A GRAMMAR of MATNGELE

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A thesis submitted to the School of Languages, Cultures and Linguistics of the University of New England, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Bachelor of Arts with Honours in Linguistics.

June 1999.
Declaration

The work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original except as acknowledged in the text.

I hereby declare that I have not submitted this material, either in whole or in part, for a degree at this or any other university.

[Signature]
Acknowledgments

I wish to acknowledge the invaluable support of the Dixson Library of the University of New England and the Library of the Australian Institute of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies in Canberra. I am grateful for having been able to access the Special Collections of these institutions, from which all the unpublished materials used in this thesis were obtained.

I fervently thank Nick Reid, my Supervisor, for his enthusiastic support and the copious time extended to me during the preparations and writing of the thesis. Without such cooperation the fruition of this thesis would not have been possible.

I also wish to acknowledge the academic generosity of Mark Harvey who unselfishly put his material on open access at AIATSIS.

Finally, it is my greatest pleasure to thank Ulrike Kast.
Abstract

Matngele is an Aboriginal language of the Daly River area of the Northern Territory of Australia. In this thesis, I present a descriptive account of its nominal and verbal morphology. Because Matngele is a non-PamaNyungan language, the descriptive focus is on its polysynthetic structure in general and the interaction between coverbs and finite verbs in particular.

Within the limited size of the thesis, I have aimed at a selective but nevertheless integral overview of the language. Moreover, in view of the fact that the language is no longer in daily use, I have added for each topic an abundance of example sentences as a record of actual language usage.

The grammatical description is based on unpublished field notes collected by several linguist over a period of sixty years. My analysis of the grammar of Matngele, therefore, is a synthesis of their transcriptions and is indebted to their field expertise. In my analysis I was aided by the integrated data management system 'Shoebox', prepared for the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

I conclude that the diversity of languages, and thus their description, is of importance to an understanding of the multitudinous aspects of all people. The significance of this thesis is, then, not just that it brings into focus the language it describes - but in doing so also pays tribute to all languages.
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<td>wh(wl)</td>
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1. CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is a grammatical description of an Australian Aboriginal language. It owes its core of knowledge to the field linguists who collected the data it employs, and is therefore, foremost, a synthesis of the efforts of Gerhardt Laves, William Hoddinott, Darryll Tryon and Mark Harvey. But more importantly, as a description of human language, it owes homage to the people that once spoke it as their own.

1.2 Demographic and Ethnographic Information

1.2.1 Name of the language

The language described in this grammar is referred to as MATNGELE, however a number of variant names and spellings by which it is known to outsiders have been recorded. Ellis (1988:49) notes the name “Magnella”. Tryon (1974:42) mentions the following: “Hermit Hill, Amadil, Madngela, Muttangella, Matngelli, Mandella, Madngella, Maangelia, Muttangulla, Warat and Ngengiwerat.” He claims that the latter two terms refer to the geographical area. In fact, they are Ngan’gityemerri names for Matngele (werat ‘plain country’). Sutton and Palmer (1980:32) note that the neighbouring MalakMalak refer to the language as ~tginla, being the Matngele translation of the exclamation ‘hey’; or alternatively ngulukginma (nguluk ‘language’). Stanner (1933a:388) records that the Ngen’gimberri use the term nangwera for the Matngele language. He states that this naming method is a system whereby the term nangi ‘language’ is prefixed to the name of the country.

The self-referent term for the described language is Matngele. Harvey transcribes it variously as [mutŋele] or [mutŋele] (Matngele Fieldnotes:28/343, henceforth HMF). This is the most general term by which the speakers of this language distinguish themselves from neighbouring language groups. Sutton and Palmer (1980:32) note that other self-referent terms are the shortened version of Matngele ngele, as well as dakayn meaning ‘no, nothing’.
Of the semantic background of the Matngele language name only the morpheme mat 'word' is explicit in the vocabulary. The origin of the terms 'Hermit Hill', 'Amadil' and 'Emdil' as names for the language is its reference to the true locality of the speakers of the Matngele language group before European contact. Eylmann (1908:161) notes that the early missionaries gave these terms to the "Mätngelli". Hence, Emdil, etc. are versions of the Aboriginal pronunciation of 'Hermit Hill', a place in Matngele country where there was a Jesuit Mission established late in the 19th century (Reid MS).

The original locale, then, of the Matngele language group was in the area surrounding Hermit Hill: 130°30'E and 13°45'S, see the map on page x. Harvey (SGG:5) suggests that the Matngele language is traditionally associated with the area between Fish Billabong (Gumani) and the Dilk Range, on the southern side of the Daly River. The general area is located about 200km south-west of Darwin in the Top End of the Northern Territory of Australia.

During most of the early part of the twentieth century, however, Aboriginal displacement was widespread and most of the Matngele language group had drifted towards centralised settlements. Hoddinott's field notes, therefore, were taken at Wooliana on the Daly River north-east of Hermit Hill. It is likely that Laves, as well as Harvey collected their data there.

Consequently, the demographic situation of those identifying themselves as Matngele has been, from the early 1900s on, one of interaction with other language groups which, likewise, converged on the small area around Wooliana along the Daly River.

1.2.2 Interaction with other language groups

Stanner (1933:377-405) describes in his sociological survey how by 1933 much of the cultural complex of the Daly River demographical setting had disappeared 'for ever' due to cultural contacts with European and Chinese influences which had started as early as the 1890s. Stanner (1933:379) specifically remarks on the already established fluency in English of the Aboriginal inhabitants in the area and suggests that this is the result of considerable foreign influx during a period of intensive mining earlier in the century. In addition, a mission was established, as well as several government endeavours such as those concerned with law and order, education (a school), agriculture (a Government experimental farm) and other kinds of infrastructure. Most of these ventures however had long been abandoned by the 1930s. Stanner (1933:380) also notes the "extreme
degree of "internationalism" which, typically in Australian Aboriginal society, engenders the accommodation of multilingualism. He reports that the fluent use of English there surpasses the label 'pidgin'.

As a result of white contact, then, most of the Daly River language groups had converged on the small section of alluvial land around Wooliana along the middle Daly which is historically MalakMalak country. Stanner (1933:383) explicitly states that, at that time, Matngele speakers are still representative of their language group at that settlement, but that in other respects the remaining Matngele and MalakMalak living there "...have fused, live together, and now to some extent identify themselves with one another." (Stanner 1933:384). Under normal multilingual conditions this may not affect the linguistic situation in terms of language maintenance, indeed Stanner (1933:403) states that the Matngele always had "complete right of access through Mulluk Mulluk territory." In an environment of "conflict, strain, distrust and fear" as Stanner (1933:383) describes it, linguistic fusion or dominance cannot be ruled out, but as in multilingual situations generally, so also on the Daly, linguistic differences may well have been scrupulously maintained as badges of linguistic identity.

1.2.3 Genetic affiliation

This section surveys the genetic affiliations of Matngele with its neighbouring languages and specifically, takes into account Harvey's comments regarding Gamu.

In Tryon's scheme (Tryon, 1976: Table 1), Matngele is grouped together with Gamu and Yunggor as dialects of the Matngele language which he classes under the 'Daly Subgroup'. The latter, accordingly, join with the MalakMalak and the 'Tyeraity' languages to form the 'Mulluk Group' within the overarching Daly Family. Harvey on the other hand, (A Sketch Grammar of Gamu MS:7, henceforth SGG) groups Matngele and Gamu, together with MalakMalak and Guwama as different but closely related languages in the Eastern Daly (ED) language group. Consequently, this thesis' focus on the close genetic relationship between Matngele and Gamu seems justified.

Indeed, Matngele, according to Harvey (SGG:5) is "clearly the closest to Gamu". But he points out that he does not consider them dialects of a single overall language on account of his cognate analysis of both languages. Unlike Tryon's classification of them being sister dialects together with Yunggor subordinate to a primary Matngele language, as mentioned above, Harvey (SGG:5) gives an identity account based on a vocabulary of
800 lexical items for both Matngele and Gamu, as follows: 36% identical form/identical meaning, 3% identical form/related meaning, 11% identical meaning/variant form, 1% variant form/variant meaning, and 49% non-cognate. Based on these calculations he suggests them to be different but related languages. He notes significant differences between Matngele and Gamu (SGG:6-8), relating to the lenition of intervocalic stops, the finite verb system in terms of the number of finite verbs and the number of tenses; and the object suffix paradigms (Gamu has, additionally, an indirect object paradigm). It is, specifically, the latter two differences, affecting the verbal complexes of both languages, on which Harvey builds his evidence for language specificity, in contrast to Tryon's scheme of dialectal difference. Tryon (1974:43) also gives a comparative cognate count, in which Matngele on a 200 word vocabulary shares 80% cognacy with Yunggor, and 75% cognacy with Gamu, which is much higher than Harvey's total of 51% cognacy.

1.3 Previous Scholarly Work

1.3.1 Ethnographic research

The following ethnographic studies refer explicitly to the Matngele people.

Missionary O'Brian 1887, in O'Kelly 1967:33
Mackillop 1892/3:254
Eylmann 1908:161
Dahl 1926
Stanner 1933/4
Sutton and Palmer 1980:32
Ellis 1988:49

However, other than the modest word lists of both Dahl and Stanner, these researchers give little specific linguistic information. Extracted from these materials are Stanner's kinship and socio/cultural terms, as well as Dahl's word list. (See Appendix 1).

1.3.2 Linguistic research

As linguistic research on the Matngele language has been carried out over a considerable extent of time, the material for this thesis comes from a variety of sources.

Unpublished material:

Matngele field notes were collected by Laves in 1931, by Hoddinott in 1967, and by both Green and Harvey in the 1980s and 1990s. Both the Hoddinott and the Harvey Matngele
field notes are accompanied by audio field tapes. Harvey compiled two manuscripts directly relevant to Matngele: A Sketch Grammar of Gamu (Harvey MS.A); Provisional Matngele-English Vocabulary (Harvey MS.B).

Published material:


1.4 Sociolinguistic Situation

In comparing the available Matngele field notes, this thesis looks at a specific time span in the linguistic history of the Matngele people, i.e. from the early 1930s to the early 1990s. Stanner's (1933/4) anthropological descriptions postdate Laves' field notes by only 3 years, and are therefore a valuable background to the latter's linguistic observations. Nonetheless, any description of the sociolinguistic situation during that time is rather scant. That is, Stanner's focus is clearly socio-anthropological, while Laves' is strictly grammatical. Nevertheless, as far as the multilingual situation in the 1930s is concerned, it is difficult to imagine anyone being monolingual under such cosmopolitan circumstances as prevailed at Wooliana at that time. Multilingualism on the Daly River appears common at the time of Stanner's field trip, though very likely this condition would have predated white settlement. Stanner (1933:388) remarks on the prevalence of an extraordinary linguistic ability among the Aboriginal population there. Mostly, active knowledge includes two or three languages, while passive knowledge includes several others, in addition to some variety of English. He notes that people can readily converse in a third language, whether Aboriginal or English. For instance, Stanner's best informant was fluent in Matngele, MalakMalak and Marranunggu, while he at the same time understood Warray, Marrthiyel, 'PongaPonga' and Ngen'gimerri.

Stanner (1933:388) also notes that contexts of multilingualism are particularly those of a ceremonial nature.

1.4.1 Viability

Currently, there appear to be no fluent speakers of Matngele. The long term viability of the language must already have been in doubt, back in 1933, considering the identity fusion between Matngele and MalakMalak language groups, as reported by Stanner (1933:384).
Tryon (1974:42) alleges that there are at the time of his field trips fifteen to twenty Matngele speakers at Wooliana. But scarcely 15 years later, by 1988, Ellis notes that "...there is one man at the Daly River community who has first-language ability in Magnella along with three of his daughters who can understand it. There are also four other men who have an undetermined Magnella speaking ability. No other speakers were discovered." (Ellis 1988:49).

It is, therefore, possible that both Hoddinott and Harvey collected their field notes from only partially competent native speakers of Matngele. Judging from the taped materials, at least, Hoddinott's informant 'Nugget' appears to have recollection problems of certain vocabulary items, whereas he seems quite confident in terms of morphology and syntax of the language. On his field tapes, Harvey's Matngele informant (EP) easily produces Matngele translations to Harvey's elicitation sentences. Nevertheless, the informants of both Hoddinott and Harvey seem to be discussing linguistic options regarding certain elicitations with their companions. While this does not necessarily mean a defective native competence, it may be kept in mind in judging their fluency of Matngele.

In a recent paper, Harvey (MS. D) identifies his Matngele informants. They are Edwin Purral and his brother Jack Marruritj. Harvey notes that they are both fluent speakers capable of giving textual material. While not naming them, he also mentions that there are other fluent speakers of Matngele.

1.4.2 Loan Words

While there are surprisingly few English loan words in Harvey's transcript, exs. buliki (from bullock) 'cattle', dagaru 'doctor', and knife 'knife' (MFN:350,224,121), some of these occur also in Hoddinott's material ex. buliki (Hoddinott Matngele Fieldnotes:9). This suggests that they are indeed part of the lexical system of Matngele and not merely instances of code switching. There are, thus, two different ways of incorporating loanwords within the language, ie. with phonological adaptation [tɔŋoɾu] 'doctor' and without it [naif] 'knife'.
1.5 Discussion of the material

1.5.1 Laves' texts and field notes
In May 1931, Gerhardt Laves collected his field notes on the Matngele language, which he called 'Emdil'. This material consists of the several items. Firstly, there are nine handwritten texts. Drafted in a short-hand style, they are without much translation, stress marking or punctuation. Moreover, there is little differentiation between bound and free morphemes and this obscures the linguistic structure considerably. Nevertheless, these texts provide a wealth of clearly spontaneous discourse, at a time when the language was still viable. Secondly, there is a list of Matngele names for weapons (which he apparently collected). Thirdly, a number of 'Language Cards' containing a preliminary analysis of the auxiliary paradigm; and several hundred 'Word Cards' (estim. 660). Unfortunately, these cards are badly weather-damaged and extremely difficult to decipher. Having photocopied the AIATSIS photocopies, it was then possible to highlight the language material with the help of Laves' fragile originals. With a deeper insight into the structure and phonotactics of the language there would however be scope for additional salvage work from these cards; the more so, with regard to the depth of Laves' intellectual penetration of the polysynthetic structure of the language.

Overall, Laves' field notes have been a fascinating and rewarding challenge which have not quite been met by the restricted time available within an Honours candidature.

1.5.2 Hoddinott
In October 1967, William Hoddinott used Capell's elicitation sheets to collect some 22 pages of Matngele language, supported by audiotapes of reasonable quality. Unfortunately, one cannot help but be disappointed with the outcome of Hoddinott's very enthusiastic effort which was ultimately insufficient to overcome a convergence of practical difficulties. To put it bluntly, this material excels as an exercise in how not to carry out linguistic fieldwork, which is underscored by Hoddinott's tone of despair audible on tape. However, with diligence, and a degree of understanding of Matngele, this material is a good source of elicited grammatical information. There are two problems with the material that stand out. Firstly, as can be heard on tape, Hoddinott does not stress that he elicits Matngele sentences. This seems a trivial complaint, but in consideration of the multilingual environment this may be important to point out
repeatedly. Indeed, Harvey meticulously goes through this formality with each elicitation. Secondly, the informant ‘Nagget’ does not answer the elicitations, but gives free interpretation of the general subject that is at hand. This, for the purpose of getting spontaneous material is certainly a positive feature of its content, but in order to decode such material a certain understanding of the language and lots of time are required.

1.5.3 Tryon

Darryll Tryon provides a broad overview of linguistic information on Matngele. Tryon (1970:220 and 1974:42-53) suggests a noun classification paradigm, and succinctly surveys several aspects of the Matngele grammar - the phonemic inventory; the nominal morphology; the auxiliary paradigms; numerals, interrogatives and temporals; as well as the word order. These tentative data are compared with those of the other researchers where appropriate.

1.5.4 Harvey

The quality and extent of Mark Harvey's field notes and the audio tapes that go with them is very impressive. Through 361 handwritten pages of very legible interlinearised elicitation sentences, which often bundle together to make small texts, Harvey expands his understanding of the language. Throughout the manuscript the transcription steadily becomes more phonemic, but always allows illuminating phonetic detail.

Together with his Gamu Grammar, these field notes have been an invaluable key to the Matngele language. Harvey's interpretation and understanding of the language, described in up-to-date terminology contrasts manifestly with the earlier researchers. I humbly admit to a great indebtedness to Harvey's work. Indeed, this thesis uses them to the point which warrants acknowledgment beyond the norm.

1.5.5 Green

I have been unsuccessful in obtaining Ian Green's field notes. This is the more unfortunate because Green's interpretation approaches the Matngele material from the perspective of the Western Daly language group. This would have contrasted instructively with Harvey's Eastern Daly viewpoint.
1.6 Scope of the thesis

1.6.1 Grammar

The general strategy of this thesis is to analyse the above mentioned unpublished field notes and to produce a draft grammar of the Matngele language.

Beyond this Introduction, Chapter 2 gives a description of the phonology of the language. Then, Chapter 3 describes the nominal morphological system. And finally, Chapter 4 is an account of the verbal morphology, and concludes with a diachronic survey of Matngele verb structure from the perspective of the synchronic descriptions of Laves and Harvey, made 70 years apart, in order to look for evidence of any structural change, as attested by Reid (MS) for Ngan’gityemerri.

1.6.2 Discussion

As has been alluded above, the grammatical description of Matngele, presented in this thesis, takes as its point of perspective a contemporary position, supported mainly by the work of Harvey. From this present-day bias, then, the aim is to reach back to the older linguistic material in support of substantiating evidence, but sympathetic to any morphosyntactic change.

Using the unpublished materials, a database has been set up to facilitate analysis with a maximal number of example sentences for each topic. This database includes first of all Laves’ Texts 270-9, then there is a selection of the Hoddinott material, as well as extensive extracts of the Harvey field notes. From these materials a comprehensive lexical file has been compiled, combining the vocabularies of Laves, Hoddinott, and Harvey, but maintaining for comparative use their individual spellings. Finally, the lexical file has been extended to form a divided dictionary file, isolating both nominal and verbal entries. These files include, on the one hand, all nominal lexical entries, focussed on Harvey’s material and spelling, but providing also variant spellings and interpretations of the older material; and on the other hand, all verbal lexical entries expressing various features of the verbal morphology, with a similar focus as the nominal dictionary, but added, for each coverb, a selection of available finite verbs. The latter feature gives at once a glance at the structure of the verb complex, and surveys any close relationships between a particular coverb and possible combinations with different finite verbs. Both dictionary files contain example sentences where appropriate or available.
1.6.3 Paradigms
Several paradigms have been proposed in this thesis. These include, firstly, those categories pertaining to nominal morphology: such as case markers, pronouns, demonstratives, temporals and quantifiers. Secondly, those categories pertaining to the verb morphology: the bound finite verb within the verb complex, the free-standing simple verbs, and the object suffixes.

1.6.4 Lexicon
The Matngele Lexicon, as an abstract entity, has been approached for analytical purposes within the scope of this thesis, in a concrete manner, in three different ways. Firstly, the all-inclusive ‘Lexicon’ contains in total 1765 lexical items, all referenced to their contributor and location in the data base. However, it must be kept in mind that several of these are multiple occurrences. For example, the Matngele word [jəjə] for ‘man’ can be found together under j, tj, or dj corresponding to the original researcher’s spelling method. To deal with this, an English finder list includes variant spellings with their references.

Finally, depending on its ‘part of speech’ a lexical item can also be accessed in either the nominal or the verbal dictionary files, which respectively contain 573 and 588 lexical items. (See Appendix 2 for the merged nominal and verbal dictionary files, and the finder list.)

1.7 Use of older sources
In view of the fact that Harvey’s material is by far the most extensive and thorough, the older sources (ie. Laves, Hoddinott and Tryon) have been used predominantly as background data. Nevertheless, any description of the language cannot ignore the wealth of material potentially available in the authentic texts written down by Laves in 1931, no matter how difficult the access to them is. Consequently, one text has been transcribed, parsed and interlinearised (see Appendix 3) in order to make a tentative analysis of the Matngele narrative structure. In this effort, the older sources’ combined available vocabulary (the ‘Lexicon’), and the reversal it could generate (the ‘Finder list’) has been substantial. Subsequently, the analysis is used to make a comparison between the texts of Laves and Harvey’s field notes for any evidence of morphosyntactic change (Section 4.4).
2.

CHAPTER TWO - PHONOLOGY

2.1 Introduction

The phonological description of Matngele, presented here, covers two main topics. Firstly, it follows a most general description using material available from Laves, Hoddinott, Tryon and Harvey. It begins with an explanation of the orthographic conventions adopted in this thesis; then gives a broad overview of the phonemic inventory and its allophonic realisations; and closes with a description of the phonotactic structure of the language. Secondly, the analysis deepens to survey a number of possibilities with respect to the range of contrast between stops, and also looks at the intervocalic behaviour of obstruents in general.

2.2 General Description

2.2.1 Orthography

For general descriptive representation, this thesis makes use of a practical orthography, based on that of Harvey’s provisional adaptation of the Jawoyn orthography, as used in A Sketch Grammar of Gamu (SGG:27). Thus, it reads, for example, mat nguru ‘my language’. When specific phonetic detail is required, the IPA is used, thus [ji ji] ‘man’ for phonetic realisations, and /ji ji/ where emphasis on phonemic quality is required.

Tables 2.1 and 2.2 give the practical orthography for Matngele consonants and vowels, as used in this thesis. Moreover, in view of the affinity between Gamu and Matngele and in order to facilitate comparison, general conventions which Harvey uses for Gamu are matched where possible for Matngele.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2.1: Practical Orthography: Consonants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tap</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Presented in Table 2.1, above, is the Matngele consonant orthography. It includes voiced and voiceless stops, in that order. The palatal nasal and lateral are marked in syllable final position as \( \text{yn} \) and \( \text{yl} \), producing for instance '\( \text{ay}n\text{ja} \)' 'what' and \( \text{ny}l \) 'peel, skin'; and elsewhere as \( \text{ny} \) and \( \text{ly} \), as in \( \text{emn}\text{yen} \) 'we sit' and \( \text{je}\text{lyeng} \) 'other'.

Table 2.2: Practical Orthography: Vowels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>( \text{i} )</td>
<td>( \text{e} )</td>
<td>( \text{u} )</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>( \text{e} )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td>( \text{a} )</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Segmental Phonemes

The phonological system of Matngele shares several features with the majority of Australian languages, in that it has a nasal consonant corresponding to each stop, two distinct rhotic phonemes and word initial \(/\text{n}/\). Another typical feature of Australian languages is a non-contrastive voicing distinctions for stops, where the voiced variant commonly occurs between vowels and the voiceless allophone dominates in word initial position (Dixon 1980:125ff). The latter feature turns out not to be the case in Matngele where some voicing contrast may be operating.

2.3.1 Phoneme inventory

Tryon (1974:43) proposes tentatively that Matngele has 14 consonants at four contrastive places of articulation, that is, bilabial, alveolar, palatal and velar. The stops are marked as unvoiced: \( /\text{p}/ \), \( /\text{t}/ \), \( /\text{b}/ \) and \( /\text{k}/ \). In addition, he reports five vowels. These include two high vowels \( /\text{e}/ \) and \( /\text{a}/ \), two low vowels \( /\text{e}/ \) and \( /\text{a}/ \), and the central vowel \( /\text{o}/ \).

While this corresponds satisfactorily with respect to the vowel inventory, the field notes of both Laves and Hoddinott, as well as Harvey, suggest a second apical series; namely, a retroflex sequence with four manners of articulation: stop, nasal, lateral and continuant.

2.3.1.1 Consonants

Several minimal pairs confirm stop and rhotic contrast between alveolar and retroflex places of articulation, but for the remaining apical contrasts, ie. nasal and lateral, only sub-minimal pairs are attested. The topic of retroflex phonemes in morpheme initial suffixes is dealt with in section 2.3.3.1 on allophonic variation, below.
Still disregarding the possibility of voicing contrast in stops, the inclusion of the retroflex series brings the number of Matngele consonants, from 14 in Tryon’s analysis, to 17 phonemes, shown in Table 2.3, below.

The stops are provisionally marked as voiced, in concord with Harvey’s (SGG:13) practice for Gamu.

Table 2.3: Matngele Consonant Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
<th>Apical</th>
<th>Laminal</th>
<th>Peripheral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>Retroflex</td>
<td>Palatal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lateral</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Continuant</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tap/trill</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Approaching the Matngele consonant inventory from a Gamu perspective, however, is misleading, as there is evidence that Matngele has some contrastive voicing in the stop series. While the Gamu stop contrast is one suggestive of length rather than voicing, in Matngele there is also a degree of glottal activity which underlies the stop contrast.

The available language data do, at least, suggest alveolar and bilabial voicing contrasts. In Matngele, the issue of a stop contrast in certain environments is further complicated by the assumption of free allophonic variation between voiced and voiceless stops on the one hand, and between stops and fricatives on the other.

This thesis, therefore, takes the strategy of initially assuming a ‘no-contrast’ approach, and subsequently, to demonstrate from that position that there is indeed a case to be made to posit a stop contrast. This discussion resumes in section 2.7, below, to explore evidence to that extent.
2.3.1.2 Vowels

With five phonemes, the Matngele vowel inventory conforms numerically, at least, with most non-PamaNyungan languages of the Kimberley and the Top End of the Northern Territory of Australia (Dixon 1980:131). However, where the majority of these have back/rounded /a/ (i.e. a symmetrical vowel inventory), Matngele has a non-symmetrical inventory with centralised/spread /o/, as shown schematically in (2).

(2) Symmetrical/Typical NonPamaNyungan Non-symmetrical/Matngele

```
   i     u        i          e          o        u
   a     o       a
```

Table 2.4 shows the Matngele vowel phonemes. High/central /o/ corresponds with oe in the practical orthography, the other phonemes all correspond directly with their orthographic symbols.

Table 2.4: Matngele Vowel Phonemes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>VOWELS</th>
<th>Front</th>
<th>Central</th>
<th>Back</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
<td></td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3.1.3 Vowel length

Vowel contrast in Matngele relates to quality only; that is, there is no phonemic vowel length contrast. Yet long vowels do occur, optionally, in monosyllabic words, as in eg. ya: 'yes,' and lenitions, as in eg. mi: from miyi 'food' and warri from wangerri 'you(sg)' (see section 2.6). Most long vowels occur in the first syllable of a morpheme, even if embedded within a complex word. For example, buy-a:ynju-wa 'you go and get' is typical for length distribution in Matngele. There are only three examples of a long vowel in the second syllable, again due to lenition, these are: anu:al 'Amungal', boda:n 'Darwin' (both place names), and with prosodic shift in interrogative buy-nung.ga:yu? 'are you going?'. Broadly, then, the distributional restrictions of Matngele long vowels concur with those described by Dixon (1980:132), in that they do not occur more than once per word, and generally coincide with the primary stress within the word, hence their preponderance in word initial syllables.
2.3.2 Vowel allophones

2.3.2.1 \[\text{æ}\]

The allophone \[\text{æ}\] is a raised realisation of the low central phoneme /a/. The environment that this allophone occurs in is typically, but not exclusively, between palatal consonants (ie. \( y, ny, j \)) and before anterior sonorants (ie. \( m, n, n, l, rl \)). It is most frequently controlled by \([\text{J}]\). Moreover, the operation seems to be word-specific. Harvey notes the same process occurring in Gamu, and suggests that the allophone is “to some degree lexically controlled” (SGG:20). This would appear to be the case in Matngele, too. Words such as \( jat \) ‘road’ and \( jalt \) ‘fall’ are repeatedly realised with the allophone \[\text{æ}\] as \([\text{æJ}]\) and \([\text{æl}k]\).

2.3.2.2 Overlap

There is an additional complication with lexical items, such as \( ngane \) ‘you and me’ and \( jalt \) ‘fall’, and their variants \([\text{æJ}]\) and \([\text{æl}k]\), in that they additionally occur as \( ngane\), and \( jalt\), or reduplicated \( jelt\). Harvey refers to this feature for Matngele as “an overlap in realisations between /a/ and /æ/” (SGG:20). He goes on to suggest that the overlap may be bi-directional; that is, in fast speech /a/ can be realised as \[æ\], and /æ/ can be realised by \[a\]. Whatever its motivation, the use of the allophone \[æ\], both articulatory intermediate to and possibly phonemically connected with both /a/ and /æ/ is striking, particularly as Harvey assumes \[æ\] to relate to /a/, and Green (pers. comm.) assumes it to relate to /æ/.

2.3.2.3 \[\text{e}\]

The allophone \[\text{e}\] is the predominant realisation of the phoneme /e/. It is only realised consistently as \[e\] before palatals, as eg. in \( ngel \) ‘flash’ [nei], \( meyn \) ‘throat’ [men], \( betj \) ‘bone’ [pec], but not \( hey\)k ‘made a bed’ which is realised with \[e\] as \([\text{bc}e\text{k}]\). Laves does not make the distinction between \[e\] and \[æ\], and writes only \[e\], but Hoddinott writes \[e\] in his ‘diphthong’ \[et\], as in \( ge\)r\(we\)i (ie. \( ge\)r\(we\)y ‘white apple/wild cherry’, therefore also before palatal \( j\)). Harvey (SGG:20) also notes the absence of \[e\] before /a/ for Gamu.
2.3.2.4 [ɔ]

Hoddinott’s field notes liberally attests [ɔ] word finally and before /j/, and more generally in the environment of peripheral consonants. In these positions, it is a lowered realisation of the high back phoneme /u/.

(3)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Transcription</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lambu ‘cheek’</td>
<td>[lambu]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hallay-hallay ‘rainbow’</td>
<td>[pulubuji]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wugin ‘lily seed’</td>
<td>[wugin]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wak ‘water’</td>
<td>[wak]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occasionally, Harvey also writes [ɔ] before the palatal semi-vowel [pwɔ] buy ‘go’.

2.3.3 Consonant allophones

In the wider context of Aboriginal Australian languages, that is, generally without phonological significance of voicing, intervocalic/word medial stops are typically realised as voiced, and word initial stops as unvoiced (Dixon 1980: 137).

In Matngele, however, there are significant differences. Matngele stops occur not only word initially and medially, but also word finally. Moreover, there may be allophonic variation in any of these positions between voiced and voiceless members of the stop series and voicing contrast between some members of that series in certain positions within the word. Finally, the occurrence of at least intervocalic bilabial fricatives may also suggest a lenition process of some stops across the place of articulation. The question of obstruent contrast is further taken up in Section 2.7, below.

2.3.3.1 Morpheme initial retroflexes

Matngele phonotactics does not permit word initial retroflexes. Yet, retroflexes do occur morpheme initially in the following bound morphemes.

(4)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Morpheme</th>
<th>Function</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-rubn</td>
<td>PURP, 3MIN.OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nnea</td>
<td>2MIN.OBJ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ndina</td>
<td>ABL</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this position, the apical contrast is most scrupulously maintained, where the preceding morpheme ends in the low vowel /a/.
2.3.3.2 Labialisation

Of the available elicited material, only Harvey employs a sufficiently narrow transcription to include labialisation. In Matngele, in anticipation of the rounded back vowel /u/ the preceding word initial stop may undergo rounding. This assimilation process is only attested for bilabial stops, and it only repeatedly occurs in [p^u] *buy* ‘go’, and in one instance each for [b^u], *bu* (v) ‘howl’ and *hu* (n) ‘possum’. The phoneme /b/, then, is optionally realised in word initial position before /u/ by its labialised allophone [b^u].

2.3.4 Lexicalisation of allophonic processes

Most allophonic variants in Matngele are reasonably well-defined in terms of the environment in which they operate. Yet, with the exception of [c] before palatal consonants, their execution is rarely consistently applied. In some of those cases lexicalisation is not necessarily ruled out; and the above mentioned instances with [æ] allophones and the rounding of *buy* to [pwoj] may well be legitimate examples of that process. But on the whole, ‘free’ variation between two or more allophones of a common phoneme, is a prevalent feature of the language.

2.4 Phonotactics

In this thesis, the data for the phonotactic analysis of Matngele have mainly been taken from Harvey’s field notes. Of the available material, they give the most comprehensive representation of both morphological and syntactic structures; and consequently a wider range of phonotactic combinations. Moreover, the analysis presents a filtered view of the Matngele phonological structure, in that it uses the material in its practical orthographic transcription, in this way, eg. /rn/ stands for /ny/. While giving, strictly, a defective view of the phonotactic situation in Matngele, the resulting generalisations are largely predictable, and facilitate a more stable phonotactic analysis. What it in fact does, is give the impression that all stops are voiced word initially, and voiceless word finally. It also hides any geminate stops - being represented by their single voiceless counterpart, but in any event, the uncertainty of their existence may sufficiently justify their exclusion.
2.4.1 Intramorphemic Consonant Clusters

The discussion focuses on the distinction between nasal and non-nasal consonants. The behaviour of nasals in intramorphemic consonant clusters depends on their position within the cluster and whether the juxtaposed consonant is nasal or vocal.

Where both are nasal, the primary consonant (C₁) can belong to only four of the five places of articulation (ie. /ml, nl, rnl, and rny, excl. /ng/); and for the secondary consonant (C₂) there are three options (ie. /ml, /ng/ and /rny/). When a nasal in C₁ adjoins a non-nasal consonant, there is no restriction on its place of articulation (ie. /ml, nl, rnl, rny and /ng/); but in C₂ a restrictive condition applies in terms of the occurrence of retroflex and palatal nasals, allowing only the peripheral and alveolar nasals (ie. /ml, nl and /ng/).

Non-nasal consonants, occurring with nasals in clusters are also restricted in their distribution. In primary position the alveolar stop, lateral and tap are found, as well as the palatal lateral (ie. in C₁ /lt, /l, /rl, and /r/), while in secondary position the bilabial stop and continuant, and the alveolar and palatal stops are found (ie. in C₂ /bl, /dl, /l/ and /w/). In (6) - (9), the intramorphemic consonant clusters from the available data are shown. It should be noted that of the 37 recorded consonant clusters, 22 have only one example in the data set. Of those with multiple occurrences, one instance of each word has been included in the lists, below. Generally, clusters across reduplicated elements are treated as intermorphemic consonants, except where such reduplications consist of non-segmentable parts, such as eg. /rnrng/ in /ngerrnggoerr/ (*ngoerr).

The consonant clusters /rml, /rnl, /rny, /rrml and /rrnl occur in a wide range of words which mostly belong to the phonologically irregular class of finite verbs.

2.4.1.1 Nasal/nasal

(6)  

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{ng} & nguru-jenngu  \\
\textbf{am} & ngap-ma-guwanmin  \\
\textbf{mm} & banngarla  \\
\textbf{mnm} & ngarmmu-rang  \\
\textbf{ynm} & getaway  \\
\textbf{ynm} & wam-eymmneek  \\
\textbf{mym} & umuyen  \\
\textbf{wenn} & wemnurvi  \\
\textbf{um} & umawy  \\
\textbf{em} & emmwyenenek  \\
\textbf{ng} & ngak-mi-emmyangen  \\
\textbf{em} & doerik-emmyovenek  \\
\textbf{em} & emmyyn
\end{tabular}

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\text{myself}  \\
\text{it's burning}  \\
\text{Bangala (place name)}  \\
\text{wrong way (marriage)}  \\
\text{vomit}  \\
\text{you get}  \\
\text{we sit}  \\
\text{steal}  \\
\text{we are lying (down)}  \\
\text{we were sitting}  \\
\text{we are eating}  \\
\text{we got fat}  \\
\text{we sit}
\end{tabular}
### 2.4.1.2 Consonant/nasal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(7)</th>
<th>m.b</th>
<th>walmurr-nungu</th>
<th>‘buffalo’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ng</td>
<td>mihgyn</td>
<td>‘hill’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>yl.m</td>
<td>moevihoeti</td>
<td>‘soft’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rr.m</td>
<td>jerrmeng</td>
<td>‘young boy’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jurrna</td>
<td>‘banyan tree’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngak-nung-gurrminek</td>
<td>‘you ate’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngak-errminek</td>
<td>‘we ate’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngerrrep-woerrminek</td>
<td>‘they cut’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ang-boerrminek-awa</td>
<td>‘they gave me’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rr.n</td>
<td>arrayak-warn</td>
<td>‘we wanted to stay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>arrn-errerr</td>
<td>‘we’ll camp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nung-gurrnay</td>
<td>‘you (pl) sit down’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>rr.ng</td>
<td>ngaerrngoerr</td>
<td>‘sleep’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>array-ngaerrgerr</td>
<td>‘let us sit’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>juerrgoen</td>
<td>‘blood’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>durrag</td>
<td>‘line up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lurrng</td>
<td>‘clean up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lirrng-git-ma-gutu</td>
<td>‘it’s scraping’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.4.1.3 Nasal/consonant

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(8)</th>
<th>m.b</th>
<th>amhurdam</th>
<th>‘we are’</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>amhurnay</td>
<td>‘we’re just sitting’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>amhutak</td>
<td>‘we were standing up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>amhutov</td>
<td>‘we should stand up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>bak-jambata</td>
<td>‘hollow’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dembel</td>
<td>‘leaves’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dembelatj-ordiminek</td>
<td>‘I rolled up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gaundiminek</td>
<td>‘we will stay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>garamhong</td>
<td>‘headband’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mivembala</td>
<td>‘wasp’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nambar</td>
<td>‘okay’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nemberre</td>
<td>‘another’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nembiyu</td>
<td>‘one’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>unbug-ayanjarr</td>
<td>‘humbbug’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n.b</td>
<td>guhuniy</td>
<td>‘good, well’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ha-r-vende</td>
<td>‘at that spring’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>biyandak-ayang-nung</td>
<td>‘I can’t hear him’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>nendu</td>
<td>‘horse’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>yundak-arrang-gak</td>
<td>‘we passed it’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n.d</td>
<td>menwayiak</td>
<td>‘hungry’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ng.d</td>
<td>dingen</td>
<td>‘sweeten’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ng.j</td>
<td>dengen-ma-guena</td>
<td>‘they are eating noisily’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>y.n.j</td>
<td>avnya-dyn</td>
<td>‘why, what for’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>avnjutak</td>
<td>‘you were standing up’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>buy-evnji</td>
<td>‘you are going to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>buy-gavnjivak</td>
<td>‘you are going to go’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dare-m-avnjivak</td>
<td>‘you watch out’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dat-wui-avnjivik</td>
<td>‘you nearly died’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dep-denek-avnjini</td>
<td>‘he painted you’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>gavrjivangak</td>
<td>‘you are camping’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>guravnju</td>
<td>‘two’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>jalk-gavnjik</td>
<td>‘you will fall’</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>wui-avnjini</td>
<td>‘go to sleep’</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.4.1.4 Consonant/consonant

Homo-syllabic non-nasal consonant clusters typically have a liquid (/rr/, /rl/ and /ll/) in $C_1$ and a peripheral stop in $C_2$ (/k/ and /p/), and as such these are the only clusters able to occur morpheme finally.

Hetero-syllabic non-nasal clusters are less restricted, but still more so than in conjunction with a nasal consonant.

(9)  

*a*  |  *b*  |  *c*  |  *d*  |  *e*  |  *f*  |  *g*  |  *h*  |  *i*  |  *j*  |  *k*  |  *l*  |  *m*  |  *n*  |  *o*  |  *p*  |  *q*  |  *r*  |  *s*  |  *t*  |  *u*  |  *v*  |  *w*  |  *x*  |  *y*  |  *z*  |  

2.4.2 Intermorphemic consonant clusters

Consonant clusters across morpheme boundaries, that is, word externally as well as internally, have generally fewer restrictions on their construction than intramorphemic clusters. Therefore, clusters occurring within morphemes are also expected to occur across boundaries. In (10), below, an overview is given of consonant clusters across both word internal and word external boundaries. For brevity, each cluster occurs with only one untranslated example. Generalising, then, there are few restrictions on consonant
clusters across morpheme boundaries, other than those conditioned by morpheme internal constraints. For some clusters the morpheme internal control may cause a difference in distribution between word internal and external boundaries correlating with the division between nominal and verbal categories. This is exactly what Harvey (SGG:26) points out for Gamu, namely that /p/ only occurs morpheme finally in verbs. In Matngele this is also the case, where for instance the alveolar tap/voiceless bilabial stop consonant cluster /trp/ occurs in verbs only. Overall, though, if a cluster occurs word internally across morpheme boundaries it would also be expected to do so across word external boundaries. An exception to this generalisation is relevant to retroflex initial suffixes which subject to a phonological condition occur morpheme initially at word internal boundaries (see 2.3.3.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>C₁,C₂</th>
<th>word-external boundary</th>
<th>word-internal boundary</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>p b</td>
<td></td>
<td>burrp-burpdak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
<td>lerrp-gawak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
<td>jap-jak-wa-vin-awa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngarrrp-ngarrp-ma-guvu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngerrrp-nung.gurrdangak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngarrrrp-wuurrrunek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td>bi-ngurrp-yang.gak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t j</td>
<td></td>
<td>durng-wut-jeret-nyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>mat ngurud</td>
<td>buyandak-doei-nt:-en</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td></td>
<td>mat-ngele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td>dat-wut-yurak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r t d</td>
<td></td>
<td>durt-denek-awa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>wert-wert guyang</td>
<td>jagari-gu-garriy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
<td>gart-na-gurrutu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>gort-wara-na-guruk-awa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>marrawart varrk-na-gunen</td>
<td>jagari-vin-vang.gak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k b</td>
<td>werck burrrng-mo-gutu</td>
<td>burrk-burrven</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>memek dakuva</td>
<td>dun-al-duruk-denek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>jerrerek guyang</td>
<td>abap-bak-gavuynulang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>buv-gavak jirrk</td>
<td>wurrk-jei-denek-nung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>buv-errrik may</td>
<td>damurrk-ma-avg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>buv-gavuyniyak navuva</td>
<td>boerr-ayak-nung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>dak ngun</td>
<td>mara-datj-ereng.gak-ngerrngerr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>hak wuhajang</td>
<td>ngak-wirrk-denek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>jerrerek yang.gak</td>
<td>jirrk-vegyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tj b</td>
<td>dagajj buv-ynji</td>
<td>lang-gajj-buva-yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>were-giyty dajj</td>
<td>bitj-denek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>gunhiriyt garak</td>
<td>dajj-ga-gavriyak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>were-giyty m:-nung</td>
<td>dabeerrgyt-ma-guttu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>ngajj morpha-malak</td>
<td>day-nung-burrminok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ng</td>
<td>bei ngarrngarrp-ma-guvu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>were-giyty war-ynjumayu</td>
<td>dij-wa-ga-yang.gak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
<td>gaj-yang.gak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 b</td>
<td>dembol buvuv-buvuv-guran</td>
<td>dal-burrudom-arrrarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>denvoeng.gwel guyang.gi-vi</td>
<td>mer-tari-wa-yang.gak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rl w</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 2.4.3 Morpheme initial and morpheme final consonants

In terms of phonotactic constraints, the intermorphemic clusters, in (10) above, and morpheme initial and final consonants, in (11) and (12) below, relate to the same essential phenomena, that is, as pointed out by Harvey (SGG:25), restrictions on intermorphemic consonant clusters are only those that originate in the phonotactic peripheral structure of morphemes in general.
In Matngele, morpheme initial restrictions are applicable to the retroflex and palatal laterals, and both rhotics (/rl/, /ly/, /rl/, and /rr/). Permissible morpheme initial consonants, in (11), then, are stops, nasals and semi-vowels, and the alveolar lateral. Note that no verbs were found to start with the palatal nasal, and only one instance of nyaba 'deaf' in the nominal class (# indicates a morpheme boundary).

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{C} & \text{NOM} & \text{VERB} \\
\hline
b & bawar & buy-enynji \\
d & dakuu & dat-wat-yrurak \\
g & gwarrang & genyek-m-yaang-gak \\
j & jiji & jet-boerrminek \\
m & moeroerr & manva-enek-awa \\
n & nana & nyli-ma-gunen \\
g & ngoeroerr & ngerrp-enek \\
y & nyaba & - & \\
w & werek & wek-ma-guutu \\
y & yurr & yup-amhalik \\
l & lawa & lerrp-guwayak \\
\end{array}
\]

As noted in Section 2.3.3.1, morpheme initial retroflexes only occur as /rd/ and /rl/ in suffixes (ie. at word internal boundaries).

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{suffixes} \\
-rm & -rung (PURP/3MO) \\
-rd & -rdyn (ABL) \\
\end{array}
\]

For the morpheme final consonants (13), there are few restrictions, but no instances of the palatal lateral /yl/ are attested in that position for the nominal class, nor /rl/ and /w/ for the verb class.

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
\text{C#} & \text{NOM} & \text{VERB} \\
\hline
p & abap & ngerrp-denek \\
t & mat & wevet-ma-gutu \\
t & tooth & dart-denek-awa \\
k & monek & ngak-ardayak \\
tj & miyyen & gatj-yaang-gak \\
l & denbel & dul-ma-guyang \\
vl & - & nyli-ma-gunen \\
m & jam & dohan-ardinek \\
n & jan & dergjen-ma-gunen \\
ng & moeroeng & ang-eynyin-nung \\
rn & mern & - \\
yn & lagayn & jeyn-nyeng-gak \\
r & mer & dar-ardinek-nung \\
rr & jamerr & lerr-burdavay-awa \\
w & lawaw & - \\
y & nav & gey-gutangak \\
\end{array}
\]
2.4.4 Vowels

The distribution of morpheme initial and final vowel phonemes depends on their respective position. No distinction is found in their distributive behaviour between nominals and verbs.

Only two vowels can occur morpheme initially (14), these are the non-high/non-back vowels /a/ and /e/.

(14) #V NOM VERB
    a  away  ang-evmnia-nung
    e  etu   egel-omeyak

There are no restrictions on morpheme final vowels; all five occur freely.

(15) V# NOM VERB
    a  gapn  gnx777-gnk
    e  wene  mevn-ngvng-nne-ntatu
    i  garbi  wemnyi-wa-denek-awa
    oc ngermoe dvan-hoe-gatj-butak-awa
    u  gamu  mnyu-denek-awa

2.5 Finite verb specific phonotactic behaviour

In view of the distinctive morphology and phonology of Matngele finite verbs in relation to other word classes, their specific phonotactic characteristics are surveyed in (16)-(19).

The distribution of morpheme peripheral consonants and vowels in finite verbs reflects the phonological shape of the affixes that have merged with the finite verb root, rather than general phonotactic structures. The rudimentary status of subject prefixes and tense, aspect and mood suffixes cause a narrower segmental distribution than in most non-auxiliary forms. Significantly, none of the general phonotactic restrictions are overruled for the finite verbs. The most restrictive phonotactic feature, namely, morpheme initial vowels, concur for both general and finite verb phonotactics, and in that position only /a/ and /e/ are acceptable.

As already mentioned above, frequently occurring intramorphemic finite verb consonant clusters relate mainly to person and number categories. Clusters involving /mb/ and /mny/ in first and second minimal, /nym/ in second minimal and /rrC/ in the augmented number are typical of those categories.

No consonant clusters occur morpheme finally.
2.5.1 Consonants

Morpheme initial consonants occurring in finite verbs are presented in (16).

(16) #C finite verb (example)
- hurrudak
- denek
- gudangak
- nung.gurrudak
- vaudeyak
- yurok

Morpheme final consonants in finite verbs, in (17), below.

(17) C# finite verb (example)
- enenek
- aynjurdam
- gunen
- anyang
- yenji
- yenu

2.5.2 Vowels

Morpheme initial vowels occurring in finite verbs are presented in (18).

(18) #V finite verb (example)
- amvang.gak
- eynjurdey

Morpheme final vowels in finite verbs, in (19).

(19) V# finite verb (example)
- eyujili
- gurruti
- yang.gu

2.6 Lenition

While long vowels are not phonemic in Matngele, they occur in two different environments. Firstly, geminate vowels assign the preferred bi-syllabic word structure to otherwise mono-syllabic words, eg. in ya: ‘yes’. Secondly, gemination also occurs as a result of lenition of certain consonants. The internal structure of geminate vowels is presented in (20), below. Gemination only bears upon the high front and back vowels, and the low vowel.

The remainder of this section only concerns absolute lenition.
The structure of geminate vowels

\[
\begin{align*}
/l/ + /l/ & \rightarrow [\mathbf{l}] \\
/w/ + /w/ & \rightarrow [\mathbf{w}] \\
/y/ + /y/ & \rightarrow [\mathbf{y}]
\end{align*}
\]

Absolute weakening (ie. to \(o\)) can affect the velars /g/ and /ng/, the tap /rr/ and the semi-vowels /w/ and /y/ in word initial, intervocalic and word final position, exemplified in (21), bracketed numbers relate to page numbers of Harvey’s (MS.C) field notes.

(21) /gl \rightarrow o/

\[
\begin{align*}
da:y & \quad dagaj (299) & \quad \text{‘Don’t!’} \\
g: & \quad gaga (70) & \quad \text{‘uncle’} \\
/\text{ngl} \rightarrow o/ & \\
wag: & \quad wangari (30) & \quad \text{‘you’} \\
\text{funjurr-mu:} & \quad \text{funjurr-mungu (138)} & \quad \text{‘with a walking stick’} \\
/lrr \rightarrow o/ & \\
da: & \quad darr (112) & \quad \text{‘look’} \\
\text{mutju:} & \quad \text{mutjurr (139)} & \quad \text{‘lots’} \\
/wl \rightarrow o/ & \\
g: & \quad gawayok (4) & \quad \text{‘1MSgoF’} \\
/lvl \rightarrow o/ & \\
g: & \quad \text{gurnyju:} & \quad \text{gurnyju:u (6)} & \quad \text{‘two’} \\
\text{guyong gi:n} & \quad \text{guyong gi-yin (75)} & \quad \text{‘3MSgoPR-HITH’} \\
\text{im} & \quad \text{yim (56)} & \quad \text{‘fire’} \\
\text{buy-a:yn} & \quad \text{buy-a:yyn (158)} & \quad \text{‘1MSgoF’}
\end{align*}
\]

For instance, in ex. 158, the last item in (21) above, buy-a:yn is a lenited form of buy-ayyn (ie. /yl : o / V_V). Clearly, the process of lenition is most likely to occur between identical vowels (ie. /\_\_a, u_\_u and i_\_i). If the vowels are different, gemination can be either progressive or regressive (22). The lexicalised lenition am:u:al has retained both original vowels.

(22) buy-nung ga:yyn buy-nung guarayn (113) \quad \text{‘go-2ASgoF’} \\
gurna:rr & \quad gurna-urr (72) \quad \text{‘they’} \\
\text{am:u:al} & \quad amingal (167) \quad \text{‘Amungal’}

2.7 Deeper Analysis: Obstruent contrast, length and allophony

The matter of obstruent contrast in Matngele is enigmatic. There are four points which have a bearing on an interpretation of Matngele obstruents.

- voicing contrast
- allophonic variation
- gemination of medial stops
- lenition to fricatives
2.7.1 Contrast

Table 2.4 below, gives an overview of the number of occurrences of voiced and voiceless stops in the language material of Laves (GL) and Hoddinott (WH). The statistical comparison represents, for each category, instances of individual words and the total number of those words, respectively. The table shows a number of interesting features.

Firstly, the stops in all three environments clearly fall into two natural classes, these are the alveolar and laminal stops (ie. non-peripheral), and the bilabial and velar stops (ie. peripheral). Both linguists, but particularly Laves, report minimal to low numbers of voiceless non-peripheral stops. Secondly, Hoddinott reports a tendency for morpheme final stops to be voiceless, whereas Laves reports the opposite.

Immediately, the question arises how phonemic their transcriptions are. That is, does Laves actually hear morpheme final [t], but writes phonemically /d/, having presumed ‘no contrast’; or did he just not hear [t] at all? While there is clear evidence that both Laves and Hoddinott generally write phonetic transcriptions, that is, they write what they hear, any prior assumptions of ‘no contrast’ on their part may have filtered out significant contrastive differences.

Table 2.5: Voiced vs Voiceless Stops in Matngele

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STOPS</th>
<th>initial</th>
<th></th>
<th>medial</th>
<th></th>
<th>final</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>GL</td>
<td>WH</td>
<td>GL</td>
<td>WH</td>
<td>GL</td>
<td>WH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar voiced</td>
<td>79/165</td>
<td>34/43</td>
<td>42/68</td>
<td>45/68</td>
<td>26/99</td>
<td>3/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>alveolar voiceless</td>
<td>0/0</td>
<td>15/48</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>7/7</td>
<td>0/0</td>
<td>17/23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laminal voiced</td>
<td>70/123</td>
<td>15/30</td>
<td>43/60</td>
<td>8/18</td>
<td>25/45</td>
<td>2/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>laminal voiceless</td>
<td>1/1</td>
<td>4/4</td>
<td>6/7</td>
<td>4/4</td>
<td>14/31</td>
<td>10/16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilabial voiced</td>
<td>112/193</td>
<td>11/16</td>
<td>20/29</td>
<td>7/15</td>
<td>9/13</td>
<td>0/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bilabial voiceless</td>
<td>33/50</td>
<td>16/19</td>
<td>2/4</td>
<td>2/2</td>
<td>5/6</td>
<td>5/13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar voiced</td>
<td>101/265</td>
<td>44/70</td>
<td>39/49</td>
<td>12/19</td>
<td>12/40</td>
<td>0/0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>velar voiceless</td>
<td>69/118</td>
<td>17/17</td>
<td>15/31</td>
<td>7/13</td>
<td>169/281</td>
<td>54/98</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If Laves presumes ‘no contrast’ and phonemically writes final stops as voiced even though he hears them voiceless, then it can be argued, within expectation and concurrent with Harley’s field notes, that the figures in the above table imply that Matngele stops in morpheme final position are in fact unvoiced. In other words, it could be posited that Matngele has a phonological rule stating that, word finally, voiced stops undergo a process of devoicing.
However, unlike Harvey’s field notes, the table shows non-peripheral stops in initial position as mainly voiced, and more so for the peripheral stops. Most of the medial stops are also voiced. It should be kept in mind, too, that the numerical abundance of initial and final velars, and initial /b/ relates directly to the wealth of Matngele finite verbs which have these phonemes (see Ch 4, Verbs).

There are no minimal pairs for contrastive voicing in Matngele. Yet, some words with word initial and medial stops of the bilabial and velar series are consistently perceived and transcribed in either voiced or voiceless mode, while other words which have such stops appear to behave as if variation is more freely available. Table 2.5 also predicts minimal occurrences of voiceless medial stops; indeed, from Harvey’s Provisional Vocabulary (MS.B:1-10) containing some 800 lexical items, only 18 items have voiceless intervocalic stops, in (23).

(23)   

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hatu</td>
<td>maybe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bootoer</td>
<td>jabiru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>detoem</td>
<td>back</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>etu</td>
<td>male cousin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>geter</td>
<td>lily sp.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutuknutkna</td>
<td>wild passionfruit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutuma</td>
<td>crippled</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngatal</td>
<td>hard, tough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haifa</td>
<td>stone spear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hatjurung</td>
<td>whistle duck</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jafjin</td>
<td>yesterday</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jetji</td>
<td>to put</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mutjurrr</td>
<td>many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wajduk</td>
<td>to throw in water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dakayu</td>
<td>nothing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gaka</td>
<td>uncle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gopi</td>
<td>wife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gepoen</td>
<td>deep, steep</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking, now, more specifically at intervocalic stops from the perspective of Harvey’s field notes, frequently occurring words may illuminate aspects of word medial differences between voiced and voiceless stops. Two of these are jiji ‘man’ and jatjin ‘yesterday’. In the vast majority of occurrences jiji is transcribed with the voiced intervocalic stop as [ciji] and only once as [cici]. Conversely, jatjin is always voiceless intervocally [jucin]. Clearly, this kind of consistent differentiation between palatal stops in word medial environments suggests either gemination (length), or phonemic glottal contrast (voice). For other series of stops there are similar examples, so dakayu ‘no, nothing’ is
mostly perceived with the voiceless medial stop, while *dagat* 'don’t!' (NEG.IMP)’ is mostly voiced word medially.

However, in initial position, without the possibility of geminate devoicing, contrastive tendencies of either voiced or voiceless lexical items are also to be found, as the initial voicing contrast in *jiji* [ciji] and *jatjin* [jacm], above, already suggested. For instance, *jamarr* ‘dog’ is consistently transcribed by Harvey with the voiceless initial [c] and *jatjin* with voiced [j]. But, as he remarks for Gamu (SGG:28) “... word initial stops, other than the alveolar stop /d/, normally sound voiceless to English speakers.” However, words consistently transcribed by Harvey with *voiced* initial stops appear to provide some evidence for actual glottal contrast in Matngele stops.

It may also be pointed out that both Laves and Hoddinott hear ‘djamar’ and “dyamarr” with voiced initial consonants, respectively. In fact word initially, Laves only hears voiced non-peripheral stops, which concurs with the quote from Harvey, above, that alveolar stops - and it appears for Matngele also laminal stops - are perceived as voiced.

Indeed, Harvey’s field notes do contain a number of frequently occurring words which are mostly written with the peripheral voiced initial stops (ie. [g] and [b]), for instance *guwarak* ‘woman’, *guwerruk* ‘bad’ and *bamu* ‘maybe’. Laves and Hoddinott also note these as voiced.

On such evidence, a phonemic consonant inventory is proposed which includes a voicing contrast in the stop series on at least the velar and bilabial, and probably alveolar and palatal places of articulation.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONSONANTS</th>
<th>Apical</th>
<th>Laminal</th>
<th>Peripheral</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Stop</td>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td>Retroflex</td>
<td>Palatal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>d, t</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>j, c</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The retroflex stop is much more restricted in its distribution. At this place of articulation the voiced and voiceless allophones are clearly in complementary distribution, voiced [d] is confined to morpheme medial position, mainly in finite verbs (eg. *ardiminek* ‘I did it’), but elsewhere too (eg. *garda* ‘push’), and voiceless [j] occurs morpheme finally (eg. *wart* ‘hang up’).
2.7.1.1 Stop allophones

Stops tend to have the following allophonic realisation in word final position where any contrast is neutralised.

(24) voiced stop → voiceless stop / _# /

/\d/ → [t] word finally
/\l/ → [c] word finally
/\b/ → [p] word finally
/\g/ → [k] word finally

Elsewhere (ie. word initially and medially), voiced stop presumably remain voiced, unless intervocalic gemination causes fortition.

2.7.2 Geminate analysis

If allophonic variation accounts for word final fortition, then the geminate analysis may do so for voiceless word medial stops. Harvey applies this analysis to Gamu (SGG:13-4).

Taking the same approach for Matngele, it would mean that /jajjin/ is underlyingly /jajjij/. This approach looses its attraction for Matngele, where unlike Gamu, there may be some actual contrast. In short, it would still require an account of word initial voiced and voiceless stops.

2.7.3 Fricatives

On Hoddinott's tapes Matngele fricatives are clearly audible (much like the Spanish v [β]), and he transcribes them thus [b]. The bilabial fricative is attested in the following words.

(25) [ββββ]

[bubu]
[bubu]
[mahara]
[mahara]
[wiri]
[wiri]
[abap]
[abap]
[mihubh]
[mihubh]
[buyi]
[buyi]
[buya]
[buya]
[wuk]
[wuk]

The contextual constraint on the bilabial fricative appears to be that it occurs mainly intervocically and morpheme initially. Consequently, it could support a case for complementary distribution and allophonic variation (ie. /b/ : [b] ~ [β]).
The bilabial fricative is also attested in Hoddinott's material as an alternation of the bilabial continuant /w/ in *eweng* 'sister'. Dahl (1926, see Appendix 1) also notes lenition to fricative [v] for /w/ before [æ], see (26).

(26) | [v̪eŋ] | ‘sister’ | eweng |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wərək</td>
<td>‘boy’</td>
<td>wərəwək</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vəmən</td>
<td>‘canoe’</td>
<td>wəmən</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.7.4 Word initial stop contrast: voiced and voiceless

This section continues the approach to the problem of contrastive voicing of Matngele obstruents. So far, only positing word final devoicing appears satisfactory. If word initial contrast is possible, then the intervocalic geminate stop analysis has lost some appeal as contrast could well be posited there too. Occurrence of intervocalic fricatives may either mean a three-way contrast, eg. /p/, /b/ and /β/, or phonological alternation, eg. /b/ → [β].

In order to gain some insight into the topic, a number of examples from the data are examined to highlight particular aspects of the pattern of voiced and voiceless word initial stops. But consider the following points first:

- The general bias in Harvey’s field notes towards word initial voiceless stops.
- The gradual decrease in reported word initial voicing from Laves, through Hoddinott to Harvey.
- The presumption of marginal contrast between voiced and voiceless stops in Matngele.
- Any allophonic alternation processes in word initial stops.
- Any free variation between voiced and voiceless stops.

Several hints present themselves in Harvey’s field notes with regards to phonologically conditioned alternations. Take for example the verb *gatj* ‘throw’. This morpheme also occurs in a lexicalised reduplication form *gatjgatj* ‘to fish’. In his field notes, Harvey (HMF:118) transcribes the following elicitation sentence *binya kaji-gajji-ma-gumen gwarirr* ‘They are fishing with a line’ *kaji-gajji* appears to have undergone word initial devoicing (ie. g > k / # ).

Furthermore, Harvey (HMF:78) transcribes two sentences involving the verb *dui* ‘return’: *aniy-niyi diji-ga-goynyak* ‘When will you come back’ and *niiga-ramig tiyi-ga-niynji-gaiyak* ‘I will come back to you tomorrow’. In this case, there appears to be variation caused across the word boundary; that is, in the first sentence there is no devoicing, conditioned by the preceding word ending in a vowel, while in the second sentence word initial devoicing proceeds.
In section 2.7.1, above, there was evidence of some borderline contrast which coincides with the general Daly picture painted by Reid (1990, 49-53) and Green (1989, 19-24), where contrast is typically marginal and minimal pairs hard to find. It appears therein that there are three features which can differentiate obstruents along the parameters of length (stop-closure duration), frication and voicing. While each of these features may apply to different subsets of obstruents, the feature of voicing is least predictable and can be variant for most sets of obstruents.

In conclusion, the available data suggest that, while allophonic alternation does occur word initially, Matngele stops are nevertheless subject to some marginal contrast. However, the data does not seem to support any evidence of an intervocalic three-way contrast. On that account, therefore, the bilabial fricative is seen as an allophone of the bilabial stop.
3.

CHAPTER THREE - NOMINALS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter, and the next, present a descriptive overview of grammatical categorisation in Matngele; each dealing, respectively, with the classification of nominals and verbs. The defining criteria for inclusion within these two main word classes are obtained from the morphosyntactic patterns in which they prototypically occur. A prototypical set of members of a category is one that best characterises the category as a whole. On semantic criteria, nouns would prototypically refer to enduring entities, while verbs prototypically denote transient actions. However, a number of concepts, which elsewhere might be termed adjectival with an implied nominal constituency, are in Matngele either coverbs, or forms that can in some manner be taken into the verbal complex. Morphosyntactic characteristics are, therefore, indispensable in determining word class membership.

The criteria considered are either distributional, that is, they relate to the position a form takes in a sentence, or structural, which concern its actual morphological form. While polarisation between nominal and verbal categories is neither universal nor strictly valid for Matngele, it suits a concise grammatical description such as given in this thesis. However, presuming, at the same time, the existence of a continuum between prototypical nominal and prototypical verbal forms, there are certain categories which fulfil the defining criteria less satisfactorily than others. In this way, members of certain categories are, so to speak, forced into either the nominal or verbal word class. This is specifically contentious in the case of particles; instances of which, while not inflected, are nevertheless included within the major category distinction with which they most readily interact.

For Matngele, to use a simple example, the morpheme -yn is a suffix which can attach to both nominals and verbs. Semantically, both instances are polysemous. As allative case marker it signifies movement towards the entity that it is attached to darwin-yn 'to Darwin'; and as a verbal enclitic 'HITHER', it signifies movement towards the speaker, as in mi: ang-yn-awa 'Give me tucker'. Clearly, the best solution is to discuss each polysemous form separately, once as a nominal form and once as a verbal form. Other
word class categorisations may be more arbitrary. For instance, the prominence marker suffix -ma (PRM) occurs regularly on nouns and is only once or twice suffixed to a verb, nevertheless it is only discussed in the nominal chapter.

Note that, unless indicated differently, in the following two Chapters all example sentences are quoted from Harvey's field notes (MS.C), with bracketed numbers referring to page numbers, therein.

3.2 Nominal Categorisation

The defining structural criterion of nominals is their ability to take case marking suffixes. Under application of this criterion the following nominal categories are attested: nouns, pronouns, nominal classifiers, definite and interrogative demonstratives, temporals and quantifiers. These semantically categorised sub-classes are exemplified by the following sentences.

(1) **Nouns:**

bar wel-ma-enyen motika-yende
bar wel -ma -enyen motika -yende
arm hang -IMPF -2MSsitPR car -LOC
"Your arm is hanging out of the car" (201)

**Pronouns:**

dakayu warri-nung biri-ma-ayang
dakayu wangarri -nung biri -ma -ayang
NEG 2MIN -3MO follow -IMPF -1MSgoPR
"I'm not following you" (068)

**Nominal classifiers:**

abap dam miyi-diyn
abap dam -miyi -diyn
sick 3MSdoP tucker -ABL
"She's sick from tucker" (301)

**Demonstratives**

definite:

ngun -yin hun-yang gak
ngun -yin hun -yang.gak
there -ALL go -3MSgoP
"He has gone over there" (145)

**interrogatives:**

wun-ma nuwun-mungu gunen
wun -ma nuwun -mungu gunen
there -PRM who -COM 3MSsitPR
"Who are all that lot there?" (193)
Spatial/temporals:

nguru jet-atak nguwerem-diyn
nguru jet -atak nguwerem -diyn
LMIN stand -LMSTANDF in front -ABL
'I am the first born' (204)

Quantifiers:

mi ngaru-n-errerr, mutjurr-ayu-rrung
mi ngarru -ma -errerr mutjurr -ayu -rrung
tucker LAUG -PRM -INCL many -only -PURP
'This Tucker belongs to all of us' (305)

Prototypically, the nominal root form is not compounded or reduplicated, in striking contrast with the verbal category. In this respect, however body part terms form a distinct class, not only are they freely incorporated into the verbal complex, but are also regularly compounded to form nominal stems. Some examples of this are shown in (2).

(2) Nominal Compounding:

mer-dark 'stump' (from mer 'foot')
gere-dil 'bitter' (from gere 'mouth')
jerri-ballad 'fork in tree' (from jerri 'leg')
mern-yiyit 'black-headed python' (from mern 'heart, belly')
garti-berrerr 'riverbank' (from ngari 'teeth')
buja-ngerer 'brain' (from buja 'head')

Iconically productive nominal reduplication, when it does occur, mainly is of the form giyi-giyitj 'little', and miyi-miyitj 'old woman'. Lexical reduplication is most common with nouns denoting faunal species and natural phenomena, as exemplified in (3).

(3) Lexical reduplication - complete:

ngoerrngoerr 'saltwater crocodile'
ngurrangurr 'bustard'
wiikwiik 'galah'
berrerr 'white nailfish'
hulyhuly 'rainbow'

complete + -ma

murnuarma 'rotten'
mutukmutukma 'wild passionfruit'
hibibima 'cyclone'
herherma 'wind'

partial CVC(VC):

hirrerr 'blue tongue lizard'
boeroer 'pheasant'
moerroerr 'sun'
3.3 Nominal Classifiers

Matngele has no bound nominal classifiers or class markers. Nominal roots are potentially assigned to a set of free form noun class markers according to their semantic domain, but there is no concord on nominal modifiers.

Tryon (1970:220) proposes four noun classes for Matngele. These are zero (0), binya, miyi and yim. Adding their distributional criteria, he notes the following correspondences.

(4)  
- with body parts, kinship terms and natural phenomena
- with animals hunted for meat
- with vegetable food and plants
- with wooden implements and weapons
(Tryon 1970:220)

Tryon's analysis suggests a mandatory nominal process, each noun being marked for class. Consequently, a linguistic analysis would involve a disproportionate amount of zero-marked nouns, but little descriptive advantage to such an approach. Moreover, yim may not be so easily classed as a noun class marker; at least not within the semantic domain proposed by Tryon. Of six hundred elicitation sentences from Harvey (HMF), there are 21 instances of yim, only once is there any reference to a wooden implement, the firestick, in (5).

(5)  
yim bitj -denek jerrerek
yim bitj -denek jerrerek
fire rub -3MSgoP old man
'The old man rubbed firesticks' (119)

While two are marked for case, of these 21, fourteen relate directly either to fire or to firewood, the other seven relate to wood in general, or parts of trees in the natural environment, as in (6).

(6)  
yim ngey-yang.gak
yim ngey -yang.gak
fire flame up -3MSgoP
'The fire flared up' (327)
yim wuk-vende wurr-ma-guu
ngap-avang.gak yim-ii nguru-uma
yim jop-jak-wa-yim-awa
'That stick sticks out of the water' (337)
'I burnt myself' (116)
'You brake up the wood and bring it to me' (124)

Harvey, for Gamu (SGG:31), posits only two nominal classifiers, binya and meyi, both with a similar range of functions as Tryon has given them; these are, respectively, 'animal, meat, game and bone' and 'tucker, non-flesh food'. He takes binya and meyi to be generic classifiers, without including them in any formal class of classifiers, nor
restricting their position in the noun phrase. His analysis is that they conform with the normal head/modifier template for Gamu, where the classifier is the head and the reference noun is the modifier. This kind of analysis seems acceptable for Matngele, too. Thus, granting that Matngele has three nominal classifiers, a classifier can occur by itself as the nominal head, as in (5) above; or can occur as the head in a head/modifier combination, as in (7)-(9) below. The sentence in (7), for instance, has a nominal phrase which contains the head yim and the modifier mer-durk ‘stump’.

(7) yim
    darr-m-eynjurdey yim mer-durk
    yim mer-durk
    see -IMPF -2MSdoFSubj fire stump
    ‘Watch out for that stump’ (270)

(8) binya
    jer-qvang.gak binya jayrr
    jer -qvang.gak binya jayrr
    roast -1MSgoP meat kangaroo
    ‘I roasted the kangaroo/wallaby’ (110)

(9) miyi
    miyi batata niyl-ma-gunen
    miyi batata niyl-ma -gunen
    tucker potato peel -IMPF -3MSsitPR
    ‘That woman is peeling potatoes’ (210)

The semantic assignment for Matngele nominal classifiers is set out in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1: Matngele Nominal Classifiers.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun class marker</th>
<th>Semantic assignment</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yim</td>
<td>fire and its products and utensils, firewood, timber</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binya</td>
<td>game animals, and their products</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>miyi</td>
<td>food plants, and their products</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.4 Case markers

Matngele has six case markers, each indicating a number of specific nominal roles. Of these, three mark local functions on the nominal, thus providing information about the locale of an event or action. The other three mark a variety of functions which provide information about the cause or purpose of an event, or any additional participants.

Table 3.2 gives a schematic view of the Matngele case marking system. The case label terms are those which Harvey (HMF) uses in the interlinear gloss - DATive, LOCative, ALLative, ABLative, INSTRumental and COMitative. The case marker -rmung will here be labelled purposive (PURP) instead of ‘dative’.
Table 3.2: Matngele Nominal Case System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case Category</th>
<th>Case Marker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Purposive</td>
<td>-rung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>-yende</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>-yin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>-rdyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Instrumental</td>
<td>-ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>-mungu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Goddard (1985:42ff) draws a rigorous distinction between case categories and case markers. That is, a case marker such as -rung is the realisation of

...a class of nominal forms mutually interchangeable in certain syntactic and semantic contexts... [these] case (categories) are typically polysemous, encoding a range of related meanings, which ideally can be clearly modelled and separated from one another in semantic formulas. (Goddard, 1985:424).

Accordingly, below, the range of polysemous meanings are analysed for each case marker. The analysis' focus is on semantic relationships between the different groups of syntactic contexts in which the markers appear to occur.

In Matngele, the purposive -rung ('dative' in Harvey’s gloss) and ablative -rdyn case markers are most numerous and carry the widest range of semantic relationships. Allative -yin occurs least of all in the text, it shares its form and meaning with the verbal suffix -yin ‘HITHER’. The locative case marker -yende occurs lexicalised in nguitj-yende ‘morning’ (lit. night-LOC).

3.4.1 Purposive Case

The set of syntactic contexts of the purposive case marker -rung is rather well-defined. The semantic settings narrow down to purposive, as in (10), including Wh-purposive, as in (11), goal, as in (12) and benefactive, as in (13); and future temporal distance, as in (14). The semantic generalisation which covers these concepts is that on the mind of the speaker there is a distance out there in a possible world between two or more concrete or abstract entities, and that the intermediate distance between those entities could conceivably be overcome.

(10) **Purposive:**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bin} & \text{a } \text{buy-ambalik wayalk-rung} \\
\text{bin} & \text{a buy -ambalik wayalk -rung} \\
\text{meat} & \text{ go } -1+2\text{MSgoSub) hunt } -\text{PURP} \\
\text{'We should go hunting'} & \text{ (147)}
\end{align*}
\]
wak-nung gurna wert-wert guvang
burja darrun-nung dar-dar-gurrj-ma-gurrang
miyi-nung nambai-atuk-wurr
weren-guyit mit-mung av1-gvanga
gurr-gaij-ma-guven wemerr-nung
mer-gilang-nung avi-ma-guyang
‘He’s greedy for booze’ (197)
‘They are poking around for turtles’ (219)
‘I asked them for tucker’ (243)
‘The kid is crying for tucker’ (251)
‘They are digging for honey’ (276)
‘He’s crying for his mother’ (287)

(11) Why-purposive

aynjo-rung wurr-ma-aynjuto
aynjo -rung wurr -ma -aynjuto
what -PURP stand -IMPF -2MSstandPR
‘Why are you standing there?’ (136)
aynjo-rung wurr-urru-ambatu
‘Why are we standing up?’ (156)

(12) Goal

ji1ji nemboe ngun-nung gav-arradak-nung
ji1ji nemboe nogun -nung gay -arradak -nung
man other there -PURP yell out -IASstandF -SMO
‘We yelled out to that bloke there’ (114)
dakau warri-nung biri-ma-avang
‘I’m not following you’ (068)
buyu-rung mavu ngak-aday
‘I want to eat beef’ (170)

(13) Benefactive

niyi wangarri mi dakava mimitj-nung
miyi wangarri mi dakaaya mimityj -nung
tucker 2MIN Tucker NEG old woman -PURP
‘Your tucker? No, its the old woman’s’ (004)
mi: ngun gurna jerrerek-nung
mi: ngun ham-doet-miyi-enem jerrerek-nung
mi ngarrr-merrrr & mujurr-ayu-rung
‘This tucker is the old man’s’ (185)
‘This tucker belongs to all of us’ (305)

(14) Temporal distance

ya neyi-nung burp-gudangak
ya neyi -nung burp -gudangak
yes later -PURP cook -3MSstandF
‘Yes she will cook it later’ (127)
niga-rung ditj-ga-garrivak
‘We will come back tomorrow’ (153)
yin dapat-jak-amboedey neyi-nung
‘We have to break up the firewood later’ (281)
niga nemboe-nung ditj-ga-garrivak
‘We’ll come back the day after tomorrow’ (297)
wa-doet-m-enenek ngaii-yende-nung mora...
‘I had meat this morning but...’ (340)

3.4.2 Locational cases

The three locational cases are locative, allative and ablative

3.4.2.1 Locative case

The functional repertoire of the locative case marker -yende has five features in two dimensions, rest and motion, and source, locus and goal. Thus, there are six semantic distinctions, presented in (15) and (16).
Rest and motion events marked for locative case are referential to particular entities, in that they refer to a specific locale in the mind of the speaker. Each case-marked form in (15) and (16) has definite reference, and the speaker presumes the hearer’s knowledge of it. For non-specific location the allative case is used.

3.4.2.2 Allative case

Contrary to the locative case, the allative case marker -yin only refers to goal-oriented motion. However, the motion itself or the goal may not be specific in the mind of the speaker, note also the imperfective inflection -yin on the finite verbs, in (17).

3.4.2.3 Ablative case

The ubiquitous case marker -rdiyi also represents a polysemous set of syntactic contexts. Their meanings cover four domains: ablati\(e^{e}\) source, in (18); causality, in (19); Wh-causality (inquiry into a purpose), in (20); and non-future temporal distance, shown in (21) below. Generalising these concepts, -rdiyi denotes the concept of causal continuity in the mind of the speaker, whether spatial, temporal or logical.
Interestingly, both purposive and ablative cases have a temporal dimension, respectively with future and non-future emphasis. The ablative referring to the 'source' of the temporal extent, and the purposive to its 'goal':

Lexicalised, the ablative can derive nominal compounds, eg. *jayatji-diyin* 'policeman' (lit. 'taboo-from'), in (22).

(18) **ABL/source**

an diyn-ma ditj-ga-anyang gak
where -ABL -PRM return - come -2MSGofP
"Where did you come from?" (150)

joqart-ang gak ngun-diyin gakwak
"I have run from a long way" (151)

bil-ngurrp-ang gak yun-diyin
"He jumped from the stick" (223)

ji jgngurriyjju gurrang-diyin
"Those two men there" (311)

(19) **CAUS**

ngen-darayj-atyn dok-diyin lurrng-lurrng-ma-atak
CHAR- tired - IMSstandP camp -ABL Redupl - clean - IMPF - IMSstandP
"I'm tired from cleaning up the camp" (290)

may-diyin ju buy-gayak may-u gayingak
that -ABL -SPEC go - IMSgoF that -SPEC IMS lieF
"That's why I am going to go and camp there" (352)

wak-diyin garala dep-vingiyn-awa
"The booze killed me" (136)

abap dun miyi-diyin
"She's sick from tucker" (301)

awat-diyin dun dart-denej-owa
"Auntie took it out for me" (339)

(20) **WH-CAUS**

avnya-rdiyyn enyen
what -ABL IMS sitPR
"Why are you sitting?" (116)

avnya-rdiyyn darr-ma-guren-arora
"Why is he looking at us?" (133)

miyi avnya-rdiyyn dakaay ngak-nung gurrang gak
"Why didn’t you eat the tucker" (145)

avnya-rdiyyn ngin emven
"Why are we sitting here?" (147)

miyntlj avnya-rdiyyn dun-wyn gwayang
"Why is the old woman blind?" (162)

avnya-rdiyyn ngin warry-yet-nung gurudang
"Why are you lot walking along?" (174)

avnya-rdiyyn wern dakaay jay-gatji-nung gurrang gak
"Why didn't you lot burn the grass?" (266)

avnya-rdiyyn ngun gwermek gunen
"What is that woman sitting down for?" (358)

avnya-rdiyyn yewn-wal-ma-guwyng
"What's wrong with her. She’s ashamed" (356)

(21) **Temporal distance (non-future)**

jerrerek gurnbi aniy-nmiyi-diyin jewn-evnimnek
"Old man, when did you make that spear?" (179)

malak-diyin ga-birrik ngutj-yende-diyin
"They should have come this morning" (184)
ardak ngatj-wurr-ma ngutj-yende-djyn ma mayu
ardak ngatj -wurr -ma ngutj-yende -djyn -ma mayu
I have been standing up all morning

just -stand -PRM morning -ABL -PRM enough

"I have been standing up all morning" (144)

anyn-mtyi djyn ditj-ga-nung gurrung gak
nguru jet-atok ngweerem-djyn
may ... arrarik, mara dok-djyn dogun
werek-gitj ngunjwaa-djyn, jet-butak
gay-burrutak-a wa ngunjwaa-djyn

"When did you lot come back" (169)
'I am the first born' (204)
'We nearly camped there' (248)
'He is the last born kid' (305)
'They yelled out from behind' (357)

(22) Lexicalised

javaj-djyn ga-yang gak
(javaj-djyn lit. 'taboo-ABL')

'A policeman came up' (162)

3.4.3 Instrumental case

The instrumental case marker -ni, exemplified in (24), may also fulfil an agentive case marking function on the transitive agent, in (23). Of the sample of 600 sentences from Harvey (HMF) there are only three glossed instances of the 'ergative' case marker -ni. The other samples all clearly denote an instrumental function. Nevertheless, polysemy between agentive and instrumental case can readily be posited, and formal overlap commonly occurs in Australian languages. Harvey gives one sentence ex. 126, in (23), below, which shows what appears to be a sample of both the core function and the peripheral function of the case marker -ni in Matngele (ie. *nendu-ni mer-ni 'horse-ERG foot-INSTR'). In (23), exs. 126 and 230 have non-human agentive transitive subjects both affixed with -ni, while in ex. 304, the free translation also suggests a degree of tonal emphasis, and a suggested implausibility of the agentivity of the postposed subject. Hence, in Matngele the case-marker -ni shows a clear instance of polysemy, in that the agentive sense is semantically related to its prototypical sense of instrumentality.

The core/peripheral aspect argued for here is inversely related to that of eg. Blake and Dixon (1992:16): "The ergative case suffix often also serves to indicate 'with' in the sense of 'by means of'"

In Matngele, marking of core grammatical relation on nominals is not the primary process that it is in the languages that Blake and Dixon describe. Nominative/accusative patterns of object and subject marking occur unambiguously on the verb, consequently the instrumental case marker is available as an emphatic/anomalous agentive marker.

The same point is made by Reid for Ngan'gityemerri (Reid, 1990:326ff).
3.4.4 Comitative case

The comitative case-marker is -mungu. The sample set shows 12 occurrences, and most of these are subject to various stages of lexicalisation; it appears well-established in binya wilmurr-mungu ‘buffalo’ (lit. ‘NOM.CLASSIF horns-with’), in (25), but possibly less so in wuk-mungu ‘wet’ (lit. ‘water-COM’), in (26). Adnominalisation occurs with the compound biyawur-mung (lit. ‘ear-COM’) to give mental verb translations, such as ‘know’, ‘remember’, and ‘recognise’; in all attested cases of biyawur-mung there is elision of the final vowel u, in (27) below. Still, the comitative connotation is clearly present and confirmed by calqued constructions in neighbouring languages (Reid, pers. comm.). However, the ‘productive’ instance of -mungu, in (28) appears more problematic; that is, unless its free translation should read ‘Who are all those lot there with’.

(25) wilmurr-mungu
binya wilmurr-mungu nivl-boerminenk
binya wilmurr -mungu nivl -boerminenk
meat horn -COM skin -3ASdoP
‘They skinned the buffalo’ (250)
binya wilmurr-mungu an-gurrang
‘Where are the buffalo?’ (347)
(26) **wuk-mungu**

wandarri ngurru buy-amhik ngun bak mara yurru wuk-mungu
wandarri ngurru buy-amhik ngun bak mara yurru wuk-mungu
2MIN 1MIN go -1STsSubj sit but ground water -COM

'Ve wanted to go there but the ground was wet' (199)

**jet-gatj-arretayak, wuk-mungu wern**

jet-gatj-arretayak wuk-mungu wern
light a grass fire -1STsSubj stand water -COM grass

'We tried to burn it but the grass was wet' (267)

**yim wuk-mungu dakayu ngap-yang-gak**

'Ve nearly fell over. Wet ground' (114)

(27) **biyawur-mung**

biyawur-mung ayang ni: gurna-wurr-wurna-ma beji-beji
biyawur-mung ayang ni: gurna-wurr-wurna-ma beji-beji
ee -COM 1STsPr stand name SgM -UA -PRM name old people

'I remember those two old people's names' (177)

**biyawur-mung ayang**

'Ve know him' (119)

ya: biyawur-mung ayang-mung

'Yes, I recognise him' (211)

(28) **wu-n-ma nuwun-mungu gunen**

'Who are all that lot there?' (193)

### 3.5 Pronominal Expression

#### 3.5.1 Free pronouns

Matngele free pronouns are marked for person and number. Like other non-PamaNyungan languages, the semantic organisation of number has a minimal/augmented division, with four minimal, and three augmented categories. Table 3.3, below, shows the personal pronoun paradigm. In the augmented category, the inclusive/exclusive distinction has been lost, but the resulting ambiguity is resolved by a set of specific number enclitics, discussed in the next section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Minimal</th>
<th>Augmented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>nguru</td>
<td>ngarru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2</td>
<td>ngemoe</td>
<td>'you and I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>wangerri</td>
<td>nu-nung.gurr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>gurna</td>
<td>gurna-wurr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The distributional constraints on the pronominal form, while not rigid, depend to some extent on their syntactic function. Functionally, the free pronoun occurs in three distinct
contexts: the possessive construction, in (29); the explicit subject construction, in (30); and the reflexive construction, in (31)-(33) below.

In the possessive, it occurs mainly after the possessed noun, or in the case of more than one nominal, after the head noun, or after the last nominal.

(29) boeng ger nguru givn-givn-dajj-vgvnn-awa
    boeng-ger nguru givn-gyn - datj -yenglyn -awa
    knee 1MIN ache(Replu) - hit -3MSeqIMP -1MO

    'My knee is aching' (141)

ma nguru
    'My language' (001)

guwarang nguru balavet
    '(That) woman is my promised wife' (349)

dak nguru nguy duruk-ayang.gak
    'I was born in this country' (230)

As an explicit subject marker, in (30) below, the pronoun can either be in front of the verb, or behind it; possibly more often before. In exs. 194 and 198, wangarri nguru 'you (and) I' occur as two adjacent independent pronouns, semantically similar to ngemoe '1+2MIN'.

(30) miyi burrp-amburdey ngemoe-ma
    miyi burrp -amburdey ngemoe -ma
    tucker cook -1+2MSbePS 1+2MIN -PRM

    'Let's cook that tucker later' (109)

warri nguru buy-gambiyak dak doerren-ma-gambiyak
    warri nguru buy -gambiyak dak - doerren -ma -gambiyak
    2MIN 1MIN go -1+2MSgoF country show -TMPF -1+2MSgoF

    'We (you + l) have to show him the country' (194)

wangarri nguru buy-gambiyak
    'We (you + l) have to go' (198)

In the reflexive, the pronoun is suffixed with -memek (31), -jenngu (32), or -ma (33).

See also Section 4.3.6.2 on reflexive marking.

(31) -memek
    bala dep-ardiminek nguru-memek
    bala dep -ardiminek nguru - memek
    white ochre paint -1MSdoP 1MIN - hand

    'I painted myself with white ochre' (267)

(32) -jenngu
    dakaoy nguru-jenngu bala dep-ardiminek
    dakaoy nguru -jenngu bala dep -ardiminek
    NEG 1MIN -alone white ochre paint -1MSdoP

    'No. I painted myself' (304)

(33) -ma
    ngap-ayang.gak yim-ni nguru-ma
    ngap -ayang.gak yim nguru -ma
    burn -1MSgoF fire -INSTR 1MIN -PRM

    'I burnt myself' (116)
3.5.2 Specifying number

In conjunction with free pronouns, there is also a set of optional number enclitics, presented in Table 3.4.

Table 3.4: Munggurel Number Enclitics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enclitic</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ngerrngerr</td>
<td>1 Non-singular Exclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-errrr</td>
<td>1 Non-singular Inclusive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-wurna</td>
<td>2/3 Non-singular Dual</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both first person, non-singular pronominal enclitics -ngerrngerr (---nguerrngpuerr) and -errrr (---errrr, ---arrerr) specify, respectively, the exclusion (34) and inclusion (35) of the addressee. In (36) nguerr occurs on its own, which suggests that augmented inclusive/exclusive marking is optional. The second/third person, non-singular enclitic -wurna marks numeral duality in the specified entities, in (37) below.

(34) 1AS(EXCL)

*ya: mi: nguerr-nguerrngpuerr*
*ya miyi nguerr -nguerrngpuerr*
*yes tucker IAUG -EXCL*

'Yes, it belongs to us (EXCL)’ (034)

*ya miyi may-ma nguerr-nguerrngpuerr*

'Yes, that tucker belongs to us two’ (052)

(35) 1AS(INCL)

*mi nguerr-ma -rrerr mutjurr-ru-ru-nguerr*
*miyi nguerr -ma -errrr mutjurr -ayu -ru-nguerr*
*tucker IAUG -PRM -INCL many -only -PURP*

'This tucker belongs to all of us (INCL)’ (055)

(36) nguerr on its own

*ya: nguerr doerik-gerrringak*
*ya nguerr doerik -gerrringak*
*yes IAUG get fat -IASlieF*

'Yes we will get fat’ (280)

(37) DUAL (UA)

*bayuwurr-ru-ru-nguerr auy nguerr-wurna-ma beji-beji*
*bayuwurr -ru-ru-nguerr auy nguerr -wurna -ma beji-beji*
*ear -COM 1MSgoPR name 3AS -UA -PRM old people*

'I remember those two old people’s names’ (177)

*miyi may munung gurr-wurna*
*miyi may munung gurr -wurna*
*tucker that 2AS -UA*

'Does that tucker belong to you two?’ (052)

*mi: may-ma mu-nunung.gurr-wurna*

'Does this tucker belong to you two?’ (034)
The following pronoun/enclitic combinations can therefore be posited, in (38) below.

(38) 1 AUG 'we unspecified' ngarru
1 AUG (EXCL) 'we, but not you' ngarru-ngoerrngoerr
1 AUG (INCL) 'we, as well as you' ngarru-errerr
2 AUG (UA) 'you two' nu-nun gurr-wurna
3 AUG (UA) 'they two' gurna-wurr-wurna

Table 3.5 gives an unified overview of the Matngele person and number paradigms. Inclusive and exclusive marking on first person augmented is optional, as demonstrated in (36), above, where ngarru occurs by itself. Moreover, there is no unit-augmented distinction for first person.

Table 3.5: Matngele Person and Number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1 EXCL</th>
<th>MIN</th>
<th>AUG</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2 INCL</td>
<td>nguru</td>
<td>ngarru-ngoerrngoerr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ngemo</td>
<td>ngarru-errerr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>2</th>
<th>UNIT-AUG</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wangerri</td>
<td>nu-nun gurr-wurna</td>
<td>nu-nun gurr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gurna</td>
<td>gurna-wurr-wurna</td>
<td>gurna-wurr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6 Demonstratives

In this section, the closed class of demonstratives is described, containing two separate paradigms, namely, the definite class and interrogative class.

3.6.1 Definite demonstratives

The definite demonstratives divide into two deictic categories, spatial, and entitative, with the space deixis being either proximate ngin 'here', or distal ngun 'there'. Entitative may 'that' determines the contextual identity of a third person referent noun. In terms of their syntactic distribution, there are few distributional constraints on definite demonstratives, as they can occur anywhere within the nominal context, or be separated from it by the verb complex.

The compounds gamu-ngin (lit. 'now-here') and jawu-ngin (lit. 'nearly-here') are both lexicalised to mean 'today'. See (39), and section 3.7.

(39) lerrp-guvavak gamu-ngin-ma 'It will be hot today' (133)
dokayu jawu-ngin ga-qyuyng gak-yu 'No, today is the first time I ever came here' (342)
Table 3.6 shows the relevant paradigm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Spatial</th>
<th>Proximate</th>
<th>Ngin</th>
<th>Here</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Entitative</td>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>Ngun</td>
<td>There</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Distal</td>
<td>May</td>
<td>That</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For spatially proximate *ngin* ‘here’, the referent entity is near both the speaker and the addressee, in (40).

(40) *waarr anyang gak dak ngin nguwerem*

\[ 2MIN 2MS\textit{gap} \quad \text{country here before} \]

‘Have you been here before?’ (342)

*ngin-ju gavnjivingak*          ‘Are you camping here?’ (277)

*ya ngin-ju gerringak*          ‘Yes we will camp here’ (261)

For spatially distal *ngun* ‘there’, the referent entity is not near the speaker, nor near the addressee, in (41).

(41) *jatjin ngun fiji nemboe da:-denek-ney*

\[ jatjin \quad ngun \quad fiji \quad nemboe \quad darr \quad -denek \quad -ney \]

‘Yesterday that other man saw us’ (112)

*ngun-yin huw-yang.gak*          ‘He has gone over there’ (145)

*jagari-ayang.gak ngun-dyn gakwak*          ‘I have run from a long way’ (151)

*guwarak gurrang.gu ngun*          ‘A woman is going along there’ (003)

*ngun huw-garivak-hak*          ‘We’ll go and sit there’ (073)

*fiji ngun gurrvinju gurrang-dyn*          ‘Those two men there’ (311)

For entative distal *may* ‘that’, the referent entity is not near the speaker, but may be near the addressee, as in (42).

(42) *guwarak may aniyn-ma-gunen*

\[ guwarak \quad may \quad aniyn \quad -ma \quad -gunen \]

‘What’s that woman doing?’ (166)

*mimi mav nu-nung gurr-warna*          ‘Does that tucker belong to you two?’ (052)

*ya mivi may-ma ngarre-nguerrnguerr*          ‘Yes, that tucker belongs to us two’ (052)

*may binya ngak-ma-nung dokayu*          ‘That meat is not for eating’ (146)

*dak anyang gak may-ma*          ‘Have you been to that country?’ (199)

*mi mav rubbish waj*          ‘Throw that rubbish away’ (241)

*garah halinu may jeyn-denen*          ‘Who made that spear?’ (311)

The data in (43) show a degree of overlap between prototypical *may* and the spatially deictic expressions *ngun* and *ngin*. That is, unless the free translation has an implication of ‘those two men there’ and ‘that man here’, similar to that in ex. 311 in (41), above, prototypical place deixis has been neutralised.
(43) **Entitative reference of ngun ngin**

 mare-datj-burruyak-wurna jiji ngun gurriyjgu-ma
 mara- datj-burruyak -wurna jiji ngun gurriyjgu-ma
 RECIPR- hit -3ASgoF -VA man there two -PRM

 'Those two men are going to fight' (334)

 werek ngun dakayu mat-wa-guyang-awa
 jiji ngin aynja-rmung biri-wa-guyang-awa

 'That kid doesn’t take notice of me’ (338)

 javo ~vow nji ngin qvnja-rnunp
 biri-n~a-gl!vong-ml?a

 'Why is that man following me?’ (068)

### 3.6.2 Interrogative demonstratives

Table 3.7 presents the interrogative demonstratives. Each interrogative demonstrative has several functions, depending on the morphosyntactic context it occurs in, and will be discussed in turn, below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>aniyyn</th>
<th>what, when</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>aynja</td>
<td>what, why</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an, ana</td>
<td>where</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>an-hawaja</td>
<td>how many</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nuwun</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.6.2.1 aniyyn

There are two environments available for aniyyn. Compounded with the temporal prominence marker (IMPF) miyi, that is aniyyn-miyi, it translates as ‘when’. in (44). Incorporated within the verbal complex, it translates as ‘what’, in (45). Generalising these two concepts, aniyyn is taken to mean ‘what’, questioning, firstly, the temporal entity an event occurred in (ie. ‘what-time?’), and secondly, the actual event described by the verb (ie. ‘what-happened?’). In these cases, the interrogated information is the complement of a small set of verbs including ‘do’, ‘call’ and ‘say’.

(44) **aniyn-miyi ditj-ga-nung gurruyak**

 aniyyn -miyi ditj - qa -nung.gurruyak
 what -IMPF return - come -2ASgoF
 'When will you lot come back’ (152)

(45) **aniyn-miyi-diyyn ditj-ga-nung gurrung.gak**

 aniyyn -miyi -diyyn ditj - qa -nung.gurrung.gak
 what -IMPF -ABL return - come -2ASgoF
 'When did you lot come back?’ (169)

**jerrerek garabi aniyyn-miyi-diyyn jeyn-evyninek**

 jerrerek garabi aniyyn -miyi -diyyn jeyn -evyninek
 old man spear what -IMPF -ABL make -2MSdoP
 'Old man, when did you make that spear?’ (179)
3.6.2.2 aynja

The interrogative demonstrative aynja is generally marked for either purposive or ablative case, aynja-rning and aynja-rdiyun, as shown, respectively, in (46) and (47); aynja also occurs on its own, in (48) below.

(46) aynja-rning ngun dawu-ma mar-datj-ma- gurrutu-wurna
aynja-rning ngun dawu -ma mar- datj -ma -gurrutu -wurna
what -PURP there trouble -PRM RECIPR- hit -IMPF -JASstandPR-UA
'What are those two fighting for?' (160)

(47) miyimitj aynja-rdiyun dun-woyn guyang
miyimitj aynja-rdiyun dun -woyn guyang
old woman what -ABL eye -blind 3MSgoPR
'Why is the old woman blind?' (162)

(48) aynja-rdiyun ngin warrye-vet-nung gurrdang
'Why are you lot walking along'
aynja arrang gujalar -warrye -buy -arrayn
aynja arrang gujalar - warrye - buy -arrayn
what JASgoPR road - walk - go -JASgoIMPF
'Nothing, we're just walking along' (174)

The semantic content of the purposive interrogative denotes an inquiry into the purpose of the described event, whereas that of the ablative denotes an inquiry into the prior reason for the described event. The semantic generalisation of the nominal root aynja is ‘what’ (ie. aynja-rning ‘what-for’ and aynja-rdiyun ‘what-from’), the English translation being ‘why’ in both cases.
3.6.2.3 *an*

The interrogative *an* occurs either case marked or as part of the verb phrase. In the case marked examples, see (49), ablative *an-diyn* and allative *an-ym* specifically inquire, respectively, into the source and the goal of the described event (i.e. 'where-from' and 'where-to'). On the other hand, in the context of a verbal complex, (50), *an* rather inquires into the location of the described entity.

(49) *an-diyn ga-nung gurrung nung gurr-ma*

> an -diyn ga -nung.gurrung.gak nung.gurr -ma

Where -ABL come -2ASgoP 2AOG -PRM

'Where did you lot come from? ' (047)

*nguni an-ym buv-burrayn*

nguni an -ym buy -burrayn

there where -ALL go -3MSgoIMPF

'Where's that lot going? ' (143)

*miiyi an-ym wara-bu-yengyn jiji ngun guyang gu-ma*

miiyi an -ym wara -buy -yengyn jiji ngun guyang.gu -ma
tucker where -ALL take - go -3MSgoIMPF man there 3MSgoPR -PRM

'Where is that bloke taking the tucker to? ' (177)

*an-diyn ma ditj-go-angang.gak*

an-ym buv-burrayn

'Where did you come from? ' (150)

(50) *binya ngoerrngoerr an-buy-yang.gak*

binya ngoerrngoerr an -buy -yang.gak

meat saltwater crocodile where - go -3MSgoP

'Where has the croc gone? ' (128)

*an-ga-angang.gak jal wuluk*

an - ga -angang.gak jal wuluk

where - come -2MSgoP road high

'You came by the top road? ' (163)

*binya wilmurr-mungu an-gurrang*

binya wilmurr -mungu an -gurrang

meat horn -COM where -3ASgoPR

'Where are the buffalo?' (347)

*werek may an-buy-yang.gak*

jiji an-buy-yang.gak

'Where has that child gone? ' (144)

3.6.2.4 *an-buwaja*

The quantity interrogative *an-buwaja*, and its lenition *an-bu-ja* 'how many' are shown in (51).

(51) *nida an-buwaja wari-mi-angang*

nida an-buwaja wari -mi -angang

brother how many have -IMPF -2MSgoPR

'How many brothers do you have? ' (198)

*binya durmn an-bu-ja wara-nung gurrung.gak*

How many turtles did you get? ' (176)

*nay sawirrningak memak an-bu-ja malak*

We will stay there a couple of days' (225)

There are also two instances of the interrogative compound *an-yn uru* with the meaning 'where'. Harvey (SGG:58) notes the occurrence of the intensifier -jinu, and possibly its
reduced forms -(u)ru, in Gamu as well as Matngele, and alludes to their partially lexicalised nature in the presence of “adjectival” nominals. It is not sure whether the difference yu/ju is significant in this respect.

(52)  gaga an-uru, gunen im gurriyuju ngun
    gaga an -juru gunen yim gurriyuju ngun
    uncle where -INTENS 3MSsitPR tree two there
    ‘Where’s uncle? He’s sitting between those two trees’ (314)
    anayu buy-garriyak-ararr ‘Which way do we go now?’ (190)

3.6.2.5 nuwun

The interrogative nuwun ‘who’ is exemplified in (53).

(53)  garnhi nuwun may jeyn-denek
    garnhi nuwun may jeyn -denek
    spear who that make -3MSdoP
    ‘Who made that spear?’ (311)
    nuwun bala dep-denek-nivnji - jerrerek-ni ‘Who painted you: the old man?’ (304)

When compounded with dubitative malak, it forms the indefinite demonstrative nuwun-malak ‘someone/somebody’, as in (54).

(54)  biyandak-ma-enen ngaj nuwun-malak guyang gi-vun batu jiji
    biyandak -ma -enen nuwun - malak guyang.gi -vun batu jiji
    hear -TMPF -1MSsitPR who - DUB 3MSgoPR-here -hither maybe man
    ‘I can hear somebody coming up. maybe a man’(150)
    nuwun jiji, nuwun-malak
    nuwun jiji // nuwun - malak
    who man // who - DUB
    ‘Who’s that man? I don’t know who he is’ (319)

3.7 Temporals

Like Harvey’s (SGG:50) description of Gamu temporals in terms of significant foci, so too, different sets of Matngele temporals, presented below, extend along a number of focal points, relative to specific transient entities. Of those in Table 3.8, that focus is gamu ‘now’, and pertains to a general temporal range, exemplified in (55).

Table 3.8: Matngele Temporals - focus ‘now’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>nguverem</th>
<th>before</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gamu</td>
<td>now</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jawu</td>
<td>now, nearly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevi(m)</td>
<td>later</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nganjawa</td>
<td>afterwards</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
(55) **nguwerem mi: ngerru ngak-m-erreng-errrr**
nguwerem miyi ngerru ngak -ma -erreng -errrr
before tucker 1AUG eat -1MPF -1ASg0COND -INCL

‘Before we used to eat bush tucker’

**mi: malak jawa nqin-ma barrakut-dyn ngak-m-ahe yawang**
miyi malak jawa nqin -ma barrakut -diyn ngak -ma -ammyang

‘Now we eat whiteman’s tucker’ (305)

wuk gunuwarrang guyu // neyin wilbirrk-gayak
wuk gunuwarrang guyu neyin wilbirrk -gawayak

‘There’s a lot of water. I will cross later’ (298)

**gamu buy-errr-errrr waragatj**
gamu buy -erri -errrr waragatj
now go -1ASg0Subj -INCL quick

‘Hurry up we better go now’ (218)

**werek-guwitj ngunjawa-dryn. jet-butak**
werek - giyitj ngunjawa -rdryn jet -butak
child - little afterwards -ABL stand -3MsToBeThere

‘He is the last born kid’ (305)

The temporals in Table 3.9, exemplified in (56), centre on *gamu-ngin* ‘today’ within the context of a few of days.

Table 3.9: Matngele Temporals - focus ‘today’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>jatjin</th>
<th>yesterday</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gamu-ngin</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jawa-ngu</td>
<td>today</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niga</td>
<td>tomorrow</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>niga nemboe</td>
<td>day after tomorrow</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(56) **mer darr-ord-niyngi jatjin**
mer darr -ordiminei -niyngi jatjin
foot see -1MsdOp -2Mo yesterday

‘I saw your footprint on the road yesterday’ (339)

**niga nemboe-nung ditj-ga-garriyak**
niga nemboe -nung ditj - ga -garriyak
tomorrow other -PURP return - come -1ASg0F

‘We’ll come back the day after tomorrow’ (297)

**lerrP-guwayak gamu-ngin-ma**
lerrp -guwayak gamu-ngin -ma
hot -1MSg0F today -PRM

‘It will be hot today’ (133)

**dakayu jawa-ngin go-qwong gak-yu**
dakayu jawa-ngin ga -ayang gak -yu
NEG today come -1MSg0F -SPEC

‘No, today is the first time I ever came here’ (342)

Finally in Table 3.10, *ngutj* ‘night’ is the focal point for temporals seen in the perspective of a single day, with example sentences in (57).
Table 3.10 Matngele Temporals - focus 'night'.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>murrija</th>
<th>afternoon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngutj</td>
<td>night</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngutj-yende</td>
<td>morning</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(57) **ngutj go-barrang gak**
ngutj ga -barrang gak
'night come -3ASgoP'
'They came back at night' (230)

garningak nguru -ma murrija
garningak nguru -ma murrija
IMSitF 1MIN -PPM afternoon
'I'll sit here quietly this afternoon' (200)

malak -diyn ga -birrik ngutj-yende -diyn
finally -ABL come -3ASgoPRSubj morning -ABL
'They should have come this morning' (184)

3.8 Quantifiers

The quantifiers, set out in Table 3.11, comprise the numerals, in (58); the quantifiers, in (59); and the dyadic prefix, in (60).

Table 3.11: Matngele Quantifiers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>numerals</th>
<th>nembiyu</th>
<th>one</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>gurrivayu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quantifiers</td>
<td>mutjurr</td>
<td>many, lots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jelveng</td>
<td></td>
<td>other, some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dyadic</td>
<td>mer-</td>
<td>pair</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(58) **nembiyu ardimebek binya jawk**
nembiyu ardimebek binya jawk
one IMSitPP fish black nailfish
'I got one black nailfish' (176)

**jiji ngun gurrivayu gurrang -diyn**
jiji ngun gurrivayu gurrang -diyn
man there two 3ASgoPR -ABL
'Those two men there' (311)

(59) **woerreng mutjurr lerr -ma-burrudak -awa**
woerreng mutjurr lerr -ma -burrudak -awa
mosquito many bite -IMPF -3ASstandP -1MO
'Lots of mosquitoes were biting me' (353)

**binya wangerri -gayn** binya jelveng wurr
binya wangerri -gayn binya jelveng gurnawurr
meat 2MIN -NEG meat other 3AUG
'This meat isn't yours. It's that other lot's' (321)
The dyadic (DY) prefix mer- denotes a twofold relationship between its referent entities.

- **ngerru mer-gawuy**
  - LAUG  DY- grandfather/grandchild
  - ‘We are grandfather and grandchild’ (351)

- **ngerru mer-gawuy**
  - LAUG  DY- mother 3ASqoPR -UA
  - ‘They are mother and child’ (359)

3.9 Prominence Marker

The ubiquitous enclitic prominence marker -ma occurs mainly on nominals, where it adds some note to the entity it is attached to, in (61) below.

- **-ma (PRM)**
  - jiji may -ma jawu-yu dat -wut-hurnik
    - man that -PRM nearly die -lie -3MSlieSubj
    - ‘That man nearly died’ (192)
  - gay-nung-hutayak gogo-yende-ma
    - ‘He wanted to yell out to uncle’ (320)
  - dokaj matngele-gum gwyang jiji may-ma
    - ‘That man isn’t really Matngele’ (343)
  - biga dat-jer-errinjek buliki-ma
    - ‘We mustered cattle’ (350)
  - biga angerrp-nung gurranqang neym-ma
    - ‘Are you going to cut that meat up later?’ (209)
  - mi: ang-gurra-nung awuy-ma
    - Is he going to give auntie tucker?’ (348)
  - mara-daj-burrayak-wurna jiji ngun gurravya-ma
    - Those two men are going to fight’ (334)

Harvey (SGG:133) notes it may not be a topic or focus marker on account of its intonational and distributional patterns. Indeed, in Matngele - as in Gamu. -ma can occur more than once in a sentence, even though it appears in separate clauses, in (62).

- **jererek ngau-ma ni-n-gonyudak-nung daj-nung-ma**
  - jererek ngun -ma nini -ma -aynjutak -nung dak -nung-ma
  - old man there-PRM ask -IMPF -2MSstandP -3MO country-PURP-PRM
  - ‘Did you ask the old man about the country?’ (158)

However, -ma also occurs on verbs, where it may be in complementary distribution with -ma (IMPF) which occurs as an imperfective suffix on the coverb, whereas -ma (PRM) occurs as an enclitic verb-complex finally, in (63).

- **aynja mandalatj ngun gutu-ma ngeyi-ma-guru**
  - aynja mandalatj ngun gutu -ma ngeyi -ma -gutu
  - what light there 3MSstandPR -PRM flash -IMPF -3MSstandPR
  - ‘What is that light flashing there?’ (154)

- **dak lurrg-lurrg-m-atak ga-burrung.gak-ma**
  - dak lurrg - lurrg -ma -atak ga -burrung.gak -ma
  - camp clean - clean -IMPF -2MSstandP come -3ASqoPR -PRM
  - ‘I was cleaning up camp when they came’ (333)

- **darr-ardayak-nung-ma beawor ang-ardayak**
  - ‘If I’d seen him, I would’ve given it to him’ (284)
3.10 Other nominal morphemes

Finally, this section presents a number of nominal morphemes which, though specific in function, do not fall in any of the above described word classes.

The free morpheme *mara* ‘but’ typically links a subjunctive verb complex with a negative nominal, as in (64).

(64) *mara* ‘but’

```
arrnayak-warn mara bawar dakayu
1ASSitNFSubj-DES but money NEG
```

We wanted to stay but no money’ (233)

A stem which contains the prefix *ngen* expresses a characteristic (CHAR) attribute of its referent, as in (65).

(65) *ngen* ‘CHAR’

```
ya yiyuy-yang.gak *ngen-dawu
ya yiwy -yang.gak *ngen- dawu
yes go away -3MSGoP CHAR- trouble
```

Yes, he has gone away, the cheeky bloke’ (352)

```
gen-wayelk guyang may-ma
ngen- wayelk guyang may -ma
CHAR- hunt 3MSGoPR that -PRM
```

‘He’s a good hunter’ (122)

The following suffixes form nominal stems, respectively marking extensive (66), similitative (67), collective (68), and negative (69) referents.

(66) *nangu* ‘big’

```
gnunen-im ma gurna-bangart jirnnyyn budak gurna-nangu
ngunen -ma gurna-bangart jirnnyyn budak gurna -nangu
before -PRM 3MIN -?? big
```

Before there used to be a big banyan tree’ (162)

(67) *birniyn* ‘like (SIM)’

```
bawar jayirr-birniyn gutu
bawar jayirr -birniyn gutu
rock kangaroo -SIM 3MSGoPR
```

That rock looks like a kangaroo’ (188)

(68) *givvr* ‘together’

```
dakayu ma-kiya guyang
neg word -together 3MSGoPR
```

‘He’s not a countryman’ (222)

(69) *gavvr* (NEG)

```
dakayu mat-ngenele-gayn guyang jiji may-ma
neg.IMP Matngele -NEG guyang jiji may -ma
```

‘That man isn’t really Matngele’ (343)
4.

CHAPTER FOUR - VERBS

4.1 Introduction

Due to their polysynthetic morphological type, verbs take on a pivotal role in Matngele. A prototypical sentence may contain one or more clauses, some of these being entirely verbal. There are two different types of verbs: simple verbs and complex verbs.

Simple verbs: consisting of a simple verb
Complex verbs: consisting of a coverb and a finite verb

Simple and finite verbs are formally similar. Within their own structural composite, both forms include a rudimentary verb root, as well as - merged with it - a subject prefix and a tense, aspect and mood suffix. However, as part of the complex verb, the finite verb is semantically more rudimentary and rather more auxiliary in function than the simple verb. While the simple verb can occur as the sole predicate of a sentence, their meaning mainly denotative of stance or motion, the finite verb occurs bound with the coverb into a single-word complex verb.

On the one hand simple and finite verbs form a closed class and their importance lies in their obligatory nature in a finite verbal structure, while on the other hand coverbs form an open class of verbs and mainly have a lexical function (see Table 4.1).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Verb</th>
<th>Terminology</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Semantics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>complex verb</td>
<td>coverb</td>
<td>open</td>
<td>fully lexical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finite verb</td>
<td>finite verb</td>
<td>closed</td>
<td>rudimentary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>simple verb</td>
<td>simple verb</td>
<td>closed</td>
<td>restricted: stance/motion</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.1.1 Basic structural templates of the complex verb

The coverb is, in the great majority of instances, compounded with the finite verb to form a complex that minimally provides the following information about a sentence: lexical (coverb), and subject, tense, aspect and mood (finite verb). In the finite verb structure itself, subject marking, as well as tense, aspect and mood marking have fused.
synchronously, with the rudimentary verb root into what is probably best analysable as a single morpheme.

The complex verb has the structural template

\[ \text{coverb} - \text{subject/finite verb root/tense} \]

as in the examples in (1)-(3), below.

(1)  
\[
\text{egek-enenek} \\
\text{egek - enenek} \\
\text{vomit -1MSsitP} \\
\text{‘I vomited’ (122)}
\]

(2)  
\[
\text{wirrk-yang.gak} \\
\text{wirrk - yang.gak} \\
\text{finish -3MSgoP} \\
\text{‘He finished’ (205)}
\]

(3)  
\[
\text{watjuk-ardiminek} \\
\text{watjuk - ardiminek} \\
\text{throw in water -1MSdoP} \\
\text{‘I threw it in water’ (237)}
\]

The coverb may remain uninflected, as in (1)-(3) above, or it may be inflected for aspect with the imperfective suffix \(-ma - miyi\), thus expanding the template to

\[ \text{coverb} - (\text{aspectual suffix}) - \text{subject/finite verb root/tense} \]

exemplified for \(-ma\) in (4) and (5), and for \(-miyi\) in (6), below.

(4)  
\[
\text{-ma} \\
\text{mirr-ma-gunen} \\
\text{mirr - ma - gunen} \\
\text{thunder - IMPF -3MSsitPR} \\
\text{‘It’s thundering’ (223)}
\]

(5)  
\[
\text{bing-bing-ma-guyang} \\
\text{bing - bing - ma - guyang} \\
\text{click tongue - REDUPl - IMPF -3MSgoPR} \\
\text{‘He’s clicking his tongue’ (213)}
\]

(6)  
\[
\text{-miyi} \\
\text{del-wut-miwi-guyu} \\
\text{del - wut - miyi - guyu} \\
\text{locked - lie - IMPF -3MSliePR} \\
\text{‘It’s locked up’ (243)}
\]

Additionally, object pronouns may be suffixed to the transitive verbal complex, and the coverb itself is also subject to optional derivation, mainly causal and inchoative. Other optional processes within the verbal complex are noun incorporation, and number marking, as well as alternations of the basic templates. Each of these structural aspects is discussed in the relevant sections.
4.1.2 Structural template of the simple verb

Simple verbs can occur on their own, denoting their basic stance and motion meanings (eg. 'sit'), as in (7) and (8).

(7) **Simple verb**
   nung gunoenek
   nung gunoenek
   2ASsitP
   'You lot were sitting down'

(8) ya enoenek
   ya enoenek
   yes 1ASSitP
   Yes, we were sitting down' (235)

More often simple verbs occur with 'verbal' usages of (ad)nominal forms (eg. *abap* 'tired, sick'), as in (9).

(9) **abap ardiminek**
    abap ardimek
    sick 1MSdoP
    'I was sick' (173)

4.2 Simple Verbs

4.2.1 Simple verb form

Synchronically, the Matngele simple verb's structural complexity consists of a single morpheme. Diachronically, however, there were three morphemes that made up the simple verb which used to carry - in its initial part - indexation for subject person and number, and in its final part categorisation for tense, aspect and mood.

Though not listing them, Harvey (SGG:6) suggests that Matngele has six finite verbs; with five tense distinctions: Past, Present, Future, Non-Future Subjunctive and Future Subjunctive, noting also that Matngele simple verbs undergo extensive phonological reduction. Harvey (SGG:72) goes on to label these six Matngele simple verbs according to their meaning:

- 'to burn (intr)', 'to go', 'to lie', 'to sit', 'to stand' and a general 'transitive' simple verb. The first five are directly cognate with the corresponding Gamu verbs. The transitive simple verb is largely cognate with the Gamu 'to spear' simple verb, though it has a few forms cognate with the 'to do' simple verb. (Harvey. SGG:72).
Harvey (SGG:6) also notes that, in Gamu and Matngele, Present and Future tenses are similar in form and function. He provides a paradigm (SGG: Table 2) for the six Gamu finite verbs mentioned in his quote above.

Given the Gamu paradigms and their supposed correspondence with the Matngele simple verbs, a tentative paradigm of Matngele simple verbs can be postulated. More recently, Harvey (MS.D: Table 2) has proposed a more detailed account of the Matngele grammatical categories and extends the number of tense distinctions of Matngele simple verbs to seven, including the Immediate Future.

Their correspondence provides a list of essential simple verb roots, in Table 4.2 below, for Present, Future (via their Gamu correspondence) and Immediate Future (from Harvey MS.D). These are the same Matngele tense forms that Tryon (1974) includes, see below in Table 4.3.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Immediate Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>to burn (intr.)</td>
<td>$vu$-$ng$</td>
<td>$wa$-$mi$-$n$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to lie</td>
<td>$ni$-$ng$</td>
<td>$mi$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to sit</td>
<td>$na$-$y$</td>
<td>$na$-$ne$-$n$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to stand</td>
<td>$(da-y)$</td>
<td>$tu$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to go</td>
<td>$wu$</td>
<td>$wa$-$gu$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to do (trans.)</td>
<td>$rda$</td>
<td>$rta$-$y$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tryon (1974:46-51) goes into considerable detail as to the internal structure of Matngele finite verbs. He takes there to be only five ‘verb classes’, and labels them semantically according to the manner in which actions are performed: with the hands, while sitting, while standing, while lying down, and actions involving movement from place to place.

He only gives the paradigms for the main tenses, namely, Non-Future, Future and Immediate Future. Again the essential verb roots are listed, in Table 4.3, below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Immediate Future</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lying down</td>
<td>$ya$</td>
<td>$yi$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sitting</td>
<td>$ni$</td>
<td>$ni$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>standing</td>
<td>$ta$</td>
<td>$ta$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>place to place</td>
<td>$yangka$</td>
<td>$wu$</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with hands</td>
<td>$toni$</td>
<td>$ta$</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It may now be useful to compare the simple verb paradigms of both Tryon and Harvey, in Table 4.4, below. Taking into account the phonological reduction in the simple verb complex, the correspondence between their paradigms is favourable.

Table 4.4: Matngele Simple Verb Roots - Harvey vs Tryon

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Harvey</th>
<th>Tryon</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'burn intrans.'</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>wa-mi, warf</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'lie'</td>
<td>ya, yi, nty</td>
<td>ya, ya, mi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'sit'</td>
<td>ni, ni, nay</td>
<td>ne'oe, ni, nay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'stand'</td>
<td>ta, ta, tay</td>
<td>tu, ta, tay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'go'</td>
<td>yangka, wa, wali, riy</td>
<td>yanggui, wu, wali, rri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'do trans.'</td>
<td>tomu, ta, tay</td>
<td>mu, rda, rta</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It should be noted that the terminological correspondence between Harvey’s earlier and later tense, aspect and mood categories is as follows: Future Subjunctive is now referred to as Immediate Future, and Non-Future Subjunctive is now Past Irrealis. Harvey (MS.D, Table 2) includes two additional categories, namely, Non-Future Imperfective and Adversative. Indeed, there may be more than seven tense distinctions, Laves includes Narrative Past and possibly more. Nevertheless, this thesis describes the main five categories, although Section 4.2.4.3 surveys the non-future imperfective, marked IMPF in the interlinear gloss. The adversative is marked COND interlinearly.

Table 4.5: Underlying Forms of inflections that attach to Matngele Simple Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Person/number</th>
<th>Subject</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Fut Subj</th>
<th>NonFut Subj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1MS</td>
<td>a-e-</td>
<td>-ek</td>
<td>-en</td>
<td>ga-...ngak</td>
<td>-av</td>
<td>-yak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2MS</td>
<td>ambu-emny-</td>
<td>-ak</td>
<td>-u</td>
<td>ga-...vak</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>-ik</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2MS</td>
<td>anyju-emny-</td>
<td>-am</td>
<td>-ang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>a-gu-bu-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1AS</td>
<td>arr-err-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2AS</td>
<td>nung-gurr-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3AS</td>
<td>gurr-burr-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ‘analysis-by-subtraction’ method does, indeed, put up bundles of morphemes that tend to take on a specific range of semantic values. Without leading the reader through the process for each verb, it may, nevertheless, be of interest to show, by example, how the stance simple verb ‘stand’ can be taken to be a member of the closed class of simple verbs.

From the elicitation sentences in Harvey (HMF) which have a simple verb, that is those that do not have a complex of a coverb and a finite verb, a correspondence between the Matngele simple verb form and the semantics from the free translation is established, eg. that between -l- and ‘stand’.

(10) “stand”

arratak wurrurr - ambutak wurrurr
arratak wurrurr       ambutak wurrurr
1ASstandP upright(Redupl) 1+2MSstandP upright(Redupl)
‘We were standing up’ (252)

gama ba-jetai ambutay
‘We have to stand up now’ (222)
avnyutak iwar-na
‘You were standing up’ (242)
arratat-ngerrngerr
‘Let us stand up’ (254)
maya burrutay
‘Let them stand’ (275)
Commonly, there are also Matngele forms that appear to fall into a certain class on account of their morphology but have a different English equivalent. Yet, as instances of semantic inclusion, the methodological assumption seems valid enough (e.g. that buffaloes stand at a given spring). Indeed Harvey gives interlinear glosses for the sentences in (11) with ‘stand’.

(11) “be, look like, leave”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Matngele</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>guurratu bar-yende</td>
<td>‘The buffaloes are at that spring’ (347)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>guurratu bar -yende</td>
<td>‘The sun is high’ (133)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3A3standPR spring -LOC</td>
<td>‘That rock looks like a kangaroo’ (188)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘(The buffaloes)’</td>
<td>‘This meat is still raw; leave it a little’ (287)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moerroerr wuluk-ang gutu</td>
<td>‘Leave (that tea). Let it get cold’ (194)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bawor javer-hirmjon gutu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>binyu guyena movu butay gok</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>movu butay kerr-gatj jet-huday</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, from the evidence in (10) and (11), it may be postulated that for the simple verb ‘stand’, the underlying morpheme is taitte, or even just t. In a similar manner, analyses lead to basic forms for six simple verbs, presented in (12). For convenience, those of Tryon and Harvey are repeated as well in (13).

(12) intransitive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Matngele</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘burn’</td>
<td>wamin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lie’</td>
<td>yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sit’</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stand’</td>
<td>ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>yang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(13) intransitive:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Tryon</th>
<th>Harvey</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>‘burn’</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>wa-ntu, wari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘lie’</td>
<td>ya, yi</td>
<td>yu, yu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘sit’</td>
<td>ni, ni</td>
<td>ne oe, ni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘stand’</td>
<td>ta, ta</td>
<td>tu, ta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘go’</td>
<td>yangka, w</td>
<td>yang(gu), wavy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>‘do’</td>
<td>tomi, ta</td>
<td>mi, rela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Using the underlying forms of the simple verbs, a paradigm set can be produced by filling in actual instances of simple verbs, as used in the texts. The result is presented in Table 4.6, below. The vacant positions in the table should be seen as a condition of the limited size of the language material. While the paradigm is predictable and missing forms could be filled in, this has not been done and so the table only reflects the actual available data.

Table 4.6: Matngele Simple Verb Paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>Future Subj</th>
<th>NonFut Subj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>burn</td>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>guwanmin</td>
<td>gayingak</td>
<td>amni</td>
<td>amburni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1MS</td>
<td>avvak</td>
<td>amnu</td>
<td>gavavinjiningak</td>
<td>avunjuni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2MS</td>
<td>avvak</td>
<td>anyu</td>
<td>gvingak</td>
<td>burni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2MS</td>
<td>avvak</td>
<td>anyu</td>
<td>gavavinjiningak</td>
<td>arni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1AS</td>
<td>arrak</td>
<td>arru</td>
<td>gavavinjiningak</td>
<td>arrank</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2AS</td>
<td>nung.gurak</td>
<td>gurru</td>
<td>geringagak</td>
<td>hurrumi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3AS</td>
<td>hurvak</td>
<td>gurru</td>
<td>geringagak</td>
<td>hurrumi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>1MS</td>
<td>enoenek</td>
<td>eno-en</td>
<td>ger-ningagak</td>
<td>amburnay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2MS</td>
<td>enoenek, enyuen, enyen</td>
<td>enyen</td>
<td>gavjininingak</td>
<td>avunjuyay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2MS</td>
<td>enoenek</td>
<td>enyen</td>
<td>giringagak</td>
<td>burnay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>enoenek</td>
<td>enyen</td>
<td>garingangagak</td>
<td>arranav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1AS</td>
<td>enoenek</td>
<td>enyen</td>
<td>giringagak</td>
<td>nung.gurnay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2AS</td>
<td>nung.gunoenek</td>
<td>gunen</td>
<td>giringagak</td>
<td>hurrav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3AS</td>
<td>hoenoenek</td>
<td>gunen</td>
<td>giringagak</td>
<td>hurrav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>1MS</td>
<td>atak</td>
<td>atu</td>
<td>galingak</td>
<td>ambutay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2MS</td>
<td>ambutak</td>
<td>ambutu</td>
<td>galingak</td>
<td>ambutay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2MS</td>
<td>awnyutak</td>
<td>awnyutu</td>
<td>galingak</td>
<td>hutav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>hutak</td>
<td>gutu</td>
<td>galingak</td>
<td>arratav</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1AS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2AS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3AS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>1MS</td>
<td>ayang.gak</td>
<td>anyang</td>
<td>anyang</td>
<td>kowali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2MS</td>
<td>ayang.gak</td>
<td>anyang</td>
<td>anyang</td>
<td>kowali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2MS</td>
<td>anyang.gak</td>
<td>anyang</td>
<td>gavyang</td>
<td>kowali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>anyang.gak</td>
<td>anyang</td>
<td>gavyang</td>
<td>kowali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1AS</td>
<td>arrang.gak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2AS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3AS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>1MS</td>
<td>ardiminek</td>
<td>ardam</td>
<td>ambardam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2MS</td>
<td>ardiminek</td>
<td>ardam</td>
<td>ambardam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2MS</td>
<td>eymimek</td>
<td>dam</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3MS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1AS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2AS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3AS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.2.2.2 Finite verbs

By extension, and on account of the basic formal correspondence between simple and finite verbs, simple verbs can be projected as semantic tags onto the widely used finite verbs. In fact, the entire system itself becomes highly predictable. Nevertheless, Laves'
data show a number of vacant places of which he mentions that they are either formally impossible, or contextually inappropriate. These relate to specific usages of individual coverb/finite verb complexes, as well as particular person and number and tense combinations, subject to sub-categorisation constraints of coverbs. For instance, for the coverb 'pak ‘sit down together’, Laves notes finite verbs paradigms for 1+2MS and 1AS, only.

Harvey (SGG:64) also notes, what he calls the deponency patterns of Gamu finite verb paradigms, depending on whether or not a verb form can be a sole predicate (ie. a simple verb). It appears, notwithstanding, that in Matngele, with the exception of ‘burn’, all finite verb forms can be the sole predicate of a sentence.

There are a number of formal irregularities that are worth noting. These mainly concern the tense, aspect and mood inflections that attach to the underlying forms of the roots of the ‘go’ and ‘lie’ simple verbs, in particular those of the Future and the two Subjunctives. The regular inflection for the Future is g_ngak, but for ‘go’ it is g_yak. The regular inflection for Non-Future Subjunctive is _yak, yet it is _ik for ‘go’ and ‘lie’. Moreover, ‘go’ and ‘lie’ also have irregular forms for the Future Subjunctive, namely _i instead of _ay.

Table 4.7 sets out the Matngele finite verb paradigm in terms of the three main tense categories. It shows the complementary distribution of both Future forms, ie. g_yak for the finite verb ‘go’, g_ngak elsewhere. (See Table 4.8, below, for the Aspect and Mood categories).

4.2.3 Grammatical category: tense

By looking at structural characteristics of inflected forms, different tenses present themselves. This section looks at how specific forms regularly correspond with patterns found in the free translations.

The tense suffixes and the verb root have, like subject prefixes, undergone a process of integration. Nevertheless, as expected, merged inflection forms and grammatical categories support a certain amount of generalisation. The following relationships hold between tense and suffixes on finite verbs: Past -ek -ak, Present -n, -u, -ng, Future g_ngak and g_yak.
### Table 4.7: Mapunapele Finite Verb Paradigm - the category TENSE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future (_{ngak})</th>
<th>Future (_{vak})</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lie</td>
<td>1MS</td>
<td>-yarak</td>
<td>-gyu</td>
<td>-guyingak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2MS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2MS</td>
<td>-arrak</td>
<td>-arru</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>-nun. gurrak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1AS</td>
<td>-burak</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2AS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3AS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td>1MS</td>
<td>-enenek</td>
<td>-enen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2MS</td>
<td>-amhoendeke</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2MS</td>
<td>-denek</td>
<td>-enene</td>
<td>-gingingak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-gunen</td>
<td>-gerringingak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1AS</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2AS</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3AS</td>
<td>-hoerrenoek</td>
<td>-gunen</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td>1MS</td>
<td>-atuk</td>
<td>-atu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2MS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2MS</td>
<td>-aynukuk</td>
<td>-aynuku</td>
<td>-gavnuutangak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>-hutuk</td>
<td>-gutu</td>
<td>-gutangak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1AS</td>
<td>-arratuk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2AS</td>
<td>-nun. gurrutuk</td>
<td>-gurrutu</td>
<td>-garrutangak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3AS</td>
<td>-hurrutuk</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>1MS</td>
<td>-ayvangkak</td>
<td>-ayang</td>
<td>-gavyak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2MS</td>
<td>-amnyvang.gak</td>
<td>-amnyang</td>
<td>-ganyiyak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2MS</td>
<td>-ayvang.gak</td>
<td>-ayvang</td>
<td>-ganyiyak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>-ayvang.gak</td>
<td>-guyang</td>
<td>-guyiyak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1AS</td>
<td>-arrang.gak</td>
<td></td>
<td>-garrivak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2AS</td>
<td>-nun.gurrang.gak</td>
<td>-nung.gurrdang</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3AS</td>
<td>-hurrang.gak</td>
<td></td>
<td>-garrivak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>1MS</td>
<td>ardiminek</td>
<td>-ardam</td>
<td>-gurrdang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2MS</td>
<td>eynminek</td>
<td>-aynurdam</td>
<td>-gurrdang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2MS</td>
<td>yynminek</td>
<td></td>
<td>-gurrdang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>errminek</td>
<td></td>
<td>-gurrdang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1AS</td>
<td></td>
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<td>-gurrdang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2AS</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3AS</td>
<td>hoerminek</td>
<td>-hurrudam</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

See Appendix 4 for a more complete finite verb paradigm (5 categories)

#### 4.2.3.1 Future

According to Laves (7836), future tense, inflected \(_{ngak}\), refers to the distant future ("I intend to do it; I shall do it, eg tomorrow"), as opposed to the category \(_{ai} \_i\) (7834) which refers to the immediate future ("I think I will; I guess I'll do it now"). Indeed, the sentences in (14) confirm that the finite verbs 'lie', 'sit', 'stand' and 'do' inflected with \(_{ngak}\) refer to positively intended future events, as do those for the finite verb 'go' with \(_{vak}\), as in (16). Note that for 2AS initial \(g\) is absent, eg. \(nun. gurrin\_gak\) 2ASlieF in (14)
4.2.3.2 Present

Sentences with verbs in which the finite verbs are inflected for the present tense (-n, -u(o) and -ng), refer to statements about events that occur, or are occurring at the time of the speech act. Given that most events have a certain durative extent, they tend to outlast the actual speech act. This means that a plain present tense verb, without aspectual inflection, like the examples in (16) are in fact highly anomalous.

(16) Present tense: without -ma

mi. dakayu ngak-guvung
mayi. dakeyu ngak -guyang
tucker ENG eat -3MSgoFPR
‘No, he’s not eating Tucker’ (270)

ngeer niwerrrak, daka buk-lam-guvung
dakayu biyondak-ayang-ngak

‘He has a bad tongue. He can’t talk’ (321)
‘I can’t hear him’ (160)
Mostly, therefore, a verb complex with the finite verb in the present tense co-occur with coverbs that are inflected for aspect with the suffix -ma ~ -miyi. Laves (7835) labels this Continuous/Customary Present. Instances of the Imperfective construction in the Present abound in Matngele elicitation, as well as in the texts, see (17) below.

(17)  

Present tense: with -ma ~ -miyi (IMPF)

\[ \text{wene harp-harp-ma-guyu} \]
\[ \text{wene harp} - \text{harp -ma -guyu} \]
\[ \text{canoe rock (of a canoe) - Redupl -IMPF -3MSliePR} \]
\[ \text{‘The canoe is rocking’ (248)} \]

\[ \text{jam jirrk-jet-doet-miyo-gunen} \]
\[ \text{jam jirrk-jet-doet -miyi -gunen} \]
\[ \text{didgeridoo blow didgeridoo -IMPF -3MSsitPR} \]
\[ \text{‘He’s blowing a didgeridoo’ (125)} \]

\[ \text{mi lawa dop-ma-guyu} \]
\[ \text{gabak-gubuk-ma-gunen} \]
\[ \text{jii ngum anyn-ma-guyang mat-ma} \]
\[ \text{hing-hing-ma-guyang} \]
\[ \text{wuk bung-galj-ma-gutu} \]
\[ \text{jirriyin-wujj-ma-gutu} \]

\[ \text{“She’s baking damper” (260)} \]
\[ \text{‘He’s swimming’ (138)} \]
\[ \text{‘What is that man saying’ (160)} \]
\[ \text{‘He’s clicking his tongue’ (213)} \]
\[ \text{‘The water is bubbling up’ (306)} \]
\[ \text{‘He’s wagging his tail’ (332)} \]

The differential aspect between example sets (16), and (17) is clearly one of polarity. Presumably, non-occurring events cannot outlast even the shortest speech act. With non-durative aspects, inherent in instantaneous verbs, the complex in the present tense would also be without aspeclual inflection. The affinity between tense and aspect was noted by Laves who appears to conceptualise the morpheme -ma more closely structured to the finite verb, rather than as an inflection on the coverb (See Section 4.4).

4.2.3.3 Past

Broadly, the Past tense, for each finite verb, has a more complete set in terms of individual person/number forms. This is a reflection of both past events as the major topic of human conversation, the nature of the elicitation sessions where the data was collected, and the limited size of the set of elicitation sentences used (600). Unfortunately, the incompleteness of the paradigm eclipses any deponency patterns in the paradigm. A larger database could undoubtedly supply a wider range of forms; and a further unlocking of Laves’ weather-damaged field notes might be a way of extending it.

Past tense suffixes are rather regular in form (-ek -ak). Sentences in which the past tense occurs refer to declarative statements about events that happened, or commenced before the actual speech act.

68
The kid fell over' (112)

'I forgot the tucker' (219)

'I burned the grass' (224)

'He saw us' (257)

'The men lined up' (225)

4.2.4 Grammatical categories: aspect and mood

The aspectual category in Matngele mostly concerns inflection of the coverb with the suffix \(-ma \quad -miyi\), as well as coverb reduplication patterning. This section surveys two modal categories, namely Non-Future Subjunctive and Future Subjunctive. Within this grouping, four different suffix forms are identified, shown in (19).

(19) **Non-Future Subjunctive**

\_yak

\_ik

**Future Subjunctive**

\_ay/ey

\_lii

As Table 4.8, below, clearly shows, both forms in each category are in complementary distribution, that is, \_yak and \_ik mark the Non-Future Subjunctive, and \_ay/ey and \_lii mark the Future Subjunctive.

4.2.4.1 Non-future subjunctive

There are two structural ways to express Non-Future Subjunctive mood ('Past Irrealis' in Harvey MS.D): \_yak and \_ik, both corresponding with Past tense in having morpheme final \(k\). Looking for its distinguishing motivation in free translations is deceptive. While the variation appears at first sight to be semantically determined, i.e. desiderative \_yak ('wanted to, tried to...') versus non-desiderative \_ik ('nearly... but...'), it is simply a matter of finite verb choice. 'Sit', 'stand' and 'do' use the ending \_yak; and 'lie' and 'go' use the ending \_ik.
### Table 4.8: Mangele Finite Verb Paradigm - Aspecfical/Modal Categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Non-Future Subjunctive</th>
<th>Future Subjunctive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lie</td>
<td><em>vák</em></td>
<td><em>yák</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ik</em></td>
<td><em>ay-ik</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
<td><em>ni</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit</td>
<td><em>sit</em></td>
<td><em>sit</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>sit</em></td>
<td><em>sit</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>sit</em></td>
<td><em>sit</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stand</td>
<td><em>stand</em></td>
<td><em>stand</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>stand</em></td>
<td><em>stand</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>stand</em></td>
<td><em>stand</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td><em>go</em></td>
<td><em>go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>go</em></td>
<td><em>go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>go</em></td>
<td><em>go</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td><em>do</em></td>
<td><em>do</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>do</em></td>
<td><em>do</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><em>do</em></td>
<td><em>do</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Examples of finite verbs with the Non-Future Subjunctive ending in _yák_ (ie. 'sit', 'stand' and 'do') are presented, in (20)-(22).

(20) **sit**

_yájaly ,mara ,gara-kal-arranayak miyek-yende_

_His nearly sat on the ants’ (215)_

(21) **stand**

_gay-nung-butayak gaya-yende-ma_

_He wanted to yell out to uncle_ (320)
Examples of finite verbs with the Non-Future Subjunctive ending in _ik (ie. ‘lie’ and ‘go’) are presented in (23)-(24).

(23) ‘lie’

jau dat-wut-avnjark
jau dat - wut - avnjurik
nearby die - lie - 2MSlieNFSubj
‘You nearly died’ (221)

(24) ‘go’

jauw-yu yap-ambalik
jauw-yu yap - ambalik
nearby die - 1+2MSGoNFSubj
‘We nearly died’ (207)

billycan jalk-buwalik mara jayn dap -ardiminek
billycan jalk - buwalik mara jayn dap - ardiminek
billycan fail - 3MSGoNFSubj but fix grab - 1MSdoP
‘That billycan nearly fell but I grabbed it’ (174)

avaja-diyw annyu bara-bara, binwa wayalk buy-ambik
synya - rdiyn annyu bara-bara binwa wayalk buy - ambik
what - ABL 1+2MSlieFR lie down meat hunt go - 1+2MSGoNFSubj
‘Why are we lying down. we should be hunting’ (178)

malak-diyw ga-birrik ngatj-ende-diyw
malak - diyn ga - birrik ngatj - yende - diyn
finally - ABL come - 3ASGoNFSubj morning - ABL
‘They should have come this morning’ (184)

wangarri nguru buy-ambik ngun bak mara jurr on wuk -mungu
wangarri nguru buy - ambik ngun bak mara jurr on wuk - mungu
2MIN 1MIN go - 1+2MSGoNFSubj there sit but ground water - COM
‘We wanted to go there but the ground was wet’ (199)

buy-ambalik-vurrur ...
moti gaark-gatj-birrik-aww
jiji maw dagaj manya-buwalik
binwa buy-ambalik wayalk-mung
jinit wurrk-durrk-awalik
‘We nearly went and camped’ (269)
‘The cars almost ran me down’ (361)
‘That man shouldn’t talk like that’ (304)
‘We should go hunting’ (147)
‘I nearly drowned’ (205)
Laves interpretation of subjunctives is impressionistic “nearly _ed, but didn't”, and he typically takes this category to occur in conjunction with djawnyu ‘now’. Harvey’s data do not confirm this usage as common, with only two occurrences, as in (25).

(25) *jiji maw-ma jawu-yu dat-wat-burnik

  *werex-giyi ngun jawu jelk-biirk-warna

  ‘That man nearly died’ (192)

  ‘Those two kids nearly fell over’ (118)

Laves (7842) presents two subjunctive finite verb paradigms for ‘go’ (with the coverb djalk ‘fall’), in (26) and its variant form (27). There is a correspondence between the Non-Future Subjunctive for ‘go’ in Table 4.8, and the augmented forms, in (26), and the minimal forms, in (27). For convenience Laves’ person/number key is included, in (28), below.

(26)  past (‘almost fell, but didn’t’)

1  *djawyu djalk-oevek
123  -erek
121  -embik
21  -andjek
223  -niggirk
31  -brik
323  -birik

(27)  idem: variant

1  *djawyu djalk-awalik
123  -erlik
121  -embilik
21  -andjalek
223  -niggilik
31  -buvalek
323  -birkik

(Laves 7842)

In his field notes, Laves consistently uses an ingenious way to represent the person and number categories. By focussing on person rather than number, he was able to simulate a pronominal marking system not unlike minimal/augmented which distinguishes between inclusion or exclusion of both the speaker and the hearer.

(28)  Laves’ Person/Number key:

1  1MS
123  1AS
121  1+2MS
21  2MS
223  2AS
31  3MS
323  3AS
4.2.4.2 Future subjunctive

As in the Non-Future Subjunctive, above, the Future Subjunctive ('Immediate Future' in Harvey MS.D) has two formally distinct finite verb endings \(-i\) and \(-a\,ey\), in complementary distribution, as can also be seen in Table 4.8. The distribution is again determined by the same auxiliary choice, that is, \(-i\) for 'lie' and 'go', and \(-a\,ey\) for 'sit', 'stand' and 'do'. In the Future Subjunctive, the finite verb 'go' is marked with \(-li\) for the minimal number, as in (29), and is marked with \(-rri\) for the augmented number, as in (30), and the finite verb 'lie' is marked with \(-rni\), as in (31).

(29) 'go' MIN: \(-li\)

\[\text{miyi may dakayu ngak-eynjili} \]
\[\text{miyi may dakayu ngak -eynjili} \]
\[\text{tucker that NEG eat -2MSgoF} \]
\['Don't eat that tucker' (157)\]

\[\text{miyi buy-a:nyu-wa nawuyu buy-a:nyjili} \]
\[\text{buy-a:nyjili darwin mi. wa-gowy-nawa} \]
\[\text{buy-amhali bunya gatigay-in-amburnav} \]
\['You go and get tucker at Nawuyu' (151)\]
\['When you go to Darwin you get me tucker' (169)\]
\['Lets go fishing' (161)\]

(30) 'go' AUG: \(-rri\)

\[\text{wilbirrk -erri -errerr wur dakayu wuk -giyitj guyu} \]
\[\text{wilbirrk -erri -errerr wur dakayu wuk -giyitj guyu} \]
\[\text{cross -1ASgoFSbj -INCL water NEG water - little 3MSliePR} \]
\['We will cross here, there is only a little water' (336)\]

\[\text{gantu buy-erri-errerr waragatj} \]
\[\text{wilbirrk -erri-errerr} \]
\['Hurry up we better go' (218)\]
\['We'll cross here' (240)\]

(31) 'lie': \(-rni\)

\[\text{buy-a:nyj-vut, wut-a:nyjurni ngoerrngoerr} \]
\[\text{buy -a:nyjili wut -a:nyjurni ngoerrngoerr} \]
\[\text{go -2MSgoFSbj lie -2MSlieFSbj asleep} \]
\['Go to sleep' (163)\]

Laves (7840-1) suggests, in relation to the verb bui 'go away, that the finite verb ending in \(-r\) refers to a distance travelled as "very short" and those ending in \(-le-li\) as referring to a distance travelled as just "short", as in , but no evidence to support this suggestion has been found.

(32) bui 'go away'

\begin{tabular}{ll}
\textbf{very short distance} & \textbf{short distance} \\
11 & bui-\text{ewu} \quad bui-alelowali \\
123 & bui-\text{erri} \quad bui-\text{erri} \\
121 & bui-\text{emb} \quad bui-\text{ambole} \\
21 & bui-\text{endji} \quad bui-\text{endjale} \\
222 & bui-\text{njigiri} \quad bui-nugurale \\
31 & - \quad bui-burale \\
323 & - \quad bui-burali \\
\end{tabular}

(Laves: 7840-1)
In the Future Subjunctive the following finite verbs are marked with _ay ~ ey: ‘sit’ exemplified in (33), ‘stand’ in (34), and ‘do’ in (35), below. Predicates with the future subjunctive ending in _ay/ey have free translations which are generalised in distinctive ways for each person/number:

1+2 Minimal Subject  
2 Minimal Subject  
3 Minimal Subject  

'(lets', 'we have to', 'we better'

'point out, watch that/those'

'(let', 'leave'

(33) ‘sit’
werek-giyitj darr-m-aynjurney-wurr
werek - giyitj darr -ma -aynjurney -wurr
child - little see -IMPF -2MSsitFSubj -3AO

'You watch those kids (while I'm gone)' (200)

buy-ambal biya goigtaj-m-amburnay  ‘Let's go fishing' (161)

(34) ‘stand’
mavu butay kor-gattjet-butay
mavu butay - gerf - gattjet -butay
leave.3MSstandFSubj feel cold - CAUS INCH -3MSstandFSubj

‘Leave (that ten). Let it get cold’ (194)

miy ngak-ambodey nevin-nung ma menuyuk-buk-gamburdang
miy ngak -ambodey neyin -nung -ma menuyuk - buk -gamburdang
tucker eat -1+2MSstandF later -PURP -PRM hunger - ADVERS -1+2MSdoF

‘We better eat that tucker lest we be hungry later’ (304)

mi ngak-ambodey  ‘Let’s eat tucker’ (256)

yin dapiat) -jak-ambodey nevi-nung  ‘We have to break up the firewood later’ (281)

buy-gambiyak dak doereng-nung-ambutey  ‘We have to show him the country’ (293)

(35) ‘do’
doreng-aynjurdey-owa dak
doreng -aynjurdey -awa ak
show -2MSdoFSubj -1MO country

‘Point the country out for me’ (218)

werek-giyitj may ngak-kurdey  ‘Let that kid eat it’ (147)
darr-m-aynjurney yin may-ma yin mer-durk  ‘Watch out for that stump’ (270)

4.2.4.3 Finite verbs ending in _yn

In Gamu, there are six finite verbs that have morpheme final _yn in the Past Perfective (PP), (Harvey, SGG: Appendix 1), eg. ayn 1MS‘go’PP and atyyn 1MS‘stand’PP.

Laves (7834-6, 7842) makes a preliminary three-way distinction in Matngele for finite verbs ending in _yn (ie. _inf and _any), listed in Table 4.9, below.

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Table 4.9: Laves’ nj-final Finite Verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>immediate intention, requesting permission: permissive immediate future</th>
<th>past ('was about/wanted to, but didn’t')</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-adainj</td>
<td>-ajainj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-arajainj</td>
<td>-arainj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-anajainj</td>
<td>-anainj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ajainj</td>
<td>-ajainj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-nugurajainj</td>
<td>-nugur</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yajinj</td>
<td>-buiainj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-bujainj</td>
<td>-bujainj</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Laves 7834-6, 7842)

In Harvey’s Matngele field notes (MFN) there are also several instances of finite verbs ending in yu. In the interlinear text these are marked variously as Past, Future, or indeterminate.

Table 4.10: Harvey’s yu-final Finite Verbs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-adayn</th>
<th>1MSauxP</th>
<th>-arrayn</th>
<th>1ASaux?</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-ayam</td>
<td>1MSauxF</td>
<td>-ning.glinyn</td>
<td>2ASauxP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-anyyn</td>
<td>2MSauxF?</td>
<td>-nun.gayn</td>
<td>2ASauxF</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yangyn</td>
<td>3MSauxF?</td>
<td>-binyn</td>
<td>3ASauxP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yengyn</td>
<td>3MSauxP</td>
<td>-buiyn</td>
<td>3ASauxP</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-yengyn</td>
<td>3MSauxP</td>
<td>-buiyn</td>
<td>3ASauxP</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A permissive mood could be construed, in accord with Laves, for -atayn, as in (36).

(36) permissive “I allowed myself to get tired/red”

ngen-daresar-atayn dal-dyn lurrng-lurrng-ma-atak ‘I’m tired from cleaning up the camp’ (290)

yrr-m-ayang gak garala hirp-atayn ‘My skin has gone red from scratching’ (308)

As for the remainder of the elicitation sentences with yu, the English translations show some variation in their temporal and aspectual contexts. Laves’ interpretation separates

inj as the remote past from _aijn a more recent past with some negative modality (“was about to but didn’t”).

In (38)-(40), sentences with finite verbs ending in _iyyn appear to have a higher instance of Non-Future reference than those ending in _ayn, in (37). The negative modal feature would then suit better in terms of ‘are about to but shouldn’t’. As does Laves, it is tempting to look for a motivation for such formal variation in category differences, but as Harvey (MS.D: Table 2) clearly shows formal variation is again simply a matter of disparate finite verb roots, that is, _ayn stems from the verb ‘stand’, both _ayn and _iyyn
(3MS) from ‘go’, and _jyn from ‘sit’. The finite verb ‘lie’ has the ending _oeny which is not attested in the data. The finite verb ‘do’ does not have this category at all.

Harvey (MS.D: Table 2) labels the category of finite verbs ending with _yn the ‘Non-Future Imperfective’.

(37) _ayu

ngun an-vin buy-burrayn
ngun an -vin buy -burrayn
there where -ALL go -3MSgoIMPF
‘Where’s that lot going’ (143)

abap-jet-ayayn
‘I’m tired’ (156)
va buy-burrayn
‘Yes, they are going’ (169)
witherk-burrayn
‘They got to cross over’ (116)
an-vin buy-burrayn
‘Where are they going’ (337)
dal-burrudam-arrarr gerenguk burrk-burrayn
‘They smell us, the flies’ (341)

(38) _im

unyi an-vin wala-buy-yengiyn jiji ngun guyang.gu-ma
ayi an -vin wala - buy -yengiyn jiji ngun guyang.gu -ma
there where -ALL take - go -3MSgoIMPF man there 3MSgoPR -FRM
‘Where is that bloke taking the tucker to?’ (177)

moerroerr malak garak-ga-yin-yengiyn
moerroerr malak garak - ga -vin -yengiyn
sun finally appear in sight - come -HITH -3MSgoIMPF
lang-gotj-butayn-ju
lang-gotj -butayn -ju
be bright -3ASstandIMPF -SPEC
‘The sun is coming up; it’s shining brightly’ (303)

(39) _yyn

jiji may buy-yangiyn wut-givingak pangarrayn
jiji may buy -yangiyn wut -givingak bangarrayn
man that go -3MSgoIMPF lie -3MSlieF bangarrayn
‘That man will go and camp at Pangarrayn tonight’ (192)
dak darck-yin-yengiyn
‘Daylight is coming up’ (138)
dak-yugutj-buy-yengiyn
‘He has moved over’ (288)
arrayn jirr-endj jirrk-yengiyn
‘The goanna has gone in his hole’ (322)
abap ardum, jerri-yap-yengiyn-awa gakwak-diyyn
warreyt-ga-avang.gak
‘I’m tired from walking a long way’ (166)

4.2.5 The transitive finite verb

As mentioned in section 4.2.1, Tryon posits five finite verbs for Matngele. Harvey’s inclusion of intransitive ‘burn’ brings the total to six finite verbs.

The correspondence between their analyses is convincing for the stance and motion finite verbs ‘lie’, ‘sit’, ‘stand’ and ‘go’, and is reflected in the analysis within this thesis of Harvey’s field notes. Less decisive is the outline of the transitive ‘do’ and the intransitive ‘burn’ finite verbs which both have defective finite verb paradigms.
In Matngele transitivity can be expressed in several ways. One these is by means of the usage of the transitive finite verb 'do', ending in _minek for the Past tense, and in _rdam for the Present.

Apart from the motion and stance finite verbs, Tryon (1974:46-7) only has the transitive 'do' finite verb ("actions performed with the hand"). For this finite verb he presents the Non-Future paradigm, in (41), but does not give the forms of this verb for the Present.

\[(41) \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1MS</td>
<td>amminak</td>
<td>'I'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2MS</td>
<td>ar'minak</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>ryanak</td>
<td>'he/she'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1AS</td>
<td>armnak</td>
<td>'we'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2AS</td>
<td>ngkurminak</td>
<td>'you'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3AS</td>
<td>pirmnak</td>
<td>'they'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2MS</td>
<td>umputimnak</td>
<td>'we dl.'</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Tryon, 1974:46-7).

From Harvey's field notes a similar paradigm for the finite verb 'do', ending in _minek, can be set up, as in (42).

\[(42) \]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1MSdoP</td>
<td>ardiminek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i+2MSdoP</td>
<td>amboerdimek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2MSdoP</td>
<td>cyminek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MSdoP</td>
<td>denek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1ASdoP</td>
<td>erminek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2ASdoP</td>
<td>nung.gurminek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3ASdoP</td>
<td>boerrminek</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In nearly all the sentences that this finite verb occurs in, there is either an explicit object, as in (43); an object marked with an overt object pronoun, as in (44), a reflexive object, as in (45), or the object is implied anaphorically, as in (46), below. The verb 'do' also occurs in depersonalised contexts, as in (47), and when the object is an incorporated nominal within the verb complex, as in (48), below.

\[(43) \]

Explicit object

\[hinya ngorrerrip-woerrminek javirr dewerr-barri\]
\[binya ngorrreripp boerrminek javirr dewerr-barri\]
\[meat cut up -3ASdoP \]
\[kangaroo shoulder blade\]
\[They cut it up with a kangaroo shoulder blade' (290)\]
\[har jet-na-doet-ardimek\]
\[miy biyedel-ardimek\]
\[nak ngatj-ham-cyminek\]
\[hinya wa-cyminek hwyaw\]
\[hinya doil-jet-erminek batiki-ma\]
\[ng guwrrenk ngok-nung.gurminek\]
\[mi: ngok-burrminek wurek-gyrik-kitj\]
\[war-ru jet-burrminek\]

'I stretched my arm' (127)
'I forgot the Tucker' (219)
'Have you hidden that grog?' (165)
'Did you get fish?' (176)
'We mustered cattle' (350)
'You lot ate bad Tucker' (226)
'Those kids ate the Tucker' (122)
'They built a house' (163)
(44) With an overt object pronoun

**jatijn darr-ardiminek-nung gurr**
**jatijn** darr -ardiminek -nung.gurr
yesterday see -1MSdoP -2A0
'Yesterday I saw you lot' (035)

**jijj may darr-ardiminek-nung**
**jijj may** darr -ardiminek -nung
man that hit -1MSdoP -3MO
I hit that man

(45) Reflexive

**bala dep-ardiminek nguru-memek**
**bala** dep -ardiminek nguru - memek
white ochre paint -1MSdoP 1MIN - hand
'I painted myself with white ochre' (267)

(46) Implied object

**werek-giyitj mi: ngak-nung.gurminmek**
werek - giyitj mayi ngak -nung.gurminmek
child - little tucker eat -2ASdoP
'Did you kids eat the tucker?' (132)

**ya ngak-erminek**
ya ngak -erminek
yes eat -1ASdoP
'Yes, we ate it' (133)

(47) Depersonalised

**werek-giyitj abap eyminmek**
werek - giyitj abap eyminmek
child - little sick 2MSdoP
'Child, you were sick' (221)

**gayn-ber-ardiminek**
gayn-ber -ardiminek
get better -1MSdoP
'I got better' (173)

(48) Incorporated object

**jut-jirr-ardiminek yarr wak-nungu**
jut -jirr -ardiminek yurr wak -mungu
step -slip -1MSdoP ground water -COM
'I slipped on the wet ground' (336)

Laves (7836) also posits a paradigm involving the transitive finite verb ‘do’, as in (49).

(49) Remote past (**I did it**)  

11  **ard in-mak**  
123  **ard in-wak**  
121  **ambur in-mak**  
21  **amjurd in-mak**  
223  **nugur ard in-wak**  
31  **dew in-mak**  
523  **hari in-mak**  
(Laves 7836)
Harvey (SGG:72) infers a relationship, in terms of the transitive finite verb ‘do’, between Past and Present forms _mirlek_ and _-dam_. That is, the Present tense form of the ‘do’ finite verb has the underlying form _-rdam_. While Tryon does not report its Present tense paradigm, Laves does so in some detail, in (50) below.

(50) Present (“I’m using it”)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>adam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>ar-dam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>am-ardam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>are-jurdam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>nu-gur-dam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>dam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>323</td>
<td>hur-dam</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Haves 7837)

Harvey (HMF) also reports several instances of the finite verb ‘do’, he reports these with free translations in the Present tense (51)-(53), but also some in the Past (54).

(51) Present: stative/impersonal

miyi menwuyuk nung guerdam werek-giyikytyj
miyi menwuyuk nung guerdam werek - (Redup1)giytj
tucker hunger 2ASdoPR child - little
‘Are you kids hungry?’ (119)

(52) ya menwuyuk adam

yes hunger 1MSdoPR
‘Yes we are hungry’ (119)

ahap adam
meyn-ar-ardam
ngenee menwuyuk amburdam
ahap dam miyi-diyin

‘I’m tired’ (166)
‘I’m thirsty’ (169)
‘We are hungry’ (267)
‘She’s sick from tucker’ (301)

(53) With an overt object pronoun

mir wurr-ma-aynjudu darr-ardam-niynji
mir wurr -ma -aynjudu darr -ardam -niynji
shadow stand -TMPF -2MSstandPR see -1MSdoPR -2MD
‘I can see your shadow in the water’ (195)

jiwirri daj-hurrudam barang-nung

‘They make platforms for dead bodies’ (308)

(54) Past

ji darr daratj-aynjudam

‘Did you recognise that man?’ (211)

daretj-ardam

ngu-ran-dam muturr darr-ardam

‘I recognised him’ (241)

‘I saw lots of wallabies’ (284)

‘The men lined up’ (225)

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4.2.6 The intransitive finite verb

Within the verbal complex, the stance and motion finite verbs mark inherently intransitive and non-prototypical transitive verbs. As mentioned above, Harvey also notes that Matngele has a specific finite verb -wanmin ‘burn’ for intransitive contexts. This verb occurs only in the Present.

(55)  
dakay moerroerr i.m. wern ngap-ma-guwanmin ngamalang may-ma  
dakayu moerroerr yim wern ngap -ma -guwanmin ngamalang may -ma  
NEG sun fire grass burn -IMPF -3MSburnPR shine that -PRM  
‘That’s not the sun, that’s a grassfire making light’ (303)

yim ngap-ma-guwanmin  ‘The fire is burning badly’ (074)
batu yim ngap-ma-guwanmin  ‘Must be a fire burning’ (155)
denguengoel irr-ma-guwanmin  ‘The flood is flowing fast’ (232)

4.2.7 Subject marking on the finite verb

The subject of a Matngele sentence must have pronominal indexation on the finite verb complex, involving both number and person. Optionally, subject marking on the verbal complex can also include certain additional numerical categories.

4.2.7.1 The pronominal prefix

The verb is marked for subject by a pronominal prefix to the finite verb root. The subject prefix and the finite verb root are fused; and prefix vowels tend to harmonise with those of the finite verb root. While the internal structure of the finite verb complex is not easily analysable, the following basic set of reduced subject prefixes can be posited, listed in Table 4.11, below.

Table 4.11: Matngele Subject Prefixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Minimal</th>
<th>Augmented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1MS</td>
<td>a-</td>
<td>1AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2MS</td>
<td>amb(u)-</td>
<td>1AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2MS</td>
<td>auy(u)-</td>
<td>2AS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>o-, gu-, bu-</td>
<td>3AS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most basic forms are subject to alternation, through processes of vowel harmony and integration. Vowel harmony affects prefixes in two ways, raising of /a/ to /e/ and fronting of /u/ to /i/.

80
The homorganic nasal clusters of the regular 1+2 minimal and 2 minimal pronominal prefixes amb- and aynj- weaken in combination with some finite verbs to form, respectively, a bilabial/palatal nasal cluster and a palatal nasal (-mny- and -ny-) when they occur before the root forms of the ‘go’ and ‘sit’ finite verbs.

Tryon (1974:45-50) asserts that number marking is either singular, dual or plural. In this approach, the subject prefixes are categorised as in Table 4.12. Tryon includes an inclusive category for first person plural within the number paradigm, and marks 1+2 augmented as non-singular ‘we/dl’.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4.12: Tryon’s subject number (cf. Table 4.11)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>singular</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dual</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plural</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Harvey (SGG:108-13) takes a different perspective for Gamu, which draws some accord with Matngele. He proposes a number marking system operative on two levels. On the one hand, number is obligatory classified as either minimal or augmented, while on the other there is optional marking of the dual number, and also for inclusive and exclusive on first person plural.

The assumption of a two-level number marking system appears equally acceptable for Matngele, based also on simplicity of classification and formal similarity within the augmented number. All augmented forms of the underlying subject prefixes and the object suffixes have the morpheme final alveolar tap /rr/, whereas the minimal forms all occur without /rr/, see Table 4.11, above, and Table 4.14, below.

The Matngele forms are listed in Table 4.13, below.

Table 4.13: Matngele Optional Number Marking

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Dual</th>
<th>-warna</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IP plural exclusive</td>
<td>-ngerrngerr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IP plural inclusive</td>
<td>-arrarr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The ‘optional’ number category specifies number in case of ambiguity in terms of inclusion or exclusion in first person augmented, as well as, more broadly, duality. Marking occurs in post-finite verb position, see (56)-(58).

(56) 1Plural Exclusive (EXCL): -ngerrngerr

excludes the addressee

werk-giyl war-añunjau. nguru gaga buy-arrav-nyerarrngerr
werk - giyltj war - añunjau' nguru gaga buy -arrav -ngerrngerr
child - little bark -2MSaItfSubj MIN uncle go -1ASgoIMPF -EXCL
‘Child, you stay here. me and uncle we are going’ (196)

(57) 1Plural Inclusive (INCL): -arrarr

includes the addressee

ana-yu buy-garriyak-arrarr
ana -yu buy -garriyak -arrarr
where -? go -1ASgoF -1t2AO
‘Which way do we go now?’ (190)

(58) Dual (UA): -worna

explicitly specifies dual number

werk-giyltj ngun jawu jelk-birrik-worna
werk - giyltj ngun jawu jelk -birrik -worna
child - little there nearly fall -3ASgoNFSUBj -UR
‘Those two kids nearly fell over’ (118)
4.2.8 Object marking on the finite verb

Matngele has a single object pronoun paradigm (Table 4.14), that is, unlike Gamu there is no specific paradigm for indirect object markets.

### Table 4.14: Matngele Object Suffix Paradigm

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Minimal object pronouns</th>
<th>Augmented object pronouns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1MO -ma</td>
<td>1AO -arr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1+2MO -rnjy</td>
<td>1+2AO -arrarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2MO -nunji</td>
<td>2AO -nunngarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3MO -nunng</td>
<td>3AO -wurr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Distributionally, there are two options. Most frequently, objects are indexed on the end of the verb complex, as in (59). The object pronoun can also occur, though less frequently, before the finite verb and appears in this to be under some control specific to a small subset of coverbs (incl. gay ‘yell out’), in (60). Moreover, occurrence of the object pronoun before the finite verb is only attested for 2MO -niyjy and 3MO -(r)nunng.

Other object pronouns come after the finite verb, as in (61).

(59) **garndap-ma-vang-nung**
    garndap -v-vang -nunng
    like -IMPF -1MSgoF -3MO
    ‘I like him’ (214)

(60) **ngerrp-niyjy-gwuyak**
    ngerrp -niyjy -gwuyak
    cut -2MO -3MSgoF
    ‘It will cut you’ (180)

    *va gay-nunng-gatangak*
    ya gay -nunng -gatangak
    yes you will cut -3MO -1MSstandF
    ‘Yes. I will yell out to him’ (172)

    *darr-nunng-ordayak*
    darr -nunng -ardayak
    see -3MO -1MSgoNFSbj
    I wanted to see him’ (178)

    *jamarr-ende-yu gara-doet-nunng-burnayak*
    jamarr -yende -yu gara - doet -nunng -burnayak
    dog -LOC -? skin - sit -3MO -3MSsitSubj
    ‘He nearly sat down on the dog’ (225)

    *daq-nunng-boerminenek meng-ni*
    daq -nunng -boerminenek meng -ni
    hit -3MO -3ASdoP white man’s axe -INST
    They killed him with an axe

(61) **wa-way-yang gak-awa**
    we -way -yang.gak -awa
    get -take -3MSgoF -1MO
    ‘He took me (there)’ (121)
4.3 The Coverb

There are about 300 open class coverbs attested for Matngele. Coverbs carry the lexical content of the verb complex. They can occur in a number of structural contexts which include imperfective inflections and imperatives, nominal usages, reduplication, compounding and noun incorporation. In addition, the degree of transitivity of the verb can be expressed by the cliticisation of the coverb with specific finite verbs, and by compounding with other coverbs, such as causatives and inchoatives. This section discusses these contexts in turn.

While the prototypical verb is a cliticised complex of the aspectually inflected coverb together with the finite verb, there are important variations on this basic structural template.

Complex verbs carry a considerable amount of aspectual, modal and locative information about the speech event beyond those encapsulated within the finite verb. To deal with such variety of information, there are particular constraints on individual features. Nevertheless, each feature has itself also many related functions.

4.3.1 Aspectual inflection

The coverb is inflected for imperfective aspect with the suffix -ma ~ -miyi. When more than one coverb make up a derived coverb stem, typically, the inflection -ma is placed after such compound; that is, just before the finite verb.

Imperfective marking on the coverb most frequently co-occurs with a present tense finite verb and gives an imperfective reading, as in (62), below. When it does occur in a past tense verbal complex, -ma is likely to mark past imperfective, as in (63), or habitual aspect (ie. 'used to'), as in (64), below.

The examples in (65)-(67) show, additionally, the broad usage of -ma, in future, nominal and imperative contexts.

(62) Present Imperfective

guararv may aniyn -ma -gunen
woman that what -IMPF -3MSsitPR
'What's that woman doing?' (166)
miyi hau wa-ma-guwa
'Maybe she's getting tucker' (166)
daboerrgut-ma-guta mawyn
'She's squeezing the clothes' (282)
(63) **Past Imperfective**

aniyn-ma-enyoenek ngutj-yende-ma
aniyn -ma -enyoenek ngutj-yende -ma
what -IMPF -2MSsitP morning -PRM
‘What were you doing this morning’ (191)

nguyen-jet-ma-ayang.gak darak-waya
‘I was sweating all night last night’ (192)

(64) **Habitual Past**

verrp-ma-burrung.gak
yeerp -ma -burrung.gak
scrape -IMPF -3AS40P
‘They used to scrape it off’ (249)

(65) **Future**

wa:ri nga:ri buv-gambil.yak dak doerreng-ma-gambil.yak
wa:ri nga:ri buv -gambil.yak dak doerreng -ma -gambil.yak
2MIN 1MIN go -1+2MSgoF country show -IMPF -1+2MSgoF
‘We have to show him the country’ (194)

aniyn-ma-ditj-go-nung gurruyak
‘When will you lot come back?’ (297)

(66) **Nominal usage**

binya guwarirr-nung gatj-gatj-ma-rnung
binya guwarirr -nung gatj-gatj -ma -rnung
meat hook -PURP fish -IMPF -PURP
‘That meat is for fishing’ (146)

vurr-ma-aylyn, vurr-m-ayang.gak garala birp-aayyn ‘My skin has gone red from scratching’ (308)

(67) **Imperative**

di dingding-ma-doet
di dingding -ma -doet
tea sweet -IMPF -sit
‘Make the tea sweeter!’ (280)

Harvey (SGG:67) notes that in Gamu -ma has an “irregular lexically conditioned allomorph” -miyi. The same is the case in Matngele, where it is, generally, the marked form of the imperfective inflection; that is, of the contexts where -miyi is used, there is a higher incidence of non-present tense imperfective aspect. Attested functions for -miyi include imperfective present, as in (68), below; and past tense habitual marking, as in (69), and it also occurs as a nominal enclitic, as in (70), below.

Finally, whereas there is only one example of -ma being used together with a simple verb, in (71), these contexts (with predicates such as ‘hungry’, ‘sick’, ‘dark’, etc.) are more likely to involve the suffix -miyi, as in (72), below.

(68) **Imperfective present**

werek birhovn garg-wut-mi:yi-guyang gambi
werek birhovn gark-wut -miyi -guyang gainbi
child bundle of spears carry -IMPF -3MSgoF spear
‘The child is carrying a bundle of spears’ (357)

fam jirrje-toet-mi:yi-gunen
mi: ngun ham-toet-mi:yi-ven jerrer:ek-nung
mum-toet-mi:yi-veno:en

‘He’s blowing a didgeridoo’ (125)
‘I’m keeping this tucker for the old man’ (233)
‘I’m sitting covered by the fire’ (149)
4.3.2 Imperative mood

In Matngele, the imperative mood is expressed by the uninflected, non-finite coverb. In other words, in the imperative the coverb occurs without the finite verb - and any object suffix is directly attached to the coverb. In transitive usage, the coverb is suffixed for first and third person human objects, as in (73) and (74), below. For intransitive usage, and transitive usage with inanimate objects the coverb remains in its bare form, as in (75) and (76), respectively.

In imperative expressions with negative polarity (ie. Don’t...!), the bare coverb is preceded by dagatj (cf. dakayn ‘not’), as in (77). In general, imperative clauses can have normal multiple compounding of coverbs (see Section 4.3.5), as in (78) and noun-incorporation (see Section 4.3.6), as in (79).
(73) **Affirmative: 1st person object**

```
gaga garkwut-awa
  gaga gark-wut -awa
  uncle carry -1MO
  'Uncle carry me!' (309)
miwan-yin-awa
  'Get me tucker' (175)
```

(74) **Affirmative: 3rd person object**

```
mi: ang-nung
  ang -nung
  give -3MO
  'Give him tucker!' (140)
```

(75) **Intransitives**

```
dagatj doet, binya dirrawur mutjurr
  dagatj doet binya dirrawur mutjurr
  NEG.IMP sit meat bullant many
  'Don't sit there, there are lots of bullants' (298)
```

(76) **Inanimate object**

```
m: may rubbish wutj
  mayi may rubbish wutj
  tucker: that rubbish throw away
  'Throw that rubbish away' (241)
```

(77) **Negative**

```
dagatj mirrij-m-awa; array
  dagatj mirrij -ma -awa array
  NEG.IMP humbug -IMPF -1MO IM5setFSbry
  'Don't humbug me: let me sit' (341)
```

```
dagatj daham-jet-awa
  dagatj jate-aw: ng
  'Don't hang on to me' (226)
```

```
dagatj juhek-awa
  werek gwiridj dawu miyintig
  'Don't spit on me' (264)
```

(78) **Compounding**

```
dagatj jut-dap-awa
  dagatj jut - dap -awa
  NEG.IMP tread - grab -1MO
  'Don't wake me up' (167)
```

(79) **Compounding and noun-incorporation**

```
dagatj mat-lam-dij-gatj-awa
  dagatj mat - lam - dij - gatj -awa
  NEG.IMP word - talk - return - throw -1MO
  'Don't answer me back' (244)
```

4.3.3 Reduplication

Formally, reduplication of coverbs occurs in two different ways - complete and partial reduplication. Both strategies cover the same range of functions, iterativity being the most prominent.
4.3.3.1 Complete reduplication

Complete reduplication is more common than partial reduplication. While the iterative function is the most iconic in the exs. in (80), it is focussed on a longer term recurrence of events, in (81), reduplication also underpinned by the occurrence of stative verbs, as in (82), below.

(80) Iterative

ngelyek-ngelyek-ma-gatu wuk
ngelyek - ngelyek -ma -gatu wuk
lick REDUPL -IMPF -3MSstandPR water
‘The dog is lapping up water’ (291)
yim dar-dar, tu-tu-yung-ma bak-jambar
yim der - der lu - lu -yung -ma bak-jambar
tree hit REDUPL echo REDUPL -3MSlieCOND -PRM hollow
‘When you hit a hollow log, it resounds’ (328)
jerrerek meyn-jer-jer-burnayak memek daku
jerrerek meyn - jer - jer -burnayak -memek daku
old man corroboree - make corroboree REDUPL -3MSsitHPSsubj hand NEG
‘The old man tried to play but his hands bad’ (222)
muonnoang bal-bal-ma-gatu
were borp-borp-ma-gayu
herr-herr-m-enen
bing-bing-ma-gayang
meyn-meyn-ma-atu
meyn-virr-mirr-ma-gayang
hinva durrin-mung dar-dar-gurit-ma-gurrang
ding-ding-ma-gunen were-giyitj ngun-ma
merl-lurr-lurr-ma-ayang
mat-lam-lam-ma-guavg guurma-jenngu
‘It’s flapping its wings’ (268)
‘The canoe is rocking’ (248)
‘I’m shaking’ (115)
‘He’s clicking his tongue’ (213)
‘I’m breathing heavily’ (151)
‘I have a tickle in my throat’ (167)
‘They are poking around for turtles’ (219)
‘That child is clicking his tongue’ (120)
‘My belly is growling’ (241)
‘He talks to himself’ (185)

(81) Iterative

were-giyitj wutj-ma-burrudak bark-bark gayu
werek - giyitj wutj -ma -burrudak bark-bark gayu
child - little throw away -IMPF -3ASstandP everywhere REDUPL 3MSliePR
‘The kids have chucked it all about everywhere’ (231)
dak lurrng-lurrng-ma-atak ga-hurrung gak-ma
dak lurrng - lurrng -ma -atak ga -burrug.gak -ma
camp clean REDUPL -IMPF -1MSstandP come -3ASgoP -PRM
‘I was cleaning up camp when they came’ (333)
ngeu-darayat-atayn dak-diyn lurrng-lurrng-ma-atak
ngen- darayat - atayn dak -diyn lurrng - lurrng -ma -atak
CHAR - tired - 1MSstandP camp -ABL clean REDUPL -IMPF -1MSstandP
‘I’m tired from cleaning up the camp’ (290)
burk-burk-ma gurruw were-giyitj gurruw
were warn dak lurrng-lurrng-burdyak
muung heylk-heyl-ayang.gak
were-werr-emonek
bang-bang-ma-ayang-werr
bur-ayang, werr-werr-m-ayang gaia nguru
‘The kids are running about’ (206)
‘She should be cleaning up camp’ (358)
‘I made a bed’ (354)
‘I screamed out in fear (of a dream)’ (239)
‘I don’t know them’ (279)
‘I have the flu, My whole body is aching’ (328)

(82) Stative ‘adnominal’ covers

u ding-ding-ma-doet
binya wari-wari-veognyn
‘Make the tea sweeter’ (280)
‘The meat is greemish’ (143)
Depending on the phonological structure of the coverb, partial reduplication occurs in two different types. In both cases the coverb is reduplicated, minus the initial consonant of the secondary morpheme, eg. \textit{wurr-}\textit{uurr} gives \textit{wurrurr}, as in (83), but if the verb has a final consonant cluster, then its ultimate consonant of the primary morpheme is also elided, eg. \textit{jel(k)-}\textit{jelek} gives \textit{jelek}, as in (84).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(83) CVC-CVC}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{arratuk wurrurr} / \textit{ambutuk wurrurr} \quad \textit{We were standing up} (252)
\item \textit{binva durin-nung darrarr-guritj-ma-guyang} \quad \textit{She's looking around for turtles} (125)
\item \textit{dak buv-evnji darrarr-guritj} (partial) \quad \textit{You check around the country} (326)
\end{itemize}
\item \textbf{(84) CVC(C)-CVC}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textit{jelek-kambik / wak-mungu yarru} \quad \textit{We nearly fell over. Wet ground} (114)
\item \textit{dun-burung jirrirrk-burrungkal-awa} \quad \textit{I have dust in my eyes} (313)
\item \textit{bojel-burrudak mara dakoju jelek-burrunggak} \quad \textit{They tried to stand up but they fell about} (204)
\end{itemize}
\end{itemize}

Another kind of reduplication, echo reduplication, features vowel discord, as in (85).

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(85) gabak-gubuk-ma-gunen} \quad \textit{He's swimming} (138)
\end{itemize}

\subsection*{4.3.4 Compounding}

In Matngele, compounds of coverbs are not unlike serial verb constructions - except that they form single phonological words; moreover, it may be noted that other languages of the region with similar coverb-finite verb constructions do not allow multiple coverbs within the verb complex (eg. Reid, 1990, for Ngan'gityemem).

This section looks at how two or more coverbs can be combined. This process produces several kinds of compounds which, depending on the characteristics of the individual verb, fall into three groups. That is, whether they consist of transparent compounds of common verbs, of fixed meaning lexicalised compounds, or of a sequence of a common coverb and one or more coverbs with specific relational roles. Each process is addresses in turn.

\subsubsection*{4.3.4.1 Transparent compounds}

Lexical compounds structure information productively within the verb complex. The following examples show how, in Matngele, the concept 'drown' is constructed semantically by compounding of the coverbs \textit{wurrk} 'put in, enter' and \textit{churk} 'drink', as in (88). Individual uses of these coverbs are shown first, in (86) and (87) below.
It is not easy to judge, in how far lexical compounds are actually lexicalised, rather than productive combinations. If it is, indeed, a diachronic process then there are at any given moment some verb compounds which are more lexicalised than others. To the extent that the lexicalisation of compounds, therefore, represents a continuous phenomenon, my distinguishing between transparent compounds and lexical compounds, must be seen as an imposed distinction. Nevertheless, it is surmised that the compound in (89), below, is a more productive example than that in (88), above.

4.3.4.2 Lexicalised compounds

The compound jirrk-jet 'blow didgeridoo' (lit. 'enter-stand') may exemplify a more fully lexicalised compound; note, for instance, the apparent contradiction in jet-doet 'stand-sit', in (90).

4.3.4.3 Grammaticalised compounds

This section surveys the relationship between simple lexical usage, as well as grammaticalised usage of a number of transitive and intransitive coverbs. Apart from their simple lexical functions, these coverbs occur in productive compounds where they
may have a different but nonetheless identifiable semantic distinction. In this regard, four
coverbs are significant, in their performing certain grammatical functions. Of these four
coverbs, listed below, two in particular have frequent grammaticalised uses, the causative
marker \textit{gatj} and the inchoative marker \textit{jet}. Generally, the stance coverbs can also
detransitivise the complex verb as a whole.

\begin{center}
\begin{tabular}{lll}
\textbf{Transitive} & \textbf{Intransitive: stance} \\
\textit{gatj} & \textit{jet} & \textit{doet} & \textit{wu} \\
\textit{‘throw’} & \textit{‘stand’} & \textit{‘sit’} & \textit{‘lie’} \\
\end{tabular}
\end{center}

The intransitive stance coverbs \textit{jet} ‘stand’, \textit{doet} ‘sit’ and \textit{wu} ‘lie’, and transitive \textit{gatj}
‘throw’ perform certain grammatical functions in which their lexical meaning are often
diminished. For example, in its lexical meaning ‘throw’, the coverb \textit{gatj} can occur as a
transitive coverb with just a finite verb, as in (91), below.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(91)] \textit{jijji garmbi gatj-yang.gak}
\textit{jijji garmbi gatj -yang.gak}
\textit{man spear throw -3MSgoP}
\textit{‘The man threw the spear’ (318)}
\end{enumerate}

The same coverb may also occur in some more or less lexicalised compounds, as in (92).
Indeed, in these examples there are quite a few that just appear to be lexicalised and it is
difficult to see the semantic contribution these morphemes make.

\begin{enumerate}
\item[(92)] \textit{wern jet-gatj-atak}
\textit{wern jet-gatj-atak}
\textit{grass light a grass fire -1MSstandP}
\textit{‘I burned the grass’ (224)}
\textit{dagatj garda-gati-awa}
\textit{gurr-gatj-ma-gumen wemerr-nung}
\textit{wuk hung-gatj-ma-gatu}
\textit{jing-wawa war-gatj-vin}
\textit{‘Don’t push me’ (221)}
\textit{‘They are digging for honey’ (276)}
\textit{‘The water is bubbling up’ (306)}
\textit{‘Come here quickly’ (350)}
\end{enumerate}

In terms of grammaticalised use, however, clear examples of causatives are formed
productively by complex expressions in which \textit{gatj} follows another coverb. For example,
the Matngele causative constructions \textit{jalk-gatj ‘cause to fall’} and \textit{biyatar-gatj ‘cause to
remember’} can freely be translated, respectively, as ‘knock down’ and ‘remind’.

The examples in (94) and (96), below, are introduced by simple instances of the coverbs \textit{jalk}
‘fall’, in (93), and \textit{biyatar ‘remember’}, in (95).
There are many such causative constructions to be found in the available data.

Similarly, the coverb jet can just occur in its lexical meaning 'stand' as an intransitive verb with a finite verb.

Apart from intransitive occurrences, in (98) above, (with stance finite verbs), jet also occurs in simple transitive contexts with the transitive 'do' finite verb as a causative, with reference to 'build, erect' ('cause to stand'), as in (99), below. Other complex expressions, again, are more or less lexicalised, as in (100).
(99) Transitive ('erect')

war-ni jet-boerrminek
war -ni jet -boerrminek
bark -INST stand -ASdop
'They built (a house) with bark' (163)

mana jet-boerrminek
'They built a shade' (339)

(100) Lexicalisation

wurn jet-gatj-atak
'I burned the grass' (224)
dagatj daham-jet-awa
'Don’t hang on to me' (226)
hinya dal-jet-errminek buliki-ma
'We mustered cattle' (350)

Grammaticalisation of the coverb jet produces chiefly inchoative expressions, as exemplified in (101) and (102).

(101) Inchoative jet

gerr-gatj-jet-hutay
'Let it get cold' (208)

(102) Other inchoative examples

abap-jet-ayavn
'I'm tired' (156)
tired - INCH - 3MSgoIMPF
lagayn garnbi wurrk-jet-denek-nung
'He put the spear in the woomera' (324)
bher jet-ma-doet-ardiminek
'It's open' (268)
bujah dun-guritj-jet-butayn-awa
'I stretched my arm' (127)
ngoon-jet-ma-avang.gak darak-waya
'I'm listening for the car coming' (289)
debet-jet-miy-gutu
'I'm waiting to have a cup of tea' (280)
maya butay gerr-gatj jet-buday
'I'm dizzy (my head is going around)' (148)

Of the coverbs doet 'sit' and wut 'lie', lexical expression is more common. Yet doet also occurs in some inchoative contexts, as in (103).

(103) Inchoative doet

goerr-gunun-doet-ardiminek
'He has become an old man' (173)
goerr - gunun - doet -ardiminek
'1 straightened the rope' (129)
pull - straight - INCH - 1MSdoP
'He has become an old man' (296)

jerrerek yang.gak durk-jeyn .. durk-jeyn-doet-ningjyn
jkerrerek yang.gak durk - jeyn - doet -ningjyn
old man 3MSgoP dreaming - make - INCH - 3MSsitIMPF
'The old man became a dreaming' (296)

jerrerek guyang jkerrerek-doet-noenek
'He has become an old man' (173)
di dingding-ma-doet
'Make the tea sweeter' (280)
hiyandak-doet-nti -e.ne nguyang gi-yin motika
'I'm listening for the car coming' (289)
The more basic range of uses of the coverb *doet*, includes the intransitive, in (104), the transitive, in (105), and the transitive with an inanimate object, as in (106) below.

(104) **Intransitive usage:**

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{dagagit} \quad \text{doet} \quad \text{binya} \quad \text{dirrawur} \quad \text{mutjurr} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{sit} \quad \text{meat} \quad \text{bullant} \quad \text{many}\end{align*} \]

‘Don’t sit there, there are lots of bullants’ (298)

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{doet-enenek} \\
& \text{mun-doet-mivi-enenek} \\
& \text{jerrerek} \quad \text{may} \quad \text{anu} \quad \text{af} \quad \text{doet-mivi-yang} \quad \text{gak}\end{align*} \]

‘I sat down’ (144)

‘I’m sitting covered by the fire’ (149)

‘That old man used to live at Amungal’ (167)

(105) **Transitive usage: animate object**

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{jau-wu} \quad \text{garar} \quad \text{doet} \quad \text{anguyi} \quad \text{parnr} \quad \text{doet} \quad \text{UVNjut} \quad \text{ngty
}

\text{NGSituNPSubj} \quad \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{sit} \quad \text{2MSsitNFSubj} \quad \text{snake}

‘You nearly sat on top of a snake’ (213)

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{jamarr-ende-yu} \quad \text{garar} \quad \text{doet} \quad \text{nang-burnavak} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{sit} \quad \text{2MSsitNFSubj} \quad \text{nearly}

\text{‘He nearly sat down on the dog’ (225)}

(106) **Transitive: inanimate object**

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{mivi} \quad \text{ngin} \quad \text{bam} \quad \text{doet} \quad \text{mivi-enen} \quad \text{jerrerek-nung} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{INCH} \quad \text{IMPF} \quad \text{1MSsitPR} \quad \text{old} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{-PURP}

\text{‘I’m keeping this lucker for the old man’ (233)}

The coverb *wut ‘lie’* is generally more closely related to its appropriate lexical function, that is, it tends to relate to situations in which entities typically are lying, at rest as in (107), or in some way incapacitated, as in (108), and curiously also ‘lined up’, in (109).

(107) **At rest: wut ‘lie’**

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{fiji} \quad \text{muy} \quad \text{wut-givingak} \quad \text{bangarryn} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{locked} \quad \text{up}

\text{‘That man will camp at Pangarryn tonight’ (192)}

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{we-rek-giyi} \quad \text{ngun} \quad \text{doen} \quad \text{dawr} \quad \text{wut} \quad \text{yangyn} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{go} \quad \text{IMPF} \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{lieP}

\text{‘The kid opened his eyes’ (135)}

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{dakayu} \quad \text{wut-qyang} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{go}

\text{‘I can’t sleep’ (141)}

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{menek-yende} \quad \text{warp-wart-wa-denek-awa} \quad \text{binya-nua} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{IMPF} \quad \text{1MSsitPR} \quad \text{old} \quad \text{man} \quad \text{-PURP}

\text{‘He grabbed the meat from my hand’ (187)}

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{del-wut-mivi-guyu} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{lie}

\text{‘It’s locked up’ (243)}

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{mara} \quad \text{nguru} \quad \text{jing-gark-wut-orley} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{IMPF} \quad \text{lieP}

\text{‘Give it to me. I will try and carry it’ (306)}

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{gaga} \quad \text{gark-wut-awa} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{lie}

\text{‘Uncle carry me!’ (309)}

(108) **Incapacitated: wut ‘lie’**

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{dagagit} \quad \text{buy} \quad \text{barang} \quad \text{muyu} \quad \text{guyu} \quad \text{dat-wut-yurak} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{dead body leave} \quad \text{IMPF} \quad \text{lie}

\text{‘Don’t go there. There is a dead body over there’ (329)}

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{ngerrp-wut-yurak} \quad \text{mar} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{lieP}

\text{‘He cut his foot’ (112)}

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{dat-wut-yurak} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{lie}

\text{‘It died’ (191)}

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{fiji} \quad \text{muy-nu} \quad \text{jauyu} \quad \text{dat-wat-burnik} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{lieP}

\text{‘That man nearly died’ (192)}

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{jauw} \quad \text{dat-wat-munjuk} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{lieP}

\text{‘You nearly died’ (221)}

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{binya} \quad \text{dat-wut-mivi-guyu} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{lieP}

\text{‘The animal is lying dead’ (351) ang-gut-awa}

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{giving-giving-daft-wut-wy-wy-a} \quad \text{gerrerre} \quad \text{niguru} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{lie}

\text{‘I have a cramp in my leg’ (309)}

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{ngenni} \quad \text{ngerrp-wut-amburnik} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{lie} \quad \text{lieP}

\text{‘We nearly got cut’ (314)}

\[ \begin{align*}
& \text{binya} \quad \text{dat-wut-yurak} \\
& \text{NEG.IMP} \quad \text{lie}

\text{‘The buffalo is dead’ (351)}

94
"The men lined up" (225)

"The men are lined up" (234)

It remains questionable, how either a productive compound construction or lexicalisation can be posited with any certainty for a given verb complex. Yet, with the example in (110) in mind, the semantic contribution of *wut* ‘lie’ to the total meaning of the complex is clear enough, in that spears may lie in one’s arms while carrying them. But, on the other hand, passivity is inherent in most objects being carried, and thus a more exclusive range of use of *gark-wut* ‘carry-lie’, in the absence of say possible ‘carry-stand’ and ‘carry-sit’, would potentially lead to a perception of lexicalisation.

(110) *wecek bumph vark-wut-mi+y-gawang gornbi*

*wecek b Humph sP* *vark-wut-mi+y-gawang gornbi*  
child bundle of spears carry-lie IMPF -3MSGDPF spear  
"The child is carrying a bundle of spears" (357)

The final part of this section on grammaticalised compounds aims to make a point about the versatility of Harvey’s field notes by simply asking the question what the meaning and the range of usage is of the morpheme *buk*. Harvey does not supply a gloss for it, though it occurs in five of his elicitations. Consider the grammatical and semantic contexts of *buk* in (111)-(115), below.

(111) *dakau gara-gaway-k yam may-ma jalk-buk-avung*

*dakau gara-gaway-k yam may-ma jalk-buk-avung*  
NEG climb -1MSGDPF tree that -PRM fall - ?? -1MSGDPFCOND  
"I’m not climbing up that tree; I might fall‘ (287)

(112) *mi+y ngak-amreu-dey : neyu-nung-ma menguwuk-buk-gamburdang*

*mi+y ngak-amreu-dey : neyu-nung-ma menguwuk-buk-gamburdang*  
tucker eat -1+2MSstandFS later -PURP -PRM hungry - ?? -1+2MSdoCOND  
"We better eat that tucker lest we be hungry later’ (304)

(113) *jalk-darr-munqu-eynj ngoevhoerre jut-buk-gaynjurdang*

*jalk-darr-munqu-eynj ngoevhoerre jut-buk-gaynjurdang*  
road - see -COM -2MSGDPF Subj snake step on - ?? -2MSdoCOND  
"Watch where you’re going. You might step on a snake’ (335)

(114) *mi+y degej ngak gwerruk abap-buk-gaynjutang*

*mi+y degej ngak gwerruk abap-buk-gaynjutang*  
tucker NGF. IMP eat bad sick - ?? -2MSstandCOND  
"Don’t eat the bad tucker, you will get sick’ (332)
In terms of the distributional range of *buk*, there are two options. When it occurs in the complex verb where grammaticalised morphemes, such as *gatj* (CAUS) and *jet* (INCH) tend to be, as in the template Coverb-*buk*-Finite verb, the function of *buk* is adversative ‘otherwise’, as in (111)-(114). Yet it is different, in that *buk* does not occur as an independent coverb. However, its other co-occurrence patterns are regular. The finite verbs it occurs with are both transitive ‘do’ and intransitive ‘stand’ and ‘go’. Aspectually, there is no imperfective marking (−*ma*, or reduplication), suggesting *buk* occurs typically in perfective contexts. More significantly, in terms of modality, all sentences have conditional marking.

However, in (115), *buk* occurs as the primary morpheme in the complex verb, before the coverb, and in this case its function is rather that of expressing incapability.

Nevertheless, the semantics of *buk* seems pretty clear, that is, adversative/inability, and this is in accordance with its occurrence in negative or unpleasant contexts: ‘If someone does *x*, then something bad can happen (to someone)’.

### 4.3.5 Noun incorporation

The Matengele verbal complex can also include morphemes that have independent nominal status. The set of nouns that can be incorporated is mainly comprised of body part terms. Incorporated nominals occur word initially in the complex verb, as shown in (116), below.

(116) *detoom-dap-denek-awa*

`detoom - dap -denek -awa
back - grab -3MSdoP -1MO
He rubbed my back’ (173)

While the position of incorporated nouns is on the periphery of the verb complex, there is some evidence from reciprocal contexts to show that incorporated nominals are in fact part of the verb complex - rather then a word before the verb.

Proof for this comes from the usage of the reciprocal marker *mara*- (see Section 4.3.7) which is normally prefixed to the verb complex. In complex verbs with an assumed incorporated noun *mara*- precedes the body part noun, as attested in (117).
In the available Matngele language data, there are 49 body part attested, and many are part of stable nominal compounds. While noun incorporation of body part terms is clearly highly productive and includes also incorporation of bodily products, due to the limited size of the data set, there are only a limited number of attested incorporations, listed in (119).

The relationship between independent body part terms in general, and those incorporated within the verb complex is straightforward. That is, there is no reduction in form upon incorporation. The morpheme dun ‘eye’ occurs in the same form both in a nominal compound and independently in a part/whole relationship dun-awa (‘eye-me’), in (118) below, as it does as an incorporated noun, in (119).

(118) Nominal compound: dun-burn ‘eye-dust’

\[
\text{dun-burn jirrk-burrungak-awa} \\
\text{dun - burn jirrk -burrungak -awa} \\
\text{eye - dust enter -3ASgoP -lMO} \\
\text{‘I have dust in my eyes}
\]

Independent noun: dun ‘eye’

\[
\text{dun durt-denek-awa} \\
\text{dun durt -denek -awa} \\
\text{eye remove -3MSdoP -lMO} \\
\text{‘She took it out for me’ (313)}
\]

(119) Incorporated nominal: dun ‘eye’

\[
\text{buja dun - guritj - jet - butayn -awa} \\
\text{buja dun - guritj - jet - butayn -awa} \\
\text{head eye - go around - INCH -3ASstandIMPF -lMO} \\
\text{‘I feel dizzy (my head is going around’ (148)}
\]

Other attested body part incorporations

\[
\text{meye-an-ardam} \\
\text{meye-an-ardam} \\
\text{‘I’m thirsty’ (169)} \\
\text{jerri-vup-yengivn-awa} \\
\text{‘My leg is tired’ (193)} \\
\text{mer-law-law ayavn} \\
\text{‘My foot is swollen’ (306)} \\
\text{mern-lurrk-lurrk-na-avang} \\
\text{‘My belly is growling’ (241)}
\]

Incorporation of bodily products

\[
\text{ngoen-jet-na-avang gok durak-waya} \\
\text{‘I was sweating all night last night’ (192)} \\
\text{fomarr goen-jerrk-denek} \\
\text{‘The dog shat’ (335)}
\]
Apart from body part morphemes, only two other nominals (jal 'road' and mat 'language') have been found incorporated, see below in (120) and (121).

(120) jal-darr-mungu-synji
jal - darr - mungu - synji
road - see - COM - 2MSGoFutSubj
'those where you're going' (335)

(121) mat-lam-lam-ma-guyang gurnajeng.gu (sic)
mat - lam - lam - ma - guyang gurna - jennu
word - talk - talk - IMPF - 3MSGoPR 3MIN - alone
'the talks to himself' (185)

4.3.6 Reciprocals and reflexives

Reciprocals and reflexives signal specific relationships between the subject and the object. In the reciprocal context more than one entity act on each other, while in the reflexive there is only one entity acting on itself. In Matngele, only reciprocity is indexed, word initially, on the complex verb; reflexive marking on the other hand can be suffixed onto the free subject pronoun. Nevertheless, in consideration of their transitive implication, the latter category is also dealt with in this section.

4.3.6.1 The reciprocal

The reciprocal marker mara- (or less commonly mar-) is prefixed to the verb complex. Reciprocals appear to be formally intransitive; and all the attested examples have intransitive stance/motion finite verbs. Moreover, none of these occur with an object suffix.

(122) mara-meyn-daham-burrrung.gak (*-wurr)
mara - meyn - daham - burrrung.gak (*-wurr)
RECIPR - throat - clench - 3ASgoP (*-3AO)
'they grabbed each other's throats' (256)

(123) Other reciprocal examples.

aynja-ngun dawu-ma mar-daj-ma-gurrutu-worna
aynja - ngun dawu - ma mar - daj - ma - gurrutu - worna
what -PURP there trouble -PRM RECIPR - hit - IMPF - 3ASstandPR - UA
'what are those two fighting for?' (160)

mara-mar-darr-burrung.gak
'mara-mar-darr-burrung.gak'
'They hit each other in the guts' (208)

mara-manju-ma-gurrang-worna
'mara-manju-ma-gurrang-worna'
'Those two are wrestling' (238)

maradaj-arrang.gak-ngerrngerr
maradaj-arrang.gak-ngerrngerr
'We two fought' (286)

mara-daj-burrngvak-worna jiji ngun gurriyju-ma
mara-daj-burrngvak-worna jiji ngun gurriyju-ma
'Those two men are going to fight' (334)
4.3.6.2 The reflexive

As mentioned in Section 3.5.1, the reflexive in Matngele is marked by a suffix on the free subject pronoun. There are three strategies, respectively involving the morphemes -jenngu ‘alone’, as in (124); memek ‘hand’, as in (125); and the prominence marker -ma, as in (126).

(124) mat-lam-lam-mo-guyang gurna-jenngu
mat - lam - lam -ma -guyang gurna - jenngu
language - talk - talk -IMPF -3MSgoPR 3MIN - alone
‘He talks to himself’ (185)

(125) bala dep-ardinmek nguru-memek
bala dep -ardinmek nguru - memek
white ochre paint -1MSdoP lMIN - hand
‘I painted myself with white ochre’ (267)

(126) ngap-ayang.gak yim-ni nguru-ma
ngap -ayang.gak yim -ni nguru -ma
burn -1MSgoP fire -INSTR lMIN -PRM
‘I burnt myself’ (116)

While there is, in common with reciprocity, no explicit transitive index on the verb complex of reflexive expressions, they do occur with the transitive ‘do’ finite verb in context where a distance is perceived between the self and the body, as in (127) below, and also in (125) above.

(127) nuwan bala dep-denek-ninyi -jerrerek-ni
Who painted you, the old man?”

dakayu nguru-jenngu bala dep-ardinmek
dakayu nguru -jenngu bala dep -ardinmek
NEG 1MIN -alone white ochre paint -1MSdoP
‘No. I painted myself’ (304)

4.3.7 Transitivity

Matngele has only one series of object marking suffixes (Section 4.2.8), with the distinction between direct and indirect marking neutralised across both minimal and augmented numbers. While there is identical marking both for direct and indirect objects, high transitivity and low transitivity can be distinguished on structural grounds. That is, complex verbs with both the transitive finite verb ‘do’ (Section 4.2.5) and an object marking suffix are fully transitive, as in (128). Similarly, complex verbs with coverbs such as durr ‘see’ and manyn ‘tell’, the direct object of which is not directly physically affected correspondingly receive full transitive marking, as in (129).
(128) **High transitivity: transitive ‘do’ + obj marker**

Physically affected direct object

\[ \text{dabam-ardiminek-nung} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dabam} & \quad \text{-ardiminek} & \quad \text{-nung} \\
\text{hold back} & \quad \text{-1MSdoP} & \quad \text{-3MO} \\
& & & \\
\text{‘I held him back’ (334)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[ \text{jamarr lerr-burdayak-awa} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{jamarr} & \quad \text{lerr} & \quad \text{-burdayak} & \quad \text{-awa} \\
\text{dog} & \quad \text{bite} & \quad \text{-3MSdoNFSubj} & \quad \text{-1MO} \\
\text{The dog nearly bit me}
\end{align*}
\]

\[ \text{darr-ardang-nung-ju ang-ardang-nung} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{darr} & \quad \text{-ardang} & \quad \text{-nung} & \quad \text{-ju} & \quad \text{ang} & \quad \text{-ardang} & \quad \text{-nung} \\
\text{see} & \quad \text{-1MSdoCOND} & \quad \text{-3MO} & \quad \text{-SPEC give} & \quad \text{-1MSdoCOND} & \quad \text{-3MO} \\
\text{‘If I see him I’ll give it to him’ (320)}
\end{align*}
\]

(129) **Direct object: dabarr ‘see’, manvu ‘tell’**

\[ \text{darr-denek-ney ngurj-yende-ma} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{darr} & \quad \text{-denek} & \quad \text{-ney} & \quad \text{ngurj-yende} & \quad \text{-ma} \\
\text{see} & \quad \text{-3MSdoP} & \quad \text{-1+2MO morning} & \quad \text{-PRM} \\
\text{That bloke saw us this morning’ (252)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[ \text{mir wur-n~aqvfi-duda darr-ardan-njnya} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mir} & \quad \text{wurr} & \quad \text{-ma} & \quad \text{-aynjuda} & \quad \text{darr} & \quad \text{-ardan} & \quad \text{-njnya} \\
\text{shadow stand} & \quad \text{-1MPF} & \quad \text{-2MSstandPR see} & \quad \text{-1MSdoP} & \quad \text{-2MO} \\
\text{I can see your shadow in the water}
\end{align*}
\]

\[ \text{manvu-ardiminek-njnya ngwerm-ju} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{manvu} & \quad \text{-ardiminek} & \quad \text{-njnya} & \quad \text{ngwerm-ju} \\
\text{tell} & \quad \text{-1MSdoP} & \quad \text{-2MO before} & \quad \text{-SPEC} \\
\text{‘I told you before’ (212)}
\end{align*}
\]

Events with low transitivity take a stance or motion finite verb and the object suffix marker. A number of contexts fall within this grouping, such as those with non-animate agents, as in (130); and with indirect objects of coverbs like darr ‘see’, as in (131).

(130) **Low transitivity: non-animate agent**

\[ \text{ngerrp-njnya-gwuyak} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngerrp} & \quad \text{-njnya} & \quad \text{-gwuyak} \\
\text{cut} & \quad \text{-2M0} & \quad \text{-3MSgoF} \\
\text{‘(The knife) will cut you’ (180)}
\end{align*}
\]

(131) **Indirect objects: darr ‘look for/at/after’**

\[ \text{dey-m-enen-wurr} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{dey} & \quad \text{-m} & \quad \text{-enen} & \quad \text{-wurr} \\
\text{look out} & \quad \text{-IMPF} & \quad \text{-1MSsitFR} & \quad \text{-3AO} \\
\text{‘I’m looking out for the others’ (130)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[ \text{aynja-rdyin darr-ma-gunen-arrarr} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{aynja} & \quad \text{-rdyn} & \quad \text{darr} & \quad \text{-ma} & \quad \text{-gunen} & \quad \text{-arrarr} \\
\text{what} & \quad \text{-ABL see} & \quad \text{-IMPF} & \quad \text{-3MSsitFR} & \quad \text{-1+2AO} \\
\text{‘Why is he looking at us?’ (133)}
\end{align*}
\]

\[ \text{darr-mu-gerningak-wurr mer-geleng} \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{darr} & \quad \text{-mu} & \quad \text{-gerningak} & \quad \text{-wurr} & \quad \text{mer} & \quad \text{geleng} \\
\text{see} & \quad \text{- -} & \quad \text{-3MSsitF} & \quad \text{-3AO DY-} & \quad \text{mother’s mother} \\
\text{‘Their grandmother will look after them’}
\end{align*}
\]
Transitivity is also decreased in contexts where the finite verb ‘do’ occurs without the object marker; again there are a number of different possibilities: where the object is non-animate, as in (132), with impersonalised stative verbs, as in (133); as well as inherently volitional and non-volitional reflexives, as in (134) below, and explicit reflexives in (125) and (127), above.

(132) Transitive ‘do’ without object suffix: non-animate object

\[\text{miyi guwerruk ngak-mung gurrminek} \]
\[\text{miyi guwerruk ngak-mung gurrminek} \]
\[\text{tucker bad eat -2ASdoP} \]
\[\text{‘You lot ate bad tucker’ (226)} \]
\[\text{watjuk-ardiminek} \]
\[\text{watjuk -ardiminek} \]
\[\text{throw in water -1MSdoP} \]
\[\text{‘I threw it in water’ (237)} \]

(133) Transitive ‘do’ without object suffix: stative verbs

\[\text{ngemoe menwyuk amburdam} \]
\[\text{ngemoe menwyuk amburdam} \]
\[\text{1+2MIN hunger 1+2MSdoPR} \]
\[\text{‘We are hungry’ (267)} \]

(134) Transitive ‘do’ without object suffix:

\[\text{inherent volitional reflexive} \]
\[\text{wirr-ardiminek garambang} \]
\[\text{wirr -ardiminek garambang} \]
\[\text{tie -1MSdoP headband} \]
\[\text{‘I tied a headband on’ (194)} \]
\[\text{inherent non-volitional reflexive} \]
\[\text{werek ngarey-denek} \]
\[\text{werek ngarey -denek} \]
\[\text{child urinate -3MSdoP} \]
\[\text{‘The child pissed himself’ (326)} \]

4.3.8 Non-finite statements

There are a number of morphemes that appear to function freely as both nouns and verbs: and the bolded stems in (135)-(137), below, should simply be seen as nominal usages of such morphemes. Nevertheless, such nominal complexes may remain marked for imperfective aspect with -ma.

(135) Non-finite

\[\text{nominal use of ngak ‘eating’} \]
\[\text{may binya ngak-ma-rung dakayu} \]
\[\text{may binya ngak -ra -rung dakayu} \]
\[\text{that meat eat -1MEF-PURP NEG} \]
\[\text{‘That meat is not for eating’} \]
nominal use of gati-gati ‘fishing’
binya guwarirr-nung gati-gati-ma-rnung
binya guwarirr -nung gati-gati -ma -rnung
meat hook -PURP fish -IMPF -PURP
‘That meat is for fishing’ (146)

(136) nominal use of yirr ‘scratching’
yirr-ma-rdniyn, yirr-n-ayung.gak garala birp-atayn
yirr -ma -rdiyn, garala birp - atayn
scratch -IMPF -ABL, skin redder -2MSstandIMPF
‘My skin has gone red from scratching’ (308)

(137) nominal use of wayalk ‘hunting’
binya buy-ambalik wayalk-nung
binya buy -ambalik wayalk -nung
meat go -1+2MSGoNFSbj hunt -PURP
‘We should go hunting’ (147)

Thus, (138) and (139) show both coverbal and nominal usages of aniyn ‘how, when’.

(138) aniyn: as coverb, inflected for tense (finite)
guwarak may aniyn-ma-gunen
guwarak may aniyn -ma -gunen
woman that what -IMPF -3MSsitPR
‘What’s that woman doing?’ (166)

(139) aniyn: as noun, not inflected for tense (non-finite)
jerrerek garnbi aniyn-miyi-diyn jeyn-eyminnek
jerrerek garnbi aniyn -miyi -diyn jeyn -eyminnek
old man spear when -IMPF -ABL make -2MSdoP
‘Old man, when did you make that spear?’ (179)

‘When will you lot come back?’ (152)

4.3.9 Negation
In Matngele, the negation particle dakayu is used in nominal and verbal contexts, both exemplified in (140), below. While dakayu comes after the noun in nominal negation, it comes directly before the verb complex in verbal negation, except where a free subject pronoun precedes the verb then dakayu comes before the pronoun as well, (141).

(140) yim dakayu jayu-ngu ngutj-yende- ma
yim dakayu jayu-ngu ngutj-yende -ma
fire NEG today morning -PPM
‘We had no fire this morning’

yim wuk-mungu dakayu ngap-yang.gak
yim wuk -mungu dakayu ngap -yang.gak
firewood water -COM NEG burn -3MSGoP
‘The wood was wet. it wouldn’t burn’ (127)
However, if the negation is in response to a previous speaker’s statement, but the following statement itself is positive, then *dakayu* still precedes the verb, though with a different intonation, compare (142) and (143).

(142) *awuy miyi ang-denek-niyji*

*awuy miyi ang -denek -niynji*

*aunt tucker give -3MStoP -2MO*

‘Did aunt give you the tucker’

*dakayu ang-yang.gak-awa*

*dakayu ang -yang.gak -awa*

*NEG give -3MStoP -1MO*

‘(No) she didn’t give it to me’ (109)

(143) *nuwun bala dep-denek-niyji : jerrerek-ni*

*nuwun bala dep -denek -niynji jerrerek -ni*

*who white ochre paint -3MStoP -2MO old man -AGENT*

‘Who painted you, the old man?’

*dakayu nguru-jennu bala dep -ardiminek*

*dakayu nguru -jennu bala dep -ardiminek*

*NEG 1MIN -alone white ochre paint -1MStoP*

‘No (he didn’t), I painted myself’ (304)

4.4 A Diachronic Perspective: Laves to Harvey

4.4.1 Introduction

A diachronic perspective of Australian Aboriginal languages is as a rule limited to analyses from word lists and simple grammatical descriptions fostered by linguistic dilettantism, such as those of Dahl (1926) and Stanner (1933) in Appendix 1. However, a more in-depth diachronic observation of Matngele, spanning some sixty years, is made possible by the fieldwork of Laves. In the early 1930s, as a student of Edward Sapir, he compiled a perceptive grammatical account of the complexity of the Matngele verbal morphology. In particular, his texts show the structure of the Matngele verb complex, and the relation within it of coverbs and finite verbs. It appears however that Laves may not have clearly perceived which forms comprised different finite verbs as opposed to different grammatical categories.
4.4.2 The structure of verbs

The structure of the Matngele verb complex, as recorded by Laves, is shown in (144) to (152). As a running text, these sentences are part of a story about an entrapped alligator (Text 270: 6281-6298). Laves assumes an additional category, i.e. the ‘narrative past’ and gives its appropriate paradigm (ending in -(d)rnin), shown in (153), below. Laves’ Person/Number key is also repeated for convenience in (154).

From the text, it is fairly clear that the basic verbal template has not changed. Indeed, the main obligatory and optional verb structures appear represented much like they have been discussed so far in this chapter - using the more recent data.

The extract from Text 270, shows the various complex verb templates, below.

(144) Coverb-Finite verb:

\[ \text{gurak gurudumin gaj} \]
\[ \text{gurrak } -\text{gurkoerdumin gaym} \]
\[ \text{appear } -\text{3ASnarrP } ? \]
\[ \text{‘They appeared in sight} \]

(145) Coverb Redupl-Finite verb-(Direct) Object suffix:

\[ \text{yerarp gurdumin wuru } \text{werak mudjur} \]
\[ \text{yerarp REDUPL } -\text{gurdumin } -\text{wurr } \text{werak mutjurr} \]
\[ \text{rub } -\text{3MSnarrP } -\text{3A0 child many} \]
\[ \text{‘The old man rubbed all the boys} \]
\[ \text{(Laves 6283)} \]

(146) \text{yarp gurdumin wuru}

\[ \text{yerarp } -\text{gurdumin } -\text{wurr} \]
\[ \text{rub } -\text{3MSnarrP } -\text{3A0} \]
\[ \text{‘He rubbed them} \]

(147) \text{ward gard/min wuru}

\[ \text{wart } -\text{gurdumin } -\text{wurr} \]
\[ \text{send } -\text{3MSnarrP } -\text{3A0} \]
\[ \text{‘And he let them go} \]

(148) Coverb compound-Finite verb:

\[ \text{didi bai guriak} \]
\[ \text{dikj } -\text{buy } -\text{gurriyak} \]
\[ \text{return } -\text{go } -\text{3ASgoP} \]
\[ \text{‘They’ll go back} \]

(149) Simple verb

\[ e \text{ nembarra gurag} \]
\[ e \text{ nambara gurram} \]
\[ eh \text{ okay } \text{3ASgoP} \]
\[ \text{‘They are all right’ (ie. properly decorated} \]

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(150) Unclear - appears non-finite:

\[\text{legerk pa} \text{ma yinma gani ma} \]
\[\text{zurri ng} \text{nuru} \text{ma} \quad (\text{yinma gaiyn ma})\]
\[\text{clean PRM} \quad \text{LNTN PRM} \quad \text{skin NEG PRM} \]

"I'm clean now!" (the boy says to himself)

(151) Coverb compound-Finite verb-(Indirect) Obiect suffix:

did ga gurag ney

ditj - ga -gurrang -ney

return - come -3ASgoPR -1+2MO

'They come back to us'

(152) Coverb-Imperfective suffix-Finite verb-Object suffix:

biyandak ma gurag ney djedzak nug div

buyandak -ma -gurrang -nu ming jerrerek -nun -ju

listen - IMPF -3ASgoPR -3MO old man -PURP -SPEC

'They are listening to the old man talking'  
(Laves 6284)

(153) Narrative past

11 ardamin
123 uonidamin
21 andjardmin
223 nunguradamin
31 gurudamin
323 gurudumin

(Laves 7836)

(154) Laves' Person/Number key:

11 1MS
123 1AS
121 1+2MS
21 2MS
223 2AS
31 3MS
323 3AS

Laves word cards (ca. 600 in number), as mentioned before, contain a great amount of
difficult to access information about the Matngele verbal morphology. Each word card
deals with one coverb, and gives information about its possible finite verbs and
categories. He appears to note only three finite verbs 'do', 'sit' and 'go', mostly set out
for first person singular. As an example, the word card for the coverb halguij 'empty
out' is set out in (155).

(155) halguij 'empty out'

-ardai immediate intention -ma-armai* -ma-avag customary present

-adak recent past -ma-avagok customary past 'always'

-ard amma remote past -ma-avak interruptive past 'usually'

-adanuy 11, 123 only [request of 21] -ma-gawaiya customary future 'gradually'

-gardangak distant future -ma-ayamp

-ardam present -ma-avanginj

-awya**

-ma-awali

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APPENDIX 1

1. Dahl's Word list

Dahl (1926:92) introduces his wordlist as follows: “One evening I succeeded in noting down the following list of words and phrases in the Hermit Hill language”. In the third column Dahl’s elicitations are compared with other available interpretations. Apart from interchanging the second and third item on his list, most other items of his list are at least recognisable, if not accurate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>leaf</td>
<td>wurrer</td>
<td>wurrer (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>star</td>
<td>niellan</td>
<td>nyalan (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth</td>
<td>mandallat</td>
<td>mandalatj ‘light, torch’ (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fire (sic)</td>
<td>jaro</td>
<td>yaru ‘ground’ (mh); yim ‘fire’ (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>live coal</td>
<td>jimjik</td>
<td>yim jik (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bracelet</td>
<td>binbin</td>
<td>birnhirn (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tongue</td>
<td>ngonarr</td>
<td>ngener (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tooth</td>
<td>ngart</td>
<td>ngart (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nose</td>
<td>djinin</td>
<td>dinin (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eye</td>
<td>dori</td>
<td>dun (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car</td>
<td>pindokma</td>
<td>bivawur (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>curlew</td>
<td>bitorr</td>
<td>bivur (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>damarr</td>
<td>jamarr (mh)</td>
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<td>kalmogorr</td>
<td>galnung.gurr (mh)</td>
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<td>duck</td>
<td>worrina</td>
<td>warrina (mh)</td>
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<td>girl</td>
<td>goalok</td>
<td>gwarak ‘woman’ (mh)</td>
</tr>
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<td>man</td>
<td>jiji</td>
<td>jiji (mh)</td>
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<td>boy</td>
<td>varak</td>
<td>warrak (mh)</td>
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<td>mendorr</td>
<td>meyn-bu (mh)</td>
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<td>woomera</td>
<td>lakan</td>
<td>logavm (mh)</td>
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<tr>
<td>spear</td>
<td>pot</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spear (with stone head)</td>
<td>potja</td>
<td>patja (gl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mouth</td>
<td>kerae</td>
<td>gere (mh)</td>
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<td>konbi</td>
<td>gornbi (mh)</td>
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<td>maruat</td>
<td>marrawaet (mh)</td>
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<td>gommenang</td>
<td>yemür demdem (gl)</td>
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<td>hand</td>
<td>mennumak</td>
<td>memek (mh)</td>
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<td>nairrr</td>
<td>dandar (mh)</td>
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<tr>
<td>paperbark</td>
<td>warr</td>
<td>war ‘house, bark’ (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>devil</td>
<td>barrang</td>
<td>harang ‘dead body’ (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>canoe</td>
<td>varne</td>
<td>wene (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be silent, shut up</td>
<td>okma</td>
<td>apma (pan-Daly usage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to stink</td>
<td>njokma</td>
<td>njakma (gl)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>poita</td>
<td>buya (mh)</td>
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<tr>
<td>stomach</td>
<td>mennejak</td>
<td>men (mh)</td>
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<td>the stomach digests</td>
<td>mang elkinje dom</td>
<td>men ngak-eunjiti-dom</td>
</tr>
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<td>corrobcorce</td>
<td>mān</td>
<td>meyn (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water</td>
<td>wäk</td>
<td>wuk (mh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water is present</td>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>water runs</td>
<td>wäk wurrir (ll)</td>
<td>wuk wurrurr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wäk elle ma gouta</td>
<td>wuk elele-ma-gutu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
here is a pipe
there is not a pipe
have you got no pipe
all right
here is not a pipe
have not got no pipe
moon
tattoo mark (cicatrices)
hair belt (give)
basket
pouch
knee
food
foot
fish
bring me fish
give him water
Johnstone crocodile
Indian crocodile

2. Stanner’s Word list

Kinship and socio-cultural terms (extracted from Stanner 1933/4). While Stanner’s terms are specifically aimed at his anthropological research, where possible they are compared with available linguistic material, again mainly from Harvey.

(1) seasons
 karadarpa May–June/July (windy and cool)
 karapern August–October (hotter)
 karawug October–late November (showery, hot) gere-woeng ‘hot weather’ (mh)
 kawat December–late February/early March kawai ‘wet season’ (mh)
 karadalan March–April (burning of grass/rain ceased) geredalai ‘dry season’ (mh)

(2) kinship
 neda male third ascending generation/brother
 awen female third ascending generation/sister
 kawoi male second ascending generation
 kalap female second ascending generation
 awoi mother-in-law
 kaka father-in-law
 kapi sister-in-law
 bag kai father
 kilug mother
 atu male cousin
 nguil reciprocal kinship term for a wife or husband
 nambin brother’s son and daughter’s husband
 palec- kinship title of betrothed/parents of betrothed
(3) socio/cultural/economic

dirawur: social organisation within the camp
hula: classificatory siblings
prugor: all close relatives, male and female, of all generations other than one's own
prugar: children of all men called bagar and all women called kina
werag: close relatives, male and female, of descending generations
nagor: close relatives, male and female, of ascending generations
malve: marriage by abduction
ku: economic/ceremonial obligations towards a man's wife's parents
warug: economic obligations towards a man's au ("brother-in-law")
anbug al: relationship between a woman and her husband's brothers and sisters
kina: relationship between a woman and her husband's nagor
merbok: vast economic network of continuous exchange between friends or kin of articles of intrinsic, utilitarian value
ninmer: article in merbok exchange
mima: loan in lieu of merbok
pork padaka: merbok from the north-east
nin berinken: merbok from the south-west

(4) ritual

tvawalt: sacred/forbidden food
manakaloam: initiator's territory
munamuk: initiator's own ceremonial ground
warbone: ritual silence

(5) conflict

dainman: camp brawl
nunuk: domestic quarrel between husband and wife
manakwarug: public duel between a woman's seducer and her betrothed
dawor: formal fight between groups over the abduction of women
ninwerrug: fight over defection in merbok
yenrenuk: serious conflict in retaliation for murder by manakpi: 'sorcerer'

(6) religion

mir: soul/personality
barug: spirit of the dead
manuva: secret administration of poison
polugur: secret burning of a deceased's intimate possessions
manakpi: sorcerer
miyumok: medicine-man
APPENDIX 2

1. Matngele-English Dictionary

This dictionary includes both the nominal and the verbal lexical files. The headwords are represented in the practical orthography as used in the thesis.

Entries take as point of reference the Matngele language material of Harvey’s field notes (Harvey MS.C), and refer to page numbers therein (eg. mh221). Indented subentries cite forms from the material of Laves and Hoddinott, which refer, respectively, to the Texts (eg. gl270) and the Capell word/elicitation lists (eg. wh(wl)). Affixes are cited with a hyphen. Hyphens also distinguish, redundantly, simple and finite verbs.

Entries of coverbs also contain indented subentries (marked eg. - -denek), presenting a selection of finite verbs that are attested to form possible complex verbs, with example sentences; though it should be noted that these are not all inclusive. Recall that there are six finite verbs in Matngele (‘burn’, ‘lie’, ‘sit’, ‘stand’, ‘go’ and ‘do’).

With the low level of language maintenance in mind, the dictionary is compiled in a rather encyclopaedic fashion, so as to provide more than just a morphological lexicon. In this sense then, too, the reader will have to suffer some redundancy.

Following the dictionary, beginning on page 142, there is the accompanying English Finderlist, which includes for each English entry several Matngele examples, were available, referenced to each of the three field linguists supplying the material.

For a full list of abbreviations, see page ix.

A

abap n. sick. tired. werek-giyitj abap
cynminek Child you were sick Ref: mh221
abap: tired. wangari ngaro abap ampadam

-adyak v.fin. 1MSdoNFS. Ref: mh178
ardiminek v.simple. 1MSdoP. Ref: mh191
-ardiminek v.fin. 1MSdoP. Ref: mh283
ardayn v.fin. 1MSstandP. Ref: mh181
-ardayak v.fin. 1MSstandNFS. Ref: mh121
ardak v.simple. 1MSdoP. Ref: mh144
ardam v.simple. 1MSdoP. Ref: mh166
-aradang v.fin. 1MSdoCOND. Ref: mh320
ardayn n. shark. Ref: mhPV

-al-duruk coverb. peck out.

-gatj-yang.gak v.fin. CAUS-3MSGoP
binya
jayirr dar-denek
aldurp-gatj-yang.gak He speared the kangaroo. He opened (a hole in it)
-ardiminek-nung v.fin. 1MSdoP-3MO. biya guwarirr ailderrp-ardiminek-nung I hooked the animal up Ref: mh
-ambali v.fin. 1+2MSgoF. Ref: mh120
-ambalik v.fin. 1+2MSgoNFS. Ref: mh147
-ambi v.fin. 1+2MSgoFS. Ref: mh1225
-ambik v.fin. 1+2MSgoNFS. Ref: mh179
-amboedey v.fin. 1+2MSstandFS. Ref: mh256
-amboedeyak v.fin. 1+2MSstandNFS. Ref: mh354
-ambrosoninek v.fin. 1+2MSdoP. Ref: mh207
-amburdam v.simple. 1+2MSdoPR. Ref: mh267
-amburdey v.fin. 1+2MSdoF. Ref: mh109
-amburnay v.simple. 1+2MSsitFS. Ref: mh114
-amburnai v.simple. 1+2MSlieFS. Ref: mh137
-ambutak v.simple. 1+2MSstandP. Ref: mh252
-ambutay v.simple. 1+2MSstandFS. Ref: mh222
-ambutey v.fin. 1+2MSstandFS. Ref: mh293
-ambutu v.fin. 1+2MSstandPR.
-amburnay v.simple. 1+2MSsitFS. Ref: mh120
-amnang v.fin. 1+2MSgoPR. Ref: mh305
-amnyang gak v.fin. 1+2MSgoP. Ref: mh198
-amnyu v.simple. 1+2MSliePR. Ref: mh178
-amnyu n. nephew/niece-mZC. Ref: mhPV
-an n. where. how. biya wilmurr-mungu an-gurrang Where are the buffalo? Ref: mh347
-andju: which way. how. bang-gai pinja andju wadjugardai Father. how shall I fill (the basket) with fish? Ref: gl279
-ana n. where. ana-yu buy-garriryak-arrarr Which way do we go now? Ref: mh190
-an-buwuja n. how many. nida an-buwuwa wari-mi-anyang How many brothers do you have? Ref: mh198
-aniy n. what. aniy-ma-gunya miyimintj What is the old woman doing? Ref: mh125
-aninju: what. aninju gardangak-me What shall I do? Ref: gl279
-aniy n. what.
-~ma-guyang v.fin. IMPF-3MSgoPR. jiji anun aniy-mu-guyang mat-ma What is that man saying
-~ma-guen v.fin. IMPF-3MSsitPR. guwarak may aniy-ma-guen What’s that woman doing Ref: mh
-an-puji: n. how many. maja gambirningak memak an-puji: mafak We will stay there a couple of days Ref: mh225
-anbudja: how many. wud buerme djidji anbudja ngeru garindjiju ngemoe How many men are lying down, we two, you and I? Ref: gl277
-arun v.simple. 1MSlieFS. Ref: mh167
-ang coverb. give.
-~nungi-yin-awa obj.suff. 3MO/ALL-1MO. mi: ang-nung-yin-awa Give him/me Tucker!
-~boerrinnek v.fin. 3ASdoP. jeya-ang-boerrinnek gawerruk They poisoned him
-~ceymin-nung v.fin. 2MSdoP-3MO. bawar ang-ceymin-nung gaga Did you give uncle the money Ref: mh
-ang.gen: give. dabangdurd big wa ang.gen wa wa wirngeb dudburnai Tie them up, get the rope and give it here to tie them up Ref: gl277
-ang: give. miyi ang demeneek anyak mayuma They gave me food (yesterday) Ref: wh
-anyang v.fin. 2MSgoPR. Ref: mh121
-anyang.gak v.simple. 2MSgoP. Ref: mh199
-anyang.gak v.fin. 2MSgoP. Ref: mh150
-anyaya v.fin. 2MSgoIMPF. Ref: mh307
-anyu v.fin. 2MSliePR. Ref: mh111
-aunja n. what. aunja-dyn enyen Why are you sitting? Ref: mh116
-aunjetdeyak v.fin. 2MSstandNFS. Ref: mh237
-aunji v.fin. 2MSgoFS. Ref: mh163
-aunjili v.fin. 2MSgoFS. Ref: mh151
-aunju v.fin. 2MSstandPR. Ref: mh151
-aunjuda v.fin. 2MSstandPR. Ref: mh195
-aunjudak v.fin. 2MSstandP. Ref: mh170
-aunjudam v.fin. 2MSdoP. Ref: mh211
-aunjudeyak v.fin. 2MSstandNFS. Ref: mh267
-aunjurdey v.fin. 2MSdoFS. Ref: mh218
-aunjunay v.simple. 2MSsitFS. Ref: mh196
-aunjunyi v.simple. 2MSlieFS. Ref: mh163
-aunjurney v.fin. 2MSsitFS. Ref: mh200
-aunjurrik v.fin. 2MSlieNFS. Ref: mh221
-aunjutak v.simple. 2MSstandP. Ref: mh242
-aunjutu v.fin. 2MSstandPR. Ref: mh136
-ar coverb. dry.
-~ardam v.fin. 1MSdoP. meyn-ar-ardam I’m thirsty
-~burrung.gak v.fin. 3ASgoP. mawunya ar-burrung.gak Have those clothes dried? Ref: mh
-arambiy n. niece vBD. Ref: mhPV
-aranay v.simple. 1ASsitFS. Ref: mh202
-ariya n. daughter. Ref: mhPV
-aruk n. girl (female of any species). Ref: mhPV
-arr obj.suff. 1AO. darr-denek-arr He saw us Ref: mh257
-arrada v.fin. 1ASstandP. Ref: mh114
-arranayak v.fin. 1ASSitNFS. Ref: mh215
-arranik v.simple. 1ASSitNFS. Ref: mh248
-arrang.gak v.fin. 1ASSoP. Ref: mh300
-arrang.guk v.simple. 1ASSoPR. Ref: mh174
-arrayen n. goanna. Ref: mhPV
-arany n. goanna. Ref: whwl
-~arraya v.fin. 1ASSoIMPF. Ref: mh174
all

He

ReJ

Refi

w"-"MF-

werak

amnyu

...  

grass

mh

he should be

mh

man) rubs

mh

Re$

m257

ayyn

v.simple. 1MSGoIMPF. Ref: mh306

ayyyn  v.fin. 1MSGoIMPF. Ref: mh

ayi
coverb. cry.

~~ -yenginy v.fin. 3MSGoIMPF. werek-gvitj mi-nung ayi-yenginy The kid is crying for Tucker

~~ -ma-guyang v.fin. IMPF-3MSGoPR. mer-kiyang-nung ayi-ma-guyang He's crying for his mother Ref: mh

aye: cry. werakity dunayemaguyang That little boy is crying Ref: wh

-ayu  n. only. darr-denek-arrarr mutjurr-ayu He saw us all Ref: mh281

ayu, only. yerarp gurdamin wuru werak mudjur ayuma (The old man) rubs all those boys (only) Ref: g1270

B

ba  coverb. get up. Ref: mh

bajerrij ? Ref: mhPV

batja  n. stone spear. Ref: mhPV

badja, paitja: stone headed spear. badja

wayin wirngak baroerdburnai Bring up the stone spear, they are all sitting here together (waiting) Ref: g1277

baitya: stone spear. Ref: wh(wl)

bak  coverb. sit.

~~ arranayak v.fin. 1ASsitNFS. ya jawu kara-bak-arranayak miyek-yende yes we nearly sat down on the ants Ref: mh

bak  n. belly. bak wubajang guyu He's sleeping belly down Ref: m122

bak-jambar  n. hollow. yim dar-dar lu-la-yung-ma bak-jambar When you hit a hollow log, it resounds Ref: mh328

bal  coverb. flap wings.

~~ ma-gutu  v.fin. IMPF-3MSGstandPR. moeroeng bal-bal-ma-gutu It's flapping its wings Ref: mh

bala  n. white ochre. bala dep-ardiminek nguru-meneek I painted myself with white ochre Ref: mh267

bala: white clay. Ref: wh(wl)

balam  coverb. hide. Ref: mh

balayet  n. avoidance, promise guwarang ngoru balayet (That woman is my promise Ref: mh349

barl-barl  n. flat, wide. Ref: mhPV

ban  coverb. hide, keep.

~~ -eynaminek  v.fin. 2MSGoP. wuk ngajt-bium-eynaminek Have you hidden

that grog? Ref: mh

pam; hide. ngalj yenginj werek-giyitj mi:-nung ayi-yenginy The kid is hiding in the grass Ref: gh120

barnam  n. toothache. Ref: mhPV

bang  coverb. get lost, not know.

~~ ma-ayang-wurr  v.fin. IMPF-1MSGstPR. mi: ngin barn-doet-mi-yeni jerrerek-nung I'm keeping this Tucker for the old man Ref: mh

barnam  n. toothache. Ref: mhPV

bang  coverb. get lost, not know.

~~ ma-ayang-wurr  v.fin. IMPF-1MSGstPR. mi: ngin barn-doet-mi-yeni jerrerek-nung I'm keeping this Tucker for the old man Ref: mh

bang  n. farther. Ref: mhPV

bangu: farther. kilang bangu guiyang guiyin Mother and father are coming back here Ref: gl279

baynburrk  n. mushroom. Ref: mhPV

bar  v. wrong. bar-dati-denek-awa He wronged me Ref: mh351

bar  n. arm. bar-wel-ma-eyes motika-yeende Your arm is hanging out of the car Ref: mh201

bar: arm. valley. creek. Ref: wh(wl)

bara-barra  v. lie down. aynja-diy amnyu bara-barra, binya wayalk buy-ambik Why are we lying down, we should be hunting Ref: mh119
They have gone. Ref: gl279

bawar n. rock. money. bawar
buy-ning.girik-wa buy-ning.girik

darwin if you lost get money. will you go
to Darwin Ref: mh359

pawur: stone. Ref: wh(wl)

bawitj n. ironwood. Ref: mhPV
pawirt: ironwood. Ref: wh(wl)

bebema n. smooth. Ref: mhPV

berderr n. river. Ref: mhPV
berderr: river. Ref: wh(wl)

beji-beji n. old people. Ref: mhPV

betj n. bone. betj ngarr-ngarrguyu
jamarr-ma. The dog is gnawing a bone
Ref: mh148

pert. bone. Ref: wh(wl)

betj-wayu n. hony. Ref: mhPV

beler(r) n. yam. Ref: mhPV

heylk coverb. make a bed.

-ayang, gak v. fin. 1MSgoP. majurung
heylk-heylk-ayang, gak Ref: mh

bemboerrjakk n. red apple. Ref: mhPV

benger n. middle. Ref: mhPV

beynnger n. spotted bream. Ref: mhPV

penger: bream. Ref: wh(wl)

ber n. semen. Ref: mhPV

berber coverb. shake. Ref: mh

berberma n. wind. Ref: mhPV
berberma: wind. Ref: wh(wl)

berk n. cloud. berk daka yiwyu-burrung.gak

The clouds have gone away Ref: mh332

perk: cloud. Ref: wh(wl)

berp coverb. flash. Ref: mh

berrherr coverb. shake.

-m-enen v. fin. 1MSsittPR.
berrherr-m-enen I'm shaking Ref: mh

berrherr n. white nailfish. Ref: mhPV

wegwerk: nailfish. Ref: gl270

berrp coverb. fear.

-ayang, gak v. fin. 1MSgoP.
berrp-ayang.gak. I'm scared Ref: mh

berrp coverb. crack.

-ayang, gak v. fin. 3MSgoP.
berrp-ayang.gak The bamboo was cracked
Ref: mh

bey n. tendon. Ref: mhPV

bitj coverb. roll. rub (of firesticks, string).

-ma-gunen v. fin. 1MSsittPR.
bijt-ma-gunen They are rolling up string

-denek v. fin. 3MSdoP. yim bijt-denek
jerverek. The old man rubbed firesticks
Ref: mh

bik n. rope. bik goerr-gunun-dart-ardiminek
I straightened the rope Ref: mh346

big: string. Ref: gl277

bik: string. rope. Ref: wh(wl)

bilingurrp coverb. jump.

-ayang, gak v. fin. 3MSgoP.
slapping thighs Ref. mh
boemeleyon n. pocket. Ref. mhPV
boemoerr n. testicles. Ref. mhPV
boen n. black plum. Ref. mhPV
boern; black plum. Ref. wh(wl)
boendoereng n. watersnake. Ref. mhPV
boencheon n. filemaker. Ref. mhPV
boenoeneek v.simple 3ASsitP. Ref. mh253
boeng-gar-doen n. knee. Ref. mhPV
bunger; legs bent underneath. bunger djag
urduburnai He’s sitting with his legs bent underneath Ref. gl277
pung-ger; knee. Ref. wh(wl)
boercoer n. pheasant. Ref. mhPV
boerr v. dream. boerr-ayak-mung gaga-mung 1
dreamt about uncle Ref. mh320
- boererrinek v.fin. 3ASDoP. Ref. mh214
- boerroeneek v.fin. 3ASstP. Ref. mh311
boerrwewy n. butcherbird. Ref. mhPV
purrewei; butcherbird. Ref. wh(wl)
boetoeck n. jabinu. Ref. mhPV
boeyk n. tree sp. Ref. mhPV
bu coverb. howl.
~~ ma-gatu v.fin. IMPF-3MSstandP
ma-ma-gatu Ref. mh
bu n. possum. Ref. mhPV
bo ring tailed possum. Ref. wh(wl)
budaj coverb. roast in hot ashes. Ref. mh
budak v.simple 3MSstandP. Ref. mh162
-budak v.fin. 3MSstandP. Ref. mh
buday v.fin. 3MSstandFS. Ref. mh194
-burdayak v.fin. 3MSDo NFS. Ref. mh345
-burdey v.fin. 3MSDoFS. Ref. mh147
-burdeyak v.fin. 3MSDo NFS. Ref. mh358
buja n. head. buja duy-ma-gatu He is nodding
his head Ref. mh073
budja; head. Ref. gl279
poutya; head. Ref. wh(wl)
buja-bert v. have a headache (lit. head-
cracked). Ref. mhPV
buja-buji v.stem. shake head. Ref. mh
buja-burr n. gray hair. Ref. mhPV
budyebongma; gray-haired. Ref. wh(wl)
buja-meneng n. head hair. Ref. mhPV
poutya-maeneng; hair of head. Ref. wh(wl)
buja-nemboe n. another lot. Ref. mhPV
buja-ngerer n. brain. Ref. mhPV
butjigurnung n. wild banana. Ref. mhPV
butjirung n. whistle duck. Ref. mhPV
buk v. ADVERS
~~ gaynjurdang v.fin. 2MSDoF
jal-darr-mung-a-cynji ngoeynoerca
jet-buk-gaynjurdang Watch where you’re
going. You might stop on a snake Ref. mh
bulalaw; n. rifleish. Ref. mhPV
pulalaw; rifleish. Ref. wh(wl)
bulang v. be wavy (of water). Ref. mhPV
bulikli n. cattle. binyu dal-jet-erminek
bulikli-ma We mustered cattle Ref. mh350
bulagi; cattle (from Engl. bullock). Ref.
wh(wl)
bultian n. eagle. Ref. mhPV
burtian; eagle hawk. Ref. mhPV
bulingirrk n. black duck. Ref. mhPV
pulingirrk, pulingerk; black duck. Ref. gl270
bulingirrk; black duck. Ref. wh(wl)
bulyu-bulyu n. rainbow. Ref. mhPV
purlibulroi; rainbow. Ref. wh(wl)
bulfen n. female wallaby. Ref. mhPV
purlken; kangaroo. Ref. mhPV
buna n. ant-hill. Ref. mhPV
buna n. (small) black ant. Ref. mhPV
bunin coverb. stretch.
~~ -doet-ardiminek v.fin. -Sit-1MSdoP
bar bunin-doet-ardiminek I stretched my
arm Ref. mh
-burnayak v.fin. 3MSstNFS. Ref. mh225
burung n. ashes. dust. dun-burung
jirriank-burungak-awa I have dust in
my eyes Ref. mh313
burni v.simple. 3MSfieFS. Ref. mh205
-burnik v.fin. 3MSicNFS. Ref. mh192
bung coverb. ache. Ref. mh
bung coverb. smoke.
~~ -ma-gatu v.fin. IMPF-3MSstandPR. yim
bung-ma-gatu, dal-ma-gatu gwerrak
The fire is smoking: it smells bad Ref. mh
bung smoke.
bung-gada n. white apple. Ref. mhPV
bung-gatj v.stem. bubble up.
~~ ma-gatu v.fin. IMPF-3MSstandPR.
wuk bung-gatj-ma-gatu The water is
bubbling up Ref. mh
bung-way v.stem. go white. Ref. mh
bur coverb. hot. sick.
~~ -aynjudak v.fin. 2MSstandP.
bur-aynjudak agutj-yende-ma Were you
hot this morning
~~ -ayang.gak v.fin. 1MSGoP.
bur-ayang.gak ngutj-yende I was sick
this morning Ref. mh
bur warm. burdur antyonal, gaengak
You warm yourself lmself Ref. wh
burkin n. doe kangaroo. Ref. mhPV
burkna n. branch. Ref. mhPV
burr n. ache. flu. Ref. mh328
burr sick. Ref. wh(wl)
-burranyon v.fin. 3ASgolIMP. Ref. mh337
burrdak v.simple. 3ASlicP. Ref. mh111
burrr coverb. run away
~~ ma-gurruatu v.fin. IMPF-3MSstand PR.
burrk-burrk-ma-gurruatu
werek-gi-yi-giy SECRET The kids are running
about
~~ -burunragak v.fin. 3ASgoPP.
burrk-burrungak They ran away Ref. mh
-burruninek v.fin. 3ASDoP. Ref. mh122
burrrp coverb. cook.
He

Oh.

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anggak

ReJ

ASdoP-3MO.

wuk-diym karala dap-yenglyn-awa The

booze killed

~ -denek-awa v.fin. 3MSdoP-1MO.

detoem-dap-deneck-awa Ref: mh

dab: catch. tie up. Ref: gl279

dab: want. lagany nguru kandu
dahmaguyang He wants my womera Ref: wh

dap coverb. bake.

~ -ma-guyu v.fin. IMPF-3MSliPR. mi
lawa dap-ma-guyu She's baking damper

~ -denek v.fin. 3MSdoP. mi: giyitj
dap-deneck She baked a damper Ref: mh

dap-jak v.stem: break.

~ -amboedey v.fin. 1+2MSstandFS. yim
dap-jak-ambodey ney-nung We have to

break up the firewood later Ref: mh

daptyak: broken (with hands). Ref: wh(wl)
dar coverb. rain.

~ -ma-guyang v.fin. IMPF-3MSgoPR. Ref: mh

dar coverb. spear.

~ -denek v.fin. 3MSdoP. binya moel
dar-deneck, ditj-wa-ga-yang-gak He

speared a fat one and brought it back

~ -denek v.fin. 3MSdoP. binya jayirr
dar-deneck aldurrp-gatj-yanggak He

speared the kangaroo. He opened (a hole

in it) Ref: mh

dar: kill. Ref: gl270

dar coverb. hit.

~ -ardiminek-nung v.fin. 1ASdoP-3MO.
jiji may dar-ardiminek-nung I hit that

man

~ -burrun-gak v.fin. 3ASgoP. mern

marad-burrung-gak They hit each

other in the guts Ref: mh

dar: kill. o... mayu dari ngan mayu Oh.

I've been hit enough Ref: gl278

tar: hit. tar adiminak nembiyu-ma I hit him

once Ref: wh

daraj coverb. recognise.

~ -aynjurdam v.fin. 2MSdoP. jiji
darr-daraji-aynjurdam Did you

recognise that man?

~ -ardam v.fin. 1MSdoP. daraji-ardam I

recognised him Ref: mh

daraj n. daylight.

goen-jet-ma-yang-gak
daraj-waya I was sweating all night last

night Ref: mh192

darabay coverb. tired

~ -miyi v.suffix. IMPF. ngen-darabay-miyi

guyang She's tired all the time

~ -adayn v.fin. 1MSstandIMPF.
The fish)
miyimitj batu dar-dam-ma-gunu The old woman maybe mending clothes Ref: mh

dark coverb. daylight.

~ yin-yengiy v.fin. here-3MSgoIMPF. dak dark-yin-yengiy Daylight is coming up Ref: mh

dark v. stem. mend.

~ ma-gunen v.fin. IMPF-3MSsitPR. miyimitj batu dar-dam-ma-gunu The old woman maybe mending clothes Ref: mh

derek coverb. daylight.

~ yin-yengiy v.fin. here-3MSgoIMPF. dak derek-yin-yengiy Daylight is coming up Ref: mh

därk n. tree sp. Ref: mhPV
darwirrö coverb. extinguish Ref: mh
dar-yuyuy v.stem. mix. Ref: mh

darr coverb. bash. Ref: mh
darr coverb. look. see. watch.

~ ma-gutu v.fin. IMPF-3MSstandPR. mirr darr-dam-gutu wuk-yeende He's looking at his shadow in the water

~ anyang.gak-nung v.fin. 2MSgoP-3MO. jerrerek dakayu darr-anyang.gak-nung Why didn't you see the old man?

~ m-aynjourney-wurr v.fin. IMPF-2MSitFS-3AO. werek-giyitj darr-aynjourney-wurr You watch those kids (while I'm gone)

~ denek-ney v.fin. 3MSdoP-1+2MO. darr-denek-ney ngutj-yeende-ma That bloke saw us this morning

~ denek-arr v.fin. 3MSdoP-1AO. darr-denek-arr He saw us

~ m-eynjurdey v.fin. IMPF-2MSdoFS. darr-m-eynjurdey yim ma-ya yim mer-dark Watch out for that stumpy

~ guritj v.fin. go around. dak buy-eynj jerrerek-guritj You check around the country Ref: mh

dar. see e... pinjii wuhldju kiyitj werak kiyitjju kuwoerda dardam bang guyang.guyin Eh... in the sky the young girl sees the father coming Ref: gl279
tarr. see. tarr ademinaak nindyi dyediyiana wargasima I saw you yesterday Ref: wh

darr n. hot ashes. Ref: mhPV
dirrumu. ashes. Ref: wh(wl)
darrek coverb. become daylight. Ref: mh

darribin n. flying fox. Ref: mhPV

daraban. flying fox (large sp). Ref: wh(wl)
darkkida-kuma n. burdekin duck. Ref: mhPV

darrp coverb. hang up. Ref: mh
dat coverb. die.

~ wut-aynjurik v.fin. lie-2MSliENFS. jawu dat-wut-aynjurik You nearly died

~ wut-yurak v.fin. lie-3MSHeP. dagatj buy, barang mai yuyu dat-wut-yurak Don't go there. There is a dead body over there Ref: mh
dad. die. gawoy ngo dadwod yurak, gawoy-ngo-ma My grandfather died before I was born Ref: wh
dawu n. trouble. werek-giyitj ngen-dawu The child is cheeky Ref: mh074
dawu-lam coverb. growl. Ref: mh
dayi n. small catfish. Ref: mhPV
dayi. daiyi; catfish. Ref: gl270
dayi; catfish. Ref: wh(wl)
debel coverb. spread. Ref: mh
deberrp coverb. pinch. Ref: mh
debet coverb. be open.

~ miyi-gutu v.fin. IMPF-3MSstandPR. debet-jet-miyi-gutu It's open Ref: mh

del coverb. be blocked.

~ wut-miyi-gutu v.fin. lie-IMPF-3MSliEP. del-wut-miyi-gutu It's locked up Ref: mh

del; block. pyerewerr del adiminaak I forgot Ref: wh

del n. bottom. bum. werek-giyitj daeng warryet-giyitj, nung.gurmy del nembiyu Don't you kids walk around. you sit down one place Ref: mh353
del; buttocks. Ref: wh(wl)
delbermer n. hip. Ref: mhPV
delk coverb. mix. Ref: mh

delmarrk n. widow. Ref:
del-ngen n. buttok. Ref: mhPV
darlingin; vagina etc. mai ma darlingin del aida k dam Ref: gl278
dembel n. leaf. dembel buuyu-buuyu-guran The leaves are floating Ref: mh224
dembelatj coverb. roll up.

~ adiminaak v.fin. 1MSdoP. mujurg benjdatj-adiminaak I rolled up the swag Ref: mh

den coverb. cut.

~ gatj-nung-burrutak v.fin. CAUS-3MO-3standP. ngoer den-gatj-nung-burrutak They used to cut (young men) there Ref: mh

den; cut. dendenak mayu wirnag She cuts it, and he's finished Ref: gl279
den coverb. yard up.

~ jet-jet-butsay v.fin. put-Redup-3MSstandP. garwa-ende den-jet-jet-butsay We 'yarded' (the fish) into the billabong Ref: mh

-denek v.fin. 3MSdoP. Ref: mh173
dengien coverb. cat noisily.

~ ma-gunen v.fin. IMPF-3MSsitPR. miyi dengien-ma-gunen They are eating noisily Ref: mh

dengien coverb. cat noisily. Ref: mh
dep coverb. paint.

~ adiminaak v.fin. 1MSdoP. bala dep-adiminaak nguru-meneek I painted
to show. If you eat lots of tucker you get fat. They cut it up with a brown snake. He is fat. They painted the country with white ochre. The old man was waiting for the tea sweeter. The man came back. We got fat.

dingding coverb.

~ -gunen v.fin. 3MSSitPR.  
dingding-ma-gunen werek-giyitj  
nun-ma That child is clicking his tongue (120)  
~ -ma-doet v.fin. IMPF-sit. ti  
dingding-ma-doet Make the tea sweeter  

-diyndi ABL. abap dam miyi-diynd She's sick from tucker Ref: mh301

diyndi n. bitter. Ref: mhPV

dirrawur n. bullant. dagatj doet, binya dirrawur mutjurr Don't sit there. There are lots of bullants Ref: mh298

doenmoe n. monsoon forest. Ref: mh PV

duramo; bush. Ref: wh(wl)

doengot n. large king brown snake. Ref: mhPV

dunurt; king brown snake. Ref: wh(wl)

doeyngoen.goel n. flood. doeyngoen.goel guyang-gi-yin gunwurang A big flood is coming Ref: mh153

dinyung.gur, duynyn.gurl; floodwater. Ref: wh

doein n. tree sp. Ref: mhPV

doereng coverb. point out.

~ -aynjurdey-(a)wa v.fin. 2MSdoFS.  
doereng-aynjurdey-(a)wa dak Point the country out for me

~ -nung-ambutey v.fin. 3MO-1+2MSstandFS. buy-gambiyak dak doereng-nung-ambutey We have to show him the country Ref: mh

doerik coverb. get fat.

~ -biniy v.fin. 3ASsitMPF. mi: mutjurr ngak-ma-gurrang may-diyndjy doerik-biniy If you eat lots of tucker you get fat

~ -gerriningak v.fin. 1ASsitF. ya: ngarru doerik-gerriningak Yes we will get fat

~ -oneenek-ngerrnerr v.fin. 1ASsitF-EXCL. doerik-oneenek-ngerrnerr Yes we got fat

~ -emyoneynek v.fin. 1+2MSsitF. ngemoe doerik-emyoneyek We got fat Ref: mh

doerreng coverb. show.

~ -ma-gambiyak v.fin. IMPF-1+2MSgoF. wari nguru buy-gambiyak dak doerreng-ma-gambiyak We have to show him the country

~ -aynjudak-nung v.fin. 2MSstandFS-3MO. dak doerreng-aynjudak-nung Did you show him the country

~ -atayak-nung v.fin. 1MSstandNFS-3MO.
puja duy-ma-gutu He is nodding his head
Ref: mh

egek coverb. vomit.
~ -anevak v.fin. 1MSsitNFS. gaynqey
egek-aneyak I nearly vomited Ref: mh
elele coverb. flow. Ref: mh
emnyen v.simple. 1+2MSsitPR. Ref: mh147
emnyiyn v.simple. 1+2MSsitP. Ref: mh345
emnynoenek v.simple. 1+2MSsitP. Ref: mh266
en en v.simple. 1MSsitPR. Ref: mh116
-enen v.fin. 1MSsitPR. Ref: mh115
-enenek v.fin. 1MSsitP. Ref: mh122
enonenek v.simple. 1MSsitP. 1ASsitP. Ref: mh191
-enonenek v.fin. 1MSsitP. Ref: mh149
-enen v.fin. 1MSsitPR. Ref: mh168
enyen v.simple. 2MSsitP. Ref: mh116
-enyen v.fin. 2MSsitPR. Ref: mh201
enyenek v.simple. 2MSsitP. Ref: mh125
-enyeng-gak v.fin. 2MSdoP. Ref: mh148
-enyjuety v.fin. 2MSstandFS. Ref: mh286
enyoenek v.simple. 2MSdo(sit)P. Ref: mh191
-enyn v.fin. 2MSlieFS. Ref: mh326

darrmanung I've come to see my father
Ref: wh

gabak-gubuk coverb. swim.
~ -ma-gunuen v.fin. IMPF-3MSsitPR.
gabak-gubuk-ma-gunuen He's swimming
Ref: mh

gabak-gubuk coverb. swim. Ref: mh

garda coverb. push.
~ -gatj-awa obj.suff. CAUS-IMO. dagatj
garda-gatj-awa Don't push me Ref: mh
gatj coverb. CAUS. throw.
~ -yang-gak v.fin. 3MSgoP. jiji garnbi
gatj-yang-gak The man threw the spear
Ref: mh
kaidj; throw. genjinma bung bung jainj
bardjed budak, kaidj yang. She throws
the rope over a cloud in the sky Ref: gl279

gatj-gatj coverb. fish.
~ -m-amburnay v.fin. IMPF-1+2MSsit.
buy-ambali binya gatj-gatj-m-amburnay
Let's go fishing. *Ref. mh*

— ayang.gak v. *fin. 1MSgoP.* Koen
gatji-way-ayang.gak v. *fin.* I lost my tobacco *Ref. mh*
gaka n. unc. gaka, nimin-burrudak-nung Did
they ask uncle *Ref. mh246*
gaga, n. uncle. *Ref. wh(wl)*
gakak n. uncle. ngen-gakak-nguru ardiminek
mara jiji nemboe I thought it was my
uncle but it was another man *Ref. mh191*
gakba coverb. *Ref. mh*
kakwa v. go away. Dakayu kakwangu,
malak njinma, kuhak bui guiyang Don't
go away, stay here and lie down *Ref. gl278*
gakwak n. far. gay-nung-ayak mara dakayu
gakwak I wanted to yell out to him but to
far *Ref. mh278*
gal n. short-necked cormorant. *Ref. mhPV*
gala n. body. burr-ayang, werr-werr-m-ayang
gala nguru I have the flu. My whole
body is aching *Ref. mh328*
galan n. bird sp. *Ref. mhPV*
galawun n. feather. *Ref. mhPV*
galku n. Leichhardt tree. *Ref. mhPV*
karlsa. Leichhardt tree. *Ref. wh(wl)*
galmung-gurr n. goose. *Ref. mhPV*
kalung-gurr; goose: *Ref. wh(wl)*
galpengarrk n. paperbark raft. *Ref. mhPV*
garlbambuk n. jungle fowl. *Ref. mhPV*
gambiringnak v. *simple. 1+2MSgoF.* *Ref. mh225*
-gambiyak v. *fin. 1+2MSgoF.* *Ref. mh194/8*
-gamburdang v. *fin. 1+2MSdoCON.* *Ref. mh304*
gamu n. now. gamu ba-jetat ambutay We
have to stand up now *Ref. mh133*
kamu, gumi: now. kamu dengadj erewararne wud buerne Today we want
to cut him, so lie down *Ref. gl277*
gamu-ngin n. today. lerrp-guwayak
gamu-ngin-1a It will be hot today *Ref. mh222*
gandara n. close. *Ref. mhPV*
ganderai: close. *ganderai njigindjaroewur*
Close around that way *Ref. gl279*
garnarnbayan n. tree snake. *Ref. mhPV*
garnbayan n. leech (small sp). *Ref. mhPV*
garbri n. bamboo. *Ref. mhPV*
kanbi; bamboo. *Ref. wh(wl)*
garbri n. long bamboo spear. jiji gambri
gati-yang.gak The man threw the spear
*Ref. mh18*
kanbi; spear. *Ref. wh(wl)*
garndap coverb. *Nh. like. want.*

— m-ayang-nung v. *fin. IMPF-1MSgoPR-
3MO. garndap-m-ayang-nung
— ayang v. *fin. 1MSgoF.* Dakayu
garndap-ayang dak may garna-ma
I have a cramp in my leg. ---

My mother spanked him. ---

They smell us. They have burned the ground. ---

I fell in the hole. ---

The girl says: Father I want to go along with you. ---
-gurrudangak v./fin. 3ASstandF. Ref: mh194
gurrutu v./simple. 3ASstandPR. Ref: mh347
-gurrutu v./fin. 3ASstandPR. Ref: mh244
gurruwak n. kookaburra. Ref: mhPV
kurrwak: kookaburra. Ref: wh(wl)
gurruyak v./fin. 3ASgoF. Ref: mh
gurrurung n. black rock wallaby. Ref: mhPV
-gutangak v./fin. 3ASstandF. Ref: mh219
gutu v./simple. 3ASstandPR. Ref: mh133
-gutu v./fin. 3ASstandPR. Ref: mh073
guwarda n. girl. Ref: mhPV
kuwoerda: young girl e... pininy kulukduji kiyitj werak kiyitjduj kuwoerda dardam Eh... in the sky the young girl sees the father coming Ref: g1279
goerda: girl Ref: wh(wl)
guwanmin v./fin. 3AS(MS)burnPR. Ref: mh232
guwarak n. woman. blanket datj-dun-denek guwarak-ma The woman shook our the blanket Ref: mh229
guwarak: women, lubras. guwarak gaburainj bar-yu The women are coming along the creek Ref: gl270
goerak: woman. Ref: wh(wl)
guwarirr n. hook, fishing line. binya gatjakatj-ma-gunen guwarirr They are fishing with a line Ref: mh118
-guwayak v./fin. 3MSgoF. Ref: mh133
guwrurrak n. bad. mi: guwrurrak ngak-amboerdinek We ate bad tucker Ref: mh207
kuwrurrak; guwrurrak. no good. bitter/sour. Ref: wh(wl)
guwayak v./fin. 3MSgoF. Ref: mh180
guy n. stew. Ref: mhPV
guyarna n. raw. binya guarya mayu butay guy This meat is still raw, leave it a little Ref: mh287
guyang v./simple. 3MSgoPR. Ref: mh001
guyang v./fin. 3MSgoPR. Ref: mh125
guyang gi- v./simple. 3MSgoPR. Ref: mh202
guyang-gu- v./simple. 3MSgoPR. Ref: mh
guyu v./simple. 3MSliePR. Ref: mh122
-guyu v./fin. 3MSliePR. Ref: mh148
guyung n. breast. Ref: mhPV
guyung.gu n. cooked, ripe. Ref: mhPV

J

jagart coverb. run.
-jagart-yin-yang.gak v./fin. ALL-3MSgoP. werek jagart-yin-yang.gak The child ran here
-jagart-guritji-m-enyu v./fin. Red-around-IMPF-2MSliePR. jagart-guritji-m-enyu, dakayu jagart-guritji, enyen Are you running around? You're not running around, you're sitting Ref: mh
jagart-jiway coverb. run away. Ref: mh
jatjin n. yesterday. jatjin darr-ardimin-eung.gurr Yesterday I saw you lot Ref: mh035
pendji; yesterday. pendji nindji ngaidj nyindi pininyama djidjima Ref: gl270
dyedjin: yesterday. Ref: wh
jal n. road. jal-darr-mungu-eynji ngoeynboerr jut-buk-gayuardang Watch where you're going. You might step on a snake Ref: mh335
jalk coverb. fall.
-jal-yin-yang.gak v./fin. 2MSGoNFS. werek-glyitj jalk-yin-yang.gak You nearly fell over. kid
-jal-yin-yang.gak v./fin. 2MSGoNFS. billycan jalk-buwalik mara-m jaya jap-artdiminek That billycan nearly fell but I grabbed it Ref: mh
dyalk: fall. wirur (dempel) dyalkmabutak
The leaves fall from the tree Ref: wh
jal-wut coverb. line up.
-jal-wut-hurradum v./fin. 3ASdoP. jiji jal-wut-hurradum The men lined up Ref: mh
jam n. didgeridoo. jam
-jam-kurrw v./fin. 3ASdoPR. mh118
jam-kurrw v./fin. 3ASdoPR. Ref: mh125
jam: didgeridoo. Ref: wh(wl)
jamakjuru n. truly! Ref: mhPV
jamarr n. dog. jamarr err-burdayak-awa The dog nearly bit me Ref: mh345
djamargoe: dog. hu be djamargoe indinjma be be buinguyenginj He calls the dingo to come here Ref: gl271
djamarr: dog. Ref: wh
jambala n. white apple sp. Ref: mhPV
jambur n. yam sp. Ref: mhPV
jam-mungu n. crest (on goose). Ref: mhPV
jan n. tree sp. Ref: mhPV
jan n. yamstick. pinya durin-nung jan-ni darrarr-guritji-ma-guyang She's looking around for turtles with a yamstick Ref: mh125
djan: digging stick (used by women). bandan ngurk guruđemin djanma The women are going to cut digging sticks Ref: gl278
janbar n. left hand. Ref: mhPV
but your leg is yours.

**This meat isn't yours. It's that other lot's.**

**Several gabuk yiwaya daljalangma** Several go down along the water

**swordfish.**

**frilled-necked lizard.**

**blanket lizard.**

**young barramundi.**

**black nailfish.**

**black nailfish.**

**spiralis.**

**dyawayo:**

**jangurr**

**jangatja**

**jangurr**

**dakayu jawu-ngi:**

**mawuty**(dyanbar): left(hand).

**bardyatma**(dyanbar): right(hand).

**yim yap-jak-wa-yin-awa** You brake up the wood and bring it to me:

**jar**

**tyarak:**

**jarrajk-jarrra:**

**jarry:**

**jarrwak:**

**jawk**

**jawu**

**jawu-nu:**

**jatyj-diyn**

**jayir:**

**tasyirr:**

**jetji**

**jelk**

**jelerr-nembere**

**jelk**

**-birrik-wurna**

**belik-birrik-wurna**

**jelyeng**
dyernag: young man. Ref: wh(wl)
jerrginy n. clapsticks. Ref: mhPV
tyerrning: clapping sticks. Ref: wh(wl)
jerrwel n. handle (of an ax). Ref: mhPV
jet coverb. build, put.
  ~-boerrmink v.fin. 3ASdoP. war-ni
ejt-boerrmink They built a house
  ~-boerrmink v.fin. 3ASdoP. mana
jet-boerrmink They built a shade Ref: mh
jet coverb. be born.
  ~-atak v.fin. 1MSstandP. ngaru jet-atak
nerg-wesak-diyi I am the first born
  ~-butak v.fin. 3MSstandP. werek-giyiij
nergjuwa-diyi, jet-butak He is the last
born kid Ref: mh
jet coverb. stand. INCH.
  ~-ma-ayang-gak v.fin. 1MSfin.
nguen-ma-ayang-gak darak-waya I
was sweating all night last night
  ~-buday v.fin. 3MSstandP. mayu buday
kerr-gatj jet-buday Leave (that tea). Let
it get cold Ref: mh
jet-bilp coverb. whip. Ref: mh
jet-gatj coverb. light a grass fire.
  ~-atak v.fin. 1MSstandP. wern
jet-gatj-atak I burned the grass
  ~-nung-gurrang-gak v.fin. 2ASgoP.
asja-diyi wern demakau
jet-gatj-nung gurrang-gak Why didn't
you lot burn the grass?
  ~-aynjudeyak v.fin. 2MSstandNFS.
jet-gatj-aynjudeyak You should've
burned it
  ~-arretayak v.fin. 1ASstandNFS.
jet-gatj-arretayak, wuk-mungu wern Wc
tried to burn it but the grass was wet Ref: mh
jet-ma-doect v.stem. stretch. Ref: mh
jeyerr coverb. play clapsticks. Ref: mh
jejyugu n. mussel. Ref: mhPV
tyego: mussel. Ref: wh(wl)
jiji n. man. daktaj matngele-gayn gayang
jiji may-ma That man isn't really
Matngele Ref: mh343
djijidi. man. wud huerne djidji anbudja
How many men are lying down? Ref: gl277
djiiyi. man. Ref: wh(wl)
jimbit(i) n. boomerang. Ref: mhPV
dyimbi dyimbit; boomerang. Ref: wh(wl)
jimbur n. kapok tree. Ref: mhPV
dyinbur: kapok. Ref: wh(wl)
jinimiy n. small bat sp. Ref: mhPV
jinin n. nose; jinin wurrk-duruk-walik I
nearly drowned Ref: mh205
dyinin: nose. Ref: wh(wl)
jinin n. point. buy-gajnijiyak jinin gakpa-yu
You go around that point Ref: mh
jing coverb. ??
  — in. jing-waya war-gatj-yin Come here
quickly
  ~-gark-wut-ardey v.fin. carry-loc-
  1MSdoFS. ang-gin-awa mara ngaru
jing-gark-wut-ardey, mujurgang may-ma
Give it to me. I will try and carry that
swag Ref: mh
jingu n. freshwater crocodile. Ref: mhPV
yingo; freshwater crocodile. Ref: wh(wl)
jiyn n. pygmy goose. Ref: mhPV
jirr coverb. slip, slide.
  ~-gubuk-ma-gurrutu v.fin. bogey-IMPF-
  3ASstandPR. jirr-gubuk-ma-gurrutu
They are sliding Ref: mh
jirr n. scale (of fish). Ref: mhPV
jirratj n. wallaby (male). Ref: mhPV
jirriyn n. spear grass. Ref: mhPV
jirriyin n. tail. jirriya-wutj-ma-gatu He's
wagging his tail Ref: mh332
tyiriny: tail (of animal). Ref: wh(wl)
jirrk coverb. enter, put in.
  — in. dakayu buy-gayak jirrk
lungurr-ma niwer ayang I'm not going
into the cave, I'm frightened
  ~-burrangak-awa v.fin. 3ASauxP-1MO.
dun-burrang jirrirr-burrangak-awa I
drove the grass
  ~-gatj-ardiminek-nung v.fin. CAUS-
  1MSdoP-3MO. mawuyn
jirr-gatj-ardiminek-nung I dressed the
kid
  ~-yengiyin v.fin. 3MSgoP. arrayn
jar-ende jirrk-yengiyin Ref: mh
djirk: enter. inside. djirk wud dag gurna
yendiyu He goes inside his camp Ref: gl270
jirrk coverb. blow.
  ~-jet-doet-miyi-guchen v.fin. stand-sit-
  IMPF-3MSsituPR. jam
jirrk-jet-doet-miyi-guchen He's blowing a
digderidoo Ref: mh
jirrkarnda n. sea bird sp. Ref: mhPV
jirr-jet-doet v.stem. blow digderidoo. Ref: mh
jirrmiyin n. banyan tree. nguerem-ma
ghurna-bangart jirrmiyin budak
ghurna-nungu Before there used to be a big
banyan tree Ref: mh162
jirrnya coverb. sneeze. Ref: mh
jirrwur n. water goanna. Ref: mhPV
jiwirri n. burial platform. jiwirri
datj-burrudam barang-nung They make
burial platforms for dead bodies Ref: mh308
jiwurwur n. pandanus acutatorius. Ref: mhPV
jewurr: cypress pine. Ref: wh(wl)
joeder n. navel. Ref: mhPV
dyudur: navel. Ref: wh(wl)
Mopf-3MSstandP. wuk jurriyet-ma-gatu The tap is dripping Ref: mh

juriyet coverb. drip.

~ -ma-gatu v.fin. IMPF-3MSstandP.
wuk jurriyet-ma-gatu The tap is dripping Ref: mh

jurriyet coverb. wash.

~ -ma-guven v.fin. IMPF-3MSsiPR.
wawuyun jurrij-ma-guven miyimi The old woman is washing clothes Ref: mh

jurma n. heavy. Ref: mhPV

jut coverb. dance. step/tread on. kick.

~ -gurudangak v.fin. 3ASstandF.
jut-gurudangak wang.ga (The men) are dancing wangga Ref: mh

djud; stand. walk. jad jad-budainj mimicj dab He stands looking about the camp but the old woman has disappeared Ref: gw279

jutbng-jutbunjma n. padawncion. Ref: mhPV

jut-dap v.stem. wake up (lit. 'step on-grab').

~ -jut-obj.suff. 1MO. dagatj jut-dap-awa
Don't wake me up Ref: mh

jut-jak v.stem. kick. Ref: mh

dyudiek; kick. maradyudiek purang.gak
They kicked each other Ref: wh

jut-jirr v.stem. slip. Ref: mh

L

lagayn n. woomera. lagayn garnbi wurrk-jet-deneke-nung He put the spear in the woomera Ref: mh324

lagayn: woomera. Ref: wh(wl)

larl coverb. swell.

~ -wa-ayang.gak v.fin. get-1MSgoP.
mer-larl-ya-ayang.gak My foot swelled up Ref: mh

lam coverb. talk.

~ -ditj-gatj-awa obj.suff. return-CAUS-1MO. dagatj mat-lam-ditj-gatj-awa
Don't answer me back

~ -ma-guyang v.fin. IMPF-3MSgoP.
mat-lam-lam-ma-guyang gurna-jennngu He talks to himself Ref: mh

lamlam: talk. nguru lamlama enen i'm talking Ref: wh

lambu n. cheek. Ref: mhPV

lambo: cheek. Ref: wh(wl)

lang-gatj coverb. be bright (of moon and sun).

~ -butayn-ju v.fin. 3MSstandP-SPEC.

moerroerr malak garak-ga-yin-yengiyn
lang-gatj-butayn-ju The sun is coming up. it's shining brightly Ref: mh303

june n. lilyp (top). Ref: mhPV

tyun; lily tree. Ref: wh(wl)

juniyn n. carpet snake. Ref: mhPV

jungarabaya n. lawk sp. Ref: mhPV

jurjyvre coverb. drip.

~ -ma-gatu v.fin. IMPF-3MSstandP.
wuk jurriyet-ma-gatu The tap is dripping Ref: mh

jurrijyvre coverb. wash.

~ -ma-guven v.fin. IMPF-3MSsiPR.
wawuyun jurrij-ma-guven miyimi The old woman is washing clothes Ref: mh

jurma n. heavy. Ref: mhPV

jut coverb. dance. step/tread on. kick.

~ -gurudangak v.fin. 3ASstandF.
jut-gurudangak wang.ga (The men) are dancing wangga Ref: mh

djud; stand. walk. jad jad-budainj mimicj dab He stands looking about the camp but the old woman has disappeared Ref: gw279

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jut-dap v.stem. wake up (lit. 'step on-grab').

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Don't wake me up Ref: mh

jut-jak v.stem. kick. Ref: mh

dyudiek; kick. maradyudiek purang.gak
They kicked each other Ref: wh

jut-jirr v.stem. slip. Ref: mh

L

lagayn n. woomera. lagayn garnbi wurrk-jet-deneke-nung He put the spear in the woomera Ref: mh324

lagayn: woomera. Ref: wh(wl)

larl coverb. swell.

~ -wa-ayang.gak v.fin. get-1MSgoP.
mer-larl-ya-ayang.gak My foot swelled up Ref: mh

lam coverb. talk.

~ -ditj-gatj-awa obj.suff. return-CAUS-1MO. dagatj mat-lam-ditj-gatj-awa
Don't answer me back

~ -ma-guyang v.fin. IMPF-3MSgoP.
mat-lam-lam-ma-guyang gurna-jennngu He talks to himself Ref: mh

lamlam: talk. nguru lamlama enen i'm talking Ref: wh

lambu n. cheek. Ref: mhPV

lambo: cheek. Ref: wh(wl)

lang-gatj coverb. be bright (of moon and sun).

~ -butayn-ju v.fin. 3MSstandP-SPEC.

moerroerr malak garak-ga-yin-yengiyn
lang-gatj-butayn-ju The sun is coming up. it's shining brightly Ref: mh303

lang.ga-lang.ga n. butterfly. Ref: mhPV

langa. butterfly. Ref: wh(wl)

lawa n. flour. dar-yuwuy-deneke miyiyaw She mixed up flour and water Ref: mh115

lawlaw n. swollen. mer-law-law ayayn. My foot is swollen Ref: mh306

lem coverb. sink.

~ -yang.gak v.fin. 3MSgoP. wene
-lem-yang.gak The canoe sank Ref: mh

lerr coverb. bite.

~ -burdayak-awa v.fin. 3MSdoNFS.
terrlarr err-burdayak-awa The dog nearly bit me

~ -ma-burdayak-awa v.fin. IMPF-3ASstandP-1MO. woorrreeng mutjurr
lerr-m-a-burdayak-awa Lots of mosquitoes were biting me Ref: mh

lerr. bite. dyamarr mayma lerr godana

129
lungurra: cave. Ref: wh(wl)

lurrk coverb. growl (of belly).

~ -ma-ang v.fin. IMPF-1MSgoPR.

mera-lurrk-lurrk-ma-ayang My belly is
growling Ref: mh

lurrng coverb. clean.

~ -ma? ~ -garrdangak-arrarr v.fin.

IMPF-1ASdoF-INCL. dak

lurrng-lurrng-ma(?)-garrdangak-arrarr

We have to clean up camp

~ -ma-atak v.fin. IMPF-1MSStandP.

ngen-darayat-atayn dak-diyn

lurrng-lurrng-ma-atak I'm tired from

cleaning up the camp

~ -ma-tak v.fin. IMPF-1MSStandP. dak

lurrng-lurrng-m-atak
gk-burrung.gak-ma I was cleaning up

camp when they came Ref: mh

leng.-ger. clean. yird ma arak,
leng.ger. clean. yird ma arak,
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leng.ger. clean. yird ma arak,

mandara: death adder. Ref: wh(wl)

manyu coverb. tell, talk.

~ -denek-awa v.fin. 3MSdoP-IMO. ya
gu-nuru-jet manyu-denek-awa Yes,

uncle told me

~ -ardiminek-niynji v.fin. 1MSdoP-2MO.

manyu-ardiminek-niynji nguwerem-ju !
told you before

~ -buwallik v.fin. 3MSgoNFS. jiji may
dagatj manyu-buwallik That man

shouldn't talk like that. Ref: mh

manju: talk. malag manyu meb manju

gurdoemin it's been long enough. Go out!

he said Ref: gl270

manyu: talk. manyu adiminek
dyadynema, manyu demenak nguruma I
talked to him yesterday and he talked to

me Ref: wh

mar- v.RECPR. ayinjia-ngunjawanu-ma

mar-dajia-majawuru-warna What are

those two fighting for? Ref: mh160

mara n. bat. in (return) ba-jet-burruudak

mara-dakaya jelek-jet-burruudak.gak They

tried to stand up but they fell about Ref:

mh204

mara- v.RECPR. Ref: mh208

marerrim n. scorpion. Ref: mhPV

marerrim: scorpion. Ref: wh(wl)

marmarma n. white crane. Ref: mhPV
marrambar n. water guanna. Ref: mhPV
marrawart n. beard. marrawart
yarrk-ma-gunen He's shaving his beard
Ref: mh357
dyawuri: beard. Ref: wh(wl)
marrawart-jarnjar n. long beard. Ref: mhPV
marrga n. flower. Ref: mhPV
marrgu: flower. Ref: wh(wl)
marrk coverb. cold.
~~ ayang v,fin. 1MSgoPR. marrk-ayang
I'm cold Ref: mh
marrk: cold. Ref: wh(wl)
marrk n. snake sp. Ref: mhPV
marrutj n. crab Ref: mhPV
mat n. language. word. dagatj
mat-lam-ditj-gatj-awa Don't answer me
back Ref: mh244
mat-giya n. one language, countryman. Ref: mhPV
mat-wa coverb. believe, take notice of.
~~ guyang-awa v,fin. 3MSgoPR-1MO.
werek ngun dakayu mat-wa-guyang-awa
That kid doesn't take notice of me Ref: mh
mawuyn n. clothes. mawuyn
jirrk-gatj-ardimaen-nung I dressed the kid
Ref: mh319
mawuyn: tapiap. Ref: wh(wl)
mawuya n. poison. Ref: mhPV
may n. that. gambi mawuyn may jeyn-deneck
Who made that spear? Ref: mh311
mayu n. leave,... let. binya guarna mayu
butay guk This meat is still raw; leave it a little
Ref: mh287
mayu: enough. mayu bui biwi Enough. he
should go Ref: gl272
mayu righ/correct. Ref: wh(wl)
mek coverb. to lie to.
~~ denek-awa v,fin. 3MSdoP-1MO. ngun
mek-denek-awa He told me lies Ref: mh
mekem n. hand, times. day. jerrerek
meyn-jer-jer-burnayak memek dakayu
The old man tried to play (clapsticks) but his hands were bad Ref: mh222
mekem: hand. Ref: wh(wl)
memekbik n. clever fellow. Ref: mhPV
memek-ngerer n. fingernail. Ref: mhPV
memek ngerer; fingernail. Ref: wh(wl)
mender(-mender) n. billy goat plum. Ref: mhPV
mendoelma n. heart. Ref: mhPV
mendulma: heart. Ref: wh(wl)
men.gerr n. white cockatoo. Ref: mhPV
men.gerr: white cockatoo. Ref: wh(wl)
men.gl-men.gitj n. hawk sp. Ref: mhPV
meningitj n. echidna. Ref: mhPV
meningitj: echidna. Ref: wh(wl)
menwuyuk n. hunger. werek-giyitj ngun
menwuyuk guyang That kid is hungry
Ref: mh156
menwuyuk: hungry. werak buining.giri
menwuyuk ardam Children, you should
go; I'm hungry Ref: gl279
menwuyuk: hungry. Ref: wh(wl)
mern n. belly. heart.
mern-lurrk-lurrk-ma-ayang My belly is
growing Ref: mh241
men; belly/stomach. Ref: wh(wl)
mern-birij v.stem. settle down. Ref: mh
meb: go on. malag mayu meb manju
gurdoemn It's been long enough. Go out!
he said Ref: gl277
mern-gungurrur v.stem. be really angry. Ref: mh
mern-yiyit n. black-beaded python. Ref: mhPV
mangyidgirt; carpet snake. Ref: wh(wl)
meng.ger n. ironwood wax. Ref: mhPV
menyer n. tree sp (itchy tree). menyer
datj-burrung.gak wuk, binya-nung They used to poison water with itchy tree, for
fish Ref: mh351
meyn n. corroboree. jerrerek
meyn-jer-jer-burnayak memek dakayu
The old man tried to play (clapsticks) but his hands were bad Ref: mh222
meyn n. front of neck, throat.
marra-meyn-dabam-burrung.gak They grabbed each other's throats Ref: mh256
meny; throat. Ref: wh(wl)
meyn-ar coverb. be thirsty.
~~ ardam v,fin. 1MSdoP. meyn-ar-ardam
I'm thirsty. Ref: mh
meny derr ardam; (be) thirsty. Ref: wh(wl)
meyn-bit n. necklace. Ref: mhPV
meyn-galalurr n. trachea. Ref: mhPV
meyn-gerrwek n. tree sp. Ref: mhPV
meyn-yirryirr v.stem. have a tickle in the
throat. Ref: mh
mer n. foot. mer darr-ard-niyaji datjin I saw
your footprint on the road yesterday Ref: mh339
mer; foot. Ref: wh(wl)
mer n. tree sp. Ref: mhPV
mer- n. DY. datj-deneck-mung mer-gilang His
mother spanked him Ref: mh274
mer-beyi n. roots. Ref: mhPV
pei; root. Ref: wh(wl)
mer-durk n. stump. darr-m-eyajurdey yim
may-ma yim mer-durk Watch out for that
stump Ref: mh270
meroem n. stingray. Ref: mhPV
merim; stingray (small sp). Ref: wh(wl)
merrey n. paperbark. Ref: mhPV
merrey; paperbark. Ref: wh(wl)
- mi v. IMPF. jamarr gurriynjugu
wara-mi-ayang.gak-ma mara nembiyu
dat-wut-yurak I had two dogs but one
I'm awry. I'm a woman & woman!

The children are being small. My father made me stay and brought me back.

I'm soft. Auntie. She's soft-hearted.

The sore is hurting me. Ref: mh142

The hill is high. Ref: mh323

Those two are wrestling. Ref: mh302

The sun is coming up. It's shining brightly. Ref: mh303

The hill is high. Milngiyn wuluk

Two are wrestling. Ref: mh

Two are wrestling. Ref: mh

Those two are wrestling. Ref: mh

Two are wrestling. Ref: mh

Two are wrestling. Ref: mh

Two are wrestling. Ref: mh
is mh mura MSdoP mh226 mhPV Ref mh179 Re$, fin. tomorrow? many brother do 3ASdoPP. mh PV mh

muriq, muriqje, muriq; afternoon. muriq wud pinja nunda ang In the afternoon they put down more fish. but he gives them none Ref: gl270

murridya; evening. Ref: wh(wl)
murrmurmum; n. rotten. Ref: mhPV murrp coverb. nurse.

--- ayang.gak; v.fin. 1MSgoP.

- murrp-ayang.gak I nursed him Ref: mh mutuk-mutukma n. wild passionfruit. Ref: mhPV

mutuma n. crippled. mutuma guyang He is crippled Ref: mh134

nuwarndi n. poor fellow. Ref: mhPV

N

nambara; n. okay. Ref: mhPV nambara: right/correct Ref: wh(wl)
nambat n. also, too (?). Ref: mhPV -nambik v.fin. 1+2MSauxNFS. Ref: mh114 nambiyu n. nephew. Ref: mhPV

nandatil n. kidney. Ref: mhPV ngurnditil: kidney. Ref: wh(wl)
nangal n. wife. Ref: mhPV warang; wife. Ref: wh(wl)

-nangu n. big. ngwerem-ma gurna-bangart jirrnuy budak gurna-nangun Before there used to be a big banyan tree Ref: mh162

nangu-gunuwarrang n. morning/evening star. Ref: mhPV

nembarre n. other side. guren war nembarre angu nembarre They are sitting on the other side of the house Ref: mh207 nembiyu n. one. nembiyu ardiminek binya jawk I got one black nailfish Ref: mh176 nembyu: another. like. Ref: gl279 nemboe n. other. another. ngan-gakak-nguru ardiminek mara jiji nemboe I thought it was my uncle but it was another man Ref: mh191 nembu, nembue, neme: another. more. nembu darambin Another flying fox Ref: gl278

dudu n. horse. dudu-ni mer-ni jut-jak-denek-nung The horse kicked that bloke Ref: mh126

nemndurr; horse. Ref: wh(wl)
nenboe; n. different. Ref: mhPV -ney obj.suff. 1+2MO. Ref: mh252

neyi n. later. ya neyi-nung burp-gudangak Yes she will cook it later Ref: mh127

neyin n. later. binya ngerrp-nung gurrdangak neyn-ma Are you going to eat that meat up later? Ref: mh209

-ni n. ERG. INSTR. dudu-ni mer-ni jut-jak-denek-nung The horse kicked that bloke Ref: mh126

nida n. brother. nida an-bawuja wari-mi-anyang How many brothers do you have? Ref: mh198

nidanu; brother. Ref: gl270

niga n. tomorrow. niga buy-gaynja bodan Are you going to Darwin tomorrow? Ref: mh167

niyl coverb. peel. skin. pull bark off.

--- ma-guuen v.fin. IMPF-3SStsPR. miyi batata niyl-ma-guuen That woman is peeling potatoes

--- boerrrminek v-fin. 3ASDoPP. binya wilmur-mungu niyl-boerrrminek They skimmed the buffalo Ref: mh

nim-dar coverb. spill. Ref: mh

ninda; empty out. ninda arowarud kulj (They) pick up the basket with barramundi and empty it out and Ref: gl270

nimdeng n. always. all the time. Ref: mhPV nimjak n. small striped snake. Ref: mhPV

ninim coverb. ask.

--- burruk-dumung v.fin. 3ASstandP-3MO. gaka ninim-burruk-dumung Did they ask uncle

--- nung-ju-burrudayak v.fin. 3MO-SPEC-3ASDoNFs.
ninim-nung-ju-burrudayak mara dakuju-nung They wanted to ask him but he was gone Ref: mh

-ning.ginyn v.fin. 2ASSitP. Ref: mh295

ning.girngak v.simple 2ASlie/campF. Ref: mh261

-ning.girri v.fin. 2ASgoFS. Ref: mh179

-ning.girrik v.fin. 2ASgoNFS. Ref: mh226

ning.girringak v.simple 2ASlieF. Ref: mh269

-nijnji obj.suff. 2MO. Ref: mh189

nit coverb. sing someone. Ref: mh

niwarr coverb. fear.

--- ang-ardim-nung v.fin. give-1MSDoP-3MO. niwarr-ang-ardim-nung barragut I scared the whiteman

--- ang-boerrrminek-awa v.fin. give-
niwarr-ang-boerminek-awa Ref: mh
niwerr n. fear. dakayu buy-gayak jirrk lungurr-ma niwer ayang I'm not going into the cave; I'm frightened Ref: mh193
niya n. son. Ref: mhPV
niyawuyn n. offspring. Ref: mhPV
noenek v.fin. 3MSsitP. Ref: mh173
nuwut; emu. Ref: wh(wl)
nurdun n. moon. Ref: mhPV
numat coverb. ask for.
~ -at&-wurr v$n. 1MSstandP-3MO. numbat-atak-wurr I asked them for tucker Ref: mh
numbat coverb. ask for.
~ -at&-wurr v.fin. 1MSstandP-3AO. numbat-atak-wurr I asked them for tucker Ref: mh
nundulk coverb. be jealous of. Ref: mh
-(r)nung n. PURP. mi: ngin bam-doet-mi:yi-een jerrerek-nung I'm keeping this tucker for the old man Ref: mh233
-nung.gayn v.fin. 2ASGoF. Ref: mh113
nung.gurram v.simple. 2ASgoP. Ref: mh119
nung.gunoenek v.simple. 2ASsitP. Ref: mh235
-nung.gurr v.obj.suff. 2AO. ngak-nung.gurrgak Why didn't you eat the tucker
-nung.gurrgang.gak v.fin. 2ASGoP. Ref: mh266
-nung.gurrdang v.fin. 2ASdoCOND. Ref: mh174
-nung.gurrdangak v.fin. 2ASdoF. Ref: mh209
-nung.gurrrinik v.fin. 2ASiseNFS. Ref: mh248
-nung.gurrring.gak v.fin. 2ASgoP. Ref: mh176
-nung.gurrminek v.fin. 2ASdoP. Ref: mh226
nung.gurnay v.simple. 2ASsitFS. Ref: mh353
-nung.gurrudak v.fin. 2ASstandP. Ref: mh113
-nung.gurrudangak v.fin. 2ASstandF. Ref: mh181
-nung.gurrung.gak v.fin. 2ASGoP. Ref: mh145
-nung.gurrutangak v.fin. 1ASstandF. Ref: mh265
-nung.gurryuk v.fin. 2ASGoP. Ref: mh152
nuwun n. who. nuwun-ma gay-nung.gurrudak Who did you let yell out to? Ref: mh113
mundju; who, mundju buingu biwi ege agengumbirdij Who are those pretty girls going there Ref: gl279

ngatj- v.modif. just. ngatj-een nguru-ma I'm just sitting down Ref: mh116
ngatj-bam coverb. hide something.
~ -eyminek v.fin. 2MSDoP. wuk ngatj-bam-eyminek Have you hidden that grog?
~ -ardinek v.fin. 1MSDoP. ya ngatj-bam-ardinek ngun Yes, I hid it there Ref: mh
ngak coverb. cat.
~ -nung.gurrring.gak v.fin. 2ASGoP. miyi ayinja-diyn dakayu ngak-nung.gurrring.gak Why didn't you eat the tucker
~ -arrdeyak v.fin. 1ASdoFS. miyi ngak-arrdeyak mara miyi gere-dil We tried to eat it but it was bitter
~ -eynjili v.fin. 2MSgoFS. miyi may dakayu ngak-eynjili Don't eat that tucker
~ -burruday v.fin. 3ASstandFS. werek-giyti ngak-burruday nga-ngak-burruday Let those kids eat it

Ny

nyuk n. rotten. stinking. Ref: mhPV

Ng
ngerrp-denek That man cut a canoe

~ niynji-guwyak v.fin. 2MO-3MSgoF. ngerrp-niyunj-guwyak It will cut you
~ wudeyak v.fin. 3ASgoS. miyimitji binya ngerrp-wudeyaka mara nife ngart-mutmut The old women tried to cut up the meat but the knife was blunt

~ nung gurrdangak v.fin. 2ASdoF. binya ngerrp-nung.gurrdangak neyin-ma Are you lot going to cut that meat up later?

~ gurrdangak v.fin. 1ASdoF. ya neyin-nung ngerrp-gurrdangak Yes we will cut it up later Ref: mh

gurk: cut. banban ngurk gurdoemin djamma She cut the digging stick with a stone tomahawk Ref: gl278

ngerrp: cut. meye meenk ngerrp agarima Look out, you'll cut yourself Ref: wh

ngerrn pron. 1AUG. nguwerem mi: ngerrn ngak-m-en-erreng-erreng Before we used to eat bush tucker Ref: mh305

ngurud: we. 1AUG. wad buerne djidji anbudja ngur gurindiju How many men are lying down, just two? Ref: gl277

ngey coverb. be alight. flame up.

~ ma-gak v.fin. IMPF-3MSstandPR. yim-yit ngey-ma-gutu The charcoal is alight

~ yang.gak v.fin. 3MSgoP. yim ngey-yang.gak The fire flared up Ref: mh

ngeyi coverb. flash.

~ ma-gutu; IMPF-3MSstandPR. aynja maradalaj ngu guta-ma ngyect-ma-gutu What is that light flashing there? Ref: mh

ngin n. here. warr anyang.gak dak ngin nguwerem Have you been here before? Ref: mh342

njina, ayin: here. this place. malaq njina djirg gurnum waroe wayin mum Maybe put (the dead body) in here and cover it with paper bark Ref: gl277

nginini n. this side. Ref: mhPV

nging n. black currant. Ref: mhPV

ngirri n. grass sp. Ref: mhPV

ngirrward n. name sharing ritual. Ref: mhPV

ngiw n. short necked turtle. Ref: mhPV

ngoen n. sweat. ngoen-jeiti-ma-ayang.gak darak-waya I was sweating all night last night Ref: mh192

ngoeinboer n. snake (generic). nguru-gemoenrk darr-ardimieck ngoeinboer I saw the snake first Ref: mh301

myynbur: black whip snake. Ref: wh(wl)

nguer n. penis. nguer den-gatj-nung-burratuk They used to cut (young men) there Ref: mh294

nguray, ngurma, kuer: penis. nguray warma gudak The old man turns to stone. and his penis stands up all the time Ref: gl278

nguer-ye1 n. circumcision man (?). Ref: mhPV

nguer-mungu ? Ref: mhPV

ngoornguerr n. saltwater crocodile. pinya ngoorngauerr an-buy-ang.gak Where has the croc gone? Ref: mh128

ngurunngurr: freshwater crocodile. Ref: wh(wl)

ngoornguerr n. asleep. arai ngoorngauerr Let me sleep Ref: mh167

ngoorwak ? ?? Ref: mhPV

ngutj n. night. ngutj ga-barrang.gak They came back at night Ref: mh230

nguitj: night. darkness. Ref: wh(wl)

ngutj-goeriyet v. become dark.

~ miyi: IMPF / v.simple. ngutj ngutj-goeriyet-mi yi? guyu It's too dark Ref: mh

ngutj-yende n. morning. darr-deneke nguj-yende-ma That bloke saw us this morning Ref: mh252

nguidjendiyu: early morning. nguidjendiyu buyengiay dulpoerd ninginy Early one morning he was going along in his canoe Ref: gl279

nguiyender: morning. Ref: wh(wl)

ngum coverb. be quiet. Ref: mh

ngun n. there. buy-eynji dak ngun geyniagagak Are you going to go and camp there? Ref: mh352

ngundju: overthere. dakayo murur ngundju didjgagawaryak The sun overthere is coming back Ref: gl279

ngunini n. that side. other side. Ref: mhPV

ngunyuwa n. behind. gay-burrutak-awa ngunyuwa-diy They yelled out from behind Ref: mh337

ngunjuwa n. behind. afterwards. werek-giyiy ngunj-wuda-diy. jet-butak He is the last born kid Ref: mh305

nguru pron. IMPN. warri nguru ngak-amurburey Let's eat tucker Ref: mh335

ngurra-ngurra n. bustard. Ref: mhPV

ngurra ngurra: bush turkey. Ref: wh(wl)

nguwerem n. before. in front. warr anyang.gak dak ngin nguwerem Have you been here before? Ref: mh342

nguwerrem n. old days. before. nguwerrem guarrinyu-neemiyu wara-mi yi-a-yang.gak Before I had three Ref: mh199

nguwerem: long time ago. Ref: wh

nguwut n. clear country. Ref: mhPV
wa coverb. get.
~~ ~-yin-a-wa obj.suff. here-1MO. miyi wa-yin-a-wa Get me tucker
~~ ~-ma-gyu v.fin. IMPF-3MSliePR. miyi batu wa-ma-gyu Maybe she's getting tucker
~~ ~-gaynyj-a-wa v.fin. 2MSgoF-1MO. buy-ayaji darwin mi: wa-gaynyj-a-wa When you go to Darwin you get me tucker
~~ ~-nung-gurring-gak v.fin. 2ASgoP. binya durin an-buja warnung-nung.gurring.gak How many turtles did you get?
~~ ~-eynyinek v.fin. 2MSdoP. binya wa-eynyinek buwayn Did you get fish? Ref: mh
wa: bring up. fetch up. badja wayin wirlgak hardoerd burmi He should bring those stone spears up here Ref: gl277
wa-doct v.stem. have.
~~ ~-m-eonoek v.fin. IMPF-1MSsitP. wa-doct-m-eonoek ngutj-yende-nung mura jamarr ngak-yi-wa-yang.gak I had meat this morning but the dog took it and ate it Ref: mh
wadyet: leave. wadyet pen wakbara drut yang.gak If you leave this in the sun it'll go black
wajubarni n. loud. Ref: mhPV
watjuk coverb. throw in water.
~~ ~-ardiminek v.fin. 1MSdoP. watjuk-ardiminek I threw it in water Ref: mh
wakbarra n. black. yurrw wakbarra dagatj buy-ejyji Black mud. don't go there Ref: mh329
wakbarra: black. Ref: wh(wl)
wakma n. orphan. Ref: mhPV
walak coverb. clear off. Ref: mh
warn n. Op(?) Ref: mh358
-warn v.suffix. DES. Ref: mh233
warnarr n. lightning. Ref: mhPV
wararr: lightning. Ref: wh(wl)
warndwale n. rock snake. Ref: mhPV
warndwale: rock snake. Ref: wh(wl)
wangari pron. 2MIN. eweng wangari-gayn awuy warri She's not your sister: she's your aunt Ref: mh345
wangari: you. wangari anbudja nji memak nemberi yu you how many more (digging sticks are you cutting) here Ref: gl278
wang ga n. dance style. jut-gurrdangak wang ga (The men) are dancing wanga

---
wa-ngaL coverb. be okay. have settled. Ref: mh
war n. house. war-ni jet-boerminek They built a house Ref: mh163
war n. house, bark. Ref: wh(wl)
wara coverb. take. have. get.
~~ ~-buy-yn-gyu v.fin. go-3MSgoP. miyi an-yin wara-buy-yn-gyu ji ji ngun gayang-gu-ma Where is that bloke taking the tucker to?
~~ ~-miyi-ayang-gak v.fin. IMPF-1MSgoP. nguwerrem gurriju-nembjuy wara-mi-ayang.gak Before I had three
~~ ~-gawayak v.fin. 1MSgoF. mi wara-gawayak I got to get tucker tomorrow
~~ ~-mi-ayang-gak-ma v.fin. IMPF-1MSgoP-PRM. jamarr gurirju wara-mi-ayang.gak-ma nara nembju dat-wut-yaruk I had two dogs but one died Ref: mh
wara-gatj coverb. do quickly. Ref: mh
wargaitj: quickly. quick. wargaitj bard nung.guroerdai You should lift it quickly Ref: gl270
wargatj: quick. Ref: wh(wl)
warwi n. figtree. Ref: mhPV
warwi: fig tree. Ref: wh(wl)
warrr pron. 2MIN. warrr anyang.gak dak nji nguwerrem Have you been here before? Ref: mh342
warr ? Ref: mhPV
warrap ? Ref: mhPV
warri pron. 2MIN. daaku warri-nung biri-ma-ayang I'm not following you Ref: mh068
warri pron. 2MIN. daaku warri jeyn-enyenggak You never made it Ref: mh148
warrina n. brown duck. Ref: mhPV
warrina: duck sp. Ref: wh(wl)
warruk n. boy. male. Ref: mhPV
warryet coverb. walk.
~~ ~-o. NEG.IMP. werek-glytj da:ng warryet-guriti. nung.guruay del nembju Don't you kids walk around. you sit down one place
~~ ~-nung gurrdang v.fin. 2ASgoFS-PU. anyaja-diyn ngin warryet-yet-nung.gurrdang Why are you lot walking along
~~ ~-buy-ning-girri-wurna v.fin. go-2ASgoFS-UA. warryet-buy-ning.girri-wurna You two go for a walk
andja kilang miyi buieri What about it. children, we your mothers have to go and get tucker Ref: gl270
weret verb: have holes. open.

~ -ma-gutu v.fin. IMPF-3MSstandPR.
gere weret-ma-gutu The door is open Ref: mh
werr verb: be no good, ache.

~ -m-ayang v.fin. IMPF-1MSgoP.
burr-ayang, werr-werr-m-ayang gala nguru I have the flu. My whole body is aching Ref: mh
werrerritj n. Blue Mountain parrot. Ref: mhPV
wedirity: green parrot. Ref: wh(wl)
werrwert verb: scream.

~ -enoenek v.fin. 1MSsitP.
werrwerr-enoenek I screamed out in fear(dream) Ref: mh
werrwert v. be greedy.

~ -o n. wuk-nung gurna wert-wert guyang He's greedy for booze Ref: mh
wilbirrk verb: cross.

~ -eri-rarr v.fin. 1ASgoFS-INCL.
wilbirrk-eri-rarr We'll cross here

~ -gayak v.fin. 1ASgoF:
wuk gunuwarra nguy, neyn wilbirrk-ga:yak There's a lot of water, I will cross later

~ -eri-rerr v.fin. 1ASgoFS-INCL.
wilbirrk-eri-rerrr, wuk dakayu wuk-giyij guyu We will cross here, there is only a little water (336) Ref: mh
willik-wilik n. galah. Ref: mhPV
wilmurr n. horn. binya wilmurr-mungu an-gurang Where are the buffalo? Ref: mh347
wiyn.gerre n. basket. Ref: mhPV
winjgeree; basket. winjgeromma nanda gadjayenginj The basket didn't leak Ref: gl270
wirr verb: tie, tie up.

~ -ardiminek v.fin. 1MSdoP.
wirr-ardiminek garambang I tied a headband on Ref: mh
wirri-wirri n. rosela. Ref: mhPV
wirrk verb: finish.

~ -yang.gak v.fin. 3MSgoP.
wirrk-yang.gak

~ -denek v.fin. 3MSdoP.
gak-wirrk-denek He finished up the tucker

~ -boerrminek-awa v.fin. 3ASdoP goen wirrk-boerrminek-awa They finished the tobacco on me Ref: mh
wirngak : wirp: finish. altogether.
ngerpdam wirngak bui-yenginj When he has finished cutting (fat) he goes away
bong; smokc. ganjinma bung bung jainj
bardjed budak She pulls the grass cord up, and the smoke rises Ref: g1279
ang.gurr: smoke. Ref: wh(wl)
-wuyn n. blind. miyimitj aynja-dyin dun-wuyn
guyang Why is the old woman blind? Ref: mh162
woyny: blind. Ref: wh(wl)

wur coverb. stand.

---ma-guyang v. fin. IMPF-2MStandPR.
aynja-nung wur-ma-guyang Why are you standing there?

---uru-ambutu v. fin. redupl-1+2standPR.
aynja-nung wur-uru-ambutu Why are we standing up?

---mahambutu v. fin. 2MStandPR. mir wur-ma-guyang darsi-ardam-nilunji I can
see your shadow in the water

---ma-guyang v. fin. IMPF-3MStandPR. yim
wuk-yende wur-ma-guyang That stick sticks out of the water Ref: mh
wur: stand. wurma atay I'm standing up Ref: wh

wuri-wuri coverb. slightly offrotten.

---yen-giyn v. fin. 3MSgoS. biaya
wuriwuri-yen-giyn The meat is greenish Ref: mh

wurr coverb. upright. aynja-nung
wurr-uru-ambutu Why are we standing up? Ref: mh156

-wurr obj.suff. 3AO. deg-m-enen-wurr I'm
waiting for the others Ref: mh330
wur: them. njindju manju gardecmir wur
He tells them there yet Ref: g1278
wurrik coverb. enter. put in.

---denek v. fin. 3MSdoP. wercek
warna-wurrik-denek He made that kid

---awalik v. fin. 1MSgoNFS. jinj
wurr-durrik-wurr I nearly drowned

---jet-denek-nung v. fin. stand-3MSdoP-
3MO. lagayn garnbi
wurr-jet-denek-nung He put the spear in the woomen Ref: mh
worrrk: put in. wurrik durrrkaday Ref: wh
wur coverb. lie. camp.

---ayang v. fin. 1MSgoPR. dakayu
wur-ayang I can't sleep

---giyngak v. fin. 3MSliEF. jiij may
buy-yangya-wut-giyngak pangarrayn
That man will go and camp at Pangarrayn
tonight Ref: mh
wur: lie. tady wutyrak dyidlyima That one
had an accident Ref: wh
I'm here boys. I have a tickle. It's rustling. A snake may be. Ref: mh

yarrat coverb. straighten leg.

yarrat-ayang-gak I straightened my leg Ref: mh

yarrindii n. sorcery (hostile). Ref: mhPV

yarrk coverb. shave.

yarrpat coverb. roll on back (of dog).

yarrpat-ayang-gak The dog is rolling about in the grass or dirt Ref: mh

yayabin n. long-nosed bec. Ref: mhPV

-yende n. LOC. gurrutu bar-yende They are at that spring Ref: mh347

-yenglyn v.fin. 3MSgoP. Ref: mh136

yeynwul coverb. be ashermed.

-ayang-gak v.fin. IMPF-3MSgoPR.

marrawart yarrk-ma-gu-en He's shaving his beard Ref: mh

yerrpat coverb. straighten leg.

-ayang-gak v.fin. IMPF-3MSgpP. gerrerre

yarrpat-ayang-gak I straightened my leg Ref: mh

yayabin n. long-nosed bec. Ref: mhPV

-yende n. LOC. gurrutu bar-yende They are at that spring Ref: mh347

-yenglyn v.fin. 3MSgoP. Ref: mh136

yeynwul coverb. be ashermed.

-ayang-gak v.fin. IMPF-3MSgoPR.

marrawart yarrk-ma-gu-en He's shaving his beard Ref: mh

yenjub: shame datab andjurdai wa mum andjurdai mai yenjub buerung Lift your leg and cover yourself that way, they could be ashermed Ref: gl278

yer n. rubbish. Ref: mhPV

yerrp coverb. scrape.

-ayang-gak v.fin. IMPF-3MSgoPR.

yerrp-ayang-gak They used to scrape it off Ref: mh

yet coverb. lead. Ref: mh

yewerr n. rubbish. Ref: mhPV

yewoerr n. pine tree. Ref: mhPV

yitj-ma n. cricket. Ref: mhPV

yim n. fire, firewood, tree. yim ngey-yang-gak The fire flared up Ref: mh337

yim: firewood. yim lerbardai: ya yim lerbardai pinjanung Shall I make a hot fire. Yes you should make a hot fire for the meat Ref: gl277

yim: fire, tree. Ref: wh(wl)

yim-bar n. kindling. Ref: mhPV

yim-diyn n. dingo. Ref: mhPV

yim-gumeng.gen n. chickenhawk. Ref: mhPV

yin v. here, hither. werek jagart-yin-yang-gak The child ran here Ref: mh124

-yin n. ALL. ngun-yin buy-yang-gak He has gone over there Ref: mh145

yindiyn.gerre n. itchy grub. Ref: mhPV

yirr coverb. scratch.

-yirr-ma-yang-gak v.fin. IMPF-1MSgoP.

yirr-ma-din, yirr-yang-gak garala birt-ayn My skin has gone red from scratching Ref: mh

yirrtg n. pig-nosed turtle. Ref: mhPV

yirrtyrr coverb. tickle.

-ayang-gak v.fin. 1MSgoP.

meen-yirrtg-ayang I have a tickle in my throat Ref: mh

yit n. charcoal. yim-yit aegy-ma-gu-tu The charcoal is alight Ref: mh112

yird: ashes didga gurang nung werak yird ma yerak gardeenin wuru The boys came back to him and he rubs them with ashes Ref: gl270

lyirt: charcoal. Ref: wh(wl)

yiwuy coverb. go away.

-burrung-gak v.fin. 3ASgoP. berk daka yiwuy-burrung.gak The clouds have gone away Ref: mh

yoemoer n. forehead. Ref: mhPV

yirrnur: forehead/temple. Ref: wh(wl)

yugutj coverb. move.

-buy-yenglyn v.fin. go-3MSgoP.

dak-yugutj-buy-yenglyn He has moved over Ref: mh

yunduk coverb. pass.

-arrang.gak v.fin. 1ASgoP. buy anyang-gak nawuyu, daka-yu yunduk-arrang.gak Did you go to Nawuyu? No. We passed it Ref: mh

-yungyn v.fin. 3MSlieP. Ref: mh135

yungurrmilyi n. plum sp. Ref: mhPV

yup coverb. be tired, die.

-yenglyn-awa v.fin. 3MSgoP. abap ardham, jerei-yungyn-awa gakwai-din warruytet-ga-ayang.gak I'm tired from walking a long way

-amalik v.fin. 1+2MSgoNFS. jawu-yu yup-amalik We nearly died

-ning-girrik v.fin. 2ASgoNFS.

yup-ning-girrik jawu-yu You nearly died Ref: mh

yurak v.simple. 3MSlieP. Ref: mh138

-yurak v.fin. 3MSlieP. Ref: mh112

yurru n. ground. jelek-nambik, wuk-mungu yurru We nearly fell over. Wet ground
Ref: mh114

yorro: earth, ground. Ref: wh(wl)
yuwer n. woollybut. Ref: mhPV

djeroerak ma yur wudjoeddam
The old man hides them underneath Ref: gl270
2. English Finderlist

This Finderlist is a reversal of the combined lexical files of the field notes of Laves, Hoddinott and Harvey. The list includes a generous amount of their individual perceptions of the Matngele language, and should not be taken as an infallible finder, but rather to usefully compare their recognition of a given lexeme, and possibly as a tool for accessing the difficult notes of Laves and Hoddinott.

\[
\begin{array}{ll}
\text{ache} & \text{bung (mh); burr (mh); glyn (mh).} \\
\text{across} & \text{durrrut (mh).} \\
\text{adult son} & \text{niya (gl).} \\
\text{afternoon} & \text{mirer dirmeriny (wh); muridj (gl); muridje (gl); murrija (mh).} \\
\text{again} & \text{nembiyu (gl).} \\
\text{alight stick} & \text{yim minaminma (wh).} \\
\text{alive} & \text{dum-ma (mh).} \\
\text{allabout} & \text{mudjur (gl).} \\
\text{allaround} & \text{guridj (gl).} \\
\text{alltime} & \text{ngaidj (gl).} \\
\text{alligator} & \text{ngueranguer (gl).} \\
\text{always, all the time} & \text{ninjeng (mh).} \\
\text{alone} & \text{jenangu (mh).} \\
\text{along back} & \text{mindjel yed (gl); minjdel yed (gl).} \\
\text{along ground/aux} & \text{engwud-miyi-kioengak (gl).} \\
\text{alonga sky} & \text{wulak (gl).} \\
\text{also, too} & \text{nambat (mh).} \\
\text{altogether} & \text{wirngak (gl).} \\
\text{angry} & \text{barrirrkam (wh).} \\
\text{ankle} & \text{durb purum (wh); durk-boerrom (mh).} \\
\text{another} & \text{nembeedu (gl); nembu (gl).} \\
\text{another, like} & \text{nembiyu (gl).} \\
\text{another lot} & \text{buja-nembeu (mh).} \\
\text{another one} & \text{gurna (wh).} \\
\text{ache} & \text{bung (mh); burr (mh); glyn (mh).} \\
\text{across} & \text{durrrut (mh).} \\
\text{adult son} & \text{niya (gl).} \\
\text{afternoon} & \text{mirer dirmeriny (wh); muridj (gl); muridje (gl); murrija (mh).} \\
\text{again} & \text{nembiyu (gl).} \\
\text{alight stick} & \text{yim minaminma (wh).} \\
\text{alive} & \text{dum-ma (mh).} \\
\text{allabout} & \text{mudjur (gl).} \\
\text{allaround} & \text{guridj (gl).} \\
\text{alltime} & \text{ngaidj (gl).} \\
\text{alligator} & \text{ngueranguer (gl).} \\
\text{always, all the time} & \text{ninjeng (mh).} \\
\text{alone} & \text{jenangu (mh).} \\
\text{along back} & \text{mindjel yed (gl); minjdel yed (gl).} \\
\text{along ground/aux} & \text{engwud-miyi-kioengak (gl).} \\
\text{alonga sky} & \text{wulak (gl).} \\
\text{also, too} & \text{nambat (mh).} \\
\text{altogether} & \text{wirngak (gl).} \\
\text{angry} & \text{barrirrkam (wh).} \\
\text{ankle} & \text{durb purum (wh); durk-boerrom (mh).} \\
\text{another} & \text{nembeedu (gl); nembu (gl).} \\
\text{another, like} & \text{nembiyu (gl).} \\
\text{another lot} & \text{buja-nembeu (mh).} \\
\text{another one} & \text{gurna (wh).} \\
\end{array}
\]
| break up, crush | murr (mh). |
| break | beyneger (mh); doeowoerr (mh); pengew (wh). |
| break sp | marramin (mh). |
| breast | guyung (mh). |
| breathe | nge (mh). |
| bring up, fetch up | wa-yin (gl). |
| broken (with foot) | duptyak (wh). |
| broken (with hands) | duptyak (wh). |
| brogla | baryn (mh); parlay (wh). |
| brother | nida (gl); nida (mh); nidangu (gl). |
| brother-in-law | edunag (gl). |
| bubble up | bung-gatj (mh). |
| build, put | jet (mh). |
| bullant | dirrawur (mh). |
| bundle of spears | birban (mh). |

| cabbage palm | gunburr (wh). |
| calf of leg | gar-ngen (mh). |
| call out | gay (mh). |
| came | ka (wh). |
| camp | dag (gl); dak (mh). |
| camp at | dag-dja (gl); daj-djo (gl). |
| canoe | weno (wh); wene (mh). |
| canoe | wenoe (gl). |
| can’t hear | naja-ayang (gl). |
| carpet snake | juniyin (mh); mangyigirt (wh). |
| carry | gar (mh); gark-wut (mh). |
| cat | dab (gl). |
| catfish | daiyi (gl); daiyi (gl); dayi (gl); dayi (mh); dayi (wh); goereol (mh); jerrlyn-jerriyn (mh); kurur (gl); kurur (gl); kururoe (gl). |
| cattle (from Engl. bullock) | bulagi (wh). |
| cave | lungurr (mh); lungurr (wh). |
| centipede | jereerr (mh); tyerer (wh). |
| of around that way | nyigigigaroouwun (gl). |
| charcoal | lyirt (wh); yit (mh). |
| cheek | lambu (wh); lambu (mh). |
| chest | mooerrmooerr (mh); muermurr (wh); muermur (gl). |
| chickenhawk | ing-gamang-gan (wh); yim-gameng-gen (mh). |
| child | werak (gl); werak (mh). |
| chin | jang-gurr (mh). |
| chisel, shave | yawidj-yawidj (gl). |
| cicatrices | garrg (mh). |
| circumcised man | ngoor-yel (mh). |
| clapping sticks | tyerrnyiny (wh). |
| clapsticks | jerrnyina (mh). |
| claw | mer (gl). |
| burial platform | jiwiirr (mh). |
| buried | djiru (gl). |
| burn | durb (gl); ngap (mh). |
| burn (fire) | burb (gl). |
| burp | dumurrk (mh). |
| bush | du-mamo (wh). |
| bush turkey | ngarra ngarra (wh). |
| bustard | ngurra-ngurra (mh). |
| but, in (return, reciprocal) | mara (mh). |
| butcherbird | boerrwey (mh); purrwey (wh). |
| butterfly | langa langa (wh); langa-langa (mh). |
| button | del-ngen (mh). |
| buttocks | del (wh); guen (gl); guendyin (gl). |
| by & bye | kukuk (gl). |

**C**

| clean | leng-gerrk (mh); lurrng (mh). |
| clear country | nguwut (mh). |
| clear ground, plans | garrak (mh). |
| clear off | wak (mh). |
| clench | dabam (mh); dabarriyn (mh). |
| clever fellow | dagar (mh); men-grr (mh); muluk (mh). |
| clever man | dazar (wh). |
| click tongue | bing (mh). |
| cliff, steep bank | ngart-garribarpp (mh). |
| climb | garar (mh). |
| close | gandara (mh); gandarai (gl). |
| close up coming/aux | birkainglyenginy (gl). |
| clothes | mawuyu (mh). |
| cloud | berk (mh); perk (wh). |
| cockpit | men-gerr (mh). |
| cod | muluk (mh). |
| cold | garr (mh); ker (gl); kergaidj (gl); magg (mh); marrk (wh). |
| cold, naked | karak (gl). |
| cold wind | dangarr (mh). |
| COM | -mungu (mh). |
| come | gyaun-guyin (gl); waya (gl); waya (gl). |
| come back | didji-ga (gl); guyung-guyin (gl). |
| come back/aux | didji-gandijiyak (gl). |
| come back/aux | gabiri (gl). |
| come, get off | durritj (mh). |
| come on-fix/aux | maradjanjinder (gl). |
| come talk-talk, ‘se rejoindre’ | kulakul (gl). |
| come up | kakwawang (gl). |
| come up/aux | birgainglyyanginy (gl). |
| constellation | merbo (wh). |
| cook | burpp (mh). |
eagle bultjan (mh).

eagle hawk hurtyyan (wh); kenken (wh).
car bidwur(oe) (gl); biyawur (mh); biyur (wh).

ear-COM biyawur-mungu (mh).

carly morning ngusidjendiyu (gl); ngusidjendiyu (gl).

carth, ground yorro (wh).

cat ngak (gl); ngak (mh).
cat noisily dengjeng (rnh).

echidna meningitj (mh); meningit (wh).

echo lu (mh).

eelfish dang (wh).

egg murr (mh).

elbow dandar (mh); dandur (wh).

empty dakayu (gl).

empty out balgujig (gl); nimda (gl).

emu noewoct (mh); nuwut (wh).

enough mai ma (gl); maiyu (gl); mayu (gl); mayu (gl).

enter jirrk (mh).

enter, inside djirrk (gl).

erect guinj (gl); gunj (gl).

evening murrriyu (wh).

every way walak ngin (sil).

everywhere bark-bark (nrh).

extinguish darwirrk (nh).

eye dun (mh); dun (wh).

eyebrows yimuer demdem (gl).

faeces goen (mh).

fall jalk (mh).

fall down djalk (gl).

fall (of rain) bar-gatj (nih).

far gakwak (mh).

fasten (spearthrower) warek (gl).

fat dinkninginy (mh); moel (mh): mul (gl); muel (gl).

father bang (mh); bang-gai (gl); bangu (gl).

father’s father kawui (gl).

father’s sister awui (gl).

fear berrp (mh); niwarr (mh).

feather galawum (mh).

feel cold gerr (mh).

female aruk (mh).

fetch hither/aux wagaburdainy (gl).

firefly mindurtk (mh).

fig tree warwi (wh).

fight meroe (gl).

fighting stick djargara (gl); waroewaru (gl).

fighting stick with double pointed end djargara (gl).

figtree warwi (mh).

filesnake boenebeen (mh).

fill gere-yet (mh).

fill up djugarndi (gl); myendi-yu (gl).

fill up/aux wadjuk nung.guroerdai (gl).

fin marnndan (mh).

fingernail meme ngereoe (gl); memek ngere (wh); memek-ngere (mh).

finish wirngak (gl); wip (gl); wirrk (gl); wirrk (mh).

fire yim (wh).

fire drill(pair) mini gere (gl).

fire, firewood, tree yim (mh).

firestick ming.garra (wh); miyn.gerre (mh).

firewood yim (gl).

first -gemiruk (mh); wirngak (gl).

first time nguwerem (gl).

fish berrberrt (mh); buwayn (mh); garara (mh); piaja (gl).

fish (flat sp) durr (wh).

fish spear with bamboo shaft mabulek (gl).

fish with two mouth karara (gl).

fix djem (gl); djenjma (gl); djenj(ma) (gl).

fix all around/aux djenjma guridjma guiyang (gl).

fix up/aux djenj ardai-ninji (gl).

fix/aux djenj guridjna (gl).

flank dererr (mh).

flap wings bal (mh).

flash berrp (mh).

flat, disc-like fish, swimming flat, with very short tail durr (gl).

flat ground (black soil) yurru wakparra (mh).

flat, wide barl-barl (mh).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>float</td>
<td>buyuy-buyuy (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flood</td>
<td>doonnyenget (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>floodwater</td>
<td>dinyung-gurl (wh); duynyun-gurl (wh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flow</td>
<td>elele (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flow (of tears)</td>
<td>bark (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flower</td>
<td>marrga (mh); marrgu (wh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flowing water, current</td>
<td>warir (wh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fly</td>
<td>karanguk (wh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flying fox</td>
<td>darrinbin (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>flying fox (small sp)</td>
<td>birinna (gll).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>follow</td>
<td>piri (mh); piri (gl).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>follow-go</td>
<td>mer (mh); mer (wh); meri (gl).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>footwalk</td>
<td>del-yuru (wh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go down</td>
<td>kuluk (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go away-along</td>
<td>kakwa-ngu (gl).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go away/aux</td>
<td>yiwigayang (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go down</td>
<td>kuluk (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go down along water</td>
<td>gaduk yi waya (gl).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go down (under)</td>
<td>kapuk (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go down (under), disappear</td>
<td>kubuk (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go on</td>
<td>meb (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go outside, come out</td>
<td>karakak (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go white</td>
<td>bung-way (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goanna</td>
<td>arany (wh); barang-gerre (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goanna</td>
<td>arrayn (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forehead</td>
<td>yoemen (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forehead band</td>
<td>galambang (wh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forehead, temple</td>
<td>yirmur (wh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forever</td>
<td>dak (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>forget</td>
<td>bir-del (mh); biyerdel (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fork in tree</td>
<td>jerru-balkayn (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>freshwater crocodile</td>
<td>jingu (mh); tymo (wh); ngurrngurr (wh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frighten</td>
<td>niyewaro (gl).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frightened</td>
<td>nioweroe (gl).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>frog</td>
<td>gereguk (mh); keraguk (wh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>front of neck</td>
<td>meyn (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full</td>
<td>gere-nyijmu (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>full stomach</td>
<td>men ngelkadan (wh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fur</td>
<td>poytya (wh).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>galah</td>
<td>wilik-wilik (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gather up</td>
<td>luerner (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gather up (together)</td>
<td>luri-lur-ma (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gather/aux</td>
<td>lebardai (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>genitalia</td>
<td>ngarnmurr (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get better</td>
<td>gayu-ber (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get bogged</td>
<td>joydoerpp (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>get lost, not know</td>
<td>buy (wh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ghost</td>
<td>aruk (mh); daynjak-gayak (mh); goerda (wh); guwarda (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>girl</td>
<td>birird (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>give</td>
<td>ang (mh) (gl); ang gen (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>glass spear</td>
<td>djimbere (gl).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gnaw</td>
<td>ngarp (mp).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go</td>
<td>buy (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go around</td>
<td>durit (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go away</td>
<td>kuluk (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>kakwa-ngu (gh).</td>
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<tr>
<td>go outside, come out</td>
<td>karakak (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go white</td>
<td>bung-way (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goanna</td>
<td>arany (wh); barang-gerre (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goanna</td>
<td>arrayn (mh).</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>gunbiritj (mh); gunburit (wh); kunburitj (gh); ngendjurbiridj (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>goose eggs</td>
<td>kalmug.gurr (mh); kalmug.gurr (wh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grass</td>
<td>ngalj (gh); wern (gh); wern (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gray hair</td>
<td>buja-bur (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gray-haired</td>
<td>budyebongma (wh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green ant</td>
<td>pirring.gam (wh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>green parrot</td>
<td>wediritj (wh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>grind teeth</td>
<td>nirringgit (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ground</td>
<td>yurru (mh).</td>
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<tr>
<td>ground oven</td>
<td>buy (mh).</td>
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<tr>
<td>grow</td>
<td>barrk (mh).</td>
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<tr>
<td>grow up</td>
<td>duruk (mh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>growl</td>
<td>dawu (gh); dawu-lam (mh); lurru (mh).</td>
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<tr>
<td>guide</td>
<td>warigirtj (gh).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Mungarlin</td>
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<tr>
<td>---------</td>
<td>----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair</td>
<td>budja meneng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hair of head</td>
<td>poytya menang</td>
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<tr>
<td>hair belt</td>
<td>mungurru</td>
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<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>memek</td>
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<tr>
<td>hand times day</td>
<td>memek</td>
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<tr>
<td>handkerchief</td>
<td>mawuil</td>
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<tr>
<td>hang</td>
<td>wel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hang up</td>
<td>darrp; wadgaidj; wart</td>
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<tr>
<td>hang up/aux</td>
<td>wadgaidj</td>
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<tr>
<td>happy glad</td>
<td>luglug</td>
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<tr>
<td>hard</td>
<td>ngat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hard tough strong</td>
<td>ngat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>mendoelma; menulima</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have</td>
<td>a headache</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>have a sore</td>
<td>meyn-derr-way</td>
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<tr>
<td>have a tickle in throat</td>
<td>meyn-yirri</td>
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<tr>
<td>have cramps</td>
<td>guing</td>
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<tr>
<td>have enough</td>
<td>ngelk</td>
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<tr>
<td>have holes</td>
<td>weret</td>
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<tr>
<td>have/aux</td>
<td>gaburainy</td>
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<tr>
<td>hawk</td>
<td>dimburo; dimburu; wanggeiroe</td>
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<tr>
<td>hawk sp</td>
<td>jugurabaya; men-gi-men-gij</td>
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<tr>
<td>hawk spear</td>
<td>purr</td>
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<tr>
<td>he let him lie</td>
<td>wuddam</td>
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<tr>
<td>he she it they</td>
<td>gurna</td>
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<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>budja; buja; poytya</td>
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<tr>
<td>head hair</td>
<td>buja-meneng</td>
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<tr>
<td>headband</td>
<td>garambang</td>
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<tr>
<td>hear</td>
<td>bloendek</td>
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<tr>
<td>heart</td>
<td>mendoelma; menulima</td>
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<tr>
<td>heavy</td>
<td>jurma</td>
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<tr>
<td>herbage</td>
<td>miyi</td>
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<td>here</td>
<td>ngin; njina; njyu</td>
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<tr>
<td>hide</td>
<td>halam</td>
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<tr>
<td>hide away</td>
<td>yarwud</td>
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<td>hide something</td>
<td>ngatij-ban</td>
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<tr>
<td>hill</td>
<td>milgiyina</td>
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<tr>
<td>him there yet</td>
<td>gijung-gu</td>
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<tr>
<td>hip</td>
<td>delbermer</td>
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<td>hips</td>
<td>del</td>
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<tr>
<td>hit</td>
<td>bilp; datj</td>
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<tr>
<td>hole, burrow, lair</td>
<td>jar</td>
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<tr>
<td>hollow</td>
<td>hak-jambar</td>
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<tr>
<td>honey</td>
<td>weemerr</td>
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<tr>
<td>hook, fishing line</td>
<td>guwarirr</td>
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<tr>
<td>hooked</td>
<td>spear</td>
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<tr>
<td>hooked (wood carving)</td>
<td>spear</td>
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<tr>
<td>hornet</td>
<td>mulwar</td>
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<tr>
<td>horse</td>
<td>nendu; neindurr</td>
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<tr>
<td>hot</td>
<td>lerb; lerpp; lerpp</td>
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<td>hot ashes</td>
<td>darr</td>
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<tr>
<td>hot, sick</td>
<td>bur</td>
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<tr>
<td>hot weather</td>
<td>gere-mirrirmirma; gere-woeng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>war</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how</td>
<td>anyin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>how many</td>
<td>anbudja; an-buwaja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>howl</td>
<td>bu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>humbug, play</td>
<td>mirritj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunger</td>
<td>menwayuk</td>
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<tr>
<td>hungry</td>
<td>menwiyk; menwuyuk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hunt</td>
<td>wayalk</td>
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<tr>
<td>hurt</td>
<td>gek</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ironwood</td>
<td>bawitj; pawirt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ironwood wax</td>
<td>mengger</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>island</td>
<td>karanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>island mound</td>
<td>garanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>itchy grub</td>
<td>yindlyn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
jabiru boetoer (mh).
jaw, chin dyung.gorr (wh).
jump bingurrp (mh).
jungle fowl garlbambuk (mh).
just ngatj (mh).

just come up karak (gl).
just there ngunbinindju (gl).
just yuindju (gl).

kindling yim-bar (mh).
kangaroo burkin (mh).
kapok dyminbur (wh).
kapok tree jimbur (mh).
keep on doing djedoerak (gl).
kidney nandatil (mh); ngurnditil (wh).
knee buenggar-doen (nrh); boensger (mh).

kneecap buengkeroe (gl).
knock down djalkeidj (gl).
kookaburra gawurrmer (mh); gurruwak (mh); kawurrme (wh); kurrwak (wh).

la) down/aux wudjandjurnai (gl).
lie down/aux wudjandjurnai (gl).
lie, sit wud (gl).
lie/aux wudajurnai (gl).
lie/aux wud guyu (gl).
light baird (gl); dalab (gl).
light, up bard (gl).
light/aux dubaroerdam (gl).
light bilyirr (mh); biri-biri (mh); dal-jagurr (mh); pibirrma (wh).
light a grass fire jet-gatj (mh).
light, make fire burh (gl).
light, torch marndalatj (mh).
lightning wanarr (wh); warnar (gl).

lightweight ngalwar (mh).
like dab (gl); garnudur d ak (gl).
like, want garndap (mh).
lily root kerang (wh).
lily seed wogin (wh).
lily sp geter (mh); jin (mh); mirang (mh).
lily tree tuyn (wh).
lump hoodoen (mh).
line up durrag (mh); jwin (mh).
listen biyandak (mh).
little giyitj; kiyitj (gl).

little barramundi djinbir (gl).
little boy warok (gl).
little finger memek niyewun (wh).
little girl arok (gl).
little nailfish werok ber (gl); weroek bar (gl).
little rain głyit (wh).
little, small gijing (pl).
little son werak (gl).
liver dergere (gl); derrger (mh).
lizard jener (mh).
lizard sp gwenydal (mh); gwinndal (wh); muenoerr (mh).
long canoe dulpoerd (gl).
long double-ended fighting stick waroewa’ra (gl).
long spear mabdlak (wk).
long spear with long, wide solid carved head birr (gl).
long spear with wide solid carved head birrpin (gl).
maggot moet (mh).
make jeyn (mh).
make a bed beryk (mh).
make a corroboree jeric (mh).
male warruk (mh).
male cousin etu (mh).
man djidji (gl); jiji (mh); dyidyi (wh).
many matjurr (mh).
marchfly biya (mh).
mariied couple gandarr-giyaang (mh).
maybe batu (mh).
mean miyebetj (wh).
meat binya (mh).
mend dar-dam (mh).
messenger stick (sent to initiate’s mother) ngemenoroe (gl).
midday mirerurluk (wh).
middle benger (mh); gurnak-jetma (mh).
might be gone away bui burang-gaik (gl).
milkwood jeysjuk (mh).
miss gurbit (mh).
mix dar-yuway (mh); delk (mh).
money bawar (mh).
monsoon forest doenoe (mh).
moon nudun (wh); nurdu (gl); nurdu (mh).
morn long, tall guban (mh); kuban (wh).
long time gunabanguardi (wh); malak (gl); ngeen-way (mh).
long time ago nguwerem (wh).
look dar (gl).
look about dar guridj (gl); dar-guridj (gl).
look out for dery (mh).
look/aux dar guridjum (gl).
lose gati-waya (mh).
looy wajubari (mh).
lover luk (mh).
lower arm barpur (wh).
lower leg kerirer (wh).
lump, gooseflesh durkdurk (mh).
lungs ngaebhuma (gl).
lungs (also: bad cold) ming girr (wh).
more nambard (gl); nembera (gl);
nembu (gl); nembu (gl); nembe (gl); nemac (gl).
morning nguityeender (wh).
morning, evening star nangu-gunuwarang (mh).
mosquito wirrung (wh); woerreng (mh).
mother gilang (mh); gilang (wh); kilang (wh).
mother in law awuiyungu (gl).
mother’s brother gauwiiweke (gl); kaga (gl).
mother’s brother’s son kaja (gl).
mother’s father nambinj (gl).
mother’s mother keleng (gl).
mustache gere (gl); karayil (wh).
mouth gere (gl); gere (mh); kara (wh).
kere (mh).
move yugui (mh).
mucus miyvjer (mh).
mud puyurrk (wh).
musket biyit (mh); buyirn (wh); buying (gl); diyinj (gl).
mushroom bayaburrk (mh).
mussel jeyuga (mh); tyego (wh).
**N**

naifish jawk (mh).
naifish wergererg (gl); werkerk (gl);
name sharing ritual agirwart (mh).
ne of neck dyamnu (wh).
native doctor miyam-dagar (mh).

ehov joeder (mh); dyadur (wh).
neck menj (gl).
necklace meyn-bit (mh).
native doctor miyam-dagar (mh).
having jowdr (mh):
dyudur (wh).
nearly dyawayo (wh).
neck menj (pl).
native doctor miyam-dagar (mh).
native doctor miyam-dagar (mh).
native doctor miyam-dagar (mh).
native doctor miyam-dagar (mh).

**O**

one language, countryman mat-giya (mh).
one place del nembiyu (mh).
onopen al-durrp (mh); gere-del (mh).
onopen eyes dum-darr-wut (mh).
onopen eyes dum-darr-wut (mh).
other, another nemboe (rh).
other side jelerr-nembere (mh); ncmberre (mh).
over there pak djininj (gl).
over there, this njindju (gl).
overthere ngundju (gl); ngundju (gl).
overthere ngundju (gl); ngundju (gl).
owl kunkouk (wh).
own father djulimi (gl).
own mother yaru (gl).
own mother's mother durock parl (gl).
own sister nimdjarak (gl).

**P**

paddle mungavirr (wh); wanj (gl).
paddle mungavirr (wh); wanj (gl).
paddle-shaped fighting stick nguroe gurbing
(gl); nguroegurbiny (gl).
paddle mungavirr (wh); wanj (gl).
paddleena nguroegurbiny (gl).
paddleaux mungavirr (wh); wanj (gl).
paddleaux mungavirr (wh); wanj (gl).
paddleaux mungavirr (wh); wanj (gl).
paddleaux mungavirr (wh); wanj (gl).
paddleaux mungavirr (wh); wanj (gl).

pademelon jutbung-jutbungma (mh).
paint dep (mh).
palm paint dep (mh).
palm sp goenboerr (mh); moenboerr (mh).
pandanus tyangatya (wh).
pandanus aquaticus jiwurwur (mh).
pandanus nut dwurr (mh).
pandanus seed dwurr (wh).
pandanus spiralis jangatja (mh).
paperbark merrey (mh); merrey (wh); waroe (gl).
paperbark raft galpengarrik (mh).
parrot sp werrerrij (mh).
pass yunduk (mhl).
peacock kunburity (wh).
pearlshell ngar (wrh). 
peck out al-duruk (mh).
peel, pull bark off, skin niyl (mh).
peewee birit-birit (nrh).
pelican moermoerr (wh); terrkterrka (pll).
penis ngoer (mh); ngur (gl); ngurnger (gl); ngernger (gl); nangar (gl); ningpr (gl); nungpr (wl); gurna (mh); ngueroe (pll); ngueroema (pll).
perhaps pata (gl).
pheasant boeroer (mh).
pick up areoward (gll).
pinch deberrp (mh).
pine tree yewoerr (mh).
place, put pam (gl).
plain wood fish spear dulungak (gl).
play deigaitj (gl).
play clapsticks jeerr (gll).
plum boen (mh).
plum sp mender(-mender) (mh); yungurrmiyl (mh).
pocket boemelena (mh).
point jinin (mh).
poise spear didjedma (gl).
poison mawuya (mh).
policeman jayatj-diya (mh).
poor fellow muwarndi (mh).
poss and IO nguru-ma ngernger-ma ngemue-ma wangari-ma nung; gur-wurna-ma gurna-ma gurna-wur-wurna-ma (gl).
possum bu (mh).
pour, water jiju (mh).
prawn wan (gl); wun (gl); wun (mh); wurn (wrh).
pregnant ngalyawol (wh); ngalyawuy (mh).
pad for burial djirk (gl).
prickle heat stick marnda-marndam (mh).
pull goerr (mh).
pull, drag along this way lie gur yuguitj wud (gl).
pull off bark daniy (mh).
pull out durd-djed (gl).
push garda (mh).
put jetji (mh); wuyungdajd (gl); yenginj (gl).
put down, deposit djed (gl).
put down/aux wa: ijad buroerdang (gl).
put in djirg (gl).
put inside wurrk (gl).
put into ground gurajdajd (gl).
put into, inside hole djirgaidj (gl).
put into, over guru-gaidj (gl).
put, stay/aux djed-andjurdai (gl); djed-andjurdai (gl).
put/aux djaddjeddam (gl).
pygmy goose jiyn (mh).
python sp mern-yityl (mh).

Q
quick wargaty (wh).
quickly, quick wargaitj (gl).

R
rain dar (mh); woeng (mh); wung (wh).
rainbow buluy-buluy (mh); purliburiol (wh).
rain-(clouds) (from the north) merrgurwrarr (wh).
rat tyuwun (wh).
rav. uncooked guarna (mh).
recognise daratj (mh).
recount, tell a story gurag (mh).
rectum kuen (gl).
red birp (mh).
red apple bemboerrjak (mh).
red clay tyarak (wh).
red lily mirang (wh).
red ochre jarak (mh).
remind biyatar (mh).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Page 155</th>
<th>Swamp</th>
<th>Garawa (mh).</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sweat</td>
<td>Ngeen (mh); Nundjard (gl).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sweet</td>
<td>Dingding (mh); Gunburit (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swell</td>
<td>Lari (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swim</td>
<td>Gabuk-gubuk (mh); Gubuk (mh); Wild (gl).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Throw in water</td>
<td>Watjuk (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thumb</td>
<td>Memek Nango (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thunder</td>
<td>Mirr (mh); Mirrdom (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tick</td>
<td>Mimi (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tide</td>
<td>Ngambayk (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tie</td>
<td>Wirr (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tie up/sit</td>
<td>Dab-Ang-Durd (gl).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Tiger&quot; (flying fox)</td>
<td>Meroma (gl).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tired</td>
<td>Atjap (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tired, want to knock off</td>
<td>Abah (gl).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To lie to</td>
<td>Mek (mh).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tobacco</td>
<td>Goea (mh).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Today</td>
<td>Gama-ngin (mh); Jawu-Ngin (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toe</td>
<td>Mer (gl).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toenail</td>
<td>Mer Ngerer (gl); Mer Ngerer (mh).</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomorrow</td>
<td>Niga (mh).</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tomorrow morning</td>
<td>Nikana (gl).</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tongue</td>
<td>Ngener (gl); Ngener (mh); Ngener (wh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tooth</td>
<td>Ngart (mh); Ngut (wh).</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tooth, teeth</td>
<td>Nga: (gl).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Toothache</td>
<td>Barnam (mh).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Trachea</td>
<td>Meyn-Galalurr (mh).</td>
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<tr>
<td>Track</td>
<td>Berkuma (mh).</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>Wara (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tree</td>
<td>Yim (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tree rat</td>
<td>Joewwen (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tree snake</td>
<td>Garnarubaya (mh); Kanenbany (wh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tree sp</td>
<td>Binyangartba (mh); Boeyk (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trouble</td>
<td>Dawu (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Truly!</td>
<td>Jamakjuru (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tucker</td>
<td>Miyi (mh).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turkey</td>
<td>Ngur-ngura (gl).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turn around</td>
<td>Gerugaidj (gl); Gurngaidj (gl); Ngyingurnadju (gl); Njugin Gurnadju (gl).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
twist. tap   walwal (gl).
  two        gurindjiyu (gl); gurriynjugu (mh).
  two mouthed fish kararu (gl).

U

uncle   gaga (wh); gaka (mh).
underarm hair gurna ngarni (gl).
underneath yur (gl).
upper arm    bamar (wh).
upright    wurr (mh).
up (wards) birrk (mh).
urinate    ngarey (mh).
urine       woerey (mh).

V

vagina etc daringin (gl).
vagina(etc) darlyir (gl).
valley, creek bar (wh).
vomit      egek (mh); gayngcey (mh).

W

wading (in water)   gubak burainj (gl).
wag           wutj (mh).
wait!            waigara (gl).
wait a minute!, while gok (mh).
wake up         jut-dap (mh).
walk           warreyt (mh).
walkabout      djudgaij (gl).
walking stick  jan-jurr (mh).
wallaby       buljen (mh); jirratj (mh); ngarni (mh).
   wants to cross buingiyenginj (gl).
wash          jurrji (mh).
wasp          miyaebala (mh).
watching/aux   darmaadak (gl).
water         wok (wh); wugidju (gl); wuk (gl).
water, booze   wuk (mh).
water goanna   jirrwur (mh); marrarbar (mh).
water rat      gurnya (mh); gurnyanuma (mh).
water vam      guri (mh).
waterlilly    kertar (wh); kuyut (wh).
watersnake    punderang (wh).
wave          wat (mh).
wave (a torch) bir (mh).
we           ngemoe (mh); ngerru (mh).
weave        warr (gl).
wet ground    wark mungo (wh).
wet season    gawurt(-yurma) (mh); kawurt (wh).
we-two        aninju (gl); anoeru (gl); aynja (mh).
what          aninju (gl); anoeru (gl); aynja (mh).
where         anoeru (gl).
which way    an.gendju (gl).
which way, how andju (gl).
while          gok (mh); gwuk (mh).
whip          jet-bilp (mh).
whip snake    gunmga (mh).
whirley wind  dyiroem (wh).
whisper      jawu-jawutj (mh).
whistle        goetj (mh).
whistle duck  butjurung (mh).
white         damar (mh).
white ant         miyuk (wh).
white apple      bhang-gada (mh); gerwey (mh).
white apple sp jambala (mh).
white clay       bala (wh).
white cockatoo  men.gerr (wh).
white gum       gerrwek (mh); kerwek (wh).
white man        barrakut (mh).
white ochre     bala (mh).
whiteman's axe  meng (wh).
who            mundju (gl); nuwun (mh).
wild banana     butjgurrung (mh).
widow          delmar (mh); tyirabel (wh).
wife           gapi (mh); nangal (mh). warang (wh).
wild
wild cherry
dog
dyamar imdiny (wh).
wind
wind (big)
wing
woman
woman's breast

indinjma (gl).
joeroem (mh).
berberma (mh); berberma (wh).
mirung (wh); murung (gl).
göerak (wh); guwarak (mh).
quen (gl).

work
woomera lagany (wh); lagayn (mh).
woolbybut
woolbybut
windpipe
windpipe

mendem (wh).
lagun (wh).

willywilly
yam
yam stick
yard up
yawn
yes
yesterday

belerr (mh).
jan (mh).
den (mh).
gere-nga (mh).
ya (mh).
jatjin (mh), dyedyin (wh); pendji (gl).

woman's digging stick
wambak (gl).
womb
jarrıyn (mh).

women, lubras
guwarak (gl).
woolbybut
yuwer (mh).

woomera
lagany (wh); lagayn (mh).
work
woerrkam (mh).
wren
gebru (wh); pertur (wh).
wrinkled
dum (mh).

wrong way marriage
ngarnmurrang (mh).

Y

yam
yam sp
yam stick
yard up
yawn
yes
yesterday

belerr (mh).
derrgey (mh); jambur (mh);
mooneendek (mh).
jan (mh).
den (mh).
gere-nga (mh).
ya (mh).
jatjin (mh), dyedyin (wh); pendji (gl).

you
you, your
young girl
young girl (barely adolescent)
young man

wangari (gl).
wangarri (mh).
kuwoerda (gl); putjamoenang (gl).
putjamoenang (gl).
dyermang (wh).
APPENDIX 3

1. Laves Text 272

Presented here is the third of ten Matngele texts written down by Laves, during his field trip in the 1930s.

His way of taking field notes, however, obscures much of the morphological structure of the language, that is, without stress marking word boundaries are not defined in any clear manner. Therefore, in order to retain this sense of ambiguity, the text has been tentatively edited to the extent that morphemes boundaries have single spacing, and what I have perceived as word boundaries, I have given double spacing. No other changes have been made.

Laves labelled the text “Two D.D’s Taking Fat”. I take D.D to stand for djandju which in this context may refer to ‘spirit of the dead’, elsewhere (HMF: mh249) it is glossed ‘native doctor’.

The reason for the choice of this particular text is that Laves gave what he called a resumé of it, which appears to be a free impression supplied by the narrator. The resumé has been included unedited.

2. The Text

pardjed yunjinj
njinma yunjinj pardjed yunjinj dar bursdam didjga yinjinj wud yuqinj
pi-sk pardjedma guyaq
pajdjemma guyaq djdji me ende guyaq
didj bii yenginj
hardjed yunjinj didjga yenginj
dar bursdam didjga yenginj
patja puruma gunuwaraj ayaq
wak m ayaj dar ma gurajawa
warari bii yenji giju anjaq ma
bii guyaq birip bii ma guyaq birip yundju
gur yuqinj wud wud dam
muqjuru ayn ma
mud bursdam ning
ardhum dam ning
batja njima kuir yerp dam ning
mil wa dumd sjed dalah dam ning
gerp dam
wirak bui yerinj
mayu mul wa wi yerinj
yerinj mul dakayu
djed gaidj ma dag dur sk wud yerrinj
malaq njina djirg gurumum
wars wayin mum
wuyng daidj mum
buna wayin vai djed nembu wa wadjed
malak wirak dju memek gurindjiyu
njina gelmu yerinj
njuk ma guyaq guinyin
njuk ma njin guyaq guinyin
walak njin burg bui warga burainj pak pinij
nambard yerinj njin
paraq guweruk
malag mayu ma njug ma
malak bui yerin dju
mudjur ayu walak pininj
djedjarak gurnawaranj mai ma bagai
mimijk dam nuj ma
djedjarak dam nuj
mimijk gamburdayak
dijd ga biri garawur srd burarni rney
dag njin dju garala ma wa wadjaidj biri
garala njin ma rumuyu riwerem djirg dju malag djirk dju
pedj njin dju gurudam pedjma
garak guyaq
giyan agu guyaq
gaiiy djedjarak njin ma garala ma wadgaiij biwi djedjarak
dakayu djkayu mayu bui biwi
yenj ayaj junguyo manju denak mimij njy
djedjarak ma quaaj
ya quaaj mayu bui biri manju denak djedjarak njin yu
manuyu denak djedjarak ma ya diijd ga biiri
djedjarak njin yu junguyo demsaaj diijd ga biiri neyi
manju denak
wuluk bui buraggak mayu
All about people go up sky.
One male DD and one female DD want to 'fix' a bf.
An old man sneak up, and stand up and looks about.
Morning time walkabout, feed.
Midnight - sneak up - no more bf.
AR afternoon sneak up; bf there.
He seen him get up - walk, sleep, get up.
All time sneak up alonga camp; one fat fella over there him come up look.
Midnight more sneak up. Catch him. Take him out fat.
AR come out; 2 fella talk talk.
My bro might you go sneak up, kill him hinji belonga bf.
Me little fella boy - no you! Me little fella.
He sneak up and catch him, man pull out fat, cut him and leave him.
DD there shut him up, after him daylight.
Come back again - morningtime the victim sick fellow and later on die.
Oh! hello! Him been die now.
DD go bury him. Put logs and sticks directly over body to cover it; leave him cook, ten days.
AR him go and get up, walkabout.
Dead bf rises out of grave and comes to the DD couple and asks them whether he should hang up his skin. If he hung up his skin he would come back live?
Stand up, pensive: you and me, I got him skin here (dead man talking) might I hang him up.
Oh no, more might he, bf, shame fella.
You go right away (DD telling the dead man) [if he had hung the skin might come live again].
AR that one been talk talk.
The dead man sit there. They rub him, put skin on, and decorations.
Him come up now, walk, sit down like that, sits like one lubra (with legs spread).
Lubra ask him what you him do? Been take out fat!
The stinking dead bf follows the people who constantly shift camp.
Finally the corpse goes alonga sky.
Old woman tells corpse to come back
Let those people come back - the ones who were driven - don't chase them about
Female DD tells him not to hang up his skin, don't hang up the skin, and so he go up sky.
Finish.
4. Text 272: Interlinearised

pardjed yuquete
pard - djed - yuquent
up - stand -3MSlieIMPF
‘An old man was getting up’

njimma ngij didjed yuquete dar bursrdam
njin - ma ngijj pared - djed - yuquete dar - bursardam
there - PRM 3MSGsitIMPF up - stand -3MSGgoIMPF look -3ASdoPR
‘There he was sitting, he was getting up. They look around’

digja yuquete wud yuquete
didj - ga - yuquete wud - yuquete
return - come -3MSGgoIMPF lie -3MSGlieIMPF
‘He was coming back, and lying down’

pisk pared ma guiyvq
pisk - pared - djed - ma - guiyvq
sneak - up - stand -1MPF -3MSauxPR
‘He is sneaking up’

pardjed guiyvq djidji me ende guiyvq
pard - djed - ma guiyvq djidji - ma - yende guiyvq
up - stand -1MPF 3MSGgoPR man - PRM - LOC 3MSGgoPR
‘He is getting up, he is going to the man’

didj hui yeqiijn
didj - hui - yeqiijn
return - go -3MSGgoIMPF
‘He was going back’

bardjed yuqueni didjga yeqiijn
bard - djed - yuquetej didjga - ga - yeqiijn
up - stand -3MSGlieIMPF return - come -3MSGgoIMPF
‘He was getting up. He was coming back’

dar bursrdam didjga yeqiijn
dar - bursardam didj - ga - yeqiijn
look -3ASdoPR return - come -3MSGgoIMPF
‘They look around. He was coming back again’

patja guru ma gunuwaraq ayag
patja guru - ma gunuwaraq ayag
spear 1MIN - PRM big 1MSGgoPR
‘My spear. I am a big man’

wak m ayag dar ma gunuwaraq awa
wak - ma - ayag dar - ma - gunuwaraq -awa
fat -1MPF -1MSGauxPR hit - IMPF -3ASgoPR - 1MO
‘I am getting fat. They are killing me’

waguri hui vendji givij anjag ma
waguri hui - vendji givij anjag - ma
2MIN go -2MSGgoFSubj little 2MSGgoPR - 1MPF
‘You should go. You are little

bui guyvq birip hui ma guyvq birip yuindju
bui - guyvq birip - hui - ma - guyvq birip yuindju
go -3MSGgoPR sneak - go - 1MPF -3MSauxPR sneak just
‘He’s going. He is going to sneak up, just sneak up’
Pulling him this way, he let him lie there.

All about.

They don't see him.

He cuts him open.

He cuts him with his spear.

Getting the fat, he takes it out of him.

He cuts.

When he is finished he is going away.

He is getting enough fat to take away.

He is lying there, without fat.

He's going walkabout, while in the camp the other is lying picked out.

For a long time, (there were burial preparations) putting in, pulling and covering over (with sticks and earth).
wars wavin mum
wars wa -yin mum
paperbark get -HITH cover
‘Get paperbark this way and cover him’

wayuq daidj mum
wu -yin daidj mum
lie -3MSlieCOND hit cover
‘The body should lie there covered over’

buna wavin wai djed nembue wa wadjed
buna wa -yin wa -djed nembu wa -wa -djed
antpit get -HITH put -stand another get -get -stand
‘Get more antpit this way to put it on top’

malak wrgak dju
malak wirnak -dju
long time finish -SPEC
‘After a long time. it was finished’

memek gurindjiyu njina gelmu yugunj
memek gurindjiyu njina gelmu yugunj
hand two here corpse 3MSlieIMPF
‘The body was lying here for ten days’

njuk ma guyaggu yin
njuk -ma -guyaggu -yin
stink -IMPF -3MSgoPR -HITH
‘And the bad smell is coming this way’

njuk ma njin guyaggu yin
njuk -ma njin guyaggu -yin
stink -PRM this 3MSgoPR -HITH
‘That smell comes all the way here’

walak yin burg but war go burninp
walak yin burg - bui warga(tj) -burainj
everywhere here run away - go do quickly -3ASgoIMPF
‘They were running away from it as fast as they could’

pak pininj
pak -pininj
sit down together -3ASsitIMPF
‘Then. together. they would sit down again’

nambard yegunj njin paraq guweruk
nambard yegunj njin paraq guweruk
more/too this 3MSgoIMPF more/too this dead man/ghost bad
‘But so the bad smell of the dead man would come again’

malag mayu ma njug ma
malag mayu -ma njug -ma
long time enough -PRM stink -PRM
‘For a long time. it was stinking’

malak bui yegunj dju
malak bui -yegunj -dju
long time go -3MSgoIMPF -SPEC
‘It went on for a long time’

mudjur ayu malak pininj
mudjur -ayu malak -pininj
many -only shift camp 3ASsitIMPF
‘And everybody was shifting camp’
That big old man, the father.

But the old woman stayed with him.

And the old boss stayed with him.

The old woman tells the dead man.

Let those people (who were driven away by the smell) come back.

So that they can be with us, here in our camp.

They can go and hang up your skin.

Put up this skin. Now it can be prepared for burial at last.

To be put in the ground.

Leave these bones behind.

The bones can come here.

There are new bones.

Don’t hang up the skin.
It is enough. He should go away.

I am ashamed.

He is not talking to the old woman here.

The old man is there all the time.

Yes, all the time, all right. They should go. The old man said.

The old man said.

Yes, they should come back.

The old man did. They should come back now.

That’s what he said.

They went up in the sky.
1. The Matngele Finite Verb Paradigm

The paradigm in Table A.4, below, represents only those forms encountered in the texts and language material on which this study is based. Note, however, that the table does not include the Imperfective ( _yn) and the Conditional ( _ng), as outlined in Harvey (MS.D: Table 2).

Table A.4: Matngele Finite Verb Paradigm.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Past</th>
<th>Present</th>
<th>Future</th>
<th>NonFut Subj</th>
<th>Fut Subj</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lie</td>
<td>1MS</td>
<td>anyu</td>
<td>gavingak</td>
<td>arni</td>
<td>arni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1+2MS</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>2MS</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3MS</td>
<td>arur</td>
<td>gavingak</td>
<td>burnik</td>
<td>burnik</td>
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<td>nung.girrinik</td>
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<td>buruk</td>
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<tr>
<td>sit</td>
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