

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

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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.

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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 *iriNa*, 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

| | |
|-----------------|------------------------|
| * | reconstructed form |
| ? | undefined element |
| ~ | variant form |
| 1 | first person |
| 2 | second person |
| 3 | third person |
| Abl | ablative |
| Abs | absolutive |
| Acc | accusative |
| Adj | adjective |
| Adv | adverb |
| All | allative |
| Appr | apprehensional |
| Bel | belonging |
| Ben | beneficiary |
| C | consonant |
| Caus | causal, causative |
| Com | comitative |
| Cont | continuous aspect |
| CT | characteristic trait |
| Dat | dative |
| Dem | demonstrative |
| Des | desiderative |
| Des-Purp | desiderative purposive |
| DFut | definite future tense |
| Dpast | distant past tense |
| du | dual |
| Emph | emphatic |
| Erg | ergative |
| Excl | exclusive |
| F | feminine |
| Fut | future tense |
| Gen | genitive |
| Gpast | general past tense |
| Hort | hortative mood |
| Hyp | hypothetical |
| Imp | imperative mood |
| In | intensifier |
| Indef | indefinite |
| Inst | instrumental |
| Interj | interjection |
| Interr~Interrog | interrogative |
| InterrPart | Interrogative particle |
| Int | intransitive |
| Irr | irrealis |
| It | iterative aspect |
| Loc | locative |
| M | masculine |
| n. | noun |
| Neg | negative |
| NFut | near future |
| Nmls | nominaliser |
| Nom | nominative |
| Opt | optative |
| Part | particle |
| Perl | perlative |
| Perm | permissive |

| | |
|-----------|------------------------------------|
| Pl | place |
| pl | plural |
| Plr | plural suffix |
| PNmls | patient nominaliser |
| Pres | present tense |
| Priv | privative |
| Pro | pronoun |
| Prop | proprietary |
| Purp | purposive |
| Rec | reciprocal |
| Red | reduplication |
| Ref | reflexive |
| Rpast | recent past tense |
| Semb | semblative |
| Sub | subordinate |
| Sim | simultaneous action |
| sg | singular |
| Univ Perm | universal permissive |
| V | vowel |
| v | verb |
| Vb | verbaliser |
| / | Separates two clauses or sentences |
| - | suffix marker |
| = | clitic marker |

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) |
| GYG | 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 |
| Scot | Scott |
| Tro | Troy |

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

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.

Anonymous, no date. I suspect that Haslam may be the author of the following unpublished documents, held in the Haslam Files at Auchmuty Library, The University of Newcastle: 'Singleton plaque — suggested inscription', 'Wonarua', 'Language of the Wonarua Tribe', 'The Wonarua Tribe' and 'Wonarua Mother Tongue'.

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

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

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-terakee murra yallah-weebung nutta* [1067] (Fawcett 1898)

| | | | | |
|--|--------------------|--------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| watja | TiRaki | ma-ra | yalawa=pang | ngatjuwa |
| fire:Abs | wood/flame/red:Abs | get-Imp | sit=1sgNom | 1sgNom |
| 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 *Kukundia murra; Kukundia-murra* [1069] (Miller 1886, Fawcett 1898)

kukuyn=tja ma-ra
 water:Abs=1sgAcc bring-Imp
 Bring (me) water.

The name Wonnarua was interpreted as meaning ‘People or place of the hills and plains’ (Anon., ‘Wonnarua Singleton plaque — suggested inscription’ and ‘Language of the Wonnarua tribe’, Haslam Files, no date). While the root *wanarr* is unlikely to be a literal equivalent of ‘people, hills and plains’ the final two syllables resemble the form of the perlativ suffix following a word-final trill *-uwa*. One of the uses of the perlativ 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 *Nowudjeer cudgel* [1] (Threlkeld 1824)

ngu-wa=tja katjal
 give-Imp=1sgAcc tobacco:Abs
 Give me some tobacco.

- 4 *Neagularban Booron* [1084] (Mann no date)

nya-kala=pang purrang
see-GPast=1sgNom ghost/devil:Abs
 I saw the devil devil.

This sentence can be compared with Threlkeld 1850:

- 5 *Nakulla bang.* [882] (Threlkeld 1850)

nya-kala=pang
see-GPast=1sgNom
 I saw.

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 Wonnarua Tribe occupied a substantial part of the lower and mid-Hunter Valley, extending from Wollombi and northwards to Singleton and just beyond (Anon, ‘Wonnarua’ 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

Loc.: Northern tributaries of the Hunter River to Murrurundi; at Muswellbrook, Aberdeen, Scone, and Mount Royal Range. Affiliated with the coastal Worimi (1974, p. 193).

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 | <i>baraba</i> | <i>baraba</i> | amuwampa |
| yours | <i>bi:nba</i> | <i>beenba</i> | ngiruwampa |
| myself | <i>ngata, ngata, ngatuwa, ngatuwa</i> | <i>natoor</i> | ngatjuwa |
| you | <i>bijai</i> | <i>beea</i> | =pi |

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

| | bilabial | apico-alveolar | lamino-palatal | dorso-velar |
|------------|----------|----------------|------------------|-------------|
| stops | <i>p</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>tj</i> | <i>k</i> |
| nasals | <i>m</i> | <i>n</i> | <i>ny (~ɲn)*</i> | <i>ng</i> |
| lateral | | <i>l</i> | | |
| continuant | | <i>r</i> | | |
| trill | | <i>rr</i> | | |
| semi-vowel | <i>w</i> | | <i>y</i> | |

**ɲn* 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-palatals or lamino-dentals 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 4. Laminal sounds in Larmer (1898) and Mann (no date)

| | Larmer | Mann | Reconstruction |
|-------|---------------|-----------------------------|----------------|
| dead | <i>thirty</i> | | tjatji |
| heavy | | <i>challarle, thallarle</i> | tjalal |

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

| | Threlkeld | cognates | Reconstruction |
|-----------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| animal (i.e. 'biter') | <i>put-ti-kán</i> | <i>patji-</i> (G) (bite) | patjikang |
| tobacco smoke | <i>kut-tul</i> | <i>kudyal</i> (D) | katjal |
| hand | <i>mut-tur-ra</i> | <i>matjra</i> (G) | matjarr |
| small | <i>mit-ti</i> | <i>mitji</i> (G) | mitji |
| drink | <i>pít-tul-li-ko</i> | <i>bitja</i> (G) | pitja- |
| cudgel | <i>kót-ta-rir</i> | <i>gutyer</i> (D) | kutjarr |

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

| Fawcett | GYY | Reconstruction |
|----------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| <i>matha</i> | <i>maadhaa</i> | matja |
| <i>butha</i> | <i>buudhaa</i> | putja |
| <i>ipatha, ippatha</i> | <i>yibadhaa</i> | yipatja |
| <i>kubbeetha, kubbitha</i> | <i>gabudhaa</i> | kapitja |

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

| | 1824 | 1834, 1850 | Reconstruction |
|--------|------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| when | <i>Aequonjar</i> | <i>yakounta</i> | yakuwantja |
| afraid | <i>Kindjar</i> | <i>kin-ta</i> | kintja |

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

| | Threlkeld 1834 | other sources or cognates | Reconstruction |
|-----------------|------------------|--|------------------------|
| what, something | <i>min-nung</i> | <i>minja</i> (ng) (G) | minyang |
| dust | <i>pón-no</i> | <i>bunju</i> (G) | punyu |
| sun | <i>pun-nul</i> | <i>pun.yal</i> (L) <i>bunyell</i> (M2) | panyal |
| burn | <i>win-ná</i> | <i>winja-</i> (G) | winya-a (Gpast) |
| parrot | <i>kun-ne-ta</i> | <i>gunyudu</i> (S) | kanya [Ta] |

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

| 1824 | 1827 | 1834 | 1850 | Reconstruction |
|------------------|--|--------------------|------------------|------------------|
| <i>miniaring</i> | <i>min-nah-ring,</i> <i>minnahring,</i> <i>miniaring</i> | <i>min-na-ring</i> | <i>minnaring</i> | minyaring |

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

| | Threlkeld | other sources or cognates | Reconstruction |
|-------------|---------------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| young woman | <i>mur-ra-ké-en</i> | <i>marginj</i> (G) | marr[a]kiyn |
| blind | <i>munmín</i> | <i>m[?]ñmiñ</i> (D) | maNmiyn |
| sharp | <i>mirrín</i> | <i>miri:nj</i> (G) | miRiyn |

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

| | Threlkeld | other sources or cognates | Reconstruction |
|----------------|-----------------------|---|----------------------|
| bora ground | <i>Pór-ro-bung</i> | <i>buurrabang</i> (Y) | purrapang |
| earth | <i>pur-rai</i> | <i>barri</i> (Dh) <i>burrè</i> (D) | parray ~parri |
| day | <i>pur-re-ung</i> | <i>barrang</i> (Dh) <i>burriang</i> (D) | parrayang |
| dog | <i>mír-ri</i> | <i>mirri</i> (Dh), (D), (G) | mirri |
| good | <i>mur-róng</i> | <i>marrung</i> (Dh), (G) | marrung |
| hear, perceive | <i>ngur-rul-li-ko</i> | <i>ngarri-</i> (Dh) <i>ngarratti</i> (D) | ngarra- |
| lower arm | <i>tur-rung</i> | <i>dharrung</i> (D) | tjarrang |

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 12. Vowels in HRLM

| | Front | Back |
|------|----------|----------|
| High | <i>i</i> | <i>u</i> |
| Low | | <i>a</i> |

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

uu. 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

| | | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>kót-tán</i> | third finger | <i>kót-tán</i> | wet and chilly from the rain | kuTaN |
| <i>mu-pai</i> | silent, dumb | <i>mu-pai</i> | fast (not eat) | mupay |
| <i>wa-run</i> | flat, level | <i>wa-rán</i> | four | waraN |
| <i>bali</i> (1duNom) | we two | <i>pul-li</i> | salt | pali |
| <i>Kurrawán</i> | clear (as in 'weather') | <i>kurrawan</i> (L) | smoke | karawaN |
| <i>gerrall</i> (M2) | bone | <i>ti-rál</i> | branch | tjiral |
| <i>wit-til-li-ko</i> | sing | <i>wit-ti-mul-li-ko</i> | fall | witji-[ma]-li-ku |
| <i>kul-ling</i> | water | <i>kul-ling</i> | shell | kaling |
| <i>mit-til-li-ko</i> | wait | <i>mit-ti</i> | small | mitji[-li-ku] |

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 'u' (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

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

* 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

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

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, ɣ, 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, r, l, ny, ɣ, 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:

| | | |
|-----------|-------------------|--------------|
| CVCV | kalu | cheeks |
| CVCCV | kampa- | leave |
| CVCVC | marrung | good |
| CVCVCV | ngarapu | asleep |
| CVCVCVC | mulupiN | fern, flower |
| CVCVCVCVC | kaliyaring | throat |
| CVCCVCCVC | kampaNTing | stone |

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

| | | |
|-----|-------------|-------|
| CV | ma- | take |
| | tja- | eat |
| CVC | ngaN | who |
| CVC | kaN | snake |

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

| | | |
|-------|---------------|----------------|
| VCV | uma- | do, make |
| | uwa- | go, come, walk |
| VCCV | aNTi | here |
| VCCVC | aNTang | lower jaw |

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 Gahang.

Table 16. Intramorphemic consonant clusters

| | <i>p</i> | <i>t</i> | <i>tj</i> | <i>k</i> | <i>m</i> | <i>ng</i> | <i>w</i> |
|-----------|------------|-----------|-------------|------------|---------------|------------|---------------|
| <i>m</i> | <i>mp</i> | | | | | | |
| <i>n</i> | <i>np</i> | <i>nt</i> | | <i>Nk</i> | <i>Nm</i> | | |
| <i>ny</i> | | | <i>nytj</i> | <i>nyk</i> | <i>Nm</i> | | |
| <i>ng</i> | | | | <i>ngk</i> | | | |
| <i>rr</i> | <i>rrp</i> | | | <i>rrk</i> | | | |
| <i>r</i> | <i>rp</i> | | | <i>rk</i> | <i>rm</i> [?] | | |
| <i>l</i> | <i>lp</i> | | | <i>lk</i> | <i>lm</i> | | <i>lw</i> |
| <i>y</i> | <i>yp</i> | | | <i>yk</i> | | <i>yng</i> | <i>yr</i> [?] |
| <i>t</i> | <i>tp</i> | | | | | | |

Table 17. Intermorphemic consonant clusters

| | <i>p</i> | <i>T</i> | <i>tj</i> | <i>k</i> | <i>m</i> | <i>N</i> | <i>ng</i> | <i>l</i> | <i>w</i> |
|-----------|----------------|-------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|------------|------------|
| <i>ny</i> | <i>ny-p</i> | | <i>ny-tj</i> | <i>ny-k</i> | | | | | |
| <i>N</i> | <i>N-p</i> | <i>N-T</i> | | <i>N-k</i> | <i>N-m</i> | <i>N-N</i> | | <i>N-l</i> | <i>N-w</i> |
| <i>ng</i> | <i>ng-p</i> | <i>ng-T</i> | | <i>ng-k</i> | | | <i>ng-ng</i> | | |
| <i>m</i> | <i>m-p</i> | | | | | | | | |
| <i>l</i> | <i>l-p</i> | | | <i>l-k</i> | <i>l-m</i> | | | | <i>l-w</i> |
| <i>rr</i> | <i>rr-p</i> | | | <i>rr-k</i> | <i>rr-m</i> | | | | |
| <i>r</i> | <i>r-p</i> [?] | | | <i>r-k</i> [?] | <i>r-m</i> ? | | | | <i>r-w</i> |
| <i>y</i> | | | <i>y-tj</i> | <i>y-k</i> | | <i>y-N</i> ? | | | |

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 → *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:

| | Threlkeld | Hale | Reconstruction |
|---------------|------------------|----------------|-----------------------|
| <i>1sgAcc</i> | <i>emmoung</i> | <i>emoʊng</i> | amuwang |
| <i>1sgGen</i> | <i>emmoumba</i> | <i>emoʊmba</i> | amuwampa |

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 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.

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 **aNuwa** 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 18. Nominal suffixes and their variations

| | Erg/Inst | Perl | Loc | All | Abl | Caus |
|--|-------------|---------------|----------------------|---------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Following a stem-final vowel or velar nasal | -ku | -kuwa | -kapa (-ka) | -kaku | -kapirang | -TiN |
| Following a stem-final liquid | -u | -uwa | -apa (-a) | -aku | -apirang | -iN |
| Following a stem-final palatal nasal or semi-vowel | -tju | -tjuwa | -tjapa (-tja) | -tjaku | -tjapirang | -tjiN |
| Following a stem-final alveolar nasal | -tu | -tuwa | -tapa (-ta) | -taku | -tapirang | -tiN |

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 unni.* [876]
marrung Ta aNi
 good:Abs indeed this:Abs
 This is good.
- 13 *Won tah ko-lang unnoah nowwi wah-leyn?* [166]
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]
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]
wakan-tu minyaring tja-TaN
 crow-Erg Interr:Abs eat-Pres
 What does the crow eat?
- 16 *Minaring ko bón búnkulla tetti?* [422]
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]
nyukang-ku / piRiwal-u / paNTimay-tju
 woman-Erg / king-Erg / messenger-Erg
 The woman did, the King did, the Messenger did.
- 18 *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.

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]
minyaring-ku pi-NuwaN tjuRa-a / kutjarr-u / wari-ku / paypay-tju
 Interr-Inst 2sgNom-3sgAccF spear-GPast / cudgel-Inst / spear-Inst / axe-Inst
 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 búnkulla.* [562]
minyaring-ku piN-luwa pung-kala
 Interr-Inst 2sgAcc-3sgNomM hit-GPast
 With what did he strike you?
- 21 *Mattaró ngikoumba ko.* [563]
matjarr-u ngikuwampa-ku
 hand-Inst 3sgGen-Inst
 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]
kukirr-uwa=pang uwa-a
 house-Perl=1sgNom come-GPast
 I came by the house.
- 23 *Murrinowwai toa purrai koa.* [483]
maRiNaway-tjuwa / parri-kuwa
 ship-Perl / land-Perl
 On board a ship. By land.

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

- 24 *Kuhmbah koah bahng wah-kayn.* [284]
kumpa-kuwa=pang uwa-kayn
 tomorrow-Perl=1sgNom come-NFut
 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[u]kaN-Ta
 kangaroo:flesh:Abs 2plNom 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 *Tahnayn teah wah-mun-billah (koeyung kah ko).* [331]
TaNayn=tja uwa-manpi-la kuyung-kaku
 hither=1sgAcc come-Perm-Imp fire-All
 Let me draw nigh to be at the fire.

- 33 *Waita bang biriban-ta-ko.* [1011]
watja=pang pirapan-taku
 thither=1sgNom 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 1plNom 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-bara.* [826]
wuruway-kulang para
 battle-All2 3plNom
 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**:

- 36 *Wokka ka birung Moroko ka birung.* [474]
waka-kapirang muruku-kapirang
 above-Abl heaven-Abl
 From Heaven. [From above, from Heaven.]

- 37 *Nowwi tah berung bahng.* [175]
Naway-tjapirang=pang
 canoe-Abl=1sgNom
 From the canoe [I (came) from the canoe.]

In Australian languages generally the ablative, comitative and — less often — the instrumental suffixes are used to indicate 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]
soap uma-Tawarr kipay-pirang
 soap:Abs make-PNmls:Abs fat-Abl
 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]
uma-Tawarr kumpa-pirang
 make-PNmls:Abs yesterday-Abl
 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 bountoah tuhn-ka-leyn.* [126]
minyaring-TiN ka-N / mamuya-TiN puwaNTuwa Tungka-li-N
 Interr-Caus be-Pres / corpse-Caus 3sgNomF cry-Cont-Pres
 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-tōarin 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.

- 42 *Minnaring tin yitirrir 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).

- 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 biraban-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 *Murroróng 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 natan 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 *kuri 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

| | This | That | That |
|---------------|---------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| Stem | ngali | ngala | ngalawa |
| Erg/inst/purp | ngali-ku | ngala-ku | ngalawa-ku |
| Causal | ngali-TiN | | ngalawa-TiN |
| Ablative | ngali-pirang | | |
| Genitive | ngali-kupa | ngala-kupa | ngalawa-kupa |

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 burréa 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 unni umá.* [421]
ngali=nyuwa aNi uma-a
 this:Erg=3sgNom this:Abs make-GPast
 This is he who made this. [This one, he made this.]

Table 20. Demonstrative2

| | This | That | That |
|------------|------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Absolutive | aNi | aNuwa | aNang |
| Accusative | | aNuwa-Nang | |

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 *Kurrawán unni yiir kullín.* [684]
karawaN aNi yiyiRka-li-N
 clear:Abs this:Abs break-Cont-Pres
 The weather is clearing up, or breaking up.
- 64 *Bu-wah be nu wahrekul unnung.* [336]
pu-wa pi-nyung waRikal aNang
 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]
ma-ra=pi aNuwa-Nang
 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.

- 66 *Ngahn un-nung? Ngahtoa un-ne.* [69]
ngaN aNang / ngatjuwa aNi
 Interr:Abs that-All / 1sgNom that-All
 Who is there? [Who is that?] It is I.
- 67 *Wonni bountoah teah unnung tatte ammoum ba.* [93]
waNay puwaNTuwa=tja aNang tjatji amuwampa
 child:Abs 3sgNomF-1sgAcc that:Abs dead:Abs 1sgGen
 My child she is dead.

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

- 68 *Kore unni, Nukung unnoa, Wornai unnung.* [415]
kuri aNi / nyukang aNuwa/ waNay aNang
 man:Abs this:Abs/ woman:Abs that:Abs / child:Abs that:Abs
 This is a man; that is a woman; there is a child.

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]
ngaN aNang wiya-li-N yung
 Interr:Abs that:Abs speak-Cont-Pres there
 Who is talking out there? [Who is that talking there?]

Table 21. Locational demonstrative

| | Here | There | There |
|------------|-------------|-------------|---------------|
| Absolutive | aNTi | aNTa | aNTuwa |
| Dative | aNTi-ku | aNTa-ku | aNTuwa-ku |
| Allative | *aNti-ring | aNTa-ring | aNTuwa-ring |
| Causal | aNTi-TiN | aNTa-TiN | aNTuwa-TiN |
| Ablative | aNTi-pirang | aNTa-pirang | aNTuwa-pirang |

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

- 70 *Ngán unti kuttán?* [507]
ngaN aNTi ka-TaN
 Interr:Abs here:Abs be-Pres
 Who lives here?
- 71 *Kakulla ta báng Sydney-ka tángnga 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.

- 72 *Weah be untoah bereke-nun?* [253]
wiya=pi aNTuwa piriki-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 biraban wiya.* [1004]

ngiyakay aNuwa yiTirr / Pirapan wiya-a

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 appropriate suffix.

Table 22. Singular pronouns

| | 1sg | 2sg | 3sgmasculine | 3sgfeminine |
|---------|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| Erg/Nom | ngatjuwa | ngiNTuwa | nyuwawa | puwaNTuwa |
| Acc | amuwang | ngiruwang | ngikuwang | puwaNuwaN |
| Gen | amuwam-pa | ngiruwam-pa | ngikuwam-pa | puwaNuwam-pa |
| Ben | *amuwang-ku | ngiruwang-ku | ngikuwang-ku | puwaNuwaN-ku |
| All | *amuwang-kiNku | *ngiruwang-kiNku | ngikuwang-kiNku | puwaNuwaN-kiNku |
| Loc | amuwang-kinpa | ngiruwang-kinpa | ngikuwang-kinpa | puwaNuwaN-kinpa |
| Abl | amuwang-kinpirang | ngiruwang-kinpirang | ngikuwang-kinpirang | puwaNuwaN-kinpirang |
| Caus | amuwang-kay | ngiruwang-kay | ngikuwang-kay | puwaNuwaN-kay |
| Com | amuwang-kaTuwa | ngiruwang-kaTuwa | ngikuwang-kaTuwa | puwaNuwaN-kaTuwa |

Table 23. Dual pronouns

| | 1du | 2du | 3du |
|---------|------------------|------------------|------------------------|
| Erg/Nom | pali | pula | pulawarr |
| Acc | ngaliN | pulaN | pulawarr pulaN |
| Gen | ngaliN-pa | pulaN-pa | pulawarr-kupa pulaN-pa |
| Ben | ngaliN-ku | pulaN-ku | pulawarr-ku |
| All | ngaliN-kiNku | *pulaN-kiNku | *pulawarr-kiNku |
| Loc | ngaliN-kinpa | *pulaN-kinpa | *pulawarr-kinpa |
| Abl | ngaliN-kinpirang | *pulaN-kinpirang | *pulawarr-kinpirang |
| Caus | ngaliN-kay | *pulaN-kay | *pulawarr-kay |
| Com | ngaliN-kaTuwa | *pulaN-kaTuwa | *pulawarr-kaTuwa |

Table 24. Plural pronouns

| | 1pl | 2pl | 3pl |
|---------|--------------------|-------------------|------------------|
| Erg/Nom | ngayan | nyura | para |
| Acc | ngayaraN | nyuraN | paraN |
| Gen | ngayaraN-pa | nyuraN-pa | paraN-pa |
| Ben | ngayaraN-ku | *nyuraN-ku | *paraN-ku |
| All | ngayaraN-kiNku | *nyuraN-kiNku | *paraN-kiNku |
| Loc | ngayaraN-kinpa | *nyuraN-kinpa | *paraN-kinpa |
| Abl | ngayaraN-kinpirang | *nyuraN-kinpirang | *paraN-kinpirang |
| Caus | *ngayaraN-kay | *nyuraN-kay | *paraN-kay |
| Com | ngayaraN-kaTuwa | *nyuraN-kaTuwa | *paraN-kaTuwa |

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 *Keawaran bang nurun ngimilli korien.* [891]
 kayawarr-aN=pang nyuraN ngimi-li-kuriyaN
 Neg-Emph=1sgNom 2plAcc know-Cont-Priv
 I personally know you not.

- 83 *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**:

- 84 *Yah-ko-un-tah be noun nah-kahlah Patty-nung?* [274]
yakuwantja pi-NuwaN nya-kala Pati-Nang
 Interr-Loc 2sgNom-3sgAccF see-GPast Patty-Acc
 When didst thou see Patty?

- 85 *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:

- 86 *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).

- 87 *Ngan-umba unni wonnai? Biriban-umba unni wonnai.* [1023]
ngan-ampa 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:

- 88 *Mattaró ngikoumba ko.* [563]
matjarr-u ngikuwampa-ku
 hand-Inst 3sgGen-Inst
 With his hand.

- 89 *Ngah unnoah ngeroambah? kaah wi. Ammoambah korean.* [233]
nga aNuwa ngiruwampa / kayaway amuwampa-kuriyaN
 Part that:Abs 2sgGen / Neg:Abs 1sgGen-Priv
 Is it thine that? No. Not mine.

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; nyikoung 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[a]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 *Bounnoun-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 *Yellowolla 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?

- 102 *Weah bountoah wah-nun ngeroung kahtoah* [272]
wiya puwaNTuwa uwa-NaN ngiruwang-kaTuwa
 Part 3sgNomF go-Fut 2sg-Com
 Will she go with thee?

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 *Búnkillála bali noa Bulai wonnai bali noa ba.* [580]
pungki-la-la pali=nyuwa Palay waNay pali=nyuwa=pa
 hit-Rec-CPast 1duNom=3sgNom Bulay:Abs child:Abs 1duNom=3sgNom=Sub
 When Bulay and I were children, we used to fight with one another.

- 104 *Waita bali bountoa.* [781]
watja pali puwaNTuwa
 thither 1duNom 3sgNomF
 She and I go together.

Contrast with:

- 105 *Ngirullin, bali.* [792]
ngirra-li-N pali
 tie-Cont-Pres 1duNom
 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

| Singular | Nominative | Accusative |
|------------|------------|----------------------|
| 1st person | =pang | =tja |
| 2nd person | =pi | =piN |
| 3rd person | =nyuwa (m) | =puN (m); =NuwaN (f) |

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:

| | HRLM | Holmer |
|-----------|---------------|---------------|
| 2sgNom | =pi | <i>bijai</i> |
| 2sgAcc | =piN | <i>binang</i> |
| 3sgNom(m) | =nyuwa | <i>njuwa</i> |

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 búm-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

| | Threlkeld (1834, p. 24) | Reconstruction |
|--------------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| 1sgNom-2sgAcc | <i>Ba-núng</i> | pa-Nung |
| 1sgNom-3sgAcc(F) | <i>Bá-nó-un</i> | pa-NuwaN |
| 2sgNom-3sgAcc(M) | <i>Bi-núng</i> | pi-nyung* |
| 2sgNom-3sgAcc(F) | <i>Bi-nó-un</i> | pi-NuwaN |
| 3sgNom(M)-2sgAcc | <i>Bi-ló-a</i> | piN-luwa |
| 3sgNom(F)-2sgAcc** | <i>Bín-tó-a</i> | piN-Tuwa |

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 binnúng 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) | <i>Bi-ló-a</i> | piN-luwa |
| 2sgAcc-3sgNom(F) | <i>Bín-tó-a</i> | 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 |
| Inter: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 27. Interrogatives/indefinites

| HRLM | Interrogative sense | Indefinite sense |
|-----------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| ngaN | who | someone |
| minyaring | what | something |
| wantja | where | somewhere |
| minyayn | how many, much | however many, much |
| waNang ~waNayn | which | some |
| yakuwantja | when | sometime |
| minyang | what | something |

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 28. ngaN

| | |
|------------|----------------------|
| Absolutive | ngaN ~ngaN-ki |
| Ergative | ngaN-Tu |
| Accusative | ngaN-ang |
| Dative | ngaN-kiNku |
| Causal | ngaN-kay |
| Genitive | ngaN-ampa |
| Locative | ngaN-kinpa |
| Comitative | ngaN-kaTuwa |

115 *Ngan-to bon tura?* [1022]

ngaN-Tu=puN tjuRa-a

Interr-Erg=3sgAcc spear-GPast

Who did spear him?

116 *Ngán unti kuttán?* [507]

ngaN aNTi 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]

ngaN-ki kiyakiya ka-NaN
 Interr-Abs conqueror:Abs be-Fut
 Who will be the victor.

118 *Ngánnung bi wiyán?* [721]

ngaN-ang=pi wiya-N
 Interr-Acc=2sgNom speak-Pres
 Whom do you tell? To whom do you speak?

119 *Ngan-kai kaokillai bara?* [1028]

ngaN-kay kuwaki-la-y para
 Interr-Caus quarrel-Rec-? 3plNom
 About whom are they quarreling?

120 *Arnobar?* [63]

ngaN-ampa
 Interr-Gen
 Who does it belong to?

121 *Ngan-kin-ba bountoa? Biriban-kin-ba.* [1031]

ngaN-kinpa puwaNTuwa / 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]

ngan-kaTuwa puwaNTuwa / TjipiN-kaTuwa 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*

| | |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Absolutive | minyaring |
| Ergative/instrumental/purposive | minyaring-ku |
| Causal | minyaring-TiN |
| Genitive | minyaring-kupa |
| Perlative | minyaring-kuwa |
| Ablative (origin) | minyaring-pirang |
| Locative | minyaring-kapa |
| Allative | minyaring-kulang |

123 *Miniarung barno ooning.* [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 uwá?* [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 unnoah 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 kóttán untoa tin?* [743]

minyaring-TiN=pi kuTa-N aNTuwa-TiN
 Interr-Caus=2sgAcc think-Pres there-Caus
 What think you of that?

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

minyaring-TiN pi-nyung pung-kala
 Interr-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

| | |
|------------|---------------------------------------|
| Absolutive | wantja |
| Causal | wantja-TiN |
| Locative | wantja-wantja-kapa |
| Allative | wantja-ring |
| Allative2 | wantja-kulang |
| Ablative | wantja-pirang ~wantja-kapirang |
| Perlative | wantja-kuwa |

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

wantja=pi aNuwa maN-kala
 Interr=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]

wantja-wantja-kapa kukirr
 Interr-Red-Loc house:Abs
 Whereabouts is the house?

132 *Wontaring bi uwán?* [642]

wantja-ring=pi uwa-N
 Interr-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 perrelative 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 mahn-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 31. minyayn

| | |
|------------|--------------------|
| Absolutive | minyayn |
| Ergative | minyayn-tju |

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-kowwol 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

| | |
|------------|-----------------------|
| Absolutive | waNang ~waNayn |
| Locative | waNang-ka |

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? Unne-bo bountoah.* [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 marn[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 bām ba minnung bannun 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 *Minnung bullín bi? Wiyellín báng.* [694]
minyng-pa-li-N=pi / wiya-li-N=pang
 Interr-Vb-Cont-Pres=2sgNom / speak-Cont-Pres=1sgNom.
 What are you doing? I am talking.

Minyang may be the sole constituent of a sentence:

- 149 *Tiirán unni. Minnung?* [686]
TiyiR-aN aNi / minyang
 broken-Emph this:Abs / Interr:Abs
 This is broken. What is?

3.6.8 Idiomatic negative translations

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

- 150 *Ngahn-bo kahn.* [113]
ngaN=pu ka-N
 Interr=Excl be-Pres
 I don’t know (An idiom for a negative). [~(I) don’t know who.]
- 151 *Minnahring tin kahn?* [126]
minyaring-TiN ka-N
 Interr-Caus be-Pres
 I don’t know. (An idiom.)
- 152 *Min-nun kahn.* [149]
minyng ka-N
 Interr:Abs be-Pres
 I don’t know nor care. (An idiom.)
- 153 *Min ahn kahn.* [147]
minyayn ka-N
 Interr:Abs be-Pres
 None is. (An idiom.)
- 154 *Won nayn kahn.* [198]
waNayn ka-N
 Interr:Abs be-Pres
 Do not know. (An idiom.) [(I) don’t know which.]
- 155 *Yah-ko-un-tah kahn ngaan.* [107]
yakuwantja ka-N ngayaN
 Interr be-Pres 1sgNom
 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 yellenna ka.* [519]

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]

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]

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]

kapu **yaraya-ka**
 stop evening-Loc
 Stop till the evening.

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

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]

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

- 164 *Kúmba 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 tángnga 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 33. Location words and their suffixes

| | Within | Down | Edge, other side | Close, near | Above |
|----------|----------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|----------------------------|
| Abs | marrang | paRa | kayiN | papay | waka |
| Loc | marrang-ka | | kayiN-kaN-Tapa | papay-tjapa | |
| All | | paRa-kaku | kayiN-Taku | | |
| Towards | marrang -kulang | paRa-kulang | kayiN-kulang | | |
| Abl | | | | | waka- kapiroang |
| Caus/erg | | | | | waka-TiN-Tu |

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
throw-Pres-1sgAcc down:Abs

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
plant name-Loc close-Loc flower-Pl-Loc

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

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

waka-kapiroang muruku-kapiroang
above-Abl heaven-Abl

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

177 *Un-ti bo win-ta ko-re.* [366]

aNTi=pu wiNTa kuri

here=Excl some:Abs men:Abs

Some of the men are here.

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 Proprietary

There are two phonologically conditioned forms of the proprietary 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 proprietary 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 proprietary meaning of ‘having [a particular attribute]’ is expressed by a derivational suffix that occurs only on common nominals.

178 *Kintah lahng bahng buhn ke le tin.* [313]

kintja-lang=pang pungki-li-TiN

fear-Prop=1sgNom hit-Nmls-Caus

I do fear being struck. (Or) I am afraid of a blow.

Other examples of words with this suffix include: **pali-lang** ‘salty, saline’; **pital-ang** ‘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 ‘proprietary’.

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 ahn beyn wonni? Wonni 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).

182 *Ke-kul ko-ri-en un-ni yan-ti un-noa ki-lo-a.* [360]

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 puwaNTuwa
 flower-Pl-Bel 3sgNomF
 She belongs to Newcastle.

184 *Kore unni Turkey kál*. [765]

kuri aNi Turkey-kal
 man:Abs this:Abs Turkey-Bel
 This is a Turk, or, aTurkish 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-kál* ‘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:

| | | | |
|----------------|--------------|--------------------|----------------|
| wangkal | fool | wangkal-kay | foolish |
| waNay | child | waNay-kay | childish |
| paka | angry, anger | paka-kay | savage |
| ngarra- | know | ngarra-kay | wise, skillful |

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 búncillai ngél kolang.* [620]
watja-kulang=pang pungi-li-ngayil-kulang
 thither-All2=1sgNom hit-Nmls-Pl-All2
 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]
uma-a=nyuwa yaNTiyn=tjarr
 make-GPast=3sgNom all-Plr:Abs
 He made all things.
- 189 *Tibeen-tara wee-yarleen.* [1057]
tjipiN-Tarr wiya-li-N
 bird-Plr:Abs sing-Cont-Pres
 Birds singing.
- 190 *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.

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-biñ* as meaning ‘several dogs’ in Darkinyung (1903, p. 271).

| | Threlkeld | Reconstruction |
|-----------------|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| Eyelashes | <i>wo-i-pín</i> | wuwi-piN |
| Young bachelors | <i>wúng-ngur-ra-pin</i> | wung(k)arr-piN |

3.10.10 -kaN

The suffix **-kaN** 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 **-ka-** see 4.5.1). It may be followed by nominal inflections:

191 *Mupai-kan*. [928]

mupay-kaN

dumb-Nmls:Abs

One who is dumb.

192 *New-wah-rah kahn-to bahng turah bounnoun*. [141]

nyuwarr-kaN-Tu=pang tjuRa-a puwaNuwaN

anger-Nmls-Erg=1sgNom spear-GPast 3sgAccF

Through anger I speared her. [I, the angry one speared her.]

When it occurs with derived nominals the suffix **-kaN** 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 **-li-** and may in turn be followed by nominal inflections:

193 *Ngali noa búnkilli kán to tia búnkulla*. [618]

ngali=nyuwa pungki-li-kaN-Tu=tja pung-kala

this:Erg=3sgNom hit-Nmls-one-Erg=1sgAcc hit-GPast

That is the striker who struck me.

194 *Wirrobulli kán bara ngikoumba*. [521]

wiRupa-li-kaN para ngikuwampa

follow-Nmls-one:Abs 3plNom 3sgGen

They are his followers.

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

195 *Wirrillunun wirrillikanneto*. [912]

wiRi-li-ya-NaN wiRi-li-kaN-ay-tju

sweep-Cont?-Fut sweep-Nmls-one-tool-Inst

Will sweep with the sweeper; will swab with a swab.

3.10.11 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 *Kapirriran-bang*. [974]

kapirr-aN=pang

hunger-Emph=1sgNom

I am very hungry. [The reduplication gives intensity.]

197 *Tiirran ta unni*. [976]

TiyiR-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:

| | | | |
|-----------------|--------|--------------------|--|
| makurr | fish | makurrpaN | one who fishes |
| parramay | cockle | parramaypaN | amphibious animal that lives on cockles |

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.

| | Source | Reconstruction |
|--------|-------------------------------|--|
| throat | <i>kul-le-a-ring</i> (T) | kaliyaring (neck: kaliyang) |
| bowel | <i>ko-na-ring</i> (T) | kuNaring |
| eyes | <i>nickering</i> (M2) | nikiring |
| head | <i>wallering</i> (M2) | walaring |
| penis | <i>kodjee-goodjarring</i> (T) | kutjikutjiring |

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:

200 *Pul-le kora láng . . .* [372]

pali-kura-lang

salt-Neg-Prop

It is not salt — the quality . . .

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.

| | | | |
|----------------|------------|---------------------|------------------|
| kawal | big, great | kawalkawal | many, very large |
| wakul | one | wakulwakul | seldom |
| marrung | good | marrumarrung | very good |
| tjatji | dead | tjatjitjatji | dead [?] |
| wantja | where | wantjawantja | whereabouts |

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

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

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

| | Hit | Eat | See | Give | Be | Take | General suffix |
|-------|-----------|--------|--------|----------|-------|--------|-------------------|
| | pungki- | tjaki- | nyaki- | nguki- | kaki- | maNki- | |
| -Imp | pungki-la | | | | | | |
| | pungki-ya | | | nguki-la | | | -la ~-ya |
| -Hort | | | | nguki-la | | | -la |

Table 36. HRLM irregular verbs: monosyllabic stem with irregular suffixes

| | Hit | Hit | Eat | See | Give | Be | Take | Irreg suffix |
|-----------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|--------------------|--------------------|-------------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|
| | pu- | pung- | tja- | nya- | ngu- | ka- | ma- | |
| -Pres | | pung-TaN | tja-TaN | nya-TaN | ngu-TaN | ka-N/ ka-TaN | ma-N/ maN-TaN | -N/-TaN |
| -Fut | pu-NaN | | tja-NaN | nya-NaN | ngu-NaN | ka-NaN | ma-NaN | -NaN |
| -NFut | | pung-kayn | | | | ka-kayn | | -kayn |
| -GPast | | pung-kala | | nya-kala | ngu-kala | ka-kala | ma-kala | -kala |
| -DPast | | pung-Tala | | nya-Tala | | ka-Tala | | -Tala |
| -RPast | | pung-kayaN | tja-kayaN | | | ka-kayaN | ma-kayaN | -kayaN |
| -Imp | pu-wa | | tja-wa | nya-wa | ngu-wa | ka-wa | ma-ra | -wa/-ra |
| -Irrealis | pu-mayinga | | | nya-mayinga | ngu-mayinga | ka-mayinga | | -mayinga |
| -Des- | pu-wil- | | | nya-wil- | | ka-wil- | | -wil- |
| -Appr- | | pung-tjakaN | | | | ka-tjakaN | | -tjakaN |
| -Hyp | | pum-pa | | nya-pa | | ka-pa | maN-pa | Ø/N/m-pa |

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

| | |
|--|-------------|
| Following a monosyllabic root | -TaN |
| Following a root or stem with >1 syllables | -N |

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]

waray=pang **uma-li-N**
 spear:Abs=1sgNom make-Cont-Pres
 I am making a spear.

205 *Ngirullin, bali,* [792]

ngirra-li-N **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-

| | |
|--|---------------|
| Directly following interrogatives and free pronouns | ka-N |
| Directly following bound pronouns and demonstratives | ka-TaN |

206 *Minnahring berang kahn?* [136]

minyaring-pirang **ka-N**
 Interr-Abl be-Pres
 What is that made of? (An idiom.)

207 *Newwoah bo-keyn kokohn tah.* [90]

nyuwawa=pu **ka-N** **kukuyn-tja**
 3sgNom=Excl be-Pres water-Loc
 It is he himself in the water.

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

ngatjuwa **aNTi** **ka-TaN / aNTi=pang** **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]

Talpa-layaN=pang **kintja** **ka-N**
 escape-Ref:Past=1sgNom fear:Abs be-Pres
 I escaped, being afraid.

210 *Minnaring tin nura tia bukka kuttán?* [751]

minyaring-TiN **nyura=tja** **paka** **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 **ma(N)**- ‘take’. In the following examples, the suffix **-TaN** is used in constructions where the verb is followed by a nominal (i.e. a word); the suffix **-N** is followed by a phonologically dependent element, in this case a bound pronoun.

211 *Korah koah be mahn-tahn mahkoro?* [300]

kurakuwa=pi maN-TaN makurr
 Neg=2sgNom take-Pres fish:Abs
 Why dost thou not catch fish?

212 *Annoa ta umahn bahng.* [190]

aNuwa Ta ma-N=pang
 that:Abs indeed take-Pres=1sgNom
 I take that.

4.1.2 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 39. Future and near future inflections

| | |
|-------------|-------|
| Future | -NaN |
| Near future | -kayn |

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

213 *Ngánto bounnoun túrannun?* [462]

ngaN-Tu puwaNuwaN tjuRa-NaN
 Interr-Erg 3sgAccF spear-Fut
 Who will spear her?

The inflection referred to here as ‘near future’ usually occurs with the word **kumpa** ‘tomorrow’:

214 *Kúmba báng kakén Sydney ka.* [513]

kumpa=pang ka-kayn Sydney-ka
 Tomorrow:Abs=1sgNom be-NFut Sydney-Loc
 Tomorrow I shall be in Sydney.

Where **kumpa** does not occur with near-future inflection, Threlkeld’s translation implies the action will or is intended to happen tomorrow morning:

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 <i>-a-</i> | -a |
| Following a root or a stem with a final vowel <i>-i-</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 following a stem with more than one syllable and with final low mid vowel *-a-* is indicated 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 represented by *-a-* following the root or stem.

217 *Minninebee 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?

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

uwa-li-yala=nyuwa=pa / NangaRawa-a ngaya=puN=nyuwa
 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]

kuruwarang=pang nya-Tala
 long time=1sgNom see-DPast
 A long time since I saw her.

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

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]

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]

karay nyura tja-kayaN nguR[u]kaN-Ta
 kangaroo: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 <i>-li-</i> | -ya |
| An irregular form only found on the verb <i>ma-</i> '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 bounnoun.* [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]

nguki-la **pali** **aNuwa**
 give-Rec:Hort 1duNom that:Abs

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

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------|
| Following a monosyllabic root | -yinga- |
| Following a root with >1 syllable | -mayinga- |

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]

ngaN-ki **tjatji** **ka-mayinga-a**
 Interr-Abs dead:Abs be-Irr-GPast

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

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

ngu-mayinga-a=piN **aNi / waNTu=pi=pa** **kayaway** **maN-pa**
 give-Irr-GPast=2sgAcc this:Abs / but=2sgNom=Sub Neg:Abs take-Hyp

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]

wupa-yinga-a

do-Irr-GPast

To exercise personal power without completion.

235 *Umai nga ta báng unni yarakai.* [633]

uma-yinga-a **Ta=pang** **aNi** **yaR[a]kay**
 make-Irr-GPast indeed=1sgNom this:Abs bad:Abs

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]

ngintuwa=pu ka-pa piRiwal kaki-li-ku
 2sgNom=Excl be-Hyp chief:Abs be-Nmls-Purp
 You ought to be chief.

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

ngali Ta=tja tjatji pum-pa
 this:Erg indeed=1sgAcc dead:Abs hit-Hyp
 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]

watja pali uwa-wil yakiTa
 thither 1duNom go-Des now
 Thou and I will go now. [We two will go now.]

239 *Buwil báng Patty nung.* [590]

pu-wil=pang Pati-Nang
 hit-Des=1sgNom Patty-Acc
 I wish to beat Patty.

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

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

wiya-wil-kuwa pa-Nung
 speak-Des-Purp 1sgNom-2sgAcc
 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 báng.* [567]

kutjarr=pi=tja ngu-wa pu-wil-kuwa=puN=pang
 cudgel:Abs=2sgNom=1sgAcc give-Imp strike-Des-Purp=3sgAcc=1sgNom
 Give me a cudgel that I may beat him.

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

yakuway=nyuwa maya-ku patji-NaN tjatji-kuwa ka-wil kuri
 how=3sgNom snake-Erg bite-Fut dead-Purp be-Des man:Abs
 How does the snake bite to kill man?

A similar form **-wil-ku-** is found in Mann (no date):

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

kaliwa-wil-ku=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 43. Apprehensional inflections

| | |
|---|----------------|
| Following a monosyllabic root | -tjakaN |
| Elsewhere | -yakaN |
| Where <i>-yakaN-</i> follows a stem final <i>-ya-</i> | -kaN |

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

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

yaNuwa tjatji ka-tjakaN

let be dead:Abs be-Appr

Let be, lest it become dead.

245 *Yanoa, tetti burrea kun*. [905]

yaNuwa 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 túrea kun koa bín kore ko bara*. [679]

yari=pi uwa-NaN / tjuRa-yakaN-kuwa=piN kuri-ku 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):

247 *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.

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 Munni koa noa katéa kun.* [543]

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':

249 *Mahn-ke ye korah. Buhn ke ye korah. Petah ye korah; petah-lah.* [339]

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]

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

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]

ngirra-li-li-N=pang

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 44. Iterative aspect inflections

| | |
|--|----------------|
| Following a monosyllabic root | -tjaka- |
| Elsewhere | -yaka- |
| Where <i>-yaka-</i> follows a stem final <i>-ya-</i> | -ka- |

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]

manyi=nyuwa ka-tjaka-N

sick:Abs=3sgNom be-It-Pres

He is sick again.

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

uma-yaka-NaN

make-It-Fut

Make again, hereafter.

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

wiya-ka=pi=tja

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 burilléun báng.* [711]

tjatji-paRi-layaN=pang

dead-Caus2-Ref:Past=1sgNom

I have destroyed myself. I have killed myself.

261 *Wiwi, tiirkullea 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 *Búnkillunnun 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 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.

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 *Tiirran 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-bang.* [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]

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]

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

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

4.5.3 Verbaliser **-mapa-**

The verbalising suffix **-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]

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: **-ma-**, **-paRi-** and **-panga-**.

The causative suffix **-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 **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 horse-ku witji-ma-a
 dead:Abs=3sgAcc horse-Erg 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-mullâ-bon.* [835]

Ngarra-ma-la=puN
 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
 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 Causative2

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 koa unnoa spade.* [690]

wiwi TiyiR-ka-laya-kaN-kuwa aNuwa spade
 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]

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.

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 *Yanqa, tetti burrea kun.* [905]

yaNuwa **tjatji-paRi-yakaN**
 let be dead-Caus2-Appr
 Let be, lest it die. [Let be, lest (you) kill (it) (with some unmentioned instrument).]

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

279 *Tetti burrinnun banung.* [706]

tjatji-paRi-NaN **pa-Nung**
 dead-Caus2-Fut 1sgNom-2sgAcc
 I will cause you to die, as by poison, secrecy &c.

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 burrilléun báng.* [711]

tjatji-paRi-layaN=pang
 dead-Caus2-Ref:Past=1sgNom
 I have destroyed myself. I have killed myself.

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]

uwa-Ri-N **wipi-ku**
 move-Caus2-Pres wind-Erg
 The wind moves (it, understood).

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 burréa unni. Yakoai? Wibbi ko.* [688]
TiyiR-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:

| | Threlkeld | Reconstruction |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|
| make, compel to sit | <i>yel-la-wat-bung-ngul-li-ko</i> | yalawapanga- |
| make snap | <i>kil-bung-ngul-li-ko</i> | kilpanga- |
| open (a door), cause to be loosened | <i>bum-bung-ngul-li-ko</i> | pampanga- |

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 intransitive 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 banúng 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 banúng*. [676]

uwa-manpi-NaN pa-Nung
go-Perm-Fut 1sgNom-2sgAcc
I will let you go.

289 *Tetti ba bunbinnun banúng*. [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 *Kapirro-wirri-ban-billin . . . 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 *Búm-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 búm-ma-ra bun-bi yi ko-ra . . .* [410]

yari=puN=pi

Neg=3sgAcc=2sgNom

Let no one strike him.

pu-marapanpi-yikura

hit-UnivPerm-Neg

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 búnkilli 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 *Búnkilli 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 | <i>wiya-</i> (speak) |
| umayay | tradesman (maker) | <i>uma-</i> (do, make) |
| wupayay | cobbler (doer) | <i>wupa-</i> (do, make) |
| matjayay | glutton (eater) | <i>ma-tja-</i> (take + eat) |
| maNkiyay | thief (taker) | <i>maNki-</i> (take) |
| pungkiyay | fighter | <i>pungki-</i> (hit) |
| pitjayay | drinker | <i>pitja-</i> (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.

300 *Kabo, kabo ngalitin upa-tqarin 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 búntoaró búnkulla.* [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 reduplicated, 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 (2002, pp. 239-40).

304 *Ngán ke kiakia kunnun?* [516]

ngaN-ki kiyakiya ka-NaN
Interr-Abs conqueror:Abs be-Fut
 Who will be the victor?

305 *Pirriwul 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 katállá 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?

5 Clitics

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 binúng 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 kateḡa 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]

nyuwawa=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 **=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 *Ngátoa-bo. Yaki ta bo. Unti bo.* [536]

ngatjuwa=pu / yakiTa=pu / aNTi=pu

1sgNom=Excl / now=Excl / here:Abs=Excl

I myself, at that self same instant. This very place.

317 *Wakól bo ta noa tanán ba.* [493]

wakul=pu Ta=nyuwa TaNayn=pa

one:Abs=Excl indeed=3sgNom hither=Sub?

One man only is coming.

The exclusiveness in the following example is not apparent from the translation — perhaps ‘just who’?

318 *Ngánbo nura búncillán?* [578]

ngaN=pu nyura pungki-la-N

Interr=Excl 2plNom hit-Rec-Pres

Who are fighting with you?

5.1.3 Intensifier **=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 **=wal** occurs without the future tense. The clitic **=wal** has been labelled as an intensifier (*-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 *Bún-nun wál bón báng.* [395]

pu-NaN=wal=puN=pang

hit-Fut=In=3sgAcc=1sgNom

I shall certainly strike him.

320 *Keawai wál noa ta-korien.* [968]

kayaway=wal=nyuwa tja-kuriyaN

Neg=In=3sgNom

eat-Priv

He determines not to eat.

321 *Ngahtoah bo wahl weah boumnoun.* [77]

ngatjuwa=pu=wal wiya-a puwaNuwan
 1sgNom=Excl=In speak-GPast 3sgAccF
 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 *Yanqa, nakilli-ban-kora.* [886]

yaNuwa nyaki-li=paNkura
 let be see-Nmls~Cont?=Neg
 Do not be looking.

323 *Búnkillaibán kora nura.* [571]

pungki-la-y=paNkura nyura
 hit-Rec-?=Neg 2plNom
 Do not be striking one another.

324 *Yanti bán kora.* [759]

yaNTi=paNkura
 thus=Neg
 Do not do so.

225 *Pi-tul-ban-ko-ra.* [773]

piTal=paNkura
 peace=Neg
 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 burréa 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 apprehensional 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:

- 335 *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:

- 336 *Yari be nanun.* [887]
yari=pi nya-NaN
 Neg=2sgNom see-Fut
 Thou must not look. (Prohibition requires the future.)

- 337 *Yari bón búntea kunnun.* [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**.

- 338 *Kaahran bahng mahn-un.* [259]
kayawarr-aN=pang ma-NaN
 Neg-Emph=1sgNom take-Fut
 I will not take.

- 339 *Keawai, murrorong korien.* [877]
kayaway marrung-kuriyaN
 Neg:Abs good-Priv
 No it is not good.

- 340 *Tararan murrorong 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 murrorong 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 Gadhing (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 binnúng 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.

6.3.4 *yakuway*

Yakuway generally occurs in sentence-initial position. This particle has two different meanings according to Threlkeld’s translations; the most common type asks ‘how?’.

345 *Yakoai bin wiyan.* [925]

yakuway=piN wiya-N
 how=2sgAcc speak-Pres
 How is it told to thee? — in what manner.

The less common type of translation is ‘take care’:

346 *Yakoai tia buwil koa bon bang.* [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:

347 *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.

348 *Buhn-nun boh 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:

349 *Mirka noa tetti kunnun.* [515]

mirka=nyuwa tjatji ka-NaN
 perhaps=3sgNom dead:Abs be-Fut.
 Perhaps he will be dead.

350 *Yah re Friday. Mir kah Friday unne bung.* [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 kirin 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]

ngaN-Tu tjuRa-a puwaNuwaN / ngali=nyuwa yung
 Interr-Erg spear-GPast 3sgAccF / this:Erg=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]

ka-NaN Ta aNi marrung
 be-Fut 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 pittautil koa bang. Ma tauwa unti kál.* [767]

makurr ngu-wa=tja ngaTaN karay ngaTaN tjipiN ngaTaN kukuyn
 fish:Abs give-Imp=1sgAcc and flesh:Abs and fowl:Abs and water:Abs
 / **tja-wil-kuwa=pang pitja-wil-kuwa=pang /ma tja-wa aNTi-kal**
 / eat-Des-Purp=1sgNom drink-Des-Purp=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]

ngaTaN ka-manpi-la piTal parray-tja-ku
 and be-Perm-Imp joy:Abs earth-Loc-Purp
 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’:

360 *Búm ba bo ta bón báng, wonto bang ba kintja kán kákulla.* [568]

pum-pa[-a]=pu **Ta=puN=pang** **waNTu=pang=pa**
 hit-Hyp-[GPast?]=Excl indeed=3sgAcc=1sgNom but=1sgNom=Sub
kintja-kaN **ka-kala**
 afraid-Nmls:Abs be-GPast

I should certainly have struck him, but I was afraid.

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=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.

6.4.11 kala

Kala occurs in sentence-initial position and is translated as ‘because’:

362 *Minnaring tin bón búnkulla? Kulla noa bukka baring.* [758]

minyaring-TiN=puN **pung-kala / kala=nyuwa** **paka-paring** **[~pirang]**
 Interr-Caus=3sgAcc hit-GPast / because=3sgNom angry-? [~Abl?]
 Why was he beaten? Because he is always angry.

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 unmoah 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, unmoah 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.

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 búnk-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’:

- 371 *Kató! katiá! Tetti ba bunbéa tia.* [702]
katju katja tjatji-pa-panpi-ya=tja
 alas! dead-Vb-Perm-GPast=1sgAcc
 Alas, I am left to die.

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 *Wiyâ unni murrorong 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 **alapyarr**

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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