A salvage grammar and wordlist of the language from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie

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Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Cooperative
Foreword

We, the Wonnarua people, have embarked on a journey: a journey to reclaim our birthright, our cultural right, our right to identity, and our human right. We are reclaiming the language of our forefathers; the language of the Lake Macquarie and Hunter River peoples.

As most informed people would know, the teaching of Aboriginal languages was suppressed throughout New South Wales and in other parts of this country. It was assumed that we Aboriginal people would have no use for our language in a European colony and, furthermore, it was believed that Aboriginal people would simply ‘die out’.

But we did not die out. We survived, and we continue to survive. Part of the process of survival is to adapt to the environment imposed upon us, as our forefathers did. Their ability to adapt inspires us and gives us pride in their achievements under extreme adversity.

Today we have resources available to us far beyond the comprehension of our forefathers. Those resources include non-Aboriginal people who have committed to do their part, through their expertise, to assist Aboriginal people with our journey into the future.

We started our journey to reclaim our language in 2001. We determined at the very beginning that, should we choose to go down this track, then we had to ensure that the best possible tools would be available to do justice to our people, our future generations and to our forefathers. We engaged a linguist to research all available records of the language of the area. The result is the document you hold in your hand.

We class this document as a tool, a tool that we and the other descendants of the Lake Macquarie and Hunter River peoples can use to reconstruct the shared language of all our forefathers. We, the Wonnarua, make no sole claim to these works. We do as our forefathers did: we share this tool with all. After all, we all suffered equally in the past; if we share and work together then our destiny is in our own hands.

*Palay kurikupa wiyalapitja!*

Robert Lester
Singleton, 2006
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Acknowledgements

This description of the phonology and morphology of the language from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie was compiled in response to a request from the Wonnarua Nation Aboriginal Corporation, who want to learn the language spoken by their ancestors. It forms the first step in the process of language revitalisation. With the publication of this book the Wonnarua people, and other descendents of speakers of this language, are in a position to produce teaching and learning materials.

This grammar relies heavily on the work of Biraban, the teacher of the Reverend Lancelot Threlkeld. Throughout Australia, many Aboriginal language teachers shared their language knowledge with Europeans, at a time when European invasion threatened their people’s survival. This valuable grammatical information forms the basis of many modern language revival projects. Biraban’s keen understanding of his language, and his ability to teach Threlkeld, allow us today to learn about the language from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie.

I thank the Wonnarua Nation Aboriginal Corporation Committee, the members of the Wonnarua Nation — in particular Rob Lester and Luke Hickey — for their support and encouragement. They provided me with a wonderful opportunity to work with precious records from the past, and hopefully I have presented the information contained in those records in a way that will facilitate the revival of this language, including future research.

This project has been supported by the Wonnarua Nation Aboriginal Corporation, the Department of Aboriginal Affairs through the New South Wales Aboriginal Languages Research and Resource Centre, and the Department of Communications, Information Technology and the Arts through the Many Rivers Aboriginal Language Centre under the auspices of Muurrbay Aboriginal Language and Culture Cooperative.

Many thanks to Harold Koch, Gavan Breen, Jim Wafer and Nick Reid for their comments on earlier drafts, without which this document would not have reached its present form. The responsibility for the content of this final version lies with me. Thanks are also due to Ken Walker, Gary Williams, Michael Jarrett and all at Muurrbay, John Giacon, John Hobson, Jaky Troy, Caroline Jones, Anna Ash and Bernard Lissarrague for their practical support.

Amanda Lissarrague
2006
**Introduction**

This work was compiled in response to the need for a practical interpretation of old records about the language from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie (shortened throughout to ‘HRLM’). It provides a phonemic orthography and a description of the morphology of the language, with some reference to syntax. It is not intended to be ‘the last word’ on the subject. Further study of the data from archival materials will hopefully broaden our understanding of the language, particularly in the area of syntax, which has not been attempted here. Certain parts of this work may be contentious, but it will provide scholars with easier access to the data and hopefully encourage further analysis. This document consists of three parts.

Part 1 describes the phonemes of the language and the conventions used by Threlkeld in representing various sounds; the nominal and verbal morphology, including inflectional and derivational suffixes; clitics; particles; and interjections.

Part 2 is a wordlist composed of an HRLM word, its definition, the part of speech, and its source(s). The wordlist is a collection of words and some phrases found in Threlkeld 1827, 1834 and 1850, Hale 1846, Larmer 1834, Miller 1886, Fawcett 1898, Mann nd, Fison and Howitt 1880, Fraser 1892 and Haslam 1984 (see 1.2 Language and sources). Words taken from Mann include only those words also found in at least one of the other sources. There is one exception: the word iríNa, which means both ‘satin bird’ and ‘a place name near Brisbane Water’. Some words also have a cognate form in the source section. For all cognates the relevant language and source is identified. Following the wordlist is an English to HRLM finderlist.

Part 3 is a database of sentences and phrases from a variety of identified sources. It includes the original form of the phrase or sentence and a reconstructed form using a phonemic orthography. It also identifies the morphemes in a gloss — thus providing a morpheme-by-morpheme analysis — and includes the original translation from the source. Where I have a comment or an alternate translation, this is provided in square brackets.

**Conventions**

The capitalisation of consonants in reconstructed forms indicates that the place of articulation is unidentified. Most occurrences are the letters T, which could be apico alveolar or lamino palatal; N, which could be apico alveolar, lamino palatal, or, in some cases, dorso velar; and R for a rhotic, which I suspect is a trill. Standard English use of capitals is applied to proper nouns.

The publisher intends to produce teaching materials based on this book. However, should individuals wish to produce their own materials in the interim, I recommend that all unidentified sounds indicated by capitals should be written in lower case, identifying them as apico alveolar until any new evidence comes to light. Standard English use of capital letters (punctuation and proper nouns) should be employed in learning and teaching materials.

All abbreviated suffixes are preceded by a hyphen, the exception being those forms that have are realised by a zero morpheme, e.g. those in the absolutive case. Such cases are preceded by a colon. Clitics are preceded by the symbol ‘=’.
The number in square brackets to the right of an example sentence (on the same line as the source entry) indicates the numeric place of the same example in the database in Part 3. Throughout the database the locations of the original sources have been identified. The location of Fraser’s edited versions of Threlkeld’s work are provided in brackets. For example, before sentence 69 the entry ‘Threlkeld 1827, p. 4 (also Fraser 1892, part iv (G), p. 133)’ indicates that these sentences are found in both these sources.

I have not been able to reproduce all diacritics found in the various sources, particularly those in the handwritten manuscript of 1824. Where Threlkeld placed a line over a vowel in his 1850 work, I have underlined the vowel here. In this regard the reader is encouraged to return to the source materials, which are clearly identified in the reference list.
Abbreviations

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<tr>
<td>Fut</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gpast</td>
<td>general past tense</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hort</td>
<td>hortative mood</td>
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<tr>
<td>Hyp</td>
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<td>Imp</td>
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<td>Interrogative particle</td>
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<td>Nmls</td>
<td>nominaliser</td>
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<tr>
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<td>patient nominaliser</td>
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<tr>
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<td>Semb</td>
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<td>Univ Perm</td>
<td>universal permissive</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>verb</td>
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<tr>
<td>Vb</td>
<td>verbaliser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/</td>
<td>Separates two clauses or sentences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>suffix marker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>=</td>
<td>clitic marker</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Original sources

- F: Fawcett
- F&H: Fison & Howitt
- F2: Fraser
- H: Hale
- H2: Haslam
- L: Larmer
- M: Miller
- M2: Mann
- T: Threlkeld

Languages

- D: Darkinyung (also spelt Darkinjung, Darkinjang)
- Dh: Dhangadi (also spelt Dunghutti, Thunghutti, Dyangadi)
- G: Gadhang (also spelt Kattang)
- GYY: Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaraay, Yuwaalayaay
- HRLM: The language from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie
- Mu: Muruwari
- S: The Sydney language

Linguists (cited in wordlists)

- Bra: Branch
- En: Enright
- Hol: Holmer
- Lis: Lissarrague
- Mat: Mathews
- Sco: Scott
- Tro: Troy
Part 1
The language of the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie
1 The Language of the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie

1.1 Linguistic type
The language from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie (HRLM) belongs to the Pama-Nyungan family of Australian languages. The phonological inventory of HRLM has four places of articulation for stops and nasals. The laminal stops and nasals are problematic. It is likely that palatal and dental articulations were in free variation, and the lack of representation of any laminal sounds from the major sources indicates that the predominant allophone may have been dental. HRLM has two rhotics and three vowels. For the purposes of this description vowel length is considered to be non-distinctive (see 2.1.2).

The HRLM language is a suffixing language with independent and bound pronouns. The morphemes which constitute a word are easily identified. Derivational suffixes change one word class into another, and they may change the transitivity value of the verb. However, HRLM is, in some respects, atypical. For example, with a particular group of verbs the past tense is expressed with stress or vowel lengthening, instead of a segmentable morpheme. There are some nominal inflections which reflect gender.

Common nouns and adjectives employ the same morphological forms and syntactic strategies. Adjectives are generally identified as such on semantic grounds. However, there is a derivational suffix, -kaN, which occurs with adjectives (and verbs) and functions to nominalise. Proper nouns and other human nouns are treated differently from common nouns. Their morphology follows that of the free pronouns in most cases. Common nouns and adjectives follow an ergative-absolutive pattern of identifying core syntactic functions. There are some gender-based suffixes.

Pronouns, proper nouns and human nouns follow a nominative-accusative pattern to identify core syntactic functions. There is a set of singular bound pronouns in nominative and accusative cases as well as a set of unique ‘compound pronouns’. There are unique forms for third person masculine singular and third person feminine singular in both the free- and bound-pronoun paradigms.

Verbs have no conjugational contrasts. There is a three-tense system distinguishing past, present and future. The data suggest that the majority of verbal inflections are determined by the number of syllables in the stem. Nominalisation processes are highly productive.

1.2 Language and sources
The language from the region known today as the Hunter Valley stopped being spoken within a few years of the European invasion, a result of the death and dispersion of its speakers. Threlkeld wrote ‘... the Language of the Aborigines, now, all but extinct ...’ (1850, preface, emphasis in original). The evidence from archival sources suggests that the language described by Threlkeld as ‘The language of the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie’ was spoken by people now known as
PART 1 | THE LANGUAGE OF THE HUNTER RIVER AND LAKE MACQUARIE

Awabakal, Kuringgai and Wonnarua. It may also have been the language spoken by Geawegal.

Most of the knowledge about the language (a term which refers to a form of speech which is mutually intelligible between speakers) comes from nineteenth-century sources. All sources that have been included in this study are listed below. Full references are provided in the bibliography.

**Threlkeld, LE 1824.** An unpublished manuscript, held by the Mitchell Library at the State Library of New South Wales, and attributed to Threlkeld by Capell (1970, p. 23). This document consists of a wordlist and sentences with translations. Its title page indicates that the language was collected ‘to the Northward of Sydney’. The title is followed by the word ‘karree’, and although this is not given a translation it is similar in form to the word for ‘man’ found in Miller and Fawcett (see below). The sentences from this document, with my analysis, are provided in Part 3. I have not included the diacritics found on the original document, and the square brackets surrounding text in the first line of an entry indicate difficulty in deciphering the original document.

**Threlkeld, LE 1827.** This is Threlkeld’s first published work on the language. It consists of a short description of the sounds of the language and illustrative sentences. These sentences, with my analysis, are provided in Part 3.

**Threlkeld, LE 1834.** This is Threlkeld’s major work on the language. It contains a detailed analysis of the grammar, illustrative sentences and wordlists. These sentences, with my analysis, are provided in Part 3.

**Threlkeld, LE 1850.** Threlkeld used this work to refine some of his earlier published theories. This document includes example sentences within the body of its grammatical commentary, and contains many other examples taken from his version of the Gospels. Some of these sentences, with my analysis, are provided in Part 3. Where Threlkeld used a line above the vowel, it is represented here as a line under the vowel.

**Larmer, J 1898.** Surveyor Larmer’s wordlists were written in 1834 but not published until 1898. Larmer provided two lists from ‘Brisbane Water and Tuggera Beach Lakes’ and ‘Hunter’s River, Brisbane Water and Newcastle’.

**Rusden, GW 1880.** This is a description of the Geawegal tribe, their territory and cultural practices. There are a couple of words in this document that also occur in other HRLM sources.

**Miller, R 1886.** This wordlist appeared in Curr's *The Australian race* as ‘No 188 — The Hunter River. The Wonnarua Tribe and Language’. Along with the common vocabulary found in Curr, Miller provided a list of additional words, two short sentences and a description of the territory and cultural aspects of the Wonnarua.
Fawcett, JW 1898. Fawcett’s wordlist (in an article, ‘Customs of the Wannah-ruah tribe, their dialect and vocabulary’) contains few words which are not also found in Miller, although there is one sentence (example 1/[1067]) which is unique to Fawcett.

Hale, H 1846. Hale’s work consists of a wordlist and grammar of a language he (erroneously) called Kamilarai, which he compiled during a visit to Threlkeld. He wrote, ‘The name of Kamilarai, it should be remarked, is that given to the people of this district (or rather, perhaps, to their language) by the natives of Wellington Valley. We are not aware if it is known to the people themselves, or if they have any general word by which to designate all those who speak their tongue. None is given by Mr Threlkeld, to whom it would doubtless have been known’ (1846, p. 482). Hale provides data in the form of words and sentences, all originally from Threlkeld. Hale’s orthography is useful in confirming the interpretation of that used by Threlkeld, especially with reference to the vowels. The lack of any laminal sounds follows Threlkeld’s written representations.

Mann, JF no date. Mann compiled a wordlist and sentences of the (erroneously named) ‘Cammeray Tribe’. Words from this manuscript which do not also occur in other HRLM sources are not included in the wordlist. Many of the sentences and phrases contain examples of identified HRLM verbal inflections and bound and free pronouns. Mann also makes a direct (and curious) reference to Threlkeld (see 6.4.18), thus linking this language to the one Threlkeld spoke and described.

Fraser, J 1892. Fraser ‘condensed and edited’ Threlkeld’s published works of 1834 and 1850, along with his unpublished ‘Gospel of St Luke’. Fraser devised a different orthography from that used by Threlkeld and gave the language a name: ‘A considerable portion of this volume consists of Mr. Threlkeld’s acquisitions in the dialect which I have called the Awabakal, from Awaba, the native name for Lake Macquarie’ (1892, p. v). (Note: the ‘belonging’ suffix -kal is discussed in 3.10.4.)

Haslam, P et al. 1984. ‘Aborigines from the Hunter Region’ was compiled for the Department of Education as a teaching and learning resource. Haslam was a non-Aboriginal resident of Newcastle who took a keen interest in the language, culture and history of the Aboriginal people of the Hunter Valley. His work suffers from a lack of referencing, but written sources can be traced by either a mention of the author or by their form. He interviewed many Aboriginal people of the region and recorded their stories, memories and songs, thus creating a valuable collection. Although he acquired the language to some degree and taught what he knew, his written remarks indicate that his understanding of all levels of grammar was limited.

The evidence for linking Wonnarua (M, F), Awabakal (T), Kuringgai (L) and ‘Cammeray’ (M2) is found when one compares verbal inflections and pronoun forms, including bound pronouns, from different sources. Some of these are presented in Table 1. Reconstructed words are written in bold; capital letters in a reconstructed word indicate that the exact status of those sounds is not known.

Table 1. Comparison of sources

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sources</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I (1sgNom, free pronoun) ngatoa (T), nattru, nattua (M), nattua, nattua (F), naghtois (M2), attore (L)</td>
<td>ngatjuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (2sgNom free pronoun) ngintoa (T), indua, nindrua (M, F)</td>
<td>ngiNTuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I (1sgNom bound pronoun) bang (T), bung (M, F), ban (M2)</td>
<td>=pang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>you (2sgNom bound pronoun) bee, bi (T), be (M2)</td>
<td>=pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>me (1sgAcc bound pronoun) deer, tia (T), dia (M)</td>
<td>=tja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>will drink (drink-Fut) pittanun (T), begennan (M, F)</td>
<td>pitja-NaN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for eating (eat-Nmls-Purp) takiligo (T), takiligo (M, F)</td>
<td>tjaki-li-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>look, see (see-Pres) na-tan (T), natan (M, F)</td>
<td>nya-TaN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sit down! (sit-Imp) yellawolla (T), tallawalla (M), yallah-wee (F), yellowalla (M2)</td>
<td>yalawa-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crying (cry-Cont-Pres) tun-ka-leyn (T), tungulene (M2)</td>
<td>Tungka-li-N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>listen! (listen-Imp) ngarrala (T), nurrilla (M2)</td>
<td>ngarra-la</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>said, spoke (speak-GPast) wiyá (T), weah (M2)</td>
<td>wiya-a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>will walk (walk-Fut) wah-nun, uwannan (T), wannin (M, F)</td>
<td>uwa-NaN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Ref:Past) leun (T), laine (M2)</td>
<td>-layaN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Gpast) kah lah, kulla (T), gular (M2)</td>
<td>-kala</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One sentence from Fawcett (below) includes both forms of the first person nominative pronoun (free and bound), the irregular imperative on the verb ‘get, bring’ and vocabulary items also found in Threlkeld. This supports the classification of Wonnarua as the same language as that described by Threlkeld. Note that Fawcett’s translation is not literal. Throughout this document, my translations are provided in square brackets, following those of the original author.

1 watta-terrace murra yallah-weebung nutta [1067] (Fawcett 1898) watja TiRaki ma-ra yalawa=pang ngatjuwa

I will not carry his firestick. [I sit, (you) get fire stick.]
The one sentence from Miller (which also occurs in Fawcett) uses the first person singular accusative bound pronoun =tja and a word for ‘water’ also found in Threlkeld and Mann:

2  \textit{Kukundia murra; Kukundia-murra} [1069] (Miller 1886, Fawcett 1898)
\begin{verbatim}
kukuyn=tja ma-ra
water:Abs=1sgAcc bring-Imp
Bring (me) water.
\end{verbatim}

The name Wonnarua was interpreted as meaning ‘People or place of the hills and plains’ (Anon., ‘Wonnarua Singleton plaque — suggested inscription’ and ‘Languge of the Wonnarua tribe’, Haslam Files, no date). While the root \textit{wanarr} is unlikely to be a literal equivalent of ‘people, hills and plains’ the final two syllables resemble the form of the perlative suffix following a word-final trill -\textit{uwa}. One of the uses of the perlative suffix is in the context of geographical referents, such as hills or plains.

Other sources that have classified Wonnarua and Awabakal as the same language are Dixon (2002, p. xxxiv), Oates (1973, p. 203) and O’Grady, Voegelin and Voegelin (1966, p. 49). A map in Troy (1993, p. 18) defines ‘Awabakal’ (following Fraser) as encompassing the Hunter River beyond Singleton and reaching almost as far as Muswellbrook.

The claim for Kuringgai and ‘Cammeray’ being the same language as HRLM is made on the basis that many words and phrases found in Mann, Larmer and the early 1824 manuscript attributed to Threlkeld can be analysed in terms of the HRLM grammar:

3  \textit{Nowudjeer cudgel} [1] (Threlkeld 1824)
\begin{verbatim}
ngu-wa=tja katjal
give-Imp=1sgAcc tobacco:Abs
Give me some tobacco.
\end{verbatim}

4  \textit{Neagularban Booron} [1084] (Mann no date)
\begin{verbatim}
nya-kala=pang purrang
see-GPast=1sgNom ghost/devil:Abs
I saw the devil devil.
\end{verbatim}

This sentence can be compared with Threlkeld 1850:

5  \textit{Nakulla bang}. [882] (Threlkeld 1850)
\begin{verbatim}
nya-kala=pang
see-GPast=1sgNom
I saw.
\end{verbatim}

Sentences from Mann (no date) are easily described in terms of the HRLM grammar:
6  Bichala barley Kookun. [1072] (Mann no date)
    pitja-la   pali     kukuyn
    drink-Hort 1duNom  water:Abs
    Let us drink water.

7  Maron oomillaine. [1083] (Mann no date)
    marrang  uma-layaN
    good:Abs  do-Ref
    Take care, Mind yourself.

1.3 Territory and neighbours of the speakers of HRLM

The location of the language described by Threlkeld is found in the name he gave that language: the language from the ‘Hunter’s River, Lake Macquarie &c’ (1834). Several references in the data to Newcastle and the place names Wangi Wangi /wantji wantji/, Gorokan /nguR[u]kaN/ and Teralba /tjirrilpa/ also help to locate this language. Tindale locates the Awabakal at ‘Lake Macquarie, south of Newcastle, NSW (not Port Macquarie)’ (1974, p. 191).

I found three descriptions about the traditional country of the Wonnarua:

the Wonnarua tribe . . . occupied the Hunter and all its tributaries from within ten miles of Maitland to the apex of the Liverpool Ranges, an area which he sets down at two thousand square miles (Miller 1886, p. 352).

The Wonnah-ruah tribe of aborigines inhabited the Hunter River district in New South Wales. Their tribal district had an area of upwards 2000 square miles, and included all the country drained by the Hunter River and its tributaries . . . Their tribal boundaries were both well defined and clearly understood both by themselves and the members of the neighbouring tribes (Fawcett 1898, p. 152).

The territory of the Wonarua Tribe occupied a substantial part of the lower and mid-Hunter Valley, extending from Wollombi and northwards to Singleton and just beyond (Anon, ‘Wonarua’ no date, Haslam Files).

Threlkeld’s own account of the country associated with HRLM is found in a report to the Committee on the Aborigines Question, NSW Legislative Council, 1838:

The native languages throughout New South Wales, are, I feel persuaded, based upon the same origin; but I have found the dialects of various tribes differ from those which occupy the country around Lake Macquarie; that is to say, of those tribes occupying the limits bounded by North Head of Port Jackson, on the south, and Hunter’s River on the north, and extending inland about sixty miles, all of which speak the same dialect.

The natives of Port Stephens use a dialect a little different, but not so much so as to prevent our understanding one another; but at Patrick’s Plains the difference is so great, that we cannot communicate with each other; there are blacks who speak both dialects (Gunson 1974b, p. 271).
Threlkeld’s claim that the ‘Lake Macquarie’ language extended south as far as the North Head of Port Jackson is not completely supported by the literature. The documents by Larmer indicate that it was spoken as far south as Brisbane Water, and the document by Mann links this language to the ‘Cammeray tribe’. But there is also a *Hawkesbury River–Broken Bay* wordlist by J Tuckerman, which clearly belongs to a different language (probably related to Darkinyung).

Patrick’s Plains covered a very large area:

‘from the foothills of the range between Hawkesbury and Hunter Rivers to the south, Maitland (then called Wallis Plains) to the east down the river, and spread out into unknown country to the north and west. Districts as far afield as Scone (Invermein) and Merriwa (Gummun Plains) were included’ (Gee, no date).

Threlkeld himself visited Patrick’s Plains, and travelled for a week to cover the 200 miles (322 kilometres) it took him to get there and back (Gunson 1974, vol. 2, p. 272). Unfortunately, he does not specify which particular locality in this large area was the one he called ‘Patrick’s Plains’. On both geographical and linguistic grounds, I would suggest that this place is unlikely to have been Singleton, which is the town that is most closely associated with the name Patrick’s Plains at the present time. Singleton is only fifty miles (eighty kilometres) inland along the Hunter River. If Threlkeld’s estimate that HRLM was spoken as far as sixty miles (ninety-six kilometres) inland is accurate, then the place he calls Patrick’s Plains — where a different language was spoken — cannot have been Singleton.

Threlkeld’s reference to bilingualism at Patrick’s Plains clearly suggests that there was a transitional zone between HRLM and a different language somewhere in the mid-to-upper Hunter Valley. But as we don’t know exactly which location he meant when he referred to Patrick’s Plains, his statement does not help to establish the geographical extent and limits of the two languages with any precision, nor does it give any indication of what the other language might be. (Possibly Darkinyung or Gamilaraay.)

Tindale (1974, p. 201) and his sources include Singleton in the area in which Wonnarua was spoken. And since the Wonnarua material in Miller and Fawcett is recognisably related to the other dialects of HRLM, in terms of both lexical and functional morphemes, one can be fairly confident that the dialect on the HRLM side of the linguistic transitional zone discussed by Threlkeld was indeed Wonnarua.

It is possible that a people now known as Geawegal also spoke HRLM. This name is composed of an HRLM word for ‘no’, *kayaway*, and the ‘belonging’ suffix -*kal* (see 3.10.4). The Geawegal have been allocated two different territories by different researchers. According to Tindale:

Geawegal
This description can be compared with Rusden, who places them further south:

The territory claimed by them may be defined as being part of the valley of the Hunter River extending to each lateral watershed, and from twenty five to thirty miles along the valley on each side of Glendon. These aborigines spoke the language of, and intermarried with, those of Maitland. Less frequently with those of the Patterson River, and rarely with those of Muswell brook. (1880, p. 279)

As mentioned above, Rusden’s account of the Geawegal contains a couple of words (in addition to the two morphemes contained in the language name) which are also found in other sources of HRLM data. Although this is a small corpus on which to make a case, one can at least say that it does not contain any evidence to contradict the proposition that Geawegal was a dialect of HRLM.

The location and language of one other group requires consideration. The language spoken by people known as Gringai (different again from Kuringgai) is unknown, but it was probably a dialect of Gadhang. Haslem et al. defined the region associated with the Gringai as:

an area extending from the Dungong district, extending to parts of Patterson and Gresford districts, and that section of Port Stephens called Carrington — the base of the Australian Agricultural Company’s settlement. (1984, p. 65)

The Allyn River lies within this area, and a manuscript of the language of the ‘Allyn River Blacks’ contains a wordlist with many words found in both HRLM and in Gadhang. But Table 2 indicates that the pronouns used by the Allyn River speakers are Gadhang. Note that Holmer (1966) uses a j to represent a palatal glide.

| Table 2. Comparison of pronoun forms found in Allyn River compared with Gadhang and HRLM |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| Holmer (Gadhang)                              | Allyn River     | HRLM            |
| mine                                          | baraba          | baraba          |
| yours                                         | bi:nba          | beenba          |
| myself                                        | ngäta, ngata, ngatuuwa, ngatuuwa | natoor         |
| you                                          | bijai           | beea            |

The (admittedly not very consistent) geographical evidence about Gringai and Geawegal suggests that these two dialects were probably neighbours. And the linguistic evidence from the Allyn River, with its high proportion of HRLM cognates, suggests further that in the area where they met up there was probably a transitional zone between Gadhang and HRLM, with a fair amount of bilingualism and lexical borrowing.
1.4 Past linguistic investigations

Although it is one of the earliest languages described and recorded in Australia, there has been only one other recent investigation of HRLM. Oppliger’s ‘The phonology and morphology of Awabakal. A reconstitution from early written sources’ (honours thesis, The University of Sydney 1984) provides a comprehensive description and comparison of the different orthographies used by Threlkeld (various published and unpublished works), Hale, Fraser and Müller. It identifies the phonology of the language, some of the nominal and verbal morphology (and allomorphy of inflections), particles and interjections, and concludes with some notes on syntax.
2 Phonological inventory of HRLM

Reconstruction of the phonological inventory of HRLM relies on interpretation of the data in the sources and a comparison of those data with phonological inventories of Australian languages generally and in neighbouring languages in particular. Happily, this inventory agrees with that of Oppliger (1984, p. 16), although my interpretation of Threlkeld’s forms differs in some instances.

Consonants in Australian languages may have up to six places of articulation, including bilabial, lamino-dental, lamino-palatal, apico-alveolar, (apical) retroflex and dorso-velar. For every stop there is a corresponding nasal. Typically, Australian languages have two rhotics and up to four laterals.

2.1 Consonants

HRLM has four places of articulation, with a single laminal series and a single apical series. It has a single lateral with apico-alveolar articulation and two rhotics: a trill and a continuant. When the status of a consonant is unknown I have indicated it with a capital letter. I have used r as a default for the rhotic and rr where the transcriptions indicate a trill was articulated, and a cognate from a neighbouring language confirms this.

Table 3. Consonants in HRLM

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>bilabial</th>
<th>apico-alveolar</th>
<th>lamino-palatal</th>
<th>dorso-velar</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stops</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>tj</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nasals</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>ny (~yn)*</td>
<td>ng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lateral</td>
<td></td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>continuant</td>
<td></td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>trill</td>
<td></td>
<td>rr</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>semi-vowel</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*yn is used as the orthographic convention for the lamino-palatal nasal when it occurs at the end of a morpheme. This convention has been adopted for the sake of easier pronunciation by speakers of English.

2.1.1 Voice in stops

Threlkeld’s written representations of HRLM and his observations indicate that there was free variation between voiced and voiceless stops:

“Europeans often confuse D with T owing to a middle sound which the natives often use in speaking quickly; so also the T and J arising from the same cause as Won-ti-won-ti the name of a place is often called by the English Won-je-won-je. (Threlkeld 1834, p. 2)”

Regarding the first proposition, the variation between voiced and voiceless stops is further commented on:
Note it is extremely difficult to ascertain whether, this particle should be spelt Pa or Ba, in the conjugations of the verb, it is spelled Pa. But many natives say it should be Ba, whilst others affirm that it ought to be Pa'. (Threlkeld 1834, p. 130)

Due to the fact that the majority of words in the wordlist have voiceless stops, the voiceless series is adopted here. An allophonic orthography was considered, but not adopted due to the inconsistencies in the data, both within Threlkeld and across all of the sources.

2.1.2 Laminal stops and nasals

Regarding Threlkeld’s second proposition above (1834, p. 2), it can be assumed that Threlkeld was referring to lamino-palatal and lamino-dental allophones. In other words, there was a single laminal series with variation between lamino-palatal and lamino-dental allophones. Apart from Threlkeld’s 1824 manuscript there are no obvious representations of either lamino-palatal or lamino-dental in the other sources, including in Hale. It is difficult to differentiate between laminal and apical phonemes from the data, especially in word-initial position. Threlkeld’s unique documentation of laminals in mid-word position (see below) relies on my comparison with cognates from neighbouring languages to establish their identity in HRLM. His lack of differentiation in word-initial position possibly indicates that laminal sounds in this position were lamino-dental allophones. There is some evidence from Larmer (1898) and Mann (no date) to support this, although the latter does affirm the possibility of free variation in word-initial position.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 4. Laminal sounds in Larmer (1898) and Mann (no date)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Larmer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dead</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>heavy</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In this work, where laminal sounds in word-initial position exist in a cognate word from a neighbouring language, they are reconstructed in HRLM with a lamino-palatal stop or nasal. (Note: use of the palatal allophone avoids the use of the digraph th which is easily interpreted by language learners as a voiceless dental fricative.)

Within a word root, Threlkeld appears to have used a doubled stop consonant separated by a hyphen (t-t) to represent laminals in his 1834 description. These were generally reduced to a digraph (tt) in his 1850 work. Words with mid-word lamino-palatal phonemes recorded in this description are reconstructed using cognates from neighbouring languages. Table 5 illustrates some of these cognates.
Table 5. Mid-word lamino-palatal stops in Threlkeld compared with
neighbouring languages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Threlkeld</th>
<th>cognates</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>animal (i.e. ‘biter’)</td>
<td>put-ti-kán</td>
<td>patji- (G) (bite)</td>
<td>patjikang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tobacco smoke</td>
<td>kut-tul</td>
<td>kudyal (D)</td>
<td>katjal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hand</td>
<td>mut-tur-ra</td>
<td>matjra (G)</td>
<td>matjarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>small</td>
<td>mit-ti</td>
<td>mitji (G)</td>
<td>mitji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>drink</td>
<td>pit-tul-li-ko</td>
<td>bitja (G)</td>
<td>pitja-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cudgel</td>
<td>kôt-ta-rir</td>
<td>gutyer (D)</td>
<td>kutjarr</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One source with lamino-dental sounds is Fawcett. All of these words are social section
names, and have cognates in Gamilaraay, Yuwaalaraay and Yuwaalayaay (GYY).

Table 6. Lamino-dental stops in Fawcett

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Fawcett</th>
<th>GYY</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>matha</td>
<td>maadhaa</td>
<td></td>
<td>matja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>butha</td>
<td>buudhaa</td>
<td></td>
<td>putja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ipatha, ippatha</td>
<td>yibadhaa</td>
<td></td>
<td>yipatja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kubbeetha, kubbitha</td>
<td>gabudhaa</td>
<td></td>
<td>kapitja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Where there is a consonant cluster in Threlkeld it is more difficult to establish the
place of articulation. The 1824 manuscript indicates that these consonant clusters
were homorganic. Consonant clusters consisting of a laminal nasal followed by a
laminal stop nytj are written ntj in this description.

Table 7. Comparison of Threlkeld 1824, 1834, 1850

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1824</th>
<th>1834, 1850</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>when</td>
<td>Aequonjar</td>
<td>yakounta</td>
<td>yakuwantja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>afraid</td>
<td>Kindjar</td>
<td>kin-ta</td>
<td>kintja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Threlkeld seems to have used a doubled nasal consonant n-n separated by a hyphen
in a word root to represent a laminal nasal:

Table 8. Lamino-palatal nasals in Threlkeld

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Threlkeld 1834</th>
<th>other sources or cognates</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>what, something</td>
<td>min-nung</td>
<td>minja(ng) (G)</td>
<td>minyang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dust</td>
<td>pón-no</td>
<td>bunju (G)</td>
<td>punyu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sun</td>
<td>pun-nul</td>
<td>pun.yal (L) bunyell (M2)</td>
<td>panyal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>burn</td>
<td>win-ná</td>
<td>winja- (G)</td>
<td>winya-a (Gpast)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parrot</td>
<td>kun-ne-ta</td>
<td>gunyudu (S)</td>
<td>kanya[Ta]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Different versions of the same word in Threlkeld’s various documents support this proposition:

### Table 9. Comparison of lamino-palatal nasals in Threlkeld 1824–50

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1824</th>
<th>1827</th>
<th>1834</th>
<th>1850</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>miniaring</td>
<td>min-nah-ring,</td>
<td>min-nah-ring,</td>
<td>minnaring</td>
<td>minyaring</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>minnahring,</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>miniaring</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, until a cognate from a neighbouring language can confirm the presence of a laminal nasal, a capital letter will be used to indicate that the status of the nasal in any particular word is not clearly identified.

Threlkeld’s use of an accent over the preceding vowel (in 1834) or an overlined vowel (1850) seems to indicate that a word-final palatal nasal follows. This is supported by comparison with cognate words from neighbouring languages as well as Threlkeld’s own guide to pronunciation (see yaNTiyn in Table 14):

### Table 10. Word-final lamino-palatal nasals in Threlkeld

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threlkeld</th>
<th>other sources or cognates</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>young woman</td>
<td>mur-ra-ké-en</td>
<td>marr[aj]kiyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>blind</td>
<td>munmín</td>
<td>maNmiyn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sharp</td>
<td>mirin</td>
<td>miRiyn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 2.1.3 Rhotics

The common pattern in Australian languages is that there are two rhotics: usually a continuant and a trill or a tap. Threlkeld writes rhotic sounds with r and r-r in 1834 and r and rr in 1850. I followed the convention of writing rr to represent a trill in words which Threlkeld has written -r-r- and rr based on a comparison with cognates in Darkinyung, Gadhang, Dhangadi and Yuwaalayaay.

### Table 11. Trilled rhotics in Threlkeld

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threlkeld</th>
<th>other sources or cognates</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bora ground</td>
<td>Pór-ro-bung</td>
<td>buurrabang (Y)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earth</td>
<td>pur-rai</td>
<td>bari (Dh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>burre (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>day</td>
<td>pur-re-ung</td>
<td>barrang (Dh)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>burriang (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>mir-ri</td>
<td>mirri (Dh), (D), (G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>good</td>
<td>mur-róng</td>
<td>marrung (Dh), (G)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hear, perceive</td>
<td>ngur-rul-li-ko</td>
<td>ngarri- (Dh) ngarratti (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lower arm</td>
<td>tur-rung</td>
<td>dharrung (D)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>tjarrang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
There is further evidence for the existence of a trill in word-final position. There are some words in HRLM which Threlkeld recorded as ending in -ra when it functions as a subject or an object (absolutive) and -ro when it functions as an agent or an instrument (ergative/instrumental). This is most likely to be word-final rr in absolutive and rr-u in ergative/instrumental. Examples include:

- kót-ta-ra, kotaró, meaning ‘cudgel’ and recorded here as kutjarr (Abs) and kutjarr-u (Erg/Inst)
- mattara, mattaro, meaning ‘hand’, recorded here as matjarr, matjarr-u
- kul-lá-ra, meaning ‘fish spear’, recorded here as kalarr, kalarr-u.

In his later dissertation Threlkeld is more explicit about the existence of a trilled rhotic, using a ‘double rr’ to indicate the ‘exceeding rough trill’ (1850, p. 19). However, it is difficult to distinguish the continuant from the trill in other environments. Unless a cognate from a neighbouring language can confirm the presence of a trill, a capital letter will be used to indicate that the status of the rhotic in any particular word is not clearly identified.

2.1.4 Lateral
HRLM is found in a region where a single lateral is the norm (Dixon 1980, p. 143). Threlkeld used the same consonant–consonant (CC) representation in some words with laterals (e.g. kalarr, ‘fish spear’, T: kul-la-ra; pilapay, ‘valley, hollow’, T: pil-la-pai). This may indicate that a lamino-palatal lateral allophone of the apico-alveolar lateral occurred in HRLM. However, these are not represented in the orthography, as they are unlikely to be distinctive.

2.2 Vowels
In Australian languages a typical vowel system consists of three distinct vowels (Dixon 2002, p. 549). This is the case in HRLM.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 12. Vowels in HRLM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I have assumed, for the purpose of this document, that vowel length is not distinctive. Further study may reveal otherwise, but the limited amount of data and the fact that the records are in written form present problems in identifying phonetically long vowels, as well as deciding which ones may indeed be distinctive. Threlkeld used accents above vowels to mark a phonetically long vowel or an underlying vowel–consonant–vowel (VCV) sequence, and to indicate the difference between both a low mid-vowel a and a high back-vowel u, both of which which may or may not have length as a feature (see Threlkeld 1834, pp. 79–80). The main difficulty with using Threlkeld’s accents as a guide to vowel length lies with the high back vowels, which have no distinction between u and a possible phoneme.
There are some potential minimal pairs which may indicate that vowel length is distinctive, but these words also have other potentially distinctive features or they have meanings which may be related or they may be homophones. All words in Table 13 are from Threlkeld, with two exceptions which are indicated by their sources.

Table 13. Potential minimal pairs in HRLM

<p>| | | | | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kot-tan</td>
<td>third finger</td>
<td>kot-tan</td>
<td>wet and chilly</td>
<td>kuTaN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from the rain</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mu-pai</td>
<td>silent, dumb</td>
<td>mu-pai</td>
<td>fast (not eat)</td>
<td>mupay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wa-run</td>
<td>flat, level</td>
<td>wa-ran</td>
<td>four</td>
<td>waraN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bali</td>
<td>we two</td>
<td>pul-li</td>
<td>salt</td>
<td>pali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kurrawan</td>
<td>clear (as in</td>
<td>Kurrawan (L)</td>
<td>smoke</td>
<td>karawaN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>‘weather’)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gerrall</td>
<td>bone</td>
<td>ti-ral</td>
<td>branch</td>
<td>tjiral</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wit-til-li-ko</td>
<td>sing</td>
<td>wit-ti-mul-li-ko</td>
<td>fall</td>
<td>witji-[ma]-li-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kul-ling</td>
<td>water</td>
<td>kul-ling</td>
<td>shell</td>
<td>kaling</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mit-til-li-ko</td>
<td>wait</td>
<td>mit-ti</td>
<td>small</td>
<td>mitji-[li-ku]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Both Threlkeld and Hale provided keys to understanding their written representations. Hale’s version provides confirmation that one is interpreting Threlkeld correctly, especially the low mid- or back-vowel a, which Hale represented with the symbol ‘υ’ (1846, p. 482). Threlkeld’s vowel chart reproduced here in Table 14 (1834, pp. 79–80) serves as a guide for his readers towards correct pronunciation and interpretation of his written forms.
Table 14. Threlkeld’s pronunciation guide

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Threlkeld 1834</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>call of attention</td>
<td><em>Ala</em> (as in ‘Jehovah’, i.e. the word-final vowel)</td>
<td><em>ala</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who (agent)</td>
<td><em>Ngân-to</em> (as in ‘Barn, Lo’)</td>
<td><em>ngaNTu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who (subject)</td>
<td><em>Ngân-ke</em> (as in ‘Barn, May’)</td>
<td><em>ngaNKi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dead</td>
<td><em>Tet-ti</em> (as in ‘Mat, Tea’)</td>
<td><em>tjatji</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>which way</td>
<td><em>Won-nén</em> (as in ‘Loll, Main’)</td>
<td><em>waNayn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thus</td>
<td><em>Yan-ti</em> (as in ‘Barn’, ‘Tea’)</td>
<td><em>yaNTi</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>all, the whole</td>
<td><em>Yan-tín</em> (as in ‘Mat, Teen’)</td>
<td><em>yaNTiyn</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whose self?</td>
<td><em>Ngân-bo</em> (as in ‘Barn, Lo’)</td>
<td><em>ngan-pu</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>be off</td>
<td><em>Wol-la</em> (as in ‘Loll’, ‘ah’)</td>
<td><em>uwa-la</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>him (Acc.)</td>
<td><em>Bón</em> (as in ‘Loan’)</td>
<td><em>=puN</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>speared</td>
<td><em>Tu-ra</em> (as in ‘Two, Barn’)</td>
<td><em>tjuRa-</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>will be</td>
<td><em>Pun-nun</em> (as in ‘Tun’)</td>
<td><em>pa-NaN</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>will smite</td>
<td><em>Bún-nun</em> (as in ‘Bull, Tun’)</td>
<td><em>pu-NaN</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>come hither</td>
<td><em>Ká-ai</em> (as in ‘Barn, High’)</td>
<td><em>kayay</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>may it be</td>
<td><em>Kau-wa</em> (as in ‘Cow, ah’)</td>
<td><em>kawa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it is thou who†</td>
<td><em>Niù-wo-a</em> (as in ‘New’, ‘Lo’, ‘ah’)</td>
<td><em>nyuwawa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>who (object)</td>
<td><em>Ngân-nung</em> (as in ‘Barn, ‘Tun’*)</td>
<td><em>ngaNang</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* see 3.6.1
† 3sgNom, i.e. ‘he’.

Diphthongs in Threlkeld are interpreted in this discussion as having an underlying VCV structure. These include:

Table 15. Diphthongs in Threlkeld

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>ya-reil</th>
<th>yurrayil</th>
<th>cloud</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ayi</em></td>
<td>ya-reil</td>
<td>yurrayil</td>
<td>cloud</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>aya</em></td>
<td>mai-yá</td>
<td>maya</td>
<td>snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>iya</em></td>
<td>bi-yung</td>
<td>piyang</td>
<td>father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>awa</em></td>
<td>nga-ra-wan</td>
<td>ngarawan</td>
<td>plain</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>awu</em></td>
<td>bittawung</td>
<td>piTawung</td>
<td>flying possum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uwa</em></td>
<td>an-noa</td>
<td>aNuwa</td>
<td>that</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uyu</em></td>
<td>kur-ra-ko-i-yúng</td>
<td>karrakuyung</td>
<td>shark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uwi</em></td>
<td>yo-ru-win</td>
<td>yuruwiN</td>
<td>bream</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>uya</em></td>
<td>mum-mu-yá</td>
<td>mamuya</td>
<td>corpse; spirit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
2.3 Phonotactics

There is some difficulty in establishing the phonotactic constraints of a language where the data are restricted to other people’s written interpretations. The reconstruction of HRLM relies to a large extent on what is known about Australian languages in general and what is known about the neighbouring languages in particular. However, with this in mind, some generalisations can be made.

The vast majority of roots in HRLM have two syllables, although there is a small set of monosyllabic roots, and roots with three or more syllables.

With the exception of all liquids a word in HRLM may begin with any class of sound: *p, t, tj, k, m, n, ny, ng, y, w, a, u, i*.

HRLM is unusual having word-initial vowels. There are nine word roots beginning with *a*, three with *u* and one possible word with *i* (‘Erina, satin bird and name of a creek settlement near Brisbane Water’, Mann no date). There is one root where the initial vowel is either *a* or *u*.

The root-final sounds which occur in nominals and particles include vowels, liquids, the palatal semivowel and the alveolar, palatal and velar nasals: *i, a, u, rr, l, ny, y, ng, n*. All verb roots end in a vowel.

The structure of the majority of roots in HRLM is: CV(C)CV(C)(C)(V)(C). Thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CVCV</td>
<td>kalu</td>
<td>cheeks</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCCVC</td>
<td>kampa-</td>
<td>leave</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCVC</td>
<td>marrung</td>
<td>good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCCVCV</td>
<td>ngarapu</td>
<td>asleep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCCVCVC</td>
<td>mulupiN</td>
<td>fern, flower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCCVCVCVC</td>
<td>kaliyaring</td>
<td>throat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVCCVCVCVC</td>
<td>kampaNTing</td>
<td>stone</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are a few monosyllabic roots with the structure CV(C):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>take</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tja-</td>
<td>eat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>ngaN</td>
<td>who</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVC</td>
<td>kaN</td>
<td>snake</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

There are some words which have the structure VC(C)V(C):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Root</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>VCV</td>
<td>uma-</td>
<td>do, make</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>uwa-</td>
<td>go, come, walk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCCV</td>
<td>aNTi</td>
<td>here</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VCCVC</td>
<td>aNTang</td>
<td>lower jaw</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, there is some evidence that for verbs such as *uwa-*, the initial vowel maybe a result of perception on the part of Threlkeld. This verb is also recorded as *wannin* by Miller and Fawcett (present tense) and *walla* by Mann (imperative or hortative mood). There is also evidence that in these vowel-initial words the underlying initial consonant was not recorded, as in *wupa-* ‘do etc’, which Threlkeld...
recorded as *upa* and is reconstructed here with a word-initial bilabial glide on the basis of a cognate in Gadhang.

Table 16. Intramorphemic consonant clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>t</th>
<th>tj</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>ng</th>
<th>w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>m</em></td>
<td><em>mp</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>n</em></td>
<td><em>np</em></td>
<td><em>nt</em></td>
<td><em>Nk</em></td>
<td><em>Nm</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ny</em></td>
<td><em>nytj</em></td>
<td><em>nyk</em></td>
<td><em>Nm</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ng</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ngk</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rr</em></td>
<td><em>rpr</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>rrk</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>r</em></td>
<td><em>rp</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>rk</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>rm [?]</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l</em></td>
<td><em>lp</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>lk</em></td>
<td><em>lm</em></td>
<td><em>lw</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>y</em></td>
<td><em>yp</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>yk</em></td>
<td><em>yng</em></td>
<td><em>yr [?]</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>t</em></td>
<td><em>tp</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 17. Intermorphemic consonant clusters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>p</th>
<th>T</th>
<th>tj</th>
<th>k</th>
<th>m</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>ng</th>
<th>l</th>
<th>w</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>ny</em></td>
<td><em>ny-p</em></td>
<td><em>ny-tj</em></td>
<td><em>ny-k</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>N</em></td>
<td><em>N-p</em></td>
<td><em>N-T</em></td>
<td><em>N-k</em></td>
<td><em>N-m</em></td>
<td><em>N-N</em></td>
<td><em>N-l</em></td>
<td><em>N-w</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>ng</em></td>
<td><em>ng-p</em></td>
<td><em>ng-T</em></td>
<td><em>ng-k</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>ng-ng</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>m</em></td>
<td><em>m-p</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>l</em></td>
<td><em>l-p</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>l-k</em></td>
<td><em>l-m</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>l-w</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>rr</em></td>
<td><em>rr-p</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>rr-k</em></td>
<td><em>rr-m</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>r</em></td>
<td><em>r-p [?]</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>r-k [?]</em></td>
<td><em>r-m?</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>r-w</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>y</em></td>
<td></td>
<td><em>y-tj</em></td>
<td><em>y-k</em></td>
<td><em>y-N?</em></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is difficult to determine the status of the rhotics and the nasals in some words.

2.4 Phonological process affecting consonants

The written nature of the data provides little insight into phonological rules within the language. However, there is some evidence of regressive assimilation across word boundaries in the following examples. When it occurs as the first element of a consonant cluster composed of a velar nasal followed by a bilabial stop, the velar nasal assimilates in place of articulation to become a bilabial nasal:

\[ ng \rightarrow m / \_\# p \]
8 Koeyohng bountoah un am bo. [170]
kuyung puwaNTuwa aNam=pu (i.e. /aNang/)
camp:Abs 3sgNomF that:Abs=Excl
She is at the camp.

9 Won am beyn buhn-kah-lah. [207]
waNam=piN pung-kala (i.e. /waNang/)
which=2sgAcc hit-GPast
What part of thee was struck?

See also examples [241] and [263].

This process also occurs within words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1sgAcc</th>
<th>Threlkeld</th>
<th>Hale</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>emmoung</td>
<td>emoong</td>
<td>amuwang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sgGen</td>
<td>emmoumba</td>
<td>emoomba</td>
<td>amuwampa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.5 Phonological process affecting vowels
The following example is followed by Threlkeld’s own observation that the word initial vowel was often omitted. In this case the omission preserves a CVCV structure, and it is possible that the lack of a word-initial consonant in some verbs indicates they may have been in the process of being reduced to a monosyllabic form:

10 Waita *wannun noa ba, waita ngaiya ngéen. [664]
watja uwa-NaN=nyuwa=pa watja ngaya ngayaN
thither go-Fut=3sgNom=Sub thither then 1plNom
When he goes, we will go.
*Note: the U is often omitted when another verb takes the government forming it into an auxiliary; but as a principal verb the U is generally maintained. (Threlkeld 1834 p. 123)

2.6 Phonological process affecting syllables
When two identical syllables occur together across morpheme boundaries, one occurrence of the syllable is deleted (see 4.1.11):

11 Wiwi, tiirkullea kun koa unmoa spade. [690]
wiwi TiyiR-ka-laya-(ya)kaN-kuwa aNuwa spade
Part broken-Int-Ref-Appr-Purp that:Abs spade:Abs
Mind, the spade may break, or, lest it should &c.

There are exceptions to this in the verbal suffixes; the continuous aspect marker -li- is reduplicated when the action is extended (see 4.3.1) and where there is a sequence of reciprocal -la- followed by general past -la (e.g. example 263/[730]).
3 Nominal morphology

Nominals in Australian languages use suffixes to indicate syntactic functions in a clause. There are three core functions: the agent (A) of a transitive clause; the object (O) of a transitive clause; and the subject (S) of an intransitive clause. In this description, the three patterns used to indicate syntactic function are:

- **Nominative/Accusative**: A and S are unmarked, O is marked.
- **Ergative/Absolutive**: A is marked, S and O are unmarked.
- **Nominative/Ergative/Accusative**: S is unmarked, A and O are marked differently.

Typically, pronouns follow the nominative/accusative pattern and common nominals follow the ergative/absolutive pattern. The third pattern is unusual. Dixon (2002, p. 132) says: ‘This applies to singular pronouns in a number of languages, and to other pronouns and/or nouns in a few’.

In HRLM, pronouns, proper nouns and some nouns which refer to people use the nominative/accusative pattern and common nominals use the ergative/absolutive pattern. The personal interrogative/indefinite ngaN ‘who’ uses tripartite marking. Other suffixes in HRLM mark peripheral clausal functions and phrasal functions. In the demonstrative2 set aNua has both marked and unmarked object forms. Demonstratives have a reduced form of the ablative suffix found with nouns and adjectives. The Demonstrative2, the Locative demonstrative and the interrogative/indefinite wantja have a unique allative suffix form –ring.

3.1 Nouns and adjectives

Common nouns and adjectives share the same range of nominal suffixes. Proper and human nouns have the same suffixes as pronouns (see 3.3). Both members of a noun phrase are marked with a particular suffix, although there are a few exceptions (see 3.12).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 18. Nominal suffixes and their variations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Following a stem-final vowel or velar nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Following a stem-final liquid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Following a stem-final palatal nasal or semi-vowel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Following a stem-final alveolar nasal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg/Inst</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tju</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.1.1 **Absolutive**
Absolutive case in HRLM is unmarked and shares the same form with the word stem. Absolutive case marks the S in verbless sentences and intransitive clauses. It marks the O of the verb in a transitive clause:

12 *Murrorong ta umi.* [876]
\[\text{marrung Ta aNi}\]
good:Abs indeed this:Abs
This is good.

13 Won tah ko-lang unnoah nowwi wah-leyn? [166]
\[\text{wantja-kulang aNuwa Naway uwa-li-N}\]
Interr-All2 that:Abs canoe:Abs go-Cont-Pres
Whither does the canoe go?

14 *Makoro bi túrulla warai to.* [456]
\[\text{makurr=pi tjuRa-la waray-tju}\]
fish:Abs=2sgNom spear-Imp spear-Inst
Spear the fish with the spear.

3.1.2 **Ergative**
Ergative case marks the agent of a clause. The form is -ku following a stem-final vowel, -u following a stem-final liquid, and a homorganic stop plus u following a stem final nasal or semivowel.

15 *Wakun to minnaring tatán?* [424]
\[\text{wakan-tu minyaring tja-TaN}\]
crow-Erg Interr:Abs eat-Pres
What does the crow eat?

16 *Minaring ko bón bünkulla tetti?* [422]
\[\text{minyaring-ku=puN pung-kala tjaTji}\]
Interr-Erg=3sgAcc hit-GPast dead:Abs
What killed him? Or what smote him dead?

17 *Nukung ko pirriwullo, puntimai to.* [423]
\[\text{nyukang-ku / piRiwal-u / paNTimay-tju}\]
woman-Erg / king-Erg / messenger-Erg
The woman did, the King did, the Messenger did.

18 *Ngánto wiyán? Nagiko, ngali-taró.* [712]
\[\text{ngaN-Tu wiya-n / ngali-ku ngali-tjarr-u}\]
Interr-Erg speak-Gpres / this-Erg these-Prf-Erg
Who speaks? This does, these do.
3.1.3 **Instrumental**

Instrumental marks the weapon, tool or other instrument used in an activity. It shares the same allomorphy with the ergative case, but is distinct from ergative case because it occurs with personal pronouns.

19 *Minnahring ko be noun turah? Kotah ro, wahre ko, Bibi to.* [139]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>minyaring-ku</th>
<th>pi-NuwaN</th>
<th>tjuRa-a</th>
<th>kutjarr-u</th>
<th>wari-ku</th>
<th>paypay-tju</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interr-Inst</td>
<td>2sgNom-3sgAcc</td>
<td>GPast</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>spear-GPast</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What didst thou pierce her with? With a waddy; Spear The axe has.

[With a waddy, with a spear, with an axe.]

20 *Minnaring ko biloa bùnkulla.* [562]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>minyaring-ku</th>
<th>piN-luwa</th>
<th>pung-kala</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interr-Inst</td>
<td>2sgAcc-3sgNom</td>
<td>GPast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With what did he strike you?

21 *Mattaró ngikoumba ko.* [563]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>matjarr-u</th>
<th>ngikuwampa-ku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hand-Inst</td>
<td>3sgGen-Inst</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With his hand.

3.1.4 **Perlative**

Perlative indicates 'by, through, with, near', referring to either a particular route or to indicate the means of travel. The closest English equivalent is 'via'. In form, the perlative is the same as ergative regarding the variation of the initial consonant, but has the form -(C)uwa:

22 *Kokiróa bang uwá.* [485]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kukirr-uwa=pang</th>
<th>uwa-a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>house-Perl=1sgNom</td>
<td>come-GPast</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I came by the house.

23 *Murrinowwai toa purrai koa.* [483]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>maRiNaway-tjuwa</th>
<th>/</th>
<th>parri-kuwa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ship-Perl</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>land-Perl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On board a ship. By land.

The perlative suffix also occurs on words which refer to time:

24 *Kuhmbah koah bahng wah-kayn.* [284]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kumpa-kuwa=pang</th>
<th>uwa-kayn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tomorrow-Perl=1sgNom</td>
<td>come-NFut</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Why tomorrow I am coming.
25  Koeyung teah mahrah. Yah ke tah koah umah-lah. [348]
    kuyung=tja ma-ra / yakiTa-kuwa uma-la
    fire:Abs=1sgAcc bring-Imp / now-Perl do-Imp
    Bring some fire to me; Why, do it immediately.

One sentence in the data with this suffix appears to have a comitative function. This is usually expressed with a more complex form -kaTuwa which occurs with proper names and human nouns, personal pronouns and interrogatives.

26  Buloara bulla biraban-toa. [1016]
    pulawarr  pula   Pirapan-tuwa
    3duNom:Abs  2duNom   Pirapan-Com
    The two are in company with Biriban.

3.1.5 Locative
Locative in HRLM denotes location in both spatial and temporal senses and is used to express co-location with animate beings. In form, locative is the same as ergative regarding the variation of the initial consonant, but has the form -(C)apa.

27  Bulka ka ba noa Buttikán ka ba. [736]
    palka-kapa=nyuwa  patjikang-kapa
    back-Loc=3sgNom  beast-Loc
    He is on horseback.

28  Newwoah wahrekul nowwi tah bah. [89]
    nyuwawa waRikal Naway-tjapa
    3sgNom  dog:Abs  canoe-Loc
    The dog, it is in the canoe. [He, the dog, is in the canoe.]

29  Tibbin ta biraban-ta-ba. [1017]
    tjipiN   Ta   Pirapan-tapa
    bird:Abs  indeed  Pirapan-Loc
    The bird is with Biraban.

There are many examples of the full form being reduced to a single syllable, which makes it conform to the common Australian pattern (in which ergative and locative have the same form) except that ergative ends in u and locative in a. The second syllable of the full form pa is probably a later addition.

30  Kabo bang kunnun Sydney ka. [518]
    kapu=pang ka-NaN Sydney-ka
    soon=1sgNom  be-Fut  Sydney-Loc
    By and by I will be in Sydney.
Temporal locations are marked with the reduced form:

31  *Kahri nurur tah-kaan ngorokahn tah.* [111]  
    karay nyura tja-kayaN nguR[ku]kaN-Ta  
kangaroo flesh: Abs 2pl Nom eat-Rpast morning-Loc  
Ye have eaten kangaroo this morning.

3.1.6 **Allative1**  
The first type of allative suffix expresses ‘motion to’ the marked nominal. In form, allative is the same as ergative regarding the variation of the initial consonant, but has the form -(C)aku.

32  *Tahnan teah wah-mun-billah (koeyung kah ko).* [331]  
    TaNayn=tja uwa-manpi-la kuyung-kaku  
hither=1sg Acc come-Perm-Imp fire-All  
Let me draw nigh to be at the fire.

33  *Waita bnga biribgn-ta-ko.* [1011]  
    watja=pang pirapan-taku  
    thither=1sg Nom eagle-All  
I depart to where the biraban is.

3.1.7 **Allative2**  
The second type of allative suffix expresses ‘motion towards’ the marked nominal. It has the unchanging form -kulang.

34  *Weah ngaan Mulubinbah ko lahng wah-nun?* [257]  
    wiya ngayaN MulupiN-pa-kulang uwa-NaN  
    Part 1pl Nom flower-Pl-All2 go-Fut  
Shall we go to Newcastle?

This suffix also has an inceptive or inchoative function when attached to nominals (see also [823], [824], [825] and [788]):

35  *Wuruwai-kolang-bar*. [826]  
    wuruway-kulang para  
    battle-All2 3pl Nom  
They are about to fight.

3.1.8 **Ablative**  
Ablative expresses motion from the marked nominal. The form used with common nominals is morphologically complex, being constructed with the reduced form of the locative + -pirang:
In Australian languages generally the ablative, comitative and — less often — the instrumental suffixes are used to undicate material origin (Dixon 2002, p. 136). In HRLM -pirang, the simple form of the ablative suffix, is used with this function:

38 *Soap umatóara kipai pirang.* [635]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>soap</th>
<th>uma-Tawarr</th>
<th>kipay-pirang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>soap:Abs</td>
<td>make-PNmls:Abs</td>
<td>fat-Abl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Soap is made from fat.

There are many examples of the simple form of the ablative suffix being used with common nominals; the reasons for this are not understood:

39 *Umatóara kúmba birung.* [640]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>uma-Tawarr</th>
<th>kumpa-pirang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>make-PNmls:Abs</td>
<td>yesterday-Abl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That which was made yesterday.

3.1.9 Causal

Causal case marks the cause of an event or the reason for an action. Typically in Australian languages the cause may be related to an emotional state or a physical reaction (Dixon 2002, p. 136–7). This is reflected in sentence 40/[126]. The form is -TiN after a stem final velar nasal or a vowel, otherwise causal shares the same variation in the initial consonant with ergative, but is followed by -(C)iN:

40 *Minnahring tin khan? Mamuya tin buntoah tuhn-ka-leyn.* [126]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>minyaring-TiN</th>
<th>ka-N</th>
<th>mamuya-TiN</th>
<th>puwaNTuwa</th>
<th>Tungka-li-N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Interr-Caus</td>
<td>be-Pres</td>
<td>corpse-Caus</td>
<td>3sgNomF</td>
<td>cry-Cont-Pres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

I don’t know (idiom). On account of the corpse she is crying.

[(I) don’t know why. She is crying about the corpse]

41 *Kabo, kabo ngalitin upa-toarin kopurrin.* [875]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>kapu</th>
<th>kapu</th>
<th>ngali-TiT</th>
<th>wupa-Tawarr-iN</th>
<th>kuparr-iN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>stop</td>
<td>stop</td>
<td>this-Caus</td>
<td>do-PNmls-Caus</td>
<td>red ochre-Caus</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stay, stay on account of the painting red.
PART 1 | THE LANGUAGE OF THE HUNTER RIVER AND LAKE MACQUARIE

42  **Minnaring tin yitirir biraban wiya?** [1005]

  minyaring-TiN  yiTirr  pirapan  wiya-a
  what-Caus  name:Abs  biraban:Abs  speak-GPast

  From what cause is such a one spoken biraban?
  [Why is the name pronounced ‘pirapan’?]

43  **Ngali-tin wiyelli-tin bira-bira-tin.** [1006]

  ngali-TiN  wiya-li-TiN  pira-pira-TiN
  this:Caus  speak-Nmls:Caus  pira-pira-Caus

  From this, from speaking bira-bira, that is, because he says bira.

It is possible that some coalescence of the ablative and causal case categories was occurring as a result of post-colonisation language change, or that such examples represent interference from neighbouring languages. In English translations from HRLM the preposition ‘from’ is often used to translate both ablative and causal suffixes, so there may have been some confusion in the translation process.

44  **Koiyóng tin báng uwá.** [644]

  kuyung-TiN=pang  uwa-a
  camp-Caus=1sgNom  come-GPast

  I started from camp.

45  **Búntóara bang Ngali birang bón.** [621]

  pung-Tawarr=pang  ngali-pirang=puN
  hit-PNmls:Abs=1sgNom  this-Abl=3sgAcc

  I was struck by him. [I (am) wounded because of him.]

3.1.10 **Dative**

Dative case in HRLM is typical of most Australian languages in that it marks a couple of different peripheral arguments, in this case dative, purposive and beneficiary. It has the form -ku (~-kuwa). The different functions are glossed throughout the text.

Purposive marks the goal of the activity:

46  **Minnahring ko unnung upaa?** [160]

  minyaring-ku  aNang  wupa-a
  Interr-Purp  that:Abs  put-GPast

  What is (it) put there for? (2 balls as a signal).

47  **Yah re upaah murrenowwi ko buloahrah ko.** [161]

  yaray  wupa-a  maRiNaway-ku  pulawarr-ku
  ?  put-GPast  ship-Purp  two-Purp

  It has been out for two ships (as a signal).
3 Nominal morphology

48  *Kaahwi bahng ngah-le ko; ngah-lah ko.* [345]
    kayaway=pang  ngali-ku / ngala-ku
    Neg:Abs=1sgNom  this-Purp / that-Purp
    I am not for this, for that.

In Australian languages dative is typically used to mark the second argument of an intransitive verb such as “cry FOR X”, “laugh AT X” . . . and the third argument of a transitive verb such as “give”, “tell” or “show”” (Dixon 2002, p. 134). Both functions are illustrated in the HRLM examples:

49  *Ngu-ke-lah nurur yahn-teyn ko.* [356]
    nguki-la  nyura  yaNTiyn-ku
    give-imp  2plNom  all-Dat
    Give, for all to be alike. or Give equally to all.

Beneficiary marks the nominal which benefits from the action:

50  *Unni ta biraba=n ko takilli-ko.* [1010]
    aNi      Ta  pirapan-ku  tjaki-li-ku
    this:Abs indeed eagle-Ben eat-Nmls-Purp
    This is for the biraban for to eat.

The dative suffix indicates ‘motion to’ the speaker when used with the Locational demonstrative (see 3.2).

3.1.11 Genitive
Genitive marks both alienable and inalienable possession. Genitive has the unchanging polysyllabic form -*kupa*. This form is constructed with dative + *pa*.

51  *Ngah-le ko bah bohn.* [234]
    ngali-kupa=puN
    this-Gen=3sgAcc
    It belongs to him.

52  *Murrroŋ ko ba kori ko ba . . .* [438]
    marrung-kupa  kuri-kupa
    good-Gen  man-Gen
    Belonging to a good man, or a good man’s . . .

53  *Ma koro ko ba ta unni ngórróng.* [435]
    makurr-kupa  Ta  aNi  nguRung
    fish-Gen  indeed  this:Abs  blood:Abs
    This is the blood of a fish.
3.1.12 Double case marking

In HRLM there are examples of double case marking. In Australian languages generally, ‘Examples of nouns marked for local cases and then ‘re-marked’ by syntactic case markers are not uncommon’ (Blake 1977, p. 56). This construction in HRLM exemplifies a type identified by Dixon:

(b) local marking plus marking of clausal function; . . . In some languages only an ablative NP (not a locative or allative one) can function as modifier within a phrase and be followed by a case inflection. (2002, p. 149)

The example sentences from Threlkeld with this type of construction use the causal suffix with ablative function:

54  Broken bay *tin to nátan* Sydney heads. [490]

    Broken Bay-tjin-Tu  nya-TaN  Sydney Heads
    Broken Bay-Caus-Erg  see-Pres  Sydney Heads:Abs

At Broken Bay is seen Sydney heads.

[From Broken Bay, Sydney Heads can be seen.]

55  Kolai *to tia búnkulla wokka* tin to. [427]

    kuLay-tju=tja  pung-kala  waka-TiN-Tu
    stick-Erg=1sgAcc  hit-GPast  above-Caus-Erg

The stick fell from above and struck me. [The stick from above struck me.]

There is a phrase in Fraser (1892, p. 220) with a double-case construction composed of genitive + dative:

56  *kyri koba ko* . . .

    kuri-kupa-ku . . .
    man-Gen-Dat
    To man’s . . .

Other examples of double case marking are found in pronouns, where the genitive is followed by instrumental (see 3.3 example [563]).

3.2 Demonstratives

Typically, demonstratives in Australian languages can stand alone in a noun phrase or modify the head of a noun phrase (by adding information like ‘this X, that X’). They are often used to indicate, or stand in place of, singular third-person pronouns. Demonstratives are sensitive to distance (near, far, further away) and sometimes visibility, and may include things already referred to in the conversation (Dixon 2002, p. 335).

In HRLM, demonstratives may stand alone in a noun phrase and modify the head of a noun phrase. They do not stand in place of a singular third-person pronoun, but may be used with that pronoun to emphasise who has done the action (see below).
There are three sets of demonstratives in HRLM, which have been labelled Demonstrative1 and Demonstrative2, both of these sets having forms which indicate ‘this’ or ‘that’. The third set, labelled Locational Demonstratives, refers to location (see also Threlkeld 1834, p. 22 and Hale 1846, pp. 490–1).

Table 19. Demonstrative1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stem</th>
<th>This</th>
<th>That</th>
<th>That</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngali</td>
<td>ngala</td>
<td>ngalawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erg/inst/purp</td>
<td>ngali-ku</td>
<td>ngala-ku</td>
<td>ngalawa-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal</td>
<td>ngali-TiN</td>
<td></td>
<td>ngalawa-TiN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>ngali-pirang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>ngali-kupa</td>
<td>ngala-kupa</td>
<td>ngalawa-kupa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Demonstrative1 is always in phrase-initial position. When it functions as an agent or an instrument, both ngali-ku and the unmarked form ngali occur in the data:

57  Ngánto wiyán? Ngaliko, ngali-taró. [712]
    ngaN-Tu  wiya-n / ngali-ku  ngali-tjarr-u
    Interr-Erg  speak-Gpres / this-Erg  these-Plr-Erg
    Who speaks? This does, these do.

58  Ngali-tia wiyá, Ngaloa tia wiyá. [419]
    ngali=tja  wiya-a / ngalawa=tja  wiya-a
    this:Erg=1sgAcc  speak-GPast / that:Erg=1sgAcc  speak-GPast
    This — told me. That — told me.

59  Wiwi, tiir barréa kan koa be unnoa spade ngali kolai to. [692]
    wiwi TiyiR-paRi-yakaN-kuwa=pi  aNuwa  spade
    Part broken-Caus2-Appr-Purp=2sgNom  that:Abs  spade:Abs
    ngali  kulay-tju
    this:Inst  stick-Inst
    Mind, lest you break the spade with that stick, or, you may &c.

60  Upullin bang ngali-ko broom-ko. [870]
    wupa-li-N=pang  ngali-ku  broom-ku
    do-Cont-Pres=1sgNom  this-Inst  broom-Inst
    I am sweeping with the broom.

The purposive suffix has the same form as the ergative/instrumental:

61  Kaahwi bahng ngah-le ko; ngah-lah ko. [345]
    kayaway=pang  ngali-ku / ngala-ku
    Neg:Abs=1sgNom  this-Purp / that-Purp
    I am not for this, for that.
Other examples of Demonstrative1 with causal, ablative and genitive suffixes appear in the relevant sections above (see 3.1.9 and 3.1.11).

When it is followed by the third-person singular bound pronoun in nominative case, ngali adds emphasis to the agent:

62  Ngali-noa umni umá. [421]

\[ \text{ngali=nyuwa \ aNi \ uma-a} \]

\text{this:Erg=3sgNom \ this:Abs \ make-GPast}

This is he who made this. [This one, he made this.]

Table 20. Demonstrative2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>This</th>
<th>That</th>
<th>That</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>aNi</td>
<td>aNuwa</td>
<td>aNang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>aNuwa-Nang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The unsuffixed Demonstrative2 can refer to either the subject of an intransitive sentence or the object of a transitive sentence (see also example 59/[692]):

63  Kurrâwân umni yîr kullín. [684]

\[ \text{karawaN \ aNi \ yiyiRka-li-N} \]

\text{clear:Abs \ this:Abs \ break-Cont-Pres}

The weather is clearing up, or breaking up.

64  Bu-wah be nu wahrekul unnung. [336]

\[ \text{pu-wa \ pi-nyung \ waRikal \ aNang} \]

\text{hit-Imp \ 2sgNom-3sgAcc \ dog:Abs \ that:Abs}

Beat thou the dog there.

The data have examples of one form of Demonstrative2, aNuwa, occurring with an accusative case suffix. It refers to the object of a transitive sentence. This suffix has the form -Nang:

65  Mára bi unnoa nung. [452]

\[ \text{ma-ra=pi \ aNuwa-Nang} \]

\text{take-Imp=2sgNom \ that-Acc}

Take that or, take it.

A cognate for aNi — yaani/yaanji/aani, ‘that thing there’ — is found in Muruwari, a language from north-west New South Wales and south-west Queensland (Oates 1992, p. 95) and in Dhangadi, where nganhi refers to something previously mentioned (Lissarrague 2005, p. 10).

The form aNang usually occurs with a co-referent nominal or pronoun, illustrated in the two examples below.
3 Nominal morphology

66 *Ngahn un-nung? Ngahtoa un-ne.* [69]

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{ngaN} & \text{aNang} & \text{ngatjuwa} \ aNi \\
\text{Interr:Abs} & \text{that-All} & \text{1sgNom} \ \text{that-All} \\
\text{Who is there? \ [Who is that?] \ It is I.}
\end{array}
\]

67 *Wonni bountoah teah unnung tatte ammoum ba.* [93]

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{waNay puwaNTuwa=tja} \ aNang \ tjatji \ amuwampa \\
\text{child:Abs 3sgNomF-1sgAcc \ that:Abs \ dead:Abs \ 1sgGen} \\
\text{My child she is dead.}
\end{array}
\]

Threlkeld’s translation of this demonstrative is often ‘there’, i.e. locational:

68 *Kore unni, Nukung unnoa, Wonnai unnung.* [415]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{kuri} & \text{aNi} & \text{nyukang} & \text{aNuwa} \ waNay \ aNang \\
\text{man:Abs \ this:Abs} & \text{woman:Abs} & \text{that:Abs} & \text{child:Abs \ that:Abs} \\
\text{This is a man; that is a woman; there is a child.}
\end{array}
\]

However, the following example helps to clarify the function of this demonstrative, where the particle *yung* (see 6.4.6) locates the action:

69 *Ngán unnung wiyellín yóng?* [720]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
\text{ngaN} & \text{aNang} & \text{wiya-li-N} & \text{yung} \\
\text{Interr:Abs} & \text{that:Abs \ speak-Cont-Pres \ there} \\
\text{Who is talking out there? \ [Who is that talking there?]}
\end{array}
\]

### Table 21. Locational demonstrative

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Here</th>
<th>There</th>
<th>There</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>aNTi</td>
<td>aNTa</td>
<td>aNTuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>aNTi-ku</td>
<td>aNTa-ku</td>
<td>aNTuwa-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>*aNTi-ring</td>
<td>aNTa-ring</td>
<td>aNTuwa-ring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal</td>
<td>aNTi-TiN</td>
<td>aNTa-TiN</td>
<td>aNTuwa-TiN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td>aNTi-pirang</td>
<td>aNTa-pirang</td>
<td>aNTuwa-pirang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Absolutive case of the Locational demonstrative indicates the location of an action:

70 *Ngán untí kuttán?* [507]

\[
\begin{array}{lll}
\text{ngaN} & \text{aNTi} & \text{ka-TaN} \\
\text{Interr:Abs \ here:Abs \ be-Pres} \\
\text{Who lives here?}
\end{array}
\]

71 *Kakulla ta báng Sydney-ka tángnga bi ba kakulla unta.* [512]

\[
\begin{array}{llllll}
\text{ka-kala} & \text{Ta=pang} & \text{Sydney-ka} & \text{Tanga=pi=pa} & \text{ka-kala aNTa} \\
\text{be-GPast \ indeed=1sgNom \ Sydney-Loc \ before=2sgNom=Sub \ be-GPast \ there:Abs} \\
\text{I was at Sydney before ever you were there.}
\end{array}
\]

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72 Weah be untoah bereke-nun? [253]
   wiya=pi aNTuwa pirriki-NaN
   Part=2sgNom there:Abs sleep-Fut
   Wilt thou sleep on that place?

There are some sentences with dative suffix -ku indicating motion to a location, and other sentences where the allative suffix -ring has the same function. The following examples support the proposition that -ku indicates motion towards the speaker and -ring indicates motion away from the speaker.

73 Kuhmbah be bah-lah wahn-nun unte-ko. [280]
   kumpa=pi pala uwa-NaN aNTi-ku
   tomorrow-2gNom must come-Fut here-Dat
   Tomorrow thou must come here.

74 Wontaring? Untaring. Untoaring. [444]
   wantja-ring / aNTa-ring / aNTuwa-ring
   Interr-All / there-All / that-All
   To what place? To that place. To that place there.

Other suffixes not mentioned above include causal and ablative. The causal suffix occurs with the Locational demonstrative, although in the following example this use of this demonstrative, which seems to function as a demonstrative2, is not understood:

75 Minaring tin bi kóttán untoa tin? [743]
   minyaring-TiN=pi kuTa-N aNTuwa-TiN
   Interr-Caus=2sgAcc think-Pres there-Caus
   What think you of that?

The other example with a causal suffix involves double case marking (see 3.1.12; the context for this sentence is found in [490] in Part 3).

76 Wonta tin to? Unti tin- to. Unta tin to. [491]
   wantja-TiN-Tu / aNTi-TiN-Tu / aNTa-TiN-Tu
   Interr-Caus-Erg / here-Caus-Erg / there-Caus-Erg
   At what place? At this place. At that place.

The ablative suffix with the Locational demonstrative aNTuwa-pirang is not illustrated in any example sentences, but is in Threlkeld’s paradigm (1834, p. 22).

3.2.1 ngiyakay
The unmarked form ngiyakay occurs in seven sentences in the data, with a couple of different translations, illustrated in examples 77/[195], 78/[202] and 79/[1004]. Its exact meaning, function and part of speech is not understood. It has a meaning
like ‘this way’ — either literally, or figuratively speaking — and so for the purposes of this document is grouped with the demonstratives.

77  *Ngea kah i bahng bereke-ah.* [195]
    *ngiyakay=pang  pirriki-ya*
    *this.place=1sgNom  sleep-*
    I shall sleep here.

78  *Won nayn bahle wah-lah? Ngeah-kah.* [202]
    *waNayn  pali  uwa-la / ngiyakay*
    *Interr:Abs  1duNom  go-Hort / this.way*
    Which way shalt thou and I go? This way.

79  *Ngiakai unnoa yitirrir birabang wiyag.* [1004]
    *ngiyakay  aNuwa  yiTirr / Pirapan  wiyag*
    *this.way  that:Abs  name:Abs / Biraban:Nom  speak-GPast*
    In this way such a one is spoken. Biraban.

3.3 Pronouns, proper and human nouns

HRLM is unusual in that pronouns, proper nouns, and (in accusative and comitative) human nouns, as well as the personal interrogative *ngaN-, share the same inflectional morphology. Whereas in most Australian languages proper nouns take the same range of morphological inflections as common nouns, in HRLM they do not. There is some discrepancy in the data with human nouns.

There are both free and bound pronouns in HRLM. Free pronouns function as the head of a noun phrase and may take the place of a noun. The free pronouns have singular, dual and plural number. The bound pronouns are restricted to singular number. There is also a separate set of pronouns, which are different in form to the bound pronouns, called ‘conjoined dual case’ by Threlkeld (1834, p. 24).

In keeping with most Australian languages, pronouns in HRLM have distinct forms for nominative case (which indicates the subject of an intransitive sentence and the agent of a transitive sentence) and accusative case (which indicates the object of a transitive sentence). Proper and human nouns also have accusative inflection.

Third-person singular distinguishes between masculine and feminine. There is no inclusive/exclusive distinction in HRLM (apart from the exclusive clitic, see 5.1.2).

The free pronouns have been reconstructed from Threlkeld’s paradigms (1834, pp. 19-25). Regarding the gaps in these paradigms, Threlkeld notes at the end of his section on free pronouns:

> The remaining cases can be easily formed by the accusative and particles used in the above cases of the first person, on referring to the model of the first person Nga-to-a. (1834, p. 25)

Both second- and third-person dual dative/beneficiary forms (here just called ‘beneficiary’) are reconstructed from Hale (1846, p. 489). Forms with an asterisk are
reconstructed without a model. The beneficial, allative, locative, ablative, causal
and comitative are all constructed using the accusative as the base plus the appro-
priate suffix.

Table 22. Singular pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1sg</th>
<th>2sg</th>
<th>3sgmasculine</th>
<th>3sgfeminine</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Erg/Nom</td>
<td>ngatjuwa</td>
<td>ngiNTuwa</td>
<td>nyuwawa</td>
<td>puwaNTuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>amuwang</td>
<td>ngiruwang</td>
<td>ngikuwang</td>
<td>puwaNuwaN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>amuwam-pa</td>
<td>ngiruwam-pa</td>
<td>ngikuwam-pa</td>
<td>puwaNuwam-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>*amuwang-ku</td>
<td>ngiruwang-ku</td>
<td>ngikuwang-ku</td>
<td>puwaNuwaN-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>*amuwang-kiNku</td>
<td>*ngiruwang-kiNku</td>
<td>ngikuwang-kiNku</td>
<td>puwaNuwaN-kiNku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>amuwang-kinpa</td>
<td>ngiruwang-kinpa</td>
<td>ngikuwang-kinpa</td>
<td>puwaNuwaN-kinpa</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abl</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ngiruwang-kay</td>
<td>ngikuwang-kay</td>
<td>puwaNuwaN-kay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com</td>
<td>amuwang-kaTuwa</td>
<td>ngiruwang-kaTuwa</td>
<td>ngikuwang-kaTuwa</td>
<td>puwaNuwaN-kaTuwa</td>
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</table>

Table 23. Dual pronouns

<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>pula</td>
<td>pulawarr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Acc</td>
<td>ngaliN</td>
<td>pulaN</td>
<td>pulawarr pulaN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>ngaliN-pa</td>
<td>pulaN-pa</td>
<td>pulawarr-kupa pulaN-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>ngaliN-ku</td>
<td>pulaN-ku</td>
<td>pulawarr-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
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<td>*pulawarr-kiNku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>ngaliN-kinpa</td>
<td>*pulaN-kinpa</td>
<td>*pulawarr-kinpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl</td>
<td>ngaliN-kinpirang</td>
<td>*pulaN-kinpirang</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caus</td>
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<td>*pulawarr-kay</td>
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<tr>
<td>Com</td>
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<td>*pulaN-kaTuwa</td>
<td>*pulawarr-kaTuwa</td>
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Table 24. Plural pronouns

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<th>3pl</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>nyura</td>
<td>para</td>
</tr>
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<td>nyuraN</td>
<td>paraN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gen</td>
<td>ngayaraN-pa</td>
<td>nyuraN-pa</td>
<td>paraN-pa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ben</td>
<td>ngayaraN-ku</td>
<td>*nyuraN-ku</td>
<td>*paraN-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>ngayaraN-kiNku</td>
<td>*nyuraN-kiNku</td>
<td>*paraN-kiNku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loc</td>
<td>ngayaraN-kinpa</td>
<td>*nyuraN-kinpa</td>
<td>*paraN-kinpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abl</td>
<td>ngayaraN-kinpirang</td>
<td>*nyuraN-kinpirang</td>
<td>*paraN-kinpirang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caus</td>
<td>*ngayaraN-kay</td>
<td>*nyuraN-kay</td>
<td>*paraN-kay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Com</td>
<td>ngayaraN-kaTuwa</td>
<td>*nyuraN-kaTuwa</td>
<td>*paraN-kaTuwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nominative case marks the agent of a transitive sentence and the subject of an intransitive sentence.

80  *Newwoah wahl kore yahrahki.* [88]

nyuwawa=wal kuri yaR[a]kay
3sgNom=In man:Abs bad:Abs
It is he who is a bad man.

81  *Ngahtoah umah-kaan unne, ngorokahn.* [73]

ngatjuwa uma-kayaN aNi nguR[u]kan
1sgNom make-RPast this:Abs morning:Abs
It is I who made this, this morning.

Similar forms to first person ngatjuwa are also found in Yukambil, Ngarrabal (both languages from the Northern Tablelands) and Gadhang. Other cognates are found in the Gadhang nominative pronoun paradigm, including ba:li 1duNom, bula 2duNom, njuwa 3sgNom and njura 2plNom (Holmer 1966, p. 62–3; note that Holmer’s j represents a palatal glide).

Third-person dual has the same form as the word for ‘two’ and, according to Threlkeld, inflects as a common nominal (i.e. it has ergative inflection) when it functions as an agent (1834, p. 24). There are no examples in the data to illustrate this.

Accusative case marks the object of a transitive sentence.

82  *Keawargn bang nurun ngimilli korien.* [891]

kayawarr-aN=pang nyuraN ngimi-li-kuriyaN
Neg-Emph=1sgNom 2plAcc know-Cont-Priv
I personally know you not.
3 Ngánto bounnoun túrannun? [462]

\[ngaN-Tu \ puwaNuwaN \ tjuRa-NaN\]

Interr-Erg 3sgAccF spear-Fut

Who will spear her?

Proper and human nouns are also marked for accusative case when they function as objects of a transitive sentence. The form is -(N)ang:

4 Yah-ko-un-tah be noun nah-kalah Patty-nung? [274]

\[yakuwantja \ pi-NuwaN \ nya-kala \ Pati-Nang\]

Interr-Loc 2sgNom-3sgAccF see-GPast Patty-Acc

When didst thou see Patty?

5 Ngan-nung ka? Ye terrah-buhl-nung. [322]

\[ngaN-ang \ ka \ yiTaR[a]pul-Nang\]

Interr-Acc ? such.a.one-Acc

To whom? To such a one.

In a sentence with two objects, a pronoun with dative function is in accusative case:

6 Karai tia nguwa emmoung takilli ko. [441]

\[karay=tja \ ngu-wa \ amuwang \ tjaki-li-ku\]

flesh:Abs=1sgAcc give-Imp 1sgAcc eat-Nmls-Purp

Give me flesh to eat.

The genitive case marks the possessor pronoun. The form of the genitive suffix is -mpa ~-Npa, except for third-person dual which has the common nominal genitive form -kupa following the first element. The form of the suffix following proper and human nouns is -ampa. Gadhang pronouns have the suffix -ba in genitive case (Holmer 1966, p. 62).

7 Ngan-umba unni wonnai? Biriban-umba unni wonnai. [1023]

\[nganampa \ aNi \ waNay / Pirapan-ampa \ aNi \ waNay\]

Interr-Gen this:Abs child:Abs / Pirapan-Gen this:Abs child:Abs

Whose child is this? Biriban’s, this child.

There are constructions in the data in which the instrumental suffix and the privative suffix follow a genitive pronoun:

8 Mattaró ngikoumba ko. [563]

\[matjarr-u \ ngikuwampa-ku\]

hand-Inst 3sgGen-Inst

With his hand.
Possession is also indicated by accusative bound pronouns (see 3.4.1 and example 110/[460]).

Threlkeld’s translations for the beneficiary include ‘for her, for us two’ and ‘for us, personally’ (1834, pp. 21, 23–4). There are no example sentences to illustrate the function of these pronouns, so ‘beneficiary’ is assumed from these translations.

Allative indicates motion to the person represented by the pronoun or proper noun. The same suffix form is used with proper names:

90  
**Yuring bi wolla; nyikuong kin ko.** [442]  
yuring=pi  uwa-la  nyikuwang-kiNku
away=2sgNom  go-Imp  3sgAll
Be off, go to him.

91  
**Kurrilla unni Biraban kin-ko.** [1025]  
kaRi-la  aNi  Pirapan-kiNku
carry-Imp  this:Abs  Pirapan-All
Carry this to Biraban, locally.

Locative has a couple of different functions. In the following example with a proper noun, this suffix indicates the location of something.

92  
**Wonnung ke wurubil? Birabán kin ba.** [486]  
waNang-ka  wuR[al]pil / Pirapan-kinpa
which-Loc  skin cloak:Abs / Pirapan-Loc
Where is the blanket? [At which place is the blanket?] With Biraban or at B’s.

In the next example, locative expresses co-location when used with animate beings:

93  
**Unne bo bountoah Patty. Ammoung kin-bah.** [91]  
aNi=pu  puwaNTuwa  Pati  amuwang-kinpa
this:Abs=Excl  3sgNomF  Patty:Nom  1sgLoc
This is Patty with me.

In the final example for this suffix, locative has a proprietive function:

94  
**Ma-ko-ro bounnoun kin ba.** [368]  
makurr  puwaNuwan-kinpa
fish:Abs  3sgLocF
She has the fish, or, The fish is with her.
Ablative case indicates motion away from the person represented by the pronoun or proper noun:

95  *Yuring bi wolla emmoung kin birung.* [479]

*yuring-pi    uwa-la   amuwang-kinpirang*

away=2sgNom  go-Imp  1sgAbl

Go away from me.

96  *Mr Brooks kin-berung; Mulubinbah kah berung.* [240]

*Mr Brooks-kinpirang / MulupiN-pa-kapirang*

Mr Brooks-Abl / flower-Pl-Abl

From Mr Brooks. From Newcastle.

Causal marks the person who is the cause of an event. The same suffix form is used with proper nouns, although there is variation with common nominal suffix form:

97  *Boumoun-kai Taipamearin.* [468]

*puwaNuwan-kay  Tayipamayarr-iN*

3sgCausF  Taypamayarr-Caus

About her, about T—-.

98  *Ngan-kai kaokillai bara? Biraban-kai.* [1028]

*ngaN-kay    kuwaki-la-y    para / Pirapan-kay*

Interr-Caus  quarrel-Rec-?  3plNom / Pirapan-Caus

About whom are they quarreling? About Biraban (on account of).

Comitative expresses accompaniment. The same suffix form is used with proper and human nominals (see also 3.1.4):

99  *Yellawolla bi emmoung katoa.* [480]

*yalawa-la=pi  amuwang-kaTuwa*

sit-Imp=2sgNom  1sgCom

Sit with me.

100 *Ngan-katoa bountoa? Biraban-katoa.* [1030]

*ngaN-kaTuwa   puwaNTuwa   Pirapan-kaTuwa*

Interr-Com  3sgNomF  Pirapan-Com

With whom is she? With Biraban (in company).

101 *Kora koa napál uwán kore katoa?* [739]

*kurakuwa  ngapal    uwa-N  kuri-kaTuwa*

Neg  women:Abs  go-Pres  men-Com

Why do not the women go with the men?
3.3.1 Sequence of free pronouns

First person dual pali is often followed by another pronoun (free or bound) in which case it has the construction of ‘we two-he’ etc. Since HRLM does not make distinctions between inclusive and exclusive forms, this may be a way of achieving an exclusive sense, whereby the second pronoun is a subset of the first:

103 Bünkilla bali noa Bulai womnai bali noa ba. [580]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>pungki-la-la</th>
<th>pali=nyuwa</th>
<th>Palay</th>
<th>waNay</th>
<th>pali=nyuwa=pa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hit-Rec-GPast</td>
<td>1duNom=3sgNom</td>
<td>Bulay:Abs</td>
<td>child:Abs</td>
<td>1duNom=3sgNom=Sub</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When Bulay and I were children, we used to fight with one another.

104 Waita bali bountoa. [781]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>watja</th>
<th>pali</th>
<th>puwaNTuwa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>thither</td>
<td>1duNom</td>
<td>3sgNomF</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

She and I go together.

Contrast with:

105 Ngirullin, bali. [792]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ngirra-li-N</th>
<th>pali</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tie-Cont-Pres</td>
<td>1duNom</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

We two, thou and I, are tying it.

3.4 Bound pronouns

A clause in HRLM can contain either bound or free pronouns. Bound pronouns in HRLM follow free pronouns in having a nominative/accusative pattern of marking the core clausal functions of agent, subject and object. Nominative case marks the subject in an intransitive clause and agent in a transitive clause. Accusative case marks the object in a transitive clause and the indirect object in a clause with three participants. In HRLM the bound pronouns are singular in number. They are generally attached to the first constituent of a clause, thus qualifying them as a type of clitic (see 5). When there is more than one participant in a clause, the order of the bound pronouns is partly dependent on person.

Table 25. Bound pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Nominative</th>
<th>Accusative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1st person</td>
<td>=pang</td>
<td>=tja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2nd person</td>
<td>=pi</td>
<td>=piN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3rd person</td>
<td>=nyuwa (m)</td>
<td>=puN (m); =NuwaN (f)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Interestingly, there are some similarities between the forms of the HRLM bound pronouns and the free pronouns in Holmer’s description of Gadhang (1966, p. 62; note that Holmer’s j represents a palatal glide), including:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HRLM</th>
<th>Holmer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2sgNom</td>
<td>=pi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgAcc</td>
<td>=piN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgNom(m)</td>
<td>=nyuwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Gadhang does not have bound pronouns for core arguments, but does have a bound first singular genitive form (-ngang) used with kin terms (Holmer 1966, p. 55). Regarding the correlation between pronominal forms in these two languages, Dixon concludes: ‘These relationships suggest that at some time in the past there must have been borrowing of pronominal forms and possibly merging of paradigms . . .’ (2002, pp. 356–7).

The difference in use between the bound and the free pronouns in HRLM is that the free pronouns are used for emphasis. Unless there is a need for such emphasis, the bound forms are preferred. Threlkeld’s translation in example 106/70 illustrates this difference in emphasis:

106 Ngahtoah mahn-nun. Mahn-nun bahng. [70]
   ngatjuwa ma-NaN / ma-NaN=pang
   1sgNom take-Fut / take-Fut=1sgNom
   It is I who will take. I will take.

107 Ammoung be weah-lah. Weah-lah be teah. [326]
   amuwang=pi wiya-la / wiya-la=pi=tja
   1sgAcc=2sgNom speak-Imp / speak-Imp=2sgNom-1sgAcc
   Speak to me. Do tell me.

3.4.1 **Sequence of bound pronouns**

When the object bound pronoun is third person, there is a preference for that pronoun to occur before the agent bound pronoun. Otherwise, the sequence is agent>object:

108 Ya-ri bón bi bún-ma-ra bun-bi yi ko-ra. [410]
   yari=puN=pi pu-marapanpi-yikura
   Neg=3sgAcc=2sgNom hit-UnivPerm-Neg
   Let no one strike him.

109 Wiyéa ka bi tia. [724]
   wiya-ka=pi=tja
   speak-It:Imp=2sgNom-1sgAcc
   Tell me again.
The exception appears to occur in constructions where the accusative bound pronoun is part of a noun phrase which can also be analysed as possessive:

110 Wollung tia noa wiréa. [460]
   walang=tja=nyuwa       wiRi-ya
   head:Abs=1sgAcc=3sgNom hit-GPast
   He hit me on the head. [He hit me head.]

Cross-referencing of pronouns
There are a number of sentences in the data where a single referent is referred to by two different pronoun forms, bound and free. This is restricted to first-person singular in nominative case:

111 Kauwa, wiyaléun bang ngatoa bo. [753]
   kawa   wiya-layaN=pang   ngatjuwa=pu
   Yes  speak-Ref:Past=1sgNom  1sgNom=Excl
   Yes I was talking to myself.

3.5 Compound pronouns
There is another set of pronouns which, in form, have similarities to both free and bound pronouns in HRLM. Like bound pronouns, they are restricted to singular number.

Table 26. Compound pronouns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Threlkeld (1834, p. 24)</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1sgNom-2sgAcc</td>
<td>Ba-núng</td>
<td>pa-Nung</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1sgNom-3sgAcc(F)</td>
<td>Bí-nó-un</td>
<td>pa-NuwaN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgNom-3sgAcc(M)</td>
<td>Bi-núng</td>
<td>pi-nyung*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2sgNom-3sgAcc(F)</td>
<td>Bí-nó-un</td>
<td>pi-NuwaN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgNom(M)-2sgAcc</td>
<td>Bi-ló-a</td>
<td>piN-luwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3sgNom(F)-2sgAcc**</td>
<td>Bín-tó-a</td>
<td>piN-Tuwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1sgNom resembles the the first syllable of the bound form: =pang.
3sgAcc(F) resembles the final two syllables of the free pronoun: puwaNuwaN.
2sgNom is identical to the bound form: =pi.
2sgAcc (the final variant form) is identical to the last two syllables which occur in two free pronouns, ngiNTuwa (2sgNom) and puwaNTuwa (3sgNom Fem).
*See example [42], Part 3, regarding the form of this pronoun.
**labelled by Threlkeld as ‘2nd person Nominative Feminine — 2nd person Accusative’.

Compound pronouns follow verbs, conjunctions, negations, interrogative particles, interrogatives and even interjections. It is not understood when a conjoined form is used instead of the usual bound pronoun forms. It is not known if compound
pronouns stand alone, or if they are phonetically attached to the word they follow. In this work they are represented as the former. Threlkeld represents them as both a phonetic part of the preceding word and as elements that stand alone. Only the compounds which appear in the above paradigm are permitted, i.e. there is no possibility of a form such as *pang-piN.

112 Wommunbinnun banúng. [676]
   **uwa-manpi-NaN pa-Nung**
   go-Perm-Fut 1sgNom-2sgAcc
   I will let you go.

113 Nga bínnúng wiyá? Wiyá bón báng. [718]
   **nga pi-nyung wiya-a / wiya-a=puN=pang**
   Part 2sgNom-3sgAcc speak-GPast / speak-GPast=3sgAcc=1sgNom
   Did you tell him? I told him.

The compound piN-luwa, which Threlkeld described as ‘he-thee’, along with piN-Tuwa, ‘she-thee’, have been described by Threlkeld in the wrong order; the form pi[N]- is 2sg. The first syllable in the form Bín-tó-a is the same as the 2sgAcc bound pronoun -piN. This would also allow for a neat hierarchy of order with all compound pronouns of 1>2>3, regardless of case. Thus, a more regular paradigm would have:

2sgAcc-3sgNom(M)  **Bi-ló-a** piN-luwa
2sgAcc-3sgNom(F)  **Bín-tó-a** piN-Tuwa

The following example illustrates the use of Bi-ló-wa~biloa (there are no examples with Bín-tó-a):

114 Minnung bunnun ngaiya biloa? [696]
   **minyang wupa-NaN ngaya piN-luwa**
   Interr:Abs do-Fut then 2sgAcc-3sgNomM
   What will he do to you?

3.6 Interrogatives and indefinites

Dixon notes that in many Australian languages, content question words ‘can perhaps be best viewed as basically indefinite, with an additional interrogative component added in appropriate circumstances’ (2002, p. 328). An interrogative interpretation is usually implied ‘by rising intonation . . . or by fronting the word to the beginning of the clause, or by some other means’ (Dixon 2002, p. 328). Without any speakers or recorded materials in HRLM, it isn’t possible to ascertain the intonation patterns of that language.

HRLM has a set of content question words to ask what, who, how many, which, where and when. Apart from one example sentence [43], Threlkeld’s translations do not illustrate their other function, but it can be assumed that all of the inter-
rogatives in HRLM also have an indefinite sense: ‘something, someone, however many (some several?), which ever, somewhere, sometime’. Interrogatives/indefinites function as the head of a noun phrase and occur in sentence initial position.

In HRLM there are seven interrogatives/indefinites, all except minyang have recorded nominal inflections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HRLM</th>
<th>Interrogative sense</th>
<th>Indefinite sense</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ngaN</td>
<td>who</td>
<td>someone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minyaring</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wantja</td>
<td>where</td>
<td>somewhere</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minyayn</td>
<td>how many, much</td>
<td>however many, much</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waNang -waNayn</td>
<td>which</td>
<td>some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yakuwantja</td>
<td>when</td>
<td>sometime</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>minyang</td>
<td>what</td>
<td>something</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.6.1 ngaN-

The interrogative ngaN (meaning ‘who–someone’) has a tripartite system of marking core case functions: ergative marks agent, absolutive marks subject and accusative marks object. This interrogative/indefinite uses the same suffix forms for accusative, dative, causal, genitive, locative and comitative as pronouns and proper nouns.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>ngaN -ngaN-ki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
<td>ngaN-Tu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accusative</td>
<td>ngaN-ang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dative</td>
<td>ngaN-kiNku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal</td>
<td>ngaN-kay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>ngaN-ampa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>ngaN-kinpa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comitative</td>
<td>ngaN-kaTuwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

115 Ngan-to bōn turā? [1022]

ngaN-Tu=puN tjuRa-a

Interr-Erg=3sgAcc spear-GPast

Who did spear him?
116 *Ngán unti kuttán?* [507]

\[
\text{ngaN} \quad \text{aNTi} \quad \text{ka-TaN}
\]

Interr:Abs here:Abs be-Pres

Who lives here?

The marked absolutive form is represented here as *ngaN-ki* to distinguish it from the causal form *ngaN-kay* (see Table 14).

117 *Ngán ke kiakia kunnun?* [516]

\[
\text{ngaN-ki} \quad \text{kiyakiya} \quad \text{ka-NaN}
\]

Interr-Abs conqueror:Abs be-Fut

Who will be the victor.

118 *Ngánnung bi wiyán?* [721]

\[
\text{ngaN-ang=pi} \quad \text{wiya-N}
\]

Interr-Acc=2sgNom speak-Pres

Whom do you tell? To whom do you speak?

119 *Ngán-kai kaokillai bara?* [1028]

\[
\text{ngaN-kay} \quad \text{kuwaki-la-y} \quad \text{para}
\]

Interr-Caus quarrel-Rec-? 3plNom

About whom are they quarreling?

120 *Arnombar?* [63]

\[
\text{ngaN-ampa}
\]

Interr-Gen

Who does it belong to?

121 *Ngánn-kin-ba bountoa? Biribgn-kin-ba.* [1031]

\[
\text{ngaN-kinpa} \quad \text{puwaNTuwa} \quad / \quad \text{Pirapan-kinpa}
\]

Interr-Loc 3sgNomF / Pirapan-Loc

With whom is she? With Biraban, that is living with.

122 *Ngán katoa bountoa? Tibbin katoa ba.* [481]

\[
\text{ngan-kaTuwa} \quad \text{puwaNTuwa} \quad / \quad \text{TjipiN-kaTuwa} \quad \text{pa}
\]

Interr-Com 3sgNomF / tjipiN-Com

With whom is she? With Tibbin.

3.6.2 minyaring

*Minyaring* meaning ‘what –something’ is inflected with the same pattern of suffixes found with common nominals. These inflections function in line with the same suffixes described elsewhere.
Table 29. minyaring

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td>minyaring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative/instrumental/purposive</td>
<td>minyaring-ku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal</td>
<td>minyaring-TiN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Genitive</td>
<td>minyaring-kupa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perlative</td>
<td>minyaring-kuwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative (origin)</td>
<td>minyaring-pirang</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>minyaring-kapa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td>minyaring-kulang</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

123 Minyaring barno oning. [43]

minyaring pa-Nung ngu-NaN
Indef:Abs 1sgNom-2sgAcc give-Fut
I’ll give you something.

124 Minnaring ko pa unni? [431]

minyaring-kupa aNi
Interr-Gen this:Abs
What does this belong to?

125 Minnaring koa noa uwa? [482]

minyaring-kuwa=nyuwa uwa-a
Interr-Perl=3sgNom go-GPast
How did he go?

In some constructions minyaring + purposive suffix is translated as ‘why?’, in others as ‘what for?’

126 Minnahring ko be umoah kurrah-leyn? [132]

minyaring-ku=pi aNuwa kaRi-li-N
Interr-Purp=2sgNom that:Abs carry-Cont-Pres
Why art thou carrying that?

127 Min-nah-ring ko mahkoro? Tah-ke-le-koh. [157]

minyaring-ku makarr tjaki-li-ku
Interr-Purp fish:Abs eat-Nmls-Purp
What is fish for? For to be eat. [For eating.]

The causal suffix -TiN marks the cause of an event or action. In some constructions it can also be translated as ‘why’: 
128 *Minaring tin bi kōttán untoa tin?* [743]

\[
\text{minyaring-TiN}=\pi \quad \text{kuTa-N} \quad \text{aNTuwa-TiN}
\]

Inter-Caus=2sgAcc think-Pres there-Caus

What think you of that?

129 *Min-na-ring tin bi-núng bún-kul-la?* [411]

\[
\text{minyaring-TiN} \quad \pi-\text{nyung} \quad \text{pung-kala}
\]

Inter-Caus 2sgNom-3sgAcc hit-GPast

Why didst thou strike him?

3.6.3 *wantja*

*Wantja*, meaning ‘where – somewhere’, shares some inflection forms with common nominals, except for allative and locative. The suffixes which occur with *wantja* are restricted to those that relate to place. These inflections function in line with the same suffixes described elsewhere.

**Table 30. wantja**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Case</th>
<th>Form</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
<td><em>wantja</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Causal</td>
<td><em>wantja-TiN</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td><em>wantja-wantja-kapa</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative</td>
<td><em>wantja-ring</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allative2</td>
<td><em>wantja-kulang</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ablative</td>
<td><em>wantja-pirang</em> –<em>wantja-kapirang</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Perlative</td>
<td><em>wantja-kuwa</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

130 *Won tah be unnoah mahn-kah-lah?* [209]

\[
\text{wantja}=\pi \quad \text{aNuwa} \quad \text{maN-kala}
\]

Inter-Caus=2sgNom that:Abs take-GPast

Where was it thou didst catch that?

The locative form has been found in one sentence, with the reduplicated form *wantjawantja* and the translation ‘whereabouts’:

131 *Wonta wontá ka ba kokiri?* [488]

\[
\text{wantja-wantja-kapa} \quad \text{kukirr}
\]

Inter-Red-Loc house:Abs

Whereabouts is the house?

132 *Wontaring bi uwán?* [642]

\[
\text{wantja-ring}=\pi \quad \text{uwa-N}
\]

Inter-All=2sgNom go-Pres

To what place do you go?
In sentences with the ablative suffix Threlkeld’s information is not consistent in his use of the full and reduced forms.

133 *Won tah berung be?* [175]

wantja-pirang=pi
Interr-Abl=2sgNom
Where hast thou come from?

134 *Wonta ka pirang noa?* [473]

wantja-kapirang=nyuwa
Interr-Abl=3sgNom
From what place did he come?

Threlkeld describes this interrogative/indefinite with a perlative suffix as meaning ‘through or by what place’ (1834, p. 8). The one example sentence with this suffix follows a stem with the derivational suffix which denotes ‘belonging’, although the translation does not illuminate the meaning of this construction:

135 *Wonta kulloa? Korung koa.* [484]

wantja-kal-uwa / kurang-kuwa
Interr-Loc-Perl / bush-Perl
Which way? Through the Bush

All examples with the causal suffix have an ablative function (see 3.1.9):

136 *Won tah tin unnoah mahm-tahn?* [204]

wantja-TiN aNuwa maN-TaN
Interr-Caus that:Abs take-Pres
Where is that taken from?

3.6.4 **minyayn**

This interrogative/indefinite meaning ‘how many ~much and however many ~much’ has been recorded with one nominal inflection, along with its unsuffixed form:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 31. <em>minyayn</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Absolutive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ergative</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

137 *Min ahn beyn terrah-kul ngeroambah? Kowwal-kowwol amoambah.* [143]

minyayn=piN tjirakal ngiruwampa / kawal-kawal amuwampa
Interr:Abs=2sgAcc peach:Abs 2sgGen / many-Red:Abs 1sgGen
How many peaches hast thou with thee? I have many.
One construction has what seems like minyayn followed by ergative case, although the context (this example directly follows the one above) puts this analysis in some doubt:

138 Min ahn to? Kowwal-kowwoł o. [144]
   minyayn-tju / kawal-kawal-u
   Interr-Erg / many-Red-Erg?
   How many have? A great many.

3.6.5 waNang ~waNayn
This interrogative/indefinite, meaning ‘which ~some’, has been recorded with one nominal inflection, along with its unsuffixed form:

Table 32. waNang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Absolutive</th>
<th>waNang ~waNayn</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Locative</td>
<td>waNang-ka</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This word was recorded by Threlkeld as wonnén and wonnung and by Fraser as won-nayn and won-nung. This indicates that free variation between the velar and palatal nasals may have occurred in word-final position on this word, and possibly on others (the counter argument is found in the forms minyang and minyayn, which have two distinct meanings).

Threlkeld recorded several different translations for this word, but all example sentences offer a choice between alternates:

139 Won nayn noah uwah? [196]
   waNayn=nyuwa  uwa-a
   Interr:Abs=3sgNom  go-GPast
   Which way is he gone?

140 Won nayn kanoah ye terra? [192]
   waNayn  ka-N=nyuwa  yiTirr
   which  be-Pres=3sgNom  name:Abs
   Which way is he named?

141 Wonnung ke wurubil? Birabán kin ba. [486]
   waNang-ka  wuR[a]pil / Pirapan-kinpa
   which-Loc  skin cloak:Abs / Pirapan-Loc
   Where is the blanket? [At which place is the blanket?] With Biriban or at B’s.

142 Won nung ka beyn ngukung? Unme-bo buntoah. [180]
   waNang-ka=piN  nyukang / aNi=pu  puwaNTuwa
   which-Loc=2sgAcc  wife:Abs / this:Abs=Excl  3sgNomF
   Where is thy wife? [Which one is your wife?] This is she.
3.6.6 yakuwantja

Yakuwantja, meaning ‘when ~sometime’, occurs in sentence-initial position in two types of construction: those lacking any inflection and one with what appears to be a locative inflection:

143 Aequoinjarbee mam[n]i[n] nukung? [23]
   yakuwantja=pi ma-NaN nyukang
   Interr=2sgNom get-Fut woman:Abs
   When you get a wife?

144 Yah-ko-untah ka noah yahn te uma-nun? [288]
   yakuwantja-ka=nyuwa yaNTi uma-NaN
   Interr-Loc?=3sgNom thus make-Fut
   When will he make like this?

3.6.7 minyang

Minyang has no recorded nominal inflections. It has the same meaning as minyaring (‘what ~something’; see 3.6.2). Threlkeld does not offer any explanation about the difference between using minyang and minyaring, and it is difficult to discern the difference in use and meaning from the data.

Minyang typically occurs in sentences with the transitive verb wupa- ‘do, make etc.’

145 Tiir bungnga pa bám ba minnung bunnun ngaiya bara tia? [693]
   TiyiR-panga-pa=pang=pa / minyang wupa-NaN ngaya para=tja
   broken-Caus3-Hyp=1sgNom=Sub / Interr:Abs do-Fut then 3plNom-1sgAcc
   Had I broken it, what would they have done to me?

146 Minnung bunnun ngaiya biloa? [696]
   minyang wupa-NaN ngaya piN-luwa
   Interr:Abs do-Fut then 2sgAcc-3sgNomM
   What will he do to you?

An alternative analysis is to view the verb wupa- as the verbaliser -pa. Threlkeld’s written representations allow for either: minnung bannun ‘what will (you) do’ and min nung u-pah-leyn ‘what are (you) doing’. The wupa- analysis accounts for the occurrence of objects in sentences with minyang. In HRLM the verbaliser -pa in all other cases derives an intransitive verb (see 4.5.2). The verbaliser analysis accounts for all intransitive sentences with minyang. I have followed Threlkeld’s lead in representing either wupa- or -pa- in all cases.

147 Min-nam-bah beyn unnoah mattahrah? [150]
   minyang-pa=piN aNuwa matjarr [-Loc?]
   Interr-Vb=2sgAcc that:Abs hand:Abs [~-Loc?]
   What is the matter with thy hand?
148 Minung bullín bi? Wiyellín bāŋ. [694]

\[ \text{minyang-pa-li-N}=\text{pi} / \text{wiya-li-N}=\text{pang} \]

\[ \text{Interr-Vb-Cont-Pres}=2\text{sgNom} / \text{speak-Cont-Pres}=1\text{sgNom}. \]

What are you doing? I am talking.

\textbf{Minyang} may be the sole constituent of a sentence:

149 Tiirán unni. Minnung? [686]

\[ \text{TiyiR-aN} / \text{minyang} \]

\[ \text{broken-Emph} / \text{Interr:Abs} \]

This is broken. What is?

3.6.8 \textbf{Idiomatic negative translations}

Several examples of a particular construction with a negative translation occur in the data, involving the interrogatives/indefinites \textit{ngaN}, \textit{minyaring}, \textit{minyang}, \textit{minyayn} and \textit{waNayn} and the copula (see 4.8). Threlkeld describes them as being ‘idioms’:

150 \textit{Ngahn-bo kahn}. [113]

\[ \text{ngaN}=\text{pu} \quad \text{ka-N} \]

\[ \text{Interr=Excl} / \text{be-Pres} \]

I don’t know (An idiom for a negative). [~(I) don’t know who.]

151 \textit{Minnahring tin khan}? [126]

\[ \text{minyaring-TiN} \quad \text{ka-N} \]

\[ \text{Interr-Caus} / \text{be-Pres} \]

I don’t know. (An idiom.)

152 \textit{Min-nun kahn}. [149]

\[ \text{minyang} \quad \text{ka-N} \]

\[ \text{Interr:Abs} / \text{be-Pres} \]

I don’t know nor care. (An idiom.)

153 \textit{Min ahn kahn}. [147]

\[ \text{minyayn} \quad \text{ka-N} \]

\[ \text{Interr:Abs} / \text{be-Pres} \]

None is. (An idiom.)

154 \textit{Won nayn kahn}. [198]

\[ \text{waNayn} \quad \text{ka-N} \]

\[ \text{Interr:Abs} / \text{be-Pres} \]

Do not know. (An idiom.) [I don’t know which.]

155 \textit{Yah-ko-un-tah kahn ngaan}. [107]

\[ \text{yakuwantja} \quad \text{ka-N} \quad \text{ngayaN} \]

\[ \text{Interr} / \text{be-Pres} / 1\text{sgNom} \]

We do not know when. (An idiom.)
3.7 Time words

In structural terms, there are two types of words which refer to time in HRLM: nominals (which can be followed by nominal inflections); and particles (words without any inflections). The nominals all refer to a point in time:

- **yalaNa**: month - moon
- **ngurukaN**: morning
- **Tukuy**: night
- **wara**: yesterday
- **kumpa**: tomorrow, yesterday
- **yaraya**: evening
- **yurakay**: formerly, long ago
- **parrayang**: day
- **pangay**: today, now
- **yakita**: instantly, straight away
- **kuruwarang**: long time

156 *Kunnun báng tarai ta yellemna ka.* [519]

\[
\text{ka-NaN=pang TaRay-tja yalaNa-ka}
\]

be-Fut=1sgNom another-Loc moon-Loc

In another month I shall . . .

157 *Ka pa bi ba unta ngorokán ta na pa ngaiya bang banúng.* [548]

\[
\text{ka-pa=pi=pa aNTa nguR[u]kaN-Ta nya-pa ngaya pa-Nung}
\]

be-Hyp=2sgNom=Sub there:Abs morning-Loc see-Hyp Part 1sgNom-2sgAcc

If you had been there this morning, I should have seen you.

158 *Kóttalliélla báng tokoi ta tetti báng ba ka pa.* [744]

\[
\text{kuTa-li-yala=pang Tukuy-tja tjatji=pang=pa ka-pa}
\]

think-Cont-GPast=1sgNom night-Loc dead=1sgNom=Sub be-Hyp

I thought I should have died [last night].

159 *Kah bo yah raah ka.* [337]

\[
\text{kapu yaraya-ka}
\]

stop evening-Loc

Stop till the evening.

160 *Yurah-ke tah-o; Yurah-ke tah bahng; Korowawrung kah bahng.* [286]

\[
\text{yurakay-tja / yurakay-tja=pang / kuruwarang-ka=pang}
\]

long.while-Loc / long.while-Loc=1sgNom / long ago-Loc=1sgNom

It will be a long while; I shall be a long while; a long time since I have.

161 *Ke tah koah umah-lah.* [348]

\[
\text{yakiTa-kuwa uma-la}
\]

now-Perl do-Imp

Why, do it immediately.
The following sentence from the 1824 manuscript has **waRa** meaning ‘yesterday’:

162 *Warrabung narkullan kooree.* [8]  
**waRa=pang** **nya-kala-N** **kuri**  
yesterday=1sgNom see-GPast? man:Abs  
I saw the blackfellow yesterday.

In later sources **kumpa** is given with two meanings, ‘yesterday’ and ‘tomorrow’:

163 *Umatōara kūmba birung.* [640]  
**uma-Tawarr** **kumpa-pirang**  
make-PNmls:Abs yesterday-Abl  
That which was made yesterday.

164 *Kūmba báng kakén Sydney ka.* [513]  
**kumpa=pang** **ka-kayn** **Sydney-ka**  
Tomorrow:Abs=1sgNom be-NFut Sydney-Loc  
Tomorrow I shall be in Sydney.

The other group of words which refer to time are either particles, or nominals which were never recorded with any inflections:

- **yukiTa** afterwards  
- **Tanga** before, prior  
- **kapu** soon, by and by  
- **TaNuwaNang** soon  
- **yaNTikaTay** forever, always

165 *Kakulla ta báng Sydney-ka tàngnga bi ba kakulla unta.* [512]  
**ka-kala** **Ta=pang** **Sydney-ka** **Tanga=pi=pa** **ka-kala** **aNTa**  
be-GPast indeed=1sgNom Sydney-Loc before=2sgNom=Sub be-GPast there:Abs  
I was at Sydney before ever you were there.

166 *Kúmba kabo.* [586]  
**kumpa** **kapu**  
tomorrow:Abs soon  
By and by tomorrow.

167 *Nguwa ngearun purreung ka yanti ka tai takilliko.* [1045]  
**ngu-wa** **ngayaran** **parrayang-ka** **yaNTikatay** **tjaki-li-ku**  
give-Imp 1plAcc day-Loc always eat-Nmls-Purp  
Give to us day to be as it is continue for to eat.
3.8 **Locational words**

There is a set of nominals which refer to the location of an event. Inflections recorded with these words include absolutive, locative, ablative and allative. There is an example of double case marking with *waka* (see 3.1.12)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abs</th>
<th>Within</th>
<th>Down</th>
<th>Edge, other side</th>
<th>Close, near</th>
<th>Above</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>marrang</td>
<td>paRa</td>
<td>kayiN</td>
<td>kayiN-kaN-Tapa</td>
<td>papay-tjapa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Loc</th>
<th>marrang-ka</th>
<th>kayiN-kaN-Tapa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All</td>
<td>pari-kaku</td>
<td>kayiN-Taku</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Towards | marrang-kulang | kayiN-kulang |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abl</th>
<th>waka-kapirang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Caus/erg</td>
<td>waka-TiN-Tu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Threlkeld’s translations include: *marrang-ka* ‘within’; *marrang-kulang* ‘about to go in, inwards’; *parra-kaku* ‘down, actually down’; *parra-kulang* ‘downwards’; *kayiN* ‘edge, other side’ *kayiN-kulang* ‘over towards the other side’; *kayiN-kaN-Tapa* ‘at or on the other side or edge’; *kayiNkayiN* ‘all sides; every side’

168 *Puntimán tia barán.* [455]

```
puNTima-N=tja paRa
```

*I am thrown down.* [Someone (or something?) throws me down.]

169 *Pummaikán ta ba papai ta ba Mulubinba ka ba.* [489]

```
pamaykaN-Tapa papay-tjapa MulupiN-pa-kapa
```

*It is at the flower place close to the town of Newcastle.*

170 *Wokka ka birung Moroko ka birung.* [474]

```
waka-kapirang muruku-kapirang
```

*From Heaven.* [From above, from Heaven.]

3.9 **Numerals**

Numerals in HRLM function as nominals. There are examples of numbers having absolutive, purposive and locative suffixes as well as several examples with the exclusive clitic =*pu* (see 5.1.2).
wakul one
pulawarr two
nguru three
pulawarrpulawarr ~waran four

171 Buloara bo ta bula tanán uwá. [494]
pulawarr=pu Ta pula TaNayn uwa-a
3duNom:Abs=Excl indeed 2duNom hither come-GPast
Only the two came.

172 Yah re upaah murrenowwi ko buloahrah ko. [161]
yaray wupa-a maRiNaway-ku pulawarr-ku
? put-GPast ship-Purp two-Purp
It has been out for two ships (as a signal).

173 Pur-re-ung ka ngo-ro ka. [364]
parrayang-ka nguru-ka
day-Loc three-Loc
On the third day

174 Ko-lai-to-a ngo-ro-ko-a. [365]
kulay-tjuwa nguru-kuwa
tree-Perl three-Perl
By (besides) the third tree

Other words refer to quantity:

kawalkawal many
waraya few
wiNTa some

There are no good examples of nominal inflection with these words (see [144]), but it is assumed that they are in absolutive case in the following sentences:

175 Kau-wul-kau-wul ko-re. [362]
kawal-kawal kuri
great-Red:Abs men:Abs
many men

176 Wa-re-a-ko-re. [363]
waraya kuri
few:Abs men:Abs
few men
3.10 Derivational suffixes

Derivational processes and functions in HRLM are typical of those found in Australian languages generally.

Derivation refers to an optional morphological process which may just add a semantic element to the word (e.g. negation or diminutive) or may change the word class. It applies before inflection and, if realised by affixation, then a derivational affix will almost always come between the root and inflectional suffix (Dixon 2002, p. 146).

3.10.1 Proprietive

There are two phonologically conditioned forms of the proprietive suffix found in the data: -ang following a word-final lateral and -lang elsewhere. According to Hale this suffix denotes a quality and derives an adjective from a noun (1846, p. 502). In other words, this suffix has the meaning of ‘having’ the particular attribute indicated by the noun. In general, the proprietive has a semantic range that overlaps to some extent with comitative. HRLM has suffixes that express both. But the narrow comitative meaning of ‘accompanied by’, ‘in the company of’ is expressed by an inflectional suffix that occurs only on pronouns and proper and human nominals. On the other hand, the narrow proprietive meaning of ‘having [a particular attribute]’ is expressed by a derivational suffix that occurs only on common nominals.

Other examples of words with this suffix include: pali-lang ‘salty, saline’; pital-lang ‘happy, joyful’ and miral-ang ‘miserable’. An example of a word with two derivational suffixes is found in the word pali-kuriyaN-lang ‘sweet’ (i.e. unsalted).

3.10.2 Privative

The suffix -kuriyaN indicates that the thing being spoken about is ‘lacking’ in the attribute expressed by the nominal. In Australian languages generally, Dixon notes that ‘The semantic range of privative generally covers almost the semantic range of comitative in that language . . .’ (2002, p. 141). In this description, the semantic range of ‘privative’ is the negative of the semantic range of what here is called ‘proprietive’.
179 Pitul korien bang shoe tin. [741]
piTal-kuriyaN=pang shoe-TiN
joy-Priv=1sgNom shoe-Caus
I am displeased with the shoe.

180 Min ahm beyn wonni? Womni korean. [142]
minyayn=piN waNay / waNay-kuriyaN
Interr:Abs=2sgAcc child:Abs / child-Priv
How many children hast thou? None. [Childless]

The following example illustrates that privative in HRLM is not necessarily a ‘negative correspondent’ to proprietive (Dixon 2002, p. 141):

181 Kaiyu kán bang. Kaiyu korien bang. [520]
 kayu ka-N=pang / kayu-kuriyaN=pang
powerful:Abs be-Pres=1sgNom / powerful-Priv=1sgNom
I am powerful. I am not powerful.

3.10.3 Semblative
The suffix -kiluwa denotes resemblance and can be translated by ‘like’ or ‘resemble’, as in ‘The moon looks like a boomerang’. The only examples sentences from the data illustrate this suffix attached to a demonstrative. Another example listed by Threlkeld is waNay-kiluwa ‘child-like’ (1834, p. 17).

 kaykal-kuriyaN aNi yaNTi aNuwa-kiluwa
sweet-Priv:Abs this:Abs thus that-Semb
This is not so sweet as that.

Another possible suffix -payn (or -piN) with a semblative-like function occurs in the word tjira-payn-pa which refers to a peninsula jutting out ‘like a tooth’ (1834:84). However, this possible suffix closely resembles the form of another suffix, plural2 (see 3.10.9).

3.10.4 Belonging
Like personal pronouns in HRLM, the ‘belonging’ suffix has masculine and feminine forms, in this case -kal and -kalayn respectively. The underlying function of this suffix when it is attached to nominals which refer to a place is reflected in some translations in the data with an Aboriginal sense of ‘belonging to place’:

183 Mulubinbah kah-laan bountoah. [210]
MulupiN-pa-kalayn puwaNiTuwa
flower-Pl-Bel 3sgNomF
She belongs to Newcastle.
3 Nominal morphology

184 Kore unni Turkey kal. [765]

kuri aNi Turkey-kal
man:Abs this:Abs Turkey-Bel
This is a Turk, or, a Turkish man.

The belonging suffix is not limited to references about place. In pangay-kal the thing being talked about is ‘Belonging to this present period. Fresh, new, recently’ (Threlkeld 1834, p. 75). Threlkeld also wrote that the word for ‘peach’ tjira-kal was derived from the idea that a peach ‘set the teeth on edge’ (1827, preface).

Mann has the word geebuk-allaine ‘woman devil’ tjipa-kalayn, Larmer has the word jebug.gall ‘devil’ and Threlkeld has tip-pa-kal ‘name of a ghost’ tjipa-kal. Although the root tjipa ‘devil? ~ghost?’ does not occur in the data without a suffix, in this case the function of the belonging suffix seems restricted to indicating gender.

The function of this suffix is not clear when it occurs with demonstratives; the translation of the following examples implies that it may mean ‘some of’:

185 Weah be unte kahl tah-ow-wah? [246]
wiya=pi aNTi-kal tja-wa
Part=2sgNom here-Bel eat-Imp
Wilt thou eat some of this, here?

186 A-a tah-nun bahng untoah kahl. [247]
a-a tja-NaN=pang aNTuwa-kal
yes eat-Fut=1sgNom there-Bel
Yes I will eat of that (Thereof).

3.10.5 Characteristic trait

The suffix -kay follows both nominal and verb roots to derive an adjective (where the nominal is a noun) denoting the quality or characteristic of the root:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Verb</th>
<th>Adjective</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wangkal</td>
<td>fool</td>
<td>wangkal-kay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>waNay</td>
<td>child</td>
<td>waNay-kay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>paka</td>
<td>angry</td>
<td>paka-kay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ngarra-</td>
<td>know</td>
<td>ngarra-kay</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.10.6 Place

The suffix -pa occurs with a word to indicate place. A similar suffix occurs in Gamilaraay–Yuwaalaraay where it indicates the generic name of a place as well as a place in time: walay ‘camp, nest’ becomes walay-ba ‘camping ground’; yaay ‘sun’ becomes yaay-ba ‘summer’ (Giacon, 2001, p. 110). In HRLM: kuparr-pa ‘the name of place where the kuparr (red ochre) is found’; talka-pa ‘the soft tea-tree place’; and MulupiN-pa ‘the name of the place where Newcastle is located’. MulupiN has two definitions from Threlkeld. In 1834 (p. 82) he defined it as the name of an indigenous fern, and in 1850 (p. 47) he defined it as being the name of a flower.
The suffix -ngayil- indicates a place associated in meaning to a nominalised verb root. It always occurs following the nominalising suffix -li- (see 4.6) and may be followed by another nominal suffix:

187 *Waita kolang bang bünkailai ngël kolang.* [620]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{watja-kulang} & = \text{pang} & \text{pungki-li-ngayil-kulang} \\
\text{thither-All2} & = \text{1sgNom} & \text{hit-Nmls-Pl-All2}
\end{align*}
\]
I am going to the field of battle.

### 3.10.7 Kin-term suffix

The suffix -pay occurs on several words associated with kin terms. According to Threlkeld, adding the kin-term suffix -pay to piyang (used as a ‘title of address’, 1834, p. 86) changes its meaning to ‘father’. It is used in phrases with the genitive personal pronoun e.g. *piyang-pay puwaNuwampa* ‘her father’ and *piyang-pay ngaliNpa* ‘our father’.

### 3.10.8 Plural1

There are not many examples of this plural suffix found in Threlkeld, but it is assumed that they can be attached to all nominals (following the first example) and have the forms -tjarr (following a palatal) and -Tarr elsewhere. Example 190/[712] illustrates a word composed of stem + Plural1 + inflection:

188 *Uma noa yantín-tarra.* [837]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uma-a=nyuwa} & = \text{yaNTiyn=tjarr} \\
\text{make-GPast=3sgNom} & = \text{all-Plr:Abs}
\end{align*}
\]
He made all things.

189 *Tibeen-tara wee-yarleen.* [1057]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tjipiN-Tarr} & = \text{wiya-li-N} \\
\text{bird-Plr:Abs} & = \text{sing-Cont-Pres}
\end{align*}
\]
Birds singing.

190 *Ngánto wiyán? Ngaliko, ngali-taró.* [712]
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngaN-Tu} & = \text{wiya-n} / \text{ngali-ku} & \text{ngali-tjarr-u} \\
\text{Interr-Erg} & = \text{speak-Gpres} / \text{this-Erg} & \text{these-Plr-Erg}
\end{align*}
\]
Who speaks? This does, these do.

### 3.10.9 Plural2

There are only two possible examples of words in the data with the Plural2 suffix -piN; it occurs as the final element in the noun phrase ‘young bachelors’. Its existence is confirmed when we compare that with ‘two bachelors’ *wung(k)arr pula*. Possibly it is the same form which occurs in the final syllable of the word for ‘eyelashes’. A plural suffix -biin occurs in Gumbaynggirr and Mathews describes *mirri-biin* as meaning ‘several dogs’ in Darkinyung (1903, p. 271).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Threlkeld</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Eyelashes</td>
<td>wo-i-pin</td>
<td>wuwi-piN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Young bachelors</td>
<td>wúng-ngur-ra-pin</td>
<td>wung(k)arr-piN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.10.10 -\text{ka}N

The suffix -\text{ka}N occurs with adjectives and derived nouns. When it occurs with adjectives, it functions as a nominaliser, deriving a noun bearing the meaning of ‘one who/one which’ has the characteristic of the adjective. It is identical in form to the intransitive verb ka- + present tense suffix -N (and the intransive suffix -\text{ka}- see 4.5.1). It may be followed by nominal inflections:

191 \text{Mupai-\text{kan}. [928]}

\begin{verbatim}
 mupay-\text{ka}N
dumb-Nmls:Abs
One who is dumb.
\end{verbatim}

192 \text{New-wah-rah kahn-to bahng turah bounnoun. [141]}

\begin{verbatim}
 nyuwarr-\text{ka}N-Tu=pang tjuRa-a puwaNuwaN
anger-Nmls-Erg=1sgNom spear-GPast 3sgAccF
Through anger I speared her. [I, the angry one speared her.]
\end{verbatim}

When it occurs with derived nominals the suffix -\text{ka}N indicates one which does the action of the verb, either an agent or a subject. It has been glossed as ‘one’. It follows the nominalising suffix -\text{li}- and may in turn be followed by nominal inflections:

193 \text{Ngali noa bünkili kán to tia bünkulla. [618]}

\begin{verbatim}
 ngali=nyuwa pungki-li-\text{ka}N-Tu=tja pung-kala
this:Erg=3sgNom hit-Nmls-one-Erg=1sgAcc hit-GPast
That is the striker who struck me.
\end{verbatim}

194 \text{Wirrobulli kán bara ngikoumba. [521]}

\begin{verbatim}
 wiRupa-li-\text{ka}N para ngikuwampa
follow-Nmls-one:Abs 3plNom 3sgGen
They are his followers.
\end{verbatim}

This suffix may in turn be followed by the suffix -\text{ay} indicating a ‘tool’ which does the action of the verb and may in turn be followed by other nominal inflections:

195 \text{Wirrilliumun wirrillikannm. [912]}

\begin{verbatim}
 wiRi-li-ya-NaN wiRi-li-\text{ka}N-ay-tju
sweep-Cont-?-Fut sweep-Nmls-one-tool-Inst
Will sweep with the sweeper; will swab with a swab.
\end{verbatim}

3.10.11 \textbf{Emphatic -aN}

This suffix occurs following nominals with the function of adding emphasis to that nominal; Threlkeld interpreted this form as a reduplication in sentence 196/[974], but his analysis of its function can be applied to the other sentences in the data with this suffix:
196 *Kapirrira*-bang. [974]
kapiRR-aN=pang
hunger-Emph=1sgNom
I am very hungry. [The reduplication gives intensity.]

197 *TiiRra* *ta* unni. [976]
TiirR-aN Ta aNi
broken-Emph indeed this:Abs
This is broken; affirmatively.

198 *Weah, unnoah* boat kowwol? *Ngah bah* un ahng kowwol-ahn. [95]
wiya aNuwa boat kawal / ngapa aNang kawal-aN
Part that:Abs boat:Abs large:Abs / truly that:Abs large-Emph:Abs
Is that a large boat? It is a large boat.

3.10.12 Derivational -paN
Some nominals have the final syllable -paN. It seems that the addition of this suffix changes the meaning of the word to something like ‘hunter of’, although with only two examples it is difficult to generalise:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nominal</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>makurr</td>
<td>fish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parramay</td>
<td>cockle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>makurrpaN</td>
<td>one who fishes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>parramaypaN</td>
<td>amphibious animal</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.10.13 Body parts
On some body-part words the final syllable -ring occurs. This recurrent element may or may not be a suffix.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Body Part</th>
<th>Source</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>throat</td>
<td>kul-le-a-ring (T)</td>
<td>kaliyarving (neck: kaliyang)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bowel</td>
<td>ko-na-ring (T)</td>
<td>kuNaring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>eyes</td>
<td>nickering (M2)</td>
<td>nikierring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head</td>
<td>wallering (M2)</td>
<td>walaring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penis</td>
<td>kodjee-goodjarring (T)</td>
<td>kutjikutjiring</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.10.14 Negative -kura
The suffix -kura, following a noun or an adjective, translates as ‘not X’ or ‘don’t be X’ (see also [610]):

199 *Wonkul korah* be, *weah-yah-leah* teah. [294]
wangkal-kura=pi wiya-ya-la-tja
fool:Abs-Neg=2sgNom speak-Red-Imp=1sgAcc
Do not be a fool, answer me. (or deaf or stupid).

In example 200/[372] -kura precedes the proprietive suffix:
3.11 Reduplication in nominals

There is some reduplication in nominals, particularly adjectives. In most cases the whole word is reduplicated; in the case of *marrumarrung* the final syllable is omitted in the first occurrence of the root. The function of reduplication is to modify the meaning of the root, although with so little data it is not possible to make any generalisation about the nature of the modification.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
<th>Reduplicated Word</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kawal</td>
<td>big, great</td>
<td>Kawalkawal</td>
<td>many, very large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wakul</td>
<td>one</td>
<td>Wakulwakul</td>
<td>seldom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marrung</td>
<td>good</td>
<td>Marrumarrung</td>
<td>very good</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tjatji</td>
<td>dead</td>
<td>Tjatjitjatji</td>
<td>dead (?)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wantja</td>
<td>where</td>
<td>Wantjawanwantja</td>
<td>whereabouts</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Some words in the data have reduplicated forms but with no corresponding non-reduplicated forms: *pirrapirra* ‘tired’, *kiraykiray* ‘revolving’, *yiRiyiRi* ‘sacred’ and *kaRikaRi* ‘first’.

3.12 Noun phrases

In most example sentences the constituents of a noun phrase are adjacent, but this is not obligatory. All members of a noun phrase must be inflected for case (with the exception of Demonstrative1). Both of the sequences noun + adjective and adjective + noun occur:

201 Wa-re-a-ko-re. [363]
    Waraya kuri
    few::Abs men::Abs
    Few men.

202 Pur-re-ung ka ngo-ro ka. [364]
    Parrayang-ka nguru-ka
    day-Loc three-Loc
    On the third day.

203 Patin ngali koiwonto. [734]
    PaTi-N ngali kuwiwayn-tju
    drop-Pres this:Erg rain-Erg
    It is raining.
4 Verbal morphology

Verbs in HRLM have the form: root + (derivational suffix(es) + (aspect) + tense or mood inflection. In keeping with other Australian languages, derivational suffixes have a syntactic or a semantic effect on the verb root. As with other coastal languages (Dhangadi, Gumbaynggirr) there are no conjugational contrasts, although the verbal allomorphy may represent residual forms of what were conjugation classes at an earlier time in the language. Transitivity is indicated by the syntactic marking of the nominals in the sentence, and by derivational suffixes.

In HRLM verb roots are more difficult to identify than the roots of nominals. This is common in Australian languages, as Dixon (2002, p. 209) explains:

Firstly, verb roots are generally bound; that is, they do not occur alone, only with one or more suffixes . . . Secondly, there has been a good deal of fusion at a verb-suffix boundary . . . so that it is in many cases difficult to pinpoint the morphological boundaries.

In HRLM there is a set of verbs (hit, eat, see, give, be, take) which have both monosyllabic and disyllabic stems, the former having irregular suffixes.

4.1 Tense and Mood

In HRLM inflectional suffixes follow a verb stem to indicate tense and mood. The following paradigms illustrate the regular and irregular verbs with their tense and mood suffixes:
### Table 34. HRLM regular verb suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Listen etc.</th>
<th>Make, do</th>
<th>Make, do</th>
<th>Come, go</th>
<th>Spear</th>
<th>Speak, say, tell</th>
<th>General suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Pres</td>
<td>ngarra-uma-</td>
<td>wupa-uma-</td>
<td>uwa-uma-</td>
<td>tjuRa-uma-</td>
<td>wiya-uma-</td>
<td>-N</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Fut</td>
<td>uma-N wupa-N</td>
<td>uwa-N tjuRa-N</td>
<td>wiya-N</td>
<td>-NaN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-NFut</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-kayn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-GPast</td>
<td>ngarra-a uma-a</td>
<td>wupa-a uwa-a</td>
<td>tjuRa-a wiya-a</td>
<td>-a</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-RPast</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-kayaN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Imp/Hort</td>
<td>ngarra-la uma-la</td>
<td>wupa-la uwa-la</td>
<td>tjuRa-la wiya-la</td>
<td>-la</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Irrealis</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-yinga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Des-Appr-</td>
<td>ngarra-wil uma-wil</td>
<td>uwa-wil</td>
<td>wiya-wil-</td>
<td>tjuRa-yakaN-</td>
<td>-yakaN-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Hyp</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-pa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 35. HRLM irregular verbs: disyllabic stems with regular suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hit</th>
<th>Eat</th>
<th>See</th>
<th>Give</th>
<th>Be</th>
<th>Take</th>
<th>General suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>pungki-</td>
<td>tjaki-</td>
<td>nyaki-</td>
<td>nguki-</td>
<td>kaki-</td>
<td>maNki-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Imp</td>
<td>pungki-la</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Hort</td>
<td>pungki-ya</td>
<td>nguki-la</td>
<td></td>
<td>-la --ya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 36. HRLM irregular verbs: monosyllabic stem with irregular suffixes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Hit</th>
<th>Hit</th>
<th>Eat</th>
<th>See</th>
<th>Give</th>
<th>Be</th>
<th>Take</th>
<th>Irreg suffix</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-Pres</td>
<td>punga-</td>
<td>tja-TaN</td>
<td>nya-TaN</td>
<td>nga-TaN</td>
<td>ka-TaN</td>
<td>ma-TaN</td>
<td>-N/-TaN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Fut</td>
<td>pu-NaN</td>
<td>tja-NaN</td>
<td>nya-NaN</td>
<td>nga-NaN</td>
<td>ka-NaN</td>
<td>ma-NaN</td>
<td>-NaN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-NFut</td>
<td>pung-kayn</td>
<td></td>
<td>ka-kayn</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-kayn</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-GPast</td>
<td>pung-kala</td>
<td>nya-kala</td>
<td>nga-kala</td>
<td>ka-kala</td>
<td>ma-kala</td>
<td></td>
<td>-kala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-DPast</td>
<td>pung-Tala</td>
<td>nya-Tala</td>
<td>ka-Tala</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-Tala</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-RPast</td>
<td>pung-kayaN</td>
<td>tja-kayaN</td>
<td>ka-kayaN</td>
<td>ma-kayaN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-kayaN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Imp</td>
<td>pu-wa</td>
<td>tja-wa</td>
<td>nga-wa</td>
<td>ka-wa</td>
<td>ma-ra</td>
<td></td>
<td>-wa/-ra</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Irrealis</td>
<td>punga-mayinga</td>
<td>nga-mayinga</td>
<td>nga-mayinga</td>
<td>ka-mayinga</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-mayinga</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Des-</td>
<td>pu-wil-</td>
<td>nga-wil-</td>
<td>ka-wil-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-wil-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Appr-</td>
<td>pung-tjakaN</td>
<td></td>
<td>ka-tjakaN</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-tjakaN</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-Hyp</td>
<td>pum-pa</td>
<td>nya-pa</td>
<td>ka-pa</td>
<td>maN-pa</td>
<td>Ø/N/m-pa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 4.1.1 Present~habitual tense

Present tense indicates that an event takes place at a time concurrent with the moment of speech, or an event which is habitual. There are two present tense suffixes in HRLM:

### Table 37. Present tense inflections

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Following a monosyllabic root</th>
<th>-TaN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Following a root or stem with &gt;1 syllables</td>
<td>-N</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One further difficulty lies with determining the place of articulation of the nasal when present tense follows continuous aspect (-li-N). Threlkeld has two representations for this nasal, one where the preceding vowel is marked with an accent, another where the preceding vowel is unmarked. This accent indicates the presence of stress, or a phonetically long vowel. It may also indicate the presence of a palatal nasal (see yaNTiyn and waNayn in Table 14).
204 Warai báng umullín. [637]

\[
\text{waray}=\text{pang} \quad \text{uma-li-N}
\]

spear:Abs=1sgNom make-Cont-Pres
I am making a spear.

205 Ngirullín, bali, [792]

\[
\text{ngirra-li-N} \quad \text{pali}
\]

tie-Cont-Pres 1duNom
We two, thou and I, [are tying it.]

There are example sentences where the root ka- ‘to be’ is followed by either present-tense suffix form. The conditions for this variation seem to be:

**Table 38. Variation for present tense inflection with ka-**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Condition</th>
<th>Inflection</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Directly following interrogatives and free pronouns</td>
<td>ka-N</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Directly following bound pronouns and demonstratives</td>
<td>ka-TaN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

206 Minnahríng berang kahn? [136]

\[
\text{minyaring-pirang} \quad \text{ka-N}
\]

Interr-Abl be-Pres
What is that made of? (An idiom.)

207 Newwoah bo-keyn kokohn tah. [90]

\[
\text{nyuwawa}=\text{pu} \quad \text{ka-N} \quad \text{kukuyn-tja}
\]

3sgNom=Excl be-Pres water-Loc
It is he himself in the water.

208 Ngatóa un-te kah-tahn. Un-te bahng kah-tahn. [71]

\[
\text{ngatjuwa} \quad \text{aNTi} \quad \text{ka-TaN} / \text{aNTi}=\text{pang} \quad \text{ka-TaN}
\]

1sgNom here:Abs be-Pres / here:Abs=1sgNom be-Pres
It is I who remain here. I am here.

Both forms of the inflection occur when the verb is preceded by a nominal:

209 Tulbulléunbang kinta kán. [522]

\[
\text{Talpa-layaN}=\text{pang} \quad \text{kintja} \quad \text{ka-N}
\]

escape-Ref:Past=1sgNom fear:Abs be-Pres
I escaped, being afraid.

210 Minnaring tin nura tia bukka kuttán? [751]

\[
\text{minyaring-TiN} \quad \text{nyura}=\text{tja} \quad \text{paka} \quad \text{ka-TaN}
\]

Interr-Caus 2plNom=1sgAcc angry:Abs be-Pres
Why are you enraged at me?
Another verb which has both forms of the present tense suffix is \textit{ma(N)-} ‘take’. In the following examples, the suffix \textit{-TaN} is used in constructions where the verb is followed by a nominal (i.e. a word); the suffix \textit{-N} is followed by a phonologically dependent element, in this case a bound pronoun.

211 \textit{Korah koah be mahn-tahn makoro?} [300]
\begin{verbatim}
kurakuwa=pi maN-TaN makurr
Neg=2sgNom take-Pres fish:Abs
Why dost thou not catch fish?
\end{verbatim}

212 \textit{Annoa ta umahn bahng.} [190]
\begin{verbatim}
aNuwa Ta ma-N=pang
that:Abs indeed take-Pres=1sgNom
I take that.
\end{verbatim}

4.1.2 \textbf{Future and near-future tenses}

In HRLM there are two future-tense inflections. They are defined here as future (-Fut) and near future (-NFut):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 39. Future and near future inflections</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-NaN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Near future</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-kayn</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The future inflection denotes future or intended action that will or is expected to happen:

213 \textit{Nganto bounnoun t\textup{’}urannun?} [462]
\begin{verbatim}
ngaN-Tu puwaNuwaN tjuRa-NaN
Interr-Erg 3sgAccF spear-Fut
Who will spear her?
\end{verbatim}

The inflection referred to here as ‘near future’ usually occurs with the word \textit{kumpa} ‘tomorrow’:

214 \textit{K\textup{’}umba b\textup{’}ang kak\textup{’}en Sydney ka.} [513]
\begin{verbatim}
kumpa=pang ka-kayn Sydney-ka
Tomorrow:Abs=1sgNom be-NFut Sydney-Loc
Tomorrow I shall be in Sydney.
\end{verbatim}

Where \textit{kumpa} does not occur with near-future inflection, Threlkeld’s translation implies the action will or is intended to happen tomorrow morning:
4 Verbal morphology

215 Bún-kín bón báng. [393]
   pung-kayn=puN=pang
   hit-NFut=3sgAcc=1sgNom
I shall strike him tomorrow morning.

An unidentified element which seems to have the same form as the near-future
inflection occurs in a phrase in example 216/[585]:

216 Kumbá kén ta. [585]
   kumpa-kayn-tja
   tomorrow-?-Loc?
The day after tomorrow. (An idiom.)

4.1.3 General past tense
The general past (-GPast) suffix indicates that the action has already happened. The
forms for the general past-tense suffix seem to depend on the syllable structure and
the final vowel of the verb stem, as well as one form which occurs following a
reciprocal stem:

Table 40. General past-tense inflections

| Following a monosyllabic root | -kala |
| Following a stem with >1 syllables, with a final vowel -a- | -a |
| Following a root or a stem with a final vowel -i- | -yala (-ya) |
| Following a reciprocal | -la |

Threlkeld’s representation of past tense following a stem with more than one syllable
and with final low mid vowel -a- has that vowel marked with an accent, which
he uses generally to indicate stress: ‘the marked accent is placed over the letter
upon which the accent falls throughout this work’ (1834, p. 2).

In the context of past tense, this has been taken to mean that past tense follow-
ing a stem with more than one syllable and with final low mid vowel -a- is indi-
cated by a non-segmentable morpheme, i.e. by stress being placed on the final
vowel of the root or stem. In this description of the language, this element is repre-
sented by -a- following the root or stem.

217 Minminebee narkullar? [49]
   minyayn=pi nya-kala
   Interr=2sgNom see-GPast
How many did you see?

218 Yakounta biloa wiya? [728]
   yakuwantja piN-luwa wiya-a
   Interr 2sgAcc-3sgNomM speak-GPast
When did he tell you?
PART 1 | THE LANGUAGE OF THE HUNTER RIVER AND LAKE MACQUARIE

219 *Uwoliella noa ba nungurrurwá ngaiya bón noa.* [667]

\[\text{uwa-li-yala=nyuwa=pa} / \text{NangaRawa-a ngaya=puN=nyuwa}\]

\[\text{walk-Cont-GPast=3sgNom=Sub / meet-GPast then=3sgAcc=3sgNom}\]

As he was walking he met him, or when &c.

4.1.4 Distant past tense

The distant past tense suffix (-DPast) indicates that the action or event took place in remote past time, relative to the speech event. This suffix only occurs with irregular monosyllabic verb roots and has the form -Tala:

220 *Korowawrung bahng nah-tah-lah.* [278]

\[\text{kuruwarang=pang nya-Tala}\]

long time=1sgNom see-DPast

A long time since I saw her.

221 *Búntálla tia bara womai bám ba.* [574]

\[\text{pung-Tala=tja para waNay=pang=pa}\]

hit-DPast=1sgAcc 3plNom child:Abs=1sgNom=Sub

They beat me when I was a child.

4.1.5 Recent past tense

The recent past inflection -kayaN indicates that the action happened recently, relative to the speech event. According to Threlkeld’s translations, when a time word like ‘morning’ is not used, it is implied:

222 *Wiya bi uwakeun koiyóng koláng.* [668]

\[\text{wiya=pi uwa-kayaN kuyung-kulang}\]

Part=2sgNom go-RPast town-All2

Have you been to town this morning?

223 *Kahri nurur tah-kaan ngorokahn tah.* [111]

\[\text{karay nyura tja-kayaN nguR[u]kaN-Ta}\]

kangarooflesh:Abs 2plNom eat-RPast morning-Loc

Ye have eaten kangaroo this morning.

4.1.6 Imperative

The imperative mood expresses an order or a command.

Table 41. Imperative inflections

| Following a monosyllabic root | -wa |
| Following a stem with >1 syllable | -la |
| Following the continuous aspect -li- | -ya |
| An irregular form only found on the verb *ma-* ‘take, bring’ | -ra |
| Following the iterative, the reciprocal and the reflexive suffixes | -Ø |
224 *Tah-ow-wah karan.* [248]

`tja-wa  kiraN`

Eat-Imp all:Abs
Eat it all!

225 *Kaibulla bounmoun.* [449]

`kayapa-la  puwaNuwaN`

call-Imp 3sgAccF
Call her. Which? [Who?]

226 *Búnkillilia binúng.* [577]

`pungki-li-li-ya  pi-nyung`

hit-Cont-Cont-Imp 2sgNom-3sgAcc
Beat him; thrash it.

227 *Koeyung teah mahrah.* [348]

`kuyung=tja  ma-ra`

fire:Abs=1sgAcc bring-Imp
Bring some fire to me.

228 *Pirriwal bi katéa ka.* [554]

`piRiwal=pi  ka-tjaka`

king=2sgNom be-It:Imp
Be king again.

There are some irregularities with the form of the imperative inflection with particular verbs; the verb ‘to give’ has been recorded as both *nguki-la* (see [356]) and *ngu-wa* (see [767]). The verb ‘to hit, kill’ has been recorded with the different forms *pu-wa* (see [606]) and *pungki-ya* (see [613]).

4.1.7 Hortative

There are several sentences in the data where the inflection -la expresses exhortation:

229 *Bichala barley Kookun.* [1072]

`pitja-la  pali  kukuyn`

drink-Hort 1duNom water-Abs
Let us drink water.

230 *Waita ngéen uwolla wittimulli koláng.* [650]

`watja  ngayaN  uwa-la  wiTima-li-kulang`

thither 1plNom go-Hort hunt-Nmls-All2
Let us go a-hunting.

The following example seems to express an exhortation. The hortative suffix shares the same form with the reciprocal suffix, so this form is only expressed once (see 2.1.6).
231 Ngukilá bali unnoa. [738]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nguki-la} & \quad \text{pali} & \quad \text{aNuwa} \\
\text{give-Rec:Hort} & \quad 1\text{duNom} & \quad \text{that:Abs}
\end{align*}
\]

Let us you and I give one another, or, exchange.

4.1.8 Irrealis

When the irrealis suffix follows the verb root, it indicates that the action was not completed.

**Table 42. Irrealis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Following a monosyllabic root</th>
<th>-yinga-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Following a root with &gt;1 syllable</td>
<td>-mayinga-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Threlkeld often translates this suffix as ‘should have . . . , had liked to have’, i.e. having a modal function. The translations of all of the sentences with this suffix in the data are in the past tense, and although Threlkeld’s representation of the general past tense non-segmentable morpheme, written in this work as -a (see 4.1.3) is inconsistent in this context, it is assumed to be present in all examples where the translation indicates a past tense:

232 Ngán ke tetti kummai ngá. [545]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngaN-ki} & \quad \text{tjatji} & \quad \text{ka-mayinga-a} \\
\text{Interr-Abs} & \quad \text{dead:Abs} & \quad \text{be-Irr-GPast}
\end{align*}
\]

Who had like to have been dead? [Who had almost died?]

233 Ngumai nga bín unni wonto bi ba keawai mán ba. [763]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ngu-mayinga-a=piN} & \quad \text{aNi} & \quad \text{waNTu=pi=pa} & \quad \text{kawayN} & \quad \text{maN-pa} \\
\text{give-Irr-GPast=2sgAcc} & \quad \text{this:Abs} & \quad \text{but=2sgNom=Sub} & \quad \text{Neg:Abs} & \quad \text{take-Hyp}
\end{align*}
\]

It would have been given you, but you would not have it.

[It was offered (almost given) but you would not have it.]

234 U-pai-nga. [862]

\[
\text{wupa-yinga-a}
\]

do-Irr-GPast

To exercise personal power without completion.

235 Umai nga ta báng unni yarakai. [633]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uma-yinga-a} & \quad \text{Ta=pang} & \quad \text{aNi} & \quad \text{yaR[a]kay} \\
\text{make-Irr-GPast} & \quad \text{indeed=1sgNom} & \quad \text{this:Abs} & \quad \text{bad:Abs}
\end{align*}
\]

I had liked to have spoiled this (~F2: I had almost spoiled this).
4.1.9 **Hypothetical**

The hypothetical suffix -pa occurs in hypothetical and modal constructions:

236 *Ngintoa bo ka pa Perriwul kakilliko.* [538]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
  \text{ngintuwa}=\text{pu} & \text{ka-pa} & \text{piRiwal} & \text{kaki-li-ku} \\
  2\text{sgNom}=\text{Excl} & \text{be-Hyp} & \text{chief:Abs} & \text{be-Nmls-Purp}
\end{array}
\]

You ought to be chief.

237 *Ngali ta tia tetti búm ba.* [595]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
  \text{ngali} & \text{Ta=tja} & \text{tjatji} & \text{pum-pa} \\
  \text{this:Erg} & \text{indeed}=1\text{sgAcc} & \text{dead:Abs} & \text{hit-Hyp}
\end{array}
\]

This might have killed me.

4.1.10 **Desiderative and purposive**

In a simple sentence the desiderative suffix -wil- indicates a desire or an intention.

238 *Witah bah le wah-ow-wil yah-ke-tah.* [116]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
  \text{watja} & \text{pali} & \text{uwa-wil} & \text{yakiTa} \\
  \text{thither} & \text{1duNom} & \text{go-Des} & \text{now}
\end{array}
\]

Thou and I will go now. [We two will go now.]

239 *Buwil bäng Patty nung.* [590]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
  \text{pu-wil=pang} & \text{Pati-Nang} \\
  \text{hit-Des}=1\text{sgNom} & \text{Patty-Acc}
\end{array}
\]

I wish to beat Patty.

In the following examples, the desiderative occurs with a purposive suffix:

240 *Wiyauwil-koa-bangung.* [829]

\[
\begin{array}{llll}
  \text{wiya-wil-kuwa} & \text{pa-Nung} \\
  \text{speak-Des-Purp} & \text{1sgNom-2sgAcc}
\end{array}
\]

I wish to speak to thee.

In a complex sentence the desiderative occurs in a subordinate clause and indicates subsequent action resulting from the main clause:

241 *Kotir-a bi tia nguwa buwil ko-a bón bäng.* [567]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
  \text{kutjarr}=\text{pi=tja} & \text{ngu-wa} & \text{pu-wil-kuwa}=\text{puN=pang} \\
  \text{cudgel:Abs}=2\text{sgNom}=1\text{sgAcc} & \text{give-Imp} & \text{strike-Des-Purp}=3\text{sgAcc}=1\text{sgNom}
\end{array}
\]

Give me a cudgel that I may beat him.

242 *Yakoai noa maiya ko putthinun tetti koa kauwil kore?* [501]

\[
\begin{array}{llllllll}
  \text{yakuway}=\text{nyuwa} & \text{maya-ku} & \text{patji-NaN} & \text{tjatji-kuwa} & \text{ka-wil} & \text{kuri} \\
  \text{how}=3\text{sgNom} & \text{snake-Erg} & \text{bite-Fut} & \text{dead-Purp} & \text{be-Des} & \text{man:Abs}
\end{array}
\]

How does the snake bite to kill man?
A similar form -wil-ku- is found in Mann (no date):

243 *Cully-wo-wilgobang*. [1074]

\[
\text{kaliwa-wil-ku} = \text{pang}
\]

climb-Des-Purp=1sgNom

Climb up. [I want to climb up.]

**4.1.11 Apprehensional**

In Australian languages generally ‘A distinctive type of subordinate inflection . . . marks some undesirable event, that is to be avoided; the main clause will describe the steps to be taken to effect the avoidance . . .’ (Dixon 1980, p. 380). This type of construction occurs in HRLM. The apprehensional suffix has the following variant forms, similar to the forms for the iterative aspect (see 4.3.2):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Following a monosyllabic root</th>
<th>-tjakaN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>-yakaN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where -yakaN- follows a stem final -ya-</td>
<td>-kaN</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The following examples illustrate the apprehensional suffix in a simple sentence:

244 *Yangoa, tetti katea kun*. [904]

\[
yaNuwa \quad \text{tjatji} \quad \text{ka-tjakaN}
\]

let be dead:Abs be-Appr

Let be, lest it become dead.

245 *Yangoa, tetti burrga kun*. [905]

\[
yaNuwa \quad \text{tjatji-paRi-yakaN}
\]

let be dead-Caus2-Appr

Let be, lest it die. [Let be, lest (you) kill (it) (with some unmentioned instrument).]

A typical apprehensional construction in HRLM, with a main clause followed by a subordinate apprehensional clause, is found in example 246/[679]. In this type of construction the apprehensional is followed by the purposive suffix -kuwa:

246 *Yari bi wannun tūrea kun koa bīn kore ko bara*. [679]

\[
yari=pi \quad \text{uwa-NaN} / \text{tjuRa-yakaN-kuwa=piN} \quad \text{kuri-ku} \quad \text{para}
\]

Neg=2sgNom go-Fut / spear-Appr-Purp=2sgAcc men-Erg 3plNom

Do not go lest you should be speared by the men.

In example 247/[709] the main clause has been replaced by an imperative particle (see 6.1.4):
The other type of apprehensional construction found in the data moves the purposive suffix to the preceding nominal. The constraints regarding this variation are not understood:

248 *Yanoa Muni koa noa katea kun.* [543]

\[
\text{yaNuwa manyi-kuwa=nyuwa ka-tjakaN}
\]

let be sick-Purp=3sgNom be-Appr

Do not, lest he be sick.

### 4.2 Negation

#### 4.2.1 Negative imperative -yikura

When this suffix follows a verb root or stem, it functions as a negative imperative, i.e. ‘don’t do X’:


\[
\text{maNki-yikura / pungki-yikura / pitja-yikura / pitja-la}
\]

take-Neg / hit-Neg / drink-Neg / drink-Imp

Do not steal. Do not kill. Do not drink. Do drink!

The negative imperative often occurs with *yaNuwa* (see 6.1.4):

250 *Yanoa uwa yikora (Imperatively).* [678]

\[
\text{yaNuwa uwa-yikura}
\]

let be go-Neg

Do not go.

For other negative constructions see 4.6 and 6.2.

### 4.3 Aspect

#### 4.3.1 Continuous aspect

The continuous aspect suffix indicates that the action, which may be habitual, is taking place over a period of time. It has the unchanging form -li-:

251 *Ngatjutoh bo wah-le-ah-lah wah-kohl.* [79]

\[
\text{ngatjuwa=pu uwa-li-yala wakul}
\]

1sgNom=Excl go-Cont-GPast one:Abs

It is I myself went alone.
By reduplicating the continuous suffix, the aspect of the action is extended: ‘keep speaking’; ‘keep hitting –thrashing’ etc:

252 *Ngirullillilin bang.* [799]

\[ \text{ngirra-li-li-N=pang} \]

\[ \text{tie-Cont-Cont-Pres=1sgNom} \]

I am tying and continue to tie it.

### 4.3.2 Iterative aspect

The iterative suffix indicates repetition of the event referred to by the verb. The variant forms for this suffix are:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Following a monosyllabic root</th>
<th>-tjaka-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elsewhere</td>
<td>-yaka-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Where -yaka- follows a stem final -ya-</td>
<td>-ka-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms are similar to the apprehensional suffix (see 4.1.11). The following sentences illustrate the use of the iterative aspect marker, followed by tense and mood suffixes:

253 *Munni noa katéa kan.* [542]

\[ \text{manyi=nyuwa ka-tjaka-N} \]

\[ \text{sick:Abs=3sgNom be-It-Pres} \]

He is sick again.

254 *[U]-me-a kun-nun.* [Threlkeld 1834, p. 58]

\[ \text{uma-yaka-NaN} \]

\[ \text{make-It-Fut} \]

Make again, hereafter.

255 *Wiyéa ka bi tia. Kárá tia wiyella.* [724]

\[ \text{wiya-ka=pi=tja} \]

\[ \text{speak-It:Imp=2sgNom=1sgAcc} \]

Tell me again. Speak distinctly.

### 4.4 Voice

Reflexives and reciprocals are valency-decreasing derivations (where an argument is removed from the core construction) which derive an intransitive verb from a transitive verb (Dixon 2002, p. 206). Australian languages generally have grammatical marking for reflexive and reciprocal constructions. Reflexive constructions are those in which the agent and the object are identical e.g. ‘The girl washed herself’. Reciprocal constructions are similar, except that there are several partici-
pants who are both agent and object, and performing an action upon each other, e.g. ‘The dogs fought each other’.

HRLM belongs to the group of Australian languages which mark reflexive and reciprocal actions by affixation on the verb. Typically, these affixes are followed by tense, aspect or mood inflections. Some Australian languages use the same affix to mark reflexives and reciprocals, and others use different affixes. HRLM belongs to the latter.

4.4.1 Reflexives

Sentences with a reflexive sense in the HRLM data have verbs with two forms to indicate this function: -laya and -layaN. The form -laya occurs in sentences conveying action in the present tense and in one non-finite sentence. It is also interpreted here as having the normal general past-tense non-segmentable morpheme (see 4.1.3) in appropriate contexts such as example 257/[358] below. The form -layaN occurs in sentences conveying action in the past. The past-tense form of the reflexive bears no resemblance to the usual past-tense inflections, in fact the final sound -N seems to be the same form as the present-tense inflection following a stem of more than two syllables (see 4.1.1).

256 Nakilléun báng ngatoa bo nakilli ngél la. [757]

nyaki-layaN=pang ngatjuwa=pu nyaki-li-ngayil-a
see-Ref:Past=1sgNom 1sgNom=Excl see-Nmls-Pl-Loc
I saw myself in the looking glass.

In the following example, the first sentence has no grammatical marking for the reflexive, which involves a body part. There is also some confusion regarding the word paral, which seems to function as both a noun and a verb:

257 Purrul beyn ngorah. Purrul leah purrul. [358]

paRal=piN ngura / paRal-laya-a paRal
white=2sgAcc face:Abs / white-Ref-GPast white:Abs
Whiten thy face. It is whitened.

Both forms of the reflexive occur followed by clitics:

258 Wute-leah wahl be. [325]

wuTi-laya=wal=pi
cover-Ref:Imp=In=2sgNom
Be covered.

259 Tulbulléunbang kinta kán. [522]

Talpa-layaN=pang kintja ka-N
escape-Ref:Past=1sgNom fear:Abs be-Pres
I escaped, being afraid.
Both forms occur following other derivational suffixes, and in example 261/690 -laya- precedes the apprehensional purposive suffix:

260 *Tetti burrilléum bàng.* [711]
   *tjatji-paRi-layaN=pang*
   dead-Caus2-Ref:Past=1sgNom
   I have destroyed myself. I have killed myself.

261 *Wiwi, tîrkullea kun koa unnoa spade.* [690]
   *wiwi TiyiR-ka-laya-(ya)kaN-kuwa aNuwa spade*
   Part broken-Int-Ref-Appr-Purp that:Abs spade:Abs
   Mind, the spade may break, or, lest it should &c.

4.4.2 Reciprocals
The form of the reciprocal in HRLM is -la-. The following examples illustrate the reciprocal followed by tense inflections:

262 *Bûnkillunnun bula.* [581]
   *pungki-la-NaN pula*
   hit-Rec-Fut 2duNom
   The two will fight. The two are going to fight.

263 *Unta bali bi wiyellála yuraki.* [730]
   *aNTa pali=pi wiya-la-la yuraki*
   there:Abs 1duNom=2sgNom speak-Rec-GPast formerly
   This is where we formerly conversed together.

The difference between -la-y and -la-N in the following examples is difficult to determine, although it is safe to say that -la-N is the reciprocal followed by the present-tense inflection. The function of -y is not understood.

264 *Koakillán bara.* [467]
   *kuwaki-la-N para*
   quarrel-Rec-Pres 3plNom
   They are quarrelling now.

265 *Ngan-kai kaokillai bara?* [1028]
   *ngaN-kay kuwaki-la-y para*
   Interr-Caus quarrel-Rec-? 3plNom
   About whom are they quarrelling?

4.5 Derivational suffixes
Derivational suffixes in HRLM include both syntactic and non-syntactic types. The syntactic type derives a stem with different transitivity to that of the root, and non-syntactic types alter the meaning of the root of the verb.
4.5.1 Intransitive -ka-

The suffix -ka- is found in the stem of many verbs in HRLM, the majority of which are intransitive. There is one derived verb in the data, TiyiRka-, which illustrates the function of this suffix:

266 Wiwi, tiirkullea kun koa unmoa spade. [690]

wiwi TiyiR-ka-laya-(ya)kaN-kuwa aNuwa spade
Part broken-Int-Ref-Appr-Purp that:Abs spade:Abs
Mind, the spade may break, or, lest it should &c.

This can be compared with the following example, where the root TiyiR is a nominal, the meaning of which Threlkeld defined as coming ‘From the noise wood makes in breaking; the crash’ (1850, p. 41).

267 Tiirrgn unni. [975]

TiyiR-aN aNi
broken-Emph this:Abs
This is broken; merely declarative.

An illustration of the function of -ka- is found in the verb kil-ka- ‘snap asunder, as a cord to itself’ which can be compared with kil-panga- ‘to compel, to snap’ (Threlkeld 1834, p. 97). This suffix has the same form as the copula verb in HRLM ka- ‘to be’. It shares the same form as a derivational suffix found in Dhangadi which derives an intransitive verb from a nominal (Lissarrague 2000, p. 118).

There are some verbs in the data which have a final syllable -ka- with a translation which indicates they are transitive, e.g. ‘fetch water’ payaka- (Threlkeld 1834, p. 100).

4.5.2 Verbaliser -pa-

The verbalising suffix -pa- derives an intransitive verb from a nominal root:

268 Pitul-bannun bi. [852]

piTal-pa-NaN=pi
joy-Vb-Fut=2sgNom
Thou wilt rejoice.

269 Tetti-bullin-bing. [811]

tjatji-pa-li-N=pang
dead-Vb-Cont-Pres=1sgNom
I am dying.

The verbalising suffix also follows the interrogative minyang, deriving a verb meaning ‘do what?’ or what be?’:
270 Minnung-bullin-bi? [810]

\textbf{minyang-pa-li-N=pi}  
Interr-Vb-Cont-Pres=2sgNom  
What are you doing? What are you about?

271 Min-nam-bah beyn unnoah mattahrah? [150]

\textbf{minyang-pa=piN aNuwa matjarr [~matjarr-a?]}  
Interr-Vb?=2sgAcc that:Abs hand:Abs [~-Loc?]  
What is the matter with thy hand?

According to Threlkeld the verb \textit{yalawa-} ‘sit’ is formed from the word \textit{yala} ‘ankle’ and literally means ‘to ankle down’ (1850, p. 42). If this is the case, -\textit{wa-} may be a variant of -\textit{pa-} as it serves the same function of deriving an intransitive verb from a nominal in \textit{yalawa-} and could be an example of lenition, whereby the bilabial consonant \textit{p} is weakened to become articulated as a semi-vowel \textit{w}.

Threlkeld engages in further analysis of -\textit{pa-} derivations; the word \textit{pirapaN} ‘eaglehawk’ is derived from \textit{pira+pa+n} and literally means ‘one who (cries) bira’, (the sound of the bird’s call) (1850, p. 45).

4.5.3 Verbaliser -\textit{mapa-}

The verbalising suffix -\textit{mapa-} derives a transitive verb from a nominal in the one sentence from the data in which it occurs:

272 Pital má pa bi tia ba, keawai ngaiya báng wa pa. [673]

\textbf{piTal-mapa=pi=tja=pa / kayaway ngaya=pang uwa-pa[-a]}  
joy-Vb=2sgNom=1sgAcc=Sub / Neg:Abs then=1sgNom go-Hyp[-GPast?]  
If you had loved me I would not have gone.

4.5.4 Causative1

Prototypical causative constructions derive a transitive clause from an underlying intransitive clause. The subject of the underlying intransitive construction becomes the derived object and a new agent is introduced, thereby increasing the valency of the clause. Causative constructions have ‘explicit formal marking’ (Dixon & Aikhenvald 2000, p. 13). In HRLM there are three causative derivational suffixes: -\textit{ma-}, -\textit{paRi-} and -\textit{panga-}.

The causative suffix -\textit{ma-} is found in languages across Australia and typically forms a transitive verb stem from an underlying intransitive verb. It also occurs in HRLM, although the data concerning the causative function of this suffix are limited. There is no verb \textit{witji-} ‘fall’ listed in the data, but example 273/[503] indicates that it probably did exist. This sentence is derived from the underlying intransitive ‘He fell from the horse’, with the original subject moving into derived object, and a new agent, the horse, being promoted from an underlying peripheral argument:
273 *Tetti bón horse-ko wittimá.* [503]

\[
tjatji=puN \quad \text{horse-ku} \quad \text{witji-ma-a}
\]

dead:Abs=3sgAcc \quad \text{horse-Erg} \quad \text{fall-Caus-GPast}

The horse threw him, or, he was thrown by the horse and killed.

The suffix -ma- also occurs with what is presumed to be a transitive verb (there are no sentences in the data to confirm this), with a factitive function, i.e. the action of the verb is made to happen:

274 *Ngurrur-mullá-bon.* [835]

\[
Ngarra-ma-la=puN
\]

\[
\text{listen-Caus-Imp=3sgAcc}
\]

Cause him to hear or know. [Make him listen.]

In the following example the suffix -ma- affects the meaning of the word, producing a stem with a related but different meaning from the root:

275 *Wi-ya-yi-mul-li-ko,* [935]

\[
wiya-yi-ma-li-ku
\]

\[
\text{speak-?-Caus-Nmls-Purp}
\]

For to make accusation; to accuse.

The suffix -ma- occurs in neighbouring languages with related functions: in Dhangadi -ma- derives a transitive verb from a nominal root (Lissarrague 2000, p. 119). In Gumbaynggir a variant form -mba- derives a transitive verb from a nominal root (following -y- or a vowel; Eades 1979, p. 303). In Gamilaraay–Yuwaalaraay -ma- derives a transitive verb from an intransitive verb (Giacon 2001, p. 66).

4.5.5 Causative 2

The suffix -paRi- (and its variant form -Ri-) derives a transitive verb from intransitive verbs and from nominals. The conditions for the occurrence of the two forms and their function is not understood. There are not enough data to determine exactly the difference between the use of -paRi- and the suffix -ma-. What can be said is that in constructions with -paRi- the agent is somewhat removed from the action, which is directly caused by an instrument. This instrument need not be mentioned.

The first example of a construction with -paRi- can be compared with the following intransitive apprehensive sentence:

276 *Wiwi, tiirkullea kun koca unmua spade.* [690]

\[
\text{wiwi} \quad \text{TiyiR-ka-laya-kaN-kuwa aNwu} \quad \text{spade}
\]

\[
\text{Part broken-Int-Ref-Appr-Purp that:Abs spade:Abs}
\]

Mind, the spade may break, or, lest it should &c.
The derived causative construction in the following example (where -paRi- is followed by an apprehensive suffix) has an agent who might use an instrument to cause unintended action:

277 Wiwi, tiir burréa kan koa be unnoa spade ngali kolai to. [692]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{wiwi} & \quad \text{TiyiR-paRi-yakaN-kuwa=pi} \quad \text{aNuwa} \quad \text{spade} \\
\text{Part} & \quad \text{broken-Caus2-Appr-Purp=2sgNom} \quad \text{that:Abs} \quad \text{spade:Abs} \\
\text{ngali} & \quad \text{kulay-tju} \\
\text{this:Inst} & \quad \text{stick-Inst} \\
\text{Mind, lest you break the spade with that stick, or, you may &c.}
\end{align*}
\]

In the next causative and apprehensive construction there is no overt representation of either agent, object or the instrument used, but my translation provided in square brackets offers a more suitable translation than Threlkeld's original:

278 Yangoa, tetti burrea kun. [905]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{yaNuwa} & \quad \text{tjatji-paRi-yakaN} \\
\text{let be} & \quad \text{dead-Caus2-Appr} \\
\text{Let be, lest it die. [Let be, lest (you) kill (it) (with some unmentioned instrument).]}
\end{align*}
\]

In example 279/[706] the instrument used is not mentioned but alluded to in Threlkeld's translation:

279 Tetti burrinnum banúng. [706]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tjatji-paRi-NaN} & \quad \text{pa-Nung} \\
\text{dead-Caus2-Fut} & \quad \text{1sgNom-2sgAcc} \\
\text{I will cause you to die, as by poison, secrecy &c.}
\end{align*}
\]

Example 280/[711] with -paRi- is in a construction which also has a reflexive suffix. The Causative2 suffix derives a transitive verb from a nominal, and the reflexive suffix reduces the valency of the clause, since the agent and the object share the same referent. The context of the sentence does not provide any clues about the instrument used:

280 Tetti burrelléun báng. [711]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{tjatji-paRi-layaN=pang} \\
\text{dead-Caus2-Ref:Past=1sgNom} \\
\text{I have destroyed myself. I have killed myself.}
\end{align*}
\]

In example 281/[895] ‘the wind’ is the derived agent (which illustrates the variant form of the Causative 2 suffix) from the underlying intransitive sentence ‘It moves’:

281 Wirrin wibbi-ko. [895]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{uwa-Ri-N} & \quad \text{wipi-ku} \\
\text{move-Caus2-Pres} & \quad \text{wind-Erg} \\
\text{The wind moves (it, understood).}
\end{align*}
\]
Example 282/[688] illustrates a derived causative construction from an underlying sentence ‘This is broken’ with an introduced agent (or instrument?) and the original subject moving into derived object:

282 Tiir burreda unni. Yakoai? Wibbi ko. [688]
Tiyiri-paRi-ya aNi / yakuway / wipi-ku
broken-Caus2-GPast this:Abs / how / wind-Inst
This is broken. How? By the wind or, with &c.

4.5.6 Causative3
The suffix -panga- derives a transitive verb from nominals, and probably from intransitive verbs as well. The difference between -paRi- and -panga- is hinted at in Threlkeld’s translation of example 283/[707] i.e., direct action by the agent is involved (see also [858]). This sentence is derived from the underlying intransitive sentence ‘You will die’, with the original subject moving into object and a new agent introduced:

283 Tetti bungngannan banúng. [707]
tjatji-panga-NaN pa-Nung
dead-Caus3-Fut 1sgNom-2sgAcc
I will compel you to die, or, murder you.

This direct action done by the agent is exemplified in example 284/[691], derived from the underlying intransitive sentence ‘The spade breaks’. It can be compared with examples 276/[690] and 277/[692] above:

284 Wiwi, tiir bung ngéa kun koa bi unnoa spade. [691]
wiwi TiyiR=panga-yakaN-kuwa=pi aNuwa spade
Part broken-Caus3-Appr-Purp=2sgNom that:Abs spade:Abs
Mind, you may break that spade, or, lest you &c.

Example 285/[750] is derived from the intransitive sentence ‘I am angry’. The underlying subject becomes the derived object and a new agent is introduced:

285 Minnaring-tin nura tia bukka bungngán? [750]
minyaring-TiN nyura=tja paka=panga-N
Interr-Caus 2plNom-1sgAcc angry-Caus3-Pres
Why do you enrage me?

Some derived verbs (listed in the wordlist, without any example sentences to illustrate their function) indicate that -panga- derives a transitive verb from an intransitive verb:
make, compel to sit
make snap
open (a door), cause to be loosened

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Threlkeld</th>
<th>Reconstruction</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yel-la-wat-bung-ngul-li-ko</td>
<td>yalawapanga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kil-bung-ngul-li-ko</td>
<td>kilpanga-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bum-bung-ngul-li-ko</td>
<td>pampanga-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For the majority of the verbs listed with -panga- no corresponding intransitive form is known. The verb yalawapanga- is derived from yalawa- ‘to sit’, and the verb kilpanga- can be compared with kilka- ‘snap asunder’ (intransitive).

4.5.7 Permissive
Sentences with this suffix have a meaning like ‘let’ or ‘permit an action to happen’. There are two forms of this suffix, -manpi- and -panpi-. It is not understood what the conditions are regarding which form to use.

The permissive suffix occurs with both transitive and intransive verbs. The majority of the sentences from the data occur in a construction where the underlying agent or subject becomes the object in the derived construction, and a new agent is introduced:

286 Ta-munbillâ bon. [964]
   tja-manpi-la=puN
   eat-Perm-Imp=3sgAcc
   Let him eat.

287 Kummunbinnun banûng Pirriwul ka killi ko. [553]
   ka-manpi-NaN pa-Nung piRiwal kaki-li-ku
   be-Perm-Fut 1sgNom-2sgAcc king:Abs be-Nmls-Purp
   I will let you be king.

288 Wommunbinnun banûng. [676]
   uwa-manpi-NaN pa-Nung
   go-Perm-Fut 1sgNom-2sgAcc
   I will let you go.

289 Tetti ba bunbinnun banûng. [705]
   tjatji-pa-panpi-NaN pa-Nung
   dead-Vb-Perm-Fut 1sgNom-2sgAcc
   I will let you die.

The following example is presumably derived from the underlying intransitive sentence ‘I am perishing’, with the introduced agent being ‘hunger’:

290 Kapirr-wirri-ban-bîlin . . . Ngatoa. [809]
   kapirr-u wiRi-panpi-li-N / ngatjuwa
   hunger-Erg perish-Perm-Cont-Pres / 1sgNom
   I am perishing with hunger. [Hunger is letting me perish.]
4.5.8 Universal permissive

The universal permissive suffix (-Univ-Perm-) -marapanpi- is related in form and function to the permissive suffix. The translation in all three examples of this suffix is ‘anyone’ (or ‘no one’ in a negative sentence). All three examples of this suffix in the data are attached to the verb pu- ‘to hit’ (see also [609]):

291 Búa-ma-ra bun-bil-la bón . . . [409]  
   pu-marapanpi-la=puN  
   hit-UnivPerm-Imp=3sgAcc  
   Permit anyone to strike him.

292 Ya-ri bón bi bú-ma-ra bun-bi yí ko-ra . . . [410]  
   yari=puN=pi    pu-marapanpi-yikura  
   Neg=3sgAcc=2sgNom hit-UnivPerm-Neg  
   Let no one strike him.

4.6 Nominalisation

In Australian languages generally nominals may be derived from verbs. In HRLM the same form which marks continuous aspect -li- (see 4.3.1) also functions as a nominaliser, i.e. it derives a nominal from a verb, which in turn may bear nominal suffixes. The data have examples of the nominaliser -li- being followed by purposive, causal, Allative2 and ablative suffixes:

293 Waita koláng báng bünkili ko musket to. [587]  
   watja-kulang=pang pungki-li-ku musket-u  
   thither-All2=1sgNom hit-Nmls-Purp musket-Inst  
   I am now going to shoot with a musket.

294 Bünkili tin noa murrá. [614]  
   pungki-li-TiN=nyuwa marra-a  
   hit-Nmls-Caus=3sgNom run-GPast  
   He ran away because of the fighting.

295 Waita ngéen uwolla wittimulli koláng. [650]  
   watja ngayaN uwa-la wiTima-li-kulang  
   thither 1plNom go-Hort hunt-Nmls-All2  
   Let us go a-hunting.

The ablative case -pirang on the subordinate verb has a crossover of functions both as an ablative and as a causal (see 3.1.9). It literally means ‘from x-ing’ although the translations are often in the infinitive:
296 *Kaiyaléun ngali clock wiyelli birung.* [731]

kaya-layaN  ngali  clock  wiya-li-pirang
cease-Ref:Past  this:Erg  clock-Abs  speak-Nmls:Abl
The clock has done striking.

There are many examples of verbs with a nominal suffix directly following the stem. This is also illustrated in 4.1.10, where the purposive suffix may follow the apprehensional suffix. In sentences from the 1824 manuscript, the privative suffix -kuriyaN occurs directly following a verb root, where it negates the action of the verb:

297 *Narkooreenbee koorarnung.* [64]

nya-kuriyaN=pi  kuraNang
see-Priv=2sgNom  honey:Abs
You can’t find honey.

4.6.1 Nominaliser -yay

Threlkeld describes the suffix -yay as indicating one who continually does the action (1834, pp. 72-3). The difference in meaning between -yay and -kaN (see 3.10.10) is not understood. This suffix directly follows the verb root, without any intervening nominaliser:

- wiyayay  speaker  wiya-  (speak)
- umayay  tradesman (maker)  uma-  (do, make)
- wupayay  cobbler (doer)  wupa-  (do, make)
- matjayay  glutton (eater)  ma-tja-  (take + eat)
- maNkiyay  thief (taker)  maNki-  (take)
- pungkiyay  fighter  pungki-  (hit)
- pitjayay  drinker  pitja-  (drink)

298 *Búnki ye bara unnoa kore.* [619]

pungki-yay  para  aNuwa  kuri
hit-Nmls:Abs  3plNom  that:Abs  men:Abs
They are the fighters.

4.6.2 Patient nominaliser

The patient nominaliser -Tawarr- is described by Oppliger as deriving ‘a noun which is the “patient” of the verb to which it is affixed’ (1984, p. 118). It directly follows the verb root and has been recorded with ergative, absolutive and causal suffixes:

299 *Soap umatóara kipai pirang.* [635]

soap  uma-Tawarr  kipay-pirang
soap:Abs  make-PNmls:Abs  fat:Abl
Soap is made from fat.
4 Verbal morphology

300 Kabo, kabo ngalitin upa-toarín kopurrin. [875]
kapu   kapu ngali-TiN  wupa-Tawarr-iN  kuparr-iN
stop   stop this-Caus do-PNmls-Caus red ochre-Caus
Stay, stay on account of the painting red.

301 Ngali tia noa bùntoaró bùnkulla. [624]
ngali=tja=nyuwa  pung-Tawarr-u  pung-kala
this:Erg=1sgAcc=3sgNom hit-PNmls-Erg hit-GPast
This is the wounded man who struck me.

4.7 Reduplication in verbs
There is some evidence that reduplication or partial reduplication in verbs produces
a stem with a different but related meaning to the original verb root. All examples
of verbal reduplication in the data occur with the verb wiya- ‘to speak’, so it is not
known how productive this process is. In the first example below the root is redu-
plicated, in the following example the second syllable of the root is reduplicated:

302 Kabo, Kabo wiyawiyelli koa báng. [726]
kapu   kapu wiya-wiya-li-kuwa=pang
stop   stop speak-Red-Nmls-Purp=1sgNom
Stay, stay, that I may have some conversation.

303 Wi-yai-yel-li-ko, [934]
wiya-ya-li-ku
speak-Red-Nmls-Purp
For to say on; for to reply; for to answer.

4.8 Copula verb
A clause containing the copula verb ka- in HRLM conforms to Dixon’s parameters
of having two core arguments, the copula subject and the copula complement

304 Ngán ke kiakia kunnun? [516]
ngaN-ki kiyakiya ka-NaN
Interr-Abs conqueror:Abs be-Fut
Who will be the victor?

305 PiRiwal báng kakilli kolang. [532]
piRiwal=pang  kaki-li-kulang
chief:Abs=1sgNom be-Nmls-All2
I am now going to be king.

Predicates of copular clauses are attributive, or they can locate the subject:
306 Kapirrán báng kuttan. [506]
kapirr-aN=pang ka-TaN
hungry-Emph=1sgNom be-Pres
I do hunger. I am an hungered [I am hungry.]

307 Unta báng katálła yuraki M-ka. [531]
aNTa=pang ka-Tala yuraki MulupiN-pa-ka
there:Abs=1sgNom be-Dpast formerly:Abs flower-Pl-Loc
I used to live at Mulubinba, formerly.

4.9 Verbless clauses

According to Dixon, ‘in every Australian language with a copula construction, the copula verb may be omitted in many circumstances’ (2002, p. 240). This is also the case in HRLM, although the conditions for the omission or inclusion of the copula are not understood:

308 Wirrobulli kán bara ngikoumba. [521]
wiRupa-li-kaN para ngikuwampa
follow-Nmls-one:Abs 3plNom 3sgGen
They are his followers.

309 Newwoah wahrekul nowwi tah bah. [89]
nyuwawa waRikal Naway=tjapa
3sgNom dog:Abs canoe-Loc
The dog, it is in the canoe. [He, the dog, is in the canoe.]

310 Ngán úmba noa unni yinál? [428]
ngaN-ampa=nyuwa aNi yiNal
Interr-Gen=3sgNom this:Abs son:Abs
Whose son is this?
Clitics are forms which are morphologically bound to a word, but which refer to the whole clause. In Australian languages there are two types of clitics: one which is attached to the first word of a sentence to qualify that sentence by indicating ‘that it is certainly true, or possibly true, or that the sentence reports what the speaker was told by someone else . . .’ etc.; and one which can be attached to a word in any position within a sentence, which supplies ‘further information about the referent of that word’ (Dixon 1980, p. 284). Thus, the bound pronoun forms (see 3.4) can also be described as clitics, because they cannot stand alone. In HRLM clitics may co-occur.

5.1.1 Subordinate =pa
The clitic =pa marks a subordinate clause:

311 Wiyannun binúŋ ba wiyannun ngaiya tia. [733]
   wiya-NaN-pi-nyung=pa / wiya-NaN ngaya=tja
   speak-Fut-2sgNom-3sgAcc=Sub / speak-Fut then=1sgAcc
   When you tell him, let me know. [When you tell him, then (you) will tell me.]

312 Kóttalliélla báng tokoi ta tetti báng ba ka pa. [744]
   kuTa-li-yala=pang Tukuy-tja tjatji=pang=pa ka-pa-[a]
   think-Cont-GPast=1sgNom night-Loc dead=1sgNom=Sub be-Hyp[-GPast?]  
   I thought I should have died [last night].

313 Tetti-kakalla-noa, wonto ba yakita moron noa katça kan. [814]
   tjatji ka-kala=nyuwa / waNTu=pa yakiTa muruN ka-tjaka-N
   dead:Abs be-GPast=3sgNom / but=Sub now alive:Abs be-It-Pres
   He was dead, but now he is alive again.

314 Nauwa wirrobán bountoa tia ba. [755]
   nya-wa wiRupa-N puwaNTuwa=tja=pa
   see-Imp follow-Pres 3sgNomF=1sgAcc=Sub
   Look as she follows me, or, while &c.

5.1.2 Exclusive =pu
The clitic =pu is exclusive in the sense that it places emphasis on the nominal to which it is attached, excluding any other possible participants. When it is attached to a pronoun it adds the meaning ‘self’:

315 Newwoah bo-keyn kokohn tah. [90]
   nyuwwawa=pu ka-N kukuyn-tja
   3sgNom=Excl be-Pres water-Loc
   It is he himself in the water.
The following example sentences illustrate the use of \textit{=pu} with other parts of speech. There is an association with exclusiveness in most contexts (just one, just who, right here etc.) in these sentences:

316 \textit{Ngátoa-bo. Yaki ta bo. Unti bo.} [536]
\begin{verbatim}
ngatjuwa=pu / yakiTa=pu / aNTi=pu  \\
1sgNom=Excl / now=Excl / here:Abs=Excl
\end{verbatim}
I myself, at that self same instant. This very place.

317 \textit{Wakól bo ta noa tanán ba.} [493]
\begin{verbatim}
wakul=pu  Ta=nyuwa  TaNayn=pa  \\
one:Abs=Excl indeed=3sgNom hither=Sub?
\end{verbatim}
One man only is coming.

The exclusiveness in the following example is not apparent from the translation — perhaps ‘just who’?

318 \textit{Ngánbo nura búnkíllán?} [578]
\begin{verbatim}
gaN=pu  nyura  pungki-la-N  \\
Interr=Excl  2plNom  hit-Rec-Pres
\end{verbatim}
Who are fighting with you?

5.1.3 \textbf{Intensifier} \textit{=wal}
This form is a clitic which is usually attached to the word in sentence-initial position. Its meaning was recorded by Threlkeld as ‘is, shall, will etc, denoting tendency of the mind or thing’ (1834, p. 71), which does not help to clarify the situation. Hale, working from Threlkeld’s manuscripts, defines it as ‘a particle expressing intention or will; it is frequently joined with the future of verbs’ (1846, p. 502). Most of the sentences in the data conform to this, although there are some sentences in which \textit{=wal} occurs without the future tense. The clitic \textit{=wal} has been labelled as an intensifier (-\textit{in-}) following Oppliger (1984, pp. 102, 120), as its function seems to be to add force to the meaning of the word it is attached to:

319 \textit{Bún-nun wál böń báng.} [395]
\begin{verbatim}
pu-NaN=wal=puN=pang  \\
hit-Fut=In=3sgAcc=1sgNom
\end{verbatim}
I shall certainly strike him.

320 \textit{Keawai wál noa ta-korien.} [968]
\begin{verbatim}
kayaway=wal=nyuwa  tja-kuriyaN  \\
Neg=In=3sgNom  eat-Priv
\end{verbatim}
He determines not to eat.
5 Clitics

321 Ngahtoah bo wahl weah bounnoun. [77]

\begin{verbatim}
ngatjuwa=pu=wal wiya-a puwaNuwan
1sgNom=Excl=In speak-GPast 3sgAccF
\end{verbatim}
It is I myself who have spoken to her.

5.1.4 =paNkura

The clitic =paNkura occurs with verb stems ending in -li- which could be either the continuous aspect suffix (see 4.3.1) or the nominalising suffix (see 4.6); in a couple of sentences it follows the verbal reciprocal suffix, in one example it follows a particle, and in another it follows an adjective. The function of =paNkura in all of these environments is to negate the action of the (nominalised?) verb or the quality of the adjective which it follows. It resembles the nominal suffix -kura (see 3.10.14) in form and in function:

322 Yanga, nakilli-ban-kora. [886]

\begin{verbatim}
yaNuwa nyaki-li=paNkura
let be see-Nmls~Cont?=Neg
\end{verbatim}
Do not be looking.

323 Bünkillaibán kora nura. [571]

\begin{verbatim}
pungki-la-y=paNkura nyura
hit-Rec-?=Neg 2plNom
\end{verbatim}
Do not be striking one another.

324 Yanti bán kora. [759]

\begin{verbatim}
yaNTi=paNkura
thus=Neg
\end{verbatim}
Do not do so.

225 Pi-tul-ban-ko-ra. [773]

\begin{verbatim}
piTal=paNkura
peace=Neg
\end{verbatim}
Do not be peaceable.
6 Particles

Particles are words which have no inflections, but which may host clitics. Their grammatical function refers to the clause, and in Australian languages they ‘provide logical/modal type qualification of a complete clause . . . Particles almost always include “not”, and usually a separate form “don’t” that is used in negative imperative sentences’ (Dixon 1980, p. 284). There are several particles in HRLM, including interrogatives, negatives and others.

6.1 Imperative particles

6.1.1 wiwi
The particle wiwi occurs in sentence-initial position. It is translated by Threlkeld as ‘mind’:

326 Wiwi, tiir burrea kan koa be unnoa spade ngali kolai to. [692]
   wiwi TiyiR-paRi-yakaN-kuwa=pi aNuwa spade ngali kulay-tju
   Part broken-Caus2-Appr-Purp=2sgNom that:Abs spade:Abs this:Inst stick-Inst
   Mind, lest you break the spade with that stick, or, you may &c.

6.1.2 kapu ~kapu-kapu
This particle occurs in sentence-initial position and functions as a negative imperative meaning ‘stop!’ It has the same form as the nominal ‘by and by, soon’.

327 Kah bo, ngaan wah-nun. [100]
   kapu ngayaN uwa-NaN
   stop 1plNom go-Fut
   Stop, we will go.

328 Kah bo kah bo! me-te lah teah. Yah noah me-te ye korah. [346]
   kapu-kapu mitji-la=tja / yaNuwa mitji-yikura
   stop-Red wait-Imp=1sgAcc / let be wait-Neg
   Stop, stop, wait for me. Never mind, do not wait.

6.1.3 kay ~kayay
Kay occurs in sentence initial position, although it can be preceded by an interjection. It is translated by Threlkeld as ‘come’, although the sense of ‘move along, (quickly)’ is implied in many examples.

329 Kah i be yahn-tah tah-nan, witah ngaan. [102]
   kay=pi yaNTa / TaNayn watja ngayaN
   come=2sgNom hither / hither thither 1plNom
   Come thou hither. Approach, we depart.
An example of this particle occurs in Mann:

330 *Kiundego mara.* [1078]

`kay aNTi-ku ma-ra`

Come here-Dat take-Imp

Go and fetch it. Come — go — take.

6.1.4 **yaNuwa**

This element translates as ‘leave be’, ‘leave off’, ‘never mind’ etc. It generally occurs in clause-initial position

331 *Yanoa uwannun bo ta bang.* [654]

`yaNuwa uwa-NaN=pu Ta=pang`

let be go-Fut=Excl indeed=1sgNom

No, I will go by myself.

Yanuwa often occurs in constructions followed by either a verb marked with `-yikura` or an apprehensival clause:

332 *Ya noa uwi yi-kora . . .* [918]

`yaNuwa uwa-yikura`

let be go-Neg

Do not go.

333 *Yanoa tetti béa kun koa noa.* [709]

`yaNuwa tjatji-pa-yakaN-kuwa=nyuwa`

let be dead-Vb-Appr-Purp=3sgNom

Let alone lest he die.

6.1.5 **ma**

The particle **ma** occurs in clause-initial position and is used to incite the listener to carry out the action. It is related in form and function to the verb **uma**- ‘do, make etc.’ and to the Causative1 affix -**ma**-.

334 *Ma! Bu wi teah yah-ke-tah.* [324]

`ma / pu-wa=tja yakiTa`

do / hit-Imp-1sgAcc now

Go on! Strike me now!

6.2 **Negative particles**

6.2.1 **kuriyaN**

This form is identical to the nominal privative suffix -**kuriyaN** (see 3.10.2), but with only one example sentence as an independent form it is difficult to come to any firm conclusions:
Korien kakillinnun yánti ka tai. [533]

kuriyaN kaki-li-NaN yaNTikaTay
Priv be-Cont-Fut forever
To be miserable forever. (An idiom.)

6.2.2 yari
The negative imperative yari occurs in sentence-initial position and negates the action of the verb. In all examples with this particle, the verb has future inflection, which is commented on by Threlkeld in the following example:

Yari be nanun. [887]

yari=pi nya-NaN
Neg=2sgNom see-Fut
Thou must not look. (Prohibition requires the future.)

Yari bón búntea kunun. [599]

yari=puN pung-tjaka-NaN
Neg=3sgAcc hit-It-Fut
Prevent his being beaten again.

Negative expressions can also be constructed using the nominal forms kayawarraN, kayaway and TararraN.

Kaahran bahng mahn-un. [259]

kayawarr-aN=pang ma-NaN
Neg-Emph=1sgNom take-Fut
I will not take.

Keawai, murroro ng korien. [877]

kayaway marrung-kuriyaN
Neg:Abs good-Priv
No it is not good.

Tararan murroro korien. [955]

Tararr-aNmarrung-kuriyaN
Neg-Emph good-Priv
It is not good, as a substance.
6.3 Interrogative particles

6.3.1 kurakuwa
This interrogative particle occurs in clause-initial position, with the translation ‘why not ~why don’t?’:

341 Korah koah be wah-bah unambo kuhm ba? [291]
   kurakuwa=pi uwa-pa aNi-m=pu kumpa
   Neg=2sgNom come-? this:Abs-m=Excl yesterday:Abs
   Why wast thou not at this place yesterday?

342 Korah koah be teah weah-yah-leyn? [293]
   kurakuwa=pi=tja wiya-ya-li-N
   Neg=2sgNom=1sgAcc speak-Red-Cont-Pres
   Why dost thou not answer me?

6.3.2 wiya
The interrogative particle wiya, literally ‘say’, indicates that a yes/no question is being asked, presumably with a rising intonation, although the lack of recorded data prevents confirmation of this. It occurs in clause-initial position.

343 Wiyâ unni murrong ta? Kauwau. [952]
   wiya aNi marrung Ta kawa
   Part this:Abs good:Abs indeed yes
   Say, is this good? Yes.

A particle with the same form and function occurs in Muruwari (Oates 1992, p. 94) and, not surprisingly, in Gadhang (Enright 1900, p. 109).

6.3.3 nga
The particle nga indicates that a question is being asked. It occurs in sentence-initial position. The difference between the use of wiya and nga is not understood:

344 Nga bînnûng wiyâ? Wiyâ bón báng. [718]
   nga pi-nyung wiya-a / wiya-a=puN=pang
   Part 2sgNom-3sgAcc speak-GPast / speak-GPast=3sgAcc=1sgNom
   Did you tell him? I told him.

6.3.4 yakuway
Yakuway generally occurs in sentence-intial position. This particle has two different meanings according to Threlkeld’s translations; the most common type asks ‘how?’.
Yakoai biñ wiyan. [925]

Yakuway=plN  wiya-N
how=2sgAcc  speak-Pres

How is it told to thee? — in what manner.

The less common type of translation is ‘take care’:

Yakoai tia buwil koa bón báng. [588]

Yakuway=tja  pu-wil-kuwa  puN=pang
take care=1sgAcc  hit-Des-Purp  3sgAcc=1sgNom

Take care that I may beat him, or Out of the way.

6.4 Other particles

6.4.1 pala

There are two example sentences with this particle, both of which indicate a sense of obligation or intent regarding the action of the verb:

Kuhmbah be bah-lah wahn-nun unte-ko. [280]

Kumpa=pi  pala  uwa-NaN  aNTi-ku
tomorrow=2gNom  must come-Fut  here-Dat

Tomorrow thou must come here.

Buhn-nun bohn bahng. Buhn-nun bahng bah lah unne wahrekul. [310]

Pu-NaN=puN=pang / pu-NaN=pang  pala  aNi  waRikal
hit-Fut=3sgAcc=1sgNom / hit-Fut=1sgNom  must  this:Abs  dog:Abs

I will beat him. I must beat this dog.

6.4.2 mirka

There are just two examples with this particle, the first of which indicates doubt about the proposition, in the second example its meaning is more opaque:

Mirka noa tetti kunmun. [515]

Mirka=nyuwa  tjatji  ka-NaN
perhaps=3sgNom  dead:Abs  be-Fut.

Perhaps he will be dead.

Yah re Friday. Mir kah Friday unne bungi. [159]

Yaray  Friday / mirka  Friday  aNi  pangay
?  Friday:Abs / perhaps?  Friday:Abs  this:Abs  day:Abs

It is Friday —-. This today (——) Friday.

In example 355/[159] the two particles yaray (see below) and mirka may illustrate a contrast between two forms of an assertion: the strong form and the weak form. Particles which weaken an assertion occur in other Australian languages.
6.4.3 **yaray**
This particle occurs in just two example sentences, and it occurs in sentence-initial position in each example. Its meaning is unknown (see also example 350 above):

351 *Yah re upaah murrenowwi ko buloahrah ko.* [161]
   
   **yaray** *wupa-a maRiNaway-ku pulawarr-ku*
   
   put-GPast ship-Purp two-Purp
   
   It has been out for two ships (as a signal).

6.4.4 **paTi**
Threlkeld called this an ‘adverb of quantity’ meaning ‘to continue the action’ (1834, p. 76). There is only one example in the data, which seems to qualify the nominal. Since the nominal is in absolutive case, it is possible that **paTi** is an adjective, also in absolutive case:

352 *Tanán tia wollawolla búntán tia butti kirín kirín.* [559]
   
   **TaNayn=tja uwa-la uwa-la pung-TaN=tja paTi kiriynkiriyn**
   hither=1sgAcc come-Imp come-Imp hit-Pres=1sgAcc more pain-Red:Abs
   
   Come to me, make haste, I am beat more and in pain.

6.4.5 **yaNapuTa**
The form **yanaputa** occurs in one example sentence, with the translation ‘certainly’:

353 *Yuna bo ta báng wiyannunn tuloa.* [749]
   
   **yaNapuTa=pang wiya-NaN Taluwa**
   Certainly=1sgNom speak-Fut truth:Abs
   
   I will certainly speak the truth.

6.4.6 **yung**
The particle **yung** is associated with location of the subject. Perhaps it may be used in association with pointing. According to Threlkeld it means ‘there, that place’, (1834, p. 26):

354 *Ngán unnung wiyellín yóng?* [720]
   
   **ngaN aNang wiya-li-N yung**
   Interr:Abs that:Abs speak-Cont-Pres there
   
   Who is talking out there?

355 *Un-to-ah ko yohng koke-rah ko.* [177]
   
   **aNTuwa-ku yung / kukirr-aku**
   there-Dat there / house-All
   
   To that place there; to the house.
356 Ngahn to turah bounnoun? Ngah le Noah yong. [222]

\[ \text{ngaN-Tu } \text{ tjuRa-a } \text{ puwaNuwaN } / \text{ ngali=} \text{nyuwa } \text{ yung} \]

Interrogative - Ergative spear-Genitive 3sgAccF / this:Ergative=3sgNom there

Who has speared her? It is he has. [This one, he, there.]

6.4.7 Ta

The particle Ta adds force to a sentence, roughly translating as ‘indeed, truly, really, quite, actually’:

357 Kunnun ta unni murrorong. [514]

\[ \text{ka-NaN } \text{ Ta } \text{ aNi } \text{ marrung} \]

be-Future indeed this:Abs good:Abs

It will be good this.

6.4.8 ngaTaN

The form ngaTaN is a coordinating particle which can join two phrases or two clauses:

358 Makoro nguwa tia ngatun karai ngatun tibbin ngatun kokoin, tauwil koa bang pittauwil koa bang. Ma tauwa unti kāl. [767]

\[ \text{makurr } \text{ ngu-wa=} \text{tja } \text{ ngaTaN } \text{ karay } \text{ ngaTaN } \text{ tjipiN } \text{ ngaTaN } \text{ kukuyn} \]

fish:Abs give-Imp=1sgAcc and flesh:Abs and fowl:Abs and water:Abs

/ \text{tja-wil-kuwa=} \text{pang } \text{ pitja-wil-kuwa=} \text{pang} / \text{ma } \text{ tja-wa } \text{ aNTi-kal} \]

/ eat:Des-Purpose=1sgNom drink:Des-Purpose=1sgNom / do? eat-Imp here-Bel

Give me fish, flesh, fowl and water that I may eat and drink. Begin and eat some of this.

Threlkeld provides several examples of Biblical translations which use this coordinating particle in word-initial position. Presumably this type of construction is linked in context to something which has come before it:

359 ngatun kummunbilla pitul purrai ta ko [1039]

\[ \text{ngaTaN } \text{ ka-manpi-la } \text{ piTal } \text{ parray-tja-ku} \]

and be-Perm-Imp joy:Abs earth-Loc-Purpose

And let there be caused to be peace, earth it is for.

6.4.9 waNTu

This coordinating particle is used between two clauses, the first clause makes a proposition and the second adds extra information which contradicts that proposition. It has the meaning ‘whereas’ or ‘but’:
6.4.10 **tanga**

There is one example sentence with this particle, with the translation ‘before’:

361 **Kakulla ta báng Sydney-ka tángnga bi ba kakulla unta.** [512]

ka-kala Ta=pang Sydney-ka Tanga=pi=pang ka-kala aNTa
be-GPast indeed=1sgNom Sydney-Loc before=2sgNom=Sub be-GPast there:Abs
I was at Sydney before ever you were there.

6.4.11 **kala**

**Kala** occurs in sentence-initial position and is translated as ‘because’:

362 **Minnaring tin bón bünkulla? Kulla noa bukka baring.** [758]

minyang wupa-NaN ngaya piN-luwa
Interr:Abs do-Fut then 2sgAcc-3sgNomM
What will he do to you?

6.4.12 **ngaya**

The particle **ngaya** occurs both in a simple construction and in a more complex construction with the clitic which marks subordination =pa (see 5.1.1). In a simple construction the meaning is difficult to define; it provides a temporal focus in the following examples:

363 **Minnung bunnun ngaiya biloa?** [696]

minyang wupa-NaN ngaya piN-luwa
Interr:Abs do-Fut then 2sgAcc-3sgNomM
What will he do to you?

364 **Kabo ka ta turunnun ngaiya bín.** [735]

kapu-ka Ta tjuRa-NaN ngaya=piN
soon-Loc indeed spear-Fut then=2sgAcc
By and by you will be speared.

365 **Waita wannun noa ba, waita ngaiya ngéen.** [664]

watja uwa-NaN=nyuwa=pa watja ngaya ngayaN
thither go-Fut=3sgNom=Sub thither then 1plNom
When he goes, we will go.
6.4.13 ngaTung
The word ngaTung has a negative force, or is used in statements like ‘I don’t know’. It resembles the English word ‘nothing’ and may have been borrowed.

366 Minnung bunnun ngatóng. [698]
    minyang-pa-NaN ngaTung
Interr-Vb-Fut nothing
I don’t know; nothing. (An idiom.)

The meaning of ngaTung in the following example is less transparent:

367 Yah-ko-un-tah ngahtohng. [108]
    yakuwantja ngaTung
Interr ?
When is it to be (a negative). (An idiom.)

6.4.14 yaNTi
The particle yaNTi means ‘like this, thus, in this manner’:

368 Upah-lah unnoah yahn-te. [353]
    wupa-la aNuwa yaNTi
do-Imp that:Abs thus
Do it like this.

6.4.15 ngapa
Ngapa occurs in sentence initial position. It seems to confirm, or ask for confirmation of a proposition. I have used ‘truly’ to translate this word. The difference in use between yaray (see 6.4.3) and ngapa is not understood:

369 Weah, unnoah boat kowwol? Ngah bahl u noh kowwol-ahn. [95]
    wiya aNuwa boat kawal / ngapa aNang kawal-aN
Part that:Abs boat:Abs large:Abs / truly that:Abs large-Emph:Abs
Is that a large boat? It is a large boat.

6.4.16 yay
Threlkeld defined this as ‘let it not be so; an Ellipsis of yi-ko-ra understood’ (1834, p. 71). One example sentence is provided:

370 Ya-ai bünk-ki-yi ko-ra, [382]
    yay pungki-yikura
refrain hit-Neg
let it not be so, strike not

6.4.17 katju katja
The form katju katja occurs in sentence-initial position in one example sentence with the translation ‘alas’:
6.4.18 **kawa**

This particle seems to signal agreement with a proposition:

372 *Kau-wau*. [951]

  **kawa**

  Assent to the assertion, affirmative or negative.

373 *Wiyá unni murrong ta? Kauwau*. [952]

  **wiya aNi marrung / Ta kawa**

  Part this:Abs good:Abs / indeed yes

  Say, is this good? Yes.

374 *Kauwa be tetti ka killi ko*. [550]

  **kawa=pi tjatji kaki-li-ku**

  Yes=2sgNom dead:Abs be-Nmls-Purp

  Yes, you are to die.

According to Mann:

  Missionary Threlkeld was known as Mr Kowhow, or *yow*, a word used only by the women, consequently it was considered by the men as being very effeminate, they usually replied by a sort of grunt, sometimes they used the word *maron, good*’ (no date, p. 2).

Presumably then, the word **marrung** is the male-speaker alternative to **kawa**.

6.4.19 **alapayarr**

According to Threlkeld this was a call of wonder, astonishment, surprise (1834, p. 78).

6.4.20 **aNikanya**

Miller recorded a form *anigunya*, which he described as being ‘a salutation on meeting’ (1887, p. 354). Fawcett recorded a similar form: ‘They had a curious salutation on meeting one another, which was the word *anigunga* the meaning of which I have been unable to ascertain’ (1898, p. 180). It is difficult to interpret the exact form of this word, possibilities include: **aNikanya**, –**aNikang[k]a**, –**aNikantja**; **aNitjanya**, –**aNitjang[k]a**, –**aNitjantja**. The first two syllables resemble the Demonstrative2 **aNi** (see 3.2). The form used here is based on Miller’s representation and assumes that his letter ‘g’ represents a velar stop, not a palatal stop.
7 Interjections

Interjections are forms which are phonologically irregular. They do not form part of the syntactic structure of a sentence.

7.1.1 i-i
This interjection means ‘yes’. It is possible that Threlkeld’s form E-E represents two vowels separated by a glottal stop. In Gadhang, there is a similar form hihi, which Holmer described as being ‘probably a reduplicated form of ngi’ (1967, p. 15). It occurs in sentence-initial position in the only example sentence:

375 E-E waita bali. [656]
   i-i watja pali
   yes thither 1duNom
   Yes, I will go with you.

7.1.2 ala
The form and use of this interjection in Threlkeld is very close to the English word ‘hello’, so it may be a loanword. It always occurs in sentence-initial position:

376 A-lah! bulah! kah bo! [118]
   ala / pula / kapu
   ala / 2duNom / stop
   Hello, ye two, stop!

From a different source (Haslam et al. 1984, p. 71) comes the following use of this interjection:

377 Ella! Ngoe-ro-kan-ta killi-bin-bin katarn. [1051]
   ala nguR[u]kaN-Ta kilipiynpiyn ka-TaN
   hail morning-Loc shining-Abs be-Pres
   Hail! Dawn is shining, glory doing.

7.1.3 wawu
Another form, wawu, which occurs in sentence-initial position in the one example sentence in the data, is another call of attention. Threlkeld used the phrase ‘I say’ to translate this form:

378 Wau! Kaai kaai karakai. [465]
   wawu kay kay karakay
   wawu come come quickly
   I say, come, make haste or be quick.
8 Conclusion

This description of the language from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie is presented as a basis for a language revival program which has been instigated by the Wonnarua Nation Aboriginal Corporation. It does not claim to be the last word on HRLM grammar, and I warn the general reader that, as we come to better understand the language, some theories and interpretations presented here may be refined in future descriptions. A description of the syntax of the language has not been attempted.

This description hopefully presents the data in a format that is useful, facilitating both production of language learning materials and further research. It is based largely on single sentences that were originally elicited by Threlkeld and others for the sake of clarifying points of grammar. It has not attempted to incorporate the material in the two long texts translated into HRLM by Threlkeld, namely his Gospel of St Luke (1831) and his Gospel of St Mark (1837). The translation of Luke’s Gospel was published in Fraser’s compilation of 1892. Threlkeld’s translation of Mark’s Gospel has never appeared in print, but a digital version is available at the following URL: http://www.newcastle.edu.au/group/amrhd/awaba/language/st-mark/contents.html

A morphemic analysis and back translation of these texts is an important task for future researchers, since it will almost certainly add to or change our understanding of HRLM. Hopefully, this study will facilitate such an undertaking. However, the nature of the texts means that we can hardly expect that our understanding of Aboriginal worldviews from the Hunter River and Lake Macquarie region will be significantly increased by them.
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