

A GRAMMAR of MATNGELE

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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.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Sam Handcock". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, stylized 'S' and 'H'.

Acknowledgments

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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The grammatical description is based on unpublished field notes collected by several linguist over a period of sixty years.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.

Table of Contents

Chapter One: Introduction

1.1	Introduction.....	1
1.2	Demographic and Ethnographic Information	1
1.2.1	Name of the language.....	1
1.2.2	Interaction with other language groups	2
1.2.3	Genetic affiliation	3
1.3	Previous Scholarly Work	4
1.3.1	Ethnographic research	4
1.3.2	Linguistic research.....	4
1.4	Sociolinguistic Situation.....	5
1.4.1	Viability	5
1.4.2	Loanwords	6
1.5	Discussion of the Material	6
1.5.1	Laves' texts and field notes.....	6
1.5.2	Hoddinott.....	7
1.5.3	Tryon.....	8
1.5.4	Harvey	8
1.5.5	Green.....	8
1.6	Scope of the Thesis	8
1.6.1	Grammar.....	8
1.6.2	Discussion.....	9
1.6.3	Paradigms	9
1.6.4	Lexicon.....	10
1.7	Use of Older Sources.....	10

Chapter Two: Phonology

2.1	Introduction.....	11
2.2	General Description	11
2.2.1	Orthography.....	11
2.3	Segmental Phonemes	12
2.3.1	Phoneme inventory	12
2.3.1.1	Consonants.....	12
2.3.1.2	Vowels.....	13
2.3.1.3	Vowel length	14
2.3.2	Vowel allophones.....	14
2.3.2.1	[æ]	14
2.3.2.2	Overlap	15
2.3.2.3	[ɛ]	15
2.3.2.4	[ɔ].....	15

2.3.3. Consonants allophones	16
2.3.3.1 Morpheme initial retroflexes	16
2.3.3.2 Labialisation	16
2.3.4 Lexicalisation of allophonic processes	16
2.4 Phonotactics	17
2.4.1 Intramorphemic consonant clusters	17
2.4.1.1 Nasal/nasal	18
2.4.1.2 Consonant/nasal	18
2.4.1.3 Nasal/consonant	18
2.4.1.4 Consonant/consonant	19
2.4.2 Intermorphemic consonant clusters	20
2.4.3 Morpheme initial and morpheme final consonants	22
2.4.4 Vowels	23
2.5 Specific Phonotactic Behaviour of Finite Verbs	23
2.5.1 Consonants	24
2.5.2 Vowels	24
2.6 Lenition	24
2.7 Deeper Analysis: Obstruent contrast, length and allophony	25
2.7.1 Contrast	25
2.7.1.1 Stop allophones	28
2.7.2 Geminate analysis	28
2.7.3 Fricatives	29
2.7.4 Word initial stop contrast: voiced and voiceless	29

Chapter Three: Nominals

3.1 Introduction	31
3.2 Nominal Categorisation	32
3.3 Nominal Classifiers	33
3.4 Case Markers	35
3.4.1 Purposive case	36
3.4.2 Locational cases	37
3.4.2.1 Locative case	37
3.4.2.2 Allative case	38
3.4.2.3 Ablative case	38
3.4.3 Instrumental case	39
3.4.4 Comitative case	41
3.5 Pronominal Expression	42
3.5.1 Free pronouns	42
3.5.2 Specifying number	43
3.6 Demonstratives	44
3.6.1 Definite demonstratives	45

3.6.2 Interrogative demonstratives.....	46
3.6.2.1 <i>aniyn</i>	46
3.6.2.2 <i>aynja</i>	47
3.6.2.3 <i>an</i>	48
3.6.2.4 <i>an-buwaja</i>	48
3.6.2.5 <i>mawun</i>	49
3.7 Temporals.....	49
3.8 Quantifiers.....	51
3.9 Prominence Marker.....	52
3.10 Other Nominal Morphemes.....	53

Chapter Four: Verbs

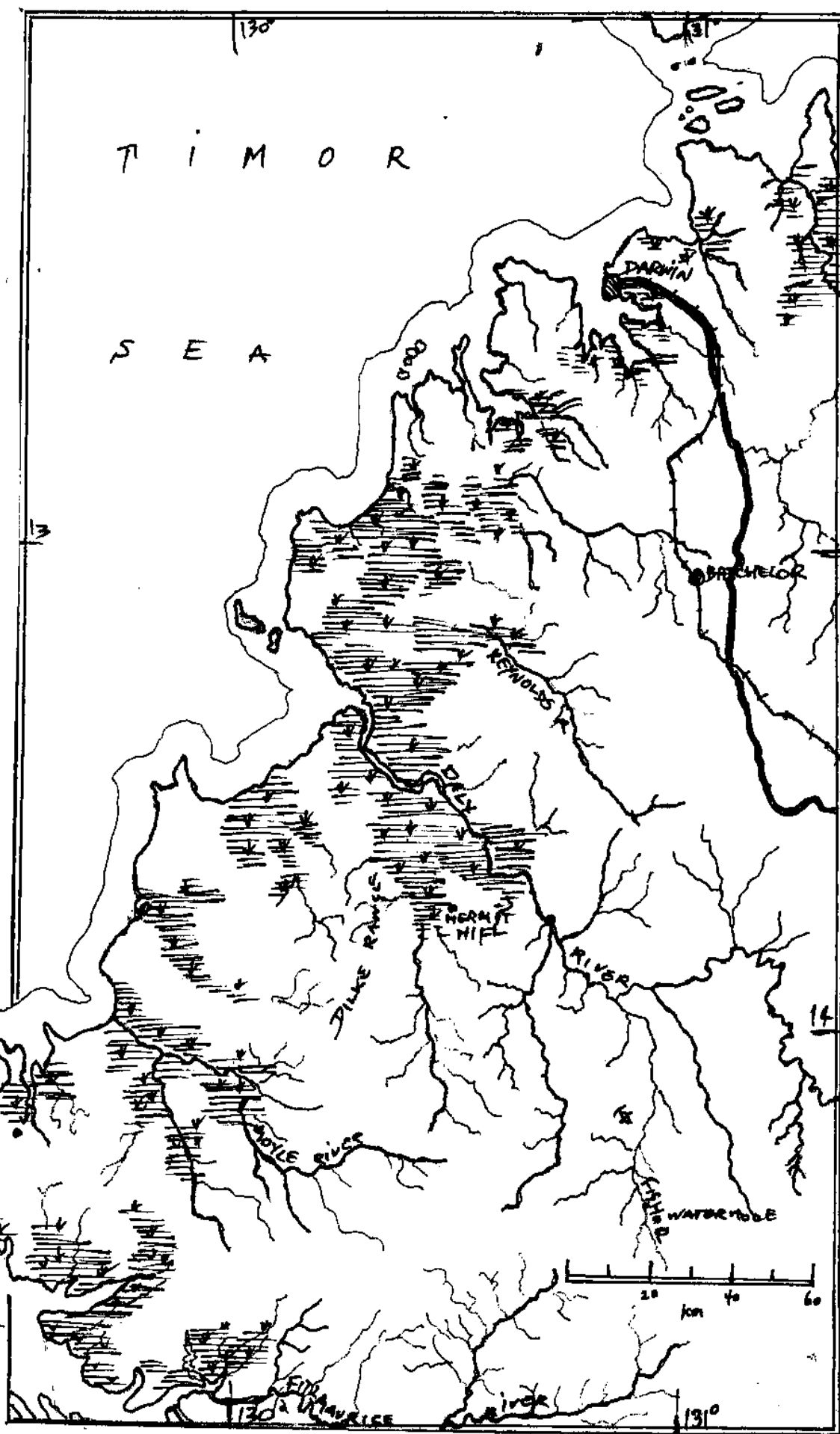
4.1 Introduction.....	55
4.1.1 Basic structural templates of the complex verb.....	55
4.1.2 Structural template of the simple verb.....	57
4.2 Simple Verbs.....	57
4.2.1 Simple verb form.....	57
4.2.2 Simple and finite verb semantics.....	59
4.2.2.1 Simple verbs.....	59
4.2.2.2 Finite verbs.....	62
4.2.3 Grammatical category: tense.....	63
4.2.3.1 Future.....	64
4.2.3.2 Present.....	65
4.2.3.3 Past.....	66
4.2.4 Grammatical categories: aspect and mood.....	66
4.2.4.1 Non-future subjunctive.....	67
4.2.4.2 Future subjunctive.....	70
4.2.4.3 Finite verbs ending in <i>yn</i>	72
4.2.5 The transitive finite verb.....	73
4.2.6 The intransitive finite verb.....	77
4.2.7 Subject marking on the finite verb.....	77
4.2.7.1 The Pronominal prefix.....	77
4.2.7.2 Number marking.....	78
4.2.8 Object marking on the finite verb.....	79
4.3 The Coverb.....	80
4.3.1 Aspectual inflection.....	81
4.3.2 Imperative mood.....	83
4.3.3 Reduplication.....	84
4.3.3.1 Complete reduplication.....	84
4.3.3.2 Partial reduplication.....	85
4.3.4 Compounding.....	86
4.3.4.1 Transparent compounds.....	86
4.3.4.2 Lexicalised compounds.....	87
4.3.4.3 Grammaticalised compounds.....	87

4.3.5 Noun incorporation	93
4.3.6 Reciprocals and reflexives.....	94
4.3.6.1 The reciprocal.....	94
4.3.6.2 The reflexive.....	95
4.3.7 Transitivity	96
4.3.8 Non-finite statements.....	97
4.3.9 Negation	98
4.4 A Diachronic Perspective: Laves to Harvey.....	99
4.4.1 Introduction	99
4.4.2 The structure of verbs.....	99
 Bibliography.....	 102
 Appendix One	 103
1. Dahl's Word list	103
2. Stanner's Word list.....	104
 Appendix Two	
1. Matngele - English Dictionary	106
2. English Finder list.....	137
 Appendix Three	
1. Laves' Texts	153
2. Text 272	153
3. Résumé.....	155
4. Text 272: Interlinearised.....	156
 Appendix Four	
1. Matngele Finite Verb Paradigm	161

List of Abbreviations

1	first person	INTENS	intensifier
1+2	first and second person	IO	indirect object
2	second person	lit.	literally
3	third person	M(in)	minimal
A(ug)	augmented	mh	Mark Harvey
ABL	ablative	mhPV	Harvey (MS.B)
ADVERS	adversative		provisional Matngele-
ALL	allative		English vocabulary
AS	augmented/subject	MIN	minimal
AUG	augmented	MS	minimal/subject
aux	auxiliary	n	nominal
C	consonant	narr	narrative
CAUS	causative	NEG	negative
CHAR	characteristic	NFS(ubj)	non-future subjunctive
COM	comitative	O	object
COND	conditional	OBJ	object
DES	desiderative	obj.affix	object affix
DUB	dubitative	P	past
DY	dyadic	PR	present
eg.	for example	PRM	prominence marker
ERG	ergative	pron	pronominal
ex.	example	PURP	purposive
EXCL	exclusive	RECIPR	reciprocal
excl.	excluding	REDUPL	reduplicated
exs.	examples	Ref	reference
F	future	REFLEX	reflexive
FS(ubj)	future subjunctive	S	subject
GL, gl	Gerhardt Laves	SGG	Harvey (MS.A) A Sketch
HITH	hither		Grammar of Gamu
HMF	Harvey Matngele	SPEC	specific
	field notes (MS.C)	TAM	tense, aspect and mood
IATSIS	Institute of Aboriginal	UA	dual
	and Torres Strait	V	vowel
	Islanders Studies	v.affix	verbal affix
ie.	that is	v.fin	finite verb
INCH	inchoative	v.simple	simple verb
INCL	inclusive	v.stem	verb stem
incl.	including	WH, wh	William Hoddinott
INSTR	instrumental	wh(wl)	Hoddinott, word list

Next Page: . Map of the Daly River Area (Northern Territory of Australia)



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, Maangella, 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 *nginma*, being the Matngele translation of the exclamation 'hey'; or alternatively *nguluknginma* (*nguluk* 'language'). Stanner (1933a:388) records that the Ngen'gimerri use the term *nangiwera* 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 [matŋele] or [matŋelɛ] (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:

Tryon 1970, 1974 and 1976.

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, ie. 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 [tagaru] '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 'Nugget' 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 [ɟɟi] 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 [ɟɟi] 'man' for phonetic realisations, and /ɟɟi/ 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 2.1: Practical Orthography: Consonants

	Bilabial	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Velar
Stop	<i>b, p</i>	<i>d, t</i>	<i>rd, rt</i>	<i>j, jt</i>	<i>g, k</i>
Nasal	<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>rn</i>	<i>yn, ny</i>	<i>ng</i>
Lateral		<i>l</i>	<i>rl</i>	<i>yl, ly</i>	
Continuant	<i>w</i>		<i>r</i>	<i>v</i>	
Tap		<i>rr</i>			

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 *yn* and *yl*, producing for instance ‘*aynja*’ ‘what’ and ‘*niyl*’ ‘peel, skin’; and elsewhere as *ny* and *ly*, as in ‘*emnyen*’ ‘we sit’ and ‘*jelyeng*’ ‘other’.

Table 2.2: Practical Orthography: Vowels

	Front	Central	Back
High	<i>i</i>	<i>oe</i>	<i>u</i>
Mid	<i>e</i>		
Low		<i>a</i>	

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 /ŋ/. 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: /p/, /t/, /tʲ/ and /k/. In addition, he reports five vowels. These include two high vowels /i/ and /u/, two low vowels /e/ and /a/, and the central vowel /ö/. 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.

(1)	<u>alveolar</u>		<u>retroflex</u>	
	<i>harrk</i>	grow	<i>hark</i>	flow (of tears)
	<i>dewerr</i>	shoulder	<i>dewer</i>	king brown snake
	<i>wat</i>	wave	<i>wart</i>	send
	<i>adayn</i>	finite verb	<i>ardayn</i>	shark
	<u>sub-minimal pairs:</u>			
	<i>an</i>	where, how	<i>-warn</i>	DESiderative
	<i>jal</i>	road	<i>larl</i>	swell
	<i>jan</i>	yamstick	<i>marrawart-jarn-jarn</i>	long beard

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

CONSONANTS	Apical		Laminal	Peripheral	
	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Bilabial	Velar
Stop	d	ɖ	ʃ	b	g
Nasal	n	ɳ	ɲ	m	ŋ
Lateral	l	ɭ	ʎ		
Continuant		ɻ	j	w	
Tap/trill	r				

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 be 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 /ɔ/ (ie. a symmetrical vowel inventory), Matngele has a non-symmetrical inventory with centralised/spread /ö/, as shown schematically in (2).

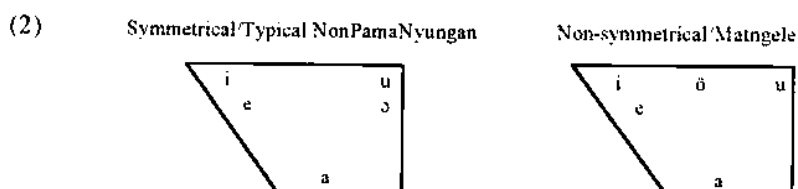


Table 2.4 shows the Matngele vowel phonemes. High/central /ö/ corresponds with *oe* in the practical orthography, the other phonemes all correspond directly with their orthographic symbols.

Table 2.4: Matngele Vowel Phonemes

VOWELS	Front	Central	Back
High	i	ö.	u
Mid	e		
Low		a	

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 *wa:rr*i from *wangarri* ‘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: *amu:al* ‘Amungal’, *boda:n* ‘Darwin’ (both place names), and with prosodic shift in interrogative *buy-nung.ga:yn?* ‘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 [æ]

The allophone [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*, *rn*, *l*, *rr*). It is most frequently controlled by [ɟ_l]. 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 *jal* ‘road’ and *jalk* ‘fall’ are repeatedly realised with the allophone [æ] as [cæɭ] and [cæɭk].

2.3.2.2 Overlap

There is an additional complication with lexical items, such as *ngamoe* ‘you and me’ and *jalk* ‘fall’, and their variants [ɲæmō] and [cæɭk], in that they additionally occur as *ngemoe*, and *jelk*, or reduplicated *jeljelk*. Harvey refers to this feature for Matngele as “an overlap in realisations between /a/ and /e/” (SGG:20-1). He goes on to suggest that the overlap may be bi-directional; that is, in fast speech /a/ can be realised as [ɛ], and /e/ 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 /e/ is striking, particularly as Harvey assumes [æ] to relate to /a/, and Green (pers. comm.) assumes it to relate to /e/.

2.3.2.3 [ɛ]

The allophone [ɛ] is the predominant realisation of the phoneme /e/. It is only realised consistently as [ɛ] before palatals, as eg. in *ngeyi* ‘flash’ [ɲeji], *meyn* ‘throat’ [meɲ], *hetj* ‘bone’ [peɲ], but not *heyɭk* ‘made a bed’ which is realised with [ɛ] as [beɭk]. Laves does not make the distinction between [e] and [ɛ], and writes only [ɛ], but Hoddinott writes [e] in his ‘diphthong’ [ei], as in [geɾweɪ] (ie. *gerwey* ‘white apple/wild cherry’, therefore also before palatal /j/). Harvey (SGG:20) also notes the absence of [e] before /k/ 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) | <i>lambu</i> 'cheek' | [lambɔ] |
| | <i>buluy-buluy</i> 'rainbow' | [pɔlɪbuɔi] |
| | <i>wugin</i> 'lily seed' | [wɔgin] |
| | <i>wuk</i> 'water' | [wɔk] |

Occasionally, Harvey also writes [ɔ] before the palatal semi-vowel [pwɔj] *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) | <i>-rnung</i> | PURP. 3MIN.OBJ |
| | <i>-rney</i> | 2MIN.OBJ |
| | <i>-rdiyn</i> | ABL |

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

- | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-----------------|
| (5) | <i>aynja-rdiyn</i> | 'what-ABL. why' |
| | <i>niga-rnung</i> | 'tomorrow-PURP' |
| | <i>motika-rnung</i> | 'car-PURP' |
| | <i>ngak-ma-rnung</i> | 'eating-PURP' |

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^wuj] *buy* 'go', and in one instance each for [b^wu], *bu* (v) 'howl' and *bu* (n) 'possum'. The phoneme /b/, then, is optionally realised in word initial position before /u/ by its labialised allophone [b^w].

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 [e] 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 [p^wuj] 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 /*ŋ*/. 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 (C_1) can belong to only four of the five places of articulation (ie. /m/, /n/, /rɲ/ and /ny/, excl. /ng/); and for the secondary consonant (C_2) there are three options (ie. /m/, /ng/ and /ny/). When a nasal in C_1 adjoins a non-nasal consonant, there is no restriction on its place of articulation (ie. /m/, /n/, /rɲ/, /ny/ and /ng/); but in C_2 a restrictive condition applies in terms of the occurrence of retroflex and palatal nasals, allowing only the peripheral and alveolar nasals (ie. /m/, /n/ 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 C_1 /t/, /l/, /rr/ and /y/), while in secondary position the bilabial stop and continuant, and the alveolar and palatal stops are found (ie. in C_2 : /b/, /d/, /y/ 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. /rrng/ in *ngoerrngoerr* (*ngoerr).

The consonant clusters /mny/, /mb/, /ynj/, /rrm/ and /rrn/ 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)	n.ng	<i>nguru-jenngu</i>	'myself'
	n.m	<i>ngap-ma-guwanmin</i>	'it's burning'
	rn.ng	<i>barnngarla</i>	'Bangala (place name)'
	rn.m	<i>ngarnmurr-ang</i>	'wrong way (marriage)'
	yn.ng	<i>gaynngey</i>	'vomit'
	yn.m	<i>wa-eynminek</i>	'you get'
	m.ny	<i>emnyen</i>	'we sit'
		<i>woemnyi</i>	'steal'
		<i>amnyu</i>	'we are lying (down)'
		<i>emnyoenek</i>	'we were sitting'
		<i>ngak-m-amnyang</i>	'we are eating'
		<i>doerik-emnyoenek</i>	'we got fat'
		<i>emnyivn</i>	'we sit'

2.4.1.2 Consonant/nasal

(7)	l.m	<i>wilmurr-mungu</i>	'buffalo'
	l.ng	<i>milngiyv</i>	'hill'
	yl.m	<i>moeylmoetj</i>	'soft'
	rr.m	<i>jerrmeng</i>	'young boy'
		<i>jirrmivn</i>	'banyan tree'
		<i>ngak-nung.gurrminek</i>	'you ate'
		<i>ngak-errminek</i>	'we ate'
		<i>ngerrerrp-woerrminek</i>	'they cut'
		<i>ang-boerrminek-awa</i>	'they gave me'
	rr.n	<i>arrnavak-warn</i>	'we wanted to stay'
		<i>arnni-errerr</i>	'we'll camp'
		<i>nung.gurnay</i>	'you (pl) sit down'
rr.ng		<i>ngoerrngoerr</i>	'sleep'
		<i>arranay-ngerrngerr</i>	'let us sit'
		<i>joerrngoeyv</i>	'blood'
		<i>durrng</i>	'line up'
		<i>lurrng</i>	'clean up'
		<i>lirrng.git-ma-gutu</i>	'it's scraping'

2.4.1.3 Nasal/consonant

(8)	m.b	<i>amburdam</i>	'we are'
		<i>amburnay</i>	'we're just sitting'
		<i>ambutak</i>	'we were standing up'
		<i>ambutay</i>	'we should stand up'
		<i>hak-jambar</i>	'hollow'
		<i>dembel</i>	'leaves'
		<i>dembelatj-ardimine</i>	'I rolled up'
		<i>gambirningak</i>	'we will stay'
		<i>garambang</i>	'headband'
		<i>miyembala</i>	'wasp'
	n.b	<i>nambar</i>	'okay'
		<i>nemberre</i>	'another'
		<i>nembiyu</i>	'one'
		<i>umbug-aynj-a:rr</i>	'humbug'
	n.d	<i>gunbiritj</i>	'good, well'
		<i>bar-yende</i>	'at that spring'
		<i>hiyandak-ayang-nung</i>	'I can't hear him'
		<i>nendu</i>	'horse'
	n.w	<i>yunduk-arrang.gak</i>	'we passed it'
		<i>menwuyuk</i>	'hungry'
	ng.d	<i>dingding</i>	'sweeten'
	ng.j	<i>dengjen-ma-gunen</i>	'they are eating noisily'
	yn.j	<i>aynja-diyn</i>	'why, what for'
		<i>aynjutak</i>	'you were standing up'
		<i>huv-eynji</i>	'you are going to go'
		<i>huv-gaynjiyak</i>	'you are going to go'
		<i>darr-m-eynjurdey</i>	'you watch out'
		<i>dat-wut-aynjurik</i>	'you nearly died'
		<i>dep-denek-niynji</i>	'he painted you'
		<i>gaynjiyingak</i>	'you are camping'
		<i>guriynju</i>	'two'
		<i>jalk-gaynjik</i>	'you will fall'
		<i>wut-aynjuni</i>	'go to sleep'

yn.b	<i>ngoeynboer</i>	'snake'
rn.d	<i>marndalatj</i>	'light. torch'
	<i>garndap-m-ayang-nung</i>	'I like him'
	<i>ngarndiyin</i>	'wallaby'
rn.b	<i>garmbi</i>	'spear'

2.4.1.4 Consonant/consonant

Homo-syllabic non-nasal consonant clusters typically have a liquid (/rr/, /r/ and /l/) in C₁ and a peripheral stop in C₂ (/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)	l.k	<i>jalk</i>	'fall'
	r.k	<i>gaga gark-wut-awa</i>	'uncle carry me!'
		<i>barkbark</i>	'everywhere'
	r.p	<i>wene barp-barp-guyu</i>	'the canoe rocks'
		<i>birp</i>	'reddden'
	rr.d	<i>nung gurrdangak</i>	'are you lot going to'
	rr.b	<i>berrberr</i>	'shake'
	rr.p	<i>burrp</i>	'cook'
		<i>ngerrp</i>	'cut up'
		<i>aldurrrp-ardimineek-nung</i>	'I opened it'
		<i>herrp-ayang.gak</i>	'I'm scared'
		<i>lerrp-arratak</i>	'we were hot'
		<i>hil-ngurrrp-yang.gak</i>	'he jumped'
		<i>ngarrp-ngarrp</i>	'gnaw'
		<i>verrp</i>	'scrape off'
	rr.g	<i>daboerrgitj</i>	'squeeze'
	rr.k	<i>jirrk</i>	'go into'
		<i>durrrk-ma-gutu</i>	'he is drinking'
		<i>wurrrk</i>	'enter. put in'
		<i>wirrk</i>	'finish'
		<i>hurrrk-hurrrk</i>	'run about'
		<i>wilbirrk-erri-rrarr</i>	'we'll cross (here)'
	rr.y	<i>warryet</i>	'walk'
	k.w	<i>gakwak</i>	'far, a long way'

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 /rrp/ 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).

(10) <u>C₁ C₂</u>	<u>word-external boundary</u>	<u>word-internal boundary</u>
p b	-	<i>hurrrp-hurdak</i>
g	-	<i>lerrrp-guwayak</i>
j	-	<i>jap-jak-wa-vin-awa</i>
m	-	<i>ngarrp-ngarrp-ma-guvu</i>
n	-	<i>ngerrrp-nung.gurrdangak</i>
w	-	<i>ngererrrp-woerrminek</i>
y	-	<i>bil-ngurrrp-yang.gak</i>
t j	-	<i>durrng-wut-jeret-miyi</i>
m	-	<i>hiyandak-doeit-mi:-enen</i>
ng	<i>mat nguru</i>	<i>mat-ngele</i>
y	-	<i>dat-wut-vurak</i>
rt d	-	<i>durt-denek-awa</i>
g	<i>wert-wert guyang</i>	<i>jagart-gu-guritj</i>
m	-	<i>gart-ma-gurruu</i>
w	-	<i>gart-wara-ma-gurak-awa</i>
y	<i>marrawart yarrk-ma-gunen</i>	<i>jagart-vin-yang.gak</i>
k b	<i>werek burrrung-ma-gutu</i>	<i>burrk-burrayn</i>
d	<i>memek dakayu</i>	<i>dun-al-duruk-denek</i>
g	<i>jerrerek guyang</i>	<i>abap-buk-gaynjutang</i>
j	<i>buy-gavak jirrk</i>	<i>wurrrk-jet-denek-nung</i>
m	<i>buy-errik may</i>	<i>dumurrrk-ma-ayang</i>
n	<i>buy-gaynjivak nawuyu</i>	<i>boerr-ayak-nung</i>
ng	<i>dak ngun</i>	<i>mara-datj-ereng.gak-ngerrngerr</i>
w	<i>bak wubajang</i>	<i>ngak-wirrk-denek</i>
y	<i>jerrerek yang.gak</i>	<i>jirrk-vengiyn</i>
tj b	<i>dagatj buy-eynji</i>	<i>lang-gatj-butayn-ju</i>
d	<i>were-giyitj da:tj</i>	<i>bitj-denek</i>
g	<i>gunhiritj garak</i>	<i>ditj-ga-garriyak</i>
m	<i>were-giyitj mi:-nung</i>	<i>daboerrgitj-ma-gutu</i>
n	<i>ngatj nuwun-malak</i>	<i>datj-nung-boerrminek</i>
ng	<i>hetj ngarrp-ngarrp-ma-guvu</i>	-
w	<i>were-giyitj war-aynjunay</i>	<i>ditj-wa-ga-yang.gak</i>
y	-	<i>gatj-yang.gak</i>
l b	<i>dembel buyuy-buyuy-guran</i>	<i>dal-hurrrdam-arrarr</i>
g	<i>doenyoeng.goel guyang.gi-yin</i>	-
rl w	-	<i>mer-larl-wa-ayang.gak</i>

m	d	<i>yim dap-jak</i>	<i>mat-lam-ditj-gatj-awa</i>
j		<i>jam jirrk-jet-doet-miyi-gunen</i>	<i>dabam-jet-awa</i>
n		-	<i>niwarr-ang-ardim-nung</i>
ng		<i>yim ngey-yang.gak</i>	-
w		<i>yim wuk-yende</i>	-
y		-	<i>lem-yang.gak</i>
n	b	<i>nuwun bala</i>	<i>an-buy-yang.gak</i>
d		<i>dun durt-denek-awa</i>	<i>datj-dun-denek</i>
g		<i>ngun gurriynju-ma</i>	<i>den-gatj-nung-burrutak</i>
j		<i>ngin jelveng</i>	<i>goen-jerrk-denek</i>
m		<i>nuwun may</i>	<i>dengien-ma-gunen</i>
n		<i>ngun nemherre</i>	<i>nevin-nung-ma</i>
ng		<i>ngin nguwerem</i>	-
w		<i>jevn-ma-gunen war</i>	<i>dev-m-enen-wurr</i>
ng	b	<i>giyang barrk-yengiyn</i>	<i>niwarr-ang-boerrminek-awa</i>
d		<i>garndap-ayang dak</i>	<i>ang-denek-niynji</i>
g		<i>gunuwarrang guvu</i>	<i>bung-gatj-ma-gutu</i>
m		<i>ngamalang may-ma</i>	<i>lurrng-lurrng-m-atak</i>
n		<i>miyi-nung numbat-atak-wurr</i>	<i>ang-ardang-nung</i>
y		-	<i>ang-vin-awa</i>
yn	b	<i>jirrimiyn budak</i>	<i>gayn-ber-ardiminek</i>
d		<i>joerrngoeyn dum-denek</i>	<i>durk-jevn-doet-ningiyn</i>
j		<i>arrayn jar-ende</i>	<i>mevn-jer-jer-hurnayak</i>
m		<i>ngarndiyn mutjurr</i>	<i>jevn-ma-gunen</i>
r	b	<i>ngoeynboer batu</i>	<i>jer-boerrminek-awa</i>
j		<i>hawar jayirr-birniyn</i>	<i>jar-jalk-gatj-ayang.gak-nung</i>
m		<i>dirrawur mutjurr</i>	<i>yar-ma-guvang</i>
n		<i>war nemherre</i>	<i>warar-nung.gurring.gak</i>
y		-	<i>dar-vuwuy-denek</i>
rr	b	-	<i>jayirr-birniyn</i>
d		<i>jayirr dar-denek</i>	<i>darr-denek-nev</i>
g		<i>jamarr goen-jerrk-denek</i>	<i>goerr-gunun-doet-ardinek</i>
m		<i>moerroerr malak</i>	<i>jal-darr-mungu-eynji</i>
ng		<i>aniyn-eynminek-wurr ngin</i>	-
w		<i>yurr wuk-mungu</i>	<i>gurna-wurr-wurna-ma</i>
y	d	<i>may dagatj</i>	<i>ngarev-denek</i>
g		<i>may gurna-ma</i>	<i>buy-gaynjivak</i>
j		<i>may jevn-denek</i>	-
m		<i>awuy mern-moevymoetj-ma</i>	<i>dev-m-enen-wurr</i>
n		<i>dap-jak-amboedev nevi-nung</i>	<i>gay-nung-amboedevak</i>
ng		<i>woerev ngarev-denek</i>	<i>arranay-ngerrngerr</i>

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 (/rll/, /lyl/, /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).

(11) #C	<u>NOM</u>	<u>VERB</u>
b	<i>hawar</i>	<i>buv-eynji</i>
d	<i>dakayu</i>	<i>dat-wul-yurak</i>
g	<i>guwarrang</i>	<i>genyek-m-yang.gak</i>
j	<i>jiji</i>	<i>jet-boerrminek</i>
m	<i>moerroerr</i>	<i>manvu-enek-awa</i>
n	<i>nuwun</i>	<i>niyl-ma-gunen</i>
ng	<i>ngoerrngoerr</i>	<i>ngerrp-enek</i>
ny	<i>nyaba</i>	-
w	<i>werek</i>	<i>wek-ma-gutu</i>
y	<i>yurru</i>	<i>yup-ambalik</i>
l	<i>lawa</i>	<i>lerrp-guwayak</i>

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

(12) suffixes

-rn	-rnung (PURP/3MO)
-rd	-rdiyn (ABL)

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 /rn/ and /w/ for the verb class.

(13) C#	<u>NOM</u>	<u>VERB</u>
p	<i>abap</i>	<i>ngerrp-denek</i>
t	<i>mat</i>	<i>weret-ma-gutu</i>
nt	<i>tooth</i>	<i>durt-denek-awa</i>
k	<i>memek</i>	<i>ngak-ardevak</i>
tj	<i>miyimitj</i>	<i>gatj-yang.gak</i>
l	<i>dembel</i>	<i>dul-ma-guyang</i>
yl	-	<i>niyl-ma-gunen</i>
m	<i>jam</i>	<i>dabam-ardiminek</i>
n	<i>jan</i>	<i>dengjen-ma-gunen</i>
ng	<i>moerroeng</i>	<i>ang-eynmin-nung</i>
rn	<i>mern</i>	-
yn	<i>lagayn</i>	<i>jeyn-nyeng.gak</i>
r	<i>mer</i>	<i>dar-ardiminek-nung</i>
rr	<i>jamarr</i>	<i>lerr-burdayak-awa</i>
w	<i>lawlaw</i>	-
y	<i>may</i>	<i>gay-gutangk</i>

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)	<u>#V</u>	<u>NOM</u>	<u>VERB</u>
	a	<i>awuv</i>	<i>ang-eynmin-nung</i>
	e	<i>etu</i>	<i>egek-aneyak</i>

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

(15)	<u>V#</u>	<u>NOM</u>	<u>VERB</u>
	a	<i>gaga</i>	<i>ga-vang.gak</i>
	e	<i>wene</i>	<i>meyn-nge-nge-ma-atu</i>
	i	<i>garubi</i>	<i>woemnyi-wa-denek-awa</i>
	oe	<i>ngemoe</i>	<i>dun-boe-gatj-butak-awa</i>
	u	<i>gamu</i>	<i>manyu-denek-awa</i>

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, /ynj/ 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)

b	-hurru dak
d	-de nek
g	-gu dangak
n	-nu ng.gurru dak
w	-wu dey ak
y	-vu rak

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

(17) C# finite verb (example)

k	-e ne nek
m	-a yn jurdam
n	-gu ne n
ng	-a ny ang
yn	-ve ngi yn
y	-e yn jurdey

2.5.2 Vowels

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

(18) #V finite verb (example)

a	-a nn yang.gak
e	-e yn jurdey

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

(19) V# finite verb (example)

i	-e yn jili
u	-gu rru tu
a	-ya ng .ga

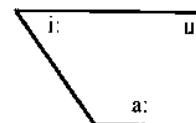
2.6 Lenition

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.

(20) The structure of geminate vowels

/i/ + /i/ → [i:]
 /u/ + /u/ → [u:]
 /a/ + /a/ → [a:]



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) /g/ → o

<i>da:tj</i>	<i>dagatj</i> (299)	'Don't!'
<i>ga:</i>	<i>gaga</i> (70)	'uncle'

/ng/ → o

<i>wa:rri</i>	<i>wangarri</i> (30)	'you'
<i>junjurr-mu:</i>	<i>junjurr-mungu</i> (138)	'with a walking stick'

/rr/ → o

<i>da:</i>	<i>darr</i> (112)	'look'
<i>mutju:</i>	<i>mutjurr</i> (139)	'lots'

/w/ → o

<i>ga:yak</i>	<i>gawayak</i> (4)	'1MSgoF'
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/y/ → o

<i>guriynju:</i>	<i>guriynjuvu</i> (6)	'two'
<i>guyang.gi:n</i>	<i>guyang.gi-yin</i> (75)	'3MSgoPR-HITH'
<i>i:m</i>	<i>yim</i> (56)	'fire'
<i>buy-a:yn</i>	<i>buy-ayayn</i> (158)	'1MSgoF'

For instance, in ex. 158, the last item in (21) above, *buy-a:yn* is a lenited form of *buy-ayayn* (ie. /y/ : o / V__V). Clearly, the process of lenition is most likely to occur between identical vowels (ie. *a__a*, *u__u* and *i__i*). If the vowels are different, gemination can be either progressive or regressive (22). The lexicalised lenition *amu:al* has retained both original vowels.

(22) *buy-nung.ga:yn buy-nung.gurrayn* (113) 'go-2ASgoF'
gurna:rr *gurna-wurr* (72) 'they'
amu:al *amungal* (167) '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

STOPS			initial		medial		final	
			GL	WH	GL	WH	GL	WH
alveolars	voiced	<i>d</i>	79/165	34/43	42/68	45/68	26/99	3/3
	voiceless	<i>t</i>	0/0	15/48	1/1	7/7	0/0	17/23
laminals	voiced	<i>dj dv</i>	70/123	15/30	43/60	8/18	25/45	2/2
	voiceless	<i>tj tv</i>	1/1	4/4	6/7	4/4	14/31	10/16
bilabials	voiced	<i>b</i>	112/197	11/16	20/29	7/15	9/13	0/0
	voiceless	<i>p</i>	33/50	16/19	2/4	2/2	5/6	5/13
velars	voiced	<i>g</i>	101/205	44/70	39/49	12/19	12/40	0/0
	voiceless	<i>k</i>	69/118	17/17	15/31	7/13	169/281	54/98

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 Harvey’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)	<i>batu</i>	maybe
	<i>hoetoer</i>	jabiru
	<i>detoem</i>	back
	<i>etu</i>	male cousin
	<i>geter</i>	lily sp.
	<i>mutukmutukma</i>	wild passionfruit
	<i>mutuma</i>	crippled
	<i>ngatal</i>	hard, tough
	<i>hatja</i>	stone spear
	<i>hutjurung</i>	whistle duck
	<i>jatjin</i>	yesterday
	<i>jetji</i>	to put
	<i>mutjurr</i>	many
	<i>watjuk</i>	to throw in water
	<i>dakayu</i>	nothing
	<i>gaka</i>	uncle
	<i>gapi</i>	wife
	<i>gepoen</i>	deep, steep

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 intervocalically [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 *dagatj* ‘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* [jacin], 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 *batu* ‘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 2.6: Revised Stop Phonemes - Contrastive voicing.

CONSONANTS	Apical		Laminal	Peripheral	
	Alveolar	Retroflex	Palatal	Bilabial	Velar
Stop	d, t	ɖ	ɟ, c	b, p	g, k

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 [ɖ] is confined to morpheme medial position, mainly in finite verbs (eg. *ardimine*k ‘I did it’), but elsewhere too (eg. *garda* ‘push’), and voiceless [t] 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

/ʃ/ → [ç] 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 *jatjin* is underlyingly /jɑʃʃin/. This approach loses 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 [β]. The bilabial fricative is attested in the following words.

(25) [βəβə]	'crab'	<i>bubu</i>
[maβalak]	'type of spear'	<i>mabarak</i>
[wiriβi]	'coolamin'	<i>wirribi</i>
[aβap]	'tired'	<i>abap</i>
[miyeβetβet]	'mean'	<i>miyibethet</i>
[βəendyi]	'(you) go away'	<i>buv-evnji</i>
[βəningeri]	'they've all gone away (sic)'	<i>buv-ning.girri</i>
[budyəβəŋmə]	'grey-haired'	<i>buja bung-wayma</i>
[wəβəʔən]	'swimming along'	<i>wuk balam</i>
[meβə]	'constellation (celestial)'	<i>merbu</i>

The contextual constraint on the bilabial fricative appears to be that it occurs mainly intervocalically 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)	[ɛβɛŋ]	'sister'	<i>eweng</i>
	<i>værok</i>	'boy'	<i>warruk</i>
	<i>vænne</i>	'canoe'	<i>wene</i>

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 katj-gatj-ma-gunen giwarirr* 'They are fishing with a line' *katj-gatj* appears to have undergone word initial devoicing (ie. *g* > *k* / # __).

Furthermore, Harvey (HMF:78) transcribes two sentences involving the verb *ditj* 'return': *aniyn-miyi didj-ga-gaynjuyak* 'When will you come back' and *niga-rnung tidj-ga-miynji-ga:yak* '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.

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 satisfactory 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 an simple example, the morpheme *-yin* 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-yin* 'to Darwin'; and as a verbal enclitic 'HITHER', it signifies movement towards the speaker, as in *mi: ang-yin-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 wa:rri-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 buy-yang.gak
 ngun -yin buy -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
1MIN stand -1MSstandP in front -ABL
'I am the first born' (204)

Quantifiers:

mi ngarru-m-errerr, mutjurr-ayu-rnung
mi ngarru -ma -errerr mutjurr -ayu -rnung
tucker 1AUG -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:

<i>mer-durk</i>	'stump'	(from <i>mer</i> 'foot')
<i>gere-dil</i>	'bitter'	(from <i>gere</i> 'mouth')
<i>jerri-balkayn</i>	'fork in tree'	(from <i>jerri</i> 'leg')
<i>mern-yityit</i>	'black-headed python'	(from <i>mern</i> 'heart, belly')
<i>ngart-berderr</i>	'riverbank'	(from <i>ngart</i> 'teeth')
<i>buja-ngerer</i>	'brain'	(from <i>buja</i> '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:

<i>ngoerrngoerr</i>	'saltwater crocodile'
<i>ngurrangurra</i>	'bustard'
<i>wilikwilik</i>	'galah'
<i>herrherr</i>	'white nailfish'
<i>huluybuluy</i>	'rainbow'

complete + -ma

<i>murrmurrma</i>	'rotten'
<i>mutukmutukma</i>	'wild passionfruit'
<i>hitbitma</i>	'cyclone'
<i>herherma</i>	'wind'

partial CVC(VC):

<i>birrirr</i>	'blue tongue lizard'
<i>boeroer</i>	'pheasant'
<i>moerroerr</i>	'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* (*o*), *binya*, *miyi* and *yim*. Adding their distributional criteria, he notes the following correspondences.

- (4)
- | | |
|--------------|--|
| <i>o-</i> | with body parts, kinship terms and natural phenomena |
| <i>piña-</i> | with animals hunted for meat |
| <i>miye-</i> | with vegetable food and plants |
| <i>yim-</i> | 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 -3MSdoP old man
 'The old man rubbed firesticks' (319)

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 ngev-vang.gak*
yim ngev -yang.gak
 fire flame up -3MSgoP
 'The fire flared up' (327)
- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>yim wuk-yende wurr-ma-gutu</i> | 'That stick sticks out of the water' (337) |
| <i>ngap-avang.gak yim-ni nguru-ma</i> | 'I burnt myself' (116) |
| <i>yim jap-jak-wa-yin-awa</i> | '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 *miyi* 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-eynjurdev yim mer-durk

darr -ma

-eynjurdey

yim

mer-durk

see -IMPF

-2MSdoFSubj

fire

stump

'Watch out for that stump' (270)
- (8)

binya

jer-ayang.gak binya jayirr

jer -ayang.gak

binya

jayirr

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.

Noun class marker	Semantic assignment
<i>yim</i>	fire and its products and utensils, firewood, timber
<i>binya</i>	game animals, and their products
<i>miyi</i>	food plants, and their products

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 *-rning* will here be labelled purposive (PURP) instead of 'dative'.

Table 3.2: Matngele Nominal Case System

Case Category	Case Marker
Purposive	<i>-rnung</i>
Locative	<i>-yende</i>
Allative	<i>-yin</i>
Ablative	<i>-rdiyn</i>
Instrumental	<i>-ni</i>
Comitative	<i>-mungu</i>

Goddard (1985:42ff) draws a rigorous distinction between case categories and case markers. That is, a case marker such as *-rnung* 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 formulae. (Goddard, 1985:42-4).

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 *-rnung* ('dative' in Harvey's gloss) and ablative *-rdiyn* 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 *ngutj-yende* 'morning' (lit. night-LOC).

3.4.1 Purposive Case

The set of syntactic contexts of the purposive case marker *-rnung* 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:

binva huv-ambalik wayalk-nung
 binya buy -ambalik wayalk -nung
 meat go -1+2MSgoFSubj hunt -PURP
 'We should go hunting' (147)

<i>wuk-nung gurna wert-wert guyang</i>	'He's greedy for booze' (197)
<i>binya durrin-nung dar-dar-guritj-ma-gurrang</i>	'They are poking around for turtles' (219)
<i>miyi-nung numbat-atak-wurr</i>	'I asked them for tucker' (243)
<i>werek-giyitj mi:-nung ayi-vengiyn</i>	'The kid is crying for tucker' (251)
<i>gurr-gatj-ma-gunen wemerr-nung</i>	'They are digging for honey' (276)
<i>mer-gilang-nung ayi-ma-guyang</i>	'He's crying for his mother' (287)

(11) Wh-purposive

<i>aynja-rnung wurr-ma-aynjutu</i>	
aynja -rnung wurr -ma -aynjutu	
what -PURP stand -IMPF -2MSstandPR	
'Why are you standing there?' (136)	
<i>aynja-rnung wurr-urru-ambutu</i>	'Why are we standing up?' (156)

(12) Goal

<i>jiji nemboe ngun-nung gay-arradak-nung</i>	
jiji nemboe ngun -nung gay -arradak -nung	
man other there -PURP yell out -1ASstandP -3MO	
'We yelled out to that bloke there' (114)	
<i>dakayu wa:rri-nung biri-ma-ayang</i>	'I'm not following you' (068)
<i>binya-rnung mayu ngak-aday</i>	'I want to eat beef' (170)

(13) Benefactive

<i>mivi wangarri mi dakaya mimitj-nung</i>	
miyi wangarri mi dakaya mimitj -nung	
tucker 2MIN tucker NEG old woman -PURP	
'Your tucker? No, its the old woman's' (004)	
<i>mi: ngin gurna jerrerek-nung</i>	'This tucker is the old man's' (185)
<i>mi: ngin bam-doet-miyi-enen jerrerek-nung</i>	'I'm keeping this tucker for the old man' (233)
<i>mi ngarru-m-errerr // mutjurr-ayu-rnung</i>	'This tucker belongs to all of us' (305)

(14) Temporal distance

<i>ya nevi-nung burrp-gudangak</i>	
ya neyi -nung burrp -gudangak	
yes later -PURP cook -3MSstandF	
'Yes she will cook it later' (127)	
<i>niga-rnung ditj-ga-garriyak</i>	'We will come back tomorrow' (153)
<i>vim dapat-jak-amboedey nevi-nung</i>	'We have to break up the firewood later' (281)
<i>niga nemboe-nung ditj-ga-garriyak</i>	'We'll come back the day after tomorrow' (297)
<i>wa-doet-m-enoenek ngutj-yende-nung mara...</i>	'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).

(15) rest: source, locus, goal

<i>yim wuk-yende wurr-ma-gutu</i>	
yim wuk -yende wurr -ma -gutu	
tree water -LOC stand -IMPF -3MSstandPR	
'That stick sticks out of the water' (337)	
<i>bar wel-ma-enyen motika-yende</i>	'Your arm is hanging out of the car' (201)
<i>enyenek jirrmayn-yende</i>	'You were sitting under the banyon' (125)
<i>gurrutu bar-yende</i>	'They are at that spring' (347)
<i>mirr darr-ma-gutu wuk-yende</i>	'He's looking at his shadow in the water' (141)

(16) motion: source, locus, goal

<i>memek-yende varrp-wut-wa-denek-awa binya-ma</i>	
memek -yende varrp - wut - wa -denek -awa binya -ma	
hand -LOC scrape - lie - take -3MSdoP -1MO meat -PRM	
'He grabbed the meat from my hand' (187)	
<i>varrp-at-varrp-at-ma-guyu wern-yende</i>	'(The dog) is rolling about in the grass' (356)
<i>jalk-yang gak yurru-yende yurak barang ga</i>	'He fell to the ground where he's lying' (138)
<i>ya jawu gara-hak-arranayak miyek-yende</i>	'Yes we nearly sat down on the ants' (215)
<i>dakayu gay-yang gaga-yende</i>	'He didn't yell out to uncle' (319)

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 *-yn* on the finite verbs, in (17).

- (17) *miyi an-yin wara-buy-yengiyin jiji ngun guyang.gu-ma*
 miyi an -yin wara - buy -yengiyin 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-yin buy-burrayn* 'Where are they going' (337)
ngun an-yin buy-burrayn 'Where's that lot going' (143)
ngun-yin buy-yang.gak 'He has gone over there' (145)
niga buy-nung.gurrayn darwin-yin 'Are you lot going to Darwin tomorrow?' (068)

3.4.2.3 Ablative case

The ubiquitous case marker *-rdiyn* also represents a polysemous set of syntactic contexts. Their meanings cover four domains: ablative 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, *-rdiyn* 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. *jayatj-diyŋ* 'policeman' (lit. 'taboo-from'), in (22).

(18) ABL/source

an-diyŋ-ma ditj-ga-anyang.gak
 an -diyn -ma ditj - ga -anyang.gak
 where -ABL -PRM return - come -2MSgoP
 'Where did you come from?' (150)

jagart-ayang.gak ngun-diyŋ gakwak 'I have run from a long way' (151)
hil-ngurrrp-ayang.gak yim-diyŋ 'He jumped from the stick' (223)
jiji ngun gurriynju gurrang-diyŋ 'Those two men there' (311)

(19) CAUS

ngen-darayat-atayŋ dak-diyŋ lurrng-lurrng-ma-atak
 ngen- darayat - atayŋ dak -diyn lurrng - lurrng -ma -atak
 CHAR- tired - 1MSstandP camp -ABL Redupl - clean -IMPF -1MSstandP
 'I'm tired from cleaning up the camp' (290)

may-diyŋ-ju buy-ga:yak may-u gayingak
 may -diyn -ju buy -gawayak may -ju gayingak
 that -ABL -SPEC go -1MSgoF that -SPEC 1MSlieF
 'That's why I am going to go and camp there' (352)

wuk-diyŋ garala dap-vengiyn-awa 'The booze killed me' (136)
abap dam miyi-diyŋ 'She's sick from tucker' (301)
awuy-diyŋ dun durt-denek-awa 'Auntie took it out for me' (339)

(20) IIh-CAUS

aynja-rdiyŋ enyen
 aynja -rdiyŋ enyen
 what -ABL 2MSsitPR
 'Why are you sitting?' (116)

aynja-rdiyŋ darr-ma-gunen-arrarr 'Why is he looking at us?' (133)
miyi aynja-rdiyŋ dakayu ngak-nung gurrung.gak 'Why didn't you eat the tucker' (145)
aynja-rdiyŋ ngin emnyen 'Why are we sitting here?' (147)
miyimitj aynja-rdiyŋ dun-wuyn guyang 'Why is the old woman blind?' (162)
aynja-rdiyŋ ngin warrye-yet-nung gurrang 'Why are you lot walking along' (174)
aynja-rdiyŋ wern dakayu jet-gatj-nung gurrang.gak 'Why didn't you lot burn the grass?' (266)
aynja-rdiyŋ ngun guwerak gunen 'What is that woman sitting down for?' (358)
aynja-rdiyŋ, yeyn-wul-ma-guyang 'What's wrong with her. She's ashamed' (356)

(21) Temporal distance (non-future)

jerrerek garnbi aniyŋ-miyi-diyŋ jeyn-eynminek
 jerrerek garnbi aniyŋ -miyi -diyn jeyn -eynminek
 old man spear what -IMPF -ABL make -2MSdoP
 'Old man, when did you make that spear?' (179)

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

ardak ngatj-wurr-ma ngutj-yende-diy-n-ma mayu
ardak ngatj -wurr -ma ngutj-yende -diyn -ma mayu
IMSstandP just -stand -PRM morning -ABL -PRM enough
‘I have been standing up all morning’ (144)

<i>aniyn-miyi-diyn ditj-ga-nung.gurrung.gak</i>	‘When did you lot come back?’ (169)
<i>nguru jet-atak nguwerem-diyn</i>	‘I am the first born’ (204)
<i>may ... arranik, mara dak-diyn dagun</i>	‘We nearly camped there’ (248)
<i>werek-giyitj ngunjuwa-rdiyn, jet-butak</i>	‘He is the last born kid’ (305)
<i>gay-burrutak-awa ngunyuwa-rdiyn</i>	‘They yelled out from behind’ (357)

(22) Lexicalised

<i>javatj-diyn ga-vang.gak</i>	‘A policeman came up’ (162)
<i>(javatj-diyn lit. ‘taboo-ABL’)</i>	

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).

(23) AGENT

nendu-ni mer-ni jut-jak-denek-nung
nendu -ni mer -ni jut-jak -denek -nung
horse -AGENT foot -INSTR kick -3MSdoP -3MO
'The horse kicked that bloke' (126)

motika-ni datj-den-nung
motika -ni datj - den -nung
car -AGENT hit - cut -3MO
'The car hit him' (230)

nuwun bala dep-denek-niynji. jerrerek-ni
nuwun bala dep -denek -niynji jerrerek -ni
who white ochre paint -3MSdoP -2MO old man -AGENT
'Who painted you; the old man?' (304)

(24) INSTR

binya durin-nung jan-ni darrarr-guritj-ma-guyang
binya durin -nung jan -ni darrarr - guritj -ma -guyang
meat turtle -PURP yamstick -INSTR Rdp-see - go around -IMPF -3MSgoPR
'She's looking around for turtles with a yamstick' (125)

wuk durrk-ma-gutu ngener-ni, ngelyek-ngelyek-ma-gutu wuk
wuk durrk -ma -gutu ngener -ni
water drink -IMPF -3MSstandPR tongue -INSTR
ngelyek - ngelyek -ma -gutu wuk
lap up - lap up -IMPF -3MSstandPR water
'(The dog) is drinking (with his tongue), he is lapping up water' (291)

ngap-ayang.gak yim-ni nguru-ma 'I burnt myself' (116)
war-ni jet-boerrminek 'They built a house' (163)
datj-nung-boerrminek meng-ni 'They killed him with an ax' (289)

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 that lot there with'.

(25) wilmurr-mungu

binya wilmurr-mungu niyl-boerrminek
binya wilmurr -mungu niyl -boerrminek
meat horn -COM skin -3ASdoP
'They skinned the buffalo' (250)

binya wilmurr-mungu an-gurrang 'Where are the buffalo?' (347)

(26) *wuk-mungu*

wangarri nguru buy-ambik ngun bak mara yurru wuk-mungu

2MIN 1MIN go -1+2MSgoNFSbj there sit but ground water -COM

'We 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 -1ASstandNFSbj water -COM grass

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

yim wuk-mungu dakayu ngap-yang.gak

'The wood was wet, it wouldn't burn' (127)

jelclk-nambik, wuk-mungu yurru

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

jut-jir-ardimineek yurr wuk-mungu

'I slipped on the wet ground' (336)

(27) *biyawur-mung*

biyawur-mung ayang ni: gurna-wurr-wurna-ma beji-beji

biyawur -mung ayang ni: gurna-wurr -wurna -ma beji-beji
ear -COM 1MSgoPR name 3AS -UA -PRM old people

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

biyawur-mung ayang

'I know him' (119)

ya: biyawur-mung ayang-nung

'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 3.3: Matngele Personal Pronouns

	Minimal		Augmented	
1	<i>nguru</i>	'I'	<i>ngarru</i>	'we'
1+2	<i>ngemoe</i>	'you and I'		
2	<i>wangarri</i>	'you'	<i>nu-nung.gurr</i>	'you'
3	<i>gurna</i>	she/he/it	<i>gurna-wurr</i>	'they'

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 giyn-giyn-datj-yengiyn-awa*
 boeng.ger nguru giyn-giyn - datj -yengiyn -awa
 knee 1MIN ache (Redupl) - hit -3MSgoIMPF -1MO
 'My knee is aching' (141)
- mat nguru* 'My language' (001)
guwarang nguru balavet '(That) woman is my promised wife' (349)
dak nguru ngin 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+2MSbeFS 1+2MIN -PRM
 'Lets cook that tucker later' (109)
- wa:rri nguru buy-gambiyak dak doerreng-ma-gambiyak*
 wa:rri nguru buy -gambiyak dak doerreng -ma -gambiyak
 2MIN 1MIN go -1+2MSgoF country show -IMPF -1+2MSgoF
 'We (you + I) have to show him the country' (194)
- wangarri nguru buy-gambiyak* 'We (you + I) 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-ardimineke nguru-memek
 bala dep -ardimineke nguru - memek
 white ochre paint -1MSdoP 1MIN - hand
 'I painted myself with white ochre' (267)
- (32) *-jenngu*
dakayu nguru-jenngu bala dep-ardimineke
 dakayu nguru -jenngu bala dep -ardimineke
 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: Matngele Number Enclitics

-ngerrngerr	1 Non-singular Exclusive
-errerr	1 Non-singular Inclusive
-wurna	2/3 Non-singular Dual

Both first person, non-singular pronominal enclitics *-ngerrngerr* (*~ngoerrngoerr*) and *-errerr* (*~errarr*, *~arrarr*) specify, respectively, the exclusion (34) and inclusion (35) of the addressee. In (36) *ngarru* 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: ngarru-ngoerrngoerr*
 ya miyi ngarru -ngoerrngoerr
 yes tucker 1AUG -EXCL
 'Yes, it belongs to us (EXCL)' (034)
 ya miyi may-ma ngarru-ngoerrngoerr 'Yes, that tucker belongs to us two' (052)

(35) 1AS(INCL)

mi ngarru-m-errerr, mutjurr-ayunung
 miyi ngarru -ma -errerr mutjurr -ayu -nung
 tucker 1AUG -PRM -INCL many -only -PURP
 'This tucker belongs to all of us (INCL)' (305)

(36) ngarru on its own

ya: *ngarru doerik-gerriningak*
 ya ngarru doerik -gerriningak
 yes 1AUG get fat -1AS1ieF
 'Yes we will get fat' (280)

(37) DUAL (UA)

biyawur-mung avang ni: gurnawurr-wurna-ma beji-beji
 biyawur -mung avang ni: gurnawurr -wurna -ma beji-beji
 ear -COM 1MSGOPR name 3AS -UA -PRM old people
 'I remember those two old people's names' (177)
 miyi may nunung.gurr-wurna
 miyi may nunung.gurr -wurna
 tucker that 2AS -UA
 'Does that tucker belong to you two?' (052)
 mi: may-ma nu-nung.gurr-wurna 'Does this tucker belong to you two?' (034)

The following pronoun/enclitic combinations can therefore be posited, in (38) below.

- (38)
- | | | |
|-------------|----------------------|----------------------------|
| 1AUG | 'we unspecified' | <i>ngarru</i> |
| 1AUG (EXCL) | 'we, but not you' | <i>ngarru+ngoerrngoerr</i> |
| 1AUG (INCL) | 'we, as well as you' | <i>ngarru-errerr</i> |
| 2AUG (UA) | 'you two' | <i>nu-nung.gurr-wurna</i> |
| 3AUG (UA) | 'they two' | <i>gurna-wurr-wurna</i> |

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

1 EXCL 1 INCL	MIN		AUG
	<i>nguru</i> <i>ngemoe</i>		<i>ngarru(-ngerrngerr)</i> <i>ngarru(-errerr)</i>
2	<i>wangarri</i>	UNIT-AUG <i>nu-nung.gurr-wurna</i>	<i>nu-nung.gurr</i>
3	<i>gurna</i>	<i>gurna-wurr-wurna</i>	<i>gurna-wurr</i>

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) *terrp-guwayak gamu-ngin-ma* 'It will be hot today' (133)
dakayu jawu-ngin ga-qyang.gak-yu 'No, today is the first time I ever came here' (342)

Table 3.6 shows the relevant paradigm.

Table 3.6: The Definite Demonstratives

spatial	proximate	<i>ngin</i>	here
	distal	<i>ngun</i>	there
entitative	distal	<i>may</i>	that

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

- (40) *wa:rr anyang.gak dak ngin nguwerem*
wa:rr anyang.gak dak ngin nguwerem
 2MIN 2MSgoP country here before
 ‘Have you been here before?’ (342)
- ngin-ju gaynjivingak* ‘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 jiji nemboe da:-denek-ney*
jatjin ngun jiji nemboe darr -denek -ney
 yesterday there man other see -3MSdoP -1+2MO
 ‘Yesterday that other man saw us’ (112)
- ngun-yin buy-vang.gak* ‘He has gone over there’ (145)
jagart-ayang.gak ngun-diyn gakwak ‘I have run from a long way’ (151)
guwarak gurrang.gu ngun ‘A woman is going along there’ (003)
ngun buy-gariyak-bak ‘We’ll go and sit there’ (073)
jiji ngun gurriynju gurrang-diyn ‘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 aniy-n-ma-gunen*
guwarak may aniy-n -ma -gunen
 woman that what -IMPF -3MSsitPR
 ‘What’s that woman doing?’ (166)
- miyi may nu-nung.gurr-wurna* ‘Does that tucker belong to you two?’ (052)
ya miyi may-ma ngarre-ngoerrngoerr ‘Yes, that tucker belongs to us two’ (052)
may binya ngak-ma-rnung dakayu ‘That meat is not for eating’ (146)
dak anyang.gak may-ma ‘Have you been to that country’ (199)
mi may rubbish wulj ‘Throw that rubbish away’ (241)
gar-nhi nuwun may jeyn-denek ‘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*

mara-datj-burruyak-wurna jiji ngun gurriynju:-ma
 mara- datj -burruyak -wurna jiji ngun gurriynjugu -ma
 RECIPR- hit -3ASgoF -UA man there two -PRM
 'Those two men are going to fight' (334)

werek ngun dakayu mat-wa-guyang-awa 'That kid doesn't take notice of me' (338)
jiji ngin aynja-rnung biri-ma-guyang-awa '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 3.7: The Interrogative Demonstratives

<i>aniyn</i>	what, when
<i>aynja</i>	what, why
<i>an, ana</i>	where
<i>an-buwaja</i>	how many
<i>nuwun</i>	who

3.6.2.1 *aniyn*

There are two environments available for *aniyn*. Compounded with the temporal prominence marker (IMPF) *miyi*, that is *aniyn-miyi*, it translates as 'when', in (44). Incorporated within the verbal complex, it translates as 'what', in (45). Generalising these two concepts, *aniyn* 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*

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

aniyn-miyi-diyn ditj-ga-nung.gurrung.gak

aniyn -miyi -diyn ditj - ga -nung.gurrung.gak
 what -IMPF -ABL return - come -2ASgoP
 'When did you lot come back?' (169)

jerrerek garnbi aniyn-miyi-diyn jeyn-eynminek

jerrerek garnbi aniyn -miyi -diyn jeyn -eynminek
 old man spear what -IMPF -ABL make -2MSdoP
 'Old man. when did you make that spear?' (179)

- (45) *aniyn-ma-gunen miyimitj*
 aniyn -ma -gunen miyimitj
 what -IMPF -3MSSitPR old woman
 'What is the old woman doing?' (125)
- jiji ngun aniyn-ma-guyang mat-ma*
 jiji ngun aniyn -ma -guyang mat -ma
 man there what -IMPF -3MSgoPR word -PRM
 'What is that man saying' (160)
- wangarri aniyn-ma-anyang-awa*
 wangarri aniyn -ma -anyang -awa
 2MIN what -IMPF -2MSgoPR -1MO
 'What do you call me?' (189)

3.6.2.2 *aynja*

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

- (46) *aynja-rnung ngun dawu-ma mar-datj-ma gurrutu-wurna*
 aynja -rnung ngun dawu -ma mar- datj -ma -gurrutu -wurna
 what -PURP there trouble -PRM RECIPR- hit -IMPF -3ASstandPR -UA
 'What are those two fighting for?' (160)
- jiji ngin aynja-rnung biri-ma-guyang-awa* 'Why is that man following me?' (068)
aynja-rnung wurr-urru-ambutu 'Why are we standing up?' (156)
- (47) *miyimitj aynja-rdiyn dun-wuyn guyang*
 miyimitj aynja -rdiyn dun -wuyn guyang
 old woman what -ABL eye -blind 3MSgoPR
 'Why is the old woman blind?' (162)
- aynja-rdiyn enyen* 'Why are you sitting?' (116)
aynja-rdiyn ngin emnyen 'Why are we sitting here?' (147)
- (48) *aynja-rdiyn ngin warrye-yet-nung gurr dang*
 'Why are you lot walking along'
aynja arrang.gu jal-warryet-buy-arrayn
 aynja arrang.gu jal - warryet - buy -arrayn
 what 1ASgoPR road - walk - go -1ASgoIMPF
 'Nothing, we're just walking along' (174)
- aynja marndalatj ngun gutu-ma ngeyi-ma-gutu*
 aynja marndalatj ngun gutu -ma ngeyi -ma -gutu
 what light there 3MSstandPR -PRM flash -IMPF -3MSstandPR
 'What is that light flashing there?' (154)

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-rnung* 'what-for' and *aynja-rdiyn* '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-yin* specifically inquire, respectively, into the source and the goal of the described event (ie. ‘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 2AUG -PRM
 ‘Where did you lot come from?’ (047)
- ngun an-yin buy-burrayn*
ngun an -yin buy -burrayn
 there where -ALL go -3ASgoIMPF
 ‘Where’s that lot going’ (143)
- miyi an-yin wara-buy-vengiyn jiji ngun guyang.gu-ma*
miyi an -yin wara - buy -yengiyn 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-ga-anyang.gak* ‘Where did you come from?’ (150)
an-yin buy-burrayn ‘Where are they going’ (337)
- (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-anyang.gak jal wuluk*
an - ga -anyang.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* ‘Where has that child gone?’ (144)
jiji an-buy-yang.gak ‘Where has that man gone?’ (154)

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-anyang*
nida an-buwaja wari -mi -anyang
 brother how many have -IMPF -2MSgoPR
 ‘How many brothers do you have?’ (198)
- binya durin an-buja warar-nung.gurring.gak* ‘How many turtles did you get?’ (176)
may gambirningak memek an-bu:ja malak ‘We will stay there a couple of days’ (225)

There are also two instances of the interrogative compound *an-yu uru* with the meaning ‘where’. Harvey (SGG:58) notes the occurrence of the intensifier *-juru*, 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 gurriynju ngun*
gaga an -juru gunen yim gurriynjugu ngun
 uncle where -INTENS 3MSsitPR tree two there
 ‘Where’s uncle? He’s sitting between those two trees’ (314)
ana-yu buy-garriyak-arrarr ‘Which way do we go now?’ (190)

3.6.2.5 nuwun

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

- (53) *garubi nuwun may jeyn-denek*
garubi nuwun may jeyn -denek
 spear who that make -3MSdoP
 ‘Who made that spear?’ (311)
nuwun bala dep-denek-niynji 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 ngatj nuwun-malak guyang.gi-yin batu jiji*
biyandak -ma -enen nuwun - malak guyang.gi -yin batu jiji
 hear -IMPF -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’.

<i>nguwerem</i>	before
<i>gamu</i>	now
<i>jawu</i>	now, nearly
<i>nevi(n)</i>	later
<i>ngunjuwa</i>	afterwards

- (55) *nguwerem mi: ngerru ngak-m-ereng-errerr*
 nguwerem miyi ngerru ngak -ma -ereng -errerr
 before tucker 1AUG eat -IMPF -1ASgoCOND -INCL
 'Before we used to eat bush tucker'
- mi: malak jawu ngin-ma barrakut-diyn ngak-m-ahnyang*
 miyi malak jawu ngin -ma barrakut -diyn ngak -ma -amnyang
 tucker finally now here -PRM white man -ABL eat -IMPF -1+2MSgoPR
 'Now we eat whiteman's tucker' (305)
- wuk gunuwarrang guyu // neyin wilbirrk-ga:yak*
 wuk gunuwarrang guyu neyin wilbirrk -gawayak
 water big 3MSliePR later cross -1MSgoF
 'There's a lot of water. I will cross later' (298)
- gamu buy-erri-errarr waragatj*
 gamu buy -erri -errarr waragatj
 now go -1ASgoFSubj -INCL quick
 'Hurry up we better go now' (218)
- werek-giyitj ngunjuwa-rdiyn jet-butak*
 werek -giyitj ngunjuwa -rdiyn jet -butak
 child - little afterwards -ABL stand -3MSstandP
 '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'.

<i>jatjin</i>	yesterday
<i>gamu-ngin</i>	today
<i>jawu-ngu</i>	today
<i>niga</i>	tomorrow
<i>niga nemboe</i>	day after tomorrow

- (56) *mer darr-ard-niynji jatjin*
 mer darr -ardiminek -niynji 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 -1ASgoF
 'We'll come back the day after tomorrow' (297)
- lerrp-guwayak gamu-ngin-ma*
 lerrp -guwayak gamu-ngin -ma
 hot -3MSgoF today -PRM
 'It will be hot today' (133)
- dakayu jawu-ngin ga-ayang.gak-yu*
 dakayu jawu-ngin ga -ayang.gak -yu
 NEG today come -1MSgoP -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'.

<i>murrija</i>	afternoon
<i>ngutj</i>	night
<i>ngutj-yende</i>	morning

(57) *ngutj ga-barrang.gak*

ngutj ga -barrang.gak

night come -3ASgoP

'They came back at night' (230)

garningak nguru-ma murrija

garningak nguru -ma murrija

1MSsitF 1MIN -PRM afternoon

'I'll sit here quietly this afternoon' (200)

malak-diyn ga-birrik ngutj-yende-diyn

malak -diyn ga -birrik ngutj-yende -diyn

finally -ABL come -3ASgoNFSobj 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

numerals	<i>nembiyu</i> <i>gurriynju</i>	one two
quantifiers	<i>mutjurr</i> <i>jelyeng</i>	many, lots other, some
dyadic	<i>mer-</i>	pair

(58) *nembiyu ardiminek binya jawk*

nembiyu ardiminek binya jawk

one 1MSdoP fish black naifish

'I got one black naifish' (176)

jiji ngun gurriynju gurrang-diyn

jiji ngun gurriynju 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 jelyeng wurr

binya wangerri -gayn binya jelyeng 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.

- (60) *ngerru mer-gawuv*
 ngerru mer- gawuv
 1AUG DY- grandfather/grandchild
 'We are grandfather and grandchild' (351)
- mer-gilang gurrang-wurna*
 mer- gilang gurrang -wurna
 DY- mother 3ASgoPR -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.

- (61) *-ma* (PRM)
- jiji may-ma jawu-yu dat-wut-burnik*
 jiji may -ma jawu-yu dat - wut -burnik
 man that -PRM nearly die - lie -3MSlieSubj
 'That man nearly died' (192)
- gay-nung-butayak gaga-yende-ma* 'He wanted to yell out to uncle' (320)
dakatj matngele-gayn guyang jiji may-ma 'That man isn't really Matngele' (343)
binya dat-jet-errminek buliki-ma 'We mustered cattle' (350)
binya ngerrp-nung.gurrdangak nevin-ma 'Are you lot going to cut that meat up later?' (209)
mi: ang-gurda-nung awuy-ma 'Is he going to give auntie tucker?' (348)
mara-datj-burruyak-wurna jiji ngun gurriynju-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).

- (62) *jerrerek ngun-ma nini-m-aynjudak-nung dak-nung-ma*
 jerrerek 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).

- (63) *aynja marndalatj ngun gutu-ma ngeyi-ma-gutu*
 aynja marndalatj ngun gutu -ma ngeyi -ma -gutu
 what light there 3MSstandPR -PRM flash -IMPF -3MSstandPR
 'What is that light flashing there?' (154)
- dak lurrng-lurrng-m-atak ga-burrung.gak-ma*
 dak lurrng - lurrng -ma -atak ga -burrung.gak -ma
 camp clean - clean -IMPF -1MSstandP come -3ASgoP -PRM
 'I was cleaning up camp when they came' (333)
- darr-ardayak-nung-ma bawar 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
 arrnayak -warn mara bawar dakayu
 1ASSitNPSbj -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 yiwuy-yang.gak ngen-dawu
 ya yiwuy -yang.gak ngen- dawu
 yes go away -3MSgoP CHAR- trouble
 'Yes, he has gone away, the cheeky bloke' (352)
ngen-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), simulative (67), collective (68), and negative (69) referents.

- (66) *-nangu* 'big'
nguwerem-ma gurna-bangart jirrmijn budak gurna-nangu
 nguwerem -ma gurna-bangart jirrmijn budak gurna -nangu
 before -PRM 3MIN -??? banyan tree 3MSstandP 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 3MSstandPR
 'That rock looks like a kangaroo' (188)

- (68) *-giva* 'together'
dakayu mat-kiya guyang
 dakayu mat -kiya guyang
 NEG word -together 3MSgoPR
 'He's not a countryman' (222)

- (69) *-gayn* (NEG)
dakatj matngele-gayn guyang jiji may-ma
 dakatj matngele -gayn guyang jiji may -ma
 NEG.IMP Matngele -NEG 3MSgoPR man that -PRM
 '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 4.1: Overview of Matngele Verb Types

Type of Verb	Terminology	Class	Semantics
complex verb	coverb	open	fully lexical
	finite verb	closed	rudimentary
simple verb	simple verb	closed	restricted: stance/motion

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,

synchronically, with the rudimentary verb root into what is probably best analysable as a single morpheme.

The complex verb has the structural template

coverb - subject/finite verb root/tense

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

- (1) *egek-enenek*
 egək -enenek
 vomit -1MSsitP
 'I vomited' (122)

- (2) *wirrk-yang.gak*
 wirrk -yang.gak
 finish -3MSgoP
 'He finished' (205)

- (3) *watjuk-ardimineκ*
 watjuk -ardimineκ
 throw in water -1MSdoP
 '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

coverb - (aspectual suffix) - subject/ finite verb root /tense

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

- (4) *-ma*
 mirr-ma-gunen
 mirr -ma -gunen
 thunder -IMPF -3MSsitPR
 'It's thundering' (223)

- (5) *bing-bing-ma-guyang*
 bing - bing -ma -guyang
 click tongue - REDUPL -IMPF -3MSgoPR
 'He's clicking his tongue' (213)

- (6) *-miyi*
 del-wut-miyi-guyu
 del - wut -miyi -guyu
 locked - lie -IMPF -3MSliePR
 '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 ardiminek
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 4.2: Matngele Simple Verb Roots

	Present	Future	Immediate Future
to burn (intr.)			<i>wa-mi-n</i>
to lie	<i>yu-ng</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>yu</i>
to sit	<i>ni-ng</i>	<i>na-y</i>	<i>ne/oe-n</i>
to stand	<i>ta-ng</i>	<i>(t)ta-y</i>	<i>tu</i>
to go	<i>wuv</i>	<i>wali-rri</i>	<i>yang(gu)</i>
to do (trans.)	<i>rda</i>	<i>rta-y</i>	<i>mi-n</i>

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 4.3: Matngele Simple verb Roots (after Tryon, 1974)

	Non-future	Future	Immediate Future
lying down	<i>ya</i>	<i>yi</i>	<i>ni</i>
sitting	<i>ni</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>na</i>
standing	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>
place to place	<i>yangka</i>	<i>wu</i>	<i>wa</i>
with hands	<i>tōmi</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>ta</i>

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

	Harvey	Tryon
'burn intrans.'	--	<i>wa-mi, wari</i>
'lie'	<i>ya, yi, niy</i>	<i>yu, yu, ni</i>
'sit'	<i>ni, ni, nay</i>	<i>ne'oe, ni, nay</i>
'stand'	<i>ta, ta, tay</i>	<i>tu, ta, itay</i>
'go'	<i>yangka, wa, waliy/riy</i>	<i>yang(gu), wuy, wali:rri</i>
'do trans.'	<i>tömi, ta, tay</i>	<i>mi, rda, rtay</i>

Laves, too, spends some effort on the analysis of the verbal complex. While most of the work is cryptically stored in the weathered 'word cards', Laves' AIATSIS sheets 7834-42 present a preliminary, but extensive overview of the Matngele finite verb system. He distinguishes several finite verbs that appear to go with specific coverbs; or rather that specific coverbs take a range of finite verbs. Moreover, Laves proposes a much wider range of possible tense, aspect and mood categories, including amongst others, Recent, Remote, Interruptive and Narrative Past, as well as Immediate Intention, Distant Future and Interrogative, and indeed backs these distinctions up by providing forms of each of these categories (See Section 4.4 for comments on some of these categories).

4.2.2 Simple and finite verb semantics

4.2.2.1 Simple verbs

As Harvey (SGG:63) notes, one of the keys to the semantics and the residual morphological structure of individual simple verbs lies in the fact that they can occur "as the sole verbal predicate in a clause." This thesis, then, adopts the premise that the lexical meaning of a simple verb can be approached, by means of a critical appraisal of their free translations in elicited sentences.

As alluded to above, it is assumed that while synchronically simple verbs are unsegmentable, there are in fact reasonable grounds to justify isolation of the verb root. With this in mind, it is useful to propose a set of underlying forms for the subject prefixes and the tense, aspect and mood suffixes, in Table 4.5. It is then possible to posit a number of simple verb forms from the range of essential verb root morphemes.

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

Person/number	Subject	Past	Present	Future	Fut Subj	NonFut Subj
1MS	<i>a-/e-</i>	<i>-ek</i>	<i>-en</i>	<i>ga- _ngak</i>	<i>-ay</i>	<i>-yak</i>
1+2MS	<i>ambu-/emny-</i>	<i>-ak</i>	<i>-u</i>	<i>ga- _yak</i>	<i>-i</i>	<i>-ik</i>
2MS	<i>anyju-/eny-</i>	<i>-am</i>	<i>-ang</i>			
3MS	<i>o-/gu-/bu-</i>					
1AS	<i>arr-/err-</i>					
2AS	<i>nung.gurr-</i>					
3AS	<i>gurr-/burr-</i>					

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 *-t-* and 'stand'.

(10) "stand"

<i>arratak wurrurr</i>	<i>ambutak wurrurr</i>
arratak wurrurr	ambutak wurrurr
1ASstandP upright (Redupl)	1+2MSstandP upright (Redupl)
'We were standing up' (252)	
<i>gamu ba-jelatambutav</i>	'We have to stand up now' (222)
<i>aynjutak wurr-ma</i>	'You were standing up' (242)
<i>arratav-ngerrngerr</i>	'Let us stand up' (254)
<i>mayu burrutav</i>	'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 (eg. that buffaloes *stand* at a given spring). Indeed Harvey gives interlinear glosses for the sentences in (11) with ‘stand’.

(11) “be, look like, leave”

<i>gurrutu bar-yende</i>	
<i>gurrutu bar -yende</i>	
<i>3ASstandPR spring -LOC</i>	
‘(The buffaloes) are at that spring’ (347)	
<i>moerroerr wuluk-ang gutu</i>	‘The sun is high’ (133)
<i>bawar jayirr-birniyn gutu</i>	‘That rock looks like a kangaroo’ (188)
<i>binya guyena mayu butay guk</i>	‘This meat is still raw: leave it a little’ (287)
<i>mayu butay kerr-gatj jet-buday</i>	‘Leave (that tea). Let it get cold’ (194)

Thus, from the evidence in (10) and (11), it may be postulated that for the simple verb ‘stand’, the underlying morpheme is *ta/tu*, 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:

‘burn’	<i>wamin</i>
<u>stance:</u>	
‘lie’	<i>ya</i>
‘sit’	<i>n</i>
‘stand’	<i>ta</i>
<u>motion:</u>	
‘go’	<i>yang</i>
<u>transitive:</u>	
‘do’	<i>min(ek) rd(am)</i>

(13)	<u>Tryon</u>	<u>Harvey</u>
<u>intransitive:</u>		
‘burn’	--	<i>wa-mi, wari</i>
<u>stance:</u>		
‘lie’	<i>ya, yi</i>	<i>yu, yu</i>
‘sit’	<i>ni, ni</i>	<i>ne oe, ni</i>
‘stand’	<i>ta, ta</i>	<i>tu, ta</i>
<u>motion:</u>		
‘go’	<i>yangka, w</i>	<i>yang(gu), wuy</i>
<u>transitive:</u>		
‘do’	<i>tömi, ta</i>	<i>mi, rda</i>

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

		Past	Present	Future	Future Subj	NonFut Subj
burn	3MS		guwanmin			
lie	1MS	ayak		gayingak	arni	
	1+2MS	amnyak	amnyu		amburni	
	2MS	anyak	anyu	ge:aynjiyingak	aynjuni	
	3MS	yurak	guyu	giyingak	burni	
	1AS	arrak	arru	ge:arr(in)ingak	arnni	arranik
	2AS	nung.gurрак		ning.girr(in)ingak		
	3AS	hurрак	gurru	giringak	hurruni	
sit	1MS	enoenek	ene/oen	ge:arningak		arnavak
	1+2MS	emnyoenek	emnyen	gambirningak	amburnay	
	2MS	envoenek,	enyen	gaynjiningak	aynjunay	
	3MS	noenek	gunen	girningak	burnay	
	1AS	enoenek	enoen	garrinangak	arranay	
	2AS	nung.gunoenek		ning.girriningak	nung.gurnay	
	3AS	hoenoenek	gunen	girriningak	hurrunay	
stand	1MS	atak	atu	gatangak		
	1+2MS	ambutak	ambutu		ambutay	
	2MS	aynjutak	aynjutu			
	3MS	butak	gutu		butay	
	1AS				arratay	
	2AS					
	3AS		gurrutu		hurrutay	
go	1MS	ayang.gak	ayang			
	1+2MS		amnyang			
	2MS	anyang.gak	anyang			
	3MS	yang.gak	guyang		buwali	
	1AS	arrang.gak				
	2AS					
	3AS		gurra/ung			
do	1MS	ardimineк	ardam			
	1+2MS		amburdam			
	2MS	eynmineк				
	3MS		dam			
	1AS					
	2AS					
	3AS					

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: Matngele Finite Verb Paradigm - the category TENSE

		Past	Present	Future <i>g ngak</i>	Future <i>g yak</i>
lie	1MS 1+2MS 2MS 3MS 1AS 2AS 3AS	 <i>-yurak</i> <i>-arrak</i> <i>-nung.gurрак</i> <i>-burрак</i>	 <i>-guyu</i> <i>-arru</i> <i>-gurru</i>	 <i>-guyingak</i> 	
sit	1MS 1+2MS 2MS 3MS 1AS 2AS 3AS	<i>-enenek</i> <i>-amboerdinek</i> <i>-denek</i> <i>-boerroenek</i>	<i>-enen</i> <i>-enven</i> <i>-gunen</i> <i>-gunen</i>	 <i>-gerningak</i> <i>-gerriningak</i> 	
stand	1MS 1+2MS 2MS 3MS 1AS 2AS 3AS	<i>-atak</i> <i>-avnjutak</i> <i>-hutak</i> <i>-arratak</i> <i>-nung.gurrutak</i> <i>-hurrutak</i>	<i>-atu</i> <i>-avnjutu</i> <i>-gutu</i> <i>-gurrutu</i>	 <i>-gavnjutangak</i> <i>-gutangak</i> <i>-gurrutangak</i>	
go	1MS 1+2MS 2MS 3MS 1AS 2AS 3AS	<i>-ayang.gak</i> <i>-amnyang.gak</i> <i>-anyang.gak</i> <i>-yang.gak</i> <i>-arrang.gak</i> <i>-nung.gurrung.gak</i> <i>-burrung.gak</i>	<i>-ayang</i> <i>-amnyang</i> <i>-anyang</i> <i>-guyang</i> <i>-nung.gurrdang</i>	 	<i>-gawuyak</i> <i>-gambiyak</i> <i>-gavnjiyak</i> <i>-guwavyak</i> <i>-garriyak</i> <i>-garruvak</i>
do	1MS 1+2MS 2MS 3MS 1AS 2AS 3AS	<i>ardimineк</i> <i>eynmineк</i> <i>errmineк</i> <i>boerrmineк</i>	<i>-ardam</i> <i>-avnjurdam</i> <i>-burrudam</i>	 <i>-gurdangak</i> <i>-garrdangak</i> <i>-nung.gurrdangak</i> 	

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

4.2.3.1 Future

According to Laves (7836), future tense, inflected *g ngak*, refers to the distant future (“I intend to do it; I shall do it, eg tomorrow”), as opposed to the category *ai ei* (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 *g ngak* refer to positively intended future events, as do those for the finite verb ‘go’ with *g yak*, as in (16). Note that for 2AS initial *g* is absent, eg. *ning.girringak* 2ASlieF in (14).

- (14) *'lie' 'sit' 'stand' and 'do' FUT: g__ngak*
buy-nung.ga:yn barnngala ning.girringak
 buy -nung.ga:yn barnngala ning.girringak
 go -2ASgoF Bangala 2ASlieF
 'Are you going to camp at Bangala (tonight)?' (113)
va: buy-garriyak garringak barnngala
 ya buy -garriyak garringak barnngala
 yes go -1ASgoF 1ASlieF Bangala
 'Yes, we are going to camp at Bangala' (113)
hinva ngerrp-nung.gurrdangak neyin-ma 'Are you lot going to cut that meat up later?' (209)
ya neyin-ung ngerrp-garrdangak 'Yes we will cut it up later' (209)
ngin-ju gaynjiyingak 'Are you camping here?' (277)
ya ngin-ju gayingak 'Yes I will camp here' (277)
jut-gurrdangak wang.ga '(The men) are about to dance wangga' (194)
- (15) *'go' Fut: g__vak*
buy-gambiyak dak doereng-nung-ambutey
 buy -gambiyak dak doereng -nung -ambutey
 go -1+2MSgoF country show -3MO -1+2MSstandFSubj
 'We have to show him the country' (293)
aniyn-ma-ditj-ga-nung.gurruyak
 aniyn -ma -ditj - ga -nung.gurruyak
 what -IMPF -return - come -2ASgoF
 'When will you lot come back?' (297)
niga nemboe-nung ditj-ga-garriyak
 niga nemboe -nung ditj - ga -garriyak
 tomorrow other -PURP return - come -1ASgoF
 'We'll come back the day after tomorrow' (297)
va: buy-garriyak garringak barnngala 'Yes, we are going to camp at Bangala' (113)
niga-nung ditj-ga-garriyak 'We will come back tomorrow' (153)
ana-yu buy-garriyak-arrarr 'Which way do we go now?' (190)
ditj-ga-garriyak 'We will come back' (269)
niga darwin buy-gurruyak 'Are they going to Darwin tomorrow?' (109)
lerrp-guwayak gamu-ngin-ma 'It will be hot today' (133)
aniyn-miyi ditj-ga-nung.gurruyak 'When will you lot come back' (152)
ngerrp-nijnji-guwayak 'It will cut you' (180)

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-guyang
 miy1 dakayu ngak -guyang
 tucker NEG eat -3MSgoPR
 'No, he's not eating tucker' (270)
ngener guwerruk, daka buk-lam-guyang 'He has a bad tongue. He can't talk' (321)
dakayu biyandak-ayang-nung '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)

<i>wene harp-harp-ma-guyu</i>	
wene harp	- harp -ma -guyu
canoe rock (of a canoe)	- Redupl -IMPF -3MSliePR
'The canoe is rocking' (248)	
<i>jam jirrk-jet-doet-miyi-gunen</i>	
jam jirrk-jet-doet	-miyi -gunen
didgeridoo blow didgeridoo	-IMPF -3MSsitPR
'He's blowing a didgeridoo' (125)	
<i>mi lawa dap-ma-guyu</i>	'She's baking damper' (260)
<i>gabak-guhuk-ma-gunen</i>	'He's swimming' (138)
<i>jiji ngun aniyin-ma-guyang mat-ma</i>	'What is that man saying' (160)
<i>bing-bing-ma-guyang</i>	'He's clicking his tongue' (213)
<i>wuk hung-gatj-ma-gutu</i>	'The water is bubbling up' (306)
<i>jirriyn-wutj-ma-gutu</i>	'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 aspectual 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.

- (18) *were-givitj jalk-yang.gak*
 werek - giyitj jalk -yang.gak
 child - little fall -3MSgoP
 'The kid fell over' (112)
- ngerrp-wut-yurak mar*
 ngerrp - wut -yurak mer
 cut - lie -3MSlieP foot
 'He cut his foot' (112)
- miyi hiyedel-ardimine* 'I forgot the tucker' (219)
wern jet-gatj-atak 'I burned the grass' (224)
darr-denek-arr 'He saw us' (257)
jiji jal-wut-hurrudam '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* ~ *-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

__*ayley*
 __*lili*

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 __*lili* 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, ie. 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: Matngele Finite Verb Paradigm - Aspectual/Modal Categories

		Non-Future Subjunctive		Future Subjunctive	
		__ <i>yak</i>	__ <i>ik</i>	__ <i>ayey</i>	__ <i>li i</i>
lie	1MS				- <i>arni</i>
	1+2MS				- <i>amburni</i>
	2MS				- <i>aynjurni</i>
	3MS		- <i>burnik</i>		- <i>burni</i>
	1AS				- <i>arnni</i>
	2AS		- <i>nung.girrinik</i>		
	3AS				- <i>burruni</i>
sit	1MS			- <i>amburnay</i>	
	1+2MS			- <i>aynjurney</i>	
	2MS				
	3MS	- <i>burnayak</i>			
	1AS	- <i>arranayak</i>		- <i>arranay</i>	
	2AS			- <i>nung.gurnay</i>	
	3AS			- <i>hurrurnay</i>	
stand	1MS	- <i>atayak</i>		- <i>ambutey</i>	
	1+2MS	- <i>amboedeyak</i>		- <i>eynjutey</i>	
	2MS	- <i>aynjedeyak</i>		- <i>butay</i>	
	3MS	- <i>butayak</i>		- <i>arratay</i>	
	1AS				
	2AS	- <i>nung.gurrutayak</i>			
	3AS	- <i>burrutayak</i>		- <i>hurrutay</i>	
go	1MS		- <i>awalik</i>		- <i>ambali</i>
	1+2MS		- <i>ambalik</i>		- <i>eynjili</i>
	2MS				- <i>buwali</i>
	3MS		- <i>buwalik</i>		- <i>erri</i>
	1AS		- <i>errik</i>		- <i>ning.girri</i>
	2AS		- <i>ning.girrik</i>		
	3AS		- <i>birrik</i>		
do	1MS	- <i>ardayak</i>		- <i>amburdey</i>	
	1+2MS			- <i>eynjurdey</i>	
	2MS			- <i>burdey</i>	
	3MS	- <i>burdayak</i>			
	1AS	- <i>arrdevak</i>			
	2AS				
	3AS	- <i>burrudayak</i>			

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

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

(20) 'sit'

ya jawu gara-bak-arranayak miyek-vende
 ya jawu gara-bak -arranayak miyek -yende
 yes nearly sit on -1ASsitNFSubj ant -LOC
 'Yes, we nearly sat down on the ants' (215)

jamarr-ende-yu gara-doet-nung-burnayak 'He nearly sat down on the dog' (225)

(21) 'stand'

gay-nung-butayak gaga-vende-ma
 gay -nung -butayak gaga -yende -ma
 yell out -3MO -3MSstandNFSubj uncle -LOC -PRM
 'He wanted to yell out to uncle' (320)

miyimitj binya ngerrp-wudeyak mara knife ngart-mutmut
miyimitj binya ngerrp -wudeyak mara knife ngart-mutmut
 old woman meat cut -3ASstandNFSbj but knife blunt
 'The old women tried to cut up the meat but the knife was blunt' (183)

doerreng-atayak-nung mara wuk gunuwarrang * 'I tried to show him but too much water' (262)
gay-nung-atayak mara dakayu gakwak 'I wanted to yell out to him but to far' (278)
gay-nung-amboedeyak mara dakayu 'We should have yelled out to him but no' (354)
binya ngarrp-amboedeyak knife ngat-mut-mut 'We tried to cut up the meat but the knife was blunt' (204)

(22) 'do'

yurru ngatal goer-burrudayak jar
yurru ngatal goer -burrudayak jar
 ground hard dig -3ASdoNFSbj hole
 'They tried to dig a hole but the ground was hard' (115)

miyi ngak-arrdeyak mara miyi gere-dil 'We tried to eat it but it was bitter' (145)
ninin-nung-ju-burrudayak mara dakayu-nung 'They wanted to ask him but he was gone' (246)
darr-nung-ardayak 'I wanted to see him' (178)
darr-ardayak-nung-ma bawar ang-ardayak 'If I'd seen him, I would've given it to him' (284)
jamarr lerr-burdayak-awa 'The dog nearly bit me' (345)
warn dak lurrng-lurrng-burdeyak 'She should be cleaning up camp' (358)

Examples of finite verbs with the Non-Future Subjunctive ending in *ik* (ie. 'lie' and 'go') are presented in (23)-(24).

(23) 'lie'

jawu dat-wut-aynjurik
jawu dat - wut -aynjurik
 nearly die - lie -2MSlieNFSbj
 'You nearly died' (221)

(24) 'go'

jawu-yu yup-ambalik
jawu-yu yup -ambalik
 nearly die -1+2MSgoNFSbj
 'We nearly died' (207)

billycan jalk-buwalik mara jayn dap-ardimineke
billycan jalk -buwalik mara jayn dap -ardimineke
billycan fall -3MSgoNFSbj but fix grab -1MSdoP
 'That billycan nearly fell but I grabbed it' (174)

aynja-diyn amnyu bara-bara, binya wayalk buy-ambik
aynja -rdiyn amnyu bara-bara binya wayalk buy -ambik
 what -ABL 1+2MSliePR lie down meat hunt go -1+2MSgoNFSbj
 'Why are we lying down, we should be hunting' (178)

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

wangarri nguru buy-ambik ngun bak mara yurru wuk-mungu
wangarri nguru buy -ambik ngun bak mara yurru wuk -mungu
 2MIN 1MIN go -1+2MSgoNFSbj there sit but ground water -COM
 'We wanted to go there but the ground was wet' (199)

buy-ambalik-wurrut ... 'We nearly went and camped' (269)
motika garak-gatj-birrik-awa 'The cars almost ran me down' (361)
jiji may dagatj manyu-buwalik 'That man shouldn't talk like that' (304)
binya buy-ambalik wayalk-nung 'We should go hunting' (147)
jinin wurrk-durk-awalik '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 *djawuyu* ‘now’. Harvey’s data do not confirm this usage as common, with only two occurrences, as in (25).

- (25) *jiji may-ma jawu-yu dat-wut-burnik* ‘That man nearly died’ (192)
werek-givitj ngun jawu jelk-birrik-wurna ‘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')

11	<i>djawuyu djalk-ewek</i>
123	<i>-erek</i>
121	<i>-embik</i>
21	<i>-andjek</i>
223	<i>-ningirik</i>
31	<i>-biwik</i>
323	<i>-birik</i>

- (27) idem: variant

11	<i>djawuyu djalk-awalik</i>
123	<i>-erɔlik</i>
121	<i>-embɔlik</i>
21	<i>-andjalek</i>
223	<i>-ningirilik</i>
31	<i>-buwalek</i>
323	<i>-hirilik</i>

(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:

11	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 *_aey*, 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 *_aey* 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*

miyi may dakayn ngak-eynjili
 miyi may dakayu ngak -eynjili
 tucker that NEG eat -2MSgoF
 'Don't eat that tucker' (157)

miyi buy-a:ynju-wa nawuyu buy-aynjili 'You go and get tucker at Nawuyu' (151)
buy-aynji(li) darwin mi: wa-gaynj-awa 'When you go to Darwin you get me tucker' (169)
buy-ambali binya gatjgatj-m-amburnay 'Lets go fishing' (161)

(30) 'go' AUG: *_rri*

wilbirrk-erri-rrerr, wuk dakayu wuk-giyitj guyu
 wilbirrk -erri -errerr wuk dakayu wuk - giyitj guyu
 cross -1ASgoFSubj -INCL water NEG water - little 3MSliePR
 'We will cross here, there is only a little water' (336)

gamu buy-erri-errarr waragatj 'Hurry up we better go' (218)
wilbirrk-erri-rrarr 'We'll cross here' (240)

(31) 'lie': *_rni*

buy-aynji-wut, wut-aynjurni ngoerrngoerr
 buy -aynjili wut -aynjurni ngoerrngoerr
 go -2MSgoFSubj lie -2MSlieFSubj asleep
 'Go to sleep' (163)

Laves (7840-1) suggests, in relation to the verb *bui* 'go away', that the finite verb ending in *-i* 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'

very short distance short distance

11	<i>bui-ewi</i>	<i>bui-ale/awali</i>
123	<i>bui-eri</i>	<i>bui-er-li</i>
121	<i>bui-embu</i>	<i>bui-amhole</i>
21	<i>bui-endji</i>	<i>bui-endjale</i>
223	<i>bui-niggiri</i>	<i>bui-nuggurale</i>
31	-	<i>bui-burale</i>
323	-	<i>bui-burali</i>

(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	'lets', 'we have to', 'we better'
2 Minimal Subject	'point out, watch that/those'
3 Minimal Subject	'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-ambali binya gatjgatj-m-amburnay 'Lets go fishing' (161)

(34) *'stand'*

mayu butay kerr-gatj jet-butay
 mayu butay gerr - gatj jet -butay
 leave.3MSstandFSubj feel cold - CAUS INCH -3MSstandFSubj
 'Leave (that tea). Let it get cold' (194)

mivi ngak-amboedey neyin-nung-ma menwuyuk-buk-gamburdang
 miyi ngak -amboedey neyin -nung -ma menwuyuk - buk -gamburdang
 tucker eat -1+2MSstandFS later -PURP -PRM hunger - ADVERS -1+2MSdoF
 'We better eat that tucker lest we be hungry later' (304)

mi ngak-amboedey 'Let's eat tucker' (256)
yim dap(at) -jak-amboedey neyi-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'*

doereng-aynjurdey-awa dak
 doereng -aynjurdey -awa ak
 show -2MSdoFSubj -1MO country
 'Point the country out for me' (218)

werek-giyitj may ngak-burdey 'Let that kid eat it' (147)
darr-m-eynjurdey yim may-ma yim 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. *ayayn* 1MS'go'PP and *atayn* 1MS'stand'PP.

Laves (7834-6, 7842) makes a preliminary three-way distinction in Matngele for finite verbs ending in *yn* (ie. *__inj* and *__ainj*), listed in Table 4.9, below.

Table 4.9: Laves' *ny*-final Finite Verbs.

immediate intention, requesting permission: permissive immediate future		
11	- <i>adainj</i>	
123	- <i>arərdainj</i>	
remote past		past ('was about/wanted to, but didn't')
11	- <i>ayaginj</i>	- <i>ayainj</i>
123	- <i>araginj</i>	- <i>arainj</i>
121	- <i>amnjaginj</i>	- <i>amnjainj</i>
21	- <i>anjaginj</i>	- <i>anjainj</i>
223	- <i>nugguraginj</i>	- <i>nuggur</i>
31	- <i>vaginj</i>	- <i>buiyainj</i>
323	- <i>burainj</i>	- <i>burainj</i>

(Laves 7834-6, 7842)

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

Table 4.10: Harvey's *yn*-final Finite Verbs

- <i>adayn</i>	1MSauxP	- <i>arrayn</i>	1ASaux?
- <i>avayn</i>	1MSauxF	- <i>ning.giniyn</i>	2ASauxP
- <i>anyayn</i>	2MSauxF?	- <i>nung.gayn</i>	2ASauxF
- <i>yangiyn</i>	3MSauxF?	- <i>biniyn</i>	3ASauxP
- <i>vengiyn</i>	3MSauxP	- <i>burrayn</i>	3ASauxP
- <i>vunguvn</i>	3MSauxP	- <i>butayn</i>	3ASauxP

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-daravat-atayn dak-diyn lurrng-lurrng-ma-atak 'I'm tired from cleaning up the camp' (290)
yirr-m-avang.gak garala birp-atayn 'My skin has gone red from scratching' (308)

As for the remainder of the elicitation sentences with *yn*, the English translations show some variation in their temporal and aspectual contexts. Laves' interpretation separates *inj* as the remote past from *__ainj* a more recent past with some negative modality ('was about to but didn't').

In (38)-(40), sentences with finite verbs ending in *__iyn* 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 *__iyn*

(3MS) from ‘go’, and *_iyn* 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) *_ayn*

ngun an-yin buy-burrayn

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

ahap-jet-ayayn

‘I’m tired’ (156)

ya buy-burrayn

‘Yes, they are going’ (109)

wilbirrk-burrayn

‘They got to cross over’ (116)

an-yin buy-burrayn

‘Where are they going’ (337)

dal-burrudam-arrarr gerenguk burrk-burrayn

‘They smell us, the flies’ (341)

(38) *_iyn*

miyi an-yin wara-buy-yengiyn jiji ngun guyang.gu-ma

miyi an -yin wara - buy -yengiyn jiji ngun guyang.gu -ma
tucker where -ALL take - go -3MSgoIMPF man there 3MSgoPR -PRM
‘Where is that bloke taking the tucker to?’ (177)

(39) *moerroerr malak garak-ga-yin-yengiyn*

moerroerr malak garak - ga -yin -yengiyn
sun finally appear in sight - come -HITH -3MSgoIMPF

lang-gatj-butayn-ju

lang-gatj -butayn -ju
be bright -3ASstandIMPF -SPEC

‘The sun is coming up; it’s shining brightly’ (303)

(40) *jiji may buy-yangiyn wut-giyingak pangarrayn*

jiji may buy -yangiyn wut -giyingak bangarrayn
man that go -3MSgoIMPF lie -3MSlieF bangarrayn
‘That man will go and camp at Pangarrayn tonight’ (192)

dak darek-yin-yengiyn

‘Daylight is coming up’ (138)

dak-yugutj-buy-yengiyn

‘He has moved over’ (288)

arrayn jar-ende jirrk-yengiyn

‘The goanna has gone in his hole’ (322)

ahap ardani, jerri-vup-yengiyn-awa gakwak-diyn

warryet-ga-ayang.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)
- | | | |
|---------------------|----------|---------|
| <i>atöminak</i> | 'I' | (1MS) |
| <i>an'minak</i> | 'you' | (2MS) |
| <i>tayanak</i> | 'he/she' | (3MS) |
| <i>arminak</i> | 'we' | (1AS) |
| <i>nug kurminak</i> | 'you' | (2AS) |
| <i>pörminak</i> | 'they' | (3AS) |
| <i>amputiminak</i> | 'we dl.' | (1+2MS) |
- (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)
- | | |
|----------|------------------------|
| 1MSdoP | <i>ardiminek</i> |
| 1+2MSdoP | <i>amboerdiminek</i> |
| 2MSdoP | <i>eynminek</i> |
| 3MSdoP | <i>denek</i> |
| 1ASdoP | <i>errminek</i> |
| 2ASdoP | <i>nung.gurrrminek</i> |
| 3ASdoP | <i>boerrminek</i> |

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

binya ngererrrrp-woerrminek javirr dewerr-bari
binya ngererrrrp -boerrminek jayirr dewerr-bari
 meat cut up -3ASdoP kangaroo shoulder blade
 'They cut it up with a kangaroo shoulder blade' (290)

<i>bar jet-ma-doet-ardiminek</i>	'I stretched my arm' (127)
<i>miyi biyedel-ardiminek</i>	'I forgot the tucker' (219)
<i>wuk ngatj-ham-eynminek</i>	'Have you hidden that grog?' (165)
<i>binya wa-eynminek buwayn</i>	'Did you get fish?' (176)
<i>binya dal-jet-errminek buliki-ma</i>	'We mustered cattle' (350)
<i>mi guwerrruk ngak-nung.gurrrminek</i>	'You lot ate bad tucker' (226)
<i>mi: ngak-hurrrminek werrek-giyikiyij</i>	'Those kids ate the tucker' (122)
<i>war-ni jet-boerrminek</i>	'They built a house' (163)

(44) With an overt object pronoun

jatjin darr-ardimineke-nung.gurr
jatjin darr -ardimineke -nung.gurr
yesterday see -1MSdoP -2AO
'Yesterday I saw you lot' (035)

jiji may dar-ardimineke-nung
jiji may dar -ardimineke -nung
man that hit -1MSdoP -3MO
I hit that man

(45) Reflexive

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

(46) Implied object

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

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

(47) Depersonalised

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

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

(48) Incorporated object

jut-jirr-ardimineke yurru wuk-mungu
jut -jirr -ardimineke yurru wuk -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·m mak*
123 *ar·rd·m mak*
121 *amburd·m mak*
21 *andjurd·m mak*
223 *nugur·rd·m mak*
31 *dem mak*
323 *hürm mak*

(Laves 7836)

Harvey (SGG:72) infers a relationship, in terms of the transitive finite verb 'do', between Past and Present forms *minek* and *rdam*. That is, the Present tense form of the 'do' finite verb has the underlying form *-rd(am)*. While Tryon does not report its Present tense paradigm, Laves does so in some detail, in (50) below.

(50) Present ("I'm using it")

11 *ardam*
 123 *arardam*
 121 *amburdam*
 21 *andjurdam*
 223 *nuggurardam*
 31 *dam*
 323 *hurardam*
 (Laves 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.gurdam werek-giyikiyitj
miyi menwuyuk nung.gurdam werek - (Redupl)giyitj
 tucker hunger 2ASdoPR child - little
 'Are you kids hungry?' (119)

(52) *ya menwuyuk ardam*

ya menwuyuk ardam
 yes hunger 1MSdoPR
 'Yes we are hungry' (119)

abap ardam

'I'm tired' (166)

meyn-ar-ardam

'I'm thirsty' (169)

ngemoe menwuyuk amburdam

'We are hungry' (267)

abap dam miyi-diyn

'She's sick from tucker' (301)

(53) With an overt object pronoun

mir wurr-ma-aynjuda darr-ardam-niynji
mir wurr -ma -aynjuda darr -ardam -niynji
 shadow stand -IMPF -2MSstandPR see -1MSdoP -2MO
 'I can see your shadow in the water' (195)

jiwirri datj-hurrudam barang-nung

'They make platforms for dead bodies' (308)

(54) Past

jiji darr-daratj-aynjudam

jiji darr - daratj -aynjurdam
 man see - recognise -2MSdoPR

'Did you recognise that man?' (211)

daratj-ardam

'I recognised him' (241)

ngarndiyn mutjurr darr-ardam

'I saw lots of wallabies' (284)

jiji jal-wut-hurrudam

'The men lined up' (225)

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)
hatu yim ngap-ma-guwanmin ‘Must be a fire burning’ (155)
doengoengoel birr-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

	Minimal		Augmented
1MS	<i>a-</i>	1AS	<i>arr-</i>
1+2MS	<i>amb(u)-</i>		
2MS	<i>aynj(u)-</i>	2AS	<i>nung.gurr-</i>
3MS	<i>o-, gu-, bu-</i>	3AS	<i>gurr-, burr-</i>

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/.

/a/ raised to /e/

eg.

ayang 1MSgoPR
→ *enen* 1MSsitPR

/u/ fronted to /i/

eg.

nung.gurrudak 2ASstandP
→ *ning.girriningak* 2ASlieF

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.

mb → *mny*

ambutak 1+2MSstandP
→ *amnyang.gak* 1+2MSgoP
→ *emnyoenek* 1+2MSsitP

aynj → *ny*

aynjutak 2MSstandP
→ *enyen* 2MSsitPR
→ *anyang.gak* 2MSgoP

4.2.7.2 Number marking

Subject prefixes, as well as object suffixes, and free pronouns can be further specified for number.

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 4.12: Tryon's subject number (cf. Table 4.11)

singular	I you he/she	<i>a-</i> <i>an^y- ant^yu-</i> irregular
dual	we dl.	<i>ampu- amn^y-</i>
plural	we inc. we exc. you they	<i>ar... arar</i> <i>ar-</i> <i>nug kur-</i> <i>pur-</i>

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

Dual	-wurna
1Plural Exclusive	-ngerrngerr
1Plural Inclusive	-arrarr

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

werek-giyitj war-avnjunay, nguru gaga buy-arrayn-**ngerrngerr**
werek - giyitj war - aynjunay nguru gaga buy -arrayn -ngerrngerr
child - little bark - 2MSsitFSubj 1MIN 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 -1+2AO
‘Which way do we go now?’ (190)

(58) Dual (UA): -wurna

explicitly specifies dual number

werek-giyitj ngun jawu jelk-birrik-**wurna**
werek - giyitj ngun jawu jelk -birrik -wurna
child - little there nearly fall -3ASgoNFSubj -UA
‘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 markers.

Table 4.14: Matngele Object Suffix Paradigm

minimal object pronouns		augmented object pronouns	
1MO	- <i>awa</i>	1AO	- <i>arr</i>
1+2MO	- <i>rney</i>	1+2AO	- <i>arrarr</i>
2MO	- <i>niynji</i>	2AO	- <i>nung.gurr</i>
3MO	- <i>rning</i>	3AO	- <i>wurr</i>

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 *-niynji* and 3MO *-(r)ning*. Other object pronouns come after the finite verb, as in (61).

(59) *garndap-m-ayang-nung*

garndap -ma -ayang -nung
like -IMPF -1MSgoPR -3MO
'I like him' (214)

(60) *ngerrp-niynji-guwuyak*

ngerrp -niynji -guwuyak
cut -2MO -3MSgoF
'It will cut you' (180)

va gay-nung-gatangak

va gay -nung -gatangak
yes yell out -3MO -1MSstandF
'Yes, I will yell out to him' (172)

darr-nung-ardayak

darr -nung -ardayak
see -3MO -1MSdoNFSubj
'I wanted to see him' (178)

jamarr-ende-yu gara-doet-nung-burnayak

jamarr -yende -yu gara -doet -nung -burnayak
dog -LOC -? skin -sit -3MO -3MSsitSubj
'He nearly sat down on the dog' (225)

datj-nung-boerrminek meng-ni

datj -nung -boerrminek meng -ni
hit -3MO -3ASdoP whiteman's axe -INSTR
They killed him with an axe

(61) *wa-way-yang.gak-awa*

wa - way -yang.gak -awa
get - take -3MSgoP -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

guwarak may aniy-n-ma-gunen
guwarak may aniy-n -ma -gunen
woman that what -IMPF -3MSsitPR
'What's that woman doing?' (166)

miyi batu wa-ma-guyu
daboerrgitj-ma-gutu mawuyun

'Maybe she's getting tucker' (166)
'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)

ngoen-jet-ma-ayang.gak darak-waya

'I was sweating all night last night' (192)

(64) Habitual Past

verrp-ma-hurrung.gak

verrp -ma -hurrung.gak
scrape -IMPF -3ASgoP

'They used to scrape it off' (249)

(65) Future

wa:rri nguru buy-gambiyak dak doerreng-ma-gambiyak

wa:rri nguru buy -gambiyak dak doerreng -ma -gambiyak
2MIN 1MIN go -1+2MSgoF country show -IMPF -1+2MSgoF

'We have to show him the country' (194)

aniyn-ma-ditj-ga-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)

yirr-ma-rdiyn, yirr-m-ayang.gak garala hirp-atayn '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 birbayn gark-wut-miyi-guyang garnbi

werek birbayn gark-wut -miyi -guyang garnbi
child bundle of spears carry -IMPF -3MSgoPR spear

'The child is carrying a bundle of spears' (357)

jam jirrk-jet-doet-miyi-gunen

'He's blowing a didgeridoo' (125)

mi: ngin ham-doet-miyi-enen jerrerek-nung

'I'm keeping this tucker for the old man' (233)

mum-doet-miyi-enoenek

'I'm sitting covered by the fire' (149)

<i>del-wut-miyi-guvu</i>	'It's locked up' (243)
<i>binya dat-wut-miyi-guvu</i>	'The animal is lying dead' (351)
<i>debet-jet-miyi-gutu</i>	'It's open' (268)
<i>jiji durrng-wut-jeret-miyi-gurrutu</i>	'The men are lined up' (244)

(69) Past habitual

jerrerek may amu:al doet-miyi-vang.gak
jerrerek may amungal doet -miyi -yang.gak
 old man that amungal sit -IMPF -3MSgoP
 'That old man used to live at Amungal' (167)

nguwerrrem gurriynju-nembiyu wara-miyi-avang.gak 'Before I had three' (199)

(70) -miyi as nominal enclitic

jerrerek garibi aniyin-miyi-diyn jeyn-eynminek
jerrerek garibi aniyin -miyi -diyn jeyn -eynminek
 old man spear what -IMPF -ABL make -2MSdoP
 'Old man, when did you make that spear?' (179)

aniyin-miyi ditj-ga-nung.gurruvak 'When will you lot come back' (152)

aniyin-miyi-diyn ditj-ga-nung.gurrung.gak 'When did you lot come back?' (169)

(71) Simple verb predicates with -ma

awuy mern-moeylmoetj-ma guyang
awuy mern - moeylmoetj -ma guyang
 aunt heart - soft -IMPF 3MSgoPR
 'Auntie, she's soft-hearted' (171)

(72) Simple verb predicates with -miyi

werek-giyitj da:tj buy, miyimitj may abap-miyi gunen
werek - giyitj dagatj buy miyimitj may abap -miyi gunen
 child - little NEG.IMP go old woman that sick -IMPF 3MSsitPR
 'Child, don't go near that old woman, she's sick' (299)

ngen-daravat-miyi guyang 'She's tired all the time' (255)

wuk biyn-miyi guvu 'There's shallow water over there' (073)

ngutj ngutj-goeriyet-miyi guvu 'It's too dark' (193)

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. *dakayu* '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)
miyi wa-vin-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

mi: may rubbish wutj
miyi may rubbish wutj
tucker that rubbish throw away
'Throw that rubbish away' (241)

(77) Negative

dagatj mirritj-m-awa; arnay
dagatj mirritj -ma -awa arnay
NEG.IMP humbug -IMPF -1MO 1MSsitFSubj
'Don't humbug me; let me sit' (341)

dagatj dahan-jet-awa 'Don't hang on to me' (226)
werek dagatj-datj-nung 'Don't hit the kid' (161)
dagatj jubek-awa 'Don't spit on me' (264)
werek-giyitj da:tj buy miyimitj may 'Don't go near that old woman' (299)

(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-ditj-gatj-awa
dagatj mat -lam -ditj -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-gutu wuk

ngelyek - ngelyek -ma -gutu wuk
lick REDUPL -IMPF -3MSstandPR water

'The dog is lapping up water' (291)

yim dar-dar, lu-lu-yung-ma bak-jambar

yim dar - dar 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 dakayu

jerrerek meyn - jer - jer -burnayak memek dakayu
old man corroborree - make corroborree REDUPL -3MSSitNFSbj hand NEG

'The old man tried to play but his hands bad' (222)

moerroeng bal-bal-ma-gutu

'It's flapping its wings' (268)

wene barp-barp-ma-guyu

'The canoe is rocking' (248)

herr-herr-m-enen

'I'm shaking' (115)

hing-bing-ma-guyang

'He's clicking his tongue' (213)

meyn-nge-nge-ma-atu

'I'm breathing heavily' (151)

meyn-virr-virr-ma-ayang

'I have a tickle in my throat' (167)

hinva durrin-nung dar-dar-guritj-ma-gurrang

'They are poking around for turtles' (219)

ding-ding-ma-gunen were-giyitj ngun-ma

'That child is clicking his tongue' (120)

mern-lurk-lurk-ma-ayang

'My belly is growling' (241)

mat-lam-lam-ma-guyang gurna-jenngu

'He talks to himself' (185)

(81) Iterative

were-giyitj wutj-ma-burrudak bark-bark guyu

werek - giyitj wutj -ma -burrudak bark-bark guyu
child - little throw away -IMPF -3ASstandP everywhere REDUPL 3MSliePR

'The kids have chucked it all about everywhere' (231)

dak lurrng-lurrng-m-atak ga-burrung.gak-ma

dak lurrng - lurrng -ma -atak ga -burrung.gak -ma
camp clean REDUPL -IMPF -1MSstandP come -3ASgoP -PRM

'I was cleaning up camp when they came' (333)

ngen-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)

hurk-hurk-ma gurrutu were-giyi-giyitj

'The kids are running about' (206)

were warn dak lurrng-lurrng-hurdevak

'She should be cleaning up camp' (358)

mujurng beylk-beylk-ayang.gak

'I made a bed' (354)

werr-werr-enoenek

'I screamed out in fear (of a dream)' (239)

bang-hang-ma-ayang-wurr

'I don't know them' (279)

hur-ayang, werr-werr-m-ayang gala nguru

'I have the flu. My whole body is aching' (328)

(82) Stative 'adnominal' coverbs

ti ding-ding-ma-doet

'Make the tea sweeter' (280)

binya wuri-wuri-yengiyn

'The meat is greenish' (143)

4.3.3.2 Partial reduplication

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. *wurr-(w)urr* gives *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. *jel(k)-(j)elk* gives *jelelk*, as in (84).

(83) CVC-(C)VC

arratak wurrurr // ambutak wurrurr

‘We were standing up’ (252)

binya durin-nung darrarr-guritj-ma-guyang

‘She’s looking around for turtles’ (125)

dak buy-evnji darrarr-guritj (partial)

‘You check around the country’ (326)

(84) CVC(C)-(C)VCC

jelelk-nambik // wuk-mungu yurru

‘We nearly fell over. Wet ground’ (114)

dun-burng jirrirk-burrungak-awa

‘I have dust in my eyes’ (313)

ba-jet-burrudak mara dakayu jelelk-burrung.gak

‘They tried to stand up but they fell about’ (204)

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

(85) *gabak-gubuk-ma-gunen*

‘He’s swimming’ (138)

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’gityemerri).

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 addressed in turn.

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 *wurrk* ‘put in, enter’ and *durrk* ‘drink’, as in (88). Individual uses of these coverbs are shown first, in (86) and (87) below.

- (86) *lagayn garnbi wurrk-denek-nung*
 lagayn garnbi wurrk -denek -nung
 woomera spear put in -3MSdoP -3MO
 'He put the spear in the woomera' (324)
- werek wurna-wurrk-denek*
 werek wurna - wurrk -denek
 child UA - put in -3MSdoP
 'He made that kid' (185)
- (87) *durrk- ardiminek lemonade, dumurrk-ma-ayang*
 durrk -ardiminek lemonade dumurrk -ma -ayang
 drink -1MSdoP lemonade burp -IMPF -1MSgoPR
 'I drank lemonade. I'm burping' (321)
- (88) *jinin wurrk-durrk-awalik*
 jinin wurrk - durrk -awalik
 nose put in - drink -1MSgoSubj
 'I nearly drowned' (205)

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.

- (89) *miyi dap-murr-denek*
 miyi dap - murr -denek
 tucker grab - crush -3MSdoP
 'She crushed up the food' (299)

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).

- (90) *jam jirrk-jet-doet-miyi-gunen*
 jam jirrk-jet -doet -miyi -gunen
 didgeridoo blow didgeridoo -sit -IMPF -3MSsitPR
 'He's blowing a didgeridoo' (125)

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 *gatj* and the inchoative marker *jet*. Generally, the stance coverbs can also detransitivise the complex verb as a whole.

Transitive

gatj 'throw' → Causative usage

Intransitive: stance

jet 'stand' → Inchoative usage

doet 'sit'

wut 'lie'

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

- (91) *jiji garnbi gatj-yang.gak*
jiji garnbi gatj -yang.gak
 man spear throw -3MSGOP
 'The man threw the spear' (318)

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.

- (92) *wern jet-gatj-atak*
wern jet-gatj -atak
 grass light a grass fire -1MSGOP
 'I burned the grass' (224)
- dagatj garda-gatj-awa* 'Don't push me' (221)
gurr-gatj-ma-gunen wemerr-nung 'They are digging for honey' (276)
wuk hung-gatj-ma-gutu 'The water is bubbling up' (306)
jing-waya war-gatj-yin 'Come here quickly' (350)

In terms of grammaticalised use, however, clear examples of causatives are formed productively by complex expressions in which *gatj* follows another coverb. For example, the Matngele causative constructions *jalk-gatj* 'cause to fall' and *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 *jalk* 'fall', in (93), and *biyatar* 'remember', in (95).

(93) 'fall'

werek-giyitj jalk-yang.gak
werek - giyitj jalk -yang.gak
child - little fall -3MSgoP
'The kid fell over' (112)

(94) 'knock down'

daray-jalk-gatj-ayang.gak-nung
daray - jalk - gatj -ayang.gak -nung
hit - fall - CAUS -1MSgoP -3MO
'I knocked him down' (286)

(95) 'remember'

biyatar-atak
biyatar -atak
remember -1MSstandP
Do you remember?

(96) 'remind'

biyatar-gatj-atak-nung
biyatar - gatj -atak -nung
remember - CAUS -2MSstandPR -3MO
'You remind him' (324)

There are many such causative constructions to be found in the available data.

(97) Causatives

<i>binya jayirr dar-denek aldurp-gatj-yang.gak</i>	
binya jayirr dar -denek aldurp - gatj -yang.gak	
meat kangaroo hit -3MSdoP open - CAUS -3MSgoP	
'He speared the kangaroo. He opened (a hole in it)' (318)	
<i>mayu butay gerr-gatj jet-huday</i>	'Leave (that tea). Let it get cold' (194)
<i>gerr-gatj-jet-butay</i>	'Let it get cold' (208)
<i>yim biyirr-gatj-ayang.gak</i>	'I lit a fire' (224)
<i>ngoer den-gatj-nung-burrutak</i>	'They used to cut (young men) there' (294)
<i>jar-jalk-gatj-ayang.gak-nung</i>	'I knocked him down' (323)
<i>dap-gum-gatj-burrung.gak</i>	'They drowned him' (325)
<i>dun-hoe-gatj-butak-awa</i>	'She blew it out for me' (339)
<i>motika garak-gatj-birrik-awa</i>	'The cars almost ran me down' (361)

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

(98) *nguru jet-atak nguwerem-diyn*

nguru jet -atak nguwerem -diyn
1MIN stand -1MSstandP in front -ABL
'I am the first born' (204)

werek-giyitj ngunjuwa-rdiyn jet-butak 'He is the last born kid' (305)

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 -INSTR stand -3ASdoP
 'They built (a house) with bark' (163)
mana jet-boerrminek

'They built a shade' (339)

(100) Lexicalisation

wern jet-gatj-atak
dagatj dahan-jet-awa
binya dal-jet-errminek buliki-ma

'I burned the grass' (224)
 'Don't hang on to me' (226)
 '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-butay
 gerr - gatj - jet -butay
 feel cold - CAUS - INCH -3MSstandFutSubj
 'Let it get cold' (208)

(102) Other inchoative examples

abap-jet-ayayn
 abap - jet -ayayn
 tired - INCH - 1MSgoIMPF
 'I'm tired' (156)
lagayn garnbi wurrk-jet-denek-nung
har jet-ma-doet-ardimine
huja dun-guritj-jet-butayn-awa
ngoen-jet-ma-ayang.gak darak-waya
debet-jet-miyi-gutu
mayu butay gerr-gatj jet-buday

'He put the spear in the woomera' (324)
 'I stretched my arm' (127)
 'I feel dizzy (my head is going around)' (148)
 'I was sweating all night last night' (192)
 'It's open' (268)
 'Leave (that tea). Let it get cold' (194)

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-ardimine
 goerr - gunun - doet -ardimine
 pull - straight - INCH -1MSdoP
 'I straightened the rope' (329)

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

jerrerek guyang jerrerek-doet-noenek
di dingding-ma-doet
hiyandak-doet-mi:-enen guyang.gi-yin motika

'He has become an old man' (173)
 'Make the tea sweeter' (280)
 '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

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)

doet-enenek 'I sat down' (144)
mum-doet-miyi-enoenek 'I'm sitting covered by the fire' (149)
jerrerek may amu:al doet-miyi-yang.gak 'That old man used to live at Amungal' (167)

(105) Transitive usage: animate object

jawu-yu garar-doet-aynjuneyak-nung ngoeynboer
 jawu-yu garar - doet -aynjuneyak -nung ngoeynboer
 nearly climb - sit -2MSsitNFSbj -3MO snake
 'You nearly sat on top of a snake' (243)

jamarr-ende-yu garar-doet-nung-burnayak 'He nearly sat down on the dog' (225)

(106) Transitive: inanimate object

miyi ngin bam-doet-miyi-enen jerrerek-nung
 miyi ngin bam - doet -miyi -enen jerrerek -nung
 tucker here keep - INCH -IMPF -1MSsitPR old man -PURP
 'I'm keeping this tucker 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'

jiji may wut-givingak bangarrayn
 jiji may buy -yanglyn wut -giyingak bangarrayn
 man that go -3MSgoIMPF lie -3MSlieF bangarrayn
 'That man will camp at Pangarrayn tonight' (192)

werek-giyitj ngun doen-darr-wut-yunguyn 'The kid opened his eyes' (135)
dakayu wut-ayang 'I can't sleep' (141)
memek-yende yarrp-wut-wa-denek-awa binya-ma 'He grabbed the meat from my hand' (187)
del-wut-miyi-guyu 'It's locked up' (243)
mara nguru jing-gark-wut-ardey 'Give it to me. I will try and carry it' (306)
gaga gark-wut-awa 'Uncle carry me!' (309)

(108) Incapacitated: wut 'lie'

dagatj buy, barang mayu guyu dat-wut-yurak
 dagatj buy barang mayu guyu dat - wut -yurak
 NEG.IMP go dead body leave 3MSliePR die - lie -3MSlieP
 'Don't go there. There is a dead body over there' (329)

ngerrp-wut-yurak mar 'He cut his foot' (112)
dat-wut-yurak 'It died' (191)
jiji may-ma jawu-yu dat-wut-burnik 'That man nearly died' (192)
jawu dat-wut-aynjurik 'You nearly died' (221)
binya dat-wut-miyi-guyu 'The animal is lying dead' (351) *ang-gin-awa*
giying-giying-datj-wut-yu:yn-awa gerrerre nguru 'I have a cramp in my leg' (309)
ngemoe ngerrp-wut-amburnik 'We nearly got cut' (314)
binya dat-wut-yurak 'The buffalo is dead' (351)

- (109) *'lined up': jal-wut*
jiji jal-wut-burrudam
 jiji jal - wut -burrudam
 man road - lie -3ASdoPR
 'The men lined up' (225)
jiji durrng-wut-jeret-miyi-gurrutu 'The men are lined up' (244)

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) *werek birhavn gark-wut-miyi-guyang garnbi*
 werek birbayn gark -wut -miyi -guyang garnbi
 child bundle of spears carry -lie -IMPF -3MSgoPR 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) *dakayu garar-gawayak yim may-ma jalk-buk-ayung*
 dakayu garar -gawayak yim may -ma jalk - buk -ayung
 NEG climb -1MSgoF tree that -PRM fall - ?? -1MSgoCOND
 'I'm not climbing up that tree; I might fall' (287)
- (112) *miyi ngak-amboedey neyin-nung-ma menwuyuk-buk-gamburdang*
 miyi ngak -amboedey neyin -nung -ma menwuyuk - buk -gamburdang
 tucker eat -1+2MSstandFS later -PURP -PRM hungry - ?? -1+2MSdoCOND
 'We better eat that tucker lest we be hungry later' (304)
- (113) *jal-darr-mungu-eynji ngoeynboerr jut-buk-gaynjurdang*
 jal - darr -mungu -eynji ngoeynboerr jut - buk -gaynjurdang
 road - see -COM -2MSgoFSubj snake step on - ?? -2MSdoCOND
 'Watch where you're going. You might step on a snake' (335)
- (114) *miyi dagatj ngak guwerruk abap-buk-gaynjutang*
 miyi dagatj ngak guwerruk abap - buk -gaynjutang
 tucker NEG.IMP eat bad sick - ?? -2MSstandCOND
 'Don't eat the bad tucker; you will get sick' (332)

- (115) *ngener guwerruk daka buk-lam-voeng*
 ngener guwerruk daka buk - lam -yoeng
 tongue bad NEG ?? - talk -3MSgoCOND
 'He has a bad tongue. He can't talk' (321)

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 Matngele 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) *detoem-dap-denek-awa*
 detoem - 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 than 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).

- (117) *mara-meyn-dabam-burrung.gak*
 mara- meyn - dabam -burrung.gak
 RECIPR- throat - clench -3ASgoP
 'They grabbed each other's throats' (256)

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-burng* 'eye-dust'

dun-burng jirrk-burrungak-awa
 dun - burng jirrk -burrungak -awa
 eye - dust enter -3ASgoP -1MO
 'I have dust in my eyes'

Independent noun: *dun* 'eye'

dun durt-denek-awa
 dun durt -denek -awa
 eye remove -3MSdoP -1MO
 'She took it out for me' (313)

(119) Incorporated nominal: *dun* 'eye'

buja dun-guritj-jet-butayn-awa
 buja dun - guritj - jet -butayn -awa
 head eye - go around - INCH -3ASstandIMPF -1MO
 'I feel dizzy (my head is going around)' (148)

Other attested body part incorporations

<i>meyn-ar-ardam</i>	('throat')	'I'm thirsty' (169)
<i>jerri-vup-veng(vn-awa</i>	('leg')	'My leg is tired' (193)
<i>mer-law-law avayn</i>	('foot')	'My foot is swollen' (306)
<i>mern-lurkk-lurkk-ma-ayang</i>	('guts')	'My belly is growling' (241)

Incorporation of bodily products

<i>ngoan-jet-ma-ayang.gak darak-waya</i>	('sweat')	'I was sweating all night last night' (192)
<i>jamarr goen-jerrk-denek</i>	('faces')	'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-eynji*

jal - darr -mungu -eynji
road - see -COM -2MSgoFutSubj
'Watch where you're going' (335)

(121) *mat-lam-lam-ma-guyang gurnajeng.gu (sic)*

mat - lam - lam -ma -guyang gurna - jenngu
word - talk - talk -IMPF -3MSgoPR 3MIN - alone
'He 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-dabam-burrung.gak (*-wurr)*

mara- meyn - dabam -burrung.gak (*-wurr)
RECIPR- throat - clench -3ASgoP (*-3AO)
'They grabbed each other's throats' (256)

(123) Other reciprocal examples.

aynja-nung ngun dawu-ma mar-datj-ma-gurrutu-wurna

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

mern mara-dar-burrung.gak

'They hit each other in the guts' (208)

mara-mirritj-ma-gurrang-wurna

'Those two are wrestling' (238)

mara-datj-arrang.gak-ngerrngerr

'We two fought' (286)

mara-datj-hurruvak-wurna jiji ngun gurriynju-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-ma-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-ardimineke nguru-memek*
 bala dep -ardimineke nguru - memek
 white ochre paint -1MSdoP 1MIN - 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 1MIN -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) *nuwun bala dep-denek-niynji : jerrerek-ni*
 'Who painted you: the old man?'
dakayu nguru-jenngu bala dep-ardimineke
 dakayu nguru -jenngu bala dep -ardimineke
 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 *darr* 'see' and *manyu* '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

dabam-ardimine-nung

dabam -ardimine -nung
hold back -1MSdoP -3MO

'I held him back' (334)

jamarr lerr-burdayak-awa

jamarr lerr -burdayak -awa
dog bite -3MSdoNFSbj -1MO

The dog nearly bit me

darr-ardang-nung-ju ang-ardang-nung

darr -ardang -nung -ju ang -ardang -nung
see -1MSdoCOND -3MO -SPEC give -1MSdoCOND -3MO

'If I see him I'll give it to him' (320)

(129) Direct object: darr 'see', manvu 'tell'

darr-denek-ney ngutj-yende-ma

darr -denek -ney ngutj-yende -ma
see -3MSdoP -1+2MO morning -PRM

'That bloke saw us this morning' (252)

mir wurr-ma-aynjuda darr-ardam-niynji

mir wurr -ma -aynjuda darr -ardam -niynji
shadow stand -IMPF -2MSstandPR see -1MSdoP -2MO

I can see your shadow in the water

manvu-ardimine-niynji nguwerem-ju

manvu -ardimine -niynji nguwerem -ju
tell -1MSdoP -2MO before -SPEC

'I told you before' (212)

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

ngerrp-niynji-guwuyak

ngerrp -niynji -guwuyak
cut -2MO -3MSgoF

'(The knife) will cut you' (180)

(131) Indirect objects: darr 'look for/at/after'

dey-m-enen-wurr

dey -ma -enen -wurr
look out -IMPF -1MSsitPR -3AO

'I'm looking out for the others' (330)

aynja-rdiyn darr-ma-gunen-arrarr

aynja -rdiyn darr -ma -gunen -arrarr
what -ABL see -IMPF -3MSsitPR -1+2AO

'Why is he looking at us?' (133)

darr-mu-gerningak-wurr mer-geleng

darr - mu -gerningak -wurr mer- geleng
see - ?? -3MSsitF -3AO DY- mother's mother

'Their grandmother will look after them'

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

miyi guwerruk ngak-nung.gurminek
 miyi guwerruk ngak -nung.gurminek
 tucker bad eat -2ASdoP
 'You lot ate bad tucker' (226)

watjuk-ardimine
 watjuk -ardimine
 throw in water -1MSdoP
 'I threw it in water' (237)

(133) Transitive 'do' without object suffix: stative verbs

ngemoe menwuyuk amburdam
 ngemoe menwuyuk amburdam
 1+2MIN hunger 1+2MSdoPR
 'We are hungry' (267)

(134) Transitive 'do' without object suffix:

inherent volitional reflexive

wirr-ardimine garambang
 wirr -ardimine garambang
 tie -1MSdoP headband
 'I tied a headband on' (194)

inherent non-volitional reflexive

werek ngarey-denek
 werek ngarey -denek
 child urinate -3MSdoP
 '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

nominal use of ngak 'eating'

may binya ngak-ma-rnung dakayu
 may binya ngak -ma -rnung dakayu
 that meat eat -IMPF -PURP NEG
 'That meat is not for eating'

nominal use of *gatj-gatj* 'fishing'

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)

(136) nominal use of *yirr* 'scratching'

yirr-ma-rdiyn, yirr-m-ayang.gak garala birp-atayn

yirr -ma -rdiyn, garala birp - atayn
scratch -IMPF -ABL , skin redder - 1MSstandIMPF

'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+2MSgoNFSobj 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-eynminek

jerrerek garnbi aniyn -miyi -diyn jeyn -eynminek
old man spear when -IMPF -ABL make -2MSdoP

'Old man, when did you make that spear?' (179)

aniyn-miyi ditj-ga-nung.gurruyak

aniyn -miyi ditj - ga -nung.gurruyak
when -IMPF return - come -2ASgoF

'When will you lot come back?' (152)

aniyn-miyi-diyn ditj-ga-nung.gurrung.gak 'When did you lot come back?' (169)

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 jawu-ngu ngutj-yende-ma*

yim dakayu jawu-ngu ngutj-yende -ma
fire NEG today morning -PRM

'We had no fire this morning'

yim wuk-mungu dakayu ngap-vang.gak

yim wuk -mungu dakayu ngap -yang.gak
firewood water -COM NEG burn -3MSgoP

'The wood was wet, it wouldn't burn' (127)

- (141) *dakayu wa:rri jeyn-enyeng.gak*
 dakayu wangarri jeyn -enyeng.gak
 NEG 2MIN make -2MSgoP
 'You never made it' (148)

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-niynji*
 awuy miyi ang -denek -niynji
 aunt tucker give -3MSdoP -2MO
 'Did aunt give you the tucker'

dakayu ang-yang.ga-awa
 dakayu ang -yang.gak -awa
 NEG give -3MSgoP -1MO
 '(No) she didn't give it to me' (109)

- (143) *nuwun bala dep-denek-niynji jerrerek-ni*
 nuwun bala dep -denek -niynji jerrerek -ni
 who white ochre paint -3MSdoP -2MO old man -AGENT
 'Who painted you; the old man?'
dakayu nguru-jenngu bala dep-ardimine
 dakayu nguru -jenngu bala dep -ardimine
 NEG 1MIN -alone white ochre paint -1MSdoP
 '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, ie. the 'narrative past' and gives its appropriate paradigm (ending in *_(də)min*), 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:

garak gurɔdumin ganj
garrak -gurroerdumin gayn
appear -3ASnarrP ?
'They appeared in sight'

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

yerrp gurdumin wuru werak mudjur
yerrp REDUPL -gurdumin -wurr werek mutjurr
rub -3MSnarrP -3AO child many
'The old man rubbed all the boys'
(Laves 6283)

(146) *yarb gurdumin wuru*

yerrp -gurdumin -wurr
rub -3MSnarrP -3AO
'He rubbed them'

(147) *ward gardɔmin wuru*

wart -gurdumin -wurr
send -3MSnarrP -3AO
'And he let them go'

(148) Coverb compound-Finite verb:

didj bui guriak
ditj - buy -gurriyak
return - go -3ASgoF
'They'll go back'

(149) Simple verb

e nembardu gurag
e nambara gurrang
eh okay 3ASgoPR
'They are all right' (ie. properly decorated)

(150) Unclear - appears non-finite:

leŋgerk ɟuruma yilma ganj ma
 lurring - nguru -ma (yitma -gayn -ma)
 clean - 1MIN -PRM (skin -NEG -PRM)
 'I'm clean now!' (the boy says to himself)

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

didj 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:

biɲdak ma gurag nug djedɶrak nug dju
 biyandak -ma -gurrang -nung jerrerek -nung -ju
 listen -IMPF -3ASgoPR -3MO old man -PURP -SPEC
 'They are listening to the old man talking'
 (Laves 6284)

(153) Narrative past

11 *ardɲmin*
 123 *arɶrdɲmin*
 21 *andjardɲmin*
 223 *nugurɶrdɲmin*
 31 *gurdumin*
 323 *gurɶrdumin*
 (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 *balguitj* 'empty out' is set out in (155).

(155) *balguitj* 'empty out'

-ardai	immediate intention	-ma-arnai*	-ma-ayag	customary present
-adak	recent past		-ma-ayaggak	customary past 'always'
-ardɲɲak	remote past		-ma-ayak	interruptive past 'usually'
-adainj	[11, 123 only][request of 21]		-ma-gawayak	customary future 'gradually'
-gardangak	distant future		-ma-ayainj	
-ardam	present		-ma-ayagainj	
			-ma-ewi**	
			-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.

(1) leaf	<i>wurrur</i>	<i>wuroer</i> (mh)
star	<i>miellan</i>	<i>miyalan</i> (mh)
earth	<i>mandallait</i>	<i>marndalatj</i> 'light, torch' (mh)
fire (sic)	<i>juro</i>	<i>yurru</i> 'ground' (mh); <i>yim</i> 'fire' (mh)
live coal	<i>jimjit</i>	<i>yim jit</i> (mh)
bracelet	<i>binbin</i>	<i>birnbirn</i> (mh)
tongue	<i>ngonarr</i>	<i>ngener</i> (mh)
tooth	<i>ngart</i>	<i>ngart</i> (mh)
nose	<i>djinin</i>	<i>jinin</i> (mh)
eye	<i>dori</i>	<i>dun</i> (mh)
ear	<i>piendokma</i>	<i>biyawur</i> (mh)
curlew	<i>bivorr</i>	<i>biwur</i> (mh)
dog	<i>damarr</i>	<i>jamarr</i> (mh)
goose	<i>kalmogorr</i>	<i>galmung.gurr</i> (mh)
duck	<i>worrina</i>	<i>warrina</i> (mh)
girl	<i>goalak</i>	<i>guwarak</i> 'woman' (mh)
man	<i>tjitji</i>	<i>jiji</i> (mh)
boy	<i>værok</i>	<i>warruk</i> (mh)
necklace	<i>mendorr</i>	<i>meyn-bit</i> (mh)
woomera	<i>lakain</i>	<i>lagayn</i> (mh)
spear	<i>pot</i>	---
spear (with stone head)	<i>potja</i>	<i>patja</i> (gl)
mouth	<i>kæræ</i>	<i>gere</i> (mh)
bamboo	<i>konbi</i>	<i>garnbi</i> (mh)
beard	<i>maruat</i>	<i>marrawart</i> (mh)
eyebrow	<i>gonmenang</i>	<i>yemür demdem</i> (gl)
hand	<i>memmak</i>	<i>memek</i> (mh)
elbow	<i>najirr</i>	<i>dandar</i> (mh)
paperbark	<i>warr</i>	<i>war house. bark</i> (mh)
devil	<i>barrang</i>	<i>harang</i> 'dead body' (mh)
canoe	<i>væne</i>	<i>wene</i> (mh)
be silent, shut up	<i>akma</i>	<i>apma</i> (pan-Daly usage)
to stink	<i>njukma</i>	<i>njukma</i> (gl)
head	<i>poita</i>	<i>buja</i> (mh)
stomach	<i>mennajak</i>	<i>mern</i> (mh)
the stomach digests	<i>mæng elkinje dam</i>	<i>mern ngak-eynji-dam</i>
corroborree	<i>mān</i>	<i>meyn</i> (mh)
water	<i>wāāk</i>	<i>wuk</i> (mh)
water is present	<i>wāāk oiua</i>	---
water runs	<i>wāāk worrir</i> (II)	<i>wuk wurrurr</i>
	<i>wāāk elle mo gouta</i>	<i>wuk elele-ma-gutu</i>

oh (oh my)	<i>jakara</i>	pan-Daly usage
here is a pipe	<i>pipe gotua</i>	<i>pipe gutu</i>
there is not a pipe	<i>pipe dakaja</i>	<i>pipe dakayu</i>
have you got no pipe	<i>pipe angor dakka jaijanga</i>	---
all right	<i>nambara</i>	<i>nemberre</i> 'other side'
moon	<i>nodunn</i>	<i>nurdun</i> (mh)
tattoo mark (cicatrices)	<i>korreko</i>	<i>garrrgu</i> (mh)
hair belt (give)	<i>mangarti (anginn)</i>	<i>garambang ang-vin</i>
basket	<i>vingara</i>	<i>wiyn.gere</i> (mh)
pouch	<i>kalarr</i>	<i>gararr</i> 'dilly bag' (mh)
knee	<i>bungarr</i>	<i>boeng.gar-doem</i> (mh)
food	<i>hungara</i>	<i>bung.gada</i> 'white apple' (mh)
foot	<i>merr</i>	<i>mer</i> (mh)
fish	<i>pinja</i>	<i>binya</i> (mh)
bring me fish	<i>pinja gorror woiagak</i>	<i>binya goerroerr wayangak</i>
give him water	<i>wāāk wojinong anjodei</i>	<i>wuk wayi-nung-aynjurday</i>
Johnstone crocodile	<i>djingo</i>	<i>jingu</i> (mh)
Indian crocodile	<i>ngurrngurr</i>	<i>ngoerrngoerr</i> (mh)

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

<i>karadaŋar</i>	May-June/July (windy and cool)	
<i>karapern</i>	August-October (hotter)	
<i>karawuŋ</i>	October-late November (showery, hot)	<i>gere-woeng</i> 'hot weather' (mh)
<i>kawut</i>	December-late February/early March	<i>kawut</i> 'wet season' (mh)
<i>karadalan</i>	March-April (burning of grass/rain ceased)	<i>geredalan</i> 'dry season' (mh)

(2) kinship

<i>neda</i>	male third ascending generation/brother
<i>awen</i>	female third ascending generation/sister
<i>kawoi</i>	male second ascending generation
<i>kalaŋ</i>	female second ascending generation
<i>awoi</i>	mother-in-law
<i>kaka</i>	father-in-law
<i>kapi</i>	sister-in-law
<i>haŋ kai</i>	father
<i>kilug</i>	mother
<i>atu</i>	male cousin
<i>naŋ ul</i>	reciprocal kinship term for a wife or husband
<i>nambin</i>	brother's son and daughter's husband
<i>palé et-</i>	kinship title of betrothed/parents of betrothed

(3) socio/cultural/economic

<i>dirawur</i>	social organisation within the camp
<i>bula</i>	classifatory siblings
<i>gorudzet</i>	all close relatives, male and female, of all generations other than one's own
<i>gorugar</i>	children of all men called <i>baŋkaɪ</i> and all women called <i>kilug</i>
<i>werag</i>	close relatives, male and female, of descending generations
<i>naŋ or</i>	close relatives, male and female, of ascending generations
<i>malwa</i>	marriage by abduction
<i>kué</i>	economic/ceremonial obligations towards a man's wife's parents
<i>waruŋuŋ</i>	economic obligations towards a man's <i>atu</i> ('brother-in-law')
<i>anbuŋ ul</i>	relationship between a woman and her husband's brothers and sisters
<i>küvüŋ dü</i>	relationship between a woman and her husband's <i>naŋor</i>
<i>merbok</i>	vast economic network of continuous exchange between friends or kin of articles of intrinsic, utilitarian value
<i>ninymer</i>	article in <i>merbok</i> exchange
<i>mima</i>	loan in lieu of <i>merbok</i>
<i>pork padaka</i>	<i>merbok</i> from the north-east
<i>nim berinken</i>	<i>merbok</i> from the south-west

(4) ritual

<i>tyavait</i>	sacred/forbidden food
<i>mamakaloan</i>	initiator's territory
<i>mununuk</i>	initiate's own ceremonial ground
<i>warbat</i>	ritual silence

(5) conflict

<i>daitman</i>	camp brawl
<i>nunuk</i>	domestic quarrel between husband and wife
<i>mamakwaruŋ</i>	public duel between a woman's seducer and her betrothed
<i>dawor</i>	formal fight between groups over the abduction of women
<i>ninymernug</i>	fight over defection in <i>merbok</i>
<i>verenuk</i>	serious conflict in retaliation for murder by <i>mamakpik</i> 'sorcerer'

(6) religion

<i>mir</i>	soul/personality
<i>haruŋ</i>	spirit of the dead
<i>mawia</i>	secret administration of poison
<i>palagur</i>	secret burning of a deceased's intimate possessions
<i>mamakpik</i>	sorcerer
<i>miumdakar</i>	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 encyclopædic 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 nguro abap ampadam**
You and I. we are tired *Ref:* wh

-adayn *v.fin.* 1MSstandP. *Ref:* mh181

-adayak *v.fin.* 1MSstandNFS. *Ref:* mh121

ardak *v.simple.* 1MSdoP. *Ref:* mh144

ardam *v.simple.* 1MSdoP. *Ref:* mh166

-ardam *v.fin.* 1MSdoP. *Ref:* mh169

-ardang *v.fin.* 1MSdoCOND. *Ref:* mh320

ardayn *n.* shark. *Ref:* mhPV

-ardayak *v.fin.* 1MSdoNFS. *Ref:* mh178

ardimine *v.simple.* 1MSdoP. *Ref:* mh191

-ardimine *v.fin.* 1MSdoP. *Ref:* mh283

al-duruk *coverb.* peck out.

~~ -denek *v.fin.* 3MSdoP.

dun-al-duruk-denek (The crow) pecked
out its eye *Ref:* mh

al-durp *coverb.* open.

~~ -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.
 binya guwarirr aldurrp-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:* mh225
 -ambik *v.fin.* 1+2MSgoNFS. *Ref:* mh179
 -amboedey *v.fin.* 1+2MSstandFS. *Ref:*
 mh256
 -amboedeyak *v.fin.* 1+2MSstandNFS. *Ref:*
 mh354
 -amboerdinek *v.fin.* 1+2MSdoP. *Ref:* mh207
 amburdam *v.simple.* 1+2MSdoPR. *Ref:*
 mh267
 -amburdey *v.fin.* 1+2MSdoF. *Ref:* mh109
 amburnay *v.simple.* 1+2MSsitF. *Ref:* mh114
 amburni *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
 -amnyang *v.fin.* 1+2MSgoPR. *Ref:* mh305
 -amnyang.gak *v.fin.* 1+2MSgoP. *Ref:* mh198
 amnyu *v.simple.* 1+2MSliePR. *Ref:* mh178
 amuyn *n.* nephew/niece.mZC. *Ref:* mhPV
 an *n.* where, how. binya 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-garriyak-arrarr
 Which way do we go now? *Ref:* mh190
 an-buwuja *n.* how many. nida an-buwuja
 wari-mi-anything How many brothers do
 you have? *Ref:* mh198
 aniyin *n.* how, what. aniyin-ma-gunen miyimitj
 What is the old woman doing? *Ref:* mh125
 aninju; what. aninju gardangak-me What
 shall I do? *Ref:* gl279
 aniyin *n.* what.
 ~ -ma-guyang *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSgoPR. jiji
 ngun aniyin-ma-guyang mat-ma What is
 that man saying
 ~ -ma-gunen *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSsitPR.
 guwarak may aniyin-ma-gunen What's
 that woman doing *Ref:* mh
 an-pu:ja *n.* how many. maya gambirningak
 memak an-pu:ja malak We will stay
 there a couple of days *Ref:* mh225
 anbudja; how many. wud buerne djidji
 anbudja ngeru gurindjiyu ngemoe How
 many men are lying down, we two, you
 and I? *Ref:* gl277
 arni *v.simple.* 1MSlieFS. *Ref:* mh167
 ang *coverb.* give.
 ~ -nung/-yin-awa *obj.suff.* 3MO/ALL-

1MO. mi: ang-nung/-yin-awa Give
 him/me tucker!
 ~ -boerrminek *v.fin.* 3ASdoP.
 jeyn-ang-boerrminek guwerruk They
 poisoned him
 ~ -eynmin-nung *v.fin.* 2MSdoP-3MO.
 bawar ang-eynmin-nung gaga Did you
 give uncle the money *Ref:* mh
 ang.gen; give. dabangdurd big wa ang.gen
 wa wa wir wirngek dudburnai Tie them
 up, get the rope and give it here to tie
 them up *Ref:* gl277
 ang; give. miyi ang demenek 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
 -anyayn *v.fin.* 2MSgoIMPF. *Ref:* mh307
 -anyu *v.fin.* 2MSliePR. *Ref:* mh111
 aynja *n.* what. ayoja-diyn enyen Why are you
 sitting? *Ref:* mh116
 -aynedeyak *v.fin.* 2MSstandNFS. *Ref:*
 mh237
 -aynji *v.fin.* 2MSgoFS. *Ref:* mh163
 -aynjili *v.fin.* 2MSgoFS. *Ref:* mh151
 -aynju *v.fin.* 2MSstandPR. *Ref:* mh151
 -aynjuda *v.fin.* 2MSstandPR. *Ref:* mh195
 -aynjudak *v.fin.* 2MSstandP. *Ref:* mh170
 -aynjudam *v.fin.* 2MSdoP. *Ref:* mh211
 -aynjudeyak *v.fin.* 2MSstandNFS. *Ref:*
 mh267
 -aynjurdey *v.fin.* 2MSdoFS. *Ref:* mh218
 aynjunay *v.simple.* 2MSsitFS. *Ref:* mh196
 aynjuni *v.simple.* 2MSlieFS. *Ref:* mh163
 -aynjurney *v.fin.* 2MSsitFS. *Ref:* mh200
 -aynjurik *v.fin.* 2MSlieNFS. *Ref:* mh221
 aynjutak *v.simple.* 2MSstandP. *Ref:* mh242
 -aynjutu *v.fin.* 2MSstandPR. *Ref:* mh136
 ar *coverb.* dry.
 ~ -ardam *v.fin.* 1MSdoP. meyn-ar-ardam
 I'm thirsty
 ~ -burrung.gak *v.fin.* 3ASgoP. mawuyn
 ar-burrung.gak Have those clothes dried?
Ref: mh
 arambiyin *n.* niece.wBD. *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
 -arradak *v.fin.* 1ASstandP. *Ref:* mh114
 -arranayak *v.fin.* 1ASsitNFS. *Ref:* mh215
 arranik *v.simple.* 1ASlieNFS. *Ref:* mh248
 -arrang.gak *v.fin.* 1ASgoP. *Ref:* mh300
 arrang.gu *v.simple.* 1ASgoPR. *Ref:* mh174
 arrayn *n.* goanna. *Ref:* mhPV
 arany; goanna. *Ref:* wh(wl)
 -arrayn *v.fin.* 1ASgoIMPF. *Ref:* mh174

-arrarr *obj.suff.* 1+2AO. **bata**
dawu-guna-arrarr datj-gurdang-arrarr
 He might belt us *Ref:* mh133
-arratak *v.fin.* 1ASstandP. *Ref:* mh272
arratay *v.simple.* 1ASstandFS. *Ref:* mh254
-arrdeyak *v.fin.* 1ASdoNFS. *Ref:* mh145
-arretayak *v.fin.* 1ASstandNFS. *Ref:* mh267
arrnayak *v.simple.* 1ASsitNFS. *Ref:* mh233
arrni *v.simple.* 1ASlieFS. *Ref:* mh279
-atak *v.fin.* 1MSstandP. *Ref:* mh128
-atayak *v.fin.* 1MSstandNFS. *Ref:* mh278
-atu *v.fin.* 1MSstandPR. *Ref:* mh151
-awalik *v.fin.* 1MSgoNFS. *Ref:* mh205
awuy *n.* aunt. **awuy mi: ang-dan-niynji**
ang-denek-niynji Did aunt give you the
 tucker *Ref:* mh109
awuiyungu mother-in-law. **yi yi ...**
awuiyungu bo.eke gawuiweke manju-ma
 Oh oh ... my mother-in-law, oh dear, my
 uncle, say something *Ref:* gl270
ayang *v.simple.* 1MSgoPR. *Ref:* mh119

-ayang *v.fin.* 1MSgoPR. *Ref:* mh115
-ayang.gak *v.fin.* 1MSgoP. *Ref:* mh226
ayang.gu *v.simple.* 1MSgoPR. *Ref:* mh257
ayayn *v.simple.* 1MSgoIMPF. *Ref:* mh306
-ayayn *v.fin.* 1MSgoIMPF. *Ref:* mh
ayi *coverb.* cry.
 ~ **-yenginy** *v.fin.* 3MSgoIMPF.
werek-giyitj mi:-nung ayi-yenginy The
 kid is crying for tucker
 ~ **-ma-guyang** *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSgoPR.
mer-kilang-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 gurdumin wuru werak**
mudjur ayuma (The old man) rubs all
 those boys (only) *Ref:* gl270

B

ba *coverb.* get up. *Ref:* mh
bajerritj ? *Ref:* mhPV
batja *n.* stone spear. *Ref:* mhPV
badja, paitja stone headed spear. **badja**
wayin wirngak bardoerdburnai Bring
 up the stone spear, they are all sitting here
 together (waiting) *Ref:* gl277
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:* mh122
bak-jambar *n.* hollow. **yim dar-dar**
lu-lu-yung-ma bak-jambar When you hit
 a hollow log, it resounds *Ref:* mh328
bal *coverb.* flap wings.
 ~ **-ma-gutu** *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSstandPR.
moerroeng bal-bal-ma-gutu It's flapping
 its wings *Ref:* mh
bala *n.* white ochre. **bala dep-ardimine**
nguru-memek I painted myself with white
 ochre *Ref:* mh267
bala white clay. *Ref:* wh(wl)
balam *coverb.* hide. *Ref:* mh
balayet *n.* avoidance, promise. **guwarang**
nguru balayet (That) woman is my
 promise *Ref:* mh349
barl-barl *n.* flat, wide. *Ref:* mhPV
bam *coverb.* hide, keep.
 ~ **-eynminek** *v.fin.* 2MSdoP. **wuk**
ngatj-bam-eynminek Have you hidden

that grog? *Ref:* mh
pam hide. **ngalj yenginj wern pam dam** He
 is (laying out flat) hiding in the grass *Ref:*
 gl278
bam-doet *coverb.* keep.
 ~ **-miyi-enen** *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSsitPR. **mi:**
ngin bam-doet-miyi-enen 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-1MSgoPR-
 3AO. **bang-bang-ma-ayang-wurr** I don't
 know them
 ~ **-ma-guyang-awa** *v.fin.* IMPF-
 3MSgoPR-1MO. **ni nguru**
bang-ma-guyang-awa He doesn't know
 my name *Ref:* mh
bang *n.* father. *Ref:* mhPV
bangu father. **kilang bangu guiyang guiyin**
 Mother and father are coming back here
Ref: gl279
baynburrk *n.* mushroom. *Ref:* mhPV
bar *v.* wrong. **bar-datj-denek-awa** He
 wrongly hit me *Ref:* mh351
bar *n.* arm. **bar wel-ma-enyen motika-yende**
 Your arm is hanging out of the car *Ref:*
 mh201
bar arm, valley, creek. *Ref:* wh(wl)
bara-bara *v.* lie down. **aynja-diyn amnyu**
bara-bara, binya wayalk buy-ambik
 Why are we lying down, we should be
 hunting *Ref:* mh

bara-doet *coverb.* get up. *Ref:* mh
bard: lift. up. **bard bui guiyang wirngak**
 He's going up first *Ref:* gl273
barang *n.* dead body. **jiwirri datj-burrudam**
barang-nung They make burial platforms
 for dead bodies *Ref:* mh308
parang: ghost. *Ref:* wh(wl)
barangen *n.* oldest, biggest. *Ref:* mhPV
parangen: big girl. **nembu parangen kayin**
biwi malag dinj That other oldest (girl)
 should finally come here *Ref:* gl279
barang.ga *v.* lie down.
dar-jalk-gatj-ayang.gak-nung
jalk-yang.gak yurru-yende yurak
barang.ga I knocked him over. He fell to
 the ground where he's lying
 ~-**gayingak** *v.simple.* 1MSlieF. **ya:**
gayingak barang.ga-gayingak Yes, I
 want to lie down
 ~-**anyu** *v.fin.* 2MSliePR.
aniyn-ma-enyen barang.ga-anyu What
 are you doing? Sleeping? *Ref:* mh
barang.gerre *n.* goanna. *Ref:* mhPV
bar-gatj *coverb.* fall (of rain). *Ref:* mh
bariyn *n.* brolga. *Ref:* mhPV
pariny: brolga. *Ref:* wh(wl)
bark *coverb.* flow (of tears). *Ref:* mh
bark *n.* beeswax. *Ref:* mhPV
bark-bark *n.* everywhere. **werek-giyitj**
wutj-ma-burrudak bark-bark guyu The
 kids have chucked it all about everywhere
Ref: mh231
bar-moendirr *n.* ? *Ref:* mhPV
barp *coverb.* rock (of a canoe).
 ~-**ma-guyu** *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSliePR. **wene**
barp-barp-ma-guyu The canoe is rocking
Ref: mh
barrakut *n.* billycan. *Ref:* mhPV
barrakut *n.* white man. **mi: malak jawu**
ngin-ma barrakut-diyn
ngak-m-amnyang Now we eat whiteman's
 tucker *Ref:* mh305
barrang *n.* devil. *Ref:* mhPV
-barrang.gak *v.fin.* 3ASgoP. *Ref:* mh230
barrk *coverb.* grow.
 ~-**yenginy** *v.fin.* 3MSgoIMPF.
jet-gatj-burrutak wern, wern giyang
barrk-yenginy They have burned the
 grass. New shoots are coming up *Ref:* mh
barrkuy *n.* ibis. *Ref:* mhPV
barrkoi: ibis. *Ref:* wh(wl)
bata *n.* maybe. **bata dawu-guna-arrarr**
datj-gurdang-arrarr He might belt us
Ref: mh133
batbat *n.* grasshopper. *Ref:* mhPV
batu *n.* maybe. **yar-ma-guyang, ngoeynboer**
batu It's rustling. A snake maybe *Ref:*
 mh335
patu: maybe. **bui burang.gaik patu** Maybe

they have gone *Ref:* gl279
bart ? *Ref:* mhPV
bawar *n.* rock, money. **bawar**
buy-ning.girik-wa buy-ning.girik
darwin If you lot 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 ngarrp-ngarrp-ma-guyu**
jamarr-ma The dog is gnawing a bone
Ref: mh148
pert: bone. *Ref:* wh(wl)
betj-wayu *n.* boney. *Ref:* mhPV
beler(r) *n.* yam. *Ref:* mhPV
beylk *coverb.* make a bed.
 ~-**ayang.gak** *v.fin.* 1MSgoP. **mujurng**
beylk-beylk-ayang.gak *Ref:* mh
bemboerrjak *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 yiwuy-burrung.gak**
 The clouds have gone away *Ref:* mh332
perk: cloud. *Ref:* wh(wl)
berp *coverb.* flash. *Ref:* mh
berrberr *coverb.* shake.
 ~-**m-enen** *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSsitPR.
berrberr-m-enen I'm shaking *Ref:* mh
berrberr *n.* white nailfish. *Ref:* mhPV
wergwerk: nailfish. *Ref:* gl270
berpp *coverb.* fear.
 ~-**ayang.gak** *v.fin.* 1MSgoP.
berpp-ayang.gak I'm scared *Ref:* mh
bert *coverb.* crack.
 ~-**yang.gak** *v.fin.* 3MSgoP. **jam**
bert-yang.gak The bamboo was cracked
Ref: mh
bey *n.* tendon. *Ref:* mhPV
bitj *coverb.* roll, rub (of firesticks, string).
 ~-**ma-gunen** *v.fin.* IMPF-3ASsitPR.
bitj-ma-gunen They are rolling up string
 ~-**denek** *v.fin.* 3MSdoP. **yim bitj-denek**
jerrerek The old man rubbed firesticks
Ref: mh
bik *n.* rope. **bik goerr-gunun-dut-ardimine**
 I straightened the rope *Ref:* mh346
big: string. *Ref:* gl277
bik: string, rope. *Ref:* wh(wl)
bilngurpp *coverb.* jump.
 ~-**yang.gak** *v.fin.* 3MSgoP.

bil-ngurp-yang.gak yim-diyn He jumped from the stick *Ref: mh*

bilp *coverb. hit. Ref: mh*

bilyirr *coverb. light.*

~ **-gatj-ayang.gak v.fin.** CAUS-IMSgoP.
yim bilyirr-gatj-ayang.gak I lit a fire *Ref: mh*

-biniyn v.fin. 3ASSitIMPF. *Ref: mh280*

birnbirn *n. armlets, vine sp. Ref: mhPV*

-birniyn *n. SIM. 'like'. bawar jayirr-birniyn gutu* That rock looks like a kangaroo *Ref: mh188*

bing *coverb. click tongue.*

~ **-ma-guyang v.fin.** IMPF-3MSgoPR.
bing-bing-ma-guyang He's clicking his tongue *Ref: mh*

binya *n. meat. binya wilmurr-mungu an-gurrang* Where are the buffalo? *Ref: mh347*

pinja: *fish. Ref: gl278*

binyangartba *n. tree sp. Ref: mhPV*

biyn *n. shallow. wuk biyn-miyi guyu* There's shallow water over there *Ref: mh 073*

bir *coverb. wave (a torch).*

~ **-ma-gurrang v.fin.** IMPF-3ASgoPR.
werek-giyi-giyitj marndalatj may bir-ma-gurrang The kids are waving a torch around *Ref: mh*

birbayn *n. bundle of spears. werék birbayn gark-wut-miyi-guyang garabi* The child is carrying a bundle of spears *Ref: mh357*

bir-del *v.stem. forget. Ref: mh*

biri *coverb. follow.*

~ **-wurna** *n. UA. mayu biri-wurna* Let them go

~ **-ma-guyang-awa v.fin.** IMPF-3MSgoPR-1MO. **jiji ngin aynja-nung biri-ma-guyang-awa** Why is that man following me?

~ **-ma-ayang v.fin.** IMPF-1MSgoPR.
dakayu wa:ri-nung biri-ma-ayang I'm not following you *Ref: mh*

piri; biri: *follow. pirimu-guiyang* She is following *Ref: gl278*

piri: *follow. piriboy gawayak dyidyi may* I followed those men *Ref: wh*

biri-biri *coverb. light. Ref: mhPV*

pibirrma: *light. Ref: wh(wl)*

birit-birit *n. peewee. Ref: mhPV*

birp *coverb. redden.*

~ **-atayn v.fin.** IMSstandIMPF.
yirr-ma-diyn, yirr-m-ayang.gak garala birp-atayn My skin has gone red from scratching *Ref: mh*

birr *coverb. run fast.*

~ **-ma-guwanmin v.fin.** IMPF-3MSburnPR.
doengoengoel birr-ma-guwanmin The flood is flowing fast *Ref: mh*

-birrik *v.fin. 3ASgoNFS. Ref: mh118184*

birriyn.gam *n. green ant. Ref: mhPV*

pirring.gam: *green ant. Ref: wh(wl)*

birrip *coverb. crawl. Ref: mh*

birrirr *n. blue tongue lizard. Ref: mhPV*

~ **pirrir:** *blue tongue. Ref: wh(wl)*

birriyam *n. long-necked cormorant. Ref: mhPV*

birrk *n. up(wards). Ref: mhPV*

bitbitma *n. cyclone, big storm. bitpitma guyang-gi-yin* A big storm/cyclone is coming *Ref: mh136*

biwur *n. curlew. Ref: mhPV*

biya *n. marchfly. Ref: mhPV*

biyandak *coverb. hear, listen.*

~ **-ayang-nung v.fin.** 1MSgoPR-3MO.
dakayu biyandak-ayang-nung I can't hear him

~ **-doet-mi:-enen v.fin.** sit-IMPF-1MSsitPR. **biyandak-doet-mi:-enen guyang-gi-yin motika** I'm listening for the car coming *Ref: mh*

bioendak: *listen. bioendak ma gurangnung* They listen to him *Ref: gl270*

biyatar *coverb. remind.*

~ **-gatj-atak-nung v.fin.** CAUS-2MSstandPR-3MO. **biyatar-atak, biyatar-gatj-atak-nung** You remind yourself. You remind him *Ref: mh*

biyawur *n. ear. biyawur-mung ayang ni: gurna-wurr-wurna-ma peji-peji* I remember those two old people's names *Ref: mh177*

biyur: *ear. biyarworr dakayu ayang* I don't remember *Ref: wh*

biyawur-mungu *coverb. ear-COM. Ref: mh*

biyarworr: *ear. biyarworr dakayu ayang* I don't remember *Ref: wh*

biyerdel *coverb. forget.*

~ **-ardimineke v.fin.** IMSdoP. **mayi biyerdel-ardimineke** I forgot the tucker *Ref: mh*

biyiyn *n. mullet. Ref: mhPV*

diyinj: *mullet. Ref: gl270*

buyirn: *mullet. Ref: wh(wl)*

bordan *n. Darwin. buyanyang.gak bordan* Did you go to Darwin? *Ref: mh003*

boe *coverb. blow.*

~ **-gatj-butak-awa v.fin.** CAUS-3MSstandP-1MO.
dun-boe-gatj-butak-awa She blew it out for me *Ref: mh*

boedoen *coverb. limp.*

~ **-ma-guyang v.fin.** IMPF-3MSgoPR. **jiji may jerr guwerruk guyang boedoen-ma-guyang** That man has a bad leg. He limps *Ref: mh*

boel-datj *v.stem. slap thighs.*

~ **-ma-gunen v.fin.** IMPF-3ASSitPR.
boel-datj-ma-gunen (The women) are

slapping thighs *Ref: mh*
boemeleyn *n. pocket. Ref: mhPV*
boemoerr *n. testicles. Ref: mhPV*
boen *n. black plum. Ref: mhPV*
boern *n. black plum. Ref: wh(wl)*
boendoereng *n. watersnake. Ref: mhPV*
boeneboen *n. filesnake. Ref: mhPV*
boenoenek *v.simple. 3ASsitP. Ref: mh253*
boeng-gar-doen *n. knee. Ref: mhPV*
bunger *legs bent underneath. bunger djag*
durdburnai *He's sitting with his legs bent*
underneath Ref: gl277
pung-ger *knee. Ref: wh(wl)*
boeroer *n. pheasant. Ref: mhPV*
boerr *v. dream. boerr-ayak-nung gaga-nung I*
dreamt about uncle Ref: mh320
-boerrminek *v.fin. 3ASdoP. Ref: mh214*
-boerroenek *v.fin. 3ASsitP. Ref: mh311*
boerrwey *n. butcherbird. Ref: mhPV*
purrwei *butcherbird. Ref: wh(wl)*
boetoer *n. jabiru. Ref: mhPV*
boeyk *n. tree sp. Ref: mhPV*
bu *coverb. howl.*
~ -ma-gutu v.fin. IMPF-3MSstandP.
bu-ma-gutu *Ref: mh*
bu *n. possum. Ref: mhPV*
bo *ring tailed possum. Ref: wh(wl)*
budatj *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. 3MSdoNFS. Ref: mh345*
-burdey *v.fin. 3MSdoFS. Ref: mh147*
-burdeyak *v.fin. 3MSdoNFS. Ref: mh358*
buja *n. head. buja duy-ma-gutu He is nodding*
his head Ref: mh073
budja *head. Ref: gl279*
poytya *head. Ref: wh(wl)*
buja-bert *v. have a headache (lit. head-*
cracked). Ref: mhPV
buja-butj *v.stem. shake head. Ref: mh*
buja-bur *n. gray hair. Ref: mhPV*
budyebongma *gray-haired. Ref: wh(wl)*
buja-meneng *n. head hair. Ref: mhPV*
poytya-menang *hair of head. Ref: wh(wl)*
buja-nemboe *n. another lot. Ref: mhPV*
buja-ngerer *n. brain. Ref: mhPV*
butjgurnung *n. wild banana. Ref: mhPV*
butjurung *n. whistle duck. Ref: mhPV*
buk *v. ADVERS.*
~ -gaynjurdang v.fin. 2MSdoF.
jal-darr-mungu-eynji *ngoeynboerr*
jut-buk-gaynjurdang *Watch where you're*
going. You might step on a snake Ref: mh
bulalawi *n. riflefish. Ref: mhPV*
pulalawi *riflefish. Ref: wh(wl)*
bulang *v. be wavy (of water). Ref: mhPV*
buliki *n. cattle. binya dal-jet-errminek*
buliki-ma *We mustered cattle Ref: mh350*

bulagi *cattle (from Engl. bullock). Ref:*
wh(wl)
bultjan *n. eagle. Ref: mhPV*
burltyan *eagle hawk. Ref: wh(wl)*
bulngirrck *n. black duck. Ref: mhPV*
pulngirk, pulngerck *black duck. Ref: gl270*
pulngirrck *black duck. Ref: wh(wl)*
buluy-buluy *n. rainbow. Ref: mhPV*
purliburloi *rainbow. Ref: wh(wl)*
buljen *n. female wallaby. Ref: mhPV*
puriken *kangaroo. Ref: wh(wl)*
buna *n. anthill. Ref: mhPV*
buna *n. (small) black ant. Ref: mhPV*
bunin *coverb. stretch.*
~ -doet-ardimineck v.fin. -Sit-1MSdoP.
bar bunin-doet-ardimineck *I stretched my*
arm Ref: mh
-burnayak *v.fin. 3MSsitNFS. Ref: mh225*
burng *n. ashes, dust. dun-burng*
jirrirk-burrungak-awa *I have dust in*
my eyes Ref: mh313
burni *v.simple. 3MSlieFS. Ref: mh205*
-burnik *v.fin. 3MSlieNFS. Ref: mh192*
bung *coverb. ache. Ref: mh*
bung *coverb. smoke.*
~ -ma-gutu v.fin. IMPF-3MSstandPR. yim
bung-ma-gutu, dal-ma-gutu guwerruk
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-gutu v.fin. IMPF-3MSstandPR.
wuk bung-gatj-ma-gutu *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 ngutj-yende-ma *Were you*
hot this morning
~ -ayang.gak v.fin. IMSgoP.
bur-ayang.gak ngutj-yende *I was sick*
this morning Ref: mh
bur *warm. burdrut andyonai, ganengak*
You warm yourself/myself Ref: wh
burkin *n. doe kangaroo. Ref: mhPV*
burkma *n. branch. Ref: mhPV*
burr *n. ache, flu. Ref: mh328*
burr *sick. Ref: wh(wl)*
-burrayn *v.fin. 3ASgoIMPF. Ref: mh337*
burrdak *v.simple. 3ASlieP. Ref: mh111*
burrk *coverb. run away.*
~ -ma-gurrutu v.fin. IMPF-3ASstand PR.
burrk-burrk-ma-gurrutu
werek-giyi-giyitj *The kids are running*
about
~ -burrungak v.fin. 3ASgoPP.
burrk-burrungak *They ran away Ref: mh*
-burrminek *v.fin. 3ASdoP. Ref: mh122*
burrp *coverb. cook.*

~-nung.gurrdangak *v.fin.* 2ASdoF.
 guwarak miyi burrp-nung.gurrdangak
 Are you lot women going to cook that
 tucker?
 ~-gardangak *v.fin.* 1ASdoF. ya ngeru
 burrp-gardangak Yes, we'll cook it *Ref:*
 mh
 burb: burn (fire). *Ref:* gl277
 purp: dry. yim purp gadanak I'll dry it for
 you by the fire *Ref:* wh
 -burrudak *v.fin.* 3ASstandP. *Ref:* mh353
 -burrudam *v.fin.* 3ASdoP. *Ref:* mh225
 burruday *v.simple.* 3ASstandFS. *Ref:* mh275
 -burrudayak *v.fin.* 3ASstandNFS. *Ref:*
 mh115
 burrunay *v.simple.* 3ASsitFS. *Ref:* mh175
 burruni *v.simple.* 3ASlieFS. *Ref:* mh223
 burrung *coverb.* show off.
 ~-ma-gutu *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSstandPR.
 werek burrung-ma-gutu The kid is
 showing off *Ref:* mh
 -burrung.gak *v.fin.* 3ASgoP. *Ref:* mh333
 -burrutak *v.fin.* 3ASstandP. *Ref:* mh357
 -burruyak *v.fin.* 3ASauxF. *Ref:* mh334
 -butak *v.fin.* 3MSstandP. *Ref:* mh339
 -butayn *v.fin.* 3ASstandP. *Ref:* mh148
 butay *v.simple.* 3MSstandFS. *Ref:* mh194
 -butay *v.fin.* 3MSstandFS. *Ref:* mh208
 -butayak *v.fin.* 3MSstandNFS. *Ref:* mh320
 buwali *v.simple.* 3MSgoFS. *Ref:* mh162
 -buwalik *v.fin.* 3MSgoNFS. *Ref:* mh174
 buwayn *n.* fish. binya wa-cynminek buwayn
 Did you get fish? *Ref:* mh176
 buy *coverb.* go.
 ~-miyi-a. IMPF-NEG.IMP. werek-giyitj
 datj buy, miyimitj may abap-miyi
 gunen Don't go near that old woman: she's
 sick
 ~-gambuyak *v.fin.* 1+2MSgoF. ngamoe
 wa:ri nguru-ma buy-gambuyak We will
 go now

~-burrayn *v.fin.* 3ASgoIMPF. ngun
 an-yin buy-burrayn Where's that lot
 going
 ~-yang.gak *v.fin.* 3MSgo P. werek may
 an-buy-yang.gak Where has that child
 gone?
 ~-ambalik *v.fin.* 1+2MSgoNFS. binya
 buy-ambalik wayalk-nung, binya
 wayalk buy-ambik We should go hunting
 ~-aynjili *v.fin.* 2MSgoFS. miyi
 buy-aynju-wa nawuyu buy-aynjili You
 go and get tucker at Nawuyu
 ~-gaynja *v.fin.* 2MSgoF. niga
 buy-gaynja boda:n Are you going to
 Darwin tomorrow?
 ~-gaynjiyak *v.fin.* 2MSgoF.
 buy-gaynjiyak nawuyu You go to
 Nawuyu
 ~-errik *v.fin.* 1ASgoNFS. buy-errik may
 dak wurut-ma mara ... We wanted to
 camp that way but ...
 ~-gayak *v.fin.* 1MSgoF. dakayu
 buy-gayak jirrk lungurr-ma niwerr
 ayang I'm not going into the cave: I'm
 frightened
 ~-ambik *v.fin.* 1+2MSgoNFS. wangarri
 nguru buy-ambik ngun bak mara ... We
 wanted to go there but ...
 ~-gawuyak *v.fin.* 1MSgoF. dakayu
 buy-gawuyak No, I can't go *Ref:* mh
 bui *v.* away. kupuk bui guiyang She's going
 swimming *Ref:* gl279
 pui: go. dakayu tar eyunma didy pui eyung
 If I don't see him I'm going home *Ref:* wh
 buy *n.* ground oven. *Ref:* mhPV
 buyuy-buyuy *coverb.* float.
 ~-gurrang *v.fin.* 3ASgoPR. dembel
 buyuy-buyuy-gurrang The leaves are
 floating *Ref:* mh

D

dabam *coverb.* clench, choke, hold back.
 ~-jet-awa: INCH-1MO. dagatj
 dabam-jet-awa Don't hang on to me
 ~-ardimineke-nung *v.fin.* 1MSdoP-3MO.
 meyn-dabam-ardimineke-nung binya-ma
 I choked on the meat
 ~-ardimineke *v.fin.* 1MSdoP. memek
 dabam-ardimineke I curled up my hand
 ~-burrung.gak *v.fin.* 3ASgoP.
 mara-meyn-dabam-burrung.gak They
 grabbed each other's throats
 ~-ardimineke-nung *v.fin.* 1MSdoP-3MO.
 dabam-ardimineke-nung I held him back
Ref: mh

dabarriyn *coverb.* clench. *Ref:* mh
 daboerrgitj *coverb.* squeeze.
 ~-ma-gutu *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSstandPR.
 daboerrgitj-ma-gutu mawuyn She's
 squeezing the clothes *Ref:* mh
 dagatj- *v.* NEG.IMP.
 dagatj-humbug-aynj-a:rr Don't humbug
 me and auntie *Ref:* mh211
 dagar *n.* clever fellow. *Ref:* mhPV
 dakarl: clever man. *Ref:* wh(wl)
 dagun *n.* ?? may ... arranik, mara dak-diyn
 dagun We nearly camped there *Ref:*
 mh248
 datj *coverb.* hit.

~-nung *obj.suff.* 3MO. werek
 dagatj-datj-nung Don't hit the kid
 ~-ma-gurrutu-wurna *v.fin.* IMPF-
 3MSstandPR-UA. aynja-nung ngun
 dawu-ma mar-datj-ma-gurrutu-wurna
 What are those two fighting for?
 ~-ma-gunen *v.fin.* 3ASsitPR.
 memek-datj-ma-gunen (The men) are
 clapping hands
 ~-denek-nung *v.fin.* 3MSdoP-3MO.
 datj-denek-nung mer-gilang His mother
 spanked him
 ~-arrang.gak-ngerrngerr *v.fin.*
 1ASgoP-EXCL.
 mara-datj-arrang.gak-ngerrngerr We
 two fought *Ref:* mh
 taty: hit. taty adiminak dyidyima
 magutuma dyuruni may kunen ma I hit
 him with a stick...to make him sit down
Ref: wh
 datj-dun *coverb.* shake out.
 ~-denek *v.fin.* 3MSdoP. blanket
 datj-dun-denek guwarak-ma The woman
 shook out the blanket *Ref:* mh
 datj-moerr *coverb.* bash. *Ref:* mh
 dak *n.* camp. warn dak
 lurrng-lurrng-burdeyak She should be
 cleaning up camp *Ref:* mh358
 dag: camp. *Ref:* gl271
 dak *n.* spit. *Ref:* mhPV
 dak *n.* forever. *Ref:* mhPV
 dak *n.* country. dak buy-eynji darrarr-guritj
 You check around the country *Ref:* mh326
 dak: country. *Ref:* wh(wl)
 daka *n.* NEG. daka darr-ayang.gak No. I
 didn't see him *Ref:* mh283
 dakayu *n.* NEG. dakayu garndap-ayang dak
 may gurna-ma I don't want to show him
 the country *Ref:* mh293
 dakayu; djuguyu: not, no.. *Ref:* gl278
 dakayo: nobody. *Ref:* wh
 dal *coverb.* smell.
 ~-burrudam-arrarr *v.fin.* 3ASdoP-
 1+2AO. dal-burrudam-arrarr gerenguk
 burrk-burrayn They smell us, the flies
Ref: mh
 dal-jagurr *v.stem.* light. *Ref:* mh
 dal-jet *v.stem.* muster.
 ~-errminek *v.fin.* 1ASdoP. binya
 dal-jet-errminek buliki-ma We mustered
 cattle *Ref:* mh
 dam *coverb.* stick (see mend clothes). *Ref:* mh
 dam *v.simple.* 3MSdoP. *Ref:* mh301
 dan *coverb.* smell. *Ref:* mh
 -dam *v.fin.* 3MSdoPP. *Ref:* mh109
 dandar *n.* elbow. *Ref:* mhPV
 dandur: elbow. *Ref:* wh(wl)
 daniyl *coverb.* pull off bark. *Ref:* mh
 -dangak *v.fin.* 3MSstandF. *Ref:* mh

dangarr *n.* cold wind. *Ref:* mhPV
 daynjak-gayak *n.* girl who has had first
 menses. *Ref:* mhPV
 dap *coverb.* grab, kill.
 ~-yengiyn-awa *v.fin.* 3MSgoIMPF-1MO.
 wuk-diyn karala dap-yengiyn-awa The
 booze killed me
 ~-denek-awa *v.fin.* 3MSdoP-1MO.
 detoem-dap-denek-awa *Ref:* mh
 dab: catch, tie up. *Ref:* gl279
 dab: want. lagany nguru kandu
 dabmaguyang He wants my woomera *Ref:*
 wh
 dap *coverb.* bake.
 ~-ma-guyu *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSliePR. mi
 lawa dap-ma-guyu She's baking damper
 ~-denek *v.fin.* 3MSdoP. mi: giytj
 dap-denek She baked a damper *Ref:* mh
 dap-jak *v.stem.* break.
 ~-amboedey *v.fin.* 1+2MSstandFS. yim
 dap-jak-amboedey neyi-nung We have to
 break up the firewood later *Ref:* mh
 dapyak: 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-denek, ditj-wa-ga-ayang.gak He
 speared a fat one and brought it back
 ~-denek *v.fin.* 3MSdoP. binya jayirr
 dar-denek aldurrrp-gatj-ayang.gak He
 speared the kangaroo. He opened (a hole
 in it) *Ref:* mh
 dar: kill. *Ref:* gl270
 dar *coverb.* hit.
 ~-ardimineke-nung *v.fin.* 1ASdoP-3MO.
 jiji may dar-ardimineke-nung I hit that
 man
 ~-burrung.gak *v.fin.* 3ASgoP. mern
 mara-dar-burrung.gak They hit each
 other in the guts *Ref:* mh
 dar: kill. o... mayu dar! ngen mayu Oh,
 I've been hit enough *Ref:* gl278
 tar: hit. tar adiminak nembiyu-ma I hit him
 once *Ref:* wh
 daratj *coverb.* recognise.
 ~-aynjurdam *v.fin.* 2MSdoP. jiji
 darr-daratj-aynjurdam Did you
 recognise that man?
 ~-ardam *v.fin.* 1MSdoP. daratj-ardam I
 recognised him *Ref:* mh
 darak *n.* daylight. ngoen-jet-ma-ayang.gak
 darak-waya I was sweating all night last
 night *Ref:* mh192
 darayat *coverb.* tired.
 ~-miyi *v.affix.* IMPF. ngen-darayat-miyi
 guyang She's tired all the time
 ~-adayn *v.fin.* 1MSstandIMPF.

- ngen-darayat-adayn I'm tired
 ~-atayn; 1MSstandIMPF.
 ngen-darayat-atayn dak-diyn
 lurrng-lurrng-ma-atak I'm tired from
 cleaning up the camp Ref: mh
dar-dam *v.stem. mend.*
 ~-ma-gunen *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSsitPR.
 miyimitj batu dar-dam-ma-gunen The
 old woman maybe mending clothes Ref:
 mh
darek *coverb. daylight.*
 ~-yin-yengiyn *v.fin.* here-3MSgoIMPF.
 dak darek-yin-yengiyn Daylight is
 coming up Ref: mh
darik *n. tree sp. Ref: mhPV*
darwirrk *coverb. extinguish. Ref: mh*
dar-yuwuy *v.stem. mix. Ref: mh*
darr *coverb. bash. Ref: mh*
darr *coverb. look. see. watch.*
 ~-ma-gutu *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSstandPR.
 mirr darr-ma-gutu wuk-yende 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-aynjurney-wurr *v.fin.* IMPF-
 2MSsitFS-3AO. werek-giyitj
 darr-m-aynjurney-wurr You watch those
 kids (while I'm gone)
 ~-denek-ney *v.fin.* 3MSdoP-1+2MO.
 darr-denek-ney ngutj-yende-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 may-ma yim
 mer-durk Watch out for that stump
 ~-guritj *v.fin.* go around. dak buy-eynji
 darrarr-guritj You check around the
 country Ref: mh
dar: see. e... pininj wulukdju kiyitj werak
 kiyitjdju kuwoerda dardam bang
 guiyang.guiyin Eh..., in the sky the young
 girl sees the father coming Ref: gl279
tarr: see. tarr ademinak nindyi dyedyinma
 wangarima I saw you yesterday Ref: wh
darr *n. hot ashes. Ref: mhPV*
 dirrwun: ashes. Ref: wh(wl)
darrek *coverb. become daylight. Ref: mh*
darrinbin *n. flying fox. Ref: mhPV*
 daranban: flying fox (large sp). Ref: wh(wl)
darrkdarrkma *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-3MSlieP. dagatj
 buy, barang mayu guyu 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-guyu *v.fin.* lie-IMPF-
 3MSliePR. del-wut-miyi-guyu It's locked
 up Ref: mh
del: block. piyerworr del adiminak I forgot
 Ref: wh
del *n. bottom, bum. werek-giyitj da:ng*
 warryet-guritj, nung.gurnay 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: mhPV*
del-ngen *n. buttock. Ref: mhPV*
 darlingin: vagina etc. mai ma darlingin del
 aldak dam Ref: gl278
dembel *n. leaf. dembel buyuy-buyuy-guran*
 The leaves are floating Ref: mh224
dembelatj *coverb. roll up.*
 ~-ardimineke *v.fin.* 1MSdoP. mujurng
 dembelatj-ardimineke I rolled up the swag
 Ref: mh
den *coverb. cut.*
 ~-gatj-nung-burrutak *v.fin.* CAUS-
 3MO-3ASstandP. ngoer
 den-gatj-nung-burrutak They used to cut
 (young men) there Ref: mh
den: cut. dendanak mayu wirngak She
 cuts it, and he's finished Ref: gl279
den *coverb. yard up.*
 ~-jet-jet-butayn *v.fin.* put-Redupl-
 3MSstandP. garwa-ende
 den-jet-jet-butayn We 'yarded' (the fish)
 into the billabong Ref: mh
-denek *v.fin.* 3MSdoP. Ref: mh173
dengjen *coverb. eat noisily.*
 ~-ma-gunen *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSsitPR. miyi
 dengjen-ma-gunen They are eating
 noisily Ref: mh
dengjeng *coverb. eat noisily. Ref: mh*
dep *coverb. paint.*
 ~-ardimineke *v.fin.* 1MSdoP. bala
 dep-ardimineke nguru-memek I painted

myself with white ochre
 ~-denek-niynji *v.fin.* 3MSdoP-2MO.
 nuwun bala dep-denek-niynji,
 jerrerek-ni Who painted you: the old
 man?
 ~-ardiminek *v.fin.* 1MSdoP. dakayu
 nguru-jenngu pala dep-ardiminek No, I
 painted myself
 ~-ardi-nung *v.fin.* 1MSdoP-3MO. bala
 dep-ardi-nung werek-giyitj I painted the
 kid with white ochre *Ref:* mh
der *n.* bamboo spear. *Ref:* mhPV
dererr *n.* flank. *Ref:* mhPV
derrger *n.* liver. *Ref:* mhPV
derrgur: liver. *Ref:* wh(wl)
derrngey *n.* yam sp. *Ref:* mhPV
detoem *n.* back. **detoem-dap-denek-awa** He
 rubbed my back *Ref:* mh173
detum: back. *Ref:* wh(wl)
dewer *n.* king brown snake. *Ref:* mhPV
dewerr *n.* shoulder. miyi
 gar-wu-m-eyeng.gak dewerr I carried the
 tucker on my shoulder *Ref:* mh343
tewerr: shoulder. *Ref:* wh(wl)
dewerr-bari *n.* shoulder blade. binya
 ngererrrp-woerrminek jayirr
 dewerr-bari They cut it up with a
 kangaroo shoulder blade *Ref:* mh290
tewerr_pali: shoulder blade. *Ref:* wh(wl)
dewk *n.* bird sp. *Ref:* mhPV
dey *coverb.* look out for.
 ~-ma-ernen *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSsitPR. jiji
 may-nung dey-ma-ernen I'm waiting for
 that man
 ~-m-enen-wurr *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSsitPR-
 3AO. dey-m-enen-wurr I'm waiting for
 the others *Ref:* mh
didi *n.* termite. *Ref:* mhPV
diik *coverb.* become fat (redupl). *Ref:* mh
ditj *coverb.* return.
 ~-ga-anyang.gak *v.fin.* come-2MSgoP.
 an-diyn-ma ditj-ga-anyang.gak Where
 did you come from? *Ref:* mh
didj-ga: come back. **didjga** guwayak
 didjga guyang He'll come back, he comes
 back *Ref:* gl278
dik *coverb.* fat.
 ~-ningiyn-ju *v.fin.* 3MSsitIMPF-?
 guwarak ngun malak dik-ningiyn-ju
 That woman there has got big
 ~-enyiyn *v.fin.* 2MSsitIMPF. dik-enyiyn
 You got fat
 ~-ning.giniyn *v.fin.* 2ASSitP.
 dik-ning.giniyn You lot got fat *Ref:* mh
dik: fat. dikninginy He is fat *Ref:* wh(wl)
dimburu *n.* hawk. *Ref:* mhPV
dimburu: hawk. wang.geroe ngurningin
 dimburu karoekandjerroe kai budainj
 ma waroek The old man comes back to

camp and sees hawks flying away *Ref:*
 gl279
dimburo: hawk. *Ref:* wh(wl)
dingding *v.* sweet. **ti dingding-ma-doet** Make
 the tea sweeter *Ref:* mh280
ding-ding *coverb.*
 ~-gunen *v.fin.* 3MSsitPR.
 ding-ding-ma-gunen werek-giyitj
 ngun-ma That child is clicking his tongue
 (120)
 ~-ma-doet *v.fin.* IMPF-sit. ti
 dingding-ma-doet Make the tea sweeter
Ref: mh
-diyn *n.* ABL. **abap dam miyi-diyn** She's sick
 from tucker *Ref:* mh301
diynda *n.* bitter. *Ref:* mhPV
dirrawur *n.* bullant. **dagatj doet, binya**
dirrawur mutjurr Don't sit there. There
 are lots of bullants *Ref:* mh 298
doenmoe *n.* monsoon forest. *Ref:* mh PV
du:nmo: bush. *Ref:* wh(wl)
doengoet *n.* large king brown snake. *Ref:*
 mhPV
dungurt: king brown snake. *Ref:* wh(wl)
doenyoeng.goel *n.* flood. **doenyoeng.goel**
guyang.gi-yin gunuwarang A big flood is
 coming *Ref:* mh153
dinyung.gur, duynyun.gur: floodwater.
Ref: wh
doeyn *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.
 ~-biniyn *v.fin.* 3ASSitIMPF. mi: mutjurr
 ngak-ma-gurrang may-diyn-ju
 doerik-biniyn If you eat lots of tucker you
 get fat
 ~-gerriningak *v.fin.* 1ASSitF. ya: ngarru
 doerik-gerriningak Yes we will get fat
 ~-enoenek-ngerrngerr *v.fin.* 1ASSitP-
 EXCL. doerik-enoenek-ngerrngerr Yes
 we got fat
 ~-emnyoenek *v.fin.* 1+2MSsitP. ngemoe
 doerik-emnyoenek We got fat *Ref:* mh
doerreng *coverb.* show.
 ~-ma-gambiyak *v.fin.* IMPF-1+2MSgoF.
 wa:ri nguru buy-gambiyak dak
 doerreng-ma-gambiyak We have to show
 him the country
 ~-aynjudak-nung *v.fin.* 2MSstandP-
 3MO. dak doerreng-aynjudak-nung Did
 you show him the country
 ~-atayak-nung *v.fin.* 1MSstandNFS-3MO.

doerreng-atayak-nung mara wuk
gunuwarang I tried to show him but too
much water *Ref: mh*

doet *coverb. sit. live.*
 ~ -a. NEG.IMP. *dagatj doet, binya*
dirrawur mutjurr Don't sit there, There
 are lots of bullants
 ~ -enenek *v.fin. 1MSsitP. doet-enenek I*
sat down
 ~ -miyi-yang.gak *v.fin. IMPF-3MSgoP.*
jerrerek may amu:al
doet-miyi-yang.gak That old man used to
 live at Amungal
 ~ -noenek *v.fin. 3MSsitP. jerrerek*
guyang jerrerek-doet-noenek He has
 become an old man
 ~ -nung-burnayak *v.fin. 3MO-*
3MSsitNFS. jamarr-ende-yu
gara-doet-nung-burnayak He nearly sat
 down on the dog *Ref: mh*
dud ; durd ; dued: *sit. dud guenen pinja*
wa gurdumen He sits, he took the fish
Ref: gl279
drut: *make/become. yim gubandrut burum*
gubandrut Join these sticks to make them
 longer *Ref: wh*

doewoerr *n. boney bream. Ref: mhPV*

dudu *coverb. stretch.*
 ~ -ayang.gak *v.fin. 1MSgoP. bar*
dudu-ayang.gak I stretched my arm *Ref:*
mh

dul *coverb. beat (of heart, cf. sulk 263). Ref:*
mh

dul *coverb. sulk.*
 ~ -ma-guyang; *v.fin. IMPF-3MSgoPR.*
dul-ma-guyang; mi dakayu
ang-aya-nung He is sulking; I didn't give
 him any tucker *Ref: mh*

dulnguk *n. spear (bamboo top half). Ref:*
mhPV

dululngak: *plain wood fish spear. Ref:*
gl279

dum *coverb. suck.*
 ~ -denek *v.fin. 3MSdoPP. dagaru*
foerrngoeyn dum-denek The doctor
 sucked blood *Ref: mh*

dum *v. wrinkled. Ref: mhPV*

dum-ma *v. alive. Ref: mhPV*

dumurrk *coverb. burp.*
 ~ -ma-ayang *v.fin. IMPF-1MSgoPR.*
durrk ardiminek [lemonade],
dumurrk-ma-ayang I drank lemonade.
 I'm burping *Ref: mh*

dun *coverb. shake out.*
 ~ -denek *v.fin. 3MSdoP. blanket*
datj-dun-denek guwarak-ma The woman
 shook out the blanket *Ref: mh*

dun *n. eye. dun-al-duruk-denek (The crow)*
pecked out its eye Ref: mh352

dun: *eye. Ref: wh(wl)*

dun-darr-wut *v.stem. open eyes. Ref: mh*

dur *coverb. defecate, leave.*
 ~ -ma-gutu-awa *v.fin. IMPF-*
3MSstandPR-IMO.
koen-dur-ma-gutu-awa I want to defecate
Ref: mh

durin *n. turtle. binya durin an-buja wa*
rar-nung.gurring.gak How many turtles
 did you get? *Ref: mh176*

duriny: *turtle. Ref: wh(wl)*

durk *n. dreaming, sacred. jerrerek yang.gak*
durk-jeyn, durk-jeyn-doet-ningiyn The
 old man became a dreaming *Ref: mh296*

durk-boerroem *n. ankle. Ref: mhPV*

durk_purum: *ankle. Ref: wh(wl)*

durkdurk *n. lumpy, gooseflesh. Ref: mhPV*

duruk *coverb. grow up.*
 ~ -ayang.gak *v.fin. 1MSgoP. dak nguru*
ngin duruk-ayang.gak I was born in this
 country *Ref: mh*

durritj *coverb. come, get off. Ref: mh dakayu*
mawoyn durritjmaayang No. I'm fishy.
 therefore I'm washing clothes *Ref: wh*

durrrin *n. long-necked turtle. binya*
durrrin-nung dar-dar-guritj-ma-gurrang
 They are poking around for turtles *Ref:*
mh219

durrrin-ngerer *n. turtle shell. Ref: mhPV*

durrk *coverb. drink.*
 ~ -awalik *v.fin. 1MSgoNFS. jinin*
wurrrk-durrk-awalik I nearly drowned

~ -ardiminek *v.fin. 1MSdoP.*
durrk-ardiminek [lemonade],
dumurrk-ma-ayang I drank lemonade.
 I'm burping *Ref: mh*

durrk(ardam): *drink. worrrk durrrkarday I*
 want a drink *Ref: wh*

durring *coverb. line up.*
 ~ -wut-jeret-miyi-gurrutu *v.fin. lie-*
stand-IMPF-3ASstandPR. jiji
durring-wut-jeret-miyi-gurrutu The men
 are lined up *Ref: mh*

durrut *n. across. Ref: mhPV*

durt *coverb. remove, take off/out.*
 ~ -denek-awa *v.fin. 3MSdoP-IMO. dun*
durt-denek-awa She took it out for me

~ -denek-awa *v.fin. 3MSdoP-IMO.*
awuy-diyn dun durt-denek-awa Auntie
 took it out for me *Ref: mh*

durtu *n. cycad. Ref: mhPV*

duwur *n. pandanus nut. Ref: mhPV*

duwurr: *pandanus seed. Ref: wh(wl)*

duy *coverb. straighten.*
 ~ -boerroenek *v.fin. 3ASsitP.*
duyuy-boerroenek garnbi They
 straightened it *Ref: mh*

duy *coverb. nod.*
 ~ -ma-gutu *v.fin. IMPF-3MSstandPR.*

puja duy-ma-gutu He is nodding his head
Ref: mh

rD

-rdiyn *n. ABL. Ref: mh118*

E

egek *coverb. vomit.*

~~-aneyak *v.fin. 1MSsitNFS. gaynngey*
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*

emnyoenek *v.simple. 1+2MSsitP. Ref: mh266*

enen *v.simple. 1MSsitPR. Ref: mh116*

-enen *v.fin. 1MSsitPR. Ref: mh115*

-enenek *v.fin. 1MSsitP. Ref: mh122*

enoenek *v.simple. 1MSsitP, 1ASsitP. Ref: mh191*

-enoenek *v.fin. 1MSsitP. Ref: mh149*

-enen *v.fin. 1MSsitPR. Ref: mh168*

enyen *v.simple. 2MSsitPR. Ref: mh116*

-enyen *v.fin. 2MSsitPR. Ref: mh201*

enyenek *v.simple. 2MSsitP. Ref: mh125*

-enyeng.gak *v.fin. 2MSgoP. Ref: mh148*

-enyjutey *v.fin. 2MSstandFS. Ref: mh286*

enyoenek *v.simple. 2MSdo(sit)P. Ref: mh191*

-enyu *v.fin. 2MSlieFS. Ref: mh326*

-eynji *v.fin. 2MSgoFS. Ref: mh182*

-eynjili *v.fin. 2MSgoFS. Ref: mh157*

-eynjurdey *v.fin. 2MSdoFS. Ref: mh270*

-eynmin *v.fin. 2MSdoP. Ref: mh283*

eynminek *v.simple. 2MSdoP. Ref: mh221*

-eynminek *v.fin. 2MSdoP. Ref: mh176/9*

-errarr *v.affix. INCL. Ref: mh218*

-erreng *v.fin. 1ASgoP. Ref: mh305*

-errerr *v. INCL. nguwerem mi: ngerru*
ngak-m-erreng-errerr Before we used to
eat bush tucker Ref: mh305

-erri *v.fin. 1ASgoFS. Ref: mh218*

-errik *v.fin. 1ASgoNFS. Ref: mh186*

-errminek *v.fin. 1ASdoP. Ref: mh133*

etu *n. male cousin. wangarri-ma*
etu-m-ayang-niynji I call you etu Ref:
mh189

edungu: brother-in-law. Ref: gl270

artu: cousin. Ref: wh(wl)

eweyn *n. sister. Ref: mhPV*

G

ga *coverb. come.*

~~-yang.gak *v.fin. 3MSgoP. jayatj-diyn*
ga-yang.gak A policeman came up

~~-nung.gurrung.gak *v.fin. 2ASgoP.*
aniyn-miyi-diyn

ditj-ga-nung.gurrung.gak When did you
lot come back?

~~-arrang.gak *v.fin. 1ASgoP. jatjin*
ditj-ga-arrang.gak Yesterday we came
back

~~-eynji-awa *v.fin. 2MSgoFS. miyi*
ditj-wara-ga-eynji-awa You bring that
tucker back for me

~~-birrik *v.fin. 3ASgoNFS. malak-diyn*
ga-birrik ngutj-yende-diyn They should
have come this morning

~~-barrang.gak *v.fin. 3ASgoP. ngutj*
ga-barrang.gak They came back at night
Ref: mh

ga ; ka: come. gayang.gak bangu

darrmanung I've come to see my father
Ref: wh

gabak-gubuk *coverb. swim.*

~~-ma-gunen *v.fin. IMPF-3MSsitPR.*
gabak-gubuk-ma-gunen He's swimming
Ref: mh

gabuk-gubuk *coverb. swim. Ref: mh*

garda *coverb. push.*

~~-gatj-awa *obj.suff. CAUS-1MO. 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

gatjgatj *coverb. fish.*

~~-m-amburnay *v.fin. IMPF-1+2MSsit.*
buy-ambali binya gatjgatj-m-amburnay

Lets go fishing *Ref: mh*
gati-way *coverb. loose.*
 ~-**ayang.gak** *v.fin. IMSgoP. koen*
gati-way-ayang.gak I lost my tobacco
Ref: mh
gaka *n. uncle. gaka ninim-burrudak-nung* Did
 they ask uncle *Ref: mh246*
gaga: *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, kubuk bui guiyang Don't
 go away. stay here and lie down *Ref: gl278*
gakwak *n. far. gay-nung-atayak 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*
karigo: *Leichhardt tree. Ref: wh(wl)*
galmung.gurr *n. goose. Ref: mhPV*
kalmung.gurr: *goose. Ref: wh(wl)*
galpengarrk *n. paperbark raft. Ref: mhPV*
garlbambuk *n. jungle fowl. Ref: mhPV*
gambirningak *v.simple. 1+2MSstayF. 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, gamiya: *now. kamu dengaidj*
eroewararoe wud buerne Today we want
 to cut him, so lie down *Ref: gl277*
gamu-ngin *n. today. lerrp-guwayak*
gamu-ngin-ma It will be hot today *Ref:*
mh222
gandara *n. close. Ref: mhPV*
gandarai: *close. gandarai njigindjarowur*
 Close around that way *Ref: gl279*
garnarnbayn *n. tree snake. Ref: mhPV*
garnbayn *n. leech (small sp). Ref: mhPV*
garnbi *n. bamboo. Ref: mhPV*
kanbi: *bamboo. Ref: wh(wl)*
garnbi *n. long bamboo spear. jiji garnbi*
gati-yang.gak The man threw the spear
Ref: mh318
kanbi: *spear. Ref: wh(wl)*
garndap *coverb. like, want.*
 ~-**m-ayang-nung** *v.fin. IMPF-IMSgoPR-*
3MO. garndap-m-ayang-nung
 ~-**ayang** *v.fin. IMSgoPR. dakayu*
garndap-ayang dak may gurna-ma I

don't want to show him the country *Ref:*
mh
garndarr-giyang *n. married couple. Ref:*
mhPV
garningak *v.simple. IMSsitF. Ref: mh200*
-gayn *n. NEG. eweng wangarri-gayn awuy*
warri She's not your sister, she's your aunt
Ref: mh345
gainj: *not. yird daroema-gainj buigurak*
 Not seeing any ashes, they go *Ref: gl270*
gayn-ber *coverb. get better.*
 ~-**ardiminek** *v.fin. IMSdoP.*
gayn-ber-ardiminek I got better *Ref: mh*
-gaynja *v.fin. 2MSgoF. Ref: mh167*
-gaynjik *v.fin. 2MSgoF. Ref: mh330*
-gaynjiyak *v.fin. 2MSgoF. Ref: mh182*
gaynjiyingak *v.simple. 2MSlie/campF. Ref:*
mh277
-gaynjudangak *v.fin. 2MSstandF. Ref:*
mh294
-gaynjutang *v.fin. 2MSstandF. Ref: mh332*
gaynngey *n. vomit. gaynngey egek-aneyak* I
 nearly vomited *Ref: mh229*
gapi *n. wife. Ref: mhPV*
gar *coverb. carry.*
 ~-**wu-m-eyeng.gak** *v.fin. ?-IMPF-*
IMSgoP. miyi gar-wu-m-eyeng.gak
dewerr I carried the tucker on my
 shoulder *Ref: mh*
gara-bak *v.stem. sit on.*
 ~-**enonek** *v.fin. IMSsitP.*
gara-bak-enonek I climbed up and sat
 down *Ref: mh*
-garadangak *v.fin. 1ASdoF. Ref: mh181*
garala *n. skin. yirr-ma-diyn,*
yirr-m-ayang.gak garala birp-atayn My
 skin has gone red from scratching *Ref:*
mh308
karala: *skin, body. Ref: wh(wl)*
garambang *n. headband. wirr-ardiminek*
garambang I tied a headband on *Ref:*
mh194
galambang: *forehead band. Ref: wh(wl)*
garanga *n. island, mound. Ref: mhPV*
karanga: *island. Ref: wh(wl)*
garar *coverb. climb.*
 ~-**doet-aynjuneyak-nung** *v.fin. sit-*
*2MSsitNFS-3MO. awu-yu **
garar-doet-aynjuneyak-nung
ngoeynboer You nearly sat on top of a
 snake
 ~-**ga:yak** *v.fin. IMSgoF. dakayu*
garar-ga:yak yim may-ma
jalk-buk-ayung I'm not climbing up that
 tree; I might fall
 ~-**gaynjik** *v.fin. 2MSgoF. werek-giyitj*
may daka garar-gaynjik jalk-gaynjik
 Child, don't you climb, you will fall *Ref:*
mh

garar: climb. **yim tyingarar!** ja **garar**
ayany Climb that tree! Yes. I'm climbing
Ref: wh
garara *n.* long Tom fish. *Ref:* mhPV
kararu: two mouthed fish. *Ref:* gl270
gararr *n.* dilly bag. **gararr jeyn-ardimine**
mutjurr I made lots of dillybags *Ref:*
 mh283
kararr: bag. *Ref:* wh(wl)
gark *coverb.* ride, carry.
 ~ **-wut-awa** *obj.suff.* lie-IMO. **gaga**
gark-wut-awa Uncle carry me!
 ~ **-wut-ardey** *v.fin.* lie-1MSdoFS.
ang-gin-awa mara nguru
jing-gark-wut-ardey, mujurng may-ma
 Give it to me. I will try and carry that
 swag *Ref:* mh
gark-wut *v.stem.* carry. *Ref:* mh
gar-ngen *n.* calf of leg. *Ref:* mhPV
kar: behind knee. *Ref:* wh(wl)
garwa *n.* billabong. **garwa-ende**
den-jet-jet-butayn We 'yarded' (the fish)
 into the billabong *Ref:* mh345
garr *n.* spider. *Ref:* mhPV
karr: spider. *Ref:* wh(wl)
garrak *coverb.* appear. *Ref:* mh
garak; karak: see, appear in sight, just
 come up. **garak hui guiyang** He appears
 in sight *Ref:* gl278
garrak *n.* clear ground, plains. *Ref:* mhPV
garrarra-burk *n.* shin. *Ref:* mhPV
-garrdangak *v.fin.* 1ASstandF. *Ref:* mh118
garrgu *n.* cicatrices. *Ref:* mhPV
garringak *v.simple.* 1ASlieF. *Ref:* mh113
-garriyak *v.fin.* 1ASgoF. *Ref:* mh113
garrk *n.* bird sp. *Ref:* mhPV
gat *coverb.* ?? *Ref:* mh
gatgat: laugh. **dakay gatgat** Don't laugh
Ref: wh
-gatangak *v.fin.* 1MSstandF. *Ref:* mh172
gart *coverb.* laugh, play.
 ~ **-ma-gurrutu** *v.fin.* IMPF-3ASstandPR.
werek-giyitj gart-ma-gurrutu The kids
 are laughing
 ~ **-wara-ma-gurak-awa** *v.fin.* have-IMPF-
 3ASgoP-IMO. **gart-wara-ma-gurak-awa**
 They had a laugh at me *Ref:* mh
gatgat: laugh. **dakay gatgat** Don't laugh
Ref: wh
-gawayak *v.fin.* 1MSgoF. *Ref:* mh286
gawurrmer *n.* kookaburra. *Ref:* mhPV
kawurrme: kookaburra. *Ref:* wh(wl)
gawut(-yurma) *n.* wet season. *Ref:* mhPV
kawurt: wet season. *Ref:* wh(wl)
gawuy *n.* grandfather. **ngerru mer-gawuy** We
 are grandfather and grandchild *Ref:*
 mh351
gawuiweke: mother's brother. *Ref:* gl270
-gawuyak *v.fin.* 1MSgoF. *Ref:* mh201

gay *coverb.* call out, yell out.
 ~ **-gatangak** *v.fin.* 1MSstandF. **ya**
gay-nung-gatangak Yes. I will yell out to
 him
 ~ **-nung.gurrudangak-nung** *v.fin.*
 2ASstandF-3MO.
gay-nung.gurrudangak-nung Are you lot
 going to yell out?
 ~ **-nung-garadangak** *v.fin.* 3MO-
 1ASstandF. **ya gay-nung-garadangak**
 Yes, we will yell out to him
 ~ **-gutangak** *v.fin.* 3ASstandF.
gay-gutangak mer-gaga Is he going to
 yell out to uncle
 ~ **-nung-ju-arratak-arrarr** *v.fin.* 3MO-
 SPEC-1ASstandP-INCL.
gay-nung-ju-arratak-arrarr mara
dakayu We should've called out to him
 but no *Ref:* mh
gai: call. **nguruma gainung katangak** I'm
 calling him *Ref:* wh
-gayak *v.fin.* 1MSgoF. *Ref:* mh193
gayingak *v.simple.* 1MSlieF. *Ref:* mh111
gerda *coverb.* push. *Ref:* mh
gek *coverb.* hurt (of a sore).
 ~ **-ma-ayang** *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSgoPR. **mitj**
gek-ma-ayang The sore is hurting me
Ref: mh
gelem *n.* sand. *Ref:* mhPV
kelem: sand. *Ref:* wh(wl)
geleng *n.* grandmother. *Ref:* mhPV
kerleng: grandmother. *Ref:* wh(wl)
gemirruk *n.* first. **warri-gemirruk enyoenek**
 You were the first one there *Ref:* mh358
-gemoeruk *n.* first. **nguru-gemoeruk**
darr-ardimine ngoeynboer I saw the
 snake first *Ref:* mh301
gender *n.* dew. *Ref:* mhPV
kender: dew. *Ref:* wh(wl)
gern.gern *n.* sea eagle. *Ref:* mhPV
gerningak *v.simple.* 1MSlie(camp)F. *Ref:*
 mh307
-gerningak *v.fin.* 3MSsitF. *Ref:* mh355
genyek *coverb.* cough.
 ~ **-m-ayang.gak** *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSgoP.
genyek-m-ayang.gak,
nambarn-wa-ng-ayang I was coughing
 before but now I'm okay *Ref:* mh
geynjiyingak *v.simple.* 2MSlie/campF. *Ref:*
 mh352
gepoen *n.* deep, steep. **wuk gepoen,**
wilbirrk-erri nemberre This water is too
 deep: we'll try and cross in another place
Ref: mh347
gere *n.* mouth. **gere weret-ma-gutu** The door is
 open *Ref:* mh242
kara: mouth. *Ref:* wh(wl)
gere-bung *coverb.* smoke (of cigarettes, lit.
 mouth-smoke). *Ref:* mh

gere-del *coverb.* open. *Ref:* mh
gere-dil *n.* bitter. *Ref:* mhPV
gereguk *n.* frog. *Ref:* mhPV
keraguk; frog. *Ref:* wh(wl)
gere-guyn-del *n.* lizard sp. *Ref:* mhPV
karra_gwinydal; lizard sp. *Ref:* wh(wl)
gere-mirrmirra *n.* hot weather. *Ref:* mhPV
gere-nga *coverb.* yawn. *Ref:* mh
gerenguk *n.* blowfly. dal-burrudam-arrarr
gerenguk burrk-burrayn They smell us.
the flies *Ref:* mh341
gere-nyiynju *n.* full. *Ref:* mhPV
geretil *n.* tree sp. *Ref:* mhPV
gere-witj-doem *coverb.* kiss. *Ref:* mh
gere-woeng *n.* hot weather. *Ref:* mh
gere-woerwoer *coverb.* dribble. *Ref:* mh
gere-yet *coverb.* fill. *Ref:* mh
gerwey *n.* white apple. *Ref:* mhPV
gerrwei; wild cherry. *Ref:* wh(wl)
gerr *coverb.* feel cold.
~ -gatj-jet-butay *v.fin.* CAUS-INCH-
3MSstandFS. gerr-gatj-jet-butay Let it
get cold *Ref:* mh
kerredam; shiver. *Ref:* wh(wl)
gererre *n.* shin, leg. gererre
yarrgat-ayang.gak I straightened my leg
Ref: mh226
kerirer; lower leg. *Ref:* wh(wl)
gerriningak *v.simple.* 1ASlieF. *Ref:* mh241
-gerriningak *v.fin.* 1ASsitF. *Ref:* mh280
gerringak *v.simple.* 1ASlieF. *Ref:* mh261
gerrwek *n.* white gum. *Ref:* mhPV
kerrwek; white gum. *Ref:* wh(wl)
geter *n.* lily sp. *Ref:* mhPV
karter; waterlily. *Ref:* wh(wl)
girdiyndurk *n.* short. *Ref:* mhPV
kirdin_durk; short. *Ref:* wh(wl)
gilang *n.* mother. datj-denek-nung mer-gilang
His mother spanked him *Ref:* mh274
girlang; kilang; mother. *Ref:* wh(wl)
giyn-giyn *coverb.* ache(Redupl).
~ -datj-yengiyn-awa *v.fin.* hit-3MSgoP-
1MO. boeng.ger nguru
giyn-giyn-datj-yengiyn-awa My knee is
aching *Ref:* mh
girrgirr *n.* tree sp. *Ref:* mhPV
girringak *v.simple.* 3ASlieF. *Ref:* mh269
giyang *n.* new. jet-gatj-burrutak wern, wern
giyang barrk-yenginy They have burned
the grass. New shoots are coming up *Ref:*
mh325
giyitj *n.* little, small. niwerr-guyang-awa
werek-giyitj That little girl is scared of
me *Ref:* mh203
kiyitj; little. werak kiyitj kai bang.gai
nguri buingewi dakayu The girl says:
Father I want to go along with you *Ref:*
gl279
kiyity; small. *Ref:* wh(wl)

giying *coverb.* have cramps.
~ -datj-wut-yu:yn-awa *v.fin.* hit-lie-
3MSlieP-1MO.
giying-giying-datj-wut-yu:yn-awa
gererre nguru I have a cramp in my leg
Ref: mh
-giyingak *v.fin.* 3MSlieF. *Ref:* mh192
golododok *n.* dove sp. *Ref:* mhPV
goetj *coverb.* whistle. *Ref:* mh
goeyl *n.* large barramundi. *Ref:* mhPV
kulj; barramundi fish. *Ref:* gl270
guy; barramundi. *Ref:* wh(wl)
goen *n.* tobacco, faeces. goen
wirrk-boerrminek-awa They finished the
tobacco on me *Ref:* mh279
kuen; rectum. mayu neme kuen gerugaidj
kuen gurugaidj djed-andjurdai OK, turn
your bum around a bit more *Ref:* gl279
goenboerr *n.* palm sp (topside cabbage). *Ref:*
mhPV
gunburr; cabbage palm. *Ref:* wh(wl)
goen-jerrk *coverb.* defecate.
~ -denek *v.fin.* 3MSdoP. jamarr
goen-jerrk-denek The dog shat *Ref:* mh
goen-noemboerroem *n.* tailbone. *Ref:*
mhPV
guen, guendyin; buttocks. njindju waya
malag guen gurugaidj Maybe turn your
bum around this way *Ref:* gl279
goer *coverb.* dig.
~ -burrudayak *v.fin.* 3ASstandNFS.
yurru ngatal goer-burrudayak jar They
tried to dig a hole but the ground was hard
Ref: mh
goeroel *n.* catfish. *Ref:* mhPV
kurur; catfish. *Ref:* gl279
goerr *coverb.* pull.
~ -gunun-doet-ardinek *v.fin.* straight-
INCH-1MSdoP.
goerr-gunun-doet-ardinek I straightened
the rope
~ -gunun-dut-ardiminek *v.fin.*
straighten-1MSdoP. bik
goerr-gunun-dut-ardiminek I pulled the
rope straight *Ref:* mh
goerra *n.* bandicoot. *Ref:* mhPV
kurre; bandicoot. *Ref:* wh(wl)
goerr-gatj *coverb.* dig. *Ref:* mh
guban *n.* long, tall. *Ref:* mhPV
kuban; long, tall. *Ref:* wh(wl)
gubuk *coverb.* swim, bogey.
~ -m-enenek *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSsitP.
buy-ayang.gak garwa gubuk-m-enenek
ngoerrngoerr dar-ardiminek I went to
the billabong and swam when I saw a
crocodile
~ -ayang.gak *v.fin.* 1MSgoP.
jut-jirr-gubuk-ayang.gak I fell in the
water *Ref:* mh

kupuk ; kubuk go down (under). **pirdjed wukdju kupuk dued ngurmu wukdjugu** He goes for a swim to hide his penis under water *Ref: gl279*

-gudangak *v.fin.* 3MSstandF. *Ref: mh127*

-gurda *v.fin.* 3MSdoF. *Ref: mh348*

-gurdang *v.fin.* 3MSdoF. *Ref: mh133*

gulp *v. ??* *Ref: mhPV*

kuldep ; kuelp swirl water (cf paint).
kuldep kuroerdu garak dued kuenen He sits there swirling the water *Ref: gl278*

gulugur *n.* dove sp. *Ref: mhPV*

gulwun *n.* tree sp. *Ref: mhPV*

gurlawirtwurt *n.* bird sp. *Ref: mhPV*

gum *coverb.* submerge.
~ **-gatj-burrung.gak** *v.fin.* CAUS-3ASgoP. **dap-gum-gatj-burrung.gak** They drowned him *Ref: mh*

gumat *n.* grass sp. *Ref: mhPV*

gum-mutj *coverb.* put in water.
~ **-budak** *v.fin.* 3MSstandP. **gum-mutj-budak mawuyn** She put the clothes in water *Ref: mh*

gumut *coverb.* drown.
~ **-yurak** *v.fin1.* 3MSlieP. **werek-giyitj gumut-yurak** The child drowned *Ref: mh*

gumut; drown. **nguerem dyawayo gumut bunik** A long time ago, they nearly drowned *Ref: wh*

gun *coverb.* straighten.
~ **-dut-ardimine** *v.fin.* stretch?-1MSdoP. **bik goerr-gunun-dut-ardimine** I straightened the rope

~ **-doet-ardinek** *v.fin.* INCH(sit)-1MSdoP. **goerr-gunun-doet-ardinek** I straightened the rope *Ref: mh*

gunj ; guinj *v.* erect. **ngurma gunj guyengdju** His penis is erect *Ref: gl278*

-guna *v.fin.* 3MSauxF(?). *Ref: mh133*

gunbiritj *n.* good. **ngin-ju arrni-errerr dak gunbiritj garak** We'll camp here, it's good. flat *Ref: mh279*

kunburidj; good. **kunburidj ma karak dued kuenen kuelpgaidj kudu** Fine, just come and sit here splashing the water *Ref: gl278*

kunburity ; gunburitj good. sweet, peacable. *Ref: wh(wl)*

gunduy *n.* straight. *Ref: mhPV*

gunen *v.simple.* 3ASsitPR. 3MSsitPR. *Ref: mh117*

-gunen *v.fin.* 3MSsitPR. *Ref: mh118*

-gunen *v.fin.* 3ASsitPR. *Ref: mh210*

gunerre *n.* tree sp. *Ref: mhPV*

kenderr; stringy bark. *Ref: wh(wl)*

gunnyukma *n.* water rat. *Ref: mhPV*

gunuwarrang *n.* big. **wuk gunuwarrang guyu, neyin wilbirrk-ga:yak** There's a lot of water, I will cross later *Ref: mh298*

gunawarang ; kunuwarang; big. **waru gurnu waru gunawarang baird buroerdang** The (alligator's) basket, they lift his big basket up *Ref: gl270*

~ **kunuwarang**; big. *Ref: wh(wl)*

gurna *pron.* 3MIN. **dakayu garndap-ayang dak may gurna-ma** I don't want to show him the country *Ref: mh293*

guna; another one. *Ref: wh(wl)*

gurnak-jetma *n.* middle. *Ref: mhPV*

gurnapangart *n.* old. *Ref: mhPV*

kunapoengait ; gunabungaity; old, long time. **dak kunapangait niniwur** He lived a long time *Ref: wh*

gurng *coverb.* recount, tell a story. *Ref: mh*

gungma *n.* whip snake. *Ref: mhPV*

gur *coverb.* talk.
~ **-ma-enen** *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSsitPR. **mara-gur-ma-enen** We are talking together *Ref: mh*

guri *n.* water yam. *Ref: mhPV*

guritj *coverb.* go around.
~ **-ma-gurrang** *v.fin.* IMPF-3ASgoPR. **binya durrin-nung dar-dar-guritj-ma-gurrang** *Ref: mh*

dar-guridj *v.* look about. **darguridjma gudu** He's looking around *Ref: gl279*

gurirrk-gurirrk *v.* crooked. *Ref: mhPV*

gurwa *n.* seabreeze. *Ref: mhPV*

gurrang *v.simple.* 3ASbePR. *Ref: mh202*

-gurrang *v.fin.* 3ASgoPR. *Ref: mh219*

gurrang-gi- *v.simple.* 3ASgoPR(here). *Ref: mh*

gurrang.gu- *v.simple.* 3ASgoPR. *Ref: mh331*

gurrang.gu- *v.simple.* 3MSgoPR. *Ref: mh003*

gurrbir *coverb.* miss. *Ref: mh*

kurpid; miss. **kurpid adiminak tjat adiminak** I kept hitting him *Ref: wh*

gurr-gatj *coverb.* dig (see goerr-gatj).
~ **-ma-gunen** *v.fin.* IMPF-3ASsitPR. **gurr-gatj-ma-gunen wemerr-nung** They are digging for honey *Ref: mh*

gurriynjugu *n.* two. **mara-datj-burruyak-wurna jiji ngun gurriynju-ma** Those two men are going to fight *Ref: mh334*

gurindjiyu; two. **wud buerne djidji anbudja ngeru gurindjiyu** How many men are lying down, we two - you and I? *Ref: gl277*

gurriynju-nembiyu *n.* three. **nguerrem gurriynju-nembiyu wara-miyi-ayang.gak** Before I had three *Ref: mh199*

gurrmayn.gu *n.* saratoga. *Ref: mhPV*

gurp *coverb.* upright.
~ **-ma-gunen** *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSsitPR. **milngiyn wuluk gurp-ma-gunen** The hill is high *Ref: mh*

-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
gurrwurung *n.* black rock wallaby. Ref: mhPV
-gutangak *v.fin.* 3ASstandF. Ref: mh219
gutu *v.simple.* 3MSstandPR. Ref: mh133
-gutu *v.fin.* 3MSstandPR. Ref: mh073
guwarda *n.* girl. Ref: mhPV
 kuwoerda: young girl. e... pininy
 wulukdju kiyitj werak kiyitjdju
 kuwoerda dardam Eh.... in the sky the
 young girl sees the father coming Ref:
 gl279
 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 out 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**
 gatkatj-ma-gunen guwarirr They are
 fishing with a line Ref: mh118
-guwayak *v.fin.* 3MSgoF. Ref: mh133
guwerruk *n.* bad. **mi:** **guwerruk**
 ngak-amboerdinek We ate bad tucker
 Ref: mh207
 kuwerruk ; guwerruk: no good.
 bitter/sour. Ref: wh(wl)
-guwuyak *v.fin.* 3MSgoF. Ref: mh180
guy *n.* stew. Ref: mhPV
guyarna *n.* raw. **binya guyarna mayu butay**
 guk 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.
 ~ -yin-yang.gak *v.fin.* ALL-3MSgoP.
 werek jagart-yin-yang.gak The child ran
 here
 ~ -gu-guritj-m-enyu *v.fin.* Red-around-
 IMPF-2MSliePR.
 jagart-gu-guritj-m-enyu, **dakayu**
 jagart-gu-guritj, 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-ardimineke-nung.gurr Yesterday I
 saw you lot Ref: mh035
pendji: yesterday. **pendji nindji ngaidj**
 nyindi pininyma djidjima Ref: gl270
dyedyin: yesterday. Ref: wh
jal *n.* road. **jal-darr-mungu-eynji**
 ngoeynboerr jut-buk-gaynjurdang
 Watch where you're going. You might step
 on a snake Ref: mh335
jalk *coverb.* fall.
 ~ -eynjik *v.fin.* 2MSgoNFS. **werek-giyitj**
 jalk-eynjik You nearly fell over, kid
 ~ -buwalik *v.fin.* 3MSgoNFS. **billycan**
 jalk-buwalik mara-m jayn
 dap-ardimineke 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.
 ~ -burrudam *v.fin.* 3ASdoP. **jiji**
 jal-wut-burrudam The men lined up Ref:
 mh
jam *n.* didgeridoo. **jam**
 jirrk-jet-doet-miyi-gunen He's blowing a
 didgeridoo Ref: mh125
 dyam: didgeridoo. Ref: wh(wl)
jamakjuru *n.* truly! Ref: mhPV
jamarr *n.* dog. **jamarr lerr-burdayak-awa**
 The dog nearly bit me Ref: mh345
djamaroe: dog. **bu be djamaroe indinjma**
 be be buingiyenginj He calls the dingo to
 come here Ref: gl271
 dyamarr: 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-guritj-ma-guyang She's looking
 around for turtles with a yamstick Ref:
 mh125
djan: digging stick (used by women).
 bandan ngurk gurdoemin djanma The
 women are going to cut digging sticks Ref:
 gl278
janbar *n.* left hand. Ref: mhPV

mauwuty(dyanbar): left(hand). *Ref:* wh(wl)
bardyatma (dyanbar): right (hand). *Ref:* wh(wl)
jan-jurr *n.* walking stick. *Ref:* mhPV
jangatja *n.* pandanus spiralis. *Ref:* mhPV
tyangatya *n.* pandanus. *Ref:* wh(wl)
jang.gurr *n.* chin. *Ref:* mhPV
dyung.gorr: jaw, chin. *Ref:* wh(wl)
jap-jak *coverb.* break.
 ~-**wa-yin-awa** *v.fin.* take-HITH-1MO.
yim jap-jak-wa-yin-awa You brake up the wood and bring it to me *Ref:* mh
jar *n.* hole, burrow, lair. arrayn **jar-ende jirrk-yengiyn** The goanna has gone in his hole *Ref:* mh322
jarak *n.* red ochre. *Ref:* mhPV
tyarak: red clay. *Ref:* wh(wl)
jarrak-jarrak *n.* young barramundi. *Ref:* mhPV
jarriyn *n.* womb. *Ref:* mhPV
jarrwak *n.* dreaming (of specific type). *Ref:* mhPV
jawk *n.* black nailfish. **nembiyu ardiminek binya jawk** I got one black nailfish *Ref:* mh176
jawu *n.* nearly, now. **mi: malak jawu ngin-ma barrakut-diyn ngak-m-amnyang** Now we eat whiteman's tucker *Ref:* mh305
dyawayo: nearly. *Ref:* wh
jawu-jawutj *coverb.* whisper. *Ref:* mh
jawu-ngin *n.* today, nearly. *Ref:* mhPV
jawu-ngu *n.* today. **yim dakayu jawu-ngu ngutj-yende-ma, yim wuk-mungu dakayu ngap-yang.gak** We had no fire this morning; the wood was wet, it wouldn't burn *Ref:* mh127
jayatj-diyn *n.* policeman. **jayatj-diyn ga-yang.gak** A policeman came up *Ref:* mh162
jayirr *n.* kangaroo. **bawar jayirr-birniyn gutu** That rock looks like a kangaroo *Ref:* mh188
tyayirr: kangaroo. *Ref:* wh(wl)
jetji *coverb.* put. *Ref:* mh
jelclk *coverb.* fall Redupl.
 ~-**burrung.gak** *v.fin.* 3ASgoP.
ba-jet-burrudak mara dakayu jelclk-burrung.gak *Ref:* mh
jelerr *n.* ribs. *Ref:* mhPV
jelerr-nembere *n.* other side. *Ref:* mhPV
jclk *coverb.* fall.
 ~-**birrik-wurna** *v.fin.* 3ASgoNFS-UA.
werek-giyitj ngun jawu jelk-birrik-wurna Those two kids nearly fell over *Ref:* mh
tyalk: fall. **yimyende tyalkyang.guk** He fell out of the tree *Ref:* wh
jelyeng *n.* some, other. **binya wangarri-gany,**

binya jelyeng-wur This meat isn't yours. It's that other lot's *Ref:* mh321
djeljang, djaljang: several. **gubuk yiwaya djaljangma** Several go down along the water *Ref:* gl278
jemererriyn *n.* swordfish. *Ref:* mhPV
jenerr *n.* frilled-necked lizard. *Ref:* mhPV
dyenerr: blanket lizard. *Ref:* wh(wl)
-jenngu *n.* alone. **dakayu nguru-jenngu bala dep-ardiminek** No, I painted myself *Ref:* mh304
jeyn *coverb.* make.
 ~-**enyeng.gak** *v.fin.* 2MSgoP. **dakayu wari jeyn-enyeng.gak** You never made it
 ~-**eynminek** *v.fin.* 2MSdoP. **jerrerek garnbi aniyn-miyi-diyn jeyn-eynminek** Old man, when did you make that spear?
 ~-**ma-gunen** *v.fin.* IMPF-3ASsitPR.
jeyn-ma-gunen war They are building a house
 ~-**ardiminek** *v.fin.* 1MSdoP. **gararr jeyn-ardiminek mutjurr** I made lots of dillybags *Ref:* mh
tyeny: keep. **tyeny tarmaandyudainung** Keep going to hit him *Ref:* wh
jeynjuk *n.* milkwood. *Ref:* mhPV
jer *coverb.* make a corroboree.
 ~-**burnayak** *v.fin.* 3MSsitNFS. **jerrerek meyn-jer-jer-burnayak memek dakayu** The old man tried to play (clapsticks) but his hands were bad *Ref:* mh
jer *coverb.* sting.
 ~-**boerrminek-awa** *v.fin.* 3ASdoP-1MO.
miyembala jer-boerrminek-awa The wasps stung me *Ref:* mh
jer *coverb.* roast.
 ~-**ayang.gak** *v.fin.* 1MSgoP.
jer-ayang.gak pinya jayirr/ngarndiyn I roasted the kangaroo/wallaby *Ref:* mh
jererr *n.* centipede. *Ref:* mhPV
tyerer: centipede. *Ref:* wh(wl)
jermerr *n.* bird sp. *Ref:* mhPV
jerrerek *n.* old man. **yim bitj-denek jerrerek** The old man rubbed firesticks *Ref:* mh319
djedoerak: old man. **nemboema darlkurdumin wa kulpgaidj guiyang djedoerakma** The old man put another one in his canoe *Ref:* gl279
dyererek: old man. *Ref:* wh(wl)
jerri *n.* leg. **jerri-yup-yengiyn-awa** My leg is tired *Ref:* mh193
tyerri: leg. *Ref:* wh(wl)
jerri-balkayn *n.* fork in tree. *Ref:* mhPV
jerri-mer *n.* thigh. *Ref:* mhPV
tyerrimer *n.* thigh. *Ref:* wh(wl)
jerri-mundi *n.* short legged. *Ref:* mhPV
jerriyn-jerriyn *n.* young catfish. *Ref:* mh PV
jermeng *n.* boy. **jermeng guyang** He is a young boy *Ref:* mh001

dyermang: young man. *Ref:* wh(wl)
jerrngiyn *n.* clapsticks. *Ref:* mhPV
tyerrnyiny: clapping sticks. *Ref:* wh(wl)
jerrwel *n.* handle (of an ax). *Ref:* mhPV
jet *coverb.* build, put.
 ~-boerrminek *v.fin.* 3ASdoP. war-ni
 jet-boerrminek They built a house
 ~-boerrminek *v.fin.* 3ASdoP. mana
 jet-boerrminek They built a shade *Ref:*
 mh
jet *coverb.* be born.
 ~-atak *v.fin.* 1MSstandP. nguru jet-atak
 nguwerem-diyn I am the first born
 ~-butak *v.fin.* 3MSstandP. werek-giyitj
 ngunjuwa-diyn, jet-butak He is the last
 born kid *Ref:* mh
jet *coverb.* stand, INCH.
 ~-ma-ayang.gak *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSgoP.
 ngoen-jet-ma-ayang.gak darak-waya I
 was sweating all night last night
 ~-buday *v.fin.* 3MSstandFS. 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.
 aynja-diyn wern dakayu
 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 We
 tried to burn it but the grass was wet *Ref:*
 mh
jet-ma-doet *v.stem.* stretch. *Ref:* mh
jeyerr *coverb.* play clapsticks. *Ref:* mh
jeyugu *n.* mussel. *Ref:* mhPV
tyego: mussel. *Ref:* wh(wl)
jiji *n.* man. dakatj matngele-gayn guyang
 jiji may-ma That man isn't really
 Matngele *Ref:* mh343
djidji: man. wud buerne djidji anbudja
 How many men are lying down? *Ref:*
 gl277
dyidyi: man. *Ref:* wh(wl)
jimbi(tj) *n.* boomerang. *Ref:* mhPV
dyimbi dyimbit: boomerang. *Ref:* wh(wl)
jimbur *n.* kapok tree. *Ref:* mhPV
dyinbur: kapok. *Ref:* wh(wl)
jinimiyn *n.* small bat sp. *Ref:* mhPV
jinin *n.* nose. jinin wurrk-durrk-awalik I
 nearly drowned *Ref:* mh205
dyinin: nose. *Ref:* wh(wl)
jinin *n.* point. buy-gaynnyak 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-lie-
 1MSdoFS. ang-gin-awa mara nguru
 jing-gark-wut-ardey, mujurng 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
jirriyn *n.* tail. jirriyn-wutj-ma-gutu 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
 ~-burrungak-awa *v.fin.* 3ASauxP-1MO.
 dun-burng jirrirrk-burrungak-awa I
 have dust in my eyes
 ~-gatj-ardimineke-nung *v.fin.* CAUS-
 1MSdoP-3MO. mawuyn
 jirrk-gatj-ardimineke-nung I dressed the
 kid
 ~-yengiyn *v.fin.* 3MSgoP. arrayn
 jar-ende jirrk-yengiyn *Ref:* mh
djirk: enter, inside. djirk wud dag gurna
 yendiyu He goes inside his camp *Ref:*
 gl270
jirrk *coverb.* blow.
 ~-jet-doet-miyi-gunen *v.fin.* stand-sit-
 IMPF-3MSsitPR. jam
 jirrk-jet-doet-miyi-gunen He's blowing a
 didgeridoo *Ref:* mh
jirrkarda *n.* sea bird sp. *Ref:* mhPV
jirrk-jet-doet *v.stem.* blow didgeridoo. *Ref:*
 mh
jirrimiyn *n.* banyan tree. nguwerem-ma
 gurna-bangart jirrimiyn budak
 gurna-nangu Before there used to be a big
 banyan tree *Ref:* mh162
jirrnaya *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 aquaticus. *Ref:* mhPV
jewurr: cypress pine. *Ref:* wh(wl)
joedoer *n.* navel. *Ref:* mhPV
dyudur: navel. *Ref:* wh(wl)

joedoerrp *coverb.* get bogged.
 ~-yang.gak *v.fin.* 3MSgoP. motika
 joedoerrp-yang.gak The car got bogged
 Ref: mh
joem *n.* snail. Ref: mhPV
joenmoe *n.* back of neck. Ref: mhPV
 dyunmu: nape of neck. Ref: wh(wl)
joenmoe-lam *v.stem.* talk about ? Ref: mh
joenoer *n.* leech (large sp). Ref: mhPV
joeroem *n.* willywilly. Ref: mhPV
 dyiroem: whirley wind. Ref: wh(wl)
joeroer *n.* stick. Ref: mhPV
joerrngoeyn *n.* blood. Ref: mhPV
 tyurrnuny: blood. Ref: wh(wl)
joewoen *n.* tree rat. Ref: mhPV
 tyuwun: rat. Ref: wh(wl)
-ju *n.* SPEC. moerroerr malak
 garrak-ga-yin-yengiyn,
 lang-gatj-butayn-ju The sun is coming
 up; it's shining brightly Ref: mh303
jubek *coverb.* spit.
 ~-awa *obj.suff.* IMO. dakatj jubek-awa
 Don't spit on me Ref: mh
jugu *coverb.* cook.
 ~-amboedinek *v.fin.* 1+2MSdoP.
 gunbiritj jugu-amboedinek jatjin We
 cooked it well, yesterday Ref: mh
juju *coverb.* pour. water.
 ~-ayang.gak *v.fin.* 1MSgoP.
 juju-ayang.gak wen-ma I watered the
 grass Ref: mh
juk *coverb.* sprinkle.
 ~-ma-gutu *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSstandPR.

woeng-giyitj juk-ma-gutu Rain is
 sprinkling Ref: mh
jun *n.* lily sp (top). Ref: mhPV
 tyun: lily tree. Ref: wh(wl)
juniyn *n.* carpet snake. Ref: mhPV
jungarabaya *n.* hawk sp. Ref: mhPV
juriyet *coverb.* drip.
 ~-ma-gutu *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSstandPR.
 wuk juriyet-ma-gutu The tap is dripping
 Ref: mh
jurritj *coverb.* wash.
 ~-ma-gunen *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSsitPR.
 mawuyn jurritj-ma-gunen miyimitj The
 old woman is washing cloths Ref: mh
jurrrma *n.* heavy. Ref: mhPV
jut *coverb.* dance, step/tread on, kick.
 ~-gurrudangak *v.fin.* 3ASstandF.
 jut-gurrudangak wang.ga (The men) are
 dancing wangga Ref: mh
 djud: stand. walk. djud djed-budainj
 mimetj dab He stands looking about the
 camp but the old woman has disappeared
 Ref: gl279
jutbung-jutbungma *n.* pademelon. Ref:
 mhPV
jut-dap *v.stem.* wake up (lit. 'step on-grab').
 ~-awa *obj.suff.* IMO. dagatj jut-dap-awa
 Don't wake me up Ref: mh
jut-jak *v.stem.* kick. Ref: mh
 dyudyek: kick. maradyudyek purang.gak
 They kicked each other Ref: wh
jut-jirr *v.stem.* slip. Ref: mh

L

lagayn *n.* woomera. lagayn garnbi
 wurrk-jet-denek-nung He put the spear
 in the woomera Ref: mh324
 lagany: woomera. Ref: wh(wl)
lari *coverb.* swell.
 ~-wa-ayang.gak *v.fin.* get-1MSgoP.
 mer-lari-wa-ayang.gak My foot swelled
 up Ref: mh
lam *coverb.* talk.
 ~-ditj-gatj-awa *obj.suff.* return-CAUS-
 IMO. dagatj mat-lam-ditj-gatj-awa
 Don't answer me back
 ~-ma-guyang *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSgoPR.
 mat-lam-lam-ma-guyang gurna-jennu
 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: mh
lang.ga-lang.ga *n.* butterfly. Ref: mhPV
 langa langa: butterfly. Ref: wh(wl)
lawa *n.* flour. dar-yuwuy-denek miyi lawa 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.
 jamarr lerr-burdayak-awa The dog
 nearly bit me
 ~-ma-burrudak-awa *v.fin.* IMPF-
 3ASstandP-IMO. woerrens mutjurr
 lerr-ma-burrudak-awa Lots of
 mosquitoes were biting me Ref: mh
 lerr: bite. dyamarr mayma lerr godanak

nung.gurwona (Careful) that dog will bite you-two *Ref: wh*
lerrp *coverb. hot.*
 ~ -aynjudak//nung.gurudak *v.fin.*
 2MSstandP//2ASstandP. werek-giyitj
 lerrp-aynjudak/nung.gurudak Kid(s), were you hot?
 ~ -arratak *v.fin.* 1ASstandP. ya
 lerrp-arratak Yes we were hot *Ref: mh*
lerrp: hot. *Ref: wh(wl)*
lerrp *v. hot. ya lerrp-arratak* Yes we were hot *Ref: mh*
lirrng.git *coverb. grind teeth, scrape.*
 ~ -ma-gutu *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSstandPR.
 lirrng.git-ma-gutu It (something) is scraping *Ref: mh*
lu *coverb. echo.*
 ~ -yung-ma *v.fin.* 3MSgo-PRM. yim dar-dar, lu-lu-yung-ma bak-jambar When you hit a hollow log, it resounds *Ref: mh*
luk *n. lover. Ref: mhPV*
lungurr *n. cave. dakayu buy-gayak jirrk lungurr-ma niwer ayang* I'm not going into the cave: I'm frightened *Ref: mh193*

lungurr: cave. *Ref: wh(wl)*
lurrk *coverb. growl (of belly).*
 ~ -ma-ayang *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSgoPR.
 mern-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-diy
 lurrng-lurrng-ma-atak I'm tired from cleaning up the camp
 ~ -m-atak *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSstandP. dak
 lurrng-lurrng-m-atak
 ga-burrung.gak-ma I was cleaning up camp when they came *Ref: mh*
leng.ger: clean. yird ma arak, leng.gergangu, mayu didjga gurang nung They are all lying down with ash, they are clean; by and by they come back to him *Ref: gl270*
lurrng *coverb. sharpen (cf. clean). Ref: mh*

M

-ma *v. IMPF. Ref: mh*
 -ma *n. PRM. mi: ang-gurda-nung awuy-ma* Is he going to give auntie tucker? *Ref: mh348*
mabarak *n. type of spear. Ref: mhPV*
 mabulek: fish spear (bamboo shaft). *Ref: gl279*
 mabalak: long spear. *Ref: wh(wl)*
matj *coverb. be happy.*
 ~ -burrung.gak *v.fin.* 3ASgoP.
 matj-burrung.gak They got happy *Ref: mh*
-malak *n. Dubitative. Ref: mh*
malak *n. finally. moerroerr malak garrak-ga-yin-yengiyn, lang-gatj-butayn-ju* The sun is coming up: it's shining brightly *Ref: mh303*
 malag: long time. paran guweruk malag mayuma njugma That poor dead man has been stinking long enough *Ref: gl272*
mana *n. shade, shelter. mana jet-boerrminek* They built a shade *Ref: mh339*
marndalatj *n. light, torch. marndalatj aynja-gutu* What's that light over there? *Ref: mh296*
marndam *n. fin. Ref: mhPV*
marnda-marndam *n. prickle heat stick. Ref: mh339*
marndarra *n. death adder. Ref: mhPV*

mandara: death adder. *Ref: wh(wl)*
manyu *coverb. tell, talk.*
 ~ -denek-awa *v.fin.* 3MSdoP-IMO. ya ga:nguru-jet manyu-denek-awa Yes, uncle told me
 ~ -ardimineke-niynji *v.fin.* 1MSdoP-2MO. manyu-ardimineke-niynji nguerem-ju I told you before
 ~ -buwalik *v.fin.* 3MSgoNFS. jiji may dagatj manyu-buwalik That man shouldn't talk like that *Ref: mh*
 manju: talk. malag mayu meb manju gurdoemin It's been long enough. Go out! he said *Ref: gl277*
 manyu: talk. manyu adimineke dyadyenma, manyu demenak nguruma I talked to him yesterday and he talked to me *Ref: wh*
mar- *v. RECIPR. aynja-nung ngun dawu-ma mar-datj-ma-gurrutu-wurna* What are those two fighting for? *Ref: mh160*
mara *n. but, in (re)turn. ba-jet-burrudak mara dakayu jelek-burrung.gak* They tried to stand up but they fell about *Ref: mh204*
mara- *v. RECIPR. Ref: mh208*
marerrim *n. scorpion. Ref: mhPV*
 marirrim: scorpion. *Ref: wh(wl)*
marmarma *n. white crane. Ref: mhPV*

marrambar *n.* water goanna. *Ref:* mhPV
marrawart *n.* beard. **marrawart**
yarrk-ma-gunen He's shaving his beard
Ref: mh357
dyawuri: beard. *Ref:* wh(wl)
marrawart-jarnjarn *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-ardimine-nung I dressed the
 kid *Ref:* mh319
mawuny: laplap. *Ref:* wh(wl)
mawuya *n.* poison. *Ref:* mhPV
may *n.* that. **garubi nuwun may jeyn-denek**
 Who made that spear? *Ref:* mh311
mayu *n.* leave..., let... **binya guyarna 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 right/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
memek *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
memek: 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.gi-men.gitj *n.* hawk sp. *Ref:* mhPV
meningitj *n.* echidna. *Ref:* mhPV
meningit: 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
 ***menwiyuk:** hungry. *Ref:* wh(wl)
mern *n.* belly, heart.
mern-lurrrk-lurrrk-ma-ayang My belly is
 growling *Ref:* mh 241
men: belly/stomach. *Ref:* wh(wl)
mern-biritj *v.stem.* settle down. *Ref:* mh
meh; go on. **malag mayu meh manju**
gurdoemin It's been long enough. Go out!
 he said *Ref:* gl277
mern-gungurru *v.stem.* be really angry. *Ref:*
 mh
mern-yityit *n.* black-headed 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.
mara-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 adam; (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-niynji 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-denek-nung 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-eynjurdey 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

died *Ref:* mh300
-mi *v.* IMPF (PT). *Ref:* mh300
mitj *n.* sore. **mitj gek-ma-ayang** The sore is hurting me *Ref:* mh142
mirt *sore.* *Ref:* wh(wl)
mil *coverb.* be sleepy.
 ~ **-ayang.gak** *v.fin.* IMSgoP.
mil-ayang.gak *Ref:* mh
milngiyn *n.* hill. **milngiyn wuluk gurrp-ma-gunen** The hill is high *Ref:* mh323
milngin *big hill.* *Ref:* wh(wl)
mimi *n.* tick. *Ref:* mhPV
mindurk *n.* firefly. *Ref:* mhPV
miyn.gerre *n.* firestick. *Ref:* mhPV
ming.garra *firestick.* *Ref:* wh(wl)
miynjirr *n.* mucus. *Ref:* mhPV
ming.girr *lungs (also: bad cold).* *Ref:* wh(wl)
mirang *n.* red lily. *Ref:* mhPV
mirang *red lily.* *Ref:* wh(wl)
mirr *coverb.* thunder.
 ~ **-ma-gunen** *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSsitPR.
mirr-ma-gunen It's thundering *Ref:* mh
mirr *n.* soul, spirit, shadow. **gawuy nguru, mirr-darr-denek-wa-ga-ayang.g-awa** My grandfather brought my spirit to me *Ref:* mh302
mirritj *coverb.* humbug, play, wrestle.
 ~ **-m-awa** *obj.suff.* IMPF-1MO. **dagatj mirritj-m-awa arnay** Don't humbug me, let me sit
 ~ **-ma-gurrang-wurna** *v.fin.* IMPF-3ASgoPR-UA.
mara-mirritj-ma-gurrang-wurna Those two are wrestling *Ref:* mh
mitmit *n.* spotty. *Ref:* mhPV
miwiyn *n.* sandpaper fig. *Ref:* mhPV
miyalan *n.* star. *Ref:* mhPV
mirlan *star (little star).* *Ref:* wh(wl)
miyambala *n.* wasp. *Ref:* mhPV
miyam-dagar *n.* native doctor. *Ref:* mhPV
miyek *n.* red meat ant. **ya jawu kara-bak-arranayak miyek-yende** yes we nearly sat down on the ants *Ref:* mh215
miyuk *white ant.* *Ref:* wh(wl)
miyer *n.* nest (eg. of wasps). *Ref:* mhPV
miyi *n.* tucker. **miyi gar-wu-m-eyeng.gak dewerr** I carried the tucker on my shoulder *Ref:* mh343
miyi *herbage.* **kulboerd kuenen werak miyi buining.giri** In the morning she sits there: Children, you should go for tucker *Ref:* gl279
-miyi *v.* IMPF. **werek birbayn gark-wut-miyi-guyang garnbi** The child is carrying a bundle of spears *Ref:* mh357
-miyi *v.* IMPF (PT). *Ref:* mh

miyimitj *n.* old woman. **miyimitj batu dar-dam-ma-gunen** The old woman maybe mending clothes *Ref:* mh236
mimitj, mimiytj *old woman.* **mimiytj damnungma** The old woman stayed with him *Ref:* gl272
mimity *old woman.* *Ref:* wh(wl)
motika *n.* car. **motika garak-gatj-birrik-awa** The cars almost ran me down *Ref:* mh361
moel *n.* fat. **binya moel dar-denek, ditj-wa-ga-ayang.gak** He speared a fat one and brought it back *Ref:* mh272
moeljmoetj *n.* soft. **awuy mern-moeylmoetj-ma** **guyang werek-nung guyang mern gurna-ma** Auntie, she's soft-hearted with the children *Ref:* mh171
muymuyma *soft.* *Ref:* wh(wl)
moenemboe *n.* bereaved sibling. *Ref:* mhPV
moenendek *n.* round yam. *Ref:* mhPV
moenoerr *n.* water palm. *Ref:* mhPV
moenoerr *n.* small lizard sp. *Ref:* mhPV
moeng.goey *n.* tears. *Ref:* mhPV
moerrmoerr *n.* chest. *Ref:* mhPV
murrmurr *chest.* *Ref:* wh(wl)
moerroeng *n.* wing. **moerroeng bal-bal-ma-gutu** It's flapping its wings *Ref:* mh268
moerroerr *n.* sun. **moerroerr malak garrak-ga-yin-yengiyn, lang-gatj-butayn-ju** The sun is coming up: it's shining brightly *Ref:* mh303
murur *sun.* **murur ngundju didjgagawaryak** The sun overthere is coming back *Ref:* gl279
moeroer *sun.* *Ref:* wh(wl)
moet *n.* maggot. *Ref:* mhPV
mujurng *n.* swag. **mujurng dembelatj-ardimine** I rolled up the swag *Ref:* mh346
mutjurr *n.* many, lots. **dagatj doet, binya dirrawur mutjurr** Don't sit there, There are lots of bullants *Ref:* mh298
muytyurayo *everybody.* *Ref:* wh
muluk *n.* cod. *Ref:* mhPV
mulwara *n.* hornet. *Ref:* mhPV
mulwara *blue fly.* *Ref:* wh(wl)
mum *coverb.* cover.
 ~ **-doet-miyi-enoenek** *v.fin.* sit-IMPF-1MSsitP. **mum-doet-miyi-enoenek** I'm sitting covered by the fire *Ref:* mh
-mung *n.* COM. **biyawur-mung ayang** I know him *Ref:* mh119
mungam *n.* tree sp. *Ref:* mhPV
-mungu *n.* COM. **binya wilmurr-mungu an-gurrang** Where are the buffalo? *Ref:* mh347
murk *n.* tree sp. *Ref:* mhPV
murr *coverb.* break up, crush.

~-ma-gunen *v.fin.* 3ASsitPR. miyi
 datj-murr-ma-gunen They are crushing
 the tucker *Ref:* mh
murr *n.* egg. *Ref:* mhPV
murrija *n.* afternoon. garningak nguru-ma
 murrija I'll sit here quietly this afternoon
Ref: mh200
muridj, muridje, muritj: afternoon. muridj
 wud pinja nunda ang In the afternoon
 they put down more fish, but he gives
 them none *Ref:* gl270

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
nambiyn *n.* nephew.wBS. *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. nguwerem-ma gurna-bangart
 jirrmiyn budak gurna-nangu Before
 there used to be a big banyan tree *Ref:*
 mh162
nangu-gunuwarrang *n.* morning/evening
 star. *Ref:* mhPV
nemberre *n.* other side. gunen war nemberre
 ngun nemberre 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
 nenbiyu: another, like. *Ref:* gl279
nemboe *n.* other, another. ngen-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 dararnbin Another flying fox *Ref:*
 gl278
nendu *n.* horse. nendu-ni mer-ni
 jut-jak-denek-nung The horse kicked that
 bloke *Ref:* mh126
 nerndurr: horse. *Ref:* wh(wl)
nenoeboe *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 neyin-ma Are
 you lot going to cut that meat up later?
Ref: mh209
-ni *n.* ERG. INSTR. nendu-ni mer-ni
 jut-jak-denek-nung The horse kicked that
 bloke *Ref:* mh126

murritya: evening. *Ref:* wh(wl)
murrmurrma *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
muwarndi *n.* poor fellow. *Ref:* mhPV

nida *n.* brother. nida an-buwaja
 wari-mi-anyang How many brothers do
 you have? *Ref:* mh198
nidangu: brother. *Ref:* gl270
niga *n.* tomorrow. niga buy-gaynja boda:n Are
 you going to Darwin tomorrow? *Ref:*
 mh167
niyl *coverb.* peel, skin, pull bark off.
 ~-ma-gunen *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSsitPR. miyi
 batata niyl-ma-gunen That woman is
 peeling potatoes
 ~-boerrminek *v.fin.* 3ASdoPP. binya
 wilmur-mungu niyl-boerrminek They
 skinned the buffalo *Ref:* mh
nim-dar *coverb.* spill. *Ref:* mh
 nimda: empty out. nimda aroeward 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.
 ~-burrudak-nung *v.fin.* 3ASstandP-3MO.
 gaka ninim-burrudak-nung Did they ask
 uncle
 ~-nung-ju-burrudayak *v.fin.* 3MO-
 SPEC-3ASdoNFS.
 ninim-nung-ju-burrudayak mara
 dakayu-nung They wanted to ask him but
 he was gone *Ref:* mh
-ning.giniyn *v.fin.* 2ASsitP. *Ref:* mh295
ning.giringak *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
-niynji *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-boerrminek-awa *v.fin.* give-

3ASdoP-1MO.

niwarr-ang-boerrminek-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*

noewoet *n. emu. Ref: mhPV*

nuwut *emu. Ref: wh(wl)*

nurdun *n. moon. Ref: mhPV*

nudun *moon. Ref: wh(wl)*

numat *coverb. ask for.*

~~ **-atak-wurr** *v.fin. 1MSstandP-3MO.*

miyi numat-atak-wurr *I asked them for tucker Ref: mh*

numbat *coverb. ask for.*

~~ **-atak-wurr** *v.fin. 1MSstandP-3AO.*

miyi-nung numbat-atak-wurr *I asked them for tucker Ref: mh*

nundulk *coverb. be jealous of. Ref: mh*

-(r)nung *obj.suff. 3MO.*

-(r)nung *n. PURP. mi: ngin bam-doet-miyi-enen jerrerek-nung I'm keeping this tucker for the old man Ref: mh233*

-nung.ga:y n *v.fin. 2ASgoF. Ref: mh113*

nung.gurdam *v.simple. 2ASbeP. Ref: mh119*

nung.gunoenek *v.simple. 2ASsitP. Ref:*

mh235

-nung.gurr *obj.suff. 2AO.*

-nung.gurrang.gak *v.fin. 2ASgoP. Ref: mh266*

-nung.gurrdang *v.fin. 2ASdoCOND. Ref: mh174*

-nung.gurrdangak *v.fin. 2ASdoF. Ref: mh209*

-nung.gurrinik *v.fin. 2ASlieNFS. Ref: mh248*

-nung.gurring.gak *v.fin. 2ASgoP. Ref: mh176*

-nung.gurminek *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.gurruyak *v.fin. 2ASgoF. Ref: mh152*

nuwun *n. who. nuwun-ma gay-nung.gurrudak Who did you lot yell out to? Ref: mh113*

mundju *who. mundju buingu biwi ege ngengunbiridj Who are those pretty girls going there Ref: gl279*

rN

-rney *obj.affix 1+2MO. Ref: wh*

-rnung *obj.affix 3MO. Ref: mh124*

-rnung *n PURP. Ref: mh078*

Ny

nyuk *n. rotten, stinking. Ref: mhPV*

Ng

ngatj- *v.modif. just. ngatj-enen nguru-ma I'm just sitting down Ref: mh116*

ngatj-bam *coverb. hide something.*

~~ **-eynminek** *v.fin. 2MSdoP. wuk ngatj-bam-eynminek Have you hidden that grog?*

~~ **-ardiminek** *v.fin. 1MSdoP. ya ngatj-bam-ardiminek ngun Yes, I hid it there Ref: mh*

ngak *coverb. eat.*

~~ **-nung.gurrung.gak** *v.fin. 2ASgoP. miyi*

aynja-diyn

dakayu

ngak-nung.gurrung.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 dakayn ngak-eynjili Don't eat that tucker*

~~ **-burruday** *v.fin. 3ASstandFS. werek-giyitj ngak-burruday nga-ngak-burruday Let those kids eat it*

~-aday *v.fin.* 1MSstandFS. binya-rnung
 mayu ngak-aday I want to eat beef (170)
 ~-nung.gurrminek *v.fin.* 2ASdoP. mi
 guwerrak ngak-nung.gurrminek You lot
 ate bad tucker
 ~-ma-gunen *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSsitPR. miyi
 ngak-ma-gunen werek-giyitj Is the kid
 eating tucker
 ~-guyang *v.fin.* 3MSgoPR. mi: dakayu
 ngak-guyang No, he's not eating tucker
 ~-gaynjudangak *v.fin.* 2MSstandF. mi:
 guwerruk ngak-gaynjudangak abap
 gaynjuda If you eat bad tucker you will
 get sick Ref: mh
 ngak: eat. miyi nguru dagait ngak Don't eat
 my food Ref: wh
 ngalmirr *n.* tree sp. Ref: mhPV
 ngalwar *n.* lightweight. Ref: mhPV
 ngalyawuy *n.* pregnant. Ref: mhPV
 ngalyawoiy: pregnant. Ref: wh(wl)
 ngambatj *n.* saltwater. Ref: mhPV
 ngambayk: tide. Ref: wh(wl)
 ngarndiyn *n.* wallaby (generic). ngarndiyn
 mutjurr darr-ardam I saw lots of
 wallabies Ref: mh284
 ngandiny: rock wallaby. Ref: wh(wl)
 ngarnmurr *n.* pouch. genitalia (polite term).
 Ref: mhPV
 ngarnmurrang *n.* wrong way marriage.
 guwarak gurna-gayn, ngarnmurr-ang
 kurang-wurna She's not his straight wife.
 They are wrong side Ref: mh314
 ngap *coverb.* burn.
 ~-ma-guwanmin *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSburnPR.
 batu yim ngap-ma-guwanmin Must be a
 fire burning
 ~-ma-guwanmin *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSburnPR.
 dakay moerroerr i:m, wern
 ngap-ma-guwanmin ngamalang may-ma
 That's not the sun, that's a grassfire
 making light Ref: mh
 ngarang-ga *n.* black currant. Ref: mhPV
 ngarey *coverb.* urinate.
 ~-denek *v.fin.* 3MSdoP. woerey
 ngarey-denek jamarr The dog urinated
 here Ref: mh
 ngarrp *coverb.* cut, gnaw.
 ~-amboedeyak *v.fin.* 1+2MSstandNFS.
 binya ngarrp-amboedeyak nife
 ngat-mut-mut We tried to cut up the meat
 but the knife was blunt Ref: mh
 ngerp: cut. Ref: wh
 ngarru *pron.* 1AUG. mi ngarru-m-errerr,
 mutjurr-ayu-nung This tucker belongs to
 all of us Ref: mh305
 ngatal *n.* hard, tough, strong. yurru ngatal,
 goer-burrudayak jar They tried to dig a
 hole but the ground was hard Ref: mh115
 ngatal: strong, hard. Ref: wh(wl)

ngart *n.* tooth. Ref: mhPV
 ngut: tooth. Ref: wh(wl)
 ngart-berderr *n.* riverbank. Ref: mhPV
 ngard_berderr: bank of river. Ref: wh(wl)
 ngart-garribarrp *n.* cliff, steep bank. Ref:
 mhPV
 ngart-gerger *n.* sharp. Ref: mhPV
 gerwinduroek: sharp. yawuidjma guiyang
 gerwinduroek nambara yawidj bu
 guiyang, gerwindurd wa wudji She's
 chiseling, it's sharp, chiseling along Ref:
 gl278
 ngart-mutmut *n.* blunt. miyimitj binya
 ngerrp-wudeyak mara nife
 ngart-mutmut The old women tried to cut
 up the meat but the knife was blunt Ref:
 mh183
 nge *coverb.* breathe.
 ~-ma-atu *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSstandPR.
 meyn-nge-nge-ma-atu I'm breathing
 heavily Ref: mh
 ngeleymenji *n.* bird sp. Ref: mhPV
 ngelk *coverb.* be full. Ref: mh
 ngelyek *coverb.* lap up, lick.
 ~-denek-awa *v.fin.* 3MSdoP-1MO.
 jamarr ngelyek-denek-awa The dog
 licked me
 ~-ma-gutu *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSstandP.
 ngelyek-ngelyek-ma-gutu wuk The dog
 is lapping up water Ref: mh
 ngemoe *pron.* 1+2MIN. ngemoe
 doerik-emnyoenek We got fat Ref:
 mh318
 ngen- *n.* CHAR. ya: yiwuy-yang.gak
 ngen-dawu Yes, he has gone away, the
 cheeky bloke Ref: mh352
 ngen-: ngenngurrngurr sleepy Ref:
 wh(wl)
 ngen-darayat *v.stem.* be tired. Ref: mh
 ngen-doet *coverb.* become boney. Ref: mh
 ngener *n.* tongue. ngener guwerruk, daka
 buk-lam-guyang He has a bad tongue. He
 can't talk Ref: mh321
 ngener: tongue. Ref: wh(wl)
 ngen-lamerriitj *coverb.* tease. Ref: mh
 ngen-wabarr *n.* inexperienced. Ref: mhPV
 ngen-way *n.* long time. ya: buy-gayak ...,
 ngen-way gerningak Yes I will go and
 camp for a long time Ref: mh307
 niniwur: for a long time. Ref: who
 nger *n.* pearlshell. Ref: mhPV
 ngerrerrp *coverb.* cut up.
 ~-woerrminek *v.fin.* 3ASdoP. binya
 ngerrerrp-woerrminek jayirr
 dewer-pari They cut it up with a
 kangaroo shoulder blade Ref: mh
 -ngerrngerr *n.* EXCL. Ref: mh196
 ngerrp *coverb.* cut.
 ~-denek *v.fin.* 3MSdoP. jiji may wene

ngerrp-denek That man cut a canoe
 ~-niynji-guwuyak *v.fin.* 2MO-3MSgoF.
 ngerrp-niynji-guwuyak It will cut you
 ~-wudeyak *v.fin.* 3ASgoS. miyimitj
 binya ngerrp-wudeyak 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?
 ~-garrdangak *v.fin.* 1ASdoF. ya
 neyin-nung ngerrp-garrdangak Yes we
 will cut it up later *Ref:* mh
 ngurk: cut. bandan ngurk gurdoemin
 djanma She cuts the digging stick with a
 stone tomahawk *Ref:* gl278
 ngerrp: cut. meye menek ngerrp ngarima
 Look out, you'll cut yourself *Ref:* wh
 ngerru *pron.* 1AUG. nguerem mi: ngerru
 ngak-m-errenge-errerr Before we used to
 eat bush tucker *Ref:* mh305
 ngeru: we: 1AUG. wud buerne djidji
 anbudja ngeru gurindjiyu How many
 men are lying down, just we two? *Ref:*
 gl277
 ngey *coverb.* be alight, flame up.
 ~-ma-gutu *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
 marndalatj ngun gutu-ma
 ngeyi-ma-gutu What is that light flashing
 there? *Ref:* mh
 ngin *n.* here. warr anyang.gak dak ngin
 nguerem Have you been here before?
Ref: mh342
 njina, nyin: here. this place. malaq njina
 djirg gurnum waroe wayin mum Maybe
 put (the dead body) in here and cover it
 with paperbark *Ref:* gl272
 nginini *n.* this side. *Ref:* mhPV
 nging *n.* black currant. *Ref:* mhPV
 ngirri *n.* grass sp. *Ref:* mhPV
 ngirrwart *n.* name sharing ritual. *Ref:* mhPV
 ngiw *n.* short necked turtle. *Ref:* mhPV
 ngoen *n.* sweat. ngoen-jet-ma-ayang.gak
 darak-waya I was sweating all night last
 night *Ref:* mh192
 ngoeynboer *n.* snake (generic).
 nguru-gemoeruk darr-ardimineek
 ngoeynboer I saw the snake first *Ref:*
 mh301
 nuynbur: black whip snake. *Ref:* wh(wl)
 ngoer *n.* penis. ngoer den-gatj-nung-burrutak
 They used to cut (young men) there *Ref:*

mh294
 nguraya, ngurma, kuer: penis. nguraya
 wurma guduk The old man turns to stone,
 and his penis stands up all the time *Ref:*
 gl278
 ngoer-yel *n.* circumcised man (?). *Ref:* mhPV
 ngoerr-mungu ? *Ref:* mhPV
 ngoerrngoerr *n.* saltwater crocodile. pinya
 ngoerrngoerr an-buy-yang.gak Where
 has the croc gone? *Ref:* mh128
 ngurrngurr: freshwater crocodile. *Ref:*
 wh(wl)
 ngoerrngoerr *n.* asleep. arni ngoerrngoerr
 Let me sleep *Ref:* mh167
 ngoerrwak ? ? *Ref:* mhPV
 ngutj *n.* night. ngutj ga-barrang.gak They
 came back at night *Ref:* mh230
 nguit: night, darkness. *Ref:* wh(wl)
 ngutj-goeriyet *v.* become dark.
 ~-miyi: IMPF // *v.* simple. ngutj
 ngutj-goeriyet-miyi guyu It's too dark
Ref: mh
 ngutj-yende *n.* morning. darr-denek-ney
 ngutj-yende-ma That bloke saw us this
 morning *Ref:* mh252
 nguidjendiyu: early morning.
 nguidjendiyu buiyenginy dulpoerd
 ninginy Early one morning he was going
 along in his canoe *Ref:* gl279
 nguityender: morning. *Ref:* wh(wl)
 ngum *coverb.* be quiet. *Ref:* mh
 ngun *n.* there. buy-eynji dak ngun
 geynjingak Are you going to go and camp
 there? *Ref:* mh352
 ngundju: overthere. dakayo murur
 ngundju didjagawaryak The sun
 overthere is coming back *Ref:* gl279
 ngunini *n.* that side, other side. *Ref:* mhPV
 ngunyuwa *n.* behind. gay-burrutak-awa
 ngunyuwa-diyn They yelled out from
 behind *Ref:* mh357
 ngunjuwa *n.* behind, afterwards. werek-giyitj
 ngunjuwa-diyn, jet-butak He is the last
 born kid *Ref:* mh305
 nguru *pron.* IMIN. warri nguru
 ngak-amburdey Let's eat tucker *Ref:*
 mh335
 ngurra-ngurra *n.* bustard. *Ref:* mhPV
 ngurra ngurra: bush turkey. *Ref:* wh(wl)
 nguerem *n.* before, in front. warr
 anyang.gak dak ngin nguerrem Have
 you been here before? *Ref:* mh342
 nguerrem *n.* old days, before. nguerrem
 gurriynju-nembiyu
 wara-miyi-ayang.gak Before I had three
Ref: mh199
 nguerem: long time ago. *Ref:* wh
 nguwwut *n.* clear country. *Ref:* mhPV

wa *coverb. get.*

~~-yin-awa *obj.suff.* here-1MO. miyi
wa-yin-awa Get me tucker

~~-ma-guyu *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSliePR. miyi
batu wa-ma-guyu Maybe she's getting
tucker

~~-gaynj-awa *v.fin.* 2MSgoF-1MO.
buy-aynji darwin mi: wa-gaynj-awa
When you go to Darwin you get me tucker

~~-nung.gurring.gak *v.fin.* 2ASgoP.
binya durin an-buja warar-
nung.gurring.gak How many turtles did
you get?

~~-eynminek *v.fin.* 2MSdoP. binya
wa-eynminek buwayn Did you get fish?
Ref: mh

wa: bring up, fetch up. badja wayin
wirngak bardoord burnai He should
bring those stone spears up here Ref:
gl277

wa-doet *v.stem.* have.

~~-m-enoenek *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSsitP.
wa-doet-m-enoenek ngutj-yende-nung
mara jamarr ngak-yi-wa:y-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.

~~-ardimineke *v.fin.* 1MSdoP.
watjuk-ardimineke I threw it in water Ref:
mh

wakbarra *n.* black. yurru wakbarra dagatj
buy-eynji 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.affix.* DES. Ref: mh233

warnarr *n.* lightning. Ref: mhPV

wanarr: lightning. Ref: wh(wl)

warndawe *n.* rock snake. Ref: mhPV

warndabele: rock snake. Ref: wh(wl)

wangarri *pron.* 2MIN. eweng wangarri-gayn
awuy warri She's not your sister: she's
your aunt Ref: mh345

wangari: you. wangari anbudja njin
memak memberu yu you how many more
(digging sticks are you cutting) here Ref:
gl278

wang-ga *n.* dance style. jut-gurrudangak
wang-ga (The men) are dancing wangga

Ref: mh194

wa-ngu *coverb.* be okay, have settled. Ref: mh
war *n.* house. war-ni jet-boerrminek They
built a house Ref: mh163

war *n.* house, bark. Ref: wh(wl)

wara *coverb.* take, have, get.

~~-buy-yengiyn *v.fin.* go-3MSgoP. miyi
an-yin wara-buy-yengiyn jiji ngun
guyang-gu-ma Where is that bloke taking
the tucker to?

~~-miyi-ayang.gak *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSgoP.
nguwerrem gurriynju-nembiyu
wara-miyi-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 gurriynju
wara-mi-ayang.gak-ma mara nembiyu
dat-wut-yurak 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

wargaty: quick. Ref: wh(wl)

warwi *n.* figtree. Ref: mhPV

warwi: fig tree. Ref: wh(wl)

wa:rr *pron.* 2MIN. wa:rr anyang.gak dak
ngin nguwerem Have you been here
before? Ref: mh342

warra ? Ref: mhPV

warrap ? Ref: mhPV

wa:rrri *pron.* 2MIN. dakayu wa:rrri-nung
biri-ma-ayang I'm not following you Ref:
mh068

warri *pron.* 2MIN. dakayu warri
jeyn-enyeng.gak 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-giyitj da:ng
warryet-guritj, nung.gurnay del
nembiyu Don't you kids walk around, you
sit down one place

~~-nung.gurrdang *v.fin.* 2ASgoPR.
aynja-diyn ngin
warrye-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

~-ma-gurrang *v.fin.* IMPF-3ASgoPR.
 gurrang.gu mutjurr
 warryerratt-ma-gurrang, warryerrat
 gurrang.gu-ngu A big mob are walking
 along
 — *v.fin.* Ref: mh
wat *coverb.* wave.
 ~-atak-nung *v.fin.* 1MSstandP-3MO.
 bar-wat-atak-nung I waved to him Ref:
 mh
watel *n.* cockrag. Ref: mhPV
wart *coverb.* hang up.
 — *v.fin.* Ref: mh
 aroeward: pick up. aroeward kulj daiyi
 Pick up the barramundi and the catfish
 Ref: gl270
wart *coverb.* send. Ref: mh
way *coverb.* take.
 ~-yang.gak-awa *v.fin.* 3MSgoP-1MO.
 wa-way-yang.gak-awa He took me (there)
 Ref: mh
 way: take. way delma gayunak nung I
 waited a long time for him
 -waya come (until). ngoen-jet-ma-ayang.gak
 darak-waya I was sweating all night last
 night Ref: mh192
 waya: come. Ref: gl279
wayalk *n.* hunt.
 ~-nung *n.* DAT. binya buy-ambalik
 wayalk-nung
 ~ø *n.* aynja-diyn amnyu bara-bara,
 binya wayalk buy-ambik Why are we
 lying down, we should be hunting Ref: mh
wayelk *n.* hunt. ngen-wayelk guyang may-ma
 He's a good hunter Ref: mh122
we *coverb.* scream out. Ref: mh
wek *coverb.* bark.
 ~-ma-gutu *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSstandPR.
 jamarr wek-ma-gutu The dog is barking
 Ref: mh
wel *coverb.* hang.
 ~-ma-enyen *v.fin.* 2MSsitPR. bar
 wel-ma-enyen motika-yende Your arm is
 hanging out of the car Ref: mh
wemerr *n.* sugarbag, honey.
 gurr-gatj-ma-gunen wemerr-nung They
 are digging for honey Ref: mh276
 wemerr: honey. Ref: wh(wl)
wene *n.* canoe. wene barp-barp-ma-guyu The
 canoe is rocking Ref: mh248
 wena: canoe. Ref: wh(wl)
wern *n.* grass. aynja-diyn wern dakayu
 jet-gatj-nung.gurrang.gak Why didn't
 you lot burn the grass? Ref: mh266
 wern: grass. Ref: gl278
werek *n.* child. werek ngun dakayu
 mat-wa-guyang-awa That kid doesn't take
 notice of me Ref: mh338
 werak: child. kilang miyi buieri werak

andja kilang miyi buieri What about it,
 children, we your mothers have to go and
 get tucker Ref: gl270
weret *coverb.* have holes. open.
 ~-ma-gutu *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSstandPR.
 gere weret-ma-gutu The door is open
 Ref: mh
werr *coverb.* be no good. ache.
 ~-m-ayang *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSgoPR.
 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)
werrwerr *coverb.* scream.
 ~-enoenek *v.fin.* 1MSsitP.
 werrwerr-enoenek I screamed out in
 fear(dream) Ref: mh
 werrwerr: shivering(?)/weak. Ref: wh(wl)
wertwert *v.* be greedy.
 ~ø *n.* wuk-nung gurna wert-wert guyang
 He's greedy for booze Ref: mh
wilbirrk *coverb.* cross.
 ~-erri-rrarr *v.fin.* 1ASgoFS-INCL.
 wilbirrk-erri-rrarr We'll cross here
 ~-ga:yak *v.fin.* 1MSgoF. wuk
 gunuwarrang guyu, neyin
 wilbirrk-ga:yak There's a lot of water, I
 will cross later
 ~-erri-rrerr *v.fin.* 1ASgoFS-INCL.
 wilbirrk-erri-rrerr, wuk dakayu
 wuk-giyitj guyu We will cross here, there
 is only a little water (336) Ref: mh
wilik-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
 winjgeroe: basket. winjgeroema nunda
 gadjagayenginj The basket didn't leak
 Ref: gl270
wirr *coverb.* tie, tie up.
 ~-ardiminek *v.fin.* 1MSdoP.
 wirr-ardiminek garambang I tied a
 headband on Ref: mh
wirri-wirri *n.* rosella. Ref: mhPV
wirrk *coverb.* finish.
 ~-yang.gak *v.fin.* 3MSgoP.
 wirrk-yang.gak
 ~-denek *v.fin.* 3MSdoP.
 ngak-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

Ref: gl272
woemnyi *coverb.* steal.
 ~ -wa-denek-awa *v.fin.* get-3MSdoP.
 nuwun woemnyi-wa-denek-awa Who
 stole it from me? Ref: mh
woeng *n.* rain. **woeng dar-ma-guyang** Rain is
 falling Ref: mh123
wung: rain. Ref: wh(wl)
woerey *n.* urine. **woerey ngarey-denek**
jamarr The dog urinated here Ref: mh296
woerreng *n.* mosquito. **woerreng mutjurr**
ler-ma-burrudak-awa Lots of mosquitoes
 were biting me Ref: mh353
wirrang: mosquito. Ref: wh(wl)
woerrkam *coverb.* work. Ref: mh
-woerrminek *v.fin.* 3ASdoP. Ref: mh290
wubajang *n.* down. **bak wubajang guyu** He's
 sleeping belly down Ref: mh122
wubadjang: bottom side. **bardjed ma**
guiyang wubadjangdju guiyang da:r
gurdumin ma He saw her getting up and
 going down Ref: gl278
-wudeyak *v.fin.* 3ASgoS. Ref: mh183
wujarabi *n.* snake sp. Ref: mhPV
wutj *coverb.* throw away(around).
 ~ -ø . IMP. **mi may rubbish wutj** Throw
 that rubbish away
 ~ -ma-burrudak *v.fin.* IMPF-3ASstandP.
werek-giyitj wutj-ma-burrudak
barkbark guyu The kids have chucked it
 all about everywhere Ref: mh
wutj *coverb.* wag.
 ~ -ma-gutu *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSstandPR.
jirriyn-wutj-ma-gutu He's wagging his
 tail Ref: mh
wuk *n.* water. **wuk gepoen, wilbirrk-erri**
nemberre This water is too deep; we'll try
 and cross in another place Ref: mh347
wugdju ; wukdju: water. **dabgumgaidj**
wugdju guiyu He puts (his penis) down in
 the water Ref: gl279
wok: water. Ref: wh(wl)
wuluk *n.* top. high. **mingiyn wuluk**
gurrp-ma-gunen The hill is high Ref:
 mh323
wuluk: high. , sky. **wuluk bui burang.gaik**
mayu At last they went high up in the sky
 Ref: gl272
wun *n.* prawn. Ref: mhPV
wun: prawn. Ref: gl270
wurn: prawn. Ref: wh(wl)
wunbayin *n.* boil. Ref: mhPV
-wurna *n.* UA. **mer-kilang gurrang-wurna**
 They are mother and child Ref: mh359
wung,gurr *n.* smoke. Ref: mhPV

bung: smoke. **ganjinma bung bung jainj**
bardjed budak She pulls the grass cord
 up, and the smoke rises Ref: gl279
ung,gurr: smoke. Ref: wh(wl)
-wuyn *n.* blind. **miyimitj aynja-diyn dun-wuyn**
guyang Why is the old woman blind? Ref:
 mh162
woyny: blind. Ref: wh(wl)
wur *coverb.* stand.
 ~ -ma-aynjutu *v.fin.* IMPF-2MSstandPR.
aynja-nung wur-ma-aynjutu Why are
 you standing there?
 ~ -uru-ambutu *v.fin.* redupl-1+2standPR.
aynja-nung wur-uru-ambutu Why are we
 standing up?
 ~ -ma-aynjuda *v.fin.* 2MSdoPR. **mir**
wur-ma-aynjuda dar-ardam-niynji I can
 see your shadow in the water
 ~ -ma-gutu *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSstandPR. **yim**
wuk-yende wur-ma-gutu That stick sticks
 out of the water Ref: mh
wur: stand. **wurma atay** I'm standing up
 Ref: wh
wuri-wuri *coverb.* slightly off/rotten.
 ~ -yengiyn *v.fin.* 3MSgoP. **binya**
wuriwuri-yengiyn The meat is greenish
 Ref: mh
wurr *coverb.* upright. **aynja-nung**
wurr-urru-ambutu Why are we standing
 up? Ref: mh156
-wurr *obj.suff.* 3AO. **dey-m-enen-wurr** I'm
 waiting for the others Ref: mh330
wur: them. **njindju manju gardoemin wur**
 He tells them there yet Ref: gl278
wurrk *coverb.* enter, put in.
 ~ -denek *v.fin.* 3MSdoP. **werek**
wurna-wurrk-denek He made that kid
 ~ -awalik *v.fin.* 1MSgoNFS. **jinin**
wurrk-durrk-awalik I nearly drowned
 ~ -jet-denek-nung *v.fin.* stand-3MSdoP-
 3MO. **lagayn garnbi**
wurrk-jet-denek-nung He put the spear
 in the woomera Ref: mh
worrk: put in. **worrk durrkaday** Ref: wh
wut *coverb.* lie, camp.
 ~ -ayang *v.fin.* 1MSgoPR. **dakayu**
wut-ayang I can't sleep
 ~ -giyingak *v.fin.* 3MSlieF. **jiji may**
buy-yangiyn wut-giyingak pangarrayn
 That man will go and camp at Pangarrayn
 tonight Ref: mh
wut: lie. **tady wutyarak dyidyima** That one
 had an accident Ref: wh

- ya** *n.* yes. **ya ngatj-bam-ardimine** *ngun* Yes, I hid it there *Ref:* mh166
- yang.ga-** *v.fin.* 3MSgoP. *Ref:* mh109
- yang.gak** *v.fin.* 3MSgoP. *Ref:* mh112
- yangiyn** *v.fin.* 3MSgoF? *Ref:* mh192
- yar** *coverb.* slither.
- ~~ **-ma-guyang** *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSgoPR. **yar-ma-guyang, ngoeynboer batu** It's rustling. A snake maybe *Ref:* mh
- yarrgat** *coverb.* straighten leg.
- ~~ **-ayang.gak** *v.fin.* 1MSgoP. **gerrerre yarrgat-ayang.gak** I straightened my leg *Ref:* mh
- yarrindi** *n.* sorcery (hostile). *Ref:* mhPV
- yarrk** *coverb.* shave.
- ~~ **-ma-gunen** *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSsitPR. **marrawart yarrk-ma-gunen** He's shaving his beard *Ref:* mh
- yarrpat** *coverb.* roll on back (of dog).
- ~~ **-ma-guyu** *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSliePR. **yarrpat-yarrpat-ma-guyu wern-yende yurru-yende** The dog is rolling about in the grass or dirt *Ref:* mh
- yayabin** *n.* long-nosed bee. *Ref:* mhPV
- yende** *n.* LOC. **gurrutu bar-yende** They are at that spring *Ref:* mh347
- yengiyn** *v.fin.* 3MSgoP. *Ref:* mh136
- yeynwul** *coverb.* be ashamed.
- ~~ **-ma-guyang** *v.fin.* IMPF-3MSgoPR. **aynja-diyn, yeyn-wul-ma-guyang** What's wrong with her. She's ashamed *Ref:* mh
- yenjbug:** shame **dalab andjurdai wa mum andjurdai mai yenjbug buerung** Lift your leg and cover yourself that way, they could be ashamed *Ref:* gl278
- yer** *n.* rubbish. *Ref:* mhPV
- yerrp** *coverb.* scrape.
- ~~ **-ma-burrung.gak** *v.fin.* IMPF-3ASgoP. **yerrp-ma-burrung.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 lerbardjurdai 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
- ing.gumang.gan:** chickenhawk. *Ref:* wh(wl)
- 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.
- ~~ **-m-ayang.gak** *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSgP. **yirr-ma-diyn, yirr-m-ayang.gak garala birp-atayn** My skin has gone red from scratching *Ref:* mh
- yirrng** *n.* pig-nosed turtle. *Ref:* mhPV
- yirryirr** *coverb.* tickle.
- ~~ **-ma-//ayang** *v.fin.* IMPF-1MSgoPR. **meyn-yirryirr-ma-//ayang** I have a tickle in my throat *Ref:* mh
- yit** *n.* charcoal. **yim-yit ngey-ma-gutu** The charcoal is alight *Ref:* mh112
- yird:** ashes. **didga gurang nung werak yird ma yerab gurdoemin wuru** The boys come back to him and he rubs them with ashes *Ref:* gl270
- lyirt:** charcoal. *Ref:* wh(wl)
- yiwy** *coverb.* go away.
- ~~ **-burrung.gak** *v.fin.* 3ASgoP. **berk daka yiwy-burrung.gak** The clouds have gone away *Ref:* mh
- yoemoer** *n.* forehead. *Ref:* mhPV
- yirmur:** forehead/temple. *Ref:* wh(wl)
- yugutj** *coverb.* move.
- ~~ **-buy-yengiyn** *v.fin.* go-3MSgoP. **dak-yugutj-buy-yengiyn** He has moved over *Ref:* mh
- yunduk** *coverb.* pass.
- ~~ **-arrang.gak** *v.fin.* 1ASgoP. **buy anyang.gak nawuyu, dakayu yunduk-arrang.gak** Did you go to Nawuyu? No, we passed it *Ref:* mh
- yunguyn** *v.fin.* 3MSlieP. *Ref:* mh135
- yungurrmilyi** *n.* plum sp. *Ref:* mhPV
- yup** *coverb.* be tired, die.
- ~~ **-yengiyn-awa** *v.fin.* 3MSgoP. **abap ardam, jerri-yup-yengiyn-awa gakwak-diyn warryet-ga-ayang.gak** I'm tired from walking a long way
- ~~ **-ambalik** *v.fin.* 1+2MSgoNFS. **jawu-yu yup-ambalik** 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. **jelk-nambik, wuk-mungu yurru** We nearly fell over. Wet ground

Ref: mh114
yur ; yuru: underneath, down below (on the
ground). **djedoerak ma yur wudjoeddām**
The old man hides them underneath *Ref:*
gl270

yorro: earth, ground. *Ref:* wh(wl)
yuwer *n.* woollybut. *Ref:* mhPV

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.

A

ache	bung (<i>mh</i>); burr (<i>mh</i>); giyn (<i>mh</i>).	ant	birriyn.gam (<i>mh</i>); miyek (<i>mh</i>).
across	durrut (<i>mh</i>).	antheap (material)	bun-wayiru (<i>gl</i>).
adult son	niya (<i>gl</i>).	anthill	buna (<i>mh</i>).
afternoon	mirer dirmeriny (<i>wh</i>); muridj (<i>gl</i>); muridje (<i>gl</i>); murrija (<i>mh</i>).	appear	garra (<i>mh</i>).
again	nembiyu (<i>gl</i>).	appear/aux	garakaguiyang (<i>gl</i>).
alight stick	yim minminma (<i>wh</i>).	arise	bardoerd (<i>gl</i>); bar-djed (<i>gl</i>).
alive	dum-ma (<i>mh</i>).	arm	bar (<i>wh</i>).
allabout	mudjur (<i>gl</i>).	arm, spring	bar (<i>mh</i>).
allaround	guridj (<i>gl</i>).	armlets, vine sp	birnbirn (<i>mh</i>).
allatime	ngaidj (<i>gl</i>).	armpit	kunangarnda (<i>wh</i>).
alligator	nguernguer (<i>gl</i>).	around	nyigigurnadju (<i>gl</i>).
always, all the time	nimdeng (<i>mh</i>).	arrive	pindjed (<i>gl</i>).
alone	jenngu (<i>mh</i>).	arrive at shore	birdjed (<i>gl</i>).
along back	mindjel yed (<i>gl</i>); minjdel yed (<i>gl</i>).	ashamed	yenjayang (<i>gl</i>).
along ground/aux	engwud-miyi-kioengak (<i>gl</i>).	ashes	burng (<i>mh</i>); dirrwun (<i>wh</i>).
alonga sky	wuluk (<i>gl</i>).	ask about	ninim (<i>mh</i>).
also, too	nambat (<i>mh</i>).	ask for	numat (<i>mh</i>).
altogether	wirngak (<i>gl</i>).	asleep	ngoerrngoerr (<i>mh</i>).
angry	barriirkam (<i>wh</i>).	aunt	awuy (<i>mh</i>).
ankle	durk purum (<i>wh</i>); durk-boerroem (<i>mh</i>).	avoidance	balayet (<i>mh</i>).
another	nemboedu (<i>gl</i>); nembu (<i>gl</i>).	away	bui (<i>gl</i>); yiwyuy (<i>mh</i>).
another, like	nenbiyu (<i>gl</i>).	away go/aux	kakwa ang.gurang (<i>gl</i>).
another lot	buja-nemboe (<i>mh</i>).	away, intend to go	buingiyenginj (<i>gl</i>).
another one	gurna (<i>wh</i>).	away/aux	buining.giri (<i>gl</i>).
		away/aux	buiguiyang (<i>gl</i>); buiyenginy (<i>gl</i>).
		away/go	buingu biwi (<i>gl</i>).

B

back	detoem (<i>mh</i>); detum (<i>wh</i>).	bad	guwerruk (<i>mh</i>).
back away	didjbui (<i>gl</i>).	bag	kararr (<i>wh</i>).
back bone	dedum pert (<i>wh</i>).	bamboo	garabi (<i>mh</i>); garubi (<i>gl</i>); jam ; kanbi (<i>wh</i>).
back come	didj-ga (<i>gl</i>).	bamboo paddles	wainj (<i>gl</i>).
back go	didj-bui (<i>gl</i>).	bamboo trumpet	dja:m (<i>gl</i>).
back hither/aux	didjaguiyang (<i>gl</i>).	bandicoot	goerra (<i>mh</i>); kurre (<i>wh</i>).
back of neck	joenmoe (<i>mh</i>).		

bank of river	ngard berderr (wh).	kunuwarang (gl); kunuwarang (wh); -nangu (mh).	
banyan tree	jirrmijn (mh).	wak (gl).	
bark	war (wh); wek (mh).	big, fat	kuruwangma (gl).
bark belt	djidji wuru (gl).	big fellow	para ngen (gl).
barramundi	goeyl (mh); guy (wh); jarrak-jarrak (mh); kuelj (gl).	big girl	milngin (wh).
barramundi fish	kulj (gl).	big hill	garwa (mh).
barramundi (little)	djinbing (gl).	billabong	barrakut (mh).
barramundi (young)	djeroedjerag (gl).	billycan	dewk (mh); galan (mh); garrk (mh); gurlawirtwirt (mh); jermerr (mh); ngeleymenji (mh).
bash	datj-moerr (mh); dar (mh).	bird sp	lerr (mh); lerr (wh).
basket	wiyn.gerre (mh); winjgere (gl); winjgeroe (gl); winjgeroe (gl); winjgeroe (gl).	bite	diynda (mh); gere-dil (mh).
bat	jinimiyn (mh).	bitter	kuwerruk (wh).
be alight, flame up	ngey (mh).	bitter, sour	wakbarra (mh); wakbarra (wh).
be ashamed	yeynwul (mh).	black	buna (mh); puwiyirrk (wh).
be blocked	del (mh).	black ant	ngarang.ga (mh); nging (mh); nging (mh).
be born	jet (mh).	black currant	pulngerik (gl); pulngerrk (gl); pulngirk (gl); pulngirrk (wh).
be bright	lang-gatj (mh).	black duck	boern (wh).
be full	ngelk (mh).	black plum	black whip snake
be greedy	wertwert (mh).	black whip snake	nuynbur (wh).
be happy	matj (mh).	blanket lizard	dyenerr (wh).
be jealous of	nundulk (mh).	blind	woyny (wh); -wuyn (mh).
be no good, ache	werr (mh).	blind, asleep, not see/aux	mud-buroerdam (gl).
be okay, have settled	wa-ngu (mh).	blood	joerrngoeyn (mh); tyurnnuny (wh).
be open	debet (mh).	bloodwood	darn (wh).
be quiet	ngum (mh).	blow	boe (mh).
be really angry	mern-gungurru (mh).	blow didgeridoo	jirrk-jet-doet (mh).
be sleepy	mil (mh).	blowfly	garanguk (mh).
(be) thirsty	meny derr(adam) (wh).	blue fly	mulwara (wh).
be thirsty	meyn-ar (mh).	blue tongue lizard	birrirr (mh); pirrir (wh).
be tired	ngen-darayat (mh).	blunt	ngat-mut-mut; ngart-mutmut (mh).
be tired, die	yup (mh).	body	gala (mh); karala (wh).
be wavy (of water)	bulang (mh).	boil	wunbayin (mh).
beard	dja:ng.gar (gl); dyawuri (wh); marrawart (mh); marrawart-jarnjarn (mh).	bone	betj (mh); pert (wh).
beat	dul (mh).	bones	pedj (gl).
become boney	ngen-doet (mh).	boney	betj-wayu (mh).
become dark	ngutj-goeriyet (mh).	boomerang	dyimbi dyimbit (wh); jimbi (mh); kuyungan (wh).
become daylight	darrek (mh).	boss	djedoenak (gl); djedoerak (gl).
become fat	diik (mh).	bottle tree	koandan (wh).
bee sp	yayabin (mh).	bottom, bum	del (mh).
been fix up/aux	djenjma nung.gurak-awa (gl).	bottom side	wu badjangdju (gl); wubadjang (gl).
beeswax	bark (mh).	boy	jerrmeng (mh); warruk (mh).
behind	ngunjawa (mh).	boy, penis	kuer (gl); kuer (gl).
behind knee	kar (wh).	brain	buja-ngerer (mh); pudja ngerer (gl).
believe, take notice of	mat-wa (mh).	branch	burkma (mh).
belly	bak (gl); bak (mh); mern (mh).	break	dap-jak (mh).
belly, stomach	men (wh).	break him	dabjag (gl).
bereaved sibling	moenemboe (mh).	break (sticks)	tjak (gl).
big	gunawarang (gl); gunuwarrang (mh); gurnawarang (gl);		

break up, crush	murr (<i>mh</i>).	burial platform	jiwirri (<i>mh</i>).
bream	beynnger (<i>mh</i>); doewoerr (<i>mh</i>); penger (<i>wh</i>).	buried	djirgdju (<i>gl</i>).
bream sp	marramin (<i>mh</i>).	burn	durb (<i>gl</i>); ngap (<i>mh</i>).
breast	guyung (<i>mh</i>).	burn (fire)	burb (<i>gl</i>).
breathe	nge (<i>mh</i>).	burp	dumurrk (<i>mh</i>).
bring up, fetch up	wa-yin (<i>gl</i>).	bush	du:nmo (<i>wh</i>).
broken (with foot)	duptyak (<i>wh</i>).	bush turkey	ngurra ngurra (<i>wh</i>).
broken (with hands)	daptyak (<i>wh</i>).	bustard	ngurra-ngurra (<i>mh</i>).
broilga	bariyn (<i>mh</i>); pariny (<i>wh</i>).	but, in (re)turn, reciprocal	mara (<i>mh</i>).
brother	nida (<i>gl</i>); nida (<i>mh</i>); nidangu (<i>gl</i>).	butcherbird	boerrwey (<i>mh</i>); purrwei (<i>wh</i>).
brother-in-law	edungu (<i>gl</i>).	butterfly	langa langa (<i>wh</i>); lang.ga-lang.ga (<i>mh</i>).
bubble up	bung-gatj (<i>mh</i>).	buttock	del-ngen (<i>mh</i>).
build, put	jet (<i>mh</i>).	buttocks	del (<i>wh</i>); guen (<i>gl</i>); guendyin (<i>gl</i>).
bullant	dirrawur (<i>mh</i>).	by&bye	kukuk (<i>gl</i>).
bundle of spears	birbayn (<i>mh</i>).		

C

cabbage palm	gunburr (<i>wh</i>).	clean	leng.gerrk (<i>mh</i>); lurrng (<i>mh</i>).
calf of leg	gar-ngen (<i>mh</i>).	clear country	nguwut (<i>mh</i>).
call out	gay (<i>mh</i>).	clear ground, plains	garrak (<i>mh</i>).
came	ka (<i>wh</i>).	clear off	walak (<i>mh</i>).
camp	dag (<i>gl</i>); dak (<i>mh</i>).	clench	dabam (<i>mh</i>); dabarriyn (<i>mh</i>).
camp at	dag-dju (<i>gl</i>); daj-djo (<i>gl</i>).	clever fellow	dagar (<i>mh</i>); memekbik (<i>mh</i>).
canoe	wena (<i>wh</i>); wene (<i>mh</i>).	clever man	dakarl (<i>wh</i>).
canoe	wenoe (<i>gl</i>).	click tongue	bing (<i>mh</i>).
can't hear	njapa-ayang (<i>gl</i>).	cliff, steep bank	ngart-garribarrp (<i>mh</i>).
carpet snake	juniyn (<i>mh</i>); mangyidgirt (<i>wh</i>).	climb	garar (<i>mh</i>).
carry	gar (<i>mh</i>); gark-wut (<i>mh</i>).	close	gandara (<i>mh</i>); gandarai (<i>gl</i>).
catch	dab (<i>gl</i>).	close up coming/aux	birkainj-yenginj (<i>gl</i>).
catfish	daiyi (<i>gl</i>); daiyi (<i>gl</i>); dayi (<i>gl</i>); dayi (<i>mh</i>); dayi (<i>wh</i>); goeroel (<i>mh</i>); jerrriyn-jerrriyn (<i>mh</i>); kurur (<i>gl</i>); kurur (<i>gl</i>); kururoe (<i>gl</i>).	clothes	mawuyn (<i>mh</i>).
cattle (from Engl. bullock)	bulagi (<i>wh</i>).	cloud	berk (<i>mh</i>); perk (<i>wh</i>).
cave	lungurr (<i>mh</i>); lungurr (<i>wh</i>).	cockatoo sp	men.gerr (<i>mh</i>).
centipede	jererr (<i>mh</i>); tyerer (<i>wh</i>).	cod	muluk (<i>mh</i>).
cf around that way	nyigindjaroewun (<i>gl</i>).	cold	garr (<i>mh</i>); ker (<i>gl</i>); kergaidj (<i>gl</i>); marrk (<i>mh</i>); marrk (<i>wh</i>).
charcoal	lyirt (<i>wh</i>); yit (<i>mh</i>).	cold, naked	karak (<i>gl</i>).
cheek	lambo (<i>wh</i>); lambu (<i>mh</i>).	cold wind	dangarr (<i>mh</i>).
chest	moerrmoerr (<i>mh</i>); murrmurr (<i>wh</i>); muermuer (<i>gl</i>).	COM	-mungu (<i>mh</i>).
chickenhawk	ing.gumang.gan (<i>wh</i>); yim-gumeng.gen (<i>mh</i>).	come	guiyang.guiyin (<i>gl</i>); waya (<i>gl</i>); waya (<i>gl</i>).
child	werak (<i>gl</i>); werek (<i>mh</i>).	come back	didj-ga (<i>gl</i>); guyung.guiyin (<i>gl</i>).
chin	jang.gurr (<i>mh</i>).	come back/aux	didjga-gandjiyak (<i>gl</i>).
chisel, shave	yawidj-yawidj (<i>gl</i>).	come back/aux	gabiri (<i>gl</i>).
cicatrices	garrgu (<i>mh</i>).	come, get off	durritj (<i>mh</i>).
circumcised man	ngoer-yel (<i>mh</i>).	come on-fix/aux	maradjendjinjardai (<i>gl</i>).
clapping sticks	tyerrnyiny (<i>wh</i>).	come talk-talk, 'se rejoindre'	kulkul (<i>gl</i>).
clapsticks	jerrngiyn (<i>mh</i>).	come up	kakwawangu (<i>gl</i>).
claw	mer (<i>gl</i>).	come up/aux	birgaiyin yanginy (<i>gl</i>).
		constellation	merbo (<i>wh</i>).
		cook	burrp (<i>mh</i>).

cooked, ripe **guyung.gu** (*mh*).
 cockrag **watel** (*mh*).
 coolamin **wirribi** (*wh*).
 copulate **kidjik** (*gl*).
 copulate/aux **kidjikardai** (*gl*).
 copulate/aux **kidjikdam** (*gl*).
 corkwood **kitya** (*wh*).
 cormorant **birriyam** (*mh*); **gal** (*mh*).
 corpse **ngelan** (*gl*).
 corroboree **meyn** (*mh*).
 cough **genyek** (*mh*).
 country **dak** (*wh*).
 cousin **artu** (*wh*).
 cover **gurn** (*gl*); **mum** (*gl*); **mum** (*mh*).
 cover over **gurnum** (*gl*); **yarmum** (*gl*).
 cover over (with earth) **gurmum** (*gl*).
 crab **marrutj** (*mh*).
 crack **bert** (*mh*).
 crane **marmarma** (*mh*).
 crawl **birrip** (*mh*).
 crest **jam-mungu** (*mh*).

cricket **yitj-ma** (*mh*).
 crippled **mutuma** (*mh*).
 crooked **gurirrk-gurirrk** (*mh*).
 cross **wilbirrk** (*mh*).
 crow **wang.gar** (*wh*).
 cry **ayi** (*mh*).
 cry, weep **ayuma** (*gl*).
 cry, weep/aux **eyimung-guiyang** (*gl*).
 curlew **biwur** (*mh*).
 cut **den** (*gl*); **den** (*mh*); **dendenak** (*gl*);
kuer (*gl*); **nurk** (*gl*); **ngark** (*gl*);
ngerp (*wh*); **ngerrp** (*gl*); **ngerrp**
(*mh*); **ngurk** (*gl*).
 cut, chisel **yawuidjma** (*gl*).
 cut, jab in/aux **arduroekdam** (*gl*).
 cut-CAUS **den-gaidj** (*gl*).
 cycad **durtu** (*mh*).
 cyclone **bitbitma** (*mh*).
 cypress pine **jewurr** (*wh*).

D

dance style **wang.ga** (*mh*).
 darkness **nguit** (*wh*).
 DAT **-nung** (*mh*).
 daughter **ariya** (*mh*); **arya** (*gl*).
 dead man(DD) **paran** (*gl*).
 deaf **biawurl** (*gl*); **nyaba** (*mh*).
 death adder **mandara** (*wh*); **marndarra** (*mh*).
 deep, steep **gepoen** (*mh*).
 defecate **goen-jerrk** (*mh*); **djergaku** (*gl*);
kundjerk (*gl*).
 defecate/aux **gundjerkardai** (*gl*);
kundjerkardei (*gl*).
 defecate/aux **kundjurkardai** (*gl*).
 defecate/aux **kundjerkdam** (*gl*).
 deposit **-djed** (*gl*).
 devil **barrang** (*mh*).
 dew **gender** (*mh*); **kender** (*wh*).
 didgeridoo **jam** (*mh*); **dyam** (*wh*).
 die **dat** (*mh*).
 different **nenoebae** (*mh*).
 dig **goerr-gatj** (*mh*); **gurwud** (*gl*);
gurr-gatj (*mh*).
 dig-deposit/aux **gurdjed-dam** (*gl*).
 digging stick **wambak** (*gl*).
 digging stick (used by women) **djan** (*gl*).
 dilly bag **gararr** (*mh*).
 dillybag **kadaroe** (*gl*); **kararoe** (*gl*).
 dingo **yim-diyn** (*mh*).

disappeared **dab** (*gl*).
 discard **kadjirgaidj** (*gl*).
 discard, chuck **kadj** (*gl*).
 dislike **kuwerok** (*gl*); **kuwerocked** (*gl*).
 diverjack **piriam** (*gl*).
 do quickly **wara-gatj** (*mh*); **warg-gaitj** (*gl*).
 dog **djamaroe** (*gl*); **jamarr** (*mh*);
dyamarr (*wh*).
 dove sp **golododok** (*mh*); **gulugur** (*mh*).
 down **wubajang** (*mh*).
 down below on the ground **yuro** (*gl*).
 dream **boerr** (*mh*).
 dreaming **durk** (*mh*); **jarrwak** (*mh*).
 dribble **gere-woerwoer** (*mh*).
 drink **durk** (*gl*); **durrk** (*mh*);
durrk(adam) (*wh*).
 drinkwater **wok durrdakai** (*wh*).
 drip **juriyet** (*mh*).
 drop into water/aux **gadjgumgaitj-burainy**
(*gl*).
 dry **ar** (*mh*).
 dry season **keredungar** (*wh*).
 duck **bulngirrk** (*mh*); **darrkdarrkma**
(*mh*).
 duck sp **warrina** (*mh*); **warrina** (*mh*);
warrina (*wh*).

E

eagle	bultjan (<i>mh</i>).	empty	dakayu (<i>gl</i>).
eagle hawk	burltjan (<i>wh</i>); kenken (<i>wh</i>).	empty out	balguitj (<i>gl</i>); nimda (<i>gl</i>).
ear	bidwur(oe) (<i>gl</i>); biyawur (<i>mh</i>); biyur (<i>wh</i>).	emu	noewoet (<i>mh</i>); nuwut (<i>wh</i>).
ear-COM	biyawur-mungu (<i>mh</i>).	enough	mai ma (<i>gl</i>); maiya (<i>gl</i>); mayu (<i>gl</i>); mayu (<i>gl</i>).
early morning	nguidjendiyu (<i>gl</i>); nguidjendiyu (<i>gl</i>).	enter	jirrck (<i>mh</i>).
earth, ground	yorro (<i>wh</i>).	enter, inside	djirk (<i>gl</i>).
eat	ngak (<i>gl</i>); ngak (<i>mh</i>).	erect	guinj (<i>gl</i>); gunj (<i>gl</i>).
eat/aux	ngak-ardimenak (<i>gl</i>).	evening	murritya (<i>wh</i>).
eat noisily	dengjeng (<i>mh</i>).	every way	walak ngin (<i>gl</i>).
echidna	meningitj (<i>mh</i>); meningit (<i>wh</i>).	everybody	muytyurayo (<i>wh</i>).
echo	lu (<i>mh</i>).	everywhere	bark-bark (<i>mh</i>).
eelfish	dang (<i>wh</i>).	extinguish	darwirrk (<i>mh</i>).
egg	murr (<i>mh</i>).	eye	dun (<i>mh</i>); dun (<i>wh</i>).
elbow	dandar (<i>mh</i>); dandur (<i>wh</i>).	eyebrows	yimuer demdem (<i>gl</i>).

F

faeces	goen (<i>mh</i>).	finger nail	meme ngereroe (<i>gl</i>); memek ngerer (<i>wh</i>); memek-ngerer (<i>mh</i>).
fall	jalk (<i>mh</i>).	finish	wirngak (<i>gl</i>); wirp (<i>gl</i>); wirrk (<i>gl</i>); wirrk (<i>mh</i>).
fall down	djalk (<i>gl</i>).	fire	yim (<i>wh</i>).
fall (of rain)	bar-gatj (<i>mh</i>).	fire drill(pair)	minj gere (<i>gl</i>).
far	gakwak (<i>mh</i>).	fire, firewood, tree	yim (<i>mh</i>).
fasten (spearthrower)	warek (<i>gl</i>).	firestick	ming.garra (<i>wh</i>); miyn.gerre (<i>mh</i>).
fat	dikninginy (<i>wh</i>); moel (<i>mh</i>); mul (<i>gl</i>); muel (<i>gl</i>).	firewood	yim (<i>gl</i>).
father	bang (<i>mh</i>); bang.gai (<i>gl</i>); bangu (<i>gl</i>).	first	-gemiruk (<i>mh</i>); wirngak (<i>gl</i>).
father's father	kawui (<i>gl</i>).	first time	nguwere (<i>gl</i>).
father's sister	awui (<i>gl</i>).	fish	berrberr (<i>mh</i>); buwayn (<i>mh</i>); garara (<i>mh</i>); pinja (<i>gl</i>).
fear	berrp (<i>mh</i>); niwarr (<i>mh</i>).	fish (flat sp)	durr (<i>wh</i>).
feather	galawun (<i>mh</i>).	fish spear with bamboo shaft	mabulek (<i>gl</i>).
feel cold	gerr (<i>mh</i>).	fish with two mouth	karara (<i>gl</i>).
female	aruk (<i>mh</i>).	fix	djenj (<i>gl</i>); djenjma (<i>gl</i>); djenj(ma) (<i>gl</i>).
fetch hither/aux	wagaburdainy (<i>gl</i>).	fix all around/aux	djenjma guridjma guiyang (<i>gl</i>).
firefly	mindurk (<i>mh</i>).	fix up/aux/obj	djenj ardai-ninji (<i>gl</i>).
fig tree	warwi (<i>wh</i>).	fix/aux	djenj gurdumin (<i>gl</i>).
fight	meroe (<i>gl</i>).	flank	dererr (<i>mh</i>).
fighting stick	djagara (<i>gl</i>); waroewaru (<i>gl</i>).	flap wings	bal (<i>mh</i>).
fighting stick with double pointed end	djarga'ra (<i>gl</i>).	flash	berp (<i>mh</i>).
figtree	warwi (<i>mh</i>).	flat, disc-like fish, swimming flat, with very short tail	dur (<i>gl</i>).
filesnake	boeneboen (<i>mh</i>).	flat ground (black soil)	yurru wakparra (<i>wh</i>).
fill	gere-yet (<i>mh</i>).	flat, wide	barl-barl (<i>mh</i>).
fill up	djugardai (<i>gl</i>); miyendi-yu (<i>gl</i>).		
fill up/aux	wadjuk nung.guroerdai (<i>gl</i>).		
fin	marndam (<i>mh</i>).		

float **buyuy-buyuy** (*mh*).
flood **doenyoengoel** (*mh*).
floodwater **dinyung.gur** (*wh*); **duynyun.gur** (*wh*).
flow **elele** (*mh*).
flow (of tears) **bark** (*mh*).
flower **marrga** (*mh*); **marrgu** (*wh*).
flowing water, current **wok warir** (*wh*).
fly **karanguk** (*wh*).
fly away **ngurningin** (*gl*).
flying fox **dararnbin** (*gl*); **darrinbin** (*mh*).
flying fox (large sp) **daranban** (*wh*); **karnambari** (*wh*).
flying fox (small sp) **birtma** (*wh*).
follow **biri** (*mh*); **piri** (*gl*).
follow-go **piri-boy** (*wh*).
foot **mer** (*mh*); **mer** (*wh*); **meri** (*gl*).
footwalk **del-yurru** (*mh*).

for a long time **niniwur** (*wh*).
forehead **yoemoer** (*mh*).
forehead band **galambang** (*wh*).
forehead, temple **yirmur** (*wh*).
forever **dak** (*mh*).
forget **bir-del** (*mh*); **biyerdel** (*mh*).
fork in tree **jerri-balkayn** (*mh*).
freshwater crocodile **jingu** (*mh*); **tyingo** (*wh*); **ngurrngurr** (*wh*).
frighten **niyewaro** (*gl*).
frightened **nioeweroe** (*gl*).
frog **gereguk** (*mh*); **keraguk** (*wh*).
front of neck **meyn** (*mh*).
full **gere-nyiynju** (*mh*).
full stomach **men ngelkadan** (*wh*).
fur **poytya** (*wh*).

G

galah **wilik-wilik** (*mh*).
gather up **luerluer** (*gl*).
gather up (together) **lu(r)lur-ma** (*gl*).
gather/aux **lerbardai** (*gl*).
genitalia **ngarnmurr** (*mh*).
get better **gayn-ber** (*mh*).
get bogged **joedoerrp** (*mh*).
get lost, not know **bang** (*mh*).
get up **ba** (*mh*); **bara-doet** (*mh*).
ghost **parang** (*wh*).
girl **aruk** (*mh*); **daynjak-gayak** (*mh*); **goerda** (*wh*); **guwarda** (*mh*).
girl **birird** (*gl*).
give **ang** (*mh*) (*gl*); **ang.gen** (*gl*).
glass spear **djimbere** (*gl*).
gnaw **ngarrp** (*mh*).
go **buy** (*mh*).
go around **guritj** (*mh*).
go away **kukuk** (*gl*).
go away-along **kakwa-ngu** (*gl*).
go away/aux **yiwiguyang** (*gl*).
go down **kuluk** (*gl*).
go down along water **guduk yi waya** (*gl*).
go down (under) **kupuk** (*gl*).
go down (under), disappear **kubuk** (*gl*).
go on **meh** (*gl*).
go outside, come out **karakak** (*gl*).
go white **bung-way** (*mh*).
goanna **arany** (*wh*); **barang.gerre** (*mh*).
goanna **arrayn** (*mh*).

good **gunbiritj** (*mh*); **gunburit** (*wh*); **kunburidj** (*gl*); **ngendjurbiridj** (*gl*).
good bye **mamak** (*gl*).
good one **kunburidjma** (*gl*).
goodbye **memak** (*gl*).
goose **galmung.gurr** (*mh*); **kalmung.gurr** (*wh*).
goose eggs **kalmung.gur** (*gl*); **kari mung.gur** (*gl*).
grab **dap** (*mh*).
grandfather **ang.ga** (*wh*); **gawuy** (*mh*).
grandmother **geleng** (*mh*); **kerleng** (*wh*); **mang.ga** (*wh*).
grass **ngalj** (*gl*); **wen** (*gl*); **wern** (*gl*); **wern** (*mh*).
grass sp **gumat** (*mh*); **ngirri** (*mh*).
grass woven string **dabirinj** (*gl*).
grasshopper **batbat** (*mh*); **tyererer** (*wh*).
gray hair **buja-bur** (*mh*).
gray-haired **budyebongma** (*wh*).
green ant **pirring.gam** (*wh*).
green parrot **wedirity** (*wh*).
grind teeth **lirrng.git** (*mh*).
ground **yurru** (*mh*).
ground oven **buy** (*mh*).
grow **barrk** (*mh*).
grow up **duruk** (*mh*).
growl **dawu** (*gl*); **dawu-lam** (*mh*); **lurrrk** (*mh*).
guide **wargeitj** (*gl*).

H

hair	budja meneng (<i>gl</i>).	heavy	jurrma (<i>mh</i>).
hair of head	poytya menang (<i>wh</i>).	herbage	miyi (<i>gl</i>).
hairbelt	mungurrk (<i>wh</i>).	here	ngin (<i>mh</i>); njina (<i>gl</i>); njiyu (<i>gl</i>).
hand	memek (<i>wh</i>).	hide	balam (<i>mh</i>).
hand, times, day	memek (<i>mh</i>).	hide away	yurwud (<i>gl</i>).
handkerchief	mawuilj (<i>gl</i>).	hide something	ngatj-bam (<i>mh</i>).
handle	jerrwel (<i>mh</i>).	hill	milngiyn (<i>mh</i>).
hang	wel (<i>mh</i>).	him there yet	guiyung-gu (<i>gl</i>).
hang up	darrp (<i>mh</i>); wadgaidj (<i>gl</i>); wart (<i>mh</i>).	hip	delbermer (<i>mh</i>).
hang up/aux	wadjaidj biri (<i>gl</i>).	hips	de:l (<i>gl</i>).
hang/aux	wadgaitj biwi (<i>gl</i>).	hit	bilp (<i>mh</i>); datj (<i>mh</i>).
happy, glad	luglug (<i>wh</i>).	hole, burrow, lair	jar (<i>mh</i>).
hard	ngatal (<i>wh</i>).	hollow	bak-jambar (<i>mh</i>).
hard, tough, strong	ngatal (<i>mh</i>).	honey	wemerr (<i>wh</i>).
hart	kueiyung (<i>gl</i>).	hook, fishing line	guwarirr (<i>mh</i>).
have	wa-rdoet (<i>mh</i>).	hooked spear	burd (<i>gl</i>).
have a headache	buja-bert (<i>mh</i>).	hooked (wood carving) spear	burd mioengard (<i>gl</i>).
have a sore, sour	meyn-derr-wuy (<i>mh</i>).	hornet	mulwara (<i>mh</i>).
have a tickle in the throat	meyn-yirryirr (<i>mh</i>).	horse	nendu (<i>mh</i>); nerndurr (<i>wh</i>).
have cramps	giying (<i>mh</i>).	hot	lerb (<i>gl</i>); lerrp (<i>mh</i>); lerrp (<i>wh</i>).
have enough	ngelk (<i>gl</i>).	hot ashes	darr (<i>mh</i>).
have holes	weret (<i>mh</i>).	hot, sick	bur (<i>mh</i>).
have/aux	gaburainy (<i>gl</i>).	hot weather	gere-mirrirmirra (<i>mh</i>); gere-woeng (<i>mh</i>).
hawk	dimburo (<i>wh</i>); dimburu (<i>mh</i>); wang.geroe (<i>gl</i>).	house	war (<i>mh</i>).
hawk sp	jungarabaya (<i>mh</i>); men.gi-men.gitj (<i>mh</i>).	how	aniyn (<i>mh</i>).
hawk spear	pu(r)t (<i>wh</i>).	how many	anbudja (<i>gl</i>); an-buwaja (<i>mh</i>).
he let him lie	wuddam (<i>gl</i>).	howl	bu (<i>mh</i>).
he, she, it, they	gurna (<i>mh</i>).	humbug, play	mirritj (<i>mh</i>).
head	budja (<i>gl</i>); buja (<i>mh</i>); poytya (<i>wh</i>).	hunger	menwuyuk (<i>mh</i>).
head hair	buja-meneng (<i>mh</i>).	hungry	menwiyuk (<i>wh</i>); menwuyuk (<i>gl</i>).
headband	garambang (<i>mh</i>).	hunt	wayalk (<i>mh</i>).
hear	bioendek (<i>gl</i>).	hurt	gek (<i>mh</i>).
heart	mendoelma (<i>mh</i>); mendulma (<i>wh</i>).		

I

I, me	nguru (<i>mh</i>).	ironwood	bawitj (<i>mh</i>); pawirt (<i>wh</i>).
ibis	barrkoi (<i>wh</i>); barrkuy (<i>mh</i>).	ironwood wax	meng.ger (<i>mh</i>).
I'm going to eat it	nak adimenak (<i>wh</i>).	island	karanga (<i>wh</i>).
inexpert	ngen-wabarr (<i>mh</i>).	island, mound	garanga (<i>mh</i>).
infant at breast	werak gewoerdak (<i>gl</i>).	itchy grub	yindiyn.gerre (<i>mh</i>).
inside	djirird (<i>gl</i>).		

J

jabiru	boetoer (<i>mh</i>).	just come up	karak (<i>gl</i>).
jaw, chin	dyung.gorr (<i>wh</i>).	just there	ngunbinindju (<i>gl</i>).
jump	bilngurrrp (<i>mh</i>).	just	yuindju (<i>gl</i>).
jungle fowl	garlbambuk (<i>mh</i>).		
just	ngatj (<i>mh</i>).		

K

kangaroo	jayirr (<i>mh</i>); tyayirr (<i>wh</i>); purlken (<i>wh</i>).	kindling	yim-bar (<i>mh</i>).
kangaroo	burkin (<i>mh</i>).	king brown snake	dungurt (<i>wh</i>).
kapok	dyinbur (<i>wh</i>).	kiss	gere-witj-doem (<i>mh</i>).
kapok tree	jimbur (<i>mh</i>).	knee	boeng.gar-doen (<i>mh</i>); boeng.ger (<i>mh</i>); pung.ger (<i>wh</i>).
keep on doing	djeddoerak (<i>gl</i>).	kneecap	buengkeroe (<i>gl</i>).
kidney	nandatil (<i>mh</i>); ngurnditil (<i>wh</i>).	knock down	djalkeidj (<i>gl</i>).
kill	baldar (<i>gl</i>); darl (<i>gl</i>); dar (<i>gl</i>); daraidj (<i>gl</i>).	kookaburra	gawurrmer (<i>mh</i>); gurruwak (<i>mh</i>); kawurme (<i>wh</i>); kurrwak (<i>wh</i>).
kill/aux	darlardiararoe (<i>gl</i>).		

L

lame	pulurrma (<i>wh</i>).	lie down/aux	wudjandjurnai (<i>gl</i>).
land (on the bank)	djeroer (<i>gl</i>).	lie, sit	wud (<i>gl</i>).
language	mat (<i>mh</i>).	lie/aux	wudadjurnai (<i>gl</i>).
lap up, lick	ngelyek (<i>mh</i>).	lie/aux	wud guyu (<i>gl</i>).
laplap	kukuri (<i>wh</i>); mawuny (<i>wh</i>).	lift	baird (<i>gl</i>); dalab (<i>gl</i>).
late	gere-dalan (<i>mh</i>).	lift, up	bard (<i>gl</i>).
laugh, play	gart (<i>mh</i>).	lift/aux	daburoerdam (<i>gl</i>).
lay out flat	pam (<i>gl</i>).	light	bilyirr (<i>mh</i>); biri-biri (<i>mh</i>); dal-jagurr (<i>mh</i>); pibirrma (<i>wh</i>).
lead	yet (<i>mh</i>).	light a grass fire	jet-gatj (<i>mh</i>).
leaf	dembel (<i>mh</i>); wuroer (<i>wh</i>).	light, make fire	burb (<i>gl</i>).
leave	wudji (<i>gl</i>).	light, torch	marndalatj (<i>mh</i>).
leave behind, aux	gururdam (<i>gl</i>).	lightning	wanarr (<i>wh</i>); warnar (<i>gl</i>); warnarr (<i>mh</i>).
leave (deposit)	wudjed (<i>gl</i>).	lightweight	ngalwar (<i>mh</i>).
leave it	wud-ardai (<i>gl</i>).	like	dab (<i>gl</i>); garndur dak (<i>gl</i>).
leave lie	wudju (<i>gl</i>).	like, want	garndap (<i>mh</i>).
leave/aux	bindjed gurdoemin (<i>gl</i>).	lily root	kerang (<i>wh</i>).
leech	garnbayn (<i>mh</i>); joenoer (<i>mh</i>).	lily seed	wogin (<i>wh</i>).
left hand	janbar (<i>mh</i>).	lily sp	geter (<i>mh</i>); jun (<i>mh</i>); mirang (<i>mh</i>).
left leg	gerere (<i>gl</i>).	lily tree	tyun (<i>wh</i>).
left(hand)	mauwuty(dyanbar) (<i>wh</i>).	limp	boedoen (<i>mh</i>).
leg	jerr ; tyerri (<i>wh</i>).	line up	durrng (<i>mh</i>); jal-wut (<i>mh</i>).
legs bent underneath	bunger (<i>gl</i>).	listen	biyandak (<i>mh</i>).
Leichhardt tree	galku (<i>mh</i>); karlgo (<i>wh</i>).	little	giyitj ; kiyitj (<i>gl</i>).
lie	wut (<i>mh</i>).	little barramundi	djinbir (<i>gl</i>).
lie die	duroek (<i>gl</i>).		
lie down	bara-bara (<i>mh</i>); barang.ga (<i>mh</i>).		

little boy **warok** (*gl*).
 little finger **memek niyewun** (*wh*).
 little girl **arok** (*gl*).
 little nailfish **werek ber** (*gl*); **weroek bar** (*gl*).
 little rain **gityit** (*wh*).
 little, small **giyitj(-belyuk)** (*mh*).
 little son **werak** (*gl*).
 liver **dergeroe** (*gl*); **derrger** (*mh*);
derrgur (*wh*).
 lizard **jenerr** (*mh*).
 lizard sp **gere-guyn-del** (*mh*); **karra**
gwinydal (*wh*); **moenoerr** (*mh*).
 long canoe **dulpoerd** (*gl*).
 long double-ended fighting stick **waroewa'ra**
(*gl*).
 long spear **mabalak** (*wh*).
 long spear with long, wide solid carved head
birir (*gl*).
 long spear with wide solid carved head **biripin**
(*gl*).

long, tall **guban** (*mh*); **kuban** (*wh*).
 long time **gunabungaity** (*wh*); **malak** (*gl*);
ngen-way (*mh*).
 long time ago **nguwerem** (*wh*).
 look **da:r** (*gl*).
 look about **darguridj** (*gl*); **dar-guridj** (*gl*).
 look out for **dey** (*mh*).
 look/aux **dar gurdumin** (*gl*).
 lose **gatji-waya** (*mh*).
 loud **wajubarni** (*mh*).
 lover **luk** (*mh*).
 lower arm **barpur** (*wh*).
 lower leg **kerirer** (*wh*).
 lumpy, gooseflesh **durkdurk** (*mh*).
 lungs **ngaibma** (*gl*).
 lungs (also: bad cold) **ming.girr** (*wh*).

M

maggot **moet** (*mh*).
 make **jeyn** (*mh*).
 make a bed **beylk** (*mh*).
 make a corroboree **jer** (*mh*).
 male **warruk** (*mh*).
 male cousin **etu** (*mh*).
 man **djidji** (*gl*); **jiji** (*mh*); **dyidyi** (*wh*).
 many **mutjurr** (*mh*).
 marchfly **biya** (*mh*).
 married couple **garndarr-giyang** (*mh*).
 maybe **batu** (*mh*).
 mean **miyebetjet** (*wh*).
 meat **binya** (*mh*).
 mend **dar-dam** (*mh*).
 messenger stick (sent to initiate's mother)
ngenmeroe (*gl*).
 midday **mirerurluk** (*wh*).
 middle **benger** (*mh*); **gurnak-jetma** (*mh*).
 might be gone away **bui burang.gaik** (*gl*).
 milkwood **jeynjuk** (*mh*).
 miss **gurrbit** (*mh*).
 mix **dar-yuwuy** (*mh*); **delk** (*mh*).
 money **bawar** (*mh*).
 monsoon forest **doenmoe** (*mh*).
 moon **nudun** (*wh*); **nurdun** (*gl*); **nurdun**
(*mh*).

more **nambard** (*gl*); **nembera** (*gl*);
nembu (*gl*); **nembu** (*gl*); **nembue**
(*gl*); **neme** (*gl*).
 morning **nguityender** (*wh*).
 morning, evening star **nangu-gunuwarrang**
(*mh*).
 mosquito **wirrang** (*wh*); **woerrang** (*mh*).
 mother **gilang** (*mh*); **girlang** (*wh*); **kilang**
(*wh*).
 mother in law **awuiyungu** (*gl*).
 mother's brother **gawuiweke** (*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 **yugutj** (*mh*).
 mucus **miynjirr** (*mh*).
 mud **puyurrk** (*wh*).
 mullet **biyiyn** (*mh*); **buyirn** (*wh*); **buyinj**
(*gl*); **diyinj** (*gl*).
 mushroom **baynburrk** (*mh*).
 mussel **jeyugu** (*mh*); **tyego** (*wh*).

N

naifish	jawk (<i>mh</i>).	no good	bayerkam (<i>wh</i>); guwerruk (<i>wh</i>).
naifish	wergarerg (<i>gl</i>); wergwerk (<i>gl</i>); werkwerk (<i>gl</i>).	nobody	dakayo (<i>wh</i>).
name sharing ritual	ngirrwart (<i>mh</i>).	nod head	buja-duy (<i>mh</i>).
nape of neck	dyunmu (<i>wh</i>).	nose	djinin (<i>gl</i>); jinin (<i>mh</i>); dyinin (<i>wh</i>).
native doctor	miyam-dagar (<i>mh</i>).	not	nunda (<i>gl</i>); nunda (<i>gl</i>).
havel	joedoer (<i>mh</i>); dyudur (<i>wh</i>).	not hear	njap (<i>gl</i>).
nearly	dyawayo (<i>wh</i>); jawu(-ngin) (<i>mh</i>).	not, no, no more	dakayu (<i>gl</i>).
neck	menj (<i>gl</i>).	not see	nudadar (<i>gl</i>).
necklace	meyn-bit (<i>mh</i>).	nothing	dakayu (<i>mh</i>); deyn.gu (<i>mh</i>).
needlefish	kurur (<i>gl</i>).	now	gamiya (<i>gl</i>); djawuyu (<i>gl</i>); neyi (<i>gl</i>).
NEG	dakayu (<i>mh</i>).	now, today	kamu (<i>gl</i>).
nephew, niece.mZC	amuyn (<i>mh</i>).	nulla nulla	mirrpela (<i>wh</i>); wuyga (<i>wh</i>).
nephew.wBS	nambiyn (<i>mh</i>).	numerals: one, two, three, four, five	nembiyu , gurindjiyu , gurinjembiyu , gurindjiyu gurindjiyu , memak nembare (<i>gl</i>).
nest	miyer (<i>mh</i>).	nurse	murp (<i>mh</i>).
new	giyang (<i>mh</i>).		
niece.wBD	arambiyn (<i>mh</i>).		
night	nguit (<i>wh</i>); ngutj (<i>mh</i>).		
no	djuguyu (<i>gl</i>); madjuguyu (<i>gl</i>).		

O

offspring	niyawuyn (<i>mh</i>).	one language, countryman	mat-giya (<i>mh</i>).
oh dear	bo.eke (<i>gl</i>).	one place	del nembiyu (<i>mh</i>).
okay	nambara (<i>mh</i>).	open	al-durrrp (<i>mh</i>); gere-del (<i>mh</i>).
old	gurnapangart (<i>mh</i>); kunapoengait (<i>wh</i>).	open eyes	dun-darr-wut (<i>mh</i>).
old days	nguerrem (<i>mh</i>).	orphan	wakma (<i>mh</i>).
old fellow, together (cf. -birmiyn 'SIM') pininy	(<i>gl</i>).	other, another	nemboe (<i>mh</i>).
old man	djedoerak (<i>gl</i>); dyererek (<i>wh</i>); jerrerek (<i>mh</i>).	other side	jelerr-nembere (<i>mh</i>); nemberre (<i>mh</i>).
several	djeljang (<i>gl</i>).	over there	pak djininj (<i>gl</i>).
old people	beji-beji (<i>mh</i>).	over there, this	njindju (<i>gl</i>).
old woman	mimitj (<i>gl</i>); mimity (<i>wh</i>); miyimitj (<i>mh</i>).	overtake, go in pursuit of	waga (<i>gl</i>).
oldest, biggest	barangen (<i>mh</i>).	overthere	ngu:ndju (<i>gl</i>); ngundju (<i>gl</i>).
omit	nardu (<i>gl</i>).	owl	kunkouk (<i>wh</i>).
on top	wulok (<i>gl</i>).	own father	djulmi (<i>gl</i>).
one	nembiyu (<i>mh</i>).	own mother	yuru (<i>gl</i>).
		own mother's mother	duroek parl (<i>gl</i>).
		own sister	nimdjarok (<i>gl</i>).

P

paddle	mungayirr (<i>wh</i>); wanj (<i>gl</i>); wanjmo (<i>gl</i>).	paddle/aux	mung.guiyang (<i>gl</i>).
paddle-shaped fighting stick	nguroe gurbing (<i>gl</i>); nguroegurbiny (<i>gl</i>).	pademelon	jutbung-jutbungma (<i>mh</i>).
		paint	dep (<i>mh</i>).
		palm sp	goenboerr (<i>mh</i>); moenoerr (<i>mh</i>).

pandanus **tyangatya** (*wh*).
 pandanus aquaticus **jiwurwur** (*mh*).
 pandanus nut **duwur** (*mh*).
 pandanus seed **duwurr** (*wh*).
 pandanus spiralis **jangatja** (*mh*).
 paperbark **merrey** (*mh*); **merrey** (*wh*); **waroe** (*gl*).
 paperbark raft **galpengarrk** (*mh*).
 parrot sp **werrerritj** (*mh*).
 pass **yunduk** (*mh*).
 passionfruit sp **mutuk-mutukma** (*mh*).
 peacable **kunburity** (*wh*).
 pearlshell **nger** (*mh*).
 peck out **al-duruk** (*mh*).
 peel, pull bark off, skin **niyl** (*mh*).
 peewee **birit-birit** (*mh*).
 pelican **moerrmoerr** (*wh*); **terrkterrkma** (*wh*).
 penis **ngoer** (*mh*); **ngur** (*gl*); **nguraya** (*gl*); **ngurma** (*gl*); **ngurmu** (*gl*); **nguer** (*gl*); **ngueroe** (*gl*); **ngueroma** (*gl*).
 perhaps **pata** (*gl*).
 pheasant **boeroer** (*mh*).
 pick up **aroeward** (*gl*).
 pinch **deberrp** (*mh*).
 pine tree **yewoerr** (*mh*).
 place, put **pam** (*gl*).
 plain wood fish spear **dululngak** (*gl*).
 play **deigaitj** (*gl*).
 play clapsticks **jeyerr** (*mh*).
 plum **boen** (*mh*).
 plum sp **mender(-mender)** (*mh*); **yungurrmilyi** (*mh*).
 pocket **boemeleyn** (*mh*).
 point **jinin** (*mh*).

poise spear **didjedma** (*gl*).
 poison **mawuya** (*mh*).
 policeman **jayatj-diyn** (*mh*).
 poor fellow **muwarndi** (*mh*).
 poss and IO **nguru-ma ngernger-ma ngemue-ma wangari-ma nung.gur-wurna-ma gurna-ma gurna-wuru-wurna-ma** (*gl*).
 possum **bu** (*mh*).
 pour, water **juju** (*mh*).
 prawn **wan** (*gl*); **wun** (*gl*); **wun** (*mh*); **wurn** (*wh*).
 pregnant **ngalyawoiy** (*wh*); **ngalyawuy** (*mh*).
 prepare 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 **daniyl** (*mh*).
 pull out **durd-djed** (*gl*).
 push **garda** (*mh*).
 put **jetji** (*mh*); **wuyungdaidj** (*gl*); **yenginj** (*gl*).
 put down, deposit **djed** (*gl*).
 put down/aux **wa: ijed buroerdang** (*gl*).
 put in **djirg** (*gl*).
 put inside **wurrk** (*gl*).
 put (into ground) **gurdjedam** (*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-yityit** (*mh*).

Q

quick **wargaty** (*wh*).
 quickly, quick **wargaitj** (*gl*).

R

rain **dar** (*mh*); **woeng** (*mh*); **wung** (*wh*).
 rainbow **buluy-buluy** (*mh*); **purliburloi** (*wh*).
 rain-(clouds) (from the north) **merrgurlwarr** (*wh*).
 rat **tyuwun** (*wh*).
 raw, uncooked **guyarna** (*mh*).
 recognise **daratj** (*mh*).

recount, tell a story **gurng** (*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*).

remove, take off, out **durt** (*mh*).
 return **ditj** (*mh*); **koen** (*gl*).
 ribs **djele:r pedj** (*gl*); **jelerr** (*mh*).
 ride **gark** (*mh*).
 riflefish **bulalawi** (*mh*); **pulalawi** (*wh*).
 right, correct **mayu** (*wh*); **nambara** (*wh*).
 right (hand) **bardyatma(dyanbar)** (*wh*).
 right leg **djeri** (*gl*).
 ring tailed possum **bo** (*wh*).
 river **berderoe** (*gl*); **berderr** (*mh*);
berderr (*wh*).
 riverbank **ngart-berderr** (*mh*).
 road **jal** (*mh*).
 roast in hot ashes **budadj** (*mh*).
 roast, sting **jer** (*mh*).
 rock **bawar** (*mh*).
 rock (of a canoe) **harp** (*mh*).
 rock snake **warndabele** (*wh*).
 rock wallaby **gurrwurung** (*mh*); **ngandiny**
 (*wh*).

roll on back **yarrpat** (*mh*).
 roll, rub **bitj** (*mh*).
 roll up **dembelatj** (*mh*).
 root **pei** (*wh*).
 roots **mer-beyi** (*mh*).
 rope **bik** (*mh*).
 rosella **wirri-wirri** (*mh*).
 rotten **murrmurra** (*mh*).
 rotten, stinking **nyuk** (*mh*).
 rowing **mara** (*gl*).
 rub **yerb** (*gl*).
 rub **yerab** (*gl*).
 rubbish **yer** (*mh*); **yewerr** (*mh*).
 run **jagart** (*mh*).
 run away **burgbui** (*gl*); **burrk** (*mh*);
djagard-bui (*gl*); **jagart-jiway**
 (*mh*).
 run fast **birr** (*mh*).
 run hither **djagard-ga** (*gl*).

S

sad **pururra** (*wh*).
 saga **ege** (*gl*).
 saltwater **ngambatj** (*mh*).
 saltwater crocodile **ngoerrngoerr** (*mh*).
 salty water **wok koytiwoi** (*wh*).
 sand **gelem** (*mh*); **kelem** (*wh*).
 sandpaper fig **miwiyn** (*mh*).
 saratoga **gurrmayn.gu** (*mh*).
 scale **jirr** (*mh*).
 scoop out water **pinj** (*gl*).
 scorpion **marerrim** (*mh*); **marirrim** (*wh*).
 scrape **yerrp** (*mh*).
 scratch **yir** (*gl*).
 scream out **we** (*mh*).
 sea bird sp **jirrkarda** (*mh*).
 sea eagle **gern.gern** (*mh*).
 scabreeze **gurwa** (*mh*).
 second daughter **ngundju warding** (*gl*).
 see **dar** (*gl*); **darr** (*mh*).
 see, appear in sight **garak** (*gl*).
 see, look at **dar** (*gl*).
 semen **ber** (*mh*).
 send **wart** (*mh*).
 settle down **mern-biritj** (*mh*).
 several **djaljangma** (*gl*); **djaljangma** (*gl*).
 shade **mana** (*mh*).
 shadow **mirr**.
 shake **berrberr** (*mh*).
 shake head **buja-butj** (*mh*).

shake out **datj-dun** (*mh*); **dun** (*mh*).
 shallow **biyn-miyi** (*mh*).
 shame **yenjbug** (*gl*).
 shark **ardayn** (*mh*).
 sharp **gerwinduroek** (*gl*); **ngart-gerger**
 (*mh*); **winduroek** (*gl*).
 sharpen **lurrng** (*mh*).
 shave **yarrk** (*mh*).
 shift camp **walak pininj** (*gl*).
 shin **garrarra-burk** (*mh*); **gerrerre**
 (*mh*).
 shivering/aux **kerredam** (*wh*).
 shivering, weak **werrwerr** (*wh*).
 short **girdiyndurk** (*mh*); **kidinj** (*gl*);
kirdin durk (*wh*).
 short club **melainj** (*gl*); **merlainj** (*gl*).
 short legged **jerri-mundi** (*mh*).
 shoulder **dewerr** (*mh*); **tewerr** (*wh*).
 shoulder blade **dewerr-bari** (*mh*); **tewerr pali**
 (*wh*).
 shoulder blade **deweroe** (*gl*).
 show **doerreng** (*mh*).
 show off **burrung** (*mh*).
 sick **burr** (*wh*).
 sing out **mai mai** (*gl*).
 sing someone **nit** (*mh*).
 sink **lem** (*mh*).
 sister **eweng** (*gl*); **eweyn** (*mh*).
 sister's husband **edue** (*gl*).

sit	bak (mh); doet (mh); dud (gl); durd (gl); dued (gl); niyinj (gl).	spit out	pue-gaitj (gl); tak (gl).
sit down, sit	dued (gl).	splash (in water, eg. bathing)	kuelp (gl).
sit down together	pak (gl); pal buninj (gl).	splashing	kuelpgaidj (gl).
sit not/aux	dued magainj gandjiyakawa (gl).	spotty	mitmit (mh).
sit on	gara-bak (mh).	spread	debel (mh).
sit/aux	durduung-garoernai (gl).	sprinkle	juk (mh).
sit/aux	durdburnai (gl); dued kuenen (gl).	squeeze	daboerrgitj (mh).
sit/aux	dudburnai (gl).	stand up	bardjed (gl).
skin	gara (gl); garak (gl); garala (mh); karala (wh).	stand up, arise	bard-djed (gl).
skin	yil (gl).	stand, walk	djud (gl).
slap thighs	boel-datj (mh).	star	miyalan (mh).
sleep	ngur-ngur (gl).	star (big star)	nango (wh).
sleep (desire)	mila (gl).	star (little star)	mirlan (wh).
sleepy	ngen-ngurrngurr (wh).	stars	mioelan (gl).
slightly off, rotten	wuri-wuri (mh).	steal	woemnyi (mh).
slip	jirr (mh); jut-jirr (mh).	step, tread on, kick	jut (mh).
slither	yar (mh).	sternum	pak (gl).
slow	mayenendyi (wh).	stew	guy (mh).
small	kiyity (wh).	stick	dam (mh); joeroer (mh).
small spear	warnwa (gl).	stingray	meroem (mh).
smell	dal (gl); dal (mh); dan (mh).	stingray (large sp)	popo (wh).
smoke	bung (gl); bung (mh); gere-bung (mh); keroebung (gl); ung-gurr (wh); wung-gur (gl); wung-gurr (mh).	stingray (small sp)	merim (wh).
smooth	bebema (mh).	stink	njugma (gl); njukma (gl).
snail	joem (mh).	stir/aux	garakawa (gl).
snake	boendoereng (mh); dewer (mh); dewer (mh); doengoet (mh); ngoeynboer (mh).	stomach(anatom.)	mendulma (gl).
snake sp	marrk (mh); nimjak (mh); warndawe (mh); wujarabi (mh).	stone	pawur (wh).
sneak	birip (gl).	stone axe	parndarn (wh).
sneeze	djiriye (gl); jirnya (mh).	stone headed spear	paitjama (gl).
soft	moeyl (mh); muymuyma (wh).	stone spear	baitya (wh); badja (gl); batja ~ batha (mh).
some	jelyeng (mh).	stone tomahawk	bandan (gl).
son	niya (mh).	stop quiet	djayaitj (gl).
son's son	kawui (gl).	storm cloud (from the south)	enbirren (wh).
sorcery	yarrindi (mh).	straight	gunduy (mh).
sore	mitj (mh); mirt (wh).	straighten	duy (mh); gun (mh).
soul, spirit	mirr (mh).	straighten leg	yarrgal (mh); yarrgat (mh).
spear	dar (mh); der (mh); dulnguk (mh); garnbi (mh); tyimbarrang (wh); kanbi (wh); mabarak (mh); waya (wh).	stretch	bunin (mh); dudu (mh).
spear grass	jirriyn (mh).	strike violently	darl (gl).
spear (stone)	patja (gl).	string	big (gl).
spear (stone), knife batja	(gl).	string, rope	bik (wh).
spear thrower	lagainj (gl); meng-geroe (gl).	stringy bark	kenderr (wh).
spider	garr (mh); karr (wh).	strong	ngatal (wh).
spill	nim-dar (mh).	stump	mer-durk (mh).
spit	dak (mh); jubek (mh).	submerge	gum (mh).
		suck	dum (mh).
		sugar glider	mitmit (mh).
		sugarbag	wemerr (mh).
		sulk	dul (mh).
		sun	moeroer (wh); moerroerr (mh); murur (gl).
		sundown time	muridja (gl).
		sunrise, east	mirru garra gama (wh).
		sunset, west	mirru djalkma (wh).
		swag	mujurng (mh).

swamp **garuwa** (*wh*).
sweat **ngoen** (*mh*); **ngundjard** (*gl*).
sweet **dingding** (*mh*); **gunburit** (*wh*).
swell **lari** (*mh*).
swim **gabuk-gubuk** (*mh*); **gubuk** (*mh*);
wilid (*gl*).

swirl water **kuldep** (*gl*).
swollen **lawlaw** (*mh*).
swordfish **jemererriyn** (*mh*).
.

T

tail **jirriyn** (*mh*).
tail (of animal) **tyiriny** (*wh*).
tailbone **goen-noemboerroom** (*mh*).
take **wa** (*gl*); **way** (*mh*).
take away/aux **wawiyenginj** (*gl*).
take out of **birgaidj** (*gl*).
take, put into, fill **wadjuk** (*gl*).
take, seize/aux **wagurdoemin** (*gl*).
take/aux **wagurdumen** (*gl*).
take-put into (canoe) **wa-kulpgaidj-guiyang**
(*gl*).
take/aux **wa-buroerdam** (*gl*).
talk **gur** (*mh*); **lam** (*mh*); **manyu** (*gl*);
manju (*gl*).
talk about **joenmoe-lam** (*mh*).
talk, chat **lamlam** (*gl*).
talk/aux **manyudenak** (*gl*).
tapping (of boomerang) **djel-djal** (*gl*).
tapping sticks(pair) **djirnginj** (*gl*).
tears **moeng.goey** (*mh*).
tease **ngen-lamerritj** (*mh*).
tell **manyu** (*mh*); **manju** (*gl*).
ten days **memek gurindjiyu** (*gl*).
tendon **bey** (*mh*).
termite **didi** (*mh*).
testicles **boemoerr** (*mh*); **buemuroe** (*gl*).
that **may** (*mh*).
that over there **ngunkudu** (*gl*).
that side **ngunini** (*mh*).
there **ngun** (*mh*).
they lost, left behind/aux **koju wiburainj** (*gl*).
thigh **jerri-mer** (*mh*); **tyerrimer** (*wh*).
thin **ngandutmiy** (*wh*).
thin spear, very short **warnwu** (*gl*).
thirsty **mern(dam)** (*wh*).
this **njin** (*gl*).
this place **nyindju** (*gl*).
this side **nginini** (*mh*).
this way come **njindju waya** (*gl*).
those(not these) **djaljangma** (*gl*).
three **gurriynju-nembiyu** (*mh*).
throat **meny** (*wh*).
throw **gatj** (*mh*); **kaidj** (*gl*).
throw away **wutj** (*mh*).

throw in water **watjuk** (*mh*).
thumb **memek nango** (*wh*).
thunder **mirr** (*mh*); **mirrdam** (*wh*).
tick **mimi** (*mh*).
tide **ngambayk** (*wh*).
tie **wirr** (*mh*).
tie up/sit **dab-ang-durd** (*gl*).
'tiger' (flying fox) **meroema** (*gl*).
tired **atjap** (*wh*).
tired, want to knock off **abab** (*gl*).
to lie to **mek** (*mh*).
tobacco **goen** (*mh*).
today **gamu-ngin** (*mh*); **jawu(-ngin)**
(*mh*).
toe **me:r** (*gl*).
toenail **mer ngerer** (*gl*); **mer ngerer** (*wh*).
tomorrow **niga** (*mh*).
tomorrow morning **nikana** (*gl*).
tongue **ngener** (*gl*); **ngener** (*mh*); **ngener**
(*wh*).
tooth **ngart** (*mh*); **ngut** (*wh*).
tooth, teeth **nga:d** (*gl*).
toothache **barnam** (*mh*).
trachea **meyn-galalurr** (*mh*).
track **berkma** (*mh*).
transport **wara** (*mh*).
tree **yim** (*wh*).
tree rat **joewoen** (*mh*).
tree snake **garnarnbayn** (*mh*); **kunenbany**
(*wh*).
tree sp **binyangartba** (*mh*); **boeyk** (*mh*);
darik (*mh*); **doeyn** (*mh*); **geretil**
(*mh*); **girrgirr** (*mh*); **gulwun** (*mh*);
gunerre (*mh*); **jan** (*mh*); **menyer**
(*mh*); **meyn-gerrwek** (*mh*); **mer**
(*mh*); **mungam** (*mh*); **murk** (*mh*);
ngalmirr (*mh*).
trouble **dawu** (*mh*).
truly! **jamakjuru** (*mh*).
tucker **miyi** (*mh*).
turkey **ngur-ngura** (*gl*).
turn around **gerugaidj** (*gl*); **gurngaidj** (*gl*);
nygingurnadju (*gl*); **njigin**
gurnadju (*gl*).

turn around **gurugaidj** (*gl*).
 turtle **duriny** (*wh*); **durrin** (*mh*).
 turtle shell **durrin-ngerer** (*mh*).
 turtle sp **ngiw** (*mh*); **yirrng** (*mh*).
 twist **walwal** (*gl*).

twist, tap **walwal** (*gl*).
 two **gurindjiyu** (*gl*); **gurriynjugu** (*mh*).
 two mouthed fish **kararu** (*gl*).
 .

U

uncle **gaga** (*wh*); **gaka** (*mh*).
 underarm hair **gurna ngarndi** (*gl*).
 underneath **yur** (*gl*).
 upper arm **barmer** (*wh*).
 upright **wurr** (*mh*).

up(wards) **birrk** (*mh*).
 urinate **ngarey** (*mh*).
 urine **woerey** (*mh*).

V

vagina etc **darlingin** (*gl*).
 vagina(etc) **dariyir** (*gl*).
 valley, creek **bar** (*wh*).

vomit **egek** (*mh*); **gaynngey** (*mh*).

W

wading (in water) **gubak burainj** (*gl*).
 wag **wutj** (*mh*).
 wait! **walgagara** (*gl*).
 wait a minute!, while **guk** (*mh*).
 wake up **jut-dap** (*mh*).
 walk **warryet** (*mh*).
 walkabout **djudgaitj** (*gl*).
 walking stick **jan-jurr** (*mh*).
 wallaby **buljen** (*mh*); **jirratj** (*mh*);
ngarndiyn (*mh*).
 wants to cross **buingiyenginj** (*gl*).
 wash **jurritj** (*mh*).
 wasp **miyambala** (*mh*).
 watching/aux **darmaadak** (*gl*).
 water **wok** (*wh*); **wugdju** (*gl*); **wuk** (*gl*).
 water, booze **wuk** (*mh*).
 water goanna **jirrwur** (*mh*); **marrambar**
 (*mh*).
 water rat **gunnyukma** (*mh*); **gunnyukma**
 (*mh*).
 water yam **guri** (*mh*).
 waterlily **kertter** (*wh*); **kuyut** (*wh*).
 watersnake **punderang** (*wh*).
 wave **wat** (*mh*).
 wave (a torch) **bir** (*mh*).
 we **ngemoe** (*mh*); **ngerru** (*mh*).
 weave **warl** (*gl*).
 wet ground **wurk mungo** (*wh*).
 wet season **gawut(-yurma)** (*mh*); **kawurt** (*wh*).

we-two **ngeru** (*gl*).
 what **aninju** (*gl*); **anoeru** (*gl*); **aynja**
 (*mh*).
 where **ana** (*mh*); **enoeru** (*gl*).
 which way **an.gendju** (*gl*).
 which way, how **andju** (*gl*).
 while **guk** (*mh*); **gwuk** (*mh*).
 whip **jet-bilp** (*mh*).
 whip snake **gungma** (*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 **bung-gada** (*mh*); **gerwey** (*mh*).
 white apple sp **jambala** (*mh*).
 white clay **bala** (*wh*).
 white cockatoo **men.gerr** (*wh*).
 white gum **gerrwek** (*mh*); **kerrwek** (*wh*).
 white man **barrakut** (*mh*).
 white ochre **bala** (*mh*).
 whiteman's axe **meng** (*wh*).
 who **mundju** (*gl*); **nuwun** (*mh*).
 wild banana **butjgurnung** (*mh*).
 widow **delmarrk** (*mh*); **tyirnbek** (*wh*).
 wife **gapi** (*mh*); **nangal** (*mh*); **warang**
 (*wh*).

wild **indinjma** (*gl*).
 wild cherry **gerrwei** (*wh*).
 wild dog **dyamar imdiny** (*wh*).
 willywilly **joeroem** (*mh*).
 wind **berberma** (*mh*); **berberma** (*wh*).
 wind (big) **lagun** (*wh*).
 windpipe **mendem** (*gl*).
 wing **mirung** (*wh*); **murung** (*gl*).
 woman **goerak** (*wh*); **guwarak** (*mh*).
 woman's breast **kuen** (*gl*).

woman's digging stick **wambak** (*gl*).
 womb **jarriyn** (*mh*).
 women, lubras **guwarak** (*gl*).
 woollybut **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 **belerr** (*mh*).
 yam sp **derrngey** (*mh*); **jambur** (*mh*);
moenendek (*mh*).
 yamstick **jan** (*mh*).
 yard up **den** (*mh*).
 yawn **gere-nga** (*mh*).
 yes **ya** (*mh*).
 yesterday **jatjin** (*mh*); **dyedyin** (*wh*); **pendji**
 (*gl*).

you **wangari** (*gl*).
 you, your **wangarri** (*mh*).
 young girl **kuwoerda** (*gl*); **putjamoenang** (*gl*);
putjoemenang (*gl*).
 young girl (barely adolescent) **putjamenang**
 (*gl*).
 young man **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 yuŋuinj
njinma niŋinj pardjed yuŋinj dar burɜdam didjga yuŋinj wud yuŋuinj
piɜk pardjedma guiyaŋ
padjedma guiyaŋ djidji me ende guiyaŋ
didj bui yeŋainj
hardjed yuŋuinj didjga yeŋinj
dar burɜdam didjga yeŋinj
patja ŋuruma ɡumuwarəŋ ayaŋ
wak m ayaŋ dar ma ɡuraŋ awa
waŋari bui yendji ɡiyitj anjaŋ ma
bui ɡuyaŋ birip bui ma ɡuyaŋ birip yuindju
ɡur yuŋuitj wud wud dam
mudjuŋ ayu ma
mud burɜdam muŋ
ardurɜh dam muŋ
batja niɜma kiir ŋerp dam muŋ
mül wa durd djed dalah dam muŋ

ɲɛɾp dam
 wirɲak bui yeɲinɲ
 mayu mül wa wi yeɲinɲ
 yuɲuinɲ mül dakayu
 djud gaidj ma dag durək wud yuɲuinɲ
 malaq njina djirg gurmum
 warɜ wayin mum
 wuyunɲ daidj mum
 buna wayin wai djed nembü wa wadjed
 malak wirɲak dju memek gurindjiyu
 njina ɲɛlmu yeɲinɲ
 njuk ma guyanɲ guiyin
 njuk ma njin guyanɲ guiyin
 walak ɲin burg bui warga burainɲ pak pininɲ
 nambard yeɲinɲ njin
 paranɲ guweruk
 malag mayu ma njug ma
 malak bui yeɲinɲ dju
 mudjur ayu walak pininɲ
 djedɜrak gurnawaranɲ mai ma bangai
 mimiɲitj dam muɲ ma
 djedɜrak dam muɲ
 mimitj gamburdaɲak
 didj ga biri garawurɜrd burarni rney
 dag njin dju garala ma wa wadjaidj biri
 garala njin ma ɲumɲyu ɲuwerem djirg dju malag djirk dju
 pedj njin dju gururdam pedjma
 garak guiyarɲ
 giyanɲarɲu guiyarɲ
 gainɲ djedɜrak njin ma garala ma wadgaitj biwi djedɜrak
 dakayu djukuyu mayu bui biwi
 yenj ayanɲ djuguyo manju denak mimitj nji yu
 djedɜrak ma ɲaidj
 ya ɲaidj mayu bui biri manju denak djedɜrak njin yu
 manyu denak djedɜrak ma ya didj ga biri
 djedɜrak niyu djuguyo demənaq didj ga biri neyi
 manju denak
 wuluk bui buranɲgak mayu

3. Resumé

Allabout 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.

Allatime 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 *binji* 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 yuɣinj

pard - djed -yuɣinj
up - stand -3MSlieIMPF

'(An old man) was getting up'

njinma niɣinj pardjed yuɣinj dar burɣdam

njin -ma niɣinj pard - djed -yuɣinj dar -burɣdam
there -PRM 3MSsitIMPF up - stand -3MSgoIMPF look -3ASdoPR

'There he was sitting, he was getting up. They look around'

didjga yuɣinj wud yuɣinj

didj - ga -yuɣinj wud -yuɣinj
return - come -3MSgoIMPF lie -3MSlieIMPF

'He was coming back, and lying down'

piɣk pardjed ma guiyaŋ

piɣk - pard - djed -ma -guiyaŋ
sneak - up - stand -IMPF -3MSauxPR

'He is sneaking up'

padjedma guiyaŋ dɗidji me ende guiyaŋ

pard - djed -ma guiyaŋ dɗidji -ma -yende guiyaŋ
up - stand -IMPF 3MSgoPR man -PRM -LOC 3MSgoPR

'He is getting up, he is going to the man'

didj bui yeɣainj

didj - bui -yeɣainj
return - go -3MSgoIMPF

'He was going back'

bardjed yuɣinj didjga yeɣinj

bard - djed -yuɣinj didj - ga -yeɣinj
up - stand -3MSlieIMPF return - come -3MSgoIMPF

'He was getting up. He was coming back'

dar burɣdam didjga yeɣinj

dar -burɣdam didj - ga -yeɣinj
look.-3ASdoPR return - come -3MSgoIMPF

'They look around. He was coming back again'

patja ɣuru ma gunuwarəŋ ayaŋ

patja ɣuru -ma gunuwarəŋ ayaŋ
spear 1MIN -PRM big 1MSgoPR

'My spear. I am a big man'

wak m ayaŋ dar ma guraŋ awa

wak -ma -ayaŋ dar -ma -guraŋ -awa
fat -IMPF -1MSauxPR hit -IMPF -3ASgoPR -1MO

'I am getting fat; they are killing me'

wagari bui yendji giɣitj anjaŋ ma

wagari bui -yendji giɣitj anjaŋ -ma
2MIN go -2MSgoFSubj little 2MSgoPR -IMPF

'You should go, you are little'

bui guyaŋ birip bui ma guyaŋ birip yuindju

bui -guyaŋ birip - bui -ma -guyaŋ birip yuindju
go -3MSgoPR sneak - go -IMPF -3MSauxPR sneak just

'He's going. He is going to sneak up, just sneak up'

gur yuguitj wud wuddam

gur -yin -guitj - wud - wud -dam
pull -HITH -CAUS - lie - lie -3MSdoPR

'Pulling him this way, he let him lie there'

mudjur ayuma

mudjur -ayu -ma
many -only -PRM

'Allabout'

mud burɜdam nuŋ

mud -burɜdam -nuŋ
not see -3ASdoPR -3MO

'They don't see him'

ardurɜb dam nuŋ

ardurɜb -dam -nuŋ
cut open -3MSdoPR -3MO

'He cuts him open'

batja niɜma kür ɲerp dam nuŋ

batja -ni -ma kür - ɲerp -dam -nuŋ
spear -INSTR -PRM cut - cut -3MSdoPR -3MO

'He cuts him with his spear'

mül wa durddjed dalab damnuŋ

mül wa durd - djed - dalab -dam -nuŋ
fat get take out - stand - lift -3MSdoPR -3MO

'Getting the fat, he takes it out of him'

ɲerp dam

ɲerp -dam
cut -3MSdoPR

'He cuts'

wirɲak buiɲeɲinɲ

wirɲak bui -yeɲinɲ
finish go -3MSgoIMPF

'When he is finished he is going away'

mayu mül wa wiɲeɲinɲ

mayu mül wa - way -yeɲinɲ
enough fat get - take -3MSgoIMPF

'He is getting enough fat to take away'

yurɲinɲ mül dakayu

yurɲinɲ mül dakayu
3MSlieIMPF fat NEG

'He is lying there, without fat'

djud gaidj-ma aldurɜk wud yurɲinɲ

djud - gaidj -ma dag aldurɜk - wud -yurɲinɲ
tread - CAUS -IMPF camp pick out - lie -3MSlieIMPF

'He's going walkabout, while in the camp the other is lying picked out'

malaq njina djirg gurmum

malak njina djirg - gur - mum
long time here put in - pull - cover over

'For a long time, (there were burial preparations) putting in, pulling and covering over (with sticks and earth)'

war3 wayin mum

war3 wa -yin mum
paperbark get -HITH cover
'Get paperbark this way and cover him'

wuyun daidj mum

wu -yun daidj mum
lie -3MSlieCOND hit cover
'The body should lie there covered over'

buna wayin wai djed nembue wa wadjed

buna wa -yin wai -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 wirgak dju

malak wirgak -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 guyangui yin

njuk -ma -guyangu -yin
stink -IMPF -3MSgoPR -HITH
'And the bad smell is coming this way'

njuk ma njin guyangui yin

njuk -ma njin guyangui -yin
stink -PRM this 3MSgoPR -HITH
'That smell comes all the way here'

walak nin burg bui war ga burainj

walak nin 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 yeqinj njin parang guweruk

nambard yeqinj njin parang guweruk
more/too 3MSgoIMPF 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 yeqinj dju

malak bui -yeqinj -dju
long time go -3MSgoIMPF -SPEC
'It went on for a long time'

mudjur ayu walak pininj

mudjur -ayu walak -pininj
many -only shift camp -3ASSitIMPF
'And everybody was shifting camp'

djedɹak gurnawaraŋ mai-ma baŋgai
 djedɹak gurnawaraŋ mai -ma baŋgai
 old man big that -PRM father
 'That big old man, the father'

mimiyitj dam nuŋma
 mimiyitj dam -nuŋ -ma
 old woman 3MSdoPR -3MO -PRM
 'But the old woman stayed with him'

djedɹak dam nuŋ
 djedɹak dam -nuŋ
 old man 3MSdoPR -3MO
 'And the old boss stayed with him'

mimitj gamburdaŋak
 mimitj gamburdaŋak
 old woman 1+2MSdoF
 'The old woman tells the dead man'

didj ga biri gara wurɹd
 didj -ga -biri garak -wurɹdam
 return -come -3ASgoFSubj appear -3ASdoPR
 'Let those people (who were driven away by the smell) come back'

burarni rney dag njindju
 burarni -rney dag njin -dju
 3ASSitFSubj -1+2MO camp here -SPEC
 'So that they can be with us, here in our camp'

garala ma wa wad gaidj biri
 garala -ma wa -wad -gaidj -biri
 skin -PRM get -hang up -CAUS -3ASgoFSubj
 'They can go and hang up your skin'

garala njin ma ŋunuyu ŋuwerem djirgdju malag
 garala njin -ma ŋunuyu ŋuwerem djirg -dju malag
 skin there -PRM there first time put in -SPEC long time
 'Put up this skin. Now it can be prepared for burial at last'

djirkdju
 djirk -dju
 put in -SPEC
 'To be put in the ground'

pedj njin dju gurudam
 pedj njin -dju gurudam
 bones this -SPEC 3ASdoPR
 'Leave these bones behind'

pedj ma garaka guiyaŋ
 pedj -ma garaka -guiyaŋ
 bone -PRM appear. -3MSgoPR
 'The bones can come here'

giyaŋ ayu guiyaŋga yin
 giyaŋ ayu guiyaŋga -yin
 new only 3MSgoPR -HITH
 'There are new bones'

djedɹak njin ma garala ma ward gaitj biwi djedɹak dakayu djukuyu
 djedɹak njin -ma garala -ma ward -gaitj -biwi djedɹak dakayu
 old man there-PRM skin -PRM hang -CAUS -3MSgoFSubj old man NEG
 'Don't hang up the skin'

mayu bui biwi
 mayu bui -biwi
 enough go -3MSgoFSubj
 'It is enough, he should go away'

yenj-ayan
 yenj -ayan
 shame -1MSgoPR
 'I am ashamed'

djuguyo manju denak mimitj njiyu
 djuguyo manju -denak mimitj njiyu
 not talk -3MSdoP old woman here
 'He is not talking to the old woman here'

djedɹak ma ɣaidj
 djedɹak -ma ɣaidj
 old man -PRM all the time
 'The old man is there all the time'

ya ɣaidj mayu bui biri manju denak djedɹak njiyu
 ya ɣaidj mayu bui -birik manju -denak djedɹak njinyu
 yes all the time enough go -3ASgoNFSbj talk -3MSdoP old man here
 'Yes, all the time, all right. They should go. The old man said.'

manyu denak djedɹak ma
 manyu -denak djedɹak -ma
 talk -3MSdoP old man -PRM
 'The old man said'

ya didj ga biri
 ya didj - ga -biri
 yes return - come 3ASgoFSubj
 'Yes, they should come back'

djedɹak niyu djuguyo demɹaq didj ga biri neyi
 djedɹak niyu dakayu demɹak didj - ga -birik neyi
 old man now not 3MSdoP return - come -3ASauxNFSbj now
 'The old man did. They should come back now'

manju denak
 manju -denak
 tell -3MSdoP
 'That's what he said'

wuluk bui buraggaik mayu
 wuluk bui -burag.gak mayu
 sky go -3ASgoP all right (OK)
 'They went up in the sky'

APPENDIX 4

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.

		Past	Present	Future	NonFut Subj	Fut Subj
lie	1MS			<i>gayingak</i>		<i>arni</i>
	1+2MS					<i>amburni</i>
	2MS		<i>anyu</i>			<i>aynjurni</i>
	3MS	<i>yurak</i>	<i>guyu</i>	<i>guyingak</i>	<i>burnik</i>	<i>burni</i>
	1AS	<i>arrak</i>	<i>arru</i>			<i>arni</i>
	2AS	<i>nung.gurrak</i>			<i>nung.girrinik</i>	
	3AS	<i>burrak</i>	<i>gurru</i>			<i>burruni</i>
sit	1MS	<i>enenek</i>	<i>enen</i>	<i>garningak</i>		
	1+2MS	<i>emnyoenek</i>	<i>emnyen</i>			<i>amburnay</i>
	2MS	<i>envenek</i>	<i>enven</i>			<i>aynjurney</i>
	3MS	<i>noenek</i>	<i>gunen</i>	<i>gerningak</i>	<i>burnayak</i>	
	1AS	<i>enoenek</i>		<i>gerriningak</i>	<i>arranayak</i>	<i>arranay</i>
	2AS	<i>nung.gunoenek</i>				<i>nung.gurnay</i>
	3AS	<i>boerroenek</i>	<i>gunen</i>			<i>burrurnay</i>
stand	1MS	<i>atak</i>	<i>atu</i>	<i>gatangak</i>	<i>atayak</i>	
	1+2MS	<i>ambutak</i>	<i>ambutu</i>		<i>amboedeyak</i>	<i>ambutey</i>
	2MS	<i>aynjutak</i>	<i>aynjutu</i>	<i>gaynjutangkak</i>	<i>aynjedeyak</i>	<i>eynjutey</i>
	3MS	<i>butak</i>	<i>gutu</i>	<i>gutangkak</i>	<i>butayak</i>	<i>butay</i>
	1AS	<i>arratak</i>				<i>arratay</i>
	2AS	<i>nung.gurrutak</i>		<i>nung.garratangak</i>	<i>nung.gurrutayak</i>	
	3AS	<i>burrutak</i>	<i>gurrutu</i>	<i>gurrutangkak</i>	<i>burrutayak</i>	<i>burrutay</i>
go	1MS	<i>ayang.gak</i>	<i>ayang</i>	<i>gawuyak</i>	<i>awalik</i>	
	1+2MS	<i>amnyang.gak</i>	<i>amnyang</i>	<i>gambiyak</i>	<i>ambalik</i>	<i>ambali</i>
	2MS	<i>anyang.gak</i>	<i>anyang</i>	<i>gaynjiyak</i>	<i>aynjulik</i>	<i>eynjili</i>
	3MS	<i>yang.gak</i>	<i>guyang</i>	<i>guwayak</i>	<i>buwalik</i>	<i>buwali</i>
	1AS	<i>arrang.gak</i>	<i>arrang</i>	<i>garriyak</i>	<i>errik</i>	<i>erri</i>
	2AS	<i>nung.gurrung.gak</i>	<i>nung.gurrang</i>	<i>nung.gurruyak</i>	<i>ning.girrik</i>	<i>ning.girri</i>
	3AS	<i>burrung.gak</i>	<i>gurrang</i>	<i>garruyak</i>	<i>birrik</i>	
do	1MS	<i>ardimine</i>	<i>ardam</i>		<i>ardayak</i>	
	1+2MS	<i>amboerdimine</i>	<i>amburdam</i>			<i>amburdey</i>
	2MS	<i>evnmine</i>	<i>aynjurdam</i>			<i>eynjurdey</i>
	3MS	<i>denek</i>		<i>gurdangkak</i>	<i>burdayak</i>	<i>burdey</i>
	1AS	<i>errmine</i>		<i>garrdangkak</i>	<i>arrdeyak</i>	
	2AS	<i>nung.gurrrmine</i>	<i>nung.gurrdam</i>	<i>nung.gurrdangkak</i>		
	3AS	<i>boerrmine</i>	<i>burrudam</i>		<i>burrudayak</i>	