightning (lit. fire in the sky) [a rarely used term]

(JB.1B:3)

rainbow

the Milky Way, the galaxy (JB.52:1)

stars in the Milky Way (JB.52B:1)

the Southern Cross

'The Southern Cross is at its highest point.'

(JB.52B:1)

name of a star (JB)

cumulus clouds [called 'swifts' boats' since swifts

are known as rain makers] (EH.14:14d)

half moon [the elided form of thaata ngasi

yinmipu 'It is becoming bigger.'] (RC.5:7)

thunder

'A thunderstorm is coming.' (RC.8:3)

sun; day

two days

midday, at the sun's peak

sunrise (the sun is climbing)

sunset (the sun is falling)

lightning

lightning strikes (RC)

stratus clouds (EH.14:14)

thunder

clouds (gen.) (EH.14:14)

cloudy day
9.2.2.7 WEATHER

kiwanj

marnta (RHM: murndamiu ‘cold’; murnda ‘frost’)
mukari (RHM: mugari)
mukuriyita
palpanj
pulpuranj
purruwura; pururuwa (RHM: burriu ‘heat’)
pururuwangka
{purruwa and purru also recorded}
purtu (RHM: burdu)
purtu-ngapa
talay
taringara; tawingira
yukanh nhaaka ngariya taringara
thalay
thali (RHM: dhulle)
thalingapa
tharra
tharringara
thurrpunj
tiipuru
tirrkay
yarti-yarti

yarti-yarti yarrka palkanthipu
thultu yarti-yarti
mukari yarti-yarti

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)
cold; cold weather; frost; wintertime
hail
hail clouds
hailstone (S)
whirlwind (EH.7:2; JB.26B:3; S)
heat; summer; hot day
in the heat
rain
rainwater
wintertime; the dormant season
storm; ‘woolpack’ clouds
‘See the storm clouds.’ (EH.7:8)
dew; frost; cold weather
dew
shower of rain (RC)
rain shower [refers to a local shower, or to ‘an arm of clouds’] (JB.59B:1)
storm clouds (probably from tharri- ‘to fly’)
light, soft rain (SJ)
sunshower (EH)
dust storm (RC.2:7)
(1) cyclone (EH.7:8), violent storm (esp. a wind storm)
‘There’s a bad storm coming.’
a bad dust storm
a violent hailstorm
(2) celestial being with cyclonic powers

9.2.2.8 TIMES AND SEASONS

kurnta (RHM: gunda-gunda ‘day’) yesterday
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nankurtanj</td>
<td>bright moonlit night (EH.10C)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pakin</td>
<td>twilight</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parta; partala (RHM: Burrulla)</td>
<td>morning; next day; tomorrow in the morning, tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>partalangka</td>
<td>in the morning, tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pimayi</td>
<td>evening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pimayingka</td>
<td>in the evening (JB.69B:4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wiyingkal</td>
<td>daytime (BC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yapinj; yapinj-yapinj</td>
<td>springtime; warmth; coming out of hibernation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(EH.13:3)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 9.2.3 ANIMALS — MAMMALS

#### 9.2.3.1 GENERAL TERMS RELATING TO ANIMALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mayinjka</td>
<td>male of species</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thiyil; thiyirl</td>
<td>tail</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thiyirlipisi mirrinj</td>
<td>comet (star having a tail)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>turrunj; turunh</td>
<td>young of species, as young goanna</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 9.2.3.2 NATIVE ANIMALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kakara (RHM: kuggara)</td>
<td>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]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kiiwii</td>
<td>sp. of bandicoot (JB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirala (RHM: Geala)</td>
<td>possum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kukay (RHM: kugai)</td>
<td>kangaroo (gen.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kula (RHM: gula)</td>
<td>doe of red kangaroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kumparr</td>
<td>tame dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuntar1 (RHM: gundul)</td>
<td>dingo (JB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirriwulu</td>
<td>grey scrubber kangaroo; wallaroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngartku</td>
<td>marsupial mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nimpi-nimpi; nhimpi-nhimpi</td>
<td>male red kangaroo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pawarra</td>
<td>echidna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pikipila</td>
<td>kangaroo rat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pilpa (RHM: bilba)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pingku

pulku

purkiyan (RHM: burbur)

puuyi (RHM: booi)

thangku

thirtanj

thukan

tjila (RHM: geeala)

tukunj (RHM: duggun)

wampay

wararuu

waya

wirti

witji-ngapa (RHM: widdyi-ngubba)

wukan

yagun (RHM: Boi, or bilba ‘kangaroo rat’)

yuki (RHM: yugi ‘wild dog’)

9.2.3.3 INTRODUCED ANIMALS

kital; kiyatal

kital tharriyaa milintju

thaata ngurruwarta tharrana paangkiyiwa

kiyatal

milimpuray

nanikurr

piki-piki

pitjikat

pumpay

thumpa

thunku

sp. of bandicoot with bluish coat; anything of bluish hue

sp. of mouse

native cat

kangaroo rat

bilby (sp. of rabbit-eared bandicoot)

koala (S)

pademelon

bandicoot (JB)

pademelon (small marsupial animal) (EH)

black kangaroo

scrubber kangaroo (EH.13:14)

small animal like a pademelon [EH recognised the tracks of one, but had never caught one; now probably extinct] (EH.18:5)

bandicoot; totem of kapi subsection

water-rat

joey, young kangaroo

kangaroo rat (S)

dingo; wild dog

cattle (Eng.)

‘The cattle muddied the waterhole (made the mud fly).’ (EH.42:4)

cow (lit. milk having) (Eng.)

goat (Eng.)

pig (Eng.)

pussy cat (Eng.)

puppy (Eng.)

sheep (from Eng. ‘jumbuck’; thimpa in other languages)

bull, bullock
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yaraaman; yarraman; yarraaman</td>
<td>horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yaraamu; yalaamu</td>
<td>lamb (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yarrapirr</td>
<td>rabbit (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**9.2.4 ANIMALS - FISH SPECIES**

- **kawira; kawiita (RHM: kawira)**
  - pantarayu kuya kawira

- **kirranji**

- **kurrunturn**

- **kurpa**

- **kutu (RHM: gudu)**

- **kutumpa**

- **kuya; kwiya**

- **maamura (RHM: mamura)**

- **marnta**

- **murruku**

- **muurla**

- **palakula**

- **panngala (RHM: bunngulla)**

- **papuuray (RHM: thunggur)**

- **purrkinj**

- **tangkarl**

- **thangkarna (RHM: thungunna)**

- **thangkuru (RHM: thunggur)**

- **thirkanj (RHM: pirngi)**

- **thuunpara**

- **yiikaa**

- **yiliy**

- **yellow-belly or golden perch**

- ‘I caught a yellow-belly fish.’ (EH.1:6)

- **fully grown Murray cod (EH.78:1)**

- **sp. of shrimp (EH)**

- **bobbies (very small fish)**

- **Murray cod; half grown Murray cod (RC)**

- **Murray cod (gen.) (RC.38:2)**

- **fish (gen.)**

- **crayfish**

- **sp. of large crayfish (JB)**

- **rainbow cod (JB)**

- **fish scales**

- **sp. of fish (RC)**

- **black bream, totem of kampu subsection**

- **catfish (S)**

- **sp. of crab (EH.24:10)**

- **large river mussels (EH.13:8)**

- **mussels (gen.) [mostly referring to small mussels] (EH.13:8)**

- **catfish [see also papuuray]**

- **bony bream**

- **leech (EH.24:9)**

- **shrimp used for catching fish (EH.3:7)**

- **fish gills**
9.2.5 ANIMALS – REPTILES

9.2.5.1 SNAKES

kaan; kaarn (RHM: kaan ‘brown snake’)

mathankala nhaariyira kaarn ngunyila

‘Snakes look like a stick when lying down.’ (EH.10:4)

kamul (RHM: kummul)
carpet snake [Morellia spilotes variegata]
[totem of the marriy subsection and SJ's totem]

kantikay (RHM: kundage)
death adder [Acanthophis antarcticus] (EH.5:1)

kapulu-kaan

rainbow serpent

kurl-kurl
death adder

kurliti; kurlirti
tiger snake (EH)

kurlpi
eyellow and white ring snake (EH.58:1)

kurpi
diamond snake (S)

pamparra (RHM: bumburra)

red-bellied black snake

paruru

brown or grey snake [EH's totem]

payarra; payirra; payira; payara
(RHM: baiara)

whip snake, probably common tree snake
[Dendrelaphis punctulatus] or common black snake

pumpara

common black snake [Pseudechis porphyraecus]

purutu; paruru

brown snake [Pseudonaja textilis] (S)

9.2.5.2 LIZARDS, GOANNAS ETC.

kaani

lizard (gen.), jew lizard (JB.35M)

kalki

sp. of small black tree goanna (JB.1B:5)

kalumpa; kaluumpaa

sp. of small water lizard that lives under dry logs, roots and holes along most of the inland rivers (JB)

karay

long-necked turtle

karranti

gecko; river lizard which EH found very good eating

kukar; kukart

large tree goanna [Varanus giganteus]

kurlampakin

sp. of lizard

kuwinj

frill-necked lizard (EH.4:2)

maparanj

sp. of small jew lizard (S)
9.2.6 ANIMALS – INVERTEBRATES

insects; worms; maggots; caterpillars (JB)
cemetery, burial ground (JB)
spider (gen.)
head lice on humans
sp. of ant (S; EH.22:1)
shrimp (JB.1B:3)
scorpion
hornet
sandfly (EH.10:10)
queen of native bee (EH.15:10)

ngaparr; ngapart
  ngaparr milintja niyapu

palkurru
panta-panta
papanj

parna (RHM: burna ‘ground iguana’)  
parriyita
pirriira (RHM: birrira)
pulkuru
pumpanj

parriyita (RHM: birrira)

parriyita

pirriira (RHM: birrira)
sand goanna [Varanus gouldii]

pumpanj

sp. of small frog (size of twenty cent piece)  
[called ‘Southern Cross’ because of a cross on their backs; they live in the dirt and emerge after rain when they are slimy to touch] (EH.29:9)
tiger snake

pumpanj

taraangu

parriyita

pirriira (RHM: birrira)

sp. of large frog (EH)
‘The big frog lives in the mud.’ (RC.8:4)

wayampa (RHM: waiamba ‘turtle’)

sp. of small lizard (EH.77:1)
house lizard
jew lizard (S)
sand goanna [Varanus gouldii]
pineapple lizard
shingleback (stump-tailed skink)
sp. of small lizard

wayampa (RHM: waiamba ‘turtle’)

sp. of small frog (size of twenty cent piece)

jew lizard (S)
sand goanna [Varanus gouldii]
pineapple lizard
shingleback (stump-tailed skink)
sp. of small lizard

wayampa (RHM: waiamba ‘turtle’)

sp. of small frog (size of twenty cent piece)

jew lizard (S)
sand goanna [Varanus gouldii]
pineapple lizard
shingleback (stump-tailed skink)
sp. of small lizard
head lice; lice found in human hair, kangaroo fur, emu feathers etc.
insect (gen.) (RC.2:5)
spider's web (EH.26:16)
white ant (S)
bogan flea (RC.72:2)
bat
ant (gen.) (EH); small black ant (RC.5:7); corroborree 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)
housefly (RC.1:1)
termites
green-headed ant (S)
scorpion (JB)
large bull ant
red meat ant (EH.22:1)
grasshopper
spitfire bug which appears in droves (EH.22:2)
common ant
bulldog ant
edible grub (EH.56:2)
butterfly (see also piyimpir)
bat [one of the characters in the legend of the bat and the native cat recorded by R-B]
edible grub (JB); large ground-boring moth
sandflies (EH.59:1)
butterfly
bull ant (EH.12:1)
sp. of hairy caterpillar [lives in a large silky bag (also called punctarranj) 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...
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 *puntha-puntha*) was revealed to certain chief elders only at a bora ceremony (JB.1B:3, 43B)

louse

mosquito (EH.54:1)

'The mosquitoes are very bad.'

'A mosquito bit me.' (EH.4:2)

blowfly (RC.5:9), maggot

maggoty

lice on animals

jumper ant

sugar ant (EH.22:2)

nit of louse

native bee

insect (JB.53), baby bees

'The baby bees are milky white (like breast milk).'

(EH.15:10)

locust; cicada (JB.24B:2)

shrimp

centipede; grub

snail

chrysalis (EH.47:5)

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

kapunj (RHM: *kubon*)

egg

cockatoo feather

kawiy-kawiy

wing feathers

mawal
purra
puyil
tapun puyil
wangka
yama
yamayita thina

emu feather
breast feathers (gen.)
soft feather
nest
webbed foot
having webbed feet (EH.66:2)

9.2.7.2 BIRD SPECIES

kakalaranj

cockalarina (pink cockatoo)

kamiita

bird, grey in colour [known as the ‘death’ bird because the Muruwari believed its presence indicated someone’s death]

kankarta

three birds’ names have been recorded, probably because the same word names different birds in different dialects: blue martin [Artamus personatus]; starling [Sturnus vulgaris] (EH); kite hawk (probably Milvus migrans) (S)

karaaka  (RHM: gurraga ‘crane’)

white-necked crane [Notophasyx pacifica]

karang-karang-kaku

plover

karawakan

yellow miner (JB)

karaykin

sp. of small hawk

karikuwinj-kuwinj

grey butcherbird [their call is ‘kwin kwin kwin’ (imitating kuwinj ‘ghost’); they hop about graves and are associated with death]

karra  (RHM: kurra ‘eaglehawk’)

whistling eagle [Haliastur sphenurus]

karrawakan

small crow (JB)

karrikan

sp. of dove (JB as recorded by JT)

karrikunkun

sp. of bird, probably butcherbird (RC)

karrintakarra

sp. of plover (JB)

karuru; kurruru;  (JB: kurru-kurru)  
(RHM: gururu)

native companion [Grus rubicunda]

karuwaka  (RHM: kuguburra
‘laughing jackass’)

kookaburra [Dacelo gigas]

karuwuka

white-crested diver bird

kaway-kaway

mosquito bird

kawilanj

waterhen
kawurru  
*kawurru warray kitjuyika*  
emu chick  
'(The mother emu) hatched a lot of chicks.'  
(EH.42:4)

kiiyara  
bustard, plains turkey [*Eupodotis australis*]

kirra; kila (RHM: *gilla*)  
galah [*Kakatoe roseicapilla*]

kukakakal  
another (onomatopoeic) name for the blue-winged kookaburra (blue jackass) [*Dacelo leachi*]

kumunj  
brown hawk [*Falco berigora*] (EH.3:7)

kuntunkal (RHM: *gundungal*)  
black duck [*Anas superciliosa*]

kunumanu  
musk duck

kupatha  
sp. of dove

kurritjil (S: *kud:gil*)  
white-winged chough; black jay, or black magpie (S)

kuripu (RHM: *gulbu* 'common magpie')  
pied or black-throated butcherbird; or organ bird [*Cracticus nigrogularis*]

kurrikirri  
mopoke (tawny frogmouth) [*Podargus strigoides*]

kurruku  
sp. of turtledove

kurrukur  
sp. of dove [*Geopelia placida*] (EH)

kurrukuwir  
small birds whose call is like the sound of the word [abundant in the area and from which Goodooga gets its name]

kuwaythana (RHM: *kwaidhuna*)  
large fish-hawk

kuyilpi; kuyulpirra  
black shag

eaglehawk [*Hamirostra melanosterna*]

maliyan  
blue-winged kookaburra (blue jackass) [*Dacelo leachi*]

marinjantal  
sp. of bronzewing pigeon (probably *Histriophas histriornica*)

marnpil  
sp. of swallow (from *milinj* 'mud' because they make a mud nest)

duck (gen.)

mirringara  
royal (black) spoonbill (JB)

murrku-murrku  
black diver or darter bird [*Anhinga novae-hollandiae*]
**ngukurr-ngukurr**
sp. of ibis

**ngurrunj** (RHM: ngurunj)
emu \([Dromaius\ novae-hollandiae]\)

diver bird  (RC.70:4) [a kind of small duck that builds its nest on water]

**nhinturl**
sp. of owl

**nirin**
bellbird \([Manorina\ melanophrys]\)

**pakuu-pakuu**
peehee \([Grallina\ cyanoleuca]\)

**parantala** (RHM: burandalla)
swan

**parrima** (RHM: burrema)
a swan's egg

**parrmaaku kapunj**
wood duck, maned goose \([Chenonetta\ jubata]\)

**parrka-parrka; pakarr-pakarr**
woodpecker; sp. of treecreeper (JB)

**piin-piin**
crimson-winged parrot \([Aprosmictus\ erythropterus]\)

**pilanj-pilanj**
twelve apostles bird \([Struthidea\ cinerea]\)

**pintitaaru**
white-winged chough, black jay or black magpie \([Corcorax\ melanorhamphus]\) 'razor grinder' (S)

**pipartal**
bee-eater; happy family bird

**pirkunkuru**
sp. of sandpiper (JB)

**pirrimpirru**
soldier bird

**piyal-piyal**
sp. of bird (RC.70:4)

**pulun**
green parrot \([Neophema\ bourki]\)

**purlanj-purlanj**
brolga, native companion \([Grus\ rubicunda]\) (EH)

**purraka**
white spoonbill

**purrun**
blue bonnet bird (RC.72:2)

**purrupirra**
blue crane \([Notophoyx\ novae-hollandiae]\)

**puthuul** (RHM: buthuul 'small crane')
white crane \([Egretta\ alba]\)

**puuluun**
seagull

**tangkara**
sp. of teal

**tarrawaya**
pallid cuckoo (S) \([Cuculus\ pallidus]\)

**tartuun**
messenger bird

**tarunj**
sp. of swift, known as the rain-making bird

**tawayarru; tawayarruy**
leatherhead bird

**thakway**
robin redbreast

**thalimarrki-marrki**
spotted nightjar \([Caprimulgus\ guttatus]\)

**thartun**
starling (JB)
white or river cockatoo, yellow topknot cockatoo
[Kakatoe galerita]
whistling duck [Dendrocygna arcuata]
small whistler
black cockatoo [Calyptorhynchus banksi]
spotted night jar (probably Caprimulgus guttatus)
spoonbill [Platalea flavipes]
sp. of kingfisher
blue bonnet bird
woodpecker (EH.18:6); mistletoe bird [noted for building a beautiful nest, and for its edible flesh and white chest] (JB)
blue wren [Malurus cyaneus]
brown-crested mountain duck
happy family bird
willy wagtail
fowl, ‘chook’ (Eng.)
pelican [Pelecanus conspicillatus]
pallid cuckoo [Cuculus pallidus]
sp. of kingfisher [Halcyon]
bowerbird (probably Chamydera maculata)
sp. of crow [Corvus ceciloe]
sp. of small owl (probably Aegotheles cristata)
[they were considered good eating] (EH.7:3)
black and white spoonbill
mudlark or sandpiper
quarrion, cockatiel [Leptolophus hollandicus]
curlew [Numenius madagascariensis]
budgerigar
sp. of bird
bird (gen.)
grey topknot pigeon [Ocyphaps lophotes]
[plentiful in the area, and good eating]
9.2.8 arboreal
9.2.8.1 General terms relating to trees

karntu
   karntuyita yintipu kunparta

kiingku
   piilkara punha wanpangka
   kiingkuanka

kulungkulu
   kulungkuluyita mathan

kunparta

kunthun, kurntun

mathan

mukunj

murral

murral maankuntu nganti

murrinj

ngurru

paa

paan-paan; paarn-paarn

paka
   paka paliya
   patha paka
   thii-paka
   pakaram

pali

yellow-mouth owl
chicken-hawk
nighthawk

hollow tree or log
‘That log’s hollow.’ (EH.5:7)
spike (probably short, small branch) on limb of tree
‘Hang on to the spike of the limb of a tree.’
pith
a pithy log (EH.48:4)
log
stump
branch, limb of a tree; tree itself
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)
dead branch of a tree (RC.39:1); kindling wood; twigs, sticks
‘Get me some sticks off the ground.’ (RC.71:5)
bark of a tree
gidgee tree blossom [the flowers are yolk-coloured yellow when first in bloom; this indicates that the emu is starting to lay]
seeds, particularly grass seed
tree with open foliage
individual leaf
dead leaf
green leaf
tea leaf (RC)
leaves (RC)
any sort of leaf (possibly alt. to paka) (EH.59:3)
pali-mukanj

honey-like substance sucked from the leaves of coolibah trees (EH.61:2)

pinjarinj

rough outer bark (RC.8:3)

pirra

leaf

pirru

berry (Eng.)

pithal

bark of tree

pungkil

flower (gen.)

partiliyu pungkilku

'I smell the flowers.' (EH.10:9b)

puntha-puntha

bushy tree

puntiki; purntiki (RHM: bundhirri 'any leaning tree')
a hanging limb; small limb or branch off a tree branches, bushes with leaves stripped off (EH.59:3)

purri

large piece of bark apparently used in curative processes (EH.5:4)

purrkarr

berry (gen.)

puuRa

butt of a tree

rangku

'The goanna is sitting at the butt of a tree.' (EH.13:5)

niyaanipu tangkungka parna

root of a tree

tarran; thanaa

core of a tree from which spears are made (RC.86:1)

thanumaart

thawinj

fungus

thii-paka

tea-leaf

thipunj

mistletoe [Loranthus exocarpus]

thulpunj

tree top (EH.61:3)

thurrumpurrinj

pine blossoms, and pollen dust created by them

tirra

seed of any sort (EH.46:4)

tithalanj

a twig, its thin leaves (EH.157:4)

waan

tree (gen.)

witji-witji tharripu waanta waanta waanta ngaara pampu

'The bird is flying from tree to tree.'

waarnpaa; warnpa

the top of a tree

wanpa

seed of coolibah tree (EH.26:11; JB.56B:2)

wanpayita waan thinipu

fork of a tree; a connecting link

'Vee tree has a forked limb.'
warrinj-warrinj

crooked tree
firewood
stick; a straight length from a tree such as one would use to hit a dog; twigs, bushy sticks
‘The kids are dragging a small log.’ (EH.157:4)
bushy tree (alt. to puntha-puntha)
leaf of tree or bush
tea leaf

9.2.8.2 TREE SPECIES

brigalow tree
tree similar to wild orange bearing small inedible yellow fruit
rosewood tree [Eucalyptus grandis; Heterodendrum oleifolium]
quinine tree (from karti ‘bitter’)
carbine tree
sp. of large tree
needlewood tree [wood was used to make spears, shields and other artifacts; the trees are scarce today]
course-leaved black box tree
leopard wood tree [Flindersia maculosa] (EH.13:3) [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)
gambayn tree (sp. found in sandhills) [it has dark leaves with pale and dark pink flowers and a yellow orange-like fruit]
ironbark tree [grows in the sandhills] (EH.207M)
ghost gum [Eucalyptus microtheca]
grije, sour plum tree, emu apple [Owenia acidula] (EH.56:3)
quondong, blue fig tree [Elaecarpis grandis]
wattle tree
malanj; marlanj

malpara (JB); (EH:mariparl)

marlpal

milara (RHM: maial)

mitjiri

murukaru; muwurru

muunu

paayinj (RHM: bailinj)

pakura (RHM: buggura)

palkan; palkin

parla-parla (RHM: mumbo)

payara

pingku-pingku

piri; pirri

piriwarinaa

pirrawa (RHM: buddhar)

pirril; pirriy

puntiy

pupala

purpulpal (RHM: burbul)

purrunngkar

tarranganj

tilkara

tumul; tuumurl

wawurn

wiirla

round-leafed box tree [branches were used for making bough-shed shelters]

wild lemon (JB's word unknown to EH)

wild lime tree

myall tree

stringy-bark tree

gidgee tree [the leaves are edible] (EH.56:3)

fine-leafed kurrajong tree

native pine tree [Callitris spp.] [JB says the name is derived from paayili- 'to burst forth', so named from the sparks exploding when a pine tree is fired]

coolibah tree [Eucalyptus papuana]

whitewood tree

beefwood tree (JB.65)

butterwood tree [Pittosporum phillyraeoides]

small shrub-like tree [bark-striped 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)

acacia tree

the place of the (thick clumps of) acacia trees, Brewarrina

sandalwood tree [Eremophila sturtia]

mulga tree

sp. of small tree

fine-leafed black box tree (EH.73:2)

whitewood tree

sp. of tree like coolibah

coarse-leafed kurrajong tree

wilga tree [leaves were boiled and the mixture drunk as a cure for colds] (EH.17:11)

sp. of wattle

bila tree [Casuarina glauca]

supplejack tree
wirrara  

wirrpil; wirlpil  

yumu  

9.2.8.3 BUSHES, BERRIES AND PLANTS  

kiirrpan  

kilangkirra  

kumuru-kumuru  

kunpuru  

kurra  

kurra-kurra  

kuwirnpulu  

marrangkal  

mukiyla; mukiyalu  

muntilin  

ngarra-ngarranta  

nhumpa  

paral; pararl

lignum tree [Muehlenbeckia cunninghamii]  

(EH.60:3)

dogwood [the leaves of this tree were boiled and 
the mixture drunk as a cure for colds and other ills]  

white-leafed wattle (JB.24B:2)  

wild potato (EH)  

sp. of blue flower (EH.10C:1)  

bush with white bell flowers (EH.20:8)  

currant bush [used to camouflage men when attracting emus into a trap] (JB.52)  

blackcurrant bush [has leaves like the salt bush and grows on the Culgoa]  

shamrock leaves [abundant in the swamps in a good season; originally part of the diet; EH used to eat it] (EH.44:3)  

emu or straight-leafed 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.]  

acacia bush  

Christmas bush [has tiny pink and black fruit which JB calls ‘bianberries’ and Christmas berries]  

wild banana (JB)  

bulrushes (JB.1B:3)  

sp. of plant (RC.73:2)  

blueberry bush
paruw

small mint-like bush [its leaves are boiled and the water drunk as a cure for colds] (EH.21:2)

pawyil

sp. of bush [emus feed on it] (RC.76:2)

pipu

cottonbush [has white flowers spotted inside]

piirika; pirrka

native tobacco

piruwa; pikuwa

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]

thirin; tirrinj

hop bush [grows on sandy soil, used to make beer]

wampila

paddymelon

9.2.8.4 GRASSES

kaaya-yawi

turkey grass

kurrupurra

waterweed

matharranj

sp. of burr

matharranj thinangka thika

‘There’s a burr in my foot.’ (EH)

mukarra

bindi-eye burr

mukarrana

‘Brenda Station’ (the place of bindi-eye burrs)

ngarran

weeds

nhiirilinh

bushy sandhill grass (EH.66:6)

palampa

milk thistle

parniita; parriniita

waterweed (RC)

purra-purra

duckweed [it floats on the river] (EH.10:11)

purranpuru

wild onion [has large underground bulb and was used as a cure for ringworm] (EH.22:3)

thawinj-thawinj

nardoo grass

thirrinj; thirriy; turri

spinifex grass (EH.12:3)

thirrinj mayi

spinifex country (JB.65)

thurral

pigweed

thuwinj-thuwinj

nardoo grass [described by JB (65B) as ‘little shamrock things like nardoos’]

tili

roly-poly

wama-wama

crawfoot [the leaves were chewed for their juices and the residue spat out] (EH.44:3)

warntu

ring of grass (EH.55:1)
wirruwinj
wupalkara; upalkara
wuranpurru; uranpurru
yarran
yawi (RHM: yai)

9.2.9 THE HUMAN FAMILY

9.2.9.1 FAMILY AND HUMAN TERMS

kaapunta
kamantjara
kantjipul; kantjukal
kantu
  wala nguntaa kantungku
  kaantaraa ngasiya kantuku
kapal-kapal
  ngaanu kapal-kapal
katjinpa
kaya (RHM: kaia)
kayakil
kiilakan
kiwa-kiway
kukalanj
kular
kumuru
kuni (RHM: guni)
kupi (RHM: kubi)

kurayita
kurru-kurru
kuthara (RHM: guthera ‘child of either sex’)

budgerigar grass
swamp grass
waterlily [parts of them were eaten but the taste is bitter] (EH.44:3)
bulrushes
grass (gen.)
carpenter (Eng.)
right marriage partner (?for a woman)
constable (Eng.)
others, the other lot
‘The other fellows didn’t know.’ (EH.22:1)
‘He took it to the other lot.’
old people
‘Where are your old people?’ (EH.20:9)
unmarried girl; young woman (EH.22:1)
mother
orphan (lit. mother-less)
elopement; one who elopes (EH)
licentious man
lame person
widow; widower
unmarried man
female; young girl up to age of 15 years
clever man, doctor [who practised magic and healing with magic charms, potions and sleight-of-hand ‘operations’]
policeman (lit. having rope)
all, everyone
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
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuthara kalkara</td>
<td>male child]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuthara kuni</td>
<td>many children, family (RHM)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kutharayita</td>
<td>baby girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuthara-kuni</td>
<td>parent (lit. having child)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuthara-kalkara</td>
<td>pre-adolescent girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maami</td>
<td>old woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maathaa</td>
<td>master (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>manganj</td>
<td>girl at puberty</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mangkunj</td>
<td>woman who has lost her son</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marlakan</td>
<td>unmarried, adolescent girl</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayinj</td>
<td>general word for adult male, people etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayintju wakan</td>
<td>‘The man hit a crow with his boomerang.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marlingku</td>
<td>mate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pantaraa</td>
<td>aboriginal woman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mirr; mirri</td>
<td>women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukinj</td>
<td>an older person [usually an old ‘aunty’ who acted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>as a kind of chaperon for a young girl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukatinj, mukinj-mukinj, muki-mukinj</td>
<td>(EH.80:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mura; murra</td>
<td>greedy person (EH.63:1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muraakunj</td>
<td>wrinkles, face falling away with old age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murnka; mungka</td>
<td>‘My face is wrinkled.’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>murnkanji nguntja</td>
<td>eldest of three (JB)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thika</td>
<td>youngest child</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muthipapa</td>
<td>stranger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muthunj</td>
<td>a stranger white woman (EH.157M:12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngurri; muurri</td>
<td>a child stranger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngurri wathiin</td>
<td>a stranger black woman (EH.14:6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muurri kuthara</td>
<td>‘Who made the corroboree? A stranger?’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muurri mukinj</td>
<td>(EH.5:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngaantu kulpa thanaa...ngurringku</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mayintju</td>
<td>married man (lit. wife having)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nupa (RHM: nubabuga)</td>
<td>policeman (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nupayita</td>
<td>old woman (word largely obsolete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palitman</td>
<td>boss (Eng.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parraka (RHM: burraka)</td>
<td>right marriage partner (?for a man)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>path</td>
<td>baby (not Eng.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
pulaangurr
pulay
purriman
thiniman
thuntinha
wanka
wankutu
wapukaa
warrkukaa
wathul
  wathul-wathul
watjiin
yangkurr
  palaangka ngaraylata kutharakalka
  kunikaampa purral yangkurrkaampa
  yangkurr-yangkurr
  kuthara yanminiyi yangkurr-yangkurr
yapu
yarrguntha

twins (EH.75:7)
son (BC)
swagman (probably Eng.)
Chinaman (Eng.)
one promised in marriage
girl friend (JB.1B:7)
unmarried woman
incest (EH.20:5)
promiscuous man
old man
old men
white woman (from Eng. ‘white gin’)
uninitiated boy
‘The kids, two girls and a boy, are playing outside.’
a lot of boys (EH.48:1)
‘All the boys are going out.’ (EH.52:3)
father (EH.20:9)
boy at puberty

dughter (RC.70:3)
term of endearment for a close or valued relative; sister-in-law (husband’s eldest sister); sweetheart, lover (JB); elder sister, close cousin (EH)
‘That’s my mother’s aunty (muki-muki).’ (EH referring to Mrs Duncan Ferguson)
husband (BC)
one of male tribal sections whose totem was a black bream panngala (JB.59)
son/daughter (woman speaking)
one of the four female tribal sections; daughter (man speaking)
one of male tribal sections whose totem was a grey or red kangaroo
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>karrampanj</td>
<td>father's brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karurinj</td>
<td>wrong marriage partner</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>karuwalanj; karruranj</td>
<td>son-in-law (daughter's husband); mother's brother; wife's mother's brother (R-B); a person</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a woman's daughter is eligible to marry (R-B); sister's daughter (EH.29:6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kathi</td>
<td>mother's older brother (RC); daughter's husband (R-B); sister's children (EH)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kathi-kathi</td>
<td>sister's sons (if older than speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kathi-ngara</td>
<td>sister's sons (if younger than speaker)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kirrinj (RHM: girrinbirra)</td>
<td>husband (EH); brother-in-law (term for a man's sister's husband or his wife's brother) (R-B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kunthi-kunthi</td>
<td>mother-in-law (wife's mother) [a man is eligible to marry the daughters of his kunti-kunti]; daughter-in-law</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kurampanj; kurrampaanj</td>
<td>husband; husband's older brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuthama</td>
<td>niece (sister's daughter)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kuwira</td>
<td>younger sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marriy</td>
<td>one of the four male subsections whose totem was the carpet snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matha; mathaa</td>
<td>one of the four female subsections</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muki-muki</td>
<td>aunt (father's sister) (R-B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mukutul</td>
<td>grandmother (RS.34:3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muwarn (RHM: gidyumo-an)</td>
<td>younger brother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>napu-napu</td>
<td>daughters of my father's sister [a man may not marry his napu (R-B)]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngamanj</td>
<td>father's sister's son (R-B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngamanj-ngamanj; ngama (abbrev.)</td>
<td>grandfather (mother's father) and his brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngamanjnira</td>
<td>grandson (daughter's son); brother's daughter's son (R-B)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>palay</td>
<td>son (BC)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>papa</td>
<td>elder sister; wife's elder sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>a much older sister</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>matja papa</td>
<td>father's father; mother's mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>patatu</td>
<td>father; uncle; term for a man's own father or his father's brothers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pathanj (RHM: buddhunj)</td>
<td>one of the four female subsection names</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>putha; puthaa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
puthama; wuthama
puwin-puwin; puwan-puwan
puwin; puwan (RHM: mudyabuin)
tangay
yipatha; ipatha; ipathaa
yipay; ipay

9.2.10 MATERIAL POSSESSIONS
9.2.10.1 INDIGENOUS ARTIFACTS

kalinj

minja ngaRa kaantintu kalintju

kalku (RHM: gulgo 'koolamin')
kanay (RHM: gunnai)
kanja
kanuu
karnpaka
karray; kayi (abbrev.)
pitilina kayingku

kayimpilay
kayinta

kipa

warul thanalaa tikiyayira kipangka

kulay (RHM: kule 'fish net')
aunt, mother's sister
great uncle (father's father's brother); a brother who is considerably older (R-B)
older brother; father's brother's sons (R-B)
daughter (RC)
one of the four female subsection names
one of the four male subsection names
possumskin bag; container; a pelican's beak when holding fish
'What have you got in the bag?' (lit. are holding with the bag)
koolamon
yamstick (alt. to karray) (EH.12:6)
humpy (possibly borrowed word)
boat (does not appear to be from Eng. 'canoe')
headband used by old men and women (EH)
yamstick (alt. to kanay)
'We dig with a yamstick.'
fishing line (EH.70:5)
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 kayinta] (JB)
grinding stone [a large hollowed out stone on which nardoo seeds and leaves were ground; also used as grinder for a tomahawk]
'They used a warul stone to grind with on the grinding stone.'
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
kuliya (RHM: gulia)
kunthi
kurliwaan; kurli (abbrev.)
(RHM: gurli ‘hut’)

kurmu; kurrmu; kuurmu
kuurmu maankuntu thika
kurramin
kurrijn-thawin; kuninj-thawin
kurura
kutjurru

maanginara
mangkanj
mankarr
mantal
mantala kayimpaa
mantuwii

marli (RHM: murli)
mumunh

string and used for fishing lines or made into net bags (EH.157M:5)
spear
shelter of some permanence, house; town
bough shed, summer hut, bush humpy made of bark or bush saplings, a more temporary dwelling than a kunthi (more widely used word than kanja) (lit. tree humpy)
lice; lice comb
‘Will you get my comb?’ (EH.52:1)
basin-shaped bark water container made from the bark of a bent limb of a tree; water bag
stone-headed axe (RC.2:7)
saucer-shaped hard wood disc
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, pangki, lying crossways, causing it to bounce off and travel a hundred metres or more] (RC.19:9)
bark canoe (JB.35B:4)
bag, blanket to be laid on the ground for sleeping on (EH.6:2)
blanket, body covering when sleeping
net bag
‘He put it in his net bag.’ (EH.22:1)
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 yukarta-yukarta who could sneak up to their victim and leave no incriminating footprints. Today the term is used for ‘boots’. ] (JB.51B:2)
boomerang (gen.)
especially large spear for emus (EH.4:5)
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 punti or some other stick] (JB.52B:6)

nulla nulla

water-bag

'(There is) water in the water bag.'

nose bone (EH)

small stone knife, not more than five centimetres long with tapered sharp cutting edge (JB)

a two metre length of soft wood off which was spun the kutjuru stick

women's dillybag

walking stick

'He's going along with a walking stick.'

(EH.4C:2)

pegs used to hold in place the murrkar net (for trapping emus) (JB.52)

skins used for clothes; any item of clothing

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 purrtjpa – 52B:5)

pieces of bark serving as plates [nardoo paste was placed on them and handed to the novices in an initiation ceremony] (RHM)

fighting stick, waddy

(1) load

'There's a load on my back.' (JB.14B:2)

'Put a load on the horse's back (EH)

(2) things (EH.78:3)

spear shield

bark cradle (EH)

tomahawk; steel axe (from Eng. 'tomahawk' (JB.57B:1))

'Give (me) the big axe.' (RC.8:4)
thartuupira; thaartupira

thawin

tikiya

thintawa

tungkun

wakanharra; wakanara

warlu-warlu

warul; warurl

watjala

wukara; ukara

yaantamakatja (RHM: yantamakaddyu)

yakipal

yirranj; yarranj; yaran

9.2.10.2 INTRODUCED ARTIFACTS

kaliku

kapu

kartan

kilarr

kitja

thartuupira, thaartupira

thawin

thikiya

thintawa

kaliya kulay thintuwangka

tungkun

wakanharra; wakanara

(RHM: wugganthurra)

warlu-warlu

warul; warurl

watjala

wukara; ukara

yaantamakatja (RHM: yantamakaddyu)

yakipal

yirranj; yarranj; yaran

INTRODUCED ARTIFACTS

kaliku

kapu

kartan

kilarr

kitja
kumpatha

kurr

maatjirr

mani

marrkin

marrkintu pantina marrkintu

munta (RHM: munda)

kurimaapu nhuu muntangka

mutukaa

nhalka-nhalka

nitur; nitul

paatal; paatarl

paatjin

paayu; paaypu

paki

pakin

pakirr

panikan

patal

pawata

piipa

piiraypul

pirritjal

pulaayinkin

pulay; pulirr

pulir

pulir ngara marrkinku

puplikaa

puthalay

iron (EH); any machine such as a bike, sewing machine etc. (JB.4B:5)

coot (Eng.)

matches (Eng.)

money (Eng.)

gun

‘He's shooting you with a gun.’ (EH.30:6)

dilly bag for carrying babies and articles, [made from the branches of the pinku-pinku tree] (RC.19:10)

‘He put this thing in his net bag.’ (JB.75B)

motor car (Eng.)

cow horn (EH.22:2)

needle (Eng.)

bottle (Eng.)

poison (Eng.)

pipe (Eng.)

box; case; container (Eng.)

buggy (Eng.)

bucket; pocket (Eng.)

pannikin; pint container (Eng.)

bottle (Eng.)

powder (Eng.)

paper; letter (Eng.)

pea-rifle (Eng.)

revolver (lit. a shooter) (JB.5B:1; EH.30:6)

blanket (Eng.)

plate (Eng.)

bullet (Eng.)
a bullet for the gun (JB.5B:6)

hotel, pub (public house) (Eng.)

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)
talay
tankart
tawa
thakawita
thilikra
thilikrama
thilipunthu
thilipunthu yaanthirayuku
thintiiyin
thitjina
thuupu
tikipaanu
turraaru
wilparr
wipu
wupi; upi
yangkitja

sheet of iron on roof (EH.29:6)
tin (S)
store (Eng.)
trousers (Eng.)
telegraph (Eng.)
telegram (Eng.)
telephone (Eng.)
'I'm going to talk on the telephone.' (JB.52B:2)
china plate or dish (Eng.) (RC.70:3)
billy can (Eng.)
soap (Eng.)
sixpence (Eng.)
trousers (Eng.) (RC.70:2)
horse drawn vehicle
whip (Eng.)
hook (Eng.)
handkerchief; scarf (Eng.) (EH.30:5)

kapirr
kimay
kurlparra

Relating to Food, Drink and Cooking

kapirr
kimay
kurlparra

manu (RHM: munnu ‘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 para 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.]
milan
milkin; milki
milkin kuntirr

melon (Eng.)
milk (Eng.)
condensed milk
mutjura
ngarruunh; narruun

pampul

yanmura pula pampulka

pampulkala

pangkapaa

para

parimanu

parta

patita

pirrikal; pilikal

piya

pulumpurr; pulampurr

puluwu

purra

purruul

tal
talpiira ngapa
tampa

thalimukanj

thii

thukakaa

liquor
paddymelon (EH.207M:1) [similar to passion fruit] (RC.73:3)

wild orange [Capparis mitchelli] [a much prized edible fruit; when pine dust pollen began to fall, it was an indication the wild oranges out bush were ripe]

'They two went out hunting for wild oranges.' (EH.26:4)

green (lit. like the wild orange – which turned shiny green when ripe) (JB.55B:1)

methylated spirits; grog

shallow hole dug out for the cooking of yams and other vegetable foods (EH.12:2)

wild potato (RC)

butter (Eng.)

potato (Eng.)

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]

beer (Eng.)

wild cherry, [Exocarpus spp.] [a tree with edible fruit and leaves like a tomato]

flour (Eng.)

salt bush [has edible leaves and grows in the sandhills]

pollen called ‘bee bread’ [the yellow pollen gathered by native bees, which they stack into little round balls] (JB.57B:5)

salt (Eng.)
salty water

damper (Eng.)

manna, a sweet gum-like substance found on the leaves of coolibah trees [tastes like bread and honey] (SJ; EH.61:4)

brewed tea

wild fruit like a banana that grows broad leaves
9.2.11 BELIEFS AND LANGUAGE

9.2.11.1 RELATING TO CUSTOM, RELIGION AND MAGIC

kampirl-kampirl

Spirit women of the bush [these women were said to entice people into the bush and lead them to their doom]

kampirl-kampirltu thirri kaangku

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)

karrampaka

corroboree song (EH.17:14)

karrkaa

evil witchdoctor [performed the same ‘bad’ magic as the yukarta-yukarta; JB recognises katitja as ‘well known throughout the land’ (78B:6), but almost obsolete in his day] (JB.51B:3)

katitja

kulpi (RHM: gulpi)

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)

**kura maana kulay tjanarayu** - policeman (i.e. one who binds the hands/feet with cords)

**kuriyata; kuriyarra** - ‘Give me string to make a net.’ (EH.47:6)

**kurlapulinja** (RHM: gurlabullinja) - 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)

**kurmpu; kurmpul** - 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)

**kurrrka** - corroboree

**yungkintjiraa kurrkangka** - ‘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** - ghost; dead man's spirit; white man

**kuwinj** - ‘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
mirriyula
guest dog (JB)

multijirra (RHM: multyerra)
initiation ceremony

multijirra-kara (RHM: multyeragara)
a cleared level circular piece of ground about twenty five metres in diameter [where the multijirra initiation took place] (RHM)

ngurnukala (RHM: ngurnugulla)
private meeting place of the initiated men (RHM)

nguwiyar

nuntu
crescent-shaped bough shelter [made in the bush to house initiates and their guardians] (RHM)

paaliithaa; paaliyitaa
corroboree or song name (RC.112M)

pakitaa; parurta
a slow-moving corroboree dance

paliiyinaa
name of a corroboree

pathuwalu (RHM: butthuwallu)
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)

payami
name for the Great Spirit of the Ngiyambaa people, Baiame or Bayami [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]

pinaarti
spirit; ghost

pitangulu
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 Bayami]

pitjaru; pitjarru; pitjula
totem name of animal or bird associated with each of the four tribal subsections

kula pitjarru
the kangaroo tribe
kaarn pitjarru
minjan witji pitjarru ngintu
kamul pitjula

pitjuru-mayinj
pulkinja (RHM: pulkinya)
pungkaarri
purli (RHM: burli)
purn-purn
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)
wilpapalka (RHM: wilpabulka) men's belt worn by the puruki messengers to summon people to an initiation ceremony (RHM)
wilyarunga (RHM: wilyarunga) camp site set apart for the novices during an initiation ceremony
wirlata; kwilata 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)
wiru-wiru; wiru-wuru; wuru-wiri bullroarer (JB.65B; EH)
wiyarr witchdoctor's magic stone used in curative medicine (EH.5:4)
yawa person's ghost (EH.81:16)
yukarta-yukarta 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 purriman and katitja]

nhurra yukarta-yukartaku ngara maanku pangka ‘The spirits will get you there.’ (JB.68B:5)
yuralmu bad luck
yurika spirit man (JB)
yuthuru; yuthurra (RHM: yuthuru) narrow pathway leading from the first (multjarrakara) to the second (pulkinja) initiation circle (RHM)

9.2.11.2 RELATING TO LANGUAGE AND IDEAS

kurnu Wilcannia language, Gurnu
kurri name

minjan kurri ‘What's his name?’
kurri yaanmuraa ngarrana (‘The blue crane) gave us all the names: putha, (y)iipatha, kapiy, marriy, (y)iipay... (EH.26:1)
kurru-kurrunji...putha, (y)iipatha, kapiy, marriy, (y)iipay...'
mitjin (RHM: middyin ‘pretend’)
pintanj
pirrinj
thangkuray
thirra; thira
yaan
  pitara yaan Muruwariki
  yuralmara yaan
yaaru
yuwalaray; yuwaali

OTHER GRAMMATICAL CLASSES

9.3.1 ADJECTIVES

9.3.1.1 ADJECTIVES OF NUMBER

kalkara
kapu
kapungka
kapulanta
kapulanta kapulanta
kapu-yaman
marangka
marangka kapu
marangka kapulanta
marangka marangka
marangkuwa
pakal
  yantapu pakalku mayi or
  pakalku mayiku yantaa
  kayila ngathu yungkiyu ngathu pakal
  pakarangana thurringka
purra kulayaman
purral
thuu
yaman
  pantaranja yaman

lie, falsehood
truth (JB.34B)
shame
dream
song (JB.52)
speech, talk, word, news, message
‘Muruwari is a good, sweet talk.’ (EH.50:1)
bad news
truth, a true word (EH.63:1)
Yuwalaray language name (JB.55B:3)

many
two
twice
four (JB)
eight (JB)
three (JB)
five
seven
nine
ten
six
another

‘He went to another place.’ (EH.29:5)
‘I’m singing too!’
day after tomorrow
three (EH)
a pair
much
(1) one
‘I killed one (kangaroo).’
9.3.1.2 ADJECTIVES OF COLOUR

karta; karta-karta
 kartangka
kurnan-kurnan
 kurnan-kurnan pungkil thuulmiyita
 palaangka
marrki-marrki
 marrki-marrki pungkil yintiyita
mumunj
palum
puki
pulam-pulam
puluw
puthal
puthan-puthan
 puthan-puthan tuuka

9.3.1.3 GENERAL ADJECTIVES

kalki
karra-karrampi
karrayinki
 murnturr karrayinki
karrinj; karinj
 ngaa, karrinj yintipu
karti
 karti ngara ngapa
 karti ngapa
 wala thala karti!
katji
 nhuu (y)intipu kuthara katji
 katji witji
kawun
 kawan witji

(2) same
‘The same dog bit me also.’ (EH.69:3)

black
in the dark (JB.55B:1)
yellow
‘There are yellow flowers growing on the plain.’
red
‘The flowers are red.’
yellow (JB.55B:1)
green
grey (JB.1B)
white
blue (Eng.)
pink (JB.55B:1)
white
white sugar (RC.72:2)
in a wild, agitated mood (JB)
smarting; stinging (EH.44:3)
savage
‘Hornets are savage.’ (EH.22:1)
alive
‘Oh yes, he’s still alive.’
(1) bitter
‘The water is bitter.’
whiskey (bitter water)
(2) poisonous
‘Don’t eat it! Poison!’

fresh; newly or first born
‘This is (the cat’s) first kitten.’

fresh meat (EH.157)
raw
raw meat
kiiwa
kiiwangka

depth
very deep hole – out of depth (EH.83:7)

kintjara
kintjara ngapa

clear
clear water

kitju

small

kukalanjpira; kkarri
kukalanjpira kuwanjkaampa
kukaylimibu
kukarripu

lame

‘That white man is lame.’ (EH.4C:2)
‘He is lame.’

half ripe (EH; JB.66)

jealous (don’t like anyone else giving you things) (EH.30:5)

thin

selfish

angry

flat

‘The corroboree ground was nice and flat.’
(EH.13:12)

good

in good time

‘They took me up (to the hospital) in good time.’
(EH.70:6)

‘Do it good now!’

false; lying

to tell a lie (lit. to be false) (JB)

‘He’s telling a lie.’
‘He was lying.’ (JB.69:1)

rough, bumpy (EH)

pathetic

poor little thing, pathetic person

curly, twisted

marta-marta; matha-matha

(1) blunt

blunt knife

(2) solid

solid stone

(3) closed

closed hole

deaf (closed ear)
muku miil
muku thaa
munanj-munanj
muntha; mutha
ngantanj
  ngantanj yintintu
ngumpu
  ngumpukapu yuruun yintipu
njirri-njirri
  njirri-njirri intaa ngaanura kuthara
  njirrinmarapula nganha
nunja
  tuku nunguyita
paka
  paka yurrintja
palanj
  palanjpita ngapa
pangku
  pangku ngaRa mathan
pantarra
  wangka tharraka kanta-kanta
  pantarrangka mathanta
pariyaa
paru; patu
  paru thurri yinmipu, paru thurri
  warramipu
  parunji
  patarru
  patarru pantangka
paruuma
  thangkiniyita paruuma yaraaman
patha
  patha waan

patha piyan
pintal; pirntal
  pirntal ngaRa tharrkayu ngathungku

blind
dumb
hairy (SJ.60:1)
smooth; fine
blind
'You are blind.' (EH.7:2)
narrow
'The path is narrow.' (EH.22:3)
cheeky
'The boy was cheeky to me.' (EH.20C:1)
'Those two cheeked (were cheeky to) me.'
void; nothing
'There's nothing in my stomach.' (EH.71:1)
previously
the night before
shining, bright
shining water (EH.26:6)
bent, crooked
a bent or crooked stick (JB.4B:8)
long; straight; tall
'Their nest was high in a tall tree.' (EH.84:4)
ripe
(1) low down
'When the sun is low.' (EH.29:3)
'It's low now.'
low down, low to the horizon, in the west
on the horizon (lit. low in the sky)
(2) downstream
'speedily
'The horses are galloping.'
(1) green; living
a green tree
(2) unripe; undried [refers to growth that is not
fully matured, so is still green, wet, unfinished]
wet clothes
true; straight
'I'm telling you straight.' 'I'm telling you the
truth.' (JB.4B:8)
pinti-pinti

pirru; pirru
pirru nhaara nganha pirru
pirru tharayi tikal

piarra; pitara; pirra (abbrev.)
pitarrra mara
pitarrra ngapa

piyaa
    kuthara piyaa nga piyaa miil piyaangku

puka
punkinj (RHM: bunginj 'any dead tree')
punkinj waan
ngunturl punkinj yintiyu
punkinj nhura mayi

purri-purri

puutja

tapun
thaata (RHM: dharda)
thaatapara mirrinj
thaatapara mirrinj palanjpilaa
(RHM: tharda 'Venus')
thalka
    thalka yuurun
thanti (RHM: thunde)
thantu
    thantu witji
tharraa

tharrampurl
    tharrampurlu pakulu

thirrarra; thirrayira
    thirrarra pakul
    thirrayira thawin

thurrpi

tikal
tikal yuranj

thick; stong
(1) hard; strong
'He's looking at me real hard.' (EH.145M:1)
(2) tough
'(This old emu) is tough - it takes a lot of
chewing.' (EH.72:1)
good; right; nice; attractive
right hand
sweet water

sharp
'The little boy with sharp eyes (found the money).'
(EH.19:4)

rotten, decayed
dry
a dry (dead) tree
'My throat is dry.'
'The ground here is dry.'" (EH.157M:12)

striped
thin person
soft

anything big; big child; big star
Venus (lit. big bright star)

'Venus shines brightly.'

rough; bumpy
a rough track (RC)
fat
fresh, not stale or rotten
fresh meat

drunk
sharp
with sharp stones (EH.26:15)
sharp; (lit. having teeth)
a sharp stone
'The tomahawk is sharp.' (JB.61B:2)

clumsy (JB)

hard, tough
hard skin
9.3.2 DEMONSTRATIVES

ngariya
  ngariya yaanmiyira mayinj mukinj

nhura; nhurrana
  minjan ngara nhurrana
  nguwana nhurra watjiin

nhuu

yalu
  yalu nhura yanminaa
  yalu ngara mirrinj
  puluka ngara yalungka

9.3.3 PRONOUNS

9.3.3.1 NOMINATIVE PRONOUNS

ngana

we (pl)
ngathu
ngintu; njintu
nhula
nhumpu; nhampu
nhura
pula; purral
thana
yintu

9.3.3.2 ACCUSATIVE PRONOUNS

ngalina
nganha
ngarrana
nhulana
nhurana
panga
   waampikuyu panga
pulana
punha
tharrana; thana
   pantarayita thana

us (du)
me
us (pl)
you (du)
you (pl)
you (sg)
'I'll wait for you.'
them (du)
him, her, it
them
'They hit them.'

9.3.3.3 GENITIVE PRONOUNS

ngalika
nganhti; nganta
ngarraka
nhuraka
nhuraka
puka
puraka
tharraka
   yarraaman tharraka thangkiyita
thika; tjika
   yuwalkuyu mantuwii tjika

our, ours (du)
my, mine
our, ours (pl)
your, yours (du, pl)
their, theirs
his, her, hers, its
their, theirs (du)
their, theirs (pl)
'Their horses bolted.'
my, mine
'I've lost my shoes.'
yingka; (pungka; pangka)

9.3.3.4 DATIVE PRONOUNS

ngaangura
than yanmipula ngaangura
ngalingura
ngarrangura
nhulangura
nhumpungura
nampa tharriya nhumpungura
nhurangura
purralngura
thanangura
yingura

9.3.3.5 INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

minjan
minjan thanantu
ngaana
tirra; thirra
thirra kapunj wunantu tharrana
wantanj
wantanj kulaarrikuntu Mrs Mathews
wanthu
wanthu ngara yanmintu

9.3.4 VERBS

9.3.4.1 TRANSMITIVE VERBS

kaa- (RHM: thankanga 'bring')

nhinturl minjan warri thaangka kaamipu
thaat ngara thawin kaantaraa
kaantaraa ngantha kurayitangku
kunthiku
kaali-

your, yours (sg)
to/for me
‘You two come here to me.’ (RC.2:5)
for/to us (du)
for/to us (pl)
to/to you (du)
to/to you (pl)
to/to you (du)
to/to you (pl)
to/to them (du)
to/to them (pl)
to/to you (sg)
what
‘What are you doing?’
who; which
where
‘Where did you put those eggs?’ (EH.48:6)
when
‘When are you coming back, Mrs Mathews?’
(EH.206M:3)
when (JB only)
‘When are you going?’ (JB.69B:4)
to hold; to bring; to carry; to take
‘Don’t know what the diver bird has (is carrying)
in his mouth.’ (RC.70:4)
‘He carried a big tomahawk.’
‘The policeman took me to the hospital.’ (EH)
to grind
karima-; karima-
wala karingmaa nganha
to answer
‘He didn’t answer me.’ (EH.38:2)
karrawi- (RHM: kurrawirra ‘throw’)
karrawiyaa ngapa
‘He threw the water out!’
‘Put salt on the meat.’
ntaal karrawisa witjingka
to spill
‘He spilt the water.’
‘You spilt tea on the table.’ (RC.71:5)
karrka-
ngapa karrkalkapu
‘Put salt on the table.’
taayi karrkaltu tiipulta
to catch (Eng.)
‘I caught a codfish.’ (EH.9:6)
karrka-
ngapa karrkayiyiyu
to sprinkle
‘I sprinkle a little water (into the cooking hole).’
(EH.12:9)
kutuma katjimanju kwiya
to fish
‘He’s going fishing.’
‘I saw you fishing.’
kawarri-
ngapa kawarriiyiyu
to scale fish
‘I will scale the fish.’ (EH.78:2)
kayama-
kuyaya kayamipu
‘I saw you fishing.’
nharayu puka kayamatharrantu
to kick (possibly Eng.)
‘I kicked the bucket which had water in it.’
(EH.56:2)
to kick
‘I kicked the bucket which had water in it.’
‘I lost my money – dropped it somewhere.’
(EH.14:14)
kawarri-
ngapa kawarriiyiyu
to drop accidentally
to scale fish
‘I will scale the fish.’
(kitj:i-kitji-
yipika punha wala kitj:i-kitjimpara
‘Leave him alone; don’t tickle him!’
punha
to scale fish
‘Scale my fish!’
kikima-
to feel
‘He might be lying dead; you feel him.’ (EH.63:1)
kirrki-
kirrkimayu pakirr pangkay ngapayita
to feel
‘He might be lying dead; you feel him.’ (EH.63:1)
kiirru-
ngathu kiirrulkuyu
to paint
‘Mrs Baker painted me with (bitter) medicine.’
(EH.70:6)
kayama-
kuyaya kayamipu
‘Mrs Baker painted me with (bitter) medicine.’
nharayu puka kayamatharrantu
kiirru-
ngathu kiirrulkuyu
maa (RHM: mara)
maantaayu punha yakipal

manja-
kaarn manjamaray puha

mipa-
nguru mipara punha nguru

muu- (RHM: mulguyu)
muulkuyu witji

muulkuyu mathan

muuka-
muukalaa punha kuthara

nayinjama-
wala nayinjamaRa (?punha)

 ngaanki-
gaankayita punha

 ngaanta-
thuu ngurruntju kapunj ngaantaa

 ngaarri-
ngaarriliyu tharrana

ngama tha- (RHM: ngumadadhira
'suck as a child')
kuthara ngama thathirra

ngarpa-; ngarpa- (RHM: ngarba)
wala ngarparana

ngawi-
ngawika punha karti
minjan ngaka ngawilalapu

ngu- (RHM: ngua 'request')
guwan
ngumintu tharrana
nhuwanha kapupil kapu pakul

ngumpa-
ngumpathaa pantanj kupingku

ngunta-; nginti-
nguntayu punha
to take; to get
'I took the knife.' (EH.59:3)
to torment, joke with, tease
'He was tormenting the snake.'
to wipe
'Wipe the kid's nose!' (EH.52:2)
(1) to cook
'I'll cook the meat.'
(2) to burn
'I will burn the wood.'
to nurse in the arms
'He's nursing the baby.' (EH.64:1)
to ridicule, poke fun at
'Don't poke fun at it.' (JB.5B:3)
to ask
'They asked him.'
to lay eggs; to give birth to
'The emu lays a lot of eggs.' (EH.27:10)
to joke with
'I have a joke with them.' (EH.5:6)
to suck (lit. eat breast)
'The baby is sucking at his mother's breast.' (JB)
to steal; to snap, grab, bite (JB); to snatch or take forcibly from
'Don't take it off me!' (EH.56:2)
to swallow
'Swallow the medicine.' (EH.30:4)
'What did he swallow?'
to give
'Give it to me!'
'You are giving it away to them.'
'Give me two bob (shillings). ' (EH.27:7)
to fill in; to block up (as a hole in tin)
'The doctor blocked that hole up.'
to know
'I know him.'
nharay panga
yarraaman nhayinipu ngariya mayinjku
Robin yantipu thayin nhayintjira panga
nhaarapula
nhayinipu puka yarraaman

wala nhaarayita nganha
wiya nhaantu witji-witji

(1) to see, look at, observe
'I see you.'
'He sees the man's horse.'
'Robin is coming over to see you.'
'They two looked up.'
'He's looking at his horse.' (EH.29:4)

(2) to hear
'They didn't hear me.' (EH.16:6)
'Do you hear the birds singing?' (EH.19:6)

to torment; to scold
'Poor little fellow, don't scold him!' (EH.30:4)
to swear at someone
'He swore at me.'
'That man over there is swearing to himself.' (EH.30:1)
to hold
holding me (JB.34B:1)
to hide
'We'll plant (hide) here in the scrub from the white man.' (EH.29:5)
'I watched you hide it.' (EH.41:3)
'I'm going to plant my meat.'
to block an entrance, close off or shut an opening
'Do you want to shut the door?'
'They (bees) closed it (hole in bark) up with wax.'
'A dust storm is coming; shut the place up.'
to rub together, grind; to stamp on
'I will stamp on it.' (RHM)
'Grind the knife on the stone.' (EH.81:3)
to tease
'Don't tease my cat.' (EH.30:2)
'(The kids) are teasing the goanna with a stick.' (RC.9:4)
to stamp on
to hit, beat, strike; to spear; to kill
'I'm going to hit you.'
'How many fish did you catch?'
'I knocked a wallaroo down with a stick.'
paampa-
kurrurinja, kurrurinja yantayita
mayinj ngaara warrinj maanangka
paamparaku thirra palkantaaku puka

paampirintu nganha
paamparayiyupu

paantima-
yaman wangka paantimaa

paki--; waki-
partala pakilmikuyu piyan
wakilpa piyan thika

pan-
panampiya wii
panangkiyaa (?panampiya) milkiri
punha

panga-
pangayiyu piyan thika mathantu

wala pangara

panpi-
panpiRa
mayintju panpiyaa naypu wirungarala
mara

pari--; parrima--; partima-
parimiyiRa mara thika
maantayita punha parrimayita punha
mara puka
partimathaa partimaRay lace mantuwii
pangka
partimalkuyu yarraaman kurangku
partimayita punha mara puka

parru--; parrupa-
ngathu ngapa parruyu
parrupanga ngapa, parrupanga kapngka
parrupanga

parta-
palanju partarayu punha
ngathu partakuyu yinguka
minjanku partiyintu

---
to stop, block, check, baulk at, hold back

‘The men came closer and closer in a circle to block his way out.’ (JB.75B:309)
‘You are stopping me.’
‘I will stop it.’ (JB.34B:1)
to find
‘He found one nest.’
to wash clothes
‘I’ll wash the clothes tomorrow.’ (EH.59:3)
‘I washed my clothes.’
cover over
covering over the fire
‘Ants crawled all over him (so as to completely cover him).’ (EH.22:1)
to tear
‘I tore my dress on the branch of a tree.’
(EH.56:2)
‘Don’t tear it!’
to catch, grab, grasp
‘Catch it!’
‘The man grabbed the knife, scratching my hand.’
to tie up
‘They tied my hands up.’
‘The police brought him in with his hands tied.’
‘Tie your shoe laces.’
‘I will tie up the horse with some rope.’
‘They tied his hands up.’
to pour out; to spill
‘I spill the water (poured it out).’ (RC)
‘Pour the water out, pour it in to the cup.’
(EH.30:3)
to punch
‘I punched him for nothing.’ (JB.54)
‘I’m going to punch you.’
‘Why did you punch him?’
paru-  wala piya parungara
pata-
payinti-
payintimanja
pinampi- (RHM: binnambi ‘hear’)
\[\text{pinampiya kayila Muruwari} \]
\[\text{pinampiliyaa kuthara} \]
pingka- (RHM: bingga)
\[\begin{align*}
\text{kimay pingkalkuyu} \\
\text{mukara ngara thinangka ngathungku} \\
\text{pingkara ngara mukara}
\end{align*} \]
pintjuwi- (RHM: bindyaui ‘suck as a wound’)
\[\begin{align*}
pintjuwipu yalaali ngara \\
piti-; pitji-
pitika parangka wartungka \\
thayin yana kimay pitjiyintu \\
wartu pitjina tiinj
\end{align*} \]
piya; pii- (abbrev.)
\[\begin{align*}
\text{Shillinnga piyanthayu punha} \\
piyaka- \\
piyikatharrananji piyinka tharrana \\
pu- (RHM: bungirra ‘hit by throwing’) \\
\begin{align*}
\text{minjan puntantu} \\
\text{thanangku puta punha} \\
\text{putharrirra marlingku} \\
pumayipu
\end{align*} \]
pulta-  \\
pultanja pakurla
pulu-
pululkunja
puluka-
pulukaayayu
pumpi-
pumpliyanja nhuuki
puri- (RHM: burira ‘chop (with axe)’)
\[\begin{align*}
purisa punha mathan wiiku
\end{align*} \]
to extinguish
‘Don’t put the fire out!’
to pick up
to find (Eng.)
‘I found it.’ (EH.21C)
(1) to remember
‘I remember Muruwari.’
(2) to think about (probably what one has heard, from pina ‘ear’)
‘He thought of the child.’
to prick, stab, pierce; to pick out
‘I’m going to dig a yam.’ (RC.9:3)
‘I have a burr in my foot; pick the burr out.’
(JB.5B:4/JT transcription)
to suck
‘He’s sucking a lolly.’ (JB.34B)
to dig
‘Dig a pit for steaming food.’
‘Come and dig yams.’
‘We’ll dig a burrow.’
to ask
‘I’ll ask Shillin about it.’
to ask in marriage
‘When they ask if they can live together.’
to hit; to kill
‘What did you kill him for?’
‘He hit him with his knuckles.’
‘He was hit by a boomerang.’
in order to hit (JB.1B:6)
to ask (probably to beg)
‘I asked you for money.’
to flog, beat a person
‘I will flog him!’
to lose
‘I lost it.’ (JB.54B)
to pick something up
‘I picked it up.’ (EH.32:1)
to chop
‘Chop the limb off the tree for firewood.’
purra-
- ngathu piyarn thika purrangayu
  to sew
  'I'm sewing myself a dress.' (EH.30:5)

puthaa-
- puthaara punha paka punha kulangku
  to rip apart
  'The wallaroo ripped him (the dog) apart.' (EH.13:14)
  ngartkungku

puu-
- pithal puurayika murrinj
  to pull or strip off
  'They stripped the bark off the tree.' (EH.26:12)

pumpi- (RHM: bumbira 'blow with breath')
  puumpira wii
  (1) to blow up or out; to blaze up (of fire)
  'Blow up the fire!'
  (2) to smoke
  'I want to smoke a pipe.'
  pu umpitjirayu paypu
  to set alight
  'He set fire to the scrub.' (EH.30:6)
  puungki-
  puungkipu mirti
  to take down from a height
  'I took my bag down (from the tree). (EH.70:5)
  puuta-
  mangkarr puutayu
  to pour over
  'Don't pour water on the fire!'
  tanpi-
  wala tanpintu ngapa wiingka
  'I'll pour water into the mug.' (RC.9:2)
  tanpiykuyu ngapa panikanta
  to prod, poke
  'Don't poke the cat – leave him alone!'

tatuma-
  wala tatungmaranga putji
  to eat; to drink; to suck
  yimpira punha
  'Eat fast!'

tha- (RHM: thaddhira 'eat';
  ngubba-thaddhira 'drink')
  kartukartu thala
  to meet
  'The child is nursing at the breast.'
  ngarma thathirra kuthara
  'Get up and have a feed.'
  thatharri
  'I'm going to eat.' (JB)
  thaanku ngara yanmiyu
  to tease, pester, annoy
  'The women teased him.'

thi-thi
  mukutintju thithimayi punha
  (1) to send
  'Send him a message.'
  thinama- (RHM: dinnamara)
  (2) to erect, construct
  yaan thinamara punha
  'How do you put up a humpy?'
  tirraka kurli thinamantu
  to meet
  'The moon met them.' (JB.74)
  thingki-
  kiyantu thinkgil thana
  to track some one or thing
  thintuwa-
  (He was) tracking it (the kangaroo).
  thintuwayi punha
  (1) to sweep
  thipi-
  thipilma ngutintu parranta
  'Can you sweep the veranda?'
tukulmara thana thipungara

thulka-
thulkalkuyu
thulkaltharriiyu

thulpu-
thulpukayi palayiki

thuma- (RHM: dhudhia)
thumaanja pulayi
minjan thumanmintu punha

thumpa-
thumpalkuyu punka
thumpala kuthara puka tharraangu
tharra yintaa

thunma-
thunmayu punha

thuumpa- (RHM: thumbarra)
putji thuumpayita kurru-kurrungku

tunga-
piki tungaa minyantu pakulu

wanga-
wangalkuyu punha
yukarta-yukarta wangalaa nganha

wanti
minjan wantimantu

warra-; waa- (RHM: wurra 'fall down')
kurayitangku palanj waaka nganha
warrilayu wiingka parriyu

ngapaku kula warrayita wartuku

warraapu Sydneyku
kurnta warray ngurraku

watuwa-; warrawa- (RHM: wurrawa)
watuwanmiyira punha

wirru- (RHM: wirrungra)
putjikat wirrungaku panga
ngariya wirrukarana puliya kuntarl...
kurni

(2) to pick up
'When they drop it, pick it up!' (EH.22:3)

to cut
'I will cut it.' (S)
'I cut myself.' (S)

to drop
'I dropped the plate!'

to break
'I broke a plate.'
'What are you breaking now?' (EH.29:4)

to scold, rouse upon, chastise
'I will scold him.' (S)

'The man who was drunk was rousing on his kids.' (EH.30:4)

to squeeze
'I squeezed it.'

to point at
'They all pointed at the cat.'

to cut (as tear skin)
'Why did you cut your arm with a sharp stone?' (EH.26:10)

to chase
'I will chase him.' (EH.30:4)
'The yukarta-yukarta chased me.' (EH.35:6)

to want (Eng.)
'What do you want?' (EH.10:6)

(1) to fall, drop
'The policeman nearly dropped me.'
'If I fall in to the fire, I get burnt.' (RC.4:2)
(2) to go or travel 'down' to a place
'The kangaroos came down to the water for a drink.'
'He went down to Sydney.' (JB.24B:2)
'I was down in camp yesterday.'

to search for
'They are searching for her.' (EH.19:4)

to scratch
'That cat will scratch you.' (EH.29:5)

'Look at the dog scratching fleas.' (EH.29:5)
to spear
‘He stuck the spear in him.’ (EH.157:2)

to carry
‘He carried the tomahawk.’

to push
‘Push it!’

to lose something

‘The stick stopped the stone from rolling.’

to leave
‘I left my things in a house in town.’
‘I left Brewarrina.’ (JB.25B:2)
‘He left me on the ground.’
‘Leave it alone!’ (EH.2:3)

to ignore; to be of no significance
‘Never mind it!’

to bite
‘When a spider bites you, he poisons you.’
(EH.70:6)

to push aside
‘I will push it aside.’

to lose
‘He lost his money.’
‘He became lost.’ (EH.19:4)
‘He lost his knife.’ (EH.207M)

to float, go across water
‘It is floating on the water.’ (RC.9:2)

‘They took the boat away in the water.’ (EH.29:5)
‘Then he floated on top of the water.’ (JB.KM)
to flow
‘Water is flowing in the river.’
to hunt
‘We’ll go hunting in the moonlight.’
‘He’s away hunting.’ (EH.30:3)

(1) to return home
‘I'm returning to my camp.’
kamimuka niya nhurraganta
kamilaa

kampi-
ngathu piyan kampilkuyu piyan
pupliaka ngari yankuyu

kanturl; kanturl pa-; kalu- (abbrev.)
kanturl paliyu pirru para ngaara
kanturl paliyu ngurrunjku witiiku
kalulmiyu

karra-
karayu kaanngu

karrarri-
minyanu karrarrintu minyan maarrintu

kawi-

kawiyyiira tinti
purarn kawiminiyiri yaanminiyiri
purarn

kawiliyu pulana

kayamparr-
kayamparrkuyu

kayi (RHM: kaimburra ‘fill’; kaindyera
‘dive’)
kayinthira tintja kaanki
nhuungka kayimpa ngara
paturrungka nguwa ngara kayinthayita
ngathu kayinkuyu ngapangka pirringka

kayimpa- (RHM: gaimburra)
kilpi-
kilya pa-
wiya kilya paylintu

kinta (RHM: kinda)
kintaytjarila kalkaka mayinjka

kirrawi-
kirrawilkuyu

kirri- (RHM: burbiddhyera-kirrika
(lit. to jump about)

(2) to come beside a person
‘Come and sit with us.’ (EH.29:7)
go ing home (SJ)
to dress
‘I’m getting dressed to go to the pub.’ (RC.8:5)
to be hungry
‘I’m hungry’ (EH.13:14)
‘I’m hungry for goanna.’ (EH.29:2)
‘I’m hungry for emu meat.’ (EH.29:2)
‘I am hungry.’
to be afraid
‘I’m afraid of snakes.’
to moan
‘What are you moaning for? Are you sick?’
(EH.21:4)
to call, sing out (of birds and animals as well as
humans calling each other)
‘The native bees are buzzing.’

‘The mosquitoes are starting to sing out now.’
(EH.27:8)
‘I sang out to those two fellows.’
to clothe oneself
‘I’ll put my clothes on myself.’ (EH.64:2)
to go through, enter; to dive (JB.61)
‘The snake is going into its hole.’
‘It went through here.’ (JB.61:5)
‘They dived so low.’
‘I will dive into the waters of the Birrie Creek.’
(RC.9:2)
to fill; to put into
to sneak up on someone
to be tired
‘Are you tired?’
to laugh
‘He laughs at all the people.’
to scrape
‘I am scraping the wood.’ (S)
to dance or corroboree
wakatha kirriyaa
kirrilayira
kiwa kurrathara ngapa
kuka-
kukaylimipu
wala kukanga
kula-; kurla
wantanj kulaykuntu
ngara kulawiguli ngara pantarana
piki-piki
kulamipu ngurraku
kurlanmiyu waantili
kurlayipu mathanta
kulathipu kantarji ngapaki
kukay mathanta kulaapu
kulka-
kulkathanaa
kumaa-
kumaayu ngathu
kumpi-
kumpitjaniyu
kunu-
kununtingathu
kurluwi-; kuruwi-

kuruwiyu maara ngathu
kurtitjari-
kuumpi-
wiya kuthara kuumpiykupu
kuumpirra ngapangka
kuwi- (RHM: kui)
maari-; maarri
thuu tharilayu tuku maarikuyu
ngathu maarriyu thalingka

‘He danced the wagatha corroboree.’
when they are corroboreeing
to urinate
‘(The cattle) dirty the water.’ (EH.53:1)
to limp
‘He’s limping.’ (EH.4C:2)
‘Don’t limp!’
(1) to return to a place, go again
‘When will you return?’
‘Let’s go back to the place where we killed the
pig.’ (EH.11:7)
‘He was returning to camp.’
(2) to climb, ascend
‘We (I with you) are going up for work.’
(EH.17:7)
‘He’s climbing the tree.’
‘The water is rising.’ (EH.19:1)
‘The possum climbed the tree.’
to dance a corroboree
‘He was corroboreeing.’ (EH.14:5)
to go ‘through’ (i.e. missing)
‘I went through/missing.’ (JB.61B:5)
to paint oneself
‘I painted myself.’ (S)
to sneak along
‘When he’s sneaking along this way.’ (EH.157:5)
to bend down; to walk with body stooped down so
as to prevent one’s shadow from falling across
another person [a sign of disrespect if this
happened]
‘I bent down to pick up (sticks).’ (EH.21:4)
to become angry
(1) to wash
‘Will the child have a bogey (wash)?’ (EH.1:9)
(2) to dive
‘Dive into the water.’ (EH.70:6)
to whistle
to hurt, pain, be sick
‘If I eat too much I get a pain in a stomach.’
‘I have a pain in my chest.’ (RC.70:2)
makulnin-
ngariya makulnimina kanta mathanta
mar-
maratayu warraka ngathu
marntu-
marn tulayina ngurrunj wangkangka
milin yura-
milin yurangkiyu
murra- (RHM: muralli)
murraywila
murraliyiyu
murri-
murriyanji
muthi- (RHM: mudhil)
nawa-
kukunkuyu ngariya ngathu
nawangkuyu yingura
ngaa-
ngaara
ngaaki-; ngaa- (abbrev.)
minjan warri ngaankiliyika
thuu ngaakingiyita bingo
ngarnta-
ngarntaliya punha milkiringka
ngaaringka
nguna- (RHM: ngunandhira ‘sleep’)
nguri-
miil thika nguriyu
ngurrki-
ngurrkiyaa manuku nganu
nhanti-
nhantiyira
niya- (RHM: nia)
kartu-kartu niyantaapu mayinj
niya paru
to shin up a tree
‘Look at (the boy) shinning up a tree.’ (EH.30:1)
to slip
‘I slipped and fell.’ (EH.21:4)
to drum (sound made by emus)
‘The emu is drumming on his nest.’
(EH.157M:10)
to be sorry
‘I am sorry.’ (JB)
to vomit
‘when he vomited’ (RC.39:2)
‘I vomited.’ (JB.59:5)
to drown
‘He got drowned.’
to kiss
to lie, tell untruth
‘I lied to you.’ (RC.8:5)
to breathe
‘(The doctor says,) “Breathe in!”’ (EH.57:4)
to play
‘I don't know what kind of games they are playing.’
‘They are all playing bingo.’ (RC.9:1)
to crawl
‘Ants crawled all over him.’
to lie down, lie upon, rest, sleep
to be blinded by the sun (?funny in your eye when
the sun gets in your eyes)
when you (get) funny in the eye (EH.27:3)
to ask for something
‘He asked me for some bread.’ (EH.10:7)
to go away from camp
‘They all left the camp.’ (EH.40:1)
sit
‘The man sat down quickly.’ (EH.29:6)
‘Sit down on the ground.’
nupalkuwi pangakuyu yanmilantu
mila-milakaampa

nurrangira

pa-; paa-

kampa wii paara
purtu payipu
purtu patjayipu

paangki- (RHM: banggi)
kurrkuurruru kuthara paangkiyita
ngartungka
yarraman paangkiminaa

paanti- 
paantinilinaa

paayi-
paka-
wayilki miil pakinipu
pungkil pakayiwa
ngariya piyan pakiyaa

pakuu niya-
pala- (RHM: bullambi)
mirrinj palanpiyila

pali (RHM: bullindyira)
paliyaa

palka-
palkaa ngurraku yaman mayinj
palkalmimpu tirrkaya
palkaypu kunthingu
wala ngara thayin palkanthirrintu

pampa-

nhantaara ngathu pampatalayita

para-

kuwanj paralaa pumpungu

pari-
parimipunji ngapa

to be lonely for, miss the presence of
‘I’ll miss you when you go, poor girl!’ (EH.22:3)
to rub
‘When you rub something.’ (EH.70:5)
to do, cause to happen [used in relation to natural
happenings as the ignition of fire, or the act of
rain]
‘Light the fire again.’
‘It is raining.’
‘Rain is coming.’
to swim
‘All the children are swimming in the river.’
‘Look, there’s a horse swimming over there.’
(EH.29:4)
to be unable to swim
‘He couldn’t swim.’
to burst forth (JB)
(1) to open
‘His eyes are still open.’
(2) to bloom
‘The flowers are blooming.’
(3) to be torn
‘Her dress got torn.’
to sit with legs folded
to shine
‘The stars are shining.’
to die
‘He died.’
to come, proceed from; to blow (wind)
‘One man came to the camp.’
‘A dust storm is blowing up.’
‘He comes out from his house.’
‘You are not to come out.’
to fight
‘I used to watch them fight.’ (EH.13:9)
to flow; to bleed
‘Blood was flowing out of my head.’
to lower position or level of
‘The river is falling.’ (EH.72:1)
parla-
  milinjukyita parlaykuntu
parlarriya kantangu mathangnu

parnang-
  thirriya parnanganmi

parra-
  thurri parramilaanji ngunaapulanji

parri-
  parriyu

kurr-kurr parriyita

manu parraka
manu thika muki parriya manu

parriyaa wiingku
wala wii pirra parriyapu

parriyaa wiitji

partikula-
  partikulayipu

pata-

pathi- (RHM: buddhe)
  thayin yantapula pathiyita

piir-
  marangka piirantiyu

pilpa-
  kuwanj pilparapu pumpungka

pinathina-
  pinathinanipula yingura
  pinathinamukaya

pinayuwalkuwi (RHM: binnayualgui)

pingki-
  nguwiita mukinj pingkimipu ngaanura

pinka- kangkurl
  wala pingkara kangkurl

pintju-, pintju pa-
  Bilbil pinthuwitjarripu
  pintjuwi panipu putjiikaat
  mara thika pintjuwiya kuntarI

to slip, slide
  'You will slip in the mud.'
  'He slid down the tree.' (EH.30:1)
roll away
  'It (pencil) is rolling away (from me).'
to ascend; to arise
  'At sunrise (lit. when the sun was rising) the two
  (women) went to sleep.'
(1) to be hot
  'I am hot.'
(2) to drink (when thirsty from heat)
  'They drink all the water.' (EH.48:2)
(3) to burn
  'He burnt the bread.'
  'I burnt (cooked to overheat) the damper.'
  (EH.21:4)
  'He got burnt in the fire.' (EH.18:7)
  'The fire is not burning properly.'
(4) be cooked
  'The meat is cooked.'
jealous
  'He is jealous.'
to dig
  to smell, sniff
  'Two (dogs) came sniffing around.'
to have possession of
  'I've got it in my hand.'
to bleed
  'His head was bleeding.'
to hear; to listen to
  'They are both listening to you.' (EH.71:3)
  'Keep on listening!'
to forget (lit. lose one's ear)
to sneak up on
  'That women is sneaking up on me.'
to cough
  'Don't cough!'
to lick
  'Bibil (cat's name) is licking himself.'
  'The cat is licking itself.' (EH.29:6)
  'The dog licked my hand.'
to recover from sickness
'The children are right (better) now.'
to get off, move from
'Get off the tree; you might fall.'
'Get off my kangaroo skin rug!' (EH.47:5)
to swell
'My arm was swelling up.'
'It swelled up behind the ear.' (EH.30:1)
to move, travel, go
'Where are you going to?'
to be hungry
'The dogs are hungry.'
to crawl
'The child is crawling.'
'Crawl to me!' (EH.30:1)
to go
'Where did all that mob go?'
'I'm going across the river.'
'I'm going across the river now.'
to shake
'I'm shaking from the cold.'
to behave properly
'Behave yourself!' (lit. sit down quiet) (EH.10:1, 12:3, 50:1)
to descend
'The boomerang came down on the ground.'
to chop
'Chop (wood) for me!'
'When I was chopping wood I cut my shin.'
to meet
'He met them by the tree.'
to jump about; to shiver, shake
'He's shivering from the cold.'
to burrow
'They burrow in the mud.'
to undress
'She took her dress off.'
to have a rest
'I'm going to lie down for a rest now.'
to ride, drive
'We drove in the buggy at night.' (EH.19:1)
to re-open a nest in springtime
'They (some birds) re-open their nests (in the springtime).'
to copulate
'?Continue to copulate.' (EH)
to awaken, arouse
'Wake him up!' (EH.63:3)
to drag, pull, go through water, to sail or go across water
'The boat came through the water, (then) he took it away.'
(1) to make
'I will make two spears.'
(2) to do
'What did I do?'
to run, bolt; to flow
'He ran a short distance.' (JB.KM(36))
'The horse bolted.' (RC.8:5)
'The river's running.'
to dream

to corroboree, dance (introduced word, possibly from Ngiyambaa)
(1) to arise; to fly
'The birds are flying about.'
(2) to move from one place to another [to move camp, get up off the ground etc.]
'They moved to another camp.'
(3) to pant (breath flying)
'The dog was panting heavily.' (EH.22:4)
(1) to tell
'He told all the people he was good and clever.' (JB.KM.16)
'I'm not telling you a lie.' (JB.4B:8)
(2) to say
'You are saying something?'
tharrkaranha Muruwari

tharrku-
pintal tharrku ngara

thina- (RHM: thinnandhira ‘stand’)
kanta thinaa
mayinjalka ngara waankala
thinarayita

wala ngara thinipu
ngapa thinipu paatarla

yanmiyu yaraan thinina
kurrupa ngapangka thinaanipu

thinatharri-
thinatharri thinara

thirra-
kulayi thirralkuyu nhurrangku
kungkarrangku

thurli-
thurliminaa

thuthi-
thuntu thuthiyaa

tilpi-
tilpimiyintu thika

uki-
wurul thanalaa tikiyayira

tipu-
tipunmara
tukulmara thana tipunkayira

tiyyi-
tiyyiminaa thayin marli
kayila tiyawiyu
pampu tiyawiyu
tiyangara punha tampa

turri; tuu-
pantarra turripu
yarranj turriyaa pantarra
turrilmiyita yawi

(3) to teach
‘Teach me Muruwari!’
to throw
‘Throw straight.’ (JB.4B:8)
(1) to stand
‘He stood up.’

‘The people stood like trees.’
(2) to stay without moving
‘He’s not moving.’
‘There is water in the bottle.’
(3) to be situated, be growing (of plants)
‘I’m going where the reeds are.’ (EH.27:13)
‘The ghost gum is standing in the water.’
to stand up
‘Stand up!’ (EH.30:2)
to put across
‘I’m making a bridge across the river with just one log.’
to thunder
‘It is thundering now.’
to be broken
‘He broke his leg.’ (lit. his leg was broken)
to sneak up on
‘You are sneaking up on me.’ (EH.10:1)
to grind
‘They used to grind with a grinding stone.’
to sweep up; to pick up, tidy up
‘Sweep the floor!’
‘When they’d dropped them, they’d pick them up again.’ (EH.22:3)
to turn round, twist, spin, circle
‘The boomerang twists and circles, coming back.’
‘Yes, I’m turning now.’ (EH.29:4)
‘I’ve got a headache.’ (head spinning)
‘Turn the damper over!’ (EH.29:4)
to grow
‘He’s grown!’
‘His beard grew long.’
‘The grasses are growing.’
thuu kimay turratalita
kuthara tuulmiyita

'there are a lot of yams grown.'
'the children are growing up.' (EH.59:1)

(1) to move about
'what's that moving?'
'slowly he moved his head.'

(2) to sink, slowly fall
'the moon was sinking down.'

(3) to look past some object
'he's looking round a bend in the river.' (RC)

to work (Eng.)
'He doesn't work.' (EH.5:1)

to lift up, pick up; to carry away, move off with;
to hold in one place
'pick up the little child.' (JB.59B:3)

to bark
'the dog is barking.'

'last night a lot of dogs barked.' (EH.1:8)

to forget
'i forget.' (EH.10:4)

to cry, weep, howl (of both man and animal)
'a dingo howls and a little child cries out.'
(EH.5:3)

to wait
'to want (Eng.)
'i want all eyes closed.' (JB.75B:8)

(1) to lie, sit, rest upon
'the spider was on the bag.' (EH.70:5)
'the possum is sitting in the tree.' (RC.2:6)

(2) to ride on (as a horse, or moon in the sky)
'the white man is riding a horse.' (EH.5:2)
'there is) no moon.' (lit. it is not yet riding)
(RC.5:7)

to be born
'the woman is growing bigger, she's having a baby soon.'
to be unacceptable, unwanted
'go away, I don't want to see you.' (EH.157M:6)
'it is a nuisance.' (EH.157M:7)
**wira-**

- to make string by rolling emu sinew, twine, etc. on the upper leg

**wirri-**

- wirriniya kamalamiya
- to be silent, to ‘shut-up’
  - ‘Don’t talk to me!’ (EH.30:2)

**wirrimpi-**

- wirrampu kuntarl
- to wag a tail
  - ‘The dog is wagging its tail (because it is pleased to see its owner).’ (EH.30:2)

**wuki-; -uki**

- nguntja wukilmatharrri ngapangka
- wash body
  - ‘Wash your face with water.’ (EH.51:3)

**wuluta-**

- kapuntja wulutanipu
- to search, look for
  - ‘All the time he’s looking for emu eggs.’

**wuna-**

- wala mathan wunamara
- to lie down, put down, place
  - ‘Don’t lie the stick there.’

**ya-** (RHM: yandhira)

**yaa-** (RHM: yaan)

- yaantilaa punha mukinj
- to go, walk

- to talk, speak
  - a man who is constantly talking about women (EH.6:6)

**yaaka-**

- yaakaray
- to be in pain
  - ‘He’s in pain.’ (EH.77:1)

**yampu-**

- ngunamuka yampura ngunamuka
- to sleep
  - ‘(Lie down and) go to sleep!’ (EH.30:1)

**yanyula-**

**yapi-**

- yapiyayu yurrintja wiingka
- to be sorry for
  - to warm oneself
  - ‘Last night I (sat and) warmed myself at the fire.’ (EH.11:4)

**yarraka-**

- ngathu thinaykuyu yarrkatharrri narri
- to stretch the body
  - ‘I will stand and stretch myself.’

**yi-; i-**

- yuralmara waa (y)intipu
- pitjuru-mayanj kupi (y)intharra
- to be, become
  - ‘He is working badly.’
  - ‘He became a spirit-man witchdoctor.’ (JB.KM)

**yinpa-; inpa-**

- yinpayra
- to ignore, take no notice of
  - ‘Never mind it!’ (EH.47:1)

**yungki-** (RHM: yuunggi)

- yungkipu kurrkangka
- to sing; to sorcerise
  - ‘He’s singing a corroboree song.’ (EH.29:6)
  - ‘You sing to me.’

**yurranj pa-**

- yurranj pakiyu
- to be ashamed
  - ‘I will feel ashamed.’ (EH.29:43)

**yuurri-**

- to become dark
9.3.5 ADVERBS

kalyana
  kalyana ngarrikuntu
  soon, directly
  ‘You will be playing about directly.’

kamala
  kamala yanmiyu
  kamala niyakayipu kuntingka kamala
  alone
  ‘I’m going by myself.’
  ‘He is living on his own.’ (EH.27:1)

kanji; katji
  kanji palkayita
  thangkuraymayu kanji yuuring-tha
  kanji thurri warrakupu
  kanji-kanji
  kanji-kanji ngari warrakapu kantu
  now, today; soon, directly; the immediate past
  ‘They came today.’
  ‘I had a dream last night.’
  ‘It’s sundown directly.’ (EH.29:3)
  soon
  ‘She’s having a baby soon.’ (RC)

kanta
  thurri kantangka
  (1) up high
  ‘The sun is overhead.’
  (2) on top
  instep, top of foot
  (3) with speed
  ‘Don’t talk so fast, talk slowly.’ (EH.29:4)

wala kanta yaara, yipa yaara
  together
  ‘Walk close together with me.’
  ‘We two will walk together.’

karrka
  wani yana ngaanura karrka
  karrka yantili
  in front of
  again (reciprocal action)
  ‘Ruby gave me some meat back again.’

karrpu-karrpu
  quickly, fast
  ‘The water is flowing swiftly.’
  ‘Move quickly!’
  ‘Kambu, come here quickly.’

karrul
  Ruby witji nguntlayanja karrul
  far, afar
  slowly
  ‘He’s eating slowly.’ (EH.72:1)

kartu-kartu
  kartu-kartu ngapa thangkipu
  muku kartu-kartu
  kambu kartu thayin yana
  slowly
  over there
  ‘The diver bird gets up (flies) over there.’
  (RC.70:4)

kuwarri
  munki
  slowly
  over there some distance away
  ‘It is some distance away.’ (as from the Goodooga Reserve to the township)
  ‘I see something, I don’t know what, way over there on the plain.’ (EH.12:1)

mankita
  mankita thanipu
  slowly

munki

narri
  nhinturl palkaapu narri nhumpu

ngara
  ngara nhumpu

ngara palaangka mayi nhaanyu warri

nharri

nhinturl palkaapu narri nhumpu

ngara
  ngara nhumpu

ngara palaangka mayi nhaanyu warri
ngarlu
  ngathu pantaraanja ngarlu

ngarlu ngara wiingka
ngarlu ngara ngarlu

ngutha
  thuu thurran ngutha ngaa thanayu

ngutha katjimayu

nhari; nharu
  purtu nhari payipu

nhura

pakuun
  pakuun niya

parray

partanj
  partanj murriyapula punha

pintja
  pintja nhurrana
  pintja nhuwa

pira

pukul; purrul
  pukul niya

purray
  ngurra purray yalu yarrkangku
  kaantili punha

talu

taluwi
  wala ngara nhaaranja partala taluwi
  puka

tampa
  wantimayu tampa

thanu

  kiyarn kangkiyaa purral ngara
  thanungka

thanumpu

(1) again
  'I hit him back again.' (EH.20C:1)
(2) close
  close by the fire (JB.4B:4)
a close shot (i.e. just off the mark)

inability, unable to (perform an action)
  'There was so much smoke I was unable to
  breathe.' (EH.70:6)
  'I couldn't catch him.'

now (present time)
  'It is raining now.'

there

squat down position
  'Squat down – double your legs.' (lit. sit on
  folded legs)

bye and bye, soon

almost
  'The two of them almost drowned him.'

just, only
  'Just that.' (JB.53)
  'Just so.'

much

quietly
  'Sit down quietly.' (EH.7:5)

across

'The wind blew him across the camp.'

over there (JB)

not yet

'I haven't seen it yet, but will in the morning.'
  (EH.30:3)

more, again (repeated action)
  'I don't want any more.' (EH.37:1)

middle, in between, half (that divided in the
  middle)

'The moon man floated in between the two of
  them.' (JB.KM.(136))

the middle of the night
thawila
thawila kanji kamimipu

thawinaa
thawinaa kuntarl waluwipu

thayin; thayi
thayin yana!

thirri
thirri yana!

kayintjiraa thantirr thirri thuntungka puka

thirri-tjayin
purrpiya thirritjayin
turrungka
mukintja turrungka puka

wani
wani yantipu

watha
wala wangara punha watha

wiiyal
paangkimuka wiiyal

yala

yipa

9.3.6 PARTICLES

kayila

purru patipu kayila
kayilanjji kayilanjji paangkiyayu

matja
matja kayila
matja matja kayila
matja-mukinj

matja wii paliyaa
matja niyanmiyu

soon, directly
‘He is returning home shortly.’

loudly
‘The dog is barking loudly.’

towards, to speaker, this way
‘Come here!’

(1) movement away from
‘Go away!’

(2) movement through
‘(The spear) went right through the flesh in his leg.’

back and forth
‘He was jumping backwards and forwards.’

behind
‘He has his woman with him.’ (lit. his woman behind) (EH.157:5)

close, near
‘He is coming close.’ (EH.44:1)

now, at the moment
‘Don’t chase him now.’ (EH.30:4)

long way out, further away
‘Keep on swimming further away.’ (EH.1:5)

that way
slowly

yes, right now, all right (affirmation of a statement) [used in answer to such a question as wiya pakul panga ‘Have you any money?’
kayila ‘Yes, I have.’] (EH.17:5)

‘It is raining right now.’ (RC)

‘Again and again I swam.’ (JB.76B)

past time, usually long past
long ago

a very long time ago

very old woman; also sometimes used of the not-so-distant past

‘I have already put the fire out.’ (RC)

‘I’m getting old.’ (lit. been sitting for a long time) (EH.59:5)
Fully extended

‘His beard grew long, right down to his waist (stomach).’

‘It went so quickly.’ (JB)

‘Be careful, you might break a plate.’ (EH)

lacking, without; nothing; naked; alone

‘I have nothing!’

‘You are not to go alone in the bush.’ (JB.68B:5)

‘He is dead (nothing).’ (JB.24B:2)

‘Give all the tucker away.’ (lit. give them bread and meat also)

‘Eat your meat now, your bread also.’

only, just, exclusive (i.e. excluding persons spoken to)

‘Only us lot!’

‘We are bogeing but not you.’ (EH.17:8)

‘The tea belongs only to us.’

‘I’m only going to eat a bit of bread for dinner.’

no, not

perhaps, maybe, might, in doubt (frequently translated ‘I don’t know’)

‘He’s doing something, I don’t know what it is.’

‘It might be a snake or a goanna.’ (EH.47:4)

‘They two might drown him.’

(1) present time

‘It is raining.’

(2) all the time

‘They are quarrelling all the time.’

‘He’s been sitting a long time.’

going away for good (EH.57:3)
wiya
  wiya ngapa yanmaku
  wiya marntamintu

ya

yaa
  yaa kampu karta yana

yaaw

yaay

yani; yaani; aani
  tiinj ngara parta tungkunta yani
  puluka ngathu aani
  ngathu aani

yinwarri
  (EH.12:1)

9.3.7 SUFFIXES

9.3.7.1 NOMINAL SUFFIXES

-a
-ka
-kaampa; -raampa
-kala
-kil
-ku
  kalathariyayu kulaku
-ku
-ku
  yanmiyu wayilmarrangkalku
-marri
-n; -nj
-nga
-ngka
-ngku
-nha

question particle
  ‘Can I go to the waterhole?’
  ‘Are you cold?’ (EH.5:1)

exclamation of reprimand expressing ‘Be quiet!’
Don’t move!’ when game sighted during hunting (JB.51:2)

exclamation to gain attention
  ‘Oh Kampu, come over here quickly.’ (JB.51B:2)

exclamation of joy or approval [as when informed
of an animal within range of capture] (JB.51B:2)

exclamation of fright (EH.48:3)

(1) something previously referred to
  ‘Punch a hole in that container.’ (JB.54B:3)
  ‘I lost it.’
(2) alone, only
  ‘It is only me.’

expression of doubt (‘I don’t know what it is’)

locative case allomorph
personaliser
specifier
comparison ‘like’
abessive ‘lacking’
dative case ‘for’
  ‘I hunted for kangaroos.’ (JB.67B:1)
genitive case ‘belonging to’
allative case ‘to’
  ‘I’m going to Weilmoringle.’ (EH.7:7)
excessive ‘very’
nominaliser
elative case ‘out from’
locative case allomorph
ergative/instrumental allomorph
personaliser
-para
-reciprocal

-piil
-comitative 'with'

-pita; -pika
-comitative 'with, having'
piirnpita
-sinewy (with sinews) (EH.63:2)
kirrinjpita
-husband (husband having)
mirrinj thiyirlpika
-comet (star tail having) (RC.8:2)

-pu; -pi
-third person singular NOM & ACC

-ta
-locative case allomorph

-thi
-first person genitive case 'my'

-thu; -tju; -tu
-ergative/instrumental case

-thulu; -tjulu
-'having, only'

-u
-ergative/instrumental case

-yita; -yika
-comitative allomorphs 'with, having'
mukinj mayinj kutharayita yintipula
-'The children have both mother and father.'
(RC.2:6)

9.3.7.2 VERBAL SUFFIXES

-a
-past tense

-i present tense

-ka
-verbaliser, causative

-ki
-present tense of -ka 'verbaliser'

-ku
-emphatic clitic

-linear aspect

-la
-future tense

-pu la
-purposive clause marker

-la
-future irrealis with first person sg, du, pl

-li
-real is allomorph

-ki
-habitual aspect

-la
-past tense of -li 'transitiviser'

-la
-subordinate clause marker

-lu
abbrev. of -pula '3du'

-li
-transitiviser

-li
-first person dual

-ka
-verbaliser

-ku
-past tense of -ma 'progressive'
-mpa; -mpi
-causative allomorphs

-mu
-future imperfect of -mi 'progressive'

-n; -ng

-na

-locational clitic

-na

-past tense of -ni 'stationary'

-na; -nga

-imperative mood allomorphs

-na

-first person plural

-nga

-special transitiviser

-ngu

-potential aspect

-nhula

-second person du

-nhura

-second person pl

-ni

-stationary aspect

-nja

-intensifier clitic

-nja; -na

-'fused' accusative pronoun

-nji

-immediacy clitic

-ntu; -nta; -nu

-second person sg

-pa

-causative

-para

-reciprocal

-pi

-present tense of -pa 'causative'

-pula

-third person dual

-punh

-fused accusative pronoun

-ra

-imperative mood allomorph

-ra

-co-ordinate clause marker

-ra

-completed declarative tense/aspect

-ra; -ra

-variants of -yita '3pl'

-ri

-incompletive declarative tense/aspect

-rii

-reflexive (weak)

-ru

-prevent, excessive aspect

-ta; -tha

-factive (past operative) aspect

-ta

-imperative mood allomorph

-tha

-variant of -yita '3pl'

-thara

-object focus

-thara

-necessity aspect
-tharri reflexive (strong)
-thi; -ti factive (present operative) aspect
-thirra; thirri continuous, processive aspect
-tji avolitional aspect; inchoative
-thira volitional aspect
-wa potential aspect
-wa past tense of -wi 'returning'
-wi returning, reversal aspect
-y realis allomorph
-ya past declarative tense/aspect
-ya imperative mood allomorph
-yi present declarative tense/aspect
-yita; -yira; -yira third person pl
-yu; -y (abbrev.) first person sg

9.3.7.3 CLITICS
-ki emphatic
-na; -nja locational
-nji immediacy
-y exclamatory
9.4 ENGLISH TO MURUWARI

abessive 'lacking'
ablative case on pronouns and nouns
across
across the river
affirmation
again, close
alcohol (bitter)
algae
alive
all, everyone
allative case 'to'
allomorph of -ka causative
allomorph of -mi progressive
allomorph of -pa causative
almost
alone
also
anabranch of river
angry
ankle
another
answer

ANTS:
ant (gen.); black ant; ant corroboree
ant, sp. of (S)
common
bulldog (RHM)
green headed (S)
jumping
red meat
anus, buttocks
apple (Eng.)
arise, fly, move about, pant
arm (lower), wrist
arm (upper), wing, branch of river
armpit
ascend, arise
ashes; white
ask
ask for
ask for, ?beg
ask in marriage
aunt
aunt, mother's sister
avolitional aspect

-kil
-mil
purray
karranta
kayila
ngarlu
karti
kiirn
karrinj; karinj
kurru-kurru; kuru-kuru
-ku
-ki
-mu; -ma
-πi; -mpa; -mpi
partanj
kamala
thaka
pirinti; pirrinti
kurti
parrki; parranggal
pakal
karima-; karima-
milkiri
kartanj
parra
parrangka
mutun
purrpi-purrpi
ngaari; ngari
ngii
yapil; kaapil
tharri-
marnku
piki
kapart; kaparr
para-
putha
ngaanki-; piya-; pii- (abbrev.)
ngurrki-
pulta-
piyaka-
muki-muki
puthama; wuthama
-tji; -tja
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
kurkl-kurl
walu-
maanglingara
tara
murrinj; pithal
purtha; pultha
purrkarr
kurramin
pinjarinj
pama
matjam; pintjalanj
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
purulu 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)
galah
green parrot
grey butcherbird
grey topknot pigeon
happy family
hawk, small
ibis
kind unknown
kind unknown
kind unknown (RC)
kingfisher
kookaburra
leatherhead
maggie
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)
peehee
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; turntuu
karuwaka
thakuway
ngarrawan
tarunj
kurr-kurr
kaway-kaway
winthunj
kunumanu
karuru; kurruru
kurru-kurru
yuyilmarl
thirtun
wakunh
nirin
yawurul
turn-turn; turn-turn
tartuun
kurritijil; parantala
tulayita
kurlpu
kiyara
karang-karang-kaku
karrintakarra
wiraka
thalimarrki-marrki
pirrimpilru
tangkara
piyal-piyal
thukalipanj
thartun (see palid cuckoo)
thawara
milintju-milintju
parrima
tawayarru; tawayarruy
tarrawaya
kurrukunh
twelve apostles
waterhen
whistler, small
whistling duck
whistling duck (RC)
whistling eagle
white chough (or black jay)
white chough; magpie, jay (S)
white crane
white-crested diver
white-necked crane
white or river cockatoo
white spoonbill
willy wagtail
wood duck
woodpecker (EH); mistletoe
woodpecker (JB)
yellow miner (JB)
birth place
bite
bitter, poisonous
black
blanket (Eng.)
blanket, covering
bleed
blind
block entrance, close off, shut
blood
blow up or out, smoke
blowfly, maggot
blue (Eng.)
blunt, solid, closed
boat
body hair, fur
body sore
body warmth
body, waist
bogan flea
bone marrow
bone pointing
bone pointing; long distance magic
bone, spine
boomerang (gen.)
boomerang (return)
boss (Eng.)
bottle (Eng.)
bough shed, summer shed

pintitaaru
kawilanj
thipirr
thipayku; thipayuu
tipaayu
karra
kuritjil
pipartal
puuluuun
karuwuka
karaaka
thikarri
purrrun
tjinti-tjinti
pakarr-pakarr; parrka-parrka
thuthuwuthanj
piin-piin
karawakan
ngurrampa
yita-
karti
karta; karta-karta
pulaayinkin
mankarr
pilpa-
ngantanj
nhuntu-
kuwanj
puumpi-
purlili; purlirli
puluw
muku
kanuu
marnar
mirrinj
kawili
ngayin
matharanj
puyu
mangka-pathu
kuriyata; kuriyarra
mangka
marli
yaran; -yirranj; yarranj
path
paatal; paatarl; patal
kurliwaan
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
muwam
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-
apayi-
mirti
pawyil
waruway
kurli
kumuru-kumuru
paruw
marrangkal
kurra
paral; pararl
piipu
kunpuru
emu, currant  
hop  
bushy tree  
but of a tree  
butter (Eng.)  
butterfly  
buttocks  
bye and bye, soon  
cabbage (Eng.)  
calf of leg  
calico sheet (Eng.)  
call, sing out  
camp  
carbine vine  
carpenter (Eng.)  
carpet snake  
carry  
catch (Eng.)  
catch, grasp  
caterpillar, potent poison  
catfish (S)  
cattle (Eng.)  
causative verbal suffix  
causitive verbaliser  
cave, hole, any cavity  
centipede  
chaperon  
chase  
cheek  
cheeky  
chest, brisket, collarbone  
chin (BC)  
chin (JB, EH)  
china plate or dish (Eng.)  
Chinaman (Eng.)  
chop  
Christmas bush  
chrysalis  
cicada  
cicatricie  
circle  
claw, fingernail, toenail  
claypan  
clear  
clever man, doctor  
cliff  

kuwirnpulu  
thirin; tirrinj  
puntha-puntha; wuntha-wuntha  
tangku  
parta  
pinam-pinam; piyimpir  
murntu; purntu  
parray  
kapirr  
purla; pura; puula  
kaliku  
kawi-  
ngurra  
pirrikal; pilikal;  
kaapunta  
kamul  
wutha-  
katji-  
panpi-  
puntha-puntha  
papuuray  
kital; kiyatal  
-ka  
-pa  
tiin; tiinj  
thurlili  
mura; murra  
wanga-  
gumunj  
njirri-njirri  
thali  
puu; puwu  
yankanj  
thintiiyin  
thininman  
puri-; purri-  
mukiyala; mukiyalu  
yukaakiri  
tirriminmin  
murrpanh  
wirrunj  
pikanj  
parriikin; kirnti  
kintjara  
kupi  
paru-wartu
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
thartuupika; thaartuupika
thurrpi
-ra
kurnunj
kurr
kawiy-kawiy
marna
palka-
-pita; pika
-piil
-yita; -yira
-kala
-ra
kantanpul; kantjukal
-kuri
tungkun
-thirra; -thirri
muu-; parri
para
kalku
pali-mukanj
tha-; thaa-
thanumaart
muka

paaliithaa; paaliyitaa
kurrka; thangkurruma-
karrampaka
wakathanj; wakutha
pakitaa; parurta
kurmpu; kurmpul
paliyinaa
yanta-yanta
karrkaa
kartan
pinka-kangkurl
napu-napu
ngamanj
pana-
kunki-
milimpuray
cow horn (EH.22:2)
crab sp.
Cracks in dried-up ground
crawfoot
crawl
crawl (EH)
crayfish
crayfish, sp. of large (JB)
creek, small hollow
crooked
crooked tree
cry, weep, howl
cup (Eng.)
curly, twisted
cut
cut (as tear skin)
cyclone, celestial being
damper (Eng.)
dance a corroboree
dance, corroboree
dangerous place, place of the dead
dative case ‘for’
daughter (RC)
dawn light, Aurora
day
daytime (BC)
dead branch of a tree, twigs
deep
Dennlowen place name
descent
devil (prob. Eng.)
dew
dew, frost, cold weather
die
dig
dillybag
dillybag (women’s)
diminutive
dingo
dingo, wild dog
dinner (Eng.)
dirt
do, cause to happen
dog (tame)
drag, pull, go through water
dream

nhalka-nhalka
purrkinj
palkiri; parlkiki
wama-wama
punangki
ngarnta-
maamura
marnta
ngarntu-ngarntu
wurrunj
warrinj-warrinj
wanki-
kapu
minti-minti
thulka-
tunga-
yarti-yarti
tampa
kulka-
kirri-
purn-purn
-ku
kamay; tangay
ngangkurrkinj; ngangkurlkiin
thalu
wiyickal
murrkal
kiiwa
para
purra-
tipurl-tipurl
kiwanj; thali
thlay
pali-
pata--; piti--; pitji-
munta; watjala
pila
-tji
mirriwulu
yuki
tina
parntin
pa--; paa-
kuntarl
thaki-
thangkuray; thangkurayma-
dress
drop
drop accidentally
drown
drum sound (made by emus)
drunk
dry
duckweed
dust
dust storm (RC)
ear
earlobe (EH)
earwax
earth, horde territory
east
eat, drink, suck
echidna
echidna (JB.59)
echo
edible grub
egg
elative case ‘out from’
elbow
eldest of three (JB)
elopement; one who elopes
emission of wind, fart, panting
emphatic clitic
emu
emu chick
encircling
enter, go through, dive
entrance to a hive, nest, house
ergative/instrumental case
evening
evil spirits
evil witchdoctor
evil witchdoctor, sorcerer
excessive ‘very’
exclamation of fright
exclamation of joy or approval
exclamation of reprimand
exclamation to get attention
exclamatory clitic
excrement
expression of doubt
extinguish
kampi-
thulpu-
kumu-
murri-
martu-
tharraa
punkinj
purra-purra
thurltu
tirrkay
pina
ngatunj
mukanj
mayi
paray; parrari
tha-
kakara
pikipila
ngawurl; ngawurlu
pilkaa; pirika
kapunj
-nga
kupu
muthipapa
kiilakan
ngaayirn-ngaayirn
-ki
ngurrunj
kawurru
tiyawirrunj
kayi-
taa
-ngku; -tju; -thu; -tu; -u
pimayi
thina-kuntha
katitja
yukarta-yukarta
-marri
yaay
yaaw
ya
yaa
-y
kuna
yinwarri
paru-
eye
eyelid, eyebrow

face
fall, drop, travel down
false, lying
far, afar
fat
father
father's brothers
feather, (emu)
feathers (breast) (gen.)
feathers (wing)
features (of face)
feel
female
fight
fighting stick (EH.157M:11)
fill in, block up
fill, put into
find (Eng.)
find (prob. Eng.)
fire
firestick
firewood
first person (du) pronominal suffix
first person genitive case 'my'
first person pronominal suffix
first person (sg) (abbrev.)
first person (sg) pronominal suffix
first person with future tense
fish scales
FISHES:
fish
fish, sp. of (RC)
fish (gen.)
black bream
bobbies
bony bream
catfish
cod
golden perch (yellow-belly)
Murray cod (gen.)
Murray cod (fully grown)
rainbow cod
fish gills
fishing line

miil
piku
nguntja; muntja; wintja
warra--; waa--
marrki
kuwarri
thanti
pathanj; yapu
karrampanj
purra
puyil
mawal
ngunjililaa
kurta--
kuni
pampa--
punti
ngumpa--
karimpa--
payinti--
paantima--
wi
wiitja: thaawii
wii-mathan
-li
-thi
-na
-y
-yu; -yi
-wi
muurla

kayama--
palakula
kuya; kwiya
panngala
kurpa
thirkanj
thangkuru
kutu
kawira; kawiita
kutumpa
kirranji
murruku
yiliy
kayimpilay; kukura; wukara; ukara
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
muru
thawinj
-ku
puthalay
karranti
-ku
puka-
mirriyula
yawa
kuwinj
murukaru
ngurru
wanka
manganj
kuthara-kuni
marlakan
give
glass (Eng.)
go
go ‘through’ (i.e. ‘missing’)
go away from camp
GOANNAS:
  large tree sp.
  piebald tree sp.
  sand
  small black tree (JB)
goat (Eng.)
God, the Great Spirit (JB)
going away for good
good
good, right
grandfather (m.f.)
grandfather (f.f.), grandmother (m.m.)
grandmother
grandson
grass (gen.)
grass on sandhills
grasshopper
grave, cemetery (EH.10:6)
grave, tunnel, cave
Great Spirit of Ngiyambaa people
great uncle (f.f.br.)
greedy person
green (JB.55:1)
green, living, unripe, undried
grey (JB.1B)
grind
grinding stone
groin
ground white with hail
ground, black
grow
grub
gum in trees
gun
Gurnu language
guts
habitual aspect
hail
hailstone (S)
hair, underarm
hairy
ngu-
kilarr
pura-; ya-
kumaa-
zhanti-
kukar; kukart
warruy
parna
kalki
nanikurr
pitangulu
wayalnari
marrinj
pitarra; pitara; pirra (abbrev.)
ngamanj-ngamanj; ngama
papatu
mukutul
ngamanjnira
yawi
nhirilinh
panta-panta
manampi
mingka
payami
puwin-puwin; puwan-puwan
muraakunj
palum
patha
puki
kaali-; tiki-
kipa; warul; warurl
karlpa
nhuruunguway
mutha
turri-; tuu-
thurerti
mukunj
marrkin
kurnu
murrunjkuna; mukunjkuna
-la
mukari
palpanj
waangkiri
munanj-munanj
half moon
half ripe (EH; JB.66)
hand, thumb, finger
handkerchief, scarf (Eng.)
hanging limb
hard (JB.66)
hard, strong, tough
have a rest
have possession of
he, she, it
head lice
head lice (on humans)
head, hair
headband
hear, listen to
heart
heat, summer
heavy
heel
hibernation
hide
high place, hill
hill (EH)
him, her, it
hip
his, her, hers, its
hit, kill
hold
hold, bring, carry, take
hold, prevent from moving
hole in or through a substance, opening
hollow tree or log
honey (native)
hook (Eng.)
hornet
horse
horse-drawn vehicle (JB)
hot ashes
hot hollowed out ground
hotel, pub (Eng.)
house, shelter of some permanence, town
humpy (poss. a borrowing)
hunt
hurt, pain, be sick
husband (BC)
husband (EH), brother-in-law
husband; husband's older brother

thaamarrinmipu
kumilkin
mara
yangkitja
puntiri; purntiri
tikal
pirru; piku
puyi-; puu-
piira-
humpu; nhampu
kuurni
kapul; kapuul
pampu
karnpaka
pinathina-
puthanj
purruwura; purruruwa
walkan; warrkan
parlu
thalingka
nhunpi-
pulkurru
kurrkurrama
punha
kartka
puka
pa-; pu-
nhima-
kaa-
yima-
parntanj; pantanj
karntu
wayan
wupi; upi
kurlakuwa
yaraaman; yarraman
wilparr
tikinj
kuuwa
puplikaa
kunthi
kanja
kalathari-; kalatharri-
maari-; maari-
kamparta
kirrinj
kurampanj; kurrampaanj
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-
purru-purrpi-purrpi
ngukilaa
pintja
kula
wampay
ngartku
kumparr
pawarra
wararuu
puuui; pilpa
yagun
kirrki-
thiparr; tiilpart
pu-
kiss
kitchen (Eng.)
knee
knife
knot
know
koala (S)
Kurrunga Peak
lagoon
lamb (Eng.)
lame
lap (BC)
laugh
lay egg, give birth to
lazy
leaf
leave
leaves of tree or bush
leech
left hand
leg (lower portion)
lice on animals
lice, lice comb
licentious man
lick
lid, cap, hat; white ant mound
lie, tell untruth
lie down, rest, sleep
lie, falsehood
lie, put down
lie, rest on, ride
lift up, pick up, move off with
light, soft rain (SJ)
lightning
lightning (JB)
limp
liquor
liver
LIZARDS:
lizard (gen.)
lizard, kind unknown
black tongued
blue-tongue
frill-necked
grey tree sp. (S)
house
muthi-; muthil
kitja
thinkal
nhaypa
parti
ngunta-; nginti-
thirtanj
kurrungka
kakuru
yaraamu; yalaamu
kukalanjpira; kukarri; kukalanj
marnta
kinta-
ngaanta-
yantha
paka; pali; pirra
yimpi-
yirral
thuunpara
kalun; kalunj
thuntu
purliyi
kurmu; kurrmu; kuurmu
kiwa-kiway
pintju-; pintju pa-
kapunthi
nawa-
nguna-
mitjin
wuna-
wantii-
waka-
thurpunj
wanginj
pantangka-wii
kuka-
mutjura
karna
kaani
kurlampakin
turrnanj
thumanj
kuwinj
warlumpakin
panta-panta
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.)
masturbation
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
nardo grass

puruki
pangkapaa
pintinj
thanu
milkin; milki
paruwartu
thipunj
karrarri-
mantuwii
maapu
muurla
mani
kiyan; kiyarn
tampa
ngiiitji-kintawa
puran; purarn
pirrika
kaya
kathi
kunthi-kunthi
mutukaa
pulka
thaas
tuwi-
pula-
thurri
pisa; thuu
ngintin
milinj
kurlkuri
thangkarna
rangkarl
nganthi; nganta; thika
kurri
wirruru
thiralutha
kurum
miiyaay
withu-marti
nhamayi
paniyita
kalpin
pungkaarri
palkanthinipu
karraa
thawinj-thawinj; thuwinj-thuwinj
narrow
native bee
native bee queen
native cat
navel, umbilical cord
necessity (aspect)
neck (back of), nape
needle (Eng.)
nest
net bag
niece
night, darkness
nine (JB)
nit of louse (RHM)
no, not
nominaliser
nose
nose bone
nour (lit. nose hole)
not yet
nothing, naked, alone, almost
now
now, at the moment
now, here
now, the immediate past
nulla nulla
numb, tingling, ‘asleep’
nurse in the arms
nymphae (RHM); menses (JB)
object focus
ochre (S)
old man
old people
one, same
only, just
open, bloom, be torn
orphan
others
our, ours (pl)
outback
outback, out in the bush
outer covering, shell, bark
over there
over there some distance away
over there, across there
paddymelon
ngumpu
thinti
kurriya
kiwi; purkiyan
nimpinj
-tha
thungunj
nit; nitul
wangka
kuly; manta
kuthama
yurrinj
marangka kapulanta
thinil
wala
-n; -nj
nguru
ngurumpiti
tii-nguru
talu
parlanj; paranj
nari; nharu
watha
ngari
kanji; katji
murri; murru
tirintjal
muuka-thilin
-tha
kunmuru
wathul
kapal-kapal
yaman
thulu
paka-kayakil
kantu
ngarraka
kanka; kangka
warti
pithal
nari; ngariya; talu
ngara
yalu
wampila; ngarruun; narruun
pademelon
paint
paint oneself (S)
pair
pannikin, pint container (Eng.)
paper, letter (Eng.)
past declarative
past operative allomorphs
past tense
past tense of -li transitiviser
past time, old
path, road
pathetic
pathway, footpath
pea-rifle (Eng.)
pegs to hold emu net
penis, tail
perhaps, might
person promised in marriage
personaliser
perspiration (EH)
perspiration (JB)
phallic emblem
phlegm, saliva, spittle
pick up
pig (Eng.)
pigweed
pimples, rash
pine blossoms and pollen dust
pink (JB)
pipe (Eng.)
pipe clay (kopi, white gypsum powder)
pith
place
place, spot, natural feature
placenta, afterbirth
plain, outside, bare place
plain (tree covered)
plant (kind unknown)
plant with grape-like fruit
plant with succulent leaf
plate (Eng.)
play
Pleiades; young girls
point at
poison (Eng.)
poisoned bone

thukan; tukunj
kuumpi-
kumpi-
purral
panikan
piipa
-yi
-ya
-ta; -tha
-a
-la
matja
yurun; yuruun
mila-mila
kayi
piiraypul
pitjili; pitji
thun
warri
thuntinh
-ka; -nha
mapurr
nunta
kunja
kangkul; kangkurr
pata-; pumpi-
piki-piki
kurlparra; thurren
kulkay
thurumpurrinj
puthal
paayu; paaypu
makuntharra
kulungkulu
kuri
maal
muntarra
pala
yaarra
nhumpa
tiimpu
warukaa
pulay; pulirr
ngaaki; ngaam-
kamparl-kamparl
thuump-
paatjin
kuwinj-mangka
policeman
policeman (Eng.)
pollen called 'bee bread'
possum
possumskin bag; container
potato (Eng.)
potential aspect
pour out, spill
pour over
powder (Eng.)
present declarative-
present operative allomorphs
present time, all the time
prevent; excessive
previously
prick, stab, pierce, pick out, dig
prod, poke
progressive aspect
promiscuous aspect
promiscuous man
pubic hair
puddle
pull, strip
pulse
punch
puppy (Eng.)
purposive clause marker
pus
push
push aside
pussy cat (Eng.)
put across
putty of native beeswax
question particle
quickly, fast
quietly
quinine tree
rabbit (Eng.)
rain
rain shower
rainbow
rainstorm (RC)
raw
re-open a nest
realis marker allomorphs
reciprocal
reciprocal action, again

kurayita
palitman
purrul
kukay
kalinj
patita
-ngu; -wa
parru-; parrupa-tanpi-
pawata
-yi
-ti; -thi
wayal; wayil
-rru
paka
pingka-
tatuma-
-mi; ma
warrukaa
thawi
kilhay
puu-
turlun
parta-
pumpay
-ku
kurlkay
yala-
-yiya-
pitjikat
thirra-
paayil; paayar

wiya
kartu-kartu
pukul; purrul
karti-puntu

yarrapirr
purtu
tharra
parriyal
kuli-kuli
kawun
tawi-
-l; -n; ng; -y
-para
karrul
recover from sickness
red
red earth, red ochre
reflexive (strong)
reflexive (weak)
remember, think about
return home, come beside
return, go again, climb, ascent
returning or recurring aspect
revolver
ribs
ride, drive
ridge stones
ridge, small hill
ridicule, poke fun at
right marriage partner (?for a woman)
right marriage partner (?man's)
ing of grass
ringworm
rip apart
ripe
river bank
river, creek (from Guwamu)
river, esp. Culgoa
roll away
roly-poly
roof of mouth
root of a tree
rotten, decayed
rough, bumpy (EH)
rough, bumpy (RC)
rub
rub together, grind, stamp on
rum, any sort of grog (Eng.)
run, bolt, flow of water
sail, go through water
salt (Eng.)
saltbush
sand
sandfly
sand of river (JB)
sandflies
sandhill, large
saucer-shaped hard wood disc
savage
scale fish
pira pa-
marrki-marrki
kurti; kuthi
-tharri; -tharra
-mi
pinampi-
kam-
kula; kurla
-wi; -wa
pirritjali
kunanj; kungiyunh; parranj
taki-
wuntunj; wuntuwunj
kampuka; kampukan
nayinjama-
kamantjara
pintara
warnu
purraanh
puthaa-
paryaa
mirri-mirri
parru
ngarntu
parnangatili
ngartanj
tarranj; thanaa
puka
marta-marta; matha-matha
thalka
nurra-
hurra-
yuraamu
thangki-
thaki-
tal
purra
thiri
kurri-kurri
karuwi; karrawir
pirrii-pirrii
yuul; yuu
kurura
karrayinki
kiirru-; kituwa-
scent, smell
scold, rouse on, chastise
scorpion
scorpion (JB)
scrape (S)
scratch
scrub country (S)
search for, look for
second person (du) pronominal suffix
second person (pl) pronominal suffix
see, look at, observe, hear
seed (gen.)
seed of coolibah tree
selfish
semen
send, construct
set alight
seven (JB)
sew
sexual desire
sexually roused
shadow of man
shadow of tree
shake
shallow water
shame
shamrock leaves
sharp
sheep
sheet of iron on roof
shield
shin up a tree
shine
shiny, bright
short
shoulder (EH)
shoulder blade
shoulder, shin
shower of rain
SHRIMP:
    shrimp
    shrimp (RHM)
    shrimp sp. (EH)
    shrimp used for catching fish
shut, close up
sickness
side of river

pathih
thumpa-
kuna
muukinj
kirrawi-
wirru-
kuntjuu
watuwa-; warrawa-; wuluta-
nhula
-nhura
nha-
paa; tirra
waarnpaa; warnpa
kurriyita
purtinj
thinama-
puungki-
marangka kapu
purra-
hathanj
wirri-wirri
kamangkarra
kurli-kurli
purl-purl-
maaranj
pirrinj
kurra-kurra
piyaa; tharrampurl; thirrarra; thirrayika
thumpa
talay
purrrku
makulni-
pala-
palanj
wutha
karlanj-karlanj
thawin-piki
pangkal
thalingapa

kiitjaa
thunul
kurnturn
yiikaa
nuntu-
marr
parranj
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

wirrinj
piin; piirm
yungki-
papa
kuwira
niya-
pakuu niya-
marangkuwa
tikipaanu
yuranj
thanthu
murlpan; murlpunh
kirrpay
piyan; piyarn
panta
yamput-
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
payirra; payara
ngarpa-; ngarra-
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
spinkle
spur, bone, needle
squat
squeeze (S)
stain
stamp on
stand up
stand, stay, live, lie in, grow
STARS:
star

kiiingkuru; kingkuru
nhuwa
thuupu
tapun; yumpu
palay; pulay
kuthara
karuwalanj; karruranj
kantil
thirra; thira
kalyana; thawila
purriman
milanj
paruwartu-nuumpa
thinti
kuliya; wumat
mumunh
-nga
-kaampa; -raampa
yani; yaani; aani
yaan
paruuma
kampi; kampi-kampi
malampiri; malampiri
ngurumpita
kiiingku
karrrka-
thirrunj; thirriy
turri
miraaku
yurika
kampirr-kampirr
pinaartir
tuwirti; tuwiti
pitjara
pantirr
nhiirrpurl; niilpurl
yapinj; yapinj-yapinj
kawarri-
 thikiyra
pakuun
thunman-
kuntja
nurrangaa-
thina-tharrri-
thina-
mirrrinj
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
tanpiyika
thuku
thawin
wirlata; kwilata
wakanharra; wakanara
pakul; pakurl
purrij-thawin; kunujj-thawin
paampa-tawa
taringara; tawingira; tharringara
tjarrka-tjarrka
ngurri; muurri
yarraka-kura; kurra
purril-purril
purri
kunthun, kurntun

kapitha; kapithaa
matha; mathaa
putha; puthaa
yipatha; ipatha; ipathaa
kampu
kapi; kapiy
marriy
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
swell
tail
take down from a height
take, get
talk, speak
tea leaf
tear
tears (RC)
tease
tease, pester, annoy
teasing
telegram (Eng.)
telegraph (Eng.)
telephone (Eng.)
tell, say, teach
temple
ten (JB)
term of endearment
termite
testicles
testicles, scrotum
that way
that, that there
the, a, that, then
their, theirs (pl)
their, theirs (du)
them (pl)
them (du)
there
they (du)
they (pl)
thick, strong
thigh
thin
thin person
third person sg.nom & acc
third person pl (abbrev.)
third person pl pronominal
third person pl pronominal suffix
third person sg past tense
this
this side of the river
this way, towards, to speaker
thistle, milk
tipu-; thipi-
puku-
paangki-
thiyil; thiyirl
puuta-
maa-
yaa-
thii-paka; yirralka
panga-
gnuwal
niringma-; yirrinjma-
thi-thi-
yirrinj
thilikrama
thilikra
thilipunthu
tharrka-
tuwinj-tuwinj
marangka marangka
kampanj; kampaanj
murranj-murranj
karlu
parninj
yala
nhurra; nhurrana
ngaka
tharraka; nhuraka
pulaka
tharrana
pulana
nhura
purral; pula
thana
pinti-pinti
tharra
kuntjarra
puutjaa
-pu; -pi
-ra; -ta
-pula
-yita; yika
-a
nhuu
karanj
thayin; thayi
palampa
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
course-leafed box
course-leafed kurrajong
coolibah
dogwood
fine-leafed box
fine-leafed kurrajong
gambayn

purrakulayaman
kapuyaman
ngarntul; nganturl
tharrku-
karrawi-
thurli--; thurlinpi; yantipu
ngulu-ngulu
kurripita
kitji-kitji-
parrima-
pari--; partima-
nari
tankart
ngaangura
nhumpangura
thanangura
purraangura
yingura
nhurangura
nhulangura
piirika; pirrka
karrka
thamiyaa
parta; partala
thalanaj
thirra; tirra
manja-
nhanja-
pitjara; pitjarru; 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

quandong or blue fig

rosewood

rounded-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

pirri; pirriy

milara

paayilinj

kuntuwa

kuwarti

karn pil; kurrumpal

malanj; marlanj

pirrawa

pingku-pingku

puntiy

mitjiiri

wiirla

kampal-kampal

paan-paan; paarn-paarn

kulurr

purrungkar

maangki

tumul; tuumurl

yumu

palkan; palkin

purrpal

pulumpurr; pulampurr

marlpal

tilkara

thulpunj

kita-kita; kira-kira

thakawita; turraaru

pintal; pirntal

pintanj

yaaru

kaaya-yawi

ti yi-

piruwa; piku wa

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
murrar-; murranj-murranj
kini
kayinta
kutjuru
wirrimonial
murranj
wanpi-
kurluwui-
yai-
pitjalin
wanta-; wanti-
yapi-
wuki-; -uki
paki-; waki-
kuumpi-
ngapa
yirrinj
thangkipintj
ngarrpa
witji-ngapa
ngapa-wartu
pilipampu
pultinuwina
kitjupukuniwi
nhamun
yiriyita
tharinpina
thurnaamanj
witji-purpayina
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
murukulka
murukulka
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
marringali
watjiin
ngaana
kulur
wife
wild banana (JB)
wild fruit
wild lemon (JB)
wild lemon (EH)
wild onion
wild orange
wild parsnip
wild potato (EH)
wild potato (RC)
wind
windbreak
wintertime
wipe
Wollan River
woman (aboriginal)
woman who has lost her son
woman, old
woman (unmarried)
womb
women
women's ground during initiation (RHM)
wooden knife
work (Eng.)
wrinkles, aged face
wrist
wrong marriage partner
yam: fine-leafed
yamstick
yellow
yellow (JB)
yes
yesterday
yoke of egg
you (acc du)
you (acc pl)
you (acc sg)
you (du)
you (pl)
you (sg)
young of species
youngest child
your two (du)
your, yours (sg)
Yuwalaray language name

nupa
munti\textit{\textntilde{l}}in
thukakaa
malpaka
mariparl
puranpuru
pampul
yirrimu
kiirrpan
parimanu
yarrka
warlu-warlu
talay
mipa-
walamu
mukinj
mangkunj
maami; parraka
wankutu
warranj
mukatinj
pathuwallu
yakipal
waa yi-
murnka; mungka
mankurr
karurinj
kimay
kanay; karray; kayi
kurnan-kurnan
mumunj
ngaa; ngakuwa
kurna
tali
nhulana
nhurana
panga
nhula
nhura
yintu; ngintu; njintu
titji; turrunj; turunh
muthunj
nhulaka; nhuraka
yingka (pungka; pangka)
yuwalaray; yuwaali
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), Bägandji (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:

[Bä] Bägandji  [Ng] Ngiyambaa
[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%.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
<th>NO. OF WORDS COMPARED WITH MURUWARI</th>
<th>NO. OF MURUWARI COGNATES</th>
<th>% COGNATE</th>
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<tr>
<td>[Gw]</td>
<td>114</td>
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<td>[Ga]</td>
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<td>[W]</td>
<td>80</td>
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<tr>
<td>[Bā]</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16%</td>
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<td>Guwamu</td>
<td>Bidjara- Gungabula</td>
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<td>3 armpit</td>
<td>gabard</td>
<td>gabard</td>
<td>gabard</td>
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<td>4 ashes</td>
<td>budha</td>
<td>budhara</td>
<td>budha</td>
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<td>5 bark (of tree)</td>
<td>murinj</td>
<td>bithal</td>
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<td>6 beard</td>
<td>yaranj</td>
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<td>yaranj</td>
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<td>7 belly</td>
<td>dugu</td>
<td>bandjurd</td>
<td>guna</td>
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<td>8 bird</td>
<td>widji</td>
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<td>miru bindunj</td>
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<td>39 fish</td>
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<td>45 give</td>
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<td>wa:-</td>
<td>gumba-</td>
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<td>46 go, walk</td>
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<td>wada-</td>
<td>wadja-</td>
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<td>mayi</td>
<td>dandhi</td>
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<td>48 hand</td>
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<td>49 he</td>
<td>nhumbu</td>
<td>nhulu</td>
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<td>bambu</td>
<td>barngun</td>
<td>dhungu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51 hear</td>
<td>binadhina-</td>
<td>yimba-</td>
<td>yimba-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52 heart</td>
<td>badhanj</td>
<td>budhanj</td>
<td>yulgu</td>
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<td>English</td>
<td>Wolof</td>
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<td>bara-</td>
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<td>gandul</td>
<td>gabinj</td>
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<td>I</td>
<td>ngadhu</td>
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<td>dhinbin</td>
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<td>liver</td>
<td>gana/ganha</td>
<td>dhiba</td>
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<td>louse</td>
<td>munhi</td>
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<td>mad</td>
<td>wamba</td>
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<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>man (abor.)</td>
<td>mayinj</td>
<td>mardi</td>
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<td>many</td>
<td>dhu:</td>
<td>dhu:</td>
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<td>64</td>
<td>meat</td>
<td>widji</td>
<td>yuri</td>
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<td>giyarn</td>
<td>dhiilgan</td>
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<td>66</td>
<td>mother</td>
<td>gaya</td>
<td>yanga</td>
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<td>nulla-nulla</td>
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<td>gulay munda</td>
<td>munda</td>
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<td>70</td>
<td>no</td>
<td>wala</td>
<td>garda</td>
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</table>

Note: The Wolof words are in their respective forms, and some words are in brackets indicating pronunciation or additional information.
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>Muruwari</th>
<th>Guwamu</th>
<th>Bidjara-Gungabula</th>
<th>Ngiyambaa-Wailwan</th>
<th>Gamilaraay</th>
<th>Wiradjuri</th>
<th>Yuwaalaraay-Yuwaaliyaay</th>
<th>Bâgandji</th>
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<td>muru</td>
<td>muru</td>
<td>murung</td>
<td>muyu</td>
<td>minda-ulu</td>
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<td>72</td>
<td>old man</td>
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<td>wadhul</td>
<td>wadhuranj</td>
<td>wayama</td>
<td>diribung</td>
<td>wiyama:</td>
<td>wirdu</td>
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<td>one</td>
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<td>wanggara</td>
<td>magu:</td>
<td>ngay (W)</td>
<td></td>
<td>bi:r [Yr]</td>
<td>ngidja</td>
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<td>gudhird</td>
<td>dan-gurd</td>
<td>mudi</td>
<td>wiling</td>
<td>mudhay</td>
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<td>gamu</td>
<td>yuru</td>
<td>yurung</td>
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<td>wagani-dhungga-</td>
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<td>ngana-</td>
<td>ngara-</td>
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<td>bami-</td>
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<td>binda-</td>
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<td>wi:-</td>
<td>winja-</td>
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<td>yulanj</td>
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<td>yambi</td>
<td>girrar</td>
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<td>guwalguwu</td>
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* Basic Bágandji pronominal form – see Hercus (1982:122)
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 r, and r), and the alveolar and retroflex laterals, l and rl, 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. 177 W.H. Looker, W.R. Conn, L.M. Playfair and J. Hollingsworth, Paroo and Warrego Rivers...
No. 182 J.W. Foott, The Culgoa River.
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